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THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
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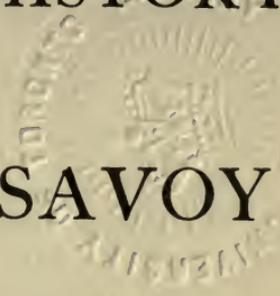
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THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE OF SAVOY
(1000—1233)



BY

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JOHN CLAY, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE following pages contain a study on the history of the House of Savoy until the year 1233. Although many works on portions or on aspects of this period have been written, and though it has formed a part of more than one history with wider scope, such as Cibrario's *Storia della Monarchia di Savoia*, yet there seemed to be room for a new investigation, which should at one and the same time treat the subject with a full discussion of its details and with a comprehensive view of the period as a whole.

In doing so I have put aside the idea of writing a history of the strictly literary kind. The story could be made connected only by missing out the long succession of isolated details, which yet form the greater part of our knowledge regarding it, and by relegating to appendices the endless discussions to which those details give rise. This could not be done satisfactorily save in a work dealing with a longer series of years and thus able to employ an ampler stride in the marshalling of events. That alternative being excluded, I have taken as my model in a general way the *Jahrbücher* on the Holy Roman Emperors. That is, I have gone plainly on, discussing events and problems as the times brought them to light and endeavouring to be complete and omit nothing. An absolute chronological order I did not try to preserve, for, especially in the later chapters, the various aspects of a prince's reign fell into sections with too little organic connection for that, and to follow the sequence of time would be merely confusing. Here, too, the fragmentary character of the evidence would quite preclude any attempt to give a year-by-year account. On the other hand, one principal feature of the *Jahrbücher* I have been careful to imitate. There will be found in the notes all the important passages of narrative or legal nature on which the text is founded¹, not merely references to them.

¹ This statement does not apply to mere anecdotes, which do not establish facts of wider bearing, or to extra-Savoyard history which is taken from the *Jahrbücher* or other authorities.

The reign of Count Thomas, however, which is far more fully known to us, gives greater opportunities for selection than the preceding period. The lines of social development are becoming specialized, and in particular the Count's gifts to religious foundations, mainly to the recluse Carthusians, have only an occasional interest for his history. I have therefore made no attempt at a complete commentary on these unpolitical documents of his. In like manner, since the narrative sources become here and there quite lengthy, a full transcript of the texts concerning Savoy has not been given for his reign. They are easy to find and no longer absolutely buried in other matter. Still even with these deductions I trust that everything essential to enable the reader to test the history has been provided.

The history of a country like Savoy, which owed its importance to its being on a border and traversed by two European highroads, is naturally in frequent connection with the general history of the Holy Roman Empire. Consequently, I have been obliged from time to time to insert fragments of the imperial annals; but I have done so only when they coincided with those of Savoy, as seemed most advisable in a study with such a definite object as this. In fact, the history of surrounding lands has been introduced but in so far as it explains the events and conditions of Savoy.

The growth and decay of institutions have also offered many difficulties. Savoy doubtless varied very little from the neighbouring states in its development through and beyond feudalism. It seemed therefore permissible to interpret the scattered hints in Savoyard documents by the generalized statements given in other works. On the other hand, feudal institutions were as fluid in their nature as any others. In consequence, some advantage appeared to be gained, if those hints were grouped severally under the various reigns, in order to see what signs of change were detected by thus isolating the evidence; and something, I hope, may have been attained by this method. But with the richer material which is to hand regarding the conditions existing under Humbert III and Thomas, the positive results established from the evidence during former reigns seemed well to combine, and thus, while as little as possible of the evidence has been repeated, there has been some repetition of the inductions from it. Besides indulging the hope of throwing

a little light on the process of growth in a feudal state, it seemed to me that it was not possible to estimate the several reigns without a complete display of the evidence relating to each respectively, and that it was better to tolerate the defect of repetition, than to reserve all the institutional information till the end.

Our great lack in early Savoyard history is that of any connected narrative in the authorities. The *Chroniques de Savoye* were compiled in the fifteenth century out of a mere wreck of generally inaccurate traditions; and an immense deal of twaddle, in the worst taste of knight-errant tales, inflated the mass. Even the list of rulers there is only complete from Humbert II; and throughout this early period the *Chroniques* must be used with the utmost caution. Thus for contemporary narrative we are thrown back on one or two lives of ecclesiastics, a few letters and scattered notices in foreign chronicles. For genealogical and institutional history, with side lights on politics, we have of course the charters¹. At the best, however, it has been making bricks without straw and with an inadequate supply of clay. But I ought to say that the chronicled notices we possess seem as a rule remarkably credible and for the most part accurate. Perhaps they do not say enough to go very far wrong. Yet I may mention—to take an instance which has been impugned—the vivid truth of Lampert's narrative of the crossing of the Mont Cenis Pass in 1077². The monk of Hersfeld seems to have had the tale orally from some subordinate in Henry's suite, whose knowledge of the negotiations might be poor, but who did know the physical facts of the journey.

It is difficult to stop in giving a list of the more helpful of the works I have used. First and foremost comes Carutti's *Regesta*, which has saved me many a long and weary search, many omissions and many piecemeal views. That said, I must deplore the defects of his book, the misprints, inadequate summaries and some important omissions. It has been necessary practically to collate all the documents referring to my period.

¹ In this connection the execrable Latin of the eleventh-century Piedmontese charters should be specially mentioned. The knowledge of the meaning of the case endings seems almost extinct among the local notaries, who show an interesting preference for the ablative, due partly to the influence of their Romance dialect, partly perhaps to the more pompous sound of, say, *jugalibus* as compared with *jugales*. Cf. pp. 110 n. 4, 137 n. 5, 140 n. 1.

² See p. 239, n. 1.

But the numbers it affixes to the several documents have served so well for a docket and brief title to each of them, that I have always used them, giving at the same time the reference to the best published full text. The *Supplemento*, I should add, has few misprints and far more satisfactory summaries. Next I must mention the *Biblioteca della società storica subalpina*, edited by Prof. Gabotto, a mine of documents and valuable monographs. Other works may be grouped according to their country of origin. Terraneo's *Adelaide Illustrata*, not yet antiquated, the works of Cibrario, Carutti, Count Cipolla, Prof. Gabotto, Count Baudi di Vesme and the modern Piedmontese school, Padre Savio, Count de Gerbaix-Sonnaz and Prof. Pivano, represent Italy; and to them my obligations are heavy. Of Swiss origin, I may note Gingins-la-Sarra and Wurstemberger. The latter's *Graf Peter der Zweite* is perhaps the most valuable book on Early Savoy which has been written, patient, exact, complete, and informed by a cautious, cool judgement. Among French scholars, Samuel Guichenon was the father of scientific Humbertine history; M. de Manteyer has lifted the study of Humbertine origins on to a new plane; without the documents published by Chevalier and the two Guigues, we should be in a bad case for evidence; and M. Poupardin's study on Burgundy is of the greatest service as regards that kingdom. Two German historians call for special mention; Prof. Bresslau, to whose share of the *Jahrbücher* every one who treats of Savoy or Piedmont must owe an enormous debt; and Herr Hellmann, who threw new light on the foreign relations of Savoy.

There remains the pleasant task of chronicling my personal obligations. To Prof. Tout I owe much valuable criticism and help. Like other researchers in the State Archives of Turin I met in my two visits there with the ready assistance of the officials in charge. My thanks are due to all, but especially to my friend, Signor Mario Bori, for his continual kindness and courtesy. To Signor Bori also I owe the transcript of No. XIV in the Appendix of Documents as well as some collations in No. XI. Lastly, I wish to express my indebtedness to the officials of the Cambridge University Press. The proofs have been corrected and annotated by the readers with an admirable care and skill.

C. W. P. O.

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GENEALOGY OF THE ARDOINIDS (212).

GENEALOGY OF THE HUMBERTINES (between pp. 480 and 481).

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MAP I. THE SAVOYARD LANDS C. 1080 (*in pocket*).

MAP II. THE SAVOYARD LANDS C. 1180 (*in pocket*).

CHRONICLES

Under this head I give a list of our meagre narrative sources for Savoyard History. Foreign chronicles, which merely give incidental notices of Savoy, are omitted; as well as such *Vitae Sanctorum* as contain nothing secular.

Chronica Altacumbae abbatiae (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 671 ff.).

[A Latin Genealogy of the Counts of Savoy, with short notices of them, composed under Amadeus VIII c. 1400. Until c. 1250 it is inaccurate, and deserves little credit, unless supported by other evidence.]

Chronica Sabaudiae Latina (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 599 ff.).

[It contains an abstract of the French Chroniques, for the period under review; but also adds a valuable Genealogy of the Dauphins from another source.]

Chroniques anciennes de Savoye (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 5 ff.).

[An inflated compilation c. 1420. It uses *Chron. Alt.* and repeats the latter's errors; but also contains old traditions however grossly distorted. Much of it seems sheer invention.]

Chronicon Novaliciense (ed. Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia vetustiora*, *Fonti per la storia d' Italia* 31, 32).

[Written c. 1060 by a monk of Brema. It is peculiarly legendary in character, but quite a work of good faith. Unhappily much is lost, and the author does not give contemporary history.]

Fragmenta Chronicae Latinae Sabaudiae (*Misc. stor. ital.* XXII. 305 ff.).

[It appears to be a Latin translation of a slightly older text of the French Chroniques. It contains the same kind of legends with little variation; but has a more sober tone.]

Gaufridi Abbatis Altacumbae, Vita S. Petri Tarentasiensis, *AA. SS.* Mai II.).

[Contemporary.]

Gioffredo della Chiesa, *Cronaca di Saluzzo*. (*M.H.P.* Script. III. 841 ff.)

[Fifteenth-century account, which for our period is based on charters, some now lost, and on a small amount of genuine tradition. Unfortunately Della Chiesa accepts some forged documents, and the sophisticated legends of the *Chroniques de Savoye*.]

Vita S. Anthelmi Bellicensis (*AA. SS.* Jun. v.).

[Contemporary.]

Willelmi monachi Clusensis, Chronicon monasterii S. Michaelis de Clusa 996-1046. (*M.H.P.* Script III. 249 ff.)

[Composed c. 1060. Well-informed; but "tendenziös." Hence not altogether trustworthy, even in non-miraculous parts. William is anxious to prove the abbey's complete independence of the Bishop of Turin.]

Willelmi Monachi Clusensis, Vita S. Benedicti II Abbatis Clusensis. (*M.H.P.* Script. III. 273 ff.)

[Contemporary. Composed c. 1095. "Tendenziös" against Bishop Cunibert of Turin; but does not seem to invent facts.]

ABBREVIATED TITLES

[The abbreviated titles used in the notes are not given here unless they are necessary for easy identification.]

AA. SS. = *Acta Sanctorum*.

Arch. st. ital. = *Archivio storico italiano*. Florence.

Baudi di Vesme, B., *Il re Arduino e la riscossa italiana contro Ottone III e Arrigo I*, B.S.S.S. VII.

Bertano, L., *Storia di Cuneo. Medioevo*. Cuneo, 1898.

Besson, *Mémoires pour l'histoire ecclésiastique des diocèses de Genève, Tarentaise, Aoste et Maurienne et du Décanat de Savoie*, ed. 1871.

B.S.S.S. = *Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina, diretta dal Prof. F. Gabotto*. [The abbreviated titles of the separate volumes are not given here at length, since they are easily identifiable by their numbering in the series.]

Billiet, A., et Albrieux, *Chartes du Diocèse de Maurienne*, Documents de l'Académie de Savoie, Vol. II. Chambéry.

Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino, ed. Prof. F. Gabotto, Pinerolo.

Bollea, L. C., *Le prime relazioni fra la Casa di Savoia e Ginevra (926-1211)*. Turin, 1901.

Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano. Rome.

Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (or *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*).

Bresslau, H., *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II*. Leipzig, 1879-95. [See also under Hirsch, S.]

Car. Reg. = Carutti, D., *Regesta Comitum Sabaudiae...ad an. MCCLIII*, in the Biblioteca storica italiana. Turin, 1889.

Car. Sup. = Carutti, D., *Supplemento ai Regesta Comitum Sabaudiae* in Misc. stor. ital. (q.v.). Series III. Tomo IX.

Carutti, D., *Il conte Umberto I (Biancamano) e il re Arduino*, 2nd ed. Rome, 1888.

Carrard, H., *Le combat de Chillon*. M.D.R. New Series. I. (1887).

Chevalier, C. U. J., *Collection de Cartulaires dauphinois*. [This includes the *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas de Vienne*, the *Actes capitulaires de St Maurice de Vienne*, the *Diplomatique de Pierre de Rivaz*, etc. There are ten volumes or fasciculi in all, some of which were never completed.]

- Chevalier, C. U. J., *Documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné*. [A collection similar in its method to the preceding. There are nine volumes or fasciculi.]
- Cibrario, L., *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*. Turin, 1840-4.
- Cibrario, L., *Delle finanze della monarchia di Savoia* in *Memorie della r. Accademia di Scienze di Torino*, xxxvi. (1833).
- Cibrario, L., *Delle storie di Chieri libri IV*. Turin, 1827.
- Cibrario, L., *Storia di Torino*. Turin, 1846.
- Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* = Cibrario, L., and Promis, D., *Documenti, Sigilli e Monete appartenenti alla storia della monarchia di Savoia*. Turin, 1833. [It consists unfortunately of two sections, the *Rapporto*, with its pages numbered thus: (1), and the *Documenti* etc., with its pages numbered thus: 1.]
- Cipolla, C., *Le più antiche carte diplomatiche del Monastero di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. istit. stor. ital. No. 18.
- Cipolla, C., *Briciole di storia novaliciensia*, Bull. istit. stor. ital. No. 22.
- Cipolla, C., *Monumenta Novaliciensia vetustiora*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, Nos. 31-32, published by the Istituto storico italiano.
- Desimoni, C., *Sulle marche d'Italia e loro diramazione in marchesati*. *Atti della Soc. Ligure di Storia Patria*. xxviii.
- Du Bouchet, J., *Preuves de l'histoire de la maison de Coligny*. Paris, 1662. *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, published by the Istituto storico italiano.
- Foras, Ct E. A. de, and Ct Maréchal de Luciane, *Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'ancien Duché de Savoie*. Vols. I-IV. Grenoble, 1863-1902.
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- Gabotto, F., *L'Abazia ed il Comune di Pinerolo e la riscossa sabauda in Piemonte*. B.S.S.S. I. (1899).
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- Gingins-La-Sarra, F. de, *Mémoire sur l'origine de la maison de Savoie*. M.D.R. xx.
- Guichenon, S., *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoye*. Lyons, 1660. [Vol. II. contains the *Preuves*.]
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- Kallmann, R., *Die Beziehungen des Königreichs Burgund zu Kaiser und Reich von Heinrich III bis zur Zeit Friedrichs I.* Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte XIV. (1889).
- Labruzzi, F., *La monarchia di Savoia dalle origini all' anno 1103.* Rome, 1900.
- M.D.G. = *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève.*
- M.D.R. = *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande.*
- M.G.H. = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
- M.H.P. = *Monumenta Historiae Patriae.*
- Manteyer, *Origines* = Ditto, G. de, *Les Origines de la Maison de Savoie en Bourgogne* 910-1060. (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome, XIX. (1899).)
- Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles* = Ditto, G. de, *Les Origines de la maison de Savoie en Bourgogne* 910-1060. *Notes additionnelles.* (Le Moyen Age, Ser. II. Vol. v.)
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- Schiaparelli, L., *Il conte Umberto Biancamano fu contestabile di Borgogna?* Arch. st. ital. Ser. v. Tomo XXXVI. (1905).
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CHAPTER I

HUMBERT I WHITEHANDS

SECTION I. BURGUNDY, 888-1000.

THE year 888 saw the final break-up of the Carolingian Empire into five fragmentary kingdoms. Three of these owed their origin in some measure to a racial feeling in embryo. The inhabitants of France, Germany and Italy naturally fell into separate states. But geographical convenience, particularism, the necessities of government, and family interests played a large part in the division; and are very clearly to be seen in the formation of the two remaining kingdoms, Jurane Burgundy and Provence. The former of these was really a Duchy of the Frankish realm which under its ambitious Duke seized an easily defensible independence. Rudolf I had been Duke of the country between the Jura and the Alps, and this land (the present Suisse romande) remained the source of his power. But in addition he ruled the ancient Burgundian counties between the Jura and the Saône, and the German-speaking Burgundian district to the west of the Aar and southwards from Basel. His southern frontier seems to have coincided with those of the *pagus Genevensis* and the Valley of Aosta. Thus the whole of the Lake of Geneva and both the approaches of the Great St Bernard Pass were under his sway. The kingdom taken as a whole was peculiarly fortified by Nature, and its parts had an ancient tradition of association. Nor was it lacking in a degree of linguistic unity. The greater part of its inhabitants spoke dialects of the same Romance language, the Franco-provençal or Mesorhodanic, which is still living in the districts originally settled in by the Burgundii when they crossed the Rhine¹. Rudolf I's attempt to extend his new authority over all Lotharingia, which would have introduced heterogeneous elements, failed, and did not affect the character of the new realm.

¹ See Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I. 550, 557-8, 755-6, and Ascoli, *Archivio glottologico italiano*, III. 60 ff. The Franco-provençal languages extended from the Rhone and Saône to the frontier of German speech and included Grenoble, Lyons, Aosta, Geneva, Lausanne, and Neuchâtel.

Somewhere about the year 933, Rudolf I's son, Rudolf II, more than doubled the extent of his kingdom by the acquisition of the neighbouring realm of Provence. Like Jurane Burgundy, this state, which stretched, roughly speaking, between the Rhone and the Alps from Lyons to the sea, represented an older administrative division of Francia which possessed defensible frontiers. If not forming a linguistic unity, its inhabitants were not far removed in language from one another. Its southern districts spoke some form of the Languedoc: its northerly the allied Franco-provençal.

Lastly, it seems likely that Rudolf II also obtained the German territory between the Aar and the Reuss, apparently by cession from the German King; and so completed the new kingdom. Its boundaries were never extended subsequently. For its name we may choose that of Burgundy among the several appellations which are provided us by the despair of contemporaries; for at least it had a rough correspondence with the Kingdom of Burgundy of Gundobad, and the latter's edict, the *loi Gombette*, was the predominant racial Germanic law among those professed by its inhabitants, although Roman law seems to have claimed the greater part of the population.

As the kingdom thus pieced together was heterogeneous in language, so it was in geographical conformation. A certain kind of unity can indeed be claimed for it, in that the realm was nearly identical with the watershed of the Rhone. This fact at any rate secured some means of communication between the various parts, for the tributaries of the Rhone system, in working their way to the main river, link up the different regions. The roads can follow the river-courses. But after admitting this advantage, little else that favours unity is left. The slowly rising plateau which was to be called in the future Franche Comté was separated by the Jura range from the mountainous intra-Jurane home of the dynasty. The Lower Rhone valley had a character of its own in climate and configuration. And all to the west lay one sinuous, narrowing Alpine valley after another, divided each from each by the lateral mountain-ranges stretching from the main water-parting and often as difficult to cross. Two groups of these, that of the Vallais and Aosta, and that of Maurienne and Savoy, will require our special attention in the course of this inquiry. They form groups not so much because of an obvious geographical linking, as because they were each on a great high-road over the Alps, and therefore tended to have inter-communication and come under the same control. The human factor was predominant in their formation.

Made up of diverse fractions, small in extent, mountainous and therefore thinly populated, it was not likely that the Kingdom of Burgundy could be powerful. It had certain advantages of position, it

is true. It commanded the communications between France and Italy as well as the best routes from the north-west to the Mediterranean. Between the Rhineland and Italy a large body of traders and pilgrims proceeded over the Great St Bernard, while the commonly used route from and to the north-west led by Lyons, Chambéry and Maurienne over the Mont Cenis. Lastly, the traveller who desired to journey by sea struck south from Lyons down the Rhone to Marseilles. Thus wealth from traffic and consequence from political and military reasons could not be denied to Burgundy. But on the whole they rather supplied incentives for its conquest by its neighbours than sources of native power. Perhaps, also, if it is not too fanciful, we may add that the new kingdom did not stand for anything peculiar or characteristic in European civilization. The Mesorhodanic dialects never formed a self-conscious literature of their own; they remained dialects. Even the later county of Provence did not do more than form a subdivision of the Provençal culture; and the existence of the Kingdom of Burgundy only served to keep the Provençal culture-lands disunited politically.

But there were also special causes for the weakness of Burgundy as a state. These were: (1) the general decay of the power of the State since Charlemagne, (2) the character of the annexation of Provence, (3) the Saracen invasions, (4) the incapacity of the last native king, Rudolf III (993-1032). They may be briefly described in the above order.

Perhaps, if we try to reduce to the simplest terms the process of decay which the State and the central power underwent after Charlemagne, we may say it was consequent on the decay of the barbaric social ties of the German races which settled within the Empire of the West. They entered the dying Empire as no iconoclasts. On the contrary they eagerly adopted the Roman administrative system as far as they understood it. A large and sprawling imitation was the result, in which the proportion of Roman-descended elements is remarkable. But naturally the elaborate ideas of the state and of society on which they had once been based could not survive the process of translation and degeneration, save in an almost legendary form. The real bond of the ruling society was the barbaric kindred, the solidarity of the kinship, the allegiance to the racial King. It was this bond that decayed with the growth of a new, settled condition of affairs. Obviously, too, the preponderance of the Roman population would not favour its continuance west of the Rhine. Under the circumstances new local ties born of actual material conditions were sure to be evolved, and to gain strength rapidly when after Charlemagne's death the realm was unwieldy, the sovran incapable, the law of succession pernicious, and the centralized military system unequal to new emergencies. I need

only refer to the process; how the Kings' control over their realms became in great part restricted to their influence over their own personal sworn followers, their *fideles*; how the latter included their very greatest subjects, but few beside; how the grant of royal lands for the support of the *fideles* made them the rulers of their districts, in influence as well as in office; how that influence was secured when these "benefices," lands as well as offices, became hereditary; how the independent landholders became in increasing numbers vassals of the local great man and "alods" became rare outside a privileged circle; how the fighting force of the kingdom thus came more and more to be at the disposal, not of the King, but of his *fideles*; how church-dignitaries practically held the same position as lay-landholders; how it became more and more hard to distinguish the free peasant from the serf; how Northman, Hungarian and Saracen slaughtered, sacked and disintegrated; and how the whole West sank back into the beast, still using the ancient names and forms. By the year 900 the anarchy seems almost complete, and is little exaggerated in the chivalrous romances of a century or two later. The mail-clad knight in his stronghold or castle was a member of some feudal complex, with the mutual rights derived from homage and vassalage. Under its protection he carried on his private wars and tyrannized where he could; and the wretched population, in their forest-circled villages, were too cowed by the long agony they had passed through, to grudge any rights, sometimes even the most iniquitous, to their fierce protectors.

Not that the King was powerless. In conservative Germany he retained great strength. Even in France he never forgot his claims as sovereign of the realm¹. In some ways he could put them into practice and at any rate could rule his own domains, which became respectable in extent when Hugh Capet ascended the throne². It was the same in Burgundy, even in the fact that the King enjoyed very unequal powers in the north and the south of his dominions. In Jurane Burgundy he was of native growth and the possessor of large estates. There he mostly lived; there he could claim a considerable amount of obedience as King. His dynasty was rooted there. But Provence had been obtained by Rudolf II in a quite peculiar fashion. During the long blindness of the Bosonid monarch, the Emperor Lewis III, the greatest noble of the country, Count Hugh, was the real ruler. He and his relatives added county to county until all the south was in their hands. But Hugh's ambitions led him across the Alps to acquire the crown of Italy. Eventually he was successful; but Rudolf II was

¹ Luchaire, *Hist. des Instit. mon. de la France*, 2nd ed., Vol. I. pp. 40 ff., 53 and 119.

² *op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 52 ff., 88 ff.

a dangerous competitor, and in fact had been his predecessor in the fickle allegiance of the Italian Counts. There resulted about 933 a bargain between the two kings. Lewis the Blind had died in 928, and his son Charles-Constantine had only contrived to keep the countship of Vienne, and that under the suzerainty of the King of France. No doubt the dethronement of the Bosonids was due to Hugh of Italy, who still retained his countships and vassals without a suzerain. Now, however, Hugh ceded to Rudolf of Jurane Burgundy his suzerain rights over Provence in return for security as to Italy. But he kept for himself and his kinsmen their domains and counties. Thus, even when Charles-Constantine finally submitted to Rudolf II's son, Conrad the Peaceful, about 943, the rule of the Burgundian King in the south had little significance, especially towards the Mediterranean. The royal demesnes there were few; the great Counts were exceptionally powerful and accustomed to independence; and the chief event of the tenth century in Provence, the expulsion of the Saracens, was accomplished not by the King, but by the local barons.

Part of the rise of the later dynasties between the Rhone and the Alps may be attributed to the Saracens' devastations and the wars for their expulsion. While the Hungarians, who swept over the land from time to time during the first half of the tenth century, were after all only a transitory nightmare, the Saracens' occupation was permanent. At the close of the ninth century they had seized on Freinet, apparently a fortified stretch of hills and forest round the Golfe de St Tropez. With Freinet as base they ravaged both sides of the Alpine chain for eighty years. One may doubt whether many peoples have undergone so terrible an experience. Whole valleys, like that of Susa, were made deserts. The Saracens spread unchallenged over the country-side, sacked even some walled cities, and made, it seems, something like permanent forts in a few districts. The passes were almost held by them. They destroyed the great roadside abbeys of St Maurice and Novalesa. They once even reached St Gall. It seemed for long impossible to concert sufficient common action to expel them. King Hugh of Italy could have done so with Byzantine help in 942, but his private interests led him to prefer an alliance with them instead. Otto the Great intended to take up the task, but other affairs drew him off. Finally, St Maiolus of Cluny was held to ransom by the infidels in 972; and it seems likely that on his release he used his vast influence to make the local barons and bishops unite in a campaign against the marauders. The brother-Counts of Provence, Ardoin III of Turin and others at last made war in earnest, and it was not long before they had captured Freinet and extirpated the pest¹.

¹ Cf. below, pp. 145-7.

The profits of the war naturally went to the actual victors, not to Conrad the Peaceful; and it cannot surprise us that the Counts of the border-districts, who had waged it, should be the founders of the chief medieval states of South Burgundy. The Counts of Provence, the Dauphins of Grenoble and the Counts of Savoy, all date from the war. It is very possible, too, that their power was increased by the amount of ravaged land that was appropriated or even resettled by them. All landholders would be their vassals. Probably they had already usurped the right of appointment to bishoprics.

Meanwhile Conrad the Peaceful was reigning, and reigning with some success, in the north. When Rudolf II died in 937, the restless Hugh of Italy had made an attempt to seize on the kingdom. He married the young heir, Conrad's, mother himself, and gave his new step-daughter Adelaide of Burgundy as wife to his co-regent son, Lothar II of Italy. But he had reckoned without his host. Otto the Great of Germany was not in the least minded to suffer the extension of Hugh's power. By some means or other he took possession of young Conrad, sent King Hugh hurrying back to Italy, and established a more or less effective suzerainty over the north of the country. Otto was not regardless of his vassal's welfare. In 942 he restored him to his kingdom, and probably had some share in securing the loyal submission of the whole extent of it. In 943 Conrad could hold his court in the Viennois.

The rest of his reign, little known at best, may be passed over here. He became the brother-in-law of both the other rulers of the West; for his sister Adelaide of Italy married Otto the Great in 951, and he himself about 965 married as his second wife Matilda, sister of Lothaire of France. On his death on the 19th October 993, he left as his heir his only surviving son by Matilda, Rudolf III.

The last King of independent Burgundy has received a bad name from the chroniclers as "the sluggard," and, making allowance for the depletion of the royal demesne and the consequent smallness of his means, the results of his reign too well accord with the character given him for us to disbelieve that in this case it was the King himself who gave the *coup de grâce* to the royal power. Yet he began his reign with an act of vigour. He attempted to recover for the crown either some of the benefices which were still nominally non-hereditary or some lands and rights long before usurped. The nobles concerned looked on his action as a robbery of their inheritance, and revolted. In the war that followed Rudolf was easily defeated, and presumably made his submission and his peace¹.

¹ See for the two kingdoms Poupardin, *Bourgogne* and *Provence*. For the war with the barons see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 113-16. The authority is *Ann.*

It may have been partly a consequence of Rudolf's defeat that the Counts in the Kingdom of Burgundy acquired the great legal powers, which we find in their possession a few years later. They had probably long usurped them, of course, but legal confirmation may have been attained now. In his official rights and in his standing, now at any rate, the Burgundian Count was the equal of a German Duke¹. Several prerogatives and sources of profit seem to be implied in this position. He received the entire judicial profits of his county, and not merely the comital third. He called out the entire armed force of his county. He could hold "at mercy" offenders against his commands and dignity, that is, he could create offences or make them entail a heavier punishment. He could exercise justice over the royal dependents in his county. Lastly, he possessed the right of making inquisitions, that is, of compelling his subjects to give evidence on oath on any matter at his pleasure. The three last powers were of especial importance, as they limited the intervention of the King, and decreased his control over his immediate dependants². It is evident, too, that such matters as tolls, which remained formally subject to the royal authority, were really in the hands of the great nobles, and perhaps of the petty nobles as well³. In short, what with law and usurpation, the kingdom was in process of dissolution.

SECTION II. HUMBERT WHITEHANDS IN BURGUNDIAN POLITICS.

Since the dominions of the House of Savoy had for their nucleus lands which formed fractions of the Kingdom of Burgundy and only obtained the rank of a feudal state through the break-up of the larger entity, their earlier history necessarily begins in the general history of the realm of which they were a part. Only by degrees does a *soi-disant* state emerge from the welter of events to have a separate history of its own. Our first task, therefore, is to trace the first appearance of its comital house and the latter's attainment of a semi-independent position in consequence of the practical dissolution of the Burgundian monarchy.

Sangall. maj. 995 (*M.G.H. Script.* I. 81), "quosdam suorum paterna hereditate privare conatus."

¹ Thietmar, *Chron.* VII. 21 (*M.G.H. Script.* III. 846), "In hiis partibus nullus vocatur comes, nisi is qui ducis honore possidet."

² See on the German Dukes Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. pp. 361-72. These functions certainly belonged later to the Counts of Savoy.

³ See below, pp. 26-7.

After his defeat in the war against his revolted barons Rudolf III appears to have embarked on a partly new policy. He could exercise little or no control over his lay vassals. There remained the ecclesiastical ones. It is true that the appointment to bishoprics had largely fallen into the hands of the great vassals, and with that went the control of the extensive episcopal lands and immune jurisdiction¹. But there remained some sees which still depended largely on the Crown, and it seems to have been Rudolf's object by strengthening them to strengthen a sort of official nobility as a counter-weight to the lay nobles². In this he was pursuing much the same path as the Saxon Emperors in Germany and Italy³; though he seems to have pursued it more rapidly considering the means at his disposal. Accordingly his method was to grant the countships to bishops wherever circumstances, such as the absence of great lay vassals, the extinction of an existing line of Counts⁴ or the vacancy of the county⁵, allowed it to be done. Such a policy of course required for its success the retention in the royal hands of the power of nominating bishops to the favoured sees and also some considerable independent demesne retained by the Crown; neither of which conditions appears from the sequel to have been in existence.

The first conferment of a county on a bishop which has come down to us is that of the county of Tarentaise on its Archbishop Amizo. Here the reason given is the depopulation caused by the Saracen incursions, from which the Archbishop Amizo was in course of attempting to bring about a recovery⁶. This was followed in 999 by a similar grant of the county of the Vallais⁷ to Hugh, Bishop of Sion. But here it is possible, although not likely, that the ancient Counts were not extinct, and it is also just possible their claims passed to the future House of Savoy⁸. Other similar grants were to come later.

It would however be a mistake to emphasize too much the personal intervention of Rudolf III in these acts. The grant to Archbishop Amizo, and that later (1022) to Archbishop Burchard of Vienne, had

¹ See Thietmar, VII. 21 (1016) (*M.G.H. Script.* III. 845), "episcopatus (R.) hiis dat, qui a principibus hiis eliguntur...Unde hii (episcopi etc.) manibus complicatis cunctis primatibus velud regi suo serviunt, et sic pace fruuntur."

² See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 117.

³ See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 275-6; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III. 59-65, and below, Cap. II. Sect. I.

⁴ As at Vienne; see below, pp. 14 and 19.

⁵ Lausanne; see below, p. 18.

⁶ *M.H.P. Chart.* I. 304, "Archiepiscopatus Hyberinis incursionibus penitus depopulatus quem Amiso prout vires appetunt.....comitatu donamus."

⁷ *M.D.R.* XXIX. 49; the Vallais stretched at this time from the sources of the Rhone to Martigny; the diocese of Sion included Old Chablais up to Lake Geneva.

⁸ See below, pp. 67-8; the doubt concerns the county of Count Ulric the Anselmid. See below, p. 64.

parallels in Italy, due it seems largely to the break-up of the comital power there, often accompanied by the disappearance of the comital families¹. It might be in part a desperate attempt to restore a public authority, where it had quite or almost vanished, by investing the bishop with it. For the Counts, too, of the Carolingian Empire suffered their vicissitudes, and if in some cases, especially in France and Burgundy, they emerged triumphant at the last at the head of small feudal states, in others the power of the hereditary official faded away, and the county broke up into smaller fractions ruled by the lords of the soil. As we shall see, the Counts of Savoy succeeded, though with difficulty, in evading this fate, and not only so, but they were more fortunate than most of their competitors, in surviving the period of the great monarchical formations of the Later Middle Ages.

During these years, however, the unhappy Rudolf does not seem to have made any real progress in establishing his authority. The remnant of his domains lay chiefly² between the Jura and the Alps. We find him (January 999) at the abbey of St Maurice in the Vallais, where his natural brother, Archbishop Burchard of Lyons, was provost, at Basel (999)³, Vevey (998), the abbey of Payerne (998)⁴. There is a suspicious fondness here for ecclesiastical foundations, reminding us of the later taunt of the German chronicler that he lived on the bishops' revenues⁵.

What the King himself could not do was partially accomplished for him by foreign intervention⁶. In the summer of 999 his aunt, the Empress Adelaide, widow of Otto the Great, then near the conclusion of her eventful history, entered Burgundy on his behalf. She went to Payerne, St Maurice, Geneva and Lausanne, and then to Orbe, all it may be noted in old Rudolfian territory, and did her best in the cause of peace. At Orbe there seems to have been an assembly⁷.

¹ Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 325-7, and for Italy Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 36-7, 67-8, 149-52. The county of Asti offers a well-marked instance; v. C. Cipolla, *Di Audace vescovo d'Asti*, Misc. di stor. ital. xxvi.; *Di Brunengo vescovo d'Asti*, Misc. di stor. ital. xxviii.; *Di Rozone vescovo d'Asti*, Mem. della r. Accad. delle scienze di Torino, Ser. II. Vol. XLII.

² There were exceptions, e.g. the castle etc. at Vienne, in the Viennois, and lands in Savoy and the Genevois.

³ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 117, who points out the probable connection with Adelaide's visit.

⁴ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 114 and 117.

⁵ Thietmar, VII. 21 (*M.G.H.* III. 845), "ad suam vero utilitatem pauca tenens, ex inpensis antistitum vivit."

⁶ That Adelaide's intervention was a part of German policy is made probable by Emp. Otto III's previous diploma confirming its Alsatian domains to the abbey of Payerne, 6th Feb. 998 (Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 118), besides the intrinsic likelihood of the fact.

⁷ "Cum rege et principibus patriae pacis et honestatis conferens negocia." Odilo, *Epitaphium Adelheidæ*, 17 (*M.G.H.* Script. IV. 643).

She was not altogether successful, we are told, but some of the King's quarrelling *fideles* she was able to induce to a peace¹. It seems Rudolf III went either with her, or a little later to Germany to Bruchsal in Swabia for a meeting with Otto III². Soon after, in the middle of December 999, the Empress Adelaide died.

Yet some effect resulted from her efforts for peace. It can hardly be an accident that for the rest of his reign we find Rudolf steadily supported by at least two houses of the great nobility. One of these may be styled the Anselmids. Anselm³, the head of the family, *vir inluster*, had married Aldiud, concubine of King Conrad (c. 964). Thus Burchard II, Archbishop of Lyons, King Rudolf's natural brother, was also uterine brother to Anselm's three sons, Burchard, Archbishop of Vienne (1001 (?)–1031), Anselm, Bishop of Aosta and Arch-chancellor (994, 1025)⁴, and Ulric (1019, Advocate of Archbishop Burchard of Vienne). The second family on which the feeble King relied was that of the Humbertines, the later Counts of Savoy. The many difficult problems which arise as to the members of this family and their connection with the Anselmids will be dealt with in a subsequent section⁵. Here I need mention only two personages, Oddo, Bishop of Belley (995 (?), 1003)⁶, and Count Humbert I Whitehands⁷, the admitted ancestor of the House of Savoy.

¹ "Pacis ut semper amica, pacis caritatisque causa paternum solum adiit, fidelibus nepotis sui Rodulfi regis inter se litigantibus, quibus potuit pacis foedera contulit, quibus non potuit, more sibi solito Deo totum commisit" (Odilo, 13, *M.G.H. Script.* iv. 642).

² Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 119, based on the dating of a diploma of Rudolf III.

³ Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 270 and 386, n. 1, following Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 466–70, 480–1, identifies Anselm with Count Anselm who appears with his brother Count Ulric in a Viennese *placitum* of King Conrad in 943. But the dates are far apart. Anselm does not seem to have married Aldiud till c. 970; he was living in 1002; he is not called Count. No doubt however the two Counts were relatives of his.

⁴ Anselm furnishes a much desired proof that Aosta belonged to the Burgundian Kingdom at this time and not to Italy. Besides being Arch-chancellor of Burgundy (see below, p. 11, n. 1), he attended the Burgundian Synods of Anse (and no Italian ones at all) in 994 and 1025 (Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 87; cf. Manteyer, *Paix*, p. 106, nn. 1 and 2); and witnesses Rudolf III's diplomas from 1011 (cf. below, p. 14, n. 2, and p. 18, n. 4). It is to be noted that the reputed Synod of Anse of 990 never took place (see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 302, n. 1).

⁵ See Cap. I. Sect. III.

⁶ Perhaps it assumes too much to consider the bishop a Humbertine in this section; but it seems to be generally acknowledged.

⁷ The surname *Albamanus, aux blanches mains*, goes back only to the fourteenth century, but it is extremely convenient for distinction, and probably rests on true tradition. The proof of the identification of the Count Hupertus of Wipo, 30 and 32 (*M.G.H.* iv. 270), with Humbert Whitehands lies in their connection with the county of Aosta and with Queen Ermengarde. The earliest undisputed document

These two families, it will be noted, both owed part of their strength to the bishoprics held by their members, in the acquisition of which it would probably be a mistake to ascribe too great a share to the King's influence, although he must, one would think, have promoted his half-brother Burchard II of Lyons to the Abbacy (from the Provostship) of St Maurice¹ by his own initiative. Since the King held the abbot's domains the revival of the abbotship involved a diminution of Rudolf's own patrimony. Burchard of Vienne, too, whose family seems to have belonged to the intra-Jurane land only², would probably have the King's favour in attaining his see on the Rhone, where he might do something to maintain the royal authority. His connection with the Humbertines, however, would have considerable influence in his promotion, seeing that the earliest Humbertine possessions, so far as attested by their charters of donation, fall preponderantly in the counties of Belley, Savoy proper³, and Sermorens⁴, where they were close to the royal domains left in Savoy and its neighbourhood⁵.

More powerful than either of these family groups, and unlike them no supporter of Rudolf III, was Otto-William⁶, Count of what was later called the Free county (Franche Comté) of Burgundy. It was in Rudolf III's day a collection of counties (Portois, Varais [Besançon], etc.) between the Saône and the Jura⁷. Otto-William was a member of that Anscarid House of Ivrea, which had been driven from the Italian throne by Otto the Great: he was son of King Adalbert and grandson of Berengar II. His mother was Gerberga, daughter of Lambert,

of Humbert Whitehands dates from Aosta, 19th Oct. 1024 (Car. Reg. LVII. Cibrario e Promis, *Documenti ecc.* p. 100); but there is a Humbertine Count Humbert at court in 1009 (Car. Reg. XXVIII. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas de Vienne*, No. 38*) and connected with Queen Ermengarde in 1022-3 (Car. Reg. LIII. Chevalier, *op. cit.* No. 154) who will be discussed in Section III.

¹ Burchard II of Lyons was promoted to the Abbacy between 26th May 1000 and 7th Nov. 1001 (Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 329, n. 7). Bishop Anselm of Aosta succeeded as provost by 2nd March 1002 and still held it c. 1014 (*id.* p. 330, n. 1). It is important, as a proof of the position the Anselmids held in the royal favour, to note that Burchard II of Lyons was Arch-chancellor in 998 till c. 1010, and then Anselm of Aosta in 1011 and 1018. See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 468-9.

² See below, Sect. III. pp. 67-8.

³ i.e. roughly the deanery of Savoy; see Map I.; and see below, pp. 94-5.

⁴ See below, Sect. IV.

⁵ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 194-5, and cf. Car. Reg. CVII. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novalicensia*, I. 161). See below, pp. 15 and 51-2.

⁶ William seems to have been his original name. Perhaps Otto was added on his adoption by Duke Henry of Burgundy, whose elder brother and predecessor was Eudes (Otto).

⁷ Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 201-2, 231-3.

Count of Chaunois¹. About 961-2, when her father-in-law's kingdom was falling before the Germans, she fled back to Burgundy, and thither her little son was cleverly smuggled to her by some monk. Our jejune chroniclers leave us ignorant of the way in which the child was conveyed from his enemies' hands. After Adalbert's death (c. 971-2), she married again, this time Henry, Duke of French Burgundy, who also held the counties east of the Saône above mentioned. Otto-William had the good fortune to be adopted by his stepfather and was thus put on the way to greatness. By the Duke's favour he married Ermentrude, the widow of Alberic II, Count of Mâcon, and had obtained the latter's county by the year 986, to the prejudice of Alberic II's sons, not to mention other domains which he acquired in French Burgundy. When, on the 15th October 1002, Duke Henry died, Otto-William succeeded him in those counties (Portois, etc.) which lay to the east of the Saône and in Rudolf III's kingdom. At the same time he endeavoured to seize the French Duchy of Burgundy, but here he was resisted by the Capetian monarch, Robert the Pious. It appears he had given up the struggle by 1005; the Duchy was lost to him, but he still retained Mâcon and his other French domains, which he handed over first to his eldest son Guy I (ob. c. 1005), and then to the latter's son Otto. Otto-William was not only powerful through his material possessions; he had great allies. One daughter married Landry, Count of Nevers, another named Agnes, William V the Great, Duke of Aquitaine, and the third William II, Count of Provence. His second son Rainald, who was to succeed him in "Franche Comté" (to use an anachronous, but hardly dispensable name), had married Alice (Adela), daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy². They all increased the importance of the Count of the Burgundians, as Otto-William, possessor of several counties, began to style himself³.

The Empress Adelaide's death occurred not long before that of her grandson, the Emperor Otto III. In June 1002 his cousin, the Duke of Bavaria, was crowned his successor as Henry II. The new monarch, who took occasionally the new title of King of the Romans⁴, thereby laying claim to the Imperial position in right of his German kingship, was the son of Gisela, Rudolf III's half-sister. As Rudolf had no legitimate children by his wife Agiltrude, Henry II was his next heir.

¹ For Otto-William's maternal descent and marriage see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 414-9.

² See for all this Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 220-7, and cf. Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, I. 383. William of Aquitaine's marriage to Agnes took place later than 1023; see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, p. 74.

³ *Comes Burgundionum* and the like; see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 233.

⁴ See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 531, and below, p. 168, n. 4.

This did not confer an absolute right to the succession in Burgundy, but it gave a strong claim, and there was a strong hand to back it. Hence it seems likely that Henry II aimed from early in his reign at securing his uncle's kingdom. That in itself, with its depleted royal demesne and insubordinate nobles, would not be a very profitable acquisition; but it commanded all the western Alpine passes, the Great St Bernard, Little St Bernard, Mont Cenis and Mont Genève, which led into Italy; and over Italy Henry was determined to rule as the Ottos had done. Yet under Ardoin, Marquess of Ivrea, Italy had revolted from the German domination at Otto III's death, and though Henry had been easily successful in a campaign in 1004¹, which secured his coronation at Pavia, Ardoin almost immediately recovered much of his lost ground, and shared the country with his rival².

It is tempting to see a reflex of these events in Henry II's next action in Burgundy. He marched to Basel, the frontier Burgundian town, and took possession of it about July 1006. Part of the diocese was already in Germany and the Bishop Adalbero was probably a consenting party. Had Henry and Rudolf come to an agreement about the succession and was Basel the guarantee, the entrance to the kingdom being handed over to the heir? There is no information on the point come down to us³.

Some years now passed by with nothing more to signalize them than a transient revolt⁴ and Rudolf's second marriage. This last event in all likelihood took place early in 1011. Agiltrude, Rudolf's first wife, died seemingly on or just before the 17th February 1009⁵. Neither of her nor of Ermengarde, her successor, do we know the family. But Ermengarde was a widow and had two unnamed sons⁶; and she appears in the documents in connection both with the Anselmids and the

¹ The statement of Ademar de Chabannes (III. 37, *M.G.H.* IV. 133) that Rudolf besieged Pavia for Henry II in 1004 (1002?) must be due to some confusion, else there would be some other trace of the fact. See Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, I. 310, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 120, n. 1.

² For Henry II's claims see Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, pp. 388-92. On Italian affairs at this time see below, pp. 167 ff.

³ For Henry II's occupation of Basel see Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, pp. 391-4. Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 120-1. There had been a treaty of succession before 1016: "quod longe prius" Rudolf "ei sacramentis post mortem suam sancierat." Thietmar, VII. 20, *M.G.H.* III. 845.

⁴ That of Tuto; see Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 35, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 117, n. 3.

⁵ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 125, n. 1.

⁶ Thietmar, VII. 20, and see below, p. 18. Bresslau's (Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 35) view that their ambition added to Rudolf III's difficulties with his nobles lacks the support of any precept in their favour.

Humbertines¹. It has been supposed she is identical with the Countess Ermengarde, wife of Manasse, Count (probably) of Geneva, who c. 1000 exchanged land at St André in Savoy for some in the Genevois with the Bishop Humbert of Grenoble; but, though the date and district are suggestive, there is no further evidence².

Presumably shortly after their marriage, Rudolf III proceeded to endow his wife with domains. On the 24th April 1011 he made two important grants at Aix-les-bains where the marriage may have taken place. The first gave Ermengarde, by the advice of the nobles of the kingdom, the city of Vienne with its castle Pupet (later called Eumedium), the county of Vienne with the alods and serfs there which he owned, and the county of Sermorens, likewise with his alods and serfs. Now these counties had been held by Charles-Constantine, son of the Emperor Lewis III the Blind, as late as 962. It is natural to suppose that his two sons, Richard and Upert (= Hubert, Humbert), were dead; and one wonders whether Queen Ermengarde who repeats the name of Ermengarde, daughter of Emperor Lewis II, the grandmother of Charles-Constantine, had claims on the inheritance. No transfer of the *publica potestas* is explicitly mentioned, but doubtless it is implied in the wording of the diploma. In any case Ermengarde can hardly have exercised it, and perhaps we may look on the grant as being from this point of view the seal of the dissolution of the county. What she got of course was the comital demesne, which went with the office³,

¹ See especially Car. Reg. xxxiv. (Ermengarde and the two Archbishops Burchard), *id.* xxxvii. (=Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 253) (Archbishop Burchard of Vienne and Bishop Anselm), XLIX. (= *Cartulaire de Savigny*, ed. Bernard, I. 317) (the two Burchards), LIII. (=Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 154) (royal house and Humbertines), LXXXIII., LXXXIV. (=Bernard, *Cartulaire de Savigny*, I. 318) (Ermengarde, Count Humbert), LXXXVI. (=M.H.P. Chart. I. col. 499); and for Count Humbert Whitehands' advocacy of the Queen after Rudolf III's death see charters cited below, p. 38.

² Charter in Marion, *Cartulaire de Grenoble*, B. cxviii. p. 173. Their daughter was named Aniana. The identification was made by Cibrario and Promis, *Doc.* pp. 65-75 ff. and supported by Secretan, *Observations sur les chartes relatifs à la famille de Humbert aux Blanches Mains*, M.D.G. xvi. 329.

³ The wording of the diploma has: "Ego jugali amore attractus primatumque regni mei consilio ammonitus, dono dilectissime sponse mee Irmingardi Viennam metropolim civitatem cum Pupet castello et comitatum Viennensem cum alodis et mancipiis que in ipso comitatu habere videor; et dono ei comitatum Salmoracensem cum alodis et mancipiis. Hec omnia, que supra nominata sunt, habeat et possideat sub libera potestate habendi, donandi, vendendi, commutandi vel quicquid illi placuerit inde faciendi" (Car. Reg. xxxii. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 310). Cf. for the meaning of *comitatus* Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 430-57. The Burgundian charters (those to bishops and that to Ermengarde) seem much less explicit than their analogues in Germany and Italy, as to the grant of public functions.

along with the royal demesnes in the two districts. The second diploma of the same date granted Aix-les-bains, Annecy and other scattered royal properties to the Queen¹.

Two new grants were made by Rudolf III to his wife some years later. On the 21st February in his twenty-third year, the King being then at Loges in the Jurane district, he gave her St Pierre and St Jean d'Albigny, Miolans, Conflans [Albertville] and the Novum Castellum super Isaram fluminem, all in the county of Savoy². The second, dated at Strasburg 1016, gave Aix-les-bains (again!), Lemenc, Chambéry and St Cassin, all in the same county³. Thus Ermengarde possessed no inconsiderable portion of the then small county of Savoy⁴.

These gifts to Ermengarde perhaps stand in some relation to the King's recognition of his nephew Henry II as his heir. Were they part of the price which she and her connections exacted for their support of that policy, along with the "ineffabilis pecunia" lavished on them by Henry II⁵? The immediate causes of that recognition appear to have been, on Henry II's side, the renewed unrest in West Lombardy after Ardoïn's death; on Rudolf's, the increasing difficulty he had in maintaining himself against his unruly vassals. As to the first it would seem the anti-German party in Italy had even invited Rudolf III himself to intervene, offering him as a bribe the Mark of Ivrea. No doubt the feeble King would only be a catspaw of some of his nobles, but whether

¹ "Aquis villam, Anassiacum, Rouda, abbatiam Montis Jovensis S. Petri, Font regale Castellum, partem villae Evonant, Novum Castellum, Averniacum et Arinis.' The identifications are given by Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 59, viz. Aix, Annecy, Rue, St Pierre des Monts Joux, Font in Fribourg, Yvonant, Neuchâtel, Auvernier and St Blaise; for text see Car. *Reg.* XXXIII. Cibrario and Promis, *Doc.* p. 17, and *Musée des Archives Départementales*, No. 20.

² "Quasdam cortes in comitatu Savogiensi, viz. Albinicum maiorem cum ecclesia S. Petri, alium Albinicum cum ecclesia S. Joannis, Meiolanum, Conflenz cum ecclesia S. Mariae, et Novum Castellum super Isaram fluminem" (Car. *Reg.* XXXVII. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 253). The connection with the following charter of year XXIV. makes one inclined to think that Rudolf's reign began between February and June, and thus both would be of 1016. See next note.

³ "In comitatu seu in pago Gratianopolitano vel Savoïensi" (Car. *Reg.* XLI. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 253). The charter is dated 1014/5 yr. XXIV. (which begins 1016). As the place of dating is Strasburg, the regnal year must be right and that of the Incarnation wrong. The originals are not preserved of this charter or the preceding. Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 124, n. 8, and pp. 194-5. There is the further difficulty that Rudolf's XXIV. year would begin 19 Oct.—Nov. 1016 if he reckoned from his father Conrad's death, and the meeting at Strasburg was in June. Was he after all elected King earlier in 993?

⁴ Cf. Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, p. 81, and Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 66-7, and cf. Gingins-la-Sarra, *Mémoire sur l'origine de la Maison de Savoie*, M.D.R. xx. 235.

⁵ See below, p. 17, n. 4.

of the Humbertine-Anselmid group or of the great Otto-William, who belonged to the last Italian royal house and had extensive proprietary claims in the Mark of Ivrea, is not said in our sole source¹. It would obviously be Henry II's policy to buy off Rudolf and to make renewed efforts to control the dangerous Alpine frontier. Rudolf, however, had as strong reasons, perhaps, for a rapprochement, connected with the same Otto-William. We are told that his vassals were endeavouring to dethrone him and that he thereupon begged aid of the Emperor². It is evident from the sequel that Otto-William must have been their leader.

Whichever party was most eager for the alliance, Henry II invited his uncle to meet him at Bamberg, where he held his Easter court on April 1, 1016. Rudolf however was unable to proceed thither and asked the Emperor to come to the frontier for the interview³. This took place, probably early in June, at Strasburg⁴. Rudolf was accompanied by Queen Ermengarde and her two sons⁵, who it seems did homage to the Emperor. The subjects of the conference were two, the performance of Rudolf's old promise to make Henry his heir⁶, and the measures to be taken against their common enemy Otto-William. Now accordingly Henry's heirship was publicly declared, and Rudolf III obtained for him the homage of some Burgundian nobles, and promised that of the rest; while at the same time he agreed that no important

¹ Bishop Leo of Vercelli's letter to Henry II. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 121-4, and H. Bloch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bischofs Leo v. Vercelli u. seiner Zeit*, Neues Archiv, XXII., both consider this letter to be dated early in 1016. Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 120-5, gives the end of 1016 as date, but he had not all the letters before him. See below, Cap. II. Sect. III. pp. 170-3. Henry II's diploma 1014 Jan.—Sept. to Fruttuaria shows Otto-William had already made to that monastery large grants of possessions in the Mark of Ivrea (*M.G.H.* Dipl. III. 379); cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 420-9.

² Alpertus of Metz, *De Diversitate Temporum*, II. 14 (*M.G.H.* IV. 716), "Ruodoldus ... propter mansuetudinem et innocentiam vitae a quibus principibus suis contemptus est, unde et de regno eum expellere temptaverunt. Qua necessitate compulsus ad imperatorem venit." That the rebels' leader was Otto-William is shown by the fact that Henry's first act after the treaty was to distribute (only of course in theory) Otto-William's benefices among supporters of his own (Thietmar, VII. 20); see below. The reading "Willehelmus Pictaviensis" of Thietmar must be a slip of the pen, Pictaviensis for Portuensis (O. W. being Count of Portois), made the more easily as Otto-William's son-in-law, Duke William of Aquitaine, was Willehelmus Pictaviensis. Otto-William would be the more active as his hopes of acquiring French Burgundy were finally dashed the year before (1015) by the appointment of a Capetian Duke. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 123.

³ Thietmar, VII. 20 (*M.G.H.* Script. III. 845).

⁴ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 121, Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 26.

⁵ Thietmar, *loc. cit.* and Rudolf's diploma, cited above, p. 15, n. 3.

⁶ See above, p. 13 and n. 3 there.

matter should be carried through without his advice¹. This was not all; Otto-William's benefices were all ceded to the Emperor by his uncle, apparently as a foretaste of the succession and as a guarantee of it as well, not of course in fief, for the Roman Emperor could hold of no man, but in dominion. Henry portioned them out among vassals of his own²; and promptly made a nomination to a bishopric in Otto-William's lands³. There only remained the payment of the necessary bribes to Rudolf and his entourage. This was done⁴, and the Burgundian King left for home.

It was now Henry's business to take possession of the lands ceded by his uncle. But Otto-William was in no mood to surrender. Henry's episcopal nominee barely escaped with his life. The Count fortified and held the north-Burgundian towns, and, when Henry at the end of June came to Basel at the head of an army, he could make no progress. In vain he summoned reinforcements and ravaged the open country. No town could be taken, though it seems some nobles did homage. His presence was required elsewhere; Rudolf was wavering; and at the end of August he abandoned the campaign and left Burgundy for the north⁵.

While Henry's warlike measures against Otto-William came to grief, his diplomacy received a severe check at Rudolf's court. The latter on returning south made an attempt to carry out his engagements, but it was quickly checked. The power of the kingdom lay wholly in the hands of the great nobles, and they refused to exchange a nominal master for one with force at his back⁶. Racial and local sentiment would make them reluctant to be ruled by a foreigner of Teutonic tongue and the lesser nobles would sympathise with them. To this

¹ Thietmar, *loc. cit.*, "Omnem namque Burgundiae regionis primatum per manus ab avunculo suimet accepit, et de maximis rebus sine eius consilio non fiendis securitatem firmam." For the interpretation see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 126-8, and Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 26, n. 3. Alpert of Metz, II. 14 (*M.G.H.* IV.), says, "regnum imperatori tradidit." Possibly this refers to the "securitatem firmam" and to the special concessions *re* Otto-William's benefices.

² Thietmar, *loc. cit.*, "Dilectis sibi militibus hoc totum dedit in beneficium, quod sibi ab avunculo suimet tunc est concessum et quod Willehelmus Pictaviensis (see above, p. 16, n. 2) hactenus habuit regio munere praestitum." This is not quite the view of Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 129, who considers Henry was merely authorized to dispose of Otto-William's domains. Otto-William's benefices in Burgundy included of course the four or five counties which made up the later Franche Comté.

³ Probably Besançon; see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 129, n. 2.

⁴ "Cesar autem regi et conlectali eius cunctisque suimet principibus (so Rudolf had many nobles in his train) ineffabilem pecuniam dedit, et firmata iterum antiqua tradizione, eos abire permisit." Thietmar, VII. 20 (*M.G.H.* Script. III.).

⁵ See Thietmar, *loc. cit.*, Alpert of Metz, II. 14, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 131-2, Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 37-8.

⁶ This is Thietmar's account, VII. 21 (*M.G.H.* Script. III. 845-6).

skeleton of events we may, but with slightly less certainty, add the fact that the rebels to Rudolf's authority, i.e. Otto-William and his allies, sought the King out and submitted to him, but on the condition that the treaty of Strasburg was annulled and a foreign heir was not introduced. They could allege a legal ground for their plea, that the Burgundians had the right of electing their King¹, which was no doubt the case. Rudolf consented—indeed unless he left the kingdom he could hardly act otherwise—and begged Henry to renounce his treaty rights. The Emperor too had little choice; he possessed hardly any of Burgundy; so he agreed to some kind of surrender².

It was not long before Rudolf appeared again at the German court. In February 1018 he came to Mayence, and again subscribed to the treaty of 1016 with the consent of his wife, his step-sons and his nobles. This time he even handed over his crown and sceptre to his appointed heir as a symbol of his promise, to receive them back of course after the ceremony³. The oaths were renewed as well: and then Rudolf turned homewards to play his trivial part. On his side the Emperor again prepared to take possession of his new realm. With his army he marched in June from Basel to the Rhone. But now Rudolf was hostile; for on his return the opponents of the pro-German policy had won the upper hand at his court. And Henry captured no town and obtained nothing. By September he was back at Zürich profitless.

The ineffectual Rudolf cannot have gained much by these events. In 1018 his staunch supporter, Bishop Henry I of Lausanne, to whom in accordance with his usual policy he himself had given the county of Vaud⁴, was murdered, although the King was able to get his bastard son Hugh appointed to succeed⁵. The presence of this son with the

¹ "Unum illud specialiter deprecari ne alterius gentis regem super populum suum dominari pateretur; legem hanc perpetuam Burgundionum esse, ut hunc regem haberent quem ipsi eligerent et constituerent." Alpert of Metz, *De Div. Temp.* II. 14. (*M.G.H. Script.* IV. 717.)

² This is Alpert of Metz's account, *De Div. Temp.* II. 14. Some doubt is cast on his details by his saying that the kingdom was given over to Henry II. Still this expression was not so very inaccurate for the combined effect of the oaths of homage, the right of counsel and the proposed occupation of "Franche Comté." See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 132-3, Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 38-9. It is not at all clear how much Henry II gave up.

³ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 133-5, and *Heinrich II*, III. 78-81 for these events. The Humbertine-Anselmid interest may have taken part; but their main strength lay south of the Rhone, so we cannot conclude either pro or con for their possible policy. Henry never got past Otto-William and his allies who dominated Jurane Burgundy.

⁴ Charter of 25 August 1011. The concession of rights is the fullest in these charters, *M.D.R.* VII. 1. One may note Ermengarde, Burchard II of Lyons, and Anselm Bishop of Aosta, were three of the four councillors advising the grant.

⁵ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 135, n. 2, and p. 146.

Emperor at the dedication of Basel Cathedral on the 11th October 1019 ought to show a rapprochement between the two sovereigns. Yet a border-war was going on between the Bishop of Strasburg and Otto-William in 1020¹.

The little we know of Burgundy in the succeeding years seems to imply a decrease of Rudolf's power, and with it of the resources of the monarchy. To begin with, a new pretender to the succession came on the scene. This was Eudes II, Count of Tours, son of Rudolf's sister Bertha. He succeeded to the county of Troyes in 1021 and probably commenced his agitation in Burgundy about then, bribing many nobles to adhere to him and usurping some of his uncle's authority².

Then further progress was made in the creation of episcopal Counts. On the 14th September 1023 the King, with Ermengarde's assent, gave her county of Vienne (not that of Sermorens) to Burchard, Archbishop of Vienne, and his successors who thus possessed the entire fiscus of the district³. But it seems that the supposed grant of the county of Aosta to Bishop Anselm must be put aside with the spurious charter⁴ which seemed to show it had taken place. In any case by the

¹ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 135-6, p. 138, n. 3, and Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II*, III. 82 and 85-6.

² That Eudes II had taken this course before Henry II's death in 1024 is implied by Ralph Glaber's words (III. 9, *M.G.H. Script.* VII. 64): "quoniam regi Rodulfo, avunculo scilicet eius, non erat proles ulla, quae foret regni heres, praesumpsit ipso vivente, vi potius quam amore regni abenas praeripere; conferens insuper multa donaria, ut ei assensum praerent, primoribus patriae. Sed nequicquam...Gens enim precipue regni eiusdem assertionem fidei floccipendit et foedus pro nihilo ducit. Extitit igitur post mortem Henrici imperatoris...Chuonradus." Perhaps the rise of Eudes' party is connected with the conferment of the county of Geneva on Rudolf III's great-nephew, Gerald I, c. 1020 (see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 155 and 267), who was later Eudes' partizan.

³ "Letante dilectissima conjuge mea Irmingarda regina, dono...S. Mauritio Ecclesiae Viennensis patrono et episcopis eidem ecclesiae praetitulatis, atque deinceps in curricula seculorum praeordinandis, Viennensem comitatum cum omnibus appendiciis suis infra ipsam civitatem Viennensem et extra dictam civitatem, cum castello...Pupet, et quicquid nostro usui, legis censura, per manus ministrorum nostrorum nunc usque solvebat" (quoted in Manteyer, *Paix*, p. 135, from I. a Bosco, *Laevum Xyston*, pp. 63-4, and in Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 431, from *Hist. de France*, XI. 549).

⁴ See the demonstration that this charter (Besson, *Mémoires etc.*, ed. 1870, p. 472, and Schiaparelli, *I diplomi ital. di Lodovico III e di Rodolfo II*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, p. 133) is a fabrication c. 1050, by Sig. Schiaparelli (*loc. cit.* and *Arch. stor. ital.* Series v. XXXIX. (1907) pp. 334-6). He points out that the charter, which is a pseudo-original, contains undoubtedly the date 923, although its script is that of the eleventh century; and that the supposed name Katelmus, which would point to the date 1023, is written clearly Ratelmus. It also agrees with Rudolf II of Burgundy's itinerary, not with anything known of Rudolf III's. Sig. Patrucco (*Miscellanea Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. XVII. pp. lvii., lviii.), M. de Manteyer

grant of the Viennois the Anselmid house obtained a large, if temporary, increment of power. Their fortune was shared in by the Humbertines; for Anselm's nephew, the Humbertine Burchard, appears about this time (perhaps in 1021) as Provost of St Maurice and coadjutor Bishop of Aosta¹. In the one case Anselm himself, in the other Anselm's half-brother, Burchard II of Lyons, was his superior².

Bishop Anselm of Aosta died on the 16th January 1026³. His nephew Burchard must then have become sole bishop, and at the same time we find the county in the possession of his connection Count Humbert I Whitehands, the ancestor of the House of Savoy, who thus

(*Origines*, pp. 388-9, 467-8), and M. Poupardin (*Bourgogne*, pp. 43, n. 4, and 322) accept the charter as genuine, and correct the date to 1023. Herr Hellmann, *Die Grafen von Savoyen und das Reich*, p. 4, accepts the charter as genuine, and dates it 923, but considers Bishop Anselm a layman. He points out that the Bishop of Aosta in the twelfth century had an ancient right to a third of the Count's profits in the city, "tertiam partem talliarum exactionum...in ipsa urbe et suburbis...ex antiqua consuetudine" (*Car. Reg. CCCLXXX. M.H.P. Chart. I. 980*). See below, pp. 90-1.

¹ Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 320, n. 2. Burchard the younger was already Provost in 1021 (*Car. Reg. LXIII. M.H.P. Chart. II. 114*). This charter also makes him Bishop of Aosta. But see below, pp. 49 and 60. A Burcardus *episcopus*, son of a Count Humbert, appears in a charter of 1022 (*Car. Reg. LII. Cibrario e Promis, Doc. p. (97)*; see below, pp. 47 and 58). He must be the Bishop of Aosta and already appointed, since no other Bishop Burchard is known of the Humbertine family and translation was barely possible. The theory of a nickname used this once seems most unlikely. See Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, p. 87, n. 1, and cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 64, n. 1. Then in 1024 Burchard acts as Bishop of Aosta in a charter (*Car. Reg. LVII. Cibrario e Promis, Doc. p. (100)*) which exchanges some episcopal lands (of the Canons of St Ours) for other lands in the Val d'Aosta with a certain Katelmus. Besides the evidence of *Car. Reg. LII.* that Burchard had already attained episcopal rank by 1022, the exactitude of three out of four dates in *Car. Reg. LVII.* for 1024 (day of week and month, and regnal year, only the Indiction being out) makes one reject Patrucco's (*Misc. Valdost., B.S.S.S. XVII. p. lxxiii.*) tempting emendations (changing at least three out of the four dates), which would bring *Car. Reg. LVII.* down to 1026. The dating formula runs: "die lunis, XIII. Kal. Nov. regnante Rodulpho rege anno XXXII. Ind. II. feliciter"; i.e. Monday, 19 Oct. 1024. It is true that Rudolf's father and predecessor Conrad only died on the 19th Oct. 993; but Rudolf may well have been elected before that event (see above, p. 15, n. 3). The Indiction should be VIII. Burchard, Bishop of Aosta and Provost of St Maurice Agaune, appears also with Burchard II of Lyons in a charter of 1026 (*Car. Reg. LXII. M.H.P. Chart. I. 449*). Cf. for his life Labruzzi, *Un figlio di Umberto Biancamano*, Arch. st. ital., Series V. Vol. XVI. and below, Section VI.

² See above, p. 11, n. 1.

³ See *Obituary of St Ours, Aosta (M.H.P. Script. III. 519)*, "XVII. Kal. Febr. ob. Anselmus episcopus Augustensis qui nostram construxit ecclesiam." He was at the Council of Anse of 1025, so the evidence here fits together. See above, p. 10, n. 4.

makes his first incontestable appearance in history¹. It has been held by M. G. de Manteyer that Count Humbert must have obtained the Val d'Aosta by enfeoffment from the Bishop-Count Anselm, but there is no trace later of any superiority of the Bishops of Aosta over its Counts. On the other hand Count Humbert was certainly suzerain of part of the bishop's lands², and in the twelfth century the Counts by long tradition took the bishops' revenues *sede vacante*, the action surely of a feudal superior, not of a tenant in chivalry³. As we have seen, too, the evidence for Anselm's countship has broken down.

Meantime, while King Rudolf seems to have abandoned any attempt to rule his kingdom and to have contented himself with aiding the rise of those powerful families which were his personal allies, a serious attempt was again made by the bishops to give some respite from the prevailing anarchy by renewing the Peace of God. A synod had been held at Anse in the Viennois to establish it in mid-Burgundy in 994-5, at a moment when Rudolf's own efforts to restore the royal authority were disastrously failing. That was thirty years before, and a new generation now required binding to a modified Peace. Accordingly a council was held to take the necessary measures. As with the first Peace established in 994-5, the movement was not a local one, for all south and central France was implicated; nor was it a step taken by the Kingdom of Burgundy as a whole. But provincial councils made independent, though connected, regulations. The earliest of the

¹ The subscriptions of Car. Reg. LVII. (cited p. 20, n. 1) run: "Signum domnus Brocardus episcopus, qui hanc commutationem fieri et manu sua firmavit, et ei relictum est. Signum domnus Umbertus comes qui hanc commutationem firmavit." Count Humbert must intervene as feudal superior of Katelmus and perhaps of Burchard as well. That this Count Humbert of Aosta is Count Humbert Whitehands, ancestor of the Casa Sabauda, is shown specially by Car. Reg. cxx. (Bollati, *Misc. stor. ital.* XVI. 635), where his grandsons, Oddo's and Adelaide's sons, appear as ruling the valley and confirming his grant (see below, p. 52, n. 3); by his Ardoinid daughter-in-law Adelaide's rule of the county (which was never Ardoinid) transmitted to later Savoyards (see below, p. 230, n. 1); and by St Anselm's (b. c. 1030 at Aosta) statement (Car. CCXXXVII. Migne, CLIX. 102) that his father and mother were vassals of Savoy. Humbert's Aostan charters, too, form a series, the one above (Car. Reg. LVII. (1024)), *id.* LIX. (1026), *id.* XC. (1032), *id.* CXX. (1040). The argument was first stated by Terraneo, *Dei primi conti di Savoia e della loro signoria sulla valle d'Aosta*, *Misc. stor. ital.* XVI., and has been, I think, universally accepted.

² See below, p. 91, n. 1.

³ See below, Section IV. pp. 90-1. The earliest diploma giving up the *spolia* of the Aostan Bishops is of 1147 (Car. Reg. CCXCV. *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 794). The letters of St Peter Damian (Car. Reg. CLVII.) and St Anselm (*id.* CCXXXVII.), mentioned above, also corroborate this view. For Manteyer's view see *Origines*, pp. 387-9. Besides the charter of Bishop-Count Anselm, which is a forgery, there is no evidence at all for his conclusion. Cf. below, pp. 90-1.

second series of these assemblies was the Council of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, which adopted regulations for the borderland of France and Burgundy¹. Then in 1025 in the preponderantly Burgundian Second Council of Anse, presided over by the three Archbishops of Lyons, Vienne and Tarentaise, new oaths were exacted from the feudal lords of mid-Burgundy². The provisions of the oath which have come down to us from this assembly show the condition of the land better than any account of private wars could do. A great feudal *seigneur* promises that he will not attack and plunder unprovoked any non-combatants, clergy, merchants, pilgrims, serfs, hunters or noblewomen³: nor will he shelter brigands, especially of the knightly sort⁴. Even an unarmed knight was to be safe from the beginning of Lent to the octave of Easter⁵. Of course in his demesne-lands or lands which were held of him, the lord reserved his full rights of tannage and the like, and feudal execution⁶. Then, the actual conduct of private war was softened by regulations. The presence with either party of noblewomen, clergy and widows was to be a bar to any fighting in the open country: houses of the non-knightly

¹ See Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 102-3, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 304-5.

² That the Peace of God was reestablished at Anse in 1025 is made highly probable by Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 102-9. The only document we have is the oath of some great Viennois feudalist (published, *op. cit.* pp. 91-8) to keep the Peace (see text and notes below). It must have been taken before 1041, as there is no reference in it to the Truce of God (the later form of the Peace) which was introduced into Burgundy at Montriond in that year at the latest. It belongs to the time subsequent to Archbishop Theobald of Vienne's death in 1001. And it established a 30 years' prescription against renewing claims of possession which agrees very well with the 30 years' interval between the two Councils of Anse: nor does there appear to have been any other south Burgundian Council at which it could have been taken.

³ The prescriptions of the oath are not in a very logical order. They were evidently put together as various loopholes in the earlier oaths were found out. For the above statements, the most salient passages (Manteyer, *op. cit.*) are: "Clericum aut monachum non portantem arma secularia non asiam nec aprehendam, neque ambulantes cum eis sine lancea et scuto, nec caballos eorum rapiam (unless it was their fault)" (pp. 91-2), "villanum nec villam (*sic*) vel servientes aut mercatores non aprehendam nec denarios eorum tollam nec redimere eos faciam nec suum averum tollam ut perdant, etc." (92); "negociatorem vel peregrinum non asiam nec res earum (*sic*) tollam nisi illorum culpa fuerit. Venatores nec piscatores nec aucellatores non aprehendam nec occidam nec res eorum tollam" (94). For women see p. 23, n. 1.

⁴ "Latronem publicum et renominatum non consentiam nec conducam illum nec eius latrocinium me sciente" (93), "et ei meum beneficium tollam si facere potuero etc." (94).

⁵ "A capite Jejunii usque clusa Pascha caballarium non portantem arma secularia non asiam nec substantiam tollam per exforcium quam secum duxerit" (96).

⁶ "Spolia villanorum non tollam ut perdant in drapis et ferramentis nec bestias eorum tollam nec occidam, nisi in illis terris que mihi pertinent" (94); "Vineas alterius non vindemiabo, neque alterius terram messionabo, nisi in illis terris que sunt de meo alodo" (96).

classes were not to be destroyed unless a knight at feud with him were within: the land was not to be ravaged unless he had a claim to its possession¹. Similar rules are adopted to-day at the Hague.

The vivid matter-of-fact of these regulations, so naively made, transports us back almost with surprise to the days whose picture become heroic is to be found in so many a chivalrous epic and romance. Here are the originals of Sir Turquine and Rainaud of Montauban. It requires no effort to discern the distressed damosel or even the knight-errant, for how easy it would be for a worthy knight, making his pilgrimage, as William V of Aquitaine did year after year, to achieve a rescue or to prevent some act of tyranny to the traveller. Complete anarchy seems to reign in this part of the ruined Carolingian Empire, where nothing is more striking than the permanent state of war which existed among the members of the knightly class. It was one of the most beneficial effects of the feudal tie that it placed large numbers of them in fixed relations of mutual alliance and thus conferred a new strength on the holders of the decayed *publica potestas*. And if the foreground of knight and baron which we find in the romances is here translated into reality, so does the background too appear. Round the villages, along the roads, up the mountain-sides stretches the forest, wooded or treeless, haunts of the hunter and the herdsman. Therein the thinly-peopled villages, scarcely less numerous than they are to-day, and their fields and vineyards, are strewn like islands; and to the surrounding waste the villein looked not only for pasturage and fuel, but for protection and concealment. His life was forest-hemmed.

We have a special interest in the particular oath which was taken at Anse, for it adds further details which seem to point to the seigneur in question being a leading member of the Humbertines, if not Whitehands himself. The territorial limits in which his oath was to take effect were the county and the diocese of Vienne, the county and the diocese of Belley, the rest of Bugey, that part of the diocese of Lyons which lay on the left of the Rhone, and the county of Sermorens². Now this district, as will be seen in Section IV. of this

¹ "Nobiles feminas non asaliam neque illos qui cum eas (*sic*) ambulaverint sine maritis suis...et si ego cum nobili femina ambulavero hominem non apprehendam nec occidam etc. Similiter et cum clericis adtendam. Similiter et de viduis adtendam" (95). "Mansiones non incendam nec destruem ex toto nisi inimicum meum cabalarium aut latronem intus invenero etc....Vineas non truncabo nec saliceta neque arbores fructiferas neque flagellabo neque eradicabo propter werram, nisi in illa terra que recte mea debet esse, me sciente" (93).

² "Haec omnia suprascripta adtendam in episcopatu Viennensi et comitatu et in episcopatu Belicensi sive comitatu et in episcopatu Lugdunensi sicut Rodanus currit usque ad episcopatum Viennense(m) et Belicense(m) et de Ulevio [Loyettes] usque ad Montem Altreium [Outriaz] et de Monte Altreio et Castellare que vocatur

chapter, was precisely that where the Humbertine possessions were most thickly scattered, and we do not know of a competing family which would exactly fall within its boundaries¹. While reserving, therefore, the discussion as to the nature and origin of these Humbertine domains till later², we may note at present the great power and wealth of the family and the weakness of Rudolf III. Not even service in the King's host is mentioned as excepted from the Peace, although to enforce the Peace service was definitely allowed under the Bishop³.

Before the Council of Anse met, the Emperor Henry II had died on the 13th July 1024. His successor was a distant kinsman, Conrad II, the Salic, whose election in September begins a new German dynasty. Although the new King of the Romans was not, like his predecessor, Rudolf III's next of kin, his wife Gisela of Swabia was niece of the Burgundian King through her mother Gerberga; and it was soon seen that Conrad II intended to use the relationship, as well as the treaties of 1016 and 1018, to the utmost. He had good reason to strive for the control of Burgundy, for the Italian nobles were largely disaffected to the German monarchy and c. 1025 obtained the consent of Duke William V of Aquitaine to the election of the latter's son as King of Italy. Now William V was related both to Otto-William of "Franche Comté" and to Eudes of Troyes, who headed the anti-German party in Burgundy, and he began negotiations, certainly with Eudes and probably with Otto-William, for joint action. In the summer of 1025 the Duke himself journeyed to Italy to ascertain what real support his son might gain there⁴.

In these circumstances a complete difference of opinion, as to the import of the treaties of 1016 and 1018, appeared between the German

Dorcas [Dorches] in ista parte, sicut aqua Saveria [Canal de Savières] est que Lacurios [Lavours] exit et intrat in Rodanum, et sicut Munitus [Mont du Chat] est et Ladisia [R. Leisse] usque ad Scalas [les Échelles] et sicut est Kalesius [Chalais] et Mons S. Martini [Mont St Martin] usque ad S. Vincentium [St Vincent du Plâtre] usque in Isera, et Isera currit in Rodanum, et comitatu Salmoracensi" (Manteyer, *Paix*, p. 97). For a discussion of the passage and the tracing of the eastern border from somewhere near Seyssel down by the Lac du Bourget to the Isère between Grenoble and Voiron, see Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 110-23. This passage rouses a suspicion that the county of Belley may have been larger than the diocese of the same name and thus have more closely corresponded to the later district of Bugey. See below, pp. 77 and 83.

¹ Cf. Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 124-5, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 307-8.

² See below, Section IV. of this chapter.

³ "Teneo excepto per hostem quam episcopus fecerit per istam pacem fractam" (97).

⁴ See for all this Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 136-7, Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 73-9; and cf. below, Cap. II. Sect. III. pp. 174-5.

and Burgundian Kings. Conrad II held that on Rudolf's death they guaranteed the union of the Kingdom of Burgundy with the Empire in which Germany was the leading state. Just in the same way he claimed to be ruler of the Italian kingdom immediately on his German election. The new title, King of the Romans, instead of King of the East-Franks and the like, although he seldom used it, expressed in fact his and Henry II's view of the indissoluble connection of the Empire and Italy with the German crown, and he now wished (as doubtless Henry II had also done) to establish the same kind of union between the German realm and Burgundy¹. Rudolf III, however, considered Henry II merely as his personal heir, duly sanctioned by his nobles; and looked on Conrad II as having no status beyond that of a kinsman-by-marriage. This does not mean of course that he recognized Count Eudes' pretensions, but that he viewed the succession as an open question².

Conrad II soon saw there was need and opportunity for action. On the 12th May 1025 Bishop Adalbero of Basel died, and it was important to secure that strategic town, the northern gate of Burgundy, for the Empire, and to prevent Eudes and Otto-William putting in a supporter of their own as Bishop. Coming from Zürich, therefore, where he had been receiving some of his Italian partizans, Conrad entered Basel towards the end of June with a large force and reannexed the town. A certain Ulric was appointed Bishop by a frankly simoniacal transaction and an assembly was held, partly perhaps in sign of sovereignty. But Conrad II did not stop there. Before departing he carefully garrisoned the frontier district of Burgundy in spite of King Rudolf's protests. Thus he had already made his military position better than Henry II's. As for Rudolf, the death of Otto-William (September 1026) freed him from one potent influence; and his niece Gisela also entered into negotiations with him which resulted in a more friendly attitude on his part³.

¹ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 82-4, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 137. The text is Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi Imp.* (*M.G.H. Script.* XI. 264), Cap. VIII.: "Chuonradus autem rex, magis augere quam minuere regnum intentus, antecessoris sui labores metere volens, Basileam sibi subjugavit, ut animadverteret si rex Ruodolfus promissa attenderet." The "promissa" are the treaties with Henry II. On the other hand there was the claim of kinship, which appears in a rather legendary form in Hugo Flaviniacensis (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 364); and is stated by the Burgundian chronicle of Ralph Glaber, IV. 9 (*M.G.H. Script.* VII.), "post mortem Heinrici Imp. qui fuit nepos regis Rodulfi, Chuonradus...habens in conjugio neptam prefati Rodulfi; ob hoc maxime valenter resistens contradicebat Odoni." Cf. *id.* v. 1. Henry III has Kingdom of Burgundy "quod illi a progenitoribus competebat."

² Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi Imp.* VIII.: "defuncto Imp. Heinrico Ruodolfus rex promissa sua irrita fieri voluit."

³ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 138-9, Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 84-5. The authority is chiefly Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi Imp.* VIII. (*M.G.H. Script.* XI.).

Nor was Conrad less successful in Italy. William V returned disillusioned from his journey and declined to engage his son further in the business. In 1026 Conrad II, entering the country, received the iron crown and enforced submission. About December he had marched to Ivrea and stormed that city¹. It was while he celebrated Christmas there that ambassadors arrived to greet him from Rudolf III. They brought only a promise on the latter's behalf to attend Conrad's imperial coronation at Rome, but it betokened the Burgundian King's change of purpose². The capture of Ivrea must have been an object-lesson to him; and still more perhaps to the Count of Aosta, Humbert Whitehands, who saw the value of the Great St Bernard route increasing, and would realize, then at least, if not before, how much better it was to be a well-rewarded and trusted ally than a vanquished enemy. The Alpine passes were then as later the means by which the House of Savoy rose to greatness³.

The legends of the later *Chroniques* narrate that Humbert was present at an imperial coronation and there received the county of Maurienne⁴. The latter statement has nothing to say for itself, but we may well believe that the Count accompanied King Rudolf to Rome for the Emperor Conrad's coronation at Easter, 26 March 1027⁵. At any rate his southern neighbour, Guigues III the Old, lord of Graisivaudan and Albon, ancestor of the later Dauphins, and Guigues' brother, Bishop Humbert of Valence, were at Rome for the ceremony⁶; and King Canute, who took advantage of his meeting with the Emperor and King Rudolf to obtain promises for the free and safe passage of the Alps by English and Danish pilgrims and merchants, expressly mentions in his account the assent of several *principes* to his demands. The most important of the lesser rulers would be Humbert Whitehands, Count of Aosta, which commanded the two St Bernards, and perhaps already Count of Maurienne and therewith master of the approach to the Mont Cenis⁷. In any case, if the tolls over those

¹ For these Italian events see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 106-9, 121-35. The Ardoinids' share in them is told below, Cap. II. Sect. III. pp. 171-8.

² See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 135-6 and 201-2. Presumably about this time Rudolf forced Duke Ernest of Swabia, his great-nephew and Conrad's step-son, who was in revolt against Conrad and had seized a strong position near Soleure as a base of operations, to leave Burgundy.

³ Cf. Hellmann, *Die Grafen von Savoyen u. das Reich*, pp. 14-15.

⁴ *Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie*, M.H.P. Script. I. 81.

⁵ Cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 139-48, and the account in Wipo, *Vit. Chuon. Imp.* XVI. Gisela was crowned Empress on the same day.

⁶ See Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 144-5, from Bull of Pope John XIX, 28 March 1026 (*Cartulaire de Cluny*, No. 2798, Jaffé, *Reg. No.* 3101); cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* I.

⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), I. 222, "locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domino papa et principibus qui ibi erant de necessitatibus

passes were reduced, he must have been charged with the reduction on the Great St Bernard¹.

He may have already been Count of Aosta when c. 1020 a struggle had taken place for the way over the latter pass. About that year a body of Normans with their wives and children came to the defiles on their way to join their new-settled kinsmen in Apulia. These hardy adventurers refused to pay the tolls demanded, rushed the barrier, slew the guards, and proceeded on their journey². It must have been an object-lesson to Humbert Whitehands, to see his kinsmen's officers—for the abbey of St Maurice, then under the Anselmids, owned the valley of Entremont, leading up to the Great St Bernard—routed and killed. He would doubtless perceive that a gentler use of their rights would be more successful.

Soon both Emperor and King Rudolf had returned to their northern homes. Conrad was busy in suppressing Swabian rebels³ and in the course of his operations was led to Zürich about mid-August 1027. Thence he proceeded to Muttenz, just south of Basel, where he met Rudolf III, and the two monarchs entered Basel itself together. The Empress Gisela was again the mediatrix: and the result of their conferences was the formal renewal of the treaties of 1016–18, this time in favour of Conrad II. His son and heir-designate, the later Henry III, was explicitly included; thus the danger of the treaty lapsing in case the Emperor should predecease Rudolf was avoided and the hereditary descent of the crown was confirmed. With the usual bribes Rudolf III then left for his kingdom⁴.

totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, ut eis concederetur lex aequior et pax securior in via Romam adeundi et ne tot clausuris per viam arcentur et propter injustum theloneum fatigentur. Annuitque postulatis imperator et Rodulfus rex qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur cunctique principes edictum firmarunt, ut homines mei, tam mercatores quam alii orandi gratia viatores absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneorum cum firma pace Romam eant et redeant.....Cuncta enim quae a domino papa et ab imperatore et a rege Rodulfo ceterisque principibus per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meae gentis utilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt et concessa etiam sacramento firmaverunt." The *clausurae* are the tolls at the defiles at the mouth of a pass, e.g. at Bard in Val d'Aosta and at S. Michele della *Chiusa* in the Valle di Susa.

¹ For the special importance of the Mont Cenis and the Great St Bernard in the Middle Ages, cf. Coolidge, *Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 164–9.

² See Radulph Glaber, III. 1 (*M.G.H. Script.* VII. 63): "Egredientes (Normanni) satis audacter, venerunt ad loca Alpium, qui et mons Jovis dicitur, ubi etiam in angustissimis semitis praepotentes regionis illius constituerant, imperante cupiditate, seras et custodes ad pretia transmeantium exigenda. At illi cum denegassent eis transitum, requisito primitus ex more pretio, indignatus Normannorum exercitus, confractis seris caesisque custodibus, per vim transitum fecerunt."

³ That is Duke Ernest of Swabia and his adherents. See above, p. 26, n. 2.

⁴ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 141–3, Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 221–2. Authority

The old King's position does not seem to have become any happier in his last years. Eudes of Champagne, and Rainald I, son and successor in "Franche Comté" of Otto-William, were openly preparing to contest the claims of Conrad II¹: he also lost two of his wonted supports; for his brother Burchard II of Lyons died on the 22nd June 1030 or 1031², and the latter's half-brother, the Anselmid Burchard of Vienne, on the 20th August 1031³. Burchard of Vienne's place was supplied by Leger, who was clearly on good terms with the King and Queen⁴; but Lyons was seized on by the Humbertine Bishop Burchard of Aosta⁵. The latter perhaps was favoured by Rudolf and his relatives, but his bad character made him a most unsatisfactory substitute for Burchard II. Then his translation from one see and province to

Wipo, *Vita Chuon. Imp.* XXI., "Confirmata inter eos pace, Gisela imperatrix haec omnia mediante, regnoque Burgundiae imperatori tradito eodem pacto quemadmodum prius antecessori suo Heinrico imperatori datum fuerat, rex iterum donis ampliatus, cum suis reversus est in Burgundiam," and *id.* XXIX., "regnum Burgundiae Chuonrado imp. et filio eius Heinrico regi a Ruodolfo rege, postquam ipse superstes non esset, per iusjurandum jamdudum confirmatum esset." For the hereditary character of Henry III's nomination see p. 25, n. 1, above.

¹ See above, p. 19.

² Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 470-3, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 156, n. 1.

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 465-6, and *Paix*, p. 132.

⁴ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 53. Leger appears as a royal councillor in Car. Reg. LXXXIII. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 4), LXXXIV. (*Cartulaire de Savigny*, ed. Bernard, I. 318) and in several charters of Ermengarde after Rudolf's death, Car. Reg. XCII. (Chevalier, *Cartul. St André-le-bas*, p. 172), XCIII. (*id.* p. 185), CVI. (Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, p. 193), CXLIX. (*Cartul. de Grenoble*, ed. Marion, p. 99).

⁵ I follow Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 55-8, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 156-7. Cf. Labruzzi, *Un figlio di Umberto Biancamano*, Arch. stor. ital., S. v. Vol. XVI. The text is: Ralph Glaber, v. 4 (*M.G.H. Script.* VII. 70): "Fuit igitur in suprataxatis diebus dissensio permaxima post mortem Burcardi archipraesulis Lugdunensis de praesulatu ipsius sedis, quam plures non justis appetebant meritis, sed instinctu superbae elationis. Primus omnium praedicti Burcardi nepos, eiusdem aequivocus, supramodum superbissimus, relicta sede propria Augustanae civitatis, procaciter Lugdunensem arripuit. (Qui post multas perpetratas nequicias captus a militibus imperatoris, perpetuo est condemnatus exilio.) Post ipsum vero quidam comes Geraldus (*al.* Girardus) suum filium puerulum quandam arroganter ibidem sola praesumptione auctore substituit, et ipse post modicum, non ut pastor ovium, sed veluti mercennarius, in fugam versus delituit." Then follows the Pope's election of Odilo and the latter's refusal. Bresslau (*loc. cit.*) pointed out that the capture of Burchard III by the Emperor must be told in parenthesis, as it occurred in 1036 and the refusal of Odilo had taken place by 1033, in which year Pope John XIX died. A Bull of the latter reproving the Abbot for his refusal exists (Migne, CXXI. 1150, Jaffé, 4095). Herimann. Augiensis, too, gives a bad character of Burchard III (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 121), 1034, "Lugdunensem archiepiscopum Burghardum, hominem genere nobilem et strennum, sed per omnia scelestum et sacrilegum," and 1036, "Burghardus Lugdunensis archiepiscopus, immo tyrannus et sacrilegus, aeccliarum depraedator, adulterque incestuosus." Without defending Burchard, one may possibly attribute the last phrase to his being married.

others would give offence and loosen his hold on his clergy. A dispute for the see began at once; a Count Gerald intruded a boy-son of his for a while, but was, it seems, driven out by Burchard III. The Pope John XIX was induced to intervene, and nominated a leader of the Church, Abbot Odilo of Cluny; but the great Abbot refused the special honour, and Burchard III was left in possession.

Burchard III does not seem to have been succeeded by a Humbertine in Aosta¹, but about this time two other members of the family obtained bishoprics. One was Aymon, son of Amadeus, who appears in 1032 as Bishop of Belley and continues in office till c. 1055². The other was a second Aymon, Bishop of Sion, son of Humbert Whitehands, who first appears as Bishop in 1037 and died in July 1054³. His appointment however is likely to be later than 1034⁴.

The last important acts of Rudolf III testify to the alliance of his Queen with the Humbertines. He had already given the *villa* of Talloires and its churches on the Lake of Annecy to the abbey of Savigny⁵. Now in 1031-2 a fresh gift was made by the Queen to the

¹ A certain Guigo or Gigo appears perhaps in 1034. See Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 89.

² See *Cartulaire de Cluny*, iv. 78 and 79 (1032), *Car. Reg.* cxiii. (*Cartulaire de Romans*, ed. Giraud, *Preuves*, i. 68-9) (1037), *Car. Reg.* cxli. (Guigue, *Petit Cartulaire de St Sulpice en Bugy*, p. 26) (? 1055). The latter, combined with *Car. Reg.* cxxxviii. (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 26), shows his father to have been Amadeus, Count of Belley; concerning whom see below, Section III.

³ He appears as Bishop, *Car. Reg.* cxiii. (*Cartulaire de Romans*, ed. Giraud, *Preuves*, i. 68-9) (1037), *Car. Reg.* cxx. (*Misc. di Storia ital.* xvi. 635) (1040), *Car. Reg.* cxxiii. (Marion, *Cartulaire de Grenoble*, p. 31) (1042), *Car. Reg.* cxxvii. (Dunod, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Besançon*, Vol. I. *Preuves*, p. xlix.) (1044), Grémaud, *M.D.R.* xviii. 338 (1043), *Car. Reg.* cxxxi. (*M.H.P. Chart.* II. 142) (1046), *Car. Reg.* cxxxv. (Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 156), *Car. Reg.* cxlii. (*M.H.P. Chart.* II. 148) (1050), *Car. Reg.* cxlv. (Grémaud, *M.D.R.* xviii. 340) (1052), Grémaud, *M.D.R.* xviii. 346 (?), *Car. Reg.* cxlvi. (Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, iv. App. p. 742) (1053), *Car. Reg.* cxlvii. (Grémaud, *M.D.R.* xviii. 338) (1054), and *Car. Reg.* cxlviii. (Grémaud, *Necrol. Sedun, M.D.R.* xviii. 276). He was buried 13 July 1054. He appears too as Provost of St Maurice in 1046 (*Car. Reg.* cxxxi. *M.H.P. Chart.* II. 142), Abbot in 1050 (*Car. Reg.* cxlii. *M.H.P. Chart.* II. 148). The mention of him as Abbot in 1037 is due to a mistake in *Gallia Christiana* (*Car. Reg.* cxiii.), where the real text is, "Sedunensis episcopus atque Octodurensis" (Giraud, *Cartulaire de Romans*, ed. I. *Preuves*, i. 68-74), which must mean merely all the Vallais (Emmo of Tarentaise calls himself "Centronorum et Darantasiensium" just before). The see had been shifted once or twice (see Gams, p. 312).

⁴ Else Count Humbert would hardly have needed to go round by Italy to reach Zürich in that year; see below, pp. 32-3. But Eudes' conquest of the Vallais and Aosta (below, p. 30, n. 4) may sufficiently account for the détour.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* xlix. (*Cartulaire de Savigny*, ed. Bernard, I. 317), "petitiones Irmengardis reginae, ... Burchardi archiepiscopi Lugdunensis fratris nostri et Burchardi Viennensis archiepiscopi." Iterius was Abbot.

new abbey of Talloires (subject to Savigny) by the counsel of four Bishops, with whom only one layman is named, viz. Count Humbert, who can scarcely be other than Whitehands in view of his later connection with the Queen¹.

Rudolf III did not long survive the foundation of Talloires. On the 6th September 1032 he died and was buried at Lausanne². His death gave the signal for war. The Emperor Conrad II was away warring in Poland, and, though the dying King had sent him his crown and insignia³, could take no immediate steps to enter his destined kingdom. This gave his chance to Count Eudes. He at once entered Burgundy, claiming the succession or perhaps only the royal domains at first. In any case he took possession of the latter by force or negotiation as far as the Great St Bernard, fortifying especially Neuchâtel and Morat. He could hardly have got so far without the alliance of Count Rainald I of "Franche Comté." Other supporters were Gerard, Count of the Genevois, and the truculent Humbertine Burchard III of Lyons. But here his easy success stopped. Leger of Vienne showed no zeal for him: and it seems likely that Queen Ermengarde withdrew to her dower-lands in Sermorens and Savoy, there to plan with Count Humbert Whitehands, probably already her advocate, measures in favour of Conrad's succession⁴.

¹ Car. Reg. LXXXIV. (Bernard, *Cartulaire de Savigny*, I. 318). Archbishops Leger and Emmo of Tarentaise were two of the prelates.

² Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 144.

³ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 148-9, *Konrad II*, II. 9-10.

⁴ For Eudes' measures see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 13-15, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 151-8. With regard to his adherents, he could hardly have made the intra-Jurane land his centre of operations without Rainald's support as mentioned in the text. Gerard and Burchard III submitted to Conrad II in 1034. In view of Burchard III's (who was Provost of St Maurice) adhesion, we may accept Hugh of Flavigny's statement (sub anno 1037, *M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 401), "optinuitque (Odo) civitates et castella usque ad Jurum et Montem Jovis." Wipo (xxix. *M.G.H. Script.* XI. 269) merely says, "magnam partem Burgundiae distraxit." Does Baldric (1050-1130), *Carmina Historica* (quoted *M.D.R.* XXIX. 60, and Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 110, n. 4, cf. Molinier, *Sources*, II. 207-8), refer to Eudes' conquests in 1032 in his reference to him?

"Addidit Octodurum (Martigny in the Vallais) sibi scilicet unus eorum (Odonum), Augustamque suis viribus (text has juribus) obtinuit.

Isque Theobaldum generavit pacis alumnum,

Quo, Philippe, venis principe progenitus."

According to this Eudes would conquer Aosta for the time from Humbert. But the latter had recovered it by 1034 (see below, p. 33, n. 1, and p. 35, n. 1). As to the opposition, Ermengarde and Humbert joined Conrad II at Zürich early in 1033 (see below). We find the Queen making two small grants by Leger's advice about this time (Car. Reg. XCII., XCIII. Chevalier, *Cartul. St André-le-bas*, pp. 172, 185) which agrees with the latter's reluctance to recognize Eudes (see below). Humbert only

It may seem too purely speculative to discuss the possible motives of Humbert Whitehands in joining or rather heading the Imperial party; knowledge of his private feuds and circumstances is wanting to us. Still there are some general considerations which cast a little light upon them. To begin with, Eudes after all was not a Burgundian. This consideration does not carry much weight at the period and I should not mention it had not the Burgundian grandees raised the national question to Rudolf III in 1016¹; still it was there. Far more important was Conrad's subjugation of Ivrea in 1026. That and the firm establishment of the Germanic Empire in Piedmont must have appealed to the Count of Aosta (and perhaps of Maurienne too) no less than to Rudolf III. Conrad, unlike Henry II, held Burgundy in a vice. And at this point I think we may credit Humbert with rather wider views. He can hardly have been blind to the unique position his house was gaining on the Alpine chain. Along the counties he controlled ran the main routes of war and religion and trade from France, from England and the Rhineland towards Rome, the centre of the world. For the due exploitation of his position friendly relations with the master of North Italy and a secure state of things there were essential. There were many ways to the Alpine defiles from the north—Eudes' hostility would mean little; but few led from them south over the unbroken Lombard plain. With this would be linked the profit of the Imperial alliance. The Great St Bernard was a most important strategic point for the Emperors to control. By it they could take Lombardy between two fires in lieu of merely attacking by the North-East and the Brenner. A faithful ally might expect to be cherished and to receive a series of rewards. If Humbert was not already Count of Maurienne, it is possible as we shall see that the acquisition of that valley and of the approach to the Mont Cenis was a firstfruits of his alliance with Conrad II. The Emperor would then be already concentrating the control of the passes in trusty hands; and in any case we shall find that the aggrandisement of, and a strict alliance with, the Humbertines was a cardinal point of the Emperor Henry III's Alpine policy².

To return to Eudes. Though the intra-Jurane districts of Romance tongue joined him, he does not seem to have gained any success in the German-speaking north-east corner of Burgundy³; and we next find actually appears as Ermengarde's advocate in c. 1039 (*Car. Reg. xci. Cartul. de Cluny*, iv. 95, cf. Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 397-8).

¹ See above p. 18, n. 1.

² See below, Cap. II. Sect. iv. pp. 216-17, 221-2.

³ I gather this from Conrad's election at Payerne, where none of his southern supporters could come. German Burgundy lay between Fribourg and the river Reuss.

him working down the Rhone. Here he besieged Archbishop Leger in Vienne. The latter was compelled to make a treaty, by which within some unmentioned term Eudes should be elected and crowned King in the city¹. It is something of a puzzle why Eudes was not yet elected and crowned. He himself seems to have spoken at first equivocally of his ambitions. Then Conrad had of course the crown and insignia. Perhaps the real reason was that the magnates would only elect a King with overwhelming force to back him².

Meantime Conrad II, set free from his Polish entanglement, made all the speed he might to prosecute his claims. Christmas he kept with his son Henry III at Strasburg. In January 1033 he marched with his army in spite of the exceptionally severe winter into Burgundy via Soleure. The time chosen for his campaign was very novel, but Eudes had to be checked and his election forestalled. On the 2nd February 1033 Conrad held an assembly at the abbey of Payerne. We may suppose the German-speaking Burgundian nobility attended. There the Emperor was formally elected and crowned King of Burgundy. This did not mean much, but it gave him the start of Eudes. Burgundian customs on the accession of their Kings were at least observed in name. He could now claim allegiance legally³.

The next movement of the new-crowned Emperor-King was to attempt the expulsion of his rival from the intra-Jurane lands, that is from the chief remnant of the royal domains. Herein, however, Conrad II had little success. We are told of no castle he took: we know that his army suffered terribly from the extraordinarily bitter season at the vain siege of Morat. The Emperor found himself compelled to beat a retreat to Zürich, presumably towards the end of March⁴.

At Zürich he met his partizans from southern Burgundy headed by Queen Ermengarde and Count Humbert. They had been unable to reach him by the direct route, another sign that Eudes held the Vallais

¹ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 16-17, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 158-9, both based on Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron. Viridunense*, s. a. 1037 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 401).

² See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 153-9.

³ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 69-70, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 159-60. Wipo's (*M.G.H. Script.* XI. p. 270, Cap. xxx.) account runs: "Et veniens ad Paterniacum monasterium, in purificatione S. Mariæ a maioribus et minoribus regni ad regendam Burgundiam electus est; et in ipsa die...coronatus est." It is clear, from subsequent events, that only the seigneurs between Neuchâtel and the German frontier could have attended.

⁴ Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 71, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 161; the authorities are: Wipo, Cap. xxx., *Ann. Sangallenses*, 1033 (*M.G.H. Script.* I. 83), Herimann. Augiensis, 1033 (*M.G.H. Script.* V. 121).

and all Vaud as well as Geneva. But they crossed into Italy either by the Little St Bernard or the Mont Cenis, and came up to Zürich by one of the easterly passes. There they took the oath of fealty both to Conrad II and his son, and loaded with bribes returned by the way they came¹. Thus Humbert remained firm in his pro-German policy.

Conrad, however, appears to have been discouraged by the poor result of his campaign, and resolved to try new measures. By the 22nd April 1033 he was at Nijmegen on the Lower Rhine. There a treaty of alliance was negotiated with Henry I of France, which was completed at the end of May in a personal interview at Deville on the Meuse. Both monarchs had Eudes for an enemy, for he had supported the claims of Henry I's younger brother to the French crown. So we may assume Conrad II was now given a free hand by his ally to invade Eudes' French fiefs. At the same time he now knew his Burgundian plans would be morally supported by Henry I².

But Conrad's chief difficulties arose from the vastness of the Empire. Called off to his eastern frontier again, he left the field clear for a ravaging incursion of Eudes into Upper Lorraine³. Then Conrad retaliated by a similar, but severer, invasion of Champagne about the end of August. Eudes was reduced to such straits that he submitted and promised to surrender his claims in Burgundy. Hostages were given by him, and the over-busied Emperor was forced anew to depart to his Slavonic border⁴. But Eudes did not keep his word. He held to the land he had seized in Burgundy; and recommenced his ravages in Lorraine. Conrad II saw a great effort would have to be made to

¹ See Wipo, *op. cit.* Cap. xxx. (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 270): "Imperator reversus ad Turicum castrum pervenit; ibi plures Burgundionum, regina Burgundiae iam vidua et comes Hupertus et alii qui propter insidias Odonis in Burgundia ad imp. venire nequiverant, per Italiam pergentes, occurrebant sibi, et, effecti sui, fide promissa per sacramentum sibi et filio suo Heinrico regi, mirifice donati redierunt." Cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 71-2, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 161-2; I think M. Poupardin goes too far in saying they were compelled to leave the Viennois by Eudes' capture of Vienne. We do not know that they were there. The Queen's and Humbert's lands lay largely further east. Nor do we know that Eudes held Tarentaise or Aosta now, even if he conquered the latter for a time (see p. 30, n. 4); one of which things would be necessary to close the Little St Bernard. Wipo's words seem to imply a quick return of the Burgundians to Burgundy from Zürich. Humbert appears to control Aosta in 1034 (see below, p. 35): and in fact they would hardly be so bribed by Conrad if he had to restore them. The identity of Count Hupertus with Humbert Whitehands is shown by his connection with Ermengarde and the Alpine passes (see above, p. 21, n. 1, and below, pp. 58, 61-2); the variation of the form of the name presents no difficulty (see below, p. 53 (docs), and p. 116).

² See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 74-6, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 162-3.

³ This is evidence for the view that Eudes could make no further progress in Burgundy. Else why did he not get himself elected king in the breathing-space?

⁴ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 86-9, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 163-5.

conquer Burgundy, if he meant to have it. During his Easter (14 April 1034) court at Ratisbon he laid his plans¹. While he himself with his Germans again assaulted the intra-Jurane territory, an Italian army was to attack Burgundy from the south under Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, and Boniface, Marquess of Tuscany. Thus the enemies' position would be turned.

In June Conrad II started from Basel. He marched through the county of Vaud, capturing Neuchâtel and the other castles in his way, save Morat, which perhaps he masked with a detachment. Completely successful, he reached Geneva². The ease of his progress was no doubt largely due to the fact that the enemy were taken in the rear. The Lombard forces under Archbishop Aribert and Marquess Boniface of Tuscany had started earlier it seems than the Germans, about the beginning of May³; and they reached Geneva before the Emperor⁴.

¹ Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 102-5, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 165-6.

² Wipo, Cap. xxxii. (*M.G.H. Script.* XI. 270), only says for this march: "Chuonradus, expeditis Teutonicis et Italis, Burgundiam acute adiit. Teutones ex una parte, ex altera archiepiscopus Mediolanensis Heribertus et caeteri Italici ductu Huperti comite de Burgundia usque ad Rhodanum flumen conuenerunt." Arnulf of Milan says (*Gesta Archiepiscoporum Mediolan.* II. 8, *M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 14), "Ipse vero ex contigua sibi parte obstruos irrumpens aditus municipia quaeque praecipuat." *Ann. Sangall. majores*, sub 1034 (*M.G.H. Script.* I. 83), have: "Chuonradus imperator iterum Burgundiam cum exercitu intravit, et omnia municipia cum civibus usque ad Rhodanum flumen suae ditioni subegit Genevamque pervenit." Herimannus Augiensis, 1034 (*M.G.H. Script.* V. 121), "Imperator iterum Burgundiam cum magnis petens copiis, omnia cis Rodanum castella subjecit, Murtenam diruit, Genevensem urbem intravit." It will be noticed that Herim. Aug. places the capture of Morat before Conrad's entry in Geneva (therein perhaps supported by the "omnia municipia" of *Ann. Sangall. maj.*), but Wipo's evidence, supported as it is (see below, p. 36, n. 1), is conclusive. The suggestion of Carutti (*Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 37 and 105) that the variant, with little, if any, ms. authority, in Herim. Aug.'s text, "Muriennam," is to be accepted, and a campaign in Maurienne deduced therefrom, lacks all probability in view of the order of events and the known course of the campaign: nor can the complaint of Bishop Theobald of St Jean de Maurienne in a charter of 1040 (*Doc. Acad. Savoie, Chartes de Maurienne*, II. 13), which grants some episcopal lands to the canons, "eo quod locus unde videor esse episcopus destructus mihi videtur," be evidence for it. See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 160, who says the passage refers to the cathedral only. The state of anarchy of much of Burgundy is too well known: the supposed union of the rebellious diocese of Maurienne to that of Turin (see Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 230, 233, Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 400-6) is based on a forged diploma of Conrad II (*Car. Reg. civ.*); see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 475-6, and *M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. p. 411. See below, p. 97, n. 5.

³ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 109, n. 1, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 166. Marquess Boniface made an appointment for 25 April at Masino (Maximum), south of Ivrea (*Muratorius, Ant.* I. 589).

⁴ *Ann. Sangall. maj.* 1034 (*M.G.H. Script.* I. 83), "Ibi (Geneva) vero ab Heriberto Mediol. archiepiscopo caeterisque Italiae et Burgundiae principibus honorifice susceptus (Chuonradus)." This statement is not contradicted by any other source and is made probable by the earlier start of the Italians.

Under the guidance of Humbert Whitehands they had passed the frontier by the defile at Bard into the Val d'Aosta, and crossed the Great St Bernard, apparently without fighting¹. Thence they marched down to the Rhone valley and proceeded to Geneva. One would think from the absence of any mention of the Lake of Geneva, that they must have struck west from St Maurice, and crossed the eastern portion of the *pagus Genevensis* held by Eudes' partizan Gerold². Eudes himself, as the two armies closed in on him, seems to have left his supporters to shift for themselves³; and when the Emperor entered Geneva, he found them ready to submit. Burchard III of Lyons and Gerold of the Genevois were the principal nobles who surrendered, a fact which shows how restricted Eudes' real sphere of power had been⁴. On the 1st August 1034 Conrad solemnly wore his Burgundian crown and was acclaimed king by the Burgundian magnates. The election of Payerne was thus ratified by a more representative assembly⁵.

Morat, however, still held out. Conrad marched back there in full force, and took the town by storm, in which Boniface of Tuscany

¹ See Wipo, passage quoted p. 34, n. 2; Arnulf of Milan, *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Mediolan.* II. 8 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 14), "E vicino...Italiae cum optimatibus ceteris electi duces incedunt scilicet praesul Heribertus et...marchio Bonifatius, duo lumina regni, explorantes accessus illos, quos reddunt meabiles praecisa saxa inexpugnabilis opidi Bardi. Per hos ducentes Longobardorum exercitum, Jovii montis ardua juga transcendunt; sicque vehementi irruptione terram ingredientes, ad Caesarem usque perveniunt. Cumque nequirent Burgundiones resistere, dedicionem accelerant, perpetua subjectionis conditione Chuonrado substrati. Et factum est ut in magna gloria reverterentur omnes ad propria." This seems to imply that Bard was held in their favour and that there was no fighting till they crossed the St Bernard, which is natural if Humbert led them through his own county into the hostile territory of St Maurice (cf. p. 30, n. 4). Even there ravaging seems to be implied more than a battle. Cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 110, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 166-7.

² i.e. over the Pas de Morgins and either down the Drance to Thonon, or to the Arve at Cluses. Humbert's presence would make the country easier to march through. That the armies met at Geneva is stated by *Ann. Sangall. maj.* (see p. 34, n. 4) and seems to be implied by Wipo (see p. 34, n. 2), unless we are to suppose that Conrad marched via Chillon and joined the Italians near there.

³ For his presence in the campaign, see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 111.

⁴ Wipo, Cap. xxxii., "Augustus veniens ad Genevensem civitatem Geroldum principem regionis illius et archiepiscopum Lugdunensem et alios quam plures subegit." Herimannus Augiensis, 1034 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 121), "Lugdunensem archiepiscopum Burghardum (see p. 28, n. 5)—cum multis aliis principibus in dedicionem accepit." Arnulf. Mediol. II. 8, see above, n. 1. If the above suggested route of the Italians is correct, Burchard III of St Maurice and Gerold of the Genevois would be the chief sufferers from their invasion.

⁵ *Ann. Sangall. maj.* 1034 (*M.G.H. Script.* I. 83), "in festivitate S. Petri ad Vincula coronatus producitur, et in regnum Burgundionum rex eligitur." Cf. Arnulf of Milan, above, n. 1. The phrasing of *Ann. Sangall. maj.* seems officially exact. It would have been absurd to let the sectional assembly at Payerne lack real confirmation. See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 111-12, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 168.

distinguished himself. The remnant of Eudes' partizans now fled the realm, and were deprived of their lands by the conqueror. On his side the cautious Emperor left nothing to chance; he took hostages of the Burgundian magnates and made distributions of benefices to his *fideles*. Then he started for Germany¹. Eudes' pretensions in Burgundy were over and there is no need to tell of his defeat and death in 1037.

One would like to know who were the beneficiaries and where were the benefices, with regard to whom and which Conrad took action. Most no doubt would be in the intra-Jurane *pagi*; but it is possible that the marked Franco-Swabian settlement south of the Lake of Geneva was one result of Conrad's victory², and we may note that two neighbouring dynasts, who were both early supporters of the Emperor, were making an advance in power, a step or so in which may well have happened now. Guigues III the Old, of Graisivaudan and Albon, ancestor of the Dauphins, appears for the first time authentically as Count in a charter of the 20th August 1034 just after the assembly at Geneva. Have we not here an imperial enfeoffment³? As to what

¹ Wipo, Cap. xxxii. (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 270), "et reversus castrum Murat cum fortissimis militibus Odonis munitum obsidens vi cepit et quos intus invenerat, captivos duxit. Caeteri fautores Odonis hoc audientes solo timore Caesaris fugerunt; quos persecutus Caesar omnino exterminavit de regno et acceptis de principibus Burgundiae multis obsidibus, rediit etc." Herimannus Augiensis, 1034 (see p. 34, n. 2), doubtless by mistake, places the capture of Morat in the first part of the campaign, but his later evidence cannot weigh against the precise statement of Wipo. A legendary account of Boniface's exploits at Muroaltum ("High-wall"), followed by atrocities committed by him as he returned (probably in the Vallais), is given by Donizo, *Vita Mathildis* (*M.G.H. Script.* xii. 369).

² See Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, i. 546.

³ See Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 143-6. M. de Manteyer considers this promotion the result of the enfeoffment to Guigues the Old, by Archbishop Leger, of half the latter's county of Vienne (see above, p. 19, and n. 3), the other half being given to Humbert Whitehands. Thus the Bishop would create a Count by enfeoffing his *comitatus* to his advocate. Certainly the Dauphins did homage to the Archbishops of Vienne (see below, pp. 82-3) later, but the Savoyards (by the theory in a similar position) only did so for the late (thirteenth century) acquisition of Septême, not for their other Viennois possessions (see below, p. 81, n. 5). Would there be anything to prevent the Emperor granting a comital *districtus* to Guigues if he did not interfere with the Archbishop's fiscal claims and demesne? Perhaps there was a joint arrangement. Manteyer (p. 143) points out that in Emperor Conrad II's diploma to the Archbishop of Vienne, 31 March 1038 (*Chevalier, Cartul. St André-le-bas*, App., 51*, p. 260), the county is not expressly mentioned. This may show the Archbishop had lost the county; but if he had merely enfeoffed it, it would surely appear in the diploma—he would hold it of the Emperor, the vassal Counts of him. c. 1037 there are traces of a considerable hostility to Conrad II in the entourage of Leger at Vienne (see Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 173-85). However, the diploma is studiously general in its terms, mentioning not even the right to strike money for the province of Vienne. It only says, "omnes res et possessiones scilicet mobiles et immobiles ac utriusque sexus

Count Humbert Whitehands may have received we are reduced still more to conjecture. Does the Savoyard right to invest the Bishop of Sion with the *regalia* of Vallais go back to this epoch when Aymon, Humbert Whitehands' son, was bishop¹? Then there is the acquisition of the county of Maurienne, of which in 1046 Humbert appears for the first time in the documents as Count, then of some standing². Lastly, there is the lordship of "New" Chablais on the southern shore of Lake Geneva, the process by which its dominion came to Savoy being unknown. It might of course be a consequence of the march of the Italians under Humbert's guidance in 1034. There is no evidence to decide the question unless the German settlement there is to be regarded as such; but it must be acknowledged that Humbert's appearance in Maurienne comes in very happily, and there is the tradition (unluckily quite untrustworthy) that Humbert had it by grant from an Emperor³.

Burchard III, the truculent Archbishop of Lyons, did not long keep in the Emperor's grace. We do not know the cause of his revolt, but in 1036 he was captured by Ulric, son of Seliger, and then imprisoned by Conrad II. His captivity was not of long duration, but the Archbishopric he never recovered⁴. He seems to have been pardoned⁵ (family influence would do much) at the Burgundian assembly held at Soleure about October 1038. At this four days' conference the Emperor attempted to restore some sort of public law in the anarchic kingdom⁶.

familias que imperatores et reges Francorum et Burgundiorum eidem episcopatu... concesserunt,...confirmamus." So no inference can really be made from it as to the Archbishop's claims. I think we may dismiss in any case the supposed enfeoffment by Leger to Whitehands.

¹ This is unlikely owing to the important position of Bishop Ermenfrid at the court of Henry IV.

² Car. Reg. cxxxii. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (95)). The date is doubtful, 1043, 1046, or 1047. Carutti (*Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 103-4) treats Car. Reg. cvii. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, I. 161) as evidence for Humbert's possession of Maurienne in 1036, but Coise, etc., are therein expressly stated to be in Savoy. Cf. below, p. 61, n. 2.

³ *Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie* (*M.H.P. Script.* II. 81). The Emperor's name is given as Henry and the donation is made at Rome at the imperial coronation. See above, p. 26.

⁴ Herimannus Augiensis, 1036 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 122), "Burghardus Lugdun. archiepiscopus...(see p. 28, n. 5)...cum Oudalricum Seligeri filium bello peteret, ab ipso victus et captus imperatorique adductus, ferro compeditus et custodia mancipatus multis annis detinetur in vinculis." Cf. also Ralph Glaber, quoted p. 28, n. 5. See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 421, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 170.

⁵ Archbishop Burchard appears as Abbot of St Maurice in a charter of 1057 (see below, p. 64, n. 2), Car. Reg. cxix. (*M.H.P. Cart.* II. 130).

⁶ Wipo, Cap. xxxviii., "convocatis cunctis principibus regni generale colloquium habuit cum eis et diu desuetam atque pene deletam legem tunc primum Burgundiam praelibare fecerat." Herimann. Aug. 1038 gives Soleure as the place of assembly. See Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 322-5, Poupardin, *op. cit.* pp. 173-5.

Of more real importance was the association at the same time of the young King Henry III with his father in the Burgundian kingdom, although how far Conrad surrendered any power to his son is doubtful.

The position of the Humbertines in central Burgundy was in 1039 extremely strong. Members of the family held the counties of Aosta¹, Maurienne², Belley and Savoy³, the Count-Bishopric of Sion⁴, the similar Abbacy of St Maurice⁵, the Bishopric of Belley⁶, as well as immune demesnes and *in commendams* in the Genevois, Sermorens and the Viennois⁷. Humbert Whitehands was in addition advocate of Queen Ermengarde⁸. To this complex of hereditary official rights⁹ and benefices and alods, strengthened no doubt by the gradual enforcement of homage from the landowners in their counties and from weaker neighbours, and by the practical suzerainty over the Bishoprics of Belley, Maurienne and Aosta, they were now to add an Italian dominion, giving them a still more complete control of the West Alpine range.

After Conrad's death in 1039 Henry III appears as undoubted ruler, making vigorous efforts to introduce some sort of central administration. We find him supporting episcopal independence in order to check the lay seigneurs and appointing a Chancellor as well¹⁰. In the winter of 1042 he enters the land in force, from Italy via Aosta, going to St Maurice and to Besançon¹¹. The old opponents of Conrad,

¹ See p. 20 above.

² See p. 37 above.

³ See below, Sect. IV.; a Humbert seems to appear as Count of Savoy in 1036, *Car. Reg. CVII.* (Cipolla, *Monumenta Neovaliciensia*, I. 161).

⁴ See p. 29 above.

⁵ See pp. 20, 29, n. 3, and below, pp. 92 and 122-3.

⁶ See p. 29 above.

⁷ See p. 23, and below, Sect. IV.

⁸ See *Car. Reg. XCI. (Cartul. de Cluny, IV. 95, Cibrario e Promis, Doc. p. 102)* dated by Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 397, q.v. for identifications, 4 June—24 September 1039. Ermengarde gives to Cluny two *mansi* "in pago Genevensi," one "in villa Sibingiaco" (? Silingiaco = Sillingy near Annecy), the other "in villa Cicinlatis" (? Seysolaz near Sillingy), by her advocate Count Hubertus.

⁹ The belief of Gingsins-la-Sarra, *Origine de la R. Maison de Savoie (M.D.R. xx. 238-9)*, and Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, pp. 100-1, that Humbert Whitehands was Constable of Burgundy, rested on a misinterpretation of the Aostan charter of 1032 (*Car. Reg. xc. Schiaparelli, Archivio storico ital.* 1905, Ser. v. XXXVI. 332, where facsimile) as shown by Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 65, Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 385-7, and conclusively by Schiaparelli, *loc. cit.* The words describing the lands given by Humbert in exchange to the monastery of S. Benigno, viz. "de suo comitatu et beneficio Costabile...de comitatu vel a beneficio Costabile...habet finis de una parte Costabile," mean that the field in question was sub-ensfeoffed by the Count to a certain Costabilis, whose assent as tenant and party to the transfer is subscribed "Costabil[e] f[ir]mavit." These last words were (before Schiaparelli's article) misread "Constantinus."

¹⁰ Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 39 ff. and 63.

¹¹ Herimann, *Augien. 1042 (M.G.H. Script. v. 124)*.

however, were restive: Rainald I of "Franche Comté" and Gerold I of the Genevois, after a revolt in 1045, submitted to Henry at Soleure¹. In May 1048 and in May 1052 he held fresh diets at Soleure, and at the last of them there seems to have been a partial revolt, which was not altogether pacified². In short, though Henry tried to rule Burgundy as a kingdom, he had little success. Order was far more effectually enforced—although even thus not to a great extent—by the Council of Montriond, held in 1041 in the Pays de Vaud, for the provinces of Besançon and Vienne. An absolute cessation of hostilities, "the Truce of God," was now added to the former Peace. The Truce was to extend from sunset on Thursday to dawn on Monday, from Advent to Epiphany and from Septuagesima to the Octave of Easter³. In some ways, of course, the Truce was a retreat from the more elaborate Peace, but it was probably more effectual. We need not doubt Humbert's concurrence; it was to the interest of a seigneur, who had official authority over others, and who drew a revenue from the great trade-routes (the Aostan and Mauriennese tolls), to check petty private war⁴.

In fact it was the great lords who could enforce some kind of peace with the aid of the Church, the bishops, it will be remembered, being both seigneurs and ecclesiastics; and among them the old Count of Maurienne was one of the most powerful. He was soon to quit the scene. His last dated charter is of the 14th June 1047 and is executed in Maurienne⁵. By that time his youngest⁶ son Oddo had married Adelaide of Turin, and had received the Mark which is conveniently designated "of Turin⁷." This marriage, with the enormous increase of

¹ Herimann. Augien. 1044, 1045 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 124-5).

² Herimann. Augien. 1048, 1052 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 128, 131). See for these movements of Henry III, Jacob, *op. cit.* pp. 41-9.

³ Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 310-11, Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 103-5; the text *M.G.H. Const.* I. 599, "Treugas autem a IIII. feria post occasum solis usque ad secundam post ortum solis et ab adventu Domini usque ad octavam epyphanie et a LXX. usque ad octavam pasche ab omnibus inviolabiliter precepimus observari."

⁴ There is also a special Truce of Aosta, Duc, *Miscell. di Storia ital.* xxiv. 369, *M.G.H. Const.* I. 602.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* cxxxii. Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (95). The dating-formula runs: "Regnante Henrico Imp. viii. xviii. Kal. Julii, Luna III." C. e P. placed it wrongly under Henry II 1007 or 1008, Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, p. 108, 14 June 1046, Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 400, 14 June 1043, to make the Luna III. correspond with the day. This would seem conclusive, were it not that Henry is described as Emperor. Now he was crowned at Rome, Christmas 1046. As he became King of Burgundy c. Oct. 1038 (see above, p. 38) his eighth regnal year would run from c. October 1045 to 1046; but the year may be counted from Conrad's death, 4 June 1039, and the eighth year would then run from c. June 1046 to c. June 1047.

⁶ In the Charters where some order in the names is observed, his name always comes last of Humbert's sons.

⁷ See below, Cap. II.

power resulting from it, could only have taken place with the Emperor Henry III's concurrence¹. Evidently Henry had decided to concentrate the control of the north-western Alps in sure hands. As we shall see, he made alliance with the Humbertines a cardinal point of his policy². There was a purely Italian aspect of his measures³, as there was a purely Burgundian one, viz. the control of the centre of that kingdom⁴; but perhaps more important was the imperial aspect, the security of the routes between Germany and Italy, and the closing if necessary of the routes between France and Italy⁵.

The date of Count Humbert Whitehands' death is still uncertain. The legendary *Chroniques* place it in 1048⁶: the Necrology of the Abbey of Talloires that he helped to found gives the day of the month as the 1st July⁷. The fact that his son Oddo had lands in Tarentaise between March and June 1051, as well as the phraseology of his diploma concerning them, seems to imply Humbert was already dead⁸. Perhaps the 1st July 1048 is the real date⁹.

Of his children we know four sons, Amadeus I, Burchard, Aymon and Oddo I. The personalities of the two elder will have to be discussed in the next section. Aymon was Bishop of Sion and Abbot of St Maurice¹⁰: Oddo Marquess of Turin and ancestor of the later House of Savoy¹¹.

¹ See below, Cap. II. Sect. IV.

² See below, Cap. II. Sections IV. and V.

³ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 60-2, Steindorf, *Heinrich III*, II. 324-5.

⁴ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 60-2.

⁵ Cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 117; and for the later period Hellmann, *Die Grafen von Savoyen*, pp. 67-71. Cf. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 150-71.

⁶ *M.H.P.* Script. II. 88. They say he was buried in the cathedral of St Jean-de-Maurienne.

⁷ *Neues Archiv*, XI. 102, "Kal. Julii obiit Upertus amicus noster." This doubtless refers to our Humbert. *Car. Reg.* CXXXVI. *Sup.* XII. I have not discovered whence Carutti obtains the date of the year 1048 unless it is from the *Chroniques*.

⁸ *Car. Reg.* CXLIII. *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 572: it is dated 1051 (beginning 25 March) and 12th year of King Henry: i.e. 12th year after Conrad's death, running June 1050—June 1051 (cf. Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 408). The grant is "pro remedio animae patris mei Humbertus comes et propter animam meam." No other Humbertines are signatories.

⁹ Carutti (*Reg.* CXXXVI. and *Sup.* CII.) has given up his former suggestion (*Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 113-14) that the charter confirming Bishop Theobald's grant to the Canons of Maurienne (*Car. Reg.* CXXXIII. Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 6: Besson, ed. II. p. 336) implied Theobald (ob. 1056) was already dead. The phrase is "omnia quae Theobaldus episcopus per meam donationem tenere videbatur": and presumably alludes to the fact that Theobald had transferred his rights to the Canons. Then Savio, *I Primi Conti di Savoia* (Misc. stor. ital. xxvi. 462-4), proves that Humbert Whitehands had died well before 19 April 1054 (when Pope Leo IX died) as on that date his son Oddo had been reigning for some time in Maurienne. The document is *Car. Reg.* CLXXII.; cf. below, p. 122.

¹⁰ See above, p. 29.

¹¹ See below, Cap. II. Section IV.

However much doubt remains over the details of Humbert Whitehands' life, the general course of events under which the Savoyard State was founded is pretty clear. About 1020 A.D. the Humbertines were possessors of wide lands and counties between the Lake of Geneva and Vienne. They continually improved their position by a strict alliance with the decaying royal house, from which they obtained further grants to be carried into effect by their own power. The claim of Conrad II to the succession found Humbert Whitehands Count of Aosta, and in view of the connection between Germany and Italy and of the whole Burgundian policy of the Emperor, he was therefore the most valuable ally obtainable among the Burgundian nobles. He was quick to make use of his advantage, and by his firm pro-German policy had a large share in the subjection of Burgundy to Conrad. The county of Maurienne may have been his reward. In any case the German conquest put no stop to the practical disintegration of the kingdom, and, like the other Counts and some of the greater barons south of Lake Geneva, Humbert at his death would be in possession of the regalian as well as the comital rights in his various counties and lands. If the multiple and heterogeneous character of his dominions forbids us to speak of them as more than the beginnings of a state, in actual independence Count Humbert would not be much inferior to a contemporary Duke of Aquitaine.

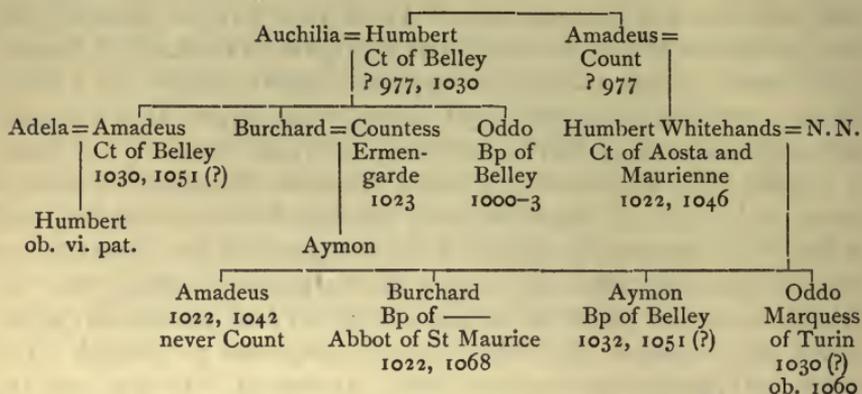
SECTION III. THE PROBLEM OF THE TWO HUMBERTS.

Though many and diverse opinions have been held since the seventeenth century as to the ancestors of Humbert, it was not till the middle of the nineteenth¹ that Baron Gingins-la-Sarra started a new opinion with regard to the documents (of which by that time more were known) attributed to Count Humbert Whitehands himself. His view² was that two Count Humberts and their families had been confused together by historians. They were uncle and nephew; the uncle was Count Humbert of Belley, husband of Auchilia, with three sons, Count Amadeus of Belley, Burchard (husband of Countess Ermengarde) and Oddo, Bishop of Belley; the nephew was Count Humbert Whitehands of Aosta and Maurienne, wife unknown, father of an Amadeus, who never became Count, a Burchard, Bishop of some unknown city and Abbot of St Maurice, Aymon, Bishop of Belley, and

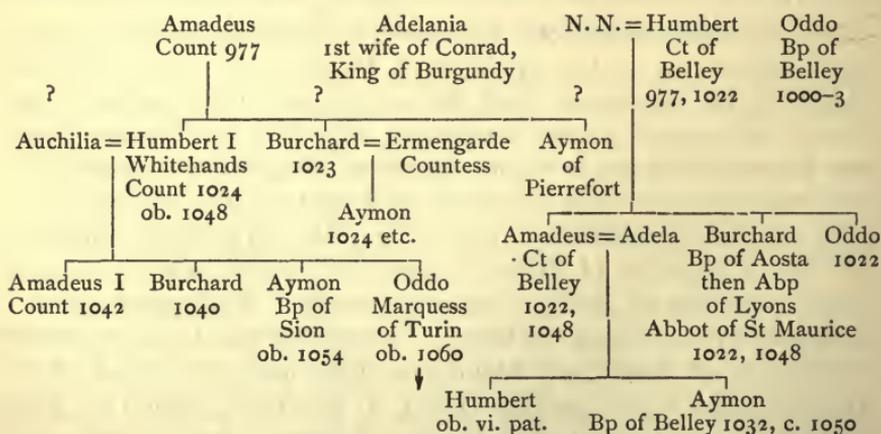
¹ There is also Carena's (ob. 1769) view (see Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, p. 149) which does indeed assign the earlier charters with name of Humbert to a supposed father of Whitehands, first husband of Queen Ermengarde. As the latter remarried in 1011, however, this affects only two or three charters.

² *Mémoire sur l'origine de la maison de Savoie*, M.D.R. xx.

Marquess Oddo of Turin. We may thus arrange his genealogical tree as follows¹:



Of these conclusions, I may here remark that the identification of the Bishop Aymon, who is evidently Humbert Whitehands' son in various charters, with Bishop Aymon of Belley is negatived by a document where the latter gives his father's name as Amadeus². I think it is generally agreed that Whitehands' son must have been the Bishop of Sion. Some other parts of the scheme also do not seem happy: but the general idea was taken up by Baron Domenico Carutti and worked out by him in his treatise *Il Conte Umberto I Biancamano*³, where with remarkable skill and clearness he argues for the two Count Humberts and the two branches of the House of Savoy. Carutti's results in their corrected form given in the *Regesta Comitum Sabaudiae* are as follows:

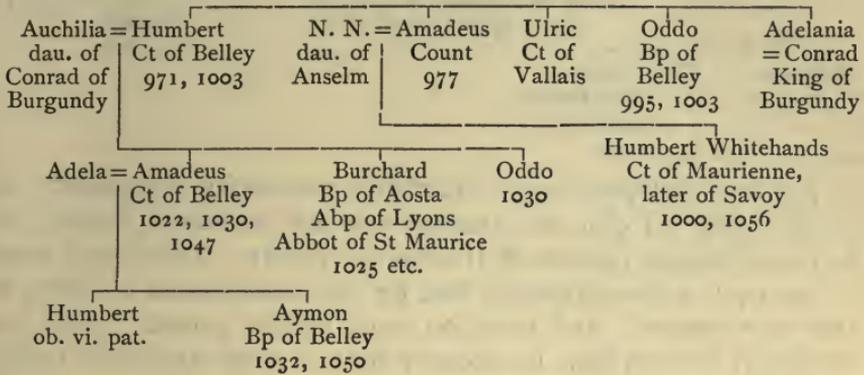


¹ The dates underneath are those of the personages' appearance in charters. Gingins did not know all of them.

² Car. *Reg.* CXLI. (Guigue, *Petit Cartulaire de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 26).

³ This work originally appeared in the *Archivio storico italiano*, Series v. Vols. I., II. (1878) and X. (1882); and was reissued separately with modifications to bring it up to date in 1884 and 1889.

His contention was accepted by Bresslau¹ and by the modern Piedmontese school of historians, headed by Professor Gabotto. Among them Count Benedetto Baudi di Vesme has introduced important modifications². His scheme as shown by Professor Patrucco (1900) is as follows:



The study of Humbert Whitehands' life and ancestry was thus greatly advanced by Baron Carutti, but his main thesis of the two Humberts has met with criticism as well as acceptance. Signor Labruzzi³ has upheld the single personality and latterly M. G. de Manteyer⁴ has brought new material to bear on the Humbertine history, besides re-examining the question of their original domains. He, too, and he is followed by M. Poupardin⁵, is for the single line of Humbertines. Thus his table is:

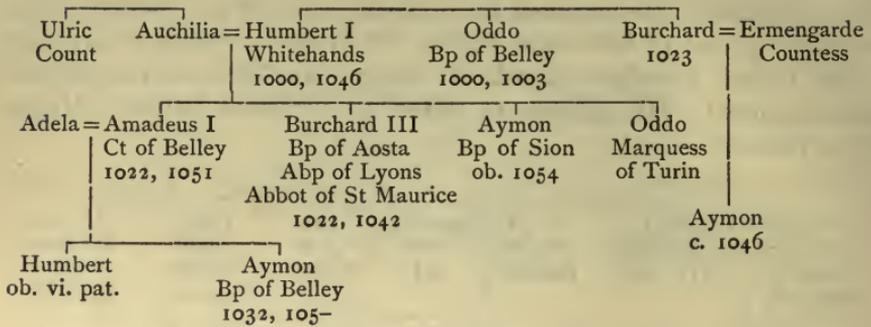
¹ Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 60-5.

² Count di Vesme has not yet published his work on *I principi franco-sassoni nell'impero carolingico* which is to appear in the *Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina*. I have endeavoured to represent his views, I trust with accuracy, as I gather them from Baron de Gerbaix-Sonnaz, *Studi storici sul contado di Savoia e marchesato in Italia*, Vol. I. (1884), and as modified in Professor C. Patrucco's *Aosta dalle invasioni barbariche alla signoria sabauda* in the *Miscellanea Valdostana* (B.S.S.S. Vol. XVII.) and in Professor Patrucco's *Le Famiglie Signorili di Saluzzo* in *Studi Saluzzesi*, Vol. x. of the same *Biblioteca*. But it is possible that Count di Vesme, from his great knowledge of the charters of the date, is in possession of further evidence, besides that already known.

³ *Un figlio del Biancamano*, *Arch. stor. ital.* Ser. v. XVI. and *La monarchia di Savoia dalle origini all' anno 1103*, Rome, 1900.

⁴ *Les Origines de la Maison de Savoie en Bourgogne* (910-1060), Rome, 1899, extract from *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française à Rome*, XIX.; *id.* *Notes additionnelles*, Paris, 1901, extract from *Moyen Age*, Ser. II. T. v.; *id.* *La Paix en Viennois* (*Anse* [17 Juin] 1025) *et les additions à la Bible de Vienne*, Grenoble, 1906, extract from *Bulletin de la Soc. de Statistique de l'Isère*, XXXIII.

⁵ *Le royaume de Bourgogne* (888-1038), pp. 262-4.



Although the questions of Humbert's personality and ancestry are closely bound up with one another, they are essentially distinct, and deal with different periods of Humbertine history. Therefore it seems best to treat of the personality first, for the consideration of which we have more material and tread on more certain ground. Until new documents come to light, his ancestry must be a very speculative matter. Here I hope to show that, on the evidence at present known, we must decide for a single Count Humbert in the various Humbertine documents between 1000 and 1050, who is that same Whitehands the ally of Conrad II and Queen Ermengarde.

To proceed then with the inquiry as to the single or double Humbert, it seems best to give a register of the documents involved in order of date as far as that is possible, along with the names and localities which are of importance, then to give the short separate genealogical statements to be derived from them, then the combined genealogies which we may pretty certainly construct, and in the light thus obtained finally to discuss whether a double or a single family-tree is more likely. I arrange the register in three columns: (1) those charters which are admitted by Carutti and Di Vesme to belong to Whitehands and his branch, (2) those which are diversely referred to the Whitehands' branch, or to that called by Carutti Savoy-Belley, (3) those unanimously referred by the exponents of the double family-tree scheme to Savoy-Belley. I should mention that this classification does not take account of those opinions of Gingins which appear to be universally rejected, such as the affiliation of Bishop Aymon of Belley to Whitehands, and the assertion that Bishop Aymon of Sion was not even a Humbertine, and the similar dissociation of Archbishop Burchard III of Lyons from them. On the other hand I note his view that the Bishop Burchard of 1022 belongs to the Whitehands' branch, since that rests, not so much on imperfect information, as on a peculiar characteristic of the documents, as will be seen.

I classify by the leading names where both presumed groups occur

in the same document. The first two entries hardly belong to any of the three headings.

The register is as follows :

| (1) | (2) | (3) |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Documents claimed for Humbert Whitehands and his sons by Carutti and Di Vesme. | Documents in dispute, whether belonging to Whitehands' branch or to that of Savoy-Belley; also those of Archbishop Burchard III. | Documents of the Belley branch according to Carutti, Di Vesme and Gingins. |
| | | <p>Car. Reg. XIII.¹ (May 957—July 974, see Manteyer, <i>Origines</i>, p. 415; Carutti, 977), Conrad of Burgundy confirms some possessions of St Chaffre in Valentinois and Diois. Two of signatories <i>Amedeus comes</i> and <i>Umbertus</i> (al. Erubertus) <i>comes</i>.</p> <p>[Car. and Vesme: father and uncle of Whitehands; Manteyer: Humbert, probably Whitehands' father.]</p> <p>Car. Reg. XI.² (976), Amalfredus sacerdos gives to Cluny land at <i>Mions</i> etc. near <i>St Symphorien d'Ozon</i> (Lyonnais) in presence of <i>Humbertus comes</i>.</p> <p>[Car.: Whitehands' grandfather; Vesme: Humbert of Belley; Manteyer: Whitehands' father.]</p> <p>Car. Reg. XX.³ (Jan. 1000), <i>Oddo Bp (of Belley)</i>, being at <i>Bocizellum</i> castle (near La Côte St André in Viennois), grants land he holds by lease at Châtonnay (near St Jean de Bournay, <i>id.</i>). Among signatories <i>Buorchardus, Ubertus</i>.</p> <p>[Car.: (formerly) probably H. of Belley, perhaps Whitehands (later <i>vice versa</i>); Gingins: H. of</p> |

¹ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St Chaffre*, p. 108.

² Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 480 (1424). I have not been able to find in Carutti's register or elsewhere the charter of 971 mentioned by Gingins, *Origine etc.*, p. 226, with similar contents.

³ Marion, *Cartulaires de Grenoble*, p. 16.

(1)

(2)

(3)

Belley; Manteyer: Whitehands and brothers, Bp Oddo and Burchard.]

Car. Reg. xxiv.¹ (7 Oct. 995—28 Oct. 1000), Theobald Archbp of Vienne leases land at *Traise* (near Belley) to *Bp Oddo of Belley* and *one of his brothers* in succession; receives a mansus also in Belley county.

[Gingins: three sons of H. of Belley; Manteyer: Whitehands and brothers.]

Car. Reg. xxi.² (Ap. 1003), *Oddo Bp* (of Belley), being at *Bocissellum*, makes grant of leased church-land in Châtonnay. Among signatories *Umbertus comes et uxor sua, Borcardus*.

[Same comments as xx.]

Car. Reg. xxviii.³ (6 June 1009), King Rudolf III at St Maurice makes a grant to the Guigonids of Albon by advice of Queen Agiltrude, Archbishop Burchard II of Lyons and Counts Rudolf and *Ubertus*.

[Manteyer: Whitehands; Car.: (wrong date 995) H. of Belley⁴.]

Car. Reg. xliv.⁵ (20 Mar. 1018), *Domnus Umbertus comes* acts as agent in transfer of land in Equestricus (near Nyon) to Romainmotier.

¹ Chevalier, *Documents inédits des ix., x., xi. siècles du Lyonnais*, pp. 15–16.

² Marion, *Cartulaires de Grenoble*, p. 17. See also for the correct text of this document and for a discussion of its meaning, Labruzzi, *La protocarta comitale sabauda*, *Arch. stor. ital.* Ser. v. Vol. XLV. p. 61 (1910).

³ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, No. 38*.

⁴ I omit Car. Reg. xl. (= *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 111) as it really dates from 21 Feb. 912 (see Poupardin, *op. cit.* p. 269, n. 3, who forgets however that in 912 (being leap year) x. Kal. Mart. fell on 21 Feb. not 20 Feb.).

⁵ Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 25.

(1)

[Car.: probably Whitehands, but it does not matter if H. of Belley.]

(2)

Car. Reg. LII.² (8 Ap. 1022), Lambert Bp of Langres leases to his friend *Count Umbertus* and his sons *Amedeus* and *Burchardus episcopus* land at *Ambilly* (near Geneva), and receives church at *Cuzy* (near Alby).

[Car., etc.: H. of Belley and sons; Manteyer: Whitehands and sons; Gingins: Whitehands and sons.]

Car. Reg. LIII.³ (June 1023), *Borchardus* and his son *Aymo* give to St André of Vienne (Hugo being Abbot) church at *St Genix* in county of Belley pro remedio animarum of King *Gondradus*, King *Rudolf III* and Queen *Ermen-garde*, *Archbp Borchardus*, *domnus Uberius comes, uxor eius Nauchila*, seu pro remedio *patris et matris meae et comitissae Ermen-gardis uxoris meae*.

[Car.: Whitehands and wife; Aymon was nephew of Whitehands (see below), so Borchard is his brother;

(3)

[Car. Reg. XLVI.¹ (19 Aug. 1019), *Burchard Archbp of Vienne* and *Ulric* his brother and advocate give land in the Genevois to St Peter's of Vienne for souls of their father *Anselm* and mother *Aaldiu*. Among witnesses *Amedeus*.]

[A. may be a Humbertine.]

¹ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 256.

² Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (97).

³ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 154.

(1)

Car. Reg. LVII.¹ (19 Oct. 1024), *Bp Burcardus of Aosta* makes exchange of lands de suo episcopatu in Vald'Aosta with consent of *Dominus Count Umbertus*.

Car. Reg. LIX.² (16 Nov. 1026), *Bp Brocardus of Aosta* and *Donnus Umbertus comes* exchange land of St John and *de comitatu* in Val d'Aosta for other land in Val d'Aosta with *Frecius*.

Car. Reg. LXXIII.³ (11 May 994-1049), *Aymo of Petraftortis saecularem militiam gerens* gives to Cluny (where Odilo is Abbot) *Monterminod in County of Savoy*. Signatories *Umbertus comes, Amedeus filius ejus, Burcardus, Oddo, Aymo, Guifredus*,

[H. Whitehands and sons; ? what relation of theirs was Aymon of Pierreforte?]

Car. Reg. LX.⁴ (11 May 994-1049), *Umbertus comes* and *his sons, Amedeus, Aymo et Oddo* give to Cluny (Odilo Abbot) "*de nostra hereditate*" on and below *Mont du*

(2)

Gingins: B. son of H. of Belley and wife Nauchila, Aymon first cousin once removed of Whitehands (*nepos ejus*); Vesme: H. of Belley and wife; Manteyer: Whitehands, wife, brother and nephew.]

id. for *Bp Burcardus*.

[Car.: Bp Burchard son of H. of Belley; Vesme: *id.*; Gingins: Bp B. son of Whitehands; Manteyer: Whitehands and son.]

id. for *Bp Brocardus*.

[Same comments.]

(3)

¹ Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (100). For date see Schiaparelli, *Charta Augustana, Arch. stor. ital.* Ser. v. Vol. xxxix. p. 336 (1907).

² Bollati in *Misc. di stor. ital.* xvi. (1877) p. 676. For date see Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* p. 337.

³ Guichenon, *Histoire de la maison de Savoie, Preuves*, p. 5.

⁴ Guichenon, *op. cit. Preuves*, p. 5.

(1)

Chat in county of *Belley* and in *Maltacena* (i.e. by *Le Bourget*). Other donors also give.

[Same comment.]

*Car. Reg. LXI.*¹ (11 May 994— 1049), *Humbertus comes* and *his sons, Amedeus, Aymo, and Oddo* give to *Cluny* (Abbot *Odilo* being present) for benefit of the monks at *Maltacena* (*Le Bourget*) fish-weir at mouth of *R. Leisse* and a mansus.

[Whitehands and sons.]

(2)

*Car. Reg. LXII.*² (9 Mar. 1026?), *Burchard II* Archbp of *Lyons* and Abbot of *St Maurice* and *Burchard Bp of Aosta* and *Provost of St Maurice* make a grant.

[*Carutti* and *Vesme*: son of *H. of Belley*; *Gingins*: son of *H. Whitehands*.]

*Car. Reg. LXIII.*³ (1021?). The same make a grant.

[Same comments.]

*Car. Reg. LXXIX.*⁴ (22 Oct. 1030), *Amedeus* son of *Count Ubertus* and wife *Adalgilda* (*Adila*), being in diocese of *Grenoble* (? in *Savoy*), give to *Cluny* (*Odilo* being Abbot) church of *St Maurice* in pago *Maltacena*, with consent of *Malenus Bp of Grenoble* and *Humbert Bp of Valence*; grant shared in by *Ubertus comes* and *Aucilia uxor ejus*. Other signatories *Rudolf III*, *Queen Ermen-garde*, *Oddo*, *Antelmus*.

(3)

¹ *Guichenon, op. cit. Preuves*, p. 6.

² *M.H.P. Chart. I. 449.*

³ *M.H.P. Chart. II. 114.* The date is "anno Rodolfi xx. et viii." This would be Nov. 1020 to Nov. 1021, but the reading seems strange. Probably the true reading is xxxviii., i.e. Nov. 1030 to Nov. 1031.

⁴ *M.H.P. I. 490, Guichenon, op. cit. Preuves*, p. 8. *Chartes de Cluny*, III. 815, where the various forms of dating are given. Cf. *Manteyer, Paix*, p. 146.

(1)

Car. Reg. LXXXIII.³
(1031-2), Rudolf III and
Queen Ermengarde, by
advice of Leger Archbp
of Vienne, found priory of
Lemenc in *Savoy*, depend-
ency of Abbey of *Ainay*.
Among signatories *Count*
Umbertus, Oddo.

[Car.: Whitehands.]

Car. Reg. LXXXIV.⁴ (19
Aug. 1031—6 Sept. 1032),
Queen Ermengarde founds
Abbey of Talloires, de-
pendency of Abbey of
Savigny, with the advice
of Leger Archbp of Vienne
and others, among whom
Count Umbertus.

[Car.: Whitehands.]

Car. Reg. xc.⁵ (1032),
Dominus Ubertus comes
exchanges land of his

(2)

[Car.: Amedeus son of
H. of Belley, and White-
hands with wife; Gingsin:
Amedeus and his father
H. of Belley; Vesme: do.;
Manteyer: Whitehands
and son.]

Car. Reg. LXXX.¹ (20
Ap. 1030), *Burchard Pro-
vost* of St Maurice makes
grant, assented to by Bur-
chard II, Abbot of do.

Car. Reg. LXXXVI.² (?),
Burchard II Archbp of
Lyons and Abbot of St
Maurice and *Burchard Bp*
of *Aosta* and Provost of
do. make a grant.

(3)

¹ *M.H.P. Chart. II. 118*. Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 471, dates this 20 April 1032, but he has to correct year of reign, day of moon and year A.D. (but latter is wrong in any case); 1030 needs the change from "die jovis" to "die lunae" [perhaps miswritten "lunis"] for the day of the week.

² *M.H.P. Chart. I. 499*.

³ Guichenon, *op. cit. Preuves*, p. 4.

⁴ Bernard, *Cartulaire de Savigny*, I. 318.

⁵ Schiaparelli, *Archivio storico italiano*, 1905, XXXVI. 332. Here there is a facsimile and a discussion of date and meaning of document.

(1)

comitatus (and of the benefice of Costabile) in Val d'Aosta with monastery of S. Benigno in Aosta.
[Whitehands.]

(2)

Car. Reg. LXXII.¹ (?), some nobles give land in *county of Belley* to Abbey of Savigny (Iterius being Abbot) in presence of *Aymo Bp of Belley* and before *Dominus Umbertus comes et filius ejus Amedeus*.

[Car.: in *U. B.* says Whitehands and son Amedeus; but in *Reg.* seems to consider them H. of Belley and son A. of Belley.]

(3)

Cluny, IV. 2885, p. 79 (1032), *Aymo* Bp of Belley exchanges church in *Isle (d'Abeau)* in the *Viennois*, for one at *Charencieu* in *Sermorens* with Berlio.

Cluny, IV. 2884, p. 78 (25 Mar.—6 Sept. 1032), Berlio gives church in *Isle (d'Abeau)* to Cluny. Among signatories *Aymo Bp of Belley* and Leger, Archbp of Vienne.

[This is the son of Amedeus of Belley.]

Car. Reg. CVI.² (3 Nov. 1036), Queen Ermengarde and *Count Humbertus* present at synod held by Archbp Leger at Vienne.

Car. Reg. CVII.³ (Nov. 1036), Maria gives to

¹ Bernard, *Cartulaire de Savigny*, I. 351. I may note that the Count Humbert here should be Count of Belley, both from the content of the document, and because he is entitled *Domnus*, which in these charters seems to refer almost exclusively to the Count or Bishop of the locality. Hence I imagine Baron Carutti would consider it necessarily refers to Count Humbert of Belley, unless he placed it after the death of all laymen of the Belley line.

² Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, p. 193.

³ Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, I. 161.

(1)

monastery of Novalesa land at Coise in *pago Savoginense*, which is bounded on east by terra regis sive *Uberti comitis* necnon Ota uxori Sigibodi, on south and west by terra regis et *comitis*, on north by river Isère.

Car. Reg. CXIII.¹ (2 Oct. 1037), Synod of Romans. Among Bishops present *Aymo of Sion and Martigny, Aymo of Belley* and Theobald of Maurienne.

Car. Reg. XCI.² (? 1039), Queen Ermengarde for the *remedium anime mee sive senioris mei Rodulfi, necnon et patris matrisve, seu fratrum meorum vel ceterorum propinquorum* gives to Cluny (Odilo being Abbot) two mansi in Genevois per advocatum meum *comitem Humbertum*.

Car. Reg. CXX. (1040)³, *Domnus Count Hubertus* makes grant—to take effect

(2)

(3)

id. for Aymo of Belley.

¹ Giraud, *Cartulaire de Romans*, ed. I. *Preuves*, I. 68–9, “Sedunensis atque Otdunensis.”

² Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, IV. 95, Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (102).

³ Bollati, *Misc. stor. ital.* XVI. p. 635. The genuineness of this charter has been impugned by Patrucco, *B.S.S.S.* XVII. *Miscellanea Valdostana, Aosta dalle invasioni barbariche alla signoria sabauda*, p. lxxx. n. 2; specially for two reasons: (1) that the sons of Count Humbert subscribe without reference to the order of birth, and leaving a blank line between Aymon and Burchard: (2) that the confirmation by Marquess Peter, written before that of the scribe who wrote the document, is very strange, as he was not born at the date, and would have to subscribe on a visit to Aosta later. So too we must suppose the charter sent round for confirmation by absent sons to account for (1). These reasons are strong, but the kind of strangeness emphasized seems hardly to accord with forgery. Why should the ephemeral Peter be made so important? Why did not the forger place the eldest son Amedeus first? Why put the affiliation to Burchard's name alone? Schiaparelli, *Arch. stor. ital.* 1907, XXXIX. 338–9, decides in favour of the genuineness of the charter; the subscriptions of Aymon, Burchard and Peter are written in different ink from that of the rest of the charter, Peter's being in different ink from the other two. Schiaparelli thinks that they are all three in different hands and possibly coeval with the charter. He does not seem inclined to the view that the charter was sent round for confirmation; and says that the space between the officiating scribe's subscription and the body of the

(1)

after his death—to Canons of St Jean and St Ours, Aosta, confirmed by *Oddo, Amedeus comes, Aymo Sedunensis episcopus, Brochardus filius Huberti comitis, Petrus marchio filius Odonis marchionis et comitissae Ataletidae.*

Car. Reg. CXXIII.¹ (21 Jan. 1042), *Domnus Uper-tus comes* gives to Abbey St Chaffre churches at *Les Échelles* “de hereditate mea que michi ex conquisto obvenerunt.” Signatories *Brochardus archiepiscopus, Aimo episcopus, Ameeus* (sic), *Oddo* and others.

[Manteyer: Whitehands and sons; Gingins: do.; Car.: Whitehands and sons except Burchard whose place is taken by Archbp Burchard III.]

Car. Reg. CXXV.² (10 June 1042), *Umbertus comes* and his sons *Amedeus* and *Oddo* give churches and land at *Les Échelles* (taliter concedimus qualiter lex nostra concedere precipit) to Abbey of St Chaffre (and St Laurence at Grenoble). Signatories *Brochardus archiepiscopus, Amedeus comes, Oddo* and others.

[Same comments.]

charter has its parallels. Accepting his conclusions, I may remark that the evidence of the affiliation of Aymon and Burchard is not weakened, as the names, if not genuine, were inserted close to the time and would only be so inserted because of their relationship to Humbert.

¹ Marion, *Cartulaires...de Grenoble*, p. 31. The date is rather a puzzle, for in 1042, 21 Jan. was not the 25th but the 6th day of the moon, and then Jan. 1042 ab incarn. Dni. should usually mean Jan. 1043, and in 1043 the moon was almost at new again. But I note that in 1041, 21 Jan. was exactly the 25th day of moon. Perhaps 1041 (or 1043) is the real date of the charter.

² Marion, *op. cit.* p. 29. Guichenon's text, *Hist. de la maison de Savoie, Preuves*, p. 7, adds Aymon, and Mallenus, Bp of Grenoble, before “Amedeus comes.” No doubt they are erroneous insertions.

(2)

Same for Burchard III.

Same for Burchard III.

(3)

(1)

Car. Reg. CXXVII.¹ (26 Mar. 1044), *Aymon Bp of Sion* at Synod of Besançon.

Grémaud, *M. D. R.* XVIII. 338 (23 Dec. 1043), *Aymon Bp of Sion* makes grant through *Oudolricus* advocate of bishopric.

Car. Reg. CXXXI.² (22 Feb. 1046), *Aymon Bp of Sion, Provost of St Maurice*, makes grant in latter capacity by Advocate *Bozo*.

Car. Reg. CXXXII.³ (14 June 1043(?) or 1047(?)), *Count Humbert and Teobald Bp of Maurienne* make grant of *Cuines*, etc., to the Canons of Maurienne. *Count Humbert* gives *dominatura*, *Bp fenotaria*. Among signatories *Aymo nepos ejus* and *Odo*.

Car. Reg. CXXXIII.⁴ (?), *Count Umberto* gives to Canons of *Maurienne* land at *Cuines*, etc., also omnia quae *Theubaldus eps.* per donationem comitis tenere videbatur. Among signatories *Aymo nepos eius* and *Odo*.

Car. Reg. CXXXV.⁵ (?), *Aymo*, very ill, gives to *St Genix* (where his father is buried) land near *St Genix* for souls of his father and mother, *Bp Odo, Count*

(2)

(3)

¹ Dunod's *Hist. de l'Eglise de Besançon*, I. *Prewes*, p. xlix.

² *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 142.

³ Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (95). The date is difficult—14 June, regnante Henrico Imp. VIII. Luna III.; Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 400, places it in 1043, as Luna III. would agree with 14 June that year. Carutti, *Umb. Bianc.* p. 108 and *Reg.* dates it 1046, since if Henry III's reign is calculated from his election in October 1038, his eighth year in Burgundy ran from Oct.-Nov. 1045—Oct.-Nov. 1046. But he is styled Emperor, a title he only obtained Christmas 1046; so it would seem we must reckon the reign here from Conrad's death, 4 June 1039 (they would hardly count from the exact day of death): thus the eighth year ran from June 1046 to June 1047.

⁴ Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 6: Besson, ed. II. p. 336.

⁵ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 156.

(1)

Aymon and his other relations. Among signatories
Domnus Hubertus comes,
Domnus Amedeus comes,
Domnus Aimo Bp of Sion.
 Ego *Odo marchio* recognovi et laudavi.

(2)

Car. Reg. CXXXVII.¹ (?),
Aymo son of Burchard
 and *Countess Ermengarde*
 gives to *St Genix*, where
 his father's grave is, in
 county and diocese of
 Belley land near *St Genix*
 ex hereditate sua.

[Placed here, as (if we omit Gingins' mistake) there is no mention of either disputed line.]

(3)

Car. Reg. CXLII.² (1050),
 Pope Leo IX reforms *St Maurice Agaune*, of which
Aymon Bp of Sion is
 Abbot.

Car. Reg. CXLIII.³ (Mar.—June 1051), *Odo marchio*
 gives land in Tarentaise to
 Canons of Tarentaise pro
 remedio animae patris mei
Humbertus comes et propter
 animam meam.

Car. Reg. CXXXVIII.⁴
 (18 Dec. 1051? or 1045?),
Amedeus count of Belley
 gives a mansus to Canons
 of Belley.

Car. Reg. LXXXI.⁵ (?),
Domnus Count Amedeus
 and his wife *Adela* give to
St Maurice land at foot
 of *Mont du Chat* in *Malta-*
cena in episcopatu Grati-
anopolitano, in comitatu

¹ Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 157.

² *M.H.P. Chart.* II. 148.

³ *M.H.P. Chart.* I. 572.

⁴ Guigue, *Petit Cartulaire de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 26; for date see Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 408. But if more stress is laid on Henry III being styled King and not Emperor, than on the correctness of the age of the moon, the year will be 1045.

⁵ Guichenon, *Hist. de la maison de Savoie, Preuves*, p. 8.

(1)

(2)

(3)

eorum pro requie Uberti filii.

Car. Reg. LXXIV.¹ (?), Amedeus comes and his wife Adela give land in county of Belley de hereditate sua to Cluny.

Car. Reg. CXLI.² (?), Aymon Bp of Belley gives church-land leased to his father Amedeus in county of Belley back to cathedral, St Jean, of Belley.

Car. Reg. CXLV.³ (12 June 1052), Aymon Bp of Sion gives to Canons of Sion, by advocate (ad hoc) Count Oudalricus, lands in Vallais inherited from late avunculus Count Oudalricus and other relatives.

Grémaud, *M. D. R.* XVIII. 346⁴, Count Odalricus of Lenzburg gives to A. Bp of Sion land bought by his father and mother at Château-neuf in Vallais.

Car. Reg. CXLVI.⁵ (13 Mar. 1053), Aymon Bp of Sion at Ravenna.

Car. Reg. CXLVII.⁶ (13 March 1054), Aymon Bp of Sion makes exchange through Upoldus advocate of the bishopric.

Guigue, *Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 27 (?), Aymon restores forest of Rothone to Canons of Belley in presence of Odo marchio at demand of Bp Gosserannus of Belley and canons.

¹ Chevalier, *Diplomatique de Bourgogne* de Pierre de Rivaz, p. 73.

² Guigue, *Petit Cartulaire de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 26.

³ Grémaud, *M.D.R.* XVIII. 340. The charter is dated at Rome.

⁴ Could this charter really refer to Bishops Amedeus or Antelm in the eleventh century?

⁵ Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, IV. App. p. 742.

⁶ Grémaud, *M.D.R.* XVIII. 338.

(1)

(2)

(3)

Car. Reg. CXIX.¹ (13 Oct. 1057), *Burcardus archiepiscopus et S. Mauritii abbas* grants lease in the Genevois by his advocate Octo.

Car. Reg. CL.² (6 Mar. 1058), Pope Stephen X confirms grant of *Le Bourget* to Cluny made by *Count Amedeus* with consent of his brothers, *Burcardus* and *Odo*.

Car. Reg. CXLIV.³ (1067-8), *Burcardus abbas et prepositus S. Mauritii* makes grant per manum Ottonis advocati S. Mauritii.

Car. Reg. CLXVIII.⁴ (3 Jan. 1069), *Burcardus Agaunensis abbatiæ abbas* and Anselm the Provost make a grant to Otto, advocate of St Maurice.

Car. Reg. CCCLXXII.⁵ (12 June 1189), Thomas, Count of Maurienne, confirms grants of his ancestors to Canons of Maurienne, among them that of *Count Humbert his abavus*.

We have now completed the series of relevant documents. The first, as we shall see later, is of importance as showing a Count Humbert and a Count Amadeus living c. 970. The second (Car. Reg. XI., above, p. 45) shows a Count Humbert apparently in a position of authority at Mions by Chandieu in the Lyonnais. A block of later Savoyard property was later round this very spot⁶. We may therefore accept the statement that this Count Humbert was a "Humbertine." No more precise relationship appears from the document.

¹ *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 130: for the date see below, p. 64, n. 2.

² Migne, *Patrologia*, CXLIII. 879.

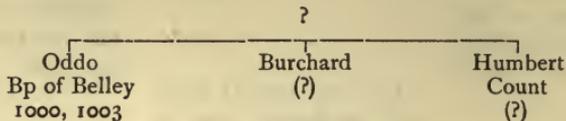
³ *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 153: for the date see Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 524-5.

⁴ Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 34: for the date see Manteyer, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Billet et Albrieux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, p. 38.

⁶ See below, p. 76.

