

ARNULF OF MILAN, THE BOOK OF RECENT DEEDS, TRANSLATED BY W.L. NORTH FROM THE EDITION OF CLAUDIA ZEY (MGH SCRIPTORES RERUM GERMANICARUM 67), HANNOVER: HAHNSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG 1994.

In this book are contained the deeds of certain kings of Italy and bishops of Milan, from the time of King Hugh and Bishop Arderic up to the time of the author, although some other things have been inserted within this period insofar as they occurred to the memory of this same author. Whoever desires to know these things, let him read them one by one; without a doubt he shall find something with which he may nourish his mind, not with copious amounts of the more sumptuous foods, but with healthy and digestible fare. The names of the kings and bishops have been written below for the person casting his eyes upon the page.

Likewise the names of the bishops:

Hugh, king of Burgundy.
Lothar, his son.
Berengar, a Lombard.
Otto I, a German.
Otto II, son of Otto I.
Otto III, son of Otto II.
Arduin, a Lombard.
Henry, a German.
Conrad, likewise.
Henry, a son like his father.
Henry, his son.

Arderic sat 22 years, 2 months.
Manasses and Adelman together were five years, not in the episcopal throne, but at the bow and the bier.
Walpert sat 18 years.
Arnulf sat 3 years, 4 months.
Gottfried sat 5 years, 1 month, 24 days.
Landulf sat 18 years, 3 months.
Arnulf sat 19 years, 9 months, 6 days.
Aribert sat 26 years, 8 months, 19 days.
Guido sat 27 years.

Here begin the chapters of the first book.

- I. First of all, Hugh of Burgundy reigns.
- II. He tonsured his son and tried to kill the archbishop.
- III. His satisfaction and loss of the kingdom when Lothar was elected.
- IV. The struggle between Manasses and Adelman and the episcopacy of Walpert.
- V. Berengar rules and Walpert fled to King Otto.
- VI. Liudolf is sent to Italy and Berengar is betrayed.
- VII. Otto came to Italy and captured Berengar.
- VIII. Arnulf became archbishop. Succeeding him, Godfried fought with Berengar's sons.
- IX. Otto II rules and wages war against the Saracens.
- X. Strife between Bishop Landulf and the citizens; his father is killed in bed.

- XI. Otto III rules and a Greek bishop invades the apostolic see.
- XII. Travelling to Rome, the king punishes the Greek and Crescentius.
- XIII. Another Archbishop Arnulf sets off for Constantinople.
- XIV. Otto dies and Arduin is elected king by the Lombards.
- XV. Contention between Arduin and Henry over the kingdom.
- XVI. Henry came to Italy and destroyed Pavia and Arduin became a monk.
- XVII. The coming of the Normans to Apulia.
- XVIII. Henry captures the marquisses and the bishop of Asti is consecrated.
- XIX. The victory of Arnulf and the satisfaction of the bishop of Asti.
- XX. On the praise and death of Arnulf.

Here begin the chapters of the second book.

- I. Aribert is enthroned and Henry dies.
- II. Travelling to Germany, the archbishop elects Conrad.
- III. Strife between the bishops of Milan and Ravenna over the spot at the king's right hand.
- IV. The king's speech to the people.
- V. When the bishop of Vercelli took the place of the archbishop, and then the case was resolved in the synod.
- VI. War between the Milanese and the men of Ravenna.
- VII. Strife between the archbishop and the people of Lodi over the episcopacy.
- VIII. King Conrad invades Burgundy with the knighthood of Italy.
- IX. An eclipse of the sun appeared and the moon was blood red.
- X. Conspiracy of the valvassores against Bishop Aribert.
- XI. The battle on Campo Malo, in which the bishop of Asti was killed.
- XII. On the capture of the archbishop and three bishops.
- XIII. How the king attacked Milan and is divinely punished.
- XIV. The king granted the bishopric of Ambrose, Aribert wanted to grant the kingdom to Odo.
- XV. When Ambrose failed, Aribert succeeded.
- XVI. The clash between the kingdom and the bishop and on the marvelous banner.
- XVII. Conrad dies and his son is supported.
- XVIII. Civil strife amongst the Milanese.
- XIX. A well-ordered siege against the city.
- XX. The archbishop grows weak at Modoetia and dies in Milan.

Here begin the chapters of the third book.

- I. On the episcopacy of Guido and the peace which was established between the Milanese.
- II. King Henry deposed the pope in Rome and established his own.
- III. Memorial and praise of Pope Leo and on the death of Boniface.
- IV. On the king's assembly at Roncalia, his praises, and death.
- V. When the boy Henry rules and the Pavians spurn their bishop.
- VI. The battle between the Milanese and the Pavians.
- VII. The people of Asti also refuse the bishop given to them.
- VIII. A schism arises in Milan between the clergy and people through the agency of Ariald.
- IX. Landulf's speech to the people.
- X. On the affliction of the clergy and the legation sent to Rome.
- XI. The synod at Fontaneto and the activities of Landulf and Ariald.
- XII. When the Roman legates come to Milan and what they did there.
- XIII. Exclamation of the author and on the Roman synod.

- XIV. On the death of Landulf and that Erlembald took his place.
- XV. Again, on the activities of Erlembald and Ariald and an exclamation against the Romans.
- XVI. On the star, the comet, and the earthquake on Easter.
- XVII. On Pope Alexander and the bishop of Parma.
- XVIII. On the city's error, the killing of Ariald, and Erlembald's persecution.
- XIX. On the coming of Bishop Mainard and the council of the Romans.
- XX. Guido granted the episcopacy to Godfried who was rejected by the people.
- XXI. When Godfried was besieged in Castilio.
- XXII. On the burning of the city and the breaking of the siege.
- XXIII. Oath of the citizens and how Atto was elected and then deposed.

Here begin the chapters of the fourth book.

- I. When the writer proposed to remain silent and why he later wrote.
- II. How Hildebrand favored Atto.
- III. When the bishops consecrated Godfried at Novara.
- IV. Having become pope, Hildebrand praised Atto in synod.
- V. Erlembald favors Atto, persecutes Godfried.
- VI. On the chrism and baptism on Low Sunday.
- VII. On the controversy between the pope and King Henry.
- VIII. On the second burning of the city.
- IX. On the baptism which is once again usurped.
- X. On the oath of the knights and the people and on the killing of Erlembald.
- XI. Interpretation of the word "Patarene."
- XII. The writer praises the deeds of others, if they be justly done.
- XIII. On the same subject.

Here begin the chapters of the fifth book.

- I. The writer's promise.
- II. On the legates of Milan.
- III. On the Saxons' struggle.
- IV. On the death of the duke.
- V. On the episcopacy of Tedaldus.
- VI. On the capture of the pope.
- VII. On the controversy between the king and the pope.
- VIII. Again on the Saxons and the peace between the king and the pope.
- IX. The absolution which occurred at Milan.
- X. On the kingship granted to Rudolf.

HERE BEGINS THE BOOK OF RECENT DEEDS COMPOSED BY ARNULF

Many different studies delight the different temperaments of many people — all things do not satisfy everyone, nor does each thing always satisfy each person. Of course, because behavior is disparate, and likewise the minds of people often are not drawn to the same things due to the complex

condition of a single nature, it is not the purpose of the present work nor within human power either to discuss such things generally or to evaluate them individually. Only the good God who distributes diverse gifts, is able to do this. Hence the Apostle says: *There are diversities of graces,... but the same God, who worketh all in all, dividing them as He wills amongst individuals.*¹ Likewise elsewhere: *Everyone has his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that.*² For example, the gift of the knowledge of letters is given to mortals in many ways, as God distributes it. Spiritual men interpret mysteries, when they compare spiritual things with spiritual things. But who is suited to this? Certainly not I, who do not presume to believe one jot other than through veneration or to debate one tittle of these things. Men in the markets carefully examine animals in many ways, comparing flesh with flesh. Amidst these men, I hide out of the greatest embarrassment as among the dense and leafy trees of a dark forest, because, although I am a servant of the catholic faith, I am ashamed to be seen. For I am naked in terms of knowledge and am only lightly clothed with a few letters as with the thinnest filaments of a spider's web. Furthermore, because the leaves of such new and different things now burst forth every day in the so-called forest of the present age, I am amazed that so many and such learned writers do not blow upon even one of them. For at no time in the past was there such a great opportunity for learned and unlearned alike to write. Yet when I mull these things over in my mind, I do not have confidence in myself. For the poverty of my meager wit so constrains me that I find the entry of the Aristotelian labyrinth difficult, while the approach to the Tullian palace seems truly laborious. I confess that I have never ascended the official *rotae* of the *quadrivium*. Therefore, dear reader, whoever you are, demand from me nothing but what I promise, namely a simple narrative, offered in everyday speech, of the deeds accomplished by our kings, our bishops, and our fellow citizens from Milan and beyond, as well as our compatriots in the Kingdom of Italy, which I myself have seen or somehow heard from either those who saw them or those slightly later, insofar as they emerge from the treasuries of memory. Indeed, you should hope for nothing else from me. And if my mind perchance stumbles amidst what has been heard

1 I Cor. 12:4-6.

2 I Cor. 7:7.

through the fault of the narrator, then let it immediately spring up more confidently among things which have been seen and therefore require no one's testimony. Furthermore, if reading material of this type bores those who know the present, let them at least not begrudge posterity and those who perhaps wish to learn of them; indeed I want to make special provision for them. For unless the pen should somehow commend [to writing] the ancient deed of the ancients, no memory at all of past times would have survived for us. In the meantime, then, let this little project of ours be hidden under a bushel,³ only to be made public in its own time. I ask that my personal and sole copy of this work in no way cross the boundaries of this city. If this seems too small, let it extend to the Roman arch.⁴

The proper order of narration runs from later things to earlier; but because the present depends on the past, this narration of deeds will run from those things [of the past] to the things which we have in our hands. Nevertheless, leaving aside antiquity, let us begin from recent memory.

1. In the 925th year from the birth of Christ, Hugh of the Burgundians reigned in Italy and, in order that he might act in greater security in the kingdom, he planned to acquire for himself the city of Milan, the outstanding city among the rest. For he knew the ancient custom of the place, namely that when the metropolitan died, one of the excellent cardinals of the cathedral, whom they call "ordinaries", succeeds him. This [privilege] had been granted on the authority of the canons by the bishops of Rome and by the emperors themselves, as the documents stored in the place of safe-keeping (secretarium) attest.

2. For this reason, [Hugh] ordered his younger son to be tonsured in this same church. But because [the son] was still of boyish years, he hardly seemed suitable for being made a bishop, and so he chose as bishop Arderic, an very, very old man, hoping that he would die quickly. But because his opinion often disappoints the person who is plotting, the priest lived for another 22 years and 2 months in the world. Upon realizing this, Hugh contemplated a secret death for him. And so, when it was decreed that a

3 Cf. Mt. 5:15; Mk. 4:21; Lk. 11:3.

4 The Roman Arch lies outside of the city near the basilica of San Nazario and the leper house of San Lazaro.

general council of all the princes of the kingdom should be held in Pavia,⁵ the followers of the palace were ordered by the Caesar to quarrel with the people of Milan on purpose so that the old man might be murdered if an opportunity presented itself. After some men began brawling, a great battle ensued in which ninety prudent men from Milan are said to have been killed. But freed by divine favor, the bishop escaped. And since his treachery could not remain hidden for long, [Hugh] was greatly ashamed that he was guilty of so great a crime and feared the blessed Ambrose, whose vicar the [bishop] was.

3. It happened, however, that in composing the fitting satisfaction for the ninety men killed, [Hugh] granted the church of Milan the abbey of Nonantula, which is said to have been called this because of the ninety *curtes* under its jurisdiction. In addition, he also gave the church a golden chapel with a cross, which is located over the altar in the *tugurio* of the winter Church. But since he acted with excessive insolence regarding everything else, ignoring what had been said to him: *Have they made thee prince; Do not be raised up, but be among them as one of them,*⁶ he became intolerable to all. And so, when his son Lothar,⁷ who was much more lenient, was chosen by all, [Hugh] was compelled by the common consent of the entire kingdom to return to Burgundy and did not really rule again for the rest of his life.

5. During this same period, a pernicious plot was avoided in Milan. After Archbishop Arderic was summoned to heaven,⁸ two contestants burst forth, aflame with ambition for the office of Ambrose, namely Manasses, bishop of Arles, and Adelman, priest of Milan, both of whom were truly unmindful of the apostolic oracle: *Let us not be made desirous of empty glory, accusing and envying one another.*⁹ And they contended, the former on the basis of the king of Burgundy's gift, the latter on strength of a

5 ca. 945.

6 Eccl.32:1.

7 Lothar, son of Hugh of Provence and Alda, was born ca. 925. In 947 he married Adelheid but only ruled for three more years as king of Italy. He died in 950.

8 Arderic died 13 October 948 and was buried in the basilica of San Nazario.

9 Gal.5:26.

faction of the people (plebs) of Milan, struggling tenaciously against one another for five years, with factions arising on both sides. As a result of this execrable quarrel, the church of Milan sustained very heavy losses, especially in its treasures and all the sacred vessels, with which it had flowed beyond compare. Amidst these currents, Walpert swam cautiously, drawing [people] to his side like waves of counsel, so that after both [of the candidates] ceded either voluntarily or under compulsion, he might hold the see alone.

5. Then, after Lothar died,¹⁰ the Lombard Berengar reigned,¹¹ whom Archbishop Walpert did not trust, as Berengar himself was well aware. Taking precautions against the king's wrath so that he would not be cut short by the king's treacheries (for he had read *The indignation of the king is the messenger of death*)¹² he prepared to flee. He approached King Otto of the Germans asking for his support, and soon, on his own initiative, he promised Otto the Kingdom of Italy. Aroused by this assurance and having married Adelheid,¹³ the former Queen of Italy, i.e. the wife of Lothar, Otto planned how to seize the kingdom from Berengar in this situation.