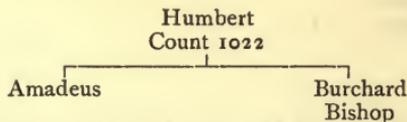
Next we come to a group of three charters (pp. 45-6) of Bishop Oddo of Belley (1000, 1003). The Bishop has brothers (Car. Reg. xxiv.); he resides at Bocozel (near La Côte St André); he has lands at Châtonnay (*id.* xx., xxi.) and in the county of Belley (*id.* xxiv.) where he also obtains a very profitable lease. These are all in then and later Humbertine land¹. As to who his brothers were, Humbert (who in 1003 has a wife and is a Count) and Burchard appear at the head of the signatories in both Oddo's own charters. There is therefore a suspicion that they were the brothers. Thus the conjectural result is :



That they were Humbertines admits of but little doubt in view of the localities involved.

The next document (Car. Reg. xxviii., above, p. 46) only shows a Count Humbert as influential at court in 1009. The next (Car. Reg. xliv., above, p. 46) shows a Count Humbert officiating as agent near Nyon (north of Geneva) and presumably holding land there. The next again (Car. Reg. xlvi., above, p. 47) tells us nothing of the Humbertines.

The next (Car. Reg. lii., above, p. 47) shows us a Count Humbert with his sons Amadeus and Bishop Burchard, owning land in the south, and obtaining land in the north, of the Genevois in 1022. Thus we have :



Then there comes forward in Car. Reg. liii. (above, p. 47) a Burchard, with his son Aymon and wife Countess Ermengarde, possessed of land at St Genix in the county of Belley. He is connected with the royal house, and with a Count Humbert who has a wife Nauchila (i.e. Auchila with an honorific prefix), who should be Count of Belley, as he is called *donnus*, which in these charters seems mostly reserved for the Count of the locality of the charter². Burchard's favourite monastery is St André-le-bas, Vienne. There results :

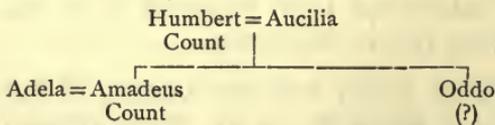
¹ Cf. Carutti, *Umberto I Biancamano*, p. 93; Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 287-8, and see below for later charters. See below, Section IV. of this chapter under Sermorens and Belley.

² Cf. the Aostan charters (Car. Reg. lvii., lix., xc., cxx.), but Humbert could hardly have been Count of Equestricus (Car. Reg. xliv., above, p. 46), cf. below, p. 85.

Again the same genealogy appears in *Car. Reg.* LXI. (above, p. 49) dealing with property at the mouth of R. Leisse in Savoy proper. One would like to know on what journey of Abbot Odilo to Rome this was transacted. The Cluniac priory of Le Bourget was founded by now.

Car. Reg. LXII. and LXIII. (above, p. 49) merely show us Burchard, Bishop of Aosta, as Provost of St Maurice, while his uncle Burchard II, Archbishop of Lyons, is Abbot.

Of quite special importance is *Car. Reg.* LXXIX. (above, p. 49). Herein Count Amadeus and his wife Adalegilda or Adela make a gift of the church St Maurice of Maltacena (Matassine by Le Bourget) to Cluny. This was not the actual foundation of Le Bourget Priory (see below, p. 64), but it can hardly be far removed in date since this seems to be the Priory Church. Amadeus calls himself the son of Count Humbert, and a Count Humbert, with his wife Aucilia, shares in the grant. It is done in Rudolf III's court and the latter and Queen Ermengarde sign. That Humbert and Aucilia are the connections of Burchard in *Car. Reg.* LIII. (above, pp. 58-9) one cannot doubt. I will leave the question of the identity with Humbert Whitehands or not till later; but here I must state that I cannot accept Carutti's view that the Count Humbert, father of Count Amadeus, is a different person from the signatory Count Humbert. Not only is the former not styled *quondam* or *bonae memoriae*, as he would be if dead (and Carutti's view demands that his death should have already occurred); but Humbert and Aucilia join in the grant at the end—"Hii et hae (i.e. Amadeus and Adela, Humbert and Aucilia) hanc donationem fecerunt"; although they are not mentioned in the body of the grant as grantors¹. This is natural for the father and mother of the grantors, but surely no headship of the family would account for such an exercise of authority. Thus we have on the 22nd October 1030 the following genealogy:



I may remark that Le Bourget continued to be a favourite foundation of the Savoyards, even after Amadeus III erected Hautecombe on the Lac du Bourget as the family Abbey.

¹ Even if the charter, only known through a false original, has been rehandled later (see Cibrario e Promis, *Sigilli dei principi di Savoia*, p. 5), this is most unlikely to be an interpolation.

Car. *Reg.* LXXX. and LXXXVI. (above, p. 50) have an interest, as in one Burchard II and Burchard III receive their episcopal titles and in the other not.

Car. *Reg.* LXXXIII. (above, p. 50) shows us a Count Humbert closely connected with the court c. 1031-2 and interested in Savoy.

Car. *Reg.* LXXXIV. (above, p. 50) shows a Count Humbert again as a person of great weight with Queen Ermengarde and specially interested in dealings on the borders of the Genevois and Savoy.

If these are presumably mentions of Humbert Whitehands, Car. *Reg.* xc. (above, pp. 50-1) introduces him certainly in his office of Count of Aosta. Its date is 1032.

Car. *Reg.* LXXII. (above, p. 51) gives us a little genealogy again. In this fragment (for it forms the conclusion of another charter [LXXXIV.]¹) several nobles give La Burbanche in the county of Belley to Savigny Abbey c. 1031-2. They do it in the presence of Bishop Aymon of Belley and before domnus Count Humbert and the latter's son Amadeus. The inference is that Humbert here is Count of Belley. Thus we have :

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Humbert Ct of Belley c. 1031-2 | Aymon Bp of Belley |
| | |
| Amadeus | |

Aymon, Bishop of Belley, appears again in Cluny iv. 2885 and 2884 (above, p. 51), where he exchanges churches in the Viennois and Sermorens with Berlio, whose name is found elsewhere in Humbertine documents. The date is 1032.

In Car. *Reg.* cvI. (above, p. 51), we find Count Humbert with the widowed Queen Ermengarde at a Synod of Vienne in 1036.

In Car. *Reg.* cvII. (above, pp. 51-2), dated November 1036, we find Count Humbert owning land, next to that of the King (Conrad II), at Coise, then in Savoy proper². Presumably he was Count of Savoy.

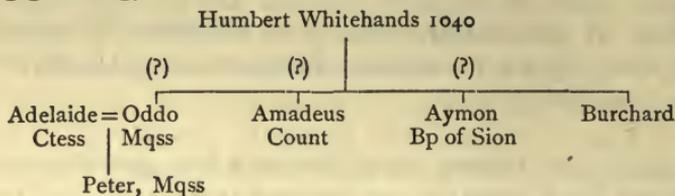
¹ See Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 392.

² So in charter. Cf. Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 395. Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, p. 104, states that it was land in Maurienne which was bounded by Count Humbert's. But I cannot find authority for this in the text. His reason probably is that Coise lay in the diocese, though not in the ancient county of Maurienne.

Car. *Reg.* cxiii. (above, p. 52) only shows us Aymon Bishop of Sion and Martigny¹, Aymon Bishop of Belley and Theobald Bishop of Maurienne present at the Synod of Romans in October 1037.

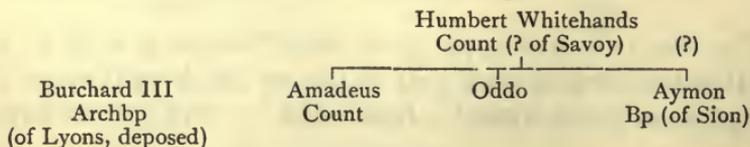
Car. *Reg.* xci. (above, p. 52), dated c. 1039, gives us Count Humbert as advocate of Queen Ermengarde in the Genevois.

Car. *Reg.* cxx. (above, pp. 52-3) is the remarkable 1040 grant of Humbert Whitehands in Aosta. Here we find Oddo, Count Amadeus and Aymon Bishop of Sion, all evidently on the same footing as sons of the grantor, while an untitled Burchard is expressly styled so. The following genealogy results:



The next charter, Car. *Reg.* cxxiiii. (above, p. 53), dated 21 January 1042², takes us back to Sermorens. In it "Domnus" Count Humbert gives the church of St Marie of Les Échelles etc. to the monastery of St Chaffre, for the latter's dependency St Laurence of Grenoble. They are described as "de hereditate mea quae mihi ex conquisto obven-runt." The charter is subscribed by Archbishop Burchard (III), Aymon Bishop (of Sion), Ameeus (sic) and Oddo in the order named as well as by others. It is admitted in both genealogical schemes that Humbert Whitehands and some of his sons occur here; but according to Carutti and Di Vesme Burchard III is Whitehands' first cousin. No relationships are actually mentioned.

After a few months, on the 10 June 1042 (Car. *Reg.* cxxv., above, p. 53), Count Humbert Whitehands and his sons Amadeus and Oddo give the churches of Les Échelles and a mansus to St Chaffre and St Laurence. The signatories are headed by Archbishop Burchard; and among them Amadeus takes the style of Count. Thus from these two charters we have in admitted relationships:

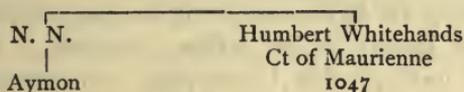


¹ "Sedunensis atque Octodurensis." There had been some shifting of the see (cf. Gams, p. 312). The reference of *Gallia Christiana* (see Car. *Reg.* cxiii.) to St Maurice is due to an erroneous supposition that Octodurensis meant the Abbey. See p. 52, n. 1, and p. 29, n. 3 above.

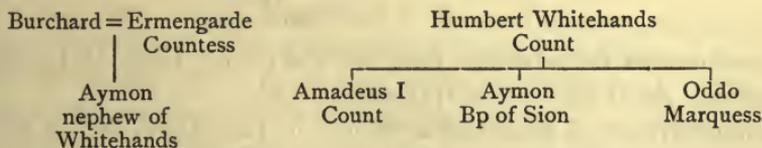
² For discussion of possible real date, see above, p. 53, n. 1.

Next come two grants of Aymon of Sion. In Grémaud, *M.D.R.* xviii. 338 (above, p. 54), 23 December 1043, he makes a grant through Ulric the advocate of the Bishopric of Sion. In *Car. Reg.* cxxxI. (above, p. 54), 22 February 1046, he, being Provost of St Maurice as well as bishop, makes a grant in the former capacity through his advocate Bozo.

In *Car. Reg.* cxxxii. (above, p. 54), in June 1047¹, Humbert Whitehands appears for the first time as Count of Maurienne, from whom the Bishop of Maurienne, Theobald, holds a benefice². He adds to the gift which he then made to the Canons of Maurienne in an undated charter (*Car. Reg.* cxxxiii., above, p. 54), and confirms the first donation, mentioning that the Bishop had held it from his grant. Both charters are signed by his nephew Aymon, and an Oddo; but one may doubt if his son is meant by the latter name. Genealogy:



Doubtless it is the nephew Aymon, who made the following two charters when dying (*Car. Reg.* cxxxv., cxxxvii., above, pp. 54-5). He is the son of Burchard and Countess Ermengarde. He gives land at and by St Genix where his father is buried in the county and diocese of Belley, to St André-le-bas of Vienne, from which the church of St Genix depends. He does it for the souls of his father and mother and of Bishop Oddo (of Belley doubtless), Count Aymon and his other relatives. The signatories of cxxxv. are: Domnus Count Humbert, Domnus Count Amadeus, Domnus Bishop Aymon of Sion, with Marquess Oddo as an addition. Here we need not hesitate to recognize Whitehands and his family:



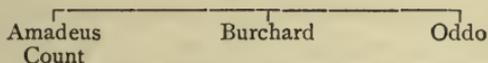
Car. Reg. cxlii. (above, p. 55) proves that by 1050 Aymon of Sion had been promoted Abbot of St Maurice. Apparently the office of abbot had been left vacant since the death of Burchard II of Lyons³.

¹ See for discussion of date, above, p. 54, n. 3.

² See for discussion of Manteyer's views on this point, below, Section IV. under Maurienne.

³ This follows from the date I give to *Car. Reg.* cxix.: see below, p. 64, n. 2.

Guigue, *St Sulpice*, p. 27 (above, p. 56), shows Marquess Oddo as Count of Belley. *Car. Reg.* CL. (above, p. 57) is more important as therein Pope Stephen X on the 6th March 1058 confirms the lost charter of the foundation of Le Bourget Priory by Count Amadeus with the consent of his brothers Burchard and Oddo. Thus we have :



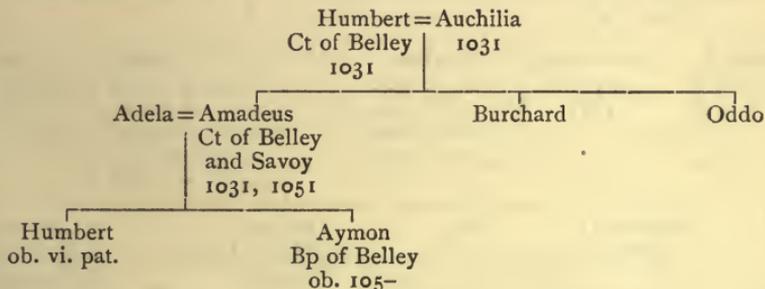
In 1067-8 and in January 1069, a Burchard, Abbot of St Maurice, with his advocate Otto, again comes to light (above, p. 57).

The last document (*Car. Reg.* CCLXXII., above, p. 57) merely proves Humbert Count of Maurienne to be Humbert Whitehands.

Now out of these scattered notices, two genealogical trees are easily formed. The question is: are they identical or do they concern two branches of the same family?

To form the first tree, called by Carutti, Savoy-Belley, we take *Car. Reg.* LXXIX. (p. 49), LXXII. (p. 51), CXXXVIII. (p. 55), LXXXI. (p. 55), LXXIV. (p. 56), CXL. (p. 56), CL. (p. 57). All these refer to the same group of persons, Counts of Belley and Bishops of Belley.

Thus we have :

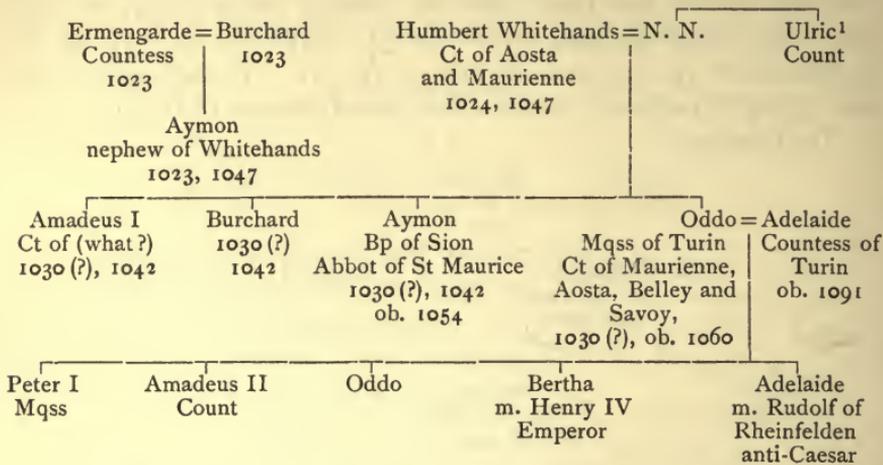


To this tree should be added in Baron Carutti's and Signor Di Vesme's view the fact that Burchard is the third Archbishop of Lyons of that name, Bishop of Aosta and Abbot of St Maurice. This view employs the genealogy given in *Car. Reg.* LII. (on p. 47, above); but it will be noticed that the grounds for it are not those of identical localities or mention of the Archbishop in the same charters as his father and brothers (for save in LII., which does not refer to Savoy or Belley, no

Burgundian year might be from October 1039 to October 1040, reckoning from his election, or from June 1040 to June 1041, reckoning from Conrad II's death. But on 13 Oct. 1039 the moon was twenty-one days old, and in 1040 three days, while on 13 Oct. 1057 in the second year of Henry IV the moon was precisely eleven days old. Further, Otto appears again as advocate in 1067 (*Car. Reg.* CXLIV.; cf. below, p. 73, n. 1). These considerations make me date the charter in 1057.

such thing occurs); but on chronological considerations, which I will develop later, and on the fact that the one undoubted reference to Humbert Whitehands' son Burchard (*Car. Reg.* cxx., above, pp. 52-3) gives him no episcopal title. Baron Gingins, one sees, had noted this peculiarity and consequently made Archbishop Burchard to be Whitehands' son.

The second tree is that of Humbert Whitehands himself. It is based on *Car. Reg.* LXXIII. (above, p. 48), LX. (p. 48), LXI. (p. 49), CXX. (pp. 52-3), CXXIII. (p. 53), CXXV. (p. 53), CXXXII. (p. 54), CXXXIII., CXXXV. (p. 54), CXXXVII. (p. 55), CXLIII. (p. 55), CXLV. (p. 56), CCCLXXII. (p. 57). These comprise the Aostan and the Mauriennese charters and some from Savoy proper, Belley and Sermorens. They may be said, indeed, to include the localities of the first series, although they add others. From them we have:

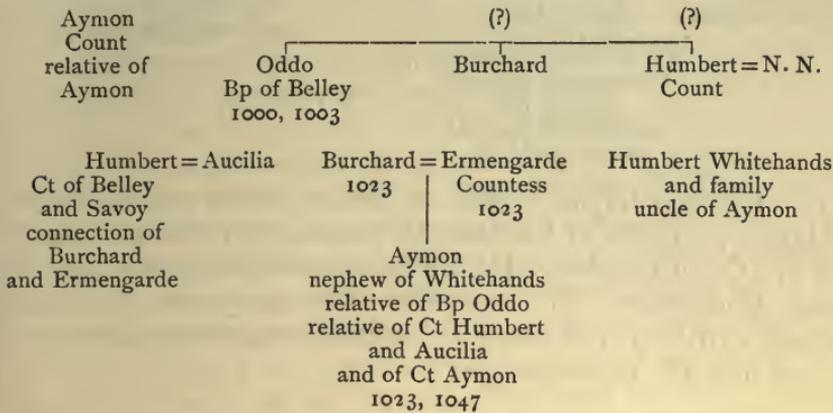


The children of Marquess Oddo are supplied, with one or two dates concerning him, from other documents. It should be noted that, if Humbert Whitehands is the advocate and counsellor of Queen Ermengarde, he is brought into connection with the Genevois (*Car. Reg.* LXXXIV., XCI., above, pp. 50, 52) and the Viennois (*Car. Reg.* CVI., above, p. 51; cf. also above, pp. 23-4). The question arises whether Burchard or Countess Ermengarde was the link by which Aymon was Whitehands'

¹ Bishop Aymon of Sion calls Count Ulric his *avunculus*, which would more naturally mean his maternal, than his paternal uncle. But also Ulric does not appear as a Humbertine family name, which gives a presumption in favour of the maternal relationship together with the fact that the land Aymon inherited from Ulric lay in the Vallais where no other Humbertine possessions are known at so early a date.

nephew. Owing to Burchard being a Humbertine name, while Ermengarde is not proved to be so, we may decide that Burchard was probably Humbert Whitehands' brother.

This consideration leads us to those Humbertine charters, in part already mentioned, which deal with members of the family who do not really fall into either chief division of the two-Humberts view. These are *Car. Reg.* xx. (p. 45), xxiv., xxi. (p. 46), liii. (p. 47), cxxxii., cxxxiii., cxxxv. (p. 54), cxxxvii. (p. 55). From them we have the following series of connections:



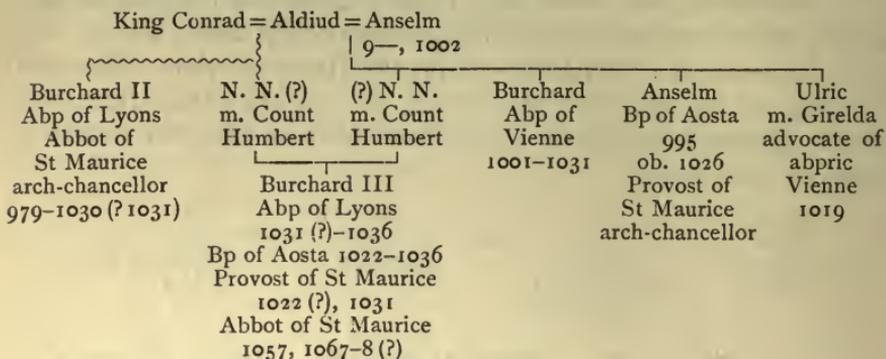
These documents certainly link up all the Humbertines. I may also point out that it is odd, if there are two Humberts, that in 1023 only the Count of Belley should be mentioned while in 1047 and the death-bed charter only Whitehands appears (Amadeus Count of Belley being still living 1051 [see above]).

Another genealogy, which is here of importance, is that of the Anselmids (cf. pp. 10-11). By a concubine Aldiud, King Conrad had had a son, Archbishop Burchard II of Lyons. Aldiud had then borne to her husband Anselm three more sons, Burchard, Archbishop of Vienne, Anselm, Bishop of Aosta, and Ulric, advocate of the see of Vienne. The lands that we know they held lay in the Genevois on the south shore of Lake Geneva and they also leased some (in Vallais (?), in Bargaen and Aosta) from St Maurice Abbey¹. A nephew of Burchard II of Lyons was the Humbertine Burchard III². They were probably connected

¹ See *M.H.P. Chart.* II. 61 and 73, and Chevalier, *Cartul. de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 256 (*Car. Reg.* XII. and XLVI.). I suspect *Car. Reg.* XXVII. (*M.H.P. Chart.* II. 93) to date from 1050 when the Indiction was III. and Emp. Henry III King in Burgundy.

² See above, pp. 20 and 28-9 and notes. I cannot accept Baron Carutti's theory of the relationship of Burchard II and Burchard III. According to him Conrad was father of Burchard II by a concubine (as stated in the chronicles, etc.); but Conrad's

with the Counts of Equestricus¹, and held lands granted by King Conrad to Aldiud in the county of Ottingen in Alamannian Burgundy². Their genealogy is as follows³:



That Burchard III was nephew of Burchard II by a sister and not by a brother, is shown by *Car. Reg.* LII. (above, p. 47) which proves his father is a Count Humbert, while all three persons mentioned there are obvious Humbertines, not Anselmids. The identity of the Bishop Burchard with Bishop Burchard of Aosta can scarcely be questioned. We may note the Genevois locality.

Now, in order to hold the two Humbertine family trees apart, we may appeal to differences of locality; chronological incompatibility; differences of office; and the isolation of homonyms in separate series of the charters. It is evident that when we are dealing with homonyms of the same house, who were at least partly contemporary, and who, in the

first wife and therefore, in a way, Burchard II's stepmother, was a Humbertine. Her nephew was Burchard III. Besides the oddity of the use of "nepos" to express this roundabout (and illegitimate at that) relationship, there is no evidence whatever that Queen Adelanía was a Humbertine. Cf. Labruzzi, *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 147-51.

¹ See Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 475, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 385-6, and above, p. 10, n. 3.

² See *Car. Reg.* xxvi. *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 91.

³ This genealogy is amply proved by Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 465-76. Cf. Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, App. I. pp. 301-4. Some confusion has been caused by calling Aldiud (var. Aldeiu) Adelanía as well as the queen. The documents are *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 84, "donni archipresulis Burcardi et fratris sui Anselmi episcopi" (1001 or 2); *Car. Reg.* xxvi. *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 91, Bp Anselm's mother is Aldiud who had land from King Conrad (1005 or 1006); *Car. Reg.* xxv. (Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 267, n. 2, and p. 271, n. 1), Bp Anselm's father is Anselm (1001 or 2); *Car. Reg.* XLVI. (Chevalier, *Cartul. St André-le-bas de Vienne*, p. 256), Archbp Burchard of Vienne and his brother Ulric, advocate do., are sons of Anselm and Aaldiu (1019); *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 73, Archbp Burchard II of Lyons has brother Ulric, whose wife is Girelda (c. 1000).

manner of the time, give painfully casual and incomplete notices on their relations, these indications are all we have to go on. What has just been said suggests one first counter-difficulty to be got out of the way. Is it possible that two families of cousins, named so alike, would so exist together¹? The answer, I think, is that it is not likely, but still they might do so. The Carolingians—Charles, Lewis and Carloman—furnish an apt example: and we remember how the legitimate Hohenstaufen are all named Frederick, Conrad and Henry. But even so we wonder that the Humbertines used no nicknames.

(1) I take first then the topographical indices². The Savoy-Belley charters (see above, p. 65) all refer to land in the counties of Belley and Savoy, which Count Amadeus possessed. If we take Archbishop Burchard III to belong to this branch, the charter *Car. Reg.* LII. brings the group into connection with the Genevois. The reference in Burchard's (1023) charter (*Car. Reg.* LIII.) to them is made in regard to land in the county of Belley. Bishop Oddo of Belley's probable brother, Count Humbert (1000-3, see pp. 45-6 and 58 and 67), would do very well for its founder, who would thus have land in Sermorens bordering on Savoy proper and Belley: similarly suitable would be the intervention of a Count Humbert in favour of the Guigonids of Albon and Grenoble in 1009 (*Car. Reg.* xxviii., above, p. 46) as well as the oath to the Peace of God in 1025 (see above, pp. 23-4). So far so good; the charters form a compact body, save the mentions of the erratic Archbishop Burchard III. But is Humbert Whitehands excluded from this territory? Here the answer must be "No." In *Car. Reg.* LX. (p. 59) (c. 1020-30) he and his sons appear as landowners and benefactors of Cluny and Le Bourget in Savoy proper and in Belley; nay, leading a whole troop of local benefactors of Cluny, while the Savoy-Belley line does not appear with them in these charters. In *Car. Reg.* cxxiii. and cxxv. (p. 62) Whitehands appears as a landowner of acquired land at Les Échelles in Sermorens. In cxxxv. (p. 63) he appears at his nephew Aymon's death-bed, and confirms a grant dealing with land at St Genix in Belley. Here too is no mention of the Belley line; yet we have no trace of Whitehands alive after 1047 and Amadeus of Belley was living 1051. Thus if we suppose a division of family interests and property it was done very clumsily. Whitehands and his sons seem dominant in Savoy and well-landed in Belley and Sermorens, and when they appear the Belley-Savoy line fades out of sight, save that Burchard III with whom I will deal later. Or do the two lines really coalesce?

¹ Cf. Labruzzi, *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 79-101.

² For these, as for so much else in this study, I am indebted to Manteyer's works, especially the often-cited *Origines*.

There is also the Coise charter (1036) (*Car. Reg.* cvii., p. 61) which shows a Count Humbert owning land in Savoy and apparently Count of Savoy¹. This should be Whitehands in any case owing to the lateness of the date.

Then we have *Car. Reg.* LXXXIII., LXXXIV., CVI. (p. 61), XCI. (p. 62) showing Queen Ermengarde's Count Humbert interested in the Viennois, the Genevois (1039) and Savoy proper. Seeing that her Count Humbert at that late date can scarcely be other than Whitehands, it is certainly strange that the 1023 and 1030 charters (*Car. Reg.* LIII. and LXXIX., pp. 58 and 60) seem to show Count Humbert of Belley in the same position. Baron Carutti has avoided these difficulties partly by making the 1023 and 1030 charters refer to Humbert Whitehands, a suggestion which, if we accept the two-families view, is barely tenable, as shown above on p. 60, and partly by the hypothesis that Amadeus of Belley was anti-German in 1034, that he was then deprived by Conrad and his dominions given to his cousins Whitehands and his son Amadeus I, and that the elder Amadeus still kept his title of Count of Belley². But this is to imagine a great deal, and ought not to be followed unless we find in the other indices strong evidence of two separate families.

(2) Next comes the question of chronology. Is it possible or probable that a single Count Humbert will meet the conditions of the charters? To begin with the man himself. The supporters of a single-family tree ascribe to Whitehands all the mentions of a living Count Humbert in these charters between 1000 and 1047 (pp. 45-55). This period of activity, though a long one for an insanitary age, is by no means impossible. In fact Count Humbert of Belley, if he existed, would fall but little short of it—1000 to 1032 at the least, and possibly 976 (p. 45) to 1032. But the case is different when we come to Whitehands' presumed children. Not only were Amadeus I and Bishop Burchard III in active life in 1022, but the former's son Aymon was Bishop of Belley by 1032, if not before. Let us see what this implies. Whitehands died, it is most likely, in 1048³. Giving him 70 years of life, we get back to 978 for his birth. To be generous, let us say he was born in 975, a limit we can hardly exceed. If he married at 20 in 995 (he appears married in 1003, see p. 46), then his eldest son, Amadeus I, could be born in 996, could marry at 20 in 1016, could have an eldest

¹ The King, it seems, still held land in Savoy from the charter, for *terra regis sive comitis necnon Ota uxori Sigibodi*, and *terra regis et comitis* surely refer to three separate owners. The beneficial *comitatus* would hardly be described as *terra regis et comitis* in 1036.

² Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 126-7.

³ See above, p. 40.

son (probably the predeceasing Humbert [see pp. 55-6 and 64]) in 1017, and a second son Aymon in 1018. Thus the latter would be a mere boy in 1032, even if we compressed the above dates a little (as is quite possible, though not probable on an average). He would have to be a boy-bishop, elevated by his family influence. Such elevations were by no means unknown at that place and time. We have the examples of Burchard II of Lyons, who attained his see in boyhood¹, of the child whom Count Gerard produced as competitor for the same in 1030-1²; or of Pope Benedict IX (1033-48) who began his reign at twelve years old. Still Baron Carutti³ reasonably asked for evidence of a fact which at the best was exceptional.

We may next proceed to consider Auchilia's age (who in the single-family scheme is Whitehands' wife and Burchard III's mother). Her bastard brother Burchard II became Archbishop in 979, being then a boy. As his father, King Conrad's, first wife, Adelfania, died before 963 and the King married again about 965, we may put Burchard II's birth about 965 when he was still a widower⁴. Then of the legitimate brothers, one, Anselm of Aosta, died in January 1026, the other, Burchard of Vienne, on the 19th August 1031, and Ulric at an unknown date after 1019. Anselm was Bishop already in 995 while Burchard became Archbishop in 1001. Their father is last known to be living in 1002. Thus the birth of the two brothers may very well fall about 970, and Auchilia could easily be younger—in fact we do not want Whitehands' wife to be born till near 980⁵. In short Auchilia's position as daughter of Anselm and Aldiud has nothing repugnant in it to her position as Whitehands' wife and mother of Count Amadeus and Bishop Burchard. As will be seen by the reader from all the foregoing, Whitehands' position in the Savoy, Belley, Sermorens districts negatives the theory that he was a son of Anselm or King Conrad. The Anselmids had no land there⁶. The royal demesnes would have to be enormous in those districts if, after the Humbertines had been provided for, Queen Ermen-garde could still be dowered from them as she was. To sum up, we are left with a chronological difficulty, if we accept a single-family tree. Count Amadeus I is so speedy as to have a bishop-son in 1032; Marquess Oddo, his youngest brother, is so tardy as only to have his first-born c. 1046⁷. Of course this is all possible, but, unless one had

¹ "Hic episcopatum Lugdunensem in infantia adeptus est," Hugo Flavin. *M.G.H.* VIII. p. 367; see Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 467-70.

² See above, p. 29.

³ *Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 95-6.

⁴ See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 469-70, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 386, n. 1.

⁵ See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 480-1, and above, p. 70.

⁶ See above, pp. 67-8.

⁷ See below, p. 206.

conclusive evidence to prove it, one would wish to construe the facts otherwise. On the other hand it does not seem easy to dispense with a long-lived Count Humbert whichever view we take.

(3) To proceed, there is the third category of difficulties. Homonyms who bear different titles and occupy different positions are more likely to be two persons than one. I have dealt with the two Humberts in the course of our topographical and chronological investigations; so only two names come here in question: Amadeus and Burchard. Amadeus, being the easier, may be taken first. One party says there is one Amadeus, who appears from 1022 to 1051, son of Whitehands and himself Count of Savoy and Belley. The other distinguishes Count Amadeus of Savoy and Belley, who appears in 1022, 1030, and 1051, and who was probably dead by 1058¹, from his relative Count Amadeus, son of Whitehands, who appears 1020-30, 1040, 1042, c. 1045 (*Car. Reg.* cxxxv.) and had been dead some time by 1054 (see above, p. 40, n. 9). Is there any difference in the assumption of their title of count or in their possession of a county? On the first point the presumed Amadeus of Savoy-Belley appears untitled in 1022 (*Car. Reg.* lII.), in *Car. Reg.* lxxII., c. 1030-2 and in the posthumous reference to him by his son Bishop Aymon (*Car. Reg.* cxLI.), while he appears as Count in 1030 (*Car. Reg.* lxxIX.), in 1051 (*Car. Reg.* cxxxVIII.), in *Car. Reg.* lxxxI., lxxIV. and in the posthumous charter of 1058 (*Car. Reg.* cl.).

Next we take Amadeus I, Whitehands' son. He appears untitled 1020-30 (*Car. Reg.* lxxIII., *id.* lX., *id.* lXl.), and 1042 (*id.* cxxIII.), and as Count in 1040 (*id.* cxx.), 1042 (*id.* cxxv.) and c. 1045 (*id.* cxxxv.). Thus it is clear there is nothing repugnant to the identity of the two Amadeuses, for the cases, where the titles are dropped after once being assumed, occur in each separated series.

As to the counties they possessed, it has already come before us that the two appear in the same area, with its centre at Le Bourget; the son of Whitehands appearing once at Aosta to confirm his father's will. When we remember that their deaths seem to fall close together, the most natural inference is that the two Counts are identical.

There remains Archbishop Burchard III. We may remove at once the Burchard, father of Aymon and probable brother of Whitehands, from the discussion as a separate person. Burchard III appears as Bishop (doubtless of Aosta) (*Car. Reg.* lII.) in 1022 and (of Aosta) in 1024 (*Car. Reg.* lvII.) and 1026 (*Car. Reg.* lIX.), as both Bishop of Aosta and Provost of St Maurice in 1026 (*Car. Reg.* lXII.), as Provost

¹ The period of Amadeus of Savoy-Belley's death is shown thus. Marquess Oddo died in 1060. He ruled in Belley, at a time when Josserand was already bishop there (see above, p. 56—Guigue, p. 27). Now Aymon of Belley, Josserand's predecessor, survived his own father Amadeus, who yet was alive in December 1051.

only (Car. *Reg.* LXXX.) in 1030-2, as both in Car. *Reg.* LXXXVI. and LXIII. (1020-1 or preferably 1030-1)—he was actually Archbishop of Lyons c. 1031-6; then he reappears as Archbishop only (Car. *Reg.* CXXIII. and CXXV.) in 1042, as both Archbishop and Abbot of St Maurice in 1057 (Car. *Reg.* CXIX.)¹, and, supposing that he was the brother of Amadeus of Savoy-Belley, quite untitled in 1058 (Car. *Reg.* CL.).

Then there are the appearances of Whitehands' son untitled. These are Car. *Reg.* LXXIII. (c. 1020-30) and *id.* CXX. (1040); LXXIII. may have been before his consecration. Ought we to infer from CXX. that he is different from the Archbishop Burchard III? It seems to me that, remembering the latter had been deposed, we cannot make this deduction. In 1058 Pope Stephen gives him no title whatever; and in c. 1030-2 he only styles himself Provost of St Maurice when he was Bishop of Aosta as well. Baron Gingins actually reversed the position and made Whitehands' son the Archbishop and Burchard of Savoy-Belley the layman².

(4) He had a reason for this, as we may see when we turn to the fourth category. The homonymous personages of the two presumed lines, we have noticed, refused ever to appear together in charters, although the practice was not infrequent with other homonyms—the *alius Gottafredus* and his like appear in due season in the charters. Did the two families at least keep altogether separate and not appear with a member or so (not being kept away by the presence of his homonym) from the other branch? But on the double-line hypothesis this last perversity is just what they committed. Not to mention the rivalry of the two Humberts for Queen Ermengarde's favour (see above, p. 70), there is Archbishop Burchard III. That abandoned character, when he saw his first-cousin once-removed, lay Burchard, out of the way, went to visit his cousin Whitehands and signed in charters in place of the latter's second-born. The Aostan charters of 1024 and 1026 (Car. *Reg.* LVII. and LIX.) of course attest only to an official connection of Bishop and Count. But we have the family grants of Les Écheltes in 1042 (Car. *Reg.* CXXIII., CXXV.), where there appear in order of precedence Archbishop Burchard, Bishop Aymon, Amadeus and Oddo, and

¹ See above, p. 64, n. 2. Thus Burchard only becomes Abbot on his relative, Bishop Aymon of Sion's death, the latter being Abbot in 1050. Now in Car. *Reg.* CXIX. the Archbishop-Abbot's advocate is Octo. But in two further charters of 1067-8 (Car. *Reg.* CXLIV. above, pp. 57 and 65) and 1069 (Car. *Reg.* CLXVIII. above, pp. 57 and 65) a Burchard appears first as Abbot and Provost of St Maurice, then as Abbot with a Provost Anselm. In both cases his advocate is Otto. If one could be certain this Abbot was Burchard III (and I see no reason against the identification), the charters could be given as an instance of his dropping the archiepiscopal style. Cf. below, p. 92.

² See above, p. 42.

Archbishop Burchard, Count Amadeus and Oddo. True he does not appear in the Cluny Le Bourget grants (*Car. Reg.* LX. and LXI.), but neither does the other Burchard, Whitehands' son by this scheme; and here we know that a charter, in which a Burchard did take part, is missing (see above, pp. 57, 60 and 65). So when in *Car. Reg.* LXXIII. (c. 1020-30) and *Car. Reg.* CXX. (1040) we find the same series of names, Amadeus, Burchard, Oddo and Aymon; Oddo, Count Amadeus, Bishop Aymon of Sion and Burchard, we need not hesitate to identify them with the same series of names in the Les Échelles documents¹. To sum up, on the evidence available, it seems eminently unlikely that there were two families of close kinsmen in the same districts who with one exception never attest each other's charters, and that the single exception, Archbishop Burchard III, should only attest his cousins' charters when his homonym, the lay Burchard, is not present. We surely have only one family before us.

Another piece of evidence may be cited at the close. On the 12th June 1052 Bishop Aymon of Sion gives to the see of Sion lands he has inherited from his late *avunculus*, Count Ulric (*Car. Reg.* cxlv.). As we have seen, Burchard II of Lyons, the uncle of Burchard III, had a uterine brother Ulric (see above, p. 68 and n. 3). The two genealogical fragments fit together.

In conclusion, we find that the two series are (1) topographically indistinguishable, (2) in chronology possible to refer to one family, (3) in titles but in one case inconsistent (and that case is irregular)², and (4) impossible to isolate. We thus find ourselves accepting the view of one Count Humbert Whitehands and one main Humbertine line. The next thing to examine is: what territories Count Humbert, his sons and brothers, possessed.

SECTION IV. THE POSSESSIONS OF HUMBERT I WHITEHANDS.

At the commencement of this section I ought to say that the material for it is drawn mainly from the often-cited studies of M. G. de Manteyer, *Les Origines de la maison de Savoie en Bourgogne, Notes*

¹ Cf. for these arguments, Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 476-81, Labruzzi, *Un figlio d'Umberto Biancamano*, *Arch. stor. ital.*, Ser. v., xvi. and Labruzzi, *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 79-101. Henceforward I may adopt the genealogy given by Manteyer (see above, pp. 44 and 68): only Aymon of Pierreforte and the Count Aymon of *Car. Reg.* cxxxv. remain unplaced.

² For Burchard III was a deposed Archbishop by 1040 (*Car. Reg.* cxx.).

additionnelles, and *La Paix en Viennois*¹. I have not thought it, therefore, necessary to deal with the matter in such detail as with the crucial genealogical question. The method adopted, principally with a view to clearness, is the following: (1) I group the possessions according to the *pagi* or *comitatus* in which they occur, those *pagi*, etc., being taken roughly in order of chronological precedence as they appear in the Humbertine charters. (2) The evidence for these possessions is, where necessary, divided into contemporary (*a*) and later (*b*); and the inferences to be deduced as to their extent are discussed. (3) After this, under each *pagus* or *comitatus* the possible origin of the Humbertine possessions there is discussed, chiefly with reference to the views of M. de Manteyer. In so doing, I avoid as much as possible questions regarding the ancestry of Whitehands, deferring them to the following section. I think it will be seen that this course not only does not damage the continuity of the argument, but makes it easier to dissociate attested facts from what in the nature of the case must be mainly theory, however fascinating. (4) At the close of the section I sum up the general results, both as to the growth of the Humbertine possessions, and as to the final territorial position the House had attained by 1048.

(1) *The Lyonnais. Section A.*

The *pagus* or diocese of the Lyonnais was one of the most extensive in Burgundy, but its western portions, the mountainous district of Forez and the low-lying, lake-studded tract between the rivers Saône and Ain, do not here concern us. The remainder falls into two divisions. (A) There is the small upland country, opposite the city of Lyons itself, and bounded on the north and west by the Rhone. On the east it reached to the mouth of the Ain; on the south it included Heyrieux and St Symphorien d'Ozon. (B) Secondly we have that part of the diocese which lay east of the Ain. This consisted (i) of a small district to the south of the Rhone to the north of and including Morestel, which was separated from district (A) by a section of the Viennois which reached to the Rhone, and (ii) of a long, mainly mountainous strip to the east of the Ain and north of the Rhone, including Lhuis, St Rambert, Ambérieux, Nantua and Oyonnax, much

¹ Next to these studies I have found Carutti's *Umberto Biancamano* most helpful; and for the later state of things, Guigue, *Topographie hist. de la dépm. de l'Ain*, and Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*. The investigations as to what part of the thirteenth century Savoyard lands were acquired in later times than the eleventh century have been conducted on documentary evidence. For the ancient limits of the *pagi*, see M. E. Philipon's excellent *Origines du diocèse et du comté de Belley*.

of which was included in the later district of Bugey¹. Both sections were Mesorhodanic in speech.

Since these two sections, (A) and (B), of the Lyonnais lay apart from one another, and both in the eleventh century and later were distinct both in geographical character and in history, I take them separately, beginning with section (A).

(a) It is here that we find the earliest charter which is attributed with reasonable certainty to the Humbertine connection (*Car. Reg.* xi., above, p. 45) in 976. A priest Amalfredus grants to Cluny land at *Mions* (close to St Symphorien d'Ozon) in the presence of a Count Humbert².

This part of the Lyonnais south and east of the Rhone is also included in the boundaries mentioned in Count Humbert Whitehands' (as I may now say) oath to the Peace of God at Anse in 1025³.

(b) Later evidence. In 1157 Humbert III held fiefs from the Archbishop of Lyons probably in this district⁴. In the treaty (1173) between Humbert III and King Henry II of England, one of the jurors for Humbert III was named Guido de Candiaco (Chandieu, near St Symphorien)⁵, while in the later-formed bailiwick of the Viennois, possessed by the Counts of Savoy in 1329, and ceded by them to the French Dauphin in 1354-5, were St Symphorien d'Ozon, Vénissieux, Azieux, and Jonages, and the homages of St Pierre-de-Chandieu and Meyzieux, all in this district⁶. St Symphorien d'Ozon was already Savoyard in 1218 and 1232⁷.

(c) Of these domains Jonages was certainly a late acquisition; as

¹ See for these boundaries of the diocese of Lyons, A. Molinier, *Pouillés du Lyonnais*, from which the thirteenth century limits can be made out. But to a certain extent the Archbishops of Lyons had encroached on their neighbour prelates, and in consequence fluctuations of the borders in details had taken place. The Archbishops of Vienne had had claims on Chandieu and Mions, which however were passing over to the see of Lyons at the end of the tenth century. See M. E. Philippon, *Belley*, p. 31. One consequence of these fluctuations is that we cannot be sure of the exact coincidence of county and diocese. In fact we know of instances of divergence. See below, p. 95.

² Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 364-6.

³ See above, p. 23, and Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 110-23.

⁴ Stumpf, 3787 (*Gallia Christiana*, iv. (ed. II.), *Instr.* p. 17).

⁵ *Gesta Henrici II*, Rolls Series, i. 38.

⁶ Cibrario, *Delle finanze della monarchia*, Mem. R. Accad. Scienze, Torino, xxxvi. (1830), p. 92, and Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 287. Jonages came under the dominion of Savoy by cession of the Sires de Beauvoir in 1252 (*Car. Reg.* cmvii., Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. ecc.* p. 192). Probably a similar origin could be found for others. The Beauvoir first did homage for three-quarters of Meyzieux in 1322 (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 261).

⁷ *Car. Reg.* cdlv. and Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* iv. 190 ff.

to the origin of the others we possess no evidence, but I may remind the reader that Count Humbert Whitehands held lands *in commendam* of the chapter of Vienne¹, and that Charles-Constantine, Count of Vienne, had held land near St Symphorien².

(2) *The Lyonnais. Section B.*

The fact that this district, the "Terre de la Montagne" as most of it was later named, which lay chiefly on the western slopes of the southern continuation of the Jura, was later mostly included in the Savoyard bailiwick of Bugey, tempts one to think that the county of Belley which formed the kernel of Bugey may have extended over this fraction of the diocese of Lyons, and thus have been larger than the little diocese of Belley. Such was the case with the county of Savoy, which contained fractions of the diocese of Maurienne³. Further, since the diocese of Belley belonged, not to the province of Lyons or Vienne, but to that of Besançon, of which it was a detached portion, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was once contiguous with the diocese of Besançon, and that the extension of the Lyonnais over North Bugey took place not much before the ninth century. And the authority of the Counts of Belley may have remained in some parts where the Bishop of Belley lost his⁴.

"La terre de la Montagne," as was natural for a land of forest-covered hills, was a favourite haunt of monks and largely in their possession. Famous Benedictine Abbeys, Nantua, St Claude or St Oyend, St Rambert and Ambronay were reared in the valleys by brook or riverside and shared the dominion of the land with the feudal lords.

(a) The southern part of this district lying mainly between the Rhone and Brenod is included in Whitehands' oath at the council of Anse in 1025.

(b) In 1173 Humbert III had vassals named from Morestel, just south of the Rhone. Further acquisitions are traceable in the twelfth century, from divers rulers, such as Cornillon from the Abbot of St Rambert⁵, and Dolomieux from the Sires de la Tour-du-Pin (then Dauphins)⁶.

The various intermarriages between ladies of the Savoyard house and neighbouring lords both afford evidence for early Savoyard lands

¹ Manteyer, *Paix*, p. 96, and see below, p. 81.

² Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, I. p. 748, no. 797.

³ See below, p. 95.

⁴ See Philipon, *op. cit.* pp. 43-57.

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLXXXVI.

⁶ Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 194; Wurstemberger, IV. 466; Valbonnais, *Histoire de la Dauphiné*, II. 10 and 155.

which passed to other dynasties and for the acquisition of new rights to homage. Thus in the thirteenth century the Sires de Beaujeu did homage to the Counts of Savoy for all their lands east of the Saône, in the "Terre d'Empire¹." Part of these in the Val-Romey and at Virieu-le-grand were the dowry of a Savoyard Countess². Then they obtained Miribel, near Lyons, by intermarriage; and the lord of Miribel had been guardian of Amadeus III of Savoy c. 1107, and so was probably allied to his ward by marriage³. It looks as if homage, in connection with the bride's dowry, was one of the conditions of intermarriage with Savoy. In like manner the Sires de Coligny, who intermarried with the Humbertines at the end of the eleventh century, did liege homage to the Count of Savoy in the thirteenth for the barony of New Coligny which included St Sorlin on the Rhone and Varey near Poncin in the district now under discussion. To this they were forced in 1206 to add the homage of Brion and Rougemont by Nantua⁴. Probably they too received a dowry and added homage for other possessions on the intermarriage. Some ancient homage, too, in this district, which was not acquired by Count Peter II of Savoy, was due from the lords of La Tour-du-Pin, Lhuis and Innimond being mentioned in 1293 as fiefs held from Savoy⁵.

(c) A single origin is evidently unlikely for the early Humbertine domains here. The Countship of Belley may account for some of them; such as the homage due for Lhuis and New Coligny. Some may be due to immune lands of Whitehands. Others are proved to be later acquisitions of homage.

(3) *Sermorens*.

This county, which lay entirely in the modern department of the Isère, seems to have been originally composed of fractions of the *pagi*

¹ Wurstemberger, IV. 338 and 345.

² See below, p. 295, n. 3.

³ Car. Reg. CCXLVI. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice-en-Bugey*, p. 29). See below, p. 278.

⁴ Car. Reg. CDXIII. (Du Bouchet, *Preuves de l'hist. de la maison de Coligny*, p. 41). The barony of New Coligny stretched from Ceyzeriat across the Ain to the Rhone by Lagnieu. The house appears here in the twelfth century. Cf. Guichenon, *Bresse et Bugey*, III. 109, Du Bouchet, *op. cit.* p. 50, Valbonnais, I. 180. See below, p. 377, n. 1. The fact that the older homage was liege shows its antiquity.

⁵ Valbonnais, II. 42. The priory of Innimond was subject to Savoy in 1200 (Car. Reg. CDV.) and in the diocese of Belley; Peter II's acquisitions of the homage of La Tour-du-Pin and partly of Bourgoin were separate. Cf. below, p. 82. Albert de la Tour definitely rules round Lhuis in 1202 (Guichenon, *Bibl. Sebusiana*, p. 80, Cent. I. 27). In 1107 his ancestor Berlio is obviously landed there (Valbonnais, I. 180); and I think that the Hebrardus de Turre, who appears in Belley in Marquess Oddo's entourage c. 1055 (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice*, p. 27; see above, p. 56), must be the first ancestor of the house of La Tour-du-Pin, and already a vassal of Marquess Oddo of Savoy.

of the Viennois and Graisivaudan. On the north it included St Jean-du-Bournay and Virieu, but not La Tour-du-Pin or Bourgoin. On the west it included La Côte-St-André, St Etienne-de-Geoire and Vinay; on the south Pont-en-Royans; and on the east Les Échelles and St Laurent-du-Pont¹. It thus consisted for the most part of uplands leading towards the western outworks of the Alpine range and having no natural boundary to mark it off from the Viennois proper. In 1011 Sermorens, or at least its *comitatus*, was granted to Queen Ermengarde, who died later than 1057². A long quarrel had existed between the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Grenoble for the episcopal jurisdiction over the county. The two prelates at last came to blows on the question, but after some ineffectual treaties the matter was ended with papal sanction in 1107 by a treaty of partition³, and the name Sermorens for the district, which then was only a geographical term, soon disappeared. Here, too, the dialect is to be classed as Mesorhodanic.

(a) Bishop Oddo of Belley resides at Boczozel castle, near La Côte-St-André, in 1000 and 1003. He leases, and grants leases of church-land at the neighbouring village of Châtonnay⁴. In 1025 the whole county is included in the district of Whitehands' oath to the Peace of God⁵. In 1032 Bishop Aymon of Belley acquires a church at Charancieu, near Le Pont-de-Beauvoisin, but this was on behalf of his bishopric⁶. In 1042 Humbert Whitehands gives to a Priory of Grenoble churches at Les Échelles, which had been destroyed and which he had acquired⁷.

(b) Later, in 1325, the Savoyard possessions in this district fell into the two bailiwicks (*bailivæ*) of Novalaise and the Viennois, which apparently had been formed out of the south-westerly possessions of Savoy by Count Peter II⁸. Besides some *castellaniae*, which in origin belonged to the county of Belley, Novalaise included St Laurent-du-Pont and Voiron. While, besides the *castellaniae* which had always been in the more restricted Viennois (see below), the bailiwick of the

¹ See Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 113-23, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 269-72, and cf. the list of places in Pope Paschal II's Bull of 1107 (Jaffé, 6163, Marion, *Cartul....de Grenoble*, p. 1), which however only names places which lay along the new border-line.

² See above, p. 14. See *Car. Reg.* CLII. (Chevalier, *Cart. S. André*, p. 267).

³ See above, n. 1 for authorities.

⁴ See above, pp. 45-6.

⁵ See above, p. 23.

⁶ See above, p. 51.

⁷ See above, p. 53.

⁸ Wurstemberger, III. 162-3.

Viennois included (in ancient Sermorens) Chabons, La Côte-St-André, Boczozel and St Jean-de-Bournay¹.

It seems possible that the *totam vallem Novalisiae* mentioned next to Chambéry in the 1173 treaty, and by all the context Burgundian, not Italian, included more than the little valley or mestralsy of Novalaise itself (by Aiguebelette, Savoy), especially as there was a Viscount of Novalaise in 1209². In the same treaty there appears as juror a vassal of the Count surnamed of Voiron³, which fact supports the later evidence as regards that place.

Then by the treaty of 1354-5 with the Dauphin the Count of Savoy cedes the demesnes of Les Abrets, Voiron, Chabons, La Côte-St-André, Boczozel, Tolvon, Lieudieu and St Jean-de-Bournay, and the homages of Ornacieux-l'hôte, Châtonnay, Villeneuve-de-Marc and Faramans⁴.

(c) As far as we know, the origin of these domains is of the most varied description. The homages of St Jean-de-Bournay and Villeneuve-de-Marc were acquired by Amadeus V in 1314⁵. But Boczozel and Châtonnay and Les Écheltes go back to Humbert Whitehands. Some perhaps may be part of those *in commendams* mentioned in the oath of 1025; others may have been acquired later by the doughty Amadeus III. And of course some of these lands may have belonged to Queen Ermengarde's county of Sermorens.

This brings us to M. de Manteyer's theory⁶ that on Queen Ermengarde's death her county of Sermorens was divided between the Humbertines and the Guigonids (later Dauphins). Yet of this there does not seem to be any direct evidence. Indeed we do not know where the demesnes of the *comitatus* of Sermorens exactly lay. Thus the impression we get from the material is that there was a multiple origin of the domains of both dynasties. There must have been, too, a considerable amount of compelled homage, etc., from weaker seigneurs in those anarchic times on the disappearance of the central authority.

(4) *The Viennois proper.*

This district, as it existed in Whitehands' time and before Sermorens disappeared as an independent territory, was bounded on the east by a

¹ Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, Voiron, Tolvon and Boczozel were Savoyard in 1254 (Wurstemberger, IV. 191). Chabons was admitted by its owner in 1307 to be a fief of Savoy in return for a payment (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. ecc.* p. 245). St Jean-de-Bournay and the homage of Villeneuve-de-Marc were acquisitions from the Dauphins (Sires de la Tour-du-Pin), in the peace of 1314 (Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 429, Valbonnais, *Histoire de la Dauphiné*, II. 155).

² Car. Reg. CDXXV.

³ *Gesta Henrici II*, Rolls Series, I. 37-8.

⁴ Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 286-8.

⁵ Valbonnais, *Hist. de la Dauphiné*, II. p. 155; Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 429. See above, n. 1.

⁶ Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 150-2.

line drawn so as to exclude St Jean-de-Bourney and Virieu, and to include La Tour-du-Pin, Bourgoin and Beaurepaire¹. Beyond the fact that it included the Rhone valley it did not greatly differ in character from Sermorens. Its speech belongs to the Mesorhodanic group.

(a) Here the early evidence is restricted to Whitehands' oath in 1025², and to the cession of a church in Isle d'Abeau near Bourgoin by Aymon, Bishop of Belley, in 1032. The church, however, belonged to his see³. From Whitehands' oath it appears that the Count's *antecessor* held large lands in the district in the days of Archbishop Theobald (957-1001); and that he himself also held much *in commendam*, chiefly, from the chapter of Vienne, from which he also had authority as advocate. In 1066 his grandsons held a fief of the see⁴.

(b) In 1325 the bailiwick of the Viennois included here the *castellaniae* of St Georges d'Espéranches, Falavier and La Verpillière, as well as that of Septême⁵. In the cession of 1354-5 were included the

¹ Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 116-23, especially p. 123.

² See above, p. 23.

³ See above, p. 51.

⁴ Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 95, 126, 129-38. The text is, "In terris autem sanctorum episcopatus Viennensis ecclesiae quas nunc in comunia tenent vel in antea adquisierint canonici vel monachi seu sanctimonialia malas consuetudines ibi non inponam, neque per hostes neque per cavaladas albergarias faciam si mutare potuero me sciente etc.," and "In terris autem clericorum, monachorum et sanctimonialium quas ego in comanda teneo plus non accipiam nisi tantum antecessor meus accepit in tempore Theutbaldi archiepiscopi Viennensis etc." and (p. 97) "Excepto in illis terris quae sunt de meo alodo aut de beneficio sive de franchiziis sive de comandis, etc." Cf. below, pp. 117-19. The mention of *franchisia* is an interesting proof that Whitehands possessed immune lands as well as counties. See Meyer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 100. For the fief of 1066 see below, p. 224, n. 6: "S. Mauricii...de cujus beneficio honorata est."

⁵ Cibrario, *loc. cit.*. St Georges d'Espéranches was acquired from the Dauphin by the Archbishop of Lyons, Philip of Savoy, in 1266 (Wurst. III. 58-9, IV. 392). It had passed to Amadeus V by 1291 (Valbonnais, *Hist. Dauph.* I. 26). Falavier was acquired in 1250 (Car. Reg. DCCCLV., cf. Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 276). Septême was also acquired from the Dauphin by Archbishop Philip in 1266 (Wurst. III. 58-9, IV. 392), but was claimed by his brother Count Peter II. The latter is said to have acquired it (or perhaps only a claim to it) from William de Beauvoir in 1249 (Valbonnais, *Hist. des Dauphins*, I. 269), but I have not found the document. In 1239, however, William de Beauvoir acknowledged that Septême was held by him from the Dauphin, and promised to surrender it to the latter. Since all the Dauphin's lands in the Viennois were held from the Archbishop of Vienne, it follows that the Archbishop was supreme suzerain of Septême (Chevalier, *Inventaire des Archives des Dauphins à St André de Grenoble en 1346*, p. 66, no. 340). Later we find Philip of Savoy, then Count, doing homage to the Archbishop of Vienne, in 1284, and that this was for Septême is shown by the express recognition and homage of Amadeus V in 1310 (Valbonnais, *op. cit.* II. 28, 145-6, cf. Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 429, and Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 278). Apparently Philip acquired this Viennese fief in exchange for Lyonese castles.

above domains and the homages of the great barony of Tour-du-Pin, Éclose, Les Éparres, St Alban-de-Roche, Chèzeneuve, Maubec and Villette-Serpaize¹.

(c) When we deduct the thirteenth century acquisitions, such as Tour-du-Pin, obtained by Peter II in 1250² (although there was an older homage rendered to the Counts of Savoy for Bourgoin³), Septême, St Alban-de-Roche, St Georges d'Espéranches, Falavier, Chèzeneuve and Maubec, there seems but little left to be inherited from Whitehands. However, M. de Manteyer has suggested⁴ that the north of the Viennois and of Sermorens, or at least of the Viennois, was enfeoffed as a county to Whitehands by Archbishop Burchard of Vienne. The reasons against his view which to me seem conclusive are as follows:

(i) The remarkable absence of early Humbertine lands in the Viennois proper, which exactly agrees with the lack of any mention of them in the 1173 treaty. The chief domains of Savoy lay in Sermorens and in the Lyonnais, outside the county of the Viennois of which Burchard had disposal since 1023⁵.

(ii) There is no record of the transaction.

(iii) The expression *ratione comitatus*, used in 1287 of Amadeus V's rights over Tour-du-Pin, merely emphasizes the fact that he claimed to be his uncle Peter II's full heir, as against the latter's daughter Beatrice⁶. *Comitatus* is at that time a general expression for the sum of the possessions and rights of the chief of the House of Savoy. It does not refer to a particular district or kind of domains⁷.

(iv) Whereas the Dauphins (partners of the Humbertines *apud* M. de Manteyer in the county of the Viennois by Archbishop Burchard's

¹ Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 286-8. St Alban-de-Roche was acquired in 1254 (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. ecc.* p. 194), Chèzeneuve and Maubec were held from Savoy by the Sires de la Tour-du-Pin (Dauphins) in 1293, but the homages were renounced by Savoy to the Dauphins in that year (Valbonnais, II. 42; Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 273-4). Maubec was re-acquired by Savoy in 1314 (Valbonnais, II. 155).

² Car. Reg. DCCCXLI. (Wurst. IV. *Doc.* 258) and Wurst. IV. 197.

³ Car. Reg. DCCCLI., DCCCLIV. Cf. Car. Reg. CDLV. This older homage is referred to in 1228 (Guigue, *Cartul. des fiefs de l'Eglise de Lyon*, p. 339).

⁴ *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 279-80; *Paix*, pp. 140-8.

⁵ See above, p. 19. M. de Manteyer erroneously attributes Sermorens to Burchard.

⁶ See Wurstemberger, III. 121-9, IV. 431-8; Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*, II. 135.

⁷ Cf. the treaty of 1173 (*Gesta Henrici II*, Rolls Series, I. 37), "totum comitatum suum et omnes alias terras suas quascunque habet." In the old legal sense Humbert III held six *comitatus*. Cf. Car. Reg. CCLXVI. where St Maurice Abbey is described by Amadeus III in 1128 as "in comitatu nostro."

gift) did do homage to the later Archbishops of Vienne for the county of Vienne¹, the Counts of Savoy only did homage to the Archbishops for the thirteenth century grant of Septême².

(5) *County of Belley.*

The *pagus Bellicensis*—from which adjectival form of the name the medieval Beugeis and the modern Bugey are derived³—extended in the fourteenth century over a curious tongue-shaped district situated between the dioceses of Lyons, Geneva, Vienne and Grenoble. From close to St Rambert it stretched past Belley city to the Rhone at Yenne, and then southwards so as to include the north-east shore of the Lac du Bourget, Aiguebellette, St Genix and Le Pont-de-Beauvoisin to the east of the river Guiers, as well as a small strip reaching nearly to La Tour-du-Pin on the west of the Guiers, all called later *Petit Bugey*⁴. There are, however, signs that the diocese of Belley had earlier overpassed these limits. On the north, as we have seen, it must once have reached further so as to be a promontory, not an island of the Province of Besançon⁵, and there is evidence that in the twelfth century it included some part of the Val-Romey, later in the diocese of Geneva, as well as La Motte-Servolex, later in the diocese of Grenoble⁶. It is not likely that the county was of less extent than the diocese, and although with regard to its frontier toward Savoy and the Viennois, this is not a very important matter, it becomes of weight when we try to trace the origin of the Savoyard domains in Val-Romey⁷.

Few more beautiful districts exist in these Burgundian territories than the *pagus* of Bugey. North of the Rhone it lay along the southern extremity of the Jura. Here and there, as at Belley itself, there are broader tracts of plain, but the greater part consists of either dale or gorge overhung with cliffs of dusty crumbling rock. The narrow

¹ See Chevalier, *Inventaire des Archives des Dauphins*, No. 431, and *Actes Capitulaires de l'Eglise de St Maurice de Vienne*, pp. 82, 102-4, in his *Collection de Cartulaires Dauphinois*.

² See above, p. 81, n. 5.

³ See Philippon, *op. cit.* pp. 157-60.

⁴ See Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 112, nn. 5 and 7, and Guichenon, *Hist. de Bresse et de Bugey*, Preuves, p. 181.

⁵ See above, p. 77.

⁶ Pope Innocent II (Jaffé, 8246, *Gallia Christiana*, xv. 309) mentions Veromensis (Val-Romey) and Mota as archpriestdoms of the diocese in 1142. See Philippon, p. 38. Whitehands' oath, also, by its boundaries suggests the same extension: see Manteyer, *Paix*, p. 115. But that such an extension included Le Bourget (Maltacena) seems impossible in view of Car. Reg. LXXXI. (above, p. 55), Car. Reg. LXXIX. (above, p. 49) and Car. Reg. LX. (above, pp. 48-9).

⁷ See below, pp. 87-8.

winding valleys, now flanked with vineyards, were in the eleventh century wrapped in woods. Low isolated hills, not infrequent where the valleys widen, were at once seized on for the castles of the feudal lords, the fragmentary ruins of which may be easily discerned to-day from the train by means of the statue of Liberty triumphantly erected upon each. South of the Rhone in Petit Bugey we enter on the similar mountainous land leading up to the Grande Chartreuse, to which the small annex west of the Guiers added an upland, indistinguishable from those of Sermorens. The dialect of the whole was of course Mesorhodanic.

(a) Between 995 and 1000, Bishop Oddo of Belley gave the Archbishop Theobald of Vienne a *mansus* near Vézeronce in the county of Belley (north of the Rhone), and received in return a large domain round Traize (near Yenne) also in the county of Belley. The latter domain stretched from the Canal de Savières and the Mont-du-Chat almost to St Genix¹. In 1023 we find Humbertines possessing St Genix itself in the same county, and Whitehands was almost certainly Count of Belley². It is included in his oath to the Peace of God in 1025³. Other evidence for these possessions may easily be found in the charters, until at last Amadeus I takes the title of Count of Belley⁴; and Marquess Oddo I succeeds him⁵.

(b) The later evidence need only be referred to in three cases: (i) Humbert III claimed the *regalia* in the lands of the Bishop of Belley, and the *spolia* on the Bishop's death⁶. The regalian rights were however granted away to the Bishop by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1175⁷. (ii) Humbert III in 1173 promised the county to John of England, along with his two chief castles there, Rossillon and Pierrechâtel⁸. (iii) In 1354-5 the district west of the rivers Rhone and Guiers, i.e. the *castellania* of the Isle de Ciers, was ceded to the Dauphin. It then formed part of the bailiwick of Novalaise which also included all Belley south of the Rhone and east of the Guiers⁹.

(c) Now how did the county of Belley get conferred on the Humbertines? We may suspect Whitehands was Count already in

¹ See above, p. 46, and Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 367-8.

² See above, pp. 47, 58, and 61.

³ See above, p. 23.

⁴ Car. Reg. CXXXVIII. (1051); see above, p. 55.

⁵ See above, p. 56.

⁶ See below, pp. 330-1, 426.

⁷ See below, pp. 342, 426. The diploma only has "concessimus." There is no mention of any antecedent right of the Bishop to the *regalia*. An agreement was come to in 1290 as to the territorial limits of the Bishop's jurisdiction, the *regalia* question being reserved.

⁸ See below, pp. 339-41.

⁹ Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 287; Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, see above, p. 79.

1003. Who gave it him? M. de Manteyer's view¹ is that his brother, Oddo, Bishop of Belley, was given the county by Rudolf III among the latter's other grants to bishops, and then enfeoffed it to Humbert I. Against this hypothesis may be urged: (i) There is no record of either grant; (ii) You would expect some trace of the Bishop's superiority; but on the other hand we find the Count claiming the *regalia* and the *spolia*, two strong presumptions of feudal suzerainty, while the Bishop only gets free from the Count by imperial grant. That the Count should, like the counts and viscounts of Provence², have obtained in practice the suzerainty over the bishops in his counties is natural enough. There seems no occasion to postulate an episcopal intermediary to explain his possession of the counties.

(6) *Pagus Equestricus*.

This district lay round Nyon and north of Geneva, to the diocese of which it belonged. Its eastern boundary was formed by the Lake of Geneva, its western by the heights which divide the river Semine from the river Valserine and the watershed of the Ain. Thus it crossed the main range of the Jura mountains. Like those of the surrounding districts, its denizens were of Mesorhodanic speech.

(a) Count Humbert acted as agent in a transfer in 1018³ to Romainmotier.

(b) About 1120 Amadeus III is asked by Emperor Henry V to intervene in favour of Romainmotier⁴ in a neighbouring *pagus*. In 1140 the same prince gave limits to, if he did not found, the Abbey of Chézery on the Valserine. But Chézery had belonged to St Victor of Geneva, and Humbert II c. 1100 had already been advocate of that abbey⁵. The supreme dominion in the district, however, remained with the House of Savoy until the French Revolution.

(c) No explanation seems to be forthcoming for this appearance of Whitehands in Equestricus. He could hardly have been its Count⁶.

¹ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 426-7, 514.

² See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 322-5.

³ See above, p. 46.

⁴ *M.D.R.* III. 439.

⁵ See below, pp. 271 and 296. See also L. Bollea, *Le Prime Relazioni fra la casa di Savoia e Ginevra*, pp. 59 and 71. The damaged charter, Car. *Sup.* xxx. (*Mém. Doc. Genève*, I, II. 145), contains the evidence for Humbert II's advocacy of St Victor of Geneva c. 1099. It is a deed of gift from Boso, Bishop of Aosta, to St Victor, in return for another gift to himself and his canons. Boso's gift is made "Laudante...canonicis et advocatis ejusdem loci Uberto comite et Aimone et Ugone." Aymon is perhaps the Count of the Genevois of that name.

⁶ Another Count, Lambert, appears in the document, and the county of Vaud then belonged to the Bishop of Lausanne. Signor Bollea, *Le Prime Relazioni*, p. 51, thinks Humbert must have been Count of Equestricus.

We know of no land of his there. Perhaps it only shows his influence with the royal house, one of whose monasteries Romainmotier was. Amadeus III probably intervened at Chézery on the river Valserine as advocate of St Victor of Geneva like his father. In any case it is probable that by inheritance and war his influence towards Geneva was increasing¹.

(7) *The Genevois.*

The diocese of Geneva included two counties, those of the Genevois and Equestricus. The latter has already been dealt with, the former was presumably once co-extensive with the remainder of the diocese. The latter, excluding Equestricus, in the fourteenth century stretched from the city of Geneva southwards so as to include Alby and Annecy and to reach to Mont Blanc. From west to east it extended from Brénod on the river Albarine to Samoens and Mont Blanc, thus including New-Chablais². Of this territory the Val-Romey was certainly almost wholly in the diocese of Geneva already in the ninth century³, but as I have remarked above under Belley, it is probable that a fraction of the southern part of this valley belonged to the bishopric of Belley⁴. With this exception, the ecclesiastical allegiance of the district remained unchanged; but we find that the county of the Genevois by the year 1100 has suffered disruption⁵. The Bishop of Geneva holds the city. The Count of the Genevois, who resides at Annecy, rules over the land from thence as far as Geneva. The district on the south of Lake Geneva (New-Chablais)⁶ and another, including the Val-Romey and stretching to the west and south of Lac d'Annecy⁷, are held by the Count of Savoy, who owes no homage for them save to the Emperor, while Faucigny, i.e. the watershed of the Arve and the Giffre, forms an independent barony, which however owes ancient homage to the Count of the Genevois⁸. In the earlier time, too, we find traces of these divisions. There is, for instance, the *pagus Albanensis* which is the southerly district⁹. The whole *pagus* of course was Mesorhodanic in speech. In configuration it was thoroughly Alpine, composed of wooded heights intersected by narrow valleys, although the table-like mountains round the Lake of Annecy have a character of their own.

¹ See below, pp. 88 and 283-4.

² See Lullin et Lefort, *Régeste Genevois*, p. 391, No. 1568 and its map.

³ See Philippon, pp. 31-2.

⁴ See above, p. 83.

⁵ See Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 275-89.

⁶ See Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 344-6, and Cibrario, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. below, p. 87, and Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 384-5, 405-6. Cf. Guigue, *Topographie hist. de l'Ain*, p. xxxvi.

⁸ Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 351.

⁹ Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 224 and 405.

(a) In 1022 we find Whitehands owning land at Cusy (near Alby on borders of Savoy proper) and receiving a lease at Ambilly near Geneva¹. About 1031 he is chief adviser in the foundation of Talloires on the Lac d'Annecy by Queen Ermengarde². In 1036 he acts as the Queen's advocate in the Genevois³. In 1019 one may note that the Anselmids owned land by Evian in New-Chablais⁴. The Abbey of St Maurice also held land in the Genevois⁵.

(b) Later we find New-Chablais, including Thonon, Allinges, Evian and Féterne and the monasteries of Abbondance and Aulphs, subject to the Counts of Savoy⁶, as well as a territory on the south-west stretching from Cusy towards Faverges; but it seems this was a later acquisition. Count Thomas was a vassal of the Bishop of Geneva in 1211⁷. On the other hand in 1140-4 Amadeus III founded the Chartreuse of Arvières on the heights of the Grand Colombier above the Val-Romey⁸; and a little earlier he seems to have granted the entire Val-Romey, with Virieu-le-grand in the diocese of Belley, to his daughter Alice de Beaujeu as her dowry⁹. In 1257 Dorches by the Rhone near Seyssel was held of Savoy¹⁰; and in 1325 Seyssel and Lompnes near Hauteville formed *castellaniae* of the bailiwick of Bugey¹¹.

(c) The origin of these Savoyard domains in New-Chablais and elsewhere is another mystery. Perhaps one may suggest six

¹ See above, p. 47.

² See above, p. 50.

³ See above, p. 52.

⁴ See above, p. 67.

⁵ Car. Reg. LXXXVI. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 499), and cf. Car. Reg. CCXLVII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 29), and *id.* CCLXXIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 48).

⁶ See Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 344-6. Aulphs was an alod of Humbert II, c. 1100, and Gerard d'Allinges his feudatory; see Car. Reg. CCXLII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 44). Cf. also Car. Reg. CCLXXIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 48), where in 1138 Amadeus acts as advocate of St Maurice and suzerain of the Allinges who have seized two *villae* of the monks. See below, pp. 299-300. Amadeus III of Savoy protected St Jorioz priory on the Lac d'Annecy (Car. Reg. CCL., Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 35). His seigneurie over Abbondance in New-Chablais (Car. Reg. CCXLVII., Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 29) is due to his lay-abbacy of St Maurice (see below, p. 93). Signor Bollea (*Le Prime Relazioni*, pp. 14-15) shows that Tetburga, ancestress of the Counts of the Genevois and Sires de Faucigny, was probably a Humbertine. Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 440-1, considers her a daughter of Amadeus I. Cf. below, p. 121.

⁷ Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 384-5, 405-6. Among Humbert III's jurors in 1173 are knights surnamed de Faverges, de Rumilly and de Nangy, from the South Genevois. For the homage to the Bishop of Geneva, see Car. Reg. CDXXX.

⁸ See below, p. 297.

⁹ See below, p. 295, n. 3, and p. 340, n. 1.

¹⁰ Wurstemberger, IV. 237.

¹¹ Cibrario, *Delle Finanze della Monarchia* (Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, xxxvi.) (1830), p. 92.

concomitant causes: an inheritance from the Anselmids, the conquest of Burgundy by Conrad the Salic¹, the acquisition of the temporalities of St Maurice-Agaune, a possible dowry with the possibly Genevoise wife of Amadeus II², the possible extension of the county of Belley over the Val-Romey, and lastly petty wars which compelled homage. Humbert's share in the war of 1034 would be one good opportunity. As we shall see the acquisition of the temporalities of St Maurice had occurred by 1070³. I may note in passing that Annecy, the chief town of the Counts of the Genevois, had been a possession of Queen Ermengarde⁴. How did they get it?

(8) *Aosta.*

The county, diocese and valley of Aosta—for here civil, ecclesiastical and geographical limits are strictly identical—forms one of the most interesting districts which the Humbertines have ruled. One of their earliest possessions, it is still in their hands. Together with Suisse romande and Basel, it is the only fragment of the neo-Burgundian or, to use a later term, Arelate kingdom which has escaped absorption in encroaching France. Its dialect, which is still Mesorhodanic, in spite of the official propagation of Italian⁵, is reminiscent of the Burgundian rule and settlement, if it does not indeed go back to still earlier Celtic racial divisions. The whole valley is full of memories of the past. We can still look down on a Roman rectangular town in Aosta with fragments of classic walls, its theatre and triumphal arch. Those very walls are completed with medieval masonry and surround modern dwellings. Beside the church of St Ours there still stands its eleventh century campanile with romanesque windows and solid stonework, a building for the age of anarchy. Close by are the contemporary cloisters, with the quaint humour and infantine solemnity of their carved pillar capitals. And beyond to the north curves the valley of the Buthier leading to the Great St Bernard, the ancient road along which all the generations of mankind have passed, neolithic herdsmen, Kelts, legionaries, Germans, medieval trader, monk and knight, and Napoleon with his cannon and cuirassiers barely more than a century ago. Above again rise the white Alpine peaks which have seen the track first trodden in years far beyond the earliest tradition, and will perhaps once more see it without footstep or voice.

¹ See above, p. 37.

² See below, p. 242.

³ See below, p. 92.

⁴ See above, p. 15.

⁵ Official inscriptions are still written in ordinary French, in which also the Town Council conducts its debates.

The valley, that bears witness so remarkably to its earlier history, owes much of its singularity to the fact that it forms a peculiarly defensible alcove, so to say, of the Alps. Its northern limit is furnished by the main range of the Pennine Alps, so that geographically it falls in Italy. But from the Lombard plain it is separated by the eastern extension of the Graian Alps, the *massif* of the Gran Paradiso, and the only outlet, where the river Dora Baltea passes on its way to join the Po is by a narrow defile, blocked by a precipitous hill on which stands the fort of Bard. Thus a military frontier was even more easily drawn there than on the ridge of the Alps traversed by numerous routes; while the climate, which is Alpine and far nearer that prevailing in the Vallais or Tarentaise than that of Lombardy made the manners of the Aostans more akin to those of their northern than those of their southern neighbours. From another point of view the Val d'Aosta consists of the watershed of the Dora Baltea. Torrent after torrent brings its waters through a narrow wooded (too often once-wooded) glen down to the main valley created by their confluence. The latter, from the village of Sarre to the feudal towers of Châtillon, forms a pleasant strath of meadow and corn-land with vineyards on its flanks. Then it again becomes a defile, growing narrower and narrower till it reaches its straitest part and its sudden close at Bard. Of the tributary vales two have historical importance. The Little St Bernard is reached by the Val de la Thuile which is thus the route for Tarentaise and Savoy. And in contrast to this domestic artery, the world-route of the Great St Bernard passed down the western valley of the Buthier. Its northern outlet, as we shall see, was in the Vallais, and over it passed the Rhine-land trade with its offshoots in Scandinavia and England.

The political allegiance of the Val d'Aosta had been definitely settled only just before the Humbertines appeared there. It had been conquered from the Lombards by the Merovingian King Guntram c. 575¹ and was thus linked with the neighbouring Burgundian *pagi*. But in the Carolingian sub-divisions of the ninth century, it was annexed to Italy, and in the mid tenth century as late as 969 was certainly Italian². Then in 994 the Anselmid Bishop Anselm of Aosta appears with his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tarentaise, at the Burgundian synod of Anse, and later the same prelate was Arch-chancellor of Burgundy³. Hence it seems likely that the acquisition of the county by the Burgundian kings was connected with the expulsion of the Saracens from the Alps and the Great St Bernard in 972-5. The acquiescence of the Emperors, Otto I and Otto II, was probably due

¹ Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, v. 223-4.

² Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 181.

³ See above, p. 10, n. 4.

to the fact that they saw the power of the Anscarid Marquess of Ivrea, Conrad, weakened thereby: inasmuch as the last Italian Count of Aosta had been King Adalbert, son of the Anscarid Berengar II whom Otto the Great conquered¹. The victory of a Mesorhodanic over a Lombard dialect would be assisted by the long political connection that followed this annexation.

I have discussed fully the evidence for the possession of this Burgundian frontier county by Whitehands and his successors in Section II. of this chapter². So here I will only mention the subject of the enfeoffment of the county to him by the Bishop Anselm c. 1024 according to M. de Manteyer's theory³. The arguments for this view appear to be: (i) the charter of the Bishop-Count Anselm dated 923 (corrected to 1023)⁴; (ii) the fact that Whitehands appears as Count in 1032 after two of his relatives had occupied the see⁵; (iii) that the bishops in 1191 had by ancient custom a right to a third part of the tallages and other levies of the city⁶. These reasons do not seem very strong; on the other side we may say: (I) the charter of 923 is a forgery, and that in any case it need not mean more than that a certain Bishop was also Count or *vice versa*⁷; (II) that (ii) proves nothing by itself; (III) the Bishop might very well have a grant of the one-third of the city's revenue from the Count or the King. It was not the one-third from all the county⁸. Besides there is not the slightest sign then or later of any superiority of the Bishops over the Counts. On the contrary, in 1024 and 1026 Whitehands confirms Bishop Burchard's transactions, in the latter case the bishop dealing with a benefice he holds of the

¹ See the complaint of Bishop Giso (*Gallia Christiana*, XII. 485). I follow Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 84-5, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 181, and Hellman, *Die Grafen v. Savoyen*, p. 4, against Gabotto and Patrucco (*Miscellanea Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. XVII. pp. lix. ff.), in considering this document in substance genuine, it being inconceivable that a thirteenth century forger should invent Adalbert as Count of Aosta c. 960. For a forger's purpose, a solemn grant of Whitehands would be more suitable. And unless the Anscarid Adalbert were really Count, no tradition would make him so: the Italian domination was so transitory.

² See above, pp. 19-21.

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 387-9.

⁴ For this and references, see above, p. 19, n. 4.

⁵ This is barely correct. In 1024 (*Car. Reg.* LVII. Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. (100)) and 1026 (*Car. Reg.* LIX. *Misc. di Stor. ital.* XVI. (1877), ed. Bollati) Whitehands appears as Count of the valley and suzerain of the bishop.

⁶ *Car. Reg.* CCLXXX. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 980), "terciam partem talliarum et exactionum que in ipsa urbe et suburbio fiebant ad episcopum ex antiqua consuetudine pertinere." See, too, *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 795 (1151). Cf. below, p. 432.

⁷ See above, p. 19. The date 923 seems firmly established.

⁸ Cf. the one-third of the court-revenue of Govone, enjoyed by the Bishop of Asti's vassal there in 1117, the Bishop, who was also Count, taking the other two-thirds. Gabotto, *Libro verde...d'Asti*, I. B.S.S.S. XXV. p. 247.

*comitatus*¹. Adelaide, too, clearly was the bishop's superior c. 1064². Then Amadeus III gave up the *expoliatio*, first of the Aostan canons (c. 1011-22), and then (1147) of the bishop himself, both attributes of suzerainty more than of vassalage³. The see of Aosta did not even get a grant like that to Belley⁴ from the Hohenstaufen. On the other hand it seems probable that the fact that the Anselmids possessed land in Val d'Aosta⁵ may have been a concomitant cause of the acquisition of the county by Humbert Whitehands.

(9) *Abbey of St Maurice, Old-Chablais and the Vallais.*

The great European trade-route which ran through Aosta descended from the Col of the Great St Bernard into the district of the Vallais, i.e. the *pagus* of the upper valley of the Rhone. Starting from the source of that river, the main valley soon widens to an extensive strath on each side of its broad and stony bed, which in the eleventh century was surrounded by dense thickets. The general direction of river and vale is south-westerly as far as Martigny, the older cathedral city of the diocese before the more defensible Sion on its double rock was chosen in its stead. On the north there are but steep short glens, for the crests of the Bernese Alps are close to the valley; but to the south there wind long narrow valleys into the heart of the Pennine range. The longest of these latter is the Val d'Entremont, down which the St Bernard road runs to meet the Rhone at Martigny. Thence the Rhone turns abruptly to the north-west and flows through a soon narrowing strath till it reaches the ancient abbey town of Agaunum, now called St Maurice from its patron-saint. St Maurice was not only important as a sacred spot; it commanded the St Bernard route, for just north of it the highroad crossed the river and the valley contracts almost to a defile, only to widen again into a broad tract of erstwhile marshland, the original Chablais—Caputlacense—at the head of the Lake of Geneva.

¹ Car. Reg. LVII. and LIX. In the latter the land of St John (cathedral) and *de comitatu* is bounded on two sides by the *comitatus*. Now if the *comitatus* was held *de terra S. Joannis*, the latter would be the boundary-land: the whole being greater than its part. The *comitatus* of course is the comital lands, not the district.

² See below, p. 268, n. 2, and cf. St Peter Damian's phrase in the same opusculum (B. Petri Damiani...*Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1663, III. 181), "In ditone vero tua quae in duorum regnorum, Italiae scilicet et Burgundiae porrigitur, non breve confinium, plures episcopantur antistites." This is good evidence, too, for the Bishops of Maurienne and Belley.

³ Car. Reg. CCLVI. and *id.* CCXCV. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 794), "tam domus episcopalis quam etiam possessionum ac reddituum ejusdem." There may have been a mutual vassalage, for the Viscount held the vidomnate (presumably over the episcopal lands) not from the Bishop direct, but from the Count. See below, p. 444, and App. of Docs., No. III.

⁴ See above, p. 84.

⁵ See above, p. 67.

Even in Whitehands' time the *pagus* was bilingual, the upper valley from the Furka Pass to Brieg having been Germanized a century or two before, and the rest speaking a form of Mesorhodanic, except perhaps some Swabian colonies in Chablais¹.

The county of the Vallais originally included all its present territory; but the domains of St Maurice were early formed into an immunity by themselves; always in lay hands and long in those of the royal house of Jurane Burgundy². They spread beyond the Vallais in all directions; but only the domains in New-Chablais³, the Vallais itself and in Aosta concern us here. The county of the Vallais, with the royal immunity of St Maurice of course deducted, was granted to the bishops of Sion in 999⁴. While the Vallaisian land of St Maurice (i.e. Old-Chablais or Agaunum) forms in the eleventh century a separate *pagus*, Caputlacense⁵, the castle of Chillon and the little Vaudois district, outside the Vallais between the Eau-froide and Vevey, were fiefs owning the Bishop of Sion's suzerainty⁶.

(a) We find the Anselmids possessors of land at Orsières, at Sierre, at Ayent and elsewhere in the Vallais. From Count Ulric these lands descended to his nephew Bishop Aymon of Sion, the Humbertine, who gave them to his see in 1052⁷. But there was also the provostship of St Maurice which, after being held by the Anselmid Bishop Anselm of Aosta⁸, passed to the Humbertine Burchard III of Lyons⁹. Then we find Bishop Aymon of Sion Provost in 1046 and Abbot in 1050¹⁰. Burchard III succeeded his brother as Abbot by 1057¹¹. In 1067-9 we find again an Abbot Burchard¹² who may be Burchard III of Lyons, then an old man. In 1070 Adelaide of Turin governed Agaunum, which she could only do as co-regent with her two sons¹³.

¹ See Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I. 722 and 546.

² Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 327-30.

³ Cf. above, pp. 86-8.

⁴ See above, p. 8.

⁵ See *M.H.P. Chart. II. 27*, where Vouvry is *in pago Caputlacensis*, and *Car. Reg. CXLIV. (M.H.P. Chart. II. 153)*. The first of these has been misdated in the Cartulary copy 921, but the other elements of the date, second year of King Henry, die Iovis, XVIII. Kal. Mai., show conclusively that 1041 is the correct year. This error in the copy has escaped notice hitherto (cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 276).

⁶ *Car. Reg. DXL. (Grémaud, M.D.R. XVIII. 418, 420)*, Chillon was a fief held from the Bishop of Sion, cf. Grémaud, *M.D.R. XXIX. 436 (c. 1250)*: "Feodum comitis Sabaudie quiddid est ab Aqua frigida usque ad Clusam de Chillon, excepta mareschacia de Compensie que est episcopo."

⁷ See above, pp. 56 and 64, *Car. Reg. CXLV. (Grémaud, M.D.R. XVIII. 340-5)*.

⁸ See above, p. 11, n. 1.

⁹ See above, p. 20 and n. 1.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 54 and 55.

¹¹ See above, p. 64, n. 2.

¹² See above, p. 73, n. 1.

¹³ *Car. Reg. CLXXI. (M.G.H. Script. XI. 480)*, "suae (Adelheidæ) quippe ditioni locus (S. Mauriti Agauni) cedebat."

(b) Amadeus III calls himself *Comes et Abbas* of St Maurice in 1116¹ when he yielded Leuk and Naters to the bishopric of Sion the first time. In 1128² and 1143³ he and his brother Raynald restored the freedom of the Abbey, and in 1138⁴ we find him calling himself its *advocatus*. The main part of the domains, along with the supreme jurisdiction, seems to have been kept by the Counts, however⁵, who possessed as well Chillon⁶, the Val de Bagnes⁷ and Val d'Entremont⁸. They formed in 1325 the *castellaniae* of Chillon, St Maurice, Entremonts and (?) Vevey.

In addition we find in 1325⁹ the Counts possess other domains stretching up the Vallais, and forming the *castellaniae* of Saxon, Saillon and Conthey. Saillon was obtained in 1231¹⁰. I do not find when the other two were acquired; but the Sires de Saillon were vassals of Savoy, already c. 1125, and the Sires de Conthey in 1179¹¹.

There remains to discuss the right to invest the bishops of Sion with the *regalia* of the Vallais, which the later Counts of Savoy exercised. The first we hear of this right is in 1167, when Frederick Barbarossa granted the right of investiture with the *regalia* and the imperial advocacy of the three sees of Geneva, Lausanne and Sion to Duke Berthold of Zähringen¹². The latter kept the advocacy of Lausanne, but soon sold that of Geneva to the Count of the Genevois¹³: and shortly after we find

¹ Grémaud, *M.D.R.* XVIII. 355, "comes et abbas ecclesiae beati Mauricii."

² Car. Reg. CCLXVI. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 31). An Abbot (since Burchard in 1069 none are recorded) was restored to the monastery, Car. Reg. CCLXVII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 32).

³ Car. Reg. CCLXXXVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 60).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXXXIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 48).

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLXXXVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 60), Amadeus expressly retains the *comitatus* and its dues.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 62) in 1150 (cf. Car. Reg. CCCVI.).

⁷ Car. Reg. CCCIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64) in 1150, Car. Reg. CCCXXI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 72), and CCCXCVI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 110). The Count has the *regalia* and the *comitatus* (CCCXXI.). The Abbot's rights, however, show it to have been a domain of St Maurice.

⁸ Car. Reg. CCCIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64) and CCCLXXIV. (*Misc. Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. XVII. p. 104).

⁹ Cibrario, *Mem. Accad. Scienze, Torino*, XXXVI. (1833) p. 99.

¹⁰ Car. Reg. DXXVI. (Grémaud, *M.D.R.* XXIX. 296) and DXXVIII. (*id.* 294).

¹¹ See below, p. 307, and for the de Conthey, Car. Reg. CCCLVII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 79).

¹² Otto S. Blas. *Chron.* (M.G.H. Script. XX. 314), "trium episcopatum advocatia cum investitura regalium, scilicet Lausannensis, Genovensensis, Sedunensis." See below, p. 324.

¹³ See Gingins-la-Sarra, *Le Rectorat de Bourgogne* (M.D.R. I. 73), and cf. the same for his view on the *regalia* of Sion.

Humbert III in possession of these rights over Sion. A treaty of 1179 between Count and Bishop in its present state (for the Count's rights are partly erased) makes no mention of them¹, but in 1189 the Emperor Henry VI in refusing to restore them states they had existed for some time².

(c) Now did Humbert only derive his claims from some transaction with Duke Berthold³, or were they of earlier date? The fact that Henry VI refers to the *comites* of Savoy in the plural, taken in connection with his anxiety to minimize the duration of their rights, makes me think the latter must go back to Amadeus III at least. Once, however, we take them as far back as Amadeus III, we seem to attribute their origin more naturally to the days of Whitehands, when the magnates appointed as bishops whom they would⁴. Only the loyalty of Bishop Ermenfrid to the Emperor Henry IV tempts one to opine he must have owed his position to the Emperor. So if one may conclude anything of a matter so uncertain, a fluctuating claim of the Humbertines seems the most likely alternative, which started from the days of Whitehands and his son Aymon, and was made definite by a purchase of Berthold's rights by Humbert III.

To this vague claim we must add the more real dominion (perhaps a countship of Chablais) which went along with the immune abbey of St Maurice, gained c. 1069 by the Humbertines⁵, after a practical possession dating from Conrad's victory in 1034⁶, and with the Anselmid inheritance⁷, not to mention those extensions of territory which were always possible in an age of continual and petty wars.

(10) *Savoy proper.*

This small district stretched from Aix-les-bains to Les Marches and Montemélian and up the Isère on both banks to Grésy and Conflans (Albertville)⁸. It was thus composed of a section of the Isère valley

¹ Car. Reg. CCCLVII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 79).

² Car. Reg. CCCLXXI. (*Gallia Christiana*, XII. 433). It is a diploma to the see of Sion. Henry VI says: "Sedun. episcopatum ad manum imperii retinuiimus specialiter, cujus ecclesie episcopi ante tempora illa (c. 1187) de manu *comitum* Sabaudiae per aliquod tempus recipiebant regalia."

³ See above. This is Gingins' view.

⁴ See above, p. 8. Wurstemberger, I. 43, thinks the Count's rights grew out of frequent commissions from the Emperors to invest the Bishops.

⁵ That is, after the death of Abbot Burchard, see above.

⁶ See above. Aymon and Burchard III were Abbots.

⁷ See above, pp. 65, 92.

⁸ Cf. Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano*, p. 81, Ménabréa, *Origines*, pp. 66-7, 228-9, 384, Wurstemberger, I. 21-2. For evidence, c. 1000, cf. Car. Reg. XXXVII. and XLI. (Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, p. 253), and Car. Reg. CVII. (Cipolla, *Mon. Novalic.* I. 161).

and the lowlands to the south of the Lac du Bourget. I have not found whether in Whitehands' time it included the southern Bauges round Châtelard, but presumably it did. The district between Aix, Les Marches and Grésy-sur-Isère (omitting Les Bauges and part of the southern bank of the Isère) formed the fourteenth century deanery of Savoy in the diocese of Grenoble¹.

The county in the later middle ages, indeed, belonged to quite a number of dioceses. The Bauges appertained to Geneva, Conflans to Tarentaise, Coise to Maurienne. The diocesan boundaries may have been somewhat different in the eleventh century. We have seen that there are grounds for suspecting that the diocese of Belley reached to the river Leisse near La Motte-Servolex at one time. But the fact that Rudolf III describes certain localities which fell in the later deanery as in Graisivaudan as well as in Savoy, while in another document, dealing with places mostly outside the deanery's limits, he only mentions Savoy, goes to show that the civil and ecclesiastical divisions in his day were already different². It seems an obvious deduction from this composite character of the *pagus* that it was one of recent formation, and hardly to be linked with the *provincia* of Savoy under the Merovingians. In 806 the *pagus Saboiae* appears to include the county of Belley as well, and so supplies a further hint of territorial changes³.

(a) In 1020-30 we find Aymon of Pierreforte possessing Monterminod in Savoy and Whitehands and his sons as his witnesses⁴. About the same time Whitehands and his sons have possessions near Le Bourget and Maltacena and on the Mont-du-Chat⁵. In October 1030, we find Whitehands and his son Count Amadeus I similarly propertied at Maltacena⁶. Count Humbert witnesses the foundation of Lemenc by Rudolf III⁷. In 1036 we have the record of Whitehands' lands,

¹ Cf. *op. cit.* in the preceding note, and Chevalier, *Visites pastorales...des évêques de Grenoble (14^e—15^e siècles)* in *Documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné*. From the latter I gather that the Deanery stretched from Aix-les-bains to Les Marches and St Pierre de Genève by Écheltes, and up the Isère to Grésy-sur-Isère, but not to Conflans. St Pierre d'Albigny is the easternmost of the eight archpriestdoms given by Besson, p. 325. To the south of the Isère the diocese of Grenoble just included La Rochette and Les Mollettes, that of Maurienne lying to the west of these places.

² See above, p. 15, nn. 2 and 3.

³ *M.G.H. Capit. i. 127*. Charlemagne gives the *pagi* of Lewis the Pious' northern frontier as follows, "Lugdunensem, Saboiam, Moriennam, Tarentasiam, etc." It is clear that unless Saboia includes Belley, there is a gap in the frontier between Mostel and Lhuis and Chambéry. Belley, however, appears as a separate civil province in 858 (*Ann. Bertiniani, M.G.H. Script. i. 452*).

⁴ *Car. Reg. LXXIII.* (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 5), and above, pp. 48 and 59.

⁵ *Car. Reg. LX., LXI.,* Guichenon, *Preuves*, pp. 5 and 6, above, pp. 48-9 and 59-60.

⁶ See above, pp. 48, 60.

⁷ See above, p. 50.

adjoining those of the King at Coise; and it is natural to infer from the phraseology that he was Count of Savoy¹. Finally Amadeus I distinctly says that Maltacena lies in the diocese of Grenoble and *in comitatu nostro*. Thus he is certainly Count of Savoy².

(b) Later evidence need hardly be brought forward. Le Bourget Priory remained a favourite monastery of the Savoyard House, whose oldest foundation it was³. In 1125 we have Amadeus III already styling himself Count of Savoy⁴ and under Count Thomas (1189-1233) it becomes the usual title⁵.

(c) The origin of Whitehands' possession of this *pagus* is again obscure, but it seems to me difficult to dissociate the acquisition of the tiny county, half royal demesne, from that of the more important Belley. One would be inclined to suppose the two counties linked together. Some of Queen Ermengarde's lands⁶, but not all⁷, probably came to the Savoyards⁸.

(11) *Maurienne*.

The county of Maurienne stretched from the neighbourhood of Aiguebelle to the Alps along the valley of the Arc. The diocese of the same name, in the fourteenth century at least, stretched further north so as to include Coise and the south bank of the Isère as far as La Rochette⁹.

This narrow semi-circular valley lies pent between the Graian and Dauphinese Alps which it separates. With hardly a tributary vale leading into its barren gorge, and only one space, which could be called a plain, round its cathedral city St Jean de Maurienne, the whole

¹ See above, pp. 52 and 61.

² See above, pp. 55-6 and 64.

³ See *Car. Reg.* CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27), CCLXXX. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 38).

⁴ See below, p. 308.

⁵ See below, pp. 421-2.

⁶ At Conflans the Counts of Savoy had ancient rights, see Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 398. It is odd that there seems, with this possible exception, no proved instance of direct proprietorship acquired by the Humbertines from Queen Ermengarde. Of course they might have got the suzerainty only. See next note.

⁷ Thus Chambéry belonged to the vicecomital house of that name till 1232. See below, p. 451; Aix and Conflans to homonymous families, Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 382 and 398. They were all vassals of Savoy. Annecy in the Genevois went to the Counts of that *pagus*. See above, p. 88.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 80, but perhaps the Counts forced homage from Ermengarde's ex-vassals after all.

⁹ See above, p. 95, n. 1.

importance of the long glen lay in its being on the great trade-route by land between Italy and the west. It formed the western approach to the Mont Cenis, and still the railroad goes that way to the tunnel of Fréjus.

Its ecclesiastical history bore traces of this special position. When the Merovingians c. 575 conquered the Val di Susa on the eastern side of the Mont Cenis¹, they added their acquisition to the diocese of Maurienne. Later the great abbey of Novalesa was founded on the road to the east of the famous pass. But a revolution was worked by the Saracen devastation. The reconquest of the Val di Susa for Christendom was effected by the Marquess of Turin, and henceforward, except for a brief interval, it was lost to the Bishop of Maurienne². To judge from the state of the Val di Susa the ruin suffered by Maurienne from the Saracens must have been profound.

(a) The earliest evidence of the Humbertines in Maurienne dates from 1043 or 1047³. Two interesting charters show us Whitehands as Count, and of some standing, for he licenses the transfer to the Chapter of Maurienne by Bishop Theobald of lands which Whitehands had himself enfeoffed to the Bishop⁴. Whether this suzerainty which the Count thus exercised over some of the Bishop's domains extended to all of them, we are not informed⁵, but we may note that later not even

¹ Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, v. 223-4.

² See below, n. 5, pp. 147, and 290-1. The evidence is cited on p. 290, nn. 3 and 4.

³ See above, pp. 54 and 63.

⁴ See above, p. 54. I may notice that Humbert claims to have given these himself. They are not mere parts of the *episcopium* held from him in general. Thus M. de Manteyer goes somewhat beyond the evidence when he says (*Origines*, p. 402) that whereas Theobald did not need Humbert's assent in a gift of 1039 (*Acad. Imp. de Savoie, Docs. II. Chartes de Maurienne*, p. 13), and did in 1043(7), Humbert must have become suzerain of the *episcopium* in the interval. The lands dealt with were different.

⁵ See preceding note, and below, p. 243, n. 3. Here we are met by M. de Manteyer's theory (*Origines*, pp. 400-6), which is largely based on the views put forward by Baron Carutti (*Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 37, 105, 108) and Padre Savio (*Antichi Vescovi*, pp. 230-1, 233, and 343). Briefly it is that Emperor Conrad in 1039 united by imperial precept the diocese of Maurienne to that of Turin (*Car. Reg. cxiv. M.G.H. Dipl. iv. 411*); that the phrase in Bishop Theobald's charter of 1039 (see preceding note), "eo quod locus unde videor esse episcopus destructus mihi videtur," refers to his own deposition; that on Conrad's death Theobald made his peace, surrendered the Val di Susa to the Bishopric of Turin, and reobtained his diminished diocese as Count Humbert's vassal. But, on the other side, the reasons seem conclusive. (i) Conrad's diploma is proved a double forgery of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries by Bresslau (*Konrad II*, II. 475-6 and *M.G.H. Dipl. iv. 411*) (cf. Gabotto in *Carte, arcivescov. Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 3*); (ii) the phrase *destructus* to all appearance refers to some disaster which had befallen the canons to whom the Bishop's gift is made, and which he

Frederick Barbarossa ventured to grant or confirm immunity to the Bishop. Probably therefore they were vassals of the Counts from Whitehands' time. The Counts took the *spolia sede vacante* as early as Amadeus III, who renounced them, as also did Humbert III¹. We further know that Marquess Oddo I, Whitehands' son, succeeded in Maurienne and that in his time money was struck at Aiguebelle, his principal possession in the valley, to the prejudice of the rights of Leger, Archbishop of Vienne. The Archbishop protested and the Marquess gave way before 1054².

(b) Of the later evidence I need only mention the assumption of the style *comes Maurianensis* or *Mauriennae* by Count Amadeus III³ (1103-49), which continued to be the most usual title of his successors for their Burgundian possessions till Thomas I (1189-1233)⁴; and the *spolia* of the bishopric⁵. The history of the mint will be narrated below⁶. The statements of the legendary *Chroniques*⁷, which make the castle of Charbonnière the first possession of the Savoyards in Burgundy, are as usual worthless. Charbonnière was acquired in the twelfth century⁸. Aiguebelle and some villages near La Chambre are the earliest recorded possessions⁹. Later St Julien and Modane are in the comital demesne¹⁰, it may be of old date.

(c) As to the origin of these domains, it will be noticed that nothing in the contemporary evidence supports the tradition of the *Chroniques* that Maurienne was the cradle of the Counts of Savoy. In 1043 (or 1047) Count Humbert Whitehands had been in possession long enough to confirm the transfer of lands which he had himself given to Bishop Theobald, while the Bishop appears for the first time

attempts to repair; (iii) with regard to the Val di Susa, see below, p. 290. Its possession by the Bishop of Maurienne dated from the Burgundian conquest c. 574 (Savio, *op. cit.* 227-8); as it went to Italy again under Charlemagne, a dispute between the Bishops of Turin and Maurienne was likely. In 904 it was still under Maurienne (Billiet, *Mém. Acad. Savoie*, S. II. T. IV. pp. 328-9). Cf. also above, p. 34, n. 2, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 160.

¹ Car. Reg. DCCLXXXVI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 173). Guy, Archbishop of Vienne (after Callixtus II), refers to Amadeus III's protection of the see (Car. Reg. CCLV., Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-Bas*, p. 281).

² Car. Reg. CLXXIII. (Migne, CXLIII. 1407-8), Savio, *I primi conti di Savoia*, p. 463, and Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 199-200. Cf. below, p. 124.

³ See below, p. 308.

⁴ See above, p. 96, and below, pp. 421-2.

⁵ See above.

⁶ See below, pp. 124 and 224-5.

⁷ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 64.

⁸ Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 399-400, and cf. below, p. 285, n. 7.

⁹ Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 399, and above, pp. 54 and 63, with refs.

¹⁰ Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 239.

in the synod of Romans 1037¹. This is all we know. The inference which seems to me most likely is that the Emperor Conrad had conferred the county and the control of the western route to the Mont Cenis on his trusted ally, who already dominated the two St Bernards. Thus he would concentrate the control of the passes in faithful hands².

(12) *Tarentaise*.

This valley is the watershed of the Upper Isère leading to the Little St Bernard. It is a narrow mountain-valley, with great masses of the Alps on each side: nor did it ever become a great European thoroughfare like Maurienne. All the district, save the tiny offshoot of Bellecombe, a dependency of Geneva, belonged to the archdiocese of Tarentaise. The two suffragans of the Archbishop-Count were the Bishops of Aosta and Sion; as we have seen, his diocese extended over part of the county of Savoy³. Like the neighbouring lands it had suffered terribly from the Saracens, and was probably anarchic under the Archbishop's weak control.

(a) In 1051 Marquess Oddo gives Villard-Béranger near Moûtiers to the Canons of Tarentaise, for the repose of his father's soul⁴. We have every reason to believe that the county remained in the possession of the Archbishop⁵.

(b) As will be shown later on⁶, Amadeus III (1103-48) took the *spolia* of the archbishops and ruled Tarentaise⁷. The tradition of the *Chroniques* places the acquisition of the valley under Humbert II (c. 1091-1103)⁸ and Herr Hellmann has pointed out⁹ that the Sires de Briançon became viscounts of Tarentaise about 1080-90¹⁰, which very well agrees with the transfer of the county to a lay-count.

(c) How the Humbertines obtained Villard-Béranger and other lands in Tarentaise does not appear. It was of course a district they would wish to acquire.

¹ Car. Reg. CXIII. (Giraud, *Cartulaire de Romans*, ed. 1. *Preuves*, I. 68-9).

² See above, pp. 37, 39-40.

³ See above, p. 95.

⁴ See above, pp. 55 and 64.

⁵ See above, p. 8.

⁶ See below, pp. 269 and 301-2.

⁷ Car. Reg. CCLXXXIV. (*Gallia Christiana*, XII. 382).

⁸ Car. Reg. CCXXXVIII., CCXXXIX., *M.H.P.* Script. II. 97-8, *Misc. stor. ital.* XXII. 310. See below, pp. 269-70.

⁹ *Die Grafen v. Savoyen*, p. 5.

¹⁰ Aymon (dead by 1096), the first viscount, was grandson of Richard Curtus, contemporary of Archbishop Amizo (living 1000). *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 178.

When we sum up the many scraps of evidence, I think the most natural conclusion is that the Humbertines about 1000 A.D. were great seigneurs in the county of Sermorens and also Counts of Belley, to all appearance by inheritance from an *antecessor* of the generation before¹. We have seen reason to believe that their domains, part of which at least were immune², extended through the Viennois proper into the Lyonnais by St Symphorien d'Ozon; and it seems likely that the small and poor county of Savoy was theirs also, for by itself it was not large enough for a Count in Rudolf III's days. Then c. 1020 we find Whitehands extending his domains in the Genevois and perhaps in Equestricus. This seems partly due to his relationship with the Anselmids, whose power lay round the Lake of Geneva, and partly to the favour of the royal house. Then comes the first shifting of the centre of gravity of the Humbertine domains by the acquisition, again through Anselmid and royal connections, of the county of Aosta, and of the two passes of St Bernard. Humbert then made his fateful decision to aid the German conquest. In rapid succession follow the at least temporary possession of the Bishopric of Sion and the acquisition of the great abbey of St Maurice, with the county of Old-Chablais and the immunity of New-Chablais, and that of the county of Maurienne with the control of the Mont Cenis Pass, the only real rival to the Great St Bernard in the Western Alps. In this way the position of the Savoyards on the Alpine chain, which has dominated their history and that of modern Italy, was attained. Thus the Humbertines, like the Dauphins, move into the mountains from the fertile plain, a process rendered easier by the wretched anarchy into which the Alpine provinces were plunged by the Saracen devastation. Royal favour was a potent auxiliary. First Rudolf III, then Conrad II, and finally, as we shall see, Henry III, fostered the Humbertines' greatness. We need not look for any policy in Rudolf save the desire to have powerful friends to lean on. That of Conrad II and of Henry III seems to have been the securing of the West Alpine passes by granting them to a strong and loyal house.

SECTION V. THE ANCESTRY OF HUMBERT I WHITEHANDS.

The ancestry of so renowned a house as was that of Savoy has naturally been a subject of much research. Beyond the figure of Humbert Whitehands, however, lies a tract on which no investigation has succeeded in casting any certain light. It has not been only that

¹ See above, p. 81.

² See above, p. 81, n. 4.

dynastic, racial, and political prejudices have distorted the judgement of historians. The ascertained facts are so meagre, so scattered and so difficult to interpret, that it is little wonder if the most various opinions have been formed from them. For an account, and I may add, a refutation of the earlier theories and legends I may refer the reader to the lucid pages of Baron Carutti, in the work to which I am so much indebted¹. Here I propose to examine only those which have survived his criticisms or have appeared since his book.

These opinions may be classified under four heads. (i) Signor Labruzzo in his *Monarchia di Savoia* has maintained that Humbert Whitehands was a grandson of that King Berengar II of Italy, who was overthrown by Otto the Great in 962-4. The exiled royal house will thus have reacquired its lost kingdom after nine centuries. This may best be called the Anscarid descent, from the name usually applied to the family to which Berengar II belonged, that of the Marquesses of Ivrea. (ii) Secondly, there is a group of diverse, yet allied opinions advocated by Baron Gingins², Count Baudi di Vesme³ and Count di Gerbaix-Sonnaz⁴. Gingins and Count di Vesme both, although by different links, make Whitehands descend from Boso, first King of Provence, and his son, the Emperor Lewis the Blind. This descent, the Bosonid, would make the Humbertines heirs of the Italian and eldest branch of the Carolingian house, through Boso's wife Ermengarde, the daughter of the Emperor Lewis II. In this case, too, the House of Savoy has at length recovered its inheritance. Unlike the splendour of the two preceding, Count Gerbaix' scheme only makes the Humbertines

¹ *Umberto I Biancamano*. Thus I do not discuss either the mythical Berold of the *Chroniques*, or the descents from Count Manasses or Count Otto-William of Burgundy, both at one time or another sustained by Cibrario. The story of the *Chroniques* is briefly as follows. Berold (also Beroald), a member of the imperial Saxon House, leaves Germany for Burgundy, and becomes lieutenant of Kings Boso and Rudolf. He wars in the Alpine region against their enemies; settles in Maurienne at Charbonnière, and dies, leaving a son, Albert, called Humbert, Whitehands. No trace of the story or of Berold appears in contemporary documents, although an absurd forgery exists concerning him (*Car. Sup.* III. q.v.). The tale was probably invented on the framework of an obscure notice in *Chron. Alacumbae* (*M.H.P. Script.* II. 671): "Girardus non fuit comes, sed officialis regum; primo quidem Bosonis, deinde Rodulfi, quibus defunctis, cessavit regnum Arelatense et Juranense; tunc surrexerunt comitatus duo, Maurianensis et Albonensis. In Mauriania fuit comes primus Humbertus Blancis Manibus." On this notice Prof. Gabotto founded his hypothesis (*Una nuova ipotesi sulle origini di Casa Savoia*, *Giornale Araldico-genealogico-diplomatico*, Anno XIII.), by which the first ancestor of the Humbertines and great-grandfather of Whitehands would be a Gerard de Beaujeu, younger son of William II, Count of Lyons and Forez. But I believe Prof. Gabotto has now abandoned this guess.

² See below, p. 104, n. 3.

³ See below, p. 107, n. 7.

⁴ See below, p. 107, n. 8.

descend from local Burgundian nobles; but his genealogy has much in common with Count di Vesme's as will be seen. (iii) In his *Umberto I Biancamano* Baron Carutti proposed another scheme of descent from local Burgundian nobles. (iv) Lastly, M. de Manteyer in his three studies on the House of Savoy¹ has advocated a north French origin for the Humbertines, deriving them from the tenth century Counts of Troyes.

In discussing these rival theories, my plan is, to take each separately in the order given; expound it, and give its grounds; state the difficulties; and finally give an opinion on its validity and on the degree of acceptance to which it can lay claim. I should state that I omit those arguments, based on supposed facts, which have been later shown not to exist or the invalidity of which I have had occasion to show in the foregoing pages. To a certain extent this procedure does injustice to the authors of the respective theories, as it conceals some of the grounds on which they based their arguments; but it represents the actual present claims of those theories on our belief much more clearly than would a full exposition of the arguments which supported them at their first appearance.

(A) According to Signor Labruzzi, Count Humbert Whitehands of Aosta was the son of Adalbert, equally Count of Aosta, and younger son (unmentioned in the chronicles) of Berengar II, the king of Italy of the Anscarid House overthrown by Otto the Great in 961-4. His argument may be thus given from his abstract of it².

(i) After 966 the county of Aosta again became part of the kingdom of Burgundy. After the same date there was in Burgundy a Count Adalbert.

(ii) This Count Adalbert was also called Marquess, a non-Burgundian title; hence he was a foreigner.

(iii) In the last years of Berengar II of Italy, he must have appointed his son the younger Adalbert (not the elder King Adalbert) as Count of Aosta:

(iv) for in a charter of c. 968³ Bishop Giso of Aosta makes bitter complaints of and claims a legal victory over Count Adalbert of Aosta, son of King Berengar. This Count Adalbert, being of the Anscarid House of Ivrea, would also bear the title of Marquess. So did Count Adalbert in Burgundy. The charter of Bishop Giso, which from its abusive style must have been written after the fall of Berengar II and the retrocession of Aosta to Burgundy, shows that the Anscarid Adalbert continued to be Count of Aosta.

¹ See Abbreviated Titles.

² *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 210-12.

³ Besson, p. 473, Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 84-6, Patrucco, *Misc. Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. xvii. pp. lix.-lxiii. See above, p. 90, n. 1.

(v) Whitehands' first proved county in Burgundy is Aosta; therefore when he first appears entitled count in 1003, it must be Aosta of which he is Count.

(vi) Marquess-Count Adalbert in Burgundy, who should be Count of Aosta, was still living in 1002. Therefore Whitehands succeeded Adalbert. Counties were then hereditary; therefore Whitehands was Adalbert's son.

(vii) Signor Labruzzi also gives other reasons, but they are quite subordinate in value, save one¹: that the Counts in the Canavese, descendants of King Ardoin of Italy, who was most probably a member of the House of Ivrea, used the Humbertine names of Amadeus, Uberto and Oddo, to which we may add that the ancestor of the whole Anscarid House was named Amadeus.

With regard to these arguments it is to be remarked:

(i) Though a younger son of Berengar II, called, equally with his elder brother, Adalbert, is quite possible, there is no evidence of his existence, save the charter of Bishop Giso².

(ii) The omission of the title King for Count Adalbert in Bishop Giso's charter is hardly sufficient proof that King Adalbert is not meant; nor can we well argue that because Aosta must have been part of the Mark of Ivrea, and because King Adalbert's brother Conrad was already Marquess of Ivrea, therefore King Adalbert could not have been his brother's underling. The first two statements are not substantiated³.

(iii) Aosta continued to pay allegiance to Otto the Great in 969: so we hardly have a rebel Count of an out-of-the-way corner of the realm transferring his allegiance to another kingdom⁴.

(iv) With the disappearance of the younger Adalbert of Aosta, there remains no need to make the Marquess-Count Adalbert in Burgundy an Anscarid. We can hardly say the title Marquess could not well occur in Burgundy at the date⁵. And there is no direct

¹ Labruzzi, *op. cit.* pp. 221-2.

² It is true that Thietmar, II. 6 (*M.G.H. Script.* III. 747), says that Otto I captured Berengar "cum...filiis ac filiabus" at S. Leone in 961, while the three known sons were not captured. But Arnulf of Milan, I. 7 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 8), only mentions "filiabus." Neither were contemporary, and the later Italian seems preferable here to the more distant German writer.

³ There is no proof that the Marquesses of Ivrea ever had subordinate counts in the counties of their Mark: see Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 131 (following Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. 439-43): so, supposing the charter genuine, there is no reason to make Adalbert a subordinate of the Mark of Ivrea. Cf. for the absence of Adalbert's title of king the similar omission in *Car. Reg.* xxxviii. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 379, IV. 423).

⁴ See above, p. 89.

⁵ Rudolf I, founder of the Jurane kingdom, calls himself principally Marquess before his elevation as king, c. 885, see Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 363: William of Provence calls himself Marquess in 979, see *id.* p. 285.

evidence and very little implication¹, that the Burgundian Adalbert was Count of Aosta.

(v) The whole tendency of the preceding section has been to show that Aosta was a later acquisition of Count Humbert Whitehands, and that his county in 1003 was most likely Belley with Savoy.

Thus the whole structure of Sig. Labruzzi's theory falls to the ground on examination, for the Anscarid Adalbert the younger is not shown to exist, the Burgundian Adalbert is not shown to be Count of Aosta, and Whitehands is not shown to have inherited Aosta from him or any one².

One point remains, however, which makes one pause. It is certainly singular that there should be such a resemblance of names between the cadet branches of the Anscarids and the Humbertines.

(B) The Bosonid origin upheld by Count di Vesme is linked so closely with the elder Bosonid origin supported by Gingins-La-Sarra, and with the allied Boso-Anselm theory of Count di Gerbaix-Sonnaz, that I treat all three together, taking the view of Baron Gingins first.

(a) Gingins' view³ was that Whitehands was the son of a Count Amadeus⁴ in the Upper Viennois (Belley-Sermorens) and grandson of Count Humbert⁵ who would be identical with Upertus, son of Count Charles-Constantine of Vienne, himself the son of the Emperor Lewis the Blind⁶. This Upertus appears about 960 together with his father, his mother Theoberga and his brother Richard as a signatory of a deed of sale on the part of one of their vassals. In a charter of May 958 and in another of April 960, Charles-Constantine and Richard appear without him⁷. Thus there is nothing to prevent Upertus surviving both of them. Besides the mere names from the documents cited in notes 4, 5 and 7, and besides the fact that the chronology of the scheme is sound, his argument rests on two points:

¹ Labruzzi's (pp. 194-5) argument is that he was a neighbouring Count to St Maurice Agaune, and that Vaud, the Genevois, and Vallais, had other Counts. But the inference is hazardous; and also Poupardin. *Bourgogne*, p. 275, considers Adalbert Count of Vaud.

² The conferment of vacant counties on new holders by the king is not uncommon under Rudolf III, e.g. the Viennois, Sermorens, Vallais, Vaud, Tarentaise, and probably the Genevois.

³ *M.D.R.* xx. 211-47, *Mém. sur l'origine de la maison de Savoie*.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* XIII. (Chevalier, *Cartul. de St Chaffre*, p. 108). See above, pp. 45 and 57.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* XI. (Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 480). See above, pp. 45 and 57.

⁶ See for Chas.-Constantine, Poupardin, *Provence*, pp. 208-12, 239-42, and *Bourgogne*, pp. 47-8, 247-9. Poupardin considers he was illegitimate.

⁷ *Car. Reg.* VII., Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 186 (No. 1094), Chevalier, *Cartul. de St André-le-bas*, p. 236), and *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 141 (No. 1047), and 177 (No. 1084).

(i) a charter-dating of 980 cited by Du Bouchet¹, "regnante Amedeo filio Umberti";

(ii) the identity of possession, Charles-Constantine being Count of the Viennois and Sermorens, where the Humbertines had large possessions, and, in particular, holding land at St Symphorien d'Ozon, St Genix, and at Haut-Burcin near La Côte-St-André, at St Alban-de-Crisin-sur-Rhône and in the Isle de Ciers, where we find the Savoyards later.

The identifications in Gingins' theory (for the earlier forms of which I must refer to Baron Carutti's *Umberto Biancamano*) are peculiarly attractive; but on looking into the evidence we encounter great difficulties.

(i) The descent from Charles-Constantine in the male line presents an inexplicable situation. Let us grant that Upertus survived his father and became Count, being in that case probably the Count Humbertus of Car. *Reg.* xi. (above, p. 45). Then the counties of the Viennois and Sermorens must have been lost by him, and the Bosonids quite crushed or else extinct, for the feeble King Rudolf III to be able to grant them to Queen Ermengarde in 1011² and for the latter to grant the Viennois to the Archbishop of Vienne in 1023³. Yet in these years the Humbertines were powerful, and high in the royal favour.

(ii) The only evidence for the affiliations proposed is the phrase "regnante Amedeo filio Umberti." Now this charter has never been found since Du Bouchet's time. But a charter is known dated simply "regnante Amedeo comite" and this has been proved conclusively by M. G. de Manteyer to belong to Amadeus II son of Marquess Oddo c. 1078⁴. One cannot help thinking that this charter is probably Du Bouchet's and that "filio Humberti" is an insertion of his; as the phrase "regnante...comite" is peculiarly suitable for the date c. 1078⁵.

(iii) The evidence for the identity of possessions is no less fatally open to criticism. St Alban-de-Crisin (really villa de Cisiriacus in the Viennois and church of St Albini)⁶ was restored by Charles-Constantine

¹ See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 417-20, *M.D.R.* xx. 227.

² See above, p. 14.

³ See above, p. 19.

⁴ *Origines*, pp. 417-20. The argument in brief is this:

(i) The charter assumes the union of the church of St Genix to St André-le-bas of Vienne, and thus is later than 1023 (see above, pp. 47 and 58, *Car. Reg.* LIII.).

(ii) The personages in three closely related charters are of the dates 1060-80.

(iii) The phrase "regnante...comite" belongs to the period after the excommunication of Emp. Henry IV by Gregory VII in 1076 (cf. Labruzzi, pp. 112-13), "regnante domino Jesu Christo" being another form. William of "Franche Comté" has "regnante Guilelmo in Burgundia." Chevalier, *Cartul. de St André-le-bas*, p. 61.

⁵ Labruzzi, *op. cit.* pp. 111-12, and cf. preceding note.

⁶ See Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 225, Labruzzi, *op. cit.* p. 118.

to the church of Vienne after a usurpation by his predecessor in the *comitatus* of Vienne, and was therefore hardly a subject for inheritance by his children. There is no ground to believe in Savoyard rights over it¹. The chapel of St Genix is merely stated to be in Charles-Constantine's *comitatus* of Vienne, and from a further document we learn it was in Vienne city². The patronage of the chapel had been surrendered to King Conrad by Charles-Constantine by the year 943 (or 946) and came eventually to the Abbey of Cluny. There is no connection with the town of St Genix in Belley county in which the Humbertine Burchard owned land in 1023. The *Isle de Ciers* appears to be a mistaken identification, for the charter in question (*Car. Reg.* xi., see above, p. 45), even if (which is doubtful) it refers to Upertus son of Charles-Constantine, belongs to the neighbourhood of St Symphorien d'Ozon³. This fact however is not wholly against Gingins' theory, as will be seen. I have not come across the evidence for Charles-Constantine's possession of *St Georges d'Espérance* and *Voirons*⁴, which were certainly in Savoyard hands in the thirteenth century. But the suzerainty over the barony of *Tour-du-Pin* in the Viennois and the possession of *St Georges d'Espérance* were Savoyard acquisitions of the thirteenth century⁵. So neither of these rights goes back to Charles-Constantine's rights as count, not to mention the fact that Queen Ermengarde breaks the connection, being Countess both of Sermorens and the Viennois. *Haut-Burcin* and *Bressieux-le-haut* are reduplications by Gingins of the same place *Brocianus Superior in*

¹ Gingins' statement is that Amadeus III in 1125 confirmed the donation of St Alban-de-Cirsin by the Archbishop of Vienne to the Abbey of St Ruf. In Chevalier's *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Sancti Rufi* (Bull. Soc. Départ. d'archéol. et Statistique de la Drome 1891, livr. 99), p. 23, I find that Archbishop Peter of Vienne and his canons in 1125 confirm the gift to St Ruf, made by Archbishop Guy (later Calixtus II) of St Alban de Cisyris (al. Cesirin, v. *id.* p. 20). Among the signatory canons are "Amedeus archidiaconi...Amadeus...Umbertus filius comitis, Amedeus." I imagine Gingins read "Umbertus filius, comitis Amedeus." Evidently the whole notion is baseless. Even if a Count Amedeus had subscribed, it would only show he was a canon. As it is, of course, there is no mention of him.

² See Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, I. (No. 631) [where King Conrad, to whom the chapel of St Genix has been surrendered by Charles-Constantine from his *comitatus* of Vienne, grants the chapel to his chaplain, Ermentheus, at Charles' request]; and *id.* II. p. 15 (No. 900) [where Ermentheus sells the chapel of St Genix, given him by King Conrad, and situated "infra moenia urbis Vienne," to the Abbey of Cluny]. M. Poupardin, *Provençe*, p. 240, n. 1, has avoided Gingins' error, but has also identified the chapel wrongly, this time with St Genix near Mens in Graisivaudan.

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 364-6.

⁴ I am not clear that Gingins says (*op. cit.* pp. 222-3) that there is any.

⁵ See above, p. 82. Bourgoin, however, seems to have been a Savoyard fief earlier.

*Agro Repentinis*¹. The latter is the modern Reventin just south of Vienne, and since Brocianus Superior is said in another charter to reach the Rhone², neither of Gingins' identifications holds and we are taken quite outside Savoyard lands. The evidence, too, for Charles-Constantine being propertied near La Côte-St-André disappears with the identification. Communay³ possessed by Charles-Constantine in 952 and *Chuzelles* and *Chaponnay* (said by Gingins to have been exchanged c. 943 by Count Richard, his son, with Sobo Archbishop of Vienne against *Marennas*) were all (including *Marennas*) near St Symphorien d'Ozon⁴. But the church of St Symphorien was given by King Conrad and Queen Matilda to St André-le-bas Abbey, a grant renewed by Rudolf III in 1015; and the *curtis* of Communay belonging to the *comitatus* of Vienne was given to the see of Vienne by the same Rudolf and Queen Ermengarde in 1013⁵. Thus any notion of a Savoyard inheritance direct from Charles-Constantine seems to fall to the ground.

We may conclude therefore that Gingins' view has little save the name Upertus to say for itself. There just remains the possibility of course that Queen Ermengarde was connected with the Bosonids in some way. Her name recalls that of Ermengarde the wife of King Boso of Provence, founder of the dynasty. But, as we have seen (above, Sect. iv. pp. 80, 88, 96), the Humbertines, if they inherited anything from her at all, were not her sole heirs. Then of course there is the mysterious Countess Ermengarde, wife of Burchard and sister-in-law of Whitehands, but the only probable relation of hers that we know is Count Aymon, and Aymon is not a Bosonid name⁶.

(b) I now come to the views of Count B. Baudi di Vesme⁷, and Count Gerbaix-Sonnaz⁸. Although the latter does not support the Bosonid descent, the father that his genealogy gives to Whitehands

¹ Cf. Bruel et Bernard, *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 177 (No. 1084), 186 (No. 1094).

² See Bruel et Bernard, *Chartes...de Cluny*, II. 148 (No. 1053).

³ Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 241; Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, I. p. 748 (No. 797).

⁴ *M.D.R.* xx. 226. The document I have not been able to find: and I have grown somewhat suspicious of Baron Gingins' identifications.

⁵ Labruzzo, *op. cit.* p. 248, Manteyer, *Paix*, pp. 132-3.

⁶ See *Car. Reg.* LIII., CXXXV., CXXXVII. above, pp. 47, 54-5, 58, 63.

⁷ As Sig. Baudi di Vesme's promised work is not yet out, I take my information as to his views from Count Gerbaix-Sonnaz's *Studi Storici sul contado di Savoia e marchesato in Italia*, Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 124-5 and table opposite, and *id.* Pt. II. p. xii. with the modifications given in Sig. Patrucco's *Aosta dalle invasioni barbariche alla signoria sabauda* (in *Miscell. Valdostana, Bibl. Soc. Stor. Subalpina*, XVII.), pp. lxxi.-lxxiv. and tables on pp. lx.-lxi., lxxviii.-lxxix.).

⁸ See his *Studi Storici ecc.* Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 124-5, and table opposite p. 125 and Vol. I. Pt. II. p. xii.

is the same as Whitehands' father in Count di Vesme's tree. Thus it is convenient to consider them together.

Both make Humbert Whitehands the son of a Count Boso and his wife Adelaide de Salins. But while Count Gerbaix makes this Boso a son of a Count Anselm and his wife Rosilde, Count di Vesme's view is that he was really a junior Bosonid, being the son of the Emperor Lewis the Blind.

(i) For evidence of the affiliation of Humbert Whitehands to Count Boso and Adelaide we are referred¹ to a charter abstracted by Pierre de Rivaz² in the eighteenth century, as follows: "Donation faite au monastère de Cluny par Humbert et par Adelaide sa soeur, femme du comte Boson et mère du comte Humbert": with the references for identification: "Dum in hujus...Adalelmi," and note, "995 env. Extr. du Cartulaire de Cluny B. p. 58, no. 311."

(ii) Now, however, the lines divide. Count Baudi di Vesme³ claims that Boso is a son of the Emperor Lewis, without particularizing his evidence, and states that he appears in Vol. II. of the *Chartes de Cluny*⁴ after 926;

(iii) while Count Gerbaix appeals⁵ to three charters to show that Count Boso was a son of Count Anselm and Rosilde: viz.

(a) a diploma of the Emperor Lewis the Blind, 6th June 903, in favour of Count Anselm and his wife Rosilda⁶;

(b) a diploma of 912 in which there appear as signatories Count Anselm and his son Boso⁷;

(c) a charter of 937 for Romans Abbey given by Count Boso, son of the late Count Anselm⁸.

Until Signor di Vesme publishes his evidence on count (ii) it is impossible to judge of its cogency. I have been unable to trace the reference in Vol. II. of the Cluny Charters. It is necessary therefore to put his contention as to Count Boso's affiliation on one side for the

¹ Gerbaix-Sonnaz, *op. cit.* Vol. I. Pt. II. p. xii.

² *Diplomatique de Bourgogne*, I. No. 108, published by C. U. J. Chevalier, *Collection des Cartulaires Dauphinois*, tome 6, 2^e livraison, p. 22.

³ Patrucco, *op. cit.* p. lxxi.

⁴ Bruel et Bernard, *Chartes de Cluny*.

⁵ *Studi Storici ecc.* Vol. I. Pt. II. p. xii.

⁶ U. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas de Vienne* (*Coll. de Cartul. Dauphinois*, I.), pp. 221-2, App. I. 12*.

⁷ Marion, *Cartulaires...de Grenoble*, p. 59 (A. No. 24).

⁸ Giraud, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de St Bernard et sur la ville de Romans, Preuves*, I. 153-5. The charter does not mention Count Boso's father. Giraud points out he is unlikely to be the Count Boso, brother of King Hugh of Italy; and, like Gerbaix, considers him the son of Count Adalelm in the charter of 912. See Giraud, *op. cit.* pp. 27 and 28.

present with all due reserves¹. As to Count Gerbaix' view under (iii) we are better off. It is obviously a hard saying from a chronological point of view, that the Count Boso, already a signatory in 912 and whose father was dead in 937, should be identical with a Count Boso in c. 994.

I may mention in passing, with regard to (a) and (b), that in the precept dated 6th June 903 of the Emperor Lewis the Blind² the names are Count Adalelmus and his wife Rotlindis, and in the charter of 912 we equally find Count Adalelmus and his son Boso.

But the crux of the matter lies in (i). Was there a Count Boso with a son Count Humbert in 994 or 995? If so, where were their possessions? Fortunately the charter adduced in proof of the fact has been identified through Rivaz' references by M. de Manteyer³ with No. 2143 in the *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*⁴. In the document as published by M. Bruel, Humbert, son of Euphemia and brother of Adelaide, makes a grant to Cluny, then under Abbot Odilo (994—1 Jan. 1049), of rights in Jalogny near Cluny. Among the signatories appear Josserand, son of Euphemia, and a second Humbert, son of Adelaide. No title of Count is given to this second Humbert, nor does Count Boso appear at all. The land in question is far away from the Humbertine district, and it seems that Humbert son of Euphemia is connected with the viscounts of Lyons⁵.

We thus find that up to the present there has been no evidence, which bears criticism, brought forward in favour of a Count Boso being father of Humbert Whitehands.

(C) Next in order comes the theory of Baron Carutti⁶, which may be called the local Burgundian descent. In expounding it (as in the case of those of Count di Vesme and Count Gerbaix), I omit his hypothesis on the two Humbertine lines. This, however, is in no way necessary to his main argument. Briefly, his suggestions are that Whitehands was the son of Count Amadeus who appears in 974⁷, the contemporary Count Humbert being his paternal uncle (who is then,

¹ Poupardin, *Provence*, pp. 268-9, knows only two sons of Lewis the Blind, viz. Charles-Constantine and Rudolf, living in 929 (*Chartes...de Cluny*, I. No. 379). He considers Charles-Constantine to have been illegitimate, on the authority of Richer, Bk. III. cap. 98 (*M.G.H. Script.* III. 609).

² See above, p. 108, n. 6.

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 420-1.

⁴ Bruel, *Chartes...de Cluny*, III. 322, No. 2143.

⁵ Bruel et Bernard, *Chartes...de Cluny*, IV. 34-5, No. 2831, Manteyer, *loc. cit.*, cf. Labruzzi, *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 123-5. Euphemia's husband, Wigo, is Viscount.

⁶ *Umberto Biancamano*, pp. 162-75.

⁷ See above, pp. 45 and 57, *Car. Reg.* XIII.

by Baron Carutti's further theory, ancestor of his second Humbertine line). These two would be sons of a Humbert, who appears as Count in *Car. Reg.* XI. (976) (see above, pp. 45 and 57) and untitled in a *placitum* held by King Conrad in the Viennois in 943¹. This Humbert again would be son of an Amadeus who appears in 926 at Geneva at a *placitum* concerning the *pagus* Equestricus².

In support of his theory Baron Carutti brings forward a series of evidences, which may be thus summarized.

(i) The family law of the Humbertines was Roman. This is shown by three charters, *Car. Reg.* CCXXI. belonging to Agnes daughter of Marquess Peter I in 1091,³ *Car. Reg.* CCXXVII.⁴ and *Car. Reg.* CCXXXVI.⁵ belonging to Count Humbert II in 1094 and 1098. Now the effect of these charters, especially *Car. Reg.* CCXXVII., is to show us the Humbertines as of Roman provincial, or at least Romanized barbarian descent. This very well agrees with their first appearance in Burgundy; for in that kingdom, not only were the Roman provincials better off than elsewhere, from the first barbarian settlement onwards, says Carutti, and quite eligible for the highest offices, but also the Germanic Burgundian law, the *Lex Gundobada*, was disliked by the Church and hence was often exchanged for the Roman law by trueborn Burgundians⁶.

(ii) The House of Savoy kept with great tenacity their family names. Now the chief of these were Amadeus and Humbert, used at first in alternate generations for the eldest son. We ought then to find Whitehands' father named Amadeus, his grandfather Humbert and so on. Amadeus was clearly more favoured by the family than Humbert; and it was a strictly Roman name, late and rarely used by men of Germanic descent.

(iii) Some of the documents favour this descent by their localities. *Car. Reg.* XIII. is from the Viennois, *Car. Reg.* XI. actually from the Isle de Ciers in the *pagus* of Belley, *Car. Reg.* V. is of the Viennois.

(iv) The fabulous *Chroniques de Savoie*⁷ represent Berold, whom they give as Humbert Whitehands' father, as warring with the Piedmontese

¹ *Car. Reg.* V. *Rerum Gallicarum et Francarum Scriptores*, x. 696, and *Chartes de Cluny*, I. 580.

Car. Reg. II. Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 1.

³ Mulletti, *Memorie...di Saluzzo*, I. 282, "Agnes filia quondam Petri marchionis et relicta olim Friderici, que professa sum lege vivere Romana."

⁴ *Carte vescovili d'Ivrea (Bibl. Soc. Stor. Subalp.* v.), p. 13, "Ubertus filius quondam Amedeo qui professo (*sic*) sum ex nacione mea lege vivere Romana." The Latin is half Romance here, as often in eleventh century Piedmontese documents.

⁵ *Cartario dell' abbazia di Pinerolo (B.S.S.S.* II.), p. 42, "Unbertus comes filius quondam Amedei qui professus sum lege vivere Romana."

⁶ Cf. Carutti, *op. cit.* pp. 3-5.

⁷ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 60-73.

in Maurienne, on behalf of the King of Burgundy, while the Genoese, allies of the Piedmontese, were being defeated in Provence. Now c. 952-75 the marauding Saracens, who in late medieval legendary chronicles are styled Genoese, were being driven from their strongholds on the Alps and in Provence; in the legend of the *Chronicle of Novalesa*¹ a Saracen called Aymon treats with Count Robald of Provence, who with Marquess Ardoin of Turin's aid expels them from Frascenedellum: Aymon's descendants still existed c. 1060 when the *Chronicle of Novalesa* was compiled. The Fraxinetum referred to is probably Freney in Maurienne, not Frainet of Provence. Since Aymon was a family name of the Humbertines, and not a Saracen name; could not the Aymon here be really a Christian, allied with the Saracens, and an ancestor of the Humbertines, who would thus be returning to their ancient home in the valley of Maurienne? The latter, not having been Teutonized, was a fit place of origin for a house professing Roman Law.

It will be best to examine these arguments *seriatim*.

(i) The hereditary Roman Law of the Humbertines about 1100 is not very certain. To begin with, at that date there was in process a steady adoption of Roman Law by men of Teutonic descent. This was especially the case with ecclesiastics². Further the legal phrase, which seems so precise, "ex natione mea," is demonstrably used by persons who had adopted Roman Law, having been born in another, e.g. in 1096 two brothers Roland and Ranuccio profess Lombard Law *ex natione nostra*, their third brother, a priest, Martin, declares Roman Law *pro honore sacerdotii*, for the honour of the priesthood. But in 1098 Roland and Ranuccio themselves profess Roman Law *ex natione nostra*, and add to the confusion by reverting to Lombard Law *ex natione nostra* in 1099³. Thus the profession of Roman Law c. 1100 cannot be relied on as evidence for the true race of the individual who professes it. One of the charters, too, and it is the one which has "ex natione mea," is assigned by Prof. Gabotto⁴, with much probability, not to Humbert II at all, but to his namesake, a Count of the Canavese⁵.

¹ Cipolla, *Monumenta Novalicensia*, II. 260.

² See Labruzzi, *La Monarchia di Savoia*, pp. 224-38, whom I am following in this argument. Sig. Labruzzi quotes from Giorgetti, *Nuove osservazioni sulla professione di legge nel medio evo*, Arch. stor. ital., Ser. IV. Vol. III. (1879), and Zdekauer in the *Nuova Antologia*, 13 Ap. 1888, p. 733. Cf. Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, I. 25-9. The Salic Ardoinid Bishop Alric of Asti (1008-35) is an early example of the profession of Roman Law, *pro honore sacerdotii*. See below, p. 169.

³ See Labruzzi, *loc. cit.*, quoting from Giorgetti, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Carte vescovili d'Ivrea*, B.S.S.S. v. p. 13.

⁵ See below, p. 171. But I confess to doubts owing to the name of the witness, "Ponzo de Camoseto," which looks like Chamousset, near Ayton in Savoy.

But there lies a further difficulty in the fact that in a charter to the Abbey of Pinerolo in 1131, Humbert II's son, Amadeus III, professes Salic Law *ex natione sua*¹. Now if the charter and these words in it are genuine, we have a contradictory tradition of the law of the Humbertines; and it seems more likely that they would change to the conquering Roman Law from the Salic, than *vice versa*.

(ii) The use of the alternate names Amadeus and Humbert is very marked. All one can say against its being employed as an argument here is, that the custom must have had its beginning, and why not c. 1000? The Counts of the Genevois adopt the name Amadeus c. 1050, apparently as a result of a Humbertine alliance². Could not some such cause account for the Humbertine usages? Still it remains true, that we would expect Whitehands' father to be called Amadeus.

(iii) This of course agrees very well with the conclusions of Section IV. I may remark that M. de Manteyer has shown³ that Car. Reg. XIII. refers to Mions near Chandieu and St Symphorien d'Ozon and not to the Île de Ciers. But it still remains close to the Viennois. On the other hand Car. Reg. II.⁴ relates to Geneva, and its locality cannot be given as a support either for the Amadeus in it being a Humbertine, or for the local Burgundian origin of the latter race.

(iv) We are here, as Baron Carutti states, amid conjectures. Doubtless the Humbertines worked up the mountain valleys from the west. They would hardly have attained their position, unless they had been successful in warding off the Saracens, since that was the test of personal capacity in Burgundy in the tenth century. But there seems little reason to dissociate the tale in the *Chronicle of Novalesa* from the well-known capture of Frainet (Fraxinetum) in Provence in 972-5⁵. As for the name Aymon, a renegade Saracen would surely have to become a Christian and take a baptismal name. Aymon, too, I remember seeing in a twelfth or thirteenth century chronicle⁶ used to represent the Saracen name Othman. In any case there seems no real ground to suppose a Christian ally of the Saracens; or that the Humbertines had an ancestral connection with Maurienne.

(v) There remains the actual genealogy produced by Baron Carutti to consider⁷. Certainly the two Viennois Counts Amadeus and

¹ Car. Reg. CMXLVIII. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 54).

² Bollea, *Le prime relazioni ecc.* pp. 14-15. Cf. below, p. 121.

³ *Origines*, pp. 364-6, and see above, p. 106. I should say that Carutti considers this charter much interpolated, but Gabotto pronounces it quite genuine (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 55).

⁴ See above, p. 110.

⁵ See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 97-101, and below, pp. 145-7.

⁶ I have mislaid the reference.

⁷ See above, pp. 109-10.

Humbert are very suitable by date, locality and rank. The phrase used by Count Humbert Whitehands about his *antecessor* in the oath to the Peace of God seems to imply a large inheritance in the Viennois, Sermorens and Belley¹. Then the Humbert who appears in 943² is not badly placed; but his name follows that of a Count Leotald, and Count Leotald of Mâcon had a brother Humbert at that date³. As for the Amadeus at Geneva, he appears to have been only a *scabînus* present at a law-suit, and there is no indication either as to his rank or the locality, which would lead us to connect him with the Humbertines⁴.

To sum up, the real point in favour of Baron Carutti's view is its intrinsic probability. When so early-famous a race as that of Savoy emerges from the Dark Ages with no reminiscence of its origin—for we may treat the ridiculous Berold legend as proof of that—we need not suppose that its origin was peculiarly royal or illustrious. In short, great nobles of the locality where the race first appears are the most likely ancestors at first sight.

(D) Most recent of all these theories on the Humbertine origins is that of M. de Manteyer, which he has developed and strengthened in the three treatises to which I have such frequent occasion to refer. His argument may be divided into two parts:

(a) He proves that Archbishop Theobald of Vienne (c. 957–1001) was the son of a Count Hugh, nephew of King Hugh of Provence, and the brother of a Count Hucbert-Hubert; and that both Count Hugh and Archbishop Theobald had great domains in the Viennois and Sermorens, which included the great tract of Octavion⁵ and the castle of Tolvon near Voiron. Through his father, Theobald descended from the Counts of Troyes in France; through his mother Willa or

¹ Cf. above, pp. 23, 78–85, 100.

² See above, p. 110.

³ See Labruzzi, *op. cit.* pp. 134–7, Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 216.

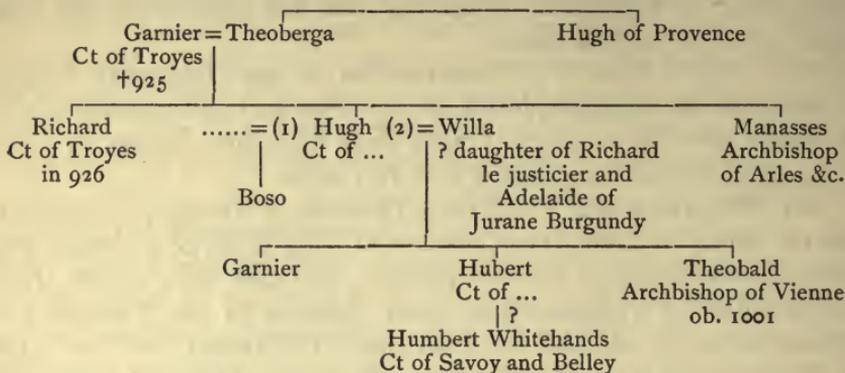
⁴ See Labruzzi, *op. cit.* pp. 132–4. Similarly, Prof. Gabotto's abandoned identification of Girardus in *Chron. Altac.* with Gerard de Beaujeu and with the father which the Amadeus of Car. *Reg.* II. must have had (see above, p. 101, n. 1) is pure conjecture.

⁵ This was a property of King Hugh; it contained 700 *mansi* and perhaps it may have included the whole Archpriestdom of Octavion or Romans, that is the block of land between St Martin-d'Août and Romans on the Isère; but M. de Manteyer thinks it was only Châtillon-St-Jean and neighbourhood. See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 442–5. M. de Manteyer reckons the *mansus* equal to 12 *jugera*, so 700 *mansi* = 2100 hectares. But we have to take into account the sparseness of the population; a *mansus* was above all the dwelling and land of a serf-family. In any given territory there would be much over, forest, meadow and demesne land. Thus what we want is a tract, supporting 700 serf-families, i.e. quite 3500 souls, at a time when the population was depleted and much land waste. So, after all, the Archpriestdom may be nearer the truth.

Wilterma he was connected with the Kings of Jurane Burgundy; through his paternal grandmother Theoberga with the line of Hugh of Provence.

(b) He considers that Count Hucbert-Hubert, who appears in the Troiesin indeed, but is not its Count, and is brother of the Archbishop of Vienne, is the Count Humbertus of 976 (*Car. Reg.* xi.) at Mions and the father of Count Humbert-Hubert Whitehands of Savoy. Further in view of the name Amadeus in the Anscarid Ivrean house, he is inclined to identify the Count Amadeus in the Viennois in 957-74 with Amadeus of Mosezzo, son of Marquess Anscari and nephew of King Berengar II of Italy: and then to consider this Amadeus to be the father-in-law of Count Humbert-Hubert and grandfather of Whitehands¹.

We thus have a descent as follows:



Of these two divisions of the argument (a) is so securely established that I need only run over the heads of the proof².

(i) Garnier, Count of Troyes and Viscount of Sens, was killed in battle with the Norsemen at Chalaux in Department of Nièvre 925³.

(ii) He left a son Count Richard who succeeded him (926, 932) at Troyes and Sens. The latter disappears, and a new family of

¹ I omit M. de Manteyer's ingenious identification of Count Hugh with the Hugh Count Palatine of Jurane Burgundy in 926 (*Origines*, pp. 461-5), as there is only homonymy to support it; and it does not promote his theory. See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 263, n. 2. I also omit his views as to the personalities of the Count Aymon and Countess Ermengarde of *Car. Reg.* LIII., CXXXVII., whom he thinks a Count Aymon, vassal of Lambert, Bp of Langres (v. *Car. Reg.* LII. above, p. 49), and his sister (*Origines*, pp. 508-14). This does not explain why Ermengarde is Countess in her own right.

² For M. de Manteyer's argument, see his *Origines*, pp. 430-65, 485-94, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 257-71, and *Paix*, pp. 127-8.

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 451-4, where authorities are given, and *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 311-12.

Counts of Troyes begins with Herbert Count of Vermandois who died in 943¹.

(iii) We find in Provence 920-59 three brothers, Manasses Archbishop of Arles, Richard and Count Hugh, sons of Garnier and of Theoberga, sister of Hugh of Provence, the King of Italy².

(iv) Homonyms of Manasses and Richard, who exist in French Burgundy, and the fact that (see v) Count Hugh, his wife and children possessed lands in the Troiesin, show that their father Garnier is the Count of Troyes (ob. 925)³.

(v) Count Hugh's second wife is Willa or Wilterma⁴, a relation of the Juranian kings of Burgundy. His sons are Boso by his first wife; and, by Willa, Garnier who dies before his mother, Count Hucbert or Hubert and Theobald Archbishop of Vienne (957-1001)⁵.

(vi) Count Hugh's possessions in the Viennois included the *curtis* of Octavion (near and perhaps including Romans on the Isère, see above, p. 113, n. 5), which was given him by his uncle King Hugh, and the castle of Tolvon near Voiron, as well as large domains in the county of Sermorens⁶.

¹ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 451, 454-6.

² Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 439-41, Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, I. pp. 681-3, Chevalier, *Cartul. de St André-le-bas de Vienne*, pp. 232-3 (*Collection de Cartulaires Dauphinois*).

³ Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 445-56, 458, 461, Documents quoted, 434-5, from A. Giry, *Etudes Carolingiennes*, v. no. 27 (*Etudes d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, p. 135). And cf. Life of Archbp Theobald, cited in n. 5 below, showing Theobald born in the Viennois, but bred in France. "Cum autem ad maturos pervenisset annos, Franciam deseruit, Burgundiam revisere concupivit, in quietam in Tulnioni (*l. Tulvioni*) castro natus fuit."

⁴ M. de Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 300, explains Wilterma as a misreading for Willerma, which itself would be a late medieval misreading for Willa, a careless transcription of Willa.

⁵ See Manteyer, *Origines*, pp. 434-7, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 265, *Paix*, p. 127. Documents, (1) published by M. Giry (see above, n. 3) (a) Ap. 927, *re* Jeugny and Montiéramy both in the Troiesin, "S. Hugonis comitis...S. Wilae uxoris ejus, S. Bosonis filii ejus, S. Warnerii ipsorum filii." (b) Aug. 967-March 986, at Fouchères in the Troiesin *re* land in diocese of Autun; "Ego Willa comitissa propter remedium animae senioris mei Hugonis, memor filiorum nostrorum Theutboldi archiepiscopi et Hucberti seu Warnerii defuncti...S. Theutboldi archiepiscopi. S. Huberti comitis qui consensit." (2) published by Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 264-6, Life of Archbp Theobald. His father Hugh "inter primos palatii, non infimus" married "Burgundionis regis neptem, vocatam de nomine Wiltermam."

⁶ King Hugh gave Octavion to his nephew Count Hugh by charter, 24 June 936 (Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas*, pp. 232-3). Archbishop Theobald was born at Tolvon (see above, n. 3). Tulnioni has to be corrected into Tulvioni, see *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 268-9. The Life of Theobald is also the authority for the domains in Sermorens, "Erat autem tunc temporis dives opibus et haereditate locupletissimus quarum multa erant in subjecto urbis Viennensis vicecomitatu Salmoracensi."

(vii) Theobald became Archbishop of Vienne probably in 957 by the favour of his cousin, King Conrad of Burgundy, after a vacancy of at least eight years¹.

When we come to M. de Manteyer's contention (*b*) that Count Hucbert-Hubert is Count Humbert at Mions and the father of Humbert-Hubert Whitehands etc., we are on less certain ground. His reasons² are as follows:

(i) The names of Hubert (derived from Hucbert etc.) and of Humbert are much confused in Burgundy in the early Middle Age. Whitehands' real name was Hubert, Humbert being the rarer form in originals of his. Thus we have the transmission of one of the family names at least³.

(ii) The dates are suitable. Count Hucbert-Hubert would be born about 930, for he is not mentioned in the diploma of 927. He was living between 967 and 986, and could be father, although a rather old one, for Whitehands who was born about 975.

(iii) Hucbert-Hubert, like his father Hugh, was Count of some *pagus*. The family had lost Troyes. But he would keep the great domains in the Viennois and Sermorens which had been acquired by his father Count Hugh. Here accordingly we find Count Humbert acting near St Symphorien d'Ozon in 976, just where the later Savoyards had much territory, and also a Count Humbert in the Viennois in 974⁴. Archbishop Theobald's lands lay especially in Sermorens, just where the later Savoyards had a mass of territory, and his birthplace was at Tolvon, which the Counts of Savoy actually possessed in demesne in 1355⁵.

(iv) Theobald's successor as Archbishop of Vienne was Burchard the Anselmid, and brother-in-law of Whitehands. Now the Anselmids had no connection with Vienne or the Viennois, and Burgundian sees were then given by family influence, and often descended from uncle to nephew, as did Lyons and Grenoble for instance. Thus we want some relative of Theobald to have an interest in promoting Burchard; and Whitehands was precisely brother-in-law of the latter⁶.

(v) Further there are some clauses⁷ in Count Humbert Whitehands' oath to the Peace of God, so important that it is best to quote

¹ Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 265-7. In the Life Conrad is called variously "consanguineus" and "avunculus."

² *Origines*, pp. 481-3, 494-501. *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 257-307.

³ *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 442-92.

⁴ M. de Manteyer suggests the county was probably Savoy proper. *Origines*, pp. 515-16.

⁵ *Origines*, pp. 441-6, 489-94. *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 259-60, 264-9.

⁶ *Origines*, pp. 481-3. *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 260-1.

⁷ *Paix*, pp. 95, 96, 97.

them verbally. "In terris autem sanctorum episcopatus Viennensis ecclesiae quas nunc in comunia tenent vel in antea adquisierint cannonici vel monachi seu sanctimoniales, malas consuetudines ibi non inponam; neque per hostes neque per cavalcadas albergarias faciam; si mutare potuero me sciente; et si mutare non potuero et ibi albergariam per necessitatem fecero, et ad rationem missus fuero, infra xv. dies ad possibilem emendacionem veniam, si recipere voluerint aut si perdonaverint. In terris autem clericorum, monachorum et sanctimonialium quas ego in comanda teneo plus non accipiam nisi tantum quantum antecessor meus accepit in tempore Theutbaldi archiepiscopi Viennensis sine reclamatorio; et, si accepero vel aliquis ex meis, infra xxx. dies quibus ad rationem missus fuero illis emendabo quantum probare potuerint quod antecessor meus non accepit in vita Theutbaldi archiepiscopi si non perdonaverit.... Per illam vero terram quae mihi aut uxori meae aut filiis meis tolta est de xxx. annis usque ad hoc concilium, contra illum hominem qui eam terram tenuerit pacem non infringam usque illum ad rationem mittam per nomen de ista pace etc.... Excepto in illis terris quae sunt de meo alodo aut de beneficio sive de franchiziis sive de comandis etc." From these sentences we may infer

(a) that Whitehands held in the Viennois etc.: the advocacy of the cathedral chapter of Vienne, as well as that of some monasteries (at least one of monks and one of nuns);

(b) and ecclesiastical lands *in commendam*;

(c) that Whitehands had inherited (a) and (b) from an ancestor who lived in the time of Archbishop Theobald;

(d) that Whitehands' father had died over 30 years before, and before the Council of Anse 994-5;

(e) that some of Whitehands' lands had been lost by him to someone in these 30 years. Then Theobald will have invested his brother Hucbert-Hubert or his father Hugh with the advocacies of his see and of the chapter, besides granting *in commendams* to them. The abbey of St André-le-bas and the nunnery of St André-le-haut would follow suit. But Burchard on succeeding to the archbishopric deprived his brother-in-law Humbert-Hubert Whitehands of the advocacy of the see, giving it, as we know¹, to his own brother Count Ulric, and thus we come on Whitehands' grievance in 1025¹.

(vi) To these reasons we may add the full explanation given by the scheme, of Whitehands' great position in Burgundy and in the Viennois in particular, and of the beginning of his alliance with the Jurane royal house².

¹ See above, pp. 67-8.

² *Paix*, pp. 124-40.

Let us now review these arguments and see what, if any, exceptions may be taken to them. First, as to

(i) The confusion of the names Hubert and Humbert in Burgundy at this date is very clear, but I believe M. de Manteyer has been able to produce no other instance of the same man being called Hucbert and Humbert, which is necessary if the identification of Count Hucbert-Hubert with Count Humbert at Mions is to stand.

(ii) The age problem is not quite conveniently solved. One would think that Garnier, son of Count Hugh, would be more than a baby in 927, and there seems no reason to defer so much the birth of Count Hucbert-Hubert. Still this is a small matter.

(iii) The evidence for Count Hugh and his son being counts in or near the Viennois seems very strong. But the identification of Hucbert-Hubert with the Count Humbert at Mions in 957-74 and the Count Humbert of 976 seems doubtful as mentioned above under (i). This leaves us three districts certainly connected with the Troiesin family, viz. Octavion, the castle of Tolvon and Sermorens. Now

(a) Octavion near Romans shows no connection with the later Savoyards from Whitehands onwards; but it was in the county of Vienne or Albon held of the Archbishops by the Dauphin¹.

(b) Tolvon certainly belonged in demesne to the Count of Savoy in 1355; but in 1125 it belonged to the Bocsozel and Moirans families², and though the Counts of Savoy may have been their suzerains, there is not evidence for a continuous residentiary castle of the Savoyards.

(c) For Sermorens the case is very strong; but one must mention three deductions. No definite domains of Theobald and his kin are mentioned, which Whitehands and his sons can be shown to have had. We must also deduct the later acquisitions in Sermorens and the Viennois, summarized on pp. 78-83 above, when we try to estimate Whitehands' territory; a fact which slightly alters its centre of gravity from the direction of the Viennois and Sermorens in favour of Belley. Lastly, there is the statement that Theobald, who, although he has entered the Church, appears as his father's heir, makes King Conrad his own heir, even if the intention is frustrated by the latter's death³. Would he have done this with a favoured brother, or at least that brother's son living (on whom he had conferred so much Church property)?

¹ See authority cited, p. 83, n. 1.

² Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 276.

³ "Accepta vero facultate ordinandarum rerum suarum, patre jam mortuo, matreque defuncta, plura pauperibus largitus est et servis aliquanta, ex quibus multos ingenuos fecit; aliosque cum fundis multis Regi avunculo post mortem reservavit, quam etiam Rex videre non potuit." *Life*, see Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, p. 266.

(iv) This is sound, but yet Theobald had been appointed largely by court-favour; and we know the Anselmid Burchard possessed this to an eminent degree. Besides Whitehands was a local noble in any case and would not fail to have a share in Burchard's promotion.

(v) That Whitehands was advocate of the chapter and Abbeys of Vienne seems clear, and also that he had inherited ecclesiastical *in commendams* of which Car. Reg. xxiv. (above, p. 46) is an example: but does the term *antecessor* with regard to the advocacies mean his ancestor in the modern sense? They were permanent offices, and Whitehands might be referring to his predecessor merely, not his father. In that case the great load of favours received from Theobald is somewhat diminished. Then the 30 years' limitation as to quarrels over land ought to refer chiefly to the interval since the former oath of the same kind at Anse in 994-5, and while it shows that Whitehands had probably succeeded his father by then¹, it surely casts no light on what lands had been lost. Ulric's appointment seems specially unlikely to be a grievance, as the advocacy of the archbishopric was clearly then not hereditary, and there is every reason to believe that the Anselmids and Humbertines worked hand in glove together.

(vi) This last point retains all its force, whether we accept M. de Manteyer's views as to enfeoffment from episcopal kinsmen (for which see above, Section iv.) or not.

To sum up, M. de Manteyer's evidence seems to me to point to the fact that Archbishop Theobald was the last male of his house. Else why should he make King Conrad his heir? That Hugh and probably Hucbert-Hubert had domains in the south Viennois and Sermorens seems clear, and also that their county was near; but the Count Humbert of the Mions neighbourhood makes one think of Charles-Constantine's son Hubert, for the Bosonids were propertied near St Symphorien d'Ozon. Perhaps he too was the last male of his house. Count Amadeus can hardly have been Amadeus of Mosezzo, for the latter was not a count to all appearance. Nothing however prevents the two former having left female representatives. The name of Theoberga, Count Hugh's mother, is repeated in that of Charles-Constantine's wife and in that of the Humbertine lady, who brought Humbertine names into the houses of the Genevois and Faucigny. The Bosonid name of Ermen-garde appears as that of the heiress whom the Humbertine Burchard married. I may note, too, that the undoubted name of Humbert (not Hubert) became a family name of the Guigonids (later Dauphins), who, it must be remembered, possessed the south of Sermorens, and that southern district of the Viennois called the county of Albon.

¹ The only argument against this conclusion is the fact that Whitehands does not subscribe as Count in Car. Reg. xx. 1000 (see above, pp. 45 and 58).

proceeding to narrate the manner in which they acquired their first truly Italian possessions.

To begin with the eldest son, Amadeus I¹, we find him in 1030 promoted to the rank of Count; to all appearance by cession from his father, for the latter acts as joint donor in the gift to Cluny, which he would hardly do had Amadeus' position been quite independent². We find him married by 1030 to Adela or Adalegilda. He has two sons and in all probability a daughter. The sons are: Humbert, who died before his parents; and Aymon, who appears as Bishop of Belley c. 1032³. As to the daughter, Signor L. C. Bollea has pointed out⁴ that the names Amadeus, Aymon and Burchard are met with in the families of the Counts of the Genevois and the Sires de Faucigny, after a Theoberga had married, first Louis, Sire de Faucigny, and secondly Gerold II, Count of the Genevois. Thus it becomes very likely she was a Humbertine. To this M. de Manteyer⁵ adds, that she must have been a daughter of Amadeus I, since her children died off about 1125, which would place her own death about 1090 or 1095, too late a date for a daughter of Whitehands. The children of Marquess Oddo, the other eligible parent, are well known and she is not among them.

Amadeus I's county at first seems to have been Savoy, since we find Whitehands acting as Count of Belley to all appearance after 1030⁶. Later Amadeus takes the title of Count of Belley⁷, and implies he is Count of Savoy⁸. We may presume he outlived his father, and succeeded to all the Burgundian counties of his family, for we find the Savoyards giving appanages to the cadets, but never sharing the Countships of the House for two centuries at least. For the rest, he held lands in lease of the see of Belley⁹, and was considered as the founder of the Cluniac Priory of Le Bourget¹⁰.

Finally, the *Chroniques* give two statements about him. The first is that he was summoned by the Emperor Henry II, who succeeded Otto III, to attend his coronation at Rome, that he joined Henry at Verona and stayed the winter with him there, and then after being present at the imperial coronation returned to Susa, and Maurienne.

¹ Charters relating to him are: Car. Reg. LII. LXXIII. LX. LXI. LXXIX. LXXII. CXX. CXXIII. CXXV. CXXXV. CXXXVIII. LXXXI. LXXXIV. CXLI. CL.

² Car. Reg. LXXIX. (above, pp. 49 and 60).

³ Car. Reg. LXXII. Cluny, IV. 2885, p. 79; see above, pp. 51, 61.

⁴ *Le prime relazioni fra la casa di Savoia e Ginevra*, pp. 14-15.

⁵ *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 440-1.

⁶ Car. Reg. LXXII., see above, pp. 51 and 61.

⁷ Car. Reg. CXXXVIII., see above, pp. 55 and 64.

⁸ Car. Reg. LXXXI., see above, pp. 55 and 64.

⁹ Car. Reg. CXLI., see above, pp. 56 and 64.

¹⁰ Car. Reg. CL., see above, pp. 57 and 65.

They add that Amadeus acquired the surname Cauda, by reason of the large *queue* of vassals he insisted on bringing into the council-chamber at Verona¹. As to this story, there is no reason why Amadeus I should not have attended Henry III's (not Henry II's) coronation at Rome on Christmas Day 1046². The *queue* portion of the tale is a ridiculous explanation of a nickname, which was hardly flattering.