6. Otto therefore called for peace through messengers sent on ahead on behalf of Walpert. But when he did not gain peace through entreaty, he sent Liudolf, his son from another wife,¹⁴ together with

10 22 November 950.

11 Berengar II, Marquise of Ivrea.

12 Pr.16:14.

13 Born ca. 931 the daughter of King Rudolf II of Burgundy, Adelheid married Hugh of Provence in 947. Widowed by Lothar in 950, Adelheid was persecuted by Berengar I of Ivrea until she married Otto I in October or November of 951. Living until 999, Adelheid remained an influential political figure throughout the reigns of her son Otto III and grandson Otto III. She was also esteemed in religious circles, and Odilo of Cluny composed a narrative epitaph upon her desk. For a more detailed account of her career with a bibliography of sources and secondary literature, see G. Arnaldi, "Adelaide," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 1, pp. 247-9.

14 Otto's first wife Edith (_ 946).

an army.¹⁵ King Berengar's own compatriots also hated him because of the excessive stubbornness of his wife, who was called Willa, and partially because of his own savagery.¹⁶ Therefore, because he had been deserted by his men, he was scarcely able to confront the approaching army in battle but instead entered the municipality which is called the Island of St. Julius and remained there powerless. But as Liudolf searched the entire area, certain knights who were friends of Berengar, brought him out and betrayed him into the hands of the enemy, after they had been promised safety. *Truly a man's enemies are his servants.*¹⁷ But gazing upon him, Liudolf said: "Take my advice, O king, and humble yourself to the great and august Otto. If you do not do this, you will only harm yourself." When [Berengar] responded humbly, Liudolf again spoke: "Far be it from my faith that I who am trying to conquer by might, should win the victory through treachery. From now on beware of false knights of this kind." Having thus spoken, [Liudolf] released him, and thenceforward carried out everything with vigor. O pious hostility and hostile piety! Yet later, that pious man (Liudolf) is said to have been killed with poison by the perfidity of the Lombards.¹⁸

7. Deprived of his son but trusting in the counsel of the august Adelheid, Walpert, and other princes of the realm, Otto came to Italy amidst a strong following and with his arm extended, the first of the Germans to be called the emperor of Italy. For when all else had been subjected to him, through constant siege he defeated Berengar himself, who had sought protection in a strong fortress¹⁹ after his sons Guido, Adalbert, and Cono had been scattered in all directions. He took [Berengar], who had been captured with his wife and daughters, away with him into Swabia,²⁰ where Berengar ended his last day not much later

15 ca. September 956.

16 In his *Antapodosis*, Liudprand of Cremona gives a particularly vivid and scurrilous account of Willa's character. See III.1; IV.11-12; V.32. She died after 966.

17 Mt. 20:36.

18 Liudolf was killed in 957. Arnulf is the only source to record the story of poisoning.

19 Borgo San Leone on Montefeltro.

20 End of 963/Beginning of 964.

in the bitterness of his soul.²¹

8. At the same time, after Walpert had died,²² Arnulf assumed the episcopal seat and truly turned away from evil and did good. I, the unbiased writer of his present deeds, am the true great-grandson of his brother. His life in the episcopacy lasted three years, but now it has become eternal with a better office. He was succeeded by Godfried, who was initially rejected because he had not yet risen to the grade of priest or levite but was only a subdeacon. But after being accepted in a final peace by grace of his fidelity to the king, he struggled against the sons of Berengar. After Guido was killed²³ and Cono was silenced by an agreement, Adalbert, who was most courageous of all the brothers, became a fugitive for the rest of his life.

9. When Otto died, his son of the same name ruled in his place, a man energetic in arms and keen of wit, who, having obtained the companionship of a Greek wife,²⁴ solidified the Roman Empire happily through the industry of his wise mother Adelheid. Leaving Germany, he besieged Rome, took possession of Apulia and Calabria, and did many remarkable deeds which were worthy of the imperial majesty.²⁵ At the time of this expedition the Saracens set out across the sea and tried to invade the borders of Calabria. The emperor himself went against them despite being supported by only a small group of his own men. But because battles of the few against the many are usually unequal, although he had fought hard, in the end he lost.²⁶ What more is there to say? After being captured in the fighting, he was dragged forward to

21 966.

22 6 November 970.

23 965.

24 Otto II's wife was the Byzantine empress Theophano (†991). For discussions of Theophano's Byzantine origins and cultural and political influence in the Ottonian empire, see now [The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millenium](#), ed. A. David, Cambridge 199 , and [Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends: Gedenkschrift des Kölner Sch Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin](#), edd. A. von Euw & P. Schreiner, Köln 1992

25 Otto II left Germany ca. October 980, besieged Rome from Easter to the fall of 981, and then headed to southern Italy in 981/982.

26 Battle of Capo Colonne, mid-July 982.

the ships, for the enemy had occupied the nearby seashore. Knowing that, whether he liked it or not, he was to be taken across the sea, he begged with feigned entreaties that they might at least permit his only wife together with a small following of maidservants to accompany him into exile, promising that she would bring huge amounts of gold and silver with her. And when this was permitted, he ordered adolescent men who were dressed up like women and were girded with swords under their clothing, to approach very cautiously. After they boarded the ship, they suddenly made a rush against the enemy and slaughtered them indiscriminately with their drawn swords. Meanwhile, the emperor plunged into the sea with an energetic leap and escaped by swimming to the shore, free and happy. The enemy, now frightened, sailed back home. Deciding for the future to sail powerfully across the flat waves with all of Italy, the king spread throughout the entire kingdom the order to prepare for war (*praeceptum militandi*). But since God provided otherwise, he departed from human affairs, according to the saying: *The heart of a man decides its own way, but it belongs to God to direct his steps.*²⁷ His son, a boy of the same name, survived him in the region of Alemannia and was made king when his father died.

10. Landulf had by now succeeded Godfried²⁸ as archbishop but, because of his father's and brothers' excessive insolence, he experienced the deep hostility of the people. For they had been unusually persistent in abusing their lordship (*dominium*) over the city. Consequently, the indignant citizens swore oaths to one another and joined together against them. Whence there arose civil sedition and factional division. As the factions contended vigorously with each other, a great battle occurred within the city. But the bishop, seeing that he was pressed on all sides and could not continue, fled the city with his brothers, leaving behind their father, who was already old and weak in his powers. He then distributed the resources of the Church and many clerical benefices to knights. Later, when an army had been gathered from various regions, he clashed again with these same citizens on the field of Carbonate. There a great slaughter occurred on both sides, and once again, the bishop barely escaped from this

27 Proverbs 16:9.

28 Godfried died 19 September 979, and Landulf was elected in December of that year.

conflict. Back in town, however, when a certain servant girl heard of the death of her lord, she ran to [his house] and stabbed the father of the bishop with a knife as he lay on the bed. After these and many other events, after God had inspired them and the counsel of wise men on both sides had intervened, a new peace dissolved the old hatreds. For the archbishop, mindful of his pastoral care, and the people, mindful of their sheep-like obedience, gave up past [grievances] and allied themselves in a pact of perpetual peace. Furthermore, since the bishop knew that he had harmed the Church by dispersing its resources, he founded the monastery of the holy martyr Celsus²⁹ and endowed it with great wealth, in order that he might soften the clergy and the people. There, when the number of his days had been fulfilled, he died and rested in his own tomb.³⁰ Another Arnulf succeeded him, about whom we will speak later.³¹

11. Meanwhile, when Otto III was ruling along with his Greek mother, a certain Greek, the chaplain of her Greek ladyship [Theophanu] was made bishop of Piacenza.³² Concerning him it was said that he had tried cleverly to transfer the honor of the Roman Empire to the Greeks. Indeed, using the counsel and wealth of certain Roman citizens, especially a certain very wealthy man named Crescentius,³³ he already had violently invaded the apostolic see, and deposed the venerable pope who was then occupying the see.³⁴ When this became widely known, Otto left Swabia and came quickly to Italy.

12. After taking council with the magnates of the kingdom, Otto set out without delay on the road to Rome along with legions of Latins and Germans, striking terror into all the surrounding areas. Upon his entry, all of Rome was stunned. The Greek cried out for mercy; Crescentius prepared a rebellion, well-

29 ca. 996.

30 23 March 998.

31 Arnulf was elevated as bishop by July 998.

32 Johannes Philagathos, later Pope John XVI.

33 Crescentius II Nomentanus.

34 Pope Gregory V (996-999).

protected within the fortress of San Angelo on the Tiber. The emperor besieged him on all sides, attacking him daily with all the machines of war, until, after an agreement was somehow made, he placed himself in [Otto's] power. He was immediately ordered beheaded in the Neronian meadow.³⁵ His wife Stephania³⁶ was also handed over to the Germans to be raped (*adulteranda*). But the Greek pseudo-pope, once his eyes had been plucked out and his nose and ears had been cut off, was turned backwards on the back of an ass and was led throughout the entire city, holding the ass's tail in his hand. Thus Rome, previously shifting, became quiet under the eyes of the king.

13. At an earlier time, the emperor had decided that he would be allied to his mother's people by marriage. Because of this plan (*concilium*), the aforementioned Archbishop Arnulf set off across the sea for Constantinople, fortified with royal orders. After being received with great honor by the admirable monarch himself,³⁷ he lived like a bishop in the royal city. Indeed so dear was he that he easily received whatever he requested. Finally, when the business for which he had come was completed, he hastened back on his return journey, after a fitting send off by this same Basil.

14. In the meantime, however, the emperor Otto had died in the first flower of his youth,³⁸ and in him was consumed the entire posterity of the Ottonians. Then Arduin, a certain noble marquis of Ivrea was elected by the Lombards in Pavia and was called "caesar" by all.³⁹ He then travelled around the entire kingdom, handling all matters by royal right. Once the return of the aforementioned prelate was known, Arduin came to him openly on his route, taking care to attach the bishop to himself with as much security as he could.

35 18 April 998.

36 Her real name was Theodora. Arnulf's fellow Milanese historian, Landulf senior, also makes the same error.

37 Basil II (976-1025).

38 21 January 1002.

39 15 February 1002.

15. At the same time, Henry was made king in Germany (Alemannia). There arose between these two a great struggle over the Italian scepter. In the midst of it all, the princes of the kingdom proceeded deceitfully, because they fought openly for Arduin, but secretly favored Henry, all the while pursuing the profits of avarice, just as [God] said to Jerusalem through the prophet: *Your princes are faithless, companions of thieves: they all love bribes and pursue rewards.*⁴⁰ Upon their advice, Henry sent his duke⁴¹ to Italy with an army. Arduin attacked him bravely and when the battle was met on the field of Fabrica, he slaughtered many and put the rest to flight outside the boundaries of the kingdom.

16. Not long after, Henry set forth from Germany with a strong host (militia) of Germans and encamped on the very border of Italy.⁴² On the other side, Arduin, who trusted in his powers and was no less welltrained in arms, was ready not so much to defend himself as to put Henry to flight; he came against him at Verona. But deceived by the perfidy of the princes, he was deprived of the greater part of his knights (milites). And so after [Arduin] unwillingly gave way, Henry entered the kingdom, was immediately elected king;⁴³ he was later elected Roman emperor in his own time.⁴⁴ But because [the city] did not willingly submit to him when he came to Pavia, he burned the entire city in a single conflagration. All of Italy was horrified by this and likewise extremely fearful. As confidence in Arduin waned from this time on, Henry's power prevailed everywhere. Nevertheless, having recollected his forces in the meantime, Arduin took vengeance on those who had been treacherous. Later he captured the city of Vercelli, besieged Novara, invaded Como, and destroyed many other places opposed to him. In the end, worn down by labor and sickness and deprived of his kingdom, he was content with the

40 Is.1:23.

41 Duke Otto of Carinthia and Count of Verona, ca. 1002/1003.

42 The force left Germany in later March 1004 and arrived at Trent on 9 April 1004.

43 14 May 1004 in San Michele in Pavia.

44 On his second journey to Italy in 1014.

monastery named Fruttuaria alone. There, after the regalia had been placed upon the altar and he had donned the habit of a pauper, he fell asleep in his own time.⁴⁵

17. It was in those days that the first of the Normans came into Apulia, after they had been summoned on the advice of the princes of the land, when the Greeks were weighing heavy upon the region with innumerable acts of oppression.⁴⁶ When the Greeks had been subdued and put to flight upon the furrowed sea, the Normans — although few — invaded part of the province, after considering the inertia of the Apulians and the region's richness in all things. Legates were sent back home to encourage others to do this and, as their numbers grew little by little, they eventually filled the entire province of Apulia, took possession of it as if by right of ownership (*iure proprio*) and became crueller than the Greeks and more ferocious than the Saracens. Indeed, after all the former princes had been cast down, they rose up as princes themselves.

18. Now then, there is no point in reciting what Henry did during the rest of his reign, how he besieged Troia, that noble city of Apulia;⁴⁷ how he caught four margraves of Italy, Hugh, Azo, Adelbert, and Obizo in one fell swoop; how the whole earth trembled at his strength to the point that if any were found to favor the party of Arduin, they either fled or surrendered. Of these men, the bishop of Asti left his own see and lay in hiding in Milan until his death.⁴⁸ For the emperor had given the bishopric to a certain Olderich, brother of the distinguished marquis Manfred, despite the fact that the bishop, who had been expelled, was still alive. Greatly shocked at this occurrence, Archbishop Arnulf absolutely forbid the consecration which fell within his jurisdiction. But that fellow Olderich, trusting in his own power and that of his brother, set off for Rome and by some secret dealings had himself consecrated by the

45 14 December 1015.

46 The first Normans probably arrived ca. 999 and 1015 at the latest.

47 Spring 1022.

48 Peter of Asti (992-1005).

Roman pontiff.⁴⁹ When this news became known to Arnulf, he was ignited by a most righteous fire, indignant not so much at the behavior of the king as that of the Roman bishop, which seemed worse.

19. Coming into an assembly of the church of Milan,⁵⁰ he transfixed the audacity of the person just consecrated with the spear of anathema. Then, after a great army was assembled from all around, he marched toward the city of Asti along with his suffragan bishops and encircled the city with a palisade in the densest possible siege, while the marquis and the bishop were shut inside the city. And he did not cease from devastation and war until a peace was composed to his satisfaction. This was the condition of peace -when they came to Milan, at the third mile from the city they proceeded with bare feet, the bishop carrying a book, the marquis a dog.⁵¹ Then outside the church of San Ambrogio, they confessed their crimes most devotedly. The bishop deposited upon the altar the staff and ring of the pontificate which he had received, and then later piously received them back when the bishop offered them. His brother, Marquis Manfred, donated many talents of gold to the church, from which that beautiful cross was produced which is used until today only on very special days. From there, they went through the middle of the city to the greater church of the Santa Theotokos in bare feet, just as they had come, and there were received in peace by the archbishop, clergy, and the entire people.

20. Otherwise, Arnulf ruled his church like a priest (*sacerdotaliter*), nourishing the clergy and people and clearly spending time on its affairs. The many benefits conferred upon the church commend his blessedness. In his time, the relics of the holy confessor Mona were revealed in the church of San Vitale next to San Nabor. Arnulf also founded the monastery of San Vittore the martyr with great honor and with an abundance of grain, and buried there, he rests in peace.⁵² Yet, because the daylight of this

49 Pope John XVIII, May-June 1008.

50 Summer 1008.

51 Carrying a dog over a specified distance (and a large, savage dog should probably be imagined) was a form of ritual humiliation and punishment. For other examples, see Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*; and

's study, "

52 25 February 1018.

day is not enough to sing his praises, let the present page be closed, since another shall be opened after it.

HERE BEGINS BOOK II

1. In the previous volume, we tried somehow to express what we had only heard, but now we shall strive to bring forth from the abundance what we know from sight. Now then, when Arnulf of divine memory was summoned by heaven,⁵³ Aribert was enthroned on the advice of the elders and by gift of imperial power. From the time he became bishop, he spent time on his own affairs and those of others, a man who was intent upon many things and experienced great things which we take up not to judge but to narrate them. In his days, the imperial rule of Henry ended, with no surviving offspring.⁵⁴ The Pavians then destroyed the royal palace that was in their city to avenge the burning of their city.⁵⁵ It also happened that, assembling together *in commune*, the first citizens discussed establishing a king. But since different issues pulled people in different directions, everyone was not of the same mind.⁵⁶

2. While Italy bobbed amidst such events, Aribert himself went alone to Germany to elect the German king, after declining the equal partnership of his men since they were unwilling or actively

53 25 February 1018.

54 13 July 1024.

55

56 The Pavians' destruction of the royal palace after the death of Henry II is also recounted in Wipo's *Deeds of Conrad II* §7 (ed. H. Breßlau, SSRG 61, Hannover 1915), where he described the Pavians' legation to the king's court at Constance to beg forgiveness for their offense as well as Conrad's famous response. He recalled: "... the Pavians legates were there with gifts and friends, trying to placate the king over the offense committed by their citizens. Yet they were in no way able to obtain this from the king as they wished. I shall briefly recount in what matter they offended the king. There was in the city of Pavia a palace built long before by King Theoderic with marvelous workmanship and greatly embellished by Otto III. But when they learned of the Emperor Henry's death — since it is human nature to behave immoderately in the midst of novelty — the Pavians immediately and without thinking attacked the peaceful palace

shattering the royal walls with illicit, emboldened blows

and tore the palace apart down to the smallest stone of the foundation, lest any king ever decide to place his palace within that city. Because of this audacious act, a great controversy occurred between the king and the Pavians.

The Pavians said: *Whom have we offended? We preserved our faith and honor to our emperor to the end of his life. After he died, since we had no king, we shall not be justly accused of having destroyed the king's palace.* The king replied: *I know that you did not destroy the palace of your king, since at that time you did not have one; indeed, you cannot be charged with having destroyed the king's house. But if a king dies, the kingdom remains, just as a ship remains, when the captain falls. Those buildings were public, not private; they belonged to another's jurisdiction, not yours. Those who usurp the property of others are subject to the king's [judgment]. Therefore, because you were usurpers of another's property, you are subject to the king's [judgment].* Note that Wipo, unlike Arnulf, makes no mention of the Pavians' motive of revenge for Henry II's destruction of the city.

hostile. And when the Germans chose Conrad for themselves,⁵⁷ he praised and crowned him in the eyes of all and received from him — in addition to many gifts — the bishopric of Lodi, so that just as he consecrated the bishop, so, too, he might invest him. After returning secure in all things, he overturned all of Italy with his legations, making some benivole in fact, others in hope, until almost all commended the elect as someone to be welcomed. Supported by such a crew, Conrad came to Italy and was crowned by Aribert as is the custom; then he headed for Rome, with the archbishop as his guide. At his *adventus* there assembled in Rome a huge gathering of different nations from all over, bishops, and secular princes with the lord Pope John presiding.⁵⁸

3. As the Easter celebration drew near, when King Conrad was to be raised through consecration to the pinnacle of empire in the basilica of the Apostles, Archbishop Aribert of Ravenna⁵⁹ usurped the king's right hand and held it with temerity, thereby doing what was appropriate to the bishop of Milan. Since this action was displeasing in the eyes of all, the rest of the bishops warned him not to leave his proper place. Nonetheless, he stubbornly held on. So that there would not be a uproar among the people on that feast day, Bishop Aribert of Milan wisely settled the great popular uproar, forcing all his followers who wished to oppose this action away from their opposition.

4. Surprised by the cries of those causing the uproar and finally learning the truth of the matter, the king stood still and spoke in the following way: *Truly it is certain, reverend fathers, that just as the imperial consecration is the privilege of the apostolic see, so the royal election and consecration is the privilege of the see of Ambrose. Hence it seems right that if the hand which first blessed and imposed the crown of the kingdom should be present, it re-present the king to be promoted to imperial rule to St. Peter and his vicar. For thus he may rightly be able to rule imperially with Ambrose as his witness, who*

57 4 September 1024.

58 Conrad arrived in Rome on 21 March 1027. The reigning pope was John XIX (1024-1032).

59 Bishop of Ravenna, 1020-1027.

learned and began to reign royally with Ambrose's consecration. Since the king's opinion pleased everyone, he took his right hand from [the bishop] of Ravenna and ordered the Ambrosian pontiff to be summoned. But he delayed coming, for the sake of avoiding an uproar, as we said before.

5. Then, on the advice of the lord pope and all the bishops, he gave his right hand to Bishop Arderic of Vercelli,⁶⁰ Aribert of Milan's suffragan, so that in this way the father might appear in the son and the master in the disciple.⁶¹ During the imperial consecration, he fully represented the Archbishop of Milan. After several days, a synod in Rome was decreed by apostolic authority.⁶² In it, they established that in all episcopal business, the archbishop of Ravenna should in no way ever set himself before the bishop of Milan; and if he should by chance presume to do so, he would be subject to canon law. Furthermore, it pleased all that a tome be written as an eternal testimony concerning this affair, from which we have taken these few things from the many.⁶³

6. While this was being done, the Milanese and the people of Ravenna were fighting with one another. As the strife increased, they battled against each other. But since the attack and strength of the Milanese prevailed, the men of Ravenna turned tail, many of them having been wounded. Their adversaries pursued them to the refuges, seizing their packs and every cloak. Aribert himself, in fact, barely escaped to Ravenna, after being saved from the hands of his pursuers. Later the entire controversy quieted down. And when the emperor returned from the area of Rome, he stayed in Italy until he subjected his adversaries — if he had any — with Aribert of Milan as his patron in all things. *And the land grew silent in his sight.*⁶⁴

60 1026/27-1037/41-44.

61 Cf. Jn. 14:13.

62 6 April 1027.

63 This text survives and is entitled, The Memorial of the Archbishop of Ravenna's Pride..., and is translated here as an appendix.

64 1 Maccabees 1:3.

7. At this time, it happened that the bishop of Lodi died. When the archbishop decided to install another with his investiture, since he had received it from the emperor, the people of Lodi were indignant and they boldly despised the unusual appointment to their bishopric. Aribert thought little of their boldness and chose Ambrose from the number of his own cardinals, a very suitable priest.⁶⁵ After first conferring the ring and the staff, he then consecrated him bishop, as was the custom. After this had been carried out, he violently attacked all the fortified town of the people of Lodi. After these had been reduced through the exercise of power (potestative), he finally came to the city and brought his bishop with him. After surrounding the city on all sides, he constantly attacked it. When the citizens saw that they were resisting in vain and a peace pact was proposed, they finally deliberated together about receiving the bishop. Oaths of promised fidelity were made openly before the city gate; and so now they received the aforementioned bishop, a man outstanding in his teaching and works who was later dear to all.⁶⁶ From that time onwards, however, an implacable hatred grew strong between the Milanese and the men of Lodi. As a result, over the course of many years, they exchanged innumerable acts of plundering, arson, and slaughters. The Milanese, strengthened by its great population, riches, and its military might, often attacked them in battle and surrounded them with sieges, laying waste their fields, vineyards, and all their suburbs. The men of Lodi — few in number but ferocious in spirit, and straightened in resources, but loaded with virtue, defended themselves now with their own losses, now with another's. If each of these exchanges were written down, they would fill many volumes.

8. When the king of the Burgundians died in these days,⁶⁷ Conrad proposed to invade Burgundy. He ordered the Lombard host (militia Lombardorum) to advance to invade it. Having himself entered from a neighboring region, he attacked those opposed to him and occupied several castles (municipia). From closeby, the chosen leaders, namely Aribert and the outstanding Marquis Boniface, advanced together

65 Ambrose is first attested in documents in August of 1037.

66 Ambrose is last attested in a document of 1051.

67 Rudolf III of Burgundy (993-1032).

with the rest of the Italian magnates, exploring those routes of access, which the cut stones of the fortress of Bardo⁶⁸ rendered passable. Leading the Lombard army through these, they overcame the arduous pass of Mt. Jove;⁶⁹ and entering the land with a vigorous attack, they met up with the emperor (caesar). Since the Burgundians were unable to resist, they hastened to surrender and were made subject to Conrad on condition of perpetual subjection. And so it happened that all returned home in great glory.

9. During this same time, in the month of June, in the hot midday sun on the day of Sts Peter and Paul,⁷⁰ an eclipse occurred, bringing shadows upon the world for three hours. Later on, at another time, the moon was darkened with the color of blood at night.

10. Because of his many prosperous successes, Bishop Aribert gradually came to lord it over all, considering his own will, not that of others. Whence it happened that certain knights of the city who were commonly called "valvassores" secretly plotted against his actions, conspiring actively against him. When a certain magnate (potens) was deprived of his benefice, they found their opportunity and burst out into the boldness of rebellion, having already become many in number. When this was announced to the bishop, he prepared to resist their treacheries with many different strategems (multis consiliis). Since this gained him nothing, he tried to overcome them with force. After being initially vanquished and worn down by the intense fighting, they left the city and went away with much lamentation. But soon, the men of Martesana⁷¹ and Seprio⁷² came to their aid as did many of their fellow knights of the kingdom, who were prepared to live or die together with them, especially the men of Lodi, who remembered their recent injury.

68 Located in the province of Aosta.

69 The highest mountain in the St Bernard pass.

70 29 June 1033.

71 A region north Milan.

11. Assembling his forces from wherever he could, and not without his own men of course, he tried to attack and oppress them all. And when they presumed to resist, they met on a field which has been for ages been called Malus, and rightly "*malus*" evil in Latin,⁷³ because it was going to be irrigated with human gore. When battle was joined upon the plain, a great slaughter occurred on both sides. Among the dead was the aforementioned bishop of Asti;⁷⁴ the greatest participant in the battle, he fell transfixed when he entered into the fray. His death became the end of the battle. For the archbishop was confused, having lost so great a brother, while the enemy, now safe after so great an enemy had been killed, left the fight and returned home.

12. Since so great a trial was looming, the archbishop took care to summon his emperor from Germany, hoping that he would be his helper. Coming to Verona and from there to Milan, the emperor was honorably received on the first day. But on the following day, when the people grew restive and began clamoring against him, he was gravely offended. For the people had heard that the king had defrauded Aribert of his right over Lodi. Concealing this, the emperor went to Pavia. There, after he had decreed a general meeting, he captured and held the archbishop in a carefully planned trap and handed him over to the patriarch of Aquileia⁷⁵ for safe-keeping. Behold, the city of Milan was astonished and horrified, and deprived of its own pastor, it sorrowed and lamented from the boy to the old man. O what prayers were poured out to the Lord and how many tears! And since clergy, people, and knights clamored constantly, an agreement was made concerning his release, after hostages had been given to the emperor. But even after he had received the hostages, he nevertheless held on to Aribert, since he decided to condemn him to perpetual exile. But he also captured three other bishop on one day, namely the bishops of Vercelli,⁷⁶

73 *Malus* means "evil" in Latin, although probably the field was really called "*mallus*" after the Germanic legislative and judicial assembly of this name. Campo Malo lies near Motta.

74 Adelrich (1008-1035). He stemmed from the house of the marquises of Turin.

75 Poppo, patriarch of Aquileia (1019-1042).

76 Arderich.

Piacenza,⁷⁷ and Cremona.⁷⁸ After two months, however, the archbishop fled. The entire city went out to meet him when he arrived and they were all so happy that servant did not give way to lord, nor wife to husband as they ran about for joy.⁷⁹ Behold, the city's evening tears were suddenly transformed into morning joy.