The second statement of the *Chroniques* is that he died in 1076 and was buried next his father in the cathedral of St Jean de Maurienne³. The latter piece of information is probably true; there would be church-ceremonies going on to keep up the tradition. But 1076 is an impossible date. Fortunately, there are indices which enable us to get nearer to the right year. (i) Bishop Aymon of Belley outlived his father (*Car. Reg.* cxli., see above, p. 56); (ii) Marquess Oddo (ob. 1060) outlived Bishop Aymon (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice-en-Bugey*, p. 27, see above, p. 56). Thus Amadeus died well before 1060. But Padre Savio⁴ has pointed out that (iii) Marquess Oddo was striking money and therefore ruling in Maurienne well within the reign of Pope Leo IX, who died on the 19th April 1054. We can hardly therefore put Marquess Oddo's succession and consequently Count Amadeus' death later than 1052, and this makes one suspect that Oddo was already ruling in the Burgundian domains in the spring of 1051, when he made his grant to the Tarentaise chapter⁵.

With regard to Bishop Aymon of Belley, we have seen he outlived his father, but died before his uncle Oddo. His successor in the see was Bishop Jossierand⁶. We have also seen that he is an instance of a boy-bishop⁷.

The earlier days of Burchard III, Bishop of Aosta, and Archbishop of Lyons, have been sufficiently narrated in Section II. By 1057⁸, with his youthful escapades long past, he had succeeded his brother Bishop Aymon of Sion as Abbot of St Maurice. Lastly, if *Car. Reg.* cxliv. and clxviii. really belong to him and not to some other Burchard, he survived all the other sons of Whitehands to January 1069⁹. Next year

¹ *M.H.P.* Script. II. 95-6, *Misc. di stor. ital.* xxii. p. 307, *Car. Reg.* cxxxiv.

² *M.G.H.* Script. v. (Herm. Aug.), p. 126. There is no mention of a sojourn at Verona.

³ *M.H.P.* Script. II. 96, *Misc. di stor. ital.* xxii. pp. 307-8, *Car. Reg.* cxxxix.

⁴ *I primi conti di Savoia*, pp. 462-3.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* cxliii., see above, pp. 55 and 64.

⁶ Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice-en-Bugey*, p. 27, see above, p. 56.

⁷ See above, p. 71. The references for him are: *Car. Reg.* lxxii. Cluny, IV. 2885, 2884, *Car. Reg.* cxiii. cxli.

⁸ See above, pp. 57, 64, 72-3, and 92.

⁹ The only reason against this identification is removed by the correct dating of *Car. Reg.* cxix. (see above, pp. 64, n. 2, and 73, n. 1). Baron Carutti and Signor

Countess Adelaide was certainly ruling the lands of the Abbey, and no more Abbots appear till the days of Amadeus III. He died on the 10th June of an unknown year after 1046. It may have been Burchard's death or some cession during his life which handed over the important territory of St Maurice to the Humbertines¹.

Aymon² Bishop of Sion has also been dealt with above³. He was Provost of St Maurice in 1046. M. de Manteyer⁴ looks on the reference to him as Abbot of St Maurice as a result of a mistranscription in a late chartulary. But the description is repeated in precise but different terms, viz. "Aimone Sedunensi, qui nunc eidem (S. Mauricii) praeest ecclesie" and "monasterium Agauni in quo ipse Aimo sub canonicorum regula Abbas esse dignoscitur"⁵; and I do not think we can doubt its accuracy. He was buried on the 13th July 1054⁶. As we have seen, the claim of the Counts of Savoy to invest the Bishops of Sion with the *regalia* may date back to some occurrence during his tenure of office⁷.

Fourth of the sons of Whitehands and Auchilia was Oddo. By his marriage with the heiress Countess Adelaide, he obtained the Mark of Turin. On the death of his brother Amadeus I, he succeeded to the Burgundian counties. Besides the charter⁸ which shows him possessed of land in Tarentaise in 1051, we have evidence of his rule in Belley and Maurienne. With regard to the former a certain Aymon had seized on the forest of Rothone which belonged to the Bishop and canons of Belley. By threats of an armed attack Bishop Josserand and his canons forced him to restore it. They also paid him 40 *solidi* and 60 *soldatae* and granted to him and one of his sons the pannage or pig-feeding he had in demesne there. This transaction, which so curiously illustrates feudal life and economics, was carried through in the presence of Marquess Oddo⁹. As to Maurienne, it

Labruzzi place Burchard III's death in 1046, but this is owing to an inaccurate version of the Obituary of Lyons given by Gingins. (See Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 472, and *Car. Reg.* CXXX.) The true text of the obit runs, "Junii IIII. Idus obierunt Odolicus archiepiscopus sanctae et felicitis memoriae...Et Walterius acolytus. Et Brocardus archiepiscopus. Et Anno." Guigue, *Obituarium Lugdunensis Ecclesiae*, p. 52. We know Archbishop Ulric died in 1046. The years of the other obits are probably subsequent to that.

¹ Cf. above, pp. 92, 94.

² For references to him, see p. 29, n. 3.

³ See above, p. 29.

⁴ *Origines*, p. 527.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CXLII. (*M.H.P. Chart.* II. 148).

⁶ *Car. Reg.* CXLVIII. *M.D.R.* XVIII. p. 276. Savio, *I primi conti*, p. 464.

Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 528.

⁷ See above, pp. 93-4.

⁸ *Car. Reg.* CXLIII.

⁹ Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice-en-Bugey*, p. 27. *Sylva Rotona* is the Forêt de Rothone: see Renaux, *Le Comté Humbertien de Savoie-Belley*, p. 52.

seems that the Archbishops of Vienne had the sole right of coining in their province¹. Now we are told that in Marquess Oddo's time, and well before the 19th April 1054, certain coiners infringed this privilege by coining at Aiguebelle in the suffragan diocese of Maurienne. The Marquess forbade it—he had been ignorant of it, the document says—and Pope Leo IX excommunicated the chief coiner. The coining thereon stopped during Oddo's life, and the wicked coiner was later struck with paralysis².

For Oddo's children, I must refer to the next chapter. He himself appears as dead on the 21st May 1060³, to give place to a less shadowy generation.

¹ Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 318, n. 2. See for the authorities on this incident, above, p. 98, n. 2.

² *Car. Reg.* CLXXIII. Migne, CXLIII. 1407-8, "Longa post tempora stetit ipsa moneta bona in pondere et in mensura decena. Nuper autem tempore Odonis marchionis viri sui (Adalaidis) latrones et falsarii in burgo qui dicitur Aquabella corruerunt eam et confunderunt et falsaverunt, ignorante supradicto marchione. Qui statim ut audivit clamorem supradicti archiepiscopi (Leodegarii) Viennensis, praecepit ne amplius fieret. Neque factum est eo vivente...Tamen ut omnibus notum fiat, trapezita a domno Leone papa excommunicatus, paralyti percussus, membris omnibus dissolutus, impiam vitam digna morte finivit." I gather that the paralysis of the coiner only occurred after Oddo's death.

³ *Car. Reg.* CLVI. The burial of a Marquess Oddo on the 19th Jan. given by the obituary of St Andrea of Turin (*Car. Reg.* CLV. Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, I. 317) will hardly refer to this Oddo, as in the Necrology of Novalesa (Cipolla, *op. cit.* I. 291) it is stated on the same date that the defunct Marquess Oddo gave to Novalesa Pollenzo, and this was given by an elder Oddo (*Cipolla, op. cit.* II. 269) before 998. (Cf. Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 412, n. 1.)

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTESS ADELAIDE OF TURIN

SECTION I. NORTH ITALY UNDER THE OTTOS.

LIKE Burgundy, the kingdom of Italy, that is the part of the peninsula north of Benevento, had shared in the general ruin of the Western Empire of Charlemagne. It, too, suffered from the decay of the state, from Saracen, Hungarian and Norman ravagings and from the anarchy of rising feudalism. Several circumstances, however, made Italy's condition vary greatly in numerous characters from that of Burgundy and France. The posture of affairs in the two latter was simpler. The state had yielded to the predominance of private landed lordship. But the protagonists of the centrifugal cause were the local counts, themselves the local depositaries of the powers of the state. We find these dynasts striving successfully on the whole in two directions. First, they throw off the control of the central power. Secondly, they endeavour to maintain the public powers, vested in or usurped by them, over the lesser tenants-in-chivalry in their counties.

But Italy's conditions were far more complex. The land became anarchic, it is true; but the greater public officials, the Counts, did not so entirely profit by the fact. For one thing the frequent conquests and revolutions between 770 and 960 gave the generality of comital dynasties little opportunity to take root in their districts. Then the strength of the Bishops did not rest only on their domains and their moral influence, but on their traditional leadership of the Roman element and on their consequent power in the cities. The latter had never lost entirely their ancient civic instincts, and, while a curious mixture of growing trade and of the devastation of the countryside by the new barbaric marauders increased their power, they were not likely to submit altogether tamely to the weakened counts. The lesser nobles of the countryside were as often as not their citizens and allies, and

thus the counts were still more held in check. Lastly, those counts who were successful over all these obstacles were possessors of many counties and of exceptional power. We may call them by the title they preferred of Marquesses. They, it was, who after 888 competed for the crown, and their strength in their patrimonial domains helped to prevent the kingship from becoming quite a nullity. There were Berengar I of Friuli, and Guy of Spoleto, the first two rivals for the kingship after Charles the Fat's deposition. The transient foreigners, Lewis the Blind of Provence and Rudolf II of Jurane Burgundy, did not reign long enough to have much influence on events; and King Hugh, although like them a foreigner, was not quite an exception, for his Provençal domains must have increased his strength in Italy, which was real enough. With Berengar II of Ivrea, we find again a king whose local influence and patrimonial Mark were factors in maintaining his authority.

In consequence, it was not a wholly debilitated kingship that Otto the Great acquired from Berengar II in 961; and to it he added an enormous increment of strength owing to his Transalpine realm. The German King and his army were irresistible when present. But peace and order and obedience during his absence were to be provided for; and a fairly definite scheme seems to have been evolved by him to maintain the union of Italy and Germany, and to impart a lasting character to his refounded Roman Empire. It was in point of fact an easy development from the course of events in the first half of the tenth century. Various degrees of immunity for the episcopal lands were exceedingly common. And amid the disasters of the time and the wreck of the comital power in many districts, the Bishops had frequently appeared as the secular heads of their cities, and this position had been sometimes granted, sometimes, perhaps, only confirmed by the Italian kings. Public powers, more or less complete, carrying with them a corresponding decrease of the Counts' functions, were granted to favoured, or powerful prelates in their cathedral cities. It was not too often done, it may be, but it shows the steady advance of the episcopate in actual power. On the other hand about the year 950 new comital families appear in the north, who bid fair, if they could take root, to work strongly against the new disintegrating tendency, and in favour of the maintenance of larger governmental units.

Both these classes the Emperor Otto was inclined to support, for he owed to both some part of his success; but naturally the Bishops were his favourites. To exalt them coincided with his German policy. He could appoint and so control them. They were of use in a civilizing administration. They possessed a moral influence. He therefore continued and enlarged the policy of granting certain among them the rule

of their cities and of a defined circuit round the latter. In fact the cities in question were excised from the county in which they were situated, and the Bishop performed the comital functions in them. Thus, for instance, we find Brunengo, Bishop of Asti, in 969 ruling his city and a circuit of four miles round it, as well as the *episcopium* or lands of his see, to the complete exclusion of any count. He was count in these territories in all but name.

On the other hand Otto recognized the new comital families. Besides the great Marquesses of Spoleto and Tuscany in the south, who had under them subordinate counts and occupied a special position like the German Dukes, there were five marchional families in the north, who much transcended the remaining counts in prestige and power. These were the Anscarids, Marquesses of Ivrea, the late reigning house of Italy; the Ardoinids, Marquesses of Turin, who form the subject of the two next sections of this chapter; the Aleramids, Marquesses of Savona; the Canossans, Marquesses of Modena and Reggio; and the Otbertines, Marquesses of Genoa. All these the Emperor seems to have determined to keep in power, but without slackening in his bishop-favouring policy.

In this sketch there is no need to dwell on Otto's control of the Papacy or on the events of his reign and those of his two less capable successors, or on all the various circumstances which tended to weaken the latter's authority. In governmental matters which could be formally recorded a striking progress was made in the grants of fresh jurisdiction to the Bishops. Thus the Bishop of Acqui in 978 obtained from Otto II the jurisdiction over his city and three miles round, and the Bishop of Asti received in 992 from Otto III such powers and profits throughout both the diocese and county of Asti, as to raise suspicions whether counts still existed there, such few rights they could have had¹. And the two by no means stood alone.

More important, however, for the future were the wide social changes which took place during this period of forty years. The great gift of the Saxon Emperors to subject North Italy was peace. Following on the distracting civil wars and pagan ravages, she enjoyed a breathing-space. The passes were reopened in 972 to the West and North. The half-deserted countryside could once more be cultivated. A kind of recolonization went on over long vacant champaigns. Meanwhile the cities grew and prospered. Once more the long caravans could go trailing over the Alps, and ship and barge plied in the ports and on the rivers. There was a stir and cheerful dawn, as the long night of the barbaric years began finally to yield, and the New Age,

¹ See below, pp. 163-4.

that men mistook for the Past impossibly returning, began its tardy reign.

Three tendencies of the Ottonian Peace have a direct bearing on the present theme. The first of these was the prevalence of the Italian habit of succession over the strict law of office and benefice. By rigid law, now that the latter had become hereditary, they should have led to something like primogeniture: or at least each office or benefice should have had its single holder. But the Italian custom was for all sons to enjoy their father's inheritance in compossession. As a result there was a conflict of the two principles. With regard to sub-vassals and minor vassals it is easy to see that the native custom should prevail. But as to the greatest families, such as the marchional ones, there was more doubt. Family ambition or imperial pressure might lead to primogeniture or some middle course. And as a matter of fact we find their practice various. The Canossans established strict primogeniture: the Otbertines and the Aleramids used either compossession or equal subdivision. So that by the year 1000 the difference of power between the different Marquesses is becoming considerable.

Another fact was the remarkable multiplication of all the noble or knightly classes. Of these the *principes*, that is those landholders, who held directly from the King, and the wealthier after-vassals, the greater nobility in fact, tended to have identical interests with the Marquesses and Counts, especially where compossession or subdivision began to put the latter on an equality with them. As happened in the case of these leaders of their class, their benefices were become hereditary. But the sub-vassals in general, mainly at three removes from the King, the *secundi milites* or valvassors, a class which had not yet obtained such hereditary rights to their benefices, began to resent their dependence on their lords, and their increasing numbers and their increasing security and wealth made them ready and able to assert their claims and take common action.

Connected with the increase in number of the nobles, and still more important for the future of Italy was the growth in power and self-consciousness of the cities. The times of anarchy had increased the number of nobles resident for all or part of the year in them, and common interests and the necessities of common life had done something to break down any absolute barrier between the knightly and the mercantile class. Germanic kinship came to strengthen Roman neighbourliness. Perhaps some nobles had even begun to engage in commerce themselves, now that the peace gave greater and greater scope for the movement of trade. We find Otto III in 992 allowing the Astigians to trade wherever they would in the Empire. But now a change takes place in the attitude of the citizens to their governors,

especially to such Bishops as had the rule of them. They began to wish to shake off their subjection and to take over themselves some at any rate of the attributes of the public power. Thus we find the Cremonese in 996 obtaining from Otto III a soon-quashed diploma which granted them collectively public rights which belonged to their Bishop.

This slight sketch of some of the main lines of internal progress in North Italy will serve as a prologue to the history of the Ardoinids of Turin, which occupies the following sections of the present chapter. It will be seen subsequently that those great Marquesses were somewhat exceptionally placed. They were on the frontier. Episcopal immunity and even civic trade had made comparatively little progress in their dominions. In consequence there is a certain backwardness in their development, a backwardness which implied their greater strength.

This premised, I may leave aside the general prospects of Italy and the imperial dreams of Otto III, that monarchy which was the Legend of the Roman Empire, and turn to the hard, but more successful practicalities of my local history¹.

SECTION II. THE RISE OF THE ARDOINIDS OF TURIN.

This division of my subject embraces the history of the Ardoinid Marquesses of Turin and of their heiress, Countess Adelaide, through whom the House of Savoy acquired their first strictly Italian domains—for Aosta was Burgundian—and what was more important their claims to Italian territory and a determining motive for their later policy².

¹ The material of this section is chiefly derived from Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa* (888-1015). Three studies of Count Cipolla give a clear notion of the progress of the Bishop's power in the county of Asti: *Di Audace Vescovo d'Asti*, Misc. stor. ital. xxvii. (2. xii.); *Di Brunengo*, do. Misc. stor. ital. xxviii. (2. xiii.); *Di Rozzone*, do. (*Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino*, 2. xlii. (1892)).

² A work by a Piedmontese historian will deal with this period. Professor Gabotto, whose mastery of the sources for Piedmontese history is undisputed, has commenced to publish a history of the Subalpine land, which will no doubt be indispensable. As it is, my obligations are chiefly due to Bresslau, to Baron Carutti, and to a younger contemporary of Muratori, G. B. Terraneo, whose placid sagacity and sense of what was likely, so characteristic of his time, first placed West Piedmontese history on a scientific basis, destroying antiquarian fables and reconstructing the probable course of events from our fragmentary materials. To these three guides I ought to add Desimoni, who brought into clear light the tangled subject of succession and the extraordinary multiplication and diramation of the great families, so few in number, which predominated in North Italy in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth

The present section will deal with the foundation of the Mark of Turin by the Ardoinids and of its character and extent. With the discussion of these points will be linked the little we know of the biography of the earlier generations of the house during the tenth century.

The land, with which we are now concerned on the eastern side of the Alps, consists roughly of a great central plain, with a fringe of steep and narrow Alpine valleys. In its centre lies the green hill-country of Montferrat, looking curiously like a ruffled sea, and if we take a bird's-eye view from it, we see the Po and its tributaries spread out to north, south and west, like the sticks of a fan and ending each in a mountain gorge. One of the latter, due west of us, is wider and more open than the others and at its mouth stands a conical hill surmounted by a lofty monastery: it is the famous Val di Susa leading to the Mont Cenis Pass. The land below seems to north and west an even plain, bounded by the wall-like Alps. To the south-west there rise the projecting spurs of the Ligurian Alps, the Langhe south of the river Tanaro. Natural divisions for the sweep of champaign between the Tanaro and the river Dora Baltea leading into the Val d'Aosta, there are none save the rivers; and in consequence the bounds of the ancient Roman *civitates* and of the medieval dioceses and counties which succeeded them lay roughly, though with no consistency, along the river-beds. Moving from the south, the river Stura di Demonte in 1000 A.D. separated Bredolo county from Aurade; small tributaries of the upper Po partly formed the division between Aurade and Turin; the Orco parted Turin from Ivrea.

The fringe of valleys, however, is quite distinct in character from the plainland to which it is annexed, and this isolation in the past has given birth to some contradictions in Piedmontese history. The plain is Catholic; in the south-western glens dwell the remnant of the Vaudois. The plain speaks dialects of that Gallo-Italian which stretches from Turin to Ravenna. The ancient, though now dying, *patois* of the centuries. Other authorities for special points will be cited when they occur. The titles of these books are:

(i) F. Gabotto, *Storia della Italia occidentale nel Medio Evo* (395-1313) in the *Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina*, of which *Libro I* (395-568) appeared in 1911.

(ii) Bresslau, *Konrad II*, Vol. I. Excurs. IV. p. 161, *Zur Genealogie u. Geschichte der hervorragendsten Dynastengeschlechter Ober- und Mittel-italiens im 11. Jahrhundert*, Erster Abschnitt, *Das Haus der Markgrafen v. Turin*.

(iii) Carutti, *Il conte Umberto I Biancamano e il re Ardoino*, 2nd ed. 1888, Bk II. and App.

(iv) G. B. Terraneo, *La principessa Adelaide...illustrata*, Vols. I. and II.; Vol. III. unluckily is still in MS. and I have not had the opportunity of consulting it.

(v) C. Desimoni, *Sulle marche d'Italia e sulla loro diramazione in Marchesati*, in *Atti della Società ligura per la storia patria*, 1896, XXVIII. (3rd Series, 1.).

valleys are akin to the tongues to the west of the Alpine ridge, from Susa northward being Mesorhodanic, and from Oulx southward Provençal¹. The distribution of these languages shows how strong an influence the medieval history of the valleys had on their speech. The linguistic boundary of the Val d'Aosta is identical with the medieval limits of Burgundy: the Provençal Vaudois settled *en masse* in the valley of Fenestrelle: of the Val di Susa, that part, which remained under Savoy in the twelfth century on the break-up of the Turinese Mark, spoke once, it would seem, Mesorhodanic; but that part which came at nearly the same date into the Dauphins' possession still speaks Provençal; and this occurred in spite of a partial resettlement of the whole valley in the tenth century from the direction of Turin. Yet the main reason for this linguistic phenomenon seems to lie in geographical and climatic reasons. The ridge of the Western Alps is traversable by *col* after *col* and intercommunication between the inhabitants on either side was easy². The climate, too, on each side was Alpine; and they were by consequence pastoral folk and had little natural connection with the eastern agricultural plain.

Only four of these border valleys enjoyed real political importance in the Middle Age, in each case because the pass was practicable, convenient of approach on either side, and therefore much used. Reckoning from the south they were: (i) the valley of the Vermenagna, ending at the Col di Tenda, whence the road continued to Ventimiglia and the Mediterranean; (ii) the valley of the Stura di Demonte, whence the way led over the Col d'Argentièrre to Provence and south Dauphiné; (iii) the valley of Fenestrelle, the outlet of which was in the furthest reach of the neighbouring Val di Susa at the famous pass of Mont Genèvre leading both to Grenoble and Provence; and (iv) the Val di Susa itself, the greatest of all in medieval times, with its two passes, the Mont Genèvre, already mentioned, and the Mont Cenis, over which the usual route ran down Maurienne to Lyons and the west. The future of the House of Savoy really depended on this valley³.

So far the counties we have dealt with, in what is now called Piedmont⁴, differ little in general character from one another, but east of the Tanaro lies a hill-country of winding valleys and multitudinous streams, the Langhe. Only the east of this district comes within our

¹ See Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, i. 717-18.

² Cf. Coolidge, *Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 150-1.

³ On the passes, cf. Coolidge, *Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 160-7.

⁴ The name Piedmont first applies to the district of Pinerolo. About 1300 it became a general name for the Savoyard Cisalpine territory, and extended its application with the growth of Savoy. See Merkel, *Un Quarto di Secolo di Vita Comunale*, p. 42.

purview, the county of Alba, whence a road ran along the river Tanaro across the Ligurian Alps to Porto Maurizio and Albenga. After passing the city of Alba the Tanaro flows between low hills until it reaches the unmitigated Lombard plain, and roughly speaking this territory forms the county of Asti, to the north of which and to the south of the Po lies the hill-country of Montferrat from which our survey is taken.

The traveller coming up the Po, say from Pavia, had really three routes which he might take. If his destination was the Rhineland or Flanders, he would keep along the Po until he came to its confluence with the Dora Baltea. Then he would go up the latter river to the city of Ivrea and thence into the Val d'Aosta and over the Great St Bernard. But if he was bound for France two courses were open to him. He might go up the Po to Turin directly; but he would more likely strike off the main river up the Tanaro. This route brought him to the city of Asti, whence he could make his way past Chieri to Turin, the starting-point of the roads for the Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre. Asti had the immense advantage of being at the junction of the other roads which led by Alba, or to the north of that town, to Provence and Liguria. It is thus easily intelligible how Asti became the great city of West Lombardy, Turin, Alba and even Ivrea being far outdistanced.

Two Ligurian counties were reached through Asti by these passes from Tenda eastwards, those of Ventimiglia and Albenga, and as they were thus linked in trade with Piedmont there is some reason to think they were linked in government.

It only remains for me to mention the ecclesiastical divisions of this territory which were by no means identical with the civil. In A.D. 1000 the whole lay in the great province of Milan, and there were six bishops. The two Ligurian Bishoprics of Albenga and Ventimiglia corresponded to the like-named counties and need no further mention. So did that of Alba. But the diocese of Turin included the two counties of Turin and Aurade; that of Asti not only the counties of Asti and Bredolo, but also most of Montferrat, while Ivrea to its like-named county added too a share of the same district.

The origin of the Ardoinid house in Italy is given us by a picturesque recital of the Chronicle of Novalesa¹. There were, the Chronicler tells

¹ Bk v. Cap. 8, Cipolla, *Monumenta Novalicensia vetustiora*, II. 249 (Car. Reg. I.). It begins, "Itaque dum reteximus acta vel gesta regum, dignum est ut de vassis loquamur. Arduini infelicem prolem satagimus dicere. Antiquorum igitur sermo narrat, quia fuerunt duo fratres Rogerius et Arduinus et unus eorum cliens nomine Alineus. Hii ergo prodigi et exuti omnibus rebus ad Italiam veniunt de sterilibus montibus. Subeunt colla nobilibus. Divites in proximo existunt. Ipsi vero sibimet spondunt, si quis eorum alcior insurgeret, ceteri adjuutores et servitores essent illius numinis...Dum ita sermocinarentur, Rogerius avidus mortali honore eripit Aureatem comitatum." See notes (2) and (3) on next page for the continuation.

us, two brothers, Roger and Ardoin, "the offspring of unhappy Ardoin," and a dependent of theirs named Alineus. The three, having lost all their possessions, came to Italy "from the barren mountains." They made a mutual pact like brothers in a fairy tale, to whom perhaps they are not so distantly related, that whichever of them rose to honour should be aided by the other two, and then proceeded to take service with Italian nobles. Roger became the confidant of Rudolf, then Count of Aurade round Saluzzo¹. Ardoin was less successful. His fortune was to become a mere vassal of Rudolf's². Count Rudolf, however, the tale goes on, was aged and infirm, and used the adroit Roger as his envoy at the royal court of Pavia. So well did he prosper that Rudolf sent him again, tricked out in splendid attire, the chronicler says, this time recommending him as his successor in the county of Aurade. The King consented, at the Queen's intervention, and Count Roger on his return found his predecessor dead and married his widow³. Of course this account, though not so late (c. 1060), is legendary in character. Yet some parts of it can be substantiated. The Ardoinids were Counts of Aurade or Auriade⁴, where much of their possessions

¹ Cf. below, n. 4 and pp. 135-6.

² "Tunc quidem comes erat, cui potestas concessa erat illius comitatus, Rodulfus nomine. Aliter sollers Arduinus non valens tenere comitatum illum, manibus vi nexis, militem fit Rodulfi," *Chron. Noval.*, *loc. cit.* That Roger obtained the county has already been mentioned. The above, "vi nexis," is Count Cipolla's reading of the text, but from an examination of the facsimile he gives (*Mon. Nov.* II. pl. v.), it seems to me that the true reading is "innexis." It is written in one word. There is a faint trace of the upper curve of the second stroke of the "n," and the writer, elsewhere as well as here, gives short hooks at top and bottom to his "i's," the lower of which reaches to the middle of the first stroke of the next letter. The words, then, describe the act of homage.

³ *Chron. Noval.*, *loc. cit.*, "Ipse denique Rodulfus, jam fessus longa senectute, Rogerium ad se vocat, semotis cunctis. 'Vides me creber in malis, edes regales jam lustrare non sufficio, mitto te ad eum ut consideres quae facienda sunt'...ad Papiam venit civitatem. Rex namque illic manebat....Viditque senior, quod providenter egisset. Vicinius ad se eum clamans, inquit: 'Post mortem quippe mea, senior totius terrae eris, quam cognosco me pridem habuisse.' Et iterum eum ornans diversis monilibus ad regem mittit. Qui acquirit comitatum illius, et rex illi donat, interveniente regina. Et ipse comes interim mortuus, uxorem illius Rogerius accepit." The mention of the Queen's intervention is good evidence that the chronicler had a document to go upon.

⁴ The confirmatory evidence for the county of Aurade is remarkably slight, as it was included with that of Turin in the diocese of Turin (see for limits of latter Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 580-3). "Paganus vice-comes Auradiensis" appears in 1080 as a subordinate of Countess Adelaide (*Car. Reg. CCLII.*, *Carte d'Oulx*, *B.S.S.S.* XLV. p. 42). Then in a charter of Adelaide's dated 1075 (*Car. Reg. CLXXVIII.*, *Carte d'Oulx*, p. 32), which unfortunately has been at least rehandled (Gabotto, *Miscellanea Saluzzese*, *B.S.S.S.* xv. p. cxxvii.), we find its extent (if only by thirteenth-century tradition): "a Thaner fluvio per totum Oiradum ad pedem usque moncium." It is

lay. It is likely that it was their earliest county. Their hereditary law was Salic¹, which accords very well with an immigration from beyond the Alps. The time of their migration and acquisition of Aurade² is that when the *personnel* of the greater nobility in North Italy was in course of change under the warring kings after Charles the Fat's deposition³. It is possible even that Count Rudolf is the Count Radolf who is mentioned in a diploma of the Emperor Lewis the Blind in 902⁴.

As to the possible earlier ancestors of the Ardoinid house there is an ingenious speculation of Terraneo's⁵. Under the Emperor Charles the Bald there was in 853 an Arduin Count of either Avranches, Coutances, Bayeux or Lisieux in Francia Neustria. This Count Arduin had a son Count Odo and a daughter Ansgarde, who in 862 was married to King Louis the Stammerer, and whom in 866 the latter was obliged

mentioned by Ulric-Manfred as Oriadensis in 1021 (*Car. Reg. L.*, *Carte del Pinerolese* (B.S.S.S. III. 2), p. 172) and is linked with that of Turin by Emperor Henry VI in 1194 (Stumpf, 4865). Cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 365, and Terraneo, *op. cit.* I. Cap. XVI. pp. 116 ff.

¹ See e.g. *Car. Reg. LXXVI.* (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte dipl. di S. Giusto di Susa* (Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18), pp. 68 and 75).

² About 890 to 910; see note 4 below.

³ See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 113-15, 149-50.

⁴ *Car. Reg. I.* (Schiaparelli, *I Diplomi di Lodovico III e di Rodolfo II*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, p. 52). A slight difficulty may lie in the dates derived as follows. Count Roger II and Marquess Ardoin III Glabrio were brothers. Roger II's probably younger daughter Guntilda married in 962 (*Car. Reg. VIII. and IX., id. Umberto I etc.* ed. II. pp. 285 and 288). Say she was 18 at marriage; then she was born c. 944; her possible elder sister Officia could be born c. 942, and Roger II born c. 917, being 25 at the birth of Officia. But Ardoin III's eldest son, Manfred I, is said to have been already married 951; say he married in 950; marrying say at 25, he would be born c. 925. Thus his father would be born c. 900. But the fact of Manfred I's marriage by 951 is anything but certain; see below, p. 137, n. 8, and especially p. 143, n. 4; and to give 25 as a marrying age for a man and eldest son is a liberal arrangement for the Dark Ages. Count di Vesme (*I Conti di Verona*, Nuovo Archivio Veneto, 1896, Tomo XI. pp. 280-5), however, arranges the dates still further apart, making Roger II, Ardoin III's elder brother, born c. 890 and marrying c. 925. Thirty-five is surely too old for any but a widower to marry at in the tenth and eleventh centuries. *Chron. Noval., loc. cit.* certainly mentions Roger II before Ardoin III, but this need not mean much for us in a chronicler 150 years after the events; and if we put Ardoin III's and Manfred I's marriages at rather earlier ages, we bring the two series together. But the fact is that, where so many data are lacking, we cannot make safe deductions.

⁵ *Adelaide...illustrata*, I. Cap. XIII. Bresslau's judgment seems a little too sceptical (*op. cit.* I. 361). Terraneo's view, which makes Ardoin I the unnamed son of Count Odo, seems preferable to Signor di Vesme's (*I Conti di Verona*, Nuovo Arch. Veneto, Anno VI. T. XI. pp. 279, 281-2, cf. Patrucco, *Fam. sign. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. X. pp. 60-1) view which makes Ardoin II and Roger I sons of Count Oddo: which takes "proles infelicis Arduini" to mean descendants merely. It depends on his chronological argument, for which see n. 4 above.

to divorce. Count Odo also appears in 870 in connection with a Count Arduin, who was possibly his brother. Then in 878 we find King Louis the Stammerer making war on a Count Gosfrid, who with the Northmen's aid had seized on the lands of the son of the late Count Odo. Gosfrid submitted, but was reinvested with his conquest. Ansgarde died between 878 and 883: her sons, Louis III and Carloman, died young. So all chance of restoration for her kinsmen vanished. Now Terraneo conjectures that the unnamed son of Count Odo is the "infelix Arduinus" of the Chronicle of Novalesa. His children would be Count Roger I and Ardoin II. It is obvious that the hypothesis rests only on homonymy—Ardoin and Oddo being family names of the Ardoinids—and on the fact of a loss of possessions suffered by both, and on the Salic law of the Ardoinids, which is also natural for a magnate of Francia Neustria. On such slight grounds one cannot accept it, yet it seems to provide a very fitting prologue to what we know.

In any case by the year 910 Count Roger I was in possession of the county of Aurade¹. As we have seen², this rarely mentioned district lay in the south of the diocese of Turin. Its southerly limit must have been the county of Bredolo; thus the frontier would be identical with that of the diocese of Turin and would run between the river Gesso and the river Stura di Demonte; thence along the Stura and the Tanaro. On the west the Alps of course formed the boundary. On the north Count di Vesme³ draws the frontier in a wavy line so as to exclude Savigliano and include Lagnasco and Cavour. Its capital was the town of Aurade, which is identified by Professor Gabotto and Signor di Vesme with Caraglio, while traces of the name are to be seen in the village of Valloriate near Borgo S. Dalmazzo⁴. In Aurade we find

¹ Terraneo, *Adelaide...illustrata*, Pt 1. Cap. xv. argues that the date of the acquisition of the county of Aurade by Roger I was probably 906-10, as then the queen of Berengar I was Bertila, daughter of Suppo, Count of neighbouring Turin, and thus her intervention (see above, p. 133) is accounted for. From 900-6 there were civil wars, and Berengar I would hardly be peacefully residing in Pavia granting away the western counties, and from 916 Berengar would be styled Emperor. Of course this assumes that the chronology can be arranged as suggested on p. 134, n. 4.

² See above, p. 134, n. 4.

³ *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese* (B.S.S.S. 1.), p. 5, n. 1. Signor di Vesme does not give references to support his results. Cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* p. 365, Terraneo, *Adelaide...illustrata*, Pt 1. Cap. xvi., Patrucco, *Le famiglie sign. di Saluzzo* (B.S.S.S. x.), pp. 58-9, Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*, pp. 99-104. Barelli (*Studi Saluzzesi*, B.S.S.S. x. p. 46) shows Savigliano was in the county of Turin in 981, quoting a charter in *M.H.P.* Chart. 1. 151.

⁴ See Bresslau, *loc. cit.* and Terraneo, *loc. cit.* For the identification of Aurade with Caraglio, see Gabotto, *I municipi romani dell' Italia occidentale alla morte di Teodosio il grande* (Misc. Saluzzese, B.S.S.S. xxxiii.), pp. 291-4.

considerable Ardoinid possessions in the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g. at Pollenzo¹, Revello², Romanisio (near Fossano), Saluzzo³, Paezana⁴, Barge⁵, Scarnafigi⁶ and Genola⁷, and in the Val di Maira⁸. And if we remember that our information deals largely with what they gave away, and that one of the two confirmatory diplomas does not seem to give a full list⁹, it will be seen that their possessions were very extensive.

There remains to mention the probable fortunes of that vassal Alineus, whom the Chronicle gives as companion of the two brothers. In 1018 a certain Robaldus appears, son of the late Alineus, who also has an Alineus for his eldest son. He possesses land in Cervere, Tarantasca, Caraglio, etc., in Aurade, and it would seem that some of the families which later made up the *consorzi* of feudal lords in the Val di Stura belonged to the same parent stock¹⁰.

According to the Chronicle of Novalesa¹¹ the fortunate Count Roger I had two sons of his marriage, Count Roger II and Marquess Ardoin III

¹ Car. Reg. CMXL. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Noval.* II. 269), Car. Reg. XXXIX. (*Mon. Nov.* I. 134), Car. Reg. LXVIII. (*Carte antiche di Caramagna, B.S.S.S.* xv. p. 61). The list in the text does not pretend to be complete; it is inserted to give an idea of the Ardoinid properties.

² Car. Reg. XXII. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841), LXIV. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 174), LXVIII. (see note 1).

³ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (see n. 1). See Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*, pp. 140-1, for Romanisio (Car. Reg. LXIV., see n. 2).

⁴ Car. Reg. XXII. (see n. 2).

⁵ Car. Reg. XXII. (see n. 2).

⁶ Car. Reg. XXXVIII. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 379 and IV. 423).

⁷ Car. Reg. XCIV. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto* (Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18), p. 76).

⁸ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (see n. 1).

⁹ Car. Reg. XXII. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841), since Ulric-Manfred possesses lands, e.g. at Saluzzo and in the Val di Maira (Car. Reg. LXVIII.), which are not mentioned in XXII.

¹⁰ See for these Alineids, Professor Gabotto, *Il "comune" a Cuneo nel secolo XIII e le origini comunali in Piemonte* (Boll. soc. stor. subalp. Anno V.), pp. 41-74, and Professor Patrucco, *Le famiglie sign. di Saluzzo* (B.S.S.S. x.), pp. 87 ff. I doubt whether all the schemes of descent from Alineus for the numerous "consorzili" families can be regarded as made out. In any case it seems that the charter of Marquess Manfred I to Alineus and Anselm, sons of Robaldus, 5 March 984, must be regarded as a later medieval forgery, though perhaps the tradition of the personages is real. See Salsotto, *Libro Verde...di Fossano* (B.S.S.S. XXXVIII.), pp. 91-2, where the Latin text of the charter is for the first time given. Cf. also on the Alineids Desimoni, *Sulle marche d'Italia* (Atti Soc. Lig. stor. pat. XXVIII. 1896), Letter IV. pp. 186-7.

¹¹ Bk IV. Caps. 8 and 9 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 249), "De qua (Rodulfi vidua) genuit filios duos, vocans uni nomen suum, alteri nomen fratris, Rogerium et Arduinum: hic enim Maginfredum genuit." The last phrase is an early corrector's addition according to Count Cipolla (*op. cit.* II. 251).

Glabrio¹. The first mentioned has the least importance and perhaps was the elder². He appears to have become a monk in the Benedictine Abbey of Breme (Novalesa)³, and was dead by the 3rd September 962, since in that year he is mentioned as dead in a charter⁴. This document relates to the cession of land at Mosezzo and Vicolongo (near Novara) in the county of Pombia by Egilric, of the Counts of Lomello, to his ward Guntilda. He did so in return for her dowry on her marriage to Amadeus, son of Anscari II of Ivrea. Since he and his wife Officia had already made a cession of land at the same places to Guntilda, and we want an explanation of his guardianship, it has been suggested by Count di Vesme⁵ that Officia was probably Guntilda's elder sister; and thus when Count Roger II retired to a monastery, without having had a son, Egilric took charge of his sister-in-law.

The first appearance of Ardoin III Glabrio, "the hairless" as the Novalesan Chronicler styles him⁶, is on the 13th April 945, when he is present at a *placitum* held at Pavia by King Lothar II, the son of King Hugh⁷. He is then styled Count, and may have already been of ripe age, if his son, Manfred I, was really married by 951⁸. The next dated record of him is on the 13th November 950 and shows him

¹ That Ardoin III, father of Manfred in the passage cited in previous note, is the great Ardoin Glabrio of other passages, is clear from the names, Salic law and convenient dates and territories. The genealogy from Ulric-Manfred back to him is given in *Car. Reg. LXXVI*. Cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* pp. 362-3 and Terraneo, *op. cit.* Part I. Cap. XII., where the personality of Ardoin III Glabrio is fully established, and since which it has not been questioned.

² See above, p. 134, n. 4.

³ *Car. Reg. CMXXXVII*. (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 266, *Chron. Noval.* v. 24), "Duo magni comites fuerunt qui hisdem temporibus vestigia S. Benedicti arripiunt... Rogerius vocatus est unus, alter dictus est Otbertus, illustres secundum sanguinem, sed illustriores secundum stigmata divina." The Abbey of Novalesa in the valley of Susa, just below the Mont Cenis Pass, had been ruined by the Saracens, and its monks, who still often used the old name, obtained a new establishment in 929 at Breme on the Po, not far above Pavia, from Marquess Adalbert of Ivrea (*Chron. Noval.* II. 19, v. 2, 15-17, in Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 164, 245, 258-60. See also the charter of King Hugh in *id.* I. 101; and Abbot Belegrim's letter, *Mon. Noval.* II. 286).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* VIII. and IX. (Carutti, *Il conte Umberto I e il re Ardoino*, ed. II. pp. 285 ff. and 288 ff.), "Guntilda filia quondam Rotgerii comitis."

⁵ *I Conti di Verona* (Nuovo Arch. Veneto, 1896 (Anno VI. T. XI.), p. 285). The mention of Officia is as follows, "unde tercia portione ex ipsa medietas de jamdictis omnibus rebus seu familiis tibi Guntilde ante os dies simul cum Oficia congruus mee per cartulam dedimus"—a fine instance of Latinized vernacular.

⁶ *Chron. Noval.* v. 21 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 263).

⁷ Tiraboschi, *Nonantola*, II. 118, cf. Pivano, *op. cit.* p. 133, and Bresslau, *op. cit.* p. 366.

⁸ Yet this is only attested by the Novalesan Chronicler, v. 11 (Cipolla, *op. cit.* II. 256), in an obvious legend. See below, pp. 142-3, and above, p. 134, n. 4.

already Count of Turin. In that month, it seems, King Lothar II, who from 945 had been almost a puppet in the hands of Marquess Berengar of Ivrea, journeyed with his queen, Adelaide of Burgundy, from Pavia to Turin, and by a royal *preceptum* of the 13th granted to Ardoin the Abbey of Brema-Novalesa *in commendam*, to the intense indignation of the monks, who attributed the rapidly succeeding death of Lothar to divine vengeance¹. In this narrative Ardoin clearly holds the county of Turin, which remained in the possession of his descendants². In the city in a castle built by the Susian or western gate, looking towards the passes of the Alps, their chief residence seems to have been³. Bresslau⁴ has placed the date and reason of this new Ardoinid acquisition on a fairly certain basis. The county of Turin had been one of those subject to the Anscarid Marquesses of Ivrea. In 940 they had come into open collision with the Kings, Hugh and his son Lothar II. Anscar, the younger brother, Marquess of Spoleto, was defeated and killed; Berengar, the elder, Marquess of Ivrea, fled across the Alps to Swabia. Obviously his counties and probably other possessions would be distributed by the Kings to new holders: and as Ardoin Glabrio appears in the above narrative as being in special relations with King Lothar II⁵ we may assume that there was no intermediate Count to be dispossessed in 945 on Berengar's victorious return, and that Ardoin's retention of Turin was the price of his acquiescence in Berengar's rule. Nor are we wholly in the dark as to why the Count of Aurade was selected rather than another to govern Turin as well. It is the old story of the border-province. The Saracen pirates with their base at their settlement

¹ *Chron. Noval.* v. 3, and 21, and App. III. (Cipolla, *op. cit.* pp. 246, 263-4, and 285-90). The date and events are given in v. 3; the fact that Ardoin begged the grant, v. 21. Abbot Belegrim's narrative to Pope John XIII (c. 972) in App. III. agrees: "Lotharius regulus, filius Ugonis regis, deceptus blandiciis fraudibusve seviducis (elsewhere Ardoinus marchio and comes)...nescientibus Italis principibus, nobisque ignorantibus, pro dolor! clam firmavit illud preceptum."

² *Chron. Noval.* v. 3 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 246). It is only inference of course. Other evidence *re* Ardoin Glabrio's possession of the county is provided by the facts that he imprisoned Saracens in Turin (*Chron. Noval.* v. 1, Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 243), and that it was he who reconquered the Val di Susa (see below, pp. 146-7). In 1016 Marquess Oddo, grandson of Glabrio, exercises the functions of Count at Chieri in the county of Turin (*Car. Reg.* XLII.); Countess Adelaide, besides having her rule fully implied by St Peter Damian (*Car. Reg.* CLVII.), is actually called "Taurinensis comitessa" by Bernold (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 453, *Car. Reg.* CCXIX.), and her son Peter I acts as Count of Turin, *Car. Reg.* CLX. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 22).

³ e.g. *Car. Reg.* LXXXVIII. (Cognasso, *Cartario di S. Solutore*, B.S.S.S. XLIV. p. 10), *Car. Reg.* CLXI. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 323).

⁴ *op. cit.* pp. 365-6.

⁵ See above, n. 1.

of Fraxinetum (round the Golfe de St Tropez, near which the name remains as la Garde-Freinet) in Provence held the passes of the Alps as far as Mont-Joux, the present Great St Bernard; and their raids increased the misery of the wretched inhabitants of Piedmont even above the common level of that age of iron. But naturally the man, who could make head against them and keep Aurade, though the town itself was perhaps destroyed¹, from the state of Grenoble or some parts of Provence², was likely to obtain a higher rank, and be entrusted with the similar task of defending Turin and its territory.

Ardoin must of course have taken part in King Hugh's operations against the Saracens in 942. The King had laid his plans with considerable skill. Realizing that, while the enemy retained command of the sea, it was hopeless to think of capturing Fraxinetum, and that any check he inflicted on them without destroying their base would be a mere palliative, he obtained the aid of the East Roman Emperor Romanus. A fleet armed with the famous Greek fire was sent from Constantinople to Fraxinetum and burnt all the Saracen vessels. Meanwhile Hugh at the head of his army attacked by land. With the harbour blockaded, he was able to pierce the surrounding forest and to enter Fraxinetum itself and drive the Saracens up into the Montagnes des Maures. But Hugh had in the exiled Marquess Berengar a more dangerous foe than in the Saracens. In order, we are told, to fortify himself against his personal enemy he sacrificed his unhappy kingdom, sent away the allied fleet and made peace with the marauders on condition that they should hold the Swabian passes against any forces his rival might bring to combat him from the north³. "The number of the Christian pilgrims whose blood they shed," says Luitprand⁴, "He

¹ At any rate this is a likely cause of Aurade's disappearance. Cf. Patrucco, *I Saraceni nelle Alpi occidentali* (B.S.S.S. xxxii.), p. 422.

² Cf. above, p. 5, and Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 87 and 89.

³ Luitprand, *Antapodosis*, v. 9, 16, 17; with regard to the campaign he says: "Rex itaque Hugo congregato exercitu, classibus per Tirrenum mare ad Fraxinetum directis, terrestri ipse eo itinere pergit. Quo dum Greci pervenirent, igne projecto Sarracenorum naves mox omnes exurunt. Sed et rex Fraxinetum ingressus, Sarracenos omnes in montem Maurum fugere compulsi; in quo eos circumsedendo capere posset, si res hec, quam prompturus sum, non impediret. Rex Hugo Berengarium, ne collectis ex Francia et ex Suevia copiis super se irrueret, regnumque sibi auferret, maxime timuit. Unde, non bono accepto consilio, Graecos ad propria mox remisit; ipseque cum Sarracenis hac ratione foedus iniit, ut in montibus qui Sueviam atque Italiam dividunt starent; ut si forte Berengarius exercitum ducere vellet, transire eum omnimodis prohiberent." Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 93-4, Patrucco, *I Saraceni*, pp. 420-1. In connection with this transaction as to the Swabian passes, the ruin of the diocese of Chur in these times may be noted. See Otto's diplomas of 940 and 955 (*M.G.H. Dipl.* I. 113 and 175), Patrucco, *op. cit.* pp. 354 and 355.

⁴ *Antapodosis*, v. 17.

alone knows Who keeps their names written in the book of the living.
How wickedly, King Hugh, dost thou strive to defend the kingdom for
thyselt!"

The election of Berengar II and his son Adalbert as joint-Kings in December 950 seems to have been one cause of the promotion of Ardoin Glabrio to the rank of Marquess. The rank seems to imply, so far as the "new" tenth-century Marks of North Italy are concerned, the possession of several counties, which were ruled under the Marquess by Viscounts. He had not necessarily Counts as subordinates, as was the case in the "older" marks of Spoleto and Tuscany¹. In consequence,

¹ This is pretty nearly the view advanced by Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, I. pp. 261-5, and maintained by Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. pp. 372, 439-43, and Hofmeister, *Markgrafen u. Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich in der Zeit v. Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grosse* (Mitth. f. Osterreich. Geschichtsforsch. Ergänzungb. VII. pp. 258-63). In general the argument is, that where the Marquess can be proved to govern there is no trace of a separate Count; the Marquess himself is *marchio et comes istius comitatus* in his *placita*; and that where we find a mere Count, there is no sign of a Marquess over his head. On the other hand, Desimoni (*Sulle marche d'Italia*, pp. 141-52 and 191-4), Prof. Gabotto, Count di Vesme and their school believe that North Italy was systematically mapped out into Marks (analogous to the German Duchies) in the tenth century, these Marks being ruled by Marquesses, who had both Counts and Viscounts under them according to circumstances. With regard to the Mark of the Ardoinids, with which only we are concerned here, the evidence bearing on the question is as follows. (i) *Car. Reg. LXXXVIII. (Cartario di S. Solutore di Torino, B.S.S.S. XLIV. pp. 10-13)*. Here Ulric-Manfred, grandson of Ardoin III, and his wife Bertha in 1031 grant to S. Solutore of Turin "in toto nostro comitatu Taurinensi, Vercellensi, Yporiensi, Astensi, Albensi, Albinganensi, Vigintimiliensi, Parmensi, Placentino, Ticinensi, Aquensi, ut si aliquis liber homo aut libera servus vel ancilla aliquid de rebus suis mobilibus et immobilibus contulerit huic venerabili monasterio, sine calunia et contradictione nostra nostrorumque heredum, potestatem habeat iudicandi, donandi, vendendi, si superscripte res aliquo modo ad nos vel nostros heredes pertinuerint, dehinc in antea veniant hec omnia in proprietate et voluntate superscripti monasterii." Now there were certainly then existing Counts of Ivrea, and the county of Parma was promised to the Bishop of Parma when the hereditary Count of Parma, still living in 1029, should die, which had happened by 1036 (Pivano, *op. cit.* p. 287, n. 1, *M.G.H. Dipl. IV. 193, 298, 306*). Professor Gabotto (*Un Millennio di Storia Eporediense, B.S.S.S. IV. p. 27*) therefore considers that all these counties belonged to Ulric-Manfred "marchionalmente," with the corollary that the Mark of Ivrea and some additional counties had been added in the eleventh century to the Ardoinid Mark "of Turin" (on which see below, pp. 170-1 and 177). Bresslau, *op. cit.* p. 365 and n. 9, interpreted *nostro* as referring only to Turin, a view which seems hardly tenable. But the charter is only known from a thirteenth-century copy: Aurade is left out; and I doubt, if the text, far too grammatical for the eleventh century, is here correct. Cf. *Car. Reg. L. (Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 172)*, "omnibus rebus juris nostris quibus sunt positus in comitatu etc." The copyist of *Car. Reg. LXXXVIII.* was clearly correcting the grammar of his original: and perhaps had some such phrase before him. Thus *LXXXVIII.* is really no evidence as it stands. (ii) Oddo I, younger son of Ardoin III, and Oddo II, younger brother of Ulric-Manfred, both bear officially the title of Count

perhaps, there is a certain honorary character in the dignity, and it is not easy to say when Ardoin Glabrio obtained it. In documents which are subsequent to his death, he is invariably styled Marquess; but during his lifetime the first certain instance of the occurrence of the title being given to him is in an Astigian contract of 964¹. It is likely, however, that the dignity of Marquess carried with it certain extra powers, analogous to those of the German Dukes, even if they did not extend beyond those counties of which he was personally Count².

The mark then of the Ardoinids, which we may call the Mark of Turin from their chief town and residence³, was composed of several counties. How many of those counties were obtained by Ardoin Glabrio it is hard to say; but some light is thrown on the subject by various later evidence, and the occurrence of thickly-strewn allodial or beneficiary lands of the house in certain counties gives a kind of clue as to where the "Mark" extended⁴. We are able in consequence to form

(see below, p. 153), and Oddo II actually exercises comital functions in the county of Turin (see below, p. 152). Thus the style was not merely honorary, nor was it the consequence of the absence of primogeniture, else the title of Marquess would be used by Oddo II on the occasion just mentioned. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that he was under-Count or coadjutor-Count of Turin for his brother Ulric-Manfred. (iii) There is the activity of Countess Adelaide, Ulric-Manfred's heiress, to account for. She was never Marchioness (see below, p. 153); but her husband and then her son and grandson-in-law were Marquesses. Of course the great inheritance she had might make her important, but she seems to have public functions. Was she Countess of Turin, etc. under these kinsmen of hers? We have three public acts of her son Marquess Peter (Car. Reg. CLX. Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 22, Car. Sup. XVI. and *Cartario di Cavour*, B.S.S.S. III. 1, p. 31). In none of the three is he called *marchio et comes* but only *marchio*. In the first, his mother, Countess Adelaide, presides with him at the *placitum*: in the second, too, they act together.

Thus the conclusion seems to be that the Ardoinid Marquesses had under them from time to time subordinate Counts of their own family, as a matter of convenience, and for the satisfaction of hereditary claims. But we do not find that their Mark was built up of subordinate countships. As stated in the text, it appears to have been a coagulation of counties held by the Marquess. Cf., with regard to the methods of succession practised, below, pp. 151-5.

Gabotto, *Le più antiche carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. XXVIII. p. 172.

² According to Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsg.* II. 291-9, 302-9, who takes a view of the northern Marks similar to Prof. Gabotto's, the Marquess possessed extra powers as such, derived from his being permanent royal *missus* in his counties, such as the high arbitrary *bannum*, the power of punishing offences against his command and dignity, etc. like a German Duke. Cf. above, p. 7.

See above, p. 138, and cf. the P.S. on p. 156 below.

⁴ See the Appendix to this section. The idea was worked out by Desimoni, *op. cit.*, but he believed he could attribute the countship to the Ardoinids in any county where they could be shown to have enjoyed large possessions, which seems to be an overpressed conclusion. Cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.* pp. 410-11.

some general, if too vague, conclusions. These are that Marquess Ardoin III Glabrio owned enormous demesnes in the districts of Turin and Aurade, where he was certainly Count; very respectable ones in those of Alba and Bredolo, where he probably exercised comital power; and possibly some in Albenga, although perhaps this county and its appurtenances were acquired by his descendants. Outside these limits we find indeed that it is likely he possessed two or three more counties, Pavia and Asti, and perhaps Ventimiglia, and some scattered demesnes there and elsewhere; but no real territorial preponderance is disclosed. His western possessions formed the nerve and the reality of the Mark. As a result we must not exaggerate his power. His lands were only freed from Saracen and Hungarian devastation towards the end of his life¹, and an immense task of repopulation and recultivation had to be performed.

Although Ardoin had accepted Berengar II's rule, he seems to have been no hearty supporter of the new monarch in the difficult times that followed. Berengar's persecution of the widow of the late King, Lothar II, ended, of course, in her flight from her prison on the Lake of Garda to Bishop Adalard of Reggio, and her appeal to the German King Otto the Great. The northern army was soon crossing the Brenner, the Italian nobles, Bishops and Counts, deserted their suzerain, and on the 23rd September 951 Otto entered Pavia, to quit Italy next year, the husband of Adelaide. By August 952 Berengar II had received back his mutilated kingdom as a vassal².

Now something of Ardoin Glabrio's share in these events has transpired, but, as usual with our information from the Novalesan Chronicler, it has assumed the guise of a folk-tale, and the canny Marquess has been transmuted into one of those heroes, fraught with infantine cunning, whom we are accustomed to meet with in romance and epic. It seems that when Queen Adelaide eluded her bitter enemy she took refuge in the impregnable castle of Canossa, which belonged at that time to Adalbert-Atto, the founder of the greatness of his house. Berengar II assembled his vassals, among them Ardoin Glabrio, and straitly blockaded the fastness, on which all assaults would have been vain. After some time the garrison began to feel the pinch of famine. Their provisions ran short; scarcely any flour remained. It would appear that nothing could have saved the Queen, had not Atto, besides being in league with the Devil, had a friend and ally in the enemy's camp. This was Ardoin, whose son Manfred was the husband of Atto's daughter. Somehow or other the Marquess of Turin became

¹ See below, pp. 143 and 145-7.

² See Dümmler and Köpke, *Otto der Grosse*, pp. 190-209.

aware of the straits of the besieged. He obtained the King's consent to his private parleying with his relative, and at once advised Atto to feed a boar on the scanty remnant of wheat, and then to arrange that the animal should fall into the hands of Ardoin's own men. So it was done. Ardoin contrived to have the boar cut open before the King. Its paunch was discovered to be full of the finest wheat. Such a demonstration of the riotous plenty in which the besieged lived broke down Berengar's resolution, and he withdrew from the siege. When Otto the Great came to the rescue, he richly rewarded the brave defender for his services to the Queen. Atto now only had his debt to pay to the Devil, but when his soul was required, he was equal to the emergency—*astutus ut hydra*, the family panegyrist¹ says of him. "I will do it," he said, "as the Apostle bids us, in the name of the Lord." The baffled fiend vanished in smoke, and the greatness of the House of Canossa, and perhaps its love of pious expressions—"Dei misericordia si quid est" was Matilda's title²—were securely commenced³.

Whatever be the kernel of truth⁴ round which gathered these pleasant fables, of such incredible antiquity and such unremitting bloom, I think we may put down Ardoin as one of those nobles who were averse to any strong central authority and hoped rather for a remote foreign king; but he obviously would not be, like the Bishops, a warm supporter of Otto, anxious to found a new, more civilized *régime*. His intervention, however, is not likely to have been very important, as the Hungarians twice swept over the Alpine passes to and from Burgundy in this very year 951, and the Marquess of Turin must have had his preoccupations⁵.

In 954 the unhappy land suffered again from the Hungarian scourge. After a rush across southern Germany into France they returned through Italy, and their late chroniclers say that Susa and Turin were both captured on their passage⁶. We may question this, especially as there are doubts of Susa being inhabited at the time⁷, but in any case the country must have suffered severely. It needed Otto the Great's victory at the Lechfeld in 955 to deliver Italy with all the West from periodic devastation at Magyar hands.

¹ Donizo, *Vita Matildae*, v. 97, *M.G.H. Script.* XII.

² See e.g. her charter in Steffen's facsimile.

³ *Chron. Noval.* v. 10-12 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 255 ff.).

⁴ Köpke-Dümmmler, *Otto der Grosse*, pp. 196 and 209, point out that the siege of Canossa (which Donizo (*Vit. Mat.* 180-302) as well as *Chron. Noval.* mentions) must have occurred after Otto I had left Italy, after his marriage with Adelaide.

⁵ Köpke-Dümmmler, *op. cit.* p. 195.

⁶ *id.* p. 235, n. 4.

⁷ See below, p. 147.

It was not altogether unnatural that the saviour of Italy from foreign invaders should also be her conqueror. Here of course there is no need to retell how Otto the Great, invited by the majority of the Italian magnates, took possession of the kingdom in 961 and was crowned Emperor of the West in 962, thus giving a new feudalized expression to the ideal of the Christian Commonwealth left behind in the wreck of the Carolingian Empire. Still a fact or two are known about Ardoin III at the period, which cast a glimmering light on his attitude.

First, when Otto returned from Rome to Pavia in April 962, the monks of Breme, under the Empress' intercession, brought forward their complaints against Ardoin. He had seized on all the abbey's domains, scattered between Breme and the Alps, and treated them as hereditary property of his own. Had not the Count Palatine of Italy, Samson, on entering the order of St Benedict, practically reëndowed the abbey, the monks must have starved or dispersed¹. The facts that Lothar's precept had been so misused, and that it had been granted without the advice of the magnates, were employed at the Empress' request, as grounds for quashing it. Otto publicly burnt it and granted a diploma of safeguard to the Abbot. But it was only effectual during his presence in Italy. Directly he left the country in 965, Ardoin again took possession of the abbey demesnes. There was no one to prevent him; Abbot Belegrim, although a holy, learned man, was a child in all things of this world, we are told², and was easily frightened into taking an oath never to complain to the Emperor again³. With singular want of foresight on Ardoin's part, nothing was said about the Pope, and fortunately Belegrim's wail to the latter—John XIII it was—has come down to us. It does not appear to have been dispatched till 972, for on the 21st April of that year there was sent out a Papal Bull and on the 1st May an imperial diploma, safeguarding the monastery. These documents seem to have been ineffectual, for we hear that on Belegrim's death c. 974 Ardoin appointed a new Abbot, who ruled two years without obtaining consecration. The obvious comment is that Ardoin was

¹ "Siquidem tanta est feritas...marchionis, ut nemo nostrum permanere potest in eodem loco, quia omnes cortes vicosque et cuncta oppida, de quibus victus et vestitus nobis veniebat, totamque meliorem caenobii terram, cum famulis eidem pertinentibus, abstulit nobis...Et nisi fuisset quidam vir...Samson nomine, qui...sumpsit habitum sacre religionis, concedens huic loco non minima (*sic*) portionem suae possessionis, minime haberemus, unde spacium duorum mensium vivere quivissemus." Abbot Belegrim's letter, *Mon. Noval.* II. 287-8.

² "Non satis cautus que secularibus sunt, scientia litterarum sciulus, sed ignarus omnium que hujus seculi sunt," *Chron. Noval.* v. 7 (*Mon. Nov.* II. 248).

³ "Compulit abbati promittere promissionem indignissimam, quod deinceps non proclamaret se ante aliquam imperatoris presentiam de tali facto." Abbot Belegrim's letter, *Mon. Noval.* II. 289.

not high in imperial favour in 962. Yet Otto's rebuke in 972 during his second expedition, which seems to have had no effect, is very mild in tone¹.

Again, it is in 966 that Ardoin first appears as Count of Pavia², which does not indicate distrust of him; and it is noticeable that the Bishop of Turin receives no immunity from the Emperor. It seems clear that the real power of the Marquess was not to be diminished. If on the 20th May 969 Bishop Rozo of Asti had his immunity made absolute and the circuit of his *districtum* over the city extended from two miles to four³, yet in the April preceding Ardoin and his sons had obtained an imperial diploma for their possessions⁴. In short Otto was not inclined to damage the power of the border-Marquess, who was necessary to defend Italy from Burgundians, French and Saracens. What a scourge the latter were can be seen from the state of the diocese of Alba in these years. In 969 it was almost depopulated and its Bishop Fulcard, with scarcely any inhabitants on whom to exercise his pastoral duties, lived the life of a peasant-farmer. The remedy proposed by Otto the Great and Pope John XIII was to unite the diocese to the less-injured one of Asti and in 985 the union was actually carried out, although it was but temporary⁵.

Already in January 968 the Emperor was planning to resume the work King Hugh had abandoned and expel the Saracen pests from Freinet and the Alps⁶. But his preoccupations in southern Italy prevented his taking any steps, and in 972 his eagerness to return to Germany negated a fresh and toilsome campaign⁷. The matter was

¹ Narrative, *Chron. Noval.* v. 3 (*Mon. Nov.* II. 246), v. 20, 21 (*Mon. Nov.* II. 263). Belegrim's letter, *Chron. Noval.* App. III. (*Mon. Nov.* II. 290, *Car. Reg.* CMLXI.): Bull and Precept, *Mon. Nov.* I. 109, 114).

² See below, p. 164.

³ See below, p. 163, n. 9.

⁴ See below, p. 148, n. 3.

⁵ See Pope John's letter (Cipolla, *Di Rozone, Vescovo d'Asti*, Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, 2. XLII. (1892) p. 34), "Christianorum.....crimina promerentur ut ab infidelibus eorum loca depopulentur quemadmodum et vidimus et audivimus atque in maxime nunc locis contigit que sunt Fraxaeneto vicina...Audivimus itaque episcopatum vocabulo Albia adeo a Saracenis esse depopulatum ut episcopus Fulchardus...clericis et plebe careat, viteque cotidianos sumptus, non ut episcopus ex ecclesia, sed ut rusticus habeat ex agricultura." See also Otto the Great's diploma of 969 (*M.G.H.* Dipl. II. 880) and Otto II's of 985 (*M.G.H.* Dipl. II. 885). The union of the two dioceses was, however, only temporary. On Bishop Rozo of Asti's death Alba recovered her independence.

⁶ Widukind, III. 70 (*M.G.H.* Script. III. 464). Köpke-Dümmmler, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 435.

⁷ Widukind, III. 75 (*M.G.H.* Script. III. 466). Köpke-Dümmmler, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 485.

left to local enterprise, and that was spurred on by an event which excited the sympathy of all Christendom, the capture of St Maiolus of Cluny. That great leader of the Church was returning in the summer of 972 from Italy, where he had been engaged in the work of reformation. His caravan was unusually large, for his saintly reputation gave his fellow-travellers a general hope of escape from the infidels' hands. The lengthy train of mules and men crossed the Great St Bernard safely, had reached the lower defile by Orsières, and was involved in the sharp turn of the road near Sembrancher¹, when they were attacked by the Saracens. The infidels captured great part of the caravan, and the Saint himself fell into their hands. An enormous ransom, 1000 lbs. of silver, was demanded by them and raised by the zealous monks on his behalf. But public feeling had been too deeply stirred to let the nuisance continue longer, and perhaps external aid was provided for the united movement now made by the seigneurs east and west of the Alps. The very band which had held Maiolus to ransom was assaulted by the Christians as it threaded its way back towards Freinet, blockaded on some projecting ridge of the Alps, and practically exterminated².

This was the first act in the drama of liberation. The monk of Novalesa provides us with an underplot for the sequel; and, however untrue it may be, it furnishes evidence of the cooperation on both sides of the Alps, which rendered the Saracens at once helpless. The alternative routes by which they were able to elude pursuit were held against them. Among the Saracens of Freinet, he says, was a certain Aymon. This man, after one of their plundering expeditions, drew for his share of the spoil a woman of the captives. But her beauty was too great for the honour that is among thieves to resist. She was taken from Aymon by some Moorish Agamemnon. Her first owner deserted his mates in rage, and, going to Count Robald of Provence, offered to guide him through the defiles of mountain and forest, as we may suppose, within the stronghold of Freinet. Thereupon Count Robald sent round to all his neighbours, including Ardoin Glabrio, begging their aid in some expedition, the object and nature of which he concealed. In spite of such indefiniteness, they all assembled at his call, and were led, not knowing where they were riding, along the forest-paths within Freinet. Robald then addressed his bold comrades with great dramatic effect.

¹ Syrus, *Vit. S. Maioli*, III. 1 (*M.G.H. Script. IV.*), "Ad hunc igitur locum [Orsières] cum sine discrimine venissent eundemque rivulum [Drance] transissent, mox inter ipsos actae viae difficiles reflexus, qui parvo intervallo se praebent descendentibus, subito eos invasit...Sarracenorum exercitus." I presume this means the *reflexus* close by Sembrancher.

² Syrus, *Vit. S. Maioli*, III. 1-7 (*M.G.H. Script. IV.*). See Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, pp. 97-101.

"Brothers," he said, "fight for your souls, for you are in the country of the Saracens!" Nor were his words vain; and an heroic combat was followed by a general massacre. As for Aymon, his descendants remained in the land in the Chronicler's day¹.

Parts of the tale have nothing incredible in them, although the authority is of very slight weight. For instance, the entrance into the fastnesses of Freinet may well have been gained by treason; and if better authors tell us that the chief leader was Robald's brother Count William of Provence, the general cooperation implied is almost a certain fact.

Two further events in connection with the expulsion of the Moors are preserved to memory by the Novalesan Chronicler. One of them merely related the destruction of S. Andrea monastery at Turin, a dependency of Breme-Novalesa, by two Saracen captives²; but the other is of the highest importance for our main subject, and in fact for the subsequent history of Italy. The valley of Susa had been made a desert by the Moorish ravages. Now, Ardoin, with scandalous disregard for the proprietary rights which the Abbey of Novalesa, transferred for half a century to Breme, possessed over it, seized on the whole district from the Genèvre and Cenis passes to the *clusa*³ near the mouth of the defile, and thus acquired an enormous alod for his House⁴. In this way the Italian section of the Mont Cenis route came into the hands of the Ardoinids. For the moment the tolls must have been the chief profit acquired, for the district had to be resettled, and brought under proper cultivation⁵. How vigorously the work was taken in hand we may see from the number of parish churches which seem to have been incorporated in the diocese of Turin, which were founded in these closing years of the tenth century by Ardoin III and his descendants⁶.

¹ *Chron. Noval.* v. 18 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 260). For Aymon the Saracen, see above, pp. 111, 112. The identification of the Frascenedellum of *Chron. Noval.* with the well-known Freinet of Provence seems guaranteed by the whole course of the story. Else why should the Count of Provence be the chief person involved? Cf. Poupardin, *Bourgogne*, p. 101. The date of this war should be c. 972-5 (*id.* p. 99, n. 3). For other views, however, see Patrucco, *I Saraceni nelle Alpi occidentali* (*B.S.S.S.* XXXII. pp. 430-1).

² *Chron. Noval.* v. 1 (Cipolla, *Mon. Nov.* II. 243).

³ See *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto* (Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18), p. 61), where the last village of the valley-domain is Vayes.

⁴ *Chron. Noval.* v. 19 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 262), "In his ergo temporibus, cum vallis Segusina inermem et inhabitatam permaneret, Ardoinus, vir potens, eripit illam et nobis (tul)it."

⁵ Cf. Patrucco, *I Saraceni ecc.* (*B.S.S.S.* XXXII.), p. 433.

⁶ Collino, *Carte...d'Oulx* (*B.S.S.S.* XLV.), p. 172, "quod predecessores Adelasia comitisse de suo, viz. inter ceteras ecclesias quarum fundatores in plebanatu Secusie

The Saracen war is the last fact we hear of the life of Ardoin Glabrio. He is not likely to have much outlived 976 when he was still Count of Pavia. According to our indignant Chronicler his character was as black as his wealth was great. But the monks of Novalesa could hardly be trusted to give a fair account of their grasping oppressor¹. By an unrecorded wife² he had had certainly three sons and probably two daughters. The sons³ are Marquess Manfred I, Marquess Oddo I, and Marquess Ardoin IV. The presumed daughters are Ychilda and Anselma, to whom we should perhaps add a nameless third.

We may take these personages in order. Manfred I⁴ was the husband of Prangarda, who was only daughter of Atto⁵ of Canossa and sister of Tedald, first Marquess of Tuscany of the Canossan line. She was a wealthy bride and brought with her a great dower in the counties of Parma and Reggio round about Traversetolo and Canossa. It is

fuerunt hanc ecclesiam de Bruxolio...in predio suo fundaverunt cum istis aliis, primo predicta ecclesia Beate Marie de Secusia, de Exiliis, de Caumontio, de Gelone, de Maticis, de Bozoleto, de Cannusso, de S. Georgio, de S. Desiderio, de Villario Fulchardo et de Fraxineriis."

¹ "Tantum igitur erat plenus viciis quantum et divitiis. Superbia tumidus, carnis suae voluptatibus subditus, in acquirendis rebus alienis avariciae facibus succensus" (*Chron. Noval.* v. 19: Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 262).

² Count di Vesme (*I Conti di Verona*, Nuovo Arch. Veneto, Anno VI. Tomo XI. 277-84) argues that Ardoin III probably married a sister of Milo, Count of Verona, 930-55, and of Manfred, Count of Lomello, since this would give a reason for the name Manfred of his son, and for his great-granddaughter, Countess Adelaide's, possession of half Mosezzo in 1061 (*Car. Reg.* CLVIII.), whereas the other half in 962 was in possession of Egelric, son of Manfred of Lomello (*Car. Reg.* VIII.-IX. and see above, p. 137). The Marquesses of Romagnano, also descending from Ardoin Glabrio, had lands in 1040 in the Novarese and Vercellese (*Car. Reg.* CXXI., *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 181).

³ Was there another? Tristan Calchi, *Mediolan. Hist. patr. lib.* VI. 118, states under 969: "Otto...dum Cassiani moratur concedit Arduino, inclyto marchioni et Adam et Amico et Manfredo et Odoni possessionem legitimam earum rerum atque urbium quae jam in Italia obtinebant." There is no reason to doubt the existence of this diploma. A precisely similar one was issued April 969 at Cassiano to Ingo and his sons. See Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 372, n. 4. As for Adam et Amico, it would be attractive to think of a corruption of Ardoin IV who would thus be eldest son; but Père Savio (*Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 332) has pointed out that Amico (*leg.* Amizo) is a diminutive of Adam, and that we should read "Adam qui et Amizo" as in other charters of an Adam-Amizo. Curiously enough an Adam-Amizo appears as Bishop of Turin c. 989-99 (Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 330-5). Was he Glabrio's son? Unless Ardoin IV was accidentally omitted by Calchi, he should be dead at the date of the diploma.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Carte S. Giusto* etc. (Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18), p. 61) etc. and above, p. 136, n. 11.

⁵ See above, p. 137, n. 8 and p. 142; also Anselm. Peripatetic. *Rhetorimachia*, ed. Dümmler, p. 37, "Tedaldo...soror...unica."

through her inheritance that we know her name for we possess the charter in which she and her husband sold it to the deacon Raimbald of Borgo S. Donnino for forty pounds of silver in 991¹. If we are to trust the Novalesan Chronicler they were already married in 951, but we may reasonably doubt the evidence². Six sons are known to us of the marriage, Ulric-Manfred, Alric, Oddo, Hugh, Guido and Azzo, whom I will deal with when their generation comes on the stage³. Their father Manfred I was dead by 31 July 1001⁴.

Ardoin IV seems to have left no trace behind. Perhaps he died without issue⁵.

Marquess Oddo I, on the other hand, was the founder of a long and illustrious line, the Marquesses of Romagnano, junior branch of the Ardoinids. Of his personal activity we have a little evidence. He sold in 996 the land he had from his father at Pavone in the Lomellina⁶, and he founded the priory of Pollenzo, near Brà, under Novalesa-Breme⁷. By an unnamed wife he left a son Ardoin V⁸; he was certainly dead by 1000, and probably by 998⁹. His foundation at Pollenzo may be regarded as inaugurating a new movement in Piedmont, in which religious fervour, directed more or less from Cluny, and practical policy went hand in hand. The great lords of the soil saw more and more the advantage of settling monks on the less usable lands of their

¹ Affò, *Storia eccles. di Parma*, I. 369. Atto is styled Adelbertus marchio, being his formal name and a title unattested for his lifetime, though it is likely he had it. He was Count of Reggio, Modena, and Mantua.

² See above, p. 137, n. 8, pp. 142-3 and p. 143, n. 4.

³ See below, pp. 165-6, and all Section III. for Ulric-Manfred and Alric.

⁴ On that date Otto III's diploma (*Car. Reg. xxii. M.G.H. Dipl. II. 841*) to his son Ulric-Manfred. See below, pp. 151, 167-8.

⁵ See *Car. Reg. LXXVI.* (above, p. 148, n. 4); Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 363, who points out that chronology is against his being father of the two first Romagnano (see below, p. 176, n. 3). Similarly it is not likely he was father of Ychilda or Anselda. Signor di Vesme (*Studi Pinerolesi, B.S.S.S. I. 4, n. 2*) assigns to him the references to Ardoin, Count of Pavia in 966 and 976, and thus a son Oddo in 996, father of Gualdrada, who appears in 1029 (Tiraboschi, *Nonantula*, II. 159, 160), but there seems no pressing reason for this subdivision, and Gualdrada may be daughter of an Aleramid Oddo (Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 391).

⁶ *Car. Reg. XIX. (M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob. 1595)*.

⁷ *Car. Reg. CMXL. (Chron. Noval. v. 25, Cipolla, Mon. Noval. II. 269), Mon. Noval. I. 123, Car. Reg. XXXIX. (Mon. Noval. I. 134)*. This was between 992 and 998.

⁸ See *Car. Reg. LXXVI.* (see above, p. 148, n. 4). That Ardoin V is son of Oddo I is shown by the narrative in *Chron. Noval. App. IX. (Mon. Noval. II. 295)*; cf. below, pp. 181-2.

⁹ Ardoin already owns land at Montaldo, December 1001 (Gabotto, *Le più antiche carte...d'Asti, B.S.S.S. XXVIII. p. 245*, while the story of the foundation of Chiusa shows him holding court at Avigliana c. 1000. See below, p. 180.

vacant *curtes*. They would lose often but little revenue, if any, and not much hunting. Round those diligent foundations population grew, and the cultivation of the soil was systematically advanced. By infection, so to say, the land round became richer in beasts, corn and men; the concourse of travellers increased; abbeys were founded on the pilgrim-routes at convenient intervals; and at first the great lords could count on gratitude and moral, and even material, support, from their foundations in return for protection. It was none so unlike the relationship of the German Ottos and their prince-bishops¹.

The two daughters of Ardoin Glabrio are fairly well attested. First there is Ychilda, who appears in 987 and 989² as wife of Conrad, Marquess of Ivrea, that son of Berengar II who had made his peace with Otto and had been restored to the remnants of his father's mark. The second is Anselda, who married Giselbert, Count of the Palace, by whom she had three sons and two daughters, Ardoin, Lanfranc, both Counts of the Palace, and Manfred, Richilda, wife of Boniface, Marquess of Tuscany, and Gisela, wife of Hugh, an Otbertine Marquess³. These intermarriages show clearly the close connections the Marquesses of Upper Italy kept up among themselves. In fact at this time their interests were not diverse, to hold aloof the distant German ruler, to control the bishoprics and to keep down the lesser nobles, their vassals, as well as the upstart citizens. They were not successful indeed in the long run. The close of the eleventh century found them fallen and localized, and not so easily distinguished from the other immediate vassals of the crown.

A third daughter of Ardoin Glabrio is perhaps to be seen in the mother of King Ardoin of Ivrea. The latter succeeded to the Mark of Ivrea about 990, and his son Ardicino was already of full age in 1000; thus he was coeval with, but somewhat older than the sons of Giselbert and Anselda. But the only real ground for the hypothesis consists in the name Ardoin, which we do not know to be borne by the (probably) Anscarid ancestors of King Ardoin. If it is true that Count Dado, the father of King Ardoin, was married to an Ardoinid Countess, it would of course be another illustration of the close inter-connection of the great vassals⁴.

¹ See Patrucco, *I Saraceni ecc.* (B.S.S.S. xxxii.), pp. 433-5; cf. Bollea, *Le Prime relazioni fra la casa di Savoia e Ginevra* (926-1211).

² Car. Reg. xvi. (Provana, *Studi Critici sul re Ardoino*, p. 327), and Car. Reg. xvii.

³ See Terraneo, *Adelaide...illustrata*, Pt I. Cap. xxii., Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 436, and Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 222, n. 3. Ardoin Count Palatine was functioning in 996 and 1019. See Pivano, *loc. cit.* It does not seem necessary to go into details over these cognates.

⁴ See Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano e il re Ardoino*, pp. 253-6. The suggested

Ardoin Glabrio's position is an easy one to define. He was Marquess ruling a coagulation of counties, and possessed of wide-strewn alods and benefices; he guarded an important strip of the frontier, thus being an etymological Marquess as well as a titular one. But did his son succeed to this position? It was not quite a matter of course that he should. In fact a non-Ardoinid, Bernard, now appears as Count of Pavia in succession to Glabrio. But in his case there were special circumstances involved¹. A more important cause of disintegration was the Italian habit of treating benefice and office as private property, and either retaining it in compossession or subdividing among all agnates, as would naturally be done with the alods. Against this custom the Emperors, we may presume, would only strive intermittently when it happened to be to their advantage to preserve the power of some family from extinction by such a subdivision of the inheritance. A similar exceptional course might be taken by private arrangement within the family itself.

Instances of both extreme courses are known. Absolute equality in inheritance and consequent disintegration of their "mark" is found among the Aleramids of Montferrat, Vasto, etc.² On the other hand, Marquess Tedald, the Canossan, established absolute primogeniture in his house, his younger son not even having the title of Marquess or Count³. We require therefore particular information as to which pattern the Ardoinids followed.

First as regards the actual lands of the family, the earliest information we possess is contained in Car. *Reg.* xxii.⁴ and lxiv.⁵, which are imperial confirmations, dated 1001 and c. 1026 respectively, of the possessions of Ulric-Manfred and his cousins Boso and Guido, sons of Ardoin V⁶. From these we should be able to get some idea of the principles of inheritance, if not something more. It is very noticeable that the land seems to be owned largely in thirds. Both branches own the third part of Avigliana, of Revello, of S. Stefano. We are reminded

identification of King Ardoin, son of Dado, with Ardoin V, son of Oddo, is impossible, since Ardoin V is c. 1013 on good terms with the Pope and goes to Rome (see below, p. 181).

¹ It seems likely Bernard was removed for rebellion c. 965 and restored c. June 976 after Ardoin's death. See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 193-4, and below, p. 164.

² See Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 408-13, Desimoni, *Sulle marche d'Italia*, Atti Soc. Lig. per la storia patria, xxviii. Letters I. and II.

³ Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 434-5.

⁴ *M.G.H.* Dipl. II. 841. There was a diploma also of Conrad II to Ulric-Manfred c. 1026, but it is now lost. Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 376, n. 3. Terraneo, *op. cit.* II. 120.

⁵ *M.G.H.* Dipl. iv. 83.

⁶ See below, pp. 176-7.

at once that Ardoin III had three sons and look about for descendants of the third son who should have a third share, although we are somewhat embarrassed between Adam *qui et Amizo* and Ardoin IV. But then, one branch will have a third part, while the other has not. Thus Ulric-Manfred has a third of the Val di Susa and Turin, while Boso and Guido have only Susa castle, a house at Turin and an indefinite part of its champaign. Boso and Guido have a third of Romanisio, Ulric-Manfred none. Some of this may be due to the fact that Ulric-Manfred had brothers, who would have their shares, but that does not explain Boso and Guido's lack of their thirds. Besides Bishop Alric, and no other brother of Ulric-Manfred's, intervenes in almost all the latter's grants, the foundation of Caramagna (see below, p. 183) being the chief exception. This looks as if these two brothers remained in compossession, while the others took separate shares. Finally, as to several places, both branches seem to claim all. Much we may attribute to careless grammar in the drafts, which the grantees sent into the imperial chancery, but there remains the case of Vigone and Pallantum, the whole of which is confirmed expressly to Ulric-Manfred, and yet, although not with the word "totum," also to Guido and Boso¹.

Without venturing to be too definite on so difficult a subject, perhaps one may conclude that there was no primeval division into "ideal" thirds among the sons of Ardoin Glabrio, but an actual division of property by arrangement, which would occasion often the sharing of single *curtes*. In support I may quote the fact that Ardoin V appears as sole owner of Chiusa in 1000². On this view the places which seem to be confirmed undivided to both branches may be exceptional cases of ideal compossession.

In these two diplomas we may notice a difference in the rights conceded. Ulric-Manfred is styled *marchio*, Boso and Guido have no title; Ulric-Manfred receives a confirmation of considerable immunity³, Boso and Guido a simple confirmation of property⁴. On the other hand Oddo II, Ulric-Manfred's brother, fixes a penalty for any infringement of a grant of land in Turin county made by him to St Peter's Monastery at Turin⁵. In titles there is a similar inconsistency. Oddo I

¹ Curiously enough in 1029 Ulric-Manfred gives all Vigone to S. Giusto di Susa (Car. Reg. LXXVI. Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, Boll. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 61).

² See below, p. 180.

³ "Cum...omnibus mercatis atque dictriccionibus ad easdem cortes pertinentibus...cum teloneis atque angariis universisque redicionibus in integrum...jubemus...ut nullus dux etc....prelibatum Odelricum...molestare inquietare per placita fatigare presumat."

⁴ "Confirmamus ut nullus archiepiscopus etc....prescriptum Bosonem suosque heredes de predictis rebus disvestire vel molestare presumat."

⁵ Car. Reg. XLII. (1016). (See below, p. 153, n. 9.)

in a public *placitum* (996) before the imperial *missus* is described as *comes*, but his father is *itemque marchio*, which looks as if Oddo were commonly, but not officially, styled so¹. In 1001 his son Ardoin V is styled *marchio* in a deed². Both are *marchio* in the Novalesan Chronicle³, and in Benedict VIII's bull of 1114⁴. But in Emperor Henry II's diploma (1014) for Fruttuaria, Ardoin V is untitled⁵. Yet in Conrad II's precept to Breme⁶, both father and son are *marchio* and in the c. 1026 diploma to Boso and Guido their father Ardoin V has the style of *marchio*⁷. Ulric-Manfred's brother Oddo II is styled *comes* in Henry II's diploma of 1014⁸ but calls himself *marchio* in his own diploma of 1016⁹. Then about 1029 Ulric-Manfred's other brother Guido is called *marchio* by his daughter Prangarda¹⁰, and it is he probably who receives the same title in the Novalesan Chronicle¹¹. An Oddo *marchio*, who is most probably Oddo II, is also mentioned in a private diploma¹²: while at the foundation of S. Giusto in 1029 Ulric-Manfred gives no title to his brothers, uncles, grandfather or cousin Ardoin V¹³. Ulric of Romagnano in 1040 calls himself and his late father Guido (Ardoin V's son) *marchio*¹⁴: and about the same time Ardoin V receives the title in a diploma of the Emperor Henry III¹⁵. Adelaide and her sister Immilla are both called *comitissa*¹⁶, which has some relevance to the subject, for they could not formally bear the title of Marchioness, Marquess being only a male title in the Ardoinid House.

These are instances of the titles; we find the Mark itself described as an entity, which is granted to Ulric-Manfred's son-in-law Herman of Swabia by Conrad II¹⁷; which agrees with Adelaide's preponderant

¹ Car. Reg. XIX. (*M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob.* 1595).

² Gabotto, *Le più antiche carte...d'Asti, B.S.S.S.* XXVIII. p. 245.

³ Car. Reg. CML. (*Chron. Noval.* v. 25, Cipolla, *Mon. Nov.* II. 269) and *Chron. Noval.* App. IX. (*Mon. Nov.* II. 295).

⁴ Car. Reg. XXXIX. (*Mon. Nov.* I. 134).

⁵ Car. Reg. XXXVIII. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 379, *M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. 423).

⁶ *M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. 71.

⁷ Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 151, n. 5).

⁸ Car. Reg. XXXVIII. (above, n. 5).

⁹ Car. Reg. XLII. (Muletti, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche...di Saluzzo*, I. 148).

¹⁰ Di Vesme, *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* I. p. 8, n. I.

¹¹ *Chron. Noval.* v. 32 (*Mon. Nov.* II. 271-2).

¹² Car. Reg. CIII. (*M.H.P. Chart.* II. 123), CIV. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 179).

¹³ Car. Reg. LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Carte S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 61).

¹⁴ Car. Reg. CXXI. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 181).

¹⁵ Car. Reg. CXXVI. (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. II. III. 386).

¹⁶ Adelaide *passim* in her own documents, for Immilla, e.g., *Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 332.

¹⁷ Herimann. Augien. 1036 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 122), "Herimannus...marcham soceri sui Meginfredi in Italia ab imperatore accepit."

position *vis-à-vis* with her sisters. Then the documents of the House seem to show some sort of primacy vested in its head. The first of these is the foundation of the nunnery of Caramagna by Ulric-Manfred¹ in 1028. The new Abbey is exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and its rule is reserved to Manfred and his wife with a long entail. First its government was to go to such daughter or granddaughter, who would be willing to be Abbess, i.e. who would take the office as her share in the family inheritance; but, if such daughter, etc., would not, then to any son who should survive, then to his daughters in order of age, then to the next generation, his grandsons, first by male, then by female descent in order of age, then to his granddaughters in order of age, and so on². The second document is the foundation of S. Giusto di Susa in 1029³. Here too the rule of the exempted Abbey is reserved for the *antenatus, major ex natione*, for five generations⁴; i.e. for the eldest successively in each generation in the male line; but when the male line was exhausted, which Ulric-Manfred clearly thought would be the case, to the eldest successively in each generation in the female line.

Summing up, then, the results, we find as follows: (i) As to property

¹ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (*Carte di Caramagna* in Misc. Saluzzese, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 61).

² "Post vero amborum nostrum decessum si filia ex nostro conjugio...post mortem abbatisse voluerit esse abbatissa, volumus...ut habeat licentia et potestate baculum... accipiendi etc....Similiter de nepta nostra que de filio vel filia fuerit relicta. Si vero easdem personas defuerint, confirmamus...ut si filio masculino ex nostro conjugio fuerit relicto, fiat ipsum monasterium in ejus ordinamentum, non ad minuandum nec ad premium propter ordinationes abbatisse recipiendum, vel ad gubernandum et defensandum et gratis abbatisse ordinandum. Si filio masculino defuerit, filia major nata ex nostro conjugio relicta sicut supra de filio masculino statuimus...Si vero major filia defuerit, sequente ex major ipsam ordinatione similiter recipiat, et sic semper una post altera major nata...Cum omnes filios et filias ipsarum defuerint, nepus major ex filio nostro nato eodem recipiat ordinamento...quando defuerit, nepus ea filia nostra qui majus fuerit ex nacionem abeat ipsam ordinationem etc." I take it (but with some hesitation) that the phrase *major ex natione* means elder in age (much the same as *major natus*); it is the eldest of all the grandsons in the female line who succeeds the son's son. The extraordinary Romance grammar of these texts will be noticed.

³ Car. Reg. LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto*, Boll. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 61).

⁴ "Post vero omnium nostrorum decessum, si filius masculinus, ex nostro conjugio, corum supra jugales, fuerit relictus, sit in ante nato, gratis dandum ipsum ordinamentum, hoc est abbatem constituendum. Et post priorem in secundo etc....Si vero defuerint filii masculini, et nepotes vel pronipotes similiter masculini relictii fuerint... sicut de filiis statutum habemus, ita et hisdem usque in quintum generum ordinavimus, ut semper qui major fuerit ex natione habeat ipsam ordinationem. Quod si defuerint filii masculini sive nepotes et pronipotes ejusdem sexus, tunc judicamus ut veniat et sit in filiarum nostrarum corum supra jugalium et in liberos masculini earum potestate...non ad omnes aequaliter, set semper qui vel que fuerit major ex natione habeat ipsam ordinationem."

we find no trace of primogeniture till the death of Ulric-Manfred, when, perhaps owing to imperial pressure, Adelaide received most of her father's lands. Of this there are forecasts in the reservation of the patronage of Caramagna and S. Giusto to the senior member of the family. But the immunity of the family possessions seems only granted by the Emperors to the head of the family by primogeniture. His position was officially exceptional. (ii) In titles we find in non-imperial documents and common parlance all agnates called Marquesses. But in imperial documents regarding living agnates we find the title of *marchio* confined to the head of the family. Two cadets Oddo I and Oddo II are called Count in imperial diplomas, and we find Oddo II acting as Count in the county of Turin. The others have no title. On the other hand Ardoin V is called *marchio* by Conrad II after his death. (iii) Lastly, we find the Mark considered as an entity and conferred by the Emperor on the successive husbands of Adelaide, to the exclusion of the agnates of Romagnano, who continue to use, and eventually get recognized, the vain title of Marquess¹.

As a consequence we may conclude that there existed among the Ardoinids the usual Italian habit of subdivision, but the logical outcome of this was definitely checked by the Emperors, who at most allowed the cadets to become subordinate joint-Counts. The main reason, no doubt, was that which induced them at first to restore Ivrea to the Anscarids², i.e. the need of strong local authorities on the frontier of the Alps. Later, the advisability of counter-balancing the Canossan House would have its influence, and, after the conquest of Burgundy in 1034, the desire to maintain a safe alternative road into Italy would come into play³. It is not at all unlikely that the ambitious Ulric-Manfred personally entered into a scheme of more rigorous primogeniture, but a weaker form had long subsisted already⁴.

To sum up, the Ardoinids were among the last-comers of that great immigration of Transalpine officials and benefice-holders who poured into Italy in Carolingian times. West Piedmont was their earliest sphere of action, but by 1000 A.D. their power was extended over Asti and Alba and a section of the Ligurian coast-line. Once settled they took place in quite a short time among the greatest nobles.

¹ See Bresslau, *op. cit.* 1. 379, Carutti, *Umberto Biancamano e il re Ardoino*, pp. 248-9. Cf. *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, pp. 203 ff.

² Conrad, son of King Berengar II, was reconciled to Otto the Great and received the Mark of Ivrea.

³ See above, Cap. I. pp. 31, 39-40, and 100.

⁴ This is very nearly the view expressed by Baron Carutti, *Umberto I e il re Ardoino*, pp. 246-7. Cf. too above, p. 140, n. 1, on the character of the Mark of Turin, where the evidence for the existence or non-existence of subordinate Counts in the Mark is discussed.

They enjoyed the great advantage of controlling the Italian access to the Mont Cenis and other passes leading to the west, and their rise in importance among the marchional families, if at first delayed by the ruin of southern Piedmont at the hands of the Saracens, was afterwards promoted by the freedom of action they gained in its resettlement and reorganization. Their first great man was the ill-reputed Ardoin Glabrio, who added to their already vast domains the Val di Susa, who extirpated the Saracen pest and obtained the title of Marquess. His son, Manfred I, maintained, it seems, some sort of unity in the new Mark, in spite of the tendency to subdivide it among all male agnates. His rule is a time of recuperation for Piedmont, with the Saracens destroyed, and the Hungarians quelled by Otto the Great; and there are signs that he and his brother were realizing their task of restoring civilization in the wretched districts under their authority. Meantime their attitude to the German rulers of North Italy was one of aloof loyalty. They appeared at court as little as might be, obeyed the imperial commands only under pressure, but yet showed no signs of resisting their authority in theory, or of trying to play the king-maker, which would indeed have been a thankless rôle while Conrad of Burgundy remained firmly attached to his German kinsmen.

P.S. Perhaps I may here remark that the term "Mark of Susa" is completely inaccurate and dates at earliest from the fifteenth century. Susa and its valley formed a fraction of the county of Turin, which as we have seen was a constituent county of the "Mark" held by Ardoin III and Ulric-Manfred. The best term for the latter, from its chief town, is "Mark of Turin."

APPENDIX

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE ARDOINID POSSESSIONS.

This is a matter of somewhat tedious cataloguing of the place-names in deeds of gift and imperial confirmations.

Aurade has been already discussed in the text pp. 135-6. In the county of Turin we find a great mass of *curtes* of the family. Such are Turin itself¹, S. Mauro di Pulcherada², Sambuy³, Orbassano⁴, Rivalta⁵, Avigliana⁶, Almese⁷, Rubiana⁸, Carpice⁹, Vinovo¹⁰, Volvera¹¹, Giaveno¹², Coazze¹³, Frossasco¹⁴, Buriasco¹⁵, Pinerolo (?)¹⁶, Miradolo¹⁷, the entire valley of

¹ Car. Reg. xxii. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841), xxxviii. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 379), lxiv. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. 83). The following list is not quite complete.

² Now S. Mauro Torinese. Car. Reg. lxiv. (see n. 1), lxxvi. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto*, *Bullet. Istit. stor. ital.* 18, p. 61, and *Bricciole di stor. Noval.*, *id.* 22, p. 12).

³ Now Villa Sambuy, see n. 2.

⁴ Car. Reg. lxxvi. (see n. 2).

⁵ Car. Reg. xlii. (Durandi, *Piemonte Traspadano*), lxxvi. (see n. 2).

⁶ Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (see n. 1).

⁷ Car. Reg. xxii. (see n. 1) and lxxvi. (see n. 2).

⁸ Car. Reg. lxxvi. (see n. 2).

⁹ Near Moncalieri, Car. Reg. cxcix. (Cognasso, *Cartario, S. Solutore, B.S.S.S.* XLIV. p. 34), cci. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 21 and Cognasso, *op. cit.* p. 263).

¹⁰ Car. Reg. cxxi. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 181).

¹¹ Car. Reg. lxxvi. (see n. 2).

¹² Car. Reg. xxii. (see n. 1).

¹³ Car. Reg. cxcix. (see n. 9).

¹⁴ Car. Reg. cxvi. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto* (*Bullet. Istit. stor. ital.* 18, p. 84, *Bricciole di stor. Noval.*, *id.* 22, p. 17).

¹⁵ Car. Reg. lxix. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 175), clvi. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 14).

¹⁶ Car. Reg. clxxix. (*Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 334), cxcvii. (*id.* p. 345), cxcviii. (*id.* p. 348). Count di Vesme considers that, as Countess Adelaide did not give Pinerolo to her new abbey there in 1064 (Car. Reg. clxi. *Cart. di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 323) on its foundation, she must have acquired it since that date, on the ground that a new monastery was always given the locality it was built in. But exceptions are possible; and at any rate there is an exception in this case, since, according to Signor di Vesme's view, Adelaide would have placed her new foundation in a *curtis* she did not possess, a very singular proceeding.

¹⁷ Car. Reg. lxiv. (see note 1).

Fenestrelle¹, Piossasco², Carignano³, Vigone⁴, Cercenasco⁵, Viriè⁶, Pan-calieri⁷, Macello⁸, Musinasco⁹, Casalgrasso¹⁰, Carmagnola¹¹, Caramagna¹², Racconigi¹³, Sommariva del Bosco¹⁴, Villanova Solaro¹⁵, and Ceresole Alba¹⁶. It will be noticed what a large portion of the district between the Dora Riparia and the Po was included in these demesnes, and to them we must add Ardoin III's great acquisition, the Valley of Susa, which I have dealt with above¹⁷. As to the county of Turin, with the public functions thereto attached, it extended from the county of Aurade on the south¹⁸ and the Alpine frontier on the west to Brandizzo, Leynì, Cuornè and the water-parting south of the Val di Locano on the north, and to Chieri and the mouth of the river Orco on the east¹⁹. The county, like that of Aurade, in Ardoin Glabrio's time at least,

¹ Car. Reg. CLXI. (*Cart. di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 323*). Signor di Vesme (*Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 79-80*) considers that this valley was a recent acquisition of Countess Adelaide in 1064, which she must have made with her sister Immilla from the Abbey of Cavour, to which it was given by Landulf, Bishop of Turin, in 1037. But Landulf's charter (*Cartario di Cavour, B.S.S.S. III. I, p. 8*) only gives the "plebs" of the valley (Pinariasca, now of Fenestrelle) with its endowment, which has no necessary identification with Adelaide's property; and in 1075 Cunibert, Bishop of Turin, confirms the Abbey of Cavour's possession of the "plebs" (*Cartario di Cavour, B.S.S.S. III. I, p. 33*); so it appears to have been then unsold: nor have I come on evidence that Immilla possessed one-half the valley. Perhaps Adelaide kept half, when she gave half to the Abbey of Pinerolo in 1064: to give it at last in 1078 (*Car. Reg. CXCI. [Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 342]*). It seems unnecessary to deduce that, because she did not give all in 1064, she only had half. But if Immilla, who was certainly just dead in 1078, did have half, there still seems lacking evidence for the purchase from Cavour Abbey.

² Car. Reg. CLXI. (see n. 1).

³ Car. Reg. CLXI. (see n. 1).

⁴ Car. Reg. XXII. (see p. 157, n. 1), LXIV. (see p. 157, n. 1), LXXVI. (see p. 157, n. 2).

⁵ Car. Reg. XXII. (see p. 157, n. 1), LXIV. (see p. 157, n. 1).

⁶ *id.*

⁷ Car. Reg. CXXI. (see p. 157, n. 10).

⁸ Car. Reg. LXIV. (see p. 157, n. 1).

⁹ Now part of Villafranca Piemonte, Car. Reg. XXII. (p. 157, n. 1), LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

¹⁰ Car. Reg. CXXI. (p. 157, n. 10).

¹¹ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (*Carte...di Caramagna, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 61*).

¹² Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1), LXVIII. (see n. 11).

¹³ Car. Reg. CLXI. (see n. 1).

¹⁴ Car. Reg. CLXXVII. (*Carte...di Caramagna, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 61*).

¹⁵ Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

¹⁶ Car. Reg. LXXXV. (cf. *Libro Verde...d'Asti, II. B.S.S.S. p. 200*).

¹⁷ See above, p. 147.

¹⁸ See above, p. 135.

¹⁹ See Count di Vesme, *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. I. p. 6*, n. 2, and cf. for the boundaries of diocese of Turin, which included the two counties of Aurade and Turin, Père Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 580-2.

seems to have been diminished by few or no immunities. Even the imperial diploma to the Bishop of Turin, which included no public jurisdiction, seems to date only from c. 981¹.

We may look on these two counties, Turin and Aurade, as the nucleus of the "Mark of Turin," which certainly appears as a distinct entity in the next century². There the Marquesses' jurisdiction was unhampered and little decayed. There they owned an overwhelming mass of demesnes. But the question next arises: did they add any other counties to their "Mark"?

The county bordering on Aurade to the south was Bredolo, that is the wedge-shaped district which lay, roughly speaking, between the Stura di Demonte and the Tanaro. Here it is not easy to find *curtes* belonging to the Ardoinids³. Magliano (?)⁴, Piozzo (?)⁵, the older Carassone (if that did not belong to the county of Alba)⁶, Brusaporcelli⁷ and Boves⁸ are all that seem attributable to them⁹. In fact it is possible to raise doubts whether Bredolo formed a separate county just at this time. The supposed concession of it as a county to the Bishop of Asti by the Emperor Lewis the Blind in 901 rests on an interpolation in a genuine charter¹⁰; the name does not occur in Ulric-Manfred's (Ardoin III's grandson) list of the counties where he held possessions in 1021¹¹, and Countess Adelaide in 1089-90 speaks of the *curtis*, not *comitatus Bredolensis*, enfeoffed by the church of Asti to her¹². But Henry III in 1041 undoubtedly conceded it as a county to the see of

¹ *M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 284. Cf. Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 289. Gabotto (*Carte arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S.* XXXVI. p. 1) argues that this diploma, if not a forgery, has been interpolated, as e.g. with the name of Pinerolo.

² See above, p. 153.

³ It may be, however, that topographical identifications of some obscure localities mentioned in the charters would bring out better results. For the limits of Bredolo, see below, p. 160, n. 1, and Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*, pp. 150-1.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* LXIV. (see p. 157, n. 1).

⁵ Plautium, *Car. Reg.* XXII., LXIV. (see p. 157, n. 1), but Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*, p. 205, makes it Plodio in county of Savona.

⁶ Now Bastia Mondovì, *Car. Reg.* xciv. (Cipolla, *Carte, S. Giusto*, Boll. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 76).

⁷ Brusaporcelli was close to Boves; see Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*, p. 347.

⁸ Boves, *Car. Reg.* ccxxxv. (Sella, *Cod. Ast. Malabayla*, III. p. 747).

⁹ But the pannage or pig-feeding possessed by them from R. Stura to the sea (*Car. Reg.* xciv., see n. 6) shows perhaps that a few of their *curtes* covered a great deal of woodland territory. I leave out later acquisitions, which can be shown to be such.

¹⁰ See Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Lodovico III*, Boll. Istit. stor. ital. 29, pp. 188-96, and Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 59, n. 4.

¹¹ *Car. Reg.* L. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 172).

¹² *Car. Reg.* ccxv. (*Libro Verde...d'Asti*, II. *B.S.S.S.* xxvi. p. 67). See below, p. 228.

Asti¹, at a time, it may be, when Adelaide was not greatly in his good graces². It would then be the Countess' object to regain as much as she could of her lost prerogatives, under the name of the *curtis*, as a fief from the see³. For the earlier time, the evidence is, perhaps, best met by considering Bredolo as attached to Alba, just as the Ardoimid possessions in it are closely connected with their Alban ones. As a district it had doubtless suffered heavily from the Saracens⁴, which would agree with its subsequent eclipse.

When we cross the river Tanaro into the county of Alba or Diano (for it bore both names), we get a very different impression. This district, it should be repeated, stretched from the Maritime Alps to the Tanaro, which also bounded it on the west; and on the east it included Cortemiglia⁵. The Ardoimid demesnes in it fall into two closely connected groups⁶. The first lies along the upper Tanaro, and is really the same group as that in Bredolo. It includes Farigliano⁷, Lesegno⁸ (if not in Bredolo), Ceva⁹, Priola¹⁰, and Garessio¹¹. The other occupies the valley of the river Belbo, and is composed of S. Stefano¹², Castiglione Tinella¹³, Camo¹⁴, Cossano¹⁵, Rocchetta (?)¹⁶, Castino¹⁷, Bosia (?)¹⁸,

¹ *Libro Verde...d'Asti*, II. B.S.S.S. xxvi. p. 217, "Omnia ecciam jura Bredulensis comitatus et publicas functiones cum servis et ancillis cum plebe corte et castro capellis cum omnibus villis et castellis terris ecciam cultis et incultis que dici aut nominari possunt inter Tanagram et Sturiam." This, although the charter is elsewhere interpolated (Gabotto, *Asti e la politica Sabauda*, B.S.S.S. xviii. pp. 6-7), is confirmed by an appointment of a royal *missus* 1041-6 at the request of Bishop Peter II of Asti (*Più antiche carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. xxviii. p. 330), "quemdam suum (Petri) militem...eligimus...nostrum missum in toto episcopatu Astensi et in comitatu Bredolensi inter Tanarum et Sturam."

² See below, p. 221, n. 3.

⁸ See below, p. 228.

⁴ The pass over Col di Tenda led straight into it. About 906 the relics of St Dalmatius were removed by the Bishop of Asti to Quarngente from the Abbey of S. Dalmazzo di Pedona. See Cipolla, *Di Audace Vescovo d'Asti*, Misc. stor. ital. xxvii. (2. xii.), pp. 142-51. Cf. Patrucco, *I Saraceni nelle Alpi occidentali*, B.S.S.S. xxxii. pp. 355 and 405.

⁵ See Père Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 587-8, for the limits of the diocese which would not much differ from those of the county.

⁶ I should not like to guarantee all the identifications in the following lists. Cf. Durandi, *Piemonte Cispadano*.

⁷ Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (see p. 157, n. 1).

⁸ Car. Reg. liv. (Moriondi, *Monumenta Aquensia*, I. 21).

⁹ Car. Reg. clxi. (see p. 158, n. 1).

¹⁰ Car. Reg. xciv. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, B.I.S.I. 18, p. 76).

¹¹ Car. Reg. lxiv. (see p. 157, n. 1), lxviii. (p. 158, n. 11).

¹² Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (see p. 157, n. 1).

¹³ Car. Reg. xxii. (see p. 157, n. 1).

¹⁴ Car. Reg. xxii. (see p. 157, n. 1). ¹⁵ Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (p. 157, n. 1).

¹⁶ Car. Reg. lxiv. (see p. 157, n. 1). ¹⁷ Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (p. 157, n. 1).

¹⁸ Car. Reg. xxii., lxiv. (?) (see p. 157, n. 1).

Benevello¹, Albaretto², Arguello³, Carretto⁴, Roddino⁵, Somano⁶, Bossolasco⁷, Lequi Borria⁸ and Favrega⁹. It is evident that the Ardoinids would have few competitors for the countship of Alba; but evidence for the fact is almost entirely lacking. However, c. 1034 Ulric-Manfred seems to take an official part against the heretics of Monforte in the county¹⁰. Further, after the war of succession for the mark of Turin in 1092-5, and not before, the Aleramid Marquesses del Vasto appear as ruling both Alba and Bredolo¹¹. And till better informed we may assume that Ardoin III acquired it¹²; for, as will be seen from the references in the notes, the two groups of demesnes were shared by the two branches of the House¹³ which recognized him as their common ancestor.

Less doubt in a way attaches to the Ardoin possession of the Ligurian county of Albenga, reached through their demesnes on the Tanaro, which occupied the strip from S. Remo to Pietra between the two counties of Savona and Ventimiglia. We find demesnes of the House at Prairolo¹⁴, Porto Maurizio¹⁵, and near Pompeiana¹⁶, as well as an extensive right of pig-feeding from the Alps to the sea¹⁷, but the argument for their countship consists in the facts that Countess Adelaide, wife of Duke Herman of Swabia, about 1038 executes a deed in the "curtis regia" of Albenga, and so should be Countess, representing the *publica potestas*¹⁸; and that Albenga was later (twelfth century) denominated a "mark" which presupposes a Marquess, the Ardoinids being the only serious candidates for the dignity¹⁹. Here, too, after the war

¹ Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

² Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

³ Car. Reg. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

⁴ Car. Reg. XXII. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

⁵ Car. Reg. CLXXXV. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 339).

⁶ See note 5.

⁷ See note 5.

⁸ Car. Reg. XXII. LXIV. (p. 157, n. 1).

⁹ Car. Reg. XXII. (Favregae), LXIV. (Fabricae) (p. 157, n. 1). It was later called Favere (near S. Stefano), and destroyed by Asti. See Durandi, *op. cit.* p. 228.

¹⁰ See below, pp. 185-7.

¹¹ See below, p. 258.

¹² Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 370.

¹³ i.e. Ulric-Manfred and the Marquesses of Romagnano. See above, pp. 149 and 151-3.

¹⁴ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (see p. 158, n. 11), CLXI. (see p. 158, n. 1).

¹⁵ Car. Reg. CLXI. (see p. 158, n. 1).

¹⁶ Car. Reg. CXVII. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 145).

¹⁷ Car. Reg. XCIV. (see p. 159, n. 6).

¹⁸ Car. Reg. CXVII. (see n. 16). See Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 369.

¹⁹ Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 442. Patrucco, *I Saraceni ecc.*, B.S.S.S. XXXII. p. 426, n. 3 makes Albenga part of the "mark of Savona," but he does not give the grounds for this view.

for the Turinese succession at the close of the eleventh century we find the Aleramid Marquesses of Vasto in possession¹. In the county of Savona the only Ardoinid possession we know of is Codevilla².

Ventimiglia presents a more difficult case. Ulric-Manfred had property there we know³, but the existence of other rights is another matter. Yet we have a piece of evidence, which, if really referring to the Ardoinids, would show that they really were Counts there for a time. This document⁴ is a *Breve* of privileges and customs given by *dominus Ardoinus marchiso* to the men of Tenda, Briga and Saorge "de rebus nostris et comitis que nos tenemus," and confirmed by Otto and Conrad, the Counts. Baron Carutti would see in the Counts' subscriptions a later addition made when two Counts of those names came into possession of the county c. 1038-41⁵. Bresslau considers them, one uncle, one father of the pair of 1041, and contemporary with the charter, which he considers to belong to King Ardoin (of Ivrea) and to be dated c. 1000⁶. Carutti favours Ardoin Glabrio for the original grantor; others are in favour of Glabrio's grandson, Ardoin V (c. 1000). With regard to the Ardoin that is meant, it is noticeable that he is called *marchiso*, not *marchio*. Now *marchiso* is not a form one would expect till c. 1100⁷. So perhaps we should look on the *Breve* as most likely a later document of confirmation transcribed when the later form *marchiso* was already coming into use. This, too, is what we should infer from the fact that the Marquess Ardoin mentioned is clearly the Count of Ventimiglia⁸, and the two subscribers, Otto and Conrad, must be of later date, being probably the Counts Otto and Conrad who appear in 1041⁹ and perhaps in 1063, 1064 and 1077¹⁰. Since the granting

¹ See below, p. 258.

² Car. Reg. CLXI. (see p. 158, n. 1) and Car. Reg. L. (see next note).

³ Car. Reg. L. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 172). This charter gives a list of the counties where Ulric-Manfred and his wife Bertha owned property in 1021. See below, pp. 173-4.

⁴ *M.H.P. Script.* I. 308 (Car. Reg. CXVIII.).

⁵ Carutti, *Regesta*, pp. 365-7 (*Misc. stor. ital.* XXIII. pp. 102, 104, 105, 108).

⁶ Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 369.

⁷ e.g. Car. Reg. CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 27) "comes atque marchisus." Even then it is a bad unusual form. See below, p. 273, n. 4.

⁸ "Et de nostro manente non consenciamus nulla virtute neque potestate facere servitio, nisi oste publica, sicut supra legitur de superscriptis proprietariis, et comitalis que est comitis senioris nostri, tam infra comitatu quam infra marca, in adiutorio siamus ad tenendum." There is no reference to Otto and Conrad in the body of the deed at all. We should have "comitum seniorum nostrorum" if there were.

⁹ See Carutti, *Regesta*, p. 366 (*M.H.P. Script.* I. 327; *Misc. stor. ital.* XXIII. p. 104).

¹⁰ See Carutti, *Regesta*, p. 366 (*M.H.P. Script.* I. 350; *Misc. stor. ital.* XXIII. pp. 104, 105, 108).

of liberties to three small townships seems to belong to a later date than Glabrio's and King Ardoin's ruin in 1014 supplies a cause for the change of dynasty, it has been argued that the Ardoin concerned here was the king. Still, considering that seemingly immunities such as are here granted could be conferred by a Marquess¹, and that Ardoinid lands are proved in the county which is reached from the Ardoinid counties of Aurade and Bredolo, and that Anscarid lands are not to be found there, the identity of Ardoin Glabrio with the "Marchiso" appears to be the more probable conclusion. Ardoin V of Turin, who was dead by 1027, leaves no room for the Conrad Count of Ventimiglia who was living in 1038 and dead by 1041, and for the latter's father, also a Count Conrad, as well².

Concerning Asti, the county which bordered Alba on the north and part of Turin on the east, there is not much to say. Ardoin Glabrio held land there c. 950 and in 964³. An Ardoin (? V) also held land in the county in 1001⁴. Glabrio's grandson Ulric-Manfred possessed the castle of Annone, and confirms his brother Bishop Alric's foundation of S. Aniano⁵. Finally, Ulric-Manfred's daughter Countess Adelaide in 1090 was Countess of Asti⁶. How far did the possession of the county go back? Count Cipolla⁷ and Professor Pivano⁸ think that after Count Otbert, who was living in 940, there were no further Counts, owing to the decadence of the comital power, and the acquisition of the public functions in the city and in their lands by the Bishops. Still the Bishops do not seem to obtain the *districtum* of the county or the latter itself till c. 1093⁹. So though the ample immunity and powers of the Bishops

¹ See Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsg.* II. p. 307. One privilege granted to Tenda is: "Ita tam homines habitatores de istis locis placitum non custodiant, nisi placitum residente semel in anno per tres dies."

² See Carutti, *Regesta*, p. 366 (*M.H.P. Lib. Jurium Gen.* I. 9, and *M.H.P. Script.* I. 327).

³ Gabotto, *Le più antiche carte...d'Asti*, *B.S.S.S.* XXVIII. pp. 123 and 172.

⁴ *id.* p. 245.

⁵ *Car. Reg. L.* (*Carte del Pinerolese*, *B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 172); *Car. Reg. LVI.* (*Antiche carte...d'Asti*, *B.S.S.S.* XXVIII. p. 304). Annone commanded the road eastwards.

⁶ *Car. Reg. CCXXVIII.* (*Libro Verde...d'Asti*, *B.S.S.S.* XXVI. II. 198).

⁷ Cipolla, *Di Brunengo Vescovo d'Asti* (*Misc. stor. ital.* XXVIII. (II. XIII.)) and *Di Rozone Vescovo d'Asti* (*Mem. R. Accademia di Torino*, II. Ser. XLII. (1892)).

⁸ Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, 135-6.

⁹ By 969 (Otto I, *M.G.H. Dipl.* I. 513) the Bishop has *districtum* etc. for four miles round the city, and complete immunity for his other lands. In 992 (Otto III, *M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 509) he appears to obtain this *plus* something less than the *districtum* throughout the diocese: "Verum eciam civitatem et castella cum omnibus integritatibus et adjacentiis suis, cum IV. miliaris in circuitu, cum placitis et omnibus publicis vectigalibus, et quicquid terrarum publice rei est tam infra civitatem et castella quam extra, infra totum episcopatum aut comitatum Astensem." The last clause is obviously limited to the *quicquid terrarum*, mentioned just before. In any case in 1041

left little to the *publica potestas*, it seems best to conclude that the county, such as it was, went to Ardoim III. As we shall see, his descendants obtained very real power in the district.

Eastward of Asti in the midst of the Lombard plain lay the counties of Lomello and Pavia. Here not only do we find a Marquess Ardoim and his son Oddo owning the *curtis* of Pavone in 967¹, 976² and 996³, but in 966 and 976 there comes before us an Ardoim Count of Pavia, who at the latter date is also Marquess⁴. There seems to be no good reason for refusing to see Glabrio himself here, of whom we have certain evidence that he was still living in 972⁵. The whole situation fits in with his seizure of Breme abbey near by. Signor Baudi di Vesme considers the Count of Pavia to be more probably Ardoim IV, son of Ardoim Glabrio⁶. Ardoim IV, however, is a very shadowy personage and may have predeceased his father⁷. To all appearance Ardoim Glabrio obtained the county of Pavia on the deprivation of Count Bernard by Otto the Great. Then Bernard was restored after Ardoim Glabrio's death. Ulric-Manfred had possessions in the county in 1021⁸; but there is no trace of his being Count if we deduct one doubtful statement⁹.

The same Ulric-Manfred and his wife Bertha in 1021 owned properties in the counties of Tortona, Parma and Piacenza¹⁰. Some of these might come in dower with Bertha, but perhaps Caverzago in the Piacentino¹¹ is one which was inherited.

Henry III extended the *districtum* to seven miles outside the city, which would not have been necessary, had the Bishop exercised the full authority of Count already. c. 1093 Henry IV granted the county to the Bishop as Adelaide had held it.

¹ *M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob.* 1223.

² *M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob.* 1357.

³ *Car. Reg.* XIX. (*M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob.* 1595).

⁴ 966, Robolini, *Mem. Pav.* II. 144, for 976 *M.H.P. Cod. Dipl. Langob.* 1342 (wrongly dated 975).

⁵ See above, pp. 146-7. Cf. for the vicissitudes of Pavia, above, p. 151, n. 1.

⁶ *I conti di Verona* (Nuovo Arch. Veneto, Anno VI. Tomo XI.), pp. 281-4; and *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese* (*B.S.S.S.* 1.), p. 4, n. 2.

⁷ See above, pp. 148-9. We have only one certain mention of him of the date of 1029 (*Car. Reg.* LXXVI. Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. ital. 18, p. 61).

⁸ *Car. Reg.* L. (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 172).

⁹ *Car. Reg.* LXXXVIII. (*Cartario di S. Solutore, B.S.S.S.* XLIV. pp. 10-13). See above, p. 140, n. 1.

¹⁰ *Car. Reg.* L. (see n. 8); for the explanation of *Car. Reg.* LXXXVIII. see above, p. 140, n. 1. In 1021 Bernard was Count of Parma (see Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 146, n. 2, p. 287, n. 1). Lanfranc Count of Piacenza (*op. cit.* p. 287, n. 4). Tortona was under the Otbertines (see Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 426).

¹¹ If this is the right identification for Caverzadiga (*Car. Reg.* XXII., *M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841).

Similar traces of possessions are to be found in the counties of Vercelli¹, Pombia² and Ivrea³, without any record of official authority exercised by the Ardoinids there⁴. In fact at the time we find these traces we know the countships were possessed by other persons⁵.

SECTION III. THE LATER ARDOINIDS.

So far the rise of the Ardoinids has been traced. We have now to follow the fortunes of the Marquess of Turin at the height of his power, when he is only second to the Canossan Marquess among the Italian magnates. While Ardoin Glabrio is almost a legendary figure, and Manfred I is only known to exist in prosperous obscurity, the next head of the House plays an important part in Italian politics and allows us to make some reasonable inferences as to his youthful ambitions and the prudent attitude he adopted at the last, and finally as to his government of his mark and his share in its later prosperity.

A new generation of the Ardoinids comes to the fore about A.D. 1000. Ardoin V must have succeeded his father Oddo I about 998⁶. But the sons of Manfred I have greater importance for us; so it is best to take them first, although the foundation of S. Michele della Chiusa in which Ardoin V took part occurred c. 1000 earlier than any record of theirs. In fact the diploma of Emperor Otto III which shows us Manfred I dead is only dated 31 July 1001. The latter's sons were five in number. The eldest was Ulric-Manfred⁷, head of the House and the real Marquess of

¹ Car. Reg. L. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 172); and for Occimiano, Car. Reg. CXXI. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 181). But Occimiano seems to be in the county of Montferrat by 1040. See charter cited.

² Mosezzo, etc. (Car. Reg. CLVIII. *M.H.P.* Chart. 1. 599). Signor Baudi di Vesme thinks this possession is evidence for a marriage of Ardoin Glabrio; see above, p. 148, n. 2.

³ Car. Reg. L. (see n. 1).

⁴ The only evidence of such with regard to Vercelli lies in Car. Reg. LXXXVIII., concerning which see above, p. 140, n. 1. In the same document Ivrea appears in the same way, and there is also the connection of Ulric-Manfred with the city, for which see below, pp. 170-1.

⁵ Vercelli in 999 was part of the mark of Ivrea, and was granted to the Bishop by Otto III (Pivano, *op. cit.* p. 232). Pombia was under separate Counts, 962 Adalbert, 973 Dado, 1001 Wibert (Dado's son), 1030 Ubert (? = Wibert), 1034 Adalbert and Guy (sons of Ubert). In 1028 Emperor Conrad II granted it to the see of Novara, it seems with not much effect (Carutti, *Umberto I e Re Ardoino*, Pt II. Cap. VI.). For Ivrea, see below, pp. 170-1.

⁶ See above, p. 149, and below, pp. 178-80.

⁷ The double name is an interesting peculiarity of Burgundian and Lombard nomenclature at this time. Sometimes it is due to a man being known both by his formal name and its familiar diminutive, e.g. Adalbert-Atto (Azzo) (cf. above, p. 142)

Turin. Before 1014 he had married Bertha, daughter of the Otbertine Marquess Otbert II¹. Next came the cleric Alric who later became Bishop of Asti. Then Oddo II, joint-Count of Turin². Then Atto, of whom nothing else seems known³, and Hugh, who seems to have granted Chivasso to the new Abbey of Chiusa⁴. Lastly comes Guido, of whom we only know a legend in the *Chronicle of Novalesa*⁵. It seems that the choleric Marquess turned Abbot Gezo by force out of the house where he was staying in the Abbey's *curtis* of Supponito. A vigorous bout of prayer on the part of the holy Abbot, however, secured revenge. St Peter and St Paul despatched two demons who struck Marquess Guido with apopléxy or paralysis while at a feast, and he died without the Sacrament. This must have happened certainly before 1027-9 when we hear of his daughter Prangarda, then already widow of Opizzo of Biandrate⁶.

Marquess Ulric-Manfred and his House had to face difficult times. A double revolution was proceeding in North Italy. On the one hand,

and "Adam qui et Amizo" (see above, p. 148, n. 3). At other times the second name seems adopted as an official name in token of heirship to some dignity. This was the case with Otto-William of "Franche Comté" (see above, p. 11). Ulric-Manfred's appellation must belong to the latter class. His father's name was Manfred and contemporary chroniclers always call him so, but in his documents he styles himself "Odelricus qui et Maginfredus" (there are variant spellings), and Otto III calls him "Odelricus qui Mainfredus nominatur" (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841). Presumably his original name was the undistinguished Ulric, and he assumed that of Manfred as heir to, or ruler of, the mark.

¹ *Car. Reg.* XXXVIII. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 379): for her filiation see e.g. *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (see p. 154, n. 3).

² *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (see p. 154, n. 3). Signor di Vesme (*Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* I. p. 15, n. 2) gives Oddo II a son Manfred on the strength of a charter of 1037 (*Car. Sup.* VIII. *Carte Staffarda*, II. *B.S.S.S.* XII. 237), but one would prefer an actual blood-relation of Bertha (see below, p. 192, n. 3).

³ *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (see p. 154, n. 3). Signor di Vesme, *loc. cit.*, gives Atto a wife Gualdrada and a daughter Adelaide on the strength of the Obituary of Vangadizza. But these persons seem from their surroundings to be Otbertines. See *Carteggio tra ...Muratori e Leibniz*, Atti e Mem. Dep. stor. Pat. Moden. Ser. IV. Vol. III. pp. 151, 215, 218-9, 224, 229, 235-6.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CXXVI. and see below, p. 180. Count di Vesme (*Origini della feudalità ecc., B.S.S.S.* I. p. 15, n. 4) would have Hugh slain at the siege of Milan 1037 (Landulf. *Hist. Mediol.* II. 25 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII.)), but Landulf's Hugh seems to replace the Guido of Arnulf. *Mediol.* II. 13 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII.), who was probably an Aleramid (see Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 394), though there is nothing to prevent his being Guido of Romagnano, son of Ardoin V, who was dead by 1040 (see above, p. 153).

⁵ *Chron. Noval.* v. 32 (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 271-2); also *Car. Reg.* LXXVI. (see p. 154, n. 3).

⁶ See Count di Vesme, *Le origini della feudalità ecc., B.S.S.S.* I. p. 8. Guido's death happened probably before 1014, as by that date Gezo was dead, and Guido's death seems to have soon followed the outrage at Supponito.

in view of the inefficiency of those countships which were decayed and of the ever greater importance of the cities, and of the dangerousness of the too great power of the marchional families, and of the advantage of being able to nominate the local rulers, the Saxon Emperors were engaged in building up a system of episcopal government. This alliance with the Church would help to restore the public authority where it was decayed, would ally it with the citizen-class, with whom the Bishops were then for the most part in close touch, and would break up the power of the Marquesses where it was necessary. On the other hand, the comparative peace of the countryside, freed from devastation, had resulted in the growth in numbers and wealth of the lesser nobles (*secundi milites*), who were mainly the after-vassals and vassals of the Counts and Bishops. Now in 1000 these feudatories were not very friendly to the Emperors, for they wished for freedom from the public power, in which they did not greatly share, nor could they love their immediate suzerains who, whether Counts or Bishops or their greater vassals, could damage their material interests. But they formed the nerve of the fighting force of North Italy, and it was important to capture their support.

The opposing forces were brought into conflict by the revolt of Ardoin, Marquess of Ivrea. The powers granted to the Bishop of Vercelli seem to have been the main cause of his discontent. He had no legal redress, for the Emperors in these grants of jurisdiction and immunity theoretically gave away fractions of their own powers, not of the Counts' inheritance. The latter were still officials in law. Ardoin was not an able man, but he had the sympathies of the *secundi milites*, to which class, though probably of Anscarid origin, he was nearly allied. They rallied to his standard; and his subsequent revolt has a certain anarchic character in it. The death of a Bishop of Vercelli in faction-fighting and quarrels with the Bishop of Ivrea formed the prelude. In 998 Otto III appointed a German, Leo, Bishop of Vercelli, who was to be for twenty years the leader of the imperial-ecclesiastical party in North-West Italy. Next year Ardoin was deprived and sentenced to a sort of outlawed life of pilgrimage, while his counties of Vercelli and Santhià were given to the Bishopric of Vercelli. But the Marquess did not submit, and during Otto III's absence in the spring of 1000, he even seems to have taken the title of King of Italy. Otto III would appear at least to have driven him back to his mark in the summer; only to die himself in January 1002¹.

Ulric-Manfred's share in these events was clearly some kind of support of the Emperor. The diploma of the 31st July 1001 specially

¹ See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, 222-48, and Baudi di Vesme, *Il re Ardoino e la riscossa italiana contro Ottone III e Arrigo I*, B.S.S.S. VII. pp. 1-11.

mentions his fidelity¹, and we can easily see why he should be loyal. Ardoin was a rival; the *secundi milites* were his own occult foes, for he was the "public power" and the chief feudal suzerain in his mark. Even the immunity of the Bishop of Turin, which after all did not include Turin itself, did not greatly reduce his mark, and that of outlying Asti was ancient history. Besides we may credit the Ardoinids with the policy of keeping up a close alliance with their Bishops, who had not perhaps the support of a strong citizen-class, such as prelates often had elsewhere².

But Otto's death produced a rapid change. On the 15th February 1002 Ardoin was regularly elected and crowned king at Pavia by the assembled magnates. Only the Canossan Marquess Tedald, with Leo of Vercelli and one or two other Bishops, held aloof altogether. Archbishop Arnulf of Milan and others seem to have grudgingly recognized the new king, while joining with the open Germanophiles in private messages begging the new German ruler Henry II to intervene. We may suppose, but it is only a supposition, that Ulric-Manfred's attitude was similar. The fact was that Ardoin, supported by the *secundi milites*, was for the moment irresistible; even if his violence and unwisdom were soon to show he did not know how to rule³.

However, his military ability was unquestioned; and was soon put to the proof. Henry II was by no means inclined to give up the union of the German kingdom with the revived Empire of the West, which had been established under the Ottos. The title, which he assumed now and again, of "Romanorum rex" stated, it may be, the doctrine that the King of Germany was *de jure* lord of the Western Empire and of Italy⁴. Late in the year 1002 the Duke of Carinthia was dispatched against the Lombards, only to be defeated by Ardoin at Fabrica⁵. The

¹ Car. Reg. xxii. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 841), "quia fideliter nobis deservivit."

² See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 230, 289, Diplomas for Bishop of Turin, *M.G.H. Dipl.* II. pp. 283 and 727. For the Bishop of Asti, see above, p. 163, n. 9.

³ See Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa*, pp. 248-51, Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, I. 235-40. I cannot find evidence in favour of the view of Count di Vesme and Professor Gabotto (di Vesme, *Il re Ardoino*, *B.S.S.S.* VII. p. 8, *Origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese*, *B.S.S.S.* I. p. 2, n., and Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese*, *B.S.S.S.* IV. p. 25) that Ulric-Manfred was given the mark of Ivrea on Ardoin's and his son's deprivation. True, we should expect that a new Count of Ivrea at least should be appointed, but there would be no hurry to do so, since Ardoin remained in possession.

⁴ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 1904, p. 531. The instance dates from 1007 (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. 201). Ficker (*Milth. Inst. f. österr. Geschichtsf.* VI. 225 ff.), however, thinks the occurrence of the title at this date merely a piece of carelessness. Yet the possibility of Henry's claiming it is not quite negated by the fact that his claim was not generally recognized.

⁵ Pivano, *op. cit.* p. 251, Hirsch, *op. cit.* pp. 240-2.

Ivrea could occupy a year or so in the works of peace, and precisely in this interval the foundation of the great abbey of S. Benigno di Fruttuaria in his own mark of Ivrea on the high-road between Turin and the Great St Bernard, was taking place¹.

Ardoin's prosperity did not last long. In April 1004 Henry II invaded Italy in person. Bishops, grandees and cities alike deserted his rival; and the conqueror was crowned at Pavia on the 15th of May. Soon Ardoin was besieged in his mountain castle of Sparone in the Val di Locana on the spurs of the Gran Paradiso *massif*. The pious Henry II was pleased to sanction the Anscarid foundation of Fruttuaria and had its first Abbot consecrated in his presence². His party seemed secure, but in June he was called back to Germany, not to return for nine years. The *secundi milites* again began to rally to King Ardoin. After a year the siege of Sparone was given up, and a long, undecided war began between the Ivrea and German partizans³.

That Ulric-Manfred was at this time a pro-Henrician we may gather from a portion of his history which has come down to us. Peter, Bishop of Asti, had been a partizan of Ardoin, and for his crime had gone into hiding. Now Henry II towards 1008⁴ gave the bishopric to Ulric-Manfred's brother Alric. This was of course the Marquess' doing, for Henry was too far off to do much. In any case Archbishop Arnulf of Milan took offence and refused consecration to the intruded Bishop. Thereupon Alric went to Rome, and, what with his brother's influence and his own, obtained consecration at the Pope's hand, adopting, what was then a rare thing, Roman law in honour of his priestly character⁵. But the successor of St Ambrose was not yet an obedient servant of the successor of St Peter, nor was Ulric-Manfred, in spite of his high rank and power, able to meet the ecclesiastical chief of Lombardy on equal terms.

Arnulf in high wrath collected an army, and with his suffragans, besieged both Alric and Ulric-Manfred in the city of Asti. The two culprits were obliged to submit to a humiliating peace. Not to mention a heavy fine paid by the Marquess, they were forced to do penance. The Bishop carrying a Bible, the Marquess carrying a dog went barefoot from three miles outside Milan to the cathedral, and publicly confessed

¹ See Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese*, B.S.S.S. IV. pp. 28-9.

² Gabotto, *loc. cit.*

³ Pivano, *op. cit.* 251-5, Hirsch, *op. cit.* 302-13.

⁴ Alric's episcopate was dated from 4 May 1008. Was this the date of his election by the chapter, or consecration by the Pope? Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 134.

⁵ See e.g. Car. Reg. LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 61), "ego...Alrico episcopo (*sic*), honore sacerdotii, habeo et legem Romanam nunc vivere videor, quamvis ex natione...Salichus sum."

their fault. Then Arnulf graciously restored the bishopric to Alric¹. It must have been grievous to Ulric-Manfred's pride, but he retained his acquisition. For the next eighty years the Ardoinids kept a firm hold on the greatest north-west Lombard see, and the almost comital position of the Bishop only went to swell the power of the Mark of Turin.

It was not till Christmas 1013 that Henry II was again at Pavia, on his way to decide on the claims of rival Popes and to receive the imperial crown. He found general submission; Ardoin himself offered vainly to resign his claims, if only he was secured one county. But a rapid change of attitude followed the coronation at Rome. Henry offended the great marchional House of the Otbertines as well as other nobles, and Ardoin was regaining ground when the Emperor left Italy at the end of May 1014. Leo was soon driven from Vercelli; the Bishops of Novara and Como also suffered, while Milan and Piacenza stood neutral. But it was only for a moment. Marquess Boniface of Canossa and Archbishop Arnulf gathered their forces; the Otbertine Marquesses were captured and Leo was restored to Vercelli. Ardoin himself again withdrew to his county of Ivrea. He was in despair and ill. In September 1014 he became a monk at Fruttuaria, and died there on the 14th December of the following year².

Probably we should explain these bewildering vicissitudes by the fact that Henry II by impolitic measures had brought about a union of some of the greater nobles, invested with the *publica potestas*, and the *secundi milites*, who in general were for Ardoin. It therefore becomes of interest to know if Ulric-Manfred was a malcontent or not. Against the view that he was one, we may set the difficulty of finding a grievance which should make him choose Ardoin rather than Henry II. In fact it has been upheld³ that he had even received the mark of Ivrea from the Emperor, if not in 1000 or 1004, at least in 1013. But the evidence for this is very slight. It consists (i) in the doubtful wording of Car. Reg. LXXXVIII.; (ii) in an expression used by Leo of Vercelli

¹ Arnulf. Mediol. i. 18, 19 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 11), "Dederat enim imperator, vivente ipso (episcopo Astense) et abjecto, episcopatum cuidam Olderico fratri Manfredi marchionis eximii....Oldericus (error for Adalricus) autem ille sua fretus ac fratris potentia, Romam proficiscens, subreptione quadam consecrari se fecit a Romano pontifice...(Arnulfus) civitatem aggressus Astensem, clausis in urbe marchione cum episcopo, densissima obsidione valavit. Nec a populatione belloque destitit, donec pace composita illius satisfactum est voluntati." The war would fall very well in 1009. There are no charters of bishop or chapter between 24 November 1008 and 25 February 1010. See Gabotto, *Le più antiche carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. XXVIII. Cf. Pivano, *op. cit.* pp. 256-7, Hirsch, *Heinrich II*, II. pp. 370-1. Astigian capitular charters are dated all along from Alric's succession by Henry's regnal years.

² Pivano, *op. cit.* pp. 267-73, Hirsch, *op. cit.* pp. 414-40, di Vesme, *op. cit.* pp. 15-17.

³ Carutti, *Umberto I e il re Ardoino*, p. 230. I have put together all the arguments for this view that I can find. Cf. p. 168, n. 3 above.

c. 1016¹; (iii) in the fact that Ulric-Manfred's widow Bertha seems to control c. 1037 the roads leading across the Alps to Champagne (and thus the chief one, the Great St Bernard)²; (iv) in the protection given by Countess Adelaide to the Abbey of Fruttuaria³; (v) in a supposed charter of Count Humbert II of Savoy in 1094 to Sta Maria of Ivrea and S. Salvatore of Turin⁴; (vi) and in the homage from the Counts of the Canavese possessed by Savoy in the twelfth century⁵.

Of these arguments, the first as shown above is not to be depended on⁶. The third count, Bertha's intervention, need not mean much, and besides comes after the capture of Ivrea in 1026 by Conrad II, which may have altered the *status* of that part of the country for the time⁷. Indeed, if the county of Ivrea was conferred on Ulric-Manfred shortly after December 1026, we have an easy explanation of the fourth, fifth and sixth counts. But in any case they carry little weight. Adelaide was under any hypothesis the chief secular power near Fruttuaria c. 1070. The charter of 1094 as likely as not belongs to a Hubert of Castellamonte⁸. The homage due to the Counts of Savoy in the Canavese is more probably due to the wars of Amadeus III⁹. As for the second, Leo appears to refer more to usurpation on Ulric-Manfred's part than to an imperial grant¹⁰. The capture of Ivrea by Conrad in 1026 seems decisive against Ulric-Manfred, then in favour and receiving a diploma (see below, pp. 176-7), being lord of the district. In fact the evidence for the years 1015-25 goes to show that the Marquess was then leading the anti-German and anti-episcopal party.

Thus the general impression we get is that Ulric-Manfred after Ardoin's death turned against his former friends. His wife was an Otbertine; he may have been personally aggrieved by Henry II. Still more, his pro-German attitude had been probably due to jealousy of King Ardoin and dislike of the *secundi milites*. Now episcopal aggression

¹ See below, p. 172, esp. n. 2.

² Car. Reg. CXII. (Ann. Saxo, 1037, *M.G.H. Script.* vi. 680-1).

³ Car. Reg. CLXXXI. CCIII.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCXXVII. (*Carte vescovili d'Ivrea, B.S.S.S.* v. p. 13).

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLXVIII. (*Cartario di S. Solutore, B.S.S.S.* XLIV. p. 50) and CCCXLVI. (*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, Rolls Series, I. p. 37).

⁶ See above, p. 140, n. 1.

⁷ In 1029 two Anscarids, perhaps King Ardoin's sons, appear as Counts of Ivrea (see Carutti, *op. cit.* p. 231). I imagine it was quite possible for them to be in relations of personal dependence (not official with regard to public powers) to their great neighbour, by commendation in short, which later might ripen into complete feudal dependence.

⁸ So Count di Vesme and Prof. Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese, B.S.S.S.* IV. pp. 42-3. But see above, p. 111, n. 5.

⁹ See below, pp. 273-4 and 286.

¹⁰ See below, p. 172, n. 3.

was the enemy, and for a time, as we have seen, it is likely that the *secundi milites* were in accord with the great nobles.

Accordingly we hear from Leo of Vercelli c. 1015¹ that Ulric-Manfred was in alliance with Ardoin's old supporters, the late King's sons, his brother Count Wibert of Pombia, Count Hubert the Red of Vercelli, and a host of other disinherited knights. Their main object was to prevent the Bishops, especially the German Leo of Vercelli, taking possession of the imperial grants of public powers and confiscated property. With two of Henry's councillors, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Würzburg, they maintained friendly relations. None the less they were prepared to shake off the Emperor's rule altogether. Leo even says they were offering King Rudolf III of Burgundy the mark of Ivrea as a bribe for intervention, and one wonders of whom they were thinking as a real ally under the name of the feeble Rudolf. Was it the Anscarid Otto-William of Burgundy?² Meantime they pressed Leo hard. Most of his castles were in their hands. Ulric-Manfred and the sons of King Ardoin seized on Ivrea, and the Marquess even made the citizens swear obedience to himself. Evidently he was trying to extend his Mark³.

Henry II at first was none too anxious to take a definite side. He proposed a Diet at Roncaglia which fell through, while partizan warfare went on vigorously round Vercelli, and talk of electing a new king was echoed by Leo to the Emperor. Still the sturdy Bishop, although hard beset, held out and even gained ground. With his fellow-prelates of Pavia and Novara and some of the Aleramid Marquesses he captured Santhià from Hubert the Red. It was fortunate for him that the Aleramids were partly on his side, and the Otbertines crippled by the captivity of two of their number⁴.

¹ For these letters of Leo, and comment on them, see Bloch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bischofs Leo v. Vercelli u. seiner Zeit* in *Neues Archiv*, xxii.

² See above, pp. 15-19. Bloch, *op. cit.*, points out that Henry II's campaign in Burgundy was probably directed against the danger which thence threatened his Italian kingship.

³ The crucial phrase in Leo's letter 1. (Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 17) is as follows: "Mainfredus cum filiis Ardoini pervasit Iporeiam et communiter cives sibi jurare fecit." Does this mean that Ulric-Manfred (here unquestionably intended, see Bloch, *op. cit.*) was exercising the rights he claimed as Marquess of Ivrea by imperial appointment, or was he engaged in private conquest? The series of events, given in the text, and the fact that Leo is doing his best to stir up Henry's wrath by an account of Ulric-Manfred's misdemeanours, seem to me to be decisive for the latter view. It is also quite possible that *sibi* only refers to the *filiis Ardoini*.

⁴ Two of the latter, Hugh and Obizzo, had escaped. It is doubtful whether Obizzo was an Otbertine (see Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. p. 418), but he would do very well for the hitherto unidentified "Ubertus cognatus Mainfredi" of Leo's letters III. and IV., Manfred's wife being an Otbertine.

Then we find the imperialists gaining the upper hand. With the Bishops of Parma and Novara, with two Aleramids and the Canossan Boniface, Leo besieges the castle of Orba, at the Emperor's command. In vain the rebels ravaged the episcopal lands of Vercelli and Ivrea. At last Ulric-Manfred, Bishop Alric and their allies marched against Leo; but they dared not offer battle, and sought for a parley. Ulric-Manfred expounded the state of things in a few words. "Your knights," he said, "do not wish to capture Orba, and will disperse before you can do so; but, although the Emperor hates me, I will persuade William (the Aleramid) to burn the castle, if only he can have back his knights who continue the rebellion of King Ardoin" (and apparently then in captivity). Leo agreed; the castle was burnt; and we are told that Ulric-Manfred and his brother are seeking pardon¹.

This is all we hear of the strife; but probably the hostilities in which Ulric-Manfred was engaged with his cousin Ardoin V² were not disconnected with it. Like the Aleramids the Ardoinids would thus be divided in politics. No doubt many other of the great stocks, among whom so much of Italian land was portioned, were in the same case; for when Henry II held an assembly of his Italian kingdom at Strassburg, one *Capitulum* he promulgated enacted special penalties for the slaying of a relative. Rights to the dead man's inheritance were lost by the slayer, whose own property escheated to the king³.

In these years Ulric-Manfred appears to keep in the background; sullenly hostile and barely pardoned, we may presume. But in 1021 came the news that the Emperor had decided on a third Italian campaign. The effect of the intelligence on Ulric-Manfred was peculiar. On the 6th June he and his wife Bertha executed a deed of sale of their property stretching through fourteen counties and estimated at 1,000,000 *jugera* in extent. The purchaser was a certain priest, Sigifred, son of Adalgis, and the price was 100,000 silver *denarii*. We can

¹ Bloch, *op. cit.* Letter IV. "Interim dum hec obsidio fit, Wilielmus meum episcopatum vastavit...[Ma]jnfredus facto colloquio cum Uberto et Uberto et [Wi]berto et filiis Ardoini vastavit totum Iporiensem episcopatum et illos milites qui episcopo servire [v]oluerunt. Hoc facto, cum militibus...et cum episcopo Astensi versus nos iter Mainfredus cum Wilielmo incepit, et quia vincere non potuit, colloquium mecum, cum Alberto, cum Bonifacio et cum episcopis expetivit. Consilium tale Mainfredus dedit occulte: "Scio quia vestri milites castellum capere nolunt et cito, vobis nolentibus, recedent. Si vultis, quamvis imperator me odio habeat, tamen faciam quod Wilielmus castellum incendet, si milites suos qui mortuum Ardoinum adhuc ut vivum regnare faciunt, sibi habere potuerit. Et honoratius est imperio et vobis ut castellum incendatur quam vobis nolentibus remaneat....Quia aliter nequivimus, hoc fecimus."

² *Chron. Noval.* App. IX. (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 296), "Illo namque tempore (c. 1013) magna persecutio erat inter Ardoinum et Maginfredum."

³ Hirsch-Bresslau, *Heinrich II.*, III. 140-1.

hardly doubt the sale was a fiction, but every appearance of reality was carefully kept up, Countess Bertha's brother and nephew, both Adalberts, duly certifying that she acted under no duress from her husband¹. Clearly Ulric-Manfred was in fear of confiscation by the Emperor. Was it for unpardoned rebellion, or had Ardoin V got killed in these private wars² and the Marquess in consequence come under the new *Capitulum*?

But nothing happened. In 1021-2 Henry II came and went. Ulric-Manfred did not venture to approach him; but the pious Emperor approved his dealings with the Abbey of Breme³, and did not enter his mark. The Marquess must have learnt with joy that the German army had recrossed the Alps, and, when he later heard of the Emperor's death on the 13th July 1024, he plunged at once into eager plottings to sever Italy from Germany. It was the last chance in that century.

An assembly seems to have been held by the Italian magnates soon after Henry II's death, in order to elect a new king. But no decision was come to. In all probability the episcopate already declared for accepting the king that Germany might elect and thus maintaining the imperial system. But the Marquesses were not inclined to see their power waste away further, and warned by Ardoin's failure, looked for outside help. Nothing was to be hoped from neighbouring Burgundy, distracted by anarchy as it was and ripening for the German dominion. So an embassy was sent by the plotting magnates to the King of France to offer him the crown. How great a share Ulric-Manfred must have borne in this decision is obvious, both from the geographical position of his mark, which commanded the routes from the West to Italy, and from the pains Conrad II took later to conciliate him. However, King Robert of France refused the proffered kingship both for himself and his eldest son Hugh; and the Italian ambassadors at once turned to Duke William V, the Great, of Aquitaine. Of all foreign potentates the Duke was questionless the best candidate. His then wife was an Anscarid, daughter of Otto-William of Burgundy; he was cousin of Eudes of Champagne, the rival of the German Kings in Burgundy, and he was specially well acquainted with Italy owing to his frequent pilgrimages to Rome. None the less he promptly declined the crown for himself, even though fraught with the glittering lure of a coronation at

¹ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. pp. 374-5. *Car. Reg. L. (Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 172)*. This gives the list of counties of 1021. Sigifred son of Adalgis, who also appears as Suffred son of Algis, seems to have entered into Bertha's dower after Ulric-Manfred's death. See below, p. 203.

² He was dead by 1026: see below, p. 176. The day of his death was 9 September. See *Necrol. S. Solutoris, Turin (M.H.P. Script. III. 225)*.

³ See below, p. 182, n. 1.

Rome and the Empire of the West. He was already fifty-six years old for one thing. For his son he was, however, less unbending. After a considerable hesitation he gave consent to the younger William's acceptance of the kingship, on condition that all the Italian Marquesses and Bishops and other great nobles supported the election. Thereupon the envoys took oath to use all their power to obtain this general consent and confer on the younger William both the royal and imperial crowns. They then departed homewards.

Duke William V at once set himself to pave the way for his expedition. He succeeded in inducing King Robert to threaten the western German frontier, and to be reconciled with Count Eudes II of Champagne. But in Italy he was less successful, although he went thither in person and undertook long negotiations. The Bishops, headed by Aribert of Milan and Leo of Vercelli, were obdurate. At Whitsuntide 1025 the Archbishop and some of his party were at the Diet held by the new German King, Conrad II, at Constance, and promised their aid and submission, when he should cross the Alps with his army. The Marquesses on William's side were at their wits' end to deal with this opposition. Some desperately proposed to remove the self-willed Bishops and appoint submissive ones. But Ulric-Manfred and his brother Alric were for no such reckless course, although they would not quite give up the scheme. Duke William, who was a pious prince, of course refused his consent to the sacrilegious scheme and returned to Aquitaine in October 1025, quite disillusioned. He begged Ulric-Manfred, in a letter which has come down to us, to find means to drop the scheme quietly, or, if it must proceed, only to do so with Archbishop Aribert's and Leo of Vercelli's consent. Such an impossible condition ended the negotiations. William's letter shows a profound distrust of his Italian supporters; but in a later epistle to Leo of Vercelli he absolves them of any breach of faith, and particularly praises the character of Ulric-Manfred and his brother¹.

The outcome of the scheme shows clearly how firmly rooted in Italy the German monarchy was by means of its episcopal officials. The great nobility, weakened by the subdivision of their lands and the decay of the public powers with which many of them were invested,

¹ This narrative is abstracted from Bresslau, *Konrad II*, i. 72-81, 106-9. The letter to Manfred is printed in Bouquet, *R. F. et G. Script.* x. 483, that to Leo, *id.* x. 484. In the latter William says: "prudens marchio Maginfridus nec frater ejus Alricus bonus episcopus, quorum me sanissimo plerumque uti consilio nunquam poenituit, quos supra omnes Italos praestantioris ingenii, fidei, et bonitatis esse censeo." Bresslau's dating of the letters seems certain. What William distrusted is not clear, but evidently the support promised him was not given; and probably without guarantees on the Bishops' question his partizans refused to risk anything for him.

and on none too good terms with the lesser landowners, the *secundi milites*, were unable to resist it. For the present the Bishops, besides the strength they drew from their immunities on the country-side, were able in large measure to head the citizen-class in virtue of the public powers they possessed over their cathedral cities, from which the Counts were frequently excluded in the Bishops' favour. The latter, indeed, were rapidly obtaining the actual counties, but perhaps this was not eventually a source of strength, since it identified them too much with the greater nobility.

In February 1026 Conrad II and a powerful army reached Italy by the Brenner, and he was duly crowned by Archbishop Aribert of Milan in March. Easter, which fell on the 10th April, he celebrated at Vercelli with the loyal Leo, whose last festival it was, for he died in Easter week. He next proceeded to attack the now rebel Marquesses, headed by Adalbert the Otbertine and William the Aleramid. Orba, the castle which had resisted Bishop Leo in 1016 and must have been restored since, was taken with places of lesser note¹. It is probably to this date that we should assign two royal diplomas which were all-important for the Ardoinids. One, unhappily lost, was in favour of Ulric-Manfred himself². The other, which is still preserved, is the confirmation, *Car. Reg. LXIV.*³, of their possessions given to Boso and Guido, the two sons of Ardoin V, and ancestors of the House of Romagnano. These diplomas mark the reconciliation of the House of Turin to Conrad II, and their acceptance of the Romano-Germanic Empire. As I have had before occasion to insist⁴, Conrad II and his successors were thoroughly alive to the importance of securing the West Alpine passes. Not only (as Ulric-Manfred's alliance with Duke William had just shown) was this a necessary condition of the safety of their Italian domination, all French and Western rivalry being held far aloof: but

¹ Bresslau, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 121-5.

² Bresslau, *op. cit.* 1. p. 376, n. 3. Terraneo, *Adelaide...illustrata*, II. p. 120. The diploma or a copy of it was seen by the Papal Notary Michelantonio Rossi of Ivrea in 1707; as it was granted by *King* Conrad, it must fall before the imperial coronation in February 1027. But it may belong to the winter when Conrad was at Ivrea. The same doubt applies to *Car. Reg. LXIV.* which has neither date nor place of granting mentioned.

³ *M.G.H. Dipl.* 83. No date or place; but Conrad is still only king. That Boso and Guido were Ardoin V's sons is made probable by the chronology. Ardoin V's activity after his father's death dates from 999-1020, being already married by 1000 (*Will. Mon. Chron.* xv. *M.H.P. Script.* III. 260). They appear in 1026. They are both dead, and Guido's son Ulric of full age and married in 1040. Ardoin III had died c. 976; Oddo I, c. 996. Thus we have generations of twenty years in this early marrying age. Ardoin IV would hardly outlive his two brothers by twenty years.

⁴ See above, pp. 31, 100.

also a new route to Italy was thus provided for the imperial armies, by means of the control of the Western Alps. Thus North Italy could be held in a vice, and hostile forces taken in the rear. I think a definite scheme can be made out. Burgundy was to be (and soon was in 1034) annexed. Then on each side of the Alps the passes of the Great St Bernard and the Mont Cenis were to be entrusted to a single loyal House, the Savoyards in Burgundy, the Ardoinids in Italy, and those two Houses were to be bound to the imperial dynasty by continual favour and by family alliance¹. Not that the policy here suggested sprang into existence full-grown in 1026, or that the control of the passes was the sole reason of the favour shown to the Ardoinids. On the one point, the policy was slowly mapped out and added to, perhaps Ivrea being given (if it ever was) in 1026-7, primogeniture being encouraged², and finally both sides of the Alps being placed under the Humbertines by the marriage of Oddo I and Adelaide³. On the second, it has been shown⁴ that the Emperors were evidently anxious to find some counterweight to their too powerful friends the Canossan Marquesses, who by the observance of primogeniture and by the acquisition of Tuscany became shortly the greatest House in Italy, and formidable rivals to the Franconian dynasty itself.

In the autumn Conrad was again marching westwards across the Lombard plain, holding assemblies of the submissive and crushing the rebels. Among the latter was the city of Ivrea, which Conrad carried by assault, and where he kept his Christmas. Who headed the resistance we do not know, but presumably it was some members of the Anscarid stock, possibly Ardoin's sons. Conrad's characteristically thorough procedure, so different from the methods of his predecessor, bore fruit here as usual. Piedmont ceased to be in danger. In case Ulric-Manfred ever had Ivrea added to his mark, which as we have seen is extremely doubtful⁵, it must have been at this time, when he had become the Emperor's friend. Meantime Rudolf of Burgundy saw himself threatened from the south, and as we know at length became decided in his policy⁶. Soon after Conrad II marched south to Rome, where he was crowned Emperor in February 1027. But his further doings on this campaign do not concern the Ardoinids.

¹ c. 1080, "(Henricus IV) hanc (Adalaidem) tamen offendere ratus non esse sibi integrum, eo quod regni quodammodo claves et Longobardiae teneret aditum." Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb. (M.H.P. Script. III. 292)*.

² See above, p. 155, and below, pp. 208, 216-17, 223-4.

³ See below, p. 221.

⁴ e.g. Hellmann, *Die Grafen v. Savoyen, etc.* pp. 16-17.

⁵ See above, pp. 170-1.

⁶ See above, pp. 25-7.

The impression he had made in west Lombardy was prodigious; only the Devil it was there thought could be responsible for so much success¹.

It does not appear whether Ulric-Manfred took a personal share in the Burgundian campaign of 1034, although doubtless his levies were sent to it². Thus it seems best here to turn to the Ardoinids' achievements in the arts of peace, i.e., to their monastic policy, especially as Ulric-Manfred was zealous in that direction in the years 1025-30. We have seen that his uncle Oddo I c. 995 founded the priory of Pollenzo under Brema-Novalesa³. This began the monastic work in Aurade; but Ardoin V, Oddo I's son, was concerned in a far more important foundation, that of the famous abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa⁴.

It was about the close of 997 that St John Vincenzo, a disciple of the more famous St Romuald, resigned the archbishopric of Ravenna which he had held since 982, and came to fix his hermitage among the woods on Monte Caprasio (by the present Celle) at the mouth of the

¹ Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 133-43 and 188. The Devil-story is from Radulphus Glaber, IV. 2, *M.G.H. Script.* VII. 67.

² See above, pp. 34-6.

³ See above, pp. 149-50.

⁴ I here follow Padre Savio's view that the foundation of Chiusa is to be dated 998-1000, not in 966 as once (c. 262-3) stated by our authority Willelmus Monachus (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 251-66). But the latter places the foundation under Otto III, Pope Sylvester II and Bishop Amizo of Turin (ob. 999), and gives as first Abbot Advertus, who had been Abbot of Lézat c. 983-7, and who dies shortly after the building. For the contrary opinion (maintained against Provana before Padre Savio's articles) see Carutti, *Il conte Umberto I e il re Ardoino*, App. IV. pp. 347-53. Padre Savio's views are given in his *Sulle origini dell' Abazia di S. Michele della Chiusa*, 1888; and with some modifications by G. E. Ranieri in his excellent *Sacra di S. Michele* (Parte II. Cap. I. esp. pp. 161-8). I have ventured to take a slightly varying view as to the churches. There are archaeologically three: (i) the primitive Longobardic chapel; (ii) the second church; (iii) the undoubtedly later present one. Padre Savio attributes (ii) with the monastery to Hugh le Descousu with whom St John Vincent would "cooperate." Ranieri, in view of the foundation being attributed to St John in the twelfth century, argues that St John built (ii) and that Hugh added the monastery, perhaps completing the church (for Will. Mon. c. 262 says: "ad perficiendam ecclesiae fabricam"). But Willelmus Monachus' story clearly implies that St John's church was mainly of wood. Hence we cannot expect to find many remains of it. He probably restored and roofed in (i): and Hugh would build (ii) and the monastery. Thus there is no need to explain away Willelmus Monachus' account as to either St John or Hugh building a church. I ought to say that in accepting the date 998-1000 we have to explain Radulphus Glaber's statement (*V. S. Guilelmi...Divion.* Acta SS. Jan. I. p. 59) that St William of Dijon during his residence at Lucedio (which ended in 987) went to the "monastery" of St Michael in the Alps, and prayed in the church, by saying that the Lombard chapel was there in 987, and that the "monastery" existed in Ralph Glaber's day c. 1025; and has thus slipped into his narrative.

Val di Susa just beyond the defile where Desiderius and his Lombards held Charlemagne at bay. It has been suggested¹ that he had previously inhabited the same locality in his earlier hermit-life before he became archbishop; but this must remain a mere conjecture. Opposite his cell on the other side of the valley there rose the conical peak of Monte Pirchiriano², covered like Caprasio with woods; and it was not long before the Saint received a special intimation from the Archangel Michael that he should raise a sanctuary in his honour. No spot was prescribed, but, when John Vincenzo set about hewing wood for the erection, the logs were transported in the night by angelic hands to the summit of Monte Pirchiriano. There accordingly the Saint finished his little church, and obtained Bishop Amizo of Turin's consent to consecrate it. The Bishop came, but in the night a column of fire descended on the hill, and he found the church already consecrated by obvious miracles³.

So far the story. The mount had almost certainly been the seat of the worship of some Alpine god—there is evidence of a Roman building where the church stands—whose nature can be conjectured from that of his Christian successor. He had slain the monster who once preyed on the country round from that height, whether a divinity still more ancient, real beast or dragon of darkness⁴. In Christian times, perhaps under the Lombards, a small rock-scooped church was substituted, of which fragments still remain in the present crypt⁵.

Not long after a wicked Auvergnat knight, Hugues le Descousu (de Montboissier⁶), when on pilgrimage at Rome, was set by his countryman Pope Sylvester the construction of a monastery as a penance for his sins. During his return to France he halted at Susa, and decided on Monte Pirchiriano as the site. It was just the place which would appeal to the Roman pilgrim, situated as it was at the end of the Alpine

¹ Ranieri, *op. cit.* p. 147. For St John Vincenzo's identification and date, see Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 41 ff.

² It has been suggested (Ranieri, *op. cit.* p. 154, n. 1) that Porcariano is the real form, from the pigs feeding there. Certainly Henry III seems to call it so (*Car. Reg.* cxxvi.; D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. II. III. 386).

³ Willelm. Monach. *Chron. S. Mich. de Clusa*, IV.—XI. (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 252—6). William adds the "tendenziös" statement that Amizo freed the church from his successors' secular domination.

⁴ So it was at the Norman Mt St Michel, where we have the legend of King Arthur slaying the ogre (*Mort d'Arthur*, v. 5), and at Cornish Mt St Michael, where Jack the Giant-killer plays a similar rôle. The conical isolated hill seems essential to the fane and the story.

⁵ It must have been at this sanctuary that St William of Dijon prayed. See above, p. 178, n. 4.

⁶ For Hugues' ancestry and descendants and the family possessions, see Savio, *Sulle origini dell'Abazia di S. Michele della Chiusa*, pp. 19 ff.

transit over the Mont Cenis, where trade and movement were reviving after the disappearance of the Saracens, and where there were no hospitable monks since those of Novalesa had removed to Turin and Breme. Hugh's first measure was to acquire the alod of the Mount. He proceeded back to Avigliana where Ardoin V, its owner¹, was then residing and bought it outright. Then in concert with St John Vincenzo, he appointed Advertus, ex-Abbot of Lézat, who was then at Susa, first Abbot, and himself left for home to raise money for the building. At the promised time he returned and this time bought the township of Chiusa from the thrifty Ardoin. The last benefit he conferred on his foundation was the obtaining of bull and precept from Sylvester II and Otto III, which confirmed its status and possessions². St John Vincent was already dead in January 1000³, nor did Advertus long survive. The next Abbot was the great Benedict I who was elected c. 1002⁴, under whom the new church and buildings, which replaced the Lombard chapel and St John Vincenzo's wooden additions to it, were no doubt completed. Ardoin V did not only sell his favours. He gave several domains to the Abbey, to which his cousin Hugh probably added Chivasso⁵. In fact the improvement of the Mont Cenis route and the recovery of the Val di Susa for civilization furnished secular motives which would influence the Ardoinids, as well as the obvious religious ones. The Marquesses would not be wholly unconscious of their duties as holders of the "public power"; they were not mere feudal landowners; and that day would give them some satisfaction *qui primus alma risit adorea*. It would be hard to imagine a more fitting or impressive site for a monastic foundation, than the Mount on which the Sagra S. Michele now stands. Lonely and aloof among its woods, with a prospect that extends far and wide over the strath of the Val di Susa and the endless Lombard Plain and up to the snow-clad peaks of the Graian Alps, with the cultivated fields below and the wild life at its doors, the religious recluse could temper to almost any mood his daily meditation. And though the sanctuary rose apart it was in full view of the ways of men. Down in the valley through the

¹ This is another sign that the Ardoinids practised real division of their lands. See above, pp. 151-2. I think we may trust the story though with caution. See below, p. 234, n. 1.

² Thus c. 1001. Willelm. Monach. makes a difficulty by stating that a diploma was obtained on this visit from Amizo, dead c. 999 (Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 336-7). But as he makes the Bishop free the place from all episcopal restraints and this is not alluded to during the controversy with Bishop Cunibert by Pope Gregory VII, his statement is open to suspicion. See below, pp. 234-5.

³ See Savio, *op. cit.* p. 337.

⁴ Ranieri, *op. cit.* p. 172.

⁵ Car. Reg. cxxvi. (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. II. III. 386).

summer months there passed a continuous stream of travellers, pilgrims, merchants and adventurers, the shifting links of the chain that bound Italy to the West. All the pageantry and the pains, the sudden chances and the long unceasing effort of human existence were there unrolled day by day. How many tales must the hospitable monks have heard in their guest-chamber, all the varied shapes of life passing bright and fevered through the very midst of the sacred monotony of the rule.

We next find the Ardoinids as benefactors of the neighbouring Fruttuaria between 1003 and 1014. Ulric-Manfred, his wife Bertha, his brothers Bishop Alric and Oddo II, and Ardoin V among them gave lands in the counties of Turin, Ivrea and Aurade¹. Oddo II we find again later making a grant of land at Rivalta to St Peter's Monastery at Turin². This is a bare fact; but of Ardoin V's dealings with Novalesa we have quite a history. Already by 1014, he had added Cavallerleone and Magra to his father's gift of Pollenzo³. Now c. 1014⁴ Abbot Geoffrey appointed one of his monks, named Oddo, Prior of the latter dependency. Oddo was only a monk by necessity. He had been badly wounded in some battle and his hopes in the world were thus disappointed. But his ambition and zeal to play a great part lived on under the cowl. Ardoin V was then at war with Ulric-Manfred and apparently in want of money. The unscrupulous Prior saw his chance, and offered a bribe to the Marquess, if only he would appoint him Abbot of Pollenzo. Ardoin, however, objected that his father, Oddo I, had already given Pollenzo absolutely to Breme⁵. Thereupon Prior Oddo stole the charters of the gift; and now that there was nothing to show on what tenure Breme had held the land, Ardoin V took his protégé to Rome, paid heavy fees to the Pope and got him consecrated Abbot of the new abbey of Pollenzo. Geoffrey, in great indignation at the news, went to Rome in his turn and told the whole story. The Pope was convinced, suspended the anathema over the offenders' heads, and declared Oddo's appointment as Abbot null. Armed with the Papal brief Abbot Geoffrey could appeal to Ulric-Manfred. The Marquess took up the cause—Ardoin V vanishes in a perplexing way from the story; was he dead naturally or killed?—and

¹ Car. Reg. xxxviii. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* III. p. 379). The places, where the donations were, are Mathl, Scarnafigi, Gassino, Cortereggi and Turin.

² Car. Reg. xlii. (Mulletti, *Memorie storico-diplom. di Saluzzo*, I. p. 148).

³ Car. Reg. xxxix. (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* I. p. 134, *M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. 71). I have not been able to find Magra. Was it part of the Val di Maira?

⁴ In 1014 Geoffrey first appears as abbot. See Carutti, *Contr. Umberto ecc.* p. 254, and Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* I. 440. As the Bull of 1014 (Car. Reg. xxxix.) confirms Pollenzo to Breme, it presumably dates from Geoffrey's visit of protest to Rome (*id.* 133-4).

⁵ See above, pp. 149-50.

captured the unruly Prior, who was compelled to retire into private monastic life¹.

This tale happily explains why Oddo I's charter to Breme is not preserved; but it also illustrates the fact that a dependent monastery was a valuable asset to a lay seigneur, which he might be only too eager to secure; since, in view of the journey to Rome and the fees there paid, the immediate monetary inducement cannot have been overwhelming to Ardoin.

Of the latter we now take leave. By the younger of his two sons he was the ancestor of the Marquesses of Romagnano; but these in spite of high birth and claims never played a leading part in Piedmontese history².

Ulric-Manfred's zeal for monasticism, however, did not really begin till towards the close of his life; for we may omit Bishop Alric's foundation of S. Aniano in 1024³, since it was endowed from the revenues of his see. Perhaps the fact, which we may guess at from the entail of his charters⁴, that he had only one sickly son, may have had something to do with it, or the good results obtained from Chiusa and Fruttuaria may have led him on. In any case besides less important donations to S. Salvatore⁵, and S. Solutore⁶ of Turin, and to SS. Apostoli of Asti⁷, these years are marked by two great foundations of Ulric-Manfred, that

¹ *Chron. Noval.* App. IX. (Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* II. 295). Oddo, however, soon resumed his former courses, was deposed formally by Emperor Henry II in a synod, then given a priory by the patient Geoffrey to get him out of the way, made an Abbot by Alric of Asti (? of S. Dalmazzo), then many years after obtained Breme itself, which he tyrannized over. I should add that Count Cipolla explains the story in the text as an actual usurpation of Breme itself. It is hard to say on what phrase of the obscure chronicler most stress should be laid, but the version in the text seems to me the most consistent. The more important passages are the following: "Oddo ...abiit ad Ardoinum, postulatus est eum, pecuniam dante atque pollicente, ut illum abbatem faceret de cella unde prioratum habebat. Marchio autem dixit se non posse facere, quia pater suus dederat Bremetensi monasterio....Statim quippe Jude pedagogus furatus est cartas, reddidit Ardoino....Maginfredus preparat se ad capiendum leviathan. Incepit et perfecit. Insuper omnibus modis juravit, ita dicendo: 'Ego Oddo monachus diebus vite meae amplius Bremetensem abbatiam non accipiam, neque sine licentiam domni mei Gottefredi abbatibus abbatiam nec prioratum habebō.'"

² See Carutti, *Umberto I ecc.* pp. 248-9, and Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. p. 379, where however, by a slip of the pen, he forgets his own conclusions on pp. 363 and 364 and makes Ardoin V son of Oddo II, not of Oddo I, which is impossible, as Ardoin V is acting on his own responsibility by 1014 and Oddo II is living in 1016, not to mention the chronological difficulty.

³ *Car. Reg.* LV1. (*Antiche Carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. xxviii. p. 304).

⁴ See above, p. 154, notes 2 and 4.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* LXIX. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 175), LXX. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 472), LXXV. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 477).

⁶ *Car. Reg.* LXXXVIII. (*Cartario S. Solutore*, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 10).

⁷ *Car. Reg.* LXXXV. (cf. *Libro verde...d'Asti*, II. 200).

of the nunnery of Caramagna in conjunction with his wife Bertha, and that of the abbey of S. Giusto of Susa, in conjunction with Bertha and his brother, Bishop Alric.

The abbey of Caramagna was founded by Ulric-Manfred and his wife, the 28th May 1028¹. Ten thousand *jugera* of land were assigned to it, scattered between Turin and Revello and the sea. I may note specially that half of the donors' possessions in Val di Maira (and they seem to have owned all) were part of the endowment—another instance of the design of reclaiming wasted territories in the Alps. Further, the nunnery is carefully exempted from any episcopal control and placed under the hereditary protection of Ulric-Manfred and his descendants. Here again we see how the foundation was not intended to strengthen the immune Bishop of Turin, but the House of the donors.

The monastery of S. Giusto has, if we may believe Ralph Glaber, a stranger origin. He says that a certain rascal, known under several names, made a living by the "invention" of saints' bones, which he obtained by researches in churchyards by night. Becoming too well known in France, he emigrated to the more credulous Alpine folk. Here he produced a corpse which he declared to be that of St Just of Beauvais. Under divine suffrance the powers of evil worked various miracles through the bones as the worthy inventor pursued his travels. Now Ulric-Manfred was then building his monastery to the Virgin Mary at Susa, and was in consequence on the *qui vive* for any relics, when Stephen, to give him one of his names, entered the valley. The Marquess promptly seized on the relics, and enshrined them in his new foundation as authentic ones. There would appear to be no good reason for denying this story. Suspicions evidently got about, since the bones of St Just of Beauvais were known to be elsewhere. So gradually in the eleventh century a legend grew up of a mythical monastery at Oulx, the denizens of which were massacred by the heathen Lombards, or later by the heathen Saracens, and thus gave the church the name of Plebs Martyrum. And finally the St Just honoured at Susa and his companion at St Flavian were identified with two of these martyrs, and we have as a result St Just of Oulx².

¹ Car. Reg. LXVIII. (*Carte di Caramagna in Misc. Saluzzese, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 61*). For the entail see above, p. 154 and n. 2.

² The story is in Radulph. Glab. *Hist. Lib.* iv. 3 (Bouquet, x. 46) and, with the variation that the relics were genuine, in some Latin verses, Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* I. 416-21. The above view is that of Padre Savio, *Il Monastero di S. Giusto di Susa, Rivista storica benedettina*, Anno II. Fasc. VI. 1907, and *S. Giusto di Beauvais e non S. Giusto d'Oulx, id.* Anno III. Fasc. XII. The defence of St Just of Oulx is undertaken by Père Kieffer in *id.* Anno III. Fasc. x.-xi. Plebs Martyrum appears in reality to be a corruption of the Roman "mansio ad Martem" identical with Oulx. See *Cartario...d'Oulx, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. vi.*

However this may be, the charter of foundation of S. Giusto di Susa is dated the 9th July 1029¹. It was extraordinarily richly endowed. One-third of the town and of the whole valley of Susa was given, the latter stretching from the Mont Genève and Mont Cenis to Vayes. We are reminded at once that one-third was Ulric-Manfred's original share of the valley², and wonder if it represented his entire landed possessions there at the date of foundation. Of course the "public powers," military, judicial and financial, did not pass. The feudal jurisdiction was yet in its infancy. But the third of the valley was not all that was given. Almese, Rubiana, Vigone and half Volvera were added; and, by a singular proceeding, in a duplicate charter of the grant there were also conferred the monastery of S. Mauro Pulcherada, Sambuy, Mathl, Rivalta, Orbazzano, etc.³ Thus at a single bound S. Giusto became a great abbey. In 1033⁴ the same donors increased their gifts by Mocchie, Priola, etc., and the right of pannage from the sea to the river Stura. In all this I think may be observed the same anxiety to recultivate the Alpine valleys, and the lands wasted by the Saracens; and to civilize and facilitate for pilgrims the great thoroughfare of the Mont Cenis. Even so the endowment was recklessly generous, although Manfred could not foresee what powers land-owning would confer a century later. On the other hand the loyalty of the two great abbeys of the Pass probably helped to keep it for Ulric-Manfred's descendants of Savoy.

Another incident in monastic history casts light on Ulric-Manfred's relations with his subjects. About February 1027 the great Abbot Odilo of Cluny obtained from the Emperor the vacant Abbey of Novalesa-Breme for his nephew, a younger Odilo. But the young scamp had little resemblance to his sainted uncle; he surrounded himself with a band of jovial knights, and, worse still, enfeoffed to them the lands which provided victuals for his subordinate monks. The Emperor's patience wore out and he granted the abbey as a benefice to Bishop Alberic of Como. Both monks and Abbot, however, resisted this fresh charge on them, and the Bishop found it best to implore the aid of Ulric-Manfred and his brother Alric to capture Abbot Odilo and compel his submission. Openly they dared not act, for they feared the citizens of Turin; so Odilo was lured into the toils by an invitation, and then handed

¹ Car. Reg. LXXVI. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 61).

² See above, p. 152.

³ The second original's variants are given by Cipolla, *Bricciole di storia Novalic*. Bull. istit. stor. ital. 22, p. 12.

⁴ Car. Reg. XCIV. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 76). Count Cipolla describes the document as a false original. But in substance it seems genuine. See, however, below, p. 201, n. 2.

over to Bishop Alberic. Thereupon the Turinese rose in riot, apparently in a kind of assembly. They strove to rescue the Abbot, but Ulric-Manfred and his knights were too strong for them. And Alberic kept his prey in durance vile until he did fealty. It is true that soon after St Peter wounded the wicked Bishop in the groin one night at Breme. Alberic fled dying towards Como, and another Bishop succeeded him in the suzerainty of the abbey. But with him Ulric-Manfred has nothing to do¹. What the story shows is the rise of independent action among the citizens even in the backward mark of Turin.

The last public act we know of Ulric-Manfred is related to religious troubles. The great religious movement of the eleventh century was not wholly confined to the official developments in the Church. It was not to be expected that it should be, for the causes of the movement were operating widely on varied states of culture, various classes, natures of men, and countries. First and foremost, perhaps, we may put the intense misery which the populations had suffered in the decline of the Carolingian Empire. Of this they were made the more conscious and the more apt to seek a remedy from it, by the revival which had been in progress ever since Otto the Great. Burghers were acquiring some independence in their cities; serfs were safe from wild non-Christian ravage; efforts for peace were being made under the Church's lead in spite of anarchical private war. Even the slowly growing feudal prerogatives of the lords were better than mere disorder; and it is to be remembered that, with the decrease in the free population, the grants of immunity would have the less effect on the actual life of the countryman. They might even induce an improvement in it by favouring the growth of baronial courts where the serf could have a standing-ground among his fellows. Lastly, more culture and thought were dribbling in from the East, of which the marriage of Otto II and the rise of Venice are obvious evidence.

Thus we find growing independence, growing prosperity and growing civilization fermenting amid a chaos of barbarism, disorder and evil tyranny. What wonder if besides the strong, workaday ideals of the Holy Roman Empire, and besides the silent practice of united action, which was to bring forth the Communes, there was also the less

¹ *Chron. Noval.* App. v.-vii. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novalic.* II. 292-4). For its bearing on the decay of the mark, see below, Section VI. p. 254. The passage referring to Ulric-Manfred's action runs: (Ulric-Manfred) "palam omnino nequivit facere quod optabat (Albericus). Timebat enim cives ipsius civitatis (Taurini). Sed malum cetrinum ipsi dirigens mandansque ut ad se veniret, et sic tradidit. In crastinum autem convenientes omnes cives in unum, voluerunt abbatem eripere vi, sed predictus marchio cum turba militare prevaluit, interdicens illis ne quid offenderent."

worldly idea of the Church, of flight from the evil world and of the supremacy of spiritual things? Now the Church, ruled by statesman-like Bishops and masterful Abbots, cherished this ideal, but had also common-sense, and the knowledge of what was practicable. It was equipped, too, with sober learning and study: nor did it fail to provide a comparatively harmless refuge for less balanced fanaticism. But there were other natures of a wilder cast, who abhorred a *via media*; other more fevered or dreamier minds to whom the mysticism that crept along like a strange, delusive vapour, from the East, seemed to offer a new sovran knowledge that annihilated all the old so painfully acquired. Hence it was that the beginning of the eleventh century is marked by an outbreak of strange heresies in France and Italy. It is impossible to judge of these fairly, as we only know them through hostile statements. But in general they appear to have been Manichaean. Asceticism was the rule of life. Material things and all the works of the flesh were evil. The powers of the Catholic priesthood were denied. The Bible-story was wholly allegoric¹. It will be noticed how like much of this sounds to a parody of medieval Christianity. In the eleventh century it seems that no accusation worse than wild heresy was brought against the professors of this form of creed. Rather they were mainly of exemplary life. But we can hardly deny that their views were destructive to organized human society.

Now a centre of these heretics was at Monforte near Alba. There a certain Countess (of which of the great families?) was a convert, and all the inhabitants of the castle were partakers of her error. The knowledge of their doings spread, the unhappy Countess was supposed to be attended by devils, such as those who had made Conrad II and Michael IV Emperors by their aid, but who, as it turned out, were extremely inefficient protectors. A guerrilla war went on between the heretics and Ulric-Manfred and Alric, aided by other Marquesses and Bishops; and any obstinate wretches, who were captured and would not recant, were condemned to the flames. But the *coup de grâce* was the work of Aribert of Milan. He came to Turin with a large force of clergy and knights, and investigated the views of Gerard, one of the Monfortans. Their heresy was clear from Gerard's answers. Soon the castle was captured and the indwellers taken to Milan for conversion. They were still obstinate, and the chief citizens, in spite of Aribert's resistance, seized on them, built a pyre and a cross, and offered them

¹ See e.g. Landulf. Mediol. II. 27 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 65). Though this is a rather late narrative, the absence of all accusations save those of false doctrine is in its favour. Cf. Anselm, *Leod.* 62-4 (*M.G.H. Script.* VII. 226-8). Ralph Glaber (IV. 2, *M.G.H. Script.* VII.) adds an idol and animal sacrifices; but that is just the kind of thing a popular story such as his goes astray on.

their choice. Some gave way, but more leapt into the flames. For a time heresy in Italy was driven under ground¹.

At the time of these occurrences at Monforte Ulric-Manfred was not far from his end. Before the 23rd December 1035 he was dead and buried in the cathedral of Turin². As the day of his death was the 29th of October³, 1035 is the most likely year, although 1034 remains just possible. His son, if he had really had one⁴, seems to have predeceased him⁵. Of his daughters we know at least three, Adelaide, Irmingarde or Immula, and Bertha. The first and her possible duplication must be discussed in a separate section. Immula's two German marriages are also too closely connected with high politics

¹ See Radulph. Glaber, *Hist.* iv. 2, where the mention of Michael IV shows 1034 is the earliest date for the capture of the castle. Terraneo (*Adelaide...illustrata*, Pt II. c. 18) on this hint placed the account of Aribert's capture of the castle (Landulf. Mediol. II. 27 (*M.G.H.* VIII. 65)) on the Archbishop's return from Burgundy with his army in autumn 1034. But perhaps it happened later. Landulf does not mention Ulric-Manfred. Radulph. Glaber (*loc. cit.*) says of him: "Sepissime denique tam Mainfredus marchionum prudentissimus, quam frater ejus Alricus Astensis urbis praesul, in cujus scilicet diocesi locatum habebatur predictum castrum (this seems to be an error), ceterique marchiones ac presules circumcirca creberrimos illis assultus intulerunt, capientes ex eis nonnullos, quos dum non quivissent revocare ab insania igne cremavere."

² *Car. Reg.* CIII. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 123), CIV. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 121). He was buried before the altar of Sma. Trinità.

³ *Car. Reg.* CI. (*Necrol. S. Solutoris*, *M.H.P.* Script. III. 227). For 1035, see Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 376, and Terraneo, *op. cit.* II. 20.

⁴ That he had one son who was not expected to survive is the impression given by the entails of Caramagna and S. Giusto di Susa (see above, p. 154, notes 2 and 4). The Annalista Saxo (*M.G.H.* Script. VI. 695) states that Adelaide was sister "comitis qui agnominatus est de Monte Bardonis in Italia." The Annalist is so well-informed on genealogy that one does not like to reject his statement; but one would expect a Marquess and Mombardone is not to be found. Bard (Hellmann, *Die Grafen v. Savoyen*, p. 13) is impossible, being in Aosta and Burgundy. Bardonnechia (Terraneo, *op. cit.* Pt II. c. 23) is too trifling a place. Two possibilities are thus suggested: (i) Mombardone is the well-known district on the route from Parma to Pontremoli. Here Countess Bertha's kindred had possessions (Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 426-7). Did her son inherit land there (which is M. Renaux' view, *Le Marquis Odon I^{er}*, pp. 677-81), or is the Count not Adelaide's brother after all and the text corrupt? (ii) Mons Bardonis is a slip for Mons Ferradensis: since Adelaide was either wife or sister-in-law of Marquess Henry of the Aleramids of Montferrat.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CIII. (see above, n. 2) has been held (Carutti, *Il conte Umberto I ecc.* p. 332) to show that "the Count of Mombardone" survived his father Ulric-Manfred: but as pointed out by Labruzzi (*La monarchia di Savoia*, p. 281) the words "in potestate...Berthe comitisse aut de ejus filio et domine Adalagie vel de ejus filium masculorum jamdicte domine Adalagie si habuerit" are almost certainly a corruption of some form like that in the contemporaneous CIV. (above, n. 2), "in potestate...Berte comitisse aut de ejus filie nomine Adaleige, vel de ejus filium masculinum jamdicte domine Adaleige si abuerit." Unluckily the two charters have not yet been revised from the documents. The original of CIV. exists; only a copy of CIII.

to be separated from subsequent history. Bertha, whose importance for the time was much less than that of her sisters, married Teto, an Aleramid Marquess, ancestor of the House of Vasto¹. Of her we know five sons, the eldest of whom, Manfred, bore his grandfather's name, while a younger one, Boniface, was to found the marquessate of Saluzzo on the wrecks of the mark of Turin. Teto was dead by 1064, and this is all we know of him. From the two documents preserved concerning her we may suspect that Bertha's inheritance lay largely, if not wholly, between the lower Belbo and Tanaro². As we shall see, there is some ground to think that a kind of primogeniture was enforced by Ulric-Manfred and the Emperor in order to maintain the mark.

The history of Ulric-Manfred's rule, as it has appeared in this section, shows a consistent development of policy. In his earlier years his chief aim is to increase the power of his House by rapid acquisitions of territory and status. He is jealous of King Ardoin, and by allying himself with the German Henry acquires control of the great diocese of Asti and its wealthy city. Then with Ardoin's ruin he turns against his former friends, maintains long hostilities with the Germanophil bishops and finally attempts to introduce a new dynasty from Aquitaine. Throughout these phases the desire for his personal independence and

¹ See Bresslau, *op. cit.* I. 399-401. This is the tradition preserved in the fourteenth century, v. Jacobus Aquensis, *Chron. Ymag. Mundi* (M.H.P. Script. III. 1540): "De filio Alerami Tete dicto descenderunt marchiones de Saluciis inter alios. Et tunc quidam comes dominabatur in comitatu Pedemontis circa partes Taurini et Pinarolii. Et iste comes moritur sine filio masculo, duabus pulcris filiabus relictis. Quarum una data est comiti Sabaudie et pars comitatus cum ea, et altera marchioni Saluciarum cum alia parte comitatus et cum parte ville Bargiarum." M. Renaux (*Le Marquis Odon 1^{er} de Savoie*, pp. 743-5) argues that Bertha cannot be a daughter of Ulric-Manfred, (i) because she never appears with Adelaide and Immilla; (ii) because her lands lay not in the county of Alba, but in that of Loreto; (iii) because Adelaide and Immilla only deal with halves, not thirds, of their possessions; (iv) because Bertha's son Boniface of Vasto married an Ardoinid Adelaide. The answers to which arguments are: (i) Immilla, too, only appears when she returned to central Piedmont in 1074. (ii) Bertha's lands are part of the Ardoinid R. Belbo group (see below, n. 2). The "rural" county of Loreto does not seem to exist c. 1060. It had not been split from Alba then. (iii) See above, pp. 151-5. Immilla's documents (see below, p. 232, n. 4) do not seem to mention her having half of any *curtis*. (iv) The Ardoinid descent of Boniface's wife is conjectural. Dispensations were always possible, and it seems that Boniface's marriage (which was thought incestuous for another reason—his wife had been betrothed to his elder brother) was never recognized (see below, p. 210, and Savio there cited).

² At any rate Calosso, Castagnole, Loreto and Montaldo are found all together there. The documents are Car. Reg. CLXIV. [Car. Sup. XVII.] (Desimoni, *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, XXVIII. pp. 275 and 280) and Car. Reg. CLXV. (*id.* p. 275). They are dated 30 September 1064 and 12 May 1065. Teto was already dead.

that for the extension of his mark seem the predominant motives, and deeply rooted ones they were among the great nobles of North Italy. National feeling, it will be noticed, is hardly yet to be found in this class. Then on the failure of his schemes and the unquestioned success of the Emperor Conrad, he appears to have reconciled himself to the new state of affairs. Now he is content to be the loyal supporter of the Emperor, and makes his primary object the internal development of his mark. Its growing prosperity is to be seen in the insubordination of the citizens of Turin, and its awakening from the Dark Ages in the re-birth of heresy.

Ulric-Manfred's character is but little known to us. Prudence and good faith and religious feeling are however mentioned by his contemporaries¹ and his dealings with Bishop Leo of Vercelli and Duke William of Aquitaine show the diplomat. St Peter Damian praises his charity to the poor; and that of his wife to the hermits, who then, the most exalted upholders of asceticism, were dotted about the waste places of Piedmont. Six or seven monasteries, says the saint, owed their foundations to him, but his wealth was not diminished, for his grandsons ruled much of Burgundy as well as Italy². In short he appears as a good specimen of the greater feudalists³ who were effecting the revival from past anarchy.

SECTION IV. THE MARRIAGES OF COUNTESS ADELAIDE.

Before we can enter on the history of Adelaide's rule, we find ourselves face to face with a problem similar to that of the two Humberts. Are we dealing with one or two Adelaides? Are the three husbands we know of husbands of the same Adelaide, or are they to be apportioned as well as may be between two ladies of that name? That there was only one Adelaide, who married three times (i) Herman, Duke of Swabia, (ii) Henry, Marquess of Montferrat and (iii) Oddo I Count of

¹ See above, p. 175, n. 1, p. 187, n. 1.

² St Peter Damian, *Opera Omnia*, Paris 1663, Vol. III. p. 90, Opusculum IX. Cap. v. Ulric-Manfred used to feast the poor on Easter-day, himself waiting at table and dining on the broken meats. Bertha always gave twice as much as what the hermits asked. Their evident number shows the waste state of Piedmont. Only two of the monasteries claimed for Ulric-Manfred appear with certainty. The saint continues: "Numquid propterea sibi progenies egena succedit? Absit! Videmus enim nepotes ejus, mirandae scilicet indolis pueros maximam partem etiam regni Burgundiae possidere quorum insuper soror imperatori nostro sponsiali cognoscitur jure dotata."

³ His wealth is insisted on by Radulph. Glaber (iv. 3, Bouquet, x. 46): "Mainfredus marchionum ditissimus." To Arnulf of Milan (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 11) he is "marchionis eximii."

Savoy, was the opinion of Terraneo which was accepted by all succeeding historians down to Baron Carutti. In 1881-2, however, Signor Luigi Provana di Collegno¹ maintained that two Adelaides had been confused together. He was supported by Count di Gerbaix-Sonnaz and Signor Labruzzi², and recently (1909) with some modifications by M. C. Renaux³. Latterly in 1899 a new and remarkably ingenious theory of the double Adelaide was started by Professor Gabotto⁴. Replies to Provana and Labruzzi have been made by Baron Carutti⁵ and Count Cipolla⁶. Thus the question has been well discussed and some arguments on either side have been put out of action.

For the discussion of the rival opinions, I propose to follow the method already adopted with regard to Humbert Whitehands, i.e. (i) to tabulate the existing data with regard to the Adelaides, wives of Herman, Henry and Oddo, as well as to the Adelaide who may yet be unmarried of 1034; (ii) to discuss the charter of Frossasco of 1034 (*Car. Reg.* DLV.), and (iii) to consider (*a*) the views of Signori Provana and Labruzzi, (*b*) those of M. Renaux, and (*c*) those of Professor Gabotto. Then, having come to a conclusion on the matters in dispute and, I hope, having shown that the probabilities are considerably in favour of the single Adelaide, I shall be able in the next section to continue the history of the Mark of Turin and the House of Savoy till c. 1060.

It is obvious that the second document in the series, *Car. Reg.* DLV., the charter *re* Frossasco, is all-important; since if it is genuine it settles the question. If Adelaide had married Oddo I in 1034 and was still his wife in 1057 (*Car. Reg.* CLI., below, p. 195) she cannot be the same person as the Adelaide who married Herman by 1036 (*Car. Reg.* CII., below, p. 191) and Henry by 1042 (*Car. Reg.* CXXIV., below, p. 193). That it is genuine has been maintained by Signori Provana and Labruzzi, and M. Renaux, and denied by Baron Carutti, Count Cipolla and Professor Gabotto. It has usually been discussed in connection with the other arguments on the general question of Adelaide's marriages, but perhaps it is best to take it by itself first with as little reference to that as possible, premissing that it is only known by a transcript made

¹ *Dei matrimoni di Adelaide contessa* (Curiosità e Ricerche di Storia Subalpina, pubblicata da una Società di studiosi di patrie memorie, Turin 1881-2, Puntate XVII. and XVIII.).

² *La monarchia di Savoia fino all'anno 1103*, App. p. 285.

³ *Le Marquis Odon I de Savoie, fils d'Humbert I^{er}* (Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie, Sér. IV. Vol. XI. 1909), on which cf. review by Sig. L. Usseglio in *Rivista stor. ital.* 1909, pp. 407-10.

⁴ *L'Abazia ed il comune di Pinerolo ecc.*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 89-100.

⁵ *Il conte Umberto I ecc.* App. II. pp. 305-40.

⁶ *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, pp. 24-31 (i.e. p. 24, n. 4).

Adelaide wife of Herman
(1)Adelaide wife of Henry
(2)Adelaide wife of Oddo
(3)Adelaide unmarried
(4)

Car. Reg. LXXVIII.¹ (10 Dec. 1029), Ulrich-Manfred, and daughter Adelaide who consents (1) make grant to Revello (fragmentary).

Car. Reg. DLV.² (29 Dec. 1034); *Odo marchio, Adlegia comitissa ejus conjux*; and *Humbertus comes*, all of Salic law, give one quarter of Frossasco etc. to S. Giusto di Susa.

Car. Reg. CIII.³ (23 Dec. 1035), Sufred gives half Orbazano to S. Giovanni, Turin, for souls of *Countess Bertha, Marquess Manfred, Bishop Alric, Marquess Oldo*.

Car. Reg. CIV.⁴ (23 Dec. 1035). Sufred gives half Buriascoto S. Gio. "et pro remedium animarum avus avorumque suprascriptorum pontificis et marchioni seu comitisse sive Oldoni item marchioni." Entail (in case of usurpation) finally to Adelaide and her son if she shall have one. (See p. 187, n. 5.)

Car. Reg. CII.⁵ (1036), *Hermannus* quoque *dux Alamanniae marcham soceri sui Meginfridi* in Italia ab imperatore accepti.

¹ Terraneo, *Adelaide...illustrata*, II. 183.

² For text, see below, p. 199.

³ *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 123; cf. p. 187, n. 5.

⁴ *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 121; cf. p. 187, n. 5.

The Indiction (though a small matter) is wrong, XII. instead of XIII.

The execrable Latin both here and in the succeeding excerpts is transcribed *literatim*.

⁵ Herimann. Aug. (*M.G.H.* Script. v. 122).

Adelaide unmarried

Adelaide wife of Oddo

Adelaide wife of Henry

Adelaide wife of Herman

(4)

(3)

(2)

(1)

Car. Reg. cix.¹ (c. 18 April 1036), Conrad II marries to Otto of Schweinfurt "uxorem que *Emilias vel Immula seu Irmingardis dicta fuit, sororque illius, Adelas dicta, nupserrat Ottoni marchioni de Italia.*"

Car. Reg. cxii.², (1037) Bishops of Vercelli, Cremona and Piacenza send envoys to meet those of Eudes II of Champagne: "quedam fidelis donna, socrus scilicet Herimani Suevorum ducts, in hisdem finibus conmorans, legatorum conventum rescivit, missisque suis satellitibus omnes simul comprehensos... imperatori... transmisit."

Car. Sup. viii.³ (4 Nov. 1037), Countess *Bertha*, Lombard law, widow of Marquess Mainfredus and daughter of late Marquess Albertus, with consent of her *nepus* and mundoald *Mainfredus* gives land at Scarnafigi etc. to S. Giovanni, Tuin. Done at Turin.

¹ Ann. Saxo (*M.G.H. Script.* vi. 679).

² Ann. Saxo (*M.G.H. Script.* vi. 680-1).

³ This charter (*Cartario... di Staffarda*, II. *B.S.S.S.* xii. p. 237) has been impugned. It is only known from a contemporary, bad copy (see Colombo, *loc. cit.*). But, if contemporary, although a forgery, its statements, save that of the gift, should be true. Hence we must correct Albertus to Autbertus, the real name of Bertha's father. One would think her *nepus* and mundoald should be an Othertine; could Mainfredus be a mistake for Sufiredus or Sigifredus, the priest who stood in close relations to Bertha? But probably Manfred of Vasto, Bertha's eldest *grandson* (see above, p. 188) is meant, although he can only have been a child. As to the date, the eleventh imperial year, sixth indiction, November, all accord for 1037, since Conrad was crowned at Rome in February 1027.

Car. Reg. cxvii.¹ (4 July 1049),
 Ind. viii. at Albenga, *Adalaida*,
filia q. Magnifredi marchionis
et conjux Ermanni dux et mar-
chio, of Salic law by birth, makes
 grant near Pompeiana to S.
 Stefano, Genoa. S. *Berte comi-*
tisse. S. *Adalaida filie sue*.
 Car. Reg. cxv.² (28 July 1038),
 Herman Duke of Swabia dies.
 Buried at Trent³.

Car. Reg. cxxiv.⁴ (29 Jan.
 1042), at Carmagnola, *Henricus*
marchio filius q. Wilelmi simili-
 que marchioni et *Adalagide come-*
tisse jugales filia b. m. *Odolrici*
chionis give to S. Giovanni, Turin,
 Ste Maria, Susa, and all tithes
 and churches of valley, from Mont
 Genève and Mont Cenis, save
 S. Giusto, castle-chapel and S.
 Antonio.

Car. Reg. cxxviii.⁵ (20 May
 1043), at Turin castle *Henricus*
marchio f. q. Wilelmi marchionis
 et *Adalena comitissa* f. q. *Oldrici*
Magnifredi marchionis jugales,
 Salic law, for own souls and

¹ *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 145. One cannot doubt the genuineness of this charter, but the date (which is also attested by Car. Reg. cccxxxviii.) is impossible. Ind. viii. would be 1040. In both 1040 and 1049 Herman was long dead (date, 28 July 1038). Nor does Bertha appear after 29 Dec. 1037 (Car. Reg. cxvi., see below, p. 220). I prefer 1040, but the date may be 1038 when Herman was near his death on his return march to Germany which would account for the absence of his to the act. Cf. below, p. 206.

² See Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. p. 318.

³ I omit Car. Reg. cxxii. as obviously forged (see Car. Cavour, B.S.S.S. III. 1, pp. 16 and 19).

⁴ *Carte...d'Outz*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 1. ⁵ *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 550.

Adelaide wife of Herman

(1)

Adelaide wife of Henry

(2)

those of *Olderici marchioni et Bertrane comitisse*, parents of Adalena, give to Abbey St Antonin in valle Nobilensis (i.e. St Antonin in Rouergue, Noble val) church of S. Agata in Val di Susa and all they have in S. Agata save the one-third which belongs to S. Giusto di Susa.

Car. *Sup.* XI.¹ (14 March 1044), at Pinerolo castle Henry and Adeleita (also Adalaxa) as above give to S. Donato, Pinerolo, 3 mansi at Pinerolo.

Car. *Reg.* CXXIX.² (1 June 1044), at Pinerolo, *Adalaxia comitissa* f. q. *Oudricus qui vocatur Mogensfredi* and her conjus *Enricus*, Salic law, give to Abbey of Cavour property at Carmagnola.

• Adelaide wife of Oddo

(3)

Adelaide unmarried

(4)

Car. *Reg.* CXLIII.³ (25 Mar.—3 June 1051), *Odo Marchio* grants land in Tarentaise.

Car. *Reg.* CLIII.⁴ (Christmas 1055), Zürich, Emperor Henry III betroths son Henry to daughter of Marquess Otto.

Car. *Reg.* CLI.⁵ (May 1057), *Odo Marchio* and wife *Adalaxia*

¹ *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 315.

² (Also in *Sup.* IX.), *Cartario di Cavour*, B.S.S.S. III. 1, p. 20.

³ See above, p. 55.
⁴ Bertholdi *Annales* 1056 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 269). Cf. Bonitho, *Liber ad amicum*, Lib. v., "Rex... Ottonis filiam et Adalheide adhuc infantulam suo accepit filio in conjugem." Lib. vi., "Bertam... quam pater suus infantulam sibi dederat infantulo." Jaffé, *Bibl. Ker. Germ.* II. 637, 648.
⁵ *Cartario... d'Outx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 7.

(also Adalais) *comitissa* and their sons *Peter* and *Amedeus* and their *daughters*; for souls of ancestors *Mainfredus* and *wife Berta* and *his sons* and daughters; give churches tithes of S. Lorenzo, called Plebs Martyrum, S. Giusto (which Countess Berta began to build) and others of Cesana, Oulx and Salbertrand to Canons of S. Lorenzo, Oulx.

Car. Reg. CLVI.¹ (21 May 1060), Countess *Adelais*, f. 9. *Oldrigii Magnifredi*, widow of *Oddo Marchio*, gives land at Buriasco for *Oddo's* soul to S. Giovanni, Turin, where *Maginfredus* lies buried.

Car. Reg. CLVII.² (?), St Peter Damian urges Adelaide to help Bishop Cunibert of Turin against married priests; says she is able to rule like Deborah "sine virili regis auxilio": and later says: "Et quia te novi de iterata conjugii geminatione suspectam; tentatus a Saducacis Dominus de muliere quae septem fuerat fratribus nupta, cui foret illorum in resurrectione prae ceteris iudicanda, sic respondit; 'in resurrectione neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt sicut angeli Dei in caelo.' Nam, si multivirae ad regnum Dei nullatenus pertinerent, nequaquam hic Veritas responderet—erunt sicut angeli

¹ Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 14. ² Beati Petri Damiani...*opera omnia*, Paris, 1663, Vol. III. p. 183, Opusculum XVIII. Diss. IV. Cap. III.

Adelaide wife of Herman

(1)

Adelaide wife of Oddo

(3)

in caelo. ... Et haec loquor non ut adhibeam multitudine adhuc futuris audaciam, sed ut jam factis spei vel poenitentiae non subtraham medicinam."

Car. Reg. clxi.¹ (8 Sept. 1064), Turin castle, Countess Adelegida for souls of Marquess Manfred, her father, Bishop Alric, her uncle, Bertha, her mother, Marquess Odo, her late husband, and herself and sons, founds Abbey of Pinerolo; gives half valley of Perosa, lands in counties of Turin and Aurade and Albenga. S. Adalaidae, Petri, Amedei, etc.

Car. Reg. clxvii.² (June 1066), at Tribur Henry IV marries Bertha.

Car. Reg. clxxiv.³ (2 Feb. 1074), Pope Gregory VII reminds Amideus f. Adeleltae of vow to protect Holy Roman Church.

Car. Reg. cci.⁴ (8 March 1080), at Turin, Countess Adalegida gives half Carpice to S. Solutore of Turin. S. Adalegidae comitissae, S. *Domini Frederici comitis*, etc.

Car. Reg. cciii.⁵ (May 1080), Turin, Countess Adelaide and Marquess Frederick help to compose dispute between the Abbeys of Dijon and Frutuaria.

Adelaide unmarried

(4)

¹ *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II, p. 323.

³ *Reg. Greg. VII*, Bk I. Fp. 46, Jaffé, *Bibl. Rev. Germ.* II.

² Lambertus Hersfeldensis, 1066 (*M.G.H. Script.* v.).

⁴ Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 21. ⁵ Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 19.

Car. Reg. CCXVII.¹ (1090), in Castro Brionis Countess Adelais f. q. b. m. comitis et marchionis Amedei, widow of Manasse de Coloniaco confirms gift of husband to Nantua. Her sons Humbert and Manasses agree.

Car. Reg. CCXCIV.² (8 Mar. 1147), Amadeus III, Count and Marquess, and his son Humbert, confirm the gifts of their ancestors, Alric, Bishop of Asti, Marquess Manfred, his wife Countess Bertha, and further those of *genitorem nostrum Count Humbert*, and *Marquess Odo and Countess Adelaide* to S. Giusto Abbey at Susa.

Car. Reg. CCCXXXVIII.³ (23

¹ This is from Du Bouchet, *Preuves de l'illustre maison de Coligny*, Paris, 1662, p. 34. Unfortunately the charter is lost; and Du Bouchet's text is possibly imperfect. Du Bouchet's text runs: "quam elemosynam laudavi...et concessi, et Humbertus et Manasses filii mei in praesentia Guidonis archipresbyteri Coloniaci qui sigillum suum cum meo in majorem firmitatem apposuit."

² Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, pp. 47 and 94, who concludes that the diploma is substantially genuine, although the original is lost. In fact the Pope's presence and that of certain cardinals are obviously accurate. Cf. below, pp. 309-10.

³ Desimoni, *Il libro del Barone Carutti, Umberto Biancamano* (Atti Soc. Lig. stor. patr. xxviii. pp. 297 ff.). The genealogy of the two Marquesses is as follows:

† before 1064 | Teto = Bertha, daughter of Ulric-Manfred

Boniface I (2) = Agnes, daughter of Hugh the Great of Vermandois
† c. 1130

| Anselm II =
† before 1172

| William II living 1169

| Boniface IV living 1169 and 1196

See Bresslau, *op. cit.* pp. 401-4, and Savio, *Il marchese Bonifacio del Vasto ed Adelaide Contessa di Sicilia ecc.* (Atti R. Accad. Scienze, Torino, xxii.), pp. 93-4, where it is shown that Anselm II's mother was Agnes of Vermandois. Cf. below, p. 210, n. 4.

Adelaide wife of Herman
(1)
Adelaide unmarried
(4)

Adelaide wife of Henry
(2)
Adelaide wife of Oddo
(3)

Adelaide wife of Henry
(2)

Adelaide wife of Herman
(1)

Feb. 1169), *William and Boniface, Marquesses of Cravesana* confirm donation 4 July 1049, Ind. VIII. (see Car. *Reg.* CXVII, above, p. 193) by their *proavia* (al. *avia*) *Adalaida*.

Car. *Reg.* CCCXC.¹ (29 March 1196), Boniface, Marquess of Cravesana, renounces all his rights in the lands given by Countess Adalasia, his *ava*, to S. Stefano of Genoa, which grant of hers he has himself formerly confirmed.

¹ Carutti, *Il conte Umberto I Biancamano e il re Arduino*, p. 295.

2nd January 1235 by notary Giacomo for confirmation by Thomas of Savoy and his brother Count Amadeus IV¹.

¹ The arguments below are derived from the cited authors. I subjoin the text of the Charter of Frossasco (*Car. Reg. DLV.*), as given by Count Cipolla, *op. cit.*, with parts of *Car. Reg. LXXVI.*, *XCIV.* and *CCXCIV.* for comparison :

“In nomine Domini amen. Monasterio Sancte Trinitatis et sanctorum Justi et Mauri sito infra civitatem Secusinam, in quo monachi die noctuque Deo deserviunt, nos Odo marchio et Adalegia comitissa ejus conjux necnon et Humbertus comes, qui professi sumus omnes lege vivere salicha, offertores et donatores ipsius monasterii presentes presentibus diximus: quisquis ad Dominum vel in sanctis locis ex suis aliquid contulerit rebus, juxta Auctoris vocem, in hoc seculo centuplum accipiet; insuper, quod melius est, vitam eternam possidebit. Ideoque nos supradicti Odo et Adalegia et Humbertus donamus et offerimus et concedimus a presenti die et hora in eodem monasterio pro mercede animarum nostrarum et in remedium earumdem animarum, et animarum aviorum aviaryumque, fratrum et sororum, patruorum et avunculorumque sive pro ceteris propinquorum nostrorum atque pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, quartam partem de Ferruçasco et de ejus territorio, cum suis pertinentiis, juribus et rationibus universis, et cum omni dominio, in ejusdem quarta parte, cum terris arabilibus, pratis, gerbis, pascuis, silvis majoribus ac minoribus, cum areis suarum et cum molendinis, venationibus, piscationibus, alpbis, ripis, rivagiis et paludibus, terris cultis et incultis, divisis et indivisis, una cum accessionibus, seu finibus, terminis et usibus aquarum, aquarumque decursibus, feudis, feudatariis, vasallis, stratis publicis et privatis, atque cum omnibus dominiis, juribus, imperiis universis et generaliter cum omnibus aliis ad jus et proprietatem nostram in ipsa quarta parte pertinentibus, tam in montibus quam in planiciebus. Atque eciam donamus eidem venerabili monasterio massum unum in predicto territorio, qui massus Vigerus dicitur, cum molendino et batorio, cum suis omnibus pertinentiis, terris cultis et incultis, vineis, pratis, gerpis, et cum omnibus suis juribus et rationibus et cum omni pleno dominio et jurisdictione. Necnon etiam donamus et concedimus eidem monasterio terciam partem decime tocius territorii predicti et pertinentiarum suarum, ita ut faciant monachi dicti monasterii ad eorum usum et sumptum, seu ad proprietatem ejusdem monasterii quidquid voluerint de ipsis rebus donatis, sine omni nostra et heredum ac proheredumque nostrorum contradictione vel repetitione. Insuper per cutellum atque ramum arboris a parte ipsius monasterii Dominico abbati ipsius monasterii exinde legitimam facimus traditionem et investituram. Et nos exinde foris expulimus, gerpivimus et absentes fecimus, ad proprietatem ejusdem monasterii habendum relinquimus. Has autem donationes volumus in integrum per nos et successores et heredes nostros defensatas esse ab omni homine et eas perpetuo valituras et inviolabiliter observari. Si quis vero, quod futurum esse non credimus, si nos, quod absit, aut ullus de heredibus, aut proheredibus nostris, seu quolibet opposita persona, contra has donationes nostras ire quandocumque temptaverimus, aut illas per quo[d]vis ingenium infringere quesiverimus, tunc inferamus ad illam partem contra quam exinde litem intulerimus, pro pena auri obtimi untias centum, argenti pondera ducenta. Insuper, res ipsas in dupplum parti ejusdem monasterii, sicut pro tempore fuerint meliorate, aut valuerint, sub extimacione in consimilibus locis, et quod repelierimus vindicare non valeamus. Actum in civitate Thaurina, in castro quod est desuper portam Secusinam.

Testes interfuerunt: Johannes de Thaurino et Oldericus de Ast, lege romana viventes, Athemulphus de Querio et Albertus de Sancto Georgio.

Hanc vero cartam Borenço notario sacri palacii tradidimus ad scribendum et id fieri rogavimus. Qui ego Borenço notarius et judex sacri palacii, scriptor, hoc

testamentum post traditum complevi et dedi. Anno dominice incarnationis, MXXXV., indictione tertia, IIII. Kalendas Januarii, anno autem domini Conradi regis imperii XI."

LXXVI. "Si quis vero, quod futurum esse non credimus, si nos, quod absit, aut ullus de heredibus hac proheredibus nostris seu quislibet opposita persona contra hoc testamentum ire quandoque tentaverimus, aut illud per quodcumque ingenium infringere quesierimus, tunc inferamus ad illam partem contra quem exinde litem intulerimus multa, que est pena auro optimo uncias centum, argenti ponderas ducenti, insuper res ipsas in duplum parti ejusdem monasterii, sicut pro tempore fuerint meliorate, aut valuerint, sub exstimatione in consimilibus locis, et quod repecierimus vindicare non valeamus, sed presens hoc testamentum diuturnis temporibus firmum stabilitumque permaneat, atque persistat incon vulsum, cum stipulacione subnixa...et bergamena cum tramentario de terra elevavimus, Herenzoni notario et judici sacri palacii ad scribendum tradidimus, et id fieri rogavimus in qua subter confirmantes testibus obtulimus roborandum...Anno imperii domni Chunradi, Deo propicio, tertio, nono die mensis Julii, indictione duodecima. Actum Taurinensem civitatem, feliciter.

Alicus gratia Dei episcopus...subscripsit.

Hoc est signum domni Maginfredi marhionis, etc.

Signum manu jamdicte Berte comitisse, etc.

Signum manibus Johanni et Odelrici, ambo lege viventes romana, testes.

Signum manibus Vuitberti comiti, et Liudoni, lege viventes salicha, testes.

Signum manibus Belezoni, et Alberti, seu Atoni testes.

(S.T.) Ego qui supra Herenzo notarius et judex sacri palacii, scriptor, hoc testamentum post traditum complevi et dedi."

XCIV. (S.T.) "In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Chunradus [gratia Dei] imperator Augustus, anno imperii ejus, Deo propicio, sexto, septimo die mensis Marcii, indictione prima.....Si quis vero, quod futurum esse non credimus, si nos eorum supra offertores, quod absit, aut ullus de heredibus hac proheredibus nostris, seu quislibet opposita persona contra hanc cartulam offerisionis ire quandoque temptaverimus, aut eam per quovis ingenium infringere quesierimus, tunc inferamus ad illam partem contra quam exinde litem intulerimus multa quod est pena auro optimo uncias C., argenti ponderas ducenti, et quod repecierimus, vindicare non valeamus, sed presens hanc cartulam offerisionis temporibus* firma permaneat atque persistat incon vulsa, cum stipulatione subnixa. Et ad nos eorum supra offertores nostrisque heredibus atque proheredibus a parte ipsius monasterii, aut cui pars ipsius monasterii dederit, suprascripta offerisio qualiter supra legitur in integrum ab omni homine sit defensata, quod si defendere non potuerimus, aut si parti ejusdem monasterii exinde aliquid per covis ingenium subtrahere quesierimus, tunc in duplum eadem offerisio parti ipsius monasterii, aut cui pars ipsius monasterii dederit restituamus, sicut pro tempore fuerit meliorata, aut valuerit sub estimatione in consimiles locas, et bergamena cum hactramentario de terra elevavimus. Hanc enim cartule offerisionis paginam Gisleberti notarii sacri palacii tradavimus ad scribendum, et ei fieri rogavimus, in qua subter confirmantes testibusque roborantes obtulimus. Actum infra civitate Taurino, intus castro que est desuper porta Seusina posito, feliciter."

[There follow the *signa* of grantors and witnesses and then :]

(S.T.) "Ego qui supra Gislebertus notarius sacri palacii, scriptor hujus cartule offerisionis, post tradita complevi et dedi."

CCXCIV. "Si quis vero, quod futurum esse non credimus, si nos, quod absit, aut ullus de heredibus aut proheredibus nostris, seu quelibet opposita persona contra hoc

* "diuturnis" omitted by the scribe.

Briefly, the internal evidence for the non-genuineness of the charter is as follows. (i) The dating "1035, Ind. III., IIII. Kal. Jan. anno autem domini Conradi regis imperii XI." is absurdly wrong. In December 1034 (for the year is begun from Christmas) Conrad's eleventh royal German year and *eighth* imperial year were running; and the use of the style of *rex*, instead of *imperator*, is most unlikely. (ii) The document contains certain phrases, which are not used before the second half of the twelfth century. Such are *feudis*, *feudatariis*, *vasallis*, and *imperiiis universis*; while "*pleno dominio et jurisdictione*" one does not expect in a donation of land to a monastery in Piedmont in 1034. (iii) Though the *minatio* is modelled on Car. Reg. LXXVI. (1029, the foundation act of S. Giusto) very closely, it differs from it, exactly in small phrases, where Car. Reg. CCXCIV. (1147, above, p. 197) also does, and therefore should be connected with the latter, in view of the fact that Car. Reg. XCIV. (which is the second donation to S. Giusto, above, p. 184) keeps the form of LXXVI. in these phrases¹. DLV., too, breaks off before the close, while CCXCIV. continues. Thus CCXCIV. is not modelled on DLV., but the reverse is the case, DLV. being modelled on CCXCIV. (iv) The eschatol is impossible for the eleventh century, lacking, as it does, the subscription of the donors, and giving a list of witnesses "*testes interfuerunt*," which too is put before the donors' direction to the notary. (v) The gift is made by Oddo, Adelaide and Humbert, and consists of one quarter of Frossasco, the *mansus* called Vigerus there, and one-third of the tithe. Now Conrad II's diploma of confirmation to S. Giusto, 29 December 1037, makes no reference to Oddo, Adelaide or Humbert, and speaks only of two *mansu*, two chapels with endowment and one-third of tithe and two mills². (vi) From its date and substance the

testamentum ire quandoque temptaverimus, aut illud per quodcumque ingenium infringere quesierimus, tunc inferamus ad illam partem contra quam exinde litem intulerimus pro pena auri obtimi uncias c., argenti pondera cc., insuper res ipsas in duplum parti ejusdem monasterii, sicut pro tempore fuerint meliorate aut valuerint, sub estimatione in consimilibus locis. Et quod repetierimus, vindicare non valeamus, set presens hoc testamentum diuturnis temporibus firmum, stabilitum permaneat atque persistat,...Actum est istud Secusie, in monasterio Sancti Justi, in presentia domni Eugenii pape, etc."

¹ In one phrase DLV. agrees with XCIV. against LXXVI. and CCXCIV., viz. *quovis ingenium for quodcumque ingenium*.

² Car. Reg. CXVI. (*M.G.H. Dipl. iv.* 349; Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 84; cf. also *Carte di S. Giusto*, p. 40). Count Cipolla points out that the charter is a false original (c. 1180), but except the donations at Frossasco, Avigliana and the *Vivarium Vangerii*, the places seem confirmed by authentic charters. Perhaps the immunity conferred—"interdicimus ut nullus dux etc....fotrum tollere, seu legem facere, aut placitum tenere, nisi abbas ejusdem loci aut suus missus, presumat"—is the insertion for the sake of which the false original was made. This seems to have been Bresslau's opinion, *Konrad II*, II. 277. But in *M.G.H. Dipl. iv.*

Count Humbert can only be Whitehands. It is not easy to see why he intervenes as a donor. (vii) As stated in (vi) Count Humbert is clearly Whitehands; and thus the charter is inconsistent with Amadeus III's diploma of 1147 (*Car. Reg.* ccxciv. above, p. 197)¹, where the quarter of Frossasco and half Chiavrie and Condove are mentioned as gifts (doubtless in separate charters) of Amadeus III's father, Humbert II (1091-1103), and Oddo (ob. c. 1060) and Adelaide (ob. 1091).

The result of these arguments is that the Charter of Frossasco is a forgery made by a scribe who misunderstood Amadeus III's charter of 1147 and modelled his work on *Car. Reg.* lxxvi. (1029), xciv. (1033) and ccxciv. (1147), to replace two lost charters, the one granting the two *mansi*, etc., and the other (probably Humbert II's) granting one quarter of Frossasco (or enough to make a quarter with the two *mansi*, etc.). In this way he framed an impossible combination of personages and dates.

Some of these arguments have been met by Signori Provana and Labruzzi² as follows: (i) The dating is correct for Conrad's royal years in Germany; the notary likely enough misread his original. (ii) The incriminated phrases are probably interpolations of Notary Giacomo in 1235. We have proof (e.g. in a transcript of ccxciv. (1147)) that he was an inaccurate copyist and did actually once interpolate *feudis* in ccxciv. (iii) The *minatio* of DLV. differs from that of lxxvi. in but small phrases, and three out of six of these differ from the phrases in ccxciv. (which here agrees with lxxvi.) as well. How can it then be copied from ccxciv.? (iv) The eschatol has gone wholly wrong and is due to later copyists. (v) The two *mansi*, etc., of *Car. Reg.* cxvi.

p. 350, he decides that the immunity-clause appears genuine, and suspects the interpolation not only of Frossasco, etc., but of Mocchie, etc., on the ground that *Car. Reg.* xciv., which confirms their having been given, is suspect itself, since it is a false original. With regard to Frossasco, if it is an interpolation c. 1180, why is the grant not more ample in terms? Hence I think the form must go back to a genuine grant. There is another version of Conrad's diploma (*M.G.H. Dipl.* iv. 407; Cipolla, *Briciole stor. noval.*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 22, p. 17) which Bresslau declares to be a forgery of c. 1200. Cipolla, however, seems to date it c. 1100 and to think (*Briciole*, p. 34) that the first and better version may be of the same period.

¹ The passage in question runs: "Cognovimus etiam strenuissimum et bone memorie comitem Humbertum, genitorem nostrum, necnon et Odonem gloriosum marchionem, et prudentissimam comitissam Adaleiam, non solum custodisse et illesa servasse in prefato monasterio a constructoribus predictis quecumque bona concessa, set etiam ipsi largissimas helemosinas in sepe dictum monasterium contulerunt, viz. quartam partem de Ferruzasco cum suis pertinentiis, et medietatem de duabus cortis, idest Cavria et Gundovo." With the founders already mentioned, all the rulers from Ulric-Manfred till Amadeus III's time are thus named.

² I do not distinguish between the arguments alleged by either, as none of their arguments are mutually inconsistent.

probably formed one quarter of Frossasco. As to the non-mention of Humbert, Adelaide and Oddo by Conrad II, Suffred is equally not mentioned by Conrad II for the half of Volvera which he gave (Renau, *op. cit.* pp. 718-19). (vi) Count Humbert intervenes in an honorary fashion, as was sometimes done, e.g., by Countess Bertha in the foundation of S. Giusto (LXXVI.). To which M. C. Renau adds that Humbert was Count of Maurienne, and the Val di Susa was in the diocese of Maurienne and that therefore he intervened¹. (vii) The expressions in Amadeus III's diploma are a mistake of its compiler².

One general criticism on this answer may be made at once. The diploma needs a great deal of defence and correction. One or two points might not matter; but so many impress us. In detail it may be argued: (i) The dating is still inaccurate in a most unlikely way. (ii) Giacomo has here surpassed himself, and in point of fact *feudis* in his copy of CCXCIV. was not due to him but to a previous notary. (iii) As to the *minatio*, since CCXCIV. and DLV. have three peculiarities in common, they should be connected; but the truncation of DLV.'s *minatio* makes it an unlikely source for CCXCIV., the *minatio* of which is complete and follows LXXVI. One of the remaining three variants, *per quovis ingenium* (for *per quodcumque ingenium*), is to be found in XCIV.; but at least one of the others has a suspiciously late sound, viz. *has donationes nostras* instead of *hoc testamentum* or *hanc cartulam offerisionis*³. (iv) Here again Giacomo is inconceivably careless. (v) The two *mansi*, etc., are very little for a quarter of a *curtis* even in depopulated Piedmont. And in precepts of confirmation the actual words of the grant are usually summarized. Hence one quarter of Frossasco would certainly be stated by Conrad, and the absence of any mention of Oddo, Adelaide and Humbert is conclusive. The non-mention of Suffred by Conrad is due to the fact that he was merely Countess Bertha's agent, and a sham donor⁴. (vi) This is true, but rare: Countess Bertha had dower-rights over the lands given to S. Giusto. As to the claims of the Bishop of Maurienne, it seems that it was rather the Abbey of Brema-Novalesa, which had the chief prior claims on the Val di Susa⁵. And why is Count Humbert a donor? Why does he not simply *laudare et confirmare*? (vii) It is utterly unlikely that a scribe of Amadeus III should

¹ Renau, *op. cit.* pp. 706-7.

² M. Renau asks (*op. cit.* p. 714) why the composer of DLV. used the late CCXCIV. as model in preference to the earlier LXXVI. and XCIV. The answer is that it was CCXCIV. which contained the reference to the grant of Frossasco which he misunderstood and which he replaced by his forgery.

³ I believe this point has not been made before.

⁴ See above, pp. 173-4.

⁵ See above, pp. 97 and 147; and below, pp. 290-1.

make a mistake about the latter's father. A confusion made forty or fifty years later (if not sixty or seventy) was much more likely¹.

Thus we seem confirmed in the conclusion, backed by the great authority of Count Cipolla, that the Charter of Frossasco contained in *Car. Reg.* DLV. is a forgery of c. 1200 and should be deleted from our argument².

With the dead branches thus lopped off, the case of Signori Provana and Labruzzo is reduced to two or three documentary indications, and an argument based on chronological probabilities. It may be thus rehearsed: (i) The *Annalista Saxo*³, speaking c. Easter 1036 of the marriage of Immula of Turin, says her sister, *Adelas dicta, nupserat Ottoni marchioni de Italia*. Thus he says that in 1036 Adelaide was already married to Oddo. (ii) In Suffred's donations of December 1035 (*Car. Reg.* CIII. and CIV.)⁴, we are told the grant is *pro remedium animarum avus avorumque suprascriptorum pontificis (Alrici) et marchioni (Olderici Maginfredi) seu comitis (Bertae) sive Otoni item marchioni*. This should mean Alric's and Ulric-Manfred's grandfather, and the grandfathers of Bertha and Marquess Oddo, who thus both have a different grandfather from the others. Oddo should therefore be Adelaide's husband—a possible son of hers is mentioned in the deeds—and therefore Oddo of Savoy. The very fact that a possible son, and not also a possible husband, is mentioned shows she is already married⁵.

¹ This assumes that Amadeus III's charter, *Car. Reg.* CCXIV., has only suffered immaterial alterations. That some there must be is rendered probable by Count Cipolla (see above, p. 197, n. 2).

² I omit the argument drawn by Carutti from the profession of Salic Law by all the donors, whereas Humbert II professes Roman Law, because it is by no means clear that Humbert II's law was professed *ex sua natione*, or that, if it was, *ex sua natione* was in his time a certain index of hereditary law. See above, p. 111. I also omit Signor Provana's arguments founded on a supposed distinction between Adalasia-Adalaxia and Adelaide-Adalagia; since Carutti (*op. cit.* pp. 322-3) shows that they are all promiscuously used and indistinguishable. In fact the names of the eleventh century had already worn down to Romance, dialectic forms (something like Aalis or Alasia in Piedmont for Adelaide), and local notaries were somewhat put to it to restore the lofty-sounding ancestral Germanic forms for charter-use. Hence arise the variants. I also omit, in the subsequent discussion, the argument drawn from the existence of a Marquess Henry in documents after 1046 (Gerbaix-Sonnaz, *Studi storici*, I. 216, n. 1, and Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, *B.S.S.S.* I. p. 89, n. 1), as it does not seem proved that there was not another Marquess Henry, and at least one of the instances, "Henricus qui vocatur Marchio" (*Car. Reg.* CLXI., *Cartario di Pinerolo*, *B.S.S.S.* II. p. 323), is obviously not a Marquess, but only surnamed so (see Rondolino, *Dei Visconti di Torino*, *Boll. stor. bibl. subalpino*, VII. pp. 219, 221).

³ *M.G.H. Script.* VI. 679.

⁴ *M.H.P. Chart.* II. 123 and 121. Unfortunately the text has not since been republished after collation with the MSS. The extraordinary Latin of CIV, which is an original, is transcribed *literatim*. CIII, which is a copy only, I regard as corrected by the scribe.

⁵ See M. C. Renaux, *op. cit.* pp. 690-1.

(iii) The strangely erroneous *Car. Reg.* cxvii.¹ makes Adelaide wife of Duke Herman grant Villaregia by Pompeiana to S. Stefano di Genova. This grant is confirmed in 1169 by the Aleramids Boniface and William, who call the donatrix their *avia*. Now their *avia* should be the wife of Boniface I, and is thus a different person from Adelaide of Turin².

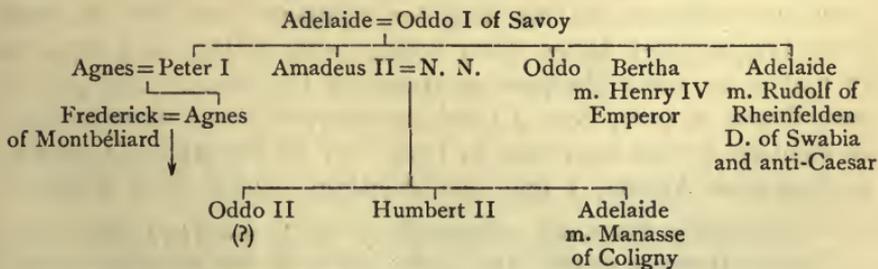
(iv) The chronological indications are three in number: (a) In 1090³ Adelaide, widow of Manasse of Coligny and daughter of Amadeus II⁴, confirms a grant to Nantua. Her sons Humbert and Manasses seem to join in her action. Thus she could not well have married after 1085. Now Henry, Adelaide's second husband, if we take the single Adelaide view, is last heard of in June 1044⁵. So Amadeus II, being second son of Adelaide of Turin⁶, could not well be born before 1047, allowing her to remarry after a year's widowhood. In that case we have to make Amadeus II marry at 18 in 1065, and have a daughter born c. 1066 who marries at 19 herself. If we make Amadeus the third child, and his sister Bertha seems older than he⁷, both he and his daughter marry at 18 years of age. (b) We find Frederick of Montbéliard Marquess in May 1080⁸. So he must marry Peter I's daughter Agnes not later. Taking her at 18 in 1080, we find her father Peter I married in 1061. If he was 18 then, he would be born in 1043! (c) Adelaide and Oddo's younger daughter Adelaide married, as his second wife, Rudolf of Rheinfelden; their daughter Matilda is said by Guichenon⁹ to marry Ernest of Austria in 1075. Hence, as the first Adelaide could at earliest be born in 1048, we find mother and daughter marrying at 13½

¹ See above, p. 193, n. 1.

² *Car. Reg.* cccxxxviii. and above, p. 197, n. 3. Thus the document, or what is genuine of it, could be dated much later.

³ *Car. Reg.* ccxvii. and above, p. 197.

⁴ The sketch genealogy of Adelaide of Turin's descendants is as follows:



⁵ *Car. Reg.* cxxix. above, p. 194.

⁶ *Car. Reg.* clxxiii., "Petrus primogenitus."

⁷ *Cartario...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 101. Peter I and Bertha were given to the same foster-mother. Hence it seems likely they were the two eldest.

⁸ *Car. Reg.* cciii. He had no claim to the Mark by descent.

⁹ Guichenon, p. 1152.

years on an average! (*d*) In July 1064 Peter I is acting as Marquess¹ and therefore of age; thus he was born in 1046 at the latest.

The general result of these arguments would be that there must be two Adelaides, one, the great Turinese heiress, the wife of Oddo I in December 1035; the other, wife of Duke Herman and Marquess Henry successively. In continuing the discussion, it will be best to give the replies to each in the same order and then add such countervailing reasons as have been proposed. (i) The Annalista Saxo, though an excellent genealogical authority, wrote a century later. Therefore his incidental reference to Adelaide being married to Oddo of Savoy by 1036 cannot be strong evidence for the date of that marriage. (ii) Here it is argued that you cannot separate the *avus* from the *avorum*: it is a general term. Besides Oddo may be Ulric-Manfred's uncle, not his brother, and so have a separate grandfather. If Oddo of Savoy, Adelaide's husband, were meant, he would surely be called so in the deeds. This reply does not seem strong. But the text is strange. Why are the parents left out? As to the non-mention of the possibility of Adelaide's marrying adduced by M. Renaux, one need only point to the similar entails of Caramagna and S. Giusto on p. 154 above. (iii) Here it is urged that the document, *Car. Reg. cxvii.*, is obviously genuine. Nobody would long remember Duke Herman's evanescent position. The date may be 1040 by leaving out one word *nono*. *Conjux* does not absolutely mean the husband was alive², and then the Indiction would be right. As to *avia* it can mean ancestress in general³, which Adelaide of Turin was, being great-great-aunt of Boniface and William. It is also said that the true reading is *proavia*, which undoubtedly has that signification⁴. (iv) The chronological questions are more difficult. (*a*) Nineteen and eighteen are not such unlikely ages after all for medieval marriage. Henry IV married Bertha, Amadeus II's sister, when he was only sixteen⁵. And we may make Amadeus nineteen and his daughter eighteen. (*b*) We can make Peter II's daughter Agnes marry young owing to the need there was of finding an adult Marquess at Amadeus II's death. Thus, if she were fifteen in 1080, Peter I need not marry till 1064, when he would be eighteen, having been born in 1046. (*c*) As for Matilda's marriage to Ernest of Austria, I find that Adelaide, Rudolf and Adelaide's

¹ *Car. Reg. clx.* (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 22). But he would be a major at 15.

² Besides Herman's consent is not given; nor is his law mentioned; both of which would probably be the case if he was living. But cf. above, p. 193, n. 1.

³ See Riddle, Scheller's Lexicon, *Avus*, but only for plural: cf. Desimoni, *Atti Soc. Lig. Stor. pat.* xxviii, p. 281.

⁴ Desimoni, *Atti Soc. Lig. Stor. pat.* xxviii, p. 297; see Riddle, Scheller's Lexicon, *Proavus*.

⁵ See Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, III. 199-200.

daughter, married Ladislaus, King of Hungary, probably about 1079-80, about which time her sister Agnes (1079) married Berthold of Zähringen and her sister Bertha (? 1081 or 1082) married Ulric X of Bregenz. Thus they all married young. But it is difficult to think that Rudolf married their mother Adelaide before 1066 when Bertha married Henry IV. Also was not Agnes possibly daughter of Rudolf's first wife, Matilda, and so granddaughter of Empress Agnes¹? Would not this, too, be the case as to Matilda, wife of Ernest of Austria?

Thus, in view of these early political marriages, there is no need for Adelaide, wife of Rudolf, to be born before 1050. (d) In addition, Bertha was the eldest daughter of Adelaide and Oddo I, and probably their second child. Now when she is betrothed to the six-year-old Henry IV at Christmas 1055, she is described as a mere child in the same terms as Henry IV. Hence it is most unlikely she was born before c. 1046².

To sum up, the answers seem sufficient, if we can find positive evidence, which should lead us to identify the Adelaides. This exists in some quantity. (v) The wife of Duke Herman is daughter of Marquess Manfred³ and Countess Bertha⁴. Her possessions, inherited from her father, form a mark⁵. Thus most of the lands of North Italian Marquesses are ruled out. Only Ulric-Manfred and Boniface of Canossa appear as rulers of compact territories at this date⁶. This mark lay on the frontiers of Italy and Burgundy, since Countess Bertha, Herman's mother-in-law, was able in 1037 to capture envoys, who wished to cross the Alps to Champagne and who met at a trysting-place in Piedmont⁷. Finally this Countess Adelaide appears as Countess of Albenga and as owning land in the county⁸, which Ulric-Manfred, Alric and Bertha also did. She became a widow in July 1038⁹. (vi) The wife of Marquess Henry first appears in January 1042¹⁰, and thus does not clash with her predecessor. She is daughter of Marquess Ulric-Manfred¹¹ and Countess Bertha¹². She is to all seeming eldest daughter

¹ See Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.*, I. 203.

² See above, p. 194, n. 4.

³ Car. Reg. CII. and CXVII., see above, pp. 191 and 193.

⁴ Car. Reg. CXVII., see above, p. 193.

⁵ Car. Reg. CII., see above, p. 191.

⁶ See above, pp. 151-5.

⁷ Car. Reg. CXII. Ann. Saxo 1037 (*M.G.H. Script.* VI. pp. 680-1). Cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. pp. 265-6, and below, pp. 219-20. This passage furnishes the only sound argument for Ulric-Manfred's possession of Ivrea.

⁸ Car. Reg. CXVII., see above, p. 193, and compare above, p. 161.

⁹ Car. Reg. CXV., see above, p. 193.

¹⁰ Car. Reg. CXXIV., see above, p. 193.

¹¹ Car. Reg. CXXIV. CXXVIII. (above, p. 193), *Sup.* XI. Reg. CXXIX. (see above, p. 194).

¹² Car. Reg. CXXVIII. (above, p. 193).

and chief heiress, for she possesses all the tithes of the Val di Susa¹ with all the village of Sta Agata², except S. Giusto and its share, which she expressly reserved³, just as the heiress of the founder would. Why should anyone else give all save S. Giusto's third, and not rather say "her two-thirds"? She resides at Turin castle, Pinerolo castle and at Carmagnola⁴, and besides her property in the Val di Susa, she owns land at Pinerolo⁵, and Carmagnola⁶. She last appears in June 1044⁷. (vii) Now the wife of Marquess Oddo cannot well have been married to him later than 1045⁸. She, too, is never contemporaneous with the other two Adelaides. Oddo first takes the title Marquess in the spring of 1051⁹. His last certain appearance untitled in a Burgundian deed is in June 1042¹⁰. Now his wife, who by universal consent is the well-known Ulric-Manfred's daughter, is also in a special way the latter's heiress. She brings her husband the style of Marquess; she is Countess of Turin¹¹; her sisters, Immula and Bertha, have small fractions of the inheritance compared with her¹². Her possessions are too widely spread to be given in detail; but they include Pinerolo¹³, Carmagnola¹⁴, land in the county of Albenga¹⁵, Turin castle¹⁶ and the tithes in the Val di Susa¹⁷, which she seems to dispose of by concession from the donees of Car. *Reg.* cxxiv.¹⁸, but the fact of which still shows her dominant position in the Valle. (viii) But this is not all. Adelaide, when widow of Oddo I, received a singular letter from St Peter Damian¹⁹, who was then urging on the Papal campaign against married priests in Lombardy. Adelaide seems to have been in considerable sympathy with the movement, though not in any case where it would affect her

¹ Car. *Reg.* cxxiv.

² Car. *Reg.* cxxviii.

³ Car. *Reg.* cxxiv. and cxxviii.

⁴ Car. *Reg.* cxxiv. cxxviii. *Sup.* xi., *Reg.* cxxix.

⁵ Car. *Sup.* xi. (see above, p. 194).

⁶ Car. *Reg.* cxxix. (see above, p. 194).

⁷ Car. *Reg.* cxxix.

⁸ See above, pp. 205-7.

⁹ Car. *Reg.* cxliiii. (see above, p. 194).

¹⁰ Car. *Reg.* cxxv. (see above, p. 53).

¹¹ Car. *Reg.* ccxix.; see above, p. 138, n. 2.

¹² For Bertha see above, p. 188, for Immula see below, pp. 217, 231-2.

¹³ Car. *Reg.* cxcvii. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 345).

¹⁴ Car. *Reg.* clxxiv. (*Carte antiche di Caramagna*, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 75).

¹⁵ Car. *Reg.* clxi. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 323).

¹⁶ e.g. Car. *Reg.* ccii. (*Cartario d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 42).

¹⁷ Car. *Reg.* cli. (*Cartario d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 7) and ccii. (see above, n. 16).

¹⁸ See *Cartario d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. xiii. and pp. 171-5.

¹⁹ Beati Petri Damiani...*opera omnia*, Paris, 1663, Vol. III. p. 183, Opusculum xviii. Diss. IV. Cap. III.

power; but she herself was considered by some to be in a parlous state, through over-marrying. The Saint, however, administers consolation. "Noli," he says, "*ex divinae clementiae pietate diffidere. Et quia te novi de iterata conjugii geminatione suspectam* tentatus a Saducaeis Dominus de muliere, quae septem fuerat fratribus nupta, cui foret illorum in resurrectione prae ceteris judicanda, sic respondit: in resurrectione neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt sicut angeli Dei in caelo; nam, si multivirae ad regnum Dei nullatenus pertinerent, nequaquam hic Veritas responderet, 'erunt sicut angeli in caelo'; sed potius diceret: 'quia erunt sicut maligni spiritus in inferno.' In hoc itaque Salvatoris verbo manifeste colligitur, quia si religiosa duntaxat vita non desit, a regno caelorum frequentati conjugii pluralitas non excludit....Et haec loquor, non ut adhibeam *multinubis adhuc futuris* audaciam, sed ut *jam factis* spei vel poenitentiae non subtraham medicinam." The interpretation of this letter seems barely to admit of doubt, if we consider the first clause¹. It is consolation for what Adelaide fears on account of her frequent marriages, not a warning concerning her future action, which St Peter Damian is writing. This is supported by the phrase "iterata conjugii geminatione." *Geminatio conjugii* means naturally a second marriage, and therefore *iterata geminatio conjugii* means a third marriage². In view of the fact that we have before us three successive husbands of Adelaide *who do not overlap*, and in view of the strong grounds for thinking that Adelaide is one and the same person, this last passage seems conclusive. The well-known Adelaide, widow of Oddo I of Savoy, had already three times been married.

As, however, the double-Adelaide theory has twice been mooted again of recent years, it will be best to make some remarks on these latest restatements. M. Renaux proposes the following view. Ardoin Glabrio's sons divided their inheritance. Manfred took his share mainly round Turin, Ardoin IV his towards Romagnano (the author thus making Guido and Boso his sons) and Oddo I his in the South

¹ M. Renaux, however (*op. cit.* 750-4), strangely thinks that St Peter Damian is really urging Adelaide not to proceed harshly against the often-married. In support he cites the subsequent adjurations to her to proceed with caution. But these belong to the next chapter; and definitely begin a new side of the subject. And the whole tractate is against the marriage of the clergy, not against the repeated marriage of the laity.

² This is of course only an argument from general probability, as in a rhetorical passage, the Saint would not be exactly careful as to his phrases, but the evident scandal and the references to *multivirae* and *multinubae*, taken all together, seem decisive for the meaning "a third marriage." As to the words, see Freund, *Wörterbuch*, *Geminatio*, a doubling, e.g. *geminatio verborum* (Cicero); but also a joining together (Gellius): An Tullius inani et illepidi geminatione junxerit manubias et praedam.

round Albenga. Oddo I had a son Ulric-Manfred, an exact namesake of Ulric-Manfred of Turin, who added to his crimes by taking a wife named Bertha too. He was the father of Adelaide, wife of Herman and Henry. On her marriage with Herman, Albenga was made a separate mark¹. After Henry's death she made a third marriage, by which she had a daughter Adelaide, who married Boniface I of Vasto². The evidence for this second Adelaide's existence being derived from a charter of the Boniface of 1196 (*Car. Reg. cccxc.*), which speaks of the donations to S. Stefano of his *ava* Adalasia and is supported by the mention of Boniface I's wife Adalasia in 1095 (*Car. Reg. ccxxxI.*) in a Sicilian poem on Boniface I's niece; this cannot be the Adelaide of cccxxxviii. and cxvii., for why should Boniface of Cravesana re-confirm his confirmation of cxvii.? Thus William and Boniface of Cravesana were really great-grandsons of Adelaide of Albenga. The main grounds for this theory I have already discussed, and the main grounds against it: but I may add a few special objections: (i) It involves the creation of an unknown and unattested namesake of Ulric-Manfred and brother of Ardoin V, and a similar namesake of Countess Bertha. (ii) It utterly fails to explain how Herman's mother-in-law could capture the envoys at the passes in 1037³—Albenga being on the coast. (iii) It has been shown by Padre Savio⁴ that William and Boniface descended from Boniface I's last wife, Agnes of Vermandois. *Ava* in *Car. Reg. cccxc.* must therefore be a slip for *proavia* (see above, p. 206). *cccxc.* also is a renunciation of feudal rights claimed by Boniface over land the grant of which he had already confirmed, an obvious reference to cccxxxviii. and cxvii. It is not a re-confirmation, but an acquiescence in the monks' construction of their rights. Of Boniface I's earlier wife, we only know two children, the disinherited Boniface of Incisa and a nameless daughter. That this first wife's name was Adelaide, "daughter of Manfred, Marquess of Saluzzo," we only know from a late chronicler⁵. It is likely to be true, though the style "Saluzzo" is absurd, for Saluzzo at this time was a *curtis* in the county of Aurade. But there

¹ Thus gaining its twelfth century name of mark of Albenga, *op. cit.* 734-5.

² See above, *Car. Reg. cccxxxviii.* p. 198 and n. 1, and pp. 205, 206.

³ See below, p. 219.

⁴ *Il marchese Bonifacio del Vasto ecc.* Atti R. Accad. Scienze, Torino, xxii. (1886-7), pp. 94 and 97. The argument is: Boniface I in his will, 1125 (*Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. xvi.* p. 5), gives his sons in the following order, Manfred, William, Ugo(magno), Anselm, etc. Ugomagno was certainly son of Agnes, as he bears her father's name. Manfred is called son of Agnes by Pope Eugenius III on 22 Sept. 1146 (*Reg. March. Sal., B.S.S.S. xvi.* p. 10). Thus Anselm whose name comes invariably after theirs should also be Agnes' son, and he is father of William and Boniface.

⁵ Goffredo della Chiesa, *M.H.P. Script.* III. 860. The supposed reference to her

is a Manfred (II) Marquess of Romagnano who could be father of the lady¹. In any case the descent of William and Boniface from Agnes settles the question.

The third theory, and the most ingenious of all those concerning the double Adelaide, we owe to the learning and acuteness of Professor Gabotto². He pointed out that the phrase *iterata conjugii geminatio* referred to the past, and that St Peter Damian's letter contains a consolation, not a warning. But he held that *Geminatio conjugii* was merely a term for marriage; and thus *iterata conjugii geminatio* meant only being married twice. Hence, he said, Adelaide, widow of Oddo I of Savoy, had only been married twice. The references to Adelaide, wife of Herman, show her to be identical with the wife of Oddo I. Thus it is the wife of Henry who is the distinct person. She must be another daughter of the well-known Ulric-Manfred, with her dowry placed in the Pinerolese. Perhaps it was her daughter who married Boniface I from whom Boniface and William of Cravesana were descended³. In this way the chronology of the great Adelaide's and Oddo I's descendants is not so cramped, for the two could marry before 1045. Professor Gabotto claims that it is even more cramped than Signori Provana and Labruzzo had thought. He says that in the charter of 1090 (Car. Reg. CCXVII., see above, p. 197), Humbert and Manasses, the two sons of the Adelaide of Coligny, "laudant" the deed, and therefore must be at least seven years of age. Thus Adelaide of Coligny would marry at sixteen in 1081, and would be born in 1065: and her father Amadeus II would be born in 1046 and married at eighteen, no exorbitant age. Since he was third child⁴, it makes it very difficult for the great Adelaide to marry Oddo I in time after Henry's death, which occurred after June 1044. To this argument he adds the strangeness of the fact that Adelaide should only have children, who came in rapid succession, by her third husband.

Professor Gabotto's argument is worked out with great force, it must be owned; but its items admit of answers: (i) St Peter Damian's references to *multivirae*, *multinubae* seem much too excessive, if he is

in Car. Reg. CCXXXI. (1095) rests on a truncation of the passage. The full text is (Acta Sanctorum, ed. 1863 etc. Oct. Vol. III. p. 657):

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Totus orbis claret orbis | Neptis ornat, quem exornat |
| Claro natalitio: | Uxor Adelasia, |
| Marchionis militonis | Brutiorum Sicularum |
| Bonifacii Itali | Comitem Rogerium. |

It is one Adelaide who is Boniface's niece and Roger's wife.

¹ Carutti, *Umberto I ecc.* p. 249. But as Boniface married her in 1079 (Savio, *op. cit.* p. 90) the dates are rather close together.

² See his *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 89-96.

³ See above, p. 210.

⁴ See above, p. 205.

only thinking of a second marriage. He was soothing, not frightening, Adelaide, and would hardly paint her indiscretion, if so it was, in such lurid colours. Besides, was a second marriage really condemned by the reformers of the time? (ii) As we have seen, the argument for the wife of Henry being identical with the wives of Herman and Oddo I is strong¹. And, in case of non-identity, surely it is very strange that the great Adelaide should disappear just in those years when her sister and namesake played so prominent a part. The point as to Boniface I's first wife I have already dealt with². (iii) The Coligny charter is only known by a seventeenth century publication³. We are not even certain that Humbert and Manasses really "laudaverunt," for some word may have dropped out. And must Humbert and Manasses really have been seven years old in order to "laudare"? The archpriest of Coligny acts for them; it is he who seals. Need they have been more than four or five⁴? (iv) The absence of children till the third marriage is certainly strange. Still, it is doubtful if that with Herman was much more than formal. He was with Conrad II's army it seems most of the time⁵. And I may add that it is a possible case that children who survive are only born after some years of marriage. This might be partly the reason why Adelaide's eldest known child is the son of her third husband.

Thus the conclusion, after the discussion of the rival opinions, would seem to be that we may take it that we have only one Adelaide, with three husbands, to deal with.

SECTION V. COUNTESS ADELAIDE AND HER HUSBANDS.

The period of sixty years which followed Ulric-Manfred's death falls naturally into two sub-periods of about thirty years each, divided by the date of the death of Marquess Oddo I of Savoy about 1060. The first sub-period corresponds to the time in imperial history when the Holy Roman Emperors, the Franconians Conrad II and Henry III, approached nearest to their ideal of universal and effectual supremacy. From a Piedmontese point of view, it is a colourless time when the

¹ See above, pp. 207-9.

² See above, p. 210 and n. 4.

³ See above, p. 197, n. 2.

⁴ Savio, *I primi conti ecc.* p. 478, gives an instance; Hugh Duke of Burgundy and Dauphin in 1189 makes a grant to Oulx (*Carte...d'Oulx*, *B.S.S.S.* XLV. p. 199), "annuente Beatrice...uxore nostra et liberis nostris quos ex ea suscepimus." As Hugh married Beatrice not before 1183, their eldest child could not be more than five years old. Cf. the *laudatio* by Humbert III in 1137, when he was probably two or three years old (see below, p. 292).

⁵ See below, pp. 217-20. There is no trace left of his presence in the Mark.

Turinese mark is ruled on the lines last laid down by Ulric-Manfred, and when its heiress is a religious, but retiring figure, who is overshadowed by her elder relatives and successive husbands. But with the second sub-period we enter a new world. Under the Emperor Henry IV the foundations of the Empire quake and the long and fatal strife of Empire and Papacy begins. In Piedmont the widowed Adelaide appears as a virile ruler of her mark and a factor in imperial politics, but under her the symptoms of the decline of the marchional power are clearly visible, although her personality maintains it until the war of succession on her death brings about its collapse. For the future history of her country, both parts of her reign have a peculiar interest, since it was due to her marriage with Oddo I, and to the share her grandson Humbert II obtained of her inheritance, that the House of Savoy first entered on its long and glorious dominion in Italy.

We may doubt if Adelaide was of very mature years when her father died and, presumably by will, left her the lion's share of the Ardoimid inheritance¹. At any rate, it is her mother Bertha and her uncle Bishop Alric, not the Countess herself, who appear in the history of these years. Of Alric, who seems always to have lived in harmony with his elder brother, we have a description, in which he figures as a bluff, warrior-bishop, portly in figure and not over-burdened with human learning². But he had to deal with a crisis: for the old feud between the greater and lesser *militēs*³ was now revived and rose to the pitch of civil war. By this time the benefices held by the Counts and great nobles, the *capitanei*, from King and Church, had become hereditary. Of course they could be deprived of them in case of treason, but so they could be of alodial land. The Bishops' estates, mostly alodial as they then were, naturally were still less alienable. In consequence the insecurity of the *secundi milites*, who held benefices from the *principes*

¹ I deduce this from Suffred's two deeds (see above, p. 191) where only Adelaide and her possible son are mentioned in the entail, with no reference to either Immula or Bertha.

² See Benzo Albensis episcopus, Bk. IV. 4 (written c. 1076-9) (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 638):

Qui nos autem praecesserunt, barones et incliti,
Magni precii fuerunt nullatenus timidi,
Apparebant phantasiis in vultu terribili.

Pocior fuit Alricus, tardus corpulentia,
Quam sit Ingo satis celer in adolescentia,
In humana qui confidit nimis sapientia.

Benzo is contrasting the Bishops of his day with those of the past generation. Alric writes a firm and clumsy signature (Cipolla, facsimile in *Carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18).

³ See above, pp. 166-7.

or Bishops, sometimes by two or three degrees of dependence, became more and more glaring. It is obvious that as smaller alodial holders were squeezed out in the struggle for existence, the precarious nature of sub-benefices meant that the whole class of lesser landowners were at the mercy of the *principes*. As to the latter, there does not now appear the antagonism, so marked in 1000, between them and the Bishops. They had much the same interests with the latter, as against the *secundi milites*; and we may suspect that the possession of the *publica potestas*, in which the grants of immunity, the prevalence of serfdom, and the linking up of the free landholders in the feudal chain, had already made such large breaches, was being still further decreased in value by the rising independence of the city-dwellers. The citizens were generally composed at this time it seems of three ranks or classes. There were the *capitanei* and the lesser knights, who both were largely amphibious, city- and country-dwellers, perhaps partly as a result of the long pagan ravages of the past century, and partly also due to the secular characteristics of Italian civilization. Then there were the traders proper, non-nobles. The relations of these three sections would differ according to circumstances. A numerous section of the *capitanei* would, as we have seen, be generally in accord with the Bishops and Counts, the more part of the marchional families at this period being in process of becoming only the greatest of the *principes*. The lesser knights might be on good terms with the traders and even be taking to trade themselves; or else where the traders had no reason to complain of the Bishop's use of his "public functions," and the lesser knights had remained purely chivalrous in character, the two, as happened at Milan, might be opposed¹.

In the mark of Turin we may suspect that the division of interest between greater and lesser nobles had not proceeded to such an extent as it often did. The cohesion of the mark and the power of the Marquesses seem to hint at this. In Turin itself we have found Ulric-Manfred obliged to take account of the citizens' wishes, and in the end winning a street-fight; but no mention of the *secundi milites* as a class is made². In Asti we know the trading-class had reached great importance: Asti, not Turin, was the centre of trade between the Mont Cenis and Genoa and east Lombardy. And perhaps we may conclude that here the *secundi milites* had tended to take up mercantile pursuits³.

¹ See Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 193-210.

² See above, pp. 184-5.

³ We find Alric in 1029 promising to keep to the customary dues from the men of S. Martino-Alfieri (*Più antiche carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. XXVIII. p. 318). But this is a purely agricultural agreement.

However this may be, the impulse to war was given at Milan. On his return from Burgundy the triumphant Archbishop Aribert had redoubled his harshness and disregard of others' claims—he had always been inclined that way—till at last c. 1035 the lesser knights formed a conspiracy against him. Matters came to a head when Aribert seized on the benefice of one of the more important of them. The fact that he could do so shows that we must not draw the line between greater and lesser nobles merely so as to coincide with the line between the vassals of the Crown and Church, and the more remote vassals who held in their turn from the *principes*. They flew to arms, and, after some vain parleying on the Archbishop's side, the two parties engaged in a street-fight. Aribert, supported by the *principes* and general mass of the people, succeeded in driving out the rebel valvassors. But his victory ended there. The expelled knights allied themselves with the rest of their class in the counties round. Those of Seprio, Martesana and Lodi, but newly subject to Milan, are especially mentioned; but most of North Italy was involved. In answer to their confederation the Bishops and great nobles formed a league of their own, in which Alric was a prominent member; and the two forces came to a pitched battle on the 7th December 1035 at Malocampo near Lodi. Renewed attempts at a composition failed, and in the fighting the valiant Alric fell¹. His death decided the day; Aribert and the discouraged *principes* retreated. No such result had been obtained, however, by the *secundi milites* as would in any way end the contest. They withdrew also².

Both parties, thus unable to overcome one another, appealed to the Emperor for help. Early in 1036 Conrad II had resolved on another expedition to Italy to settle matters, as was indeed his plain duty. His German preoccupations, however, delayed his march till December. But meanwhile he made an important stroke of policy. It seems quite likely that Countess Bertha was embarrassed by Alric's death at such a critical moment, and that she herself and at least two of her daughters crossed the Alps to the Emperor. Perhaps they kept Easter with him on the 18th April at Ingelheim. Conrad had clearly made up his mind what to do with regard to the Ardoinids. The mark of Turin, so important for the entrances to Italy on the west, was to be maintained, but its possessors were to be kept in close alliance with the imperial

¹ Arnulf. Mediol. II. 11 (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 14): "Inter quos dum incederet medius jamdictus Astensis configitur episcopus, pars denique maxima belli. Cujus interitus certaminis factus est terminus. Hic (Heribertus) amisso tanto fratre confusus, illi autem occiso tanto hoste securi, recedentes a pugna diverterunt ad propria." Herim. Aug. fixes the year 1035; *Necrol. S. Solutoris Taurin.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 229), the day of Alric's death.

² See for this account, Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 193-213.

House. They would also counterbalance the growing power of the Marquess of Canossa and Tuscany, Boniface. Accordingly, Adelaide, the eldest daughter, was promptly married to the Emperor's stepson, Herman Duke of Swabia, and, more important still, the latter was invested with the mark of Turin, just as Boniface of Canossa had been invested with that of Tuscany some years earlier, and just as if it were a German duchy. Thus something very like strict primogeniture, aided, probably, by Ulric-Manfred's will, was established for the mark of Turin. But this was not all. At the synod of Tribur, held in May 1036, Otto of Schweinfurt, a great Franconian noble, was freed from his former betrothal to a Polish princess, and was, it seems, married instead to Irmingarde or Immula, the sister of Adelaide¹. This was of course in accordance with Conrad's general policy of promoting inter-marriage between German and Italian grandees²; but it also shows his special anxiety concerning the mark of Turin³.

It was in the second half of March 1037 that Conrad held an Italian assembly at Pavia. He was already on strained terms with Aribert and complaints came thick and fast against the latter. Among the aggrieved was the Count of Milan himself, Hugh, the senior Otbertine Marquess, Bertha's brother. Aribert absolutely refused to give satisfaction or to submit to the Emperor's tribunal. Thereupon he was put to the ban of the Empire and placed in custody. Conrad seemed to

¹ Otto was later made Duke of Swabia and died 28 September 1057 (Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, I. 47). Immula then married Ekbert Marquess of Meissen. See below, pp. 231-2.

² Bresslau, *Konrad II*, II. 171-3.

³ This account does not profess to be more than a reconstruction. The grounds of it are these: (i) 25 Dec. 1035, Suffred (see above, p. 191) apparently treats Adelaide as heiress of the Mark, but mentions no husband, though he speaks of the possibility of her having a son. I infer she was chief heiress by her father's will, and was not yet married. (ii) Heriman. Aug. (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 122) 1036, says: "Herimannus quoque dux Alamanniae marcham soceri sui Meginfridi in Italia ab imperatore accepit." Thus he had married Adelaide and received Ulric-Manfred's offices from the Emperor. In just this way the German duchies (which too were quasi-hereditary) were conferred. Herman would hardly be invested long after his marriage. Rather it would happen just after the ceremony. Conrad was in Germany; thus Adelaide (and probably her mother) must have come thither. (iii) Ann. Saxo (*M.G.H. Script.* VI. 679) 1036, says, Conrad celebrated Easter at Ingelheim (easy to get to from the Great St Bernard) and then held a synod at Tribur close by. "Otto de Suinvorde, cogente sinodo, Machtildem sibi desponsatam juramento a se abalienavit. Post hanc accepit uxorem que Emilius vel Immula seu Irmingardis dicta fuit, sororque illius Adelas dicta nupserat Ottoni marchioni de Italia: peperit autem predicta Immula... Ottoni V filias, etc." Now in view of the last two statements one cannot be sure that the marriage to Immula took place at Tribur; but it is not likely that the match with Matilda was broken off with no one else in view; and as Adelaide seems to be married to Herman about this time, Immula probably came with her to Germany.

have acted with foresight. He had the support of the marchional Houses. Aribert had quarrelled with the *secundi milites*. But the Milanese in general stood by their Archbishop. He had never had "public functions" to vex them with. The city's greatness and the control of Lodi were bound up with the see of St Ambrose, and perhaps even some of the *secundi milites* changed sides.

Aribert's captivity was not of long duration. Before the close of March he had escaped and was exultingly received at Milan. Conrad II summoned fresh forces from Germany, called for the aid of the Italian Marquesses, and began the siege of Milan early in May. The situation was a curious one. The rebel forces were led by the Bishops, in general the supporters of the German monarchy, with Aribert, the former champion of Conrad II, at their head. The faction seems to consist mainly of townsmen, whether of the landed or trading sections. Against them Conrad II leads the Marquesses, who must have drawn with them the greater part of the *principes*, so closely akin to them, and also those *secundi milites* who belonged more to the country than the town. The latter were now to have their grievances remedied. By an imperial constitution of the 28th May 1037, Conrad II decreed that those vassals of his vassals and also the vassals on alodial church-property should hold their benefices by hereditary right in the male line and that they could only be deprived of them after conviction by their peers of a definite crime, from which judgement, too, there was right of appeal to the Emperor, or to his *missus* in the case of the lesser valvassors¹. The effect of this law must have been in one way to increase the number of real proprietors of the soil, and was thus a reversion to an older social state. In another it was a step in the break-up of the "public power"; for the *secundi milites*, now secure, and mainly having serfs under them, would have less occasion to yield obedience to the comital jurisdiction or to attend *placita*. So, too, perhaps, it would lead to the formation

¹ *M.G.H. Constit.* 1. 90: "precipimus...ut nullus miles episcoporum, abbatum, abbatissarum, aut marchionum vel comitum vel omnium qui beneficium de nostris publicis bonis aut de ecclesiarum prediis tenet nunc aut tenuerit vel hactenus injuste perdidit, tam de nostris majoribus valvassoribus quam et eorum militibus, sine certa et convicta culpa suum beneficium perdat, nisi secundum constitutionem antecessorum nostrorum et iudicium parium suorum....Precipimus etiam, ut cum aliquis miles sive de majoribus sive de minoribus de hoc seculo migraverit, filius ejus beneficium habeat. Si vero filium non habuerit et abiaticum ex masculino filio reliquerit, pari modo beneficium habeat, servato usu majorum valvassorum in dandis equis et armis suis senioribus, etc." These clauses show that some greater *milites* or valvassors, who held from direct vassals of the Crown or from alodial church-land, were among the aggrieved (as the story of Archbishop Aribert indicates) as well as the lesser *milites* or valvassors who held from these greater valvassors themselves. The dividing line may have been more fixed by the extent of property held than by the precise link occupied in the feudal chain.

of courts of vassals to decide on questions of land, on which the *ipse dixit* of the lord was formerly sufficient, and so a new feudal array of courts would grow up. The Bishops would clearly be the chief sufferers, both as holders of the *publica potestas* and because they had not, like the Marquesses and *capitanei*, vast demesne-lands held by members of their own family which would provide a fighting force to compel obedience from their insubordinate vassals. For the present they had support in the towns, but there were strong symptoms that this was not likely to last.

Conrad was not blind to the necessity of conciliating the townfolk, and gave an instance of his perspicuity in the case of Asti. What happened there after Alric's death is not known, but on the 18th June 1037 Conrad grants a diploma to Oberto, whom he has nominated Bishop, by which he exempts the Astigians from all tolls in the Empire, especially those of the valley of Susa¹. This also, however, has the aspect of being an attempt of Oberto to buy submission from his unruly townfolk.

The siege of Milan was unsuccessful and was given up by the end of May. The baffled Emperor went the length of deposing the rebel Archbishop from his see, by a remarkable stretch of power for the West. Aribert's reply was to attempt to set up a rival King of Italy. Conrad's old enemy, Eudes II of Champagne², when he heard of the Emperor's difficulties, had burst into Lorraine, ravaging and plundering, and might be tempted to attack Burgundy again. Accordingly Aribert, with the Bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza and Cremona, all of whom were publicly on the Emperor's side, sent secret envoys to Champagne, with the usual promises of the royal and imperial crowns, and of an insurrection in Eudes' favour. The Count at once swallowed the bait and named a day and trysting-place in Piedmont where the mutual oaths were to be taken and the treaty concluded. But the scheme failed: one of the messengers, Albert the strong, was seized by Countess Bertha of Turin, who now appears as the real ruler of the mark; and the arrangement was learnt from the letters he carried. She sent troops on the appointed day, presumably to some small place on one of the passes, and captured the entire gathering of envoys. Their letters she sent to the Emperor, who received them in an assembly where the three treacherous Bishops were present. The detected prelates were promptly arrested and sent beyond the Alps³. Meantime Eudes II himself made a second inroad

¹ *M.G.H. Dipl.* iv. 337.

² See above, p. 24 ff.

³ *Ann. Saxo (M.G.H. Script.* vi. 680-1) 1037, thus describes Bertha's action: "Interea supradictorum conspiratorum Deo nequiciam detegente, quedam fidelis domna, socrus scilicet Herimani Suevorum ducis, in hisdem finibus conmorans,

into Lorraine. He captured Bar on the 14th November 1037, but next day he was attacked by Gozelo Duke of Lorraine. After a long struggle, he was put to rout, and himself perished on the field. With him the rivalry of French feudatories for intervention in Italy came to an end. Their desire to play a part in world, as apart from French local, politics was to be gratified later by the Crusades¹.

The only reward Bertha seems to have claimed was the confirmation of the possessions of the Abbey of S. Giusto di Susa. This was duly granted on the 29th December 1037. It contained an emphatic clause of immunity, unless indeed the monks supplied one themselves in the copy we possess. 'By it all jurisdiction of the Marquess over the great possessions of the Abbey was shut out'².

The further operations and successes of Conrad II in Italy barely concern the present subject. Only we may remark the pestilence which destroyed his army as a fighting force in July 1038. He was obliged to leave the continuance of the war with Aribert—which had been suspended since 1037—to his Italian allies: and himself with his Germans retreated in August up the Brenner. In his march through Lombardy there died of the epidemic on the 28th July his step-son, Herman Duke of Swabia and Marquess of Turin. The corpse was buried at Trent³. It is clear the young Duke had been for the most part with his step-father's army. Bertha appears as ruling the mark; and in the only document of Adelaide's which may have been issued during her marriage to him, his consent to her grant, usual under the Salic Law, does not occur⁴. No doubt he did not reside in his mark.

The war against Aribert continued under the direction of the Marquesses. In 1039 they raised their forces and proceeded to the siege of Milan. The Archbishop on his side armed the population. *Popolo* and *contadini* appear for the first time as a fighting force; the *caroccio* was invented, and a new era was begun. But before severe hostilities commenced came the news of Conrad's death on the 4th of June. The besiegers knew very well that the new King, the pious Henry III, would not approve the war, and they dispersed in dismay⁵.

legatorum conventum rescivit, missisque suis satellitibus omnes simul comprehensos reique veritatem confessos inperatori, ubi in publico conventu eisdem...tribus episcopis presentibus conederat, transmisit." Other accounts give some more details, but do not mention her.

¹ Bresslau, *op. cit.* II. 227-76.

² See above, p. 201, n. 2. The earliest copy of the diploma dates from c. 1180. It is tempting to think, but perhaps improbable, that the immunity was desired by the monks in consequence of the break-up of the Mark at Adelaide's death in 1091.

³ See Bresslau, *op. cit.* pp. 316-9 and p. 318, n. 2, for authorities on Herman's death.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 206 and 193, n. 1.

⁵ Bresslau, *op. cit.* pp. 319-20.

Bertha does not seem to have long outlived the Emperor. At any rate after 1040 we have no more documents of her¹. As for Countess Adelaide, within a few years she married again, for on the 29th January 1042 we find her wife of Marquess Henry, an Aleramid of the Montferat line². This match possibly took place without the approval of Henry III; but since Henry bore the title of Marquess in any case as an Aleramid, we cannot say for certain whether he was invested with the mark of Turin, although it is likely to be the case³.

Nothing of special interest is contained in the records of this time concerning the mark. Marquess Henry appears for the last time on the 1st June 1044⁴; and he probably died shortly after, leaving, we may be fairly sure, no issue. The third marriage of Adelaide, that with Oddo I of Savoy, cannot have taken place later than 1045⁵. Oddo I was thereupon invested with the mark of Turin by Henry III⁶. In this way the policy initiated by Conrad II took a new and striking development. By this marriage and investiture the approach to and the control of the two chief passes of the Western Alps, the Mont Cenis and the Great St Bernard, were conferred on the same House, which thus became one of the most powerful of the Empire. It now remained to link this House of Savoy-Turin firmly to the imperial dynasty, and, as we shall see, Henry III and his advisers did not neglect to do so.

Little enough is known to us of Oddo I's rule. Adelaide and he took under their patronage the foundation of S. Lorenzo d'Oulx in the valley leading to the Mont Genève⁷. This house of Canons Regular, which had come into being a few years before⁸, was no doubt intended by the Marquess and his wife to serve the same uses for that pass, as did S. Giusto and Chiusa for the Mont Cenis. But it was not endowed,

¹ Car. Sup. VIII. (*Cartario-Staffarda*, II., B.S.S.S. XII. p. 237) is dated 4 Nov. 1037. See above, p. 192, n. 3.

² See above, p. 193.

³ It may be that in consequence of his disapproving the marriage, Henry III granted the county of Bredolo to Peter, Bishop of Asti, and extended the latter's circuit of jurisdiction over the city from four to seven miles' radius, on the 26 Jan. 1041 (*Libro verde...d'Asti*, II., B.S.S.S. XXVI. p. 217). See above, p. 163, and n. 9. It is certainly curious that about the same time Henry III granted complete immunity to the Abbey of Chiusa, which then had for its abbot a Bishop Peter. This of course diminished the area of Ardoimid jurisdiction. Cf. below, p. 252.

⁴ See above, p. 194.

⁵ See above, pp. 205-7.

⁶ From 1051 he appears as *marchio*, which was certainly not his Burgundian title. See above, p. 194.

⁷ See above, p. 195.

⁸ See Collino in *Carte d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. pp. vi and 6-7. The canons existed in 1056.

like them, with large lands, but chiefly with tithes. Perhaps this was partly due to its nature. The canons, unlike the recluse monks, were intended to serve as parish-priests in the valley.

In 1055 the Emperor Henry III made his second expedition to Italy. This time he had to deal with the House of Canossa. Beatrice, widow of Marquess Boniface, had remarried Godfrey Duke of Lorraine, and much aroused the Emperor's suspicions, for the Duke took control of his step-children's vast inheritance. However, Beatrice and her surviving child, the famous Matilda of Tuscany, were placed in honourable captivity, while the Duke fled to Germany, there to revolt. Henry III had all the more reason to favour the rivals of the Canossans; and to take care of their loyalty¹. On his return to Germany, he spent the Christmas of 1055 at Zürich, and there betrothed his child-son, Henry, to Bertha, eldest daughter of Marquess Oddo I and Adelaide². Thus the House of Savoy had little further to aspire to in the Empire. Two more such alliances were to be made in the next twenty years; and curiously enough the ruin of the mark was to be largely due to this close connection with the imperial House.

Oddo did not live long to enjoy his greatness. By the 21st May 1060 he was dead³. By Adelaide he left five children: Peter I, the eldest, who succeeded him in the Mark; Amadeus II; Oddo; Bertha, wife of Henry IV; and Adelaide, who was the second wife of Rudolf of Rheinfelden, Duke of Swabia and Anti-Caesar. The latter's husband had been invested with the novel Rectorate of the Kingdom of Burgundy by the Empress Agnes. As such, he would stand to the local Counts in much the same position as a German Duke towards his subordinate Counts. Accordingly we do find him leading the Burgundian vassals of the Empire in war, but otherwise no trace of his authority appears, and it seems most unlikely that the Counts of Savoy were in any real way trammelled by it⁴. However this may be, on Oddo's death Countess Adelaide, who up till then has no distinct character for us, appears at last as real ruler of the mark and one of the most remarkable women of the eleventh century.

¹ Steindorff, *Heinrich III*, II. 324-5.

² See above, p. 194 and n. 4. The Emperor took the bride to be brought up in Germany. *Ann. Altah. maj.* 1066 (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 817), "sponsa...quam pater ejus (Henricus III) secum adduxerat novissime regrediens de Italia."

³ See above, p. 195.

⁴ See Jacob, *La Royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 65-74; Kallmann, *Die Beziehungen des Königreichs Burgund zu Kaiser und Reich*, pp. 81-4, considers Rudolf's powers only extended between the Jura and the Alps, where he can be shown to have held alods. But against this view, see *Carmen de Bello Saxonico* (*M.G.H. Script.* xv. 1230):

Hic (Rodulfus) et in arma rapit secum quos patria misit
Curia, mille manus Ararim Rhodanumque bibentes.

The period just elapsed had not only importance for the House of Savoy, as we have seen, in placing them in Piedmont; but it had importance, because it saw the ripe completion of the policy of the Franconian Emperors with regard to the Western Alps. Now on both sides of the range and dominating its approaches was seated one of the greatest vassals of the Empire, whose family interests were carefully intertwined with those of the imperial dynasty.

SECTION VI. COUNTESS ADELAIDE AND HER SONS.

From the quiet days of the Emperor Henry III, we now make an abrupt transition to the commotions of his successor's reign. Long before Henry IV himself took any part in the affairs of North Italy, Lombardy was in turmoil over the great contentions of church-reform and clerical celibacy, and along with them, acting on them and reacting from them, the social changes, which were produced by the growing prosperity of the cities, were bringing about a less articulate, but no less far-reaching evolution. The trading classes were aspiring to a more definite share in the government and were resenting the control of the nobles and the way in which the latter tended to consider church-office as their hereditary appanage. The weakness of the central government during the long minority of the King of the Romans, and the decay of the authority of the local holders of the "public power," gave opportunity and incentive for change, while church-schism and church-reform supplied ever fresh occasion and motive for definite action. From this city-phenomenon, the "rise of the commune," Piedmont lay as yet somewhat aloof, Asti being the chief town affected greatly by it; and consequently we find Adelaide of Turin playing a mediator's, almost an inconsistent, part. She cautiously furthers ecclesiastical reform; but she is a stern opponent of Asti's autonomy. Even during the strife of Empire and Papacy she deftly pursues her middle path, and whatever changes she countenanced, she maintained the mark of Turin in the elder traditions of government till her death. Like Matilda of Tuscany she was the last of a race of marchional dynasts.

While Countess Adelaide was the real ruler and the legal possessor of the Ardoinid demesnes, the formal aspect of things was somewhat different. Her eldest son, Peter I, was invested with the mark of Turin by January 1064¹, and he remained possessed of the "public

¹ Car. Reg. CLX. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 22), where he holds in July 1064 a *placitum* in the county of Turin, with his mother. In Jan. 1064 he and his mother confirm a gift to Fruttuaria (Car. *Sup.* XVI.). It is true that the charter of Secundus to S. Giusto di Susa, 29 Feb. 1064 (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 603), speaks of the Abbey as

powers" therein till his death. Perhaps Adelaide herself continued to hold the comital office under him and his son-in-law during her life-time (cf. above, p. 140, n. 1). The lot of the Burgundian domains is more obscure. From the later and earlier practice of the Savoyards, we should expect Peter to rule alone, his brothers being given mere appanages. In favour of this view we note that Peter was Count of Aosta and apparently sole Count¹. Against it we have the statement (of course, not necessarily very accurate) of St Peter Damian that Adelaide's sons possessed a great part of Burgundy². Now there seems to be some corroboration of this. In the dispute concerning the coinage of Aiguebelle, Adelaide and her three sons act together, although a primacy is reserved for Peter I³. In the negotiations with Henry IV in December to January 1076-7, only Adelaide and Amadeus take part, and their wide Burgundian lands are expressly mentioned⁴. Amadeus II, however, never bears for certain the title of Count in his brother's life-time, and the latter may have died before December 1076⁵. So perhaps we should think rather of an exceptionally large endowment of lands, than of a separate dominion.

Since the politics of Burgundy and Italy are sharply distinguished in these early years of Henry IV, we may take them separately. To begin with Burgundy. After Oddo I's death, the mint of Aiguebelle was revived; again Archbishop Leger of Vienne journeyed to Italy to complain, and obtained a command for the mint's suppression. But soon the coining began afresh; and there ensued long negotiations. In November 1066 or 1067 an agreement was reached, Adelaide and her sons promising that no coining should take place for the future⁶. It

"constructum infra civitatem Seusiam de sub regimine et potestate domne Addalasiae cometipse et filiorum ejus": but this refers to the entail of the advowson of the monastery (see above, p. 154, and n. 4), not to the public powers over the city.

¹ See above, p. 53, Car. *Reg.* CXX.

² See above, p. 189 and n. 2.

³ See below, n. 6, "Petrus primogenitus."

⁴ See below, pp. 237-9.

⁵ See below, p. 241, n. 3.

⁶ Car. *Reg.* CLXXIII. (Migne, CXLIII. pp. 1407-8 and d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, Paris, 1723, III. 393). Cf. above, p. 124. "Post mortem vero ejus insurrexerunt et alii latrones, et secuti sunt priores, et iterum falsaverunt eam (monetam), quousque predictus archiepiscopus Leodegarius venit in Italiam ad praedictam marchionissam Adeleidam. Quae similiter ut audivit, ne amplius fieret praecepit... Modo autem ignorante supradicta domina Adeleida marchionissa, alii exorti sunt et praedicta mala sequuntur. Sed mediante domno Adraldo Bremetensium Abbate et Artaldo ecclesiae nostrae praeposito, dimittuntur supradicta mala, et ne amplius fiant, promittit domina Adeleida marchionissa cum filiis suis Petro et Amedeo et Oddone Deo et S. Mauricio in manu domni Leodegarii... ut in tota potestate sua Viennensis moneta amplius non falsetur, neque fiat neque vera neque falsa illa excepta quae in Vienna fuerit facta..."

was, however, certainly resumed, perhaps after Leger's death in 1070, and only was done away with on the establishment of a mint at Susa¹. The Archbishop had vainly endeavoured to put back the hands of the clock, for under early medieval conditions the Mont Cenis high-road, like others, would need its special mint at the border of Italy and Burgundy.

Our other information concerns one serious loss and a partial gain of territory. In 1057 Oddo I and Adelaide appear as sole rulers of the upper valley of the Dora Riparia round Oulx, where was situated the new-founded provostry². But in 1063 we find Guigues I, the Old, Count of Albon (or by an anachronism, the Dauphin), owning land in Cesana³. We can hardly doubt that this fact implies dominion; for other undated charters of Count Guigues show him confirming the Ulcian Canons' lands and various grants to them in the district and disposing of tithes in Cesana, Oulx and Salbertrand⁴. For many centuries the district between Exilles and the Mont Genève was lost to the House of Savoy and became in language and culture a part of the Dauphiné. From a military point of view the loss was unfortunate, but the greater popularity of the Mont Cenis route prevented a serious loss of revenue. How the cession occurred we have no evidence to say⁵. The youth of

hoc laudant et confirmant...Petrus primogenitus et Amedeus et Oddo." Dated "II. Kal. Dec. Luna XVI. feria IV. Heinrico secundo rege, nondum imperatore, Caesaris et imperatoris filio, hujus domnae marchionissae genero." We may note the title of marchioness given to Adelaide in this Viennese document. No doubt she was usually called so. Manteyer, *Origines*, p. 413, n. 1, proposes to alter the barbarous "II. Kal." to "XI. Kal." I have not been able to find in the document "Indiction XII." which M. de Manteyer corrects to "Ind. xv." Since Henry IV only married Adelaide's daughter in June 1066 (see below, p. 231), and was only recognized by Leger about the same time (see Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 75-7), I incline to correct either to "III. Kal. Dec.," i.e. Wednesday, 29 Nov. 1066, which makes the moon three days out, or to "XI. Kal. Dec.," i.e. Wednesday, 21 Nov. 1067, which makes the moon six or seven days out. If we keep to II. Kal. (see *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, I. 297) we have 30 Nov. 1065; but the moon is then twelve days out, and the marriage of Henry IV and Bertha had not taken place.

¹ That the treaty was ineffectual is shown by three references to the money of Aiguebelle in Grenoblese charters, one of 1111; see Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. ecc.* pp. 36-9.

² See above, p. 195 and pp. 221-2.

³ *Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 18. The date in the copies of charter is 1053, but the indiction is I., which agrees with 1063, and in 1053 Ulric could not have been provost, since he succeeded Gerard, who was still provost in 1058 (*id.* p. 10). So, too, Oddo and Adelaide were still ruling at Oulx in 1057.

⁴ *Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. pp. 12, 17, 29; cf. below, p. 227.

⁵ Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 94 n. (following Count di Vesme, *I conti di Verona*, Nuovo Arch. Veneto 1897) thinks that Guigues the Old claimed the district in right of his wife Adelaide, an Ardoinid. But there is nothing but the name to show she is an Ardoinid; and the great Adelaide is the first Ardoinid

Oddo's sons may have led Guigues the Old to begin the long feud which was not to end till the fourteenth century.

The acquisition of lands made by Adelaide at this time was the permanent temporal dominion of the Abbey of St Maurice and the county of Chablais. As we have seen above¹, the last Abbot for many years is Burchard, who last appears in 1069. In 1070 ample proof is given of Adelaide's rule there by the following anecdote. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne and Arch-chancellor of Italy, was returning to his diocese from Rome in 1070. He took the Great St Bernard route, and as we might expect from an active man of affairs, transacted a little business on the way. This was to obtain from Countess Adelaide a mandate to the canons of St Maurice, which ordered them to give the Archbishop some of the precious relics of the Theban Legion. St Maurice of course could not rival the Roman catacombs, but it had a great reputation from the number of the martyred soldiers. In fact the export of relics had proceeded to such an extent as to arouse a great deal of local opposition; and the Archbishop found it best, after feeling the canons heavily, to enter the church and to disinter the spoil at dead of night. He was successful in finding a whole body (St Innocent) and a skull (St Vitalis); and, decamping at a very early hour next morning, got safe away. On Ascension Day (16 May) he entered Cologne in triumph, and enshrined his new patrons in sumptuous fashion, at which I believe and at him posterity may still wonder².

Although Adelaide ruled beyond the Alps, however, her home and interests were in Italy. Only once we find her north of the encircling mountains³. With regard to Italy, therefore, we may hope to find out her policy, if she had one, during the many stirring years of her rule from 1060 to 1091. One aspect of it is easy to deal with. She continued the resettlement of the Alpine valleys. Not to mention her gifts to Oulx, both before and after its loss⁴, and other monasteries, such as Cavour, Caramagna and S. Solutore of Turin, we find her founding an abbey of her own. This was Sta Maria di Pinerolo, to which she granted its first charter on the 8th September 1064. Following her father's example she dowered it with the entire valley of Fenestrelle and its branches from Pinerolo upwards, together with other we know of to bear the name. Ulric-Manfred gave to his daughters no names which we know of in the family before his time.

¹ See above, pp. 73 and 122-3.

² Cf. for the tale *Vita Annonis* (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 480). The words relative to Adelaide are: "(Anno) precibus exegit ab Adelheida, tunc Alpium Cottiarum marchionissa, quatenus Thebeae legionis reliquias ejus auctoritatis jussu mereretur ab Agaunensibus; suae quippe ditioni locus cedebat."

³ See below, pp. 237-8.

⁴ See above, pp. 221-2, and also *Car. Reg.* CLXXV. (*Cart. d'Oulx, B.S.S.S.* xlv. 31), CCX. (*id.* 48).

lands, yielding perhaps a more immediate income, in the counties of Turin and Aurade¹. Thus a third great valley was handed over to the monks' care and gentler rule. They soon, however (probably at Adelaide's death), lost the upper Fenestrelle region to the Guigonids, whom, as Dauphins, we find later in possession of Pragelato and Mentouilles².

It is a far more difficult matter to trace out the policy of Adelaide with regard to the great movements of her day, that is, to the enforcement of clerical celibacy and to the strife between Emperor and Pope. In so putting the problem perhaps a solution is being suggested. The inference is that Adelaide looked on these matters from a practical point of view. She may have approved of clerical celibacy, as a reform, but not of violent measures to bring it about, nor of the use of it in connection with the communal movement to break up her own power in the mark. In like manner, while possibly in no way anti-papal, she would be none the more inclined to see her imperial kinsman lose power or crown. With these suggestions made, we may proceed to examine the details, so far as they concern Adelaide and her dominions.

The beginning of the disturbance in Piedmont bears marks of a mainly secular origin. In Milan the attack of the reformers, Ariald and Landulf, with their mob of artisans, was directed against the married and simoniacal priests of the city. It was for a celibate and unworldly clergy that the Patarines—as the reformers were called—of Milan were striving³. Some may have been anxious to enforce a genuine Papal supremacy over the almost independent see of St Ambrose, but there would not be many Milanese to take that view. Archbishop Guido was despised perhaps, but there was no movement against his secular powers; in fact he did not possess the *publica potestas* in Milan. But at Asti, as at Pavia, the citizens rose against the Bishop imposed upon them by the Emperor, here doubtless on Adelaide's nomination. It would not be right to separate the two risings completely, for in both the fact that the priestly offices and endowments were mainly held by connections of the *capitanei* and valvassors, who were not always easy to distinguish in practical life from their secular kinsmen, was a grievance and an incitement to riotous reform for the traders and artisans. Still at Asti the immediate aspiration seems to have been for something like self-government on the part of all classes

¹ See above, p. 190, Car. Reg. CLXI. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 323), CXCI. (*id.* p. 342), with gift of rest of Fenestrelle valley in 1078, CXCVII. (*id.* p. 345), CXCVIII. (*id.* p. 348), with gift of Pinerolo itself in 1078.

² See above, p. 225, and cf. Valbonnais, *Hist. de Dauphiné*, II. 467.

³ Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, I. pp. 58-71.

of citizens. As the sequel shows, the Bishop was hand in glove with Countess Adelaide, who held the remnants of the comital power in the *contado*; and between them the citizens were completely dominated. In any case, in spite of the privileges of toll-freedom they obtained from Conrad¹, about 1061 the Astigians revolted and drove out their Bishop Girelm. A large party of the nobles must have been concerned in the rising, since Asti kept her Bishop at bay year after year. In 1065² we find Adelaide making a considerable grant to Bishop Girelm, perhaps in compensation for his losses, perhaps in return for the fief she held of him³. Finally on the 23rd April 1070 the warlike Countess captured and burnt the recalcitrant city with much slaughter and restored the rightful Bishop, turning out the usurper elected by the Astigians. The rightful Bishop, however, was no longer Girelm, who died c. 1066⁴, but his successor, a certain Ingo, young, active and crafty⁵. The see had suffered at the hands of its protectors as well as at those of its foes. We find that Adelaide had entered into the possession of the Abbey of S. Dalmazzo-Pedone and of the arch-priestdom of Levaldigi in Aurade, and that a dispute was going on between her and Bishop Ingo concerning the important riverside land between Annone and Rocca d'Arazzo⁶. In addition, Adelaide held as a benefice from the see all its possessions in the *curtis* of Bredolo, which we may, perhaps, regard as including its claims to the comital power in that district. If the grant of the county of Bredolo to the see of Asti by Henry III in 1041 was really a sign of displeasure with Adelaide, the

¹ See above, p. 219.

² Car. Reg. CLXVI. (*Le più antiche carte...d'Asti*, B.S.S.S. xxviii. p. 343. The lands given had been purchased by Adelaide.

³ That of Bredolo *curtis*, see below. But the evidence for it dates only from 1089.

⁴ Except for the date of the capture of Asti the chronology is obscure. The authorities are, besides *Ann. Altah. maj.* (see below, p. 229, n. 3): Ogger. Alfier., *Cronica* (Sella, *Cod. Ast. de Malabayla*, II. p. 58), "A.D. 1070 VIII. Kal. Mad. civitas Astensis capta fuit a comitissa Alaxia," and Arnulf. Mediol. (*M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 18): "The Pavese are at war with Milan (1061). Per idem tempus, ad instar Papiensium, Astenses quoque datum sibi reprobaverunt episcopum; sed prudentia comitissae Adeleidae, militaris admodum dominae, post longi temporis conflictus incensa tandem urbe, contempto altero quem elegerant, priorem suscipiunt." Thus Girelm seems to be restored. Now Girelm appears as Bishop in 1054, 1059, and 1065. His successor, Ingo, appears first in 1072. But, since the trouble with the Pope *re* Ingo's consecration appears to have occurred 1066-7, we must suppose an error in Arnulf, and that Girelm died c. 1066, having never obtained restoration (see below).

⁵ See Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 140-2 and above, p. 214, n. 2.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCXV. (*Libro verde...d'Asti*, II. B.S.S.S. xxvi. p. 67). There was also a dispute between Marquess Peter I and Ingo over La Vezza (where?), which they settled.

acquisition of this benefice may have been her method of recovering her lost powers under another name¹.

The papal curia, however, could not hold aloof from these spirited proceedings, and its wrath was aroused by Ingo seeking consecration from Guido Archbishop of Milan. Now Guido in 1066-7 stood excommunicate. His submission to Pope Nicholas II on the points of issue in 1059, which had been particularly shared by the Bishops of Adelaide's sphere of influence, Cunibert of Turin, Benzo of Alba and Girelm of Asti, had come to an end in the renewed Patarine agitation at Milan from 1065 on. It was not that Guido had followed the anti-Pope Cadalus in the years 1061 to 1064. Only Benzo of Alba did that, and for some reason or other managed to keep his see in spite of all. But Guido was himself defied and accused of simony by the Patarine leaders, supported as they were by the Roman Curia. In 1066 Pope Alexander II excommunicated and suspended him and was not unnaturally indignant with Adelaide for her recognition of his archiepiscopal powers through Ingo's consecration. A sharp letter of reproof was sent refusing to acknowledge the new Bishop². But presumably means were found to pacify the Pope's indignation, since Ingo appears as Bishop of Asti from 1072 to 1079. Adelaide was herself obliged to make a journey to Rome about the matter, but the benevolent Pope declared he did not know what penance to fix, and nothing was done, save perhaps an undertaking of the Countess to support the reform movement in her dominions³.

¹ *Car. Reg.* ccxv. (see p. 228, n. 6). See above, p. 163 and n. 9, and p. 221, n. 3. Cf. on this Astigian history, Prof. Gabotto, *Asti e la politica sabauda in Italia*, B.S.S.S. xviii. pp. 5-9.

² Alexander II's letter (Löwenfeld, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* p. 56) is as follows: "Adalasiae comitissae. Wido Mediolanensis et pro crimibus quae comisit et pro superbia qua se elevare contra apostolicam sedem presumpsit, sancta synodo id decernente, ab omni episcopali officio suspensus est; et quemadmodum Astensis electus vel esse vel dici possit episcopus, cum a non episcopo minime sit benedictus, sed potius maledictus, invenire non possumus; aut enim, quod fieri non potest, apostolicae sedis justa et legitima auctoritas annullabitur, aut ipse electus pro hac causa inter episcopos non numerabitur." Possibly this is the origin of Adelaide's journey to Rome, of which the *Ann. Alah. maj.* have an anecdotic account. See below, n. 3. The difficulty lies in the date of Ingo's consecration. Evidently Alexander II's letter belongs to the years 1066-7 when Guido was suspended from office. Subsequently Guido resigned his see without the Pope's leave, attempted to take it again, and was in captivity by 1071: but he would hardly be applied to for consecration during this second eclipse. Yet we need not separate Alexander's reproof *re* the consecration from Adelaide's journey to Rome, even if that occurred after the capture of Asti in 1070; since to obtain a valid consecration for Ingo would not be practical politics till the city had submitted.

³ *Ann. Alahenses majores*, 1069 (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 821): "Temporibus ipsis (c. October) in Italia contigit hujusmodi res quaedam miserabilis. Adelheit, socrus

Already, steps had been taken to stir up her zeal in this regard by St Peter Damian. He may have made her acquaintance about 1063 on his journey over the Great St Bernard and by Fruttuaria on his French legation of that year¹, although it is possible, seeing that Adelaide's eldest son bore the name, strange in the family, of Peter, that the Saint might be an old friend and the boy's godfather². In any case about the spring of 1064³ he directed a long tractate to the Countess, whom he describes, with that monkish sweetness which to us seems so unbecoming, as Duchess and Marchioness of the Cottian Alps and most excellent Duke. His object is to follow up a similar writing he had already addressed to Cunibert Bishop of Turin, who in 1064 was a strong supporter of Alexander II against the anti-pope Cadalus

regis, Laudasanis irata fuit; quapropter, vastata provincia, ipsam civitatem Laudam cum magna multitudine obsedit, quamque expugnatam igne fecit succendi, et portis obstruis nullum patiebatur egredi. Igitur monasteria ecclesiae cunctaque urbis moenia igne sunt concremata; quo incendio virorum, mulierum ac parvulorum perisse feruntur multa milia. Hujus reatus causa post haec Romam adiit, sed papa non indicta penitentia eam redire jussit. Fatebatur enim se nescire, si qua vel qualis in tot et tantis criminibus deberet indici penitentia vel subsequi indulgentia. Sed quia eundem virum novimus pium ac mitum fuisse, nequaquam credimus hoc eum dixisse, si cor illius perspexisset digne contritum et humiliatum fuisse." That this account refers to the capture of Asti is pretty clear. We know of the latter's storm in 1070. Adelaide had absolutely nothing to do with Lodi or central Lombardy. No other mention of a capture of Lodi by her in 1069 is known, and the silence of the Milanese writers, Arnulf and Lambert, is inexplicable, if the event happened. The Annalist, who writes c. 1075 (see Giesebrecht, *loc. cit.* p. 779), might well confuse two lesser cities. Unfortunately the error makes one doubtful of his details, and I have only ventured to take Adelaide's journey to Rome into the text. The rapid revival and new revolt of Asti is a proof of some exaggeration.

¹ Cf. Migne, CXLIV. 107-8, *Henschenii Comment.* and CXLV. 863 and 869-70 (*Iter Gallicum*), and B. Petri Damiani...*opera omnia*, Paris 1663, Vol. III. p. 182, Opusculum XVIII. In conversation with St Peter Damian Adelaide excused her virile power in the world by a reference to the wondrous virtue sometimes hidden in contemptible herbs (*op. cit.* III. p. 181). The Saint mentions that only one ecclesiastic in her domains complained of Adelaide, and that merely because she had given him nothing. This grumbler was Bishop of Aosta (*op. cit.* III. p. 182): "De ecclesiis autem quae tibi adjacent admonerem, etc.; sed cum te praesente, plures nobiscum colloquerentur episcopi monasteriorumque rectores, nullus eorum fuit qui a te vel a tuis procuratoribus ullam sibi molestiam conquereretur inferri, praeter Augustensem dumtaxat episcopum, qui tamen non a te sibi de suis aliquid imminutum, sed conquestus est potius ecclesiae suae nihil ex tua liberalitate collatum."

² But Baron Carutti (*Regesta*, p. 371) argues that St Peter Damian could not have been in Piedmont before 1057. In that case the notion of his being godfather to Peter I, which has been upheld by Count Gerbaix-Sonnaz (*Studi storici*, etc. 1.), is impossible. Was Bishop Peter of Asti the godfather?

³ Neukirch, *Das Leben des h. Petrus Damiani*, p. 103 for date. An abstract is given Car. *Reg.* CLVII. For the whole see Beati Petri Damiani...*opera omnia*, Paris 1663, Vol. III. p. 181, Opusculum XVIII. Diss. III.

of Parma. In both he urges strong measures against the married priests, who appear to have formed the bulk of the Lombard clergy. Cunibert is to proceed against the priests themselves; the thrice-married Adelaide, whom the Saint reassures on that very subject of her repeated marriages¹, is to employ her secular arm, on the unfortunate women, their wives, whom the monk so misnames. He recommends her to be cautious and not vindictive in her action. The controversy, of course, as to what had been the best choice for Europe then, is an impossible one to solve. We only know what happened, and cannot really contrast with it an imaginary history. But if the progress of medieval European civilization did in fact demand an unfettered clergy, we may yet say that it was bought with blood and tears.

It is probably to be regarded as a sign of her good understanding with the Papacy, that we find Adelaide's second son, Amadeus, taking an oath at St Peter's tomb, along with other Burgundian nobles, to protect the Holy See. This happened in Alexander II's time and probably in 1066². Interesting as evidence of Adelaide's attitude, the fact is, however, of trifling importance.

During these years of dexterous government, family greatness and family troubles had gone hand in hand for Adelaide. In 1065 Henry IV had come of age; in June 1066 he solemnly wedded Adelaide's daughter, Bertha, at Tribur, possibly because it was an easy place for the bride's relatives to reach. Bertha had already been crowned Queen at Würzburg in the same year³. Three other marriages completed the links which bound the House of Savoy-Turin to the Empire. Marquess Peter I married in 1064 at the latest the Empress-Dowager's niece, Agnes, daughter of Duke William VII of Aquitaine⁴. Adelaide, the Countess' second daughter, in one of the years following, married Henry IV's widowed brother-in-law, Rudolf of Rheinfelden, Duke of Swabia⁵. Finally, Adelaide's sister, Immula, had remarried; this time, her husband was Ekbert I of Brunswick, Margrave of Meissen⁶. Of

¹ See above, p. 209. Of course Adelaide's marriages would be largely political and to safeguard the succession in the mark.

² Hellmann, *Die Grafen v. Savoyen*, p. 20, n. 4. In 1066 Richard of Capua was threatening Rome: and in 1068 some of the chief Burgundian magnates were forming an alliance on the Pope's side.

³ Lamp. Hersf. 1066 (ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 103-4): *Ann. Altah. maj.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 817) for the Coronation at Würzburg. See also Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, I. 526, n. 61, for full evidence and discussion.

⁴ She appears after Peter's death in 1078 (*Car. Reg.* CXCVIII. *Cartario di Pinerolo*, *B.S.S.S.* II. p. 348) as "filia q. Guillelmi Pictaviensis comitis et relicta olim nobilissimi marchionis Petri." For the date of their marriage, see above, pp. 205-6.

⁵ The date is uncertain. See Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, I. 527 n.

⁶ *Ann. Saxo* 1067 (*M.G.H. Script.* vi. 695). Cf. above, p. 217, n. 1.

Peter's marriage we know nothing save that a daughter, Agnes, was born of it¹. The other three were unhappy. Immula was only saved by Ekbert's death in 1068 from repudiation². She appears in 1071 still at the German court³; but from the beginning of 1074 we find her in Piedmont disposing of lands which formed her share of the Ardoind inheritance. At last she became a nun and died on the 21st January 1078⁴. Her German heirs seem to have abandoned all claims on Piedmont. At least we hear of none made by them. As for the younger Adelaide, her husband Rudolf actually repudiated her in 1069 and only took her back two years after on Papal intervention⁵. Bertha's lot at first was the most wretched of all. King Henry, who had only married her in mere form and on persuasion, held her in utter distaste. A public estrangement set in after the summer of 1068, and we hear of aspersions on the young man's morals. Then he resolved to divorce his wife, if possible. In June 1069 he mooted the question in a great council at Worms, giving incompatibility as a plea; and the Pope was applied to for a decision. Accordingly at Frankfort in October a synod was held to decide the matter. Thither came St Peter Damian, as Papal Legate, and his message was severe. It threatened spiritual penalties and the refusal of the imperial crown, if Henry did not take back his wife. At the same time the German princes besought the King to give up his plan, especially warning him of the danger the realm would incur if the Queen's relatives should revolt, in wrath at her ill-treatment⁶. Henry listened to reason and took back his wife.

¹ She first appears by name in 1089 (*Car. Reg. CCXV. Libro verde...d' Asti*, II., *B.S.S.S.* xxvi. p. 67). But she must have married in 1080: see above, pp. 205-6. The second daughter, Alice, is an invention of genealogists, see below, p. 255, n. 6.

² Lampert. Hersfeld. 1068 (ed. Holder-Egger, p. 105): "cui tamen (sci. Immulae) ipse (Egbertus) paucis diebus antequam vita excederet repudium scribere cogitaverat (and marry Margrave Otto's widow); sed mors opportune interveniens nefarios conatus ejus intercepit."

³ *Ann. Saxo (M.G.H. Script. vi. 698)*.

⁴ List of her documents, *Car. Reg. CLXXVII. (Carte antiche di Caramagna, B.S.S.S. xv. p. 78)*, *Car. Sup. XX. (Cartario di Cavour, B.S.S.S. III. 1, p. 32, Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 332, all of 1074; Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 185, Car. Reg. CLXXXV. (Cartario di Pinerolo, p. 339), both of 1077. Day of her death from *Necrol. S. Andreae Taurin. (M.H.P. Script. III. 195, Car. Reg. CLXXXVIII.)*: the year from *Car. Reg. CXCI. (Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 342)*.*

⁵ *Ann.. Weisseburg, 1069 and 1071 (M.G.H. Script. III. 71)*. She was falsely accused of adultery.

⁶ Lampert. Hersfeld. (ed. Holder-Egger, p. 110). The princes' warning was "ne parentibus reginae causam defectionis et justam turbandae reipublicae occasionem daret: qui si viri essent, cum armis et opibus plurimum possent, tantam filiae suae contumeliam procul dubio insigni aliquo facinore expiaturi essent." This gives a good idea of the power of the House of Savoy-Turin.

Strangely enough their union soon became a happy one, and she was his constant companion till her death in 1088¹. She had brought him a rich dowry. Among the *curiae* which belonged to the royal demesne at this time we find Turin, 2000 marks from Susa, 1000 marks from Avigliana, 500 from Piossasco, Revello, 200 marks from Saluzzo, the same from Albenga, 8 *servitia* from Torcelli, Cavallermaggiore and Canelli on the Belbo, 10 *servitia* from Annone and so on. Most of these are demonstrably Ardoinid lands. Adelaide and Oddo had of course to pay for the honour of the imperial alliance².

While the great politics of Empire and Church thus came under Adelaide's purview, she was also employed with the local concerns of two Piedmontese monasteries, one of which had, so far as we know, little importance for her; but the other played a considerable part in the wider affairs of the day. The less important may be taken first. The Abbey of S. Benigno di Fruttuaria, lying between Turin and Ivrea, and favoured by the Empress Agnes, had long been on uneasy terms with its parent house St Benigne de Dijon. In his above-quoted letter (c. 1064) we find St Peter Damian pressing Adelaide to defend Fruttuaria³. In 1073 Gregory VII, then newly elected Pope, also recommended the Abbey to her⁴. So the controversy dragged on till in May 1080 a partial settlement was reached at Turin, at which Cardinal Herman, and some Bishops, as well as Adelaide, Agnes her daughter-in-law, and Marquess Frederick, her grandson-in-law, assisted. The Pope's decision next year was to be final⁵.

This was really a small matter. But the quarrel of the Abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa with Bishop Cunibert of Turin was somewhat involved with the struggle concerning clerical celibacy. Cunibert, like most of the Piedmontese Bishops, was a slow enforcer of the canons on

¹ See for these events, Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, I. 612-7, 624-7.

² Edited by Weiland (*M.G.H. Constit.* I. 646), who shows it should be dated between 1057 and 1065. Professor Gabotto (*Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 169, which also see for identifications) considers it to date before the year 966, on the ground that Turin, Revello, and Susa had long ceased to be royal *cortes* in 1065, and that Montiglio, which is also mentioned, came to the Counts of Vercelli before 976 and was confirmed to them in 988. But there is the betrothal of Henry IV to Bertha to account for the first three, and as to Montiglio, taken by itself, it may easily have come back to the imperial domain in 1014-20 in the great confiscations. Besides, the initial clause "Iste sunt curie que pertinent ad mensam regis Romani (Gabotto corrects 'Romanorum')" shows that the document must date from later than Henry II, with whom (c. 1007) that title first appears, and probably from Henry IV at earliest, when the title becomes frequent. (See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 1904, p. 531, and above, p. 168, n. 4.)

³ *Car. Reg.* CLVII. See above, p. 230.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CLXXXI. (*Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. I. ep. 37).

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCI. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, 19).

this point; but, as was natural, the monks of the various monasteries were ardent supporters of the reform. Thus they were not compatible neighbours to start with: and, since the Bishop claimed jurisdiction over the monks, which they denied on the strength of their miraculous church¹, the two parties were provided with an important subject of quarrel, seeing that their suffrage for an Abbot of Chiusa was not likely to fall on the same man. The vacancy came in 1066 or 1067; and the monks knew the value of a *fait accompli*. Before the dead Abbot was buried, they were electing his successor, and their choice fell on a strong man, Benedict II, one of those spirits, who expressed the essence of monasticism, bred as he was in the cloister. Cunibert flew into a towering rage at their disregard of his claims of patronage, and refused to ordain the new Abbot, the first Italian prelate who for many years had been appointed apart from royal or other secular interference. The Turinese, it is interesting to note, quite sympathized with their Bishop and maltreated the monks' envoy. It is to be remembered also that the monks of these border-monasteries were largely, if not mainly, Transalpine immigrants. The Lombards, laments the historian of Chiusa, were too much endowed with worldly wisdom and too intent on the gains of this present life to adopt the monastic vocation². Their supineness left the Abbey to be peopled with foreigners, and, although the effect could easily be exaggerated, a little estranged from the population round. However, Benedict was not going to give way; he proceeded to Rome to invoke Pope Alexander II's aid, and Bishop Cunibert followed him thither to resist. Alexander took the Abbot's side, consecrated him and effected a specious reconciliation. An uneasy state of things now began and went on for years³. There were constant bickerings, but no decisive actions, till Gregory VII succeeded the gentler Alexander in June 1073. Before the close of the year he was urging Countess Adelaide to protect the Abbey from the grave oppression under which it was labouring⁴. In December 1074, Cunibert

¹ See above, p. 179. They had also an ample grant of immunity from Henry III c. 1040 (see above, p. 223, n. 3, and below, p. 252), which included the right to elect their Abbot. The question was further complicated by the Bishop's claim (*Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. VI. ep. 6) that the monastery was built on allodial land of the see of Turin, and therefore, I infer, that the Abbot owed him homage as a vassal, as well as ecclesiastical obedience. This no doubt accounts for the particularity with which Willelm. Monachus describes the purchase of the Abbey land from Marquess Ardoïn V (see above, p. 180) and, alas, in view of his lack of good faith, throws doubt on that narrative. But the Abbey clearly won in the sequel on this point, and since Gregory VII does not seem to have pressed hardly on the Bishop, I think the latter's contention cannot have been sound.

² Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 263).

³ Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 289).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CLXXXI. (*Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. I. ep. 37).

is summoned to Rome for the following Lent, there to meet the Abbot and hear the Pope's decision¹. He was obstinate at first, and was promptly suspended. Then appearing at Rome he made a show of submission, only to break his promises immediately he was safe at Turin. Accordingly in April he was resummoned to Rome, this time for Martinmas; the Pope also threatened to free the Abbey from his jurisdiction, a circumstance which refutes the claims of the monks to complete independence².

That Cunibert had some right on his side was no doubt one cause of Gregory's patience; but a more powerful reason, which also by the irony of events lay at the back of the whole quarrel, is to be found in the progress of the movement against the married clergy, simony and lay intervention in church-government. In Lent 1074 Gregory had held his first council and had sternly insisted on the execution of the decrees against the married or simoniac priests. In Lent 1075 his second synod was strengthening these canons and adding the prohibition of lay interference and of the lay investiture of Bishops and Abbots. If we remember the political difficulties which accompanied this ecclesiastical activity, such as the danger from Robert Guiscard and his Normans in Apulia, against whom in February 1074 Gregory was appealing for help to some Transalpine magnates, including Amadeus the son of Adelaide of Turin herself³, it then becomes obvious how cautious the Pope would have to be with the Lombard Bishops, who could aid or hinder him so much.

Cunibert on his side made an excellent passive resister, and did not tempt the Pope too far. But the aspect of affairs was soon to alter. In April 1075 the Patarines were overthrown in Milan, and their leader Arlembald killed. The Milanese forthwith obtained a new Archbishop Tedald from Henry IV. This action of the King was not only in contravention of the recent decrees of Gregory, but it disregarded the election of Archbishop Atto which had taken place in 1072 and had received the Papal sanction. Nor did it stand alone. Henry IV regularly filled up German vacancies and invested his nominees according to ancient custom; he retained his excommunicated councillors and so forth. In the winter of 1075 Gregory was already threatening the King's excommunication and deposition in case of continued disobedience to the Apostolic see. At this unprecedented claim of authority Henry's rage was unbounded and in its expression barbaric. In January 1076 he summoned a council of the German realm at Worms. The Bishops assembled there, declared the Pope deposed, some willingly, some

¹ *Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. II. ep. 33 and 52 a.

² *Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. II. ep. 69.

³ See above, p. 231, and n. 2.

unwillingly, and a letter, compiled somewhat in the style of an appeal to single combat, was dispatched to inform Gregory of the fact. A further Italian assembly was then held at Piacenza and the Lombard Bishops, including Cunibert, joined in declaring Gregory no Pope. Thus the contest, that was to last so many years, was begun. Gregory at once responded by excommunicating the King and absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and although at the end of March, a counter-excommunication of the Pope was issued by a synod of the Lombard Bishops, led by Guibert of Ravenna, it was soon seen which decree was likely to take effect. King Henry had forgotten how weakly founded his power was in Germany. The German princes were rapidly falling away from him, and the Saxons, his old foes, were again in revolt. By October 1076 the movement against him had so progressed that an assembly could be held at Tribur under the presidency of the Papal legates. Henry was compelled to submit to their pressure. He acknowledged the Pope; and it was decreed that Gregory VII should be begged to come to Germany and hold a Diet early in the following year. If Henry was then still unabsolved, a new King should be chosen in his place. Meanwhile he was to wait, deprived of authority, at Speyer. Henry at first moved to Speyer, dejected enough; but during his stay there the news came that Gregory had decided to come to Germany and was refusing to absolve him at once on his application. The future loomed only too clear before the King, a hostile Diet, his own deposition and the election of an anti-king. The rebel princes and the Pope seemed to be closing their ranks against him. If only he could see the Pope first and negotiate a peace with him! But his opponents, who numbered amongst them the three southern Dukes, Rudolf of Swabia, Adelaide's other son-in-law, Welf of Bavaria, and Berthold of Carinthia, were quite aware of this possibility, and of the fact that most of Lombardy was staunch to Henry and little moved by his excommunication. There he could at once be formidable. So they held the defiles of the Alps strongly from the Brenner to the Great St Bernard and made his passage of them impossible¹. But there was a gap in their defences; and Henry with soldier-like instinct seized the chance it offered him. His predecessors' acquisition of

¹ Lampert. Hersfeld. (ed. Holder-Egger, p. 285), "duces...omnes vias omnesque aditus qui ad Italiam mittunt, quos vulgato nomine clusas vocant, appositis custodibus anticipasse, ut nulla illic ei copia transeundi fieret." The term *clusa* seems specially applied to the narrows of the defiles which gave access to the passes: e.g. Chiusa in Val di Susa. One wonders where Duke Rudolf of Swabia held the Savoyard Great St Bernard closed. But probably his lands included enough to cut off the approaches to the eastern Lake of Geneva, and once Henry had reached Geneva, it was just as easy to go by the Mont Cenis.

Burgundy and careful nursing of their relations with the House of Savoy-Turin could now be made to show their value. A few days before Christmas, with wife and child and a small company, he hurried to Besançon, the capital of his maternal kindred, the Counts of "Franche Comté."¹ They received him well; but he barely halted for Christmas and then rode on to cross the Rhone at Geneva. It may be he had sent letters from Speyer; it may be that Abbot Hugh of Cluny, then just arrived in Italy to intercede for him, had been entrusted with a message. In either case, Henry not only sped southward unopposed through the Genevois into Savoy proper, but at the Novalesan priory of Coise², between Montmélian and Aiguebelle, he met his wife's kindred, Adelaide of Turin and her son Amadeus. It is the only instance we know of the Countess being north of the Alps, and, as her residence there was naturally more unlikely in mid-winter than at other times, we may presume the indomitable "Duke of the Cottian Alps" had crossed the mountains for the purpose, in spite of the dangers of the winter. She knew well what she gained by holding the keys of Italy, both sides of the passes. A hasty bargaining then took place. Adelaide first demanded of her son-in-law five Italian bishoprics as price of his passage. We wonder what this phrase implies, till we remember that in Burgundy the House of Savoy had obtained the practical suzerainty of the Bishops in their territories³. Thus we may suppose that Adelaide demanded the right to invest and receive fealty from the Bishops of Turin, Asti, Alba, Albenga and perhaps Ivrea⁴. Here the King, however, was firm against his hard-hearted kinswoman. He knew it was to her interest to sell him the passage: his Queen was her daughter; the great position of her house was due to its shrewd imperial alliance. Thus she was prevailed on to take less at last. Some rich Burgundian district, the chronicler says, was handed over to

¹ The Empress Agnes' mother was a daughter of the great Otto-William who played such a part under Rudolf III of Burgundy.

² Lamp. Hersfeld. (ed. Holder-Egger, p. 285), "Cum in locum qui Ciuis (Cuus) dicitur venisset obviam habuit socrum filiumque ejus Amedeum nomine, quorum illis regionibus et auctoritas clarissima et possessiones amplissimae et nomen celeberrimum erat." Thus they received Henry in their own lands. The name *Coise* (Latin *Cosia*, *Coisia*) would easily become *Ciuis* or *Cuus* (which represent the true reading) to a German who only heard the word, and we are thus saved from correcting the text. See my note, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxv. p. 520.

³ See above, pp. 85, 90-1, 97-8.

⁴ These are the dioceses either in or nearest to Adelaide's lands. The text of Lampert (*loc. cit.*) goes on: "Hi venientem honorifice susceperunt. Transitum tamen per terminos suos alias ei concedere nolebant, nisi quinque Italiae episcopatus, possessionibus suis contiguos, eis redimendi itineris precium traderet. Durum hoc nimis atque intolerabile omnibus regis consiliariis visum est." See next note.

her and her sons¹. There the Empire had little to lose by the increased power of Savoy. What that province was, is an almost insoluble question. We have to find a fertile district which the Savoyards do not otherwise gain and which Henry had to give. Now he had little to give there, save rights to homage or exemption from the authority of rival Counts in their *pagi*. Perhaps North Bugey, outside the county of Belley², is the best choice; but I prefer to think that it was really a complete grant of immunity for the Savoyard possessions scattered outside their own *comitatus*. Whatever the price was, it was given and taken: and now the pressing need for the whole party was to cross the Mont Cenis, so that the King could reach Gregory before any new development occurred. It was a severe task which lay before them. That year the winter had been of extraordinary severity. The Po itself was frozen over and the Mont Cenis was deep in ice and snow far beyond the usual measure. None the less guides were hired to show the best route and roughly prepare it for the travellers. Up through the woods on the western side the way was made with difficulty, but the real task lay in the sharp descent from the Col to the Priory of Novalesa on the Italian side. Those who know even the improved mule-track, which has now been supplanted by the new road and new route, can guess what must have been the lot of Henry and his troop, who traversed it or its general direction in one of the fiercest of winters known. Staggering, scrambling, sliding, even rolling, the unwilling mountaineers worked their way down. The Queen and her ladies were placed on sledges of ox-skin and so dragged by the guides, who, we may note, do not seem to have been put much out by the state of the pass. The wretched horses, too, were either placed in sledges, or had

¹ Lamp. Hersf. *loc. cit.* "Sed cum ei inevitabilis incumberet necessitas quoquo posset pacto redimendi itineris, et illi nec jure propinquitatis nec tantae calamitatis miseratione quicquam moverentur, multo labore et tempore in hac deliberatione insumpto, vix et aegre tandem impetratum est, ut provinciam quandam Burgundiae, bonis omnibus locupletissimam, concedendi transitus mercedem dignarentur accipere."

² See above, pp. 77-8. There is also the possibility of a grant of Queen Ermenгарde's inheritance (see above, pp. 14-15, 80, 87-8, 96). Thus Annecy would be the price of the Counts of the Genevois for Henry's passage through their lands. But in view of the uncertainty attaching to the acquisition of the Queen's lands by Savoy, I should prefer North Bugey for a definite district, which at some time or another passed to Savoy, and for which no homage was due to other Counts. There is also Tarentaise, the county of which passed from the archbishops (together with the suzerainty over the latter) to Savoy at some time (see above, p. 99), but here we have the family legend that it was acquired by Humbert II. But the governing factor is that Henry had not much to give in Burgundy except exemptions and homages. Thus probably the grant concerned older territory of Savoy. Lampert need not have been very well-informed on these diplomatic arrangements. See for various opinions, Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* I. 749, and n. 6; also Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 24, and Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 146-

their feet tied and then were hauled along. Few, we are told, reached the level unhurt¹.

Once in the Lombard plain Henry hastened to Vercelli and then to Pavia. In streamed his Lombard vassals, Marquesses and Bishops together, and he was speedily at the head of a respectable force of Italians, who looked on a papal excommunication in a dryer light than did the Ultramontanes. Pope Gregory, who had already reached Mantua in his journey north, now hastily withdrew to the almost impregnable castle of Canossa, where his great ally, the heiress of the fabulously wide lands of the Canossan House, Countess Matilda, received him. Henry's Lombard supporters were eager to move to the attack, but the King's object was different. His determination was to get absolution and return to Germany. Reasons of state are obvious. His real power lay in Germany. At that time Lombardy with its depleted royal demesne could add but little strength to him. Public opinion, across the Alps especially, had to be reckoned with. The event of war was doubtful at best; but his present appearance in force might increase Gregory's leniency. Then his Savoyard kinsmen might not support him far on the way, and they were his most powerful friends. Adelaide was eager in negotiating his submission. So it is little wonder he continued that course once begun. However it was, he marched towards Canossa and then negotiated through Matilda, Adelaide, Abbot Hugh of Cluny, Amadeus, Marquess Azzo the Otbertine, and others as intercessors. Then he hurried to Canossa himself and forced the Pope's hand by the famous three days' penance in the snow outside the castle. The humiliation did its work at any rate; and Henry was not a man to realize the irremediable degradation of the sacrosanct majesty of the Empire. On the 28th January 1077 the Pope received him again into the Church. The conditions, of which Adelaide was one guarantor, were light; Henry was to remedy the

¹ Lamp. Hersf. *loc. cit.* Cf. Meyer v. Knouau, *op. cit.* 1. 750-2, for a defence of Lampert. The details of Lampert's account seem to me, after going over the old track, much in his favour. E.g. the dangers began with a sort of surprise on the descent. The drop begins quite suddenly at La Gran Croce. The old route works round a tract of marshy ground (where it is now artificially made, and must have been once much harder), crosses the new road and descends to Ferrera. Then there is another sharp drop to the delicious valley of Novalesa. Especially we may notice that the native guides were little embarrassed. It was the travellers who were baffled by the unaccustomed steep frozen snowdrifts. What Lampert does not bring out, perhaps, is that the dangerous parts to the ordinary traveller were quite short, the drop to the level Novalesa valley being steep. Further, the transport by sledges, *glissade à la ramasse*, a kind of tobogganing, was a speciality of the Mont Cenis route. See Mr Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, pp. 165-6. The narrative, in fact, seems founded on chat of members of the retinue. This would be quite consistent with Lampert's haziness on the diplomatic bargain.

grievances of the German princes according to Gregory's award, and was to assure the Pope's safety, if he should judge it fit to cross the Alps. The other grounds of quarrel were left in the background. Perhaps Gregory underrated his rival's power and importance as an obstacle after what had passed.

But events would not stand still at the bidding of either King or Pope. The Lombard bishops and nobles were indignant at the reconciliation. A Papal legate was seized and imprisoned by Bishop Denis of Piacenza. Then Henry could not see without alarm that Milan again went over to the Patarine side, and that the Pope declined to authorize his coronation as King of Italy at Pavia. On his side he could not give the promised safe-conduct to Gregory for his German progress, all the more important as the rebellious princes were quite unpacified. In this strained state of affairs came the election of Duke Rudolf of Swabia as anti-king by Henry's opponents on the 15th March 1077, and Gregory thereat adopted an attitude of neutrality, which could not be called a friendly attitude towards Henry. The King at once resolved to return to Germany in order to carry on the war against the anti-Caesar. He effected his purpose by the eastern Carinthian passes and by mid-April was already in Bavaria¹. With him the main stream of events, with which for a moment our Piedmontese rivulet has been united, turns back to Germany. Adelaide, whose sons-in-law thus led the two factions, seems to have subsided into something like neutrality. For all that, she did not interfere with, perhaps she aided, the proceedings of the anti-reforming Bishop Cunibert of Turin.

Since the breach between the Lombard Bishops and the Pope in March 1076, that prelate had become much more active in his persecution of the Chiusan monks. He first tried by intrigues to gain them over and persuade them to proceed to a new election. That method failing, he ravaged their lands; and finally, early it seems in 1078, he decided to eject Abbot Benedict II by force. No doubt he was further provoked by the zeal and success with which the Abbot upheld Gregory and the reformers' cause in Piedmont. His own power was insufficient for the task, but he succeeded in obtaining the alliance of Marquess Peter I, Adelaide's eldest son. The two, accordingly, marched upon the Monte Pirchiriano with a strong force. The doors were broken down and the Abbot commanded to depart. Whether he actually withdrew further than the church is not clear, but he passed the night in prayer and praise. Meantime the triumphant evil-doers held high revel in the refectory. We may presume that the abbey's cellar and larder were laid under contribution, for all night long they

¹ See for the general history, Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* especially II. pp. 630-1, 729-43, 747-88 and III. pp. 3-21, and cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 23-5.

gorged and drank. But with daybreak a strange thing happened. Impelled, says our informant, who appears to have practised the abstemious rule with single-hearted zeal, impelled by angelic power, the marauders rose from their debauch in total oblivion of their own intentions. Hastily they left the sacred place, nothing to anyone did they say, but slid and tottered down the steep descent.

Peter, it seems, was anxious now to consider his part performed, and the thing done with; but Bishop Cunibert, on recovering his accustomed lucidity of thought, urged him on to repeat the experiment. Again they marched up to the Abbey; and this time Benedict was really driven out and a garrison left in charge. The Abbot withdrew to the neighbouring village of S. Antonino di Susa. He did not, however, despair. One evening, with a small band, we are told, he suddenly returned and at his approach the sacrilegious soldiery took to flight¹. In the same year Cunibert, who, we may notice, was now again on friendly terms with Pope Gregory, submitted at last to the latter's arbitration, and the long quarrel was peaceably settled².

The Abbot's companions on that evening may have been more numerous and better-armed than the chronicler gives us to conceive; but no doubt the main reason of his facile return was the death of Marquess Peter, which occurred about three months after the outrage on the 9th August 1078³. His death involves a question of succession, which was perhaps as difficult to solve then as it is now. For he left behind him only a young daughter, Agnes; and there was the problem whether she or her uncle Amadeus should succeed. With regard to the Burgundian domains there was probably little difficulty. The later and apparently the earlier⁴ Savoyard succession was always in the male

¹ Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb., M.H.P. Script.* III. 290-91, "Chunibertus nihilominus cum Petro marchione conjurat ut...abbate a monasterio ejecto alium sibi...praeponere liceat. Nec mora, et ecce uterque multo milite stipatus ad sanctum locum properat, etc. etc."

² *Reg. Greg. VII*, lib. VI. ep. 6. Clearly the Bishop's feudal claims were postponed indefinitely.

³ *id.* "Petrus autem marchio...post trium mensium spatium, angelica, ut credimus, ultione percussus, vitam male finivit." The date of the month is given in the *Necrology of S. Salvatore, Turin*, with the misreading *Malchio* for *Marchio* (*Car. Reg. CXCVI.*). See Padre Savio, *I primi conti di Savoia* (*Misc. stor. ital.* XXVI.), pp. 464-5, who points out this is to be preferred to the supposed date (29 June) derived from the *Necrology of S. Solutore, Turin* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 222), where the phrase "nostrae congregationis marchio" is a probable corruption of "nostrae congregationis monachus." He first appears as dead 26 Oct. 1078 (*Car. Reg. CXCVIII. Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. 348*). The chronology in the text seems the most likely, but now that *Car. Reg. CLXXXIX.* (= *CXCIV.*) is shown by Cipolla to be forged (*Mon. Novae. I. 168*), there is no absolute proof Peter did not die earlier, say 1076, which would explain why he does not share in the negotiations with Henry IV in 1076-7.

⁴ e.g. Amadeus I probably left a daughter, Theoburga; see above, p. 121.

line, and we have documentary evidence that Amadeus II was Count in these years¹. But the Italian mark gave another possibility. Both the office of Marquess and the alodial ownership came to the Savoyards through a mixture of female succession, primogeniture and Imperial investiture². The collateral Ardoinids had been practically excluded in favour of Adelaide. Hence Agnes the younger's claim to the main share of the lands of her house was exceedingly strong, and it would be difficult to separate that from the office of Marquess. But for the present she was too young to marry, and Amadeus II, one would think, would not be likely to yield up his claim to rule. However, he never obtained investiture as Marquess³. But was this because of his niece's eventual rights or was it because he declined to support Henry IV in the civil war which was in progress⁴? We have no means of judging, and thus the question of his succession in the mark of Turin must be left unsolved.

Amadeus II did not long outlive his elder brother. His death fell on the 26th January 1080⁵. We know little of him, save his appearance in the year of Canossa. No trustworthy record remains to give us the name of his wife even, but later authors call her Joan, daughter of Gerold II, Count of the Genevois⁶. They are not to be trusted: still the statement seems probable, since the Count of the Genevois was guardian of Amadeus II's grandson, Amadeus III⁷. Then the number of his children, too, is doubtful. A daughter, Adelaide, appears in

¹ See specially *Necrol. S. Andreae Taur.* (Car. Reg. cc. *M.H.P.* Script. III. 195), "VII. Kal. Feb. ob. comes Amedeus de Sabaudia": and Car. Reg. cci. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 21), "quondam Petri itemque marchionis sive quondam Amedei comitis." The one document of his rule in Savoy (Car. Reg. xv. Chevalier, *Cartulaire de St André-le-bas, Vienne*, pp. 191-2), which should date between Feb. 1076 and 26 Jan. 1080 (see above, p. 105, and n. 4), has "regnante Amedei comitis."

² See above, pp. 155, 216-17, 223-4.

³ He is only once styled "comes et marchio" (Car. Reg. ccxvii.), and this is in a posthumous Burgundian document of his daughter in 1090. I think Car. Reg. cci. cited in n. 1 above, is decisive that he was not officially recognized as such, since it emanates from his mother, Adelaide, and thus distinguishes him from his brother, Peter I.

⁴ Cf. above, n. 1, and p. 105, and n. 4. The phrase "regnante...comite" and its like indicate neutrality.

⁵ Cf. above, n. 1. He is first mentioned as dead 8 March 1080 (Car. Reg. cci. Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 21).

⁶ Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoye*, I. p. 211. The *Chroniques*, which are quite untrustworthy, say Joan, daughter of Girard, Count of Burgundy (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 92-4), *Chron. Allacumbae*, which is little better, says (*id.* 671), "uxor ejus (Amedei I or II?) de Burgondia." Apparently, the chief evidence lies in the name Girard = Gerold. It would account, perhaps, for the large slice of the Genevois possessed by Savoy.

⁷ See below, p. 278.

1090 as the widow of Manasses, Sire de Coligny¹. One son, Humbert II le Renforcé, is well known, his first certain document dating from 1097². But an elder son is made probable by a document, which shows an Oddo II, Count of Maurienne, in the year 1082³. Now there remains the possibility that this Oddo II was Amadeus II's younger brother Oddo⁴, who in this case displaced his child-nephew Humbert II for a time. That this latter Oddo was living up to 1091 seems proved by the fact that we find no donations of Countess Adelaide for his soul, such as exist for her other sons. But, if he remained in secular life, it is not likely that he should not take part in some of the grants or have his obituary as *Oddo comes* recorded. In consequence the view seems a likely one which identifies the third son of Adelaide with the Oddo, Bishop of Asti, who appears in June 1080 and lives on till past 1094⁵. Hence Oddo II of Maurienne will be Amadeus II's elder son, and immediate successor in his Burgundian lands.

Much different was the course of events in Italy, so far as form went. In reality it was much the same, since Adelaide continued to rule in both⁶. But in form Amadeus II's death was followed by the

¹ Car. Reg. CCXVII. There is much attraction in the view of M. Guigue (*La Mure, Histoire des Ducs de Bourbon*, III. Sup. pp. 17-18) and of M. de Manteyer (*Notes Additionnelles*, pp. 493-6) that Amadeus II had another daughter Auxilia (Usilia) who married Humbert II of Beaujeu as his second wife. There is a charter dated c. 1090-1100, mentioning her and her four sons, Guichard, Humbert, Guigues, and Hugh (Guigue, *Cartul. de Beaujeu*, p. 24), and there is another reference to a Humbert de Beaujeu (ap. Guigue, Humbert II) as son-in-law of an Amadeus, Count of Savoy. But this latter document (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 14) must refer to Humbert III de Beaujeu and his wife Alice, daughter of Amadeus III of Savoy, as is shown by its contents (see below, p. 294, n. 6).

² Car. Reg. CCXXXII. But one charter probably belongs to 1092. Cf. below, p. 266, n. 2.

³ Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, IV. p. 752 (No. 3595) and note. It contains the gift to Cluny of churches at Aiguebelle, Montendry, and Charbonnières, by Agenric and his sons, "laudante seniore nostro Oddone comite et Guitfredo cum filio suo Nantelmo et episcopo Artaldo laudante." As these churches had been previously given to Agenric by Burchard, Bishop of Maurienne, the document provides evidence of the complete dependence of the Bishops on the Counts; see above, pp. 97-8. This document was first brought to notice and its import explained and date certified by Count di Vesme in the *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, Anno VIII. pp. 390-2 (1903). He makes Oddo II elder son of Amadeus II. M. Renaux, however (*Marquis Odon I^{er}*), is strongly for his being the youngest son of Oddo I.

⁴ Car. Reg. CLXXIII., cf. above, p. 224, n. 6.

⁵ The view goes back to the seventeenth century. Documents of his are known from 1080 to 1098 (Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 142-4). But beyond the fact that Adelaide continued to be the Bishop's patroness and that the chronology is suitable, there is no evidence for his being her son.