13. When Conrad saw that he had been fooled, he publically proclaimed Aribert an enemy of the republic. Therefore, an edict went out from Caesar Augustus that all the kingdoms within his power should swiftly assemble to attack Milan.⁸⁰ And it happened that all Italy and all Germany, from corner to corner, came together. And on their first assault, they attacked a certain castle called Landriano,⁸¹ which they destroyed to a moderate degree when they attacked. From there, they turned to Milan and encamped, fixing their tents three miles from the city. Eager to resist, the Milanese fortified several places near the city. From their number they chose youths equipped with weapons, thoroughly trained in battle and swift on horseback; these youths toyed with the caesar's darts, insulting the knights and circling the camps, and threatened with shield and spear, wounding some who were closeby. After they had engaged in these preliminary games for several days, it happened on the day of the Lord's ascension⁸² that all the caesar's troops burst forth from their camps with their caesar, Germans heading for battle on the right, Italians on the left. When the citizens came against them, the battle worsened on all sides, with different people fighting against different people. At the very front a certain noble German, tall in stature, and the Italian marquis Guido, the royal standard-bearer, were transfixed amidst the darts. After they fell and many others lay dead in their own gore, their love of battle cooled. Finally, after gathering their line, the caesar's troops moved back to their camps, while the city-folk left the field, returning to

77 Peter (1031-1037; _ 1038).

78 Hubald (ca.1031-1066).

79 Alternative version found in MSS M & H: "The blessed Ambrose, having heard the prayers of his church, merit to have the lord free his vicar, while all were unawares, even the caesar himself."

80 Cf. Lk. 2:1.

81 Southeast of Milan in the territory of Lodi.

82 19 May 1033.

their own roofs. Departing from the city, the emperor ordered that all the surrounding places, near and far, be laid waste. But while he was consuming everything with fire, he was chastized with constant bolts of lightning and hailstorms. Therefore, ceasing from what he had started, he departed grieving.⁸³

Furthermore, Bertold, the king's secretary, on whose advice everything happened, soon went insane.

14. From this experience, although the king ought to have been made more mild, he instead grew more prideful, so much that he decided that Aribert should be deprived of his own dignity. Therefore, after his decision was established, he conferred the bishopric to Ambrose, cardinal priest of the church of Milan and his own chaplain, while bishops looked on but did not will it. When he heard this, Aribert dealt similarly with the king, depriving him of his office. In a secret legation, he suggested to Odo⁸⁴ that with his favor he might seize the kingdom of Italy. Making no delay, since he was eager to rule as king, Odo first violently attacked some parts of Alemannia.⁸⁵ Bravely fighting against him, Duke Godfried⁸⁶ swiftly laid him low when the fierce engagement occurred. Odo's head, struck from his shoulders, is said to have been sent to the emperor in Italy. Otherwise, after stubbornly ordering all the princes of his kingdom to swear an annual devastation of Milan, Conrad returned home to Swabia, ailing in his feet and weak in all his joints.

15. Meanwhile Pseudo-Ambrose was openly carrying the ring and staff and, like a wolf in hiding, he secretly plotted in every way against Aribert. After he daily promised many things to many people on oath, a faction was formed both within and outside the city. When the dignity of the faithful perceived the treacheries of the wicked, they punished those apprehended in crime, both in their persons and their possessions. And after the power of Aribert thus prevailed, all that fraud-filled presumption vanished.

83 31 May 1037. German sources report many deaths among Conrad's men because of the thunderstorms.

84 Odo II, Count of Blois (996-1037).

85 In 1037, Odo of Blois was twice in Lotharingia in the region of Toul.

86 Duke Godfried the Bearded, son of Duke Gozelo I, Duke of Lower Lotharingia (1023-44) and Upper Lotharingia (1033-44).

16. At the same time it happened that all the princes of the kingdom were coming together from all parts to devastate the borders of the Milanese, just as they had promised the king. Foreseeing the oppression to come, the archbishop ordered all the inhabitants of the parish of Ambrose who were instructed in arms to come to the city, from the rustic to the knight, from the poor man to the rich, in order that, with so great a cohort, he might protect the homeland from the enemy. He created the following symbol which had to precede his men as they were going to fight. A high mast of a ship modelled on a apple tree was raised on high, having been set in a strong wagon. At the very top, it bore a golden apple with two hanging borders of the whitest sails. In the middle, the venerable cross was painted upon which the image of the Savior with arms extended wide overlooked the troops massed around, so that whatever the outcome of the battle might be, they would be comforted when they saw this sign. And there would, indeed, have been a grave struggle between the city and the kingdom, if a new rumor about the caesar's death⁸⁷ had not struck the minds of the enemy to such an extent that, as they were eagerly breaking camp, they arose so confused that they ran into one another. Among these, the standard-bearer of Parma fell and died disgracefully.

17. After Conrad died, his adolescent son Henry, having been made king while his father was still alive,⁸⁸ was called "augustus" by all. A man truly fit to rule the republic who did not imitate the affections of his father's disposition, he confirmed the treaties of peace with the archbishop with the counsel of his faithful followers, and then was faithfully honored by him.

18. Once all these matters had been settled, there followed internal strife and civil war that was so execrable and lamentable that, in addition to the innumerable slaughters of battles, the state of the city and the church was transformed.⁸⁹ For it is indeed true that civil discord is nourished by leisure and

87 Conrad died 4 June 1039 in Utrecht.

88 14 April 1028 in Aachen.

89 Post 1042.

iniquity often proceeds from abundance. Thus, when no one attacked them from the outside, the citizens exercised their hatreds on one another. Now it happened that in a private quarrel just between themselves, a certain plebeian was gravely wounded by a knight. As a result, the people became indignant and suddenly took up arms against the knights, while the knights, inasmuch as they were taken unawares, resisted the best they could. The fuel of hatreds bubbled forth and many oaths were made to factions. A certain noble of the city named Lanzo favored the plebeian crowd more readily and, strengthened by his aid, it grew very strong. Disdaining this behavior, the rest of the nobility allied itself with the knights, in part out of love for their faithful followers. At the same time, many dreams and many prodigies were recounted in the city. And while the city was hanging in such doubt, suddenly a clamor was heard, conceived on a modest pretext. A huge clash of all parts occurred and a bitter battle was waged through the piazzas and the backstreets; long did both sides struggle on the rooftops and in the heights [of towers?]. In the end, the paucity of knights was surrounded by the plebeian multitude and was pressed from all sides with fire and sword. And so it happened that they abandoned their own roofs with their wives and children, deeply enraged. In order that he might offer counsel to their situation, the archbishop also left the city after a few days. The men of Martesana and of Seprio also came immediately to help.

19. Comforted by such support, they took care on good advice to fortify six forts near the city, in which they lived with their entire household, and established the strongest of sieges all around the city, as they grew fat with slaughter day and night. For leaving the six fortresses, they attacked the city from as many parts. Bursting forth from the gates no less frequently, the crowd of citizens at one moment defended themselves by fighting, at another spontaneously tried to attack them in fits of rage. But after the factions thus raged against one another for three years and both sides had tried whatever they could against the other on some occasion, legates came from the emperor, decreeing an inviolable truce; this they confirmed by swearing oaths with the counsel and strength of the entire kingdom.⁹⁰

90 ca. 22 February 1045.

20. At the same time, while the archbishop was staying at Modoetia, he was struck with a grave illness; and when he sickened unto death, he disposed of his household and all his goods and ordered that he be brought to the city. There he languished for several days and was taken from the present life.⁹¹ He was buried at San Dionigio, where he himself had founded a fine monastery. While he lived, he provided for all the orders of the Church, allocating great resources for the support of those present and future.

In his time, the sacrosanct relics of Archbishop John were revealed to a certain inhabitant of Genoa.⁹² Since enough has been said about him, our pen shall now cease from writing about him, to be finely sharpened once again with this third whetstone.

HERE BEGINS BOOK III

I recall myself saying that recently the state of the city and church was altered because of civil strife. Whether it was for better or worse, it was not fitting to say, since the simple answer to this question may be obtained when a comparison is made between the past and the present. Would that I did not know the answer! In any case, all these things shall become clearer as I write.

1. Now then, when Aribert died, many people discussed the replacement of the bishop in various ways. But since the emperor Henry had the aforementioned strife in Milan before his eyes, he chose an unlettered man (idiot)⁹³ from the country as bishop, whose name was Guido,⁹⁴ neglecting the noble and wise clergy of the first order, In fact, *he raised him from the flocks of sheep: he brought him from*

91 16 January 1045.

92 Archbishop John (641-659/69) went into exile in Genoa.

93 Arnulf's use of the word idiot here is complex and was intended to describe not only Guido's level of learning but also his non-noble status. Arnulf's description of Guido's election clearly expresses the on-going tension and prejudices between city of Milan and its contado. I am grateful to K. Cushing for emphasizing to me the importance of this tension.

94 Guido stemmed from a family of capitanei from Velate.

*following the ewes great with young.*⁹⁵ The Milanese barely opposed this action, either because of their fear of the king or the hatred amongst themselves; but certainly in part because of their avarice which, as a certain hagiographer says, *first introduced every evil to Italy, and from then on, everything went from bad to worse.* But later it so happened that, having turned back to one another, everyone met one another by discussing his own shame and the city's disgrace. Finally, after many councils, they composed treatises of peace with the sacrosanct gospels in the midst, declaring an amnesty, i.e. and abolition of evils, which the Athenians are read first to have done and named in this way.⁹⁶

2. At that time, Henry the Caesar entered Italy and, after a synodal council was celebrated in Pavia,⁹⁷ he then headed for Rome. The Pope⁹⁸ met him in Piacenza and was enthroned, while the other pope⁹⁹ was still alive and conceded this. Then, when a general assembly of the bishops was held in Rome, it seemed to the king and to all the bishops that the Pope himself held the episcopal seat unjustly. He was immediately cast out,¹⁰⁰ and the king then substituted a bishop from the Germans in his place, whom he called Clement, when his name was changed.¹⁰¹ It was from him that he received the imperial crown.

3. Third from this pope shined forth the holy Leo,¹⁰² through whose industry the state of the Roman

95 Ps.77:70.

96 Cf. Orosius, Seven Books of History against the Pagans II. 17.

97 25 October 1046.

98 Gregory VI who was enthroned on 28 October 1046.

99 Benedict IX (1032-1045).

100 December 1046.

102 After the death of Clement II in 9 October 1046, Poppo, bishop of Brixen, was enthroned as Pope Damasus II on 17 July 1048. He died 23 days later.

church was repaired.¹⁰³ He celebrated two synods in Italy, namely in Pavia¹⁰⁴ and Mantua,¹⁰⁵ with the utmost devotion, although Caesar was not there. Because, in his mercy, he was upset by the violent oppression which the most impious Normans afflicted upon poor Apulia, Pope Leo attempted to recall them from such great torments through preaching mixed with prayers. But when he achieved nothing, he attacked them with arms to quiet their ferocity, even though the outcome of the war went against him.¹⁰⁶ The judgments of God are a great abyss.

In these days, Marquis Boniface, as he was passing through a dark forest, was struck from the side with a poison spear by plotters who lay hidden. Alas, that man, though old and full of days, hardly met with a timely death.

4. At that time, the emperor held a placitum in the fields of Roncalia.¹⁰⁷ After many disputes were aired, he decided many things according to law. There he ordered that Marquis Adelbert,¹⁰⁸ about whom there had been a huge outcry, be bound in iron fetters along with other criminals. And indeed this was truly fitting. Then he fought with both the Hungarians for many days and the Liutizi for a time.¹⁰⁹ Over them all he triumphed nobly, compelling the vanquished to pay tribute. A gilded lance, which was seized by violence from the king of the Hungarians and hung in the temple of the apostles, represents one of his great trophies. Yet, just as he was flourishing in his great empire, he departed this world,¹¹⁰ leaving a boy of his own name to be nourished in the bosom of his mother, the empress Agnes.¹¹¹

103 Leo IX (formerly Bishop Bruno of Toul) was enthroned 12 February 1049.

104 14-20 May 1049.

105 21 February 1053.

106 The battle at Civitate, 18 June 1053. Leo IX's forces were decimated.

107 5 May 1055.

108 Adelbert III, also from the Otbertine line.

109 The Liutizi were a Slavic tribe that lived between the Elbe and the Oder.

5. While Henry was reigning in his infancy, the Pavians, as is their custom, boldly spurned the bishop¹¹² whom he had given them and, deferring neither to the royal decree nor to the apostolic consecration¹¹³ which had occurred, they persevered until the death of the spurned bishop.

6. In these days, dissension arose between Pavians and the Milanese over civic matters. For both cities had been populous and were more famous than the other cities of the kingdom. Nonetheless, Milan was better in the opinion of all. And since they were right next to each other, one was ashamed to give way to the other. As a consequence, they traded killings and plunderings as well as acts of arson and robbery. It also happened that, since the Pavians were lesser [in numbers] they came to lay waste the boundaries of Milan with legions brought in from elsewhere for a price. The Milanese fought back against them with their allies, the men of Lodi, even though no small number of the Milanese were off fighting in other places under the archbishop's command. Both forces with their well-ordered battle lines met on the field, bearing their banners on high. The clash of the two sides was violent and they long raged in the struggle until finally the Pavians left the battle, their enemies following close behind. Soon a legion of foreigners bravely came to their aid, although a little later it gave up, leaving the field to the Milanese. It was a slaughter of nobles and horses, an injury to both cities worthy of weeping. Then did that day fulfill the meaning of its name. For in antiquity, the field upon which they had fought was called *Mortuus* (Mortara).¹¹⁴

7. During this same period, following the Pavians' example, the people of Asti also rejected the bishop who had been given to them.¹¹⁵ But after a long conflict and the city had been burned, through the prudence of Countess Adelheid, a truly military lord, they welcomed back their earlier bishop Ingo, after

112 Ulrich. He died between 1066 and 1075.

113 The consecration of Gebhard of Eichstätt as Pope Victor II occurred on 13 April 1055 in Germany.

114 According to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century annals of Milan, the battle of Campo Morto took place on 23 or 24 May 1061.