⁶ For Oddo II can only have been a boy; and of Adelaide, c. 1084, it is said by Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 292), "quod

recognition of Peter I's daughter Agnes as heiress of the mark, as her grandmother Adelaide had been before her. If this position of hers was to be maintained, it was essential to find a husband for her; so, although she can hardly have been more than fifteen¹, she was married almost at once. On the 8th March 1080 *Domnus Fredericus Comes* appears by Adelaide's side at Turin². This personage was Frederick, Count of Montbéliard, a cousin on the mother's side of the great Countess Matilda of Tuscany. His strongly papal leanings are admired by a contemporary chronicler, who describes him as a strenuous champion of Gregory against the schismatics³. That they were not obvious at first may be deduced from the fact that he was invested before May 1080 with the mark of Turin⁴. Doubtless, by then he was married to Agnes.

We are somewhat in the dark as to Adelaide's policy at the time. The transaction concerning Fruttuaria shows her an adherent of Gregory VII; yet her presumed son, Oddo Bishop of Asti, attended the Synod of Brixen in June 1080 and subscribed its decrees⁵. This might pass for evidence that he was not really her son, were it not that there are signs of Adelaide's wavering in her attitude. Since Henry IV's return to Germany the breach between him and the Pope had grown steadily wider, while the civil war between Caesar and anti-Caesar raged on. Finally in March 1080 he was again deposed by Gregory who at the same time accepted, or as he said nominated, the rebellious Rudolf as King. But Henry was stronger than in 1076 and long-taught in affairs. At his Synod of Brixen in June he in turn deposed the Pope, and obtained the election of his ablest Italian partizan, Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, to the chair of St Peter.

regni quodammodo claves et Longobardiae teneret aditum." So complete a control implies the possession of the Savoyard lands.

¹ See above, p. 206.

² *Car. Reg. CCI.* (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 21).

³ Bernoldi, *Chron.* 1092 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 454), "Hic autem comes (Fridericus) sub habitu seculari more S. Sebastiani strenuissimus miles Christi fuit, viz. aeclesiasticae religionis ferventissimus amator et catholicae pacis indefessus propugnator. Hunc venerabilis papa Gregorius, hunc beatus Anshelmus Lucensis episcopus quasi unicum filium amaverunt. Hunc clerici et monachi, immo omnes religiosi ferventissime dilexerunt. Hic in fidelitate S. Petri contra scismaticos usque ad mortem studiosissime certavit. ...Erat autem filius domnae Sophiae et Ludowici comitis, quae erat matertera Mathildis, quae...in Italia contra scismaticos multum laboravit."

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCIII.* (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 19). See above, p. 197. The occurrence of the style *marchio* for Frederick in an official document is, I think, evidence enough, since there was no other source for it than Turin. Bernold also in his Chronicle three times (1091, 1092 and 1093) calls Frederick "Marchio," and he is well-informed on the mark of Turin. See Meyer v. Knoau, *Heinrich IV.*, III. p. 202, n. 1.

⁵ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 142.

This time an effective schism commenced, and Henry's hands were unexpectedly freed by the death of Rudolf in October 1080 at the battle of the Elster.

A striking contrast is to be seen between Henry's methods in his second strife with Pope Gregory and those he employed in his first. Careful statecraft was now the order of the day. In the spring of 1080 Burchard, Bishop of Lausanne, the Italian chancellor, was sent to prepare the way in Lombardy for the Synod of Brixen. The Lombard bishops in general were eager for the fray. But there was a most important member of the laity to be gained over. This was Adelaide herself, and we possess a metrical letter indited to the Chancellor by that singular person, Benzo Bishop of Alba, then an exile from his see¹, urging him to obtain her alliance and make her leader of the imperial party in Lombardy². The result of this appeal seems to have been that Benzo was himself entrusted with the negotiations. It seems an odd choice that this unutterably vulgar charlatan, with his base spaniel-fawning, his nauseous flattery, his bragging, his prating abuse and childish reasoning, should be chosen for an office which was presumably delicate. The fact casts some light on Adelaide's character, somewhat akin to Queen Elizabeth's perhaps, and on that of her age, the perpetual victim of big phrases and large, high-coloured claims. Nor must we underrate Benzo; he was brave and resolute, and endowed with any amount of short-breathed cleverness.

The volatile Bishop at once set about the task. Here was no place for stern exhortations and reproaches, he tells us. That queen of fishes, that admirable whale, was not to be caught with hook or chain. No, Brother Benzo provided honied words, flowers, aromatic herbs, syren-voices, and, thus hymning and strumming, led her into the net of the

¹ See Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* pp. 54-60. The Patarine citizens seem to have risen under a certain Buzi c. 1077 and driven him out. There is no record that he ever returned. Cf. below, p. 254. The popular feeling in Alba stands in interesting contrast to that in Turin.

² Benzonis ep. Alb. iv. 13 (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 646-7),

“Unum est de quo te volo, pater, cautum reddere,
 Hadeleidam appella in regali federe,
 Voca eam regis matrem, si vis hostem perdere.
 Per legatum clama eam magistram concilii,
 Dominam atque ductricem communis consilii,
 Ut Hegeria dux fuit in causis Pompilii.
 Aquilam de coelo trahis si hoc, pater, dixeris,
 Et plumabis non moventem qua parte volueris,
 Plus profuerit hoc regi thesauris innumeris.”

On Benzo, see Lehmgrübner, *Benzo von Alba*; for date of this epistle, see *id.* pp. 64-5.

faith¹. He transcribes four of his letters², which are more than worthy of all he says of them. St Peter Damian staggers painfully in the rear of these astonishing outbursts. They require to be read in full to be appreciated, although any brief extract will condemn them. In summary he offers her the rule of Italy at the side of her son-in-law, and he strengthens his argument with rebuses on her name, texts galore adduced with true medieval irrelevance and unconscious profanity, and an imitation litany applied to her³. He was successful, for Adelaide joined the King's party, although we may doubt how far she recognized the schismatic Pope, and Benzo reported his triumph in a letter to Henry, full of anxious pleading that the King would do whatever Adelaide should declare for⁴. Probably her motive was dislike of the communal spirit⁵. But it does not seem that she restored Benzo to his diocese, although Alba was apparently in her territory.

There might easily have been a ground of rupture, however, in a rather mysterious circumstance. Cunibert of Turin about this time joined the new schism⁶, and it appears that his support was purchased by some grant. This might of course refer to the possession of S. Michele della Chiusa; but Benzo's words of warning to Cunibert, lest Adelaide should get to know of it and he should lose it, seem to imply something more important. Could it have been a grant of the *publica potestas* of Turin? If so, it has been lost⁷. In any case

¹ Benzonis ep. Alb. lib. v. 9 (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 653-4), "ita lyrizando, organizando, deduxit eam in sagenam fidei, traxitque ad litus ante pedes imperatoris Henrici." An impossible thing to publish while Adelaide lived.

² *id.* v. 10, 11, 12, 13, pp. 654-5. For the dates, see Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* pp. 72-4. He places the last letter about the beginning of 1082.

³ e.g. "Certe, si dignaris credere consiliis meae parvitatibus, cum tranquillitate sedebis sub rege in solio regifice majestatis, et videbis ante te duces cum principibus, orbis terrarum opes tibi ministrantibus" (v. 10), and "vult enim Deus, quo geras rei publicae sarcinam cum eo qui regnorum regit monarchiam" (v. 13).

⁴ *id.* v. 14 (pp. 655-6), "omnia ergo quae tibi dixerit domna Adeleida, audi vocem ejus."

⁵ Her daughter Adelaide, too, the wife of the anti-Caesar, Rudolf, had died early in 1079. See Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV.*, III. 206. That she went over seems clear from Benzo, and her subsequent actions; see below, pp. 247-9. But how soon remains doubtful. But see Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* III. 282, 314-5. Cf. on Benzo above, p. 246, n. 1.

⁶ Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. c. 291). Cf. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 350.

⁷ Benzonis ep. Alb. lib. v. 8 (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 653). The verses are most obscure; they run:

"O Phulane, presul magne, refer Deo gracias,
Quia semper, quod quaesisti, possidebis Tracias,
Tandem, tandem exauditus, perspice quod facias.
Omnibus absconde, precor, tam sacrum misterium,

Cunibert did not live long to rejoice over his gains. He died in 1081-2 and was succeeded by another simoniac imperialist, who was also an ex-Patarine, Guitelm of the vice-comital House of Baraton¹, i.e. of Turin.

Although Adelaide thus gave a certain support to the Henrician party, it does not seem that she was in any hurry to give practical aid to her son-in-law, when the latter invaded Italy in the spring of 1081. We first hear of her taking an active part in the middle of 1082, during Henry's victorious campaign against the other great lady who dominated Italy, Matilda of Tuscany². Even then she seems to have acted chiefly as a mediatrix in a vain attempt to bring about a peace between the King and the Countess³. But it is also shown from a further incident that she accompanied him in at least one of his attacks on Rome.

The fact appears to have been that she had not quite a free hand in Piedmont or Burgundy⁴, for all her authority. Not to mention her

Nam si dixeris hoc Evae, amittes pomerium,
Generabit tibi lingua perpes improperium."

And so on: Cunibert is to arrange a meeting of three bishops about it. That Eva is Adelaide is obvious. But what was Tracia? Lehmgrübner (*op. cit.* p. 71) suggests Chiusa, which has much in its favour ("tandem"), although his guess that Tracia stands for Tarentaise, where Chiusa may have had possessions, is hardly to be accepted. But can Turin be meant? That would rouse Adelaide's wrath indeed; and, if it is not too far-fetched and too favourable to Benzo's learning, *pomerium* could have two meanings, "orchard" (see Ducange) with a reference to the fall of man, and also the classical sense of the land outside the walls, which was within the city-limit, with some reference to the Bishop's immunity.

Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* pp. 70-1, however, and Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, III. 168 and n. 116, take this incident as belonging to 1079 and as referring to Gregory's decision of Nov. 1078 (see above, p. 241). But this could not be secret; and the date in the text and a royal grant seem to me more likely. This would fit in with Bresslau's belief that the forged grant by Conrad II of Maurienne to Turin rests on a forged grant of the county of Turin to the Bishop (see *M.G.H. Dipl.* iv. p. 411); which might be based on a genuine, more limited diploma.

¹ Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 350-1. Cf. Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 293). Guitelm was celebrated for his eight meals a day.

² See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 27, and Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* pp. 78-84 for the date, and see Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, III. 458.

³ Benzonis ep. Alb. lib. vi. 4 (*M.G.H. Script.* xi. 663):

"Omne coelum sit serenum, veris tempus prodeat,
Apparere ante solem nullus nubes audeat,
De adventu principissae totus mundus gaudeat,
Cujus parem non assignat orbis ephymerida.
Peciit filium regem domna Adeleida,
Inter regem et Mathildam fieri vult media.
Ipsa quidem se et sua dabit regi filio,
Ut sit frequens ceu Martha in regis consilio
Et Hegeria secunda recenti Pompilio."

⁴ The Burgundian Bishops at this time (1084) were mainly for the Pope. The

grandson-in-law, Marquess Frederick, who we are told was a warm Gregorian¹, two great Piedmontese ecclesiastics, the Abbots of S. Michele della Chiusa and of S. Benigno di Fruttuaria, were ardent reformers, and their local influence was very considerable, especially among the women. Their Abbeys, situated on the great western roads, were centres of anti-imperial machinations². Now it so happened one year, probably at the close of 1083³, that Benedict II of Chiusa was summoned to Rome by Gregory. After discussing affairs with the Pope, he proceeded towards the Abbey of Monte Casino evidently for negotiations with the great Abbot Desiderius. But he never reached his goal. Two days after his departure, King Henry, who was then in February 1084 probably marching through Campania in order to

years 1076-80 showed a steady progress of the Gregorian party in the kingdom. See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 82-5.

¹ See above, p. 244.

² Benzonis ep. Alb. VI. 4 (*M.G.H. Script.* XI. 663). As will be noticed, he puns *Mons Pircherianus* and *Fructuaria* as *Porcarana* and *Ructeria*. See Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*, I. 121. (This has been overlooked by Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* III. 457, n. 30, and 461, n. 34; and Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* p. 84),

“Duos post hec Abacucos Prandellus edocuit,
Et per eos regi nostro et nocet et nocuit...
Unus est de Porcarana, alter de Ructeria,
Facie exterminati nudant monasteria,
Hii Prandello tradunt opes, se velant miseria.
Horum monachi vicissim contra regem musitant,
Et per omnes regiones nocituri cursitant,
Etiam adversus eum feminellas suscitant.”

All this obviously refers to the same events as Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* xxxi.-xxxii. (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 292-3), “(Benedictus) beato papae Gregorio ejusque sequacibus favebat et caritatis largitionumque copia...complacebat; propterea regiam aulam simoniaci canes videlicet paulatim hac fama atque latratibus compleverant, solum esse Benedictum qui faceret ut suum regi detraheretur diadema et in monasterio S. Michaelis, quo pacto vita et regno pariter privaretur, crebra fieri conciliabula.” Lehmgrübner, *op. cit.* pp. 78-85, dates this poem VI. 4 of Benzo in 1082; but see below, note 3; the year 1084 suits better the circumstances of the Greek embassy given by Lehmgrübner, pp. 82-3.

³ The date is derived from the following considerations: (a) Henry IV has forces well to the south of Rome, and apparently is not at Rome, for Benedict there had free ingress and regress. This suits February 1084 when Henry marched from Rome through Campania against Duke Robert Guiscard (see Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, III. 522-3). (b) Benzo after the quotation above, n. 2, goes on vaguely to praise Henry's clemency, and then says (p. 664), “ideoque jam est scriptus cum imperatoribus,” which seems to imply the imperial coronation happened shortly after. Now in March Henry reentered Rome, and on the 31st of that month was crowned Emperor by his anti-Pope, Clement III (Guibert of Ravenna). See Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* III. 526-34. The other possible date is c. April 1082, when Henry IV had an interview with Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino at Albano, south of Tiber, but this was before his great attack on Matilda. (See Meyer v. Knonau, *op. cit.* III. 441-6.)

attack Duke Robert Guiscard, the Pope's ally, learnt of his journey, and sent after him a troop of horse in all haste. Abbot Benedict was soon overtaken and brought to the King's headquarters in fear of death or torture at the hands of his enemies. But he had a friend at need. Countess Adelaide was at the time campaigning with her son-in-law, but was hardly a supporter of the schismatic pope. She now firmly demanded the release of Benedict. Henry was bitterly unwilling, but his kinswoman held the keys of his kingdom, the entrance into Lombardy. He gave way and released the Abbot, who thenceforth confined himself to his more strictly monastic duties. "No soldier of God," he said, "entangles himself in secular affairs." Thus the conditions of his freedom are veiled under a pious phrase¹.

Even so, he did not have a wholly quiet time. Not to mention the exactions of Bishop Guitelm of Turin², he got into trouble with Adelaide over a Bishop of Vercelli, probably Rainer or Liprand³. This simoniac Henrician was on a visit to the monastery, and wished, it seems, to say mass. No doubt Benedict considered him excommunicate. In any case he ordered the cup to be thrown from the altar, and the Bishop with his assistant priest to be dragged out of the church with some damage to their persons. Whereupon the indignant Bishop complained to Countess Adelaide, and our informant only adds a wail at the loss in property the abbey sustained from the two in consequence⁴.

Adelaide's long career was now drawing to its close. She had outlived nearly all her children. Adelaide of Swabia had died in 1079⁵. On the 27th December 1087 the Empress Bertha too breathed her last⁶.

¹ Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P.* Script. III. 292-3), "Cum a domno papa Gregorio... Romam quodam tempore fuisset invitatus, ejusque colloquio fruitus ad Casinum montem properaret, idque regi post biduum compertum foret, tanto studio jussit illum persequi ut ejus impias manus nullatenus posset effugere... Sed... affuit illi praesidio Adaleidis marchisia, mulier in Dei rebus tunc bene devota, et in rerum administratione constantissima, de cujus morte multis facta praeda nostra usque hodie gemuit patria. Haec itaque, quoniam apud regem tunc temporis multum poterat, constanter ad eum intrat, et ut illum Dei famulum, qui etiam secum venerat, sibi pro sua reddat clementia humiliter supplicat. Hunc suae decus patriae... affirmat esse... seque reverti, nisi eo recepto, impossibile. Visum est ergo regi quod petebat durum; hanc tamen offendere ratus non esse sibi integrum, eo quod regni quodammodo claves et Longobardiae teneret aditum, quamvis invitum multumque renitens, patrem reddit Benedictum... Ad monasterium regressus, ... in jejuniis et eleemosynis se in Dei rebus adstrinxit... inquiens... Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus." Evidently Adelaide was not making a very long stay in Henry's camp.

² Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P.* Script. III. 293), "monasterium admodum vexavit."

³ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 468-75.

⁴ Willelm. Monach. *Vi. Benedicti S. Mich. Cl. Abb.* (*M.H.P.* Script. III. 293), "Quae rerum damna vel injurias ab illis ob hanc causam non pertulimus?"

⁵ See above, p. 246, n. 5.

⁶ Meyer v. Knouau, *Heinrich IV*, IV. 174.

The Countess seems to have cared little for her daughters; but her two dead sons are remembered in gifts to various monasteries¹. Her last important charter was a grant to the see of Asti, made perhaps because the Bishop-elect was her son Oddo. It is dated on the 13th June 1089, and yields up to the Bishop the Abbey of S. Dalmazzo and the *pieve* of Levaldigi, both in Aurade, just as Bishop Girelm had held them; and in return for the *curtis* of Bredolo, which she holds as a benefice from the see, Adelaide, and the two Agneses, her daughter-in-law and granddaughter, give up the *ghiara* of the Tanaro by Rocca d'Arazzo².

This was a considerable gift, but, if it was intended to smooth over troubles with the Astigians, it failed in its purpose. The next thing we learn is that the warlike Countess captured and almost wholly burnt their city in March 1091³. We may doubt whether the Bishop found it easy to rule his townfolk.

Not long after, on the 29th of June, died the Marquess Frederick⁴. He left behind him three sons, of whom the eldest, Peter, was considered heir to the mark⁵. Thus Adelaide seems to have contemplated definitely the separation of the Turinese mark from the county of Savoy. We may indeed suspect that under Oddo II this was already in course of taking place⁶.

It was in December 1091⁷ that the Countess' own end came; the place of her death, if we give credence to an otherwise absurd legend,

¹ e.g. Car. Reg. CCI. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, 21).

² Car. Reg. CCXV. (*Libro verde...d'Asti*, II. B.S.S.S. XXVI. p. 67). The date offers a slight difficulty, since Thursday was the 14th June in 1089; however, the indiction XII. is right for that year. On the interpretation of the charter, see above, pp. 159-60, 169-70, 228-9. The *ghiara* is the pebbled strand by a river, useful for mills and towpaths.

³ Oggeri Alferii *Chron.* (Sella, *Cod. Ast. de Malabayla*, II. 58), "A.D. MXXI. XV. Kal. Ap. civitas Astensis quasi tota succensa fuit a comitissa Alaxia, et eodem anno dicta comitissa obiit." There seems no good ground for supposing that Oggerio Alferi has duplicated the sack of 1070. The date 18 March would seem inconsistent with 1091; but presumably he here reckons the beginning of the year from Christmas.

⁴ Bernoldi *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 451), sub 1091: "Fridericus comes et marchio 3 Kal. Jul. requievit in Domino"; and *id.* sub. 1092 (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 454), "Obiit autem praedictus comes in praeterito anno, i.e. Dom. Incarn. 1091, Ind. 14, 3 Kal. Jul. scilicet in festivitate S. Petri, et in crastinum, i.e. in sollemnitate S. Pauli, sepelitur."

⁵ Bernoldi *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 454), "bona Adelheidae Taurinensis comitissae...quae ejusdem comitissae nepos, filius Friderici comitis, habere debuit." The sons' names are given by Carutti (*Regesta*, CCXXIII.).

⁶ See above, p. 245.

⁷ The day of death is doubtful. Bernold. *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 453) has "Adelheida Taurinensis comitissa 14 Kal. Jan. obiit," i.e. 19 Dec. 1091; but the *Necrol. S. Solutoris etc. Turin* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 230) has "VIII. Kal. Jan." i.e. 25 Dec. 1091. Probably we should follow Bernold.

being perhaps Canischio near Cuornè in the Canavese¹. Pious, warlike and strong, she had kept order and held to her own middle course in spite of the threats and blandishments of Emperor and Pope. Besides her great contemporary, Matilda, of course, she is an uninteresting figure; and in view of her acquiescence in the separation of Savoy from Piedmont, we have no call to think her a prescient stateswoman. She was willing to give up an extraordinary privilege of position. Perhaps, also, her gifts to the church were excessive. Still she was one of the last maintainers of the *publica potestas* of the Carolingians, a great hereditary official exercising the local functions of the state². The most remarkable thing about her is the way in which she hindered the break-up of her mark, and checked for a time the natural tendency of events. As we shall see in the next section, many signs of a change were apparent, but the actual ruin only occurred after her death.

SECTION VII. THE BREAK-UP OF THE MARK OF TURIN.

In a previous section of this chapter it has been remarked that the great marchional houses of North Italy lost their eminent power in the eleventh century. Their Marks, as Desimoni well said, ramified into mere twelfth century Marquessates, which consisted of patrimonial domains held in chief of the Empire. This fate did not, however, befall every race of Marquesses, not at least in the same way. We find Matilda of Canossa and Tuscany an effective ruler of her counties to the last. And so it was with Adelaide of Turin. None the less the dominions of the latter were exposed to the same influences as were at work elsewhere; and even under her shadows of the coming time are faintly cast before it.

We may summarize the influences leading to the decay of the marchional powers under three main headings, which as usual were somewhat intermingled and related in real life. (i) The decay of the secular *publica potestas*. (ii) The subdivision of lands and benefices by inheritance. (iii) The rise of the citizen-class. I will take them in order, so far as they apply to the mark of Turin.

(i) The decay of the secular *publica potestas*. This might occur in two ways, (a) by the increase of "immunities," ecclesiastical or lay, and

¹ *Chron. Abbat. Fructuariensis*, "Abdelida comitissa," in fear of the Astigians, whose city she had burnt, hid 22 years "in oppido Canisculi," died there and was buried by a shepherd in the church of S. Stefano. Another candidate is Chianoc in the Val di Susa. See *Car. Sup.* xxvi.

² See *Car. Sup.* lx. (*Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 115), "que quasi regine habebantur in partibus illis," which gives the tradition of her and her daughter-in-law Agnes as it existed in 1218.

(b) by the decay of the public functions, owing to the mere increase of "feudalism."

(a) The increase of immunities.

This was not a disease from which the marchional power of Turin suffered acutely. Although the Bishops of Turin had large demesnes, including Chieri, Testona and Rivoli, with a pretty complete immunity since c. 981¹, yet they never attained in fact to any jurisdiction over the city of Turin itself in the eleventh century. The Bishops of Asti, of course, by 1041² had the fullest immunity for all their lands, besides the countship of Bredolo and complete exclusive jurisdiction over Asti and a radius of seven miles round the city. Still Adelaide really controlled the Bishop's actions as far as we can see³. Perhaps the Bishop of Alba enjoyed the same immunity as he of Turin⁴.

Then there were the great abbeys, such as Fruttuaria and Novalesa-Breme, both of which enjoyed a certain amount of immunity for their lands. Thus Novalesa exercised the *districtum* of Pollenzo⁵; S. Salvatore of Turin was partially immune⁶; Fruttuaria, too, had privileges, although they were small⁷. Chiusa had obtained a grant of complete immunity from Henry III about 1140, but it had not the wealth of the other abbeys⁸. S. Giusto di Susa was distinctly immune by Conrad's

¹ Diploma of Otto II, c. 981 (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 283-5). Prof. Gabotto (*Carte... arcivescovili... Torino, B.S.S.S.* xxxvi. p. 1) thinks this charter at least interpolated, with e.g. Pinerolo, which I therefore omit in the text. The diploma forbids "foderum, vel angariam, aut aliquam publicam functionem exigere," or "in aliquo loco sibi pertinenti aliquod placitum tenere...sine...consensu prefati episcopii episcopi." The modesty of this concession is strong evidence for its genuineness. Cf. above, p. 246.

² See above, Cap. II. Sect. II. App.

³ If Ivrea formed part of the Mark, we have to add the "immunity" of the Bishop, and his possession of the *districtum* of Ivrea within a radius of three miles (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 804), supposing of course, as Prof. Gabotto maintains, the charter of Otto III is substantially genuine. (*Un millennio di storia eporediese, B.S.S.S.* IV. p. 21.)

⁴ There seem no charters extant for the Bishops of Alba. I believe the episcopal archives were destroyed by fire, but cannot now find the reference.

⁵ Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* I. 146-54 (= *M.G.H. Dipl.* IV. 71), 192-200.

⁶ *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S.* xxxvi. p. 7.

⁷ Stumpf, *Acta Imperii ined.*, No. 316, Dipl. of 1074, "idem coenobium omnium hominum remota contradictione sit liberum, nullisque potestati subditum"—probably in reference to the grants of the abbey *in commendam*—further no person is to require from the monks, their servants or their *villani*, "bannum vel aliquam conditionem" or tithes. A grant of complete jurisdiction would probably be more precise after the style of the grants to Chiusa and S. Giusto.

⁸ *Car. Reg.* CXXVI. (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. II. III. 386), "jubemus...ut nullus dux, archiepiscopus, episcopus, marchio, comes, vicecomes, sculdascius, gastaldio, etc. praedictum monasterium aut abbates seu congregationem inquietare, molestare, disvestire, aut fodrum tollere, seu legem facere, aut placitum tenere, nisi abbas ejusdem loci aut suis missis (sic), praesumat." Cf. above, p. 221, n. 3.

grant, unless indeed that clause was only added (which seems unlikely owing to the similar position of Chiusa) by forgery after Adelaide's death¹. Of lay immunities, finally, there was only that which the head of the marchional House himself possessed²; although perhaps, the Aleramids, who possessed some lands in the mark, had attained to immunity in some document which has not been preserved, of a later date than Otto I's precept of 967³.

(b) Somewhat more important would be the natural decay of the *publica potestas* from the decrease of alodial holding, and through the hereditary character of benefices. Tenants, not in chivalry, would be subject to their lords' correction in much. Then the public *placita* were once largely concerned with cases regarding land. Now questions of beneficiary land were tried by courts of fellow-vassals apparently⁴, and alods were steadily becoming benefices.

Yet even here we know of *placita* being held in 1064 by the public officials, and probably they continued with business to do.

(ii) As to the subdivision and decrease of the alods and benefices belonging to the marchional House, we find in the Turinese mark two causes at work: (a) subdivision by inheritance, and (b) ecclesiastical endowments.

(a) In the matter of subdivision by inheritance, we have seen⁵ that up to Ulric-Manfred's day there was something like equal division among sons in practice. Hence a third, or at most a half, of the Ardoimid lands were held by him. But his younger daughters seem to come off badly in their portioning after his death⁶; so that Adelaide's demesnes are little reduced. Against this fact we have to reckon the shares which were given, or ideally attributed, to her younger children, Amadeus II and Bertha⁷. As the mark went to Peter I's son-in-law, and the two younger just mentioned both left heirs, the real marchional possessions must have been reduced to some extent by their rights.

(b) More important are the wide lands given by the later Ardoimids to the Church, so wide that St Peter Damian thinks it necessary to

¹ See above, p. 201, n. 2, and p. 221, n. 3.

² See above, pp. 152, n. 3 and 155.

³ *M.G.H. Dipl.* i. 462-4.

⁴ *M.G.H. Const.* i. 89. Cf. the dispute *re* Govone, "concilio suorum fidelium" (see below, p. 259, n. 4) and the case of Ardizzo di Roccasparvera being tried "in curia sui domini" the Marquess of Saluzzo, 29 May 1163, Tallone, *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, *B.S.S.S.* xvi. p. 13. See Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, III. 324-31.

⁵ See above, pp. 151-2, 155.

⁶ See above, pp. 187-8, 232.

⁷ See above, pp. 223-4 and 233. There seems no record of shares belonging to Oddo or Adelaide; except in the matter of Aiguebelle in Burgundy.

prove that they were not really losers by their donations¹. Their extent is easily realized, when we consider that almost all the evidence adduced above² on the Ardoimid demesnes is derived from charters of donation. We know little of their lands besides what was given away.

In sum, we see that heavy losses had been sustained from these two causes by the head of the House. No doubt she had not suffered so much from subdivision as the Aleramids, for instance, did; no doubt, too, the marchional receipts went up from the increased wealth due to the great abbeys. But it was just this official position and official profits which were becoming precarious.

(iii) Lastly there is the obscure subject of citizen insubordination. On this point it is always to be remembered that west Piedmont lagged much behind the greater part of North Italy in communal development, and that the circumstance worked two ways: (a) the Marquess-Count retained power longer in the city; (b) he, and not the Bishop, bore the brunt of citizen-disaffection³ at first.

Now in the mark there appear pretty certainly four cities, Turin, Alba, Asti and Albenga, the situations of which were very diverse.

Turin was completely under its Marquess, whose authority there was the old comital authority. Yet here we find Ulric-Manfred already in fear of the citizens c. 1028, and engaging in a street-fight with them which he wins⁴. They also riot in favour of Bishop Cunibert and against Abbot Benedict II of Chiusa c. 1066, apparently contrary to the sympathies of Adelaide⁵. We also have, if it is right to reckon it, the mysterious triumph of Cunibert⁶. In short, though no change appears, there is a certain tension existing⁶.

The situation of Alba is not so clear. Later when the citizens acquired the *regalia* from Frederick Barbarossa, no mention is made of any antecedent rights of the Bishop⁷; nor would the consuls submit to do homage to the latter till 1197 when he conceded a fief to the city⁸. Perhaps the city had never been placed under its Bishop. In any case, however, the communal spirit was rising, and Bishop Benzo's expulsion from the city and *episcopium* after Buzi's agitation shows the citizens acting with considerable independence⁹.

¹ See above, p. 189, n. 2.

² See above, pp. 135-6, and 157-65.

³ See above, pp. 184-5.

⁴ See above, p. 234.

⁵ See above, p. 246.

⁶ Cf. Cibrario, *Storia di Torino*, p. 166.

⁷ *Rigestum Comunis Albe*, B.S.S.S. xx. pp. 72, 80.

⁸ *id.* p. 300, "Et propterea...consules fecerunt ipsi episcopo fidelitatem quam huc usque ipsi et eorum predecessores ei facere detractaverant pro feudo quod comunis (sic) Albe dicebatur ab eo tenere."

⁹ Cf. above, pp. 245-6.

Much the same should probably be said of Albenga, that it was still in the mark, but possessed the beginnings of a commune. Such at least was the lot of its sister-city of Savona under the Aleramid Marquesses¹.

Asti, as we have seen, furnished an outstanding instance of episcopal prerogative²; but here two curious developments had taken place. On the one hand, the bishops had become dependents of the Marquess of Turin³. On the other the citizens had grown violently insubordinate to both authorities. Twice did Adelaide carry the rebellious city by assault⁴. And if she maintained her power, it was clear that a weak ruler would not have done so.

So we see that even in the mark of Turin a communal spirit, and probably communes themselves more or less in embryo⁵, were arising. The phenomenon was connected with, or found its expression in, religious questions. Asti and Alba seem Patarine, Turin the other way. The great thing was that the citizens wished to have their say, or in fact their riot, on matters of political and social policy.

Matters then were in this stage when Adelaide died in December 1091, and a war of succession arose. We may distinguish four active claimants. First there was Count Peter of Montbéliard, a boy of ten at most, Adelaide's recognized heir. Then there was the young Count of Savoy, either Oddo II or his younger brother Humbert II, in the probable case that the latter, still a lad, had succeeded by now. There was the Emperor Henry IV, and his son King Conrad, in right of the Empress Bertha. Finally, there was the Aleramid Marquess Boniface I "del Vasto," eldest surviving son of Countess Bertha, Adelaide's sister⁶. It was not so difficult to see which way things would go when two of the competitors were a lad and a boy.

Conrad accordingly entered the mark with an army, spreading devastation round⁷, and doubtless Boniface soon did the same with less

¹ Cf. Bresslau, *Konrad II*, I. pp. 409-10. G. Rossi (*Storia della città e diocesi d'Albenga*, p. 95) points out that the Bishop of Albenga has a comital position, in his lands, in 1225.

² See above, Cap. II. Sect. II. App.

³ See above, pp. 169-70, 227-9.

⁴ See above, pp. 227-9, 250.

⁵ Asti had its commune actively ruling, soon after Adelaide's death. Count Cipolla (*Mon. Noval.* II. 294, n. 1) considers the affair of Abbot Odilo shows a habit of public assembly at Turin (see above, pp. 184-5). Cf. Cibrario, *Storia di Torino*, p. 166.

⁶ Savio, *Il marchese Bonifacio del Vasto ecc.* (Atti della Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, XXII. (1886-7)), p. 90. It seems to have been owing to a desire to explain Boniface's claim that later historians gave him a wife Alice, daughter of Peter I, who is unknown in the sources.

⁷ Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, IV. 347-8, 373-4, and especially Hellmann,

pomp. The Emperor proceeded at once to gain over Oddo, Bishop of Asti, and his sturdy citizens. Not only were new possessions added to the episcopal domains, but the castle of Annone and the county of Asti were now finally given over to the Bishop¹. Thus the citizens saw the *contado* at last freed from the great marchional house. How strong the commune had grown may be seen from the fact that in 1095 Bishop Oddo granted Annone itself to the consuls *ad communem utilitatem istorum civium*².

One curious episode of the war seems hinted at by some doubtful references to the life of a French magnate, Burchard de Montrésor near Tours. He had been wounded almost to death in the local feuds of his district which had begun about 1066, and, being *in extremis*, was unwittingly made a monk by his sorrowing kindred. Unexpectedly recovering, he started off on a pilgrimage to Rome and got his monastic quality cancelled by the Pope. He did not however return to Touraine; but remained in Italy and married a Lombard marchioness. We further learn that he overthrew the Turinese, that he was advocate of a widow Agnes, and that his wife was unfaithful and betrayed him after many years' residence in Italy to his adversaries by whom he was slain³.

op. cit. pp. 27-35. Bernold. *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* v. 454), "Hujus (Friderici) ergo filium ex nepte domnae Adelheidæ susceptum Heinricus rex cum filio suo exheredare proposuit, terramque ejus hostiliter invadendo, et circumquaque devastando, etiam Fructuariensi monasterio multa mala intulit." Cf. Willelm. Monach. on Adelaide's death, above, p. 249, n. 1. Further evidence is given by the sufferings of the provostship of Rivalta by 1097: "destructæ atque turbate esse videntur tam ostili incursione quam (rerum) utilium penuria" (*Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 39*).

¹ *Libro verde...d' Asti*, II. 197 (25 April 1093), 198 (*Car. Reg. CCXXVI., CCXXVIII.*), 200 [*B.S.S.S. XXVI.*].

² *Car. Reg. CCXXX.* (Sella, *Cod. Ast. de Malabayla*, III. p. 651).

³ See on this point Savio, *I primi conti di Savoia*, pp. 466-70 and Carutti, *Regesta*, Excursus IV. pp. 371-5. The texts are: *Gesta Ambasiensium dominorum*, Bouquet, XI. 259, "Buchardus de Monthesauro, morbo coactus, monachus efficitur; qui convalescens monachum exiit et Romæ ante papam, quod ignorans effectus esset monachus, nec se ordini acquievisse, jurando affirmavit. Qui cum rediret in Longobardia quamdam marchisiam duxit uxorem et filio suo Alberico terram Turoniae divisit. Buchardus vero plures annos inibi vixit et a quodam Lombardo proditione peremptus fuit." *Baldrici abbatis Burguliensis* (Archbp. of Dol) *Carmina* (Migne, CLXVI. 1194, 1195, 1197); parts of three epigrams on Burchard de Montrésor, viz.:

- (i) "Tu Taurinenses solus sic edomuiſti
Ut te crediderint mille fuiſſe viros.
Agnetis viduæ tutor, domitorque reorum,
Corruis uxoris ultor adulterii."
- (ii) "At Longobardæ dum tandem proditioni
Occurris vindex, perſequeriſque reos,

Now is this Agnes the daughter or daughter-in-law of Adelaide, or neither of them? Is it she or some other Lombard marchioness who married Burchard? And at what time did these things happen? The date is somewhat of a difficulty. If the feuds in Touraine began c. 1066¹ we are surprised to find Burchard's Lombard activity in some time following 1091. But that Agnes is one of the Turinese Agneses is made very likely by Burchard's subduing the Turinese, which could only have reference to the troublous times after 1091. Baldric's epigram, however, seems to imply that Agnes and Burchard's wife were separate persons; and he probably married a lady of some other marchional house. I do not know if it is really likely that he is the Marquess Burchard, who appears in the Emperor's entourage in these years². If so, he may have intervened in Piedmont in 1093 and onwards, after Conrad had turned rebel to his father, and when the rights of the Montbéliard line might enjoy a transitory favour with Henry IV³.

Although Conrad survived till 1101, we have no trace of him in Piedmont after the rupture with his father in 1093. As to the fate of the mark, the lot of the southern portion is pretty clear. The counties

- Hostibus atque reis te prodit adultera conjux,
Sicque cadis modico vulnere magnus homo.”
- (iii) “At dum pro parvo Turonus ducis dominatum,
Ad Longobardos fulmineus properas.
Quam gentem verbis tibi dum subjungis et armis,
Gentis et uxoris prodicione cadis.
Ecce nihil de te superest nisi pulvis et ossa;
Pax tibi, bella quidem causa fuere necis.”

Carutti suggests Agnes may be the Empress, but surely, if so, Baldric would mention the fact, so much to his hero's credit.

¹ Besides, Alberic, Burchard's son, was in possession of the lands in Touraine before 1074. See Savio, *op. cit.* p. 470, n. 2.

² See Meyer v. Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, v. 2, 59, 63, 71, 97, 114, 115, 118. This latter, however, who last appears in 1101, seems to be Marquess of Istria, who appears from 1091 (*id.* iv. 345, 390, 454, 478, 479) with a brother also called Burchard (*id.* iv. 390).

³ Thus Henry's general might be advocate of Agnes. Here I may mention the last facts known about the two ladies of that name. Agnes of Poitou was still living in August 1091 and may be the Agnes who intervenes at Susa in March-April 1095 (*Car. Reg. CMXLV. Carte...d'Oulx, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 56*). She was buried at Ferrania (in Boniface's lands). Her epitaph (*Car. Reg. CCXXXIII. "Lapis Ferraniae"*) contains the lines:

“Hec Pictavorum comitum stirps nobiliorum
Pulcra fuit specie nurus Adalasiae.”

Agnes of Savoy professed Roman law in 1091 (*Car. Reg. CCXXI.*). 1096-9 she gave half Villanova and half Airasca to Fruttuaria Abbey (*Carte...del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 190, cf. Car. Reg. CCXLIX., and CCLIII.*). She later became a nun at Fruttuaria (*Car. Reg. CCXLIX., Guichenon, Preuves, p. 24*) like the widowed Empress Agnes before her.

of Aurade, Bredolo and Albenga, with parts of those of Turin and Alba, fell to Marquess Boniface of Vasto¹. With the countships, of course, he took whatever domains of the elder Ardoinid line lay in those parts. Thus the Aleramids obtained a great extension westwards; but their new domains, the future marquessates of Saluzzo, Busca, Ceva, Cravesana, etc., lapse for a time from the history of the House of Savoy and retreat without our purview. Roughly speaking the northern boundary of the present province of Cuneo was also that of the Aleramids². A war was of course begun with Asti over their claims to territory³.

What happened to the northern portion of the mark is not so easy to say, as the subsequent conquests of Amadeus III⁴ tended to obliterate the former state of things. The Montbéliards returned to Germany. We find Humbert II of Savoy in possession of the Val di Susa and of some fractions of the plain. The Guigonids, perhaps, came down the Val di Fenestrelle to Mentouilles at this time⁵. The Bishop of Turin became independent, as far as communal liberty allowed him. The exception is very important, for not only did the Turinese acquire self-government in the vacancy of the mark⁶, but two towns in his own demesne, Chieri and Testona, advanced on the same path⁷. A similar autonomy to that of the Bishop of Turin was attained by the great Abbeys, Fruttuaria, Chiusa, and Pinerolo, although, as we shall see, the two latter were to a certain degree under control⁸. Here again, however, we must note that the communal spirit was separating Pinerolo from its abbey⁹. Finally, we must add in the country districts the rule

¹ The sole contemporary reference is contained in a letter of Mainard, Bishop of Turin, *re* property at Scarnafigi c. 1112-8 (*Car. Reg.* CMLXVI., Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, 354-5), "Tandem post mortem comitisse Bonifacius potestatem in terra adeptus est."

² See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 30 and n. 3, where a list of demesnes passed from the Ardoinids to the Aleramids is given.

³ Cf. below, pp. 274-5. The county of Asti went to the Bishop, who also claimed Bredolo.

⁴ See below, pp. 285-9.

⁵ See above, p. 227, and cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 31, n. 1.

⁶ See *Car. Reg.* CCLVII. (*M.H.P. Chart.* I. 742) where Emperor Henry V in 1116 concedes to the Turinese "omnes ussus bonos eorum," which they enjoyed in his father's time and makes them immediate subjects of the emperor, "salva solita iusticia Taurinensis episcopi." This seems to show the Bishop had increased his powers but had no full jurisdiction. See below, p. 280.

⁷ Both appear as communes in the twelfth century. See for Chieri, Cibrario, *Storia di Chieri*.

⁸ Cf. below, pp. 285-6, 287, 336, 356.

⁹ The commune was existing according to Prof. Gabotto (*L'Abazia ed il comune di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* I. p. 114) already c. 1150. The nature of these lesser Piedmontese communes was largely feudal. It was the landholders, the *signori* of the country-side, who at first formed them. See Prof. Gabotto, *Il "Comune" a Cuneo*

of the *capitanei* and other nobles. Some, like the Marquesses of Romagnano, became for parts of their demesnes and for a certain time independent¹. Others, such as the Viscounts of Salmour, those of Turin or the lords of Piossasco, never seem to have become so in theory, but they ruled their lands all the same².

In fact it is now with something of a cataclysm that feudalism, in the proper sense, appears in Piedmont. Instead of public hereditary officials wielding the *publica potestas*, we find in the twelfth century landlords, *signori*, *castellani*, exercising a jurisdiction over their estates which is called later *cum meromixto imperio*³. They usually hold from some superior by homage and military service. They sub-enfeoff parts of their lands on the same terms. And the confusion is increased by the fact that one family of compossessing *signori* will hold of several superiors, the Emperor, the Count of Savoy, the Bishop of Turin, and an Abbot or so, all at once. Thus instead of the simple outlines of the older administration we are faced by a mass of jurisdictions, built on the tenure of land, and only checked in their increase by the custom of compossession. In result, the feudal system in west Piedmont came in rather revolutionary fashion, due to the break-up of the ancient territorial divisions and the disappearance of the local public authority⁴.

nel secolo XIII e le origini comunali in Piemonte, Boll. stor. bibl. subalp. Anno v. p. 19.

¹ This is of course natural as the Romagnano had a share of the Ardoimid alods and benefices. It is confirmed by the absence of Romagnano as *Testes* to Savoyard and Saluzzese documents, and by the terms of Frederick I's Privilege (1163) to the Romagnano (Stumpf, No. 3976, *Carte...del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2. 203). They were, however, vassals of the Bishop of Turin (*Carte...del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2. 191).

² See for the Piossasco's lands, Count di Vesme (*Origini della feudalità ecc.* B.S.S.S. I. pp. 43-8); for the Salmour, Signor Patrucco (*Le famiglie signorili di Saluzzo ecc.* B.S.S.S. x. pp. 87-91); for the Viscounts of Turin, Signor Rondolino (Boll. stor. bibl. subalp. Anni VI. VIII. and IX.).

³ The privilege, cited in n. 1, gives the fullest twelfth century form of this kind of jurisdiction in Piedmont. Most of the Romagnano lands are held "cum districto et omni honore," the latter being the feudal novelty. The term is further explained as including "districto, bannis, albergariis, hostiliciis, bataliis, iudiciis," and is "salva...imperiali iusticia." The Romagnano, of course, with their marchional claims, would possess a wider jurisdiction than most. Still one may note that their lands now have this full jurisdiction attached to them severally. They do not form part of an administrative district.

⁴ An instance of the transition is furnished by an Astigian charter of 1117 (*Libro verde...d'Asti*, I, B.S.S.S. xxv. p. 247). Here the Bishop makes an accord, after disputes, with Rudolf, Signor of Govone, concerning the jurisdiction and seigneurial rights of Govone: e.g. the Bishop holds *placita* of Govone if present, otherwise Rudolf: of the three greater criminal *placita* Rudolf takes one-third, the Bishop two-thirds profits; of the lesser *placita*, half each; right of appeal to the Bishop is reserved if the latter is not present; one-third of the marriage-tax to Rudolf; and so on. It is

in the nature of a treaty, and shows that the benefice has become a fief with jurisdiction. The local *placita* are now held by the vassal in right of his holding. There is no appeal to former documents, only the Bishop is said to invest Rudolf with Monticello (part of the benefice) in the manner of his predecessors. The word *feudum* is not yet used. The Bishop acts by advice of his vassals, "consilio suorum fidelium." No doubt the fact that a vassal had to be tried by his peers for breach of his feudal contract made usurpation easier, while ecclesiastical immunities, the viscounts' share in judicial profits, and actual subinfeudation of the same by the holders of ecclesiastical immunities would furnish models and spread the practice.

An original right in law may be hinted at by the later title *castellani*. Had the nobles enfeoffed with a castle, a special jurisdiction, *burgimundium*, burgbann, and court, like *castellani* (burggraves) beyond the Alps? See Mayer, *Deutsch. u. Französ. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 89-96.

CHAPTER III

THE ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE MARK OF TURIN

SECTION I. HUMBERT II.

WITH the death of Countess Adelaide we enter on a new period and a different order of affairs in Savoyard history. The epic strife of Church and Empire, the dramatic clash of rival ideals, great European problems, the wide outlook of an international principality go off the scene. These and their like lie for sixty years outside our interest, and we have to confine ourselves to the fortunes of a petty and secluded state, with its small bickerings, small triumphs and small defeats. It was not that the Counts of Savoy were forgetful of their glorious past. It will appear through this chapter that the most constant element in their policy was the attempt to recover the mark of Turin and with it their great position in the Empire. But the times had changed. Their Italian mark was broken into fragments and almost all outside their dominion. They were now only Burgundians, and their Transalpine state was in the paralysing grip of Feudalism. In fact, if we only knew the history of Savoy for this period, which it is to be remembered is almost entirely lost, we should find that its more essential parts would concern not the half-foreign wars for Piedmont, but the struggle of the Counts, inheritors of the notion of the State, with the Feudal Principle.

The gradual dissolution of the Carolingian fabric of state was accompanied and succeeded by the development of "feudalism." Without attempting to be especially precise or complete in giving the conception of the latter word, we may define it as a system in which the functions of government were attached to the possession of land and in which land was mainly held, not in full ownership, but on terms of military service and personal fidelity. The symptom of its full growth is the localizing of jurisdiction. Justice is no longer administered for governmental districts by their officials, however hereditary and feudal in

tenure, but for their estates and villages by the feudal possessors of the soil. The *pagi* of the state, even the estates of the greater feudal tenants, crumble from this point of view into their component atoms¹. Yet although the transition to feudalism began early, it was long (if ever) before it supplanted the system of public government on public grounds, which it supplemented, encroached upon and tended to destroy. The process, too, admitted great variety according to the variations of personalities, countries and times.

To begin with, the *publica potestas* had two main branches, the local official, the count generally speaking, and the central government, the king, which worked both through the local official and beside him on any given district. The mutual relations of these two branches were rapidly contaminated with feudalism, but the public "state"-side was for long not superseded, perhaps it is truer to say never superseded. There was an obvious possible antagonism between the two, king and count, from such causes as particularism, the unwieldiness of the realm, incompetence, ambition and so forth, but, although such a conflict was exacerbated by the feudal element in their relation, feudalism was essentially the enemy of both, so far as they were *publicae potestates*. They expressed the state's functions, public law, a public administration operating through society and holding it together. Feudalism expressed fractional functions, private law, personal relations excluding the state and one another.

Now the comparative vigour of local and central authorities, of count and king, differed in the various realms formed out of Charlemagne's empire. In France, where their mutual relations were most contaminated with feudalism, we find that the real kingship fades and verges towards disappearance c. 1000-1100. Fortunately for the monarchy, its greatest vassal, the Duke of the French, obtained the title and prestige, retained some, and claimed all, the functions of the moribund kingship; but the war against feudalism proper is carried on for almost two centuries on behalf of the *publica potestas* by the greater local officials, whose own connection with their head, the king, has become merely feudal. It is Duke William the Conqueror, not the King of France, who organizes or reorganizes a public administration in Normandy, which, if on largely feudal lines, is none the less at enmity with the true logic of feudalism: and the same is true of the other great French fiefs. The Capetians had for long to confine their chief interests and the greater part of their activity to performing the same

¹ Not that all tenants in chivalry held their land on these terms "cum honore." A part of the land of a seigneur would be granted out in lots merely sufficient to maintain a knight, the "knight's fee" of England, without any jurisdiction, save over serfs.

task, with more administrative means at the commencement, in the restricted territories where the great mass of their demesnes lay.

It was only in the sequel that they gained the power to conquer their rivals, the heirs of old local authorities. Thus the functions of the state lived on, however transmuted and feudalized, in their local forms, while in their central forms they had almost vanished over the greatest part of the realm.

But passing on to Germany, we find a different state of affairs, perhaps because the land was less feudalized in the stricter sense and allodial holding was common. There the "racial" Dukes, the chief representatives of the local authorities, by no means shake loose from the King's control. The monarch actually governs and they are his instruments and subordinates; in fact he outlives them, and only falls in the thirteenth century when he attempts to govern through the small feudal lords, who have been completing their evolution in the lower strata of the public officials and of the landlords. In short, we arrive at the old statement that Germany was the most strongly organized kingdom of the earlier Middle Ages. There the decisive conflict was to be between the decadent central public authority and feudalism well developed, not as in twelfth-century France between feudalism well developed and those strong local public authorities which in an epoch of primitive feudalism had conquered their central master. The German kingship fell, while the French peers survived to swell the strength of the new French monarchy in its war with the latest stage of feudalism. Their preparatory local work was a potent cause of the success of that centralizing system.

For our subject we may neglect these thirteenth-century developments and confine our attention to the solid Germany and fragmentary France of the twelfth century. The next point to consider is, which of these two models was more nearly followed by Germany's two dependencies, Italy and Burgundy. Still speaking in broad terms, and marking only the bare outlines, we may say that Italy approximates to the German type. For, if the royal authority under the German Emperors was foreign and intermittent, yet it was strong when the Emperors and their invading armies were present in Italy; and intermittency was the keynote of medieval central government in general. Then in the rivalry between the monarchy and the greater nobility, the rise of the Communes could not fail to disable the latter. As I have already mentioned¹, the Italian cities were by their history exceptionally strong and independent, and closely allied with the lesser nobility. It is a natural consequence of the foregoing that in Italy the royal power, such as it was, outlived that of the greater local holders of the ancient

¹ Cf. above, Cap. II, Sect. 1 and pp. 214-19, 254-5.

publica potestas, as from other causes and in far more vigorous strength it had done in Germany. About 1100 the great hereditary Marquesses of Tuscany and Turin, etc. have disappeared by extinction or subdivision. Counts and Bishops are yielding to the Communes and the local feudatories. On the other hand the Hohenstaufen are still formidable public authorities, although their strength is derived from German or Sicilian sources.

But cross the Alps, and we are in a kingdom of the French type. Under Rudolf III the royal authority faded to nothing in Burgundy. Its means were exhausted, its power was almost nil. Nor could the German Emperors restore it; their demesne lands in Burgundy were few or none; their interest in the kingdom, until too late, was for the most part precautionary only. It safeguarded Italy and the Alps. Hence in Burgundy the remnants of the *publica potestas* survived in fact only in the hands of its local holders, the Counts, lay or ecclesiastical; or at least it was so south of the Lake of Geneva, where the experiment of the Rectorate had no effect. It was the Counts who carried on the struggle with mere feudalism, just as did the Dukes of Normandy or French Burgundy, and who eventually formed small medieval states, under feudal forms, which used feudalism itself as an aid for the ancient *publica potestas* in reintegrating society. They were too weak as a rule to stand the shocks of time when the great modern monarchies were formed, but by its position astride of the Alps Savoy at least survived till within living memory¹.

At the death of Adelaide the feudal spirit and the feudal system were steadily gaining ground, and, as the authority of the Counts of Savoy survived partly because of their adroit use of feudal ideals and tendencies, it is most desirable to know in what proportion it was composed of public functions and feudal rights during its eleventh and twelfth century vicissitudes. Unfortunately the evidence to hand is very small, owing to the scantiness of our records.

Whitehands' position is pretty clear. His authority as Count of his four counties, Aosta, Maurienne, Savoy and Belley could be compared to that of a German Duke². As he held of the powerless king and of weak monasteries, we may treat his allodial and beneficiary lands as much the same thing. In them he had full powers, however limited by custom, over his serfs, and claims to service and so forth from the benefices he had sub-enseffed. How much land in his counties was not held of him, we cannot say, but the Bishops of Maurienne and Aosta were his vassals, as well as the viscounts for part of their lands at

¹ A fragment still remains, the Val d'Aosta.

² See above, p. 7, and cf. below, p. 423.

any rate¹. He may in other counties have been subordinated to the authority of the respective counts; but we have seen reason to believe that the county of Sermorens was practically vacant and that the Genevois was breaking up. Besides some of his lands were immune².

But it remains a question, whether during the century the Counts of Savoy's public authority as apart from their rank as feudal landowners, remained intact. On this aspect of their power it transpires that they found a mint in Maurienne³; they exercise public functions in Belley⁴; they maintain their power over the Bishops⁵; they keep up, in part at any rate, their functions of a judicial and policing nature over all their counties⁶. If we deduct the control over great vassals, which in practice may not have been much, and the loss due to the growing feudal jurisdictions, we may add the escape from all external control themselves⁷, and the frequent enforcement of new homage, as a result of petty wars, from which homage the Counts were able at times to draw full feudal corollaries⁸. Thus the facts seem to point to an authority growing more and more feudal and deriving new sources of strength as

¹ For Humbert's powers as landholder see above, pp. 22-3. For his suzerainty over the Bishops of Maurienne and Aosta, see above, Cap. I. Sect. IV. The viscounts of course held their vicecomital benefices from him. In the thirteenth century it seems that all the seigneurs of Maurienne, Savoy, Aosta, Tarentaise and Belley held of the Count, save at that time the Bishops of Tarentaise and Belley whose status was contested. Cf. Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 487-8. The Saracen devastations of the Alpine valleys in the tenth century would be one cause of the absence of allodial holders.

² See above, Cap. I. Sect. IV. and cf. p. 81, n. 4, especially.

³ See above, pp. 124, 224-5.

⁴ See above, p. 123.

⁵ e.g. Car. Reg. CCXXXVII. St Anselm of Canterbury warns Humbert II, "ne putetis ecclesiam, quae in vestro principatu est, vobis datum esse in haereditariam dominationem, sed in haereditariam reverentiam et in tuitionem."

⁶ Humbert II's grant of jurisdiction to Bellevaux Abbey (Car. Reg. CXXLI. Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 25), i.e. "banni infractum et legem de omni forisfacto" does not prove too much, as the land given was held from the Count. But the Count's alod and his comital benefice (consularis fiscus) were then still distinguished. See below, p. 272. Better evidence is afforded by the fact of the survival of the public functions of the viscounts, in strict conjunction with that of the counts. See below, pp. 440-5. Such privileges of an hereditary benefice would not be the result of a new reorganization: cf. Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 400-1.

⁷ We do not find them c. 1200 doing homage to any Burgundian magnate except to the Archbishop of Lyons and the Bishops of Geneva and Sion, and this can only have been for small fiefs. Cf. Whitehands' *franchisia* in 1025 (above, p. 81, n. 4), and above, pp. 157-8. But the fact that most of their vassal seigneurs came to enjoy *merum mixtum imperium* must have much diminished the area of their power.

⁸ Such as that of the seigneurs in Tarentaise, see below, pp. 269-70. This is also an instance where the homage implied real subjection. On the other hand, the Sires de Beaujeu and Coligny do homage in the thirteenth century without any such result.

well as weakness from the process. But the process of feudalization, although it changed the forms of their power, did not really or permanently sap it or efface the tradition of its public nature.

Our knowledge of the rule (1091-1103) of Count Humbert II, *le Renforcé*¹ as tradition styled him, does not fall readily into a chronological sequence, partly from the scantiness of the records, partly no doubt from the scattered nature of his domains. An account of him must therefore be arranged on territorial lines or according to the subject matter of his documents, as either may serve more conveniently.

The main fact about him is at once obvious: the centre of gravity of the House of Savoy has shifted back to Burgundy. Adelaide and her sons were Lombards with a Burgundian dependency. Humbert II is a Burgundian with some lands and great claims in Italy. And this posture of affairs is to continue for some centuries, being well typified, as will appear in the sequel, by the official style of the head of the House. The title Marquess is relegated henceforward to the second place, as a mere supplement to their Burgundian Countship.

Humbert's natural tendency therefore would be to conserve his Burgundian territory and extend it as much as possible. It would also be unconsciously to resist thorough-going feudalism and consciously to make use of feudalism for the maintenance of his authority. He would seek, too, to make good his claims in Italy. This premised, we may treat of his activity under the following heads, (i) his relations with the Empire, (ii) his wars and alliances in Burgundy, (iii) his ecclesiastical policy in Burgundy, (iv) his Italian policy.

(i) With regard to the Empire, the mere fact of the shrinkage of the Savoyard power to Burgundy, in which the Emperors had such small influence, would entail a certain aloofness. To this factor we may add the depressed conditions of a schismatic period, the poverty of the Count amid his barren mountains, and the hostility which he must have felt towards his rivals in Piedmont. In consequence, we find Humbert only once dating by the imperial reign and then in a doubtful copy². The Count's real leanings were towards his kindred by culture and language of Langued'oil and Langued'oc. It was no

¹ Car. *Reg.* CCXLIII. "Umbertus nobilissimus comes qui cognominatus est Reinforcatus." But also Car. *Reg.* CCLXXXIX. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 34), which dates c. 1131-4, has "Amedeus comitis Umberti Refortiatii filius," and shows the surname is an old one. He had probably succeeded before Adelaide's death. See below, p. 273.

² Car. *Sup.* xxvii. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, 1. p. 224). The charter seems genuine but carelessly copied, e.g. the date should be Feb. 1092 not Feb. 1082. Carutti considers the phrase "Henrico III rege regnante" an error. But Henry IV was III in Burgundy, and Humbert II might well not recognize the schismatic imperial coronation of 1084.

doubt in some French or Burgundian assembly that he took the crusading vow. But for some reason or other he never fulfilled it. Perhaps his remissness was as well for his lands and dynasty¹.

(ii) He was in fact busy enough at home. Savoy was surrounded by several other rival feudal powers, some like herself of comital origin and strong, others merely arising from the break-up of the public administration, but formidable from their feudal sympathy with the Savoyard barons. These neighbours it will be best to mention here; since they furnish the environment for subsequent Savoyard history, and, if the meagre chronicling we have lets us know little of their influence, it is all the more important to bear it in mind and to recollect that the incessant war-cries of a hundred years are buried in that silence. First, then, was "Franche Comté," the County of Burgundy, ruled by the Anscarids, descendants of Otto-William. They were the most powerful of all the Burgundian nobles, for William II had again united French Mâcon to Imperial Burgundy, and his subordinate vassals seem less independent of their Count than were those of Provence. "Franche Comté," however, barely touched the Savoyard frontier at this period. In what is now "la Suisse romande" we find three Bishops, two of whom at least seem losing ground. The Bishop of Lausanne finds his county of Vaud shrinking to the actual demesnes, the *episcopium*, of his church, and provides an excellent example of a Count who did not succeed in retaining his public functions over his county. The Bishop of Sion, as we shall see, had a hard time of it with the Counts of Savoy themselves. The Bishops of Geneva are more obscurely placed, but they seem to have obtained the county of Geneva from the Franconian Emperors and then to have enfeoffed it to its old possessors, the Counts of the Genevois, with whom they carried on a secular quarrel². The Counts of the Genevois, indeed, seem to have been the most unlucky of the greater Burgundian feudatories, perhaps owing to their resistance to the Franconian dynasty. They had gained Equestricus, but the county of Geneva or "the Genevois" was tattered and torn. New-Chablais and a south-western strip were lost to Savoy. The Sires of

¹ Car. Reg. CCXXXII., "impetranda Dei gubernatione in suo viatico ultramarino." He is demonstrably in Piedmont in Nov. 1098 (Car. Reg. CCXXXVI., *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 42), and in 1100 (Car. Reg. CCXL., *M.H.P. Chart.* I. 728).

² See on Geneva and the Genevois Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 334-6, and Kallmann, *op. cit.* pp. 77-9. The relations of Bishop and Count were arranged for a time by the treaty of Seyssel 1124, by which the Count did homage to the Bishop, saving that to the Emperor. Kallmann *loc. cit.* points out the Count was a direct vassal of the Emperor at that time. But by 1219 the county was held of the Bishop. How the Bishop's rights arose and what the Count was vassal of the Emperor for, seem dark points. Was the latter for the county of Equestricus? Cf. J. J. Hizely, *Les comtes du Genevois*, etc., *Mém. de l'Institut. nat. Gen.* II. (1854).

Faucigny although they did them homage almost divided the county with them. Geneva was at least half under the bishop. And the Counts, withdrawn to Annecy, ruled a remnant only¹. Humbert II's contemporary was his kinsman, Count Aymon I, who appears to have been a personal friend as well as a relative. It was a half-brother of the latter, William I, who then ruled the great barony of Faucigny, occupying the watershed of the Arve and the Giffre between the remains of the Genevois and New-Chablais. Although practically independent, he was a vassal of Aymon of the Genevois, and thus is an example of the feudal land-owner, who converted his proprietary rights into a territorial dominion².

On the north-west Humbert II's lands were bounded by several baronies, which like Faucigny, and even more so, had broken loose from all comital control. Such were Beaujeu, Miribel, Baugé and Villars in the later Bresse; Coligny (whose Sire was Humbert's nephew), with lands stretching from "Franche Comté" across the Ain to the Rhone by Lagnieu in Bugey; and Thoire along the Ain to the north of the barony of Coligny. There were also the lands of the Archbishop of Lyons and his vassals in the later Bresse, and other ecclesiastical magnates, such as the Abbots of Nantua, St Rambert and Ambronay in north Bugey³.

To the west there were only two important neighbours, the Archbishop of Vienne and the Sires de la Tour-du-Pin. The latter were vassals of the Church of Vienne. Tour-du-Pin itself was a fief from the Viennois nunnery of St Peter⁴, while Lhuis and Bourgoin may have been held from Savoy⁵. The Archbishop, Guy, a brother of the Anscarid Count of Burgundy, was then leading the ecclesiastical party in the whole kingdom and was also engaged in vigorous disputes with his fellow Gregorian Bishop, St Hugh of Grenoble, over the *pagus* of Sermorens, which each prelate claimed for his own diocese⁶. St Hugh

¹ It is interesting to note that the Bishops, too, when they were driven out of their cathedral-city in the sixteenth century, retired to Annecy in their turn.

² Cf. Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 351-7.

³ Guigue, *Topographie hist. de la dépm^t de l'Ain*, which has full references to authorities, Guichenon, *Hist. de la Bresse et Bugey*, and Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 370-6. Beaujeu (Wurstemberger, IV. pp. 338 and 345) and Coligny (*Car. Reg.* CDXIII.) certainly held part of their lands from Saxoy in the thirteenth century. It may not have gone farther back; but was it a condition of the intermarriages c. 1100? The Counts of Savoy, like those of Franche Comté, were far higher in the feudal scale than these local *Sires*. See above, pp. 77-8, and below, p. 295, n. 3, and pp. 422-3.

⁴ See *Car. Reg.* DCCCXLI., Wurstemberger, IV. 197. There is evidence of their liege homage to Vienne in 1228 (Guigue, *Cartul. des fiefs de l'Église de Lyon*, p. 339).

⁵ See above, pp. 78 and 82.

⁶ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, 111-12, Manteyer, *Notes Additionnelles*, pp. 270-2, and above, p. 79.

was supported, and perhaps the quarrel was exacerbated, by Guigues III, Count of Albon and Graisivaudan, the last and most formidable neighbour of Humbert II. His lands stretched across the southern Viennois (i.e. Albon¹) to the Alps, forming the southern frontier of Savoy: and he possessed a small fragment of Piedmont beyond the Mont-Genève². Thus a rivalry between the Humbertines and the Guigonids was almost necessitated by their geographical position, a rivalry which lasted as long as the Dauphiné (to give the Guigonid lands their later name) existed a separate state. All along the border the same nobles probably held of both Humbertines and Guigonids³, and we can imagine the endless disputes the circumstance could give rise to.

There remains one neighbouring territory for special notice, the county of Tarentaise granted by Rudolf III to its Archbishop. Now Amadeus III of Savoy, Humbert II's son, was doubtless Count of Tarentaise. The Viscount Aimeric de Briançon was his vassal⁴, and he took the *spolia* of the deceased archbishops⁵. It becomes likely therefore that the Humbertines obtained the valley in the eleventh century; and we are tempted for once to put trust in the *Chroniques de Savoye*. These narrate⁶ that in the time of Humbert II the Sire de Briançon levied an unjust and doubled toll on all who passed up the valley to the Little St Bernard and Humbert's county of Aosta. Thereupon Count Humbert attacked Briançon and quickly forced its owner, not only to remove the toll, but also to do him homage for his lands. Nor did he rest there, but marched up Tarentaise, where, says the Chronicler, "there was none to do justice, but the greater oppressed the less"; and subdued the whole valley to his dominion⁷. A certain confirmation of the outline of this story is given by the fact that Aymon de Briançon, who lived c. 1060-90, is said to have been first

¹ Held in fief from the Archbishop of Vienne. See above, pp. 82-3. The title "Count of Vienne" was not taken till c. 1170. See Manteyer, *op. cit.* pp. 281-3.

² See above, pp. 225, 227 and 258.

³ Cf. below, p. 307.

⁴ e.g. *Misc. Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. XVII. 135.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCLXXXIV. (*Gallia Christiana*, XII. 382).

⁶ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 97, and *Misc. stor. ital.* XXII. 309-10. The latter version as usual has a slightly more sober and credible colouring.

⁷ "Diebus Umberti comitis fuit quidam dominus in Brianzono qui noviter possuit pedagium super transeuntes per fines suos, ita ut duplicaret census quem dare consueverant transeuntes....Indignatus est comes. Dirigit agerem (*sic*, ? *aciem*) contra dominum Brianzoni,...(comes) ascendit ad vallem Tarentasie, in qua nullus erat dominus qui justiciam ministraret, set major suffocabat minorem, illamque patriam subjugavit, illosque qui in illa habitabant, sibi servire coegit....Dominus Brianzoni... concordavit se cum domino Morianne sibi que fecit homagium" (*Misc. stor. ital.* XXII.).

Viscount of Tarentaise; the Archbishop probably had a Vidame, not a Viscount¹. Thus the Archbishop of Tarentaise's case would resemble that of the Bishop of Lausanne: to maintain the countship was beyond his strength.

The result was to add another county to the Savoyard dominions, together with the Burgundian approach to the Little St Bernard and the control of another see. So even the disasters of the time could not prevent a rapid *risorgimento* under *Le Renforcé*.

Humbert's death occurred too soon for us to make any inferences from the marriages of his sons and daughters, but his own, which took place before 1092², shows that he remained in the old circle of alliances. His wife was Gisela, daughter of William II, Count of "Franche Comté," and sister of Archbishop Guy of Vienne, the later Pope Calixtus II³. Thus she was a relative of the Franconian Emperors, as well as of Agnes, the widow of Peter I. After Humbert's death she married Ranier, Marquess of Montferrat. It will be best to treat of their children later, but there is a genealogical pleasure in recalling here that through her his present Majesty of Italy derives from the Carolingian and Anscarid Kings and Emperors of his renovated realm.

It is of some importance to examine the entourage of Humbert. We find the three guardians of his son, Aymon I of the Genevois, Guy of Miribel, close to Lyons, and Conon Bishop of Maurienne, all presumably personal friends⁴; Nantelm de Charbonnières⁵, Aymon⁶, William and Otto de la Chambre⁷, all of Maurienne, one of them no doubt its viscount; Guy de Chambéry⁸, Nantelm de Miolans⁹, Guiffred

¹ Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 5, based on *M.H.P.* Chart. i. 178. Also Walter de Briançon was Humbert II's vassal in 1098 (*Car. Reg.* CCXXXIV., *Carte...d'Oulx*, *B.S.S.S.* XLV. p. 59). Cf. above, p. 99, n. 10. There existed in the thirteenth century a toll of Briançon, which was really the subject of disputes between the Sire de Briançon and the men of Ugines. The Sire de Briançon claimed that it had existed "a longo et longissimo tempore," and it was finally adjudged that the men of Ugines were only liable to pay half of the customary sum (*Ct. A. Foras, Le péage de Briançon, Compte Rendu, Congrès Soc. Sav. Savoises, IV. pp. 113 ff.*). It is obvious that the doubled toll has a connection with this; and I imagine the later dispute has been confused with the vague tradition of oppression.

² *Car. Sup.* XXVII. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, i. 224-5).

³ *Car. Sup.* XXVII. (see above, n. 2); CCLV. (Chevalier, *Cartul. St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 281).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCXLVI. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 29); CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27). Perhaps we should add Rudolf, Sire de Faucigny, who appears with Humbert in 1092 (*Car. Sup.* XXVII., read *Fulciniaco* for *Filemasco*) and c. 1100 (*Car. Reg.* CCXLII.).

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27).

⁶ See above, n. 5.

⁷ *Car. Sup.* XXVII. (See above, n. 2.)

⁸ *Car. Sup.* XXVII. (See above, n. 2.)

⁹ See above, n. 2.

de Bogis¹, all of Savoy proper, Guy being probably viscount of Savoy, and Nantelm of north Maurienne; Humbert², Aymon³, and William⁴ de Boczozel in Sermorens; Geoffrey de Grammont in Belley; Walter de Briançon⁵, probably viscount of Tarentaise; Boso de Châtillon the viscount, Everard de Bard, William de Montjoux, Peter de la Porte St Ours, all of Aosta⁶. These names show clearly that Humbert II was quite capable of exacting feudal service from his greatest vassals for they occur in charters for the most part some distance away from their lands. It is only the Aostan nobles who are not met with outside their native district⁷.

So, too, we find the Count evidently able to exact his *albergariae*. He dates from La Chambre, the viscount's castle in Maurienne, and from a private house at Yenne⁸. The term *feodum*, one may note, first occurs in his time⁹.

(iii) Coming to Humbert's ecclesiastical policy in Burgundy, we find him much like other strong princes. He is on good terms with all his bishops¹⁰, with the possible exception of him of Belley, who does not occur in his documents; but he exacted to the full his feudal and regalian rights. Even St Anselm, his kinsman and personally obliged to him, hints that he regarded the church in his dominion as under his hereditary rule¹¹. Another source of power was his advocacy of the neighbouring Cluniac priory of St Victor of Geneva, which was perhaps connected with his mother's dower¹², and which he seems to have handed on to his son¹³.

The Count does not appear to have been inclined to dower the older monasteries in his lands¹⁴; but he was alive to the advantage of founding new ones in unreclaimed or disorderly territory. Besides he was religious and an admirer of St Hugh of Grenoble¹⁵. No less than

¹ See above, p. 270, n. 2.

² See above, p. 270, n. 2; also *Car. Reg.* CCXL. (*M.H.P.* Chart. 1. 728).

³ *Car. Reg.* CCXXXIV. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, p. 59).

⁴ See above, n. 3.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27).

⁶ See above, n. 3.

⁷ See above, n. 2, *Car. Reg.* CCXL. On all these families see Ménabréa, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Car. Sup.* XXVII., *Car. Reg.* CCXXXII.

⁹ *Car. Reg.* CCXLII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 44), "quorum feodum est." It was an alod of Humbert II.

¹⁰ Cf. *Car. Reg.* CCXLI. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 25).

¹¹ *Car. Reg.* CCXXXVII. (see above, p. 265, n. 5), where the words are given.

¹² See above, p. 242 and p. 85. Cf. M. C. Guigue, *Topographie historique de l'Ain*, p. xxxvi.

¹³ See below, p. 296, n. 2.

¹⁴ Cf. *Car. Reg.* CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27).

¹⁵ See below, p. 294, n. 5, and cf. his grant to the Bishop, *Car. Reg.* CMXLVII. (Marion, *Cartul. de Grenoble*, p. 215).

three such arose on his domains. They were Bellevaux in Les Bauges, founded by Nantelm de Miolans on a fief held from the Count; Aulphs in New-Chablais, founded by Gerard d'Allinge and Gillion de Rovorée, equally on their fiefs from the Count; and Innimont in Belley, a Cluniac Priory, founded by Humbert II himself¹. The document concerning Bellevaux has considerable interest of its own; for besides certain gifts, the Count cedes to the new abbey both feudal jurisdiction and the privilege of holding all land acquired from his own alods or comital benefice as an alod. One reason for the latter grant would be the greater prosperity of an abbey freed from feudal service and feudal burdens; further, when land was given by a vassal, the ultimate lord would not lose much, for all feudal ties were thus snapped together, and the abbey remained liable to the influence of the ruler of the country. But, taken in conjunction with the grant of jurisdiction, it is still more important. Here the Count makes an unreserved grant of all criminal jurisdiction and profits, including those from the judicial duel, which was the method of deciding questions of landed property and of feudal "treason." This right extended over all the men of the Abbey, and thus we have a distinct grant of immunity. At the same time there is no hint that the Count is henceforth wholly excluded from the Abbey's territory; and the only footing he could henceforth have would be derived from his position as a public official, his "consulate," which he especially records. It is another sign that the Counts did not forget they were not mere landowners².

(iv) More difficult to discuss, because more doubtful in its results, is Humbert II's action in Italy, what claims he made, what steps he took to make his claims good, and what success rewarded him. His claims are the easiest to deal with, for he states them in his titles.

¹ Car. Reg. CCXLI., CCXLII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 44), and CCXLIII. (*id.* p. 28).

² Car. Reg. CCXLI. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 25). The charter says: "Ipse nobilis comes Humbertus...donavit...banni infractum et legem de omni forisfacto quod faciant homines S. Mariae [Bellae vallis]; verbi gratia, si homo S. Mariae firmanverit duellum et ceciderit, monachi habebunt legem, item, emendationem victi sui hominis; si percusserit aliquem vel fecerit alicui quod non decet, percusso de injuria rectum faciet et Priori legem, quam solebat dare, homo S. Mariae dabit. Vel quicumque alius de suo allodio, idem de consulari fisco dedissent vel daturi essent, laudavit ut omni tempore, sicut liberum et proprium allodium, praefata ecclesia et habitatores illius possiderent jure perpetuo." See Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 492-501. For the meaning of the latter grant, cf. Car. Reg. CCLXII. (*Misc. Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. XVII. p. 85), "quicumque homo vel femina terram meam habuerit, si terram illam praefate ecclesie dare voluerit, ecclesia illa per alodium imperpetuum firmiter possideat."

While in all his earlier documents¹, and usually in the later ones, he only takes the style of *Comes*; there are three decisive exceptions. In 1097 he calls himself *Comes atque Marchisus*²; between 1100 and 1103 the Aostan St Anselm of Canterbury addresses him as *Comes et Marchio*³; and in the foundation of Aulphs he is *Comes et Marchio*⁴. It is clear, therefore, that he asserted, if only from time to time, his claim to Adelaide's inheritance, for which *Marquess* was the most suitable style. That he did not always take it may be attributed to a lingering consciousness that the title, save in the case of descent through males like that of the Romagnano, required a fresh investiture from the Emperor.

Humbert's claim, therefore, seems to have been to succeed to the mark of Turin as Adelaide's heir. It is likely that from the first he had the support of the great abbeys of the county of Turin. At any rate on the 19th February, 1092 we find him granting an ample charter of confirmation to Novalesa⁵. He was then at La Chambre, but seems not to have crossed the Alps⁶. Did he make an attack from the side of Aosta? A tale, according to which the Henrician Bishop of Aosta was driven from his see and his Gregorian successor contrived to capture the Henrician Bishop of Ivrea, refers, it appears, to the Bishops of Augsburg⁷. Then there is a charter, dated at Altessano near Turin the 15th September, 1094, by which a Humbert, son of Amadeus, of Roman law, grants to the Canons of Sta Maria d'Ivrea and S. Salvatore of Turin a series of lands in the Canavese, close to Castellamonte. Now is this Humbert II or a Count of the Canavese? Some of the lands had once been

¹ For Car. Reg. CCXXV. (= *Sup.* XXVIII., Cipolla, *Monumenta Noval.* I. 226), which, dating 1093, has "Italiae Marchio," is adjudged a forgery by Count Cipolla, *loc. cit.*

² Car. Reg. CCXXXII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 27).

³ Car. Reg. CCXXXVII. (Migne, CLIX. 102).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCXLII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 44, Besson (ed. 1871), p. 337). St Anselm's letter allows us to trust in Guichenon's and the cartularies' accuracy. Further support may be gained from the bad term *Marchisus*, an actual variant for *Marchio* at the time (see Rondolino, *Boll. stor. bibl. subalp.*, Anno VI., pp. 280-1), yet unlikely to be slipped in by a later scribe used to the almost invariable official *Marchio*. In Guichenon's text there are inserted the predicates *Mauriennae* and *in Italia*, but these must be interpolations, and are actually added in a modern copy in the State Archives at Turin.

⁵ Car. *Sup.* XXVII. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Noval.* I. 224). See above, p. 266, n. 2.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCXXXIV. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 59), describes Humbert in 1098 "post obitum Adelaide comitisse quando dominus Ubertus ingressus est Longobardiam," which implies he had not entered Italy before 1098.

⁷ The Aostan view was put forward by Savio, *I primi conti etc.*, 'Misc. di stor. ital. XXVI. 472-6. It is combated by Meyer von Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, IV. 401, n. 18 and 19.

given to Fruttuaria by Otto-William. Later the Counts of Savoy are suzerains of Castellamonte and the Canavese. The donation is extraordinarily large for one of these minor Counts. Humbert II could have claims in right of his wife Gisela. Why is Humbert II's Savoyard entourage absent? and yet there is a witness Ponzo de Camoseto, whose name might well be Savoyard, Ponce de Chamousset. The question seems insoluble at present. In case Humbert II is the donor, we must, I think, presuppose a successful campaign, subduing the Canavese, but falling short of Turin, which was the origin of the later suzerainty over the Canavese¹.

However this may be, Humbert II crossed the Mont Cenis to Susa in the spring of 1098. He at once conciliated the Canons of Oulx by a charter of confirmation². He found, however, a hard task before him. Boniface del Vasto held the south of the mark; Turin and its Bishop were independent. Naturally he looked about for allies, and found a possible one in the city of Asti, which now, having reduced its Bishop to a position somewhat analogous to that of a constitutional king in these days, was carrying on war with Boniface. The latter's power in Bredolo would be one reason for this hostility, and the usual vexatious interference with commerce, which nobles of a *contado* practised, would be another. On the 25th July, 1098, a bargain was struck, and the relative position of the parties is shown by the hard conditions prescribed to the Count. He was to cede to the church of Asti S. Dalmazzo, Brusaporcelli, Boves and Sommariva, and to the citizens of Asti Romanisio and Quattordio. It is true he possessed none of these; they were (save Quattordio) in his rival's marquessate. But he was also to give free passage and safe conduct to the Astigians across the passes and through all his land, in accordance of course with the Emperor Conrad's privilege. He was to campaign with them three times a year as far as S. Dalmazzo and Tortona. For three years, according to the document as it now reads, he was not to be absent for more than eight days from Lombardy without the leave of the Astigian Consuls. Lastly, he was to make neither peace nor war with Boniface del Vasto without the Consuls' consent³. These were the

¹ Car. Reg. CCXXVII. (*Carte...arcivescovili d'Ivrea*, I. B.S.S.S. v. p. 13). For the commentary, ascribing it to Humbert II, see Savio, *I primi conti ecc.*, Misc. stor. ital. XXVI. 471-6; ascribing it to a Count of the Canavese, see Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese*, B.S.S.S. IV. pp. 43-4.

² Car. Reg. CCXXXIV. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 59). Savio, *op. cit.* p. 472, makes the year 1097; reckoned in Pisan fashion as 1098—it is *ab incarnatione*—thus agreeing with the Indiction v. But one does not expect the Pisan year at Susa, the Indictions are frequently wrong, and there are two other Italian documents of Humbert, dated in 1098.

³ "Comes quidem Ubertus magno pro amore ac dilectione quam habet civibus

terms, but there is no sign they were carried out or ratified. No binding instrument remains of the transaction; but only a draft of the terms in the Astigian City Register, and that probably somewhat interpolated in later times¹.

I think this circumstance shows that Count Humbert shrank eventually from the portentous concessions demanded of him, and pursued a separate policy, perhaps using the *rapprochement* with Asti to frighten Boniface. It is to be suspected also that he found it best to gain allies by similar, but less, surrenders. By the 29th November, 1098, he had won over the two great monasteries of Chiusa and Pinerolo, for being on that day in the *claustrum* of the first in S. Ambrogio, he made a grant to the second. This consisted of all his claims in Frossasco, and the act was witnessed by Merlo of Avigliana and Merlo of Piossasco². Thus Humbert had made his way to the mouth of the

Astensibus dedit et investivit...et manu propria sacrauit ad augmentum Astensis episcopatus loca que ita nominantur et hec sunt, S. Dalmacius, Bruxaporcellus, Bovisium et Summaripa; Romanisium vero atque Quatordeum ad communem utilitatem atque honorem omnium civium Astensium. Insuper pedagium et clusagium atque curadium et quicquid dant pro transitu itineris omnem per terram quam habet atque habiturus est et ultra montes et ex hac parte montium. Similiter personas omnium civium Astensium et mobilia eorum salvare et stratam ad eos dirigere in sempiterna secula....Et neque pacem neque guerram neque finem cum Bonifacio marchione debet facere absque consilio et voluntate Astensium consulum."

¹ Car. Reg. CCXXXV. (Sella, *Cod. Astens. de Malabayla*, II, p. 747). For the political situation and discussion of the document see Gabotto, *Asti e la politica sabauda*, B.S.S.S. XVIII. pp. 9-12. The reasons in favour of its substantial genuineness are: (i) its form—no forgery would be so exceedingly informal and invalid; (ii) its language and general tenor—the place held by the *episcopatus* and *cives Astenses* (cf. above, p. 256); (iii) the war with Boniface; (iv) that the Count's concessions are not unlikely. S. Dalmazzo had been held by Adelaide (see above, p. 250); Sommariva by Immilla (see above, p. 158); Romanisio by the Romagnano (see above, p. 152): there is no reason to deny Humbert had claims on Boyes, Brusaporcello and Quattordio even. Many other possessions of the Ardoinids are known to us only by the charters which gave them away. On the other hand, the clause "Et ad populum Astensem cartulam ad proprium per donationem de Romanisio et Quatordeo facere debet per bonam fidem et observare," has a suspicious ring with its reference to the "populus Astensis." So also have the stringent clauses concerning the Count's residence in Piedmont. That the treaty was never formally completed, see Carutti, *Regesta*, loc. cit. In fact on the face of it, the document is a demand presented by the Astigian Consuls, "Dignum dixerunt consules Astenses simul cum vasallis pro communi utilitate et pro incremento ecclesie S. Marie et honoris communis civium Astensium, amicari et conjungi federe sempiterno cum honorabili et magno duce Uberto, taliter, etc." The *vassalli* are probably interpolated. The Count is also to make out a charter of gift to the Astigian church; which does not exist; no doubt he never did so.

² Car. Reg. CCXXXVI. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II, p. 42). This must have succeeded, as it naturally would, his lost charter to S. Giusto di Susa, with its grant of land. See above, p. 202 and n. 2. He also made a grant to the

Val di Susa and had secured the homage of two of the great families of the plain. Monastic support was evidently his chief resource. In 1100 we find him in the Val d'Aosta, making a grant, including *universa justitia sua* in the area he gave, to Fruttuaria¹. A similar complete cession of Giaveno appears to have been made by him in his lost charter of 1103 to S. Michele della Chiusa².

The grant to Chiusa is the last direct piece of evidence we have of Humbert's activity in Lombardy or indeed elsewhere. But about this time he must have founded the mint of Susa, probably to replace that of Aiguebelle with its flagrant disregard of the rights of the Archbishop of Vienne³. The new mint also emphasized his power in Italy, although doubtless it was a usurpation of the royal prerogative⁴. In result, it seems that he had made good his claim to the Val di Susa, and obtained an indefinite influence in Piedmont through a kind of patronage of the abbeys of Pinerolo and Chiusa, the domains of which extended over the plain. The same may be said of S. Giusto di Susa, but over that foundation he could exercise some rights of government. There was the *receptum comitale* for instance⁵. But the extent of his successes is difficult to gauge, for we cannot well separate them from those of his son, Amadeus III.

By his marriage with Gisela, Humbert II had four sons and two daughters. The sons were Amadeus III, his successor, William⁶, Provostship of Rivalta; see *Car. Reg.* CCLXXXIX. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 34). Amadeus III speaks of the "bona quae a meo patre primitus ac etiam a me donata sunt."

¹ *Car. Reg.* CCXL. (*M.H.P. Chart.* I. 728). The grant of jurisdiction is an evidence of the practice of the day in Aosta.

² It is mentioned, and its date (21 June, 1103) given in Count Thomas' confirmation and renewal made in 1209 (*Car. Reg.* CDXXXIII., Claretta, *Storia...di S. Michele della Chiusa*, p. 226, Doc. III.) "donationem nobilis quondam Humbertus filius quondam Amedei comitis fecerat."

³ See above, pp. 124 and 224-5.

⁴ Promis, *Monete dei reali di Savoia*, I. 60-1. *Denarii Secusienses* are first referred to in 1104 and then in 1109 (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 94); and clearly they would not be first struck during Amadeus III's minority. Besides there exist Susian coins of two Humberts. The older should be Humbert II's.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCXCIV. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 94).

⁶ *Car. Reg.* CCXLV. (Billiet et Albrieux, *Chartes de Maurienne* [Docs. Acad. Savoie II.] p. 20) "Laudantibus matre mea Gisla et fratribus meis Guillelmo atque Umberto." Savio, *I primi conti*, 477-9, suggests these two may be sons of William of Montferrat and only half-brothers of Amadeus III. He argues 1111 is the date of the charter which is only dated "regnante Henrico Imperatore" without a year; and Henry V was only crowned Emp. in 1111. But Henry IV was reigning Emperor in 1104; and the other elements of the date 20 Oct. and Luna XXVII. are exactly right for 1104, while in 1111 20 Oct. was the xv. day of the moon. And why should Amadeus III's step-brothers *laudare* in Maurienne?

Humbert¹ and Raynald. Raynald became Provost of St Maurice, but he leaves the impression of a very secularly minded person². Of William and Humbert nothing further seems to be known than their names. In any case they left no children to claim a share in the Savoyard inheritance³. The two daughters were Adelaide, who was to marry Louis VI the Fat of France⁴, and Agnes, wife of Archembald VII, Sire de Bourbon⁵. It is to be noted that Humbert's daughters, like those of Amadeus III, took the title of Countess, an evidence, of course, of the Savoyard claim to the Ardoimid inheritance, by which all female agnates were so styled.

Humbert II died on the 19th October, 1103⁶. He cannot have been an old man. His eldest son was still a minor in 1108, that is, under fifteen years of age; and one may doubt whether Humbert II himself, probably a third child, was born before 1070⁷. It may seem we know too little of him to say anything about his character; but the man must have had ability to steer through such a ruinous time with such success. He was clearly recognizing the growth of feudal jurisdiction by his definite grants of it to monasteries; and it was the best thing to do, for he thus strengthened sure helpers by giving them the powers of which others had already become possessed. It is of course impossible to speak in other than vague terms of the growth of feudalism in Savoy, to the extent of which we find documentary evidence in

¹ See above, p. 276, n. 6.

² See below, pp. 297, 317-18.

³ They were still living? c. 1125 (see below, p. 301, n. 3). Guichenon, *Hist. de la roy. maison de Savoie*, p. 218, makes William Bishop of Liège, Humbert die in 1130, and gives another brother, Guy, Abbot of Namur and Canon of Liège; but there seems no trace of a Savoyard Bishop of Liège at this time, though there was a William of Savoy Bishop of Liège in 1238, who had a brother Humbert. And possibly these two have been confused with their great-great-uncles. Of Guy there seems to be no evidence at any time. See Savio, *I primi conti ecc.* p. 479, and Aeginii *Gesta episcoporum Leodiens.*, *M.G.H. Script.* xxv. 94-103.

⁴ See below, p. 281.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* cccxxv. (Bouquet, xvi. p. 13). Louis VII calls her "matertera nostra." Her name is given in a charter of 1152, "Domini Archembaudi de Borbonio et Agnetis illustris comitisse, Archimbaudi junioris eorum filii." La Mure, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourbon*, III. *Supp.* p. 27.

⁶ *Car. Reg.* ccxlv. and *Sup.* xxxi. (*Ob. S. Joh. Maur.* Billiet et Albrieux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, p. 350). The attribution of the obit is fixed by E. Mallet (*Documents genevois...pour la généalogie...de la Maison de Savoie*, Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino, Ser. II. Vol. xvi. pp. 120-3). The year is given by Guichenon, I. p. 216. He was certainly alive on the 21st June, 1103 (see above, p. 276, n. 2), and dead by the 20th October, 1104. (See below, p. 278.)

He was buried according to the *Chroniques* in the cathedral of Moûtiers in the Tarentaise.

⁷ See above, pp. 206-7, 211-13, 242-3.

Humbert's charters. But we may conjecture that the series of boy-rulers after Oddo I's death in 1060 witnessed the greatest strides towards the new state of affairs. Humbert's cue was to make use of the Church, with which he was on good terms; and by that policy and by those abilities of his of which we know nothing, he kept together his Burgundian dominions; he added to them Tarentaise; he maintained his Italian claims and held irrevocably for his House that Val di Susa out of which, by their unwearied tenacity and by their hereditary political genius, the kingdom of Italy was at length to grow.

SECTION II. AMADEUS III'S EARLY LIFE AND WARS.

The rule of Amadeus III falls easily, if somewhat roughly, under four headings. The first deals with the period lasting from his accession till about the year 1120. During this part of his life he is a Burgundian Count and a Crusader. It is a time of immaturity, perhaps of crime. The second links together his serious ambitions, his wars with his neighbours, and the reconquest of the mark of Turin. The third treats of his share in the monastic revival of the Cistercians. In the fourth are grouped the few facts we know of his civil government; and I conclude with a kind of epilogue on his second crusade and death. This arrangement has its defects and is open to the charge of artificiality, but it helps to put some order into the straggling series of events we have to deal with.

Amadeus III, being still a minor at his father's death, was placed under guardianship. In one document¹ there appear three advocates of the county, of his mother and his brothers, viz. Conon, Bishop of Maurienne, Aymon I, Count of the Genevois, and Guy de Miribel: but on the 2nd May, 1108, we only hear of a single *Tutor* of the Count, Aymon, Count of the Genevois². At first there seems to have been a period without a guardian, however, for on the 20th Oct., 1104, Amadeus III, with his mother's and brothers' consent, makes a grant to the Canons of Maurienne³. Gisela was of course the real ruler. The grant hints a reason why Archbishop Guy of Vienne, the Count's uncle, was not called in; for it is dated *regnante Henrico imperatore*. Thus it had been decided to stand by Henry IV if only in a platonic way, and this was the very antithesis to Guy's proceedings. What exact position was taken up by the regents when Henry V deposed his unhappy father

¹ Car. Reg. CCXLVI. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 29). The dating place is really Yennae = Yenne, not Geneva, see *loc. cit.*

² Car. Reg. CCXLVII. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 29).

³ Car. Reg. CCXLV. (Billiet et Albrieux, *Charte...de Maurienne*, p. 20).

and then continued the strife with the Papacy, over a dispute which was becoming more and more limited to the question of investitures, it is hard to say. But although Pope Paschal II crossed into Italy by the Mont Cenis in August, 1107, after his sojourn in France, and the Bishops of Savoy attended his court at Lyons¹, there is no evidence that Amadeus III did so. In May 1108 a document of St Maurice, importing the foundation of the new Abbey of Abbondance, is dated *regnante rege Henrico*²: and though Henry's kingship was recognized by the Pope, one would not expect his reign to be mentioned in an ecclesiastical document.

The same dubious loyalty to the Empire seems to be observed by Amadeus, now his own master, during Henry V's first campaign in Italy in 1110. The King used to the full the advantage of this semi-friendliness. While part of his army went by the Brenner, he himself crossed the Great St Bernard through Amadeus' lands, and took Lombardy between two fires. Almost all north Italy submitted, save only Milan; and the King proceeded to his strange abortive treaty with Paschal II, his kidnapping of the Pope in February 1111 and his extorted coronation in April 1111. Paschal II was forced to purchase freedom by the *privilegium* which granted that the prelates of the Empire should only be consecrated after investiture by the Emperor: and Henry retreated to Germany in momentary triumph.

Of Amadeus III in all these proceedings there is no trace. His name appears in no genuine imperial document³; and while a grant of his own seems to date from February 1110, in which he recognizes Henry V's reign and mentions his dissension with the Pope⁴, there is no

¹ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 110-12; Bishop Conon of Maurienne was at Lyons with the Pope on 29 Feb., 1107, on the settlement of the dispute between Guy of Vienne and St Hugh of Grenoble over the limits of their dioceses. But though Count Guigues of Albon was present, no mention is made of Amadeus III (Marion, *Cartul....de Grenoble*, p. 3). The Pope was at Aiguebelle on Aug. 4, 1107 (Jaffé, 6164).

² *Car. Reg.* CCXLVII. (see above, p. 278, n. 2).

³ The only possible exception is *Car. Reg.* CCLII. (*M.H.P. Chart.* i. 737) where Guichenon's text (*Prewes*, p. 30) gives *Amadeus comes et consanguineus carissimus* as an intervener. But Guichenon's text seems unsupported by ms. authority (Carutti, *loc. cit.*); and even the diploma as given in *M.H.P.* seems a forgery. The place of its emission Intra on Lago Maggiore is impossible for its date (23 Mar. or (G.) 1 Ap. 1111), and although Guichenon has Sutri, which is possible, his interpolation makes his evidence suspect. Henry takes the extraordinary title of *Palatinus*. See for a defence of Guichenon's version Kallmann, *op. cit.* pp. 63-4.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCXLVIII. and CCLVIII. (really duplicates), *Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 102). "Regnante rege Henrico qui tunc temporis dissessionem cum papa Pascali habuit"; Guichenon (*Prewes*, p. 30) had the absurd reading "dilectionem" which is not in any ms. The date, however, is a difficulty. It is 24 Feb., 1119, Ind. xi., Luna

contemporary support whatever for the legend of the *Chroniques*¹ that he accompanied the Emperor to Rome and received from him the title of Count of Savoy². The same detachment appears to characterize the Count's attitude all through the long struggle which follows. When his uncle Guy of Vienne held a Burgundian council in September 1112 to declare Pope Paschal's concessions to the Emperor null, no Savoyard Bishop took part³: nor when Henry V returned to Italy in 1116 does the Count once appear in his entourage, during his marches to and fro to secure Matilda of Tuscany's heritage, or the election of an antipope on Paschal's death in January 1118. This is of greater import because in 1116 we find Henry near Casale and Ivrea and in 1118 by Turin⁴.

One document, however, reveals to us exceedingly clearly the Emperor's policy. On the 30th June, 1116, Henry V issued a precept in favour of the citizens of Turin. He confirmed their good customs in use in his father's time, and their liberty of the same period, so that for the future they shall immediately hold of the Emperor, saving the customary rights (*justitia*) of the Bishop of Turin⁵. Thus we see Turin had obtained communal liberty in Henry IV's days; and that the Bishop, either by usage or some lost diploma, had acquired some degree of jurisdiction over his cathedral city. But more than all, we see that Henry had no intention of restoring the mark of Turin or of reintroducing the House of Savoy in Italy. We find now an imperial preference for a number of smaller local authorities who might be more amenable perhaps to the Emperor's control, and I may note here that this system was to last unchanged throughout the twelfth century. It was only in

xxviii. Now Paschal died in Jan. 1118: Henry became Emperor 13 Ap. 1111. The 24th Feb. was the 28th day of the moon in 1107; but at that date Amadeus was still under tutorship, and no tutor appears in the deed. The Indiction XI. is in 1118. Thus there seem two alternatives of greater probability than others. (1) That the date is 1118, Paschal's death not being known and Henry's Emperorship being disregarded; 24 Feb. is then 29th of the moon. (2) That the date is 1110 (1109 *ab incarn.*), Ind. III., the day of the moon being about the second by the Golden Number, the scribe being uncertain just at the New Moon. The latter hypothesis is taken in the text.

¹ Misc. stor. ital. xxii. p. 314, *M.H.P.* Script. II. 100-2, 107. The Emperor comes to take possession of Arles, received at Montmélian by Amadeus; they go to Milan and Rome. Emperor is guided by Count's advice. This story seems to be a fusion of Henry VII's journey—the latter being met by Amadeus V at Chambéry—and that of Henry IV who was met by Amadeus II at Coise. The plague in the Emperor's army seems to be derived from Frederick Barbarossa's experiences in 1167.

² Misc. stor. ital. xxii. p. 314: *M.H.P.* Script. II. 101-2. Amadeus III did first use the predicate "of Savoy."

³ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 113-14.

⁴ Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 36.

⁵ Car. Reg. cclvii. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 742). Cf. above, p. 258, n. 6.

the thirteenth century that the Hohenstaufen were again to think of building up a Piedmontese state under the Savoyard Counts¹.

If this was the Emperor's policy, it would appear that Amadeus III for one reason or another fell in with it at the time. There is not a trace of any action of his in these years, which would lead us to suppose that he contemplated a forward movement in Italy. His mother Gisela was indeed remarried to Ranier of Montferrat, but, if this had any political significance, it was probably a measure of precaution. It would help to maintain the *status quo* in Piedmont. We seem therefore led to believe that the Count deliberately held aloof from Italy. His motives would be probably various. Thus, he would be chary of running counter to his formidable cousin. He himself was a scandalous instance of a lay investor of bishops: he could not really side with the strong ecclesiastical party. He was, presumably, away in the Holy Land on his first crusade part of the time. We know he went twice, and there is reason to believe his first journey was in 1111². Lastly, there is some ground for thinking that his interests and alliances led westward at this period. In the first half of 1115 his elder sister Adelaide married Louis VI the Fat, King of France³; probably not long after his second sister Agnes married Archembald de Bourbon. That he was stirring in the Vallais, we know by a charter of September 1116 by which he restored the two *curtes* of Leuk and Naters to the Bishop of Sion⁴. But he soon took them back as we shall see. What his claim to them was based on is not clear. Henry IV had given them to the Bishop out of Rudolf of Rheinfelden's confiscated lands⁵. Perhaps the latter had received them in dower with Adelaide of Savoy, and her kinsman reclaimed them. But I suspect that the pressure of German immigrants, who c. 1150-1200 settled the district between Brieg and the Lonza, may have induced the original Romance inhabitants to apply to the warlike Count⁶. Elsewhere he appears as a champion of the church. About

¹ See Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 36, 68-9, 71.

² See below, p. 309, n. 1, Car. Reg. CCLVI., a document of his first Crusade is dated Thursday, 19 Jan., no year. This could be 1111, 1122, 1128. Both the latter seem to me too late and fall in times of his great activity at home.

³ See Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. 187, 192. Cf. Car. Reg. CCLIV., where the lady's character is given by Bishop Ivo of Chartres, "puellam aetate nubilem, genere nobilem, honestis moribus, ut dicitur, laudabilem." She died in 1154 after a second marriage. Louis had first negotiated for a daughter of Boniface del Vasto, but the lady's doubtful birth, for her mother had been fiancée of Boniface's brother, before marrying him, stopped the matter; Savio, *Bonifazio del Vasto* (Atti R. Accad. Scienze Torino, xxii.), p. 91.

⁴ *M.D.R.* xviii. p. 255. He seems to act as lay Abbot of St Maurice.

⁵ *M.D.R.* xviii. p. 347, and xix. p. 103.

⁶ See Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 1. 712. Cf. above, p. 92.

1115 Guy of Vienne writes him an approving letter on account of his defence of the church of Maurienne¹, while in 1120 the Emperor Henry V appealed to his dear cousin, along with Aymon I, Count of the Genevois, to intervene in favour of the Abbey of Romainmotier at the foot of the Jura against a tyrannous and unruly local seigneur, Ebal de Granson². This fact has a particular interest as showing that Amadeus had gained some influence north of the Lake of Geneva, connected no doubt with his land on the Valserine.

Meantime the investiture contest dragged on. Gelasius II, Paschal's immediate successor, died in February 1119, in exile at Cluny. A new Pope was thereupon elected in the person of the redoubtable Guy of Vienne, who took the name of Calixtus II. For over a year the new Pope, strong in his princely birth and alliances as well as in his personal character, journeyed through France and Burgundy, holding councils and receiving universal homage. But his nephew of Savoy was not to be won and the Pope did not visit his territory. There was evidently something like estrangement between the two; for when in March 1120, Calixtus crossed the Alps into Italy, he not only travelled by the Mont Genève, reaching it from the south via Gap and Embrun, but he avoided a halt in the Count's land. His stopping-places were Oulx in Count Guigues' land and S. Ambrogio, belonging to the Abbey of Chiusa, although acknowledging the ultimate rule of Amadeus III³.

From S. Ambrogio forth, Calixtus made a triumphal progress through Italy to Rome, extinguishing the imperial anti-Pope Burdinus by his mere presence. Henry V saw that the time was coming to yield, and Calixtus was too experienced a statesman to attempt to force through concessions which would never be kept. Hence the Concordat of Worms in September 1122 was a triumph for the Papacy and a guarantee for the Empire. Henry yielded the investiture of the spiritual staff and ring; but the elections to vacant Bishoprics and Abbacies were to take place in his presence, he was to invest them with their imperial fiefs by the sceptre, and this new ceremony was to bind them to their due services and fealty to their sovereign and suzerain. In fact while the Papacy won a notable victory and the church theory was recognized, the Emperor retained his hold on his Bishops. In a feudal time, when all the instruments of government were become feudalized, the Emperors

¹ Car. Reg. CCLV. (Chevalier, *Cartul. St André-le-bas, Vienne*, p. 281).

² *M.D.R.* III. 439. Amadeus given no title, he is only the Emperor's *consanguineus*. Was there a difficulty as to the extra title of "marchio"?

³ See Jacob, *Bourgogne*, pp. 120-1. Cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 36. See Jaffé, 6333, 6334, and Boso, *Vi. Calixt. II*, "Peragratis itaque Provincie partibus et Alpium difficultate transcensa, ad S. Ambrosium cum jocunditate pervenit." Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.* II. 376.

had largely maintained themselves by the creation of this class of non-hereditary vassals, and besides the inequity of the thing and the rents which would be made in the state by the exemption of ecclesiastics from public ties, half their means of coercing their lay subjects would be gone if they really lost their voice in church appointments. It was of course the narrowing down of the controversy to these matters of practical procedure which made a settlement possible. Thus for a time a new breach was avoided on the issues raised by Gregory VII. The Pope still claimed to be Christ's vicegerent supreme over Emperor and Kings; the Emperor still maintained the independence of the secular power, and the derivation of his authority from God alone. But they did not press their conclusions for many years. When the breach came under Frederick Barbarossa, it was seen that the Emperor could count on his German Bishops even more fully than in the century before.

The problem and its settlement had a vivid interest for the Counts of Savoy, for they had under them four or five dependent Bishops, not to mention Abbots. It can hardly, then, be a coincidence that from this time forward the relations of the Counts to the church, in spite of personal piety, seem to grow less happy. The Abbots gave little trouble it would seem; but we hear of independent-minded Bishops and of disputes on the Counts' claims. The latter were not fortunately placed, since the Emperors by no means looked with favour on their regalian rights, and they were thus doubly exposed to attack.

The beginning of these disputes, however, will be best considered, when I come to treat of the hints we get of Amadeus III's civil government in the next section. They belong in essence to the defensive side of his activity; and the more striking aspect of his rule is that concerned with his aggressive, forward movements, his wars with his neighbours, his attack on Piedmont, and his share in the Cistercian revival of monasticism.

It may be that in the years 1120-4 we should place a tale in the *Chroniques*, which relates a war of Amadeus with the Count of the Genevois. We are told the Count of the Genevois was enraged with Amadeus because he broke off a match arranged for him with the Count's daughter, and married the daughter of the Count of Albon instead. Then the Count of the Genevois invaded Maurienne, but was defeated and slain at the Col de Tamié by Amadeus and his father-in-law¹. Now Amadeus about 1134 really did marry a daughter of Guigues III of Albon². But the Count whom he defeated and slew

¹ Misc. stor. ital. XXII. pp. 314-5; *M.H.P.* Script. II. 100-5. They say that Amadeus III proceeded to conquer Savoy!

² See below, p. 292.

was his brother-in-law, the Dauphin Guigues IV¹. So we cannot trust the *Chroniques*; but two facts give some likelihood to a war of his against the Genevois. Firstly, for Amadeus III's own son his nobles were careful to choose an ecclesiastical guardian. Secondly, Aymon I of the Genevois had to submit to a peace with the Bishop of Geneva, which confirmed the latter's claims. So it seems not improbable that there was a grudge between the ex-guardian and the ex-ward, that this quarrel was wreaked in a war between the Bishop Humbert de Grammont of Geneva and Aymon I, that Aymon was badly worsted by the allies and therefore compelled to accept the peace of Seyssel (in Amadeus' territory) in 1124². The Col de Tamié, lying between the Lac d'Annecy and Aiguebelle, was of course a natural place for the two Counts to fight a battle at.

Meantime it would appear that Amadeus III had married his first wife, named Adelaide, of unknown parentage³: and probably it was her childlessness which turned his thoughts towards monastic revival then in full progress under the leadership of St Bernard of Clairvaux. A daughter Alice seems to have blessed their prayers, of whom more anon⁴.

The first hint of Amadeus' Italian ambitions⁵ occurs in 1124 when he assumes, though probably not for the first time, the title *Comes et Marchio*⁶. But there is no trace of his taking any action, till the year 1131. The election of Lothar II of Saxony as King of the Romans in 1125 seems to have met with cold submission from him⁷, and there is complete silence as to any support given by him to Conrad of Hohenstaufen's revolt in Italy⁸. In fact it would appear that Amadeus

¹ See below, p. 292. Only that was at Montmélian.

² *M.D.R.* XIX. 116. Perhaps to this time belongs Amadeus' protection of S. Jéoire Priory on the Lac d'Annecy (*Car. Reg.* CCL.).

³ *Car. Reg.* CCLXIX. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte...di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 90). She was thus still alive on the 27 July, 1133 (in charter 1134: but the date must be Pisan to make Thursday the 27 July). Carutti, *Reg.* p. 89, suspects an error in the Countess' name, which would eliminate Adelaide altogether; but the diploma is an original (see Cipolla, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ See below, pp. 294-5. Alice (Aalis) is of course the Romance form of Adelaide, now working its way into official documents.

⁵ Cf. for this part of my subject Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo ecc.*, *B.S.S.S.* 1.

⁶ *Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* xvii. p. 135; but at least two charters to S. Sulpice with the same title are probably earlier (Guigue, *op. cit.* pp. 7 and 9).

⁷ Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 38. The diploma of Conon Bishop of Maurienne (*Car. Sup.* xxxii., Cipolla, *Mon. Noval.* 1. 247) has "Loterio imperatore regnante" on 14 May, 1129, in Amadeus' presence. The wrong title is possible, and the date is guaranteed as the act is an original.

⁸ Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 38-9, who points out this certainly would be mentioned, if it existed.

held quite aloof from imperial questions. Not even the revival by Lothar II of the Rectorate of Burgundy in favour of Conrad of Zähringen, with authority reaching to the Isère, seems to have stirred the Count. It is true that there is no sign of the Duke of Zähringen exercising any superiority over him¹.

Some considerable success would seem to have rewarded Amadeus' first efforts. Unfortunately we only know of them through a corrupt charter of his to the Abbey of Pinerolo dated at S. Ambrogio in Chiusan land 1131². By this document he confirms the possessions of the Monastery, leaving out, however, the part of the Valle di Fenestrelle above Perosa which the Dauphins occupied; and adding the feudal grant of the *universa placita...in omnibus villis et possessionibus quae sunt in [finibus] ipsius monasterii*. Thus he accepts, we may presume, the feudal position of affairs which had come about. For himself he retains during his good pleasure the *dominium* which Manfred (and Adelaide (?))³ possessed in demesne, which is expressly stated not to be a gift or fief from the Abbot. In like manner, he holds the fiefs of the Marquesses of Romagnano and Henry of Luserna under pledge not to alienate them unless to his own son. We are left puzzling whether this charter is the result of a war with the Abbey, or of an alliance. The latter solution seems most probable. Very likely the monks were hard pressed by other neighbours and had to submit to hard terms. Presumably the *dominium* the Count kept included the right to exact feudal service, the *cavalcatae*, since it is not mentioned in the grant⁴. The clause concerning the fiefs of the Romagnano and

¹ See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 39. Cf. Kallmann, *op. cit.* 85-7, Gingins, *Le Rectorat de Bourgogne*, M.D.R. 1., Bernhardi, *Lothar v. Supplinberg*, pp. 133-6, Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles*, pp. 1-5. See also Otto Fris. *Gest. Frid. imp. (M.G.H. Script. XX. 413)*. There was a war between the new Rector and Rainald I of "Franche Comté" and Amadeus I of the Genevois c. 1130: but Amadeus III of Savoy was occupied with his Italian schemes then.

² Car. Reg. CMLXVIII. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 54). Carutti considers it a forgery or much interpolated. But Prof. Gabotto (*loc. cit.*) points out there is nothing anachronous in it. The fact that it is only known by a fourteenth century copy will explain the error of the date which is just as bad in any century for a fixed feast (Kal. Marci = die Anunciationis; no doubt VIII. Kal. Ap. should be read). One clause in the third person ("donum insuper et laudem quod comes Humbertus predictae ecclesie fecerat hic comes Amedeus solempniter aprobavit") seems an insertion, contemporary or later, and even that has a probable ring. I may add that a later forgery would be more precise in the feudal grants one way or the other. A monastic forgery would shut out the Count altogether; a comital one would certainly not allow "spes recuperationis" of the *dominium* to the Abbot.

³ This is the conjectural filling up of a lacuna. The monks retain "spes recuperationis rursum."

⁴ Prof. Gabotto (*L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo ecc.*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 107) holds that Amadeus had warred with the Abbey.

Henry di Luserna was probably introduced in order to get a hold by homage over those seigneurs, if only for small fractions of their lands¹.

Fortified as we may suppose by the support of his three dependent monasteries, Amadeus could proceed on his campaign. By August 1131 his ambition was attained, for we find him on the 23rd of that month in Turin, with the title *Comes Taurinensis*, making a grant of confirmation to the Abbey of S. Solutore². The title shows the nature of his dominion, for he does not use the style of *Marchio*, which he probably looked on as merely referring to the Ardoimid estates on the model of the Aleramid Marquesses. But he was heir of Adelaide and holder of the public power. As to the extent of his new dominion, we have not much to judge by. It included the city of Turin; the homage of Oberto Count of Castellamonte³; that of the Viscounts of Avigliana and Baratonìa⁴, whose domains extended over the northerly valleys of the Stura di Alà and the Stura di Viù and territories between the Stura di Lanzo and the Dora Riparia⁵; that of the *signori* of Piossasco⁶, of Caselle⁷, and of Barge⁸; and no doubt the monastic domains in the plain such as Frossasco, and Musinasco⁹, Vigone and Volvera¹⁰. Yet with all allowance made, the new Countship of Turin was but a poor imitation of Adelaide's position. Not to mention the limited authority

¹ Gabotto, *op. cit.* pp. 107-8.

² Car. Reg. CCLXVIII. (*Cartario...S. Solutore di Torino, B.S.S.S. XLIV. p. 51*). His claim is shown in Car. Reg. CCLXXXIX. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 34), which is a charter to Rivalta canony c. 1131-4, "Burgundiae et Lombardiae comes, neposque Comitissae Aladaie et hereditario jure successor in cujus (Aladaie) allodio Ripaltensis canonica...fundata est." The unique phrase must allude to his dual position, "Count in Burgundy and in Lombardy," thus furnishing an apt parallel to the later "in Italia marchio." The diploma is dated from Turin and from the curious title probably shortly after its acquisition.

³ Car. Reg. CCLXVIII. (see above, n. 2). This explains the title "comitum comiti" (see below, p. 297, n. 1).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXIX. (see below, n. 6), and CCLXVIII. Cf. below, n. 5.

⁵ Rondolino, *Sui visconti di Torino*, Boll. stor. bibl. subalp. Anno VI. 284-90, Anno VII. 214-8. Their lands, however, save in Val di Susa, were either held of the Bishop of Turin or alodial.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCLXIX. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte...di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. p. 90). The Walter di Piossasco here, according to Ct. di Vesme, is ancestor of the later house, which, however, retained Volvera, in spite of this charter to S. Giusto, an index of how much power Amadeus really had. See Ct. di Vesme, *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. I. 46-7*.

⁷ Car. Reg. CMXLVIII. (see p. 285, n. 2).

⁸ Car. Reg. CCLXXV. (Cipolla, *op. cit.* p. 48), Car. Reg. CCLXXXIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. ecc.* p. 48), CCXCIV. (Cipolla, *op. cit.* p. 94). This homage for one half of Barge continued in the thirteenth century till 1225 (see below, p. 403).

⁹ Belonging to Pinerolo.

¹⁰ Belonging to Chiusa; but cf. n. 6 above.

the Count can have had over Turin, used to a Commune, and the now ripe feudal jurisdictions of the nobles and abbeys; there were the *solita justitia* of the Bishop in Turin, as well as his great estates and many vassals in the country¹. Among them was the Count himself, for how much land we cannot say; the amount was probably in dispute from the first. But in 1185 the imperial court adjudged to the Bishop Pianezza, Torretta, Rivalta, half Carignano and even Avigliana castle, which the Count claimed as an alod². Besides these, in the Count's own domain there were Cavoretto and Collegno; which seem to have belonged to the Count, and not to have been claimed by the Bishop as yet³.

The few traces of Amadeus' rule show him favouring religious houses. We find him for instance in July 1133, trying to make Viscount Merlo of Avigliana and Walter di Piossasco disgorge the possessions of S. Giusto di Susa at Almese and Volvera, which they had respectively seized⁴. The attempt to restore Volvera at any rate was unsuccessful⁵. Besides these measures it was Amadeus, who first of his House saw the advisability of making concessions to the communal spirit. The earliest town charter of the Savoyards, that to Susa, dates from his rule⁶.

Meantime the storm was rising which was to wreck the new countship of Turin; for in September 1136, the Emperor Lothar II appeared

¹ Thus the Viscounts and the Piossasco were more bound to the Bishop than the Count.

² See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 63. Amadeus III calls Rivalta an alod of Adelaide, whose heir he is (*Car. Reg.* CCLXXXIX., see above, p. 286, n. 2). But the Bishop claimed and obtained it in 1185. Rivalta may have been within the 10 miles limit granted by Barbarossa. See below, p. 326.

But a certain Ulric was in possession of the castle in 1176 when Frederick Barbarossa had it destroyed, and his rights with regard to it were recognized in 1185 and 1186. See below, pp. 318, n. 1, 344 and 349. Cf. Ct. di Vesme, *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 38-41, for these signori di Rivalta.

Carignano is a *curtis* of the Bishop both in Otto III's diploma (*M.G.H. Dipl.* II. 284) and in Barbarossa's (*Car. Reg.* CCCXXII., *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino*, B.S.S.S., xxxvi. p. 31). But this appears to refer to only half of the township. Cf. below, p. 348, n. 6.

³ Cavoretto had *signori* of its own in 1200 (*Car. Reg.* CCCXCVIII., *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino*, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 114). c. 1240 the Bishop says, "Ecclesia Taurinensis habet privilegia imperialia quod Collegium suum est. Comes Sabaudiae edificavit ibi castrum quod per episcopum Taurinensem destructum fuit cum auxilio Taurinensium ut dicitur." But I do not find earlier mention of the Bishop's rights. Certain *aldii* in Collegno, however, hold of the Bishop c. 1175 (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 225). Probably 1186 was the date of the above event. See below, p. 349.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCLXIX. (see p. 286, n. 6).

⁵ See above, p. 286, n. 6.

⁶ See below, pp. 303-6.

for the second time in Italy. We do not hear of any earlier grounds of quarrel between Lothar II and the Count. The latter's disobedience, which he shared with the other Burgundian vassals, to Lothar's pressing summons to lead his contingent into Italy, was not a great ground of complaint under the circumstances¹. Amadeus is not mentioned as opposing Conrad of Zähringen in Burgundy or as supporting Conrad of Hohenstaufen in Italy. He, being an admirer of the Cistercians, was no favourer of the anti-Pope, Anacletus, in the schism². Hence Lothar's motives may probably be found in other directions. Amadeus was a usurper; he could show no ground, save a doubtful hereditary claim, for his seizure of Turin. Lothar, like Henry V, had no intention of allowing the mark of Turin to be revived; he preferred less powerful authorities in Piedmont. We know that Amadeus and Arbert, Bishop of Turin, were at daggers drawn. Archbishop Peter of Lyon, as will appear in the sequel in 1137-8 was trying vainly to reconcile them³, and the Bishop was present at Lothar's diet at Roncaglia, on the 30th November 1136⁴. Almost immediately after the Emperor marched into western Lombardy, subduing the various towns which opposed him. No doubt it had been thought that Lothar would leave that part of the country alone, as he had done in 1133. One of these rebel cities was Turin. Here we have an almost certain reason. Amadeus would not yield up the town and the Emperor had resolved to take it from him. The task does not seem to have been hard. The city was captured, and the leaders of the resistance slain or taken, the work being completed by the capture of Rocca Pandolfo, the castle holding the Po bank on the south⁵. Then Amadeus III was dealt with. A few days' incursion and their tale of captured castles and *borghi* sufficed to make the Count submit; and Lothar could march eastward in triumph⁶. Near Borgo S. Donnino, still in the same month of

¹ See Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles*, pp. 1-2. Stumpf, p. 3329.

² e.g. 19 Nov. 1132. Innocent II is sending a bull to the Bishop of Aosta (Jaffé, 7602). But it does not seem quite true to say (Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 39) that the Count gave him a safe conduct across the Alps in 1132. The Pope went via Mont Genève, and need not have entered Savoyard territory till near Susa. In fact he could elude it altogether by going down to Pinerolo. See Jaffé, 7560-4.

³ See below, p. 289.

⁴ See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 40, Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 258.

⁵ See Gabotto, *op. cit.* p. 109. It was on the present Monte dei Capuccini.

⁶ Cf. Hellmann, *loc. cit.* and Gabotto, *op. cit.* pp. 109-12. The text is Ann. Saxo (*M.G.H. Script.* vi. 771), "Inde (Papia) castra movens imperator Vercellis, deinde Gamundi et Thurin civitates pertransiit, quarum habitatores sibi rebellantes obpugnans, capiens et interficiens, humiliavit. Sic fecit castello quod dicebatur Rokkepandolf. Post hec ingressus est terram Hamadan principis, sue majestati contradicentis, quem destructis innumeris urbibus et locis munitis subici sibi conpultit." The terms of the Annalist seem exaggerated.

December, he gave legal form to his arrangements. This took the shape of a diploma to the citizens of Turin, issued at the Empress Richilda's intervention. Henry V's privilege of 1116 was thereby confirmed, with the express concession of the same liberty as other Italian cities enjoyed, and under reserve of the rights of the Empire and of the imperial count, if appointed. Thus everything was done to strengthen the Commune, and yet a door was left open for change¹.

It is characteristic of the present period that the general politics of Lothar's second Italian journey do not in the least concern Savoy², the position of which in the heart of Burgundy was singularly secluded as long as the western passes were not in question. It seems probable, however, that the Emperor's return journey in the autumn of 1137 and his death on the 3rd of December emboldened Amadeus to a new aggressive movement. At first he had been disheartened, if we may judge by his charter of the 9th January 1137, by which he not only granted to the Canons of Rivalta full power of possessing and acquiring, but shut out lay intervention in such terms as seem to amount to a cession of all his rights and superiority³. Now we seem to detect a change, if the sources can be depended on. In the autumn of 1137 or spring of 1138, he captured Turin by assault, the resistance being easily explained when we remember that his chief partizans had been put to death⁴. Then we hear of his dissensions with Bishop Arbert of Turin. It would appear that Archbishop Peter of Lyons made some arrangement; but Arbert continued his opposition to the Count and the latter complained again to the Archbishop⁵. As to what Amadeus III's

¹ Car. Reg. CCLXX. (*M.H.P. Chart. I. 775*): "ut eandem quam cetera civitates Italice libertatem habeant eaque...quiete fruantur, salvo tamen in omnibus jure nostro seu comitis illius cui vicem nostram comisserimus."

² Save perhaps Lothar's constitution on fiefs of 6 Nov. 1136, on which see Bernhardi, *Lothar v. Supplinberg*, p. 659.

³ Car. Reg. CCLXXIII. (*M.H.P. Chart. II. 223*), "nulla secularis potestas, nichil mundani juris, nichil mundani domini ibi querat vel possideat vel habeat." The infant Humbert III, born c. 1135, *laudat* the charter, which perhaps may be explained by the largeness of the concession.

⁴ The authority is weak, viz. *Parvum Chron. Astense*. (*Misc. stor. ital. IX.*); cf. Gabotto, *op. cit.* p. 110, n. 4: "Hoc anno (1137) Lotherius rex obiit, et Curradus factus est imperator, et ex vi capta est Taurinensis civitas ab Amedeo comite." Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 41, rejects the testimony on the ground that in 1149 Turin and the Count were in constant war. But Turin may well have revolted after Amadeus' departure for the East in 1147; and the fact that Otto of Freisingen describes Amadeus as *Taurinensis* in 1147 (*I. 44, M.G.H. Script. XVII. 375*) seems to me to show actual possession of the city and not a mere claim, since *Maurianensis* would be the natural description otherwise. The dating of *Parv. Chron. Ast.* leaves it uncertain whether 1137 or 1138 is right. Conrad was crowned 13 March 1137/8.

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLXXXII. (*Gallia Christiana*, xv. pp. 649-50), "Super episcopo Tauriniacensi clamorem meum ad vos deferre compellor, qui sub obtentu dilectionis et

renewed domination in Turin may have implied, there is no real evidence. So it is safest, if we accept the fact, to assume it did not amount to very much. The Abbey of Pinerolo shows a suspicious *rapprochement* to Arbert of Turin¹, and later we find some sort of rights of the Count of Savoy compatible with communal independence². It is natural to suspect that in practice the Count's prerogatives were some commercial and judicial profits, such as the Counts of S. Bonifazio seem to have had at Verona, and that any real power of his came from his heading a party in the town.

In distant connection with these Italian vicissitudes there appears to stand the dispute between the Bishops of Turin and Maurienne for the diocesan control of the Val di Susa. Ever since the time of Ardoin III the valley, once in Burgundian Maurienne, had belonged to Italian Turin³. But in 1126 we find a change in process. Amadeus, then Bishop of Maurienne, seized on the parish church of Sta Maria di Susa, and thus began a three-cornered dispute, for Sta Maria was subject to the Canons of Oulx, and the latter acknowledged the Bishop of Turin⁴. In 1123 Pope Calixtus II decided in Bishop Amadeus' favour on both points: we may suppose his nephew Amadeus III wished his vassal the Bishop of Maurienne to exercise the diocesan rights and not the foreigners of Oulx or Turin⁵. None the less the Canons of Oulx refused to submit, nor did the Bishop of Turin give up his claims⁶. At last on his journey toward France in 1147⁷ Pope Eugenius III

pacis mihi perfidiae jaculum nequiter intorsit." *Gallia Christiana*, IV. 116, quoting, but giving no authority, says that in 1138 Peter was elected arbiter between the two, but could not fully reconcile them. The date (1138) seems probable; since Arbert became Bishop c. 1135 or 1136, Peter died in Palestine in May 1139 (Gams, p. 571), and Lothar's presence in Italy 1136-7 would exclude any arbitrating in those years.

¹ *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 64. See Gabotto, *op. cit.* p. 112. I confess that to me the Bishop's diploma, with its insistence on the fact that he is obeying papal bulls, has a very sullen sound.

² *Car. Reg. CCCLV.* (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 416). This is an alliance between the Romagnano and Turin in 1176. Hostilities against the Emperor and Count of Savoy and their *missi* are excepted, the two thus being equated as having official rights. But see on this treaty below, p. 336.

³ *Car. Reg. CXXIV.* (1042) (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 1); *Carte...d'Oulx*, (1095), p. 37; *Carte...d'Oulx* (1116), p. 97. Cf. *Carte...d'Oulx* (c. 1147), p. 116, which states the inclusion of the valley in the Turin diocese before 1029.

⁴ *Carte...d'Oulx* (1120), pp. 105, 106, 107.

⁵ *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino*, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. (1123), p. 16, "Preposituram preterea Secusimensis ecclesie B. Marie proprietario jure, atque ipsam civitatem Secusiam cum omnibus appendiciis suis parrochiali jure...Mauriannensi ecclesie...confirmamus."

⁶ Cf. e.g. *Carte...d'Oulx* (1143), p. 115 and *id.* (? 1147), p. 116.

⁷ See below, p. 309.

declared in favour both of the Canons and the Bishop of Turin¹. Perhaps Amadeus III was anxious now to have an extra hold on Turin. In 1148 the then Bishop of Maurienne made a new appeal to the Pope, which was rebuffed²; and in spite of one or two later incidents³ the diocesan boundaries were never changed again⁴. The greater part of the valley under S. Giusto monastery was extra-diocesan after all⁵.

The next series of events in Amadeus' life are closely connected with his marriage alliances. The first and least important arose out of the death of his brother-in-law, Louis VI of France, in 1137. Soon after that event the Venerable Peter, the Abbot of Cluny, addressed a curious appeal to Amadeus on behalf of his nephew, the young King, Louis VII. Some request of Louis was to be granted: the sins of the fathers should not be visited on an innocent boy; nor the past faults, which the Queen or the royal councillors might have committed. The Abbot pointed out the glory of the royal alliance and the Count's duty of exercising a paternal solicitude for his nephew and giving him counsel in the affairs of his kingdom. Unfortunately the actual request was reserved for the young King's ambassadors to tell; so we can only guess what it was. But the tone of the letter implies a serious quarrel and consequent estrangement between Amadeus and his royal kindred, for which a dispute over Queen Adelaide's dowry would provide a very probable cause. Evidently, too, the Count had received some damage in the conflict. What Louis' request can have been is still darker; but apparently help in his duchy of Aquitaine would suit the case, for the acquisition of that great province, which Louis obtained by his marriage with the heiress, Eleanor, is cautiously alluded to in the letter. Whether Amadeus did anything or not, is also obscure, but he remained on good terms with his nephew, as is shown by his second crusade⁶.

¹ *Carte...d'Oulx* (9 Feb. 1147), p. 117 [Jaffé, 9004]: "ipsam B. Marie ecclesiam...Ulcienis ecclesie restitimus." The diocesan question seems to have been settled at the Council of Rheims in 1148 (cf. below, note 2). On 14 May 1148 the Pope describes Susa as being in Turin diocese (*Carte...d'Oulx*, p. 122 [Jaffé, 9261]).

² *Hist. Pont. (M.G.H. Script. xx. 533)*, "Episcopus Maurianensis...questionem propositu finium regundorum, rogans ut eum liceret egredi de cavernis montium sicut decessoribus suis antiquitus licitum fuerat." Like other complainants at this time (July, 1148) he was told the decrees at Rheims Council must be upheld.

³ Anthelm of Maurienne made a visitation as far as Avigliana in 1262.

⁴ On the subject cf. Billiet in *Mém. Acad. Savoie*, Series II. T. IV. pp. 326-33 and Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia*, pp. 233 and 349. There are omissions in both however, and the share of the Canons of Oulx in these transactions is obscured.

⁵ *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. (1123)*, p. 16, "salva dignitate Abacie S. Justi que sub Romane ecclesie jurisdictione consistit."

⁶ The interpretation, as to Amadeus' grudge against Louis VI, given in the text, is that of Cibrario (*Storia della monarchia ecc.* Bk II. Chap. III. pp. 181-3). Cf. Gerbaix de Sonnaz (*Studi storici ecc.* Bk IV. Cap. I. p. 3) and Hirsch, *Studien zur*

Not more fortunate were Amadeus' relations to his other brother-in-law, Guigues IV, the Dauphin of Albon. Since his first wife was alive in July 1133¹, and Humbert, son of his second wife, appears in a grant of January 1137², it is probable that Amadeus III became a widower in 1133 and married again in 1134. His second wife was Matilda, otherwise Majes, daughter of Guigues III of Albon and the latter's wife, Queen Matilda³. She or her dowry was presumably the cause of quarrel⁴. We hear of her brother the Dauphin invading Savoy in 1140 and besieging Montmélian. But he was there attacked by Count Amadeus, defeated and mortally wounded in a hard fought battle⁵.

It must have been the eldest daughter of this second marriage of Amadeus, that was the Matilda who married Affonso I, King of

Geschichte Ludwigs, VII. p. 17. It has however been opposed by Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 35.

The Venerable Peter's letter (Migne, CLXXXIX. p. 250) has the following salient passages: "Gloriosus rex Francorum Ludovicus et ante miserat et nunc iterum nobis misit nuntios suos, quos et vobis dirigi, et per manum nostram quod a vobis petierint impleri, rogavit....Cumque ipse superna gratia, et regni terminos pene duplicando et juveniles annos virtutibus adornando, summa vestri generis gloria sit, non debet aliquam in precibus suis pati repulsam....Et cum derivato a patre nomine regis patruus dicamini, decet vos et ejus regno consulere et ipsi ut filio in omnibus providere. Quod utrumque simul implebitis, si eum in presenti negotio audieritis. Sed nolui illud his quas mitto litteris inserere, quia plenius id ab ore nuntiantis quam a manu scribentis accipere poteritis. Hoc postquam agnoveritis, quod tamen et jam audistis, oro ne innocenti puero patrum peccata, ne regina(e) vel regalium aulicorum veteres forsitan culpa, novo regi noceant."

Adelaide lost influence on her son's accession and soon married Matthew, Seigneur de Montmorency. She died in 1154.

¹ See above, p. 284, n. 3.

² *Car. Reg.* CCLXXIII. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 223), "cum uxore mea comitissa viz. M., laudante filio nostro Umberto." Cf. above, p. 289, n. 3. See also *Car. Reg.* CCLXXXVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 60), "Amadeus comes et marchio et Majes comitissa uxor ejus et Umbertus eorum filius."

³ Her name, Matilda, is given in *Car. Reg.* CCXCII. (Guigue, *Petit Cartulaire de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 2). That she was daughter of Guigues of Albon is stated by the *Chroniques* which however call her Guigone. *Chron. Altacumbae* (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 671), which here begins to merit some credence, merely says "uxor ejus filia comitis Albonensis."

⁴ Her son, Humbert III, had claims on the Graisivaudan; see below, pp. 329 and 340.

⁵ *Chron. Lat. Sab. Geneal. Delph.* (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 667), "Iste Guigo in prelio duro habito inter eum et comitem Sabaudie versus Montemmelianum letaliter vulneratus, apud Buxeriam castrum suum apportatus, infra paucos dies expiravit, anno Domini millesimo centesimo quadragesimo." More important is the contemporary account in *V. Margaritae Burgundiae* Guillermi Monach. (Martene, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI. 1203), "Dum inter ipsum et Savoiensem comitem guerra exerceretur asperrima, comes Dalphinus in praelio vulneratus, dolore vulneris coarctante, vitae terminam posuit." The last passage has escaped the notice of recent historians.

Portugal, in the spring of 1146. Even so she can hardly have been more than ten years old, and she must be another instance of the early marriages so favoured by the Humbertine house¹. I mention her here to show the widespread influence of Amadeus. Links with the Iberian peninsula were probably provided by her maternal grandmother, Queen Matilda, and the bridegroom's Burgundian origin².

SECTION III. AMADEUS III'S GOVERNMENT AND DEATH.

So far we have dealt with Amadeus III's purely secular activity, in Burgundy that is, for in Italy the two aspects of his religious policy are not to be divided, and at the risk of cynicism it is necessary to emphasize chiefly its political bearing. But in Burgundy a quite genuine religious side of Amadeus' character comes openly into play, as well as that desire to improve his territory which I have already had occasion to remark as typical of a *grand seigneur* of the early Middle Ages. His foundations, direct or indirect, were very numerous for his means, although it is true that the preference of the Cistercians, whom he most favoured, for sequestered forest lands made it easier for the Count of barren Savoy to gratify them.

His first benefaction of this kind dates from 1108, before he was of age. In that year the Canons of St Maurice founded the daughter-house of Abbondance in a sequestered valley of New-Chablais³. Abbondance soon became wealthy and powerful, with daughter-houses of its own, and doubtless contributed to civilize the district and support the Count's authority in one of the most unruly portions of his domains. Amadeus being the lay-Abbot of St Maurice, the grant really proceeded from him⁴. Perhaps the new foundation was made partly in rivalry of Aulphs, so near to it, which owed its origin to the great local *seigneurs*. It is characteristic of the stricter asceticism of the new wave of monastic fervour, both that the grant is small and that the feudal rights conveyed over the forest-valley in which Abbondance was erected are only those of hunting. The new monks did not wish for the

¹ See Car. Reg. CCXC. CCXCI. CCCXVII. and Cibrario in *Mém. Accad. Scienza Torino*, Ser. II. Vol. XI. pp. 287 ff. In 1155 she had three surviving children. She died 5 Dec. 1158.

² *Chron. Lat. Sab. Geneal. Delph.* (*M.H.P.* Script. *loc. cit.*) calls her grandmother Queen of Castile, and this Spanish origin agrees very well with the title Queen, borne then by Spanish princesses. See Cibrario, *op. cit.* Affonso's father was son of a Capetian Duke of Burgundy.

³ Car. Reg. CCXLVII. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 29). There are curious regulations about the hunting.

⁴ Cf. Bollea, *Le prime relazioni ecc.* pp. 67-8.

world's neighbourhood or a seignorial position. Later they became Cistercians.

Amadeus' next foundation is more interesting for his personal history. For it he made use of an old Cluniac priory, St Sulpice en Bugey. The first step was to turn it into a Carthusian Priory, as such we find it in December 1120¹. It was not far from Virieu-le-Grand, and a considerable circumscription of forest land was given to it, with warranty against disturbance by building, hunting or fighting; till some time before the close of 1134 (and probably before 1125) his grants to it were summed up in two charters². The monks received free pasturage in all his land; and any acquisitions they might make from fiefs held of him should become their alods³. These confirmations (which are evidence that St Sulpice had now become a Cistercian monastery) seem to have been made on the day that his wife (i.e. Adelaide) at last bore a child, and we may suspect that the infant was Amadeus III's daughter Alice (Adelaide) who seems to have been much older than his other children⁴. Evidently we may trust the tradition of the *Chroniques* that St Sulpice was founded by the Count in hopes of an heir⁵. Her marriage to Humbert III⁶, son of Guichard III, Sire de Beaujeu,

Car. Reg. CCLIX. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 13). Guigue, *op. cit.* p. viii says St Sulpice was first a Cluniac Priory, then a Chartreuse, then c. 1130 a Cistercian Abbey.

² Car. Reg. CCLX. (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 4) and Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 1. They are obviously contemporary, both containing the reference to the birth of his first child ("antequam de uxore mea infantem haberem," Guigue, p. 1; and "ante hanc diem, scilicet ante quam de uxore mea infantem habuissem," Reg. CCLX.). Now in CCLX. Ponce II, who had resigned before the end of 1134, is still Bishop of Belley. Further, since Guichard III, de Beaujeu's interest in St Sulpice (see below, in text) begins c. 1134, Alice, Amadeus' eldest daughter, can hardly have been in 1134 less than ten years old. She had a son Guichard in 1147 (see below, p. 295, n. 9).

³ "Quicquid de feudis meis acquirere potuerint in mundum alodium possideant." The pasturage-right was a natural ambition of the wool-raising Cistercians, although it does not exclude Carthusians (see below, p. 297). The personal employment of the monks in farming or parochial work was characteristic of the new orders.

⁴ See above, n. 2, and p. 295, n. 9. Humbert III of Savoy was son of Amadeus III's second wife, married after July 1133 (see above, p. 284, n. 3, and p. 290). For the daughters, see above, p. 290, and below, p. 313.

⁵ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 105-6. The legend actually says as a thank-offering for an heir. I imagine it is her birth which caused the disappointment related in *Vi. S. Hugonis Gratian.* (AA. SS. April 1, p. 45), "Nam cum falsus rumor exisset quod comiti Amedeo, qui comitis Umberti, patris viz. sui, secutus exemplum, non exiguam beato seni reverentiam exhibebat, filius natus fuisset." St Hugh refused to go to baptize the child, on the ground that it did not matter who performed the rite. Alice appears as Aalasia and Alisia in Car. Reg. CCXCII. (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 2), and Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 41. She has the title of Countess like her aunt Agnes de Bourbon.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCC.; the first quotation there has been used by M. Guigue (see above, p. 243, n. 1) and M. de Manteyer to prove that Auxilia, wife of Humbert II de

seems to have taken place at an early age; for c. 1134-5¹ we find Guichard III taking an interest in the Abbey of St Sulpice and confirming Amadeus III's grants². This would be especially natural, if Alice were then Amadeus' only child and heiress, although perhaps the fact that her dowry seems to have lain round about is a sufficient reason³. Count Amadeus remained watchful over this foundation of his for the rest of his reign. It was consecrated by Archbishop Peter of Lyons about 1137-8 at his special request⁴. Popes Innocent II and Lucius III⁵, Archbishop Amadeus of Lyons⁶ and Bishop Berlio of Belley⁷, were all induced by him to confirm its bounds; his son Humbert III was also made to concur⁸, and one of his own latest charters is a confirmation in its favour⁹.

Beaujeu, c. 1090, was a daughter of Amadeus II of Savoy; but the contents of the document (Guigue, *Cartul. de Beaujeu*, p. 14) which is an account of former donations show that Humbert III of Beaujeu is intended. It says: "Quod etiam Humbertus Beljocensis, ille qui filiam Amedei, comitis Savoienis, habuit in uxorem, sicut singuli antecessores sui diligenter observare studuit et confirmare; nam et de feudis que ab eo habebantur, sicut et antecessores sui fecerant, si quis vellet dare vel vendere predictæ ecclesie in alodo possidendum concessit." Thus the donor made a grant exactly analogous to those of Amadeus III of Savoy (see e.g. pp. 294, n. 3, 272, n. 2), and a series of his predecessors have favoured the Canons of Beaujeu, who were only founded in 1076 (see Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 38). The title Count of Savoy also does not favour Amadeus II (see Savio, *I primi conti*, p. 487).

¹ Car. Reg. CCLXI. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 17) and Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 32, dated by means of the mention of Berlio, Bishop of Belley, known in 1134 and 1135. As it is likely Humbert III of Savoy was born in 1135, 1134 would be the probable date.

² To 1134-5 also I attribute the confirmatory charter of Guichard de Beaujeu (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 41, from Estiennot's ms. copy), which bears the date 10 Jan. MCLXXV. (reading MCXXXV.). It mentions Countess Alice and his son Humbert III, de Beaujeu, who succeeded him in 1137.

³ It seems that Alice's dowry consisted of Virieu-le-Grand, Cordon, and Chateaufort in the county of Belley (*L'Art de vérifier les dates*, II, 4745 [ed. 1784]). It gives one probable origin for the homage of Beaujeu to Savoy in the thirteenth century. See above, p. 78. It seems likely that it also at first included Rossillon and Pierrechâtel (see below, p. 340 and n. 1). Virieu-le-Grand and Val Romey remained fiefs of Beaujeu till 1285, when they were recovered by Savoy (M. C. Guigue, *Topographie hist. de L'Ain*, p. 435).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXXXI. and CCLXXXII. (Guigue, *Petit Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 11), dated by the complaint *re* Arbert, Bishop of Turin. See above, p. 289, n. 5.

⁵ Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 14 (23 June, 1142) and Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 16 (10 Nov. 1144).

⁶ Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 21.

⁷ Car. Reg. CCLXI. (see above, n. 1).

⁸ Car. Reg. CCLXXVI. (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 10).

⁹ Car. Reg. CCXCII. (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 2). Amadeus confirms his former grants, with the following explanation, "Ne quis de familia nostri generis huic donationi calumpniam inferre presumat," he declares he made these grants "ante quam de uxore

More famous eventually was Amadeus' second Cistercian foundation, Hautecombe on the Lac de Bourget, the final charter of which dates from c. 1140¹. Like St Sulpice it had no grant of jurisdiction and few lands, which however were given wholly from the Count's own property. It was this Abbey, and not St Sulpice, which succeeded Cluniac Le Bourget as the favourite family foundation of the House of Savoy. For many generations its members were buried there, choosing a home for the dead more delightful than those of the living, till Victor Amadeus II built the new mausoleum of Superga. Little remains of the ancient structure, which was wrecked and desecrated during the French Revolution. Later it was very beautifully restored and a series of memorial tombs set up. But the dust they honour is not there.

“Or le bagna la pioggia e muove il vento.”

Yet a third Cistercian House owes its origin to Amadeus III. This was Chézery on the R. Valserine north of the Rhone in a retired valley under the Jura range. The legend tells that its founder was given a roving commission by the Count to find a valley in his lands fit for the pious seclusion of his order, and at last found his desire in this deserted recess of the forest². Be this as it may, the Abbey was founded on the 29th August 1140, and consecrated two years later. Wide limits were marked out for it³. And it existed in long obscurity.

mea, Mathildi nomine, liberos aliquos procreassem.” Alice and her son Guichard I, and Count Humbert III, all “laudant.” Thus they bar their claims. Amadeus' other children were barred by being *postnati* as to the grant. Humbert III, although *postnatus*, naturally participates as heir-apparent.

¹ Car. Reg. CCLXIV. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 31). At Hautecombe was written at the close of the fourteenth century the *Chron. Altacumbae*, the earliest chronicle of the House of Savoy. Erroneous as it is in its earlier scanty notices, it is more valuable than the *Chroniques*. For the date of Amadeus' charter, see Lullin et Lefort, *Regeste Genevois*, p. 442, No. 275.

² Chézery, however, had belonged to the Cluniac St Victor of Geneva: see the letter of Peter the Venerable in *Mém. Doc. Genev.* xv. 11. 3, “Illius (S. Bernardi) precibus...inclinati, donamus tam ecclesiam et villam de Chysirai, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, viz. quidquid in illa in omnibus et per omnia habebamus, et quidquid alii ibidem a nobis habebant, que pertinebat ad custodiam et possessionem monachorum nostrorum S. Victoris de Gebenna, laudantibus eisdem monachis S. Victoris et concedentibus. Dominus quoque Arduus Gebennensis episcopus, ad pacem inter nostros et vestros reformandam, dedit nobis libere ecclesiam de Vallibus et ecclesiam de Altavilla.” We may, therefore, probably take it that Amadeus III's control of the valley of the Valserine was due to his being advocate of St Victor of Geneva in succession to his father Humbert II (see above, pp. 85 and 242). For the rights of the advocates of St Victor, see Gingins La Sarra, *Hist. ... des Équestres*, M.D.R. xx. 123. Cf. for the legend of foundation, which in view of the preceding does not seem true, Dépery, *Hist. Hagiolog. de Belley*, 1. 358, and Gingins La Sarra, *Histoire... des Équestres*, M.D.R. xx. 130-1.

³ Besson, *Mémoires*, etc. (ed. 1871), p. 139. The consecration was on the 1st June, 1142. Amadeus' charter has not been recovered.

Last of all these direct foundations of Amadeus came the Chartreuse of Arvières on the wooded heights above the Val Romey to the north of the county of Belley and in the diocese of Geneva. Here again legend steps in and says that he vowed a Chartreuse at his battle with the Dauphin in 1140. But all we know is that he confirms the limits which the new Carthusians applied for and gave them grazing rights along the Mont du Grand Colombier. His son-in-law, Humbert III of Beaujeu, added a confirmation and a small gift and some years after his son, Humbert III of Savoy, another confirmation¹.

Besides these benefactions, Amadeus carried through a reform which was practically a new foundation. For fifty years the great Abbey of St Maurice had been under the House of Savoy. In 1116 Amadeus could style himself *Comes et Abbas ecclesiae S. Mauricii*²; and his brother Raynald was Provost. It seems that the Count and Provost had become possessed of the best domains. The Canons had barely enough to live upon; they were secular in most senses of the term, members of Chablaisian noble families, and were largely non-resident. The services were being intermitted. Now, however, Amadeus took the matter in hand. With St Hugh of Grenoble he came in March 1128 to the Abbey. Four measures seem to have been decided on, Amadeus' renunciation of his lay-abbacy, the unwilling resignation of Raynald, the installation of Canons Regular, and the resumption of improperly alienated lands³. To these were added by Pope Honorius II the election of an Abbot⁴ and by Pope Innocent II a general confirmation⁵. In spite of various troubles, which I will deal with later, St Maurice now began to prosper and grow wealthy. But of course the Count,

¹ The charter of foundation is *Car. Reg. CCLXXXVI.* of which the full text was published from the original for the first time by M. Guigue, *Notice sur la Chartreuse d'Arvières*, p. 63. The above account is deduced from it. The Carthusians call Amadeus, "karissimo domino nostro et venerabili ac magnifico principi et comitum comiti ac marchioni." Humbert III's confirmation is added in another twelfth century hand. Humbert III de Beaujeu's donation is given in a list of benefactors, which included Henry, King of England, printed in Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 66, and excerpted in *Car. Sup. XXXIII.* The *terminus ad quem* of the foundation is provided by a bull of confirmation of Pope Lucius III, dated 30 April, 1144 (Guigue, *op. cit.* p. 27).

² *M.D.R.* XVIII. 355.

³ *Car. Reg. CCLXVI.* (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 31); 30 March, 1128. See also below, p. 318, n. 3. It was not till 30 March, 1143, however (*Car. Reg. CCLXXXVIII.* Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 60), that Amadeus, his wife Majes and son Humbert, surrendered the election of the provost to the Canons. They retained their *receptus* and the *justae consuetudines quae ad comitatum pertinent*, on which, see below, pp. 431-2. Strictly speaking the *comitatus* should be that of Chablais.

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCLXVII.* (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 32).

⁵ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta Roman. Pontif. inedita*, II. 320; 22 Oct. 1136. Aimerad was then Prior. No Abbot is mentioned.

although he abandoned the direct lordship and ordinary jurisdiction of the Abbacy, retained the *comitatus* in income and jurisdiction, as well as the feudal superiority over the Abbey and the office of its advocate. Thus his hold over Old-Chablais, probably fortified by the direct possession of the castle of Chillon and the coast near, was secure enough.

These were Amadeus' chief works as a favourer of religion in Burgundy. The Abbey of Tamié, which was founded in 1132 on the borders of Savoy and the Genevois in the Bauges by Archbishop Peter I of Tarentaise¹, had his approval and a small donation from him². Lastly, I should add his benefactions to the Hospital of the Great St Bernard, to Le Bourget and the sees of Tarentaise and Aosta. All have a certain political bearing, and that of the three last is so distinct that it will best be reserved till I come to his internal government. As to the Great St Bernard, he was doubtless anxious to make it as easy for travellers as the Mont Cenis. His grants to the Hospital are three in number and dated in 1124³, 1125⁴ and 1137⁵. He confirms the grants of local nobles made from fiefs held of him; he grants that all such gifts shall be alods of the monastery; and with his infant son he makes a small gift of his own.

From these monastic foundations, which, however religious in essence, had a marked political and secular impress also, it is a natural transition to Amadeus III's secular government. Here, of course, the traces which exist of his policy and of the limits of his actual power are few. Nevertheless some such are to be found.

The leading feature of his time is that feudalism is now full-grown. Unfortunately there is not much evidence with regard to lay fiefs, but the grants in favour of ecclesiastics imply similar privileges of the laity⁶. Churchmen would have less power to seize on feudal jurisdiction, and it would be in the interest of the ruler to level up his ecclesiastic subjects and vassals with the lay, as a counterweight to the latter. Hence the

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, XII. 379.

² *Vi. S. Petri Tarantas.* (AA. SS. Mai II. p. 325), Bk I. Cap. I., "Providerat autem Dominus ulmum congruam huic viti et aliis in eadem tunc fructificantibus regione, illustrem principem et bonorum memoria dignum marchionem Italiae, Sabaudiae et Mauriennae comitem Amedeum. Hic devotus admodum viro Dei praeter alia beneficia horreum quoque cum vineis, quod Montem-melioratum vocant, ejus coenobio contulit; ut inter arduos montes haberet quo diverteret, quando eum (S. Petrum), in quo sibi plurimum complacebat, concilii gratia accersiret."

³ *Miscell. Valdost.*, B.S.S.S. XVII. p. 135.

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCLXII.* (*Misc. Valdost.* p. 85, where facsimile). Cf. above, p. 272, n. 2.

⁵ *Car. Reg. CCLXXVII.* (*Misc. Valdost.* p. 87, where facsimile).

⁶ i.e. in the twelfth century, as to these belated grants. Even earlier the grants of mere "immunitas" were on the model of that existing for the royal demesne and immediate benefices (Mayer, *Deutsch. u. Französ. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 50-3).

charter of 1104 to the Canons of Maurienne has great evidential value. The Count surrenders all profits of jurisdiction, all tallages and military service due from the sub-vassals of the Canons to him. Doubtless the duty of holding the necessary courts, so far as their estates went—the truest feudal criterion—accompanied the profits. Further, the former immediate right of the Count to tallage and military service is converted into a mediate one. The Count henceforward can only claim of the Canons their due services; they deal with their sub-vassals¹. By this capital grant we may explain the similar vaguer one to the Priory of Le Bourget². St Sulpice, Hautecombe and Arvières got no jurisdiction granted; but they were clearings on forest land³.

Evidence of the dangerous independence of the great lay vassals is afforded by a charter concerning St Maurice. At the same time it cannot be regarded as typical, for the seigneurs whom it concerns belonged to New-Chablais, that part of their dominions with which the Counts of Savoy seem at this time to have been least in touch, to judge from the dearth of charters. Another interest of the proceedings is that they give us a glimpse of the Count's own court, which decided the matter and of its rules. The story told by the document is as follows⁴. Somewhere about the year 1100 two brothers, Sires d'Allinge in New-Chablais, held apparently by usurpation two *villae* of St Maurice, Salvan near Martigny and Othonellum. Both came to a bad end, but their brother and successor, Gerard, still retained the *villae*. At last on his death-bed he repented and gave them back to the Abbey, on condition that his son Anselm, a Canon of St Maurice, should hold them for life. But when Anselm, too, died, his brother, a younger Gerard, then advocate of Allinge⁵, took possession of them in disregard of the agreement. The Canons first excommunicated him, and then sought aid of their own advocate, Amadeus III⁶. On an appointed day both parties appeared before Amadeus at Agaune. It is very clear that he acted as suzerain of both, as well as advocate of one party. Gerard was surrounded by a swarm of warlike kinsmen. The Canons received the support of Archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, Herbert, Bishop of

¹ Car. Reg. CCXLV. (Billiet et Albrioux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, Docs. Acad. Savoie, II. p. 20), "Remitto omnes injurias et omnes tuttas (=toltas) et bannos et cavalcatas omnibus hominibus supradictorum canonicorum, ne mihi quidquam predictorum faciant, sed tantum canonicis." But this was later held not to include offences punished by death. See below, pp. 430 and 442-3.

² Car. Reg. CCLXXX. (Guichenon, *Prewoes*, p. 38), "omne edictum omnemque justitiam sine omni retentione."

³ See above, pp. 294-7.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXXIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 48).

⁵ "Qui sub advocati nomine in Alingo dominabatur."

⁶ "Comitis Amedei advocati scilicet sui consilium et auxilium expetierunt."

Aosta, and Boso, Bishop of Sion, and of a less obvious guard derived from the Martyrs of the Theban Legion. Thereupon the Count ordered his vassals in this *curia* to advise him by their oath and homage¹, and by their spokesman, the learned Italian, Ardizzo di Barge, they gave their judgment in the usual medieval way before the evidence was taken. If St Maurice could prove its claim, Amadeus III, its advocate, should compel restitution of the *villae*. The Canons' proof was complete, but Gerard d'Allinge refused to submit; and the Count dared not try to enforce the sentence, for the culprit was powerful². Then eight days after the *placitum* on the feast of Easter, Gerard suddenly died. His domains came into the Count's hands as suzerain³ for a while, and Amadeus III took advantage of the circumstances to restore the *villae* to the rightful owners. This interlude, however, did not last long, for, when Peter d'Allinge was invested as advocate, he promptly seized on the *villae*. In despair the Canons took down the great Abbey cross and laid it with groans and tears on the floor of the church, nor did the action fail of its effect. Peter fell seriously ill at Conflans. In great haste he restored the *villae* through the Archbishop of Tarentaise's intervention, the Canons sending their prior post to receive the surrender. They then raised the cross from its humiliation; and Peter recovered. Yet, so untaught are men by others' experience, his brother, a third Gerard d'Allinge, continued the quarrel. But he was half-hearted, and a concourse of Savoyard Bishops⁴ was sufficient to induce him to surrender his claim; thus concluding the dispute on the 11th March, 1138.

In the foregoing we find Amadeus III as suzerain, holding *placita* for his vassals, although it is not easy to say how much he acts as superior of the monks and the d'Allinge and how much as advocate on behalf of the monks, presiding in their *placita*⁵. But he also appears as defendant in a special *placitum* held at Conflans by Peter Archbishop of

¹ "Amedeus comes ex latere suo milites et potentes qui secum illis diebus ex diversis regionibus Agaunum venerant, et in quibus plurimum utpote fidelissimis et veracibus viris confidebat; ad judicandum misit eos qui per hominum et jusjurandum quod sibi fecerant et per amicitiam et fidem quam sibi debebant, adjuravit, etc."

² "Cum comes Amedeus eum cogere quia potens erat dissimularet."

³ "In cujus manum Alingensis potestas devenerat." Taken with the phrase quoted p. 299, n. 5, this fact shows clearly that Amadeus' suzerainty of Allinge was due in origin to the lay-abbacy of St Maurice, possessed by the Count of Savoy, together with the Countship of Chablais. It is not likely that the vassal of a lay-lordship would be "advocatus."

⁴ St Peter of Tarentaise, St Guarin of Sion, Herbert of Aosta, and Tairold of Maurienne.

⁵ The *curia*, however, is clearly composed of vassals from all his lands, not only of vassals of St Maurice. In the same way the sentence seems given more as the council which vassals owe their lord than as the judgment of the defendant's peers. Cf. Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 58-62.

Tarentaise, and the Bishops of Maurienne, Aosta, Valence and Geneva¹. Whether this most resembled a court of arbitration or an exercise of imperial jurisdiction is not very clear, but perhaps the first is more likely. The subject in dispute was the possession of the two *curtes* of Leuk and Naters in the upper Vallais. Amadeus had already once or twice given them up to the claimants, the Bishops of Sion², but he had taken them into his hands again, we may suppose each time at the death of a bishop. Now St Guarin, the Bishop of Sion, made his claim again; and produced at the *placitum* the Emperor Henry IV's diploma and a charter of the Count's own³. Amadeus admitted the genuineness of the documents and the justice of the claim, and the *villae* were adjudged to St Guarin. A fresh charter was made out to him, and the inhabitants of Leuk and Naters released from their fealty to the Count⁴. The Germanization of Naters was probably well in progress.

This was not the only concession that Amadeus made to the Bishops of his dominions. Already before his first crusade he had surrendered the feudal right of the *spolia* of the Canons of Aosta⁵. Now he was to carry the same policy farther. One reason was that he had acquired a saint for Archbishop of Tarentaise. On the death of Peter I sometime after 1138, that see had been given to Amadeus' chaplain Israel. It was a bad appointment and in quite a short time Israel had damaged his see in property and morals, so we are told. The scandal reached the Pope's ears and the useless tree was removed by the Apostolic sickle⁶. Abbot Peter of Tamié, a personal friend of Count

¹ Car. Reg. CCLXXXIII. (*M.D.R.* XXIX. p. 83).

² See above, p. 281, for the charter to Bishop Guillenc in 1116.

³ This charter (different from that to Bishop Guillenc) would probably be made out to Bishop Boso. Amadeus' brothers were then all alive, since Humbert and William "laudant" the grant as well as Raynald. I should guess the date to be c. 1125, as the other *laudatores* are Rodolf of Faucigny and Boso d'Allinge, both of whom attest Amadeus' charters about that year (cf. *Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* xvii. p. 135).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXXII. (*Cibrario e Promis, Doc.* p. 46). As to its date, it is directed to St Guarin, who became bishop in 1138, and Peter d'Allinge, who we know succeeded shortly before 1138 (see above, p. 300) is a witness. Now St Guarin at the *placitum* of Conflans was unrighted; and Peter d'Allinge fell ill at Conflans apparently early in 1138, and his brother Gerard was pacified on 11 March 1138 by three of the bishops who attended the *placita* (for Humbert is clearly the late copyist's error for Herbert of Aosta). Hence March 1138 seems date of the transaction.

⁵ See p. 281, n. 2, for document.

⁶ *Vi. S. Petri Tarantas.* (AA. SS. Mai II. 325 ff.), I. 4, "Quod enim ille (Petrus I) correxit in moribus, quod acquisivit in possessionibus, quod ecclesiasticis addidit ornamentis, iste (Israhel) corruptit, distraxit, dilapidavit in brevi. Propter haec et his similia arbor inutilis Apostolica falce praecisa." Israhel is doubtless the "Israel cappellanus comitis" of Car. Reg. CCLXXXIII. in Jan. 1127. The *decennium* which Manriquez, *Ann. Cisteric.*, attributed to Israhel's episcopate must be an error.

Amadeus¹, was then appointed, and, after the leave of his order had been obtained, accepted the post in 1142². He at once entered on a vigorous series of reforms in his diocese. He enforced an ascetic life on the parish priests; he replaced the secular canons, mostly nobles, of his cathedral by regulars; he redeemed the tithes from the seigneurs³. But his influence over Amadeus III is most shown by two diplomas which the latter granted in 1147 before starting on his second crusade. In the first of these⁴ Amadeus and his brother Raynald renounced the *spolia* of the diocese of Tarentaise. In the second⁵, he, his son and his brother, made a similar renunciation of the *spolia* of the see of Aosta. Further it was probably at the same time that he renounced in a lost charter the *spolia* of the see of Maurienne as well⁶. Thus only Belley was left under the old system. Now the *spolia* were a profitable feudal right and also a proof of suzerainty. Thus when Amadeus gave up the right of seizing on the Bishop's revenues and goods during a vacancy, no motive of worldly profit could intervene. In fact his civil government was permeated with ecclesiastic influences.

So far we have treated of the Count's vassals and his rights over them; but there remains to consider the central administration if one may venture to style it by so pompous a name. The Count governed, it would seem, through his *curia*. This was his court of vassals and court for public business. We hear of the "*proceres curiae suae*," his nobles, before whom he renounces Leuk and Naters⁷. His grant to the Great St Bernard in 1124 is made in his *curia*⁸. And we may infer that the barons who attest his charters were considered members of this court. It was nothing very new. Ardoin V and Peter I had had

¹ See above, p. 298, n. 2.

² *Vi. S. Petri Tarantas. loc. cit.*

³ *Vi. S. Petri Tarantas. i. 6.* Perhaps *Car. Sup. xxxiv.* (*Gallia Christiana*, XII. 380) which gives up Amadeus III's tithes at Conflans, etc. really dates from 1145 when St Peter was Archbishop and the 1st March was a Thursday. But 1139, Ind. II. and 1st March=Luna XXVII. go well together, though it is odd the day of the week should be wrong. Peter I would then be Archbishop.

⁴ *Car. Reg. cclxxxiv.* (Besson, p. 342, ed. 1871). I date by its likeness to ccxcv. It is granted "*rogatu Petri Tarant. archiep.*"

⁵ *Car. Reg. ccxcv.* (*M.H.P. Chart. i. 794*). The *spolia* are described, "*tam domus episcopalis quam etiam possessionum ac reddituum ejusdem.*"

⁶ *Car. Reg. dcclxxxvi.* (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc. p. 173*).

⁷ *Car. Reg. cclxxii.* (see above, p. 301, n. 4). Their consent is also expressly mentioned in the treaty with Pinerolo Abbey (see above, pp. 285-6), "*Actum...in presencia silicet comitis Amedei suorumque procerum consensu seu laude eorum quorum nomina subtus leguntur.*" The consent of the vassals is a normal procedure (Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. pp. 55-64). No doubt it is one origin of the later estates in Savoy. Cf. the *curia*, p. 300, n. 5 above.

⁸ *Misc. Valdost., B.S.S.S. xvii. p. 125.* Cf. p. 298 above.

"*curiae suae*," although no doubt presence in the *curia* was by now due increasingly to the tenure of land by feudal homage.

Yet at this very time the official element still remained and a non-hereditary status in the *curia* may be detected arising. The older element was the viscounts who held of course by feudal tenure. We constantly find the Viscounts of Tarentaise, Aosta, and members of the vice-comital family of Maurienne in attendance¹, as well as a Viscount at Turin². In this latter document he speaks rather pompously of "alico suo omine vicecomite gastaldione vel aliquo ministro." Part of this may be mere archaism; but the *ministri* seem to be in origin a class of non-feudal officials. A *Petrus minister* attests a charter to Le Bourget³: and later we find the *mestrals* (= *ministeriales*) governing the various castles, estates and territories of the House of Savoy⁴. The office might become merely feudal: the Sires de Miolans held the mestralship of the Val de Miolans in fiefs⁵. Hereditary officials, however, would not be frequent for the comital demesnes. Of such local administrators we find a *praefectus* at Virieu-le-Grand⁶ and *praepositi* at Billiat in Val Romey⁷. They were in fact local seneschals and stewards of the Counts' demesne: and as a rule their tenure of office depended on the Counts' good pleasure⁸.

While in Amadeus III's Burgundian lands feudalism was still supreme, the communal spirit was already awakened in the Val di Susa within the Alps. Ever since the days of Ardoin III that valley must have steadily grown in prosperity. Trade and the pilgrim traffic of the Mont Cenis and the cultivation favoured by the great Abbey of St Giusto would all contribute to the result. Susa was growing wealthy and strong, and perhaps the most significant event of Amadeus' life was his grant of liberties to the citizens⁹. The main purpose of this charter

¹ See e.g. Car. Reg. CCLXII. CCXLV.

² Car. Reg. CCLXVIII. (*Cartario S. Solutore Torino, B.S.S.S. XLIV. p. 50*), "S. Henrici vicecomitis."

³ Car. Reg. CCLXXX. See above, p. 297, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. below, pp. 433-4, for the more special sense of the word *mestral*. Cf. Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. pp. 164-5.

⁵ Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 397. So did the de Gerbaix that of Novalaise by Chambéry, Car. Reg. DCLIII.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCLXXXI. See above, p. 295, n. 4. Doubtless he was the same as the later *castellanus*. Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. p. 362.

⁷ Car. Reg. CCLXXXVI. See above, p. 297, n. 1.

⁸ See the clause in the liberties of Susa (*M.H.P. Leges I. p. 6*, cf. below) concerning the *ministri*, "De his qui tuum (i.e. comitis) proprium ministerium habuerint, dum cum tua gracia habuerint, teneant."

⁹ We only know them from Count Thomas' charter of confirmation and amplification in 1198 (Car. Reg. CCCXCIV. *M.H.P. Leges I. 5*), where they form the first

was to fix the scale of fines and other punishments for the Susians when they came within the reach of the law. Violence and theft are the chief crimes; and highway robbery is specially dealt with, as we should expect on a great thoroughfare. The usual commercial exclusiveness of a medieval town forbade strangers to sell by retail to Susians¹. A little information on the town's government leaks through the provisions, which has a peculiar interest, since Susa gives us an instance of a quite primitive form of Lombard town-government surviving into documentary times. The *potestas* seems to represent the Count as governor and judge². Another *minister* is the gastald, who appears to be steward of the Count's estates³. The town, as usual in Italy, was divided into *viciniae* (i.e., parishes) from which the commune usually sprang, and it was the *vicini* who sat in judgment and declared the law for members of their *viciniae*⁴. But there was an appeal to the Count's own *placitum*

part reaching from "De capitis" to "Ungario de Ruata" (col. 5-7). They conclude with the words "Et secundum quod continet (sic) instrumento Amedei comitis et marchionis sic juratum fuit in refectorio S. Marie ante episcopum Maurianensem, Henrice (sic) vicecomite tuo recipiente sacramento ab Amedeo Mauri et Armano de Porta et Ungario de Ruata." The remainder of Thomas' charter is a brief description of the customary rights of the Susians, which was cast into a more polished form and amplified under Amadeus IV in 1233 (*Car. Reg. DXXXVIII. M.H.P. Leges* 1. 9). Of course there is no guarantee that Amadeus III's charter has not been rehandled in transmission (it certainly was so between 1198 and 1233); but there seems nothing repugnant to his time in the present text. The presence of Viscount Henry of Barantonia suggests 1131 as a probable date, when we know he was in Amadeus' entourage (see above, p. 286). Cf. Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia*, I. 246-51.

¹ "Extranei inter inter (sic) indigenas semel nec (sic, *lege* vel) bis premoniti nullomodo incisive vendere presumant; quod si fecerint, qui sic vendere presumpserint, publicentetur (sic) et effundantur et sine edito sint qui hoc fecerint" (col. 7). "Incisive" clearly means by less than the whole piece of cloth, etc.

² e.g. col. 6, "De mercato manufacto ut teneatur, et qui fregerit, potestas habeat v solidos et tenere faciat si clamor inde exierit"; and "De probro si glutonem injuste percusserit, XII. denarios glutoni, potestati v solidos si clamor inde pervenerit" (col. 5). (The *gluto* is of course the old Italian "ghiottone," "a man of bad repute," "a knave.") Cf. also below, n. 4.

On the older meaning of the word *potestas*, as a Count's substitute, before Barbarossa's time, see Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 344-6. Here at Susa he ruled over the Count's demesne and exercised the Count's suzerain rights (since the Abbey of S. Giusto was feudal lord of a third of the town) for a fraction of a county. The Viscounts had obtained an independent position, and exercised or claimed certain hereditary privileges throughout the county. It was not unlike the relative positions of the Lord Great Chamberlain and Lord Chamberlain of England.

³ "De incisivis de ovibus vel pellatis gastaldis (sic) sine voluntate burgensium nullomodo se intromittant."

This appears to be an economic, more than governmental function.

⁴ col. 7, "De aperto forifacito sive de terra sive honore sive de intollerabili injuria

and the judgement there was final¹. The Count could make regulations for some kinds of buying and selling; a breach of his command entailed loss of the *edictum*², and the Susians now obtained the privilege of selling their wine when and how they liked, without the *edictum*³. Thus freedom from regulation and outlawry were perilously akin in Savoyard law. There was clearly, too, some comital right of purveyance, for if a loan (no doubt the price of purchases) to him or his servants had been outstanding for more than forty days, a Susian lender was not liable to lend more till he had been repaid⁴. The royal *fodrum* was a tax and fixed at a hundred pounds⁵.

Some detached clauses are interesting. The Count forbade his Lombard subjects to buy sheep or fleeces in his Burgundian lands, presumably because pasturage and wool-raising were the staple industry of the latter⁶ and the Lombard middle-man was not to be allowed to enter the trade. If a Susian captured a man in fight, who was either a villager-man-at-arms or a squire, or mere footman or archer, the prize was all his; but the person of a captive knight belonged to the Count⁷.

inter vicinos placitetur; si vicini emendare non poterint, nec potestas, ab injurioso VII. libras et dimidiam."

col. 6, "Si vicinus in vicinum insurrexerit gladio, si neminem percusserit et vicini emendare non poterint et clamor inde pervenerit, LX. solidos." Thus the *potestas* seems to hold a court of second instance. Cf. next note.

¹ col. 6, "De his qui tuum proprium ministerium habuerint, dum cum tua gracia habuerint, teneant; sin aliud intervenerit, *salva tua justitia* sub vicinorum lege sine occasione redeant." col. 7, "De tuo placito, quod per justitiam tibi datum fuerit, nullus alius nec alia postea placitetur."

² See above, p. 304, n. 1, and below, n. 6. Here "sine edicto," I take it, means outlawed. In the next note it means unregulated.

³ col. 6, "De proprio vino tuo de quo bannum habebas, super nos deinceps nullum editum teneatur: quia sic nobis in perpetuum remisisti et vinum suum libere omnes de Secusia quandocumque voluerint, vendant sine edito." Here the *editum* almost equals *bannum*. Elsewhere it is used of a parish-regulation, "De edicto cum concilio vicinorum facto, qui fregerit emendet illud et cum clamore et sine clamore," col. 7. See n. 2, above.

⁴ col. 6, "De credulitate quam tibi vel tuis fecerint, XL. dies; si tunc habere non poterint, nullam credulitatem tibi et tuis faciant quousque suum, quid crediderint, habeant." Of course the Counts were notoriously impecunious, and their right of preemption on credit may often have been burdensome. But Amadeus IV's rescension (col. 10) makes the *credulitas* due from the *hostalarii*; for which they may levy a tax on sales and purchases by foreigners (*reva*). Thus a right of *albergaria* seems meant.

⁵ col. 7, "De foro regali, c. libras." I imagine (see Cibrario, *St. della Monarchia*, I. 247) that *fodro* should be read, i.e. the royal *albergaria*.

⁶ col. 7, "Nulli Lombardi a Montecenisio in ultra per terram meam nec eciam per desertum oves vel pellatas nullomodo emere presumant. Quod si fecerint, oves vel pellatas publicentur et destruantur et sine edito sint qui hoc fecerint."

⁷ col. 6, "Quicumque aliquem in uerra acceperit, rusticum vel donsellum, peditem

The rights of succession and testamentary power of Susians were carefully safeguarded; but the goods of a stranger, who died intestate, were shared between the Count, the host and the parish-church, as treasure-trove¹.

These provisions are enough to show both the growing wealth of Susa and the unquestioned power of the Count. There are *viciniae*, but nothing like a single developed commune, unless the phrase "concilio vicinorum" is to be understood as the act of some central body². At the same time the relations of Count and citizens are not perplexed with feudalism. Two ingredients of the town's prosperity are not mentioned. One was the mint of Susa, which, if founded by Humbert II, finally ousted that of Aiguebelle in Amadeus' time, and supplied a large district³. The other was the toll-freedom of Susa, which we know was granted to Asti, the chief trading town for the Mont Cenis route⁴, and which we find still in existence as a general right c. 1200⁵. Neither Counts nor townsmen were inclined to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs.

When we compare Amadeus III's entourage with his father's, we find that his influence over his vassals, and perhaps the number of the latter, are clearly growing. Nobles of Maurienne⁶, Savoy proper⁷, Sermorens⁸, Belley⁹, Tarentaise¹⁰, and Aosta¹¹, appear in his charters in goodly number. But also we find fresh districts represented among them. Thus from New-Chablais there come Rudolf I de Faucigny¹²

aut sagittarium, et cuiuscumque possessionis fuerit, et ipsum et que cum eo vel sine capta fuerint, habeat et sint sua, excepta sola militis persona que tibi reddatur." Presumably these mounted *rustici* are the servile or semi-servile men-at-arms. See Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 184-7.

¹ "Si fuerint extranei et preoccupati, sua sint sub tuo velle, preter vestimenta que sunt hospitii et quinta parte aliarum rerum que est ecclesie baptismalis et parrochialis" (cols. 5-6).

² See above, p. 305, n. 3.

³ See above, p. 276. Aiguebelle money does not seem to be heard of after the time of St Hugh of Grenoble (ob. 1132).

⁴ See above, p. 219.

⁵ In Count Thomas' confirmation among the additions (see above, p. 303, n. 9), "Liberalitas nostra est quousque ad Mare Calabrium nullum transitum vel usum reddere debemus. Hac de causa fuit omnibus Italicis datum ut nullum transitum huc veniendo reddant, in redeundo mediam partem transitus."

⁶ e.g., the de la Chambre (Car. Reg. CCXLV. (1104), CCLXXXIII. (1137)).

⁷ e.g. the de Tournon (Car. Reg. CCLXXXIII. (1137)); the de Chambéry (Car. Reg. CCXCII. (1147)).

⁸ e.g. the de Bocozel (Car. Reg. CCXLV. (1104), CCLXXII. (c. 1138)).

⁹ e.g. the de Rossillon (Car. Reg. CCXLV. (1104), CCLXXVI. (c. 1140)).

¹⁰ e.g. the de Briançon (Car. Reg. CCLVI. (1111-22), *Sup.* XXXIV. (1139)).

¹¹ e.g. the de Châtillon (Viscounts) (Car. Reg. CCLXII. (1125), CCXCV. (1147)).

¹² Car. Reg. CCLXIII. (=CCLXII.) (1125).

and the Sires d'Allinge¹; from Old-Chablais the Sires de Blonay²; from the Vallais the Sires de Saillon³, and from the land in the Genevois along the Upper Rhone towards Geneva, the Sires de Rumilly⁴, and the Dean of Chézery⁵. Even a noble from Graisivaudan, Guigues de Domène, is at his court⁶. Except the last, none of these perhaps were quite new vassals; but their attendance shows an increased power over them⁷.

Perhaps we can detect among these attestors the names of those Amadeus III particularly trusted, by means of their frequency, as well as by definite statements. Foremost come the great ecclesiastics who so much influenced him, St Hugh of Grenoble, St Peter of Tarentaise and Amadeus d'Hauterive, Abbot of Hautecombe⁸ and later Bishop of Lausanne. Then members of the families of Bocozel, of Bogis (? Bauges)⁹ and of Ameysin¹⁰, and the Italian Ardizzo di Barge¹¹ seem much in his company; but except that we are told that Ardizzo was an able man with a good knowledge of law, we know nothing of them.

Lastly, it may be as well to mention the places where it is certain Amadeus resided a longer or shorter time. In Burgundy we find him at Yenne¹², at St Maurice¹³, at Aosta¹⁴, at Tamié¹⁵, at Chambéry¹⁶, at Conflans¹⁷, and at St Julien in Maurienne¹⁸; in Italy, at Susa¹⁹, at

¹ Car. Reg. CCXLVII. (1108), CCLXXII. (c. 1138).

² Car. Reg. CCXLVII. (1108), CCLXXXIII. (c. 1125, see above, p. 301, n. 1).

³ Car. Reg. CCLXXII. (c. 1138, see above, p. 301, n. 4), CCLXXXVIII. (1143).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCXLVI. (c. 1108), CCXCII. (c. 1147).

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLX. (c. 1121-5).

⁶ Car. Reg. CCXCII. (c. 1147). No doubt his presence has something to do with the dowry of Countess Matilda.

⁷ I omit the Italian vassals here, as they have already been mentioned on p. 286. Certain nobles of the town and valley of Susa also appear in Amadeus' Italian documents.

⁸ Car. Reg. CCCXXIV. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 38), Amadeus d'Hauterive says to Humbert III: "Cum devoto servitio reverentissimus comes, pater vester, in suo recessu, mihi tanquam intimo amico studiose injunxit, ut ad honorem dignitatis vestrae et ad incolumitatem terrae pro modo meo diligenter evigilarem."

⁹ e.g. Car. Reg. CCLVIII. CCLXXX., *Sup.* xxxiv., *Reg.* CMXLVIII., and also *Reg.* CCLXXXII., and *Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* xvii. p. 135, where the name is distorted.

¹⁰ e.g. Car. Reg. CCLXXVI. CCLXXVII. CCLXXX. CCLXXXVIII. CCXCIV. Ameysin is close to Yenne.

¹¹ e.g. Car. Reg. CCLXXV. CCLXXXIX. CCXCIV.

¹² Car. Reg. CCXLVI. (so Guigue, *Petit Cartul. St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 29, *Gallia Christiana*, xv. reads *Genevae*), CCLIX. CCLX.

¹³ Car. Reg. CCXLVII. *M.D.R.* xviii. 355, Car. Reg. CCLXVI.

¹⁴ *Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* xvii. 135 (Car. Reg. CCXCv. probably).

¹⁵ See above, p. 298, n. 2.

¹⁶ Car. Reg. CCLXXX.

¹⁷ Car. Reg. CCLXXXIII.

¹⁸ Car. Reg. CCLXXXVIII.

¹⁹ Car. Reg. CCXLVIII. CCXCIV.

S. Ambrogio¹, at Turin², at Rivalta³, and at Avigliana⁴. Of his *albergariae* we only know those at Yenne⁵ and at Turin⁶; but at Tamié and S. Ambrogio at least he would be guest of a monastery⁷. Perhaps we may draw a deduction as to his favourite residences from the monastery which he founded at Hautecombe and the title he occasionally used of Count of Savoy⁸. Hitherto the little province seems not to have been customary as a predicate although we really do not know what style Humbert Whitehands preferred. In another generation or two Count of Savoy was to be the leading title of the Humbertines.

There was in fact a considerable variation in the style used by Amadeus III. In his earlier and in some later documents, he takes the simple title of *Comes*: but his more frequent preference is for *Comes et Marchio* like his father⁹. For predicates we find once the singular *Burgundiae et Lombardiae Comes*, which must refer to his dual position, "Count both in Burgundy and in Lombardy"¹⁰; once *Comes Taurinensis* which I have discussed above¹¹; and once *Comes Mauriannensis*, "Count of Maurienne." It was this last predicate by which he was usually known to his contemporaries¹², and doubtless the fact shows that Maurienne was considered the centre of the Savoyard dominions in the twelfth century. Only one trustworthy instance of a predicate to *Marchio* is known for his time, and that does not occur in his charters¹³. The form is *Marchio Italiae* and should mean "Marquess in the kingdom of Italy," like *Lombardiae Comes*. He was already docketed for public identification as "of Maurienne": and the addition of *Italiae* would only emphasize the fact that he claimed to be one of the Marquesses of the *Regnum Italicum*, once so often called collectively and severally, in allusion to their eminent position, *Marchiones Italarum*¹⁴.

¹ Car. Reg. CMXLVIII.

² Car. Reg. CCLVI. CCLXVIII. CCLXXXIX.

³ Car. Reg. CCLXIX.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXXXII.

⁵ Car. Reg. CCLX. "in domo Sibodi Falsi."

⁶ Car. Reg. CCLXVIII. "in domo Johannis Baderii."

⁷ "In claustro S. Ambrogii." It belonged to S. Michele della Chiusa.

⁸ For the contemporary use of the title, see p. 292, n. 5, and p. 298, n. 2. These instances give some (but not too much) support to the instances in Guichenon (Car. Reg. CCL. CCLXIV.).

⁹ Cf. above, pp. 284, 292, n. 3, and 297, n. 1.

¹⁰ See above, p. 286, n. 2.

¹¹ See above, p. 286.

¹² Cf. below, pp. 309, n. 3, 311, n. 3, *id.* n. 4, 312, n. 2, and Car. Reg. CCLXII., *Misc. Valdost.*, B.S.S.S. XVII. p. 85.

¹³ See above, p. 298, n. 2. No original diploma calls him *Marchio in Italia* (correct Car. Reg. CCLXII.).

¹⁴ This conclusion is contrary to that of Prof. Gabotto in *Studi Pinerolesi*, B.S.S.S. 1. 97-8. I can find no passage which implies that *Marchio in Italia* was a special

The last year of Amadeus' life is concerned with his second crusade¹. The whole of Christendom had waked to the need of defending the Holy Land against the reviving power of the Moslems. In 1144 Zengy, the Atabeg of Mosul, had begun the reconquest of Syria by the capture of Edessa; and his son Nur-ed-din was still more formidable. Now the foremost man in Europe, St Bernard of Clairvaux, took the lead in the agitation for a new crusade to drive back the infidel, and place the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem in security. In Easter 1146 Louis VII of France took the cross at Vézelay from St Bernard's hands, and in a scene of wild fervour the assembled nobles followed his example. At Christmas the German Conrad III did the same. Meanwhile, presumably during one of St Bernard's provincial journeys, Amadeus III had been urged to join his forces to his nephew's. He does not seem to have taken the cross anew without reluctance, however; and an appeal was necessary to the Pope, Eugenius III, then seeking an asylum in France from the revolutionary insubordination of his Romans. By the 7th March 1147, he had reached Susa from Vercelli²; and by the 8th, if not before, Amadeus had made up his mind. Moved by the Pope's exhortations he had assumed the cross³.

title of the Ardoinids. Manfred's mark of course lay in Italy (see above, p. 153, n. 17); but *Marchio Italarum* or *Marchiones Italiae* is a description applied indifferently to Oddo I of Savoy-Turin in 1066 (Lampert. Hersfeld. ed. Holder-Egger, p. 104), the Otbertines in 1014 (Arnulf. Mediol. I. 18, *M.G.H. Script.* VIII. 11) and the Marquesses in general in 1025 (Count Fulk of Anjou, Migne CXXI. 838). Later, "Ottonis Marchionis de Italia" is used by the twelfth century Ann. Saxo. (*M.G.H. Script.* VI. 695) as an emendation of Ekkehard's "Ottonis cujusdam Italici" (*M.G.H. Script.* VI. 199). Hence I think that the chief reason why the Savoyards did not take an ordinary territorial predicate (like Saluzzo, Ceva, etc.) was that they already possessed one in their county of Maurienne or of Savoy. They never take the styles of all their possessions (Aosta, Belley, etc.).

¹ For his first, see above, p. 281. That he went twice is proved by Car. *Reg.* CCCIV. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* pp. 67 ff.): "Cum Amedeus illustris comes et marchio...ire jam secundo Ierosolymam intenderet et cum rege Francorum nobilissimo Lodoico, viz., nepote suo se ad debellandas nationes barbaras prepararet."

² Jaffé, 9009.

³ This is a reconstruction, influenced by the similar conduct of Louis VII of France. The relevant texts are as follows. Car. *Reg.* CCXCIV. (Cipolla, *Le più antiche carte... di S. Giusto di Susa*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 94): "Ego...Amedeus comes, corde compunctus, inspiratione ut credo divina, recordans attentius facinorum meorum, a domno beatissimo papa Eugenio conmonitus et instructus, acceptaque ab eo penitentia, Iherosolimam ire ac sepulcrum nostri Redemptoris visitare cupiens, etc." This is dated on 8 March 1147, Eugenius III being present. Count Cipolla considers the document a false original, and its script to date c. 1200. It is difficult to see what part of the contents is not genuine. Cf. above, p. 197, n. 2. *De glor. rege Ludovico* (ed. Molinier), p. 159, "Eodem quoque tempore, Conradus imperator Alemannie ..crucem accepit, et Ferricus, dux Saxonie, nepos ejus, postea imperator, Amatus etiam comes Moriane, avunculus regis Ludovici, in quorum comitatu multi

Next day Eugenius had taken his leave and was in the Dauphin's town of Oulx preparatory to crossing by the Mont Genève towards Lyons¹.

Amadeus III remained behind to raise the necessary funds for so great an enterprise as that of the crusade of 1147. During the Pope's presence in Susa, he had raised 11,000 Susian *solidi* by the grant of a confirmatory charter to S. Giusto di Susa, which included the surrender to the abbey of his comital income in the lower Susian valley². A general confirmation to St Sulpice about this time suggests a further source of supply³; but we are clearly informed of his dealings with St Maurice⁴. Through all its vicissitudes that abbey had succeeded in retaining a golden *tabula* set with precious stones. The gold alone was said to be worth sixty-six marks of gold. Now it was given to the Count to be broken up, although part of the jewels were reserved. In return he pawned to the Canons his comital dues in Val d'Entremont and Champéry, amounting to at least fifty pounds of silver yearly⁵, till the *tabula* or its value could be restored. What a loss this concession was, appears when we remember that the Val d'Entremont was the Great St Bernard route.

fuerunt." This suggests Amadeus' vow was later than Conrad's at Christmas 1146. Amatus here is a wrong Latinization of Amadeus' vernacular name Amé. *Car. Reg. CCXCII.* (Guigue, *Petit. Cartul. de St Sulpice en Bugey*, p. 2): "Tempore igitur illo quo publice Dei gratia per predicationem domni Bernardi abbatis Clarevallensis, regem Francorum cum innumerabilibus Christiani nominis confessoribus, ad susceptionem Ierosolimitane peregrinationis incitavit, ego Amedeus, comes et marchio, eadem nimirum gratia et exemplo vocatus ad Dei militiam pro defensione vivifice crucis, contempto consulatus honore, ejusdem crucis insignitus munimine convolavi."

¹ Jaffé, 9009.

² *Car. Reg. CCXCIV.* (see above, p. 309, n. 3): "receptum nostrum comitale quod accipiebamus in Vigonio et in Almisio, Rubiana, Capriis, Gondoviis, Burgonio et S. Antonino. Insuper quidquid habere omnino videbamus a castello Petra usque ad pratum de Helomosina et a Duria usque ad Lazzerias, excepta solummodo venditione." The Duria is of course the Dora Riparia; Castel Pietro is now a part of Susa. The other localities in the second clause were doubtless near. See Cipolla, *op. cit.* p. 51.

³ *Car. Reg. CCXCII.* (see above, p. 309, n. 3).

⁴ There are two documents recording the transaction, both dated 1150. One emanates from Amadeus, Bishop of Lausanne, late Abbot of Hauterive (*Car. Reg. CCXCVIII. CCCIV.*, *Cibrario e Promis, Doc.* p. 67); the other from Count Humbert III (*Car. Reg. CCCIII. op. cit.* p. 64).

⁵ See the two accounts: (a) *Car. Reg. CCCIV.* "hac conditione interposita, ut gatgeriam habentes canonici de receptum ipsius redditibus L. libras vel eo amplius annuatim recipent, donec ipse vel ejus filius aut tabulam reficerent aut tabule pretium ecclesie restaurarent." (b) *Car. Reg. CCCIII.* "receptus de Camblaro (? Champéry or Champex) et de Intermontibus pro tabula aurea valente LXVI. marcas auri...in vadimonium posuit." To judge from the arrangements concerning the Vallée de Bagnes, the *receptus* was the Count's commuted right of *albergaria*. See below, p. 431.

When all his arrangements were concluded, and his boy-son commended to the care of his old friend, Bishop Amadeus of Lausanne, Amadeus set out, apparently in the summer of 1147. His numbers were swelled, not only by south French and Lombard pilgrims, such as the Count of Auvergne and his half-brother, Marquess William VI the Old of Montferrat, but also by many who left the unwieldy main army of the French at Worms¹. In view of the remarkable splendour of this ill-fated second crusade, we may infer that many of the Count's principal vassals and relatives went with him, if we do not know their names for the most part². But it should be emphasized that, whoever they were who went, these Burgundian nobles crusaded with their French kindred in utter disregard of the expedition led in the same year by their suzerain Conrad III, King of the Romans.

It would be outside the scope of the present study to dwell much on the second crusade, in which Amadeus' share was not happy. With William the Old and the Count of Auvergne, he crossed from Brindisi to Durazzo³, and reached Constantinople late in October 1147, when King Louis VII had already crossed the Bosphorus. The new arrivals could not get across at first and were short of victuals; but an experience of their plundering expeditions soon induced the Greeks to transport them, and they joined the main army. When King Louis met the King of the Romans retreating in wretched plight at Nicaea, Amadeus and William the Old and two Lorrainers were told off to reinforce him⁴. No doubt this was because they were his liegemen; but, when after Christmas Conrad III returned to Constantinople, Amadeus proceeded with his nephew. The incident throws a clear light upon the then relations of Burgundy with the Empire.

It was unfortunate for Amadeus that he continued the march.

¹ Odo de Deuil, II. (18, Migne CLXXXV.), "Exinde (Worms) multi de turba se per Alpes a nobis separaverunt, quia omnia prae multitudine carius emebantur." Many of these no doubt crossed the Great St Bernard.

² I cannot put much faith in the list of Amadeus' companions given by Pingone and copied by Guichenon (*Car. Reg. CCXCVII.*, see Ménabréa, *Les origines féodales*, p. 504). The names could be put together from documents of the time, and Pingone is far from above suspicion as an historian.

³ Odo de Deuil, IV. (39, *op. cit.*): "Caeterum dum rex venientes per Apuliam expectat inter Brundisium et Dyrrachium transfretantes, solemnitas Beati Dionysii (3 Oct.) accidit." *id.* IV. (44): "Fuit iterum opus morarum, tum quia comes Morianensis et marchio de Monteferrato, avunculi regis, Alvernensis comes et plures alii quos expectabamus, ultra urbem (Constantinopolim) in conspectu nostro tentoria fixerant, tum quia, etc."

⁴ Odo de Deuil, V. (55, *op. cit.*), "Rex episcoporum et baronum consilio suos avunculos, Moriannensem comitem et marchisum de Monteferrato, suosque cognatos Metensem episcopum et fratrem ejus comitem Renaldum et quosdam alios sibi (Conrado) sociavit."

With Geoffrey de Rancogne he commanded the vanguard of the host. They left Laodicea prosperously in January 1148 on their way from the Maeander to the coast at Attalia, when the daily harassing fight with the Turks and the shortage of provisions began. At last, in crossing a defile of the Taurus, the two van-commanders were ordered to encamp on the ridge of the pass, and there to receive their companions, but, seduced by the speed they had made, they hurried on. A crushing disaster was the consequence. The rest of the army was caught in the defile by the enemy; the rear, with the camp-followers, was almost annihilated; and Louis himself could only reach the distant camp of the vanguard by a mixture of desperate courage and good fortune. Geoffrey de Rancogne only escaped hanging owing to the great rank and name of his fellow-culprit¹.

Even when they reached Attalia—Satalie—the troubles of the wretched host were still thick upon them. Unhorsed, short of provisions, and with a paucity of ships, they were in the greatest straits, and, strange thing in a crusade, if natural enough, many became Moslems to escape starvation. Louis, with the knights of name, set sail in February for Antioch, leaving lesser men to get through to Syria along the coast if they could. It was the only thing to be done, but few of those left ashore ever were to see Syria or France. Although the direct route to Antioch by sea was a three days' sail, the French King took three weeks over it. It would seem that he crossed first to Cyprus. There the Count of Savoy must have been left invalided, for he died, perhaps at Nicosia, about the beginning of April 1148², without having been able to fulfil his crusader's vow. His misfortunes had been only too true a type of the wreck of one of the most splendid armaments ever sent forth by Europe. All through its progress knightly courage and religious zeal had been unable to rescue the crusaders

¹ Odo de Deuil, vi. (63, Migne CLXXXV.): "In quo Gaufridus de Rancone rancorem meruit sempiternum, quem ipse (rex) cum suo avunculo Morianensi comite miserat primum." *id.* vii. (64) "Inter haec populus omnis Gaufridum judicabat dignum suspendio, qui de diaeta non obedierat precepto regio, et forsitan ejus avunculum quem habebat in culpa socium, habuit etiam de vindicta patronum. Quia cum essent ambo rei, et esset parcendum regis avunculo non debebat alter sine altero condemnari." For the history of the march, see Archer, *History of the Crusades*. Count Amadeus' share in the disaster, and the whole story of it, have often been glozed over, e.g. by Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 507.

² Sigeberti *Contin. Praemonstat.* (M.G.H. Script. vi. 453), "1148...Amedeus comes Maurianensis in Cipro insula obit." The day is given by an ancient necrology as *Kal. Ap.* (Mallet, *Doc. Genevois inédits pour la généalogie...de la Maison de Savoie*, Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino, Ser. II. Vol. XVI.). This is perhaps more trustworthy than the later Anniversary of Abundance (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 349) which gives *III Kal. Ap.* There is no mention of Amadeus III after January 1148, and Louis was in Palestine in March 1149. See Savio, *I primi conti ecc.* p. 496.

from the consequences of their own feudal turbulence, their brigandage, their reckless lack of strategy and their utter ignorance of the lands and peoples with whom they had to deal.

Amadeus III was at least fifty-three at the time of his death. He had married twice. By his first wife Adelaide, who was still alive in July 1133, he probably had a daughter Adelaide or Alice, wife of Humbert III of Beaujeu¹. By his second wife Majes of Albon, he had several children. The eldest was probably his successor, Humbert III, who already "laudat" a grant in January 1137. We may put his birth in 1135². Four other daughters are known. The eldest would be Matilda, who married King Affonso I of Portugal³. Another was Agnes Countess of the Genevois, who was probably the first wife of William I, Count of the Genevois from 1178 to 1195. If so she died some time before 1172⁴. Further, two daughters were nuns. Juliana became Abbess of St André-le-haut at Vienne and died on the 31st July 1194⁵. Margaret is said to have founded the nunnery of Bons in Bugey and to have taken the veil there⁶. She is last heard of in 1157⁷.

We are not quite so badly off for a description of Amadeus III's personal character, as we are for those of many of his line, although the evidence to hand does not amount to much. If we are to trust the statements of his charters, he had led a riotous youth⁸. Yet perhaps

¹ See above, pp. 294-5.

² See above, p. 292.

³ See above, p. 292.

⁴ She is known from her sister's epitaph; see next note. Savio, *I primi conti ecc.* pp. 488-95, shows on chronological grounds that William I was probably her husband, and gives reason for thinking that Humbert of the Genevois (ob. c. 1221) was her son. This view is supported by a charter, dated 1175, of the Abbey of Chézery (which I think is still unpublished). Here we have "G. Comes, Amedei comitis filius, laudante uxore sua Beatrice et Humberto filio suo" (*Cartul. de Chézery* [Bibl. de la ville de Dôle, ms. 137], p. 1). If Humbert were Beatrice's child, we should expect "filius eorum."

⁵ See her epitaph (Savio, *op. cit.* p. 489), now in the Sagra S. Michele della Chiusa, "Pridie Kal. Aug. obiit Domna Juliana Abbatissa S. Andree que habebat de proprio fratris sui Umberti comiti Sabaudie et de proprio Agnetis sororis sue Gebennensis comitisse equina animalia XXIII. que dedit conventui ejusdem ecclesie, ut in die obiti sui habeat conventus singulis annis viginti solidos ad refectionem. MC. nonagesimo IIII." Cf. Terrebasse, *Inscriptions...de Vienne* (v. 251), who gives another instance of the phrase "equina animalia." Yet I cannot help guessing that the word *jornalia* lies hid in it, and that the *jornal*, a measure of land, is really intended, which could yield an annual income.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCXVIII. dated 1157. See Savio, *op. cit.* p. 487.

⁷ To these children we may add "Willelmus frater comitis," who appears in 1173 (Car. Reg. CCCXLVI. *Gesta Regis Henrici*, Rolls Series, I. 37). He was probably a bastard.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 309, n. 3. See also Car. *Sup.* xxxiv., "pro solvendis contagiis meorum peccaminum."

they are merely due to religious feeling. Throughout his maturer life, he shows himself a devout furtherer of monasticism and a friend of holy men. His intimacy with St Peter of Tarentaise in the latter's monastic days led him to make that gift of a vineyard to Tamié in order that the abstemious rigour of the Abbey might be mitigated by some creature-comforts when he paid it a visit¹. If his actual gifts to the Church were small, this was due to his poverty; the renovation of St Maurice proves he could be very generous. For the rest he was a warrior-count, who greatly revived the fame of his house. Although his generalship is rather depreciated by his doings in the second crusade, his ability must have been considerable, and his dominions long benefited by the monasteries he founded. As to his policy, nothing is more marked than the fact of his aloofness from the Empire. His alliances and connections were with his Burgundian and French neighbours. He invaded Piedmont as an independent claimant, not as an imperial vassal; and this attitude, due originally to the conduct of the latter Franconian Emperors, was no doubt a chief cause of the hostility of Lothar II to him and of Frederick Barbarossa to his son. Conrad III left things alone: but his nephew definitely opposed the re-creation of the mark of Turin. The imperial policy with regard to Piedmont in the twelfth century was to further its partition among small city-states and fractional lordships, which if they could not help could not hinder the Emperors' movements or policy.

One outcome of Amadeus' religious tendencies remains to be noticed, which, if in a way trivial, yet has an interest and a prolonged existence which is not always granted to things more essential. This was his assumption and choice of a coat of arms. On an Aostan charter of his, dated in 1137, the original being still preserved, there hangs the seal of the Count². Its reverse bears the historic shield of Savoy and its famous cross. We may infer that, as even the fabulous *Chroniques* tell in a distorted fashion³, Amadeus III first assumed it; he was a contemporary of Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou and other of the earliest bearers of coat-armour. But the necessities of politics were to lead to the cross' supersession for a time, and it is not till the days of his namesake, Amadeus V, that it became the permanent banner of the House of Savoy⁴.

¹ See above, p. 298, n. 2.

² Car. Reg. CCLXXVII. (*Misc. Valdost.*, B.S.S.S. xvii. p. 87, where a facsimile is given).

³ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 112-15. Only they make it the cross of the Grand Master of Rhodes, bringing in also a later Amadeus.

⁴ See Pivano in *Misc. Valdost.*, B.S.S.S. xvii. 79-81. Count Gerbaix de Sonnaz, *L'Aquila e la Croce di Savoia ecc.* pointed out the origin of the Cross of Savoy in

If we look for some permanent result among the many scattered doings of Amadeus III and his father Humbert II, it must be found in the fact that the later medieval state of Savoy has its first clear beginnings with them. With Adelaide of Turin and Humbert Whitehands, our attention is still absorbed by the fast-decaying institutions of the Carolingian era. Whitehands rules various countships in the vanishing kingdom of Burgundy; Adelaide is the heiress of one of the doomed Italian marks. But Amadeus possesses a territory which hardly forms a part of any larger unit; the connection with the Empire is slender, and wholly expressed by feudal vassalage, and, if his own dominions are incoherent, the Count's *curia* forms a link to unite them. Feudalism by now has won its uttermost victory. However feudal and feudalizing Amadeus may be, the tide has turned in his day, and the public authority is using his feudal armour to protect and express his supremacy. He has placed his blazon on the shield. And in spite of the darkness that hangs over the Burgundian policy of the Counts we know enough to gather that it is of the same type as that of which they followed in the thirteenth century. The rivalry with the Dauphiné and the Genevois, the ceaseless efforts to extend their dominion over the lesser lords to west and north, and the attraction towards the French group of states which owned the Capetians for their overlords, had already begun.

Amadeus III's first crusade, which he places in 1123-6. But he saves the eagle, borne by Count Thomas I c. 1200, for the earliest bearing of the House by assigning it to the Counts preceding Amadeus III. There is no evidence for this last view, and it is improbable; since armorial bearings were only being assumed c. 1100-50. They only became general in the next hundred years. See Woodward, *Heraldry, British and Foreign*, New ed. Chap. III. esp. pp. 44-51.

CHAPTER IV

COUNT HUMBERT III

SECTION I. HUMBERT III'S EARLY RULE (1148-68).

HITHERTO we have had to deal with a series of energetic princes, who in ill or bad fortune were still the most important factors in the history of their lands. But with Humbert III there comes a change. The times are bustling enough. World-famous events were taking place round him. He had to face a new and dangerous development of imperial policy. But in the midst of this stir the Count sits a quiet and stolid figure. He has a trick of fading away in times of excitement, which is provoking to a narrator. In despair the *Chroniques* of his House decided to make him the Saint of the family; they attributed to him the foundation of Hautecombe, Le Bourget and Aulphs, in order to swell his annals, and dwell lingeringly on the popular pressure by which the would-be monk was induced to marry three times, and on his return, each time he became a widower, to religious seclusion¹. It was Padre Savio², who showed first what a trifling foundation in fact there was for this monastic character of Humbert III; and his views have been accepted by Professor Gabotto³ and Herr Hellmann⁴. Padre Savio, however, has included in his thesis the proposition that Humbert was really an active, adventurous warrior; and it is here that I have to desert his guidance. It is true that, aided by the defensible character of his dominions and the loyalty of his people, Humbert after all weathered the storms of forty years; we find Savoy at the end of his rule much where it was at the beginning; but beyond a kind of patient,

¹ *M.H.P.* Script. II. 120-30.

² *I primi conti di Savoia*, pp. 497-537.

³ *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo ecc.*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 122-3.

⁴ *Die Grafen v. Savoyen u. das Reich*. pp. 42-3.

passive inflexibility, it is difficult to detect any kind of talent in the Count, and the few personal hints we have of him taken altogether make it likely that he was a poor creature. So much premised, I may proceed, but it seemed best to mention that what has been described as feebleness by some, to others has worn the guise of vigour.

When the news of his father's death reached Humbert III, probably about June 1148, he was about fifteen years old and still under age. It was therefore necessary to elect a Tutor for him. Seemingly his mother was dead. At any rate nothing is heard of her. A council was held of his chief vassals to consider the question. The experience of Amadeus III's minority¹ and perhaps the doubtful character of Humbert's surviving uncle, Raynald, made them reject the notion of electing a neighbour, such as the Duke of Zähringen, nominal suzerain of the Count, or other laymen. A better candidate was Amadeus, Bishop of Lausanne and late Abbot of Hautecombe, a man of high character, a feudal potentate and an old friend of Amadeus III². The latter had begged him to counsel his young son, and after some pressure the good Bishop took up the task of regency³. It seems to have lasted till early in 1150, as we find Humbert, acting on his own responsibility⁴, if also on Bishop Amadeus' advice⁵, in that year.

Humbert's disasters began early, even during the regency. By the

¹ See above, pp. 278, and 283-4.

² See above, p. 307. He also stood well with King Conrad III. See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 43.

³ *Car. Reg. CCXCVIII.* (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 67), "Cum predictus Humbertus, morte sui patris audita, adhuc tenerioris aetatis, ferre aut implere comitatus negotia non valeret, inito consilio cum suis, nos (Amadeum episcopum) mandavit; quid vellent aperuit; ut comitem et ipsius terram tueremur, obnixius deprecati sunt. Verebantur etiam quia si duci vel comiti seu saeculari cuilibet potestati tuitionem illam committerent, forsitan non fidelis tutor, sed potius improbus et avarus exactor, propriis utilitatibus consulens quibusque melioribus terrae sublatis pupilli hereditatem pauperem et inopem quandoque relicturus, interim spoliaret. Sane nos, etsi nostri propositi non fuisset, crebri et instanti deprecatione flexi, et quorundam venerabilium et religiosiorum virorum persuasione compulsi, et quam in Umbertum comitem et patrem ejus semper habuimus nimia caritate devicti, tuitionis suscepimus curam." The allusion to the Duke of Zähringen has not previously been noticed. There was no other Duke in Burgundy or North Italy. Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 515-9 tries to show Humbert III was about twenty-three years old at his accession; but he omitted to notice that Amadeus III could not well marry Matilda till 1134.

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCCIII.* (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64) dated 1150, "Postquam mei juris et potestatis fui, cartam super hoc fieri, ne oblivione deleteretur, volui et eam proprio sigillo signare...precepi."

⁵ To the same epoch I refer *Car. Reg. CCCXXIV.* (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 38), containing Bishop Amadeus' advice: and the dated documents of 1150 (*Car. Reg. CCCIII. CCCIV.*) recording the settlement. Humbert would then be about fourteen or fifteen years of age.

beginning of July 1149, war was already customary between him and the citizens of Turin¹. If then as urged above², Amadeus III had recovered Turin in 1138, the city doubtless revolted at latest on the news of his death. A considerable shrinkage of the Count's power must have followed, Rivalta coming under Turinese dominion. An alliance, too, was formed between Turin, Asti and Vercelli.

There were other difficulties too. Raynald, the ex-Provost of St Maurice, was appropriating his former lands, and had to be repressed. It was the Val d'Entremont he specially seized on it seems³, but he was soon turned out. We find Humbert coming to St Maurice in 1150⁴, together with the Bishops of Lausanne and Sion. A settlement was then arrived at by Bishop Amadeus' advice. There was an obvious disadvantage in pledging dues on the highway of St Bernard, and the pledged *receptus* were given back to the Count, who on his side agreed to pay the Abbey 100 marks of silver and 2 of gold in four yearly instalments, and to cede also his *receptus* in the Val de Bagnes as a final acquittance of the debt⁵.

While I am about the Count's domestic troubles, his first two marriages may be mentioned. By January 1152⁶ he was married to a certain Faidiva, who was very likely a daughter of Alphonse Jourdain and Faidiva of Toulouse⁷. She appears to have died childless, and his

¹ Car. Reg. CCXCIX. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 196). By this treaty Rinaldo di Rivalta becomes a vassal of the city of Turin. He reserves his fealty to the Emperor, the citizens their treaties with their Bishop (made in Rivoli), the Astigians and Vercellese. During war he is to reside in Turin, "excepto per guerram comitis...Praeterea dederunt ei in clusa Taurinensi si haberent werram cum comite tantum quantum Gualfredus ibi habet ex quo werra incepta foret, donec pace perfrueretur." Of course Rivalta was most exposed to a Savoyard attack.

² See pp. 289-90.

³ Car. Reg. CCCXIV. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 38), "caveatis ne domnus Raynaldus ecclesiam S. Mauricii laedat. Violenter enim eam invadit, auferendo praeposituram quam absolute fide interposita dimiserat coram comite et archiepiscopo Tarentasiensi ac plerisque aliis, ruinis etiam et calumniis repetit terram nostri juris, quam sub nomine pignoris dedit ecclesiae pater vester pro tabula aurea quam Ierosolimam deportat. Haec itaque repetitio fit contra securitatem quam dedit comes et contra profectum (?preceptum) vestrum." The whole tenor of the document shows it to be written before the news of Amadeus III's death was to hand.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64), "Cum post mortem patris mei de negotiis meis tractaturus Agaunum venissem." Car. Reg. CCCIV. (*id.* p. 67), "Agaunum devenimus (i.e. Amadeus). Affuit et Lodoicus...Sedun. episcopus, etc."

⁵ See the two accounts quoted in preceding note, and cf. for the transaction below, p. 538. "Consilii nostri fuit," says Amadeus of Lausanne in CCCIV.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCVIII. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 134). The date is 1151 *ab incarnatione*, which should be 1152; the indiction XIII. suits only 1150.

⁷ The only evidence is the similarity of name, but the age of her presumed parents is suitable. See Savio, *I primi conti*, pp. 520-1.

next bride was Gertrude, daughter of Thierry Count of Flanders¹. What the cause of disagreement with the new Countess was, has not transpired; but Humbert ended by imprisoning her. From this captivity she was rescued by a daring member of her brother, Count Philip's, court², and a divorce from Humbert was obtained. By 1168 she was married again, this time to a certain Hugh d'Oisy, only to be again divorced. She then became a nun at Messines before 1177, and so vanished from history³. No child of Humbert's by her is recorded.

While Humbert's own history has this meaningless disconnected character, a well-defined series of events was affecting Burgundy as a whole, and even the torpid Count was drawn within their influence. Conrad III of Hohenstaufen had died in February 1152 and his nephew, Frederick I Barbarossa, was elected King of the Romans in his stead. The new monarch, whose fame has overshadowed that of all his predecessors and successors, save Charlemagne, was resolved to restore the Empire to its whilom glory as it existed before the struggle with the Papacy. The task of reasserting his authority in Germany, where the consciousness of a national kingdom was still strong, was comparatively easy. Even Conrad III had ruled there. But the Empire was an absurdity without the Kingdom of Italy, and owed something of its universal character to that of Burgundy. The new King's ambition, therefore, was to recover the actual government of Italy and to create a real central power in Burgundy. The latter aim, when accomplished, would serve first as an instrument to attain the former and then as a guarantee for it. In short, the policy of Conrad the Salic was to be revived.

The conditions, however, for the Burgundian enterprise were less favourable at first, than those in Conrad II's time. A century of practical independence, outside the limits of the Jura and Alps, had left the great local seigneurs free to build up permanent petty feudal states.

¹ Cf. Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 521-5. *Car. Reg. CCCXXXIII. Geneal. Comit. Fland. (M.G.H. Script. IX. 327)*, "Filiarum quoque (Theodorici) Gertrudis primogenita nupsit primo comiti de Moriana; a quo separata nupsit iterum Hugoni de Oisi; ab hoc quoque sejuncta Mencinis sanctimonialis est effecta."

² *Anon. Laudunens. (M.G.H. Script. XXVI. 448)*, "Hic (Robert d'Arie, Bishop-elect of Cambrai)...amorem comitis Philippi Flandriarum eo fuerat adeptus, quod sororem comitis de custodia comitis de Savoia, mariti sui, sua industria eripuit et eam comiti Flandriarum, fratri suo, restituit." In spite of the legendary character of the *Anon. Laudun.* this tale seems to me a genuine piece of scandal. How should it grow from nothing? And there are no graphic folk-tale details. The tale has escaped the notice of the courtly historians of Savoy.

³ For the dates, see Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 523-4, who cites as authorities, Le Glay, *Glossaire topographique de l'ancien Cambrésis*, p. 61, Duchesne, *Histoire de Coucy*, and Auberti Miraei (ed. Foppens) *Opera diplom. et historica*, III. p. 54.

Such were the Franche Comté, Savoy, the Dauphiné and Provence. Now all these Counts were drawn by language, sympathy and inclination into the circle of French civilization of north or south. In practice the Empire had disintegrated in that quarter and the freed fragments were losing all connection with the main body. Such, for Savoy, had been the moral of what in this connection we may call the *reign* of Amadeus III. The Emperor Lothar II had not been blind to the course of events nor uninventive of a remedy. His scheme had been the restoration of the Rectorate of Burgundy, once held by Rudolf of Rheinfelden. Thus something like a German tribal Dukedom was to be established, with a wider sphere, but less actual authority. What the Emperors could not do for themselves ambitious viceroys were to do for them. Nor were the new Rectors or Dukes of Burgundy, the Dukes of Zähringen, quite unprovided for the task set before them. With wide lands in the Duchy of Swabia they combined very considerable possessions in north-west Burgundy, both in the German and Romand portions. They seemed and were well-fitted to form a link, of German metal and Romance alloy, for the dissolving kingdom. Lothar's opportunity had come when the elder Anscarid line of Franche Comté became extinct by the death of William the Child in 1127. He promptly conferred the dead man's fiefs together with the Rectorate from Basel to the Isère on Duke Conrad of Zähringen, a connection of the deceased. But there were lions in the path. Some nobles, like Amadeus III, seem to have been content with merely ignoring their new suzerain; but others, like Amadeus I of the Genevois, whose independence was more endangered, were actively hostile, while the next heir to William the Child, the Anscarid Raynald III, took possession of Franche Comté. A long war followed which seems to have come to a conclusion in the early years of King Conrad III. Raynald III kept Franche Comté west of the Jura. Duke Conrad acquired the Anscarid demesnes within the Jura, and established a real ducal authority over the lay seigneurs, both German and Romance, between the Jura, the Lake of Geneva and the Swabian frontier. He probably continued to claim the same superior authority over the other lands contained in Lothar's grant, but it was only a claim¹.

It was the policy of Lothar II that King Frederick decided at first to take up and expand. Before June 1152 he had come to an arrangement with Duke Berthold IV of Zähringen. The grant of the Rectorate was renewed and extended over all Burgundy. Berthold's dispute with the Count of Franche Comté—now William IV, who had thrust

¹ See for the foundation of the Rectorate, Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 1-5 and 11-14, and cf. Gingins, *Le Rectorat de Bourgogne (M.D.R.I.)*, and Kallmann, *op. cit.* pp. 81-7. Cf. above, p. 317 and n. 3, for Duke Conrad's claims in 1148.

aside his niece Beatrice, Raynald III's daughter—was to be legally decided in a Diet. A joint expedition of King and Duke was to re-establish the imperial and ducal authority. The Bishops who were immediate vassals of the Empire were to remain so, but such as held from local seigneurs were now to be invested by the Duke. Berthold IV was to furnish a large contingent for the future Italian campaign¹.

In February 1152, the two allies, King and Duke, marched together to Besançon. They were not in great force, and could not do very much. To all appearance Humbert III and the other princes simply disregarded the attempted transfer of the rights of investiture to Berthold. But distinct progress was made. An arrangement must have been come to with William IV of Franche Comté, for he appears in the Emperor's suite, of course remaining in possession of his county. In June 1153 there appeared at a Diet of Worms Amadeus I of the Genevois and Guigues de Domène and Peter de Vinet. The last two were from Dauphiné and doubtless brought the Dauphin's submission, but Guigues de Domène had been in relations with Amadeus III², and perhaps also represented Humbert III. At any rate Bishop Amadeus of Lausanne was with the King, both at Besançon in 1153 and at Speyer in 1155³.

In spite of these appearances, it may have been now that Humbert III acquired Barbarossa for a lasting and coldly contemptuous enemy. The reason defies inquiry. Was it that Humbert refused to submit to the project of the Rectorate, and adhered obstinately to a quasi-independent attitude? Was it his claims on Piedmont, which the king was resolved, like all the Emperors since Henry IV, to bar? Was it the weak nature of the Count himself, that invited inroads on his inherited, but perhaps originally usurped, rights? Or was it again his refusal to aid the imperial cause in Italy, in this, too, acting like Amadeus III? I am inclined to accept all these reasons as bearing part in Barbarossa's decision. In general, one may safely say that the Count of Savoy could not bring himself to give up a century of independence, and did not see that it was well to side with the Hohenstaufen. His son Thomas learnt and applied the lesson.

¹ Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 16-17, *M.G.H.* Const. I. p. 199, "Domnus rex dabit... duci terram Burgundiae et Provinciae... Post discessum regis dux utrasque terras in potestate et ordinatione sua retinebit, preter archiepiscopatus et episcopatus, qui specialiter ad manum domni regis pertinent. Si quos autem episcopos comes Willelhelmus (IV) vel alii principes ejusdem terrae investierunt, eosdem dux investiat." Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Franche Comté, all contained dependent bishoprics.

² See above, p. 307.

³ Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 17-19; cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 42-4. See also Stumpf, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3674, 3675, 3680, 3686.

In October 1154 Frederick entered Italy by the Brenner, with a small army, to receive the Imperial crown. His aims went much farther than mere ceremony; he wished to restore a central government, which had practically been in abeyance since Lothar II's death. The greater part of Italy was now parcelled out among the various cities, which were in fact independent. Their government was in general a republic of the privileged classes, nobles and traders, known as the Commune, and divided internally into clans (*consorzerie*) of the nobles, and guilds of the traders, which were by no means mutually exclusive sections. The Bishops, who had usually been their rulers in the eleventh century, were now as a rule obliged to be content with a friendly reverence, and a subordinate, if privileged, alliance, or else to carry on a perpetual and losing feud with their cities. A number of the more powerful country-nobles, especially in Piedmont, succeeded in maintaining piecemeal independence in their demesnes, the remnant often of great official dominions, marks and counties. The most important of these survivors in west Lombardy were the Aleramid Marquesses of Montferrat and Saluzzo and the Count of Savoy. Finally, this wealthy congeries of small states was in constant turmoil. City warred with city for trade and dominion; and all cities attacked their natural enemies, the independent country-nobles, while the Bishops might be allied with either side.

Now Barbarossa was determined to restore peace and order and the share of the Empire in the government of Italy. Therefore he was resolved to enforce obedience to his decisions on the quarrels which the losing sides in the inter-city feuds eagerly referred to him. He was equally anxious to maintain a local authority amenable to his orders; and especially to prevent the formation of too powerful states, which could resist them. Here of course our scope is limited to his action in Piedmont, which, however it varied in particular cases, was devoted to these constant ends.

In January 1155 he arrived at Turin from Vercelli. The then Bishop of Turin, Charles, was on good terms with the Commune, and both were in the King's grace. No doubt Frederick was already their supporter against any claims of the Count of Savoy. While the latter remained in his mountain recesses, his rival the Dauphin Guigues V came loyally to the King's camp by Turin, and received in reward two significant diplomas. One from Frederick gave him the right to establish a mint in his Piedmontese land at Cesana, to the obvious detriment of Humbert III's mint at Susa. The other from Berthold IV of Zähringen ceded to him the Rector's rights over the city of Vienne. The last cession had two sides to it. On the one hand, at a nominal cost to Berthold, the Dauphins obtained a position in Vienne

concurrent with, if not superior to, that of the Archbishops of the city, whereas they had before merely been their vassals in the county of the Viennois. On the other hand, the Anscarids of Franche Comté, who had claims to the viscounty in the city, were pretty effectually checkmated in that direction by the superior powers confirmed to the neighbouring Dauphin. Evidently the King was strengthening the hands of the chief rival of Savoy¹.

On Frederick's further march two Piedmontese towns suffered destruction at his hands; the population of both had fled to the hills and was not to be found. These were Chieri and Asti². Chieri seems to have been in revolt against the Bishop of Turin, one of whose *curtes* it was; and, probably in concert with Asti, it had been waging successful war with its neighbour, William VI the Old of Montferrat. Both of these circumstances were natural enough, since the little Commune was struggling up from villagedom on the road from the Alps to Asti, and was situated on the spurs of the hill-country ruled by Marquess William. Its prosperity would make it revolt, and its trade would be likely to receive hurt from the Marquess. As to Asti, there was the same quarrel with the Marquess of Montferrat, who was doubtless a vexatious neighbour for a great commercial city, and the analogous ancient quarrel with her own Bishop, who so far as diplomas went should have ruled both city and *contado*, but who in actual fact was a very refractory subject of his citizens³. Besides legal reasons a dislike to so strong a local power would influence the King in his hostility.

As is usual in this early Savoyard period, when the Emperor and his army vanish in clouds of dust on the eastward roads towards his coronation at Rome, they take the great movement of events with them. Our Savoyard theme receives light from that, but scarcely forms a part of it. So we must leave Italian history to shape itself under the stern auspices of Frederick and Pope Adrian, while we wait on the other frontier of Humbert's dominions the next assault that the unlucky Count was to endure from the changes of imperial policy.

In fact, on his return to Germany in the autumn of 1155⁴, the Emperor Frederick struck out a new plan to recover Burgundy. The

¹ Fournier, *op. cit.* p. 19. Cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 44, Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 281-3.

² Cf. on Chieri, Cibrario, *Delle storie di Chieri*, I. 38-42.

³ Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 114-7. Otto Fris. *Gesta Frid. Imp.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 397-9). The Astigians submitted when the King reached Annone. See the erased lines in Gott. Viterb. (*M.G.H. Script.* xxii. 308). See also Ogg. Alf. (Sella, *Cod. Ast. Malabayla*, II. 58).

⁴ It is interesting to note that some of his forces returned to Germany via the great St Bernard and the Mont Cenis. See Otto Fris. *Gesta Frid. Imp.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xvii. p. 409). Humbert was passive as usual.

Zähringen Rectorate, outside the Jura, was a failure; Count William IV of Franche Comté was dead. So a new arrangement was made. In June 1156 Frederick married Beatrice, the heiress of Raynald III of Franche Comté, and in her right took possession of the county. Her cousins, the sons of William IV, were satisfied, one Stephen II with the sub-county of Auxonne in Franche Comté, the other, Gerard I, with the French county of Mâcon. Berthold IV was induced to resign the extensive Rectorate, although he retained the ducal rights he possessed within the Jura. As compensation he received the "imperial advocacy," with the investiture of the *regalia*, of the bishoprics of Geneva, Lausanne and Sion. That is to say, these bishoprics, once, save Sion, immediate vassals of the Empire, were included in his dukedom¹.

Along with this enormous increase of the real strength of Frederick in Burgundy, the existing system of alliances there changed. Hitherto we have seen the Emperor, the Duke of Zähringen and the Dauphin on one side, and the Anscarids and Savoy on the other. Now we find the Emperor, the Anscarids, and soon the Dauphin, friends, while Savoy and Provence are hostile to them, and the Duke of Zähringen, though loyal to the Emperor, is something of a mediator. The grant of the advocacy and investiture-right of Sion to the Duke of Zähringen was a severe loss to Humbert, who not only had a prescriptive right to this very dignity, but also held the castle of Chillon and the little stretch of land by it from the Bishop². The latter fief might become precarious, if the Bishop was appointed under the influence of a rival House. It is true the same deprivation had been implied by the grant to Berthold in 1152, but that had been unreal by reason of its very comprehensiveness. Now the new grant was meant in earnest, in order to place the reduced Rectorate, or Duchy of Lesser Burgundy, to use its more distinctive name, on a sound footing.

An attempt of the injured Count to obtain redress can be traced, I think, during Frederick's solemn Diet at Besançon in 1157. The Emperor held there one of the most splendid assemblies of the Middle Ages. His Burgundian vassals were for the first time well represented.

¹ Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 20-2. Cf. Gingins, *Le Rectorat*, and Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 44. (It will be seen I cannot accept Herr Hellmann's precise conclusions for this decennium.) The texts *re* the Bishoprics are: Otto Fris., *Gesta Frid. Imp.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 413), "Bertholfus...tres civitates inter Jurum et Montem Jovis, Losannam, Gebennam et N. accepit, caeteris omnibus imperatrici relictis," and Otto S. Blas., *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xx. 314), "(Fridericus) regnum Burgundie...quod duces de Zaringin, quamvis sine fructu, tantum honore nominis, jure beneficii ab imperio jam diu tenerant, a Bertolfo duce extorsit, praestitis sibi trium episcopatumum advocatia cum investitura regalium, scilicet Lausannensis, Genovensis, Sedunensis."

² See above, pp. 92-4.

The lay Counts hung back certainly, but the higher clergy rallied round him. Among the Archbishops present was St Peter II of Tarentaise, Humbert's own special metropolitan, and I imagine that we may consider that this *persona grata* to the Emperor¹ was entrusted with a mission from the Count concerning Sion. If so, we need not doubt it was fruitless. However this may be, Frederick, having obtained a solid basis for his power in Franche Comté, proceeded to extend it in the orthodox way by gaining ecclesiastical support in the south. He intended to use the Burgundian clergy just as he did the German. They returned fortified with privileges and public power; and the Archbishop of Vienne was made head of the revived Burgundian chancery².

After this initial success in Burgundy, Frederick was resolved on an expedition in full force into Italy. He would defend his loyal friends, bring Milan and other unduteous towns into subjection, and establish an Imperial administration within, as well as over, the unruly cities. In the summer of 1158 four German armies poured through the Alpine passes. Over the Great St Bernard came the westernmost of the four, led by Duke Berthold of Zähringen³, but the Count of Savoy, although he made no resistance, held aloof. While Frederick warred down the Milanese resistance in August and September 1158, Humbert appears as witness to a petty ecclesiastical agreement in secluded Faucigny⁴. The campaign, of course, as it did not concern Humbert or Savoy, must here be omitted; and I need only just refer to the main provisions established by Frederick at his famous Diet of Roncaglia and after. They included the prohibition of private wars of cities or nobles, the appointment of an imperial official called the *Podestà* to administer the central government of the city-communes, in lieu of the elected Consuls, and the reclamation of the *regalia* for the Empire. These latter, which are of most importance for Savoy, were those imperial rights or functions, which were either inalienable from the crown or which could not be shown to be alienated by formal documents. They thus included a whole class of functions, such as *fodrum* (i.e. right of the monarch to maintenance): tolls, coinage, fisheries, etc., which either it had been unusual to grant away in the palmy days of the Medieval Empire, or which had been considered inherent in the possession of the

¹ See *Vi. S. Petri Tarentas.* (AA. SS. Mai II. p. 330) I. I. III.

² See Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 23-6. Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 44-5. Hellmann considers Frederick and Humbert still on friendly terms.

³ Otto Fris. *Gesta Frid. Imp.* (M.G.H. Script. xxv. 430).

⁴ Besson, *Mémoires*, etc. p. 346 (ed. 1871). To the dating words in Besson (millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo) we must add "octavo" as shown by Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 45. Only thus are the various indications reconciled, Adrian IV Pope, Frederick *Emperor*, and carrying on vigorous war with Milan.

local *publica potestas* and of which in consequence there lacked documentary evidence for their enjoyment by the latter. To this we may add that the usurpations of them had undoubtedly been considerable as far as the Communes were concerned. In any case they were now reclaimed, and mostly rented out by the Emperor to the cities or the nobles. In the future the House of Savoy was slowly to acquire them, one after the other, and its chiefs were often hampered in the consolidation of their power by the fact that these rights had been granted by the Hohenstaufen to others within their local Savoyard sphere.

It was not long after the Diet of Roncaglia that Frederick took measures calculated to bar Count Humbert from recovering Turin, partly no doubt from settled policy, partly from anger perhaps at the Count's timid independence. On the 19th January 1159 at Rivoli, whither he seems to have proceeded from Turin, and thus at the borders of Savoyard land, the Emperor granted a diploma to the Abbey of S. Solutore of Turin, which so far as form went shut out effectually from its extensive estates all powers save the Empire itself¹. He followed this up on the 26th January by a wide-reaching grant to the Bishop of Turin². Not only were the episcopal estates carefully exempted from outside jurisdiction; but Pinerolo and its valley, really the property of the pro-Savoyard Abbey of Pinerolo, were named with them, besides the superiority over the great Abbeys of Chiusa and S. Solutore. Further, Bishop Charles received all public jurisdiction in his city and within a radius of ten miles round it, to the exclusion of all other powers, save the Empire³. Thus if the Bishop came late into the rule of his city, the grant was ample enough. It must be remembered that Charles was then on good terms with the Commune which governed the town. Other parts of the grant, e.g. that of Pinerolo, probably never took effect. But the loss by the Count of his influence

¹ *Cartario di S. Solutore, Torino, B.S.S.S. XLIV. p. 61.* He had spent Christmas at Alba coming from the East.

² *Car. Reg. CCCXXII. (Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 31).*

³ *Car. Reg. CCCXXII. (Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 31),* "In jus et dominium Taurinensis ecclesie omnino transfundimus et delegamus...districtum...civitatis et omnia que vocata sunt publica fiscalia vel comitalia vel vicecomitalia que intus vel extra civitatem continentur per circuitum miliaris x. ea viz. ratione quatinus...episcopus sui que successores potestatem illic habeant per se vel per suos missos judicandi distringendi, placitumque tenendi...Igitur quicumque infra...urbem vel hec x. miliaria per circuitum, vel in prefatis curtibus et castellis habitator extiterit vel castellaverit et vassalli ejusdem episcopii non in presentia comitum et marchionum vel missorum nostrorum eorum lites aliter agere ullomodo vel diffinire liceat, nisi ante Karolum episcopum vel ejus successores vel eorum legatos decreverimus...Precipimus...ut deinceps nullus dux, etc...Taurinensem ecclesiam...divestire, etc., mansionaticum facere, theloneum, placitum, districtum vel aliquam publicam functionem exigere...audeat."

over Chiusa was a severe one; and Chiusa it is to be remembered in addition could claim a superiority over Pinerolo Abbey itself¹.

The power of the Emperor, however, had barely reached the full before it began to wane. In 1159 he met with two checks, the renewed revolt of Milan, and the outbreak of the Schism. The latter event was due to an error of judgement on Frederick's part, who tried to force an imperial partizan on the world as Pope, when the anti-imperial candidate, Cardinal Roland, had received an obvious majority of votes in the election. So on the 11th February 1160 a synod convoked by Frederick at Pavia declared for the anti-Pope, Victor IV, while on the 2nd of March the Pope, Alexander III, excommunicated the Emperor and released his subjects from their allegiance. The result of the rivals' action was that both decrees were ineffectual, thus showing the change from the days of Gregory VII. Every country outside the Empire, which itself was divided in sympathy, acknowledged Alexander III; while Germany, and the Imperialists in Italy, remained loyal to Frederick. It was a question of one party tiring the other out.

Now in North Italy, the Emperor was for a time the stronger. In April 1162 Alexander had to leave for France. Among Frederick's schismatic Bishops we find as we should expect Bishop Charles of Turin. And among the Abbots was he of Chiusa, who obtained on the 29th April 1162 an ample diploma from Barbarossa, which at least confirmed his superiority over the Abbey of Pinerolo, and declared him only subject to the Empire². Meanwhile the war with Milan was approaching a victorious close, and in March 1162 the city was levelled to the ground³. Completely master of a subject country, Frederick

¹ But perhaps this superiority was only claimed after Frederick I's diploma to Chiusa of 1161. See Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, etc. *B.S.S.S.* I. pp. 117-21. With Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 45, I reject the view that Marquess William of Montferrat gained Savoyard lands now or before. The *curtes* mentioned, Leynl, Ciriè, Settimo, etc. belong to a part of the county of Turin where we do not hear of the Ardoinids. Cf. below, pp. 332 and 395 n. 5, 401 n. 1, 409. The Marquess Boniface II's original lands in Ciriè in 1228 were evidently distinct from those held of Savoy. The claim of the Bishop of Turin of feudal superiority over Chiusa was an old one, see above, p. 234, n. 1.

² *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 839. Their possessions at the mouth of the Valle di Susa were to be "libera et ab omni exactione immunia salva per omnia imperiali iusticia." With regard to Giaveno there is a special "salvo jure comitis." The abbot could only be sued in civil matters before the Emperor; his vassals only before himself. The date of the charter is rather important as it falls before the Diet of Besançon in Sept. 1162, and Humbert is gently entreated. The charter (known by the copy only) has correctly Ind. x. and "anno imperii VII." but incorrectly "anno regni x." (for XI.).

³ Galvaneus Flamma cccxvi. (*RR. II. SS.* xi. 655) says "Comites Sabaudiae in destructione civitatis Mediolani multum ferventes fuissent." He may have got the notice from an early chronicle; but it is totally unsupported and most unlikely. See above, p. 325. Cf. *Car. Reg.* p. 119.

could march through Piedmont in August 1162 and across the Great St Bernard into Burgundy and Germany¹.

In Burgundy his cause was far from unprosperous. The favoured Archbishops of Lyons, Vienne and Besançon, the Bishops of Geneva, Lausanne, Sion, Grenoble and other sees, were on his side and mostly attended his Diet of Besançon in 1162. The Anscarids of Mâcon were his kinsmen, the Dauphiné was for him and he had gained over Raymond-Berengar II, then Count of Provence. Hostile to him there only remained one large tract of territory. This was Savoy. St Peter II of Tarentaise, St Anthelm of Belley, and the Bishops of Aosta and Maurienne were all for Alexander III, and with them they led their Count, Humbert. So important was the latter's decision that he obtained a special privilege from the Pope, that he could not be excommunicated save by direct papal command². Frederick's indignation was no doubt proportionate. To this period of strain, c. 1162-3, when the Emperor's Brabançon mercenaries were become a public pest in Burgundy, I think we should attribute a disaster Humbert III is said to have suffered. The tale is that he was captured by Count Gerard of Mâcon, the Emperor's kinsman, and let free for a ransom of 6000 marks which he omitted to pay³. Probably he was not able to do so. At any rate we find him somewhere about this time raising 1000 Maurician *solidi* from St Maurice Agaune on a mortgage of some of his rights⁴: and his later history suggests impecuniosity⁵. There seem to have been no direct hostilities with the Emperor. The latter's deputy, Archbishop Raynald of Cologne, could safely go to and return from Italy via the Great St Bernard in 1164 and 1166⁶; but a diplomatic campaign, accompanied by local wars, was carried on vigorously over Burgundy. The religious motive must not be underrated, but local rivalries were of course the chief predisposing cause. Two of these rivalries occupied Humbert's

¹ Oehlmann, *Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter*, Jahrb. f. schweiz. Geschichte, III. 268.

² See below, pp. 330-1; see also Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 47, and Gabotto, *op. cit.* p. 122.

³ Car. Reg. CCCXXX. (*Anon. Laudun. M.G.H. Script.* xxvi. 447), "Sciendum quod comes Gerardus (de Mascons) eundem comitem Savoie cepit, dum guerram secum haberent; unde pro redemcione sua in 6000 marcis ei tenebatur. Ille vero eligit perjuriam incurrere, et, propria fama neglecta, pactum transgredi pocius quam illam solvere pecunie summam." Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 50, considers this an error; but though the authority is poor, the notice fits in with the known circumstances.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCXXI. (*Cibrario e Promis, Doc.* p. 72). The war with Gerard did not perhaps conclude till 1173. See below, pp. 337-9.

⁵ See below, pp. 339 and 433.

⁶ See Oehlmann, *Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter*, Jahrb. f. schweiz. Gesch. III. 268, for 1166. For 1164 see Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles*, p. 47; but as Raynald went to Vienne to hold a synod in that year (*Materials, Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series, v. p. 120), it would seem that he took the Mont Cenis or the Mont Genève route.

attention for some years. First there was a war with the Dauphiné. There Humbert had claims due probably to his mother's dowry¹, and the marriage of the Dauphiness Beatrice, daughter of Guigues V (ob. 1161), with Alberic Taillefer of Toulouse in 1163-4, seems to have inflamed an old quarrel. Perhaps Humbert, having got rid of Gertrude of Flanders, wanted to marry the Dauphiness. The regent for the child-Dauphins was Taillefer's father, Raymond V of Toulouse, who was represented by Raymond's brother Alphonse. A tedious war of border-forays accordingly began and lasted for some ten years².

The second event more closely concerning Savoy was the change of attitude of Duke Berthold IV of Zähringen. The advocacy of the Duke over the three intra-Jurane dioceses had been fruitful in discord; he had ceded that of Geneva to his ally, the Count of the Genevois, but in the Diet of Besançon in 1162 Frederick, anxious then for episcopal support, had cut the knot by summarily revoking his grant as regards that see. So now we find Berthold, who was probably disillusioned with regard to Barbarossa, becoming an ally of Savoy. Some time about 1164 Humbert married as his third wife the Duke's sister Clementia, the divorced wife of Henry the Lion of Saxony³. It was on his marriage in all probability that he recovered the advocacy of Sion from his brother-in-law⁴.

It shows the intrinsic weakness of the schismatics, that in spite of their apparent superiority they steadily lost ground in Burgundy from 1162 on. In 1163 the Bishop of Sion was a partizan of Alexander III; the Bishop of Geneva had followed suit by 1167. Most of the Bishops of the province of Vienne were Alexandrines, when

¹ See above, p. 292, and below, p. 340.

² Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 46-50. Cf. Savio, *I primi conti, etc.* pp. 503-5. And see especially Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 26-53. The war in the Dauphiné lasted till 1173. See below, pp. 337-9. For it see *Vi. S. Petri Tarantas.* (AA. SS. Mai II. 326) "Inter principem suum comitem Humbertum et Hildefonsum comitem Tolosanum in regione Gratianopolitana eo tempore dominantem, non sine multis incendiis et homicidiis guerram diutius agitatam multo labore sedavit (S. Petrus)." The Count of Toulouse, however, was Raymond V, and I follow Fournier's statement that his brother Alphonse was his deputy in Dauphiné. Cf. Vic and Vaissète, *Languedoc*, ed. Primat, VI. p. 27. Alfonso of Aragon also attacked Toulouse; see below, pp. 337-9.

³ See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 49. Cf. Savio, *I primi conti*, pp. 525-31, and Gingins, *Le Rectorat de Bourgogne, M.D.R.* I. pp. 88-9. The *Chroniques (M.H.P. Script.* II. 671, cf. 123-7) have a tradition that Humbert married a daughter of the Duke of Zähringen. Contemporary evidence is supplied by Ralph de Diceto, *Rolls Series*, I. 353, sub anno 1173: "filiam primogenitam Humberti comitis de Moriana, quam ex relicta Henrici Saxonici ducis sustulerat, sponsam accepit." Now Clementia of Zähringen was repudiated by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, in 1162, and we find Berthold IV intimate with Humbert in 1168. See below, pp. 333-4. Clementia was clearly still living in 1173. See below, p. 339.

⁴ Gingins, *Le Rectorat, etc., M.D.R.* I. pp. 88-9; and Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 45.

Frederick's chancellor, Raynald of Cologne, tried in vain to rally them in the summer of 1164 to the anti-Pope's party¹. A further shock was given to the latter by the anti-Pope Victor IV's death, for his successors in the schism had even less support in public opinion. Frederick's stay at Besançon in July 1166 made little change in the situation. In 1167 the Alexandrine Archbishop of Lyons could enter his city for the first time².

A sign of the decreasing tension of the struggle may probably be seen in the quarrel between Humbert III and St Anthelm Bishop of Belley over the *regalia* of the latter's see which must have occurred about this time³. With St Peter of Tarentaise and the Cistercian order, St Anthelm had been a protagonist of Alexander's claims, since his consecration in September 1163. A stern Carthusian, he had twice resigned a priorship, being perhaps anything but popular with his monks, before he became Bishop. Now he denied altogether the Count's claim to jurisdiction and suzerainty over his *episcopium* and over criminous clerks, and doubtless could allege the absence of any document to prove it. Matters came to a head, in spite of the Count's timid inaction, when a mestral⁴ of his arrested a priest on some charge. St Anthelm thereupon excommunicated the mestral with all his household, and sent Bishop William of Maurienne to release the priest. This was done, the mestral declaring he would complain to the Count. Soon after he attempted to recapture his prisoner, who found it best to flee the country. But the priest was overtaken and in the scuffle of recapture was mortally wounded by some of the mestral's household⁵. Now it was the Bishop's turn to complain to or rather to threaten the Count. He demanded, not only satisfaction for the death of the priest, but also that the Count should renounce all his claims over the *episcopium*⁶, under pain of excommunication. In answer Humbert appealed to his privilege of being free from excommunication

¹ He had held an assembly in Vienne without result: see Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 47 and 49.

² See Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 45-54, Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 47.

³ For the Count is staunchly upheld by Alexander III, which would hardly be the case after 1168. See below, pp. 333-7.

⁴ The word used is *praepositus*. For the office of mestral, see below, pp. 433-4.

⁵ "Quidam de pueris praepositi."

⁶ *Vi. S. Anthelmi* (AA. SS. Junii v. p. 234), XXIX.: "Dictus etiam comes quaedam regalia in ecclesiae possessionibus calumpniabatur sibi debere; licet eadem occasione injuriam facere in eadem seu exactionem, Anthelmo episcopo vivente, non auderet. xxx. Super praemissis igitur cum eum episcopus appellasset, indignatus magis coepit minari, asserens non diutius se passurum quin ea quae sui juris esse asserebat, obtineret. Cum autem ipsum iterato moneret, et ei excommunicationis sententiam minaretur nisi calumniae abrenuntiaret, et propter sacerdotis mortem Deo satisfaceret, quantum ad ipsum pertinebat, etc."

save by the Pope himself. None the less the Bishop did excommunicate him in his own presence; and the Count submitted, while making his moan to Alexander III. Soon came the papal brief ordering St Peter of Tarentaise and another Bishop to absolve Humbert in case St Anthelm was obdurate. Of course the Saint was obdurate on the ground that the Pope could not absolve *non absolvenda*, and the other two prelates did not dare to fulfil their task. The Pope had in the end to perform the ceremony himself, to the disgust of St Anthelm who retired for a while to his Carthusian cell and only resumed his duties by express command. As for the chicken-hearted Humbert, he dared not attend Mass till St Anthelm himself absolved him, on promises of satisfaction which he hardly kept¹. We shall come upon the quarrel again at intervals².

Meanwhile in November 1166 Frederick I had appeared in Lodi with a resistless army, to put Italian affairs on a solid basis. Since his triumph in 1162 his cause had been rapidly declining. In 1164, when he had hoped to act the sovran without the support of an army, he had been forced ignominiously to flee to Germany. The main reason for this change of fortune was of course the incompatibility of a centralizing imperial government introduced from without, with the communal autonomy which had come to maturity within. But the breakdown of Frederick's system was hastened by the intolerable tyranny of his foreign *podestàs*, under the orders of Raynald of Cologne. Heavy taxation was not likely to recommend an authority to a people, with whose ideas of government that authority no longer corresponded. Almost all the cities of the north joined the Lombard League which was being formed to resist the Emperor. Few were the exceptions, such as Pavia, Lodi and Turin.

It appears that scarcely was Frederick out of Italy in August 1162, when the Turinese turned out their schismatic Bishop Charles, and replaced him by a certain William. Then in 1165 Charles is Bishop again and presumably heads the imperial party in the Commune³. Such country-nobles in Piedmont, as had retained some independence,

¹ *Vi. S. Anthelmi* (AA. SS. Junii v. pp. 234-5), XXIX.-XXXII. Cf. Savio, *op. cit.* pp. 511-15.

² See below, pp. 342, 345-6, 426. The Count offered to give satisfaction according to public law, "se forensi jure respondere paratum," but Anthelm declined; "ego te convenio jure poli," he said. The Count, though he professed his hatred, dared not do anything ("contestans hominem non esse sub caelo, quem sic exosum haberet," *loc. cit.* XXXII.).

³ I here follow Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 112-21, who grounds his belief that the Bishop Charles, who precedes William, and the Bishop Charles who succeeds him, are the same person, on their autographs which he says show the same handwriting.

were also imperialists. In March 1163 the Emperor had given a diploma to the Marquesses of Romagnano¹, and in October 1164 one to Marquess William of Montferrat², while we find the Marquess of Saluzzo at his court³.

When the Emperor reentered Italy on this memorable campaign he found everywhere the city gates barred against him. For the present he left them alone, and made it his first object to conquer Rome itself and drive out Alexander III who had returned to the Eternal City in the year before. For a while all went well for Barbarossa. The Leonine City was captured, Alexander fled to Benevento, and Rome itself surrendered. Then in August 1167 the plague broke out in his army. It was practically a case of extermination: and Frederick retreated to Pavia in September with a remnant only, to face as he could the Lombard League headed by restored Milan.

SECTION II. HUMBERT III AS AN IMPERIAL PARTIZAN.

So destroyed in power as he was by the pestilence of 1167, Frederick was soon reduced to something like extremity by his foes. His army was entirely dispersed. They blocked all the passes leading to Germany, and in the winter of 1167-8 he lurked about in west Lombardy between Pavia and Turin in fear of attack⁴. Besides the city of Pavia, Marquess William the Old of Montferrat and the Count of Biandrate stood by him, and it was in their castles that he made brief and secret halts, distributing the greater part of his Lombard hostages among them for safe keeping. Soon the danger became greater as the Lombards sent an army on his track in the early spring of 1168⁵. It was

¹ *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2. 203.

² Stumpf, 4031.

³ Tallone, *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, Nos. 37, 40, 44, 51.

⁴ The fullest account of Frederick's escape is given by a letter of John of Salisbury (*Materials*, *St Thos. Becket*, Rolls Series, VI. 401-5). Other details are to be found especially in Gotfredi Viterb. *Gesta Frid.* 30 (*M.G.H. Script.* XXII. 321) and Otton. S. Blas. *Chron.* (*M.G.H. Script.* XVII. 313), which has a slight legendary admixture.

⁵ Joh. Saris., "...eique (Friderico) Maurienensis comes ob injurias sibi illatas omnem exitum praeclusisset, ut Lombardorum manus nulla ratione posse evadere videretur, ipse comitis Blandratensis et marchionis Montisferrati fretus auxilio, divertit in terram marchionis, relictis xxx. obsidibus Lombardorum apud Blandratum. Alios autem obsides quos acceperat per castra marchionis divisit custodiendos et ipse cum... comite et marchione quia eum Lombardi congregato exercitu usque ad xx. millia militum prosequabantur et obsidere decreverant, per castella quasi in umbra mortis latitans fugitabat, ut vix (sicut aiunt probi viri pleni fide et auctoritate qui interferunt) duobus diebus aut tribus auderet in eodem hospitio pernoctare."

time to escape ; but the only safe and approachable pass was the Mont Cenis which led through Humbert III's land, and the angry Count was obdurate to the demand of the suzerain who had injured him.

It was William the Old who undertook the difficult task of persuading his nephew Humbert III to let the schismatic Emperor through his dominions. No doubt the presence with the Emperor, and the persuasions, of Duke Berthold IV of Zähringen had their effect with his brother-in-law as well. But the chief inducements proffered seem to have been material. The restitution of the lands lost by Humbert, mountains of gold, and eternal gratitude were all promised, and the object was at last obtained¹. The secret was well kept, the hostages were hurriedly collected and then on the 8th of March the Emperor suddenly arrived at S. Ambrogio in the Val di Susa, with thirty knights in his train. There he seems to have heard that the Lombard army was on his track and was besieging Biandrate. In high wrath next day he hastened towards Susa, and brutally hung a Brescian hostage outside the town before he entered it and took up his lodging in the Count's castle there². The charge seems to have been the betrayal of the Emperor's whereabouts. But it was a mistaken action, for the townsmen of Susa rose at the news. They were thoroughly in sympathy with the free communes, and had long been accustomed to some measure of liberty³. Now they closed and guarded the gates, seized on the Lombard hostages, and although they did not actually forbid egress to the Emperor and Empress, they did refuse to allow any

¹ Joh. Saris., "Marchio egit cum cognato suo comite Maurienensi, ut imperatorem promitteret egredi, promittens ei non modo restitutionem ablatorum, sed montes aureos, et cum honore et gloria imperii gratiam sempiternam." For Berthold's share in the transaction, see below.

² Joh. Saris., "Imperator autem, collectis obsidibus quos disperserat, ad reditum properans, venit ad S. Ambrogium habens circiter xxx. milites in comitatu suo, et inde mane festinanter egrediens prope Secusiam in eminentia cujusdam montis suspendit quemdam obsidem nobilem Brixiansem, imponens ei quod conjurationis Italarum conscius fuerat, et (quod plus est) artifex congregati exercitus qui eum ab Italia expellebat; alios vero obsides secum duxit intra Secusiam." Cf. *Ann. Mediol. (M.G.H. Script. xviii. p. 377)*, "nono die Martii suspendit imperator Gilium de Franco obsidem de Brixia justa Seuxiam, dolore et furore repletus quod Mediolanenses, Brixianenses etc. obsiderent Blandate": and *Cont. O. Morena (M.G.H. Script. xviii. 657)*, "mense Martio, privatim, ita quod etiam nec ipsi Longobardi qui cum eo fuerant, nisi forte paucissimi, sciverunt, in Alamanniam per terram comitis Uberti... qui et comes dicitur de Morienna, iter arripuit." Otto of S. Blaise enlarges this into a hanging of a hostage at each stopping-place, till as the Lombards come up to the bodies one by one they are frightened off the pursuit. Biandrate was captured by the Lombards, the hostages there released, and the surviving Germans of the garrison handed over to Gilio's widow.

³ See above, pp. 303-6, and below, pp. 449-50.

Italian-speaking man to leave the town¹. If the Emperor was not really prevented from leaving the castle, he thought it dangerous to do so. Probably he was right, and the mere examination of his train for Lombard captives would have led to a riot against the hated Germans². Accordingly a plan to escape was devised. One of his chamberlains, Hartmann von Siwenheich, was remarkably like him in face and figure, including the red beard and hair from which his surname of Barbarossa was derived. This devoted follower sat in the Emperor's place at the royal board, clothed in the imperial garb, and then was led to rest guarded by the train³. Meanwhile Frederick, disguised as a mere man-at-arms, with Berthold of Zähringen, and perhaps two or three serjeants, rode through the town-gates unrecognized, apparently to prepare the next night's lodging for one of the train, probably for Berthold himself. Berthold was well acquainted with Maurienne; doubtless he and Humbert III had hunted together on the Alps. On they rode over the snow-covered Mont Cenis that night, a wonderful ride for early March, and then down Maurienne. It does not seem that they met Humbert III, but they were gladly welcomed by the Count of the Genevois, an old friend of Berthold's⁴. It was not long before the

¹ Joh. Saris., "Cives autem et incolae loci portas claudi fecerunt, appositis custodibus armatis et tyranno obsides abstulerunt, dicentes sibi ab aliis civitatibus excidium et exterminium imminere, si vicinos suos et amicos, viros Italiae nobilissimos, sic paterentur abduci in Alemanniam occidendos; praesertim cum adhuc in Italia suspenderit virum potentem et generosum; sibi vero et suis exitum patere pro libitu. Tantam quidem adhibuerunt diligentiam obsidibus retinendis ut neminem permetterent egredi qui italice loqueretur."

² Got. Vit. "Venit Segusium, qua latet hostis honus,
Insidias Ligurum tunc evasisse putaret,
Cum sibi iam mortem Segusius arte pararet,
Dum dolus instaret, fraus patet; ipse cavet."

Otto S. Blas. agrees. I think they are good evidence of what Barbarossa thought since they are supported by his subsequent action. For the Susian version see John of Salisbury, n. 1, above.

³ Got. Vit. "Sic ubi regis eques pro rege manere paratur.

.....
Miles erat regi specie conformis, et illi
Barba, manus, facies similis flavique capilli;
Quem faciunt regis sede sedere sui etc."

Otto S. Blas. gives the name Hartmann de Sibineich, which seems genuine, as a chamberlain H. de Siwenheich appears in Frederick's diplomas.

⁴ Joh. Saris., "Imperator autem, assumpto habitu servientis, quasi ut alicujus magni viri procuraret hospitium, cum aliis v. servientibus noctu egressus est." I think we should trust Got. Vit. in his details, save perhaps the single comrade only.

"Nocte fugit dominus, solo socio comitatus;
Montis Cilleni nocte sub alpe venit.

.....
Dux Bertoldus erat per quem fuga nostra paratur;

Susians found out what had happened, and accepted it with philosophy. They kept the hostages, of course, but the Empress Beatrice and the German train were allowed to follow their lord unhurt. With great relief she received a letter from her husband announcing his safe arrival in Geneva, and a few forced marches brought her safely home to Franche Comté¹.

There remains to discuss the terms made with Count Humbert III. For one thing the subsequent history shows the Count in alliance with Barbarossa, even if there are suspicions on his loyalty for the next few years². Of his acknowledging the anti-Pope there could be no question; and Frederick who had himself attempted in his extremity to treat with Alexander through the Prior of the Grande-Chartreuse³, was not in a position to demand such a thing of either friend or foe. None the less Humbert relaxes from his hostile attitude, and his terms are at least hinted at in the sources. What the Emperor had taken from him was to be restored; a sum of money was to be paid, and favour was to be shown him⁴. In Burgundy we cannot doubt that the investiture of the Bishop of Sion was formally assured to him. In Italy, we know his losses previous to the accord. What must have been restored was the county of Turin, where Frederick had set up as a rival the Bishop

Hic apud Alpinos populos (*Noti Gotifredi*; in
valle Morienna) vehementer amatur;
Cujus et ingenii vita redempta fuit.
Alibus ingeritur, vallemque subit Murionum,
Suscipit egregium gavisus Gebenna patronum (*Fridericum*)
Cui comes et populus contulit omne bonum."

Otto S. Blas. has the same more briefly.

¹ Got. Vit.

"Hiis ita salvatis, ratio monet, ut videatis,
Quid Segusa facit, quid agat regina Beatrix,
Et fortes reliqui, quos labor ille capit.
Civis ubi regem noctu percepit abire,
Arte dolum reprimunt, quem morte parant aperire,
Unde patent domine pacis ubique vie.
Pergit, et ignorat, quo ducant fata maritum;
Carta (*Not. Got. Imperatoris*) refert ipsum patria
cum pace potitum.

.....
Gaudet, et invento longa statione petito,
Cujus ad imperium fervet abire cito.

Inde suam patriam cum conjugis Cesar adivit."

Otto S. Blas. not only makes the Susians burst in the doors to murder the Emperor and then dissemble their grief at his escape, but makes the Empress lead away an army to Franche Comté.

² In 1170 we find Humbert employing for the first time the formula "regnante Frederico imperatore" and the like. Cf. *Car. Reg.* CCCXL., CCCXLI.

³ Joh. Saris., *loc. cit.* See Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 55-6.

⁴ See above, p. 333.

Charles¹. The latter was now in difficulties and could be disregarded. On the 7th April 1168 he was acknowledging the Commune of Chieri, and in August he was making an arrangement with the Chierese concerning the important castle of Montossolo². What the Turinese said to it is not very easy to say, but in 1173 we find Humbert claiming to be lord of Turin, Cavoretto and Collegno; and to possess the homage of the Counts of Castellamonte and the Canavese. At the same time, as well as in 1171, the Abbot of Chiusa is in his service; and the Marquess of Montferrat, with two Piossasco and a certain Peter of Turin, go on an embassy for him³. Nor does this evidence stand alone. In 1176 the Turinese make a treaty for peace and war, with special reserves in favour of the Emperor, the Count of Savoy and the other lords which they have. The Bishop is not even mentioned except in this general way⁴. Similarly in 1172 Humbert has castellans at Miradolo in the Val di Fenestrelle⁵, and to the same date should belong his great donation to the Abbey of Pinerolo⁶. About the same time, in alliance with William of Montferrat, he is at war with Asti⁷. When he is again in disfavour with the Emperor, he is in possession of Pianezza, Rivalta, Carignano and Torretta in the plain of Piedmont⁸. In short all the indices point to a very real recovery of power and possessions in

¹ See above, p. 326 and p. 331. The grant to S. Solutore and probably that to the Marquess of Montferrat were exemptions from other jurisdiction besides the Emperor's.

² Cibrario, *Delle storie di Chieri*, I. pp. 48-53, and II. pp. 11-15. He consents to the Chierese enjoying "omnibus bonis usis quos bona terra debet habere ac possidere."

³ See below, pp. 338, 451. I think the burgess Rodulfus de Warci who appears in the 1173 treaty may be an Italian, since in *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 72, we have a Pinerolese Aldemar Varcin. Yet in Feb. 1170 Bishop Milo is pretty clearly head of the Commune of Turin. See below, p. 347.

⁴ See below, p. 344. The wording is: "contra homines excepto domino imperatore et ejus missis et excepto comite de Sabaudia et suis missis et exceptis aliis dominis quos habent, et excepto comite Oberto de Byandra" (*Car. Reg. CCCLV.*, *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 416). Evidently Humbert III is lord of the city under the Emperor. Only he has a *missus* to represent him, like the Emperor. See above, p. 290, n. 2.

⁵ *Car. Sup.* XXXVII. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 69). Humbert's then connection with the Emperor is proved by the presence of the Carthusian Dietrich, who though no schismatic was a near relative of the Emperor (see Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 55-6). Gualfred di Piossasco is also a witness. The mere fact that the south Piedmontese abbots of Casanova and Staffarda get a safeguard for their abbeys shows the extension of Humbert's dominions.

⁶ *Car. Sup.* XXXVI. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 77). Various comital rights are granted. It is really a settlement of a dispute. Humbert II is unlikely to be the Count of the document, which is unhappily only known from a catalogue.

⁷ See below.

⁸ See below, pp. 347-9.

the Torinese, together with definite rights in the city and an alliance with the Commune¹.

This was not done in a day and the war with Asti hints at the process of recovery. Marquess William the Old of Montferrat and the city of Pavia were hard pressed by the League after Frederick's flight. The new city of Alessandria, named in honour of the Pope by the League, must have been a special thorn in his side, and now Asti was also anti-imperial. On the 17th June 1172 the new city with the help of Milan, Asti and other cities routed him at Mombello. Still they did not try to crush him, and Humbert III came to his aid by seizing on the Astigian merchants in their transit through Savoy. In result, probably late in 1172, we find the Marquess making a sorry peace with Asti, surrendering Annone to the city, and engaging to stand its patron with the Emperor, and to obtain the release of the captives held by the Count of Savoy, along with compensation for their losses².

One effect of the disaster to Frederick in 1167 was the steady decrease of the schism; and curiously enough, now that the Count of Savoy was friendly to the Emperor, less interest was taken in Burgundian affairs by the latter. The local wars in the latter kingdom meantime went on. A new combatant was added by the succession of Raymond-Berengar III, brother of Alfonso II of Aragon, to the county of Provence. These two were inimical to Raymond V of Toulouse and his brother Alphonse, regent of the Dauphiné, while Count Gerard of Mâcon made a fourth party, attacking Humbert III perhaps from the north, while the latter fought with the regent of the Dauphiné.

In the midst of these turmoils Humbert, none of whose actions place him in the light of a conqueror, bethought him of a new turn of policy. By Clementia of Zähringen he had two daughters, his only children. Now across the Rhone lay the dominions of the greatest

¹ See for this treaty with Barbarossa especially Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 123-5. Cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 51.

² The treaty is in Sella, *Cod. Ast. Malabayla*, II. 638. The clause on Humbert III runs thus: "Et debet recuperare incarceratos Astenses, quos habet comes Moriene sine omni tenore et adjuvare eos bona fide ad recuperandum quod ibi amiserunt." Savio, *I primi conti*, p. 507, points out the treaty (which has no date) must be dated before 1176 when William Longsword of Montferrat (William the Old's son, therein mentioned) went to Palestine, and should be dated before Barbarossa's entry into Italy in 1174. Prof. Gabotto points out the imperialist Count of Biandrate's treaty with Asti and Chieri in November 1172 (by which his claims on Chieri were limited); and I may add that Marquess William's journey to England in the winter of 1172-3 shows he left peace behind him in Italy (see below, p. 338). For the meaning of the clause quoted, see Gabotto, *Asti e la politica sabauda*, B.S.S.S. XVIII. p. 12. Cf. Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 124-5, and Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 59. William had made peace with Ivrea in November 1171 (Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese*, B.S.S.S. IV. p. 53).

vassal of the King of France, Henry II of England, and Henry II was at enmity with Humbert's enemy Raymond V of Toulouse, on the ground of the homage which the latter owed him for Toulouse and refused to do. True, Henry was not exactly the friend of Barbarossa, but if his alliance could really be gained, Barbarossa, so much occupied with Germany and Italy, need not be feared. The means to gain it were at hand in the Count's daughters and great inheritance, for Henry was ambitious for his House and had a yet unbetrothed son, John Lackland. Accordingly in 1171 Benedict Abbot of Chiusa was sent to the King on Humbert's behalf, offering Alice, his eldest daughter, for wife to John, then five years old. All the Count's land was to be her inheritance, and with it went the entrance into Italy¹. A highly-coloured story in the next century told how Henry preferred this match to one with a daughter of the Greek Emperor, because it might lead to the acquisition of the kingdom of Italy². And in fact the Italian rebels did offer their crown to the English King, and Savoy would seem to link his duchy of Aquitaine with Lombardy³. However, Henry II did not immediately accept the offer, and long negotiations ensued, William of Montferrat and two Piosasco arriving at Henry's court for the final act presumably in 1172. In them a leading part was taken by St Peter of Tarentaise, who himself visited the English King, and if we are to believe his biographer was the real deviser of a general peace⁴.

¹ Rob. de Monte, Rolls Series, p. 250. "1171 Humbertus comes Moriennae misit [Benedictum] Abbatem S. Michaelis de Clusa ad Henricum regem Anglorum, pro componendo matrimonio inter Johannem filium regis et filiam suam, offerens ei totam terram suam. Fuit enim idem comes filius Amati comitis et ditissimus in possessione urbium et castellorum: nec aliquis potest adire Italiam, nisi per terram ipsius." The name Amatus is of course a wrong Latinization of the vernacular Amé = Amadeus III. Benedict III of Chiusa had already been in England in 1166 on another negotiation (see Savio, *Il marchese Guglielmo di Monferrato*, p. 136).

² Anon. Laudun. (*M.G.H. Script.* xxvi. 447), which has the interesting remark attributed to Henry II "(Comes) nobilis quidem est, licet pauper."

³ Petrus Blesiensis, Ep. 113 (Migne, ccvii. p. 340). "Praesentes fuimus, ubi regnum Palaestinae, regnum etiam Italiae patri vestro (Henrico) aut uni filiorum suorum quem ad hoc eligeret, ab utriusque regni magnatibus et populis est oblatum." Cf. Girald. Cambr. *Instruct. Princip.* Dist. II (*M.G.H. Script.* xxvii. 401), "Nec solum ad Francorum...regis abutens comoditate, verum etiam ad Romanum imperium, occasione verre diutine...inter imperatorem...et suos oborte, tam ab Ytalia tota quam urbe Romulea sepius invitatus, comparata quidem sibi ad hoc Moriane vallis et Alpium via, sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit."

⁴ Cf. above, p. 329, n. 2. The *Vi. S. Petri Tarentas.* goes on: "Cujus (paci) occasione negotii ad illustrem Anglorum regem Henricum vehementer desideratus accessit, et tam reverenter acceptus est ut excedere modum omnem humanum devotio videretur." It is William of Montferrat and his companions, however, who came as envoys from Count Humbert (see text of treaty, *Gesta Regis Henrici*, Rolls Series, I. p. 40).

However this may be, matters were concluded by the beginning of 1173, for in February of that year Henry II with his wife and sons proceeded from Anjou to Montferrand in Auvergne. There a kind of congress of pacification was held on the 12th of February, Alfonso II of Aragon, Raymond V of Toulouse, Gerard of Mâcon and Humbert III being all present¹. They all later removed to Limoges, meeting at both places royal entertainment. What the terms arranged between the four were, we are not told, but Raymond submitted to do homage to Henry II and his sons², and Humbert was not satisfied in his claims on the Dauphiné³. Meantime the treaty⁴ between Henry II and Humbert III was concluded by the surrender of Alice. For 5000 marks of silver, of which 1000 were paid on the conclusion of the treaty, 1000 on delivery of his daughter, and 3000 were to be due on the actual marriage-day, the impecunious Count handed over his elder daughter Alice to King Henry to be married to the latter's youngest son John, when the two children were old enough⁵. On his daughter, Humbert settled his entire countship⁶, although he might make reasonable provision for his younger daughter or for other purposes. He was not hoping for a male heir, which is a sign that his wife, Clementia, was still alive; but in the case that he should have one against expectation, a large dowry for Alice was agreed on⁷. First, John and she were to have the entire county of Belley, with the two comital castles of Rossillon

¹ Ralph de Diceto, Rolls Series, I. p. 353. "Adelfunsus, rex Aragonum, Reimundus comes S. Egidii, Girardus comes Viennensis, Humbertus comes de Moriana, tanquam ex conducto convenerunt ad curiam regis Angliæ apud Montem Ferandum in Arvernia ii^o id. Feb." The title Count of Vienne was assumed by Gerard about 1170 (Manteyer, *Notes additionnelles*, pp. 281-2). Cf. *Gesta Regis Henrici*, Rolls Series, II. pp. 35-6. "Rex...ivit in Alverniam usque ad Montem Ferratum....Et illuc venit ad eum Hubertus comes de Mauriana et adduxit secum Aalis filiam suam majorem....Venerunt etiam illuc ad regem rex Arragoniæ et comes de S. Ægidio qui inimici erant ad invicem, et rex duxit eos secum usque Limoges et ibi pacem fecit inter eos."

² See the authorities cited.

³ See below, p. 340.

⁴ Given in *Gesta Regis Henrici*, I. pp. 36-41.

⁵ "Quam rex comparavit...ad opus Johannis filii sui junioris" says the *Gesta Regis Henrici*, II. p. 36, brutally.

⁶ "Totum comitatum suum" are the words of the treaty which is given in full in *Gesta Regis Henrici*, I. pp. 36-41.

⁷ Ralph de Diceto, p. 353, "quia spes masculinæ prolis nulla supererat." Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 57-8, considers this treaty shows the weakness of the connection with the Empire, because Humbert disregards the Roncaglian constitution forbidding the division of fiefs (*M.H.G. Const.* I. 247), and also his own homage to the Emperor by becoming Henry II's vassal. That the treaty could not be pleasing to Frederick I, I agree, but the other contentions do not seem to hold good. (i) The Roncaglian Constitution need not apply to Burgundy; and Humbert reserved the suzerainty of the ceded homages. (ii) It does not appear that Humbert III did homage to Henry II.

and Pierrechâtel. With regard to this clause Humbert IV de Beaujeu was to be induced to give up his claims, or else compensation was to be given Alice out of other Savoyard lands¹. Further, the young couple were to have the whole valley of Novalaise, to the south of Belley², Chambéry, Aix-les-Bains, Âpremont, La Rochette, Montmayeur, and La Chambre, all of which were to be surrendered, saving the suzerainty due to the Count, at once³. Lastly, the Count ceded his Italian possessions and claims, Turin, Cavoretto, Collegno, and the homage of the Counts of the Canavese and of Castellamonte, with the viscount's castle of Châtillon in Val d'Aosta. Here, too, John could receive homage, saving the Count's rights, at once; and it is significantly said that these possessions are to be held as the Count or his father held them, a sign that Amadeus' powers had been greater than his son's⁴. To them are added, Humbert's claims in the county of Graisivaudan, in fact the legacy of his old quarrel with the Dauphin⁵. The Count's good faith was guaranteed by the oaths of his friends and vassals which furnish a list of the highest interest for his dominions. His second daughter is to

¹ *Gesta Regis Henrici*, I. 40, "Juraverunt (missi Humberti) similiter quod concessione Umberti junioris facient pro posse suo habere filium regis Russilon et Perecastel et quicquid ei a comite concessum est in comitatu Belicensi." The abbot of Chiusa and the archdeacon of Salisbury are to allot the compensation in case of refusal. Humbert Junior is Humbert IV of Beaujeu, who had presumably succeeded his mother Alice of Savoy in her dowry (see above, p. 295, n. 3). On the subject of these castles and the treaty Miss Norgate's account (*England under the Angevin Kings*, II. pp. 131-3) needs correction.

² "Totam vallem Novaliesiae." Seeing the smallness of the little valley of Novalaise in Savoy round Aiguebelette, I cannot help thinking it must correspond to the later bailiwick. In the thirteenth century the bailiwick of Novalaise included all the Savoyard possessions in Sermorens and South Belley (see above, pp. 79-80). As the possessions in the Viennois and the Lyonnais were not large till the thirteenth century (see above, pp. 76 and 81-2), the district of Novalaise in 1173 might likely enough include them, and would the more probably be ceded as lying on the approach to the Mont Cenis, via Lyons, which led from La Tour du Pin to Aiguebelette and Chambéry.

³ It will be noticed that these cessions are mostly homages, e.g. Chambéry and La Chambre, not demesnes. But had the Count special rights over *burgi* in his counties? See below, p. 433, n. 8. This at least was the case at Susa, where a third of the town belonged to the Abbot of S. Giusto.

⁴ *Gest. reg. Hen.* I. 37, "sicut unquam pater ejus aut ipse ea melius tenuit omnia quae subscripta sunt, aut liberius." Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 57, considers the Italian cessions merely cessions of claims, but see above, pp. 335-7. Of the homages it is said "incontinenti (Johanni)...fiant et prestantur hominia et fidelitates ab omnibus hominibus suis (Humberti) per totam terram suam, salva fidelitate sua, quamdiu terram tenebit" (*loc. cit.* pp. 37-8).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 38. "Praeterea (Humbertus) concedit eis et haeredibus eorum... quicquid juris habet in toto comitatu Gratianopolitano et quicquid in eo acquirit vel adquirere poterit."

take the place of Alice, if Alice happens to die. So matters were arranged, and Humbert returned to his lands at peace with all men. Four of the castles ceded to John were at once handed over to the King; they must have been demesne castles, but beyond Rossillon and Pierrehâtel I cannot suggest identifications¹. Humbert, however, in his turn had demanded a settlement on the bridegroom, and Henry's compliance brought about the revolt of his eldest son, from whose share in the Angevin dominions it was taken. Soon after one may suspect little Alice died²; and the whole marriage-treaty fell through. Nothing more is heard of it. It remains, however, a clear evidence of genuine designs of Henry II on Italy, else the bride's dowry would never have been a string of castles leading to the Passes³.

Whatever were Humbert's objects in the alliance with Henry II, he was still in favour of Frederick's success in Italy. At any rate he opposed in no way the new expedition which the indomitable Emperor made to Italy in 1174. The value of the submission of Savoy was shown by the fact that Frederick could reach his adherents in Piedmont by an unblocked pass. But from the sequel we may doubt whether he felt any real amity for the Count. The route he chose was the Mont Cenis and on the 29th of September he encamped outside Susa with some eight thousand men⁴. Next day he proceeded to take revenge for the insult the imperial majesty had suffered six years before. He drove the citizens out, and burnt the entire town. Presumably he did not do more, because after all they had let his wife, who was now looking on, and his men go free. An exception was made of Humbert's own castle, which fortunately for us was placed under the special care of a rhyming chronicler⁵.

¹ Ralph de Diceto, i. 353, "Quatuor castella comitis quae vel natura loci vel artificio manuum munitiora reputabantur, juxta voluntatem regis deputata sunt custodiae." The almost impregnable Montmelian might seem likely, but it is not in the treaty. Of those mentioned in the treaty Châtillon, Chambéry (Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 385-8), La Chambre (*id.* pp. 400-2), and Aix (*id.* p. 382), seem certainly in the hands of vassals in 1173. Perhaps La Rochette (*id.* p. 392) which had been enfeoffed, or Âpremont (*id.* p. 390) and Montmayeur (*id.* pp. 393-4) which later were certainly enfeoffed to homonymous Sires, may have been demesne castles in 1173.

² She was dead by 1178. See below, pp. 346 and 352.

³ I may note that La Rochette, Montmayeur and Âpremont defended the road from Lyons to the Mont Cenis from the attacks of the Dauphin, since they commanded the Isère valley in the direction of Grenoble. It has been suggested that Humbert anticipated the English alliance of the thirteenth century. Cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 54-8.

⁴ *Ann. Mediol. (M.G.H. Script. XVIII. 377)*, "Imperator...venit Secuxiam cum octo milibus pugnatorum."

⁵ Gotifred of Viterbo, who writes as follows (*M.G.H. Script. XXII. 326*).

"(Fridericus) Carpit iter; solitas dat Murienna vias.

Montis Cinisi via tunc satis optima risit;

The Count himself, to whose people and revenues this damage was done, followed, it seems, meekly in the train of the conqueror on his further march. Turin submitted and Asti soon surrendered. Then on the 29th October began the famous siege of Alessandria. The heroic resistance of the citizens baffled all Frederick's efforts, and by Lent 1175 his patience and good faith were alike giving way. One sign of this was his attempt to capture Alessandria under cover of a truce he himself proposed. Another was his diploma, dated the 26th of March 1175, in favour of his old enemy St Anthelm of Belley. The *regalia* which Humbert claimed were by this grant conceded in full measure to the Bishop. He could even fortify his city, and all other jurisdiction than his was shut out¹. The contemptuous wrong to Humbert was made the more remarkable by the Bishop's notorious and unbending leadership of the Alexandrine party in Burgundy. What acts of remissness on Humbert's part, besides the alliance with Henry II, had vexed the Emperor, we do not know. Perhaps he had merely been ostentatiously Catholic in his demeanour during Lent, and Frederick, amid the rain and fasting, took his virtuous vassal at his word. But it was not the favour promised in 1168. The only satisfaction Humbert had lay in the fact that the Emperor did not insist on investing St Anthelm with the *regalia* himself².

Rex nihil ammisit, sed prisca pericla revisit.

Saxa movent populi (Not. "rusticorum illorum") tunc super arce siti.

Tunc cum Segusis Cesar pro crimine lusit,

Civibus exclusis, domibus rebusque caducis,

Ictibus argutis os (Not. "Segusiensium") perit atque cutis.

Sola domus comitis, stans integra, cetera plancxit.

Rex pius hoc sancxit; domus incombusta remansit,

Cujus tutor ego (Not. "jussu imperatoris") qui mea metra lego.

Pluribus armatis castrisque per arva paratis,

Tunc regum genetrix venit regina Beatrix,

Lesā prius gratis, nunc sibi leta satis.

Gaudia regine sunt quas videt ipsa ruine;

Hec decet in fine genti dare dona canine;

Ammodo Segusie pergere nostra sinent."

The date is given by *Vi. Alexandri III (RR. II. SS. III. 463)* "Tertio Kal. Oct. castramentatus est juxta Secusiam. Altera autem die...civitatem ipsam combussit."

¹ See below, p. 426. The date of the document is guaranteed by the agreement of all the dates, save the imperial year, which should be 20, not 22, and by the mention of the siege of *Taboretum* (read *Roboretum*), as Alessandria was called by the indignant Frederick, after the name of one of its component villages.

² See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 60. I cannot agree with his view that the Belley diploma shows friendship with Humbert. It decided for the Bishop on just those points on which Humbert and St Anthelm continued at variance till the latter's death. Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.* p. 57. But the latter goes too far in saying St Anthelm was recognised as an immediate vassal of the Empire. Imperial investiture and the denial

The Count's loyalty, however, to the imperial party does not seem to have been decreased. For one thing, it is probable that he, who desired the signory of Turin and whose dominions included a number of small towns where communal notions were already stirring, was not sorry to see the Lombard cities tamed¹. He did not bring good fortune to the cause he espoused. After the failure of his Good Friday's treachery, the Emperor set out for Pavia. He only escaped attack from the far larger army of the Lombard League by playing upon their reluctance to take the aggressive against the Roman Emperor in person. As it was, a general dismissal of the opposing armies was arranged in order to make room for negotiations. The latter resulted on the 16th of April in the truce of Montebello². Humbert himself was one of the jurors on the Emperor's side, and was doubtless one of the negotiators. His vassal, now probably the Emperor's also, Gualfred di Piosasco³, was chosen by Frederick for one of the six arbitrators who were to arrive at an accommodation between the Emperor and the cities. During the truce a parley was arranged at Pavia between Frederick and the representatives of Alexander III. Perhaps the diploma to St Anthelm had foreshadowed some such move. But the negotiations came to nothing, and the war was renewed in a desultory fashion, while Frederick awaited fresh forces from Germany⁴.

After Easter (4 April) 1176 came the news that the German reinforcements were crossing the Alps towards the Lake of Como. Thither Frederick hurried to lead them on. There is no sign that Humbert let himself be carried away so far as to join in the hasty, and almost stealthy transit⁵. There followed on the 29th of May the decisive battle of Legnano, which assured the independence of the Communes for fifty years and the development of Italy after her own fashion. Frederick had to lurk about the country-side till he succeeded in reaching Pavia, while the Empress at Como wore mourning for his supposed death. He saw that it was useless to carry on the schism and

of the Count's rights which might exist over the Bishop, although not over the Bishop's men, are carefully withheld. See above, pp. 330-1, and below, p. 426.

¹ See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 59. Humbert's successor Count Thomas began his rule with grants or confirmations to the towns, e.g. Susa, Aosta and Miradolo.

² *Car. Reg.* CCCLI. (*M.G.H. Const.* 1. p. 329).

³ He was one of Humbert's envoys to Henry II c. 1172 (see above, p. 338). The Piosasco became immediate vassals of the Empire for a Turinese toll (*Car. Reg.* DCCCLXIX.) probably either now or c. 1185 at the time of Humbert's disgrace. See Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 69.

⁴ Cf. Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 61.

⁵ In Jan. 1176 Frederick decided a question between the Canons of Great St Bernard and a citizen of Turin without reference to the Count. He was then at Turin. (*Car. Reg.* CCCLIII., *Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* XVIII. p. 94.)

the war, and at once entered into long negotiations with the Pope and the cities, which ended in his meeting with Alexander at Venice in July 1177. The schism was closed by the recognition of the rightful Pope and the first step was taken to close the contest with the Lombards by a truce for six years.

During all this time Humbert III remained immersed in his private affairs¹. Turin, which was still on the Emperor's side at Venice in 1177, acknowledged Humbert's rights in November 1176²; and there seem to have been obscure local wars in process; for in 1176 the Emperor had destroyed the castle of Ulric di Rivalta, and Humbert III thereupon took possession, perhaps in concert with the Turinese³. Besides we find him in June 1180 at war with Ivrea, then apparently on the imperial side, with which his own rebellious vassal, William de Bard, master of the defiles leading to Aosta, is in league⁴.

In the midst of his disaster Frederick showed an unconquerable spirit. If his rights were now practically narrowed down to very little in Lombardy, he was not disposed to give up his influence either there or in Burgundy. Accordingly we find him at Turin in June and July 1178, about to march into Provence before returning to Germany. It appears that Berthold IV of Zähringen brought him a fresh German escort from beyond the Alps. The Emperor showed the importance, which he attached to this western route, by retaining Annone on the route from Asti in his own hands⁵. On the 14th July he reached Embrun, having evidently crossed the Mont Genève, and then proceeded to Arles for his coronation as King of Burgundy on the 3rd of August. The ceremony, which had not taken place for nearly a century and a half at all and never before at Arles, was attended by many feudatories. Others came to the Emperor's presence during his journey up the Rhone in August and September. The Bishops were much to the fore, yet there is a notable absence of some of the greater vassals. The Aragonese Count of Provence was probably anxious not

¹ But Bishop Peter of Maurienne represented him at the Peace of Venice (see Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 61).

² See above, p. 336.

³ See above, pp. 287 and 318. The notices of the lost document which should tell us of the event are given in *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 238. I imagine the Signori di Rivalta revolted from Savoy in 1149 and thenceforward remained in alliance with the Bishop. In 1170 the Alexandrine Milo became Bishop, and in consequence, Ulric found the Frederician commune of Turin hostile to him. See below, p. 349.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCCLXXIII. (*Carte...vescovili d'Ivrea*, B.S.S.S. VI. p. 276). Prof. Gabotto (*Un millennio di storia eporadiese*, B.S.S.S. IV. pp. 53-4) first pointed out the true date and bearing of the document.

⁵ Sella, *Cod. Ast. Malabayla*, II. 651; see Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 68. And cf. below, p. 364.

to do homage, but the non-appearance of Taillefer of the Dauphiné and Humbert III was more likely due to a dislike of increasing the Emperor's prestige in his Burgundian kingdom by an attendance which would profit them nothing. They may, too, have met him as he passed through their lands¹.

Humbert III was certainly not thinking of running counter to the Emperor at this time, for Clementia of Zähringen, and his eldest daughter being dead, he married about 1177 his fourth wife, Beatrice, daughter of Count Gerard of Mâcon, the strongest imperialist of Burgundy². By her he had about 1178 his only son, Thomas, who was to restore the fortunes of his House. The birth was foretold in a curious way by St Anthelm of Belley. The stubborn saint lay on his deathbed in June 1178, firmly refusing to forgive the Count for his regalian claims and the priest's death³, unless he surrendered the former and professed penitence for the latter. No one liked to approach Humbert with such demands; but two Carthusians were found to dare it. Going at once to him, for he was in the place, they urged him to repent and obtain the dying Bishop's blessing. Much moved, he went to the bedside in tears and surrendered and promised all required of him. Then St

¹ See Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 61-5; the Emperor is traceable at Turin, Briançon and Gap on his way to Arles. Stumpf, 4248-56.

² See Savio, *I primi conti*, pp. 526-7 and 531-2. The fact of the marriage is best proved by: (a) Alb. Trium Fontium (*M.G.H. Script.* xxiii. p. 863) "(Count Gerard of Mâcon) genuit comitem Guillelmum...et Galterum...et sorores eorum, de quarum una natus est Thomas de Sabaudia"; (b) Anon. Laudun. (*M.G.H. Script.* xxvi. 447) "(Humbert III) filiam comitis Gerardi de Mascons accepit uxorem de qua genuit Tomam qui ei in comitatu successit"; and (c) *Vi. S. Anthelmi* (AA. SS. Junii v. p. 237). In June 1178 "Comes Humbertus (III) et socer eius Girardus Viennensis" are at Belley. The new countess' name is shown in *Car. Reg.* ccclxxii. (Billiet et Albriex, *Chartes de Maurienne* [Doc. Acad. Savoie, II.], p. 38). The date of marriage is shown by the story of St Anthelm's death, 26 June, 1178 (see below), which also proves that Humbert's eldest daughter was already dead (AA. SS. Junii v. p. 236) "(Humbertus) filiam habebat unicam." M. Philipon, *Origines...de Belley*, p. 94, has called the exact date of St Anthelm's death in question on the ground of a charter, where he appears, dated 23 August, 1178, Luna XI., Epact IV., feria v. But Thursday and the eleventh day of the moon both fell on the 23rd August in 1173, not in 1178; and the Epact IV. of the Cartulary is nearer to the Epact v. of 1173 than to the Epact XI. of 1178. Thus the charter in question (Lullin et Lefort, *Reg. Gen.* No. 407; *M.H.P. Chart.* I. 1066) must really be dated 1173. There is, it is true, a difficulty the other way; Thomas was of age by 7 August, 1191 (see below, p. 435). The usual age for majority in the south was 14. Thus Thomas should have been born before 7 August, 1177. But the date of St Anthelm's death seems secure. He was consecrated Bishop by Alexander III then in France on 8 September, being a Sunday, i.e. in 1163 (AA. SS. Junii v. p. 233). He died 26 June in the fifteenth year of his episcopate, i.e. after 8 September, 1177 (*id.* p. 236). It would be easy to cut the knot by reading *quartodecimo* for *quintodecimo* in Anthelm's life.

³ See above, pp. 330-1.

Anthelm blessed him and his son. When some officious bystanders pointed out that Humbert had an only daughter and no son, Anthelm only repeated the word son with added emphasis. Not long after, adds the contemporary biographer, Thomas was born. One regrets to add that on the Bishop's death Count Humbert at once seized on the episcopal palace in pursuance of his right to the *spolia*, and had to be frightened off by a rather obvious miracle¹.

Another Bishop, with whom Count Humbert had a dispute over his suzerain rights, was Cono of Sion. Here no doubt after the treaty with Barbarossa in 1168 the Count stood on firm ground, but there were the accustomed disputes between the unwilling *protégé* and his advocate, and Humbert had as usual usurped some episcopal lands. However in 1179 an agreement was come to by means of Archbishop Aymon of Tarentaise. Each party was to help the other on equal terms. Neither should deprive the other of his liegemen. The territory of both should be the same as it was in 1147². The right to invest each new bishop with the *regalia* remained with the Count, but he rather had a hold over the Bishop than any definite powers³.

SECTION III. HUMBERT III'S LAST YEARS AND DEATH.

So long as a possibility of war with the Lombard communes remained, Humbert III enjoyed a kind of favour from the Emperor. In the preliminaries at Piacenza in April 1183, he was named as one of the jurors on the imperial side⁴. But when the Peace of Constance was proclaimed on the 25th of June, and Emperor and Communes were fully reconciled, the unlucky Count entered on evil days, for Frederick took up again his plan of a series of smaller states intermixed with imperial castles in Piedmont, for the routes leading to the Great St Bernard. When the Emperor reentered Italy in August 1184, and was

¹ *Viz. S. Anthelmi* (AA. SS. Junii v. p. 236), "Impositisque ei manibus vir Dei benedicens eum ait 'Deus omnipotens...benedictionis suae et gratiae tibi tribuat largitatem, crescere te et multiplicari faciat et filium tuum.' Et tamen filiam habebat unicam, non filium; cumque suggereretur ei, ut filiam, non filium nominaret, eum errare putantes, iterum et tertio signanter repetivit: 'Et filium tuum.' Quam prophetiam, nato sibi filio non multo post tempore, novimus adimpletam, nato sibi filio, ut diximus, scilicet Thoma." After the miracle at the funeral, "Comes...tanta mirabilia cum vidisset, tremefactus, episcopi domum, quam jam ingressus cum his qui intus erant sibi vendicaverat, statim abscedens reliquit" (*loc. cit.* XXXVIII.).

² *Car. Reg. CCCLVII.* (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 79). "Item comes reddidit ecclesie Sedunensi omnem terram illam et homines quos ecclesia Sedunensis possidebat anno quo Amedeus pater ejus Iherosolimam profectus est, et episcopus comiti e converso."

³ See below, pp. 398-9 and 425.

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCCLIX., CCCLXI.* (identical), (*M.G.H. Const.* I. 403).

received with pompous loyalty by the Lombard cities, the storm was to burst on Humbert's head.

The immediate instrument of the attack on Humbert was Milo, Bishop of Turin. That prelate who had never been schismatic had succeeded to Bishop Charles about 1169, and had some considerable power in Turin itself during his early episcopate. In February 1170 in conjunction with the Commune of Turin we find him receiving the lordship of the castle of Montossolo from its three possessors and thereupon enfeoffing it to them, on condition of their surrendering it at his demand either to himself or the Commune of Turin¹. Later in 1176, as we have seen, he by no means occupied an influential position in his city²; and probably his quarrel with Count Humbert had already begun, with which state of affairs the destruction of Rivalta Castle would be connected³. In 1180 he obtained the suzerainty of all Rivoli⁴, and in the same year he was investing some *signori* of Alpinano with half the castle there under terms which point to a state of war and a rival claimant⁵. Finally in the actual fighting it seems that damage was done to the Bishop's lands at Rivoli and Piobesi⁶. Humbert was a vassal of the Church of Turin, which complicated matters, since even a defensive war involved breach of feudal duty.

Milo began his proceedings quite early, for on the 11th of March 1184 we find Godfrey, the imperial chancellor and legate for Italy, holding a court at Milan to decide on the Bishop's demand for the restitution of Pianezza of which it seems the Count was then in possession. Humbert thought it best to take no notice of the proceedings and in consequence Pianezza was in his contumacy assigned to the Bishop. As Humbert could reacquire possession if he appeared before the court within a year, it seems that he must have had claims to hold the place as a fief from the Bishop, whose property it was⁷.

¹ *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 47.*

² See above, p. 336.

³ See above, p. 344.

⁴ *Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, pp. 233 and 237.*

⁵ *Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 69, "Si...Anselmus et Oto et eorum heredes aquistasent (sic) ullum feudum vel ullah concessionem in...loco Alpiniano quod pertinet ad ecclesiam Taurinensem ad racionem debent aquistare salvo jure ecclesie. Si (predicti) per ullum tempus perdidierint...castrum...episcopus etc. debent eos adjuvare ad recuperandum sicut boni domini bonis vasalis."*

⁶ *Car. Reg. CCCLXIII. (Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 79).* The Bishop claimed in 1185, 700 pounds of Susa "pro dampno dato sibi tam in Ripolis quam in Publice." See below, p. 348.

⁷ *Car. Reg. CCCLXIV. (Carte...arcivescovili di Torino, p. 77), "pro querimonia quam faciebat...Milo Taurinensis episcopus de eo, viz. quod injuste teneret ei castrum et villam de Planicia, que dicebat juris esse Taurinensis ecclesie...ita siquidem ut si comes venerit justiciam facere et satisfacere et impensas episcopo restituere paratus infra annum possessionem hanc recuperet predictus comes."*

It is not likely that Humbert obeyed this order ; for, when Frederick was residing in Pavia in April 1185¹, the Bishop began another action. He accused the Count of breaking the feudal tie, which bound him to the Church of Turin, and demanded on this account that he should be deprived of the fiefs he held from the *episcopium*, i.e. from the episcopal domain. As such Milo specified Avigliana Castle, Rivalta, the half of Carignano, Torretta Castle, and his possessions in the city of Turin. He further claimed damages for losses suffered in the war². A delay was thereupon granted to Humbert, since he was occupied in a pilgrimage to St Mark's at Venice³. When he returned in May 1185, he found Frederick occupied in the rebuilding of Crema, and then obtained a further respite till the Emperor should be in Turin⁴. As soon as the respite was granted, Humbert took his leave and retreated to the safe mountains of Savoy to await developments. By and by in June he was summoned to the court at Turin, but did not appear. A second special summons, in which the Emperor's kinsman, Dietrich, the Carthusian, took part, had no effect. So at last the Chancellor Godfrey sent a third and last summons, and, when the Count appeared neither in person nor by envoys, proceeded to judgement against him in contumacy⁵. On the 2nd of September, being still at Turin, Godfrey declared the Count to be deprived of the fiefs he held from the Church of Turin, that is of Avigliana and Torretta Castles, of his possessions in Turin and of Rivalta as well as others. Further, in satisfaction of the claim for damages he handed over to the Bishop other lands of the Count which were not held of the Church of Turin⁶. Next month

¹ For the dates see Stumpf, 4416, 4418, 4419, 4420-2.

² Car. Reg. CCCLXIII. (see p. 347, n. 6). "Petebat...episcopus ab eo castrum de Avilliana cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, et Ripaltam et medietatem Cargnani et castrum quod dicitur de Turreta et quicquid possidet in civitate Taurini et in ejus territorio et DCC. libras Secusinorum fortium pro dampno dato sibi tam in Ripolis quam in Publice, et generaliter ut dimitat sibi omne feodum quod ab ecclesia Taurinensi tenet, asserens se probaturum comitem commississe offensas adversus ecclesiam Taurinensem propter quas feodum jure amittere debebat."

³ *Loc. cit.*, "induciis datis secundum voluntatem ipsius comitis, scilicet cum reversus esset ab ecclesia S. Marci que est Veneciis ad quam proficiscebatur orationis causa." The 25th of April is St Mark's day.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, "Cum redisset ad imperatorem dum esset apud Cremam pro reedificatione ejus,posito termino cum imperator esset Taurini. Iterum post recessum ipsius comitis, etc."

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, "episcopum in possessionem...castrorum, scilicet Avilliane et Turrete ...et ejus quod ab eo tenet in Taurino et ejus territorio et universaliter de toto feudo quod comes...ab ecclesia Taurinensi tenet sive in rebus sive in jure consistant, et nominatim de eo jure quod habet in Ripalta in possessionem mitto...Pro DCC....libras...pono eum in possessionem aliarum rerum comitis que non sunt de beneficio episcopi

Ulric di Rivalta, the sub-tenant of Rivalta Castle who had been deprived in 1176, was restored formally to his possessions on giving hostages for his loyalty¹.

So far so good from the imperial point of view. The decision of the court of course does not show precisely what Humbert really held in fief of the Bishop, for his defence was never handed in, and all Milo's claims were taken for true; but undoubtedly there was homage owing for some lands, e.g. Carignano. Still the Count was not likely to give way, and private war was really authorized on Milo's part, and was soon to be supported by the Emperor.

Meanwhile some parts of the settlement in Piedmont were easy. Turin, according to the diploma of 1159 and the Peace of Constance, took its place among those Communes, where the Consuls were invested, though not elected, by the Bishop. The exercise of any rights there by the House of Savoy was prevented for many years. Ivrea and Chieri appear under an imperial *podestà* at this time². With regard to the *contado* of Turin a small local war seems to have been begun. Bishop Milo and the Turinese captured Collegno and destroyed the Count's castle there³; while on the 28th October 1186 Markward, the seneschal of Frederick's son, Henry VI, could put Bishop Milo in actual possession of Rivalta Castle, with a reserve of Ulric di Rivalta's rights⁴.

It was largely with a view to Henry VI's future greatness that all this Piedmontese policy of Frederick took shape. In January 1186 he was married to Constance, the heiress of the kingdom of Sicily, and, with this new base of Hohenstaufen power acquired in Italy, it became

usque ad predictam quantitatem." If Carignano has not slipped out of the text, it must be included in the general clause, for it is one of those *curtes* which certainly was held of the Bishop. See above, p. 287, n. 2.

The greatest landowners of Carignano, however, at this time were the Marquesses of Romagnano. Probably they held the other half, for they did not, it seems, owe *albergariae* to the Bishop (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, pp. 203, 265, 267, 268). Cf. *Carte arcivesc. di Torino*, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 112. The Ardoimid ownership, which the Romagnano continued, is traceable in the eleventh century. Cf. above, p. 158, and *Car. Reg.* LXIV. (*M.G.H. Dipl.* iv. p. 83).

¹ *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 238. Cf. above, pp. 287, n. 2, and 344.

² See Gabotto, *Un millennio di storia eporediese*, B.S.S.S. IV. p. 58.

³ For Collegno cf. above, p. 287, n. 3. This time is the most probable for the event, as it would facilitate the possession of Rivalta; and King Henry's aid is not mentioned. For another date (1199), which seems to me less likely, see Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 80, n. 4. Peace was made with the defeated lords of Rivoli by Bishop Ardoin of Turin on 7 Aug. 1190 (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 245).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCCLXVI. (*Carte...arcivescovili di Torino*, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 84). To this event, probably we should attribute the destruction of Rivalta by "King Henry" placed by a late chronicler in 1195 (*Chron. Parv. Ripaltae*, RR. II. SS., new ed., p. 6).

all the more necessary to assure the transalpine routes. Frederick had no notion of renewing the early Salian policy and of encouraging a great allied Alpine feudatory. He preferred small states ruled when possible by imperial nominees and interspersed with imperial castles.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Frederick proceeded in exactly the same fashion against his other friend of 1168, William Count of the Genevois¹, who was engaged in interminable disputes with his suzerain, the Bishop of Geneva. In March 1186 the fiefs which the Count held of the Bishop, that is most of his county, were declared escheated to that prelate, and the recalcitrant William was put under the ban of the Empire². Frederick was indeed a political being, like Napoleon, and did not let ties of gratitude interfere with state policy.

The year-worn Emperor was now about to quit Italy for the last time, leaving his son, Henry VI, in charge of affairs in that kingdom. Before he went, he devised another assault on the rights of the obstinate Count of Savoy. On the 10th of May he granted a diploma to Aymon, Archbishop of Tarentaise, which must have been very grievous to Humbert. Not only were the *regalia* conceded to the Archbishop, but the Emperor himself performed the investiture with the sceptre, thus shutting out the Count of Savoy entirely from the Archbishop's fiefs and making the latter an immediate vassal of the Empire³.

Worse followed next year at the hands of Henry VI. After elaborate legal summonses to answer for his contumacy and attack on the Bishop of Turin, Humbert was declared an open enemy of the Empire, all his alods and fiefs were declared forfeited, and himself put under the imperial ban⁴.

¹ See above, p. 334. William had been brother-in-law of Humbert III.

² See Lullin et Lefort, *Régeste Genevois (M.D.G.)*, Nos. 437 and 438.

³ Besson, *Mémoires*, ed. 1871, p. 360. "Quem de regalibus Tarentasiani archiepiscopus per imperiale sceptrum investivimus...Concedimus...archiepiscopo et ecclesiae ut...bona...sive per violentiam aliquorum eis ablata, sive per dispendium retroacti temporis omissione involuta...in primam liberae facultatis tutelam recuperare." Perhaps the power granted the Archbishop of recovering lost fiefs or fiefs, which the vassals in possession pretended not to be fiefs, is directed against Humbert III's possession of the countship of Tarentaise. See also below, p. 426, n. 7.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCLXVII. (*M.D.R.* xxix. p. 122). The source is a diploma of Henry VI to the Bishop of Sion. "Quod cum Humbertus q. Sabaudie comes, manifestus hostis imperii, propter suorum multitudinem excessuum, et precipue quod allodia et bona episcopo et episcopo ecclesie S. Johannis in Taurino ex antiqua fidelium donacione collata violenter abstulerat, et ad frequentem...Friderici...imperatoris...amonicionem et nostram incorrigibilis et contumax extiterat, tandem plurimis edictis et eciam peremptoriis citatus contumaciter absens venire contempsit, nos universa allodia et feoda que ipse infra fines Romani imperii possidebat, observato omnimode ordine judiciario, ei per justam principum imperii sentenciam et parium suorum, abjudicavimus et eum secundum justiciam condempnatum perpetuo imperii banno subicimus. In qua condempnacione diem clausit extremum."

In October 1187 King Henry collected an army, and proceeded against the rebel. Avigliana was the object of his attack. After fifteen days' siege it was taken and destroyed¹. Perhaps the King's purpose did not go beyond the execution of the sentence delivered on the Turinese controversy. At any rate he attempted nothing further in Italy, leaving even Miradolo untouched. But next July we find him making a brief inroad in Bugey, probably to hasten the Count's submission, and with this event the long and inglorious history of Humbert III closes². He died on the 4th of March 1189, leaving his heir still a minor³.

Little can be said of the retiring figure of Humbert III. The general impression he gives is one of incompetence. He was certainly unlucky. One may guess that he was a man who was persistent, if unwise; and the losses his House suffered during his rule might obviously have been more serious than they were. To his religious instincts we may attribute the foundation of the Chartreuse of Aillon in Savoy proper⁴, and part of his patronage of the useful hospital of S. Antonio di Ranverso on the Turin road⁵. His beatification after nearly seven hundred years is merely an instance of the strange twists of destiny⁶.

¹ *Ann. Plac. Gib.* (*M.G.H. Script.* xviii. 466). "1187 mense Octubris predictus rex in Lombardiam reversus, magno exercitu undique collecto supra terras comitis Savolie properavit et castellum quod dicitur Vilianum cepit et destruxit" (Coda-gnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* (ed. Holder-Egger, *Script. Rer. Germ.* p. 15). "1186 Sequenti vero mense (Oct.) predictus...Anricus in Lonbardiam reversus, magno exercitu undique collecto, cum aliquibus militibus Placentie et cum LX. sagittariis supra comitem Savegne ivit, et primo perexit ad quoddam castrum quod appellatur Vellianum, et fecit ibi fieri manganos et predarias, et stetit circa illud per XV. dies, et cepit et destruxit." The course of events and the geography seem safely to identify Vilianum with Avigliana and not the insignificant Viliano. For the year see Henry's movements in Stumpf, 4621-6.

² Cf. for the whole story of the quarrel with Frederick, Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 123-8, and Hellmann, *op. cit.* pp. 63-71.

Oehlmann, *Alpenpässe*, III. p. 223, thinks Henry VI crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis in 1087-8; but his last Italian diploma is from Lodi (Stumpf, No. 4626); and there is nothing to prevent his taking the Septimer route.

On 20-1 July Henry was at Lyons, on the 23rd at Thézillieu near Virieu-le-grand, and on the 27th near Ambronay. I feel a little doubtful whether Theyssonacum is Thézillieu; for the latter is *in pago Bellicensi* not *in pago Lugdunensi*. In any case the stay at Ambronay and the charter to the Sire de Thoire are significant. See Stumpf, Nos. 4629-32.

³ See the obits in *Car. Reg.* CCLXIX. (Billiet, *Chartes de Maurienne*, Doc. Acad. Savoie, II. p. 340), "IV. Non. Mart. anno ab incarn. Domini MCLXXXIX. obiit dognus Humbertus inclitus comes Maur. et Marchio Italie." Cf. Savio, *I primi conti*, pp. 537-8.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCCXLII. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 43).

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCCLVIII. (Cibrario, *Operette varie*, p. 429).

⁶ It was granted by Pope Gregory XVI, 7 September, 1838. *Car. Reg.* CCLXIX. King Charles Albert, I imagine, was the motive-power in this tardy proceeding.

His four marriages have been dealt with as they occurred. Of his first and second wives, Faidiva and Gertrude of Flanders, no children are recorded¹. By Clementia of Zähringen he had two daughters. Alice the elder we have seen died in childhood². The younger, whose name was perhaps Sophia³, married, as his second wife, Azzo VI Marquess of Este. She was dead by 1204 when Azzo married again⁴. Finally by Beatrice of Mâcon or Vienne Humbert became the father of Thomas, who was to restore the House of Savoy to its earlier preeminence.

When we trace the main results of Humbert's rule, we find little overt changes to record. Save the loss of some rights over the bishoprics of Tarentaise, Belley and Sion, the extent of his territory appears to remain unaltered, for the loss of Turin merely counterbalanced its acquisition a few years before. More important was the increased intervention of the Emperor in Burgundian affairs, but this implied more the enlargement of the sphere of the Count's foreign policy, than any contraction of his independence in matters of internal government. But it was the movements below the surface of events, and only to be guessed at from our fragmentary material, which were most enduring in their results. The wide monastic foundations of the first half of the twelfth century were beginning to bear fruit in the increased prosperity and larger population of the Savoyard valleys; and the general progress of European commerce was affecting the little towns on the high roads. We may suspect that, unlike his father, Humbert was not greatly alive to the inevitable future. At any rate there are signs that there was a tension existing between him and the growing merchant class⁵, and under Count Thomas the age of town-charters begins in earnest. In short the time just elapsed was one of silent preparation, in which perhaps the unheroic Count played his part.

¹ See above, pp. 318-19.

² See above, pp. 339-41 and 345, n. 2.

³ Savio, *I primi conti*, pp. 534-6. There does not seem to be any ancient authority given for her name. She is also called Eleonora (Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, I. 404-7).

⁴ Savio, *loc. cit.* Her parentage is shown by the epitaph of her daughter, Beatrice (Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, I. 406).

“Hoc jacet in tumulo pia nomine virgo Beatrix,
Quae fuit ex animo divinae legis amatrix,
Marchio quam genuit Estensis et Azo vocatus,
Conjuge patre sata Sabaudia cui comitatus.”

It is impossible that Count Thomas should be Sophia's father owing to the dates.

⁵ See below, pp. 359-60. It is significant that no town-charters were granted by Humbert III.

CHAPTER V

COUNT THOMAS

SECTION I. THE BURGUNDIAN PHASE.

THE biography of the earlier Counts of Savoy is condemned by the nature of our material to be brief and tedious. It is not that the times were uneventful or flat and commonplace. They were epic in their aspirations and actual achievement. Then it was that the youthful nations of Europe began their intellectual journey from the dream-world of their imagination to the realm of fact and daylight knowledge. The attempt to realize the legend of the Roman Empire and the speculation of the Roman Church, or that to make the ideal of knight-hood, compounded by the poetic fancy from the strangest elements of barbarism and Christianity, into the standard of prosaic life, both afforded the mind a perpetual exercise and training in its faculties. A tradition was slowly formed on the nature and structure of society, the duties and sanction of government, the limits of princely and sacerdotal power, the methods of policy and the principles of the law, not to mention those more translunary things, the purpose of the world and the destinies of mankind. And amid this stately forest of systematic thought, there flourished and spread the undergrowth of fantastic romance, made for diversion and governing to this day our notions of what imaginative literature must be. Nor apart from these world-wide problems, was the humdrum local life of the age devoid of an heroic aspect. Count, baron and serf were building, partly unconsciously, partly consciously, an orderly fabric of customary life out of the practical conditions of their existence. Decayed and obsolete institutions withered away or were transformed, and new more efficient forms took their place. The waste and woodland were gradually transmuted into ploughed fields. The great high-roads became populous with merchants and travellers. Misery, anarchy and injustice in life, puerility, confusion and barbarism in thought, there were, it is true, in plenty and excess.

But barrenness of events or lack of dramatic interest there could hardly be.

Yet the early Humbertines share very little in the glamour of their time. The darkness, which blots out for us so much of the early Middle Ages, rests with peculiar density over Savoy. Without a chronicle, without a vernacular literature, we are reduced for our knowledge to the occasional notices of foreign annalists and to desiccated charters of native production. The actors in the history flit uncertainly over the scene, impersonal shadows in the twilight. The account of their motives and actions must be mainly guesswork, even that of the results of these is dubious and contestable to a high degree. Our acquaintance with the last, too, is curiously embarrassed by the wealth of slightly-relevant material. Thus when a satisfactory description of Piedmont in the twelfth century is at last written, it will be composed from a careful analysis of many hundreds of deeds relating to land-transfer. The immediate rule of the district was exercised by the *consorzio* of the lords of the soil, and the possessions, and varied rights of these associations, the membership of which was not mutually exclusive, lay involved in a tangled mass over the champaign. When a competent knowledge of the details has been obtained from a prolonged comparison of ill-expressed and often really inconsistent charters, there will gradually emerge some light on the extent of the rights and claims of Emperor, Count of Savoy, Bishop, Abbot and City-Commune over these minor lords. And it must be remembered that such rights were often conflicting and nearly always partial. Clear-cut frontiers of territorial or personal allegiance are hard to find. A welter of names which carry with them no associations, a multitude of petty, half-expressed facts, topographical, genealogical, financial and administrative, rise in a dusty eddy from the parchments and the researcher after all may only find that precise evidence on the subject of his quest has been lost or was always lacking¹.

With Count Thomas, however, the mist which covers the early history of his House begins to clear away. The cause partly is that Savoy now enters more into the contemporary politics of Italy and north Burgundy, partly that the progress of its internal development

¹ Considerable researches on these local dynasts may be found in Ct. Baudi di Vesme's *Le origini della feudalità nel Pinerolese*, *B.S.S.S.* I. and in Prof. Patrucco's *Le famiglie signorili di Saluzzo* in *Studi Saluzzesi*, *B.S.S.S.* x. Unfortunately the line of research in both these works is not topographical, taking place by place and demonstrating their ownership, but genealogical, with the object of proving the interconnection of these signorial houses in the male line and their common descent from three or four prolific patriarchs in the tenth century for which the evidence, although suggestive of widely branched stocks, seems insufficient.

makes the documents less arid than in earlier times. So now we find treaties to aid us in reconstructing Count Thomas' external policy, while the first recognitions and inquisitions, as well as town-charters, cast fresh light on his subjects and his government. The fresh light is little more than a glimmer, but it is welcome after the gloom of preceding centuries.

The reign of Thomas falls into three rather rough-edged periods. In the first (1189-1211) which is dealt with in this section, we find Count Thomas most profitably occupied in Burgundian affairs. He restores the prestige of his House; he begins a successful forward movement in Vaud and Bugey, which his successors were to carry to the Saone and the northern Jura; he commences the alliance of the sovereign-count with the bourgeois-class; he only makes some fortunate tentatives in Italy. In the second period (1212-1219) he is at the height of his power, and turns his eyes principally south and east; he seeks for compromises on his northern frontier, but attempts to build up a dominion in Piedmont. In the third period (1219-1233) his power declines, confronted by the opposition of the Italian Communes; he loses ground, and all his twists and turns, which are many, only serve to retain a small portion of his gains. His losses, however, are of little ultimate importance when compared with the lasting increase of solid strength he had acquired north of the Alps.

At the time of his father's death the young Count, named doubtless after the militant St Thomas of Canterbury, could not have been more than twelve years of age, and was possibly only eleven¹. It was therefore necessary to elect a guardian as soon as possible to perform the duties of regent. Nor was any time lost by the widowed Countess Beatrice and the chief nobles of Savoy in naming a tutor; for within eight days of Humbert III's death, we find Boniface, Marquess of Montferrat, evidently fulfilling the duties of regent, although he does not yet take the title². The choice could hardly have been bettered. Marquess Boniface was a chivalrous crusader of the fighting House of Montferrat. Under his guidance young Thomas would be trained to become a gallant knight and man of action of the best type in Europe. Unimpeachably loyal to the Emperor and bound to his ward

¹ He was certainly considered of full age on 7 August 1191, but perhaps he was declared of age at thirteen for reasons now unknown. Cf. above, p. 345, n. 2.

² See the grant to the Hospital of the Great St Bernard dated 16 March 1189 (*Car. Reg.* CCCLXX.; *Misc. Valdostana*, B.S.S.S. xvii. p. 103), which has "sigilli nostri impressione et B. matris nostre et domini Maurianensis episcopi L. et dilecti nostri B. marchionis Montisferrati." Among the witnesses appear the Viscounts of Tarentaise (Briançon), Aiguebelle (Miolans) and Maurienne (La Chambre), as well as Humbert III's councillor Ponce de Conflens, the chaplain Bernard and the chancellor Maurice.

both by kinship, old friendship and interest¹, he was the very man to conduct the negotiations for the reconciliation with King Henry VI, who now that his father was engaged in the Third Crusade took control of affairs. It is evident that the course to be pursued had been settled before Humbert's death, for not only was Boniface on the spot, but also the Carthusian Dietrich, that mysterious connection of the Hohenstaufen². From Aiguebelle, where the preliminaries of the Count's accession seem to have been performed, Boniface and his ward, accompanied by the Bishops of Maurienne and Aosta, soon started north to meet the King at Basel. There, too, they found Thomas' maternal uncle, Count William V of Mâcon, at the court of his imperial kinsman, and the young Count was formally received into grace. It was probably then that, to mark his loyalty, Thomas abandoned the silver cross on the shield of his forefathers for the sable eagle of the Empire, which he bore for the rest of his life³. The terms, no doubt arranged beforehand, were not hard on the surface. Thomas was obliged to surrender the right to invest with the *regalia* the Bishop of Sion, who now became an immediate vassal of the Empire⁴. But the change meant that the Count lost the exclusive control of Chablais and the Great St Bernard route⁵; and it is very clear that the imperial policy in Piedmont showed no relaxation, for a year later the Abbey of Pinerolo was expressly freed from any secular rule save that of the Empire, thus ending, as the King hoped, for good and all, the ancient claims of the Count over its possessions⁶.

There was, however, no means of resisting the King's will, and Boniface, who henceforward takes the style of the Count's Tutor⁷,

¹ He was the grandson of Gisela, great-grandmother of Count Thomas. See above, p. 270. For the friendship of his father with Humbert III cf. above, pp. 333 and 336-7. Savoy and Montferrat were natural, defensive allies against the over-strong cities.

² Cf. above, p. 336, n. 5, and p. 348.

³ See above, p. 314, n. 4.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCLXXI. (*M.D.R.* XXIX. p. 122): "Post cujus (Humberti III) mortem cum filius ejus Thomas...in gratiam imperii et nostram rediret, ex ipsius consensu et bona voluntate et communicato principum imperii consilio Sedunensem episcopatum ad manum imperii retinuimus specialiter.....Ad cujus rei...evidentiam, Willelmum episcopum...de regalibus investivimus."

⁵ For Martigny was held from the Bishop, not from the Count; and now, while the Bishop was freed from the Count, the latter still remained his vassal for Chillon.

⁶ *Cartario di Pinerolo*, *B.S.S.S.* II. p. 79: "Nos monasterium Pinarioli atque locum ipsum ab omni alia seculari eximimus potestate ut semper de cetero ad imperium pertineat et de manu imperatoris vel regis eadem abbatia atque locus predictus recipiatur." 30 June 1190.

⁷ Besides the documents quoted below he appears as such in Car. Reg. CCCLXXII. (Billiet et Albrioux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, Doc. Acad. Savoie, II. p. 38), dated 12 June 1189, and Car. Reg. CCCLXXIV. (*Misc. Valdost.*, *B.S.S.S.* XVII. p. 104).

returned with his charge to make a formal progress through his counties, still attended by the great magnates of the land. A month later they were holding solemn court at Susa¹. The valley of that name, together with Avigliana and Miradolo and some rights in Pinerolo, was probably all that was left to Savoy after Humbert III's disasters².

The only record of Thomas and his guardian for the next year shows them honoured guests at Henry VI's court at Fulda, probably to do homage on his accession as sole ruler³; but early in 1191 we find them in Aosta, confirming the Bishop's rights. Then Thomas appears at Susa on the 7th of August, founding the Chartreuse of Losa by his own authority⁴. In fact the regency was over; and Boniface was already departed to deal with the new storm arisen in West Lombardy.

For the next few years we have little information on Thomas' movements, but the traces that remain of them show him engaged chiefly in Burgundian affairs⁵. The situation in the Transalpine kingdom was less assured now than formerly. It is true that Duke Hugh III of French Burgundy had married the heiress of the Dauphiné in 1183, and that he was an imperialist⁶. But the new Hohenstaufen ruler of Franche Comté, Count Otto, was losing the good understanding

¹ Twenty-five magnates took part, including the Abbots of Novalesa, Pinerolo and Susa, 15 June 1189 (Car. Sup. XL. Collegno, *Certose del Piemonte*, Misc. stor. ital., ser. III. Vol. I. p. 181).

² Thomas has powers over Miradolo and the valley of Fenestrelle in 1197 (Car. Sup. XLVII.), Miradolo being in his demesne (see below, p. 367). He resides at Rivalta in 1197 (below, p. 367).

³ Car. Reg. CCCLXXVII. (Böhmer, *Acta Imperii Selecta*, p. 162), 14 July 1190, by when Barbarossa's death would be known. I think that Hellmann, *Die Grafen v. Savoyen*, pp. 72-3, quite underrates the high position normally held by the Counts of Savoy among the vassals of the Empire. Not only the extent and geographical importance of their territories, but also their high descent, kinsmen of the Emperors and the Kings of France, secured their status.

⁴ Car. Sup. XLII. (Collegno, *Certose del Piemonte*, Misc. stor. ital., ser. III. Vol. I. p. 182). Together with the Bishops of Maurienne, Sion and Aosta, and the Abbots of St Maurice and Abbondance, we find Count Thomas at Thonon in New-Chablais some time in 1191 as a witness in an ecclesiastical dispute, to which the Hospital of the Great St Bernard was a party (Car. Sup. XLI., *Mém. Doc. Soc. Hist. Arch. Genève*, II. 2, p. 48).

⁵ We find him at Chambéry in 1196 (Car. Reg. CCCLXXXVI.; Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 45 and Car. Sup. XLIV.; Collegno, *Certose del Piemonte*, Misc. stor. ital., ser. III. Vol. I. p. 187); at St Maurice (Car. Reg. CCCLXXXIX.; *M.H.P. Chart. I. 1027*), and probably in Maurienne (Car. Reg. CCCLXXXVIII.; Billiet et Albiex, *Chartes de Maurienne*, Doc. Acad. Sav. II. p. 44) in 1195. He is in Italy at S. Ambrogio in 1194 (Car. Sup. XLIII.; *Cartario di Staffarda*, B.S.S.S. XI. p. 90).

⁶ Fournier, p. 72. I may here remark that in the treaty between Duke Hugh III and Count Otto of Franche Comté, the correction (made by Toeche, *Heinrich VI*, p. 655) of Polegium into Belley is impossible, the latter being a Savoyard possession. Presumably Polegium is Pouilly-sur-Saone.

established with the Anscarids of Auxonne and Mâcon; and the Duke of Zähringen was at war with his Romance subjects¹. The conflict between Duke and Seigneurs was raging in 1190 and 1191, and the Duke probably lost ground². It must have been tempting for the adventurous young Count to join in; but he wisely restricted himself to nearer gains, without being wholly regardless of the opening provided for ambitious schemes by the war north of Lake Geneva³. Quite early he renewed the alliance with the Genevois by marrying Count William I's daughter Margaret⁴, and in 1196 he made the important acquisition of the castle of Cornillon from the Abbey of St Rambert, just outside his county of Belley. Here we seem to trace the after-effects of Henry VI's march in Bugey in 1188; for the Sires de Thoire, then favoured, seem to have been ill neighbours. The main reason, however, of the transaction was the frequent helplessness of the lesser ecclesiastical lords against their lay vassals. So now the Abbot of St Rambert enfeoffed to the Count his castle of Cornillon and the jurisdiction over a tract beside it, together with the homage of nearly all his lay vassals, who became in consequence only *arrière-vassals* of the Abbey. Various financial profits and the peaceful bourg of St Rambert were reserved by the Abbot; but the main fact is clear—the Abbey passed under the protectorate of its new nominal vassals, the Counts of Savoy, who began in this way the extension of their dominion in north Burgundy⁵.

¹ Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 82.

² For we find the Count of the Genevois possessed of rights at Moudon and styling himself Count of Vaud. Cf. Hisely, *Ctes. de Genevois*, Mem. Inst. Gen. II. 39-40, and see Wurstemberger, IV. No. 38. Whereas, too, the battle between the Duke and his foes was fought in 1190 at Payenne, in 1191 it was at Grindelwald. But cf. Heyck, *Herzöge v. Zähringen*, pp. 430 ff. But I think he misunderstands Thomas' actions.

³ To this perhaps may be ascribed his gift of land by Chillon to the Vaudois Abbey of Hautcrêt (*Car. Reg.* CCCLXXXIX.; see above, p. 357, n. 5).

⁴ See below, p. 416. His eldest son Amadeus first appears as a grantor in March 1200 (*Car. Reg.* CCCXCIX.).

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCCLXXXVI. (Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 45): "Nostrum castrum, quod dicitur Curnillionis, dedimus ei (Thomae) et successoribus suis...tali condicione, ne illud possit alienare a comitatu, neque filiam dotare nec alio modo....Dedimus etiam comiti a fontana Landini usque ad aggerem burgi et a fossato qui est in colle castri usque ad aquam quae dicitur Arbarona sub tali condicione: furni et molendini qui sunt vel imposterum fierent infra terminos istos, et leyda linguarum et lumborum erunt abbatiae in perpetuum; comes habebit bannos et justitias infra terminos istos.... In portione sua abbas et abbatia quemcumque voluerit instituet praepositum seu mistralem totius burgi, et erit homo ligius abbatis....In rebus quae extra illos terminos sunt positae...abbas vel abbatia...totum sibi retinuit, tam in personis hominum quam in aliis rebus, excepto quod fidelitates nobilium cum eorum feudis quas ecclesia ibi hodie habebat a Petra Crispa usque ad Petram Altemiam dedit...comiti in perpetuum, et fidelitates et consuetudines quas abbatiae debebant, deinceps faciant

If in view of later history, the movement westwards appears a turn down a blind alley, it was a future which could not then be foreseen; and the acquisition of these rich domains beyond the Alps increased the strength of the House of Savoy for those Italian schemes which in the end turned out to be the true road to its exaltation.

To these early years of Count Thomas should doubtless be ascribed a step which marks an epoch in the strictly Burgundian annals of Savoy, the first charter to the city of Aosta¹. In its wider aspect this shows the Count allying himself with the bourgeoisie of his lands for the first time: from a more local point of view it is with this grant that the Count's authority gains real effectiveness in the Val d'Aosta. In that valley, isolated as it was amid the Alps, the great nobles, the *majores viri et capitanei* who were later styled *pares*, had acquired an exceptional independence of their absentee Count, and their power was, it seems, oppressive to the other classes of the population. It was the easier to practise abuses through the official position of their unquestioned head, Boso de Châtillon, viscount and vidame and mestral of Aosta². By virtue of his three offices it is clear that the greater part of the Count's dues would pass through his hands, and it is just this financial extortion that the charter was to put an end to. In any case a solemn court, akin to the later *Assises générales*³, was held at Aosta, and the city, to use the charter's vivid phrase, was "given over to liberty." A fixed annual sum was substituted for the arbitrary tallages; and a fixed scale of fines, no doubt embodying older custom, was declared for the citizens' offences. Further and not least important, the Count extended his special

comiti....Ego Thomas Comes...juravimus...abbati fidelitatem de castro." It is interesting to see the daughter's dowry expressly ruled out; such alienations of Savoyard land in Bugey had probably been frequent and account for the homages of Coligny, Beaujeu, etc. See above, pp. 78, 268, 294-5. The part played by the Sires de Thoire in these transactions is inferred from *Car. Reg.* CDLXXX.; cf. below, p. 392, and Wurstemberger, I. 64.

¹ *Car. Reg.* CCCLXXVIII. (*Cibrario e Promis, Doc.* p. 82). The document is unfortunately undated. It was succeeded by another charter, likewise without a date, clearly at an interval of some years (see below, p. 378, n. 2). Thomas was in Aosta with his tutor in 1191, and later in 1206 and 1212. From the names of the witnesses and from the fact that 1206 seems the most appropriate date for the later charter, I incline to place CCCLXXVIII. c. 1195-6. In the copy of 1253, which is all we possess, it is said that the seal of Thomas' son, Amadeus IV, hung with his from the original. But Amadeus is not mentioned at all in the act, and his seal must belong to a confirmation by him, which has not been copied in the charter of 1253.

² See below, pp. 433-4, 441-2, 444, for Boso's offices. As to the abuses, the charter says, "visis et cognitis calamitatibus et eciam oppressionibus et injuriis illatis, trado civitatem Auguste cum suburbiis consilio episcopi Walberti et baronum meorum libertati, ita quod nunquam deinceps ego vel successores mei tailias vel exactiones invitas per me vel per mistrales meos faciam."

³ See below, Cap. VI.

protection over all the citizens, without reference to the fact that they might not be his personal vassals¹. There was nothing revolutionary in all this, but the example of an alliance with the third estate had been set, and as will appear later Thomas followed up the concession to Aosta by similar charters.

So far Count Thomas seems to have been occupied almost exclusively with Burgundian affairs, but from 1197 to 1200 Italian schemes and wars take the first place. The death of the Emperor Henry VI in September 1197, followed as it was by the prolonged civil war between the rival claimants of the throne², freed his hands to some extent, we may presume, but since his residence in Italy begins in May that year³, it was obviously not the moving cause. That has to be sought in subalpine events.

In the lands now called Piedmont, a name in Count Thomas' day only applied to the wedge-like district between the Po and Sangano east of Pinerolo⁴, the fall of the Savoyard dominion had neither brought peace nor a less intricate political situation. The land was parcelled out into dominions of all sorts and sizes, and although these small authorities may be grouped conveniently by the nature of their power, and to some extent by their permanent interests, the groups had yet no homogeneity. The leading members of each type, such as the cities of Asti and Alessandria, might be bitter rivals. Even where some permanent interest, such as the fact that the western and northern roads ran through Savoy, compelled a careful handling by one state of its relations with another, fresh factors might intervene and warp its policy.

Some precision may be given to these general statements by a description of the position and circumstances of the leading members in each group. First I may take the greater feudatories, descendants of the ancient comital houses, who still retained their independence against rivals of all kinds. Among these the Count of Savoy possessed the greatest intrinsic power; but he was also a foreigner, a Burgundian, the "Ultramontane" Count. In his effort to extend his dominion he was the inevitable foe of the Piedmontese lesser lords or castellans, the Bishop of Turin, the Communes of Turin, and Testona, and the Marquess of Saluzzo, at whose expense his success was to be achieved. Of the Aleramid Marquesses, those of Montferrat and Saluzzo were by

¹ "Ego Thomas comes de consilio baronum meorum et habitatorum civitatis Auguste recipio in proteccionem meam personas clericorum, civium burgensium, vineas et omnes possessiones mobiles et immobiles. Hec autem per universum comitatum sub juramento cum baronibus meis observare...promitto."

² Philip of Hohenstaufen and Otto IV of Brunswick.

³ See below, p. 367.

⁴ See Merkel, *Un Quarto di Secolo di Vita Comunale*, p. 42.

much the first. Boniface of Montferrat maintained a warlike independence in the hills to the south of the Po and west of Turin. His lands spread north almost to the Alps along the Stura di Lanzo and southward into the Langhe beyond the Tanaro; but their kernel was round Chivasso on the Po. The ability possessed by his romantic kindred, who carved out realms for themselves in the East, and the fine military material he could dispose of, made him formidable to his neighbours, while on his side he was threatened by the counter-ambition of the Communes near, anxious to control the roads along which their commerce passed. The Marquess Manfred II of Saluzzo was less happily placed. Not only were his demesnes more scattered south of the Po and in the Langhe, entangled among those of the other branches of the Aleramids "di Vasto"; but his hold on his vassals was less complete. The small lords in their *consorzerie* and their dependent husbandmen, who dwelt along the Stura di Demonte, shared in the profits of the trade which ran south-west over the passes of Argentera and Tenda; and the result seems to have been the awakening of the communal spirit and a resentment of the authority and exactions of their overlord. Places such as Savigliano, Vico, Romanisio and Borgo S. Dalmazzo¹ began to take the appearance of petty communes, and to claim greater or less independence. Discontent led to revolt, and the revolts led to the foundation of new towns, of which Cuneo, which first certainly appears in 1198, is the most important². Although the new Communes were anti-feudal in their tendency, they were by no means democratic places. Their ruling class was mainly drawn from the lesser nobility, and these retained for many years their feudal dues, if not their feudal jurisdiction³. But an Italian commune however composed, very reluctantly admitted a sovran authority above its Councils, and the Marquesses of Saluzzo did not possess the skill of the House of Savoy in dealing with them. At the same time they could not deal with them apart from foreign intervention, for the great city of Asti was deeply

¹ Vico (later Monreale and Mondovì) was a possession of the Bishop of Asti (*Lib. Inst. Mondovì*, B.S.S.S. xxiv. p. 19) and Borgo S. Dalmazzo, the immediate lord of which was its Abbot, was divided between the Bishop and the Marquess of Saluzzo (*Reg. March. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. xvi. No. 71). Savigliano's immediate lords were the numerous *consortes* of Salmour and the Abbot of Savigliano (see Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 711).

² Cf. Prof. Gabotto, *Storia di Cuneo*, and especially Bertano's admirable *Storia di Cuneo*.

³ See Gabotto, *Il Comune a Cuneo ecc.* Boll. stor. bibl. subalp. Anno v; a document of 1245 shows a *signore* of Caraglio still possessing tolls etc. in Cuneo and Savigliano (*Cartario di Staffarda*, B.S.S.S. xi. 283). That the less oppressive financial rights should long survive the hereditary jurisdiction is quite in keeping with other feudal history. In fact the ex-lords became privileged members of the Commune.

concerned in the road to Provence, and, aided by the possessions of her Bishop in the district, was determined to extend her dominion over it.

More powerful than the Marquesses of Saluzzo, but more exposed than they to the attacks of the leading cities, were the Counts of Biandrate, whose fragmentary domains spread from Novara to Ivrea and Chieri. Not to mention their eastward enmities these Counts held by recent imperial diploma the rule of Ivrea and Chieri, neither of which towns was at all complete or willing subjects.

"These were the prime in order and in might." A second group of potentates may be composed of the secondary lords, ecclesiastical and lay. Of the former variety the Bishops of Turin and Asti were the most important. The first named, so far as the extent of his domains and his formal rights went, should have been the most powerful magnate in his diocese; but much of his land was held by over-strong and unruly lay vassals, such as the Marquesses of Saluzzo and Montferrat or the Piossasco and the Commune of Testona, who insisted on distinguishing with extraordinary acuteness between his spiritual and secular prerogatives and in ascribing an infectious invalidity to the latter. The Bishop's strength really depended on the state of his relations with the semi-subject Commune of Turin, and even there too great a success in controlling it was sure to alienate it. Add to this his continual rivalry in the city and western plain with the Count of Savoy, and it becomes obvious that his better days were over. A decline in fact set in at once when Bishop Milo was translated to Milan, and Ardoin di Valperga took his place in 1188. With regard to the Bishop of Asti there is little to say, for his importance was less and he had lost all directing power in his city, while his vassals in the country-side were no less unruly than those of his brother of Turin.