115 Ingo, bishop of Asti. Elected in ca.1061, he eventually obtained his see in 1072.

the other bishop whom they had elected had been condemned.

8. Amidst this tempest a tremendous fear invaded Ambrose's clergy, because the people rose up against it anew and the sins increased on both sides. For everyone sinned and lacked the glory of God. But since the letter of many things has been changed with the aspiration, such horror as this conceived error. We shall narrate its beginning and course insofar as we can, since the event is still unfolding before our eyes.¹¹⁶ Let Him who dispenses all things wondrously foresee the end, since He is the Alpha and the Omega.

Now then, one of the decumans, a deacon named Ariald, although he was fostered with many delights and heaped with many honors under Bishop Guido when he was spending time in the study of letters, became the severest interpreter of the divine law, exercising harsh judgments against clerics alone. Since he was a man of modest authority (being of humble birth),¹¹⁷ he made sure to join Landulf to himself as someone more generous and fit for this and became his familiar companion. And because Landulf had a more suitable voice and manner of speaking and was a great lover of favor, he was suddenly made leader of the word, usurping the office of preaching for himself against the custom of the Church. And although he had not been transformed by not one ecclesiastical grade, he imposed a heavy yoke upon the necks of the consecrated, even although Christ's yoke is soft and its burden light.

9. Among other things which he daily forced into the ears of the people, one day he spoke publicly among the people in the following way: *Beloved elders, I can no longer hold back the words conceived in my heart. Do not, my lords, do not condemn the words of an inexperienced adolescent. For often God reveals to the younger what he denies to the older. Tell me, do you believe in God, three and one?* They all responded: *We believe.* He continued: *Fortify your forehead with the sign of the cross.* And they did. After this he said: *As someone who delights with you in your devotion, I nevertheless suffer, too, at the*

¹¹⁶ This is an extremely important remark because it means that Arnulf was writing his narrative during events, rather than from hindsight.

great destruction that looms. For since long ago, the Savior has not been acknowledged in this city. It is long that you have strayed, because you have no trace of truth. Having been made blind because your leaders are blind, you touch shadows instead of the light. But can the blind lead the blind? Disgraces abound as well as the heresy of simony among the priests and levites and the rest of the ministers of sacred things. They should rightly be cast down, since they are nicolaitists and simoniacs. If you hope for salvation from the Savior, beware of them from now on, venerate none of their offices, for their sacrifices are as dogshit and their basilicas like the stables of farm animals. Furthermore, after they themselves have been rejected, let all their goods be made public property; let all have the right to take everything, whether it is in the city or outside. Of course, I, too, have done many things which should be punished, but worst of all, I have offended the king of heaven by communicating with the unworthy. But now, with divine favor, I am doing penance and shall look out for such things in future. Therefore, be imitators of me, most beloved people, and walk according to our example.¹¹⁸

10. After these words — and many others that the human memory does not retain — had flowed forth, the people, always eager for new things, were aroused to a fever pitch against the clergy, with some supposing that they were deferring to God, while others longed for the profits of avarice. For many days, Landulf along with his accomplice Ariald aroused the minds of many to this, always proposing new and unheard of things in public speeches, since they knew the way of the crowd. To subdue Landulf's temerity, the elders of the church often met, setting sacred scriptures and canonical decrees against him. Despising them all, he pressed on, unabated. Indeed, on one solemn day, he came to the church from the town square with the crowds and violently threw those singing psalms out of the choir, pursuing them through the backstreets and resting places. Then, he cleverly provided that a modifying clause be written in regarding the preservation of chastity, [a clause] extorted by worldly laws and with the canons neglected. To it all the sacred orders of the Ambrosian diocese unwillingly subscribed, since Landulf was compelling them to do so with laymen. Meanwhile, in addition to some buildings in the city which

118 Cf. Phil. 3:17.

were destroyed, the city's robbers went around the parish, carefully looking over the houses of clerics and seizing their property. Afflicted in many ways, the clergy complained in a humble legation, first to the other bishops in the province, then to the bishop of Rome. At that time, Stephen ruled Rome.¹¹⁹ After weighing what had been said, in an apostolic letter he ordered the people to settle down and the archbishop to gather a synod on this matter. Strengthened by this authority, Bishop Guido diligently tried to assemble the body of bishops, ordering Landulf and Ariald to be present in order to discuss these matters reasonably.

11. The synodal assembly of many bishops occurred at a place which was called Fontaneto.¹²⁰ There, after spending three days on spiritual business, as they awaited Landulf's and Ariald's arrival, it seemed to all that such great temerity should be punished with a just anathema. And thus an anathema was proclaimed. Thinking nothing of all this — when he ought to have been afraid — Landulf was puffed up even more. From the on, he railed against the bishops and especially the metropolitan; and as he raged, he savaged only clerics, accusing them of destroying themselves and their people; at the same time, he cherished laymen like brothers. And since he was an expert in simulation and dissimulation and was beloved by all, he twisted everything to suit his wishes, having himself become a marvelous spectacle to the world. As a consequence, after he gained power, he decreed an oath common to all laymen, almost as though he were proposing that the disgraces of the sacred orders should be attacked and that their consecrations were venal. Not long after, he also forced clerics to swear this. From that time onward, an innumerable throng of men and women accompanied him as he went about and guarded him day and night when he paused. Having become of one mind, they despised the churches and spurned the divine offices and their ministers, claiming that they were all simoniacs. The rest of the common people (*caetera vulgaritas*) called such people ironically "Paterini."

Ariald also set off for Rome bearing letters of explanation. There, after he accused the

¹¹⁹ Frederick of Lorraine, abbot of Montecassino, was enthroned as Pope Stephen IX on 2 August 1057 and ruled until his death on 24 March 1058. He was the brother of Duke Godfried the Bearded of Lotharingia.

¹²⁰ Located near Novara.

Ambrosian clergy, asserting that they were all nicolaitists, simoniacs, and completely disobedient to the Roman Church, and that only he, along with Landulf, were devoted and fighting for the truth, he swiftly gained the grace of the Romans. And since they [the Romans] seem to want to be lords over all and to subject everything to their jurisdiction, even though the evangelic doctor teaches his apostles humility, saying: *The kings of the nations lord it over their subjects and those who have power over them are called "benefactors." Not so with you. Rather, let the greater among you become as the lesser, and he who goes first like a servant.*¹²¹

12. Now then, because of the aforementioned turmoil, legates from Rome came frequently to Milan, namely Hildebrand, ex-monk and cardinal archdeacon, Peter of Ostia,¹²² Anselm of Lucca,¹²³ and many others, each in his turn. And if, when they convened the people, they would have paid more attention to the Apostle who said: *If I still please men, I would not be a servant of Christ,*¹²⁴ they would clearly have given fitting advice to themselves and to the clergy. At the Ambrosian synod gathered at Milan, the famous Peter of Ostia saw the order of noble clerics, the status of the persons, and the care of their vestments, and he also examined the probity of their behavior and that the offices had been fittingly distributed to each; he then attested to the fact that he had never seen such a clergy. Nonetheless, in the present assembly, he contended that he took precedence over the archbishop because he was a Roman. As a result, a popular uprising immediately broke out in the city, and if Peter's humility had not conceded what was his, the people would have attacked, not for Guido's sake but for the sake of Ambrose's honor. Furthermore, since he became aware of the crimes of some of the clergy, with the power reserved to him over all things, he judged these faults as he pleased. But, if a lie may be forgiven, all were not completely immune from what had been charged. Peter then indicated in a letter written by him to the

121 Luke 22:25.

122 A.k.a. Peter Damian, perhaps the most famous ascetic of the eleventh century. He was summoned by Pope Stephen IX to the cardinal bishopric of Ostia in 1057 at the urging of Hildebrand. He retired from his see in 1072 to return to Fonte Avellana.

123 Originally from Milan, Anselm I became bishop of Lucca in 1057; in 1062 he was enthroned as Pope Alexander II.

124 Cf. Gal.1:10.

church of Milan what had roughly been established, after the old was abolished.¹²⁵ The archbishop with his ordinaries unwillingly subscribed to this because the people were clamoring and compelling them to do so.

13. O senseless men of Milan! Who has bedazzled you? Yesterday you proclaimed the primacy of one see, today you confound the entire state of the Church, straining off a midge, while gulping down a camel.¹²⁶ Did your bishop not take enough care over this? Perhaps you shall say: *Rome should be venerated in the apostle*. Yes, of course. But Milan should not be spurned in Ambrose. Sure, sure, these things were not written in the annals of Rome without reason. Indeed, it shall be said in future that Milan is subject to Rome. Behold, your metropolitan is summoned to a Roman synod more often than usual. He went but, contrary to your desires, it turned out well for him and he was successful in all things. Indeed he was treated in a fitting manner by the pope at the time, Nicholas,¹²⁷ whose right hand side he was granted in the present synod. When Ariald the complainant stood to accuse him, there immediately rose against him the bishops of Asti,¹²⁸ Novara,¹²⁹ Turin,¹³⁰ and the rest of the suffragans, and before the entire assembly they refuted that liar with the authority of scriptures. Thus confounded by all, he sat back down on the ground, confused. Then, after the archbishop henceforth promised obedience to the lord Pope and received from him the ring of apostolic grace and all ecclesiastical power, he returned glorious in all things. While these things were happening, Landulf proposed to go to Rome but was severely beaten by the Piacenzans and returned wounded, unable to continue any more. After this, he did not cease to persecute the bishop and his clergy more severely than usual.

125 Cf. Peter Damian's letter 65 (trans. O. Blum, The Letters of Peter Damian III, pp.24-39).

126 Matthew 23:24.

127 Nicholas II was enthroned as pope 6 December 1058 and reigned until 19/26 July 1061. He is most famous for the promulgation of the papal election decree, the contents of which sought to regulate all future papal elections. The original form of the decree is the subject of great debate, since two different recensions of the decree survive in roughly contemporary canon law collections and narrative accounts. The main contested points are the role of the emperor in the election and the specific role of the cardinal bishops vis-à-vis the other sacred orders within the Roman Church.

14. But since it pleased the most High who examines loins and hearts of men, the man who had long plotted the weariness of others, suddenly suffered from an unexpected illness of his own. After he languished two years with a lung problem, he lost his voice so that he might fail in the very thing with which he had affected so many, as Scripture says: *Through whatever one sins, by that one is tormented.*¹³¹ But lest we seem to speak ill of the dead, we shall say nothing more about him, the reckoning of whose life and death should be left to divine judgment.

Now deprived of such a colleague, Ariald constantly urged Erlembald to assume the place of his dead brother. Since he was a layman, he took up the task which was not his due for the sake of fraternal piety, since he believed Ariald's words that those whom his brother had laid low with whips, he would strike with scorpions, and what the locust left the swarm would eat, if he were judging at assembly what the sins of the clerics are.¹³² When the layman judges, the cleric only weeps.

15. Meanwhile, among the many other novelties which he had introduced into the Church, Ariald preached to his hearers that those litanies which the Ambrosians have celebrated since antiquity with the greatest devotion after the Lord's ascension, should be cursed. Whence, as the Triduum approached, the crowds had a falling out with one another and conflict broke out in the city. During the strife, by the action of God, Ariald was put to flight and conquered, some of his followers beaten, and some killed. Nevertheless, when the abbot of San Celso died and the archbishop made sure that another was to be ordained, Erlembald — in addition to the innumerable other injuries which he had inflicted upon the clergy — completely forbade this on the advice of Ariald. He despised the archbishop and held the man who had already been consecrated in utter contempt, arming the monks and their servants who were conspiring against him. He expelled another [abbot] from the monastery of San Vincenzio in the same way, accusing him of a simoniacal ordination. Why say more? He usurped all of the church's rights once the bishop had been expelled from the city — the very bishop whose knight he himself was from his parents. A marvelous prodigy and one neither seen nor heard for ages, and what was even more

131 Wisdom 11:17.

132 Joel 1:4.

marvelous was that Roman assent favored it. This is proven by many pieces of evidence (indicia), since legations and letters marked with the papal seal were frequently sent to him, in which he claimed that in his actions he was obeying Roman orders. The commoners (ipsa vulgaritas), as if bolstered by this authority, cursed the divine offices on the pretense of simony, even though it did not know the difference between left and right. Erlembald also gloried in the fact that he had received St. Peter's banner of war from Rome herself to use against all those who opposed him. When this is weighed on the balance, it seems to be evidence of murders, although it would be utterly wicked to suspect such a thing of Peter or that he had any other banner than that which was granted to him in the Gospel: *Whoever wishes to follow me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me,*" says the Lord.¹³³ We are speaking faithfully and therefore confidently. Teachers should mind the judgment which Paul uttered absolutely: *If someone preaches another Gospel than the one which you have received, let him be anathema.*¹³⁴ When we say these things, however, we are not opposing you, o Roman lords, since our teacher Ambrose says: *I wish to follow the Roman Church in all things.*¹³⁵ Truly we believe with you and renounce all heresies with you, but it seems valid to us that a doctor of the Church should display an ecclesiastical right rather than an uneducated laymen.

16. In these days, just as spring was waning, fiery comets scattered their dire rays in the heavens for the period of one month; there were also frequent earthquakes in the world, so that on the very day of the Lord's resurrection,¹³⁶ it happened twice, namely in the morning and the evening.

17. At that time there ruled in Rome Pope Alexander. A member of the clergy of Milan, he had first become bishop of the church of Lucca; then, since he was very suitable, he merited the apostolic dignity,

133 Mt. 16:24.

134 Gal. 1:9.

135 On the Sacraments III, 1, 5.

136 16 April 1066.

now called Alexander instead of Anselm. Immediately, an adversary rose against him — Cadalus, bishop of Parma, who was proclaimed pope at the command of the king and the imperial mother.¹³⁷ He approached Rome as an enemy, having pursued Alexander's army right up to the walls of the City after a great slaughter. Some time later, with the aid and counsel of certain people from the City, he entered the Rome which they called "New" and went up to the fortress of Crescentius. After factions arose in the city, battle followed battle every day. Finally, after constant and various conflicts, Cadalus departed lamenting, confused, and beaten.¹³⁸ The victory was conceded to Alexander.¹³⁹ It was to consult him the present business that Erlembald set off for Rome, while Ariald raged against the archbishop by arousing the masses in both the city and the countryside.

18. When a decision had finally been reached, Erlembald returned bearing a letter of excommunication for the archbishop. This seemed to many to be a great dishonor to the city. Whence it happened that on the holy day of Pentecost,¹⁴⁰ the bishop went forth to the public and ascended the pulpit of the Church to complain that what had happened was unfitting. But when Erlembald and Ariald stood opposite him ready to respond to what they heard, a violent uproar broke out among the people, as different people shouted different things. Finally, after factions formed in the middle of the church, they attacked each other in turns with loud charges and, as they were chasing each other all over, the bishop remained almost alone. The party hostile to him attacked and left him cruelly wounded by their clubs and almost half dead. Then they broke into the very court of the episcopal palace (episcopium) and stole some precious objects. The next day, when the extent of their cruelty appeared, the citizens were horrified and were confused in their minds. Therefore they decided in common either to punish so wicked a deed or refuse to go on living. As a result, it happened that Ariald fled the city and hid for a

137 Cadalus was proclaimed Pope Honorius II in Basel on 28 October 1061.

138 Cadalus died in Parma in 1071/72.

139 On 1 May 1064 at the synod of Mantua.

140 4 June 1066.

number of days. Yet, although he wandered by way of different hideouts and walked only at night, he was betrayed by his companions and fell into the hands of those who sought his life. After seizing him and leading him along the entire night, when morning came they completely destroyed him — his ears, tongue, and nose were cut off and stuffed down his throat and both eyes were poked out. After he was killed, Erlembald dissembled for a time, saving his anger for later. For at that time, almost the entire city favored the bishop. But in their usual way, the people did not long remain in the same state. For as soon as the bishop left the city, Erlembald impatiently started to persecute him with renewed violence, claiming that he was a supporter of the crime which had been committed. Therefore, once again he returned to oaths, although the citizens were unwilling; but if he considered some to be suspect, he forced them to swear more severe oaths. He assiduously compelled rural mobs and urban throngs to persecute Bishop Guido and to destroy his entire line. And he clearly would have done so, if the generous audacity of his faithful followers had not resisted. Indeed, they often assembled, ready to undertake a struggle for their lord. Meanwhile, the robbers never took a break from stealing the clerics' property.

19. To settle this strife, it happened at that time that the Roman legates, Mainard, bishop of Silva Candida,¹⁴¹ and Minutus, a cardinal priest,¹⁴² came to Milan. While they were proclaiming the gospel of peace to all on the pope's command, they very wisely took care to compose a treaty concerning the death of Ariald. Then, after judging between the clergy and the people, they decreed in an elegant document what should happen in future. But not content with these [decisions], Erlembald set off for Rome again and embarked upon a new strategem (concilium) with the Romans. Indeed, the old condition of the Regnum Italicum, which endures to this day, is that the king of Italy may provide successors for the leaders of churches who have died, when he has been appropriately invited to do so by the clergy and people. The Romans denied that this was canonical, and Archdeacon Hildebrand denied it even more forcefully than the rest. For, having abolished the old, he was trying to introduce a new arrangement, and

141 Cardinal bishop since 1061.

142 Cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

he confessed openly that the strife in Milan could not be settled in any other way than by having a canonical pastor, and he said that Roman consent would be necessary to elect him. Instructed by these claims, Erlembald returned to Milan and swiftly executed what he had heard. First, therefore, he gathered a few of his friends secretly. After he demanded from them a promise not to reveal what was going to be entrusted to them, he cautiously indicated on oath to them the scenario for the election of the next pastor after the death of the present. Then, laboring day and night, he rendered some laymen and clerics party to this same oath. In the meantime, however, he did not cease from persecuting the bishop Guido and all those related to his bloodline.

20. When the archbishop could no longer bear so much pressure, since he was already mature in years and worn down in all his members by a long-standing illness, he decided that it would be fitting that he himself get the jump on Erlembald by destroying what Erlembald had planned should be done, namely that he would grant his dignity to another while he was still alive. At the same time, there was a certain one of the church ordinaries, a subdeacon named Godfried who was a secretary of his, unique beyond all the rest. From the time this fellow penetrated his lord's intentions, he was completely occupied with transferring the honor to himself in every way. Therefore, at a secret meeting with him, the bishop set down the dignity for the present, after they had exchanged the oaths of a common pact, and the staff and the ring were sent via legates to the caesar. Since Godfried had already cultivated the king's affection long before with great effort, he joyfully received the bishopric from this same emperor, despite the recent pact. Nonetheless, according to the truth of Scripture, *his laughter was mixed with sorrow, and lamentation occupied the heights of joy.*¹⁴³ For rejected by the citizens, he was welcomed in none of the properties of the bishopric, not even as a guest, and he became invisible even to the farmers. The Romans with the lord pope immediately condemned him according to canon law, sending the letter of their judgment on the matter to the Milanese. Elated by this trust, Erlembald attacked not only him but all his supporters with greater harshness, destroying everything with fire and sword. Throughout the

143 Proverbs 14: 13.

districts and the castles he also increased the oaths of many against him. As a consequence it happened that if he ever tried to presume anything from the resources of the church, he was utterly forbidden to do so by all. Then he ascended Santa Maria del Monte Velate,¹⁴⁴ with the army from the city surrounding him and just after night fell, he escaped. Meanwhile Guido confessed that he had been deluded by Godfried's plots, calling him a transgressor of their common agreement. Since he wished to regain the office he had lost, he allied with Erlembald in a peace pact. O blind minds of mortals!

Coming to Milan with Erlembald as leader, he was taken not to the city as he wished, but to the monastery of San Celso,¹⁴⁵ and having been deprived, he became still more deprived. There he was commended to guards and for many days he sat, inglorious and having once again been fooled.

21. Meanwhile Godfried, already straightened by obstacles, assembled with a certain part of his men in a fortress which is called Castilio in Italian, a truly unconquerable castle since it was fortified by walls and the nature of the spot. Since they often burst forth from there, yearning for booty and slaughter beyond measure, the Milanese became indignant and proposed to conquer that towered fortress immediately. An army was assembled without delay and they were equipped with what was necessary for military use; then they all set out, encamping at the base of the mountain. For it was twenty miles from the city. Quickly surrounding the mountain with a trench, they attacked it unceasingly. They also forced all the countryfolk of the region to gather for this and they swore to a long siege. They built petraries and war machines of all types, slings and ballistae and prepared a thousand death-traps. Since the besieged fought back as much as they could, there was much bloodshed each day, so much so that even during the observance of venerable Lent there was no abstinence from human slaughter.

22. Amidst this tempest, while the sparse population in the city was enjoying its security, a sudden

144 Located in the region of Lake Varese.

145 This house was held by supporters of the Paterines at this time.

calamity fell upon the city. I am horrified as I recount it — on the first Saturday of Lent,¹⁴⁶ the city burned in a great fire. And since at the time a violent windstorm was raging and the wind picked up balls of fire, the fire burned many buildings far and wide to such an extent that the flames consumed wood and stones, and gold, silver, and other metals liquified in the tremendous heat. O what kinds of houses, what beautiful walls were burned! From them all scarcely the smallest piece survived except for the small walls. But what is worse than all this damage is the fact that many basilicas of the saints were burned within and without the city. St. Lawrence himself, after long ago being tortured in his living flesh, again allowed himself to be burned by the flames.¹⁴⁷ His church was the most beautiful of all and was such that it seemed hard to tell which were the sculptures of wood and which of stone, and which of their joints were cemented to one another, which columns to their bases, and it had tribunals on all sides and on top, covering everything, the museum. O temple, the like of which does not exist in the world! O city, in comparison to which the rest were villages! Alas, alas, the prophet's laments seem to have almost been transferred upon you! When so dire a rumor sounded in the camps, how many left the siege and went to visit the meager remains from the fire and their wretched families. Erlembald, however, retained part of the camp with others and persevered the more vigorously, never ceasing to fight everyday. When he had already been besieged for three months, Godfried saw the meagre army in the camps and he secretly and cautiously took care to summon his men and his friends. They came together as the days of Easter were drawing near, and once their forces had been trained, they swarmed against the camps with no small attack and clamor. But when their closes were broken, the besieged rushed together no less from all over the city. Placed amidst such a trial, Erlembald took up arms and, with a few of his men, dared to resist as much as he could, having become his own standard bearer. And if his and their boldness had not fought that day, it would have been their last. But when the many saw the constancy of the few, they departed voluntarily, taking Gotfried with them from the fortress. The Milanese pursued them at length, after those who were in the camps and those who had remained in the city were suddenly reunited; nor did

146 19 March 1071.

147 The church of San Lorenzo was located outside the city to the south, near the Porta Ticinese.

they cease from pursuing them for several days and nights, until they forced them, now gripped by the greatest necessity, to enter Castilio again.

23. Returning after this to the city, they decided on oath that Godfried should never be welcomed and indeed, that another should be elected in common from the catalog of the cathedral. For Archbishop Guido had passed on from the world and had been buried in a place which is commonly called Bergoglio where, he ended his last day in bitterness after the city burned.¹⁴⁸ From that day on, Erlembald strived with all his effort in discussing the election of the bishop now with the clergy, now with the people, since had received new permission from the Romans and now despised the old oversight of the kings. Nonetheless, the greater portion of the city, made up of clergy and wise people, inclined towards ancient custom and royal honor. But neglecting all others and the common oath, he listened only to the counsel of that Roman Hildebrand. Now, that day was drawing near on which he had planned to do this, namely the holy solemnity of Theophany.¹⁴⁹ He therefore work to arouse those present and summon the absent, clergy and lay, abbots and monks, and of course his friendly crowd of rustics (agrestes). When the feast day arrived, many people assembled in the winter church,¹⁵⁰ although the men with whom he had sworn that he would conduct this election were absent. And so, after the solemnities of the Mass had been celebrated, the synod discussed freely and recalled many things about the just pastor.¹⁵¹ With the Roman legate, a certain Bernhard, standing by, the assembly elected Atto who was still a cleric and still a youth of tender years. But the clergy and many of the people did not wish this and so left the church, fed up. Oh sorrow! the sacrosanct altar seemed to be struck and shifted from its place when it was pushed from all sides by the tremendous press of people. And when Atto and his followers entered the bishop's hall (aula) to celebrate — for an ample feast had already been prepared upon the tables — enraged citizens

148 26 August 1071. Bergoglio was located on the left bank of the Tanaro near the spot where Alessandria would arise.

149 Epiphany, 6 January 1072.

150 Santa Maria Maggiore.

151 I.e. Guido.

suddenly invaded the house (domus) carefully searching inside and outside. The newly elected [bishop] hid in a corner of his bedroom but was found, captured, and wretchedly beaten. Finally he was dragged by the calves and arms from the top [of the house?] to the bottom. While in the church, he lay prostrate before the altar in fear of death; then he ascended the pulpit while the people clamored. And there, after swearing an oath in the ears of all, he renounced the see of Ambrose now and forever. Meanwhile, some of his supporters fled through various hidden passage ways. The Roman legate himself scarcely escaped after his clothes were torn off. Godfried and Atto remained for many days afterward equally deprived, merely content with their own homes and property.

HERE BEGINS BOOK IV

1. My intention, which was fixed in my heart, was to remain silent from now on about present affairs. For since they were unheard of to anyone in earlier times, they gravely offended the minds of many people and, spread out over so long a time, they seem to exceed measure — although according to Scripture the wisdom of God the Father disposes everything in number, weight and measure.¹⁵² But I had a change of heart and decided that it was more fitting to finish writing down what has begun, for clarity's sake, in order that once the quality of the events is known, a judgment [upon them] may thereby be made with greater certainty. For all praise or blame is attributed at the end of an affair, though it is nevertheless uncertain as to whether He who is omnipotent, shall extend our days to that end. But may Your will be done on earth as it is in Heaven, O Father Most High.

2. When what had happened to Atto became known, that aforementioned archdeacon Hildebrand judged by his own authority - since he was a cardinal - that that oath of violence should be considered completely invalid. The bishop of Rome¹⁵³ so feared him, that he would in no way presume [to do

152 Wisdom 11:21.

153 Pope Alexander II.

anything] without consulting him, even though he publicly preached the holy Gospel that the disciple is not above the master.¹⁵⁴ Whence it happened that when, at his insistence, the body of bishops was gathered in Rome, he announced that Atto had been justly elected, and Godfried was laid low by anathema. Hildebrand conveyed all of these happenings to the oft-mentioned Erlembald in his letters.¹⁵⁵ He is also said to have sent [Erlembald] a huge amount of money in gold and silver from his own treasury,¹⁵⁶ which was considered most well endowed, in order that he might gain large numbers of supporters by distributing money to anyone at all. For the proverb: *From the greater to the lesser all strive in avarice*,¹⁵⁷ though spoken prophetically, did not escape his notice.