To come to the secular lords of secondary status, we may note that their substantial power was lessened by the singular intricate nature of their scattered demesnes and rights, by the condition of dependence in which they stood to diverse lords, and by the inroads which were made in their authority by the growth of the Communes. Thus the Marquesses of Romagnano in Thomas' time were vassals of the Emperor, the Bishop of Turin, the Count of Savoy, the Marquess of Saluzzo, the Abbot of Pinerolo, to mention no others, while in their richest town of Carignano they only held some half of the territory, and their authority was diminished by the appearance of a Commune. Among nobles of this degree of importance we may single out the Marquesses of Busca, an impecunious side-branch of the Saluzzo house, with lands interwoven with those of Saluzzo; the Castellans of Piossasco, whose lands were sprinkled between Pinerolo and Testona, the Viscounts of Baratonja,

who besides being landowners in the Val di Susa possessed wide properties amid the Graian Alps and to the north of the Dora Riparia, and the Counts of the Canavese south of Ivrea. It would not be easy to make an exact map of the lands of these feudatories, which were intertwined in inextricable fashion, while the confusion was made worse by the practice of compossession among the Castellans¹.

Far easier to describe is the third division, the Communes. The greatest was Asti, now reaching the height of her power and about to aim at the rule of the subalpine land. Already the lesser lords round were subdued, and she was preparing to control the roads as far as the Alps. But her enemies were many and dangerous. The Marquess of Montferrat held the hills above the Tanaro to the north and with a mixture of dread, greed and ambition was her perpetual foe; the Marquess of Saluzzo and his kin were to west and south; the Count of Savoy, safe beyond the Alps, held the chief road to the west and was eager to press south. Still more formidable at this time were the rival Communes. Alessandria was strongest of them and soon to become a mere enemy; Alba was necessary to subdue from her position on the southerly routes, and therefore was necessarily hostile, if only to retain the dearly loved autonomy of a Lombard Commune; Turin and Testona on the Mont Cenis route were suspicious neighbours at best, and Chieri, close by, was only a friend because Turin, Testona and the Marquess of Montferrat were dangerous to herself. Even the *consorzerie* and new Communes to the south-west were not anxious for more Astigian intervention than they could avoid.

Such cities as Vercelli and Novara need not be more than mentioned, for they play a quite incidental part in Savoyard history, but some of the other Communes require a reference to their internal government. Ivrea and Turin were less secure against their feudal neighbours than other cities of similar importance, and in consequence were more disposed to accept imperial interference. In both we find in these years an imperial *Podestà*. Ivrea's castle with the suzerainty of the city had been granted by Barbarossa to the Counts of Biandrate, and the townsmen were reduced to displaying a creditable but novel zeal for their Bishop's rights which were infringed thereby. Turin, which was somewhat similarly trammelled by the Bishop and the Count of Savoy, soon made the same submission. Little Testona suffered under the Bishop of Turin and the lords of Piossasco in particular.

¹ Documents which specially illustrate this fact are *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 215, *id.* p. 245, and Gabotto, *Il Comune a Cuneo*, Boll. stor. bibl. subalp. Anno v. p. 74. It is however difficult to distinguish the subtenants under the "signori" from the latter themselves: and we may thus very much enlarge the number of them. For the title of castellan assumed by the barons of less degree see above p. 259, n. 4.

Chieri, which kept the Bishop at bay, was obliged to admit some rights of the Count of Biandrate, to whom Barbarossa had enfeoffed it. Pinerolo acknowledged its Abbot as suzerain and the Count of Savoy as the churchman's vassal for certain functions. One ruling passion possessed these Communes as it did all their neighbours, the desire for complete autonomy, for sovereignty in all their actions. It was this which overrode their trade interests, and which later was to make them prefer a dynast who did not concern himself with their internal administration, and who was impartial in the matter of trading privileges, to the jealous rule of another Commune.

Above and around the conflicting entities of nobles and Communes there was still the Empire, weak indeed and inefficient, but by no means a bare name in the days of Henry VI. Some pains had been taken by Barbarossa and his son to obtain a territorial hold on West Lombardy. Annone, commanding the eastern outlet of the Tanaro's valley, had been wrested from Asti¹; Airasca in the plain of Piedmont proper between the Po and the Sangano had been bought from Fruttuaria Abbey; and the whole valley of the Stura di Demonte leading to the Argentera pass from the Marquess of Saluzzo². For the safeguarding of imperial interests a legate or nuncio was appointed, who was also *Podestà* of one or two of the more submissive towns. Thus Drusard, legate in 1185 and 1187, was *Podestà* of Ivrea and Chieri³; while Thomas the Castellan of Annone, legate from c. 1190 on, became *Podestà* of Turin⁴.

When Boniface of Montferrat returned to Italy in 1191, the flames of war were ready to burst out in two directions, and in the condition of affairs I have just described, it was impossible that the two broils should be kept apart, while through the same intricacy of interests and alliances it was not likely that they should wholly coalesce. The first of these conflicts gave a fatal shock to the power of the Bishop of Turin in his city. Bishop Ardoin, who in 1190 could exact hard conditions for their restoration from the *consortes* of Rivoli, where he had his country-castle on the last spur of the Alps⁵, in 1191 is clearly non-resident in Turin and at war with his most powerful vassals, the

¹ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 636 (7 July 1878).

² Tallone, *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 84.

³ Ficker, *Forschungen zur...Geschichte Italiens*, II. 145. He left for Germany early in 1189, to return in 1194 for wider functions, *id.* 147.

⁴ He appears as legate "Totius Taurinensis episcopatus legatus" in March 1191 (*Carte...arcivesc. di Torino*, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 90). Like Drusard he was a German "Dienstmann."

⁵ *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 245. Hellmann, p. 76, has confused these *nobiles de Ripulis* with the Piosasco, who had a separate claim to the castellany. See below.

Piovasco¹. By July 1193 he could submit to a disastrous peace, which Thomas of Annone, the imperial legate, negotiated for him. The Commune of Turin, which probably had turned against him, received the greatest gains, for Ardoin surrendered to it the complete military control of all his demesne-castles, including those of Testona and Montossolo. To do this the unfortunate Bishop was compelled to buy out the rights of the Piovasco in Testona by ceding his demesne of Piobesi to them, and could only obtain in return a suspension of the Piovasco's claim to Rivoli castle for fifteen years. The peace inevitably sowed the seeds of new dissension, for Testona and Chieri would never endure the state of vassalage to their rival Turin, which was implied in the latter's possession of the Bishop's castles, since Testona was commanded by the fortress in the town and the road leading north from Chieri by the stronghold of Montossolo².

Boniface himself was the protagonist in the second war, which was provoked by the ambition and dangerous success of the city of Asti. Not that Asti, although she appears as the incendiary of conflicts that lasted for some forty years, had really much choice in the matter. She could not stand by while her trade was choked and her citizens wronged by the ignorant greed of great feudal lords, or the malicious emulation of rival towns. It lay in the nature of things that a mercantile city, whose greatness proceeded from her situation at the junction of the routes of traffic, should also suffer the disadvantage of being separated from her customers beyond the Italian frontier, and that she should endeavour in consequence to secure at least a free passage to the Alps and the Apennines. Towards the south-western passes, as I have explained above, the Marquess of Saluzzo stood in her way, and Manfred II, then ruling, was unwise enough to provoke a contest and irritate his own subjects, too, by extortionate and repeated tolls. By his miscalculation he gave the old order little chance to survive in the growing age. Perhaps he thought it best to fight at once to avoid sinking into a city-patrician.

However that may be, by May 1191 he had been badly beaten,

¹ His charters, 1191-2, are dated mainly from Rivoli. See *Carte del Pinerolese*. One of June 1192 is dated from Turin (*Carte arcivesc. di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 98*), one from Testona, July 1191 (*id. p. 92*). The war seems to have begun with some transgression of Ardizzone di Piovasco, who refused to appear later before the Bishop and then forfeited his episcopal fiefs (*id. p. 102*). That it was Ardizzone, not the Bishop, who was imprisoned was pointed out by Hellmann, p. 76.

² The two treaties with Turin and the Piovasco are given in *Carte arcivesc. di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. pp. 100 and 102*. Merlo di Piovasco received the fief forfeited by Ardizzone, and also 170 Susian pounds from the Commune. Cf. on the war Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. 1. 130-1*, Hellmann, p. 76 (who however makes some blunders), and the not yet antiquated Cibrario, *Storia di Chieri, 1. p. 70*.

and, being the loser, paid¹. Not only was he forced to grant full commercial privileges to the Astigians and engage to exact only the customary toll, but the fate he feared descended partially upon him. He became an Astigian citizen and vassal of the Commune, his discontented trading township of Romanisio being perhaps the most important of his new fiefs². His brief submission was, however, rather a forecasting of future events than an assured result itself, for his mightier kinsman of Montferrat joined the fray, whether at Asti's provocation or not. The foes met in June at Montiglio in Montferrat, where the Astigians, with their allies the Alessandrians, equally enemies of Boniface, suffered a disastrous defeat from the warlike Marquess³. For fifteen years the war thus begun raged with little intermission, drawing into its vortex the greater number of the neighbouring powers. Six times did the combatants make truce or peace, but as their strength was not exhausted and neither was willing to yield in reality, hostilities always recommenced. In 1193, the year of Bishop Ardoin's submission, Asti seemed triumphant. She resubdued Manfred II of Saluzzo⁴ and carried through a treaty of union with her angry rival Alba⁵. Next year she strengthened her position by alliances with Chieri⁶, which could now put pressure on her episcopal suzerain⁷, and Vercelli⁸. But these successes were not unchequered; Boniface in peace and war had something to his credit also; Turin's hostility is shown by her acceptance of the legate Thomas of Annone as her *podestà*⁹; and the Emperor Henry's passage over the Great St Bernard and Turin to the south in July 1196¹⁰ was more favourable to the weaker

¹ *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. xvi.* Nos. 89-90 (91-3 are duplicates of the peace in 1193) (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, Nos. 690 and 908). See Bertano, pp. 67-8.

² See for his rights there *Reg. March. Sal.* pp. 317 and 319. The other lands for which he became a vassal of Asti were his share of Saluzzo itself (originally perhaps one-third) and Castiglione Tinella in the Albese.

³ Ogger. Alf. cap. 10 (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, p. 58).

⁴ *Reg. March. Sal., B.S.S.S. xvi.* Nos. 98-104. Cf. Bertano, p. 69.

⁵ *Rig....Albe, B.S.S.S. xx.* pp. 17 and 54. Cf. Bertano, p. 70. The arrangement was rather a strict alliance with equal private rights for citizens of either than a political union.

⁶ Cibrario, *Storia di Chieri*, I. 74 and II. 32, and Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 283.

⁷ Cibrario, *id.* I. 71. The treaty between Chieri and the Bishop (14 Ap. 1195) has been lost.

⁸ *M.H.P. Chart. I.* 1010. See Bertano, p. 70.

⁹ He first appears as such in March 1196 (Cibrario, *Storia di Torino*, I. 502). Henry VI also enfeoffed to him a Turinese toll (Stumpf, 4977), and the imperial palace at Turin (Ficker, *Forschungen*, II. p. 210).

¹⁰ Stumpf, 5018-5022. On this occasion, 28 July 1196, he confirmed Archbishop Aymon of Tarentaise's immediacy for his regalia. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 103.)

side¹. When the Emperor died in September 1197, everything was ready for a renewal of the obstinate struggle, and this time a new champion was to participate in it.

Throughout May and June 1197 we find Count Thomas of Savoy resident at Rivalta². In January and February 1198 he is at Susa³, in March the same year at Miradolo⁴. It is true his occupations were those of peace. He confirmed his grandfather's charter to Susa, acknowledging at the same time the further customs which had grown up; to Miradolo he granted a fixed tax in lieu of the arbitrary tallage. But there are signs of other interests. We note among his entourage a Marquess of Romagnano⁵, and that very Ardizzone of Piosasco, old rebel of the Bishop of Turin⁶. In October 1198 we find he is an ally of the Commune of Ivrea⁷.

When the news of the Emperor's death arrived, Asti at once prepared for action. On the 30th of October 1197 she entered into a new alliance with Alessandria against their common foe of Montferrat and the war began. Almost all the powers of modern Piedmont were involved, but the actual operations tended to be divided into a south and eastern, and a north-western conflict. In the former fell Asti and Alessandria, with Asti's Bishop and the newly formed Communes of Savigliano and Romanisio. Against them were arrayed the Marquesses of Montferrat and Saluzzo with the lesser Aleramid Marquesses, and the city of Alba. In the north-western group, which more nearly concerns us, we find Chieri and Testona, the Piosasco, the Cavour, and the Count of Savoy fighting Turin and its Bishop, who are aided by the Counts of Biandrate and the lords of Revigliasco and Cavoretto. Thus Thomas was on opposite sides to his late guardian, for Chieri and Testona were allies of Asti; but in point of fact the war was so diffused and so much an amalgam of disconnected feuds, that this fact

¹ *Carte arcivesc. di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi.* p. 109, where (25 Sept. 1196) he concedes to Bishop Ardoin the right of recovering fiefs alienated by the episcopal vassals. Perhaps this has something to do with Ct. Thomas' recovery of Rivalta, see below.

² *Car. Reg. cccxci. (M.H.P. Chart. i. 1036), Car. Sup. XLIV. (Collegno, Certose del Piemonte, Doc. xi.), XLV. (id. Doc. xii.), XLVI. (id. Doc. xiv.), and XLVII. (Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. ii. p. 82).* The Staufan Carthusian Dietrich is with him, one may note.

³ *Car. Reg. cccxciii. cccxciv. (M.H.P. Leges munic. c. 5), Car. Sup. XLVIII. (M.H.P. Chart. i. 955).*

⁴ *Car. Reg. cccxcv. (Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. ii. p. 83).*

⁵ *Car. Sup. XLVII.*

⁶ *Car. Reg. cccxcv.*

⁷ *Car. Reg. cccxcvii. (Carte vescov. d'Ivrea, B.S.S.S. vi. p. 284).* "Et homines Ipporediae...juraverunt...adjuvare (marchiones Montisferrati) contra omnes homines, salvo imperatore et comite Savoiae et habitatoribus hominum Ipporegiae."

does not mean any real unfriendliness or hostilities between the kinsmen.

It is significant of the objects really held in view by the contending parties that the first moves on both sides consisted of a general attack on the imperial domains in Piedmont. They had no feud or rivalry or even commercial grievance here; but the imperial lands lay at strategic points on the trade-routes, and hampered their autonomy and state-policy. So Boniface and his kinsman of Saluzzo seized on the valley of the Stura di Demonte in November 1197. They settled their joint claims by the enfeoffment of their conquest by the Marquess of Montferrat to Boniface the heir of Saluzzo¹. While the two Aleramids were thus engaged, the Astigians were besieging Annone, the key of the Tanaro valley, and in December obtained possession of it from the wife of Thomas the Legate². The latter's misfortunes did not stop there. By January 1199 he had been driven from the *podestà*-ship of Turin³. The imperial rule in Piedmont was a thing of the past.

The ground was now clear, and Asti, under the skilful guidance of her ruling merchants, could strike boldly for the control of the south-western road. She had already recognized the Commune of Romanisio. Now in the spring of 1198 the Astigian forces marched up the Stura di Demonte to the foot of the Alps. The discontented lesser lords and freemen rallied round from Caranta, Brusaporcelli⁴ and similar villages. Manfred of Saluzzo was either defeated or kept at bay: and it seemed possible to bridle him in perpetuity. The means was ready to their hand. At the confluence of the Stura and the Gesso there rose a spur of the Alps, called from its triangular shape the Piz di Cuneo. With steep sides and level crest it was a superb situation for a town; its owner, the Abbot of S. Dalmazzo, was no friend of Manfred II; and it commanded the junction of the Tenda and Argentera passes. So here the rebel countrymen were settled, and formed into a new Commune, dependent on and strictly allied with Asti. No deadlier blow at the Marquess could have been struck⁵.

¹ *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 115.*

² Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 638.

³ Cibrario, *Storia di Torino*, I. 504; Hellmann, p. 78.

⁴ Caranta or Quaranta seems to have been the present hamlet of S. Benigno, near Cuneo (Bertano, p. 32); another fraction of the place survives in Tarantasca close by. Brusaporcelli was close to Boves (see above, p. 159, n. 7).

⁵ Bertano, pp. 25-32, 73-6, 81-5. Gioffredo della Chiesa, *Cron. di Saluzzo* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 880), antedates the event by 10 years. Cuneo's earliest document, the treaty with Asti (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 717), is dated 23 June 1198. The Abbot of S. Dalmazzo consents to the transaction. The Cuneese swear to the treaty with one reservation, "salva fidelitate dominorum suorum." This of course in a way safeguarded the Marquess of Saluzzo's rights, but it probably chiefly refers to the lesser lords, many of whom were become the leading citizens of the new town.

In the next year the main scene of the war seems to have lain further east, Ivrea, Vercelli and Acqui bringing their feuds to the common stock, and joining in the fray¹. Vercelli was on Asti's side; the other two were allied with Marquess Boniface of Montferrat. While sporadic fighting went on up and down the country, nothing pleased the warlike Communes better than to mediate between other of the combatants. The chance of this now occurred to Asti and Vercelli. The unlucky Bishop of Turin had been captured by his old enemies, the Piosasco², and although no other notice of the progress of the north-western war has come down to us, it is clear that the Bishop and Commune of Turin had had considerably the worst of the strife. In mid-October 1199 Chieri had consented to the mediation of her allies³, and the definite peace was made in February of the following year⁴. Turin submitted to give up for the time at least those ambitions which made her neighbours her necessary enemies. Chieri obtained Montossolo, Testona her castle, both as fiefs from the Bishop, and thus assured their independence, the real object of their participation in the war. Less favourable terms were granted to their allies. The Piosasco were referred to a future Astigian arbitration on their dispute with the Bishop⁵. The Count of Savoy was similarly promised the satisfaction of his claims on Turin, and, if it was not given him, Chieri and Testona were to join him in the war to obtain it⁶. Count Thomas' actions now

¹ See Bertano, p. 74. Ivrea's alliance (22 Oct. 1198) with Montferrat is the document *Car. Reg. CCCXCVII.* (see above p. 367, n. 7). It is directed against Vercelli only. For the alliance of Vercelli with Asti and Alessandria see Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 993 (15 March 1198); it is directed against Montferrat, Casale and one or two small communes. These treaties well illustrate this peculiarly local character of a warfare which was general.

² *Car. Reg. CCCXCVIII. (Carte arcivesc. di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 114).* See below, n. 4. Cf. Hellmann, p. 79. This is a different event from the imprisonment of Ardizzone di Piosasco in 1191-2.

³ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, Nos. 279-81.

⁴ *Car. Reg. CCCXCVIII., CD. (Carte arcivesc. di Torino, B.S.S.S. xxxvi. p. 114),* dated 10-11 Feb. and 30 March 1200.

⁵ "Super facto domini Taurinensis episcopi et illorum de Ploçasco sic statutum est...viz. quod liceat ipsi episcopo et illis clericis qui cum eo capti fuerunt convenire illos de Ploçasco sub examine potestatum vel consulum Aste et Vercellarum."

⁶ "Preterea episcopus Taurinensis, nomine ecclesie, et potestas Taurinensium, nomine comunis de Taurino, debent promittere comiti Sabaudie quod facient ei justiciam de his que contra episcopum et comune Taurinense proponere voluerit. Et si comes inde justiciam recipere voluerit, tunc episcopus et comune Taurinense ei justiciam facere debent. Et si episcopus et comune Taurinense illam justiciam ei facere noluerint, tunc Carienses et Testonenses citra Padum et ultra Padum debent adjuvare comitem. Si voluerint et si comes illam justiciam recipere noluerit, tunc comune Cari et Testone non debent salire supra terram episcopi, nec supra terram hominum et comunis Taurini, nec ullo modo eos offendere in personis nec in rebus

come into the light of day, and fall into a definite scheme of policy. We can see that, unlike Manfred II of Saluzzo, he had grasped the significance of the communal movement in Piedmont, and was prepared to pursue his ambitions by working in concert with it. This is the meaning of his charters to Susa and Miradolo. The worst grievance of the townsfolk lay in the arbitrary exactions and tolls of their feudal lords, and these Thomas replaced by fixed and reasonable levies. Thus secured he could join in the Piedmontese wars, not very heartily perhaps, for his gains, as we have seen, were small, but still enough to enter into the net of west Lombard politics. His gains, too, had some worth; it was admitted he had claims on Turin. But it goes without saying that the clause, only to be enforced by a renewal of the war, was a dead letter.

With his prestige reëstablished in this direction, the restless Count bethought him of recovering the Savoyard influence towards the south. When (in the middle of June 1200) he reached S. Ambrogio in the Val di Susa¹ on his return from a sojourn beyond the Alps², he found an excellent opportunity for intervention ready to his hand. In spite of vain attempts at a truce, the war between Asti and Marquess Boniface of Montferrat had broken out more fiercely than ever, and now Alba was energetically aiding the Marquess against her quondam ally and the great *consorziera* of Manzano-Salmour³. On the side of Alba and Montferrat stood Manfred II of Saluzzo. Now while his allies were carrying on the conflict further east, Manfred II could make an effort to conquer the rebel Cuneo. He hoped, perhaps, to have the town isolated. But he reckoned without his northern neighbour, for Count Thomas made an incursion towards the Stura di Demonte. He was not, however, very earnest in his zeal for Cuneo, and after some successes allowed himself to be bought off. Manfred II became his vassal for the border townships of Fontanile and Roncaglia, while he ceded at the same time his overlordship over the lords of Bernezzo, who were among the malcontent nobles close to Cuneo itself. The question of the suzerainty of Boves, just to the south of Cuneo, was left open. As to Cuneo a separate treaty on the 11th November was concluded by

eorum, nisi forte terram comitis defendendo, quam liceat eis defendere si voluerint." On the treaty and war cf. Hellmann, pp. 79-80, and Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 132-3. Herr Hellmann attributes the recovery of Avigliana by Thomas to this war; but Thomas already held Miradolo and Rivalta, well beyond Avigliana, in 1197.

¹ Car. *Sup.* L. (Collegno, *Certose del Piemonte*, Misc. stor. ital., ser. III. Vol. I. Doc. XIX.).

² I infer this from Car. *Reg.* CCCXCIX. (5 March 1200), which deals with a Burgundian locality. [But is the year really 1201?]

³ *Rigestum...Albe*, B.S.S.S. xx. p. 23.

Manfred II with the town. It was agreed that the born vassals of the Marquess should continue individually to fulfil their feudal obligations, and that all Cuneese, but not as vassals, should serve in his *cavalcatae*¹. Nothing is more interesting in this medieval *synoecismus*, than to see how individual personal obligations to and preexisting rights of the lords of the inhabitants were allowed to subsist in the new state, where they did not interfere with the magistrates' public jurisdiction². And yet the Commune was a distinct entity, with a control over the town's policy and government which amounted to autonomy. The ancient lords' rights were few and partial; those of the Commune drew a living force from the sentiments of self-government and local cohesion.

The peace of Manfred II with Cuneo, like the other peaces and truces of the formless, shifting struggle, had no permanence in it. But of the last six years of the war it is hardly necessary to give an account in the history of Savoy, for Count Thomas disappears again beyond the Alps to take part in Burgundian wars. There need only be noticed two events of more lasting importance than most of the bewildering alliances, the unkept pledges, the raids and the turns and twists of momentary schemes which make up its history. The first is the departure of Boniface of Montferrat on the Fourth Crusade. After 1202 he disappears from Piedmontese history to acquire what glory or disgrace the capture of Constantinople could give; and the adventures of the crusade which brought him the kingdom of Thessalonica must have been a welcome change for his petty and hampered marquessate, oppressed by one, and that not the greatest, of Lombard cities. The second event is the regrouping of the south Piedmontese political system which was completed by September 1204. In that month³ an alliance was formed against Asti by William VI, the new Marquess of Montferrat, the Marquess Manfred II of Saluzzo and other lesser Aleramids, the nobles of the Astigiano and the great *consorzeria* of Manzano-Salmour, and the city of Alba. To the coalition was joined Alessandria, the ally of Alba by a special treaty⁴. On Asti's side there were ranged Cuneo and the other new-founded Commune of Mondovì. Here we have the desire for autonomy and commercial rivalry as the connecting link between so many diverse allies. Common interests against Montferrat could not hold Asti and Alessandria together, nor would Alba ever consent to submit willingly to her great neighbour in spite of the common danger they were in from the nobles of their *contadi*. But

¹ For the grounds of this reconstruction see below, App. I to this section.

² Cf. above, pp. 361, 368.

³ *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S.* xvi. No. 151 (*Rig....Albe, B.S.S.S.* xx. p. 35).

⁴ *Rig....Albe, B.S.S.S.* xx. p. 1. This treaty of Alba and Alessandria is dated

3 Sept. 1203.

Asti's predominating power which provoked the coalition was also sufficient to defeat it. In 1206 the war was already finding its end in a series of treaties. Asti had gained the day, but she had perceived the incurable nature of the breach between her and her neighbour-communes and began henceforward in her turn to court the greater feudatories¹.

No doubt Count Thomas of Savoy did not cease to keep these Italian broils under close observation, but for some years he was mainly concerned with the north. His predecessors, under the influence of their position astride of the Alps, had all shown this alternation of interests, but in the active and ceaselessly ambitious Thomas the tendency is extremely marked. And we now enter on a long Burgundian season in his life. The peace of the land on either side the Jura range had been further disturbed by the death of the Hohenstaufen Otto of Franche Comté in 1201, who had left an only daughter, Beatrice. The child's claims were contested by Stephen II, Count of Auxonne, the chief of her maternal kindred, the Anscarids; and her uncle, the King of the Romans, Philip II, had intervened in her favour successfully in 1202. Now this turn of events was not, perhaps, welcome to Thomas of Savoy. In the civil war between the Hohenstaufen Philip and the Guelf Otto IV for the succession to the Empire, which began on Henry VI's death in 1197, we may suspect that at least he did not support the Hohenstaufen candidate. True it is that Archbishop Aymon of Tarentaise had crowned King Philip, but that prelate was now an independent ruler under the Empire. So perhaps we may connect with Philip's prosperity an attack which his adherent, Duke Berthold V of Zähringen, was now apparently able to make on Savoy. The Duke had presumably secured a partial triumph over his revolted Vaudois subjects, and perhaps the prosecution of the feuds with the Genevois², which arose therefrom, combined with some royal commission to secure the Great St Bernard for an Italian campaign to make him proceed against Thomas. His rights as Rector of Burgundy might give some legal colour to his action³.

¹ See on the war and its conclusion, Bertano, *op. cit.* pp. 71-99. The new communes now numbered four, Savigliano, Mondovì, Romanisio and Cuneo, all of which admitted, in form at least, some rights of their ancient lords, whose demesne or suzerain rights had extended over them. All of them from this time are rapidly alienated from Asti, both for her encroachments on them and for her alliance with their enemies, the great feudatories.

² In this connection it is important to remember that, in his new acquisition of Moudon in Vaud (see below, p. 376, n. 3), Thomas was partially succeeding to claims of his father-in-law, William of the Genevois. Probably this explains his original entrance on the war.

³ See Carrard, *Le Combat de Chillon*, *M.D.R.* ser. II. Vol. I. pp. 259, 283. Cf.

However that may be, it would seem that in 1203, in concert with the Bishop of Lausanne, he attempted to force his way into Chablais round the end of the Lake of Geneva. The castle of Blonay, held by vassals of Savoy, was captured, and shortly after he fought a battle with Count Thomas himself by the latter's demesne-castle of Chillon, commanding the narrow strip of land between the mountains and the lake. The incidents of that feat of arms are only transmitted to us in the hazy outlines of a misdated legend in the *Chroniques* of Savoy, but it would seem that the Savoyard won an epical victory. The Duke himself and his chief Vaudois vassals are said to have been made prisoners, and Thomas in more prosaic fact was able to make a counter-invasion of the lands north of the lake. The Bishop of Lausanne lost two castles in the war, and the Count crowned his success by the capture, perhaps the willing surrender, of the town of Moudon in the centre of Vaud. It is possible that his conquests extended even further, and that he waged victorious war on the frontiers of Bugey¹, but in January 1205 overtures were probably being already made for peace. Philip might well try to conciliate the victorious Count, and in that month the Bishop of Belley, a likely emissary, was certainly at the royal Court. Be that as it may, in May and June 1207 Thomas himself attended King Philip at Basel, where there appeared also Berthold V, and scored a brilliant diplomatic success. In return we may suppose for his adhesion to the Hohenstaufen and for his promised support in Italy, on the 1st of June he not only received formal investiture of his hereditary dominions, but gained the most striking new grants².

also Hellmann, pp. 80-85. I think neither author points out that the clue to Thomas' intervention in the war is to be found in his relation to William of the Genevois. That Thomas was not at first for the Hohenstaufen king may be inferred from the great concessions he obtained on attending his court in 1207 (see below; cf. Fournier, p. 93). For the opposite view see Hellmann, *loc. cit.* But the course of Thomas' early Italian policy, as sketched above, is directed against the Hohenstaufen party. As against Hellmann, I also adopt the view of two wars between Berthold V and Thomas, of which the first would end about 1206 (see Carrard, *op. cit.* p. 270), for King Philip was on good terms with Berthold V and would never grant away the latter's town of Moudon without some sort of assent from him. That the first war did not begin before 1201 is made likely by the Count's Italian preoccupations and the little we know of his itinerary. Cf. also below, App. II.

¹ That is against the Sires de Thoire, in alliance with the Sire de Coligny. See below, p. 377.

² Car. *Sup.* LV. (Böhmer-Ficker, *Reg.* 146) and B.-F. 147 show Thomas heading list of witnessing Counts after Berthold V on the 28th May 1207. Car. *Reg.* CDXVII. (B.-F. 148, which should be identical with B.-F. 149; *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 1137) is the grant. "Karissimus consanguineus noster Thomas comes Sabaudiae apud Basileam sub frequentia principum et multorum imperii fidelium feudum suum quod per successionem a suis progenitoribus ad ipsum devolutum erat de manu nostra recepit. Nosque eum juxta prisam imperii consuetudinem de universis bonis illis prout

As far as a diploma of the King of the Romans could effect it, the towns of Moudon in Vaud, and of Chieri and Testona in Lombardy were delivered over to the Count of Savoy. The latter part of the concession must have been merely intended as grounds for a future war of conquest, but Moudon was already in the Count's hands¹.

Berthold V of Zähringen had not witnessed the imperial diploma, nor had the Bishop Roger of Lausanne. The Duke was the Bishop's advocate and as in the first war they now acted together. It cannot have been long after King Philip's charter that they and Thomas were again at odds. Perhaps Philip's murder in June 1208 freed the hands of the rivals. On the day of the crime Beatrice, the heiress of Franche Comté, married Otto Duke of Meran, and the Anscarid Count Stephen II of Auxonne, supported by Berthold V of Zähringen and Eudes III of French Burgundy, at once broke with the new dynasty. We can hardly dissociate this contest from the war between Zähringen and Savoy and thus may give Count Thomas as an ally of the Duke of Meran². The strife, so far as Thomas was concerned, seems to have

principum et curiae nostrae dictavit sententia per tria vexilla investivimus. Preterea...feudo suo quod prius ab imperio tenuit addimus; sibi concedimus...villam de Kario necnon villam de Testona cum omnibus appendiciis et tenementis earum et cum omni jure et integritate, quemadmodum ad imperium spectare dignoscuntur.... Comes Sabaudiae castrum Melduni a nobis recepit in feudo et nos...promisimus in ipso castro...eum manuteneere et contra omnem hominem defensare...precipimus ut nulli unquam persone...ecclesiastice sive seculari licitum sit...consanguineum nostrum in hac nostra donatione...molestare." What were the fiefs represented by the three *vexilla*? I imagine the March of Italy would be one, the main part of his Burgundian "comitatus" the second, and Chablais and Aosta, which a little later we find in a special position, were the third. Legends gathered round the investiture later, when it was attributed to Thomas' son, Peter II (*Chroniques de Savoye, M.H.P. II. 172*). The Count appeared somewhat melodramatically half in mail, half in silk and cloth of gold at the imperial court, and proffered his unsheathed sword when the Chancellor required the title-deeds of his fiefs. For this date the *Chroniques'* authority is still feeble, but a certain flourish of its pride was quite in the manners of the time, and in daily life Thomas kept his sword unsheathed against all comers. Cf. App. II to this section below on the true dating of the legend.

¹ See, for a discussion of the grounds for this reconstruction of the first war with Zähringen, Appendix II to this section.

² Fournier, *op. cit.* p. 95. It is probably to the early months of 1208, before King Philip's murder, that we may ascribe Car. Reg. CDXXI. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 51), where Thomas declares he is about to join the Albigensian Crusade—"volens ad Dei servitium apud Albigen. iter incipere ac perficere." He would accompany his brother-in-law William of the Genevois in that year (Lullin et Lefort, *Rég. Gen.* No. 508) and then be recalled by the outbreak of the war in the north, and thus the absence of any mention of him in the Chronicles of the Crusade would be accounted for. The late Savoyard chronicler Champier (Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, pp. 535-6) indeed refers to a Tolosan Chronicle which would name him, but I cannot find any such passage, nor is he referred to in Vic et Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, VI., VII.,

been carried on through all the land north of the Lake of Geneva from the Jura to the Vallais. At last in 1211 Berthold, who had failed to enter his foe's territories in the earlier war by way of Chillon, resolved to force a way through the upper Vallais. Since Amadeus III had retired from Leuk and Naters German immigrants had taken possession of the valley as far down as Gampel¹, and the Duke might hope that they would side with him through racial feeling. But he was met near Ulrichen, only just across the Grimsel Pass, by the Vallesians and doubtless by Count Thomas himself. The day of Chillon was repeated in a crushing defeat of the invader². Berthold hardly escaped beyond the mountains, and we may see his acceptance of established facts in his treaty with Count Thomas at Hautcrêt Abbey on the 19th of October 1211³. There had been some question, it would seem, of his surrendering to the Count his obsolete claim to invest the Bishop of Geneva with his *regalia*, but this was abandoned on the Bishop's protest⁴, and the final peace seems only to have ceded Moudon and Romont to Savoy⁵. Berthold, the new Bishop of Lausanne, was still recalcitrant, but his opposition could be dealt with later by slow pressure. Just before this treaty, on the 18th October, peace had been made between the rivals in Franche Comté, leaving the countship to Otto of

VIII. Other possible years for an Albigensian Crusade are 1212 and 1219. In 1215, when Louis of France intervened for the first time, Thomas was engaged in Italy. But the first crusading fervour of 1208-9 seems the right date since the political motives, which entered more and more into the later Albigensian Crusades, were not those which would attract Thomas. He would be by no means anxious to see a greater power like the heir of France joining in this Mediterranean warfare.

¹ Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I. 722.

² *Livre de la Val Illiez* (*M.D.R.* xxix. p. 166). "Bertoldus dux Zerinsie, filius Conradi imperatoris (*sic*), cum magna peditum et equitum millitia Vallesium ingressus, prope villam Gestheino in deseno Gomesiano, cruenta caede per Vallesios cesus, illucque cum ejus exercitu 18000 occubuit et intemptus, nullis ex suis militibus superstibus remanentibus, exceptis minimis et paucis aliis voluntarie remissis et qui fuge praesidium occupaverant. 1211." The legendary character of this account does not take from the general fact of a crushing defeat, as a memorial of which a cross was set up. See Hellmann, p. 83, n. 5.

³ *Car. Reg.* CDXXXII. (*Cart. Laus. M.D.R.* VI. 421): "1211, xv. Kal. Nov. pacificati sunt Dux Bertoldus et comes Maurian. Tomas juxta cenobium de Alcrest."

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CDXXX. (CDXXXI. duplicate) (Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, II. p. 49), dated 14 Oct. 1211 at Lugrin in New-Chablais: "Bernardus Gebennensis episcopus in nostra presentia...per fidelitatem requisivit a comite Mauriannensi Thoma et prohibuit et contradixit...ne super regalibus Gebennensibus pacem faceret, et ne eadem regalia, etiamsi darentur illi, reciperet, quia erant de jure ecclesie Gebennensis. Ipse vero comes respondit, quod super regalibus nunquam moveret causam contra ecclesiam Gebennensem, nec acciperet sive reciperet jus ecclesie Gebennensis."

⁵ Moudon henceforth is in Thomas' possession. His son, Peter, then just succeeded to his elder brother Aymon, calls himself Count of Romont on 23 June 1240 (*Car. Reg.* DCXIII.; Guichenon, *Prewves*, p. 73).

Meran, but otherwise favourable to the Anscarids¹. Obviously the two wars were waged and concluded in concert.

How long it took to effect a reconciliation with the Bishop is hard to say, for the document of the accord is undated. One difficulty lay in the treatment of the lords of Blonay, who held of both combatants, and, perhaps in the endeavour to keep their feudal obligations, had chosen different sides in the struggle. Signs of a renewal of friendly relations are already visible in 1212 and perhaps we may put down the final accord to the year 1215². By it the Bishop invested the Count with the Count of the Genevois' ancient fief in Moudon, and each party forgave his rebel lord of Blonay³.

The Count might well be satisfied with the success of his Burgundian schemes in these years. We can hardly doubt that the right of investing the Bishop of Sion had already been recovered⁴. For the first time the banner of Savoy had been planted to the north of Lake Geneva, and her dominions there, maintained by a far-sighted alliance of Prince and bourgeoisie, were soon to be enlarged by Thomas' son

¹ Böhmer-Winkelmann, *Reg.* No. 10728. Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 95-6. Hellmann, p. 82, is somewhat confused in the matter of the war in Franche Comté.

² See Carrard, *op. cit.* p. 272. 21 Aug. 1212 Henry de Blonay was reconciled with the Chapter of Lausanne at Evian in New-Chablais (*Cart. Laus., M.D.R.* v. 1. 422), and in 1215 the Bishop exercises jurisdiction with regard to Thomas' new-founded town of Villeneuve (*id.* xii., Hautcrêt, p. 52).

³ *Car. Reg.* CDLXI. (*M.D.R.* Ser. II. Vol. I. 296 ff.). The treaty consists of three documents. (i) The undated concord, which M. Carrard (*op. cit.* p. 272) shows must be some time earlier than the others, since Thomas reserves the suzerains he has *hodie* in it, whereas he reserves the suzerains he had *tunc* in the others. But I cannot follow M. Carrard in thinking Thomas had escaped from some vassalage in the meantime; he had surely accepted some new lord. After all the phrase may have been merely inserted for legal certainty. (ii) The Bishop's letters patent, 3 July 1219, confirming the treaty. (iii) The Count's do. Both given from Burier near Montreux. The important clauses are: from (i): "quicquid...episcopus per probos et ydoneos homines probare poterit quod comites Gebenenses olim in castro Meduni a predecessoribus suis recognoverunt, ipse comes et successores sui recognoscunt ab ipso Lausan. episcopo...et ipse hominum ei faciet salva fidelitate omnium dominorum quos hodie habet...Nulli homines proprii ecclesie recipientur pro habitatoribus in castro Meduni nisi de voluntate...episcopi. Homines autem quos...episcopo (*sic*) in castro Meduni se habere asserit, eo modo quo predecessores sui habuerunt, habeat...nunquam de cetero neque comiti neque successoribus suis pro aliqua recognitione placiti vel mutagii possit aliquid exigere...episcopo (*sic*) vel sui successores... Volumus quod episcopo (*sic*) pacem et guerram de Meduno facere possit ad jura ecclesie defendenda." From (ii): "Si...idem castrum caperetur, nos non faceremus pacem vel treugas sine voluntate dicti comitis. Comes vero tenetur recipere dictum feudum Lausanne in curia episcopali ab episcopo, nisi forte fecerit ei gratiam episcopo (*sic*) alibi recipiendi."

⁴ For the battle with Berthold V in 1211 was fought at the very end of the Bishop's county, and the Bishop, Landric of Sion, is present with Thomas in 1219 at Burier and Villefranche (*Car. Reg.* CDLXII. *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 1258).

into the "Barony of Vaud." In Bugey, besides obtaining the castle of Cornillon and its dependencies, he had enforced in 1206 the homage of its lord for the whole barony of New-Coligny, with the addition of two castles near Nantua, which had belonged to the Sires de Thoire¹. Since he also had the homage of the Sire de Beaujeu for all his lands east of Saone within the Empire², this meant he was acknowledged suzerain of both banks of the Ain and of the strip along the north bank of the Rhone towards Lyons. I have already remarked on the increase of strength which these gains gave to Savoy for the conquest of Italy. Here may be emphasized their permanent effect on political geography. Savoy, under its powerful Dukes, and Franche Comté under Austria and Spain, long barred the further progress of France to the East in this quarter. They thus preserved, unwillingly enough, Suisse Romande as a separate province of French nationality, and helped, to their own loss at times, in building up the unique Swiss nation.

While Thomas was pursuing this spirited foreign policy, he was neither inactive nor untroubled in the domestic affairs of Savoy. The scene of disturbance was the Val d'Aosta. There the charter to the city had produced no peace³. The greater barons, headed by Viscount Boso, not only continued the sharpness of their oppression on the country-side, but inflicted new injuries on the citizens. The exasperation of their victims produced a new phenomenon in the valley. Citizens, tenants in chivalry, *clientes* (analogous to the German *Dienstmänner*)⁴ and villeins, formed a new defensive association regardless of their feudal ties or feudal status. Civil war must have followed such a pact, and in that war it is clear that in spite of the ferocity of the baronial party, who even mutilated their prisoners, the new organization more

¹ Car. Reg. CDXIII. (Du Bouchet, *Preuves de l'histoire de la maison de Coligny*, p. 41), *Extrait de la Chambre des Comptes de Savoie*, "Litterae sub data 12 Junii MCCVI. quibus dominus Guillelmus de Coloniaco fecit homagium ligium illustri domino Thomae Sabaudiae et Mauriana comiti, et accepit ab eo in feodum honorem Coloniaco Novi, cum dependentiis, et promisit feodum illud augere de feudis castorum Brionis et Rubeimontis et de omni eo quod acquisivit a liberis domini Humberti de Toria."

² Wurstemberger, IV. No. 670, dated 11 Dec. 1264, in an inquisition on the rights of Savoy over Beaujeu, it is declared that the homage was due c. 1233 for all Beaujeu's lands east of the Saone, and Peter de Boges adds "quod audivit eandem fieri recognitionem a Guichardo patre dicti Humberti Bellijoci, ad Burgum S. Dalmasium, Thome patri tunc comiti Sabaudie." The date of this homage could well be 1200, 1213, 1215 or 1230, in all of which years Thomas was close to Borgo S. Dalmazzo. Since Guichard IV of Beaujeu died in 1216 (Guigue, in de la Mure, *Ducs de Bourbon*, III. Suppl. p. 16), we must choose one of the earlier years, most likely 1213, when Thomas' power was at its height.

³ See above, pp. 359-60.

⁴ See below, Cap. VI.

than held its own. In April 1206 the Count arrived as peacemaker, and had no hesitation in taking the citizens' and *impares'* side. Viscount Boso's opposition was bought off by the grant of the Count's own demesne-castle of Ville at Challant¹. But the gains of the new League were far greater. It was recognized, given public authority and taken under the Count's special protection. A new extra fine was added to the customary mulcts for offences against its members, and the mutilation of the latter was punished with death.

There is no mistaking the significance of all this. The Count was slowly gaining power over the prepotent barons, by championing the men of middle rank, citizens, clergy, knights and well-to-do rustics. But the change was mainly due to the circumstance that anarchic feudalism had overstrained the moral ties on which much of its power rested. It had exploited too far the fertile, trading valley, and brought about a Nemesis. For what could be more unfeudal in character than the new league, made up as it was of every class in society save the baronage, captained by citizen-consuls, and admitting its members freely to equality on the sole ground of allegiance to the sovran count²?

It is hard to trace a single dominating policy or a main stream of events in the first period of Count Thomas' history, as I have just narrated it. His object seems to have been to restore the prestige and dominion of his House, wherever in its straggling territory they had

¹ Car. Reg. CDXVI. See App. of Documents, No. I.

² The account above is drawn from the only source, an undated charter of Thomas (Car. Reg. CDLVI.; Duc, *Cartul. de l'évêché d'Aoste*, Misc. stor. ital. XXIII. p. 283). I have dated it by the grant to Viscount Boso of the castle of Ville, which was made in April 1206. But it is always possible that Ville was granted as compensation for the first charter to Aosta (see above, pp. 359-60); and thus the present charter would belong to 1212 or even later. The more important passages are as follows: "Cum inter vassallos et dominum concertatio sit honestissima beneficiis vincere beneficia, ne de cetero status civitatis Auguste revocetur in dubium...ego Thomas...ea que subter inserta sunt scripto olim facto addicio: viz. forensecos milites, clientes et rusticos qui juraverunt cum hominibus civibus Augustensibus, sicut predictos cives nostros, in eadem protectione et defensione recipimus...Hoc idem facimus de eis qui in posterum civibus nostris se sociaverint. Clericos vero regulares et seculares sub eadem protectione recipimus. Si quis alicui de juratis nostris membrum mutilaverit vel debilitaverit, eadem pena multetur qua condempnatur ille qui hominem interfecit... Si quis contra episcopatum, nos, vel jura committatus (*sic*) leserit, precedente comite vel ejus honesto nuntio, jurati cum expensis (*sic*) propriis et pro viribus suis recuperabunt et vindicabunt...Comes vero eodem jure eadem ratione juratis tenetur jura sua defendere per totum comitatum pro viribus suis, et...omnibus levis dapna (*sic*) xxv prius emendari debent, postea offensores (*sic*) dampno et pena dicta multari; de xxv solidis, x sunt comitis, x lesi et v consulum. Si quis vero juratos vel res eorum offenderit, securus ad civitatem non veniat. Si vero ibi inventus fuerit, per consules vel per officiales vel ad ultimum per cives detineatur, ut qui stultus fuit in culpa, sapiens sit in pena."

been damaged. Thus we find him in Italy enforcing as far as he can his claims on Turin, and intervening with little cause in Saluzzo; in Bugey he steadily presses on the lesser magnates round his own land; in Vaud he accepts the challenge of the Rector of Burgundy and defeats him. There and in Aosta he has already made his alliance with the bourgeoisie, and there, too, in a way he champions the Romance-speaking population against German aggression, being thus, if it is not too fanciful an analogy, the prototype of the latest scions of his race.

APPENDIX I.

The narrative of Count Thomas' first war with Saluzzo in 1200 is reconstructed from but slight evidence. Hellmann expressly (p. 75) and Bertano by implication (pp. 86-93) have held that Count Thomas had no share in these wars: Gabotto on the other hand has considered (*L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, pp. 133-4), on the strength of a passage of Gioffredo della Chiesa quoted below, that Thomas was concerned in the foundation of Cuneo 1198, but the suggested scheme of events and collection of evidence have not, I believe, been made. The evidence is as follows. (1) G. della Chiesa (*Cron. di Saluzzo, M.H.P. Script. III. 885*) says: "Nel 1200, essendo stato la guerra dal Marchexe (Manfred II) al Conte dy Savoya, per la quale il Conte havia tolto qualche cossa al Marchexe, se conduceno a fare una pace in questa forma, che li homini dy Quaranta debano fare la fidelita al Marchexe come erano solity per inanty ad esso proprio et ancho a suo padre; fu ancho fatto el simile dy Brusaporcello, qual loco el Marchese havia aquistato quello anno medemo da Manfredo, Henrigo et Ansermo de Signory de Buscha." Now G. della Chiesa is an admirable compiler, with access to lost material, but he admits legendary, forged and unfounded material with regard to this very period as to the fabulous homage of Saluzzo to the Dauphiné (Merkel, *Una pretesa dominazione provenzale nel Piemonte*, Misc. stor. ital., Ser. II. T. XI.) and the two documents he appears to refer to, given under (2), make no mention of the Count of Savoy. (2) *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 127*, is the treaty, 11 Nov. 1200, between Manfred II and Cuneo, by which the Marquess' Cuneese vassals from Quaranta and Brusaporcello are to perform their feudal obligations. The treaty is not unfavourable for Cuneo, considering that she had no assistance from Asti, but Savoy does not appear at all. *Reg. March. Saluzzo, No. 131*, is the sale by Anselm di Brusaporcelli of his half of the castle there to Manfred II; but its date is 9 Dec. 1201, and his brothers do not appear. Thus we have evidence of at least one lost document which Della Chiesa had of these transactions. (3) In Marquess Boniface of Montferrat's list of grievances against Asti in

1199 (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 996), we find those attributable to the foundation of Cuneo in 1198 (Bertano, p. 75); they include Caraglio, Vignolo, Bernezzo, Brusaporcelli, Boves and Quaranta. Now his only interest in these parts was as suzerain of Manfred II and the latter's son Boniface (cf. Bertano, *loc. cit.*). Thus his claim in 1199 is evidence that Bernezzo and Boves were then Saluzzese fiefs or demesnes.

(4) After an apparently unlucky war in 1223 (*Car. Reg.* CDLXXIV., *Reg. March. Sal.*, *B.S.S.S.* xvi. p. 347) Thomas cedes among other things to Manfred III of Saluzzo the homage of the lords of Bernezzo, which lies much to the south of the furthest old Savoyard fief known, Barge (see above, p. 286). Now we do not find the homage of Bernezzo ceded by Saluzzo to Thomas after the latter's successes in 1213-15. The inference is that he gained it in some lost treaty after 1198.

(5) In Count Thomas' treaty with Asti in 1224 (*Car. Sup.* LXIX.; Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 656), while he makes many cessions, he reserves his rights in Boves, and Asti does the same. Since the draft-cession of Humbert II was never carried out, and at best concerned much else beside Boves, it would seem from *Car. Sup.* LXIX. that Thomas had recently acquired some special claims there, for which for the reasons given under (4) c. 1200 offers the only known opportunity.

(6) In the peace between Count Thomas and the Countess-regent of Saluzzo in December 1215 (*Car. Reg.* CDL.; *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, p. 332) there is the following clause: "Preterea investivit jamdictus comes ipsum Mainfredum (III) de Saluciis de omni alio feudo quod ipse et antecessores sui antiquitus vel noviter tenebant ab eo, nominatim de Roncalia et de Fontanilio....Pro hac autem investitura feudi...fecit fidelitatem Mainfredus dicto comiti excepto imperatore et marchione Montisferrati." Here I think the word *antiquitus* is little more than a safeguarding form. Manfred III and his predecessors have held the two places from Thomas only, be it noted (*ab eo*), not from Thomas' predecessors; and the homage to Montferrat which appears to date from 1197 (see above, p. 368) naturally takes precedence of a homage dating from c. 1200.

From all these considerations I think G. della Chiesa really had some notice (probably, to judge from his vagueness and inaccuracy, in a brief inventory mentioning a lost document) of a treaty of cession between Count Thomas and Manfred II dated in 1200. It explains the origin of Thomas' rights over Bernezzo, Fontanile, Roncaglia and Boves, and gives a consistent chronology for all the known facts about them. It further accounts for the easy terms that Cuneo got from Manfred II in 1200. It fits in with Thomas' appearance at S. Ambrogio in that year. We need not assume with G. della Chiesa that Thomas extorted the Cuneese peace of 1200 from Manfred II. If so he would

surely be reserved among Cuneo's allies as a power not to be attacked by them in the Marquess' *cavalcatae*. But a successful raid by Thomas and the concessions necessitated by it may have forced Manfred II to be moderate in his demands on the otherwise isolated Cuneo.

APPENDIX II.

The reconstruction of the war between Count Thomas and Berthold V in the years 1201-7 is taken from M. H. Carrard, *Le Combat de Chillon* (*M.D.R.* Ser. II. Vol. I.), from whom I only differ in one material circumstance, i.e. in making the castle of Blonay captured by Berthold V and Bishop Roger of Lausanne, and not by Thomas. We know that there were lords of Blonay on both sides (see above, p. 376, notes 2, 3), and the fact that the Bishop dates a letter by its capture (see below) shows, I think, that it must have been captured by his side. The contemporary evidence, which is very scanty, is as follows. (1) *Cartul. Lausan.*, *M.D.R.* vi. p. 459, "Quidam miles Theutonicus, nomine Tiez Blata, mortuus in obsidione de Blonai, dedit B. Marie Lausannensi quoddam lunagium quod jacet in episcopatu Constantiensi prope Buxse quod est Templariorum in villa que dicitur Wigervile, unde heres Tietelmi, cognomine Plata, debet reddere annuatim ii solidos in festo S. Andree." (2) *M.D.R.* xix. p. 182: a letter of Bishop Roger of Lausanne dated "apud Viveis [Vevey]...anno incarnationis dominice MCCIII, tempore illo quo castrum de Blonay captum fuit." (3) *Cartul. Lausan.*, *M.D.R.* vi. p. 45; Roger, Bishop of Lausanne (c. 1174-1211): "multas substenavit guerras pro libertate ecclesie, et fecit castrum de Lucens [north of Moudon] quod tamen per guerram fuit combustum, et refecit turrem de Ripa quam Thomas comes Sabaudie diruerat." *Id.* p. 502: Bishop Roger "fecit etiam turrem in Ripa sub Lausannam [i.e. Ouchy or close by] quam dominus Landricus episcopus decessor suus fecerat ante. Set Thomas comes Maurianensis eam diruit per guerram." (4) *Cartul. Lausan.*, *M.D.R.* vi. p. 111: "Nemus quod dicitur Troncus (near Warens) erat desertus et pascebant ibi animalia per guerram ducis Bertoldi et Thome comitis de Sabaudia."

From these notices we see that the war between Berthold and Thomas which ended in 1211 lasted long enough to let a pasturage-wood be overrun by wild animals; that the Bishop of Lausanne was involved in it already in 1203, for Vevey was in Savoyard land and Blonay a Savoyard fief (see above, p. 92). Now King Philip would never have granted Moudon, Berthold V's own foundation, to Thomas, especially almost in Berthold's presence, without the latter's tacit consent. We may therefore conclude that Berthold had had much the worst of the war by 1207. On the other hand, it is likely that Thomas obtained

in a grant so humiliating to Berthold less than he had formerly conquered in the war.

Now M. Carrard points out that in the *Chroniques* of Savoy (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 162 ff. and 172 ff.) and other late sources, which yet are only partially derived from them, there is a war and imperial investiture attributed to Thomas' son Peter II (Count 1263-68), which, even allowing for tradition and its rehandlings, can by no means be adapted to the events of Peter II's life. These late sources¹ (which are given mostly in Wurstemberger, iv. No. 173) relate that the Emperor (Frederick II, Philip, Richard of Cornwall or Alfonso IX), being wroth with the Count of Savoy, sent a German prince (Duke of Chophinguen, Loffingen, Cheplungreen, Berthold V of Zähringen), who also ruled in Vaud (and according to one chronicler had claims on Savoy), to attack Chablais. The Duke, in company with several Counts and many Vaudois nobles, laid siege to Chillon; but Peter II made a victorious night-sortie in which he captured the Duke and his nobles. Then he proceeded to the conquest of Vaud, capturing Moudon, Rue and Yverdun. The Duke was set free on condition of ceding his rights over Vaud to the victor. Later (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 172) occurred the dramatic scene of the imperial investiture (see above, p. 373, n. 2).

While an attempt, as M. Carrard shows, to trace an origin for this legend in Peter II's life brings us at once to irreconcilable contradictions, it is easy to see in it an exaggeration of Thomas' successes in 1201-7. Thomas was the young and fiery warrior required by the story; of him the first documentary investiture is recorded in 1207; he evidently stood aloof from the Hohenstaufen during 1198-1206; he was the first Savoyard to make conquests in Vaud, including Moudon itself; he was victor over Berthold V of Zähringen, the last of his House, dying in 1218 when Peter was only a boy, and the only person who held the position of the legendary Duke; he, too, was a contemporary of King Philip, whom one account represents as his enemy.

In consideration of these points, I think we may accept M. Carrard's thesis of the transference of a legend of Thomas to Peter II. It was already adumbrated, although not in so decisive a form, by Wurstemberger, I. 77-9. As to how far we may trust the account in details, it is hard to say, but Rue at any rate is on the road to Moudon, and there is no impossibility in the capture of Berthold V at Chillon.

¹ It seems unnecessary to quote them since they all differ, are all late, all anachronous and ill-formed, and all sophisticated legends.

SECTION II. COUNT THOMAS' ITALIAN CONQUESTS.

We now reach the heyday of Count Thomas' power. In these years (1212-19) he tends to neglect and withdraw from northern affairs; he allies himself with the Counts of Kyburg, heirs of his old enemies of Zähringen; he maintains a peaceful policy towards the Bishop of Lausanne and the Sire de la Tour-du-Pin; his only war in this direction, if one occurred, seems due to his kinship with the Count of the Genevois. But in Italy it is a time of active aggression; he is endeavouring to conquer the original Piedmont round Pinerolo; he undertakes wars against Turin and the marquessate of Saluzzo. In view of his later history and the devouring ambition which possessed him throughout his life, I think we may assume that far wider schemes than the acquisition of a township here and there now swam across his imagination. He must have already aimed at reaching the Ligurian coast and reconstituting the mark of Turin in its fullest extent. The small success, that he really attained even in his best days, in these grandiose schemes was not at all out of keeping with the age. His wide lands and turbulent politics of his neighbours gave him continual temptations for aggression, and it was easy for him to leave out of account the scantiness of his resources.

While Thomas had never lost sight of Italian affairs¹, his resumption of an active policy in Piedmont appears to have been due to Otto IV's Italian expedition. In 1209 the King of the Romans, left by Philip of Hohenstaufen's death without a rival, started south for his imperial coronation. After that event the new Emperor (in the first half of 1210) proceeded to establish his authority in North Italy. In the course of his progress he reached Vercelli in June, and passed on to Turin, Alba and Tortona in the same month². All the local powers vied in doing him homage, and the greater magnates, lay and

¹ Thus in February 1209 Thomas confirmed, or rather renewed his ancestor, Humbert II's grant of Giaveno to the Abbey of Chiusa, *Car. Reg. CDXXXI.*, Claretta, *Storia...di S. Michele della Chiusa*, p. 229). Cf. above, p. 276.

² Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta Imperii*, Nos. 409-419. With regard to *Reg. March. Saluzzo* (*B.S.S.S.* XVI.), No. 161 [=B.-F., No. 364 (G. del Carretto, *Cron. di Monferrato, M.H.P.* Script. III. 1149)], dated 25 March 1210 at Ferrara, I subscribe to B.-F. who hold that the list of witnesses which includes Count Thomas, to this Imperial diploma given by del Carretto, refers really to another lost diploma issued at Turin (B.-F. 414). In fact the whole group of Piedmontese nobles in del Carretto's passage reappears in the Turinese diploma to Casanova (B.-F. 413), and it is incredible that they, some of them quite local men, should all make a mysterious flying visit to Ferrara in April, subscribe (B.-F. 364), and di again.

ecclesiastical, especially danced attendance at his court. Among the latter and not, as it turned out, the least sincere of them, came Thomas of Savoy. It was at Turin that he joined the imperial cortège and he seems to have left it at Alba or Asti¹. There was no tangible result, but it would be an admirable opportunity for taking diplomatic soundings. Soon the Emperor had journeyed away southwards to quarrel with Pope Innocent III and begin a new series of events in European history.

In the meantime Count Thomas was occupied in Piedmont. There had been considerable changes in the political complexion of the country since the peace of 1206, but only two nearly concern our subject. First, in 1204 Turin, Chieri and Testona had carried through a treaty of union, Testona castle being destroyed for the latter city's benefit². But the arrangement did not work. The two minor towns soon broke loose, and Turin, under her new, capable Bishop, Giacomo di Carisio, seems to have conducted a successful campaign against her quondam allies. Early in 1210 they came to terms, principally to the Bishop's advantage, for he recovered a very genuine feudal suzerainty both in Chieri and Testona³. Otto IV appears to have had some sneaking objection to the arrangement, for during his stay in the country an alliance was brought about under his auspices between Chieri and her other suzerains, the Counts of Biandrate, which could only act as a check on the Bishop's proceedings⁴. The claims of the Count of Savoy were forgotten by him and everyone.

Meanwhile the other small Communes in the south-west were faring still worse. Asti had not found them sufficiently subservient to her will, and, although so weak and young in their communship, they already felt the ineradicable communal jealousy of a predominant neighbour. There are signs of the coming breach in the treaty of peace between Asti and Manfred II of Saluzzo in 1206; and soon the suzerain-city had abandoned her dependents to the mercy of the great

¹ Thomas subscribes at Turin in June (B.-F., No. 412, *Cartari Minori*, B.S.S.S. XLII. p. 29; B.-F. 413 [Car. Reg. CDXXVII.], *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. 93; and B.-F. 414 [see above, p. 383, n. 2]), and at Alba (B.-F. 418 [Car. Reg. CDXXVI.], Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 7). B.-F. 418, known only by a late copy, has the erroneous reading "Tomax dux Sabaudie." The dating of B.-F. 412, 413 (the latter being an original) offers a difficulty "vi Non. Junii." The month is guaranteed by the general course of the itinerary, Otto IV being at Alba on his progress south already on the 13 June. But *vi Non. Junii* does not exist as a date, and on the easy corrections *iv* and *iii Non.* Otto was still at Vercelli. Hence B.-F. is to be followed in amending *vi Id. Junii*, i.e. 8 June.

² See Cibrario, *Delle storie di Chieri*, 1. pp. 90 ff.

³ Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, Doc. in *id.* Vol. II. p. 64. Cf. Hellmann, p. 86.

⁴ Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, Doc. in *id.* Vol. II. p. 82.

feudatories¹. Mondovì was compelled to submit to her lord, the Bishop of Asti². Savigliano found safety in a treaty of concitizenship with Alba³. Cuneo suffered temporary extinction. Early in 1210 the Aleramid Marquesses unhindered gathered round their prey; the details and length of the siege are not known, but for twenty years Cuneo vanishes from history⁴.

Such were the internal circumstances of Piedmont when Otto IV's authority began to break up under the stress of his enmity with the Pope. On the news of the election of the new papalist anti-King, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, it is true that both Thomas of Savoy and Manfred II of Saluzzo remained on the side of the Emperor to whom they had sworn fealty⁵, but Asti and the Marquess William of Montferrat soon changed their allegiance, and the two loyalist nobles were shortly at odds. The course of events, as usual, is obscure; but so far as we know the first thing that happened was a forward movement by Count Thomas. An opportunity was furnished by the condition of the Abbey of S. Giusto of Susa. By bad luck or bad management the monastery was deep in debt, and Count Thomas came to its relief by the purchase of its township of Vigone in March 1212⁶. A Savoyard Castellan was at once placed over that convenient half-way house towards the Po⁷; and Thomas at once proceeded to acquire, or perhaps only to enforce, the homage of the lesser nobles near. The Marquesses of Romagnano and the Piossasco now follow in his train, probably for most of their possessions north of the Po⁸.

¹ In the 1206 treaty Asti agrees to abandon the side she considers in the wrong in the disputes between Manfred II and Cuneo. Further in Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 250, she expressly allows her new ally, Marquess Otto del Carretto, to attack Cuneo.

² See Bertano, I. p. 100, and II. pp. 261-3. ³ *Rig...Albe*, B.S.S.S. xx. p. 295.

⁴ See Bertano, *op. cit.* pp. 98-102 and 138 ff. The only contemporary evidence of the capture of Cuneo is B.-W. *Reg. Imp.* No. 12368, dated 1 May 1210, "apud Cunium ubi exercitus marchionum fuerat congregatus." William of Montferrat was among the Marquesses. In 1230, as will be seen later, Codagnelli speaks of the rebuilding of Cuneo.

⁵ Count Thomas was with the Emperor at the conference of Lodi, 24 Jan. 1212 (B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* Nos. 460, 461). [Cf. Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* (Script. Rer. Germ.), p. 39: "(Otto IV) Laude...colloquium fere omnium rectorum civitatum Lombardie, comitum et marchionum et aliorum celebravit."] Manfred II in Feb. 1212 was at Milan (*id.* 465, 466). That Manfred II remained for some time on Otto IV's side is I think shown by his absence from Frederick II's court at Genoa and Asti in 1212, and by the clause in his alliance with Count Thomas in 1213 (see below): "salva persona imperatoris." Frederick II was then "rex Romanorum." Hellmann, p. 89, takes the opposite view.

⁶ Car. *Reg.* CDXXXV. (*M.H.P.* Chart. I. 1193).

⁷ He appears in the marriage-treaty with Saluzzo; see below.

⁸ They appear as guarantors of the Count in the marriage-treaty with Saluzzo

A collision with Saluzzo followed, and it would seem that an early spring campaign in 1213¹ secured Count Thomas' victory over his rival. It was complete enough, and probably the discontent of the ex-Cuneese citizens and their like paralysed the Aleramid's efforts. On the 29th of April at Saluzzo the two combatants made a strict mutual alliance²; on the day before they had made a succession-treaty. Manfred II's heir Boniface had died in the preceding year³ leaving a son Manfred and a daughter Agnes. The former was now to be deprived of half of his inheritance, all the Saluzzese lands to the north of the Stura di Demonte, which were to fall to his sister. The girl was to marry Thomas' own eldest son Amadeus, or, in case of his death before their betrothal, his eldest surviving brother. The Count of Savoy was to be regent for both brother and sister in the eventuality that their grandfather died before their majority or that of Agnes' husband⁴.

(see below), together with a Rivalta and the Viscount Henry of Baratonnia, the latter no doubt as a landholder in the Val di Susa. In 1243 one section of the Romagnano held half Virlè etc. from Savoy (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 311).

¹ For Thomas was in Aosta 27 June 1212 (*Car. Reg.* CDXXXVI.; *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 1191), and the treaties with Saluzzo are dated 28—29 April 1213. Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. 137—8, considers the concessions of Manfred II were due not to defeat in war by Thomas, but to his fear of Asti. But there is no trace in the *Reg. March. Saluzzo* of any conflict between him and Asti in these years. On the contrary, he can destroy Cuneo in 1210 and is on Asti's side in 1215 (see below). And to leave his heir only that half of his lands which was most exposed to Asti's ambition would be a wild kind of precaution.

² *Car. Reg.* CDXXXVII. (*Reg. March. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. XVI. p. 329): "quod debent se jvare, salvare, defendere personas, res, terras, et opida, villas et possessiones omnes; ita quod uterque illorum de terra alterius possit guerram facere cuicumque voluerit, salva persona imperatoris et proprio facto imperii."

³ The date is only approximate.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CDXXXVIII. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 1277): "Marchio de Saluciis dedit Agnetam filiam q. filii sui Bonefacii Amedeo filio...(Thomae) comitis in uxorem: et si...Amedeus decederet antequam matrimonium...consumaretur...semper ille filius qui comes post istum esse deberet eam accipiat in uxorem. Et dedit...marchio prefate Agneti in dotem post mortem suam medietatem rerum suarum. (List follows.) Ceteras vero res, viz. opida et villas quas habet citra Tanagrum et ultra, et citra Sturiam et ultra Mainfredus nepos ejus habeat...Preterea si dictus marchio Mainfredus antequam nepos ejus Mainfredus ad etatem viginti annorum perveniret decederet...Thomas comes tutelam...Mainfredi nepotis sui et rerum suarum habeat donec ipse Mainfredus ad etatem viginti annorum perveniat. Preterea opidani qui custodiam opidorum et locorum qui in parte assignata....Agneti continentur, habent...jurare debent fidelitatem talem ipsi puelle et marito vel comiti per eam...et post mortem marchionis opida etc. ipsi puelle et marito suo et comiti nomine ipsius incontinenti reddere tenentur." The list of places assigned to Agnes includes Fontanile, Roncaglia, half Barge, Revello, the Valle del Po, Saluzzo, Brondello, Verzuolo, Felicetto, one-quarter Val di Varaita, Ponte, Costigliole, Villa, Centallo, Romanisio and the fief of Ruffino di Salmour.

The results of these treaties, had they really come into effect, would have been to antedate the progress of Savoy southwards by over a century, and perhaps merely have led to a collapse like that of 1187. But they never came into being, and it is not probable that Manfred II ever intended more than to buy off for the moment the enemy at his gates.

For the next two years Thomas seems to have been immersed in the internal affairs of his lands, but the growth of the townsfolk in power and privilege which was the leading fact of the time, is best treated of in the chapter on Savoyard government. The Count kept aloof from the Lombard War, which was conducted with great spirit between the Ottonian communes, headed by Milan and Piacenza, and their Frederician rivals, such as Pavia and Asti. It was only the death at the close of April 1215 of his one-time foe Manfred II of Saluzzo¹ which made him take an active interest in Piedmontese politics. Up to the last the old Marquess had solemnly reserved the Count's treaty-rights in his dealings², but now the mask was at once thrown off and the child Manfred III succeeded to his whole inheritance under the guardianship of his grandmother, Countess Alice. Saluzzo, of course, took a place among the Frederician states; and Thomas as naturally turned to his party friends among the Ottonians, who were glad enough to have their arm lengthened by his alliance. On the 20th June the Count had struck a bargain with the most easterly of the active communes, Vercelli, in terms which imply a similar if less formal bond with Milan³, and the new league at once set to work and soon knight and sergeant were riding down the Alpine passes for the war. The Marquess of Montferrat was their first objective. On the 17th of July, a large Milanese force furnished with mangonels, wooden towers and all manner of siege-engines arrived at Vercelli, and marched in company with the Vercellese to beleaguer Casale on the Po, the easternmost town of Montferrat. Already at Vercelli they had been joined by their Burgundian ally with a thousand knights following his banner in glittering

¹ His last document is dated 22 April 1215 (*Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 192*).

² "Salvis pactis comitis Mauriane" (*loc. cit.*).

³ Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* (Script. Rer. Germ.), p. 49: "Eodem mense (Junii) comes Thomasius de Sabogia concordiam et societatem fecit cum Mediolanensibus et Vercellensibus." The treaty with Vercelli and the guarantee of Milan (*Car. Reg. CDXLV.*), although excerpted in *Documenti di Vercelli, B.S.S.S. VIII. p. 101*, and elsewhere (*cf. B.-W. Reg. Imp. Nos. 12476, 12477*), has not, I believe, been published. Thomas' son Amadeus is a party. There is an uncertainty in the date, Saturday and 21 June 1215, since Saturday was 20 June in that year.

array¹. No wonder that the suzerain of such a force had carried all before him in his wars; yet they cannot have represented more than two-thirds of his vassals, for Savoy had to be left in a state of defence. Meanwhile the Alessandrians had united their levies to the besieging army, mangonel and ram had battered at the defences, till by the 5th of August 300 yards of the walls were in ruins, and the final assault could be made. The besiegers were drawn up in four divisions, each ally attacking separately: and all was ready. But when the defenders of the town saw their foes streaming towards the breach, flashing and clanking in their armour and dragging with them an endless series of ladders, bridges, belfries and all their mechanical artillery, their hearts failed them. They knew that a general massacre was the accepted right of the stormers of a town. So before the fight began, the gates were flung open and the town surrendered, to be afterwards razed to the ground by the exultant victors.

So far Count Thomas had done his allies' work, for his quarrel with Montferrat was at best an indirect one². Now it was their turn to serve him. On the 9th of August five hundred Milanese knights marched under his command towards Saluzzo. No ally could help the Countess-regent, for Asti and Montferrat were hard beset. Nor could any effectual resistance be made. Castle after castle, and township after township in the land north of the Stura, was captured and burnt by the Count and his allies³. Yet the disaffection, which Thomas had

¹ Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* p. 49 ff. "(Mediolanenses Vercellas) cum comite de Sabogia, qui in eorum auxilio cum M. militibus egregie bellicis paratis armis magnifice et decenter venerat, et Vercellenses cum omni gente eorum circa (Casale) obsidendum...vi. Kal. Aug. sua fixere tentoria....Die autem Mercurii v. mensis Aug. comes de Sabogia et Mediolanenses et Alexandrini...in strictissimis actiis, scilicet Mediolanenses ex una parte, et Vercellenses ex altera, et comes et Alexandrini ex aliis partibus ad...locum expugnandum...se preparaverunt. Videntes vero intrinseci inimicos...armati et aschlerati versus locum pergentes cum manganis etc. circa illud locum se construxere. Timentes itaque...potestati Mediolani...se reddiderunt... Quem locum Mediolanenses et Vercellenses diruerunt et destruxerunt."

² It could only arise from the suzerainty of Montferrat over the Val di Stura di Demonte and other parts of Saluzzo.

³ Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* p. 52: "Nono ejusdem mensis Augusti quinginti milites Mediolani bellicis armis egregie preparati in auxilio et servitio comitis de Sabogua iverunt in terram scilicet marchionis Punasii; castra quoque plurima et villas innumerabiles cepit et destruxit et habuit, pro quibus litem habebat cum marchione de Monteferato. Videns dictus marchio se ipsi comiti et Mediolanensibus non posse resistere pactum et concordiam cum eis fecit ad melius quod potuit." No doubt this account is exaggerated, but unless the inhabitants declared for him Thomas would have few means of holding his conquests for more than a few days: after the short feudal service of 40 days was over. "Punasius" is the surname of Manfred II of Saluzzo which Codagnelli uses erroneously for Manfred III. The Marquess of Montferrat was, as we have seen, suzerain of parts of the Saluzzan lands

perhaps counted on, did not show itself. The Saluzzese stood staunch to the unlucky boy who ruled them; rapine could only breed hatred, and the year wore on. The Milanese must soon have retired, the feudal service of his vassals soon have ended, and the statesman, who in Thomas always lay in wait to replace the fatigued fury of the warrior, came again to the fore. He put aside the extortionate treaty of 1213 and a scheme of ambition then, at least, hopeless, and consented to indulgent terms. On the 30th of December¹ 1215 Thomas, young Manfred and the Countess Alice met by the banks of the Po near Carignano, and the treaty was signed. The Count's gains might almost be called trifling: Manfred III accepted his own share of Barge as a fief from Savoy in addition to those places, already so held by the treaty of 1200²; and the Count could use it as his own territory in time of war. But only the Marquess's personal service was due to Thomas, and even that obligation ranked after those due to the Emperor and the Marquess of Montferrat³. The marriage-scheme was let drop, and it cannot have been long before the youthful Amadeus married a daughter of the Dauphin. In fact the treaty was little more than a salve to the victor's pride; it was not a concession to his interests.

Although the Saluzzese treaty could hardly be called a great success for Count Thomas we may perhaps see a corollary of his campaign in an acquisition he made more than a year afterwards. The younger line of Saluzzo, the Marquesses of Busca, had long been in difficulties.

(see above, App. I to Sect. I). Hellmann, p. 92, has thoroughly misunderstood the passage, partly through an erroneous date for the treaty of 30 Dec. 1215 (see next note). Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 139, does not bring out what poor results the campaign really had.

¹ The document is dated "Anno a nativitate Christi MCCXVI., Ind. III., III. Kal. Januarii," i.e. 30 Dec. 1215. Until Bertano, the date was misinterpreted 30 Dec. 1216, a year too late. Codagnelli's account puts the final touch on the proof.

² See above, p. 370.

³ *Car. Reg. CDL. (Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. p. 332)*: "Donacionem... fecit domina Alasia comitissa de Saluciis pro se et nepote suo Mainfredo et ipse Mainfredus per se ipsum domino Thome comiti Sabaudie de omni eo toto quod habet dicta comitissa vel Mainfredus in Bargiis, de duabus partibus medietatis de Bargiis... tali modo ut...comes habeat...pro alodio...Preterea...Thomas comes Sabaudie investivit...Mainfredum de toto supradicto de Bargiis per rectum et gentile feudum... ita ut...Mainfredus non teneatur servire comiti nisi de servicio sue persone. Eo excepto quod...liceat comiti facere guerram de feudo quod Mainfredus ab eo tenet... Preterea investivit...comes ipsum Mainfredum de Saluciis de omni alio feudo quod ipse et antecessores sui antiquitus vel noviter tenebant ab eo, nominatim de Roncalia et de Fontanilio...Pro hac autem investitura...fecit fidelitatem Mainfredus...comiti excepto imperatore et marchione Montisferrati." Since Manfred II had possessed half Barge (*Car. Reg. CDXXXVIII.*; *M.H.P. Chart. II. 1277*), it seems that Agnes' share must have been one-third of the inheritance, in this place at least.

One branch of them, the Marquesses Lancia, was entirely ruined through over-indulgence in tournaments, feasts, the *gai science* and other feudal luxuries. And the main line was constantly selling lands and rights to their cousins of Saluzzo. Now in 1217 they lost their independent status. Probably they were hard-pressed by their neighbours, and found it best to distribute their allegiance as much as possible. So just before they became vassals of Asti for their share of Saluzzo¹, the Marquess William of Busca, head of the family, acknowledged his townships of Busca and Scarnafigi to be fiefs of Savoy². Thus Thomas obtained a footing, though an indirect one, in the land round Saluzzo, and must have yet once more roused the suspicions of his southern neighbours.

Yet while he was evidently only waiting his chance for a second plunge into Lombard politics, some grandiose scheme was clearly engaging his attention in Burgundy. What was it? we wonder. At this very time King Frederick II, soon to be freed in May 1218 by death from his powerless imperial rival, Otto IV, was attempting to revive the authority of the Empire in Burgundy, a sub-King of Arles being one expedient³. On the other side the Albigensian Wars were still in progress and were more and more taking the form of a racial struggle between Languedoc and Languedoil in lieu of that of a religious contest. It would almost seem as if Thomas, who would not recognize the Hohenstaufen King even after Otto IV's death, had some scheme, dream would be the better word, of a league of the great vassals of Burgundy to keep out the stranger. He naturally intended to be chief and president of his league, if we may accept the reality of the plan; and it is to that ambition, perhaps, that we should attribute the war in which he seems to have engaged in these years on his north-western frontier.

Either in 1216 or 1217 a new Bishop Aymon de Grandson sat on the episcopal throne of Geneva. This nobleman—he came of an illustrious house—was not a man whose character inspired respect, and he was soon embroiled with the chief vassals of his see. The Count of the Genevois, at this time apparently Humbert, Count Thomas' brother-in-law, the Sire de Faucigny, and seemingly Thomas of Savoy himself, all refused their homage, and the Count of the Genevois usurped, or continued to usurp, the Bishop's jurisdiction in Geneva itself contrary to the Treaty of Seyssel⁴. Thomas, the most powerful of the three,

¹ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, Nos. 694, 695, June 1217.

² *Car. Reg. CDLI*. (Manuel, *I Marchesi di Vasto*, p. 344), dated 15 March 1217.

³ Fournier, *op. cit.* pp. 100 ff. William de Baux was to be King of Arles, as Burgundy, outside the ancient rectorate, began to be called. He never exercised authority, however; nor did the next sub-King, William of Montferrat.

⁴ See above, p. 284.

aimed at acquiring the right of investing the Bishop with his *regalia*, a right which would carry with it the previous homage of the prelate. It seems likely that the lords of La Tour-du-Pin and of Thoire and Villars joined the Bishop¹, but of the events of the war we have no information. We may guess by the results, however, that no very decisive success was gained by either side. In January 1218 Thomas bought off the Sire de la Tour-du-Pin by an engagement not to make further claims of homage from him for more than his then fiefs². On the 12th of October 1219 peace was made between William II of the Genevois, then newly supplanting his half-brother, Humbert, and the Bishop. The *status quo* was practically restored and the Count performed his liege homage³. The intermediary of this treaty was the Archbishop of Vienne, and that dignitary, together with the Cardinal-Legate Bertrand, succeeded in checkmating Thomas' own schemes. The Count gained no rights over his episcopal suzerain⁴. As to the Sire de Thoire, peace

¹ I deduce this from the treaties with these two Lords. See below.

² Car. Reg. CDLV. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 665): "Ego Thomas...promisi... Arberto Domino de Turre quod dominium meum non cresciam super dominium suum, nec etiam in aliquo castro vel in mandamento castri ubi habeat jus aliquod sive partem in allodiis vel feudis hominum suorum nec in gardis nec in hominibus vel possessionibus ubi jus suum vel dominium praetendatur." See above, p. 93, for the older homage. In 1228 Arbert reserves his homage to the see of Vienne and the Count of Savoy when doing homage to the Archbishop of Lyons (Guigue, *Cartul. des fiefs de l'Église de Lyon*, p. 339). ³ Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, II. p. 50, for document.

⁴ The evidence for this fact and the war was pointed out by Hellmann, pp. 84-5. It is furnished by a document (Spon, II. pp. 401 ff.) shown by Mallet (*M.D.G.* VII. pp. 347 ff.) to refer to Bishop Aymon and to date from c. 1227. Unfortunately the witnesses in this Inquisition into the Bishop's errors are not above suspicion. One demonstrably misrepresents. The salient passages are as follows: "(Canon Aymon's evidence) Rogatus an sit dilapidator vel dissipator? dicit quod Dominus de Fucigniaco fecit hominum predecessori suo et isti non fecit. Rogatus an fuerit ab isto requisitus ut faceret? dicit quod credit dictum dominum de Fucigniaco fuisse requisitum, sed non fuisse compulsum. [Probably the Bishop could not defeat him in the war.] Dicit etiam quod cum comes Gebennensis esset sub interdico et familia ejus propter murum castri Gebennensis secundum compositionem factam a predecessoribus,... episcopus iste sic composuit cum comite quod nec comes nec familia ejus supposita est interdico propter hoc. [This absolution of the Count was decreed and performed by the Archbishop of Vienne in 1219.] ...Item dicit quod de regalibus quod creditur a quibusdam quod volebat se accipere a comite Sabbaudie, sed legatus Bertrandus et Archiepiscopus Viennensis prohibuerunt ne fieret nec tandem fuit factum. [I think in view of the foregoing, we may deduct the Bishop's willingness from this statement.] ...Rogatus an sit tyrannus vel raptor potius quam presul vel rector?...dicit quod episcopus dedit capellano triginta solidos (Mallet's text) de emendo maleficorum comitis Sabbaudie pro duodecim marcis quas episcopus idem debebat Capitulo de eadem emenda....(Canon Rodulph's evidence) pro regalibus tuendis ad opus ecclesie que quasi alienata erant sustinuit guerram comitis Sabaudie et multos labores sustinuit et multa expendit, ita quod per Dei gratiam remanserunt ecclesie....(William de Closeaz)...guerras habet contra aliquos homines suos sicut scit."

between him and Thomas was delayed till December 1224, when the Archbishop of Lyons arranged terms. Here, too, the Count, under the influence of Italian misfortunes, retreated from his extremer claims, dating from his treaties with the Abbot of St Rambert and the Sire of New Coligny¹.

But Thomas' alliance with his kindred of the Genevois and Faucigny formed only a small part of his political structure. Three marriages completed it. The first was that of his eldest son Amadeus with Anna, daughter of the Dauphin, Guigues VI Andrew, which probably took place in 1216². As we shall see it was quite ineffectual in securing a permanent amity with the Dauphiné. The second was that of Thomas' elder daughter Margaret in June 1218 with Hartmann, later called the Elder, Count of Kyburg³. By this intermarriage the breach was closed with the heirs of Zähringen for some forty years, until in fact the House of Kyburg in its turn became extinct and its possessions went to the more energetic Habsburgs. It must be remembered in explanation that the Rectorate of Burgundy with its special claims was not inherited by the Kyburgs. At this time it was nominally held by Henry, King Frederick II's eldest son, and with his treason years later finally vanishes from history. The third match was that about June 1219 of Thomas' remaining daughter Beatrice with Raymond-Berengar IV, Count of Provence⁴. It was to this marriage that the four Queens were born, who allied Savoy once more to England and France⁵.

¹ Car. Reg. CDLXXX. See the full copy, due to the characteristic courtesy of Sig. Bori, now first published in the Appendix of Documents, No. xv. The accounts of this transaction given by Guichenon, *Hist. de Bresse et Bugey*, IV. 217, and Wurstemberger, I. p. 64, do not seem to tally closely with the document. The Count here too gave a promise for the future. "Preterea nichil quod ad dominium domini de Vilario et domini de Toria pertineat Comes et filii sui acquirere poterunt."

² *Chron. Altacumb.* (M.H.P. Script. II. 671) merely says: "Uxor ejus prima fuit filia comitis Albonensis." Pingone, *Saxoniae Sabaudiaeque Arbor Gentilitia* (ed. 1777, p. 25), gives her name as Anna, and her father as Guigues Andrew. She could be the latter's daughter by his first wife (cf. Petit, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, III. p. 72). Valbonnais, *Hist. Dauph.*, calls her a Margaret, sister of Guigues Andrew, but this makes her too old, and a Margaret does not appear in Petit, *loc. cit.* Unfortunately Pingone, uncorroborated, is worthless. Amadeus' daughter could be married in 1224 (see below, p. 397), if only in name.

³ Car. Reg. CDLVII. (Wurstemberger, IV. p. 21). Her dowry was 2000 silver marks.

⁴ Car. Reg. CDLIX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 120). This is a treaty guaranteeing Beatrice's dowry (2000 marks like her sister's). Presumably the marriage took place shortly after its date, 5 June 1219. The list of guaranteeing vassals shows Thomas in possession of all his Italian gains, with the addition of the Luserna, lords of the Valle di Luserna, etc.

⁵ Margaret married St Louis IX of France, Eleanor Henry III of England, Sancha Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, and Beatrice Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily.

To sum up the results, including the treaty in 1219 with the Bishop of Lausanne¹, we find that Thomas was in that year in direct league with all the great princes of Burgundy from the Mediterranean to the Rhine. The omens were favourable for a new Italian adventure.

SECTION III. THOMAS' LATER YEARS AND DECLINE IN POWER.

The history of Savoy, so long neutral as it has been, now at last affords us an opportunity of pointing a moral. It is very trite to be sure—"vaulting ambition doth o'erleap itself." But it is apposite enough. From almost all his undertakings Count Thomas had hitherto won profit, and perhaps he overrated his powers and good-fortune. It was, as before, the lure of Italian dominion which drew him on, that vision of the mark of Turin restored from the Alps to the sea, of a variegated state composed of a heterogeneous crew of vassals and subject communes. The attempt twice made in these final years of his life was again after a brief glitter of success to fail, leaving him with contracted dominion and lowered status, the vassal of a commune. Yet it is the best testimony to his real strength that his successors were little if at all damaged by his failure.

It is not necessary for the present study to relate the various mutations of Piedmontese politics between Thomas' diversion to the north and his return to his Italian schemes, how Asti and Alba fell again to blows, or how Chieri, freed in 1212 by Otto IV from the leading-strings of the Bishop of Turin, remained in discord with the latter. One by one most of the communes recognized King Frederick II, as it was soon obvious there would arise no new competitor; but the effect of this was not so much to stop the recurrent feuds and warfare as to deprive them of their robe of honour, the great imperial dispute.

Throughout Thomas remained the ally of Vercelli and the Ottonian Lombard League, in spite of a papal dispensation from the unhallowed contract². He even expressly renewed it on its expiry at the end of five years in October 1219³. The negotiations must have taken place during a successful summer-campaign he made with a force from the

¹ See above, p. 376.

² By Honorius III, Aug. 1216 (B.-W. *Reg. Imp.* No. 6192). Cf. *M.H.P.* Chart. 1. 1238 for the continued alliance with Vercelli, 12 Oct. 1217.

³ Caccianottius, *Summarium...Vercell.* p. 116: "29 Oct. 1219, Responsio ex parte Comunis Vercellensis facta dominis Bonifacio electo S. Michaelis de Clussa et Priori de Aigubella, missis et legatis domini Thomae Comitis Maurianensis etc., quod volebat servare pacta inita, et habere pro inimicis ejus inimicos."

League against the *consortes* of Bagnolo—his own vassals probably¹—to punish the brigandage which they called levying tolls². Thus secured he could proceed with his schemes. The first thing was to secure an effective dominion in Pinerolo. That little commune, in or about the year 1217, was engaged in disputes with its lord, the Abbot of Pinerolo, John de Bourbon, as to the extent of his rights. The judges nominated to decide the question declared on the 23rd July 1218³ for the Abbot so far as formal rule was concerned; the consuls only held their jurisdiction precariously by his grant; while the jurisdiction possessed by the Count of Savoy was a genuine fief held from him⁴. An award so conceived was not likely to satisfy the townsfolk, and it seems most likely that the Count intervened in 1220, and, taking military possession, promulgated new civic statutes⁵. Thus master of the town he could move farther east. At the ford of the Po on the road to Asti lay the growing Commune of Carignano, later to give a name and title to a famous branch of the House of Savoy. Besides the Bishop of Turin, the chief lords here were Thomas' vassals, the Marquesses of Romagnano; but

¹ See below, p. 395.

² *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 281. The lords of Bagnolo made peace with the league, and denied they had plundered some Vercellese pilgrims, 24 Sept. 1219. They also undertook “quod...offensio non fiet in avere vel personis illis tam comitis Sabaudie quam Vercellarum et Mediolani et Placentie et Alexandrie...qui sunt in exercitu Pedum-montium dum in partibus [istis] in exercitu stabunt.”

³ The date in the late copy we possess (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 110) is MCCXV. Ind. VI. Monday, x. Kal. Aug. As Prof. Gabotto (*ibidem*) has seen, we must correct to MCCXVIII. when all the dates agree.

⁴ *op. cit.* (p. 115) “et habet in Pinarolio leidas et curaias Abbas et forum et placita et omnem jurisdictionem plenarie, eo excepto quod Comes tenet a Monasterio....Illam enim jurisdictionem quam habent consules in Pinarolio non a seipsis habent, sed ab Abbate precario tenent.” The Count's rights included the “contivum” (*id.* p. 110) beyond the Lemnia apparently (*id.* p. 109).

⁵ This account is based partly on the *Chroniques*, which give a semi-fabulous campaign of Thomas in which he conquered Pinerolo, Vigone, Carignano and Moncalieri, and besieged Turin. Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. pp. 141-2, points out that some doings of Thomas' homonymous son have contaminated the narrative. But Vigone was really acquired by Thomas in 1212, and whereas Pinerolo was not subject to him in 1218, he could prescribe new statutes in 1220 and accept it in fief, with a reservation of fealty due to the Abbot, in 1224 from Asti (see below). He could also accept Carignano in fief from Asti at the same time, and Humbert III at best had only held half from the Bishop of Turin, and had lost that. The Statutes of Pinerolo were printed in 1602 from a revision of 1280; they say: “Haec sunt statuta facta per illustrissimum dominum Thomam comitem praefatum et sapientes Pinerolii ad hoc electos et specialiter constitutos currente millesimo CCXX. Indict. VIII.” The Consuls, if we may trust the text, were replaced by the Count (B.S.S.S. I. p. 196). Prof. Gabotto, *loc. cit.*, inclines to reject any special acquisition by Thomas; Hellmann, p. 124, n. 2, appears to abandon any definite narrative. Carutti (B.S.S.S. I. pp. 195-6) accepts it with too many imaginative details.

they had wisely acceded to the communal form of government, it seems, and now must have been its most influential members. The town, we may presume, surrendered to Thomas without a siege; no garrison was placed there probably, but the Count's dominion stretched to the Po, and his wrathful neighbours found a wedge of Savoyard land forced among them commanding the routes of war and peace¹. Nor did this suffice him. In the same year he induced one of the Marquesses of Busca, Otto Boverio, to convert his possessions at Brà and Fontane far south on the road to Alba into fiefs of Savoy². It was a rash addition to his territory, alarming to the Communes.

But he had already aroused the hostility of most of his Piedmontese vassals and neighbours. It was in the summer of 1220 probably that their alarm and wrath ripened into action. The soul of the movement was apparently that Giacomo, Bishop of Turin, who since August 1218 had been Frederick II's Vicar in West Lombardy³. With him and his Commune were linked Testona⁴ and the chief castellans of Piedmont proper. King Frederick II, whom Thomas almost alone, perhaps through enmity to the Bishop of Turin, still refused to recognize, could not but be favourable to the new league, and when the lords of Piossasco, together with their *consortes* and vassals of Cavour and Bagnolo and Barge, and even of the Val di Stura di Ala⁵, became

¹ See last note for the reference to Carignano in the *Chroniques*. That Thomas did not have military possession of the place is shown by the treaty with Asti in 1224 (see below), where, while he does not include the town among his revolted subjects, he yet cannot guarantee the inhabitants swearing fealty to Asti, in consequence of his holding it henceforward in fief from the latter city. "Et comes promisit et juravit quod usque ad tres annos faciet fieri fidelitatem vel ante si poterit ab hominibus Cargnani comuni Astensi." Prof. Gabotto, wrongly I think, equates this special clause concerning Carignano with the general one, where the Count promises fealty to Asti for such of the lands etc. in rebellion from him as he may recover. A separate list is given. (See below.)

² Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 144.

³ *Neues Archiv*, xxiv. 220 ff.; cf. Hellmann, p. 94. He continues to hold the appointment in name at least after the nomination of Bishop Conrad of Metz as *legatus* for the whole kingdom of Italy, 17 April 1220. (B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 1101.)

⁴ Testona's adhesion to the League is shown by the fact that the alliance of Turin with Manfred III of Saluzzo was concluded there. (See below.)

⁵ Val Matri (i.e. Mathl) is the term in Frederick's diploma by which alone we know the fact. Hellmann, p. 95, confuses this Mathl with Mattie near Susa. The Val di Susa could hardly be named after this place, which had been given to the Abbey of Susa in 1212, besides the improbability of such an alliance. Thomas had some claims on Ciriè near Mathl, as had the Marquess of Montferrat. Perhaps the war of 1200 or the successes of Amadeus III produced them: in support of the latter view I may note that the erstwhile Savoyard vassals, the Counts of Castellamonte, had given the Val di Mathl in fief to the Viscounts of Baratonnia, who held it in 1220 (Rondolino, *Dei Visconti di Torino*, Boll. stor. bibl. subalp., Anni VI. p. 388, VII. p. 218).

citizens of Turin, he at once issued a diploma of confirmation¹. At the same time he favoured the opponents of Chieri, still recalcitrant to the Bishop and himself².

So the war began and rapidly spread. In June 1221 the Counts of Biandrate in quest of their rights over Chieri joined the league³. Far more important was the adhesion of Saluzzo. On the 5th of July 1222, Manfred III became a citizen of Turin with the express provision that he should join in the war against Thomas of Savoy⁴. Against these banded foes the Count was not unsuccessful. He seems to have captured Cavour from the Piossasco and Borgo S. Dalmazzo either from Manfred III or from some ally of his⁵. Certain vassals of the Marquess, too, revolted⁶, and the Count began his scheme of building a new town on the Po to guard his southern frontier, if indeed the steps he had taken towards this were not the cause of the rupture with

¹ B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 1213, *M.H.P. Leges Munic.* I. 517, 24 Nov. 1220. "Cum de nostra voluntate processerit et mandato quod fideles nostri domini de Plozascho et homines item de Bagnolio et Caburo et de Bargiis, de Publiciis, de Scalengis atque de Valle Matii fecerint in Thaurino eorum habitaculum, pacta et conventiones inter ipsos et civitatem Thaurinensem initas...confirmamus." The Piossasco had acquired Piobesi in fief from the Bishop in 1193 (see above); they were lords of Upper Cavour (*Car. Reg.* DLX.), and *consignori* in Scalenghe (di Vesme, *B.S.S.S.* I. p. 45). I should again emphasize that the *consorzeria* which held each township was usually made up of diverse elements who formed parts of other *consorzerie* elsewhere, and might, like the Piossasco or Romagnano, be united by a special family bond as well.

² B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 979, annulling the Bishop's concession of Montossolo, and No. 1211 (*Carte del Pinerolese*, *B.S.S.S.* III. 2, p. 284), which grants Celle to the *consortes* of Revigliasco and Trofarello. I confess that to me this grant seems more injurious to Testona than to Chieri; but see Gabotto (*B.S.S.S.* I. p. 145).

³ B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 1341, in which Frederick II regrants Chieri to the Counts, an evidence of their junction with the league (cf. Hellmann, p. 956).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CDLXIX. (*M.H.P.*, *Leges Munic.* I. 514): "Manfredus marchio de Salutiis...juravit...perpetuale habitaculum civitatis Thaurini, ita quod semper erit civis...Item, quod juvabit...commune Thaurini...cum tota sua terra, quam habet ipse marchio citra Tanarum, sive flumen Tanari, de omni guerra...contra aliquem hominem...et specialiter de illa guerra, quam ipsi Thaurinenses habent contra comitem Maurianensem et filios, nec de illa guerra vel guerris faciet treguam nec pacem aliquam absque consensu...Communis Thaurini...Nullomodo faciet...aliquam parentelam nec contractum matrimonii cum Thoma comite Maurianensi, nec cum aliquo filiorum suorum sine...consensu Potestatis...Thaurini." Manfred III's hostility was probably due to Thomas' southern schemes. The marriage-project may have been suggested by Thomas as a means of reconciliation.

⁵ These facts are deduced from the subsequent treaties (see below). From the same sources we know that the Count's men from Vigone etc. made an unsuccessful raid between Brà and Racconigi.

⁶ See below. Bersezio in the Val di Stura di Demonte, and Vignolo, held by Thomas' vassals, the lords of Bernezzo, were the rebel towns. It was there clearly a case of conflicting vassalage.

Manfred III¹. But Thomas' allies, Vercelli and Novara, held aloof. He was involved in a war in the Vallais, and must have found himself helpless against Turin. At any rate early in 1223 he is concluding, partly with Vercelli's mediation, a series of peaces. The first, dated probably in February 1223, was with Turin and her Bishop; it was a truce only, and the terms are lost². The treaty with the Castellans of Piedmont, the lords of Piosasco, Bagnolo and Barge followed on the 26th of April, a separate, now lost, document having been executed between Thomas and the lords of Lower Cavour. By this peace Upper Cavour was ceded to Thomas, but he promised to make no further acquisitions from members of a *consorzzeria*, without the consent of all the *consortes*, a concession which hints at one cause of the war. The rebels were again to do homage and receive due investiture³. Meanwhile on the 4th of March peace had been concluded with Manfred III, distinctly to the latter's advantage. Thomas again receded from the ambitions he had too readily taken up. He promised to surrender the castle of S. Dalmazzo⁴ and secure the submission of Vignolo to the Marquess. He engaged not to build a new town south of Carignano. He added to Manfred III's former fief the homage of the Marquess of Busca and that of the lords of Bernezzo for Bernezzo. Finally to cement the new accord he gave his grand-daughter, Beatrice, eldest child of his heir Amadeus, in marriage to the Marquess. Borgo S. Dalmazzo was to be her dowry⁵.

¹ i.e. Villafranca, a great object of suspicion to Thomas' southern neighbours (see below).

² It is referred to in Thomas' letter of thanks to, and request for further mediation from, Vercelli itself, received 28 Feb. 1223 (Car. Reg. CDLXXIII. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. c. 1311).

³ Car. Reg. CDLXXVI. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 287). The date of the day of the week (26th) is to be followed in preference to that of the month (27th): "comes non debeat aliquid aqustum facere in aliquo consortili castellanorum Pedemontis qui fecerunt guerram predicto comiti...vel qui adjuvabant episcopum vel comune Taurini nisi de voluntate tocius consortilis, excepto in Cavourro Superiori quem modo tenet ipse Comes, et salvis...concordiis factis inter ipsum comitem...et castellanos de Cavourro Inferiori...in instrumento...facto (1223 March 12)." Neither side was henceforth to receive the other's vassals in their lands without the consent of the vassal's lord.

⁴ To the Marquess, if possible, otherwise to the Abbey or the inhabitants. The Bishop of Asti, who had had claims on the place (see above, p. 361, n. 1), is not mentioned, although he had taken part in the war (Chiesa, c. 895).

⁵ The documents of the peace number eight. They are: (1) *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 249, the peace itself, 4 March, known through a summary by G. della Chiesa (*M.H.P.* Chart. III. 894); (2) *id.* No. 250 (*id.* p. 347), 6 March, the investiture of Manfred III; (3) *id.* No. 251, the fealty of Manfred III; (4) *id.* No. 252 (Chiesa, 895), 8 March, the sale to Manfred III of their possessions in Bernezzo and Vignolo etc. by the *consortes* of Bernezzo, who were now transplanted to Savoyard

But the inhabitants seem to have revolted and submitted to their Abbot, and we find Thomas paying, and in arrears with, his granddaughter's dowry in cash three years later¹. A more complete withdrawal would be hard to imagine; for the overlordship reserved to Thomas over the ceded homages, indirect as it was, scarcely furnished any real hold on the territory. It is obvious there must have been some pressing reason for Thomas' action, and this must be found in the attitude of Asti. The great Commune was now at last freed from her southern rivalries for a time. In April she was forming again a union with Alba²: in September she was to make an alliance with Alessandria³. Thomas' movement southwards and his acquisition of Brà on the south-western road could never be endured by her for long. The Count's treaties with Turin and the Castellans were at best precarious, and Asti under the circumstances could offer him a deadly enmity or an oppressive friendship. To her threats I think we may attribute his pliancy⁴.

He had troubles also in the north to distract his attention, for the good understanding he had maintained with Landric, Bishop of Sion,

territory; (5) *id.* No. 253 (Chiesa, 896), Countess Alice of Saluzzo pardons the men of Bersezio; (6) *id.* No. 256 (*id.* p. 350), 27 Sept. 1223, Count Thomas releases Marquess William of Busca from his oath of fealty; (7) *id.* No. 257 (*id.* p. 250), 27 Sept. Manfred III invests William of Busca with Busca and Scarnafigi; (8) Car. *Sup.* LXXX. (*M.H.P.* Chart. II. 1343) 2 Oct. 1227, Henry of Carretto makes an arrangement *re* the unpaid part of Beatrice's dowry. Chiesa (No. 249) has: "el juro esso Conte che infra 18 giorny apresso Pascha proxima (23 Ap.) darebe soa nepota....Beatrix per moglie al ditto Manfredo....Per...dota ditto Conte remetera in...baylia...di ditta Alaxia el castello del Borgo di S^o. Dalmacio....Promette ditto conte de dare in feudo gentile le ragione quale ha sopra....Gulielmo dy Buscha...e sopra ly signory de Bernezo e castel e villa de Bernezo....Promette che il castel de Vignolo sara restituito al Marchexe....Non si fara di novo loco alcuno ne villa dy Cargnano in suso....Il conte restituiscia el castel dy San Dalmacio al...Manfredo Marchexe overo al capitulo di la gesia di San Dalmacio overo aly hominy del Borgo dy San Dalmacio. Fatto questo Manfredo marchexe jura di fare la fidelita al conte de...feudo vechio e novo." That the marriage really took place within the term mentioned is made probable by the fact that Beatrice is his wife in May 1224 (*Reg. March. Saluzzo*, No. 265; Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 696) and in Oct. 1227 (Car. *Sup.* LXXX. *M.H.P.* Chart. II. 1343), which disposes of the old view that she was only married in 1233. She is still under twelve years old in May 1224.

¹ See Car. *Sup.* LXXX. and preceding note.

² *Rig....Albe*, B.S.S.S. XXI. p. 1.

³ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 1010.

⁴ The account given of this war agrees in the main either with that of Gabotto or that of Hellmann, who differ considerably; I do not think either of them points out that Thomas' project of a new town was one of Manfred's grievances. Gabotto thinks the acquisition of Upper Cavour was one of the Castellans' *casus belli*, but since its former owners were the Piosasco themselves, it seems more like to be a conquest in the war.

had broken down. Perhaps his purchase of part of Saillon from its lord in 1221 had injured the Bishop's rights¹. A war, favourable to Thomas, seems to have followed, which was ended in 1224 by a moderate peace. Most of the clauses are devised to maintain the *status quo ante* in the Vallais, and to prevent complications arising from the entanglement of the various fiefs held from the Bishop and the Count respectively. The Bishop acknowledged his vassalage for the *regalia* and his feudal duty of protecting Chillon even against the Emperor, and he received in return an ordinary landed fief in the castle of Morgex close to his city². The treaty was well meant, but, as none of the real difficulties—the partial independence of the Bishop and the intertwining of lands and rights—were done away with, it is no wonder that hostilities recommenced before Thomas died. For the moment, however, there was peace, and since in December 1224 his differences with the Sire de Thoire were also settled³, he could employ all his thoughts on Lombardy.

In Lombardy, indeed, the outlook was far from hopeful, from Thomas' point of view. Besides the unrest among his vassals, the power of Asti was advancing by leaps and bounds. Through the good accord that Chieri kept with her, the latter Commune was able to bar out the interference of the Bishop of Turin⁴ and the Counts of Biandrate⁵. Asti herself quickly brought the Marquess of Saluzzo

¹ Car. Reg. CDLXV. (*M.D.R.* XXIX. p. 233). The lord of Saillon, Aymon de Pont-verre, was compensated with Ugines in Tarentaise. He was not the sole lord of Saillon, but he seems to have been head of the family. The extension of the Count's direct demesne up the Vallais towards Sion may have disquieted the Bishop.

² Car. Reg. CDLXXVIII. (*M.D.R.* XXIX. p. 241): "antiqua pacta et licita...rata in perpetuum permaneant....Item ecclesia Sedunensis non possit aliquid acquirere de rebus comitatus sine ipsius comitis voluntate....Item comes non posset aliquid acquirere de rebus ecclesie sine episcopi et capituli voluntate....Dedit comes episcopo et ecclesie Sedunensi in augmentum feudi feudum de Morgi. Et pro feudo isto debet ei episcopus Sedunensis in decessu episcopi xv. lb. de placito; ita viz. ut cum placitum de regalibus eveniret, tunc placitum de Morgi reddatur cum ipso, ita ut xc. lb. insimul persolvantur....Item ecclesia Sedunensis non tenetur comiti facere exercitum nisi usque ad rivum Aquefridge et usque ad summitatem Montis Jovis...excepto debito servitio de Morgi. Verum si quis potens homo veniret ad expugnandum castrum de Chillon, tenetur episcopus pro posse suo venire ad defensionem dicti castri." Eau Froide formed the northern limit of the Vallais. The curious clause as to Chillon, as M. Carrard (*M.D.R.* Ser. II. Vol. I. pp. 290-1) has pointed out, must refer to the Emperor, then still at enmity with Thomas. The obligation, be it noticed, is that of a suzerain to his vassal, for Thomas held Chillon from the Bishop of Sion (see above, p. 92).

³ See above, pp. 391-2.

⁴ Cibrario, *Delle storie di Chieri*, I. 100; dated 18 June 1224. The Bishop gave up his claims to Montossolo.

⁵ *id.* p. 101, II. p. 82.

to book for long arrears of his feudal dues. We may presume it was after an unfortunate war that in May 1224 he submitted and, as compensation, received two of his townships, Carmagnola opposite Carignano by the Po and Lequio in the Langhe, as additional fiefs from the conqueror¹. Thomas of Savoy himself was present at Asti at the conclusion of this treaty and may have been already negotiating for one of his own. His old political system was breaking down. In March 1224, it is true, he renewed the alliance with Vercelli²; but in May, the very time he was at Asti, Vercelli was already contemplating a merely neutral attitude³. Probably it was the hard terms proffered by Asti which delayed his change of attitude. But the trend of events was too strong for him. It must have been in 1224 that his old enemies among the Piedmontese castellans rose in arms again; with them revolted his new acquisition, Pinerolo⁴; and both sections of the rebels found an ally in Turin. As the Piossasco and their friends were already citizens of the latter city, so now Pinerolo accepted an act of union, and appears under the same *Podestà*⁵. Testona, finding Chieri more dangerous to her peace than the greater city—there was the old question of rival routes involved—stood on the same side. Thomas now hesitated no longer. On the 13th of September he was again at Asti, submitting to the great Commune's terms. The sacrifices he was forced to make were heavy. Brà and Fontane, his acquisitions by the Tanaro, were ceded outright. Carignano, Vigone and Cumiana he surrendered to receive again in vassalage, and, since there were doubts whether he could compel the Commune of Carignano to accept a dependence from Asti, his townships of Miradolo and Cavour under the Alps were to be substituted if necessary. Further, whatever he reconquered from his rebels, Pinerolo, the Piossasco and the others, and whatever he acquired from his Lombard foes were to be held in fief from Asti. He was to

¹ *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 265* (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 696).

² Caccianottius, *Summarium...Vercellens*, p. 143: "9 Feb. 1224, Renovatio...ligae anni 1215...inter comitem Thomam de Mauriana...ac d. Amadeum ejus filium, et Comune Vercellense, requirente d. Alberto Tetavegla Vercellensi ejusdem d. Comitum procuratore." Cf. also *loc. cit.* 3 March 1224, and p. 144, 12 Ap. 1224.

³ Caccianottius, *Summarium...Vercellens*, p. 145, Treaty (18 May 1224) with Peter Count of Masino. Vercelli reserves Milan, Alessandria and the Counts of Biandrate; "et eveniente guerra inter ipsos (i.e. Milan etc.) vel comitem Sabaudiae ac eundem Petrum, Comune Vercellense debeat se intromittere amicablem ad componendum pacem."

⁴ A leading noble of Pinerolo, Bersatorio, was still loyal to Thomas in April 1223 (*Car. Reg. CDLXXVI., Carte del Pinerolese, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 287*). This was pointed out by Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. I. p. 155*.

⁵ The union had taken place by 13 July 1228 (*Car. Reg. DXV.; Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 123*).

make no fresh acquisitions south of the Po, and only to build the new town, all his own, that he was hankering after, under Asti's suzerainty and by her leave. Finally he was to provide a road for the Astigians, leading from the Val di Susa, via Vigone and Carignano, to their city. The Commune was to prescribe the tolls and take half the proceeds, nor in his ultramontane lands even was the Count to levy more than had been customary. With their common enemy, Turin, he was only to conclude a peace with his new suzerain's consent; and—fitting crown of the treaty, and symbol of the high-aspiring pride of a city-state—in the diversion of the Po from Turin uphill to Asti and the Tanaro he was to use his best endeavour¹. It did not happen; *fluviorum rex Eridanus* flows now, as it did in the days of Hannibal or of Virgil, beside Turin. On his broad smooth waters are still mirrored the *campanili* and the green hills of Montferrat. Turin, magnified and growing, an industrial metropolis, lies stretched along his banks. Thence

¹ Car. Reg. CDXXIX.=Sup. LXIX. (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 656). "Thomas Comes...donavit...Potestati Astensi nomine Comunis Astensis...dominium Brayde et Fontanarum...et maxime fidelitates....Item donavit...dominium...Cargnani et Vigoni et Cumaniane....Et Comune Astense investivit dictum Comitum...in gentile feudum...de Vigono, Cargnano et Cumaniana....Et Comes promisit et juravit quod usque ad tres annos faciet fieri fidelitatem vel ante si poterit ab hominibus Cargnani Comuni Astensi. Et interim...faciet fieri fidelitatem dicto Comuni ab hominibus suis de Cavuro et ab hominibus Miradolii, qui teneantur fidelitate Comuni Astensi quousque homines Cargnani Comuni Astensi fidelitatem fecerint....Item...Comes juravit...quod accipiet in feudum...a Comuni Astensi totam illam terram que est de comitatu et marchionatu...quam ipse modo non tenet, vel de qua ipsi qui eam tenent sibi sunt contrarii...et specialiter illi qui sunt conjurati Taurinensium citra montes et omnes illi qui tenent suam terram citra montes....Hec est terra...que est sibi contraria, Ciriata, Plozaschum, Barge, Bagnolium, Pinayrolium et tota alia terra quam modo non tenet... et de qua...teneatur Comes facere fidelitatem Comuni Astensi, salva fidelitate Abbatis Pinayrolii de facto Pinayrolii....Item quod Comes non possit aliquid acquirere citra Padum versus civitatem Astensem et episcopatum et terram Marchionis de Salucio... salvo jure Comitum quod habet in Boves et salvo jure Comunis quod habet in Boves.... Item teneatur...Comes dare stratam Comuni Astensi venientem per Secusiam et S. Ambrosium...tali modo quod strata...veniat per Vigonum et per Cargnanum versus civitatem Astensem...tali modo quod...pro pedagio accipiatur ab hominibus de Aste et ab extraneis tantum quantum ordinatum fuerit per...Comitem et Comune Astense...ita tamen quod...pedagogium dividatur per medium inter...Comitem et Comune Astense....Item teneatur Comes omnes malas tollas novas et inconsumtas hominibus de Aste dimittere in tota sua terra....Item Comes non possit facere pacem nec treugam cum Taurinensibus quin Comune de Aste sit in dicta pace et treugua.... Item teneatur Comes dare forciam Comuni et hominibus de Aste et consilium et auxilium ducendi Padum ad civitatem Astensem, si Astenses voluerint. Item si aliquis locus novus fieret in comitatu vel marchionatu citra montes cum voluntate Comitum, quod Comes illum a Comuni tenere debeat in feudum,...et nullus locus ibi fieri possit sine voluntate Comitum et Comunis Astensis." I omit many details of less account. The treaty was completed by Car. Sup. LXX. (*Cod. Malab.* No. 657), LXXI. (*id.* No. 658), LXXIII. (*id.* No. 660), and LXXIV. (*id.* No. 659).

you may go by the Rome express for Alessandria and Florence; and if you like you can get out at the first stop to see the red-brick towers and walls and the Romanesque baptistry of Asti, that pleasant and thriving country-town.

Asti's predominance, however, and the overweening greed which accompanied it, almost immediately began to work the diminution of her power. Already in October 1224 her partner Alba was bitterly complaining that she had no share in the profits of the treaties with Saluzzo and Savoy¹: and the fact that war had commenced between Genoa and her northern neighbours, Alessandria and Tortona², the first of which was Asti's continual rival, made the general situation along the Apennines dangerous in the extreme. None the less the preparations against the Turinese confederacy were pushed on. In January 1225 Count Thomas had arrived in Susa from Lyons³; and in May the army of the allies was ravaging, without much result, the fields of Turin⁴. But by June it was back in Asti for urgent need. A month or two before the final breach with Alba must have come; and, while Alba joined the Alessandrines⁵, Asti made an alliance with Genoa⁶. Vercelli, Thomas' own nominal ally, was actively aiding Alessandria, and so the whole of Piedmont was involved once more in war.

Asti at once insisted that her vassal should lend his aid, and accordingly we find Thomas on the 10th of June becoming a *condottiere*—a very early specimen of his trade—in Genoa's service. For a good round sum he was to lead in person 180 knights to the war, with their proper train of sergeants and squires. He himself fell ill and could not come, but he sent the troops to join the Genoese host at Gavi in the Langhe⁷. Meanwhile in this distortion of his plans he seems to

¹ *Rig....Albe*, B.S.S.S. XXI. p. 45: "Homines Albe credebant quod...homines Ast non bene observaverant concordiam silicet in aqusto Carmagnolearum etc. et in facto et aqusto Comitiss de Sabaudia."

² Barth. Scrib. *Ann. Jan.* 1224.

³ *Car. Sup.* LXXII. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, p. 293). Cf. above, p. 484.

⁴ *Car. Sup.* LXXIII., LXXIV. (*Cod. Malab.* Nos. 660, 659).

⁵ B.-W. *Reg. Imp.* No. 12907.

⁶ Ogg. Alf. (Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, Cap. 11, p. 59).

⁷ *Car. Reg.* CDLXXXVI. (Sclopis, *Considerazioni storiche...intorno a Tommaso I*, Mem. R. Accad. Scien. di Torino, XXXIV. p. 89): "(Comes) habebit in servitio Communis Januae milites bonos de Burgundia CLXXX. guarritos...et de ipsis militibus habebit LXXX. apud Ast...et ipse (a few days later) in propria persona erit apud Ast cum aliis c. militibus...et serviet Communi Januae...per menses duos." Barth. Scrib. *Ann. Jan.* 1225 (*M.G.H. Script.* XVIII. p. 158) is slightly more graphic: "Comes Thomas de Sabaudia...cum 200 militibus et Alabragibus (i.e. Savoyards) usque menses duos stare in exercitu ad servitium...Janue tenebatur, et inde...habuit libras 16 pro milite cum donzello armatis et duobus scutiferis omni mense...Qui comes venire non potuit infirmitate detentus, sed dictos milites 200 Gavium delegavit, 100

have had to buy off his grandson-in-law's possible hostility by a surrender of territory at Barge¹, most unlikely to be voluntary. He can hardly have known whether to rejoice or grieve at the misfortunes of his exacting ally. These indeed were heavy. About the middle of June an Astigian force suffered a defeat from the Alessandrians on their common frontier at Quattordio. Further loss might have at once been inflicted, had not the Genoese hastily sent reinforcements from their headquarters at Gavi. Thus strengthened the Astigians could commit a month's ravaging of the Alessandrian and especially the Albese *contadi*. But Genoa soon was forced to look to herself on her frontier by Tortona, and her vigorous *Podestà* was dead. So into the disloyal, late Aleramid lands on the Belbo, the Alessandrians marched, sure of meeting their foes single-handed. The two hosts met at Calamandrana on the 7th of September, and Asti received a staggering blow. Eight hundred prisoners were taken to lie for two and a half years in the Alessandrian dungeons².

viz. in exercitu, et alios 100 post exercitum ad custodiam Gavii et aliorum de ultra jugum locorum." It is an obvious piece of exegesis to remark that the "damsel" is the "squire" of historical romances, and the "squires" are the "sergeants." I cannot discover in the sources the indignation at, and disbelief in, Thomas's illness among the Genoese, which Prof. Gabotto speaks of (*L'Abazia...di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. I. 157-8*), nor his coolness in their alliance, nor his anxiety to break it off. In fact the treaty is merely a two-months' engagement as *condottiere*, and a very interesting and early example on the part of so great a prince; not an alliance at all in the proper sense.

¹ Car. Reg. CDLXXXVII. (*Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. p. 353*) and CDLXXXVIII. (*id. p. 354*). The result was to transfer all the Savoyard direct suzerainty in Barge to the Marquess (cf. Car. Reg. CMLVII.; *id. p. 359*). The *consignori* in Barge were rebels at the time and do not seem to have submitted to Saluzzo even till 1235 (*Reg. March. Saluzzo, p. 358*). The original does not seem to give Asti as the dating-place. Hence we have no evidence of Thomas' presence there in September.

² The above account is constructed from Ogg. Alfieri, the Astigian (Caps. 11 and 12, *Cod. Malab. p. 59*), and Barth. Scrib. *Ann. Jan. 1225 (M.G.H. XVIII. pp. 157-8)*. Although the latter is strictly contemporary and official, yet a too conscientious rigidity in refusing to chronicle the defeats of his city's allies, and a haziness as to dates, make me prefer Oggier, whose notes after all are probably copied from some contemporary, when he and Barth. Scrib. differ. Oggier places the defeat at Quattordio in mid June, and that at Calamandrana on the 7th Sept. Barth. Scrib. mentions no defeat, but states that the Alessandrians and Astigians encamped opposite one another by Calamandrana in May, and that then the Genoese gathered all troops they could in great haste and ravaged the Alessandrese and then the Albese. No battle was fought. Then their *Podestà* died well before August. I think Barth. Scrib. has confused the two Astigian defeats, and really refers to that of Quattordio in mid June. The Genoese could easily march across the Alessandrese *contado* without a battle, from Gavi to Asti afterwards, since Quattordio and the enemies' army were north of the Tanaro, whereas Calamandrana and the Belbo lay

A new character was given to the struggle in 1226, which otherwise was desultory enough¹, by the imperial intervention. Hitherto Frederick, the Wonder of the World, had played little part in the politics of northern Italy. All the towns acknowledged him; all gave some sort of obedience to his occasional commands, unless they conflicted with their interests. But they could see from afar what manner of man he was, while he steadily reduced his patrimonial kingdom of Sicily to a bureaucratic despotism: nor could the policy of a Hohenstaufen Emperor, who was also King of Sicily, do less than include the subjugation of Lombardy under a real imperial authority. Thus when Frederick summoned a general Diet in Cremona for Easter 1226 to further his crusade, the suspicions of the cities revived in full force. Frederick himself arriving from the south, the German princes pouring over the Brenner might easily put some check on their autonomy. A new Lombard League was rapidly formed by Milan and her friends; Verona blocked the outlet of the Brenner, and Frederick was reduced to holding a shorn assembly. The new League was put to the ban of the Empire.

So now the perennial feuds of the cities could take again the stately names of liberty and loyalty: and among the rest of the combatants, Count Thomas of Savoy, with Asti and Genoa, appears as an imperialist, or, to use the later, more intelligible name, a Ghibelline. They had little choice: for their adversaries were the allies of the League and almost immediately members of it. None the less it is an important change of policy on the Count's part. Hitherto he had at best held aloof from the Emperor. So late as April we may suspect strained relations². Now he came to his camp at Borgo S. Donnino to take his part and do him homage. A strange arrangement was there made. Frederick was of course soon to return to his southern kingdom. As his lieutenant over all Lombardy from Treviso to Turin he appointed the Count of Savoy³. Not only was the choice of a non-German

between Gavi and Asti, and they could hardly get to Asti without meeting the opposing host. I make, then, in the text Barth. Scriba's account follow the battle of Quattordio, and place the defeat of Calamandrana after the Genoese had returned and were occupied round Gavi. Barth. Scrib. says that a Vercellese force was with the Alessandrins at Calamandrana. I should guess that this fact should not be transferred to the lesser event of Quattordio.

¹ See the safeguard to Carpice near Turin, *Car. Sup.* LXXVI. (*Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. 111. 2, p. 296), given by Amadeus, son of Count Thomas.

² For Frederick confirms the charters of direct investiture to the Archbishop of Tarentaise (*B.-F. Reg. Imp.* No. 1602).

³ *B.-F. Reg. Imp.* Nos. 1650 (Borgo S. Donnino, 6 July 1226) and 1651, in which he is styled "legatus totius Italiae et Marcae Trivixanae." Romagna and Tuscany were not under his jurisdiction. See Hellmann, pp. 107-8. The appointment may have been made 5 May (*Car. Reg.* CDXC.) if the diploma really does exist so dated in the Camera dei Conti of Turin.

unprecedented, but Thomas was the latest of the great vassals to recognize the Emperor. However, we can see how Frederick would hope to utilize the power and ability of the restless Savoyard for the maintenance of the imperial cause and would think that the determined enmity of some Communes towards him and the strength of those that were his friends would prevent his becoming dangerous. On his side Thomas obtained prestige, and opportunity for the further extension of his sphere of influence.

So it was arranged, and Count Thomas duly attended his suzerain to the borders of his province at Pontremoli¹. Of his general activity as Legate only one vain tentative is known², but he made a bold and temporarily successful attempt to obtain a footing on the Riviera under cover of it. This it is which casts a light on the long endeavour he had made to annex Saluzzo, and makes clear the prophetic ambitions which possessed him. The opportunity arose from the longing felt by the Communes of the Riviera di Ponente and of the country-nobles to throw off the yoke of Genoa. Savona and Albenga were the cities concerned. While in general they had been subject to their powerful neighbour for some fifty years, their legal status was most obscure, for the Emperors had granted contradictory diplomas from time to time as occasion offered to Genoa, to the two cities, and to the Aleramid Henry of Carretto, Marquess of Savona by ancient inheritance. Frederick II had recently confirmed both the Marquess' and Genoa's rights³, but the former in his enmity to Genoa was now urging on the two subject-cities to revolt, and presumably it was he who made overtures for them to Count Thomas. The bait was too tempting for the Legate to resist. In the Emperor's name he proceeded to Savona about November 1226 and took possession of that town and of Albenga. He made an attempt on their neighbour Noli, but the Genoese party there was too strong for his partizans⁴. It may be that the patient procedure of the

¹ B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* Nos. 1666, 1667. (July 1226.)

² *Car. Reg.* CDXCI.=B.-F. No. 12959 (Feb. 1227); a quite futile command to Cremona to see a debt paid to the Astigian Bonino. Poor Bonino was imploring the papal Legate's intervention on the same matter in June 1229 (Ficker, *Ital. Urkund.* 360).

³ B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* Nos. 1651, 1666.

⁴ Barth. *Scrib. Ann. Jan.* 1226 (*M.G.H. Script.* XVIII. pp. 160-1): "(Saonenses) et Albinganenses consilio...Enrici de Carreto marchionis, qui malorum omnium predictorum extitit fons et auctor, comiti Thome de Sabaudia, qui per...imperatorem legatus fuerat in Ytalia constitutus, montes et maria promittentes, se et sua supposuerunt eidem, sibi dantes obsides et omnia quecumque ab eis petere voluit et habere; ...firmiter asserentes quod tocius Riperie sibi dominium et tenutam, et quod in Saona cabellam salis construerent, cujus introitum sibi darent. Quare...comes eorum promissionibus et inductionibus improvide condescendens, ad ipsorum partes accessit, et eos in sua protectione suscepit. Saonenses vero sibi primitus juraverunt, ostea

suzerain-commune, which had shown a marked reluctance to take military action as was natural under the stress of her Piedmontese war, had encouraged the Count to intervene. Even now, when peaceful overtures had been of no avail, Genoa contented herself with sending a small fleet to blockade the ports of the two rebels, and to divert the salt-trade, which formed their land-commerce, at Ventimiglia and Monaco. Thomas himself soon departed for the Val di Susa, leaving his heir Amadeus to cope with the war, attended by a number of Savoyard knights¹. He had probably hoped that the Piedmontese war would keep Genoa busily engaged. But, if so, his expectations were falsified. Truces were already in being by January 1227, and arrangements were made for Milan to arbitrate in May². So in spite of floods and stormy weather the Genoese *Podestà* and host marched out against the rebels towards the end of April. On the 5th of May Savona's dependency of Albissola surrendered; and at last on the 19th, struggling over the drenched country-side, the Genoese reached Savona itself and put to flight Amadeus and his troops outside the walls. There was nothing left for the rebels but to surrender, which they did on the 24th. That evening Amadeus and his men quitted the town, and spurred all night across the Alps towards friendly Saluzzo. They were not overtaken by their enemies, who were busy receiving the submission of Henry of Carretto and Albenga and in razing Savona's walls to the ground. The adventure was over; and Thomas' dream of a maritime state had to wait for its accomplishment till the days of his granddaughter's husband, Charles of Anjou, of whom he was perhaps more nearly than any other contemporary the precursor³.

Even in his Ligurian scheme Thomas had not been unmindful of

homines Albingane. Consequenter ad locum Nauli accessit, et ab hominibus ipsis loci sacramentum consimile postulavit; qui sibi responderunt quod nec sibi nec alicui promissionem facerent, nisi secundum quod ipsis civitas Janue ordinaret." Evidently Thomas was seeking real dominion. I understand the scribe's official joke, "montes et maria," to refer to Thomas' ambitions of overstepping the Apennines and becoming a sea-power with a port.

¹ One document (5 May 1227) belongs to his vicariate, *Car. Reg. DII*.

² See the documents, Ferretto, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni fra Alba e Genova*, *B.S.S.S.* xxii. pp. 27, 28, 33.

³ On the legal tangle with regard to the position of Savona and Albenga, cf. Hellmann, pp. 112-13. The war is described by Barth. Scrib. (*M.H.G. Script.* xviii. pp. 163-4), from which I extract a passage or two: "Cum autem Saonenses, comes Sabaudie, et Alabrogas, et homines Albingane qui convenerant ad deffensionem Saone, se tueri non possent, se sine tenore et pacto aliquo reddiderunt....Amedeus vero comes Sabaudie, comitis Thome de Sabaudia filius, et Alabrogas qui secum erant, et homines Albingane, de personis propriis formidantes, timore perterriti in sero fugam arripuerunt et per totam noctem fugare non cessarunt et cum dedecore recesserunt."

the income to be derived from the two seaports, which might supply a much needed subsidy for his war with Turin ; since rich as he was in men, he was poor in hard cash. Similar mixed motives, financial need and the desire to injure his enemy of Genoa, must have led to a singular stretch of his powers which he indulged in while he was at Albenga on the 8th of November 1226¹. The great Provençal seaport of Marseilles was then in the throes of a struggle with her Bishop, resembling those which the Italian Communes had so often engaged in during the previous century. He was rightful lord of the upper town, and the citizens had put his authority aside in their determination to rule in their own house. But the neighbouring powers and the Emperor were all on the Bishop's side. Feudalism was not decrepit in Burgundy ; and the Emperor, King of Sicily and Jerusalem as he was, could half ruin their trade. He was obstinate in his hostility and placed the city's envoys in irons, when they attempted to bargain with him. It was then that Marseilles turned to Count Thomas for aid and found him astutely gracious. For the sum of 2000 silver marks, paid on success, and expenses, he agreed to make the city another Genoa. She should be autonomous, she should rule the diocese and all the coast with its islands from Aiguesmortes to Olioules. She was to have every privilege of the Genoese or Pisans in Sicily and the Levant. Could any honest broker have sold a Commune its heart's wishes more cheaply ? Only, they were not his to sell. The Emperor refused to concede the diploma bargained for, and in 1227 Marseilles was already suing for its Bishop's grace, with the result of a final peace in 1230².

In one other way Count Thomas was furthering his interests in southern Burgundy at this time. By his marriage with Margaret of the Genevois he was father of eight stalwart sons ; and he had early taken the resolution of providing for the five younger by devoting them to a clerical career. They all entered minor orders. There, however, the compliance of all but one, and perhaps their father's intention,

¹ The text in Guichenon (*Preuves*, p. 34) has Albdiga, but it has long been recognized (cf. especially Hellmann, p. 115, n. 3) that Albenga must be the place meant. Henry of Carretto and his son-in-law, Grattapaglia, are present ; and the war with Genoa would prevent them from leaving the Riviera.

² Cf. Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles*, pp. 117 ff., and Hellmann, pp. 114-16. Here, as in the case of Savona etc., I omit the earlier history which really has nothing to do with Count Thomas, just as the later developments have not. The document is Car. Reg. CDXCIV. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 54) : "promitto...si...Imperator commiserit mihi partes suas in sopienda discordia ipsius Imperatoris et communis Massiliae ...quod dabo et concedo etc." The Count is to send special messengers to the Emperor about it. As usual, it is necessary to beware of Carutti's abstract. The Count makes no grant, but promises a definite kind of grant, if he has the faculty to make it.

stopped. They were secular to the core, brave knights and prudent statesmen. Two of them renounced the ecclesiastical career early; two more preferred to remain, like so many other princes of the Church in their day, apart from the more sacred functions of their profession. The eldest of these amphibians was William, fourth son of the Count, and one of the ablest of the family. Now in the year 1225 the Burgundian see of Valence was vacant through the promotion of its last holder to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Pope and perhaps the Emperor were willing to gratify Count Thomas, and the vacant Bishopric was bestowed on young William. He never was consecrated, but ruled his see as "Procurator" with zeal and wisdom¹. It was a new extension of the Savoyard sphere of influence, for the Dauphiné lay between the Bishopric of Valence and Savoy.

As such it is likely to have produced fresh troubles for the Count. The year 1227 had closed in Piedmont with every sign of a coming storm, and there seems to have been a confused series of negotiations before the composition of the opposing parties was definitely decided. Frederick II, although he had approved his Legate's proceedings on the Riviera², had withdrawn his office from him on their failure, not being willing to incur a useless breach with Genoa, or pleased with the affair of Marseilles. Then in September the Emperor fell under the Papal ban for not keeping his crusading vow, and for the next year and a half was to be mainly occupied with Palestinian matters. A prudent man like Thomas must have felt the risk of being one of the supporters of an absentee, crusading, excommunicated Emperor, especially when he remembered that the Papacy had always won the victory in these conflicts, and that the Pope, now the unbending Gregory IX, had forced on the quarrel in time to prevent Frederick's further intervention in Lombardy. So now we find Thomas creating another precedent in the House of Savoy. As he was the first Savoyard to become the vassal of a city, and a *condottiere*, so he was the first to surrender an alod to a foreign prince to receive it again in fief. About April he became the Pope's vassal for Avigliana at the mouth of the Val di Susa³. It was a kind of insurance; Papalist enemies could not

¹ William first appears as "Minister" of the Bishopric of Valence on 15 March 1226, which I take to be 1227 of our reckoning. In June he made a successful peace with some local nobles (Car. *Sup.* LXXVIII.). The Pope appointed to a see vacated by translation. Cf. J. Chevalier, *Quarante années de l'histoire des Evêques de Valence*, pp. 4-5. His brother Thomas is already Provost of Valence on 2 May 1227, no doubt by his appointment (Car. *Reg.* DIII.). That William was elected Bishop some time in 1225 is shown in the entries of 30 Dec. 1225 and 2 Jan. 1226 in the *Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-32*, pp. 8 and 9.

² B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 1697. Thomas does not bear the title of Legate after May 1227.

³ B.-F. *Reg. Imp.* No. 6723.

now consistently attack the valley at all events. Probably it had no effect, and the homage was certainly not repeated.

Meanwhile, however, Thomas had been forming a quite different secular alliance with his feudal neighbours in Piedmont. On the 18th January 1228 he held conference with Manfred III of Saluzzo, the Count of Biandrate and the new young Marquess of Montferrat, Boniface II. The last-named was betrothed to Thomas' other granddaughter, Margaret, daughter of his son Amadeus. The fiancée's dowry took the form of a fief to Boniface II; it consisted of the Count's rights in the Val di Stura di Ala, Collegno and Pianezza, and shows that Thomas had made some conquests in his war with Turin, and also that he was doubtful of keeping them. However, he could buy back Collegno by the treaty¹.

Such were the preliminaries. Meantime a period of active war was drawing nearer. The sentence of the Milanese in their arbitration between Genoa and her foes had pleased neither party, and was promptly broken by the Alessandrines². The war between Thomas and Turin, of course, had never ceased, and by August the two sides of a conflict which involved almost all Piedmont were formed. For one league Asti provided the connecting link: with her stood Genoa, the Marquesses of Montferrat and Saluzzo and their kin, Chieri and the Count of Savoy³. The other consisted of the western members of the Lombard League, Alessandria, Alba, and Turin. With the latter were ranked her dependencies of Pinerolo, Testona and the Piosasco, Bagnolo and Barge. Further, Turin had acquired a new and formidable ally, Guigues-Andrew the Dauphin. That Burgundian prince seems at last to have been irritated by Thomas' method of aggression on all sides to attack him, in spite of the fact that his daughter, now perhaps dead, was the wife of the Count's heir Amadeus. The last straw was probably the promotion of William of Savoy to the Bishopric of Valence. It was a strictly limited hostility, however, that the Dauphin stood committed by the treaty of the 13th of July 1228. In true Italian style he became a citizen of Turin, and, whereas the opposing league were trying to force commerce to take their route via Carignano and Susa,

¹ Car. Reg. DXI. (Datta, *Principi d'Acaia*, II. Doc. IV.): "Thomas...dat...nomine gentilis feudi et...nomine dotalicii investivit...Bonifacium...de omni eo quod ipse habet...in valle Mathiis...et insimul Collegium et Planeciam."

² See the documents in Ferretto, *Doc....Alba e Genova, B.S.S.S.* xxiii. pp. 37, 47, 50, 55, 58 and 60.

³ The league of Montferrat, Asti and Genoa against Alessandria is dated 8 August 1228 (Ferretto, *op. cit.*, p. 62). The adhesion of Saluzzo and the other Aleramids against Alessandria and Alba is dated 21 Nov. 1228 (*Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S.* XVI. No. 301; Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 261). The war of Asti, Chieri and Savoy against Turin had never ceased apparently.

the Dauphin agreed to insist on another zigzag transit through Turin, Testona and Pinerolo to the Mont Genève. The neutral merchant must have bewailed his lot as he lost time and paid unnecessary innings on this new circular tour. Against the Count of Savoy the Dauphin was to wage war with all his power; he was not to contract any engagements either with Thomas or the Count of Provence; he was to send a small subsidiary force into Lombardy to act against the Astigians¹.

The hostilities which took place in the autumn and winter of 1228 resulted in favour of the "imperialists." To Alba, then hard-pressed by Asti, was sent a reinforcement of the Alessandrian "knights." Thereupon the Astigians and Boniface of Montferrat threw themselves between the relieving force and its native city at S. Stefano-Belbo. There they were met by a Genoese army, and the unlucky Alessandrians had no choice but to ride full speed to Turin to escape their foes. But the allies held the inner line of communication. In their turn they struck straight north to Chivasso on the Po: and it is hard to see how the Alessandrians could have got home had not their free passage been begged of the enemy by the Milanese, with whom Asti and her friends were anxious not to break. One effect of this campaign was that on the 7th of February 1229 the Counts of Biandrate thought it best to

¹ Car. Reg. DXV. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 123): "Dalfinus etc. debeant prohibere semper Januensibus, Astensibus atque Cariensibus et omnibus... inimicis Taurinensium...ne faciant transitum...per totam terram suam...nisi fecerint transitum per civitatem Taurinensem et per locum Pinairolii et Testone et tunc... episcopus Taurinensis possit capere in Testona pedagium quod apud Muntexolum capere consuevit...Strata incedens per Pinairolium eat postea per terram...Dalfini dum discordia fuerit in Lombardia, donec strate Lombardie redigantur in pristinam formam....Dalfinus...totis viribus...erit...cum comuni civitatis Taurini...pro pace et treuga ac guerra facienda de terra sua ultra montes...et specialiter comiti Sabaudie... (Dalfinus) nullam faciet societatem...vel aliud amicitie vinculum...cum comite Sabaudie...nec cum comite de Provincia." It points to the partial and local character of these combined feuds that the Dauphin reserves his alliance with Montferrat; and Testona her alliance with Asti, which was seemingly in a shaky condition—"possint defendere Astenses si voluerint." The Dauphin was very likely already at war with Thomas, for, as shown by Car. Reg. DI. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 282), i.e. 27 Feb. 1228 (correct Carutti), Aymon of Savoy, Thomas' second surviving son, had early in 1228 already captured the Dauphin's Marshal and held him to ransom (cf. also Car. Reg. DXVI. and DXVII.; *Carte...d'Oulx*, pp. 291 and 285). This may, however, have been merely an event of a private feud, since the Marshal, who was also a vassal of Savoy (Car. Reg. CDLXXII.), was later compensated by Amadeus IV (Car. Sup. LXXXIX.; *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 150). Almost immediately after his capture on the 9th and 19th March 1228, Aymon appears at Ivrea witnessing the homage of Boniface of Montferrat to the Bishop (*Carte...vescov. d'Ivrea*, B.S.S.S. v. pp. 163 and 166; the year is reckoned from 25 March; thus 1227 appears on p. 163). Ivrea was at war with Vercelli and the Viscount of Aosta, not to mention her wars in the Canavese, and took no part in the general war (*Carte...vescov. d'Ivrea*, p. 340, *Doc. Vercell. rel. ad Ivrea*, B.S.S.S. VIII. p. 160).

make peace and alliance with Chieri¹. But the very success of the sturdy little Commune won new allies for her foes. On the 24th of January 1229 the Marquesses of Romagnano joined the Turinese league, which had also received the adhesion of Ciriè at the mouth of the Val di Stura di Ala, which was in revolt from Montferrat. While the Marquesses refused to break their fealty to Count Thomas or Montferrat unless they were first attacked, they expressly declared against Asti and Chieri². Not much fortune, however, did they bring their allies. Count Thomas, doubtless by arrangement with Asti, at last made his cherished foundation of a new town in Piedmont, almost on the site of the earlier Musinasco. The town, which would supply the place of Carignano for the Astigian trade, was named Villafranca; and rapidly acquired prosperity. As usual the local lords were left their dues and became, much to Thomas' detriment as it turned out, the leading townsmen of the Commune³. While Thomas built a new town, Asti and Chieri destroyed an old one. In their campaign they forced their way into Testona and set fire to the town. Most of the inhabitants seem to have escaped, but they would or could not return again to their ruined habitations⁴.

¹ Cibrario, *Delle storie di Chieri*, I. 112, II. 89. The campaign or part of it is told by Barth. Scrib. *Ann. Jan. 1228* (*M.G.H. Script.* XVIII. 171).

² *Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 133. Gualfred di Scalenghe, probably a relative of the Piosasco, who held land in Scalenghe, is also an ally. The chief Savoyard clauses are: "Salvo quod hominibus de Vigono et de Miradolio et de Avillania et comitis et aliis hominibus suis qui sunt ab Avillania superius ad voluntatem ipsorum marchionum (marchaandiam) possint aperire et permittere nec eis vetare teneantur...marchiones nisi voluerint...Item teneantur facere guerram...contra homines de Cario et de Ast...Item quocumque modo comes Sabaudie guerram inciperet...marchionibus...marchiones...ponerent homines eorum...in guerram cum comite... Marchiones...pacem non facient de illa guerra nec treugas etc. nec de futuris guerris cum predicto comite...sine licencia Taurinensium omnium et Testonensium et Pinairo-lensium."

³ G. della Chiesa, *Cron. di Saluzzo* (*M.H.P. Script.* III. 898): "Quelo anno (1228) Tartona (*sic*) fu distrutta per quely dy la citta d'Asty et quely de Chiery. Et in quely giorni el conte Thomas dy Savoya edifico Villafrancha." The late *Chron. Parv. Ripaltae* gives the wrong date, 1239, for Villafranca's foundation, perhaps owing to some reacquisition then by Savoy. That Chiesa is right is shown by Villafranca's appearance in the peace of 1235 (*Car. Reg. DLX.*; *Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.* II. p. 151). The fact that it is then an enemy of Savoy has made Prof. Gabotto cast doubts (*B.S.S.S.* I. p. 168) on Thomas' share in its foundation. But the constant references to Thomas' wish to found a town in that direction, the obvious motive when the Romagnano half-lords of Carignano joined Turin, and the very form of the name Villafranca, so unlikely for a purely Italian foundation, all confirm the unvarying tradition.

⁴ *Chron. Parv. Ripalt.* (*RR. II. SS.*, new ed., p. 7): "A. 1229 destructa fuit Testona ab Astensibus." Particulars of the damage done to the church are given in Ansaldi, *Cartario di Testona, B.S.S.S.* XLIII. 3, p. 118.

The destruction of Testona brought about that very intervention of Milan and the whole Lombard League that Asti had been anxious to avoid the year before¹. At the call of the Alessandrians, the contingents of the League gathered at Vercelli in the middle of May 1230 and thence marched into Alessandrian *contado*. The lands of the Marquess of Montferrat lay in a semi-circle round the Astigian country proper, both north and south of the Tanaro, and the object of the League was first to pierce this curtain and force the Marquess to yield and then to wreak a vengeance on Asti herself, whom they hardly hoped to conquer. Up they marched along the Belbo, burning and devastating, and then on the 24th of May began the siege of the Marquess' castle of Mombaruzzo. They soon saw they were not strong enough to effect the wholesale destruction they wished, and called up reinforcements from their cities. When these arrived on the 21st of June, the Marquess dared resist no more. He gave up the struggle and entered the League. Asti's *contado* now lay open, and the allies swept over the open country almost to the walls of the city, from which the helpless Astigians could see village and farm, field and vineyard black and ruined after their passage. Thence with great glory, says their chronicler, they returned to their own².

But this was not the only or the worst harm the Astigians suffered. The *ci-devant* townsmen of the Cuneo had never forgotten the joys of their short-lived Commune; nor was the predominance of Asti and her allied Marquesses any less irksome than formerly to the small south-western towns. Now with the Marquess of Montferrat subdued and Asti cowed, and Genoa making peace with Alessandria, they seized their opportunity. In August³ there was a general rising of the small nobles and their friends along the Stura di Demonte to the Col Argentera, Savigliano and Borgo S. Dalmazzo leading the movement. The insurgents gathered at Cuneo and rebuilt the walls. They knew, however, that they could never hold out against an immediate attack from Manfred III of Saluzzo and his allies of Savoy and Montferrat, and they appealed for aid to Milan. Their request for aid was granted and a force of volunteer "knights" of Milan rode to their aid. In spite of some losses in a skirmish with Boniface of Montferrat, who at once broke with the League on the news of this new action of theirs,

¹ According to Schiavina, *Ann. Alex.* (*M.H.P.* Script. IV. 209), the Milanese and Alessandrians defeated Asti and Montferrat on 6 May 1229.

² Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* pp. 99 ff.: "Alexandrini...volentes nequitie...Astensium et marchionis de Monteferato et comitis de Sabogia et aliis eorum inimicis resistere etc."

³ *Reg. March. Saluzzo*, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 312, shows the Val di Stura in revolt then. For further demonstration of the date (autumn 1230, not spring 1231) see Merkel, *Un Quarto di Secolo di Vita comunale*, pp. 5-8.

among his vassals be it remembered, the Milanese reached Cuneo and began active operations against the foe. But in one warlike excursion they fell in with the redoubtable Thomas of Savoy and the two Marquesses of Montferrat and Saluzzo together. An ambush was laid by the crafty foe into which the Milanese were drawn. Their troop was utterly defeated and their commander, Oberto di Ozeno, captured and then put to death after the battle¹.

It was a considerable triumph for Thomas. Yet Cuneo was now well started on her renewed existence, and next year the Marquess of Montferrat, deserted by his allies, lost his chief town, Chivasso, to the League². At the same time signs of peace were being manifested by the wearied Communes. For one thing the Emperor was now reconciled with Pope Gregory and preparing to intervene in Lombardy. Alessandria had seemingly suffered losses in her further war with Asti. Asti had found that Testona's destruction had brought her little profit, for, besides the devastation she had endured, Testona had rearisen from her ashes under Milanese auspices on the neighbouring site of Moncalieri, and was just as favourably placed for commerce as before³. Carignano was hostile, and the new town of Villafranca had incontinently joined Turin. So about December 1231 we find Asti making peace with Alessandria⁴, and in July 1232 with Turin. In the same year Manfred III, who had reconquered his vassals on the countryside, was arranging a truce with Cuneo and the other small Communes⁵. Only two considerable powers were left at war, Chieri and Thomas of Savoy. Against the former Asti had promised Turin to proceed by force of arms; the latter she was only allowed to assist if he should accept her interpretation of a treaty he had negotiated, perhaps that of 1223, with Turin⁶.

¹ Codagnelli, *Ann. Plac. Guelf.* pp. 102-4: "Cum loci Saveliane, Burgi S. Dalmatii, Pizi de Cuneo et quorundam aliorum locorum viri...oppressiones...quas comes de Sabogia et Marchio de Monteferato, marchio de Salucio etc. inferebant...munitionem in (Pizo de Cunio) facere statuerunt etc."

² Codagnelli, pp. 104-9.

³ *Chron. Parv. Ripaltae (RR. II. SS., new ed., p. 7)*: "Anno sequenti (i.e. 1230) aedificatus est Montiscalerius a Mediolanensibus." The new commune appears in the treaty of July 1232 (*Car. Reg. DXXXIV.*).

⁴ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 985.

⁵ *Reg. March. Saluzzo, B.S.S.S. XVI. No. 321.* Cf. on Cuneese history, Bertano, *op. cit.* pp. 138 ff.

⁶ *Car. Reg. DXXXIV. (Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S. II. p. 141)*: Asti is to assist Turin etc. "contra omnes homines etc. nullo homine excepto nisi solummodo comite Sabaudie, si ille comes voluerit se ponere et stare in dictis communis Astensis de discordiis que erant inter ipsum comitem et ecclesiam et comune et homines Taurini, de pace que tractabatur inter eos per castellanum Avillanie etc.; et tunc solummodo comune Astense possit juvare comitem predictum...solummodo...in sua terra ad

Thomas, however, would not abandon the struggle, although at this very time his acquisitions in the Vallais had involved him in another war with Bishop Landric of Sion. The conduct of that he left to his son Aymon¹. He himself, after obtaining the town of Chambéry, later to be the Savoyard capital, from its Viscount, and granting it the now typical franchises, crossed the Alps to Italy. The winter of 1232-3 was of unprecedented severity in his Burgundian counties. Everywhere the nut-trees and vines perished and a dearth followed². None the less early in 1233 he renewed the war in Piedmont. Perhaps we may take it that he attempted to lay siege to, or at least cut off the trade of, Moncalieri³. There he seems to have died in camp on the first of March⁴. He cannot have been more than forty-six years old, but he had ruled for over thirty, and so crowded is his life with events and the busy turmoil of war and peace that it is hard to realize that he did not reach old age.

SECTION IV. EPILOGUE, THOMAS' FAMILY.

The war with Turin languished after Thomas' death. His heir Amadeus IV, a quiet, dutiful man one would think, at odds with his ambitious brothers, and without staunch allies, had little time to give to it. Doubtless it was this fact, along with the custom of granting appanages to the junior members of the family, which made him on the defensionem sue terre. Quod si comes nollet se ponere ut supra comune Astense non teneatur nec debeat ipsum adjuvare contra Taurinenses... Ecclesia et comunē et homines Taurini teneantur dare totam stratam grossam consuetam ire per pontem Padi Taurini quam poterint comuni Astensi dummodo faciat capud in civitate Taurini et per eam partem ubi placuerit hominibus de Ast a Taurino citra etc."

¹ On 15 Jan. 1231 Thomas obtained the rest of the barony of Saillon (see above, p. 399) by exchange (*Car. Reg.* DXXVIII. *M.D.R.*, XXIX. 294; and *Car. Reg.* DXXVI. *M.D.R.* XXIX. 296: only the latter is fully dated, but DXXVIII. precedes it in time and has the same day of the month). Aymon of Savoy makes peace with the Bishop, 18 May 1233 (*Car. Reg.* DXL., *M.D.R.* XVIII. 418 and 420), just after Count Thomas' death. The war probably began under Thomas, and we may suspect that events repeated themselves from the facts of the former war (above, p. 399).

² *Car. Reg.* DXXXVI. (*M.D.R.* VI. 604, *Cart. Lausan.*).

³ *Chroniques de Savoye* (*M.H.P.* Script. II. 139) narrate the siege and capture of Moncalieri and the siege of Turin. Besides a contamination of the story by that of the later Thomas of Savoy (see above, p. 394, n. 5), the capture of Testona in 1229 and the ravage of the Turinese fields in 1225 have probably contributed their share. But Count Thomas was at war with Turin and her allies, and almost certainly died in Italy. His tomb is shown at Chiusa where his anniversary was regularly celebrated in 1275 (*Sclopis, Considerazioni... intorno a Tommaso I*, *Mem. Accad. Scien. di Torino*, XXXVI. p. 73).

⁴ *Car. Reg.* DXXXVII.: "Kal. Maii obiit Tomas comes Sabaudie." That we must read "Martii" is shown by the date of Amadeus IV's first document, 7 March 1233 (*Car. Reg.* DXXXVIII.).

15th April 1235 enfeoff his Piedmontese lands beyond Avigliana to his brother and heir, Thomas the younger¹. By that time hostilities were nearly at an end. In August 1233 he had made peace with the Dauphin². About the end of 1234 Chieri also came to an agreement with her foes³. So did Carignano in May 1235 by a complete submission to Asti, accompanied by a very small reservation in favour of the Count of Savoy and their immediate lords⁴. It was time to make an end of useless bickerings, and on the 18th November 1235 peace was concluded between Amadeus and the Turinese League⁵; and was followed by an explanatory charter next year⁶. The Count gave up all his claims on the city of Turin and surrendered Collegno to Bishop and Commune as a fief. He recovered the homage of the rebellious Castellans, and kept the upper castle of Cavour. He did homage to the Bishop of Turin for Lower Cavour. With regard to Pinerolo twenty-four Pinerolese jurors were to declare what rights he might legally have there; but it was provided that they could not adjudge him the more oppressive feudal financial claims, the marriage-tax, the property of intestates, or the arbitrary *fodrum*. Thus the struggle closed for some years, till a new forward movement was begun by the younger Thomas. It will be seen that the great Count Thomas' wars were by no means fruitless. Vigone and Cavour were solid additions to the Savoyard State; and the various rights to homage over the Castellans from Carignano westwards and over Saluzzo were definite assets. In the case of the former they ripened into real dominion. But these acquisitions had been made at an enormous cost, due to Thomas' insatiable and visionary ambition. He could not resign himself to gains here and there, but struck, not once but several times, for a then impossible dominion from the Alps to the sea.

One would like to add to the warlike and political history of Count Thomas a youthful romance. The *Chroniques*, at least, give him one. They say that he fell passionately in love with the daughter of the Count of the Genevois, and somewhat tediously—it is a way they have—conduct his courtship to that point, when the lady, being led by her ambitious father to be bride of the adulterous Philip Augustus of France, is captured by her knightly lover on the way and happily wed to him⁷. There is no impossibility in the story, for at the date of

¹ Car. Reg. CMLII.

² This is implied by his compensation of the Dauphin's Marshal which took place on a visit to the Dauphin at Moirenc (see above, p. 410, n. 1).

³ Gabotto, *L'Abazia...di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. 1. p. 168.

⁴ Sella, *Codex...de Malabayla*, No. 687.

⁵ Car. Reg. DLX. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 151).

⁶ Car. Reg. DLXII. (*Carte...arcivesc. di Torino*, B.S.S.S. XXXVI. p. 228).

⁷ *M.H.P. Script.* II. 131-8.

Thomas' marriage, c. 1196, Philip Augustus had repudiated his second wife¹. And, since the contemporary English chronicler, William of Newburgh, tells the tale of a nameless prince of the Empire, and it also appears in the *Chronicle of Hautecombe*², we seem justified in accepting it.

Not a little uncertainty rests on the name of Thomas' countess. Guichenon³ attempted to remove it by making him marry twice; but Wurstemberger has conclusively shown that he had only one wife the daughter of Count William I of the Genevois, and mother of all his legitimate children⁴. She certainly had two names Margaret⁵ and N(ichola?)⁶, and perhaps a third Beatrice⁷. In any case she was

¹ Wurstemberger, I. 87-9, who accepts the story.

² *M.H.P. Script.* II. 671: "uxor ejus filia comitis Gebennesii, quam cum vellet sibi accipere in conjugem rex Francie, rapta fuit a dicto Thoma." *Chron. Alt.*'s authority is still not great, but William's (Rolls Series, II. p. 459) is considerable. That Thomas was married about 1196-7 is shown by the age of his eldest son (and probably eldest child) Amadeus IV, born before 1200 (*Car. Reg.* CCCXCIX.) and not fourteen in March 1212 (*Car. Reg.* CDXXXV.), and marrying a child-daughter in 1224 (see above, p. 397, n. 5).

³ *Hist. gén. Sav.* pp. 253-4.

⁴ Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* I. pp. 90-4. See also P.S. on p. 420.

⁵ Margaret is established by at least two original documents, *Car. Reg.* CDLXIV. (Wurstemberger, IV. p. 23, Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 53), which has Margaret, and *Car. Reg.* DCCIX. (Wurstemberger, IV. p. 96), which has M. Further, Albert, *Tri. Font.* (*M.G.H.* XXIII. 938) calls her Margaret of Fusceneis.

⁶ N. appears in two original documents, *Car. Reg.* DXLI. (Cipolla, *Monumenta Novalic.* I. 273), and Collegno, *op. cit.* facsimile (opp. p. 89). Carutti's suggestion (*Sup.* p. 37) of N(os) is untenable in each case, owing to the immediate context in the third person. "Nichola filia comitis Gebennarum" appears in *Car. Reg.* CCCXCIV. (*M.H.P. Leges*, I. 1) which is however only a fourteenth century copy.

⁷ The *Chroniques* give her the name Beatrice. This is supported by Pingone (quoted by Wurstemberger, IV. Nos. 166 and 448) by the evidence of a seal, and the inscription on her tomb at Hautecombe. Since however on the document (*Car. Reg.* DCCIX.) to which the seal (now lost) was attached, Pingone misread the M. of the Countess' name B., as he also does elsewhere (*Car. Reg.* DXLI.), the weight of his evidence is not great. As to the tomb inscription (also now destroyed), it has a striking resemblance to, though by no means an identity with, the *obit* of a Countess Beatrice in the *Chron. Alt.* (*M.H.P. Script.* II. 673). But the latter, who is not styled daughter of the Genevan Count, is said to die 8 April 1230. Now Pingone gives for the date of his epitaph 8 April 1257, and Thomas' widow is alive in 1256 (Wurstemberger, IV. No. 430). There are then two alternatives: did both epitaph and *obit* refer to Beatrice, widow of Humbert III, and she die in 1230, and did Pingone, knowing that Thomas' widow survived to 1256, corrupt and alter his texts; or is the date 1230 in *Chron. Alt.* corrupt (which the position of the *obit* between 1253 and 1258 makes likely), and both *obit* and epitaph really refer to Thomas' widow, who would then die in 1257? The last seems to me right; "Beatrice" does not appear in the text, but only in the title, of the *obit*, and, in view of Pingone's inaccuracy, and that of *Chron. Alt.*, I think that the name Beatrice is erroneous, slipping in from the wives of Humbert III, and of Thomas, Count Thomas' son.

a warlike dame, fitted to preside at tilt and tournament¹. She long survived her husband and died on the 8th April 1257.

Eight² sons and two³ daughters were the fruit of this union. In order of age, the sons were, Amadeus, Humbert, Aymon, Thomas, William, Peter, Boniface and Philip⁴. The Count destined the five younger of these for a clerical career, much against their natural bent; the three elder were to continue the secular glories of his house. Humbert, the last of his name for many generations, after taking an active part in affairs⁵, died before his father in 1223⁶. His place was taken by his brother Aymon, who seems to have been placed in charge of Chablais⁷. On his father's death he became lord of that province under his brother's suzerainty, and whereas Amadeus IV was most intimate with Thomas, Aymon, Peter and Philip hung closely together. Two of the clerical brothers soon deserted their vocation. Thomas received Piedmont from Avigliana eastwards in fief from the Count, and became for a time by marriage Count of Flanders. From him the later Savoyards descend. Peter, already heir of Faucigny by marriage, became lord of Chablais on Aymon's death. It was he, the greatest of the brothers, who conquered Vaud with the aid of the wealth he derived from his English nephew-in-law, Henry III⁸, and later

¹ Car. Reg. CMXLIX. From henceforward the Counts of Savoy become patrons of the *gai science*, where they are sung so charmingly. The "Don de Savoya" thus celebrated by de Vaquieras in 1201, who is elected *Podestà* of the ladies' troop, is no doubt Countess Margaret.

² So *Chron. Alt.* and Matthew Paris (*Hist. Major.* Rolls Series, vi. p. 442). The supposed ninth son, Bishop Amadeus of Maurienne, has been demolished by Carutti, *Sup.* xcii. There seem to have been also two bastards, Berold and Benedict, probably of Count Thomas (Wurstemberger, i. 105).

³ So *Chron. Alt.* For the daughters, added by Guichenon, see Wurstemberger, i. pp. 98 and 106.

⁴ For the order in age, see Wurstemberger, i. 99-103.

⁵ e.g. Car. Reg. CDLXVIII. (Wurstemberger, iv. No. 55), 12 Jan. 1222/3.

⁶ He was dead by 15 Nov. 1223 (Car. *Sup.* LXVIII. Collegno, *op. cit.* Doc. 38). The *Chroniques* give a fable of his being a Teutonic Knight and dying in Prussia. But the Teutonic Order had not turned its crusade thither in 1223. Matthew Paris calls him the most handsome of the family.

⁷ He is clearly in possession on Thomas' death. See above, p. 414.

⁸ Thomas' relations with Henry III had begun early. In 1220 one of his sons (almost certainly William) had received the living of Combe by provision of the Papal Legate Pandulf (*Royal Letters, Henry III*, Rolls Series, i. 78). In 1232 William, along with other Roman ecclesiastics, had received damage to his property at Reculver in Kent, and Henry III promised redress to Thomas (Car. Reg. DXXXII.; *Close Rolls, 1231-4*, p. 135) and took measures to enforce it (*Close Rolls, 1231-4*, p. 128). William was probably Rector of Reculver, since his brother Philip subsequently (1243) received that living (*Close Rolls, 1232-47*, p. 377). He also held, till his election to the Bishopric of Valence, the livings of St Michael's-on-Wyre in Lancashire (*Patent Rolls,*

reorganized Savoy itself when he at last inherited the county. William, Bishop-elect of Valence, Liège and Winchester, and Philip, Elect of Valence and Lyons, then Count by marriage of Franche Comté and by inheritance of Savoy, remained, one all his life, and the other for many years, clerics in name, but they belonged to that species of warlike and able statesmen on whom the Holy See grew so much to depend in its increasing absorption in secular ambitions¹. Only Boniface, the Carthusian, proceeded to the higher orders. He was successively Elect of Belley, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the nineteenth century was beatified along with his grandfather.

These were the eight adventurous sons of Count Thomas who carried the fame of their house half across Europe, from England to Sicily, with the smallest of means. Nor were their two sisters, Margaret and Beatrice, the Countesses of Kyburg and Provence, behind them in maintaining the reputation their father had won for Savoy. He was its author. For, although in Italy, Thomas' success, after all his schemes and continual activity, was small and counterbalanced by serious disadvantages, if we take the result of his entire foreign policy and of its manifestations beyond the Alps, we have a very different judgement to record. He had found Savoy pressed back into her mountains after long, futile border wars. He left a purposeful expansion in progress. Avoiding to the best of his ability bickerings with the Dauphin, he pressed north and west. In Bugey he made the first advances towards a continuous dominion as far as the Rhone. In the Jurane land he was still more epoch-making. It was really he, in consequence of his victory over Berthold V of Zähringen, who broke up the German Rectorate of Burgundy. In him the Romance seigneurs and towns gained a leader, and with the extinction of the Zähringen line, the Emperor found it impossible to renew the Rectorate. It was inevitable that some new authority should arise in the splintered territory thus left to its fate, and in the sequel that new authority was the Count of Savoy with his "Barony of Vaud." In the development of "Suisse Romande," preserving at the same time its Romance character and its independence of France, Savoy played an important part. Curiously enough the Swiss Cantons took later the same rôle as the Zähringen Rectors, and with a different outcome, for they were victorious, and forced back the

Henry III, pp. 8, 147, 169) and Bingham in Notts. (*id.* p. 9). The other brothers, Peter, Philip, and Boniface, do not appear in the English Close and Patent Rolls till after Count Thomas' death. In 1232 there is no question of a fief held by William, although in 1237 he had charge of the Honour of Richmond (*Patent Rolls, 1232-47*, p. 136).

¹ e.g. Philip, the Elect of Ravenna, Gregory of Montelongo, Elect of Aquileia, and Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini under Innocent IV.

Savoyard frontier to the Alps. By that time, however, Suisse Romande had become able to resist Germanization, even under the pressure of Bernese rule.

Still more important than the standing which Thomas won and maintained among the lesser princes of Europe, was the influence of his reign on the internal progress of Savoy itself. In his time came the almost inevitable alliance of a medieval prince with the townfolk among his subjects. Charter after charter of his, preceded by only one and that a Lombard document, attest his policy of creating a burgess class. So far, perhaps, it was more a matter of date and historic necessity than anything else, but Thomas and his son Peter seem to have shown a genuine sympathy with the town-dwellers and tact in dovetailing the comital into the town administration. With this aspect of his rule, however, I must deal in detail in the next chapter.

It has already been suggested that in some ways Count Thomas was a forerunner of Charles of Anjou; and certainly in their ambition and in some of the problems they had to face there is a distinct resemblance. But otherwise the little, and it is very little, we know of Count Thomas implies a kindlier man in grain than Charles was. There is the story which tells how a peasant crossing the Mont Cenis was fleeced of an extortionate toll by the official in charge, when the Count, unknown, was watching, and how Thomas thereupon loaded that well-born and courtly man with his victim's burden, and sent him twice to climb the three thousand odd feet of the ascent¹. Such a prince was naturally popular. That he was an eager warrior in true medieval fashion is obvious; we can hardly find a peaceful year in his reign. Much enthusiasm for Empire or Papacy or strong preferences in his policy I do not think are traceable. But it is quite likely that he had a real knightly reluctance to break an oath of fealty once taken. Thus he remains an Ottonian to the last, nor do we know an instance where he disregarded the feudal obligation. Of course his oath was always to the person, not the office; and so he would have no scruple in refusing homage to, or grasping the *regalia* from, a new-elected Bishop of Geneva.