3. Meanwhile, when the king's mandate was received, the suffragan bishops of the see of Ambrose gathered at the city of Novara and imposed the hand of consecration upon Godfried, strengthening him insofar as they were able, although the royal command is said to have been gained with many gifts. Nonetheless, it is agreed that the king later did penance for this and absolutely hated the legate who had intervened. From then on, Godfried was eager to occupy some of the castles of the church of Milan, ruling over one of them, which is called Brebbia.¹⁵⁸ But when, just a little before he invaded Lecco,¹⁵⁹ he was violently ejected by knights attacking from the city after his marquis, that most energetic of knights, was lost when the local inhabitants cruelly killed him by casting him off a high cliff.¹⁶⁰ While these things were being handled thus, the Pope died.¹⁶¹

154 Matth.10:24; Luke 6:40.

155 These letters do not survive.

156 Since 1059, Hildebrand was entrusted with the papal treasury.

157 Jer.6:13.

158 Located in the province of Varese, south of the lower Lago Maggiore.

159 Located in the province of Como.

160 1073 April 23.

161 21 April 1073.

4. After just a few days,¹⁶² he was succeeded by Hildebrand, who was called Gregory when his name was changed. In him, Atto's spirit concerning this matter revived, so that, setting off for Rome, he placed himself in Gregory's company. But since he clung to his earlier plan like a root, when a general synod in Rome was announced,¹⁶³ he summoned Godfried and those who consecrated him. And because [Gregory] was wont to decide many things at his own pleasure, he openly praised Atto, who was present, to the entire body without the king's approval and without the Ambrosian clergy and people being present. As a result, a disagreement between himself and the Caesar arose in this ongoing struggle — not in fact because of his condemnation of the king, but because of the new election of this man [Atto] which had been undertaken without the king's consent.

5. Now then, while Godfried was staying as usual in the fortress at Brebbia, Atto foresook home and homeland and remained in Rome, giving himself over to the assiduous service of the Pope.¹⁶⁴ In Milan, Erlembald was favoring him with all his might, laboring day and night with gifts given as well as promised. In the meantime, he persecuted every assembly of Godfried with fire and the sword, leaving nothing untried insofar as he was able, especially since he would in no way give way to royal power or to the will of his peers and many others, content and confident in his fidelity to Rome alone. For this reason, he also burst forth in order to blaspheme the bishops of the Ambrosian consecration, asserting that they had been excommunicated by the Pope, and reprovved each of their offices. Whence it happened that on the holy Saturday of Pentecost he forbid baptism to occur within the city.¹⁶⁵

6. Later, the sacred chrism, which one of these bishops sent to the metropolitan church for the

162 22 April 1073.

163 9-15 March 1074.

164 He later became cardinal priest of San Marco in Rome.

165 10 May 1073.

mystery of the Lord's supper (as was customary when the bishop was away), was poured out onto the ground and in front of all the people Erlembald trampled it in his shoes, producing his own in the midst of the crowd, though from what his chrism was made or whence it came was not known. And so since the prerogative of that authentic Saturday passed down by the fathers had been postponed, Erlembald had his own baptism celebrated on the sixth day at dawn, although Scripture forbids the boundaries which the Fathers have set to be transgressed.¹⁶⁶ As a result, it happened that the Easter joy did not know its bath and many catechumens lacked the grace of baptism for a long time after. A great number of the people were involved in this error, in part because of their simple eyes, in part because they were seduced by money, and partially because of the impunity with which this wicked deed had been achieved. For from the very beginning whoever was wicked attached himself to Erlembald's company, whoever dear and innocent stayed away from him. Therefore, the number and strength of the *Paterini* in the country districts, towns, and in certain cities of the duke himself increased to such an extent that they seemed to be the lords of all their fellow citizens.

7. When the caesar Henry, now an adolescent, saw that the flower of his power was drying up little by little in this way, he took counsel with his men and strove to resist the efforts of this Erlembald and the bishop of Rome. At that time, the great prince Robert the Norman was lord in Apulia.¹⁶⁷ While messengers hastened between Robert and the king concerning this matter, the aforementioned Pope held a synod held in Rome¹⁶⁸ and publicly forbade the king from that time on to have any part in giving bishoprics, and he removed all lay persons from the investitures of churches. In addition, once an anathema was made, he accused all of the king's counsellors and threatened the king with the same, unless he obeyed him at the next synod that was decreed. How grievous a decline the city of Milan suffered in these days, I relate with sorrow, sorrow when I relate. Indeed, I have become so heavy to

166 Cf. Prov. 22:28.

167 Robert Guiscard who became Duke of Apulia in 1057/58.

168 14-20 February 1075.

myself that all sense leaves my mind.¹⁶⁹

8. In the year of the Lord's humanity 1075, in the thirteenth indiction, when four years had passed since the abovementioned fire and the the most holy feast of Easter was drawing near,¹⁷⁰ namely on the second day of the authentic week,¹⁷¹ the pitiable city again felt divine wrath, learning how horrible it would be to fall into the hands of the living God. While the solemnities of the Mass were being celebrated, the sun appeared and there appeared in the midst of the city a cloud of dense fog flying through the air blown by the tremendous violence of the winds. Following it was a vapor belching forth flames and consuming everything between heaven and earth. Indeed, since many flames were bursting forth from that tremendous and inextinguishable ball of fire as if from a bolt of lightning, they immediately spread throughout the entire city, so that whatever remains of the city had escaped that aforementioned fire, were almost entirely set alight by the present flames and shaken down to the ground. Yet this heat did not entirely spare those buildings which, having earlier been burnt, had already been rebuilt through much sweat. What more can be said than that this fire was the mirror image of the one described above? This one was crueller, however, because it set alight many more of the bigger churches; namely the marvelous summer church of the holy virgin Thecla, that of the blessed Nazarius, as well as that of Stephen the Protomartyr, and many others too, whose ruins shall remain, I would say, for over a thousand years. Among these, the mother of the others, the winter basilica of the Holy Mother of God -- O sorrow and again sorrow! -- was allowed to burn with its walls collapsing down to the ground. Its sacrosanct altar was unrecognizable as far as how big it was or what it was like, and the gold overlay liquified because of the tremendous heat. Yet a thousand talents of gold do not compare to the damage to the books. Indeed, our sins deserve this hardship, because we offend the dove of the Holy Spirit in our own bile; for in violation of the divine mandate, the Holy has been given to dogs in our time and the spiritual pearl lies trampled beneath the feet of swine, contrary to what is fitting.¹⁷² There is no

¹⁶⁹ Job 7:20.

¹⁷⁰ 5 April 1075.

limit to the rest of our sins.

9. Amidst such distress and so many sorrows, when the cries of every order, age, and both sexes filled the city, the intrepid and unbending mind of Erlembald alone persevered. Indeed, when the Easter morning came,¹⁷³ he tried to begin the mystery of baptism with an unknown chrism as he had done the year before. But when the cardinals of the church whose baptismal fonts he was there to sanctify refused to act contrary to custom, a certain priest named Liprand, a servant of the church from his parents, usurped the office of the ordinaries at Erlembald's command and with his might, baptizing those who came inadvisedly. But this violence, in fact, when joined to the recent memory of the burning city, gravely offended a tremendous number of citizens, especially the knights, who had before their eyes what a certain Roman said to new recruits: *Even slaves who are bought and sold cannot bear the harsh rule of their lords; still less should you, O citizens.*¹⁷⁴

10. Whence it happened that, some days later, they and a large part of the citizenry went outside the city swore their justice and the honor of St. Ambrose to each other and also swore that they would accept a pastor at the gift of the king. And when they all entered the city together, Erlembald, impatient as always with this alliance, harangued those standing around him as was his custom. But since he was no longer able to contain his anger, as he and his fellows shouted and rushed forward, he swiftly seized his arms, holding the banner, which he said was Saint Peter's, in his right hand. But when the citizens sprang at him from all sides, he broke forth armed into their midst. The great attack of his opponents overcame him in a moment and at the very outset of the battle, and so that he could do nothing memorable. Surrounded on all sides, he was transfixed by repeated blows and fell in the said place, dying quickly, with his small company scattering in all directions. His body, lying dead in the dirt, was completely stripped of its torn clothing and, naked, was beaten from all sides with clubs and stones, so that he who

173 4 April 1075.

174 Sallust, *Jugurthine War* 31:11.

had been a terror to many while alive, might be subjected to the mockery of many when dead. When his burial was conducted, the devotion of a funeral procession did not precede him. After these events, Liprand, the aforementioned priest, was discovered while fleeing; he was deprived of his ears and nose, in order that someone who presumed the office of another, might lose the office which he seemed to have. It therefore appears clearly that the assertion of the person who said: "It is hard for things which begin badly to end with a good outcome," is true. In the same hour after this notable triumph (tropheum), the triumphant citizens all sounded forth with hymns to God and their patron Ambrose, going armed into the his church. The next day, after processing again to San Ambrogio in litanies and praises, laymen and clerics confessed their past crimes to each other; and when the absolution had been celebrated by the priests who were present, all the people returned home in peace.

11. This seems to be the end of this schism which has gone on for nine or ten years, always sprouting up from the same root. From it came the name Patarine which was popularized not by industry but by accident. I discovered the idiom of this name when recently I was going through many things in a certain book (tomus) of etymologies, where it was written thus: pathos in Greek is translated perturbatio in Latin. From this I immediately conjectured, using the little cleverness of my smallness, that Patarines can rightly be called "perturbatores"; the outcome of events (rerum effectus) clearly proves this. Nonetheless, if at some point someone should interpret it with a more probable rationale, I shall concede with the total agreement of a tranquil mind, provided that the name fits the deed and the deed fits the name. For from the initial utterance of this name, the error of the peoples and the attacks of wars, the swirl of winds and frequency of fires, have disturbed the world more violently than usual. This is completely proven by the experience of many disasters and by the increase of all evils.

12. Let the etymology of the word be as it may; nevertheless, let no one of sound mind judge that any of things which we have recounted in the above work shall have been proffered to attack the truth or fight against justice, since neither is permitted. Indeed, if the things of others are well said or done, we do not

disapprove, nor do we in any way disagree with those who criticize venal consecrations and the incontinence of the sacred orders, namely because we do not diverge from the authority of Paul. For he said: *Let all things be done honorably and according to order.*¹⁷⁵ In accordance with this is also that Mosaic law: *Justly pursue what is just.*¹⁷⁶ It is impossible to fulfill this commandment in any other way than if the rights of each individual order and person are preserved. For the offices of clerics and laymen have been distributed, and their offices have also been allotted amongst themselves. For there are many members in one body, and they do not all have the same function; and if these members impede one another, the whole body is corrupted. So, too, in the holy Church, that is in the body of Christ, it is necessary that all things be considered with just moderation. Clergy and people each exercise their own office, content with the limit which has been set for them, since the Lord says: *I have surrounded the sea with boundaries, and I have said: You shall come up to here, and further you shall not go.*¹⁷⁷ The human heart is a sea. Also, the bishops themselves should clearly devote their time to their business, lest it be said about them: *Wicked priests are the ruin of a people.*¹⁷⁸ If they should neglect this, the people will be scandalized. *Woe unto to the man through whom scandal comes.*¹⁷⁹ Most certainly, then, shall woe come upon them, and even crueller woe upon them, if, by their own fault, the zealous people (plebs) rise again against the clergy.

13. In pursuing such things as these, I see from afar, as if through the cracks, something different than I saw until now; and when I compare present things to past, the things to be written with what has been written, I am suffused with embarrassment and, in faith, I am ashamed and troubled, not because I have committed barbarisms in my words, but rather because I have boldly judged the words and actions of

175 1 Cor.14:40.

176 Deut.16:20.

177 Job 38:10.

178 Rom. 12:17.

179 Mt. 18:7.

others, although the secrets of the heart are revealed to God alone. But the blessed Paul comes to me as I tremble, Paul who, although initially a blasphemer and a persecutor of the faithful, later on labored more than the rest of the apostles, and was blinded in order that he might see. Peter, on the other hand, denied in order that he might believe; Thomas doubted in order that he might become more certain; and Victorinus, a Roman rhetor and of advanced age, was converted with the support of Simplicianus.¹⁸⁰ The philosopher Augustine is also saved by the doctor Ambrose;¹⁸¹ and we know that many others have changed, some from bad to good, others from good to better, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. Truly this change belongs to the right hand of the Most High. The Spirit of the Lord breathes where it will, and the Most High pities whom He will and hardens whom He will. For neither flying nor running are of God, but having mercy is. Therefore, I have made my crime known to you, O Christ, and I have not hidden my injustices. I have said: *I proclaim my injustices against myself to the Lord,*¹⁸² and you have forgiven the impiety of my heart. From now on, Lord, we shall strive so that our thoughts, conversations, and actions, shall be anticipated by your inspiration and carried out through with your assistance, in order that all our work may always begin from You and that what has been started may be concluded through You. Glory and honor to You now and forever.

HERE BEGINS BOOK V

1. Since I promised at the very beginning of the present work to narrate the deeds of our time, I cannot be silent without a note of deceit, especially since I know that the law of Moses cautions: *If you refuse to promise, you will be without sin.*¹⁸³ But in order to start out upon the straight path of narration, it is necessary to describe the exploits in order to the extent they are.

180 Cf. Augustine, *Confessions* 8:2.

181 Cf. Augustine, *Confessions* 5.13f.

182 Ps.31:5.

183 Deut.23:22.

2. Now then, since the aforementioned affairs were clearly not put in order but were tangled every which way, the oft-mentioned Milanese sent a legation over the mountains to King Henry to ask for a bishop, while they were arranging the triumph for the killing of Erlembald. When this was learned, the king was pleased beyond measure and promised that he would give them whomever they wished as bishop.

3. At that time there was a truly bitter conflict between the king and the Saxons,¹⁸⁴ the motive of which should not, in our opinion, be discussed. In any case, that race, which is extremely savage, broke out into open rebellion under Duke Otto,¹⁸⁵ so that when the two forces clashed, more than twenty thousand men are said to have been killed.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, victory smiled upon Henry.

4. After these days, Duke Godfried,¹⁸⁷ son of Godfried,¹⁸⁸ who was living in retirement, died having been transfixed by a sword.¹⁸⁹ His wife Matilda, the very famous daughter of Boniface and Beatrice,¹⁹⁰ survived him.

5. Meanwhile, when legates from the clergy and people of Milan went to the king, a certain Tedaldus, subdeacon of the Church of Milan, was serving at the royal court. After considering and reconsidering various proposals, the king in the end indulged his own judgment and conferred the bishopric of Ambrose upon this Tedaldus; the investiture and unction of that Godfried who was still

184 Summer of 1075.

185 Otto of Norheim (_1083).

186 The battle of Unstrut, 9 June 1075.

187 Duke Godfried the Hunchback (1069-76) participated in the Battle of Unstrut.

188 Godfried the Bearded (_1069). Becoming Duke of Upper Lotharingia in 1044, he then assumed the dukedom of Lower Lotharingia in 1065. He married Beatrice of Tuscany in 1054.

189 26 February 1076 in Vlaardingen, probably in the service of Count Dietrich of Holland.

190 Mathilda of Canossa and Tuscany who, in 1070, was married to Godfried. Her parents, Beatrice and Boniface, were married 1036/38-52.

alive, as well as the election of Atto who was then living in Rome, were considered to be of no importance. What more? That bishop was accepted by the clergy and people, seeing that they were, as usual, eager for novelties. Likewise, the suffragan bishops — the very ones who had consecrated Godfried — also imposed the hand of blessing upon Tedaldus. This business was truly amazing and unheard of in all of past times: that in one city, after one bishop had been elected, another consecrated, yet a third burst forth suddenly at the same time.

6. There was at that time a certain man in Rome by the name of Cencius, who had always been plagued by Pope Gregory because of Church wealth which he unjustly possessed. This man, on the very night of the Lord's nativity¹⁹¹ when, according to custom, that holy father [Gregory] was in the basilica of St. Theotokos and was celebrating the office of the evening mass after matins had been sung according to custom — this man, acting on wicked advice, broke into the church violently with swords, cudgels, and a great mass of conspirators, with his own sword bare, in order to capture the Pope, thereby following the model of Judas who betrayed the Lord at night.¹⁹² And after he had searched for him in various places, he found the priest next to the altar of the Lord intent upon the saving mysteries. Violently attacking him, [Cencius] pulled him away, abused him as much as possible, and placing him upon a horse, led [Gregory] to his tower, where he kept him locked up. At dawn, however, since so detestable an act of wickedness displeased everyone, all of the Romans rose up in arms, surrounded the tower, and did not desist from the fight until they seized the lamb from the jaws of the wolf and the tower had been destroyed and all its resources pillaged. Furthermore, divine punishment followed human. For in that year Cencius died, suffocated by an ulceration in the jaws, in the same way that Judas the betrayer was strangled by the tightening of the noose.

7. During the same period of time, the king raised himself up against Pope Gregory with the

191 December 24, 1075.

192 Cf. Mt.26-47-49; Mk.14:43-44.

encouragement of certain of his men, so that he rendered him no obedience. But the Roman bishop, repeatedly prepared to forgive, handled everything with clemency, long awaiting and inviting the conversion of the king with many admonitions. And although it did no good at all, he separated him along with his supporters from communicating with the lights of the holy mother Church,¹⁹³ but only after the tenor of the fitting conversion to come had been proposed. O unhappy times in which — because our sins require it — the holy Church seems to fight against itself, the Church which Truth itself commended by praising it thus: *one is my dove, one my friend.*¹⁹⁴ If she is one and a friend, I do not know how she should be divided and be an enemy unto herself. Jesus Christ are the two names of a single person, whence it is clearly shown that kings and priests, namely the anointed of Christ, should be united in one consensus. Why then? Why do both go astray? God forbid! Certainly the Roman Church is said never to have erred, from the time it was said to Peter by the divine voice: *Simon, behold, Satan has asked for you, that he may sift you like wheat. But I have prayed for you, that your faith may not fail.*¹⁹⁵ Therefore, whoever dissents from the Roman Church is not truly a catholic, just as the blessed Ambrose says. Do these bishops not read these things? And if they did read them, why, having assembled at Piacenza, did they plot against the bishop of Rome with their own mouths?¹⁹⁶ Why, when they later assembled at Pavia, did they demand an unjust, indeed invalid, anathema against him, thereby doing, as the prophet rightly says, not justice, but rather making a clamor? Whence they have been most justly transfixed by the apostolic sword. Let them respond, as is their wont, that they obeyed the king's command. But what does Scripture say? *It is more fitting to obey God than men.*¹⁹⁷ Again: *Render unto Caesar the things*

193 14-20 February 1076.

194 Song of Songs 6:8.

195 Luke 22:31.

196 4 or 5 February 1076.

197 Acts 5:29.

*that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*¹⁹⁸ And elsewhere: *Fear God, honor the king.*¹⁹⁹ Honor, therefore, is not owed to the king unless a just fear of God precedes it.

8. At this same time, when the excommunication by the Roman Church became known, that barbaric race of Germans, in particular Dukes Berthold,²⁰⁰ Rudolf,²⁰¹ and Welf²⁰² along with counts and bishops,²⁰³ withdrew completely from the company of the king, communicating with him in nothing. Furthermore, since they were accusing him of many crimes, [the king] was marked out by dishonor. Meanwhile, upon the counsel of the most holy abbot of Cluny,²⁰⁴ the king's mother Agnes, and the aforementioned most wise Matilda, a general conference between the king and the Pope themselves was set for the sake of peace and justice. When the Pope left the City heading for Alemannia, he came into Italy, relying on the help of Mathilda. While he was staying there, Mathilda loaded him with many honors and men. Henry came hastily to Pope Gregory, refusing the conference which had been planned in his own homeland. The countess owned a castle named Canossa, fortified all round with many walls and by the nature of the place — truly an impregnable fortress. There, while the Pope looked on, the king came forth in bare feet and fell prostrate on the earth, and after many tears the Pope promised Henry his forgiveness and confirmed the oaths sworn by Henry's faithful on the condition that justice should be done. Thus, through Mathilda's great prudence, their agreements of peace were confirmed, although the bishops were unwilling and remained in conflict [with the king].

198 Matth. 22:21.

199 1 Peter 2:17.

200 Duke Berthold of Zähringen, Duke of Carinthia (1061-1078).

201 Rudolf of Rheinfelden, Duke of Swabia (1057-80) and later elected king (1077-1080) by those opposed to Henry IV.

202 Welf IV, Duke of Bavaria (1071-1101).

203 Patriarch Sigehard of Aquileia, Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg, Adalbero of Würzburg, Hermann of Metz, and Altmann of Passau.

204 Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1049-1109).

9. When the people of Milan heard that they were guilty of associating with Bishop Tedaldus, since divine law forbids one to have contact with an excommunicated person, they departed from what had been agreed. Through legates sent to the Lord Pope, they begged for absolution. I myself was part of the legation that rendered satisfaction concerning past offenses and promised to be restrained in future. The Pope, making use of wise counsel, sent venerable men, the bishops of Lucca²⁰⁵ and Ostia,²⁰⁶ to Milan to offer forgiveness to any who were seeking it. And when they entered the city, the entire city rejoiced. With the citizens flowing to them, these men preached divine eloquence for the entire Triduum and absolved everyone, blessing the whole [of the citizenry]. Tedald bore this in a very unworthy and aggravated manner, so that he tried to incite war and sedition amongst the people; but he was unable to do so. Meanwhile the aforementioned German dukes, counts, and bishops in those parts beyond the mountains did not cease from daily discussing amongst themselves the concord and state of the kingdom, as well as the election of a new king, asserting that Henry was unworthy of the diadem for many reasons.

10. In the end they assembled at Mainz and committed the rights of the kingdom to Duke Rudolf with the consent of all, strengthening everything with the swearing of oaths.²⁰⁷ When this was learned, the king was violently stirred within himself; he was staying in Pavia and, after gathering all of the Lombards whom he had been able to retain, he set out for Verona and there, saying goodbye to all, he returned to his fatherland to fight to the death to protect the kingdom. And the Pope, after spending several days in Italy, returned to Rome and was greeted by the Romans with great joy.

205 Anselm II of Lucca (1073-1086).

207 The assembly at Forchheim, 15 March 1077. Rudolf was crowned king in Mainz on 26 March 1077.

APPENDIX

A MEMORIAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF RAVENNA'S PRIDE,
HOW HE ARROGANTLY PRESUMED TO PLACE HIMSELF BEFORE
THE ARCHBISHOP OF MILAN IN ROME, &
HOW HE SUCCUMBED, VANQUISHED, AND DEPARTED, CONFOUNDED,
TO THE PRAISE AND GLORY OF GOD
WHO HUMBLER THE PROUD AND EXALTS THE HUMBLE

In the year 1027 after divinity took on mortality, in the third year of the lord John, universal pope, in the tenth indiction, on March 26, on the holy day of Easter, there occurred in Rome a great assembly of diverse nations, many bishops and secular princes as well as clerics and laymen of Italy, Gaul, and Germany. When King Conrad in the third year of his reign was to be raised to the height of imperial rule by apostolic consecration, the enemy of the human race and the sower of tares became envious of the joys and jollity of the great assembly. And so he forced himself through fraud and at great risk (as is his wont) upon the mind of Archbishop Aribert of Ravenna. He sprinkled the poison of his own jealousy upon him, so that the swelling of his pride would force him to presume to place himself before the archbishop of Milan, treating a zeal for humility and justice with contempt. Yet because he wanted to seem superior, he disgracefully appeared inferior. It is very well known that the see of Ambrose has held, holds, and shall hold primacy after the apostolic see, and that the vicar of Ambrose is second to the pope in all affairs. [And rightly so, because just as Peter first taught Rome, so Barnabas, his fellow apostle, first established the catholic faith in Milan and ruled there for a long time before he ordained Anatos, one of the earlier apostles of the Lord, as his successor. By this apostolic right, just as the see of Rome is first, so the see of Milan should be considered second. But let us return to the sowing of the ancient enemy.] When King Conrad was about to be brought forth for the imperial consecration as the lord pope and people waited in the middle of the church as was customary, the abovementioned archbishop of Ravenna, compelled by this same enemy, usurped the king's right hand in a nefarious and daring undertaking and held it unadvisedly, and indeed through violence. The right to do this in the

promotion of kings has always belonged to the archbishop of Milan. His temerity displeased all his fellow bishops beyond measure and they rebuked and admonished him to desist from this. But he despised everyone's opinion, and his insanity grew stronger with a sudden release of the reins of reason. Lord Aribert, the venerable archbishop of the church of Milan and an energetic and modest man, indeed a man of the utmost patience, opposed his holy temperance against the other's dire insanity, lest perchance there be a riot among the people. He humbly retreated from the whirlwind of such great sedition and admonished with mild persuasion all of his fellow bishops, who were condemning this act of temerity and wanted to resist that arrogant fellow to his face, that they avoid the scandal of this man by acting humbly so that the impetuous sedition would not grow among so large a crowd and the devil, the author of the entire error, would not snatch the good of peace from the bishops' purpose, which should be present in the behavior of laymen. Meanwhile the king, surrounded by a great press of people and not entirely himself amidst the people agitating and shouting with different reasons, was being led by the pope unwillingly and almost unknowingly until he planted his foot and, regaining the powers of his mind and body, spoke thus before all: *Reverend fathers, it is certain, indeed manifest, that just as the imperial consecration is a privilege of the apostolic see, so, too, the royal election and consecration is the privilege of the see of Ambrose. Hence it seems right that if the hand which first blessed and imposed the crown of the kingdom should be present, it re-present the king who is to be promoted to imperial rule to St. Peter and his vicar. For thus he may rightly be able to rule imperially with Ambrose as his witness, who learned and began to reign royally with Ambrose's consecration.* Since this opinion of the king pleased everyone, he took his right hand from the archbishop of Ravenna and he summoned lord Aribert, archbishop of Milan, through his venerable messengers, namely the archbishops and bishops. Returning to the outside of the church, he prepared to meet him so that what ought to be done might be fully done there and St. Ambrose might have the primacy of his honor through his vicar. But because an innumerable press of people stood in the way, the lord archbishop of Milan refused to go and wisely, indeed patiently, bore what had happened. All unanimously praised his admirable patience and holy tolerance and, after taking counsel with like will and common consent, they persuaded the king that for

the efficacious observance of the honor of St. Ambrose and a stable foundation of his imperial rule, Arderic, bishop of Vercelli and his suffragan, might do what Archbishop Aribert of Milan ought to have done there by right. And it seemed quite just and fitting that the vicar of St. Eusebius should take the place of the vicar of St. Ambrose, so that the master might be heard in his disciple and the father might be honored in the son. Their counsel pleased King Conrad and he agreed, gave his right hand to Arderic of Vercelli, who fully represented the archbishop of Milan at the imperial consecration. What the archbishop of Ravenna wanted boldly to usurp, he lost disgracefully. The patience of the archbishop of Milan, now demonstrated, is praised, the unbridled insolence of the archbishop of Ravenna is judged infamous. After the imperial consecration, they all assembled. After they had had a long discussion about this matter, a synod was set by apostolic authority for the sixth of April. At the synod it was decreed and confirmed first by the lord pope, then by all the consenting venerable fathers who were gathered at this synod, that in all episcopal business, the archbishop of Ravenna should never set himself before the archbishop of Milan; and if perchance he should presume, he would be subject to canon law, just as anyone rightly should who is not afraid to rend asunder the peace of the Church. Everyone declared: *So be it!* And lest a rift of this kind ever again appear in the holy Church, it pleased everyone that this testimony should be written down. These things were done and promulgated successfully in the city of Rome, with the lord John, highest pontiff and universal pope, presiding and the lord Conrad ruling as emperor, in the first year of his imperial rule.