It goes without saying that a notable medieval prince was a patron of monasteries; and Thomas duly confirmed the charters of those in his lands and added gifts of his own. It was no doubt the degeneration of the older orders, of which the debts of S. Giusto di Susa are a symptom, which led him chiefly to favour the Chartreuses then springing up among his mountains. That of Losa, near Susa, was his

¹ Matthew Paris (Rolls Series, vi. 443). His bias against the Savoyards adds further weight to his testimony. This passage has escaped the notice of previous writers.

own foundation¹. But the monasteries now drift out of the main stream of Savoyard history. The time when their construction affords a measure of the progress of civilization, and their privileges are the best source of our knowledge of local government, draws to a close. Not that learning and industry ceased to flourish in them, but they are no longer pioneers of humanity. The mendicant friars were still for a time to maintain the ascetic ideal and be the spiritual leaders of Europe—Thomas was a contemporary of St Francis and St Dominic—but the advance of the later Middle Ages was to be on secular lines.

P.S. Since the above pages were already in print I have read the Prince de Faucigny-Lucinge's work, *Le mariage de Thomas I^{er}*, in which the author advances the thesis that Thomas' wife was a daughter of the Sire de Faucigny. But *Car. Reg.* CMXIV., where Count William II of the Genevois, son of William I, calls Amadeus IV of Savoy his *nepos*, seems to me decisive as to Margaret's real parentage; and it is confirmed by Thomas' intervention in Vaud (see above pp. 373-6).

¹ See the various documents in Carutti's *Regesta* and *Supplemento*. Those dealing with Piedmontese Chartreuses were published by Collegno, *Certose del Piemonte* (Misc. stor. ital. Ser. III. Vol. 1.).

CHAPTER VI

THE SAVOYARD STATE UNDER HUMBERT III AND THOMAS.

SECTION I. TERRITORIES.

THE dominions of Humbert III and his son, like those of their ancestors, as I have often had occasion to insist, were composed of two main divisions, one the small mid-Burgundian State, soon to be known as Savoy, the other its Italian dependency in Piedmont. Both of these gave a title to the Count. For the first Humbert adopted either the style of Count of Maurienne¹, or that of Count of Savoy² or sometimes both together³. The title Count of Savoy appears to belong more especially to his later years, though it never ousts that of Count of Maurienne, and probably points to the fact that his favourite residence was in Savoy proper, e.g. at Montmélian. This may be the source of the insistence of the *Chroniques* on his frequent residence at Hautecombe. The origin of the title *Marchio Italiae* has been discussed above⁴. When he adds a predicate at all to the simple *marchio*, which he only does after 1167, Humbert uses *Italiae*⁵, and *de Italia*⁶, and never *in Italia*, which appears early in his son's reign.

Thomas' titles in a way are a simpler matter. He evidently preferred to style himself *Comes Mauriannensis* or *Maurianae*, but his neighbours almost invariably call him Count of Savoy; and the latter title appears on one original document of his at least⁷. Thus the way is prepared

¹ Car. Reg. CCCII. CCCVI. CCCXL. CCCXLVI.

² Car. Reg. CCCXVIII. CCCXLI. CCLLI. CCCLV. CCCLVIII. CCCLXXXVII.

³ Car. Reg. CCCXXXIV.

⁴ See above, p. 308.

⁵ Car. Reg. CCCXXXV. CCCXLVI. CCCLXIX. CCCLXXXVII.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCXLI. CCCXLII.

⁷ Car. Sup. LXVIII. (Cipolla, *Carte di S. Giusto*, Bull. Istit. stor. ital. 18, p. 109). Savoy appears in other grants of Count Thomas; but was often inserted, to replace Maurienne, by a later copyist. In the same way, there is often a doubt whether *Italiae* or *in Italia* was in the original text.

for Count of Savoy to be the usual official style in the next reign. We may infer, I think, that the group of Humbertine counties were beginning to be considered a single state, and that Savoy was the name coming into use for the group. With regard to the Marquessate there is a slow transition from a predominant use of *Italiae Marchio* at the beginning to a predominant use of *in Italia Marchio* at the end of his reign. The latter, although an innovation, shows that the traditional meaning of the predicate continued to be well understood.

Since the cancelling of the grant to Berthold IV of Zähringen, Humbert III had admittedly enjoyed a dignity which must have given him an important moral advantage. He was a technical Prince of the Empire¹, i.e. he held of no other lord but the Emperor or ecclesiastical dignitaries who were also immediate vassals of the Sovran. Now when the strength of a *grand seigneur* so much depended on the vassals who were bound to him by homage and fealty, it was a great gain not to be bound himself to other lords, for, in case he was so bound, he must either perform his own duties as a vassal and be distracted thereby from any state-policy, or loosen the consistency of his own dominions. It was freedom from this consideration, the origin of so much of the careful legality of the Middle Ages, which was one factor in the rise in power of the Kings of France and of the Princes of the Empire in Germany. The House of Savoy seems to have enjoyed this liberty till the thirteenth century, for the suzerainty of the Duke of Zähringen was transient and resisted, any superiority of the Counts of the Genevois was soon cast off², and they do not seem to have acknowledged even ecclesiastical superiors³, save for outskirts of their dominions⁴. It was that very fealty he owed to the Bishop of Turin which was Humbert III's weak point, as we have seen. But on the whole he could claim a higher

¹ See above, p. 350, n. 4, "per justam principum imperii sententiam et parium suorum." The Counts are not seldom called "princeps" in consequence. See above, p. 288, n. 6, p. 297, n. 1, p. 298, n. 2, and p. 329, n. 2. For the status of the Princes of the Empire in the latter twelfth century, see Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 129-31. Ficker, *Forsch. Reich. u. Rechtsg.* pp. 226-7, argues against the Counts being Princes of the Empire because the Imperial Chancery does not style them *illustres*.

² See above, pp. 86, 237-8.

³ Here lies, I think, one of the features of Savoyard history missed by M. de Manteyer, in his theory of the origin of the Savoyard dominions from counties enfeoffed by their Bishops.

⁴ For Chillon (*Car. Reg. CDLXXVIII. M.D.R. XXIX. 241*); the Count owed homage to the see of Sion, cf. above, p. 92; and the Bishop of Sion received his *regalia* from the Count, which made their feudal relation something like an alliance. He was vassal to the Bishop of Turin for some lands in Piedmont, as well as to the Archbishop of Lyons and the Bishop of Geneva for unspecified possessions (see above, pp. 76 and 87). Thomas was vassal of the immediate Abbot of Pinerolo (see above, p. 394).

rank and prestige and a greater freedom of action than most seigneurs. It is true that Thomas lost this preeminence and freedom in 1224, when he became the vassal of Asti; but that was a transient phenomenon at a time when the relations of vassalage were becoming more and more technical and complicated; and after all the dignity of Prince of the Empire was formally restored to Amadeus V within a century¹.

Thus in reality father and son owned only the Emperor for their superior. Had the imperial prerogatives been enforced, this would have meant a serious limitation of their power in Savoy, as well as a potent influence on their foreign policy; but in practice the Burgundian Counts had long exercised the entire regal authority in their districts². As early as Rudolf III's time they had obtained the whole of the judicial profits³, and in the confusion of the German conquest, they had become possessed of the remnants of the royal demesne. They could impose *banna*, i.e. make offences and declare their punishment. In result we may regard the Counts of Savoy at Humbert III's death as lesser feudal princes, analogous to the Dukes of French Burgundy or the Counts of Barcelona under the French Crown, or to the Counts of Provence in their native kingdom of Burgundy.

As in the other chief states of Burgundy, such as Franche Comté, the Dauphiné and Provence, primogeniture was the rule in Savoy. In fact, no other method of succession was practised from the time of Humbert Whitehands. This did not mean that later rule of the representation of a deceased elder son by his son had come into existence, although the succession actually did go in the direct line. The history of the thirteenth century shows the opposite. Uncles supersede their infant nephews two or three times. That eventual female succession was allowed is shown by the treaty of Humbert III with Henry II⁴; that it was postponed till the extinction of near male lines seems proved by the succession of Amadeus II⁵. Younger sons were appanaged and daughters dowered with fiefs owing homage to the head of the House⁶.

¹ By the Emperor Henry VII, with the new title, Prince of Piedmont.

² Radulf. de Diceto, sub 1178 (Rolls Series, I. p. 427), "Burgundiae regnum, a multis retro temporibus usque nunc, suppresso regis nomine, per comites administratum."

³ Thietmari, *Chron.* VII. 21 (*M.G.H. Script.* III. 846), "In hiis partibus nullus vocatur comes, nisi is qui ducis honorem possidet." According to Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 361-72, the German Duke would receive the two-thirds of the judicial profits, which otherwise went to the King (one-third going to the Count); called out the armed forces of his Duchy; could hold "at mercy" offenders against his commands and dignity; could exercise justice over the royal "Gesinde," and possessed the right of inquisition. Cf. above, p. 7.

⁴ See above, pp. 339-41.

⁵ See above, pp. 241-2.

⁶ See above, pp. 223-4, 295, 358 n. 5, 415, and 417.

This was in accordance with French feudal law¹. The practice, in spite of the evils caused by the number of Thomas' sons and the over-large appanages they succeeded in obtaining, allowed the family inheritance on the whole to be kept together in marked contrast to the prevalent Italian subdivisions.

The lands, which were subject to the Counts, have already come under review in preceding sections², but here I may rehearse them as they existed under Humbert III and Thomas. They were officially styled their *comitatus*³, but I hope it will not be inconvenient, if I describe them under the three aspects of dominions, patrimony and demesne. By dominions I understand the territory subjected to the governmental authority of the Counts, by patrimony the entirety of their alods and fiefs, and by demesne the parts of their patrimony which they did not enfeoff in barony, i.e. with jurisdiction⁴.

It is obvious that the first two categories would very nearly coincide in the case of the Counts of Savoy, nearly all of whose territories were held in fief of them, owing partly no doubt to the circumstances under which the Saracen marauders were expelled and the valleys resettled⁵. But there were points of non-coincidence. Thus Humbert III in his earlier years exercised his comital (i.e. quasi-regal) dominion over the Bishoprics of Sion, Belley and Tarentaise, as well as various Abbeys, the lands of which were allodial. Here there seems no question of enfeoffment of land⁶. The Count's rights, though all public and not strictly feudal in their origin, seem to have fallen into two divisions. The first was the prerogative of investing the Bishops with their functions as public officials and more especially with those which by Barbarossa's time were called the *regalia*. What the ceremony consisted in, so far as the Counts of Savoy were concerned after the Concordat of Worms forbade investiture by staff and ring, is not clear; but fealty and homage were almost certainly insisted on as a rule⁷. The extent of the *regalia*

¹ See Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. pp. 172-3.

² See above, pp. 74-100, 269-70, 276, 286-7, 317-18, 335-7, 347-9, 375-7, 415.

³ See above, p. 82 and n. 7.

⁴ It seems improbable that the Counts (or other magnates) should not enfeoff single knights' fees on their domain (without jurisdiction) in order to provide themselves with a force of heavy cavalry, the decisive arm. Otherwise, save for the "unfree *milites*," they would be wholly dependent on their barons, who did so enfeoff to provide for all or part of their knights' service.

⁵ See above, pp. 5-6, 147.

⁶ See above, pp. 84, 93-4, 269, 301-2. But the Count's powers over the Bishop of Sion could not amount to much. There is no record of the right to the *spolia*. See above, p. 422 and n. 4. For abbey-lands held in alod, see above, pp. 272, 294, 298.

⁷ Cf. Reese, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der Bischöfe Burgunds und Italiens unter Kaiser Friedrich I*, pp. 11 ff. But I think he goes too far in assuming that

conferred would vary from case to case, the Bishop of Sion for instance apparently having complete possession of all rights. But they might be quite restricted, and then the second class of the Count's rights came into play. This was the power of exercising some of the *regalia* within the episcopal estates, as he claimed to do in the *episcopia* of Belley and Tarentaise. It was of course, like the right to invest, part of the royal prerogative which had probably been usurped by the Counts in the break-up of the Burgundian kingdom under Rudolf III. On the other hand Humbert III had patrimonial rights to homage from some powerful lords, such as the Sires de Beaujeu and de Coligny, and perhaps that from the former already included all the lands they held in the Empire¹ and therefore well outside the counties where Humbert had ancient governmental powers. To these Thomas added the homage of the Marquess of Saluzzo for part of his lands. Over such vassals and for such artificial homage, which was possibly in Burgundy the price of intermarriage with a high-descended house, there could be no real dominion.

In Humbert's and Thomas' Burgundian dominions therefore we may include the ancient counties of Savoy proper, Belley², Maurienne, Tarentaise, Old-Chablais and Aosta, and their immune lands in ancient Sermorens, the Viennois, the Lyonnais, the Genevois, New-Chablais, and Vaud, as well perhaps as some scraps of Graisivaudan. Their patrimony was very nearly identical, but was nominally wider in some parts and actually narrower in others, especially in Humbert's earlier years. But the close of his life was attended by three heavy losses in dominion, viz. the Bishoprics of Sion, Tarentaise and Belley. That of Sion, which is the simplest matter and the soonest made good, occurred latest, when Humbert was put under the imperial ban. On his son Thomas being restored to favour by the Emperor Henry VI in 1189, the right to invest the Bishop of Sion with the *regalia* was expressly withheld and the Bishop declared an immediate vassal of the Empire. It was not long, however, before Thomas restored and enlarged the Savoyard supremacy³.

all Burgundian prelates did homage for their *regalia*, even when it is not mentioned in the sources. It seems specially improbable that the strong Alexandrines, St Anthelm and Aymon of Tarentaise, did so, and if Frederick's charter to the former (see below, p. 426, n. 7) did not really touch the investiture question, Aymon was certainly invested by the Emperor.

¹ See above, pp. 268, n. 3, 295, n. 3 and Wurstemberger, IV. pp. 345 and 412.

² Since Pierrechâtel and Rossillon appear in the thirteenth century demesnes of Savoy, the rights of the Sires de Beaujeu there must have been got rid of or diminished. See above, p. 340.

³ See above, pp. 356, 376, 399. The fact that the Sire de Martigny was a vassal of the Bishop, not of the Count (Ménabréa, *Les Origines féodales*, pp. 361-2), would

The Bishop of Belley, as we have seen¹, obtained the *regalia* of his *episcopium* and the exclusive jurisdiction over the latter from Frederick Barbarossa in 1175. Henceforward there continued a long dispute between Count and Bishop on the subject of these *regalia* and the jurisdiction. The Count's right to invest the Bishop was not denied: but apparently he was to have no rights over the Bishop once-invested². The controversy dragged on for many years, till a partial settlement was come to in Amadeus V's time. By this document³ the Bishop preserved his jurisdiction and freedom from feudal service intact, while the question of the *regalia* was left undecided. In practice he sent his feudal quota as a matter of courtesy⁴, and did not issue coins of his own. Still the little Bishopric must have formed an irritating enclave henceforward⁵.

As to Tarentaise the case was even worse. St Peter II had always been faithful to the son of his old friend; but his successor Aymon II could not resist the temptation of recovering the ancient position of his see. In the course of Humbert's second estrangement from the Emperor⁶, the Archbishop obtained the direct investiture of the *regalia* of his *episcopium* from Frederick, becoming thereby a Prince of the Empire. Not only did the Count thus legally lose his most important subject; but a special vague clause of the diploma authorized the Archbishop to recover the homage of those fiefs of his church which had either been lost or merely dissimulated⁷. If this did not refer to some

increase the importance of these *regalia* for the Great St Bernard Pass. The loss was all the more important, because the Count still remained the Bishop's vassal for Chillon.

¹ See above, p. 342.

² Car. Reg. CCCLII. (*Gallia Christiana*, xv. 313), "Omnia civitatis regalia, viz. monetam, teloneum, pedagium, ripaticum, aquaticum, pascua, piscationes, venationes, silvas, stirpaticum et omnem districtum et jurisdictionem civitatis et suarum possessionum...episcopo...concessimus, salva in omnia imperiali justitia. Unde statuimus...ut nulla persona...comes...bannum quod episcopus in civitate posuerit infringere praesumat nec in homines praefatae ecclesiae aliquam exactionem faciat, nec ad iudicium illos trahat, aut in hostem ire compellat. Concessimus insuper eidem episcopo ut civitatem claudat et munitionibus circumdet et muniat...Soli quoque episcopo liceat ut in hominibus suis, in civitate et extra positis, justitiam exerceat et eos in hostem ire compellat, et debitum ab eis servitium requirat et accipiat." The prohibitions here show pretty clearly what Humbert claimed.

³ *Gallia Christ.* xv. 319.

⁴ *Gallia Christ.* xv. 319. Still more concessions, including the right to the *spolia*, were obtained from Count Aymon (*id.* 322).

⁵ Cf. Ricotti, *Storia della monarchia piemontese*, I. 74.

⁶ See above, p. 350.

⁷ Besson, *Mémoires*, etc. (ed. 1871), p. 360, "Concedimus...bona quoque tam rerum quam possessionum suarum, sive per violentiam aliquorum eis ablata sive per dispendium retroacti temporis omissioni involuta...recuperare...Inhibendum...duximus

claim over the Count himself, it must have meant at least a claim over those vassals of the county who had transferred their allegiance to the Count from the Archbishop in the days of Humbert II. Thomas' power, however, probably prevented much alteration, although he could not avoid the Archbishops pursuing a foreign policy of their own.

The Savoyard possessions in Italy may be divided into two portions, those which Humbert III transmitted to his son in the disasters of 1184-7, and those which formed the subject of Thomas' conquests and reclamations. Under the first category fall the Valle di Susa, and the fief held from the Abbey of Pinerolo. With the latter went the rule of the little town of Miradolo, which was in demesne and under a castellan¹. Avigliana was probably soon recovered and rebuilt. Roughly speaking, the result of Thomas' many wars and long activity was to add the important towns and castles of Vigone and Cavour to his demesne², and successfully to insist on the homage of the Piosasco, the Romagnano and other lords of ancient Piedmont. He also increased the number of his vassals and of the fiefs they held from him. Carignano acknowledged his overlordship, as did the Marquess of Saluzzo for his northern towns. But much was gained only to be lost, like Pinerolo; and Turin was never recovered in his time. Not to mention his shadowy suzerainty over the Val di Stura di Ala, his most northerly possessions were Rivalta and Collegno, the latter being only a temporary reconquest from the Commune of Turin³. His neighbours treated the Po as his southerly frontier, but, even in the original Piedmont, there must have been many gaps and enclaves in his dominions⁴.

I have already dealt with the general character of Burgundian political geography under Humbert II's rule⁵. Although there had been a general advance of the greater seigneurs since then and a growing

ne aliquis eorum qui feuda Munsteriensis ecclesiae...tenent, bonos usus feudorum ab eis substrahere, nec aliquatenus minuere, imo nec ipsa feuda et bonos usus eorum dissimulare vel damno silentio suppressimere praesumant." Cf. the similar terms in Pope Alexander III's Bull to Aymon II in March 1176 (*Misc. Valdost.*, B.S.S.S. xvii. p. 94). See also above, p. 350, n. 3.

¹ See above, pp. 336, 357.

² See above, pp. 385, 397, and 415. The Count's *castellanus* of Cavour appears in, e.g., Car. *Sup.* LXXXVI. (*Cartario...di Staffarda*, B.S.S.S. xi. p. 201). I may again remind the reader that these comital castellans, who rule the Savoyard demesne castles, are quite different in all but name from the Piedmontese castellans, i.e. the lesser feudatories, like the Piosasco, who hold some castle, with perhaps special rights; cf. above, p. 259, n. 4.

³ See above, pp. 409, 415.

⁴ e.g. the lands of the Bishop of Turin and of the Abbey and town of Pinerolo. Further, the vassalage of the Piedmontese nobles did not amount to much at this time.

⁵ See above, pp. 267-9.

rigidity in their dominion, there is no such great territorial change as would need special mention. What should be emphasized is the change in the character of the greatest seigneuries themselves, to which Savoy furnishes the only exception. First there was a tendency to a common Languedoc system. An Aragonese Count rules in Provence, the Tolosan line acquires the Dauphiné; but then there comes a gradual alteration. The native dynasts begin to give way in favour of foreigners. First, and quite early, the German line of Hohenstaufen acquired Franche Comté from the native dynasty. This was followed by Henry II of England's attempt to extend the dominions of the Angevin House towards Italy. Then about 1184 the north-French Capetian Duke of Burgundy married the widowed Dauphine and thus introduced for the first time a Languedoc House into the south. Consequently there appeared a faint presentiment of the future of the south, that it could form no exclusive national state, but was destined to be fought for by rival influences. In the sequel the kindred north-French competitor was to carry the day.

One would like to be able to point out in the House of Savoy a consciousness of these historic necessities, and a *prévoyance* of the destiny of their race. But no such thing is visible. They were French-Burgundian princes, with an extraordinarily high level of general ability. They knew the strategic advantages they possessed in being astride of the Alpine range. Like other great feudalized Counts, they maintained their public authority and built up a small state, complete in itself. Their permanent aims in foreign policy are perhaps reducible to three which lay obviously before them. First, they strove to maintain a complete independence of the imperial government. Secondly, they aspired to renew the mark of Turin, of which they claimed to be the heirs. Thirdly, it was their object to annex the small feudal fragments which lay round them in Burgundy. For the last scheme up to 1189 the Viennois and the Lyonnais offered the most promising sphere. After Thomas' victories and the extinction of the House of Zähringen in 1219, the lands north of the Lake of Geneva also lay open to their ambition. In both directions they obtained a large measure of success. But the rise of the Habsburgs and then of the Swiss Confederation checked them to the north, as did the extension southward of the French monarchy to the west and south. So their whole attention eventually devolved on Italy. But it was many centuries before they realized that they must be Italian or nothing.

SECTION II. THE SAVOYARD GOVERNMENT.

The internal government of the Savoyard States falls naturally into two divisions, that exercised by the Counts and their officials, and that which was in the hands of nobles and towns. With the first division the present section will be occupied.

Although long association under the Humbertine dynasty was beginning to weld the various counties and franchises of Savoy into one State, the principal *nexus* between the several portions was furnished by the Counts themselves. Like all other medieval princes and barons, they passed the year in a perpetual peregrination from one demesne to another, making use on the way of their right of *albergaria* both from their vassals and allodial subjects. They proceeded up and down their isolated mountain-valleys from Old-Chablais to Maurienne, or descended from the slopes of the Alps to the level plains of Sermorens, thus linking together provinces of different dialects, different habits of life and almost different climates. In the course of their progress the castles of each neighbourhood were surrendered by their lords to be garrisoned by the Count's sergeants, as a mark of feudal duty and a practical measure for the security of the suzerain¹. In this way the

¹ That is, the castles of Savoyard barons were *reddibilia*. See below, p. 440, and App. of Documents, Nos. VII. and VIII. I may here give a list of the places where Humbert III is known to have resided: (a) Burgundy, St Maurice (Car. Reg. CCCIII.), Chambéry (*id.* CCCV.), and Belley (*id.* CCCLVI.); (b) Italy, S. Ambrogio (*id.* CCCXXXIV.) and Susa (*id.* CCCXL., CCCLVIII.). The scantiness of the list is due to the fact that he seldom gives the place whence his documents were issued. I omit those residences which lie outside Humbert III's own dominion. But Oulx (1151, Car. Reg. CCVIII., *Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV., 134) is curious. Had Humbert a claim there in his mother's right which he subsequently lost in the war with the Dauphiné? Thomas, however, most usually gives the place of his residence, and the list of those in his own lands gives interesting results. (a) In Burgundy 9 documents (Car. Reg. CCCLXX., CDIV., CDXVIII., CDXXIX., CDLXV., CDLXXII., CDLXXX., CDLXXXV. and *Sup.* LXV.) are dated from Aiguebelle; 7 from Chambéry (Reg. CCCLXXXVI., CDVI., CDIX., DXXIX., DXXX., DXXXI., *Sup.* XLIV.); 4 each from St Maurice (Reg. CCCLXXXIX., CDXXII., CDLIII., DXXVI.), and Aosta (Reg. CDXIV., CDXXXVI., DVI., DVII.); 3 from Villeneuve by Chillon (Reg. CDLXVI., DVIII., DXVIII.); 2 from Thonon (Reg. CDVIII., *Sup.* XLI.); and one each from Bagnes (Vallais) (Reg. CDLXII.), Belley (Reg. DXIV.), Burie (Vaud) (Reg. CDLXI.), Chillon (Reg. CDLXX.), Confens (Reg. CDLVIII.), Conthey (Vallais) (Reg. CDXLII.), Corp (?) (Reg. CDXL.), Lugrins (Chablais) (Reg. CDXXX.), Moudon (Reg. CDLVI.), Moutiers (Reg. CDLII.), St Jean-de-Maurienne (Reg. CDXIX.), St Symphorien-d'Ozon (Reg. CDLV.) and Villefranche (Vallais [?=Villeneuve]) (Reg. CDLXII.). (b) In Italy 17 documents date from Susa (Reg. CCLXXV., CCCXIII., CCCXCIV., CDX., CDXXXV., CDXLIX., CDLXIV., DXII., *Sup.* XLII., XLVIII., LIV., LVII., LVIII., LXI., LXIV., LXVIII., LXXII.), 8 from Avigliana (Reg. CDXLVII., CDLI., CDXCVIII., CDXCIX., DXI., DXIX., *Sup.* LXII., LXIII.); 4 each from S. Ambrogio

Counts most easily made use of the produce of their demesne-lands, maintained their authority by their presence with a competent force, and directed a scattered administration, which must have depended largely on *viva voce* orders and reports. It must be remembered that the means of communication even within one province were bad and the habit of obedience small. Thus to the economic advantage of the travelling court, there was added the political advantage of the suzerain's presence, and that of his household knights and men-at-arms.

Not that the duties of administration were excessively laborious. The number of vassals, who possessed the entire jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over their domains as well as the right of private war, was considerable. Still three kinds of judicial work must have fallen to the Count.

(i) He would judge in cases concerning or between his tenants-in-chief¹.

(ii) To him fell the jurisdiction not included in the privileges of his several vassals. This competence of course varied according to the vassal concerned. Thus in the case of the Canons of Maurienne, homicide, treason and trial by combat were reserved to the Count and the Viscount². Cases from the fief of Ville (Challant) in which the lord was defendant, were likewise reserved for the Count's Curia³.

The lesser vassals especially had often quite limited powers, and thus more fell to the Count.

(iii) In his own demesnes and over the royal roads to the passes the Count possessed the entire jurisdiction, with often some definite rights allotted to the Viscounts, in whose sphere of competence the demesnes fell⁴.

(iv) Perhaps we should add, already in Humbert III's time, the extra, quasi-royal rights of concurrent jurisdiction in the baronial domains and of appellate jurisdiction derived from the power of granting

(*Reg.* CDXII., CDXXIII., *Sup.* XLIII., L.) and Rivalta (*Reg.* CCCXCI., *Sup.* XLV., XLVI., XLVII.), 3 from Vigone (*Reg.* CDLXXVII., CDLXXXVIII., DXXII.), and one each from Cavour (*Sup.* LXXIX.), Miradolo (*Reg.* CCCXCV.) and S. Giorio (Val di Susa) (*Reg.* CDLXXXIX.). Thus we see how really descriptive are the titles of Count of Maurienne or Savoy (proper), and of Marquess in Italy.

¹ See above, pp. 299-300.

² *Car. Reg.* CCCLXXXVIII. (Billiet et Albrieux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, p. 44): "Canonici nichil esse retentum preter homicidia et prodiciones et duellos...proferebant." The Count (1195) decided for them against his mestrals and the Viscount. On the latter, cf. below, pp. 440-5.

³ See App. of Documents, No. 1.

⁴ See the rights of the Viscounts, below, pp. 440-5. For the royal roads, cf. Cibrario, *Delle Finanze*, ecc. Mem. Accad. Tor. xxxvi. p. 85. The lords of Cly and Châtillon possessed the *excheytæ camini*, profits of the road in their lands.

protection. The first at any rate is supported by the express denial of it in Frederick Barbarossa's diploma to the Bishop of Belley¹.

More immediately important, however, were the financial rights of the Count. Besides profits on jurisdiction and feudal incidents², he had three main sources of public revenue, the tolls, the mint, and the *receptum comitale*³. The latter appears to have been a commuted right of *albergaria*⁴, and was perhaps more especially paid by lesser vassals, who could not easily entertain the Count, and whom the Count would not often visit conveniently. The mints in the time of Humbert III and Thomas were two, the older at Susa for Italy and the younger at St Maurice for Burgundy⁵. It went of course with the ownership of certain silver mines⁶. The right to levy tolls was perhaps the most lucrative of the *regalia* possessed by the Counts. Of them the chief

¹ See above, p. 426, n. 2. Further evidence (1198) is provided by the arrangements concerning the Val de Bagnes between the Count and the Abbot of St Maurice (Car. Reg. CCCXCVI., Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 110): "Ecclesia S. Mauricii a ponte S. Pancratii usque ad finem vallis que dicitur Baignes bannos et justicias.. possidebat... Quando comes presens est justicias clamorum que coram se levantur levat." The same arrangements are described more at length in Car. Reg. CDXXIV. The appellate jurisdiction of the Count certainly existed in the fourteenth century (Cibrario, *Delle Finanze ecc.* Mem. Accad. Tor. XXXVI. p. 85): and the fact that the appellant in the Val d'Aosta had the choice of appealing to the Count in the *Assises générales* (see below, p. 438, n. 9) instead of the new artificial Councils of the Count, shows I think the probable antiquity of the right.

² Among these, if they were not rather usurped *regalia*, was the right to the inheritance of intestates and to the wardship of widows and orphans. Both must have been excessively oppressive, to judge from the eagerness the towns showed to abolish them (see below, p. 448).

³ Cf. above, pp. 310, nn. 2 and 5, 318, n. 3. The "receptus de Baines et Octeat, x. scilicet libras" of Car. Reg. CCCIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64) are described in Car. Reg. CCCXCVI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 110) as "illas x. libras quas comes nomine procurationis...habebat" and in Car. Reg. CDXXIV. (the same as Car. Reg. CDLXII., *M.H.P.* Chart. I. 1258) as "collecta autumnii," the Abbot taking the "collecta de Mayo." The text, however, in *M.H.P.* I. omits the "collecta de Mayo" altogether.

⁴ Yet some of the *albergariae* would still be exacted, especially the *avenagium* and *fenatagium*. Thus Thomas reserves his right to exact hay and straw from the men of the Priory of Innimont (Car. Reg. CDV.). But chiefly purveyance seems to have remained, the charters prescribing 40 days as the date within which payment should be made (*id.* and of the town-charters, above, p. 305 and below, p. 448).

⁵ See Cibrario, *Storia della Monarchia*, I. 209-10, and A. Perrin, *Le Monnayage en Savoie, Mém. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch.* XIII. p. 41. The Bishop of Sion's consent "was necessary to the validity of the St Maurice money." The *moneta Mauritiensis* is referred to in the undated (? 1162-3; see above, p. 328) Car. Reg. CCCXXI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 72). Thus each great road had its mint.

⁶ These existed, e.g. near Aiguebelle and Aosta (Car. Reg. CCCX.). See Cibrario, *Delle Finanze ecc.*, Mem. Accad. Tor. XXXVI. (1833), pp. 202-21.

was the toll over the Mont Cenis¹. It appears that Italians did not pay it when leaving Italy, and that they paid half of it only on returning²; but doubtless this provision only increased the traffic³. Other *regalia* were also profitable, owing to the fees. Such was the right to the forest and pasture lands, which stretched long and wide throughout Savoy. It was a great privilege to a monastic house to be given free right of pasture over a greater or smaller district⁴. Further, the Count had the right of tallaging his demesne-tenants and dependents in the towns not being knights. In Aosta city the oppressive right of arbitrary tallage, which was abused probably by Humbert III, was given up by Count Thomas in return for a fixed house-tax, which probably represented the tallage usually paid for protection⁵. Here the Bishop of Aosta had a right to a third of the tallages and profits⁶. Apparently in the Val de Bagnes, the Count and the Abbot of St Maurice halved such tallages⁷.

¹ Car. Reg. CCCII., CCCLVIII., *Sup.* xxxvii. See Cibrario, *Delle Finanze della Monarchia di Savoia*, Mem. Accad. Tor. Ser. I. xxxvi. pp. 175-90. It was called the Dazio di Susa. Part was paid in kind, e.g. pepper.

² Car. Reg. CCCXXXII. (*M.H.P. Leges*, I. 7): "fuit omnibus Italicis datum ut nullum transitum huc veniendo reddant, in rediundo mediam partem transitus." Cf. the pleasant story of the toll told by Matt. Paris (above, p. 419).

³ To the tolls proper (*pedagia*) there should be added the octroi and market-dues of all kinds (*theloneum*, etc.).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCII. (*M.D.R.* XII. 5), CCCXLII., and Guigues, *Notice sur la Chartreuse d'Arvière*, p. 63. This right of pasturing sheep throughout his land was granted by Humbert III to his only foundation, the Chartreuse of Aillon in Savoy (Car. Reg. CCCXLII., Guichenon, *Prewes*, p. 43). Thomas made the same grant to his favourite Chartreuse of Monte Benedetto in the Val di Susa (Car. *Sup.* LIII.). Another due of this kind came from the hunting-right "de venatione"; Car. Reg. CCCLXXXVII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 101).

⁵ Car. Reg. CCCLXXVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 82). "Visis et cognitis calamitatibus et eciam oppressionibus et injuriis illatis trado civitatem Auguste cum suburbiis...libertati ita quod nunquam deinceps ego vel successores mei tailias vel exactiones invitas per me vel per mistrales meos faciam...Praeterea omnes habitatores...constituunt reddere annuatim comiti, episcopo Augustensi et successoribus eorum XII. denarios pro qualibet extensa brachiorum domus sue...exceptis domibus clericorum et militum et religiosorum." In the same way in the lands of Innimont Thomas substituted a fixed and graduated hearth-tax (Car. Reg. CDV.), as he also did at Miradolo (see below, pp. 447-8).

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCLXXXIX., CCCLXXX. : "terciam partem tallearum et exactionum que in ipsa urbe et suburbio fiebant ad episcopum ex antiqua consuetudine pertinere." The ancient custom is testified to by Pope Eugenius in 1151 (*M.H.P. Chart.* I. 795). See above, p. 90.

⁷ Car. Reg. CDXXIV. (=Car. Reg. CDLXXII., *M.H.P. Chart.* I. 1258), dated 1219. The exaction had to be made by common consent of Count and Abbot. But was it an old custom? The Count also received there twelve *modii* of corn and 27 *solidi* for *carnagium* (is this flesh food, or is *caruagium* to be read?), apparently as the ancient royal *census* or land-tax. (Cf. Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, I. 28-32).

With all this Humbert gives us the impression of being constantly in money difficulties. Besides the mortgage to St Maurice and the treaty with Henry II, he compounds his dispute with Hautecombe monastery for none too large a sum, a fact which suggests poverty on his part¹. Thomas, too, in his later years finds it hard to meet his obligations, but this is merely due to his continual wars. There is no sign of impecuniosity early in his reign, and the rapid growth of the Lombard and especially the Astigian trade in his time must have made him almost wealthy.

When we further inquire by what local officials these numerous and extensive, if piecemeal, rights and duties were exacted and performed, we find the contemporary sources of the twelfth century vague and scanty. The earlier nomenclature of the various officials, also, differs from that used later, which makes identification less certain. However, we shall hardly be wrong in saying that the chief local officials were then and under Count Thomas the mestral and the castellans. The mestral, that is, those *ministeriales* or members of the Count's household who were employed locally, play later quite a humble rôle², nor can they ever have had the importance of the castellans. I imagine that they are the *praepositi* mentioned by Amadeus III³, unless the latter are mere village-headmen. Both the antiquity of the office and its former importance are proved by the fact that it is found enfeoffed sometimes in the thirteenth century to the greatest barons of Savoy. As hereditary mestralships I have come across those of Aosta, held by the Viscounts⁴, of Tarentaise, held by the Viscounts⁵, of the Val de Miolans, held by the Sires de Miolans⁶, and of Novalaise, held by the Sires de Gerbaix⁷. Apparently unhereditary are those of Chambéry, held in 1232 by Guigues de Chevelu⁸, and of Chambuer,

¹ See Car. Reg. CCCXLI. (Guichenon, *Preuves*, p. 42) (1170). 100 *solidi* were given.

² Cf. *Stat. Amadei*, VIII. Bk. II. (ed. 1504, p. 33). Their duties in the Dauphiné are given by Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, I. 107-11. See also Cibrario, *Delle Finanze della Monarchia di Savoia*, Mem. Accad. Torino, xxxvi. p. 69. And cf. Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. 163-5.

³ See above, p. 303. Guigues de Chevellud, the mestral of Chambéry in 1232 (Car. Reg. DXXX.), is in the same year called *villicus* of Chambéry (Car. Reg. DXXIX., *Mém. Acad. Savoie*, Ser. III. T. I. p. 557). This is pretty decisive as to the general character of his functions.

⁴ Car. Reg. DCLXXXVII. (1242) (see text in App. of Docs.). Cf. Ménabréa, *Les Origines féodales*, p. 416.

⁵ See below, p. 441 and No. XI. in App. of Docs.

⁶ Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 548.

⁷ Car. Reg. DCLIII.

⁸ Car. Reg. DXXX. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 126). The document shows the Count possessed rights over Chambéry, where he often resided, e.g. *albergaria* (cf. p. 429, n. 1 above), before his purchase of it from the Viscount.

near Yenne¹. The district of the mestrals, it will be noticed, is often quite small. As to the functions of the mestrals in these times, a recognition concerning the mestralsy of Chambuerc in 1209 gives a picture of them. It was his office to gather in the Count's dues in kind, and to levy judicial fines from the comital *placita*. It was also his business to allot the Count's demesne-land in the mestralsy to farmers, but the Count was not bound to confirm his choice. Besides a commission on the judicial fines he levied, he had all the *banna* of five *solidi* and less. I take it he held a small court for this kind of business. The last point is confirmed by a sale of the mestralsy of Novalaise by Guigues de Gerbaix to Amadeus V in 1291². Here Guigues' rights of jurisdiction are carefully preserved, and those the Count acquired are defined. Evidently, there was a danger lest the jurisdiction Guigues had over his personal vassals and lands should be confused with that he had possessed over the district as mestrals³. Further, the mestrals levied the Count's tallages and feudal incidents. In fact when the mestrals was a great hereditary official, like the Viscounts of Aosta and Tarentaise, and his mestralsy extended over the greater part of a county, it is clear that his opportunities of extortion would be great, and that concessions by the Count of a fixed census in lieu of arbitrary levies would be a restraint more on his greedy vassals than on his own authority⁴.

¹ Car. Reg. CDXXV. (Cibrario, *Delle finanze della monarchia di Savoia*, Mem. Accad. Torino, XXXVI. (1835) p. 272). "Banni v. solidorum et infra ministerialium sint...De magnis placitis debent levare ad opus comitis bona fide, postea comitisse, deinde vicecomitis, demum placitum suum, non tamen secundum tertiam vel quartam partem, sed rationabiliter et mensurate. Terram comitis debent dare in alberiamantum et postea ipsi ostendere, sed si comiti placuerit, alberiamantum licet mutare." See below, p. 440, n. 6. Carutti's identification of Chambuerc with Chambéry is clearly wrong.

² The document (Car. Reg. DCLIII.) has date 1201, which Carutti corrects to 1241. But the contents, Indiction IV. and Count's name, best suit 1291 under Amadeus V, who also bought up the mestralsy of Aosta.

³ Car. Reg. DCLIII. "Guigo de Gerbasio...vendit...mistralliam de Novalesia cum omnibus iuribus...Pacto conventum est quod Guigo ejusque heredes habeant merum et mixtum imperium et omnimodam jurisdictionem in hominibus uti nunc habet...Item (Guigo) habebit plenam jurisdictionem inferiorem in parrochiis de Gerbays etc., comes vero habebit merum et mixtum imperium et universalem jurisdictionem in parrochiis de Gresivo etc." (From Carutti's abstract, not original text.) Cf. Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. 164-5. Other evidence for the mestrals' powers of police and jurisdiction is furnished by Humbert's quarrel with St Anthelm of Belley (see above, p. 330), and by a clause in Thomas' charter to Chambéry (see below, p. 451): "De offensis vero de quibus clamor domino vel mistralli factus non fuerit etc.," but here, as the Count had not bought the castle, there was probably no castellan.

⁴ See above, pp. 359-60 and below, p. 441, n. 3. As mestrals the Viscount of Tarentaise levied the *tallia casamenti* (see No. XI. App. of Docs.). In this case the

Above the mestrals, as administrators of the comital demesnes and local functions, came the castellans. One of these officials, who were never in Burgundy hereditary, was placed over each demesne-castle of Savoy: and no doubt even in Humbert III's time, as later, supervised the mestrals near it and exercised a higher jurisdiction. Exactly what castles were in demesne at this time is hard to say with completeness. In Italy under Count Thomas there were five, at Susa, at Miradolo, Avigliana, Vigone and Cavour¹; in Burgundy we find proof of castellans at Virieu-le-Grand², and Chillon³, under Humbert III, and further of Cornillon⁴, Rossillon⁵, Fêterne⁶, Allinges⁷ and Montmélian⁸, under Thomas. Of course there were a number of others, probably at castles like Pierrechâtel, Le Bourget, Aiguebelle and Bocsozel, or at Saillon, Thomas' most recent acquisition. But they are not recorded⁹.

Besides these regular local officials, there were also employed from time to time extraordinary representatives of the Counts, presumably with full powers¹⁰. It seems likely that the Bailiffs, among whom the Savoyard lands were divided by Peter II, drew their origin from these *nuncii* or *missi*.

All these officials were *ministeriales*—although the mestrals specially appropriated the name—that is members of the Count's household and his dependents. At their head in the entourage of the Count himself stood officials of a wider authority, the most important of whom were the chaplain, the chancellor, the seneschal and the marshal. The Count's chaplain must always have been a person of importance, but there is no sign that Raynald and Richard¹¹, who appear under Humbert III, or Albert, who officiated under Thomas¹², exercised any

Viscount enfeoffed part of the viscounty and the mestralsy to a local noble, de Mascot (*id.*), who, when his overlord sold his rights to the Count, became a direct vassal of the latter for his offices (Nos. XII. and XIII., App. of Docs.). Cf. below, pp. 443-4.

¹ See e.g. Car. *Sup.* XXXVII. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 69), LXI., and above, p. 385.

² See above, p. 303.

³ Car. *Reg.* CCCII. (*M.D.R.* XII. p. 5).

⁴ Car. *Reg.* CCCLXXXVI.

⁵ Car. *Reg.* CDV.

⁶ Car. *Reg.* CDVIII. and CDXXII.

⁷ Car. *Reg.* CDVIII.

⁸ Car. *Reg.* CDXXI.

⁹ Cibrario, *Delle finanze della monarchia di Savoia*, Mem. Accad. Torino, XXXVII. (1835), p. 99, gives a list of the *Castellaniae* in 1325. There was a Castellan of Saillon in 1233 (Car. *Reg.* DXL.).

¹⁰ I only know of four examples, one of *missi* of Humbert III in Turin in 1176 (see above, p. 336, n. 4), two of *nuncii* at Aosta under Thomas, where they act for the Count in his absence (Car. *Reg.* CCCLXXVIII., Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 82; *Reg.* CDLVI., Misc. stor. ital. XXIII., p. 283), and one of an "officialis...specialiter missus" at Innimont (*Reg.* CDV.).

¹¹ Car. *Reg.* CCCXXIII., *Sup.* XXXVII.

¹² e.g. Car. *Reg.* CCCXCIV. and CCCLXXXV.

special influence. Raynald may have been selected as Bishop of Belley after the death of the truculent St Anthelm¹. The appointment of a chancellor was an innovation and shows both the increase of secretarial business at the Count's court and the increasing claims of Humbert III. He appears after the introduction of a seal by Amadeus III. Richard², who holds the office in 1150 and 1173, and Guy in 1227³, are only known by name. At first, under Humbert III, the great office of seneschal seems to be held by Humbert de Cevins⁴; later Peter de Boges has it⁵; five of Thomas' seneschals are named⁶. Presumably they exercised some control over the demesne, as well as a section of the household. An hereditary marshal—Geoffrey—who commanded the feudal array appears early in Count Thomas' time. So that it is possible the office was already in existence under Humbert III⁷. Further Humbert III perhaps already possessed a chamberlain, that is, in Savoy, a treasurer. At any rate, the most constant attendant on both Humbert III and his son is a noble of Avigliana, Peter di Tovet⁸, who is probably two persons, father and son, and the latter's descendants claim an hereditary chamberlainship, with the keepership of the Count's privy seal, in the thirteenth century⁹. Finally a butler is once mentioned under Thomas¹⁰.

¹ But the Bishop was a Carthusian, perhaps after his chaplainship. See *Gallia Christ.* xv. 619.

² *Car. Reg.* CCCIII., CCCXLIII. (*Gesta Regis Henrici*, I. 37 ff.).

³ *Car. Reg.* DVII.

⁴ *Car. Reg.* CCCII., CCCVI. (*M.D.R.* XII. pp. 5 and 142), if I am right in reading *Ciuns*, *Ciuns* as *Civins*, and considering his office *dapifer* more than local.

⁵ *Car. Reg.* CCCXL.; here I identify *Bogisius* with the de Boges of Amadeus III. See above, p. 307.

⁶ W^s in 1191 (*Car. Sup.* XLII.), David de la Chambre in 1209 (*Reg.* CDXXIII.), William in 1215 (*Reg.* CDXLV.), Pierre d'Allinge in 1217 (*Reg.* CDLIII.) and 1223 (*Reg.* CDLXXII.), and Rabusta in 1231 (*Reg.* DXXVI.).

⁷ See de Mareschal de Luciane, *Le Premier Mareschal de Savoie*, Misc. stor. ital. XXVI. pp. 435-56. Geoffrey's first appearance is in 1194 (*Car. Sup.* XLIII.).

⁸ *Car. Reg.* CCCII., CCCIII., CCCVI., CCCVIII., CCCIX., CCCX., CCCXXXIV., CCCXL., CCCXLVI. He seals two grants in 1150 (CCCII., CCCVI.): and is probably the Petrus de Bovet Castellanus who came to Henry II of England in 1172 (CCCXLVI., see above, p. 338).

⁹ See Claretta, *Sulle liberalità compiute dagli Aviglianesi de Thoet, ciambellani e guardasigilli dei primi conti di Savoia*, Atti Accad. Sc. Torino, XVII. (1882). The second Peter di Tovet is probably the Petrus de Thovenco (1209, *Car. Reg.* CDXXIII.) and Petrus de Toreto (1219, *Car. Reg.* CDLXI.), chamberlains of Count Thomas. But in 1194 a Venecius seems to be chamberlain (*Car. Sup.* XLIII.), which would make it unlikely that the office was then hereditary. The second Peter di Tovet may at one time have been Castellan of Susa (cf. *Car. Sup.* LXI. = Collegno, *op. cit.*, Doc. xxxv.; and *Reg.* CDXLVIII., *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. XII. 2, p. 275, and *Reg.* CDXLIX.).

¹⁰ *Car. Reg.* CCCXCIV.

The mention of that Peter di Tovet, who was clearly the chief adviser of Humbert down to 1170 at all events, leads naturally to the enumeration of Humbert's other trusted councillors, besides the officials treated of above. Only two are apparent from the documents. One is Ponce de Conflens¹, who is once or twice described as *minister*²; and perhaps held some special office of that name³. The other is Aymon de Rumilly⁴.

With regard to Count Thomas it is hard to say in what vassals he put special trust, after the great officers of his court. This is not due to the scantiness, but to the number and completeness of the attestations of his barons on his charters. It is clear that the great nobles of his Burgundian dominions accepted his leadership whole-heartedly. The de Miolans, de la Chambre, de Briançon, de Seyssel, the d'Amey-sins and their like are among his constant companions. The only exception is furnished by the Aostans who as usual are rarely met with outside their native valley, and it is there we know the Count's authority was least. Thomas' personality, one would presume, was the main source of this steady loyalty of the great lords, although the increase of his wealth and power through the Mont Cenis trade must not be disregarded.

A striking fact concerning the officials I have been recording is their apparently high rank. It does not appear that in Savoy the *ministeriales* of the Count's Curia were sharply divided from the *proceres*, that is the barons whose council and services were due by their oath of fealty⁵. The two, however, are separately mentioned in 1150 as forming together the Count's Curia⁶. In the Curia, and by the advice and with the consent of its members, the Count transacted the business of the state, judicial and administrative⁷. All tenants-in-chief would belong

¹ Car. Reg. CCCII., CCCVI., CCCXLI., CCCXLVI., *Sup.* XXXVII.

² Car. Reg. CCCII., CCCVI. (both c. 1150).

³ Cf. above, p. 303 (Petrus minister).

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCVIII., CCCX., CCCXXIII.

⁵ See above, pp. 300, 302-3.

⁶ Car. Reg. CCCIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 64): "Affuerunt et de curia nostra nobiles et probi viri et familiares nostri quorum consilio, que tractanda erant, tractare disponebam."

⁷ Thus Thomas in 1196 decides a case as to the rights of the Chartreuse of Losa "ex decreto curie nostre" (Car. *Sup.* XLIV.; Collegno, *op. cit.*, Doc. XI.); and during his minority, 15 June 1189, a grant is made to Losa "[consilio et aucto]ritate curie... Thome comitis" (Car. *Sup.* XL.; Collegno, *op. cit.*, Doc. 1. and *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 78). Unfortunately the charter is damaged, and some of the phrases and names lost. In an abstract the "tota curia" is said to consist of thirty-five "prelati et barones et excellentes viri." In like manner the cases from Ville (Challant), in which the lord was defendant, were reserved for the Count's Curia (see App. of Doc., No. 1.).

to it. They are the *barones*¹, *optimates*², *proceres*³, *capitanei*⁴; and with them sat the principal *ministeriales*, who also owed strict fealty to the Count, although perhaps their status had originally been nearer to that of serfs than of tenants-in-chivalry⁵. But here a peculiarity of Savoyard history manifests itself. The several counties had not yet coalesced into a single state; they were separated by lofty mountains, and their inhabitants were therefore very diverse among themselves. Add to this the land was poor, and in consequence the nobles were much tied down to their localities. Hence the composition of the Count's Curia changed as he moved. Save for a few great nobles, councillors and *ministeriales*, it assumed usually a local complexion, although on great occasions it is clear that it was drawn from all parts⁶. In Chablais he is surrounded by Chablesian barons⁷: in Val d'Aosta he acts on the advice of Valdostans⁸. In this localization of the Curia, we may, I think, trace the origin of the local Estates which appear in the thirteenth century. They would thus be a special development or offshoot of the Curia which the Count convened in his several counties, for holding *placita*, receiving homage and transacting other business⁹.

¹ Car. Reg. CCCLVII. (1179); cf. Car. Reg. CCCLXXII. (1189) "concilio...baronum," and CCCLXXVIII. (1191?) "consilio...baronum meorum."

² Car. Reg. CCCXXXIV. (1167) "in presencia...plurium optimatum curie mee."

³ See above, p. 302.

⁴ Car. Reg. CCCX. (1150?), "majores viri et capitanei Augustanae vallis."

⁵ The same people are doubtless referred to in Car. Reg. CCXCVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 67), "inito consilio cum suis." For the position of the *barones* or *optimates* and the *ministeriales*, see Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. pp. 121-50 and 176-7, 189-203.

⁶ See above, p. 301, n. 1.

⁷ See Car. Reg. CCCII., CCCIII., CCCVI., CCCXI., CCCXLI., CCCLVII.

⁸ See Car. Reg. CCCX.; cf. CCCLXXVIII. (c. 1191).

⁹ There are traces of the process in the conservative Val d'Aosta. Besides the local States, there were held at least once in seven years the *Assises générales* by the Duke in person. He took the oath to respect the local privileges and then held a full curia, where the barons did homage, where the valley's statutes were confirmed, and he adjudged civil and criminal causes with the aid of his barons, after-vassals and notables. (See Sclopis, *Considerazioni...intorno alle antiche assemblee ecc.*, *M.H.P. Comitiorum* II. c. 187-90.) In Car. Reg. CCCLXXVIII., the financial rights and duties of Aosta city are clearly decided at such an *assise générale*, and it was the necessary consent to tallages, I imagine, which gave birth to special meetings of an enlarged curia, i.e. the States. Imitation of Estates abroad would be another factor. That the *Assises générales*, if not the regularity of their occurrence, were of a much older date than the description of them under the Dukes of Savoy, is shown by a reference to Count Edward's holding them in 1326: "qui in Vallem Augustam intraverat pro tenenda et reddenda justicia;...castra Vallis Auguste sunt reddibilia comiti Sabaudie quociens comes Sabaudie intrat Vallem Auguste pro justicia tenenda et reddenda." (*Conti Castell. Bard. Rot.* XIV., *Eporediensia*, *B.S.S.S.* IV. p. 288.) We have an abstract of the proceedings in March 1337 under Count Aymon (*M.H.P. Com.* I.

Even a participation of the citizens is faintly foreshadowed under Humbert III, for in 1170 he makes a grant to the Canons of Oulx with the consent of the Susians¹. It is true that, as the subject of the grant lay in Susa, this may be more a communal phenomenon than a state one, but the two processes are not always easy to divide and have an interrelation.

SECTION III. VASSALS AND TOWNS.

We have seen that Humbert III divides his Curia into three classes, *nobiles*, *probi viri* and *familiares*². It can hardly be doubted that a definite distinction of status is intended. The same division is evidently before us in a document of 1167, where Humbert divides his subjects into *milites*, *burgenses*, *clientes* and *villani*³. One class, the *villani*, who would not of course be members of the Curia, is added; but the others must roughly correspond. Thus we have the nobles, or members of knightly families, i.e. the tenants-in-chivalry; the plain freemen, chiefly townsmen; those numerous members of the households of the Count and his barons who were, strictly speaking, unfree in status, an important class with important parts to play; and the rustic tillers of the soil, who we may presume were mainly unfree in their condition, serfs in short, both by descent and tenure⁴.

The first class of these subjects, that of the nobles or tenants-in-chivalry, was divided in the fifteenth century into Barons, Bannerets and Vassals, according to the extent of their domains and powers and their immediate dependence or not from the Duke⁵. But in the twelfth

37 ff.): "In civitati Augustensi viz. in aula superiori domus episcopalis ante ecclesiam cathedralem fuit prima die qua illustris vir dominus Aymo Comes Sabaudie tenuit ibidem sedem suam pro jure reddendo et faciendo *secundum consuetudinem* Vallis Auguste. Et ibidem comparuerunt assistente Domino nobiles pares terre etc."

¹ See below, p. 449.

² See above, p. 437, n. 6.

³ Car. Reg. CCCXXXIV. (*Carte...d'Oulx*, B.S.S.S. XLV. p. 156): "universis millitibus, burgensibus, clientibus, villanis et (h)omnibus hominibus qui sunt vel fuerint in terra sua." Cf. the "forensecos milites, clientes et rusticos" in the Val d'Aosta under Count Thomas (see above, p. 378, n. 2).

⁴ I only give the above statement of the preponderance of the unfree as a guess. In the charter to Montmélian town in 1233 (Car. Reg. DXLII., *Mém. de la Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch.* II. p. 237), there is the not unusual prescription that serfs may not settle there without their lords' consent, but if they do so unclaimed for a year and a day, they become townsmen. Cf. Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. pp. 270-6.

⁵ See Ricotti, *Storia della monarchia piemontese*, I. 61-3. But Amadeus VIII (*Stat. Lib.* v. ed. 1505, pp. 76-7 and 80-1) mentions only Barons, Bannerets and Valvassors, the latter being subdivided into knights and squires.

century these divisions among the Count's Barons had hardly arisen. The distinction in those days was between the immediate vassals of Count and Bishop, the real barons¹, and the remaining mediate or partly mediate feudalists who owed fealty to other lords either wholly or in part. Yet the distinction must have been somewhat obscured by the fact that the great families did not wholly break up; each remained grouped as an *auberge* or *hospice*, all the junior members of which would probably be vassals of its head². When we come to later times we find the greater number of the immediate vassals exercising complete jurisdiction within their lands³. Their castles were generally *reddibilia*, i.e. were garrisoned by the Count, when he was in their neighbourhood⁴. As a matter of principle, all nobles, as well as ecclesiastics, were tax-free; they only paid the feudal aids, and were subject to feudal incidents, no small burden after all⁵.

The leaders of the great nobles were beyond question the Viscounts⁶.

¹ No doubt these are the "Majores viri et capitanei" of Car. Reg. CCCX. (see above, p. 438, n. 4). Later they would form the *Parés* of the later *Coûtumier* (see Sclopis, *Considerazioni ecc.*, M.H.P. Comit. II. 187-90), while the other nobles were the *Imparés*. In contradistinction to the *Imparés* the *Parés* in the fourteenth century were obliged to be *homines ligii* of the Count, and reserve that homage in any homage they might do to other lords. See M.H.P. Com. I. 38 (1337): "Recognitum fuit ibidem concorditer per pares predictos quod omnes nobiles predicti quotquot sunt de genere parium dicte terre, sunt et esse debent homines ligii domini comitis, nec possunt vel debent alicui alteri de mondo homagium facere nisi salvo et excepto prius et pocius homagio et fidelitate domini comitis supradicti."

² See App. of Docs., Nos. XI. and VIII. In the latter the abolition of the vice-comital payments for the whole house of Challant by its head Ebal shows some sort of common family action, but Nos. V. and VI. prove that the juniors held direct from the Count. Probably any homage they might owe to Ebal would be only subsidiary. There is a most interesting list of the great vassals in the treaty of 1173 (see above, p. 339). I may note that we should correct *Chinis* into *Chinins* (i.e. Chignin), and *Frabriciis* into *Fabriciis* (i.e. Faverges). Also the Christian name *Engwicio* should be *Enguiro* (Car. Reg. CCCXXI.) or *Enguirano* (CCCXLI.); it is *Enguerrand*. Most of the names reappear in Thomas' charters.

³ Ricotti, *loc. cit.*, Ménabréa, *op. cit.* pp. 487-8; and App. of Docs., No. XIV. Cf. the recognitions of the lords of Cly and Châtillon in 1280 (App. of Docs., Nos. V. and VI.). They even held the *excheytae camini*, the jurisdiction over the road.

⁴ See App. of Docs., Nos. VII. and I.

⁵ Cf. Cibrario, *Delle Finanze della Monarchia*, Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, Ser. I. T. XXXVI. p. 86, and Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 347. See for instance the *mutagium* (relief) payable by the Viscounts of Aosta (App. of Docs., Nos. II., III., IV., V. and VI.) and de Miolans (*id.* IX. and X.). For the meaning of "de placito," cf. Car. Reg. CDLXXVIII. (M.D.R. XIX. 241). There is also the *tallia casamenti* in Tarentaise (App. of Docs. XI.). But I imagine that *casamentum* here is not an ordinary fief. (Cf. Du Cange, ed. Favre, *sub voce.*) The *tallia* in this case was clearly a regular tax.

⁶ Four of them, those of Chambéry, La Chambre, Novalaise and Aosta are absent from the list of guarantors in the treaty of 1173. The reason probably is that they

Their existence can be traced in every Burgundian county of the Humbertines save those of Old- and New-Chablais, and from several documents¹ we can get a clear notion of their functions. The antiquity of the latter is shown not only by their similarity in the different provinces, but also by the fact that they extended over all the lands in the county the Viscounts belonged to, whether the latter's own or others' fiefs or the Count's demesne. They were in fact survivals from sub-Carolingian times, and unsuccessful competitors of the Count's themselves in the transmission and exercise of the public powers.

The typical duty of the Viscountship was to assist the Count in his judicial duties, to be his lieutenant in the public *placita*, to receive sums paid as bail, to guard prisoners, to levy fines and to execute the sentence of the court². For this service the Viscount received usually one-third of the various civil profits of the county³. He might, however, extend his duties by holding the hereditary mestralsy of his province. In this case he levied also the Count's dues, judicial and non-judicial, and was duly compensated for his labour by a certain share in the other payments⁴. It is not easy now, and was not in the

had actually to do homage to John and Alice at once (above, pp. 340-1). The Viscount of Aosta was lord of Châtillon. Certain Chablesian barons, d'Allinge, de Féterne and de Blonay are also absent; but I cannot suggest a reason. Berlio de Chamboc, the negotiator of 1173, might be Berlio de Chambéry; but Berlio and Torencus de Chambel among the guarantors are, I think, lords of Chambuerc or Chambut. Berlio de Chambut or Chambuerc appears in 1195 (Car. Reg. CCLXXXVI.) and 1209 (Car. Reg. CDXXV., Cibrario, Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, xxxiii. p. 272). Jocelin de Chambuerc appears in 1231 (Car. Reg. DXXVI.; *M.D.R.* xxix. 296) and 1232 (Car. Reg. DXXXI.; Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, xxxiv. p. 93). The modern form of the name is Chambuet, near Yenne. Cf. the mestralsy above, pp. 433-4. (The conclusions of this note were reached by me before seeing Mugnier on *Les Sires de Chambéry*, *Mém. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch.* xl. (1901) p. cxxi.)

¹ See App. of Docs., Nos. III., IV. and VIII. for Aosta, and XI. for Tarentaise; and Cibrario, *Delle Finanze ecc.*, Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, xxxvi. p. 114 for Maurienne in 1309. There are also inquisitions on the viscounty of Maurienne in private archives, quoted by A. de Foras, *Armorial...de Savoie*, I. pp. 110, 351-9.

² App. of Docs., Nos. VIII. and XI., and Cibrario, *loc. cit.*

³ The method of remuneration, however, varied. The Viscount of Tarentaise took one-third of all civil profits (see specially the evidence of Hugh de Mascot), and 11 *denarii* annually from most *mansi* on the Count's demesne (the lands of the Lady of Faucigny being comital demesne). He also held the *avenagium* and *fenatagium* by special grant, it seems; and was mestral, with fees, for the regular tallages. The Viscount of Maurienne in 1309 took one-third of judicial profits only. The Viscount of Aosta took all judicial profits of 60 *solidi* and under, and one-fifth of those above 60 *solidi* and all concerning adultery and seduction, as well as the *assetamenta*, or securities given.

⁴ Thus the Viscount of Tarentaise levied the regular tallages; the Viscount of Aosta furnished the implements on the Count's table in Aosta and was responsible for the dues of the Arimanni, i.e. the old military tenants bound to the soil. The

thirteenth century, to distinguish between the duties of Viscount and Mestral, when they were thus combined. A military official the Viscount does not seem to have been¹. And the rights of inquisition and judgement in the Count's *placita* for the most part remained solely with the Count or his special officials².

The Viscount, in our period, might however have special rights of jurisdiction over at least some lands which were either in the comital demesne, or which were not held by their possessors with full criminal and civil powers. In the Val d'Aosta, where the Count was an absentee, the Viscounts appear to have exercised some such prerogatives³. Further evidence is provided by the complaints of the Canons of Maurienne with regard to the lands which had been given them by Humbert Whitehands and Bishop Theobald at and near Cuines in Maurienne⁴. In 1195 it was decided by Count Thomas that only matters of homicide, feudal treason and trial by combat were reserved to his officials⁵, among whom no doubt was the Viscount. The latter's claims continued however—he was also lord of Cuines castle, as a vassal of the Count⁶,—and after a second attempt at a settlement in 1233⁷, matters were again arranged in 1252. By this last award, in which the Bishop, too, was

Viscount of Aosta took the *chercuria* (? what) of the city, and a share of the Count's vineyards, perhaps for his mestral, besides fees. Hugh de Mascot, as mestral of the Viscount, took the market-payments of 5 *solidi* and under, and the 13th *denarius* in those above that sum, and had one burghess at choice to squeeze in the tallage of Aime.

¹ The Viscount of Tarentaise has no part in the "banna pro cavalcatis...Comitis," nor do military duties, save for the Viscount's own fiefs, appear in Aosta and Maurienne.

² They are not mentioned as Viscount's rights in Tarentaise (App. of Docs., No. XI.), and are expressly reserved to the Count in Maurienne in 1309, which may however be a new provision.

³ App. of Docs., Nos. III. (only partial, where Nus and Montjovet are fiefs of other barons), and IV. and VIII. (where it is over all the valley).

⁴ See the grants, Car. Reg. CXXXII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 95), CXXXIII. (*op. cit.*, Rapporto, p. (15)), CCXLV. (Billiet et Albrieux, *Chartes...de Maurienne*, Doc. Acad. Savoie, II. p. 20), and CCCLXXII. (*id.* p. 38). I suspect that one or two documents, emanating perhaps from Humbert II and Humbert III, are lost (cf. Obit. S. Joann. Maur. (Billiet et Albrieux, *op. cit.* pp. 340 and 350)).

⁵ Car. Reg. CCCLXXXVIII. (Billiet et Albrieux, *op. cit.* p. 44). The lands referred to (see Car. Reg. CCCLXXII.) are Cuines, St Rémy, Les Villards above Cuines, etc. Cf. p. 430, n. 2.

⁶ App. of Docs., No. XVI.; in 1279 the Viscount does homage to the Count for Cuines (Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Maurienne*, Paq. I. Cuines No. 1). The vassalage of the de la Chambre to the de Miolans for St Étienne de Cuines (Doc. No. IX.) is a separate matter.

⁷ Car. Reg. DXLV. (Billiet et Albrieux, *op. cit.* p. 69). The same claims and awards are made.

concerned, the Viscount secured the five royal *banna* in the district, i.e. the superior criminal jurisdiction¹.

This viscounty of Maurienne, as held by the de la Chambre, also furnishes an instance of an interesting Savoyard phenomenon, the sub-enseffment of that office. For the tenant-in-chief of the whole viscounty was the Sire de Miolans. The latter however only exercised his office over the district round Aiguebelle, and sub-enseffed the exercise of the remainder from Épièrre to the Alps to his vassal, the lord of La Chambre². Doubtless we here have a clue to the viscounty of Novalaise, which was held under Count Thomas and long after by the Sires de Seyssel. It consisted apparently of Petit Bugéy south of the Rhone and extended over the later *castellaniae* of Yenne and Chanaz³. But who the Viscounts of Belley county were, who thus sub-enseffed part of their office and presumably became themselves early extinct, does not transpire.

Of the Viscounts of Savoy proper, the lords, that is, of Chambéry, there seems little trace in their official capacity. Berlio de Chambéry surrendered his rights as Viscount in Chambéry town to the Count, but retained them elsewhere⁴.

On the other hand the rights of the Viscounts of Tarentaise, the Sires de Briançon, were fortunately made the subject of a comital inquisition in 1276⁵, and from that document we learn that from the cliff of Saxum⁶ near Moutiers upwards to the main ridge of the Alps

¹ Car. Reg. DCCCLXXXI. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 183). Cf. Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 400. It concerns Tigny, St Rémy, Cuines and Les Villards. The award runs "quod... Petrus de Camera... habeat et percipiat cum cause cognitione prius habita v. banna regalia viz proditionis, sanguinis effusionis facte cum gladio, furti, perjurii, adulterii...various feudal dues...et vicecomitatum...scilicet quod consuevit levare et habere in aliis hominibus vicecomitatus Mauriannensis." The *vicecomitatus* is the third of judicial fines. The controversy continued under Amadeus V (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 250).

² Nantelm de Miolans is already styled *Vicecomes* in 1189 (Car. *Sup.* XL.; *Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 78). For his suzerainty over the La Chambre etc. see App. of Docs., Nos. IX. and X. It has been somewhat obscured in Wurtemberg's abstract of X. (IV. p. 439) and in Ménabréa, *op. cit.* p. 545. For the extent of the viscounty of the de la Chambre, see App. of Docs., Nos. IX. and X. Later it only consisted of the 18 parishes east of St Jean-de-Maurienne (see de Foras, *Armorial...de Savoie*, I. 359). For the authenticity of the Docs., see note in the Appendix.

³ See App. of Docs., No. XIV. Pierre de Seyssel, Viscount of Novalaise, appears in 1209 (Car. Reg. CDXXV.; see above, p. 434, n. 1).

⁴ See below, p. 451. In 1295 Francis de la Rochette and his wife sold to Count Amadeus V the viscounty of the "mandement" of Chambéry, together with the castle (see Dufour, *Docs. inédits relatifs à la Savoie*, No. XXXII. (*Mém. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch.* v. (1861), p. 337).

⁵ App. of Docs., No. XI.

⁶ I identify Saxum with the rock on which the castle of St Jacques stands or stood (cf. Ménabréa, *Les Origines féodales*, p. 411).

the viscounty was sub-ensfeoffed to the lords of Mâcot, who continued to retain it as tenants-in-chief for some time after the Briançon had sold their own rights.

In fact in the thirteenth century the great viscountships must have been a source of danger and annoyance to the Counts. Almost all the comital public functions were performed with them or through them. They were rivals throughout the county; and cannot have been easy to supervise or control. The consequence was that the Counts became eager to buy out the holders of these troublesome public rights by the gift of fiefs of the ordinary local kind, which had no part in their own administration. The viscounty of Aiguebelle soon disappears, leaving that of Maurienne a direct fief of the Count. In 1279 the de Briançon in like manner surrendered their viscounty and mestral¹, although those of Upper Tarentaise remained to 1294, when the de Mascot, too, renounced the office². Lastly in 1295 the de Challant exchanged for the castle of Montjovet their viscounty, visdomnate and mestral³ of Aosta³; and the Counts were at last enabled to rule the valley and control their own rights and revenues without the continual intervention of their over-powerful vassals.

The power of the Sires de Châtillon was the governing factor in the Val d'Aosta under Count Thomas. The absenteeism of the Counts had led to a remarkable independence of the greater nobles, the *pares* or *majores viri et capitanei* of the valley, and the Viscount was their unquestioned head. He could pursue wars with Ivrea with no relation to his suzerain's policy⁴. To his wide domains, over which his rights were thorough-going, he united the three offices of Viscount, Vidame and Mestral of Aosta. Thus he represented the Count and perhaps the Bishop also. Not many functions seem left to the Count, when the jurisdictions of the great nobles are deducted. His authority, however, was conserved by the division of interests that existed between the *pares* and all the other free inhabitants of the valley. The grievances of the townsmen of Aosta, which resulted in their first charter⁵, were mainly due to the hereditary mestral, I imagine. And it seems from the sequel that he and the other barons were even more oppressive in the countryside⁶.

These oppressive claims of the Savoyard barons, which were at their worst in the Val d'Aosta, may, I think, be pretty well inferred from the

¹ App. of Docs., No. XII.

² App. of Docs., No. XIII.

³ App. of Docs., No. VIII. They had been pawned for a while to Count Peter II in 1263 (Wurstemberger, IV. p. 309).

⁴ See above, p. 410, n. 1.

⁵ See above, pp. 359-60.

⁶ See above, p. 378, n. 2.

document¹ already mentioned concerning the dispute between Pierre de la Chambre and the Canons of Maurienne, for the former seems to have construed his vicecomital rights as giving him full baronial powers over the villages in question. Besides seizing on the entire jurisdiction, he exacted the full servile dues and *opera* in villeinage, he levied a tallage two years running and he compelled the tenants to arm themselves and serve in his *cavalcatae*² probably for a private war. In spite of the somewhat later date of this testimony, it probably answers well enough to the state of things under Humbert III and his son. The feudal claims would grow lighter rather than heavier as the Count's power increased, especially as the opportunity the barons had of exercising their right of private war was limited³.

Deducting the doubtful subjects of the Count, such as the Archbishop of Tarentaise, the Bishop of Maurienne was his principal ecclesiastical vassal. He held a considerable territory with full jurisdiction stretching from his episcopal city of St Jean towards the Alps⁴. Next to him came the Bishop of Aosta, who seems to have made a vain attempt for an imperial investiture⁵. The chief Abbots mainly held allodial lands, which, save in Chablais perhaps, do not seem exceedingly extensive in Humbert's days: and St Maurice occupied a peculiar position. To the Cistercians it seems that wide seignorial rights were seldom given at first⁶. On the other hand the Hospital of S. Antonio di Ranverso was not only made toll- and octroi-free, but was also given complete jurisdiction over the lands it might acquire in a rather narrow vicinity, and further the judicial profits over its "men" throughout Savoy⁷.

¹ Car. Reg. DCCCLXXXI. (see above, p. 443, n. 1).

² Car. Reg. DCCCLXXXI.: "Petrus de Camera injuste percepit...paleas, fenum, trainas lignorum, tellas, secatores ad prata sua secunda et etiam cogunt homines jamdictos habentes boves ad veniendum cum bobus suis ad arandas terras suas...percepit etiam...banna, justicias ad ipsum capitulum...pertinentes...et facit...predictos homines venire ad litigandum coram se...et cogit...emere arma et venire in cavalcatas suas...et...fecit taliam anno preterito et presenti in hominibus capituli." Peter's defence was, this had been done for thirty-five years, which carries back the customs to 1217. On the rights of the case, we must remember that Pierre, besides his viscounty, was lord of Cuines and St Rémy (App. of Docs., No. IX.).

³ Cf. on these baronial rights Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. 226-30, and Cibrario, *Delle Finanze ecc.* I., Mem. Accad. Tor. XXXVI. pp. 84-6.

⁴ Ménabréa, *Les Origines féodales*, pp. 239-41.

⁵ Bishop Walpert was at the imperial court at Pavia in 1186 during Humbert's war with the Emperor, a sure sign of his disloyalty to the Count. But no investiture-diploma seems to have been obtained. Probably his attitude had something to do with citizen-discontent at Aosta (cf. above, p. 359). The Val de Cogne formed the chief part of the Bishop's demesne.

⁶ Cf. above, pp. 293-7.

⁷ Car. Reg. CCCLVIII. (Cibrario, *Operette varie* (ed. 1880), p. 429). "Dono...omnia mea jura quae possideo in omnem terram que est infra viam quae venit de

When we come to the remaining three classes, there is not much to say about the *clientes* and the *rustici*. The former, who should be vassals of unfree status, would furnish originally the Count's *familiares*¹. They appear between knights and villeins in the Val d'Aosta and ought there I think to be identified with the old class of *arimanni*², or at least to include that body, who were bound to the land. As we should expect they form the bulk of the men-at-arms supplied by the Count's demesne-lands. We might almost say that the inhabitants of the demesne-towns of Chambéry and Montmélian were *clientes* from a military point of view³. Perhaps another trace of them is to be found in the *tallia casamenti* levied by the Count in Tarentaise about the year 1276, since ordinary tenants-in-chivalry would be unlikely to be taxed beyond the feudal incidents and penalties. Thus the *clientes* would properly hold *casamenta*, not *feoda*. But their position here as elsewhere must have been more and more assimilated to that of the quite free vassals⁴.

With regard to the *rustici*, definite material is not to hand in large quantity. Their typical holding was of course the *mansus*. There are one or two fragments of monastic *extenta* which do not define the status of the *mansionarii*, whether free or unfree, but they give their dues⁵. The recognition of the mestral of Chambuerc gives further information on that point⁶, but the most general description is afforded

Taurino et Duriam a Rivo Enverso usque Avillianam si eadem terram potuerint acquirere....Dono etiam...omne pedagium et usagium de suis propriis rebus et leydam et omne bannum et forum de suis propriis hominibus in omni terra mea." Is *forum* here the market-law profits?

¹ See above, p. 439.

² Cf. Wurstemberger, *op. cit.* III. pp. 222-30 and 238, n. 21, who also states that the Arimanni were transferred with the land they owned, and gives a list of the dependents on the land—Arimanni, Ligii primi, Ligii secundi, Commendaticii and Albergati. I gather from Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. 115-8, that the *ligii*, or perhaps only the *ligii primi*, would be unfree men-at-arms. In that case, perhaps the *commendaticii* were free peasants and the *albergati* unfree peasants (= *casati*? Cf. Mayer, II. 18-20). According to Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, I. p. 70, the Lombard *arimanniae* were frequently inalienable, which accounts for the transfer of *arimanni* with their land.

³ See the charter to Chambéry (Car. Reg. DXXX., Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 126): "Quando autem dominus exercitum faciet, de singulis domibus unus eum sequi teneatur....Si dominus de villa quantitatem clientum habere voluerit, expensas proinde faciendas...mistralis et quattuor de villa...per villam dividant."

⁴ Cf. Mayer, *Deut. u. Franz. Verfassungsgeschichte*, II. pp. 20-2, 184-203. The *casamenta* seem not to have been hereditary: but they soon became merely a synonym of *feoda*. See Ducange, ed. Favre, *sub voce*.

⁵ I have mislaid the reference, which concerns either Aulphs or Abbondance.

⁶ Car. Reg. CDXXV. (see above, p. 434, n. 1). The dues are chiefly sheaves of corn, as well as hens, loaves etc. Cf. the long list of similar dues and cash payments,

by the rights claimed by Pierre de la Chambre over the men of Cuines, etc.¹ The peasants are subdivided in the Priory-lands at Innimont into the owners of oxen, and those without beasts of burden², and there owed what can only be the public burdens of hay and straw and a rent to the Count. To sum up, it was the usual dues and services which were levied. In Italy it is possible that there existed the special class of *aldii* still in the Val di Susa in Humbert III's time. At any rate they were present in Collegno, Pianezza and Alpignano on the Bishop of Turin's lands c. 1175³. They were, it seems, at this time peasants, tied to the soil, paying a fixed rent and dues; but still unfree in condition⁴.

While it is unlikely that the state of the *rustici* altered very materially under Humbert III and Thomas, the new class of townsmen made rapid progress under the latter. More often than the invention of new privileges, it was probably the inclusion of new groups of persons in the privileged circle of burgesses, which his charters imply⁵; for he was a creator of new towns *par excellence*. In succession he granted Aosta, Yenne and Chambéry their first charter, gave its first privileges to Miradolo, two or three times enlarged the rights of Susa, founded Villeneuve in Chablais and attempted to found Villafranca in Piedmont. Some of his documents have been lost⁶; but enough remains to show us the essentials of townsmanship in his days.

The first object of any town, or even village, was to avoid arbitrary tallage and to substitute for it a fixed house-tax. The grant to Miradolo in 1198 extends little beyond this⁷, and Aosta, Chambéry and Villeneuve

which Amadeus V makes over to François de la Rochette in 1295. The peasants, besides payments on their vintage, and in lieu of *manopera*, paid for the use of the alps, the mill and the bakery, and so forth.

¹ See above, p. 445, n. 2.

² Car. Reg. CDV. Cf. the *villanus* and *cottarius* of English documents.

³ *Carte del Pinerolese*, B.S.S.S. III. 2, pp. 225-7.

⁴ Cf. Mayer, *Ital. Verfassungsgeschichte*, I. 159-65.

⁵ For Amadeus' charter to Susa contains most of Thomas' grants.

⁶ i.e. of Yenne (1215) and probably of Villafranca. Of that to Villeneuve (1214) only a brief abstract remains (Wurstemberger, IV. No. 293). I think we are justified in assuming that Yenne's privileges differed hardly at all from Chambéry's (1232) (Car. Reg. DXXX.; Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.* p. 126), Villeneuve's and Montmélian's (1233 under Amadeus IV) (Car. Reg. DLII.; *Mém. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch.* 1858, II. p. 257) which form a closely-related group. This is the reason why in one or two places I speak of a concession as the rule when there is only one instance proved (Chambéry) under Thomas.

⁷ Car. Reg. CCCXCV. (*Cartario di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. II. p. 83). The text is not easy to follow. "Nulla alia super posita in supradictis hominibus facere debet," is clear; but Prof. Gabotto, *L'Abazia e il Comune di Pinerolo*, B.S.S.S. I. p. 132, thinks all comital dues forbidden by the following words, for which see *loc. cit.* To me it seems that they remain, but that arbitrary tallage is forbidden.

all obtained a similar concession. But while in Aosta¹ and Miradolo the Count expressly renounces the right of arbitrary tallage, no such clause appears in the charter of Chambéry of 1232. By a singular exception Susa did not possess the exemption, at least in name. Perhaps the tallage there was too valuable for the Count to surrender.

Allied in nature to this first privilege was the fixed scale of punishments, which in like manner each town strained its endeavours to obtain. Criminal offences of various kinds, murder, brawling and adultery, false weights and measures, defrauding the revenue, all received an appropriate customary punishment, in most cases a fine; and arbitrary action here, too, was done away with. Fixed taxes on sales and suchlike were laid down much more sparingly. Only Aosta had a real tariff.

Next to these prime objects, the removal of the grievances relating to purveyance was a common aim. Chambéry even gained exemption from *fenatagium*; but the common form seems to have the limitation of the time during which the Count might delay payment for the goods his officials seized on for his court to forty days, although Aosta did not obtain so much.

Besides these strictly communal privileges, one grant of a more individual nature was sought for by the more prosperous towns. This was the right of disposing freely of their property by will, which was attained by the Savoyard group and Susa, although not by Aosta. Along with it, the Count gave up his claim on the property of intestates, but it was reserved for Susa by a special charter in 1216 to do away with his oppressive tutelage of widows and orphans and gain for testators the power of selecting a guardian².

Two more provisions complete the list of typical regulations. One was an unadulterated privilege, the limitation of the townsmen's service in their ruler's *cavalcatae*. The men of Savoy were not bound to cross the Alps. Those of Villeneuve were even more favoured; their service was only due within the diocese of Sion, and there only within reach of their town, so that the heroes of any fight that might occur could duly repose the same night behind their walls. The second clause was a limitation in the interests of the feudal lords. No serf from Savoy proper was to settle in Chambéry without the consent of his lord, but if he did do so unclaimed for a year and a day he became an authentic burgess. Even in this restriction we may notice that the Counts allow immigration from their other provinces, and perhaps utilize a technical division of their lands in favour of the non-noble classes.

¹ Car. Reg. CCCLXXVIII. (Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.*, p. 82); see above, p. 359, n. 2. Knights and ecclesiastics in Aosta are expressly exempt from the new house-tax.

² Car. Reg. CDXLIX. (*M.H.P. Leges Munic.* 1. 8).

So far I have dealt with grants of a general nature. There were, however, others of a local complexion. Thus the new foundation of Villeneuve obtained a grant of markets. Oppressed Aosta received special protection against the tyrannous barons and had a peculiar defensive league confirmed. An offence against the citizens was thus made not merely an ordinary public offence for the public courts, but also a disregard of the Count's command, which entailed an extra penalty and was liable to his personal intervention. Further, the Count prescribed the traveller's route through the city and the limits of the market, with protection for the foreign traders' goods. Obviously Aosta's commercial needs were narrow. It was only a halting-place on the Great St Bernard route with no real trade of its own¹.

Susa, on the other hand, had a generic likeness to a Lombard commune, and possessed an independent commerce. The additions to his grandfather's charter which the townsmen presented to Thomas in 1198² formulate a homegrown custom and breathe a distinctly autonomous spirit. They testify also to the growing trade of the town. A foreigner's breach of contract is visited on his fellow-townsmen, in case they do not enforce honesty from him, in the usual way. In return for the exemption of Italians from most of the Mont Cenis customs, the Susians claim to be toll-free throughout Italy³.

The same liberal common-sense which dictated moderation in the levying of tolls also made the Susians freely accept immigrants to live on equal terms with themselves⁴. As to what those terms were in the matter of town-government and social arrangements our information is somewhat meagre. But in 1170 Humbert III makes a grant to the Canons of Oulx of the Hospital at Susa with the consent of the citizens and other *boni homines* of Susa⁵. Probably this implies some kind of general assembly, which had developed out of the *viciniae*⁶. That the *cives* in 1198 included tenants of land held in chivalry is shown by the provision of that date by which the continued possession of *honores* for ten years after a rival's claim had been made should be

¹ Cf. above, pp. 359-60 and 377-8.

² *Car. Reg.* cccxciv. (*M.H.P. Leges Munic.* I. 7-8). They begin "Usus noster talis est," and are obviously added to Amadeus III's charter, for which see above, pp. 303-6.

³ See above, p. 306, n. 5.

⁴ "Id ipsum quod habere volumus, nobiscum habitare volentibus concedimus."

⁵ *Car. Reg.* cccxl. (*Carte d'Oulx, B.S.S.S.* XLV. p. 162). "Consilio et voluntate civium et aliorum bonorum meorum hominum Secusiensium." Cf. above, pp. 333-5 (*Joh. Saris.* "Cives et incolae loci") and 439.

⁶ See above, pp. 304 and 306.

considered a good title¹. The fact is emphasized by a concession of 1213 where the Susian knights appear as a class, separate from the *burgenses*². In what way, however, the remaining *cives* were distinguished from the ordinary *boni homines* is difficult to say: although from analogy the ownership of real property may have been the criterion of their status. In that case the *boni homines* would consist of the rank and file of the *vicini*, the unlanded master-tradesmen in fact³. As for the artisans, the *operarii*, and the men of no reputation, the *glutones*, they would not be concerned with the town-government c. 1200 at all⁴.

The same classification appears with but slight divergence in Aosta. From out the mass of the *habitatores* who are under, and benefit from the town-regulations, there are signalized the knights, clergy and citizens or burgesses who are the non-noble landholders. It is the latter who really govern the town, just as it is they who pay the fixed tallage agreed on⁵. Nor do we find a very different state of things at Chambéry. There are the *habitatores*, and the apparently more select *burgenses*⁶, and the other distinction reappears too, that between the *probus vir* and the *leccator* of no character⁷.

The strict legal status of the burgess or inhabitant cannot have been originally high. Mostly they would be *clientes* and villeins. We

¹ *M.H.P. Leges Munic.* 1. 8: "Honores qui x annis, presente calumpniatore, tenebuntur, si infra etatem non fuerint, postea in pace teneantur." I suspect that the tradesmen had been buying out needy or borrowing knights.

² *Car. Reg.* CDXXXIX. (the document has gone astray in the State Archives of Turin, and I could not find it): "Concordia inter Thomam...et milites Secusienses una cum ecclesiasticis et burgensibus Secusiae, aliisque, qui partem ex eorum feodis a praefatis militibus acquisiverunt." These fiefs are doubtless the *honores* of the preceding note.

³ Cf. the case of Aosta for the identification of *cives* with landholders, and also cf. Mayer, *Italien. Verfassungsg.* 1. p. 11, n. 51, "Cives viz. arimannos"; arimanni being landholders by necessity.

⁴ "Operarii, cujuscumque sint officii, quotquot esse poterint, sine occasione operentur." For the *glutones* see above, p. 304, n. 2.

⁵ "Ego Thomas...de consilio baronum meorum et habitatorum civitatis Auguste recipio in protectione mea personas clericorum, civium burgensium, vineas et omnes possessiones mobiles et immobiles." For the house-tax cf. "omnes habitatores...constituunt reddere...duodecim denarios pro qualibet extensa brachiorum domus sue...exceptis domibus clericorum, militum et religiosorum." Here the possession of a house limits the phrase *habitor*. I imagine the several-storied house was already in use. For the government cf. *Car. Reg.* CDLVI. (*Misc. Stor. ital.* XXIII. p. 283); the leaguers on the countryside "juraverunt cum hominibus civibus Augustensibus."

⁶ "In villa libera non recipiantur homines burgenses nisi de voluntate dominorum suorum," etc. But mostly the *habitatores* are referred to, and in the charter to Montélian *burgenses* are not mentioned.

⁷ Cibrario and Promis misread *secator*.

gather from Thomas' first charter to Aosta that the greater number of the townsmen there had been unfree, unless the phraseology—*trado libertati*—is merely due to the Notary's struggle to express the new idea of a tallage by consent of the taxed¹. Chambéry was a demesnetown of the Viscount of Savoy, Berlio de Chambéry, who sold it, men, lands, and dues, save the castle and a few subsidiary rights, to Count Thomas in February 1232². The Count, one of whose favourite *albergariae* it seems to have been, promptly granted the town-charter I have discussed and thus began the upward movement, which ended in its becoming capital of Savoy.

The government of these towns under Count Thomas is little mentioned. Aosta was ruled by consuls—two it seems for each of its three quarters—and their officials³. Chambéry was governed largely by the Count's mestral, who was assisted in his functions by certain "prudentes viri et sapientes, probi viri et discreti," and various subordinate officials. Even Susa must have been largely administered by the Count's Castellan and Gastalds, and S. Giusto Abbey's feudal rights would also reduce the sphere of communal action. We are left with the impression that that sphere was not large anywhere in Savoy.

None the less the communal spirit was abroad. Already in 1173 among the negotiators of Humbert III's treaty with King Henry II we find two burgesses, one surnamed of Aiguebelle, along with two knights and two castellans⁴. They have a recognized place in the state. But their main endeavour as yet was to obtain some sort of settled custom and fixed rules of law, rather than self-government. This was the case even in Susa, infected with the freer Lombard spirit and carefully limiting the Count's power: it was still more marked in Burgundian Aosta, where the *bourgeois* and lesser nobles leant on their ruler for support against the tyrannous barons.

¹ See above, p. 359, n. 2.

² Car. Reg. DXXXI. (Sclopolis, *Considerazioni intorno a Tommaso I*, Mem. Accad. Sc. Torino, xxxiv. p. 93): "Vendo in quantum viz. homines, terras, et census, dominia, vicecomitatu (*sic*), vicedominatu (*sic*), venditiones domorum, banna, leydas, justitias, tallias, cursus aquarum et stratas publicas et privatas." 32,000 Susian *solidi* and the fief of Montfort were the price. The *vicecomitatus* outside the town was reserved. No fiefs are mentioned as sold. There is a difficulty about the exact date. Thomas' town-charter is dated, "1232, IV Non. Mart., Ind. V," i.e. 4 March 1232; Berlio's sale, which refers to the town-charter as in the future, is dated, "1232, Id. Mart., Ind. V," i.e. 15 March 1232; his son William's confirmation of the sale is dated "IX Kal. Martii, eodem Martii (*sic*)," i.e. 21 Feb. 1232. I conclude, in the corrupt text before us, we should read "Id. Feb." for the deed of sale, i.e. 13 Feb. 1232, and "IX Kal. Martii, eodem anno," for the confirmation, i.e. 21 Feb. 1232. The date of the town-charter, 4 March 1232, then follows naturally.

³ See above, p. 377-8 and Duc, Misc. stor. ital. xxiii. p. 285.

⁴ *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, Rolls Series, I. p. 41.

SECTION IV. SUMMARY.

In the present study, it has been attempted to examine in detail the fortunes of the House of Savoy during some two centuries. It has been a history of the survival of the fittest. A crowd of counts obtained local dominion on the break-up of Charlemagne's empire. It was only a select number of them who survived in independence the throes of the regrowth of an orderly society. These survivors, earlier in France, later in Germany, held the royal power at bay, quelled their own vassals, organized their domains, and gradually formed a real administration and a petty state. Now this is the significance of the epoch of Count Thomas in Savoy. By then the dominions of his house had acquired consistency, some degree of internal order, and an embryo administration. The imperial ban which had crushed Henry the Lion could not ruin Savoy. So the critical period of formation which we have traced was over. We found the Humbertines and Ardoinids c. 1000 as typical great officials and *fideles* of the post-Carolingian era, the ones of the Burgundian and West-Frankish, the others of the North-Italian species. They are functionaries within large units of territory. We leave the Counts of Savoy in the twelfth century ruling a typical minor feudal state on the slopes of the Alps. To all intents and purposes they are autonomous. In nationality they are almost wholly Burgundian and French. The only counter-influence, their small Italian territory, has been arrested in its development or diverted from the normal development of Lombardy. None the less, in spite of language, it is Italian and not Burgundian. But a local custom has sprung up, as also is the case in the various districts of Savoy itself.

This process, both unifying and dividing, is shown in the personal law of individuals. In the eleventh century, each man has his own law, hereditary or assumed. He is Roman, Lombard, Salic, Burgundian and so on, as the case may be, within the public fabric of a great state. Now, the several provinces have their custom or use, which binds all their inhabitants. This is chiefly compounded of the four racial laws above-named, the Roman and Salic being found on both sides of the Alps, the Lombard in Piedmont, and the Burgundian in Savoy¹. But also it is a natural growth from immediate circumstances. It represents the way in which the full-grown feudal system worked out in the several localities. Countless small facts of life, physical and historical,

¹ See Wurstemberger, III. 329-48, for this; but I think he omits the subsequent consideration.

inevitable and accidental, must have gone towards diversifying the mould in which the customs grew¹.

The chief result of this process of growth was the completed feudal system itself. We start from a time of much allodial holding and of the public administration of justice and war. We end in a time when almost all land is held in vassalage, and when the private administration of justice and war has all but absorbed the public. Part of the growth was concealed from the eyes of contemporaries by the new interpretation of old documents. They sometimes perhaps read more into the eleventh century allodial grants than was justified, in order to meet the new situation created in Savoy and Piedmont by the weakness of the public authority at the death of Adelaide². But more frequently they had twelfth-century charters, which levelled them up to the surrounding lay seigneurs. The Canons of Maurienne and the monks of Pinerolo provide instances³. The lay feudalists had no documents as a rule in the twelfth century. They relied on custom. But Govone gives a case in point where custom, and custom too in the very time of transition, was written down⁴.

But through all this welter of decomposition, the Count's status, his prerogative, remained intact. He alone owned no lay lord but the Emperor; he alone could create offences; he alone could extend his protection to all classes in his dominions. With the Viscounts, he still exercised a public general jurisdiction. The system of administration, which was built up by the later Counts, was no creation in the void. What happened was the supersession of a decayed, antiquated and deformed administration through the feudal Viscounts by an effective one through nominated officials. It had never been forgotten that the Count was the ruler of the land as well as its seigneur. Thus he had sources of strength denied to the most overweening vassal; they helped to preserve his authority in evil days; they were admirable means for increasing it in prosperity.

Certain material circumstances were also strongly in the Counts' favour and helped towards the survival of the later State. With all due deductions made, Savoy had a distinct principle of territorial unity. Chablais, Aosta, Tarentaise and Maurienne might be secluded from

¹ Thus the absenteeism of the Count led to the greater power of the Viscounts and barons in Aosta.

² It was decided in 1218 at Pinerolo that the entire jurisdiction over the town was conveyed to the Abbot by Countess Adelaide's gift (*Cartario di Pinerolo, B.S.S.S.*, II. 114-5). Thus it is not quite safe to argue from thirteenth-century facts back to earlier times; e.g. were the *advocati*, who appear c. 1270 as holding the public courts for the Count (Wurstemberger, III. 335) ancient officials or new?

³ See above, pp. 285-6, 442-3.

⁴ See above, p. 259, n. 4.

one another by the main ridge or the many subsidiary ranges of the Alps; Susa might be essentially Lombard, and other domains lie scattered towards Vienne and Lyons. But none the less the greater part of the Humbertine lands formed a coherent group, where dialects of the same tongue were spoken, and where government, traditions and habits of life were much the same. There were the same narrow mountain-valleys, the same occasional marshy plains, the same scanty river-side cornfields, the pine-woods, the grassy alps among and above them, the same pastoral economy, the identical seasons of the year, and dominating all, the *genii* of the land, those rocky or snowy peaks, which seemed the most abiding and ancient, if in truth they were the latest-born, of the members of the physical world.

In addition the land occupied a strategic position on the Alpine chain which gave it its character. Three great passes were wholly in her territory, as well as the Italian outlet of a fourth, the Mont Genève. Thus the Counts had always something to give, something to bargain with. It was better to have them as friends than as enemies. Then the fortunate retention of the Val di Susa and the claim to rule Piedmont prevented their being shut up in the blind alley of merely Burgundian ambitions like the Dauphins. It gave them a wider outlook, and when the growth of France and Switzerland shut out all hope on those sides, it offered them a prospect of an Italian kingdom.

The control of the passes did not only yield political advantages, it gave a measure of financial strength. In general, the royal roads, passes, and tolls, with all the swarm of pilgrims, travellers and merchants, were under the Counts' rule¹. Not only did this prerogative check feudal autonomy by giving the Counts occasion for interference throughout their counties; but the income so obtained was an invaluable addition to that derived from *albergariae*, judicial profits and demesnes, which were seemingly none too large.

I have already descanted enough on the advantages of the Counts' principedom of the Empire and the regalian rights they enjoyed². But I should emphasize again the results of their practice of primogeniture, even when qualified by the system of appanages. It meant the preservation of the State and of the uniqueness of the Counts' position. True, they shared this custom with their fellow-princes in Burgundy. But in Italy it was hard to parallel, and the Savoyards, unlike the other Burgundian Counts, were factors, though of little weight as yet, in Italian politics. In the later Middle Ages its faithful observance was to give them an immense advantage.

So far I have dealt with classifiable and external matters. There remains to mention the character of the Counts themselves. By a happy

¹ Cf. above, pp. 274, 430-2.

² See above, pp. 422-3, 453.

fate they seem to have been with one exception able men who were suited to the circumstances in which they lived. Only Humbert III appears to have lacked talent, and even he had a persistence and an obstinacy, which weathered the storms of Barbarossa. If he lost much, he gave up nothing¹. His prerogative and every claim remained intact for his capable son to use.

The reign of the warrior Thomas indeed began a new era of expansion and prosperity for his house. He came in the nick of time, a man swift to see the trend of events and seize his opportunity, ready to organize what was itself struggling into settled form, extraordinarily active and ambitious, supple and resolute, quick to change, and yet also to resume, his policy, a gallant and eminent figure even in the illustrious House of Savoy. In the timeliness of his advent, in his aptness for the task he had under his hand, we may recognize the power of Fortune, of whom he was no favoured child, but yet a careful servant.

Vostro saver non ha contrasto a lei;
Ella provvede, giudica e persegue
Suo regno, come il loro gli altri dei.

¹ Thus it is noticeable that no charter of renunciation of episcopal *spolia*, not including confirmations, seems to emanate from him. He confirmed those in favour of Aosta (see above, p. 302) and Maurienne (Car. Reg. DCCLXXXVI., Cibrario e Promis, *Doc.*, p. 173).

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

- I. Concession of the castle of Ville de Challant to Boso de Châtillon, Viscount of Aosta, April 1206.

[This document, registered in Carutti (CDXVI), and used by de Tillier *Historique de la vallée d'Aoste, Duché*, p. 47, and Ménabréa, *Orig. féod.* p. 418-19, has not, I believe, been published *in extenso*.]

Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo sexto mense Aprilis. Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod nos Thomas Comes Mauriennensis et in Italia Marchio concedimus dilecto fideli nostro Bosoni Augustensi vicecomiti atque suis heredibus in perpetuum castrum de Villa in feudum pro aumento (*sic*) sui feudi et juxta consuetudinem aliorum castrorum vallis Augustensis inde nobis et nostris teneatur et sui successores; salvo tamen in dono, quod omni conquerenti de vicecomite rationem et justiciam exhibeat vicecomes in curiam nostram. Sic enim donamus et concedimus ut in eo hedificat et castellat.

A fragment of the Count's seal still hangs from this original. [Archivio di Stato of Turin, Aosta, *Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. XIV. Ville près de Challant, No. 1.]

- II. Recognition of Boso, Viscount of Aosta, 3 July 1237.

[Abstracted, Carutti, CMLIX used by De Tillier, *op. cit.*, *Duché*, p. 43, Seigneuries, pp. 22, 64, 118, 232; it has not, I believe, been published *in extenso*.]

S. T Anno domini mcccxxvii indictione x quinto Nonas Julii in presentia testium subscriptorum Willelmus prior Sancti Martini de Ayma, scriptor illustris viri domini Amedei Comitis Sabaudie et Marchionis in Ytalia, nomine et ex parte predicti Avedei (*sic*) domini Comitis Sabaudie et pro ipso et ab eodem Comite specialiter ad hoc missus, peccit a domino Bosone Vicecomite de Augusta ut eidem Willelmo scriptori domini Comitis et ex parte ipsius Comitis diceret, recognosceret adque confiteretur omnia ea que idem dominus Boso et hered[es ejus(?)] adque antecessores debebant vel debuerint nomine placiti vel playdiamenti seu mutagii [seu(?)] alia qualibet de causa dicto domino Amedeo Comiti et ipsius antecessoribus pro feudis que ab ipso [vel(?)] ab antecessoribus tenebat vel tenuerat. Qui predictus dominus

Boso ibidem et in continenti ad instanciam predicti Willelmi prioris dixerit (*sic*), confessus fuit adque recognovit se debere et antecessores ejus debuisse nomine mutagii placiti vel playdamenti predicto domino Amedeo Comiti et suis antecessoribus in mutacione seu morte feudatarii sive tenimentarii pro feudis (*sic*) que ipse tenebat ab eo decem et septem milibus (*sic*) solidorum Secusinorum novorum ad misericordiam domini Comitis qui pro tempore fuerit, et misericordia domini Comitis erga ipsum debet esse bona et erga heredes ipsius. Actum in Castro de Clin in aula¹, ubi interfuerunt testes vocati et specialiter rogati: Dominus Vubertus et Aymo filii dicti Vicecomitis et Jhoannes archidiaconus Augustensis, Ricardus [de] Sancto Andreo in Morianna, T(er)abiz (?) quidam Cacifer de Ayma. Et ego Petrus de Masco[to (?)] sacri palacii notarius interfui et hanc cartam de mandato jamdicti vicecomitis et predicti Willelmi prioris de Ayma rogatus scripsi et subscripsi, signavi et tradidi. S.T.

[Original: Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Citté et Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. I. No. 8.]

III. Recognition of Geoffrey, Viscount of Aosta, and his brothers, 19 Dec. 1242.

[Abstracted, Carutti, DCLXXXVII; used by De Tillier, *op. cit.*, *Duché*, p. 47; it has not, I believe, been published *in extenso*.]

S. T. Anno domini millesimo ccxlii indictione quintadecima xiiii Kalendas Januarii, in presencia infrascriptorum testium, ad requisitionem domini Amedei Comitis Sabaudie dominus Gottafredus Vicecomes Augustensis et fratres sui Aymo et Boso confessi sunt se [tenere] debere(?) ab eodem domino Comite vicecomitatum, vicedonnag[ium] et] mistralliam cum suis pertinenciis; item, quintam partem omnium proventuum a summitate Montis Jovis usque Helierum et assetamenta² vallis Auguste, exceptis illis de Vaudagia de quibus dubitant; item, quod debent illud quod Heremancii debent domino Comiti, et ipsos debent conservare, et corpus castri de Feniz scilicet a Karto (i.e. *Quart*) usque ad pontem de Lyurogi (?) in podio et plano. Item tenent qui sunt in terra ipsorum; item usurarios et adulteros qui sunt in terra ipsorum et posse. Item, quod possunt dimificare (*sic*, copy has *domificare*) turrin in posse eorum. Item fortunas et argenterias. Item banna et justicias tocus terre eorum et posse; et borgeisiam de Chasteillon et castrum de Ch[a]steillon et castrum de Rives ubi burgum erat. Item, corpus castri de Villa. Item placita generalia de Donaz et Mont Jovet et Chasteillon et Nons et osta castri Argentes et Vaudagi de septem annis semel. De illis de Verret non sunt certi. Et placita vieranz et vinum Comitis ubicumque habeat. Item de hoc de Cillani

¹ Carutti reads, "Elia Maula (?)". The castle is that of Cly.

² Copy has assectamenta.

(? Oillani, i.e. Mont Ouille) non sunt certi, si est de domino Comite seu episcopi Vercellensis, exceptis bannis et justiciis que sunt de domino Comite. Item nemora nigra, aquas et rivagia, pasqueria de plano (?) de Chasteillan, et in terra eorum in pluribus locis, et plures insulas in terra ipsorum. Item apud burgum de Montgo xiiii solidos et duos denarios et obolum Muris(ianorum, i.e. Mauricianorum) prout intendunt. Item, tenent Heremancios in posse Montis Joveti et placita vieranz. Et pro isto feudo illi de herbergo ipsorum debent esse homines ipsius domini Comitum ligii. Placitum ignorant, set inquirent, et debent cavalcatam et unum receptum¹ apud Chasteillon semel in anno, et alterum in Augusta quem fecit Vicedonnu quando Comes ibi facit transitum et sine armis. Item, mareschauciam feni et palee terre ipsorum. Item, Vicedonnu debet administrare saporem in coquina et ligna ante Comitum, et debet in die habere livram suam; set non determinaverunt. Et mistrallis debet administrare mantilia et civos et cutellas, et debet habere pro livra sua in die xv denarios, et si quid amissum fuerit sibi debet restitui quando Comes recedit.

Actum est hoc Auguste in domo domini episcopi ubi fuerunt vocati testes et rogati Dominus Jacobus Abbas Segusiensis, Dominus Guigo de Amains, Wmus. Boiquardi (? Carutti has Bonivardi), Jacelinus de Chambuerc, Amedeus de Thuillia, Rodulfus de Dinia, Tisbaudus de Podio Gauterii, Jacobus de Porta, Wmus. de Arculo, Wmus. Grossus, Jacominus de Karto, Jacquiminus de Valeisia et plures alii.

S. T. Ego Jacobus Barberius sacri imperii et Comitum Sabaudie notarius et scriptor rogatus scripsi et tradidi feliciter.

[Original, Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Cité et Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. 1. No. 11. Here and there, for a dubious word, I have used a copy of the fourteenth century, same Paquet, No. 13.]

IV. Recognition of Ebal, Viscount of Aosta, 21 Oct. 1287.

[Used by de Tillier, *op. cit.*, *Duché*, p. 47.]

S. T. Anno domini m^o cc^o lxxx^o septimo, indictione xv^a die lune post festum Beati Luce Evangeliste, presentibus testibus infrascriptis, ad instanciam et requisitionem mei notarii infrascripti stipulantis requirentis et recipientis vice et nomine illustris viri domini Amedei Comitum Sabaudie, confessus fuit per sacramentum dominus Ebalus Vicecomes Augustensis se tenere ad feudum a predicto domino Comite et de ejus dominio vicecomitatum per totam vallem² Auguste cum bagnis, justiciis et pertinenciis ejusdem vicecomitatus. Item, quintam partem de omnibus excheytis que excedere (?) possunt domino Comiti in valle Auguste. Item quinque solidos de libra in curia domini

¹ Carutti has "praeceptum."

² De Tillier, following the fourteenth century copy, reads *villam*.

Comitis omni die qua dominus Comes moratur in valle Auguste. Item bagna, justicias, nemora nigra, aquas, pascua, boschacias, usurarios, vierias, ayrimagnos in terra Vicecomitis. Item, chercuriam Auguste et vinum computatum sognyavi (*sic*) Comitis in terra Vicecomitis, regalia, placita generalia, escheytas caminorum, fortunas, et omnes maynas que reperiri possunt in terra Vicecomitis cum insulis et rivagiis. Item, tenet ab eodem totum illud feudum quod dominus Morellus tenebat a domino Comite ab Inenzon (?) superius et a sapellis de Lo superius. Item, tenet ab eodem usagia que sibi fiunt vel fieri debent in Andor. Item, castrum de Monte Joveto cum pedagio et castrum de Villa et quasdam possessiones que dicuntur de feudo Bardi ubicumque sint a Grosso Saxo superius. Et pro predictis confessus fuit se debere dicto domino Comiti duas partes de quinquaginta livris, dicens quod illi de Cli debent aliam terciam partem, protestando quod si quid oblitus fuerit quam cicius recollet illud manifestabit, nec esset sibi aliquod prejudicium.

Actum in Augusta in viridario domus domini episcopi Augustensis, ubi ad hec fuerunt testes vocati et rogati Dominus Aymo Dardex (?) miles, Jothefredus de Cli et Bonifacius de Cli, Jaquiminus de Ozano et plures alii. Et ego Vullielmus de Bans publicus notarius sacri palacii qui hanc cartam ad opus dicti domini Comitis et de partium voluntate scripsi fideliter et signavi.

[From original roll and fourteenth century copy; Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Cité et Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. 1. No. 24.]

V. Recognition of the Lords of Cly, same date.

Same opening as in IV.—confessi fuerunt et publice recognoverunt per sacramentum Radulphus, Gothefredus et Bonifacius de Cly fratres se tenere ad feudum a dicto domino Comite et de ejus dominio bagnas et justicias, clamas et totum plenum dominium que possunt accidi in potestate de Cli et alibi ubicumque aliquid teneant vel possideant in valle Auguste, nemora nigra, rivagia, pascua, usurarios, boschacias, exthoceros, ayrimandos, fortunas et maynas que possunt reperiri super terram et dominium ipsorum, cum insulis et excheytis camini domini predictorum. Et pro predictis confitentur se debere dicto domino Comiti quinquaginta libras monete Augustensis de placito quando contingerit, protestantes quod non esset in eorum prejudicio si quid oblivioni tradiderunt quia illud libenter confitebuntur quando venerint ad memoriam.

Actum.....(as in IV.). Witnesses: dominus Ebalus Vicecomes Augustensis, dominus Amedeus de Virion miles, Jaquiminus de Ozano et plures alii.

[Same sources as IV.]

VI. Recognition of Peronetus of Châtillon, 20 Oct. 1280.

Same opening as in IV....confessus fuit per sacramentum Peronetus de Castellione domicellus se tenere ad feodum a dicto domino Comite bagna et justicias in potestate Castellionis et totum plenum dominium, nemora, aquas, pascua, insulas, prout homines sui et illi de potestate dicti loci consueverunt. Item, castrum vetus quod est sup̄tus Castellionem juxta Duriam et reytilibiles et ayrimaneios et burgesiam sui burgi et exchetas sui camini, fortunas et vierias et bagna et justicias cum toto pleno dominio in quantum ipse tenet de rebus quondam Vicecomitis cum boschaciis et usurariis, dicens quod ipse debet de placito pro rebus patris sui triginta libras et c. et xi. solidos pro rebus sibi adjudicatis de rebus quondam domini Aymonis Vicecomitis Augustensis.

Actum apud Male-consilium in Augusta ante domum Amedei Gay ubi ad hec fuerunt testes vocati et rogati Odoinus de Granges, Johannes de Castellione et Bronetus filius dicti Odonini. Et ego etc.—as in IV.

[Same sources as IV.]

VII. Ebal, Viscount of Aosta, surrenders his castle of Ville at Challant on the Count's entry in the Val d'Aosta, 11 Sept. 1295.

[This has, I believe, been published by Mg^r Duc, Bishop of Aosta, in a scarce brochure, which I have not been able to see. It is not in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin.]

Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quinto indictione octava die dominico sequenti post festum Nativitatis Beate Marie Virginis presentibus testibus infrascriptis, ad instanciam mei Hugoneti de Chevros infrascripti notarii omnia infrascripta stipulantis et recipientis vice et nomine illustris viri domini Amedei Comitis Sabaudie, Gotefredus filius nobilis viri domini Ebali Vicecomitis Augustensis nomine suo et ipsius domini Ebali ad requisicionem mei notarii infrascripti reddidit et deliberavit castrum eorum de Villa apud Challant cum clavibus secundum mores et consuetudines Vallis Auguste in manu (*sic*) Anthelmi [Porterii] de Thornone Tharentasiensis diocesis recipientis nomine et ad opus dicti domini Comitis. Et ibidem dimisit pro dicto castro custodiendo ad expensas ipsius domini Ebali servientem infrascriptum, videlicet, Perronetum de Albiniey; confitendo idem Gotefredus quod dictum castrum est reddibilem (*sic*) dicto domino Comiti quocienscumque ipsum dominum Comitem venire contingerit in Vallem Auguste. Ad hec interfuerunt testes vocati Johannes de Villa, Petrus Artholdi, Ber[.....] Tholotus de Villa et Guillencus de Dania notarius.

Actum apud Villam en Chalant ante portam castri de Villa, et ego Hugonetus de Chevros publicus notarius sacri palatii hiis interfui qui

hanc cartam rogatus a dicto Anthelmo nomine et ad opus dicti domini Comitis scripsi.

In the same way Geoffrey surrendered Montjovet the day before; as did Boniface and Geoffrey de Cly their castle of Cly; and Margaret, wife of Perronet de Châtillon, the castle of Châtillon.

[Original roll: Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Cité et Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. 11. No. 6.]

VIII. Sale of the Viscounty, Visdomnate and Mestralsy of Aosta by Ebal de Challant and his sons to Amadeus V, 24 Sept. 1295.

[The description of the Viscount's rights, contaminated with that in No. III, was published by De Tillier, *op. cit.*, *Duché*, p. 44 (cf. p. 48), from a later copy.]

S. T. Anno m^occ^o nonagesimo quinto Indictione viii^a die salbati (*sic*) proxima post festum Beati Mauricii presentibus me notario et testibus infrascriptis per hoc presens publicum instrumentum conctis appareat presentibus et futuris quod illustris vir dominus Amedeus Comes Sabaudie pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus ex una parte et nobilis vir dominus Ebalus Vicecomes Vallis Auguste et Godefredus et Aymonetus filii dicti domini Ebalii de voluntate et expresso consensu dicti patris sui pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus ex parte altera, gratis ac suis voluntatibus spontaneis, non decepti, non coacti, set plene ut asserunt de jure suo et de facto instructi permutationem et excambium fecerunt de bonis, rebus, jurisdictionibus, juribus, proprietatibus, et possessionibus, hominibus, vasallis, feudis et feudatariis et de omnibus aliis infrascriptis in modum qui sequitur. Videlicet, quia dicti dominus Ebalus et Godefredus et Aymonetus permutaverunt et ex causa permutationis dederunt, tradiderunt et concesserunt nominibus quibus supra predicto domino Comiti presenti petenti et recipienti nominibus quibus supra vicecomitatum et jura et pertinencias et rationes ipsius vicecomitatus quecumque sint et qualiacumque et ubicumque et quocumque nomine censeantur, civitatis Auguste et suburbiorum et pertinenciarum ipsius quantum banna ipsius protenduntur ac eciam totius Vallis Auguste, exceptis ipso domino Ebalo et ejus liberis et eorum hospicio, et exceptis dominis de Cly et domino Castellionis qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore fuerint et eorum hospiciis in quibus et super quibus non concedunt nec aliquo modo concedere intendunt dicto domino Comiti vicecomitatum, set se et prenomatos liberos et immunes esse volunt a vicecomitatu. Item, exceptis castris, jurisdictionibus, mero et misto imperio, possessionibus, proprietatibus, feudis, feudatariis, aliis quam infrascriptis, que et quas habet, tenet, possidet vel quasi possidet per se vel per alium extra banna civitatis Auguste ubicumque sint cum

omnibus suis pertinenciis et dominio ipsorum feudorum existentibus extra banna Auguste. Item, tradunt jurisdictionem totalem et justiciam altam et bassam et exercitium ipsius jurisdictionis in civitate Auguste et infra banna ipsius civitatis et etiam in tota dicta valle racione ipsius vicecomitatus ipsis competentes. Item, omnia banna sexaginta solidorum et infra, et omnia banna falsarum mensurarum, quecumque res mensurentur vel ponderentur vel appendantur. Item, omnia jura recipiendi cautiones, satisfaciones vel alias securitates. Item, quintam partem omnium bannorum et excheytorum sommam sexaginta solidorum extendencium. Item, jus capiendi et detinendi et custodiendi illos qui capiuntur; item, custodiendi campos campionum et percipiendi omnia que percipi [h]ac de causa racione vicecomitatus consueverunt. Item, omnia banna adulterium vel strupum (*sic*) committencium (*sic*). Item, omnia dupla causarum ventilatarum non finitarum et ventilandarum. Item, cancellariam, vicedonnatum, mistraliam, salvis juribus feudatariorum. Item, chercurias Augustanas et jus ipsis competens in ipsis et pro ipsis que omnia ad ipsos pertinere debent, ut asserunt, in dicta civitate et infra banna ipsius et etiam in tota dicta valle occasione (*sic*) et racione dicti vicecomitatus exceptis superius exceptatis. Item, feudum domus de Rupe quod est feudum unius equi. Item, domum suam fortem que vocatur Porta Beatricis cum orto, cujus fines sunt, de prima parte res quas tenet Peronetus de Valledigna et res Sancti Benigni. Item, feudum totum quod ab ipso domino Ebalo tenent et tenere debent liberi Jacomini condam de Amavilla et omnia usagia inde debita. Et generaliter quidquid habent, tenent, possident vel quasi, vel habere debent seu possunt in dicta civitate et infra banna ipsius, excepta domo sua que vocatur Turisnova, et exceptis curtilibus et aliis dicte Turi adjacentibus, et exceptis et rexervatis (*sic*) ipsi domino Ebalo servitiis et usagiis sibi debitis per aliquas personas dicte civitatis pro feudis que ab illo tenent extra muros civitatis, in quibus tamen feudatariis nullam retinet jurisdictionem in personis, set in feudis sicut dominus feudi. Tradunt et concedunt predicti ut supra dicto domino Comiti recipienti ut supra res predictas cum omnium predictorum juribus, racionibus, pertinenciis, appendiciis, feudis, feudatariis, hommagiis et juribus et racionibus et pertinenciis aliis universis dicti vicecomitatus et aliorum omnium predictorum, nichil sibi penitus retinentes nisi dictam domum de Turenova cum curtili et aliis adjacentibus et dictis serviciis et usagiis ut supra in dicta civitate et infra banna ipsius. Tradunt inquam ad habendum, tenendum, possidendum et quasi, alienandum et quidquid ipsi domino Comiti et suis heredibus placuerit faciendum. Et versa vice dictus dominus Comes nominibus quibus supra permutavit et ex causa permutacionis predictorum donavit, tradidit et concessit predicto domino

Ebalo presenti, petenti et recipienti nominibus quibus supra de voluntate et expresso consensu dictorum Gotifredi et Aymoneti presentium volentium, in feudum castrum ipsius domini Comitis de Monte-joveto Augustensis dyocesis, reddibile quancumque dictum dominum Comitem vel ejus heredes comitatum tenentes vel terram dicte vallis in Valle Auguste pervenire contingerit, et omnes domos, turim (*sic*) et edificia omnia que habet, tenet, possidet vel quasi in dicto castro. Item, omnes homines, vasallos, feudatarios, emphiteotas, feuda, jurisdictiones altas et bassas, redditus, servicia, usagia, census, proprietates, possessiones, pedagia, jura, servitutes, vineas, prata, nemora et res alias universas quas et que et quos idem dominus Comes habet, tenet, possidet et quasi, vel habere debet in dicto castro Montis-joveti et villa et in toto ejus territorio et districtu et generaliter quidquid idem dominus Comes habuit a faydico de Monte-joveto cum omnium predictorum juribus, appendiciis, pertinenciis, servitutibus, introytibus, exitibus, aquarum decursibus, ripagiis et juribus et rationibus aliis universis, excepto et retento sibi et suis heredibus recepto quod sibi debetur in toto dicto castro et villa, ad habendum, tenendum, possidendum et quasi de feudo ipsius domini Comitis reddibili quoad dictum castrum ut supra.

Et se quelibet pars modo predicto de rebus alteri parti traditis et permutatis devesit et partem alteram presentem et recipientem per tradicionem unius baculi investit et in possessionem et quasi mitit (*sic*). Hoc acto inter partes predictas per pactum solempni stipulatione valatum, quod carte Augustane que amodo fient per homines de terra Vicecomitis de possessionibus existentibus in eorum terra et poderio reddantur et deliberentur sicut deliberantur et deliberabantur alie carte Augustane que non sunt de jurisdictione Vicecomitis. Tradit inquam dictus dominus Comes dictum castrum cum omnibus suis rebus et pertinenciis ipsius castri et quidquid habet in castro novo, que omnia promixit (*sic*) dictus dominus Comes dicto domino Ebalo garantire et defendere sicut dominus feudi justicia mediante. Constituentes se vicisim (*sic*) una pars nomine alterius possidere et quasi omnia et singula parti alteri permutata, donec quelibet pars de rebus sibi permutatis possessionem vel quasi per se vel per alium apprehenderit corporalem, quam apprehendendi una pars alteri licentiam et auctoritatem concessit, nulla alterius persone licentia requisita. Cedentes, mandantes et concedentes una pars alteri omnia sua jura omnesque suas actiones personales, reales, mistas, civiles, precorias, rei persecutorias et alias quascumque cuilibet parti in rebus per ipsam permutatis competencia, competitura, competentes, competituras, in predictis et occasione predictorum. Et una pars alteram procuratricem constituit ut in rem suam, ita tamen quod semper res per ipsum dominum Comitem

permutate sint et remaneant de feodo ipsius domini Comitis et dictum castrum sit reddibile. Concedentes sibi vicisim dicte partes quod quelibet pars pro rebus sibi traditis et permutatis possit agere deffendere et omnia facere que merita causarum desiderant et requirunt. Et si res per unam partem tradite plus valent aliis receptis totum illud plus valens sibi vicisim donaverunt donacione inter vivos. Mandantes et precipientes ambe partes per hoc publicum instrumentum omnibus hominibus, feudatariis, vasallis, tenementariis et personis aliis qui et que tenentur vel sunt obligati vel obligate ipsis et eorum cuilibet in predictis vel occasione predictorum alteri parti permutatorum, quod alteri parti respondent, usagient, solvant, et hommagia faciant sicut ipsi facere tenebantur ante hanc permutacionem; et ipsos et ipsas ex nunc ad instanciam et requisicionem mei notarii infrascripti petentis et recipientis vice et nomine dictorum hominum et personarum et omnium quorum interest et interesse posse (*sic*) a dictis hommagiis usagiis et obligationibus solvut (*sic*), quitant et penitus liberant, salvo domino Comiti jure suo in dicto feudo. Que omnia et singula predicta dicte partes sibi vicisim promixerunt (*sic*) per solempnes stipulaciones atendere, facere et complere et nonquam contrafacere vel venire nec contravenienti consentire, set ea rata et firma perpetuo habere et tenere nec impedimentum apponere vel apposuisse quominus predicta omnia et singula plenam habeant firmitatem; et hec sibi promixerunt ut supra sub expressa obligatione et ypotheca omnium bonorum suorum et ad sancta Dei evangelia tacta corporaliter juraverunt. Renonciantes dicte partes specialiter et expressim et per pactum sollempni stipulacione valatum certiorate exceptioni doli mali metus et infectum conditioni, sine causa et ex injusta causa, obligationi libelli et cujuslibet petitionis copie et transcripto hujus presentis instrumenti, et omni dilationi legali et judiciali, et omni excepcioni, deffensionis, privilegio impetrato et impetrando et omnibus consuetudinibus Vallis Auguste, ita quod omnes pro innumeratis habeantur, et permutacioni non facte et non legitime facte, et omni juri canonico et civili quibus mediantebus possent venire contra predicta vel aliquid de predictis.

Et fuit actum inter partes predictas quod de predictis fiant duo publica instrumenta ejusdem tenoris unum manu mei notarii infrascripti et aliud manu Guillelmi Loion publici notarii, et quod presens instrumentum sigillis partium sigilletur quibus sigillis integris manentibus aut ipsis fractis, abolitis vel ruptis, nichilominus instrumenta plenam habeant firmitatem. Actum fuit hoc in civitate Auguste in domo episcopali. Testes ad predicta fuerunt vocati et rogati, dominus Nicholaus Dei gratia Augustensis episcopus, dominus Petrus de Tora Decanus Sedunensis, dominus Humbertus de Luyrion, dominus Rodolphus Sorioz milites, dominus Amblardus de Intermontibus legum

professor, et magister Petrus de Cellanova phisicus dicti domini Comitis. Et ego Vullielmus de Bons publicus notarius sacri palacii qui hanc cartam rogatus a partibus ad opus dicti domini Comitis scripsi fideliter et signavi. In quorum omnium robur et testimonium nos dictus Comes et nos dictus Ebalus, Gotifredus et Aymonetus sigilla nostra huic presenti instrumento duximus apponenda. Datum ut supra. S. T.

Four seals are attached, of Amadeus V, Ebal, Geoffrey and Aymonet.

[Original: Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Cité et Duché d'Aoste*, Paq. II. No. 5.]

IX. Recognition of Nantelm, Sire de Miolans, to Count Thomas (?).

[Published by Dufour, *Miolans, prison d'état*, Mém. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch. XVIII. p. 377. The genuineness of this document and the meaning of No. X have been disputed by Ct A. de Foras, *Armorial et Nobiliaire...de Savoie*, IV, p. 50-3 (Miolans, Annex C), in the interests of the immediacy of the Viscounty of Maurienne held by the great family of De la Chambre. His arguments may be summarized as follows: (i) Doc. IX is not genuine. Its terms are strange. There is no date or name of notary or seal; (ii) X refers only to a Viscounty of Aiguebelle, which is not elsewhere mentioned in a genuine document and was perhaps an empty claim; (iii) The De la Chambre documents from 1309 on show (*a*) that they then held their viscounty in chief from the Count; (*b*) that *predecessors* of Viscount Richard (1309) had done so; (*c*) that the De la Chambre in 1221 already held La Chambre and the viscounty by hereditary right; (*d*) that they were tenants in chief in 1252.

It seems to me that the following counter-arguments meet and are more cogent than those of De Foras. (i) The oddity of Doc. IX, an early recognition, is a ground for believing in it. There is nothing anachronous in it; but the later stereotyped form is not yet reached. There is no reason why a later forger should not use the later regular form. We may compare the similar character of the Aostan Documents I and II above. The script appears to be early thirteenth century. Though the seal, as so often, is lost, the attachment for it remains. (ii) Doc. X I read as referring to the Viscounty of Camera (La Chambre), and not only to that of Aiguebelle. Here, I think, Dufour made a slip in transcribing a damaged word. See below, p. 468. Thus it confirms IX's statement. That the Viscounty of Aiguebelle really existed in the early thirteenth century is shown (*a*) by the title *Viccomes* borne by Nantelm de Miolans in 1189 (see above, p. 443, n. 2), and (*b*) by the fact that the Viscounty of Maurienne held by the De la Chambre by De Foras' own evidence (see above, p. 443, n. 2) only extended over part of the County of Maurienne. The analogy and explanation of this is to be found in the similar viscountship (first in

sub-tenancy, then in chief) held by the De Mascot in Tarentaise [see Docs. XI, XII and XIII and above, pp. 443-4]. (iii) It is quite possible that Richard de la Chambre's predecessors held the viscounty of Maurienne in chief some time after 1279 (see Doc. XVI and below). Exactly the same thing happened to the De Mascot in Tarentaise when the De Briançon, the original Viscounts-in-chief, were bought out. While the De la Chambre were vassals of the De Miolans, their viscounty would still be hereditary; that is a fact which does not bear on the discussion. The fief "quod albergum de Camera ("the House of La Chambre") tenet ab eo" (Count of Savoy) in 1252 need not be the Viscounty. In fact we have a recognition (Doc. XVI below), date 14 Dec. 1279, whereby John Sire de la Chambre, the father of Richard, acknowledges that he holds Cuines and his land between Argentine and La Chapelle from the Count, but makes no reference to the Viscounty of Maurienne or castle of La Chambre. Lastly the fact that in 1252 the Count adjudicates on the rights which among other rights the De la Chambre claimed as Viscounts as against the Bishop and Canons of Maurienne does not mean that the De la Chambre held the Viscounty immediately from the Count. The De Miolans could only enfeoff the Viscounty: they could not enlarge or adjudicate on its functions and rights. That was the Count's prerogative.

Hence I hold IX to be genuine, and accept its evidence for the existence and status of the two Viscountships.]

Nos, dominus Nantelmus Meolani, plenus sanitate et prosperitate et bona memoria, recognoscimus a domino nostro Comiti (*sic*) Sabaudie et Marchioni (*sic*) in Ytalia feudum quod ab ipso tenemus. Videlicet, castellum Meolani et totum mandamentum ipsius, et dimidium Podium-gros cum appendiciis ejusdem, et castellum de Camera cum appendiciis ejusdem et vicecomitatum Mauryanne quem dominus Camere tenet [a] nobis a villa que dicitur Aspera usque Pal Bonizoni, et vicecomitatum Aquebelle ab Aspera usque ad Grossam...¹, et quidcumque habemus apud Aquambellam et in mandamento ejusdem salvis Urteriis, et quidcumque habemus ad Bonum-vilaret, et in Monte-cinant² unum feudum quod debet ipsi domino Comiti decem solidos Segusinorum de placito, et item quidquid tenemus ad Sanctum Micaelem ab aqua versus villam et Sanctum Stephanum de Cuina et Sanctum Rumiei (??), quas duas parrochias dominus de Camera tenet a nobis, et quidquid tenemus ad Gresiacum juxta Monte-lous. Hec superius dicta recognoscimus a domino nostro Comiti (*sic*) supradicto et eadem recognovimus patri e (*sic*) ejus. Et hec dicimus super fidelitate quam eidem fecimus, et non recordamus quod aliqua alia teneamus ab eodem domino Comite

¹ Dufour read "Grossam grangiam."

² Dufour read "einant."

Sabaudie ; et item dicimus super fidelitate quam eidem fecimus quod, si aliquo tempore possemus reminisci quod aliquod aliud feudum ab ipso teneremus, ipsi totum libenter recognosceremus, et si dictus dominus Comes posset aliud invenire nobis multum (?) placeret. Et de rebus istis supranominatis debemus ipsi domino Comiti Sabaudie xiii libras Segusinorum de placito ; et item inde fecimus patri ejus et hominum ligidum tanquam bono domino et beato. In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari.

Seal now lost.

[Original: Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Savoie*, xiv., Miolans, No. 1.]

X. Recognition of Antelm de Miolans, 16 June 1263 and 1273.

[Published by Dufour, *Miolans, prison d'état*, Mem. Soc. Sav. d'Hist. et d'Arch. xviii. p. 380. See introductory note to No. IX. Abstract in Wurstemberger, iv. p. 439. There is a difficulty about the date. The Bishop of Belley in his covering letter gives 13 August 1273; Antelm's recognition appears to have 16 June 1263. Since Count Philip, mentioned in the Bishop's letter, succeeded in May 1268, Wurstemberger corrects Antelm's document to 16 June 1268. But Ind. VI. is right for 1263. I conclude, therefore, that Antelm's recognition is copied from one made to Count Peter II in 1263, and that the latter date has slipped into the new act. I cannot identify the document before us with the abstract given of it by Ménabréa, *Origines féodales*, p. 396-7, and think that Ménabréa, who did not see the actual document, was led by his authority to substitute a later recognition.]

Nos, Berlio Dei gratia Bellicensis episcopus, notum facimus universis presentes litteras inspecturis, quod Antelmus dominus Miolani in nostra presencia constitutus recognovit illustri viro domino Philippo Sabaudie et Burgundie Comiti feudum quod ab ipso tenet prout in quodam instrumento publico cujus tenor talis est plenius continetur. Anno Domini m^o cc^o sexagesimo tercio Indictione sexta xvi Kalendas Julii, Antelmus dominus de Miolans recognovit quod ipse est homo ligius domini Comitis Sabaudie et tenet ab eo Miolans cum omnibus pertineneciis ipsius castri quas tenet in dominio suo. Item tenet de eo castrum de Camera et vicecomitatum Aquebelle in villa et de mandamento cum omnibus pertineneciis dictorum castri et vicecomitatus. Item tenet medietatem de Podio-grosso. Item dicit quod ipse tenet... viras (?), stratas, fortunas, justicias et dominium. Item aquas et aquarum decursus et nemora nigra, regalia ville de Miolans et quicquid potest ad dominium pertinere. Et debet homagium, quod et fecit, et viginti quinque libras fortium veterum de placito de predicto feudo. Et tenet de ipso Antelmo dominus de Camera castrum ipsum de Camera

et vicecomitatum de Camera¹ a monte de Aspera usque ad Pal Boniton. Medietatem vero castri de Podio-grosso tenet Wiffredus frater suus pro porcione sua. Dicit eciam quod quando venit ad venationem Comitis debet capere unum frustum de venatione et pro eo debet capellum unum in mutatione domini. Actum est hoc in castro Montismeliani, ubi fuerunt vocati testes et rogati dominus Amedeus de Gavilla (?), Willelmus del Morer (?), dominus Hugo de Peypia, dominus Humbertus de Seysello, dominus Petrus de Aquablanchia, dominus Martinus de Foresta. Item tenet quicquid domini de Sancto Michaelē tenent ab eo. Et dominus Comes ipsum Antelmum de dicto feudo investivit. Ego Jacobus Barberius sacri palatii et Comitis Sabaudie notarius et scriptor scripsi rogatus et tradidi feliciter. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presenti transcripto duximus apponendum. Actum apud Castellarium Valogiis, dominica ante festum Assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis, anno Domini m^o cc^o septuagesimo tertio.

Seal of the Bishop is attached.

[Original: Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Province de Savoie*, xiv., Miolans, No. 2.]

XI. Inquisition *re* the viscounty of Tarentaise, 19 May 1276.

Inquisicio facta per dominum P. de Langes militem baillivum de juribus vicecomitatus Tarentasie.

Dominus Petrus de Bioleto miles, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod vidit per longa tempora quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere et levare in Tarentasia tertiam partem bannorum omnium que levantur in Tarentasia occasione banni et laudum (or laudemiorum) et venduarum, exceptis tamen bannis que levantur pro cavalcatis domini Comitis. Si tamen dominus Comes aliqua percipit in suis hominibus absque offensa facta, in eis nichil percipit Vicecomes. (Excepto eciam albergo de Vileta in quo non percipitur vicecomitatus nec in albergo del Diders preterquam in domino P. Diderii)². Interrogatus si qui sunt homines in Tarentasia qui ad dictum dominum Brianzonis pertineant ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod audivit dici pluries quod albergum Hugonis de Mascot et albergum Petri Raver pertinent ad albergum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus et quod ipsi manulevare consueverunt domino Brianzonis in Tarentasia ea que necessaria erant eidem domino Brianzonis. Interrogatus si avenagium et fenatagium quod percipitur per dominum Brianzonis in Tarentasia seu per ejus familiares in Tarentasia levatur ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod nescit pro certo si ratione vicecomitatus levatur, melius tamen credit quod levatur ratione vice-

¹ Dufour read: "vicecomitatum predictum." But I think "de Cam(era)" is clear.

² These words are added at the end of Peter de Bioley's evidence.

comitatus quam alia causa, quia pro majori parte levatur in hominibus domini Comitis. Interrogatus si scit quod illi xl s. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis in tallia casamenti percipiuntur ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod sic et ad vicecomitatum pertinent. Requisite qualiter scit, dicit quod vidit quod Dominus Brianzonis quondam ei dixit quod levaret dictam tailliam et quidam de suis familiaribus dixit eidem domino Brianzonis: non permitatis (*sic*) levare taillias Petro de Bioleto quia ibi percipitis circa xl s. quos possetis amittere si super hoc avideret (*sic*) gentes domini Comitis. Interrogatus si scit quod illi xx sol. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis in tallia Augusti que levatur a Saxo inferius et illi xx sol. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis in borgesia de Ayma pertinent ad vicecomitatum et si ratione vicecomitatus eos percipit, dicit quod sic. Requisite qualiter scit, dicit quod a multis audivit dici quod predicta percipit dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus. Et pro certo credit quod illud bladum quod levatur per dominum Brianzonis, et porterium et clavigerium suum apud Tessen levatur ratione vicecomitatus et de vicecomitatu sunt. Item dicit quod souteria de Vilar Ullie pertinet ad dictum dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod multotiens vidit dominum Brianzonis litem habere de dicta souteria et vidit pluries dictam souteriam ei reddi ratione vicecomitatus.

Dominus Boso de Salino, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod verum est quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere terciam partem bannorum et obventionum laudum et venduarum in Tarentasia, exceptis tamen bannis que levantur pro cavalcatis domini Comitis in quibus nichil percipitur ratione vicecomitatus. Requisite qualiter scit, dicit quod sic vidit uti per longa tempora dominum Brianzonis—Excepto albergo de Vileta in quo vicecomitatus non percipitur nec in albergo delz Diders preterquam in domino P. Dider¹.—Interrogatus si scit quod avenagium et fenatagium que percipiuntur per dominum Brianzonis levantur ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod nescit, sed melius credit quod levantur et quod dominus Brianzonis predictum avenagium et fenatagium percipit ratione vicecomitatus quam alia causa. Interrogatus si scit quod illi xx s. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis de taillia casamenti et illi xx s. quos percipit de taillia Augusti et illi xx s. quos percipit in borgesia de Ayma pertinent ad vicecomitatum, dicit quod sic. Requisite qualiter scit, dicit quod hoc pro certo credit et audivit hoc multociens dici a mistralibus domini Brianzonis qui predicta levabant nomine ipsius, et ab eis etiam multociens audivit dici quod bladum quod levatur apud Tessen per dominum Brianzonis et familiam ejus pertinent (*sic*) ad eum

¹ Added at end of Boso de Salins' evidence.

ratione vicecomitatus. Interrogatus si aliqui sunt nobiles vel ignobiles in Tarentasia qui sint homines vel homagia debeant domino Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod audivit dici quod Hugo de Mascot et Petrus Raver ad ipsum dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus pertinent. Tamen tenent ab ipso domino Brianzonis feuda que non sunt de vicecomitatu. Et ideo pro certo nescit utrum pertineant ad vicecomitatum vel non. Interrogatus si scit quod souteria de Villar Ullie pertineat ad ipsum dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus dicit quod credit, quia audivit dici ab Hugone de Mascot quod dicta souteria pertinet ad dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus et ratione vicecomitatus eam tenet.

Dominus Theobaldus de Tors, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod verum est quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere' terciam partem bannorum et obvencionum laudum et venduarum in Tarentasia, excepto albergo domini delz Diders preterquam dominus P. Dider, et albergo de Vileta, et exceptis bannis que levantur pro cavalcatis domini Comitis in quibus nichil percipit Vicecomes. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod de predictis per lunga tempora sic vidit uti dominum Brianzonis. Interrogatus si scit quod souteria de Vilar Ullie pertineat ad ipsum dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod sic. Requisitus qualiter scit, dicit quia Vicecomes mistralis est ibidem ratione vicecomitatus et debet recuperare tallias casamenti et de hoc sic eum uti vidit. Super omnibus aliis requisitus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit.

Dominus Gunterius Roillait, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit idem quod predictus dominus Theobaldus, hoc mutato quod in albergo delz Diders preterquam in albergo domini P. Dider non percipitur vicecomitatus et tantum plus quod Hugo de Mascot est homo domini Brianzonis tam ratione vicecomitatus quam pro alio feudo quod ab eo tenet. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod vidit ipsum Hugonem homagium facere domino Brianzonis. Et credit quod illos xx s. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis de taillia Augusti percipit ratione vicecomitatus. Super omnibus aliis requisitus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit.

Anselmetus de Petra, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere in Tarentasia terciam partem bannorum et obvencionum laudum et venduarum levata parte domini Comitis integraliter. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod de hiis vidit uti dominum Brianzonis per xv annos et plus. Interrogatus si scit quod avenagium et fenatagium quod percipitur per dominum Brianzonis percipitur ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod sic. Requisitus qualiter scit, dicit quod audivit dici a multis de terra Tarentasie; et audivit eciam dici quod datum

fuit illud avenagium et fenatagium domino Brianzonis a domino Comite Sabaudie quondam. Interrogatus si scit quod illi xl s. quos percipit dominus Brianzonis de tallia casamenti, et illi xx s. quos percipit de tallia Augusti pertinent ad ipsum dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod sic. Requisitus qualiter scit, dicit quod ipse dominus Brianzonis est mistralis casamenti ratione vicecomitatus. Et pro eo quod ibi percipit debet custodire captos et justiciam facere pro domino Comite et offendentes pignorare. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod de predictis sic vidit uti dominum Brianzonis per xv annos et ipse ipsemet pro domino Brianzonis per xv annos usus fuit predictis. Interrogatus si scit quod souteria de Vilare Ullie pertinet ad dominum Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod sic. Requisitus qualiter scit, dicit quod dicta souteria est de mistralia casamenti que spectat ad vicecomitatum, et hoc publicum est et manifestum in terra Tarentasie. Super aliis omnibus interrogatus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit.

Luysetus de Tors, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod vidit quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere in Tarentasia terciam partem bannorum et obvencionum, laudum, venduarum, et recipere cauciones nobilium excepto albergo de Vileta; et vidit quod consuevit percipere xx s. de tallia Augusti pro labore suo eo quod recuperat dictam talliam. Item, audivit dici ab Hugone de Mascot quod ipse est homo domini Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus. Super omnibus aliis requisitus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit.

Villermus Sallet, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod vidit quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere terciam partem bannorum laudum et venduarum. Super omnibus aliis interrogatus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire.

Luysetus Jordan, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod vidit quod dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere in Tarentasia terciam partem bannorum, laudum et venduarum et obvencionum, et avenam quam percipit a Saxo superius percipit ratione vicecomitatus. Requisitus qualiter scit, dicit quod ipsemet levavit dictam avenam pro domino P. quondam domino Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus. Interrogatus si qui sunt nobiles in Tarentasia qui sint homines domini Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus, dicit quod Hugo de Mascot et ejus participes tam ratione vicecomitatus quam pro alio feudo quod tenent a domino Brianzonis sunt homines domini Brianzonis. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod audivit eos sic confiteri et recognitionem inde fieri (?) vidit. Interrogatus si dominus Brianzonis ratione vicecomitatus percipit illos xl s. quos percipit de tallia casamenti et illos xx s. quos percipit de tallia Augusti, dicit quod sic. Requisitus

qualiter scit, dicit quod a multis audivit dici, et vidit predicta levari per triginta annos racione vicecomitatus. Dicit eciam quod quidquid dominus Brianzonis percipit in tallia burgensium de Ayma percipit racione vicecomitatus. Interrogatus qualiter scit, dicit quod vidit sic uti per triginta annos et plus quod ea que percipit ibi dominus Brianzonis percipit racione vicecomitatus. Et audivit dici quod souteria de Vilar Oger et de Mascot pertinet ad dominum Brianzonis racione vicecomitatus. Super aliis omnibus interrogatus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit. Item dicit quod albergum de Vileta non debet vicecomitatum, nec albergum Dideriorum preterquam dominus P. Dider.

Rodulfus Dider, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit idem quod proximus hoc mutato quod de illis xl s. qui percipiuntur de tallia casamenti et de illis xx s. qui percipiuntur de tallia Augusti nichil scit nec levavit aliqua de predictis.

Petrus Jordan, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod vidit quod dominus Brianzonis racione vicecomitatus consuevit percipere in Tarentasia terciam partem bannorum, placitorum et venduarum. Super aliis interrogatus, dicit quod nichil aliud inde scire.

Hugo de Mascot, testis juratus et interrogatus, dicit quod dominus Brianzonis a Saxo superius percipere consuevit terciam partem omnium bannorum racione vicecomitatus, videlicet quando dominus Comes levat bannum lx sol. vicecomes deinde levat xxx s. Item percipit Vicecomes racione vicecomitatus terciam partem placitorum, laudum et venduarum et obvencionum, excepto tamen quod si quis condito testamento legaverit aliquid domino Comiti in eo nichil percipit Vicecomes. Si tamen dominus Comes rumpet testamentum et bona defuncti caperet in eis Vicecomes caperet partem suam. Et eodem modo percipit in terra quam tenet domina Fucigniacy in Tarentasia. Et si quis hominum se ipsum interfecerit in bonis suis Vicecomes terciam partem percipit. Et si aliquid reperitur in terra quod fortuito...reperiat et in nullius bonis sit, Vicecomes in illo reperto terciam partem percipit. Item, percipit racione vicecomitatus terciam partem in tallia burgensium de Ayma. Et in illa tercia parte mistralis domini Brianzonis unum burgensem habet, illum videlicet quem duxerit eligendum. Item percipit racione vicecomitatus in nundinis Sancti Mauricii terciam partem leyde, in quo vicecomitatu idem Hugo percipit vicecomitatum de quinque sol. et a quinque sol. inferius, et a quinque sol. superius tercium decimum denarium. Item mistralis Vicecomitis recuperare tallias casamenti et recuperare condemnaciones nobilium et recipere satisfaciones ab eis et in dictis talliis percipit mistralis Vicecomitis xx sol. forcium et debet Vicecomes custodire captos et facere de ipsis justiciam ad expensas captorum. Interrogatus qualiter scit predicta,

dicit quod tam ipse quam pater ejus predictum vicecomitatum a Saxo superius tenuerunt pro domino Brianzonis et predictis usi fuerunt spacio triginta seu xl annorum. Et amplius interrogatus si est homo domini Brianzonis racione vicecomitatus, dicit quod tam racione vicecomitatus quam pro feudo alio quod tenet a domino Brianzonis est homo ejusdem domini Brianzonis. Interrogatus si dominus Brianzonis percipit illam avenam quam percipit apud Tessam racione vicecomitatus, dicit quod nescit. Item dicit quod in quolibet masso de terra illa quam tenet domina Fucigniaci in Tarentasia percipit Vicecomes xi denarios annuales et in aliquibus massis de terra domini Comititis. Nescit tamen si racione vicecomitatus dictos xi denarios percipit in dictis massis vel alia causa. Super omnibus aliis interrogatus, dicit se nichil aliud inde scire nisi ut supra dixit.

Rodulfus de Monte-Valesan, testis juratus, dicit idem quod dictus Hugo, hoc mutato quod ipse non est homo domini Brianzonis, et de tallia burgensium de Ayma nichil scit.

Actum et datum apud Salinum die lune ante pentecostum anno Domini millesimo cc^olxx^o sexto, cum appositione sigillorum domini P. de Langes baillivi Sabaudie et domini Hugonis Ysardi et domini Theobaldi de Tors et domini Petri de Bioleto, qui in presenti inquisitione apposuerunt sigilla sua in testimonium predictorum.

Four seal-strings, on one a seal preserved.

[Original; Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Tarentaise*, Paq. 1. No. 1.]

XII. Sale of the Viscounty-in-chief of Tarentaise by John d'Aiguelanche, Dean of Hereford, and his brother Aymeric, 15 April, 1279.

S. T. Anno Domini millesimo cc^o lxx^o ix^o indictione vii^a die lune xv^o mensis Aprilis coram testibus infrascriptis dominus Johannes de Aquablancha decanus Hereffordensis pro se et domino Eymerico fratre suo cancellario Hereffordensi cujus procurator est ut patet per quandam patentem litteram sigillo ipsius domini Eymerici sigillatam cujus tenor inferius continetur, sciens, prudens et spontaneus ex causa compositionis facte ut dicit inter illustrem virum dominum Philippum Comitem Sabaudie ex una parte et ipsum dominum Johannem decanum et dominum Eymericum cancellarium Hereffordensem fratrem suum ex altera super castrum Briançonis et quibusdam rebus aliis quittat, cedit et concedit, solvit et renunciat nomine quo supra et pro eorum heredibus et successoribus mihi Andree notario infrascripto tamquam publice persone stipulanti et recipienti nomine et vice dicti domini Comititis et ejus heredum et successorum omnia jura omnesque actiones et rationes reales et personales, utiles et directas, mixtas et contrarias, que et quos habent vel habere possunt seu habere videntur et sibi competunt aut competere possunt aliqua racione vel causa in vice-

comitatu Briançonis et Tarentasie. Retento sibi in dicto vicecomitatu in personis suis, heredibus et successoribus suis, necnon in hominibus suis et heredibus ipsorum hominum. Promitens (*sic*) dictus dominus Johannes per stipulacionem bona fide nomine suo et procuratorio nomine dicti Eymerici fratris sui et heredum et successorum suorum mihi notario infrascripto predicto nomine stipulanti et recipienti se non venire de cetero per se vel per alium contra predicta vel aliqua de predictis, liberans et quitans idem dominus Johannes pro se et dicto Eymerico fratre suo et heredibus eorum dicto domino Comiti et successoribus suis jus quod habebant in dicto vicecomitatu occasione predecessorum suorum vel cujuscumque alterius ratione vel causa. Faciens pactum de non petendo ulterius aliquid in dictis rebus vel aliqua earum. Volens et precipiens idem dominus Johannes pro se et dicto Eymerico fratre suo procuratorio nomine, quod omnia instrumenta seu scripta publica vel privata que habent de dicto vicecomitatu et que possent reperiri ex nunc in antea sint cassa, vana et irrita et nullum robur habeant firmitatis, salvis sibi retentis in compositione supradicta. Renuncians idem dominus Johannes exceptioni doli mali, quod vi vel metus causa, et infectum, et omni juri scripto et non scripto canonico et civili sibi competenti vel competituro in hoc facto. Tenor vero predictæ procuracionis talis est. Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Eymericus, cancellarius Hereffordensis, filius quondam domini Aymonis de Aquablancha militis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego ordino facio et constituo dilectos mihi in Christo dominum Johannem de Aquablancha fratrem meum, decanum Hereffordensem, et Gonterium de Naves consanguineum meum, certos nuncios et procuratores meos conjunctim et divisim, simul et sub alternatione ad recognoscendum et faciendum fidelitates et homagia et usagia debita domino (blank left) Comiti Sabaudie et quibuscumque quibus ad hec teneor facienda, et ad petendum requirendum et exigendum fidelitates homagia et usagia a quibuscumque personis tam nobiles quam innobiles, et ad petendum et recipiendum generaliter et universaliter omnia illa que mihi a quibuscumque personis debentur ex quibuscumque causis, et ad solutiones et confessiones reccipiendas (*sic*) et faciendas et ad quascumque conventiones transactiones et concordias faciendas cum quibuscumque et super quibuscumque negotiis et causis et quibuscumque occasionibus et ad quitationes liberationes investituras et fidelitates faciendas et reccipiendas, et generaliter ad omnia negotia mea cujuscumque generis sint vel maneriei facienda. Et ad omnes causas lites et controversias quas habeo vel habiturus sum in comitatu Sabaudie vel alibi cum quacumque persona, collegio et universitate, tam ad agendum quam ad deffendendum, et appellationes faciendas et

prosequendas et generaliter ad omnia ea et singula facienda que merita negotiorum et causarum postulant et requirunt; et ad sacramenta calupnie (*sic*) et fidelitatis et cujuslibet alterius generis in animam et super anima mea facienda et ad omnia ea et singula facienda tam in negotiis quam in causis que ego facere possem si presens adessem. Dans et concedens dictis procuratoribus meis simul et sub alternatione plenum et liberum et generale mandatum in omnibus negotiis et causis et plenam et liberam et generalem administrationem omnium bonorum meorum in predictis et super predictis omnibus. Et quicquid predicti procuratores mei seu alter eorumdem quem presentem esse contingerit pro me vel meo nomine dixerint vel fecerint, dixerit vel fecerit, in predictis et super predictis et quocumque predictorum, id totum ratum et firmum habere et tenere promito (*sic*). Pro eisdem ecciam (*sic*) et eorum quolibet judicatum solvi et de rato habendo satisfactiones sub ypotheca rerum mearum, volens ipsos ab omni satisfactione judiciali relevare, expono et stipulatione solempni promito. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus litteris in presencia domini Hugonis de Musterio et Johannis de Ponte, clericorum Hereffordensium, et Henrici de Lenthonio et Gauffredi de Sancto Albano clericorum, et Willelmi de Bosellis laici, qui vocati et rogati testes ad hoc fuerunt, sigillum meum apposui, quod quidem sigillum ipsi omnes et singuli recognoverunt. Datum Hereffordii ii^o Kl. Januarii, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo lxx^oix^o.

Actum est hoc Aquiani in viridario castri ejusdem loci ubi testes ad hoc vocati et rogati fuerunt, dominus Nicholaus de Bersatoribus Tarentasiensis archidiaconus, dominus Johannes de Castellario miles, Magister Canturinus physicus, Aymo de Sancto Triverio incuratus de Vinnies, et Stephanus de Sancto Reneberto, clerici domini Comitis. Et ego Andreas Jordan de Sec(usia?) sacri palatii et domini Comitis notarius hiis interfui et presentem cartam scripsi et tradidi.

[Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Tarentaise*, Paquet II. Briançon, No. 2.]

XIII. 19 Dec. 1294. Hugh de Mascot surrenders to the Count (Amadeus V) the Viscounty of Tarentaise above Saxum, and his mestralsies and salteria in Tarentaise, reserving only the Viscounty and mestralsy in Mascot and Hauteville.

“Hugo...dat...dicto domino Comiti...vicecomitatum et mistraliam a Sauxo superius et salteria versoria superius versus vallem Usere.”

[Arch. di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Tarentaise*, Paq. II. Hauteville, No. 2.]

XIV. Extracts (concerning the Viscounty of Novalaise) from an old catalogue in the Archivio di Stato, Turin, which enumerates documents, many of which are lost.

Sommaire générale des titres des fiefs de la Province de Savoie Propre, existents dans les Archives de Cour et de la Roiale Chambre des Comptes à Turin et dans celles du Chateau Roial de Chambéry. (1781.)

Vol. III. f. 101. Novalaise en Bugey, Vicomté et rentes féodales avec juridiction.

1411 8 Nov., De Pelladrut, noble Jeannette, fille de noble Aymon de Peladrut, Seigneur de Montferrat, par l'autorité de noble Jean de Clermont son mary,—

Reconnoit tenir du fief du Prince Amedé de Savoye—

Une rente féodale portant hommage, tailles, servis et autres rièrè divers territoires du mandement de Chanaz—

En outre le droit de direct domaine sur les hommes et fiefs—

Item la quatrième partie par indivis avec les seigneurs d'Aiguebellette [de Seissel], et les enfants d'Ant^e. de Virieu-le-grand [Propositi]—

du Vicomté de Novalaise avec tous les droits, émoluments, et appartenances—

Item l'omnimode juridiction, mere mixte empire, sur les hommes procédés d'Henry de Briord acquis par le Seigr^r d'Aiguebellette—

sous charge d'hommage liège aud' Prince, sauf la fidelité et hommage due d'ailleurs au Comte de Savoye.

Grosse de M^r Pierre de Bachillard et de Cusinens, no. 134, f. 297, Arch. du Chât. de Chambéry.

1445 Propositi, noble Louis, conseigneur de la Maison forte de Choysel—

Reconnoit tenir en fief du Prince Louis de Savoye—

en suivant la précédente reconnaissance de noble Jean Propositi es mains de Pierre de Cusinens—

Tous les biens procédés de l'héritage de Choysel que des biens de ceux de Briord et de ceux de Somond—

Une rente féodale, rièrè Lutrin St Paul et autres lieux—

Item la quatrième partie du Vicomté de Nouvelaise dans les châtellanies d'Yenne et Chanaz, et tous les droits et appartenances par indivis avec les pariers—

Item l'omnimode juridiction, mere et mixte empire, sur les hommes procédés d'Henry de Briord par indivis avec les pariers—

Sous charge d'hommage liège.

Grosse de M^r Girard Germanet, No. 127, fol. 278, Arch. de Chateau de Chambéry—

1445, 26 Feb. De Seissel, noble Pierre, Seigneur de St Cassin, Aiguebellette, La Serraz et de Bourdeaux, et de la maison forte de Choysel et Vicomté des d's lieux d'Aiguebellette, Novalaise et terre d'Yenne—

reconnoit tenir en fief et de l'ancien paternel en suivant la precedente reconnaissance de Pierre Seyssel es mains de Pierre de Cusinens.

1°. une rente féodale, portant hommes, hommages, rentes, servis, juridiction omnimode et autres tributs rière Chevelut, Lutrin, St Paul et autres lieux du mandement d'Yenne—

2°. La Vicomté dans Novalaise et Chatellaine d'Yenne et Chanaz.

Lesquelles choses, parties sont procedées de l'héritage de Choysel, et parties acquise par les prédecesseurs d'Henry de Briord.

Grosse de M^r Girard Germanet, No. 129, fol. 1, Arch. Chat. de Chambéry.

XV. 20 Dec. 1224.

Convention entre le Comte Thomas de Maurienne et Etienne et Bernard frères du Villars sur les differents qu'il y avoit entre eux pour egard des lieux de Festerne et la Combe de St Rambert.

[Registered (IV. No. 57) and used (I. 64) by Wurstemberger, *op. cit.*; also used by Guichenon, *Hist. de la Bresse et du Bugey*, IV. 217.]

In nomine Domini nostri Jehsu Christi amen. Hec est forma pacis inter Comitum Mauriennensem ex una parte et Stephanum de Vilario et Bernardum fratrem ejus ex altera. De querela de Festerna et de la Comba Sancti Ragneberti ita dictum est: quod pace facta et firmata dominus Comes ad requisitionem Stephani de Vilario diem eidem in curia sua assignabit loco competenti et curiam mittet suspicione carentem; ad cujus cognitionem jus suum sibi reddet. De querela de Val Chayna ita dictum est: quod Comes de hiis de quibus certus esset quod ad Stephanum de Vilario et ad illos de Rogimont pertinerent, eis in pace restitueret; de hiis vero de quibus certus non esset ad cognitionem nobilium virorum A. de Breisseu, M. de Vireu, Guichardi de Freuz et Stephani de Monte-aureo eidem responderet et quod illi ad eos cognoscerent pertinere, eis in pace restitueret. De Willelmo de la Balma sic dictum est: quod Comes eum et fratres ejus et nepotes ab hominio quod sibi fecerant sibimet absolvit et feudum quod ab eo acceperant sibi liberum dimittit et dominus de Vilario et fratres ejus dicto Willelmo et suis bonam pacem faciunt; nec Comes nec filii sui hoc feudum de cetero acquirere poterunt, et si Willelmus de la Balma vel sui feudum istud ab aliquo acciperent, Comes et filii ejus dictum Willelmum sive fratres sive nepotes ejus neque illum a quo feudum acciperent manutenerent. Preterea nichil quod ad dominium domini de Vilario et domini de Toria pertineat Comes et filii sui acquirere poterunt vel acquirentem manutenerent. Pedagium suum quod Willelmo Chabout et Hugoni de Montmeliant obligavit dominus de Vilario a proxima Nativitate Domini in quinque annos liberum habere debebit. Est autem annus ab incarnatione Domini millesimus ducentessimus

vigesimus quartus. Actum Lugduni in vigilia Sancti Thome apostoli. Ego Thomas Comes et Amedeus et Aymo filii mei domino de Vilario et B[ernardo] fratri suo et suis, bonam pacem fecimus et eam nos bona fide tenere juravimus, et alii filii mei hanc pacem laudaverunt. Dominus vero Lugdunensis, dominus Viennensis et dominus Tarentasiensis Archiepiscopi, Grannopolitanensis, Gebennensis, Mauriennensis et Bellicensis Episcopi, de mandato et voluntate mea litteras suas patentes domino de Vilario et fratri suo dederunt, quod si ego et filii mei, quod absit, pacem infringeremus nec ad cognitionem predictorum quattuor emendare vellemus, ipsi me et terram meam et omnes illos et terras eorum qui de mandato meo pacem juraverunt sub interdicto et excommunicatione tenerent donec pacis fractura (*sic*) ad cognitionem quattuor predictorum nobilium vel illorum quos ipsi loco suo ponerent plenarie emendata esset. Predicti autem quattuor videlicet A. de Breisseu et M. de Vireu qui sunt ex parte Comitis et Guichardus de Freuz et Stephanus de Monte-aureo, qui sunt ex parte domini de Vilario juraverunt quod si aliqua questio super fractura pacis orta fuerit, ab invicem requisiti, loco tuto et competenti convenient et ortam questionem legitime diffinient et decident. Hanc autem pacem juraverunt pro Comite et juramento promiserunt domino de Vilario se satisfacturos, si Comes pacem frangeret et ad cognitionem predictorum quattuor emendare nollet, dominus Enricus pro quingentis marchis, Arbertus de Turre pro ducentis marchis, dominus de Bellojoco pro centum marchis, dominus de Fucigneu pro centum marchis, dominus de Breisseu pro centum marchis, Martinus de Vireu pro centum marchis, Willelmus de Belver pro centum marchis, Berlio de Chambareu pro centum marchis, Umbertus de Bozoseu pro centum marchis, Sibodus de Clarmont pro centum marchis, Rodulfus del Ga pro centum marchis, Sibodus de Briort pro mille solidis, Burno de Langes pro mille solidis, duo Peronays de Bozoseu pro centum libris, Guigo de Maisins pro mille solidis, Arbertus de Bozoseu pro mille solidis, Atenulfus de Dentayseu pro centum libris, Umbertus de Saisel tenetur pro mille solidis sed non juravit, Boso Tsarz juravit pro mille solidis, Rodulfus de Faverges pro mille solidis. Ego autem Thomas Comes Sabaudie et ego S[tephanus] dominus de Vilario hac carta audita et plenius intellecta sicut in ea continetur, nos pacem fecisse et bona fide servaturos esse jurasse confitemur et in hujus rei perpetuum testimonium hanc cartam sigillorum nostrorum presentia communimus.

[Original: Archivio di Stato, Turin, *Province de Chablais*, Paquet III. Festerne.]

XVI. Recognition of John, Sire de la Chambre, 14 Dec. 1279.

Nos Anthonius de Castello Judex Sabaudie notum facimus universis, quod nobilis vir Johannes dominus de Camera in nostri presentia

constitutus recognovit et confessus fuit castrum de Cuina cum appenditiis et pertinentiis ipsius castri ac mandamentum ejusdem esse de feudo illustris viri domini Philippi Sabaudie Comitis. Recognovit insuper et confessus fuit idem Johannes quod quidquid tenet ab Argentina usque ad Capellam excepta coruata sua de Aypera est similiter de feudo dicti domini Comitis. Et predicta recognovit et confessus fuit dictus Johannes ut supra, asserens se paratum a nobis nomine dicti domini Comitis recipere investituram nomine feudi de predictis ac ipsam investituram requirens cum instantia atque petens. Nos autem dictus Judex predictam recognitionem et confessionem recepimus, salvo jure dicti domini Comitis, presente Huberto Rocie procuratore dicti domini Comitis et ipso nomine dicti domini Comitis protestante dictum feudum cecidisse in commisum et apertum fore dicto domino Comiti quia dicta confessio non est facta nec dicta investitura petita per dictum Johannem infra tempus legitimum. Et salva protestatione recepimus predictas ut supra. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum Curie Sabaudie duximus presentibus apponendum. Datum apud Cameram die Jovis post festum Sancte Lucie Virginis anno Domini m^o cc^o lxx^o ix^o.

Seal lost, but seal-string left.

[Original: Archivio di Stato, Turin, *Prov. de Maurienne*, Paq. 1. Cuines, No. 1.]

NOTES ON THE MAPS

I. The dominions of the House of Savoy—Turin, c. 1080.

- (a) Borders of the counties held by the House of Savoy in Burgundy shown thus:— -----

Demesne-lands of the House of Savoy in Burgundy, for the possession of which, c. 1000-80, there is evidence, underlined thus:— Les Échelles

- (b) Borders of the counties held by the Ardoinids in Italy shown thus:— — . — . — . —

Demesne-lands of the Ardoinids in Italy between 950 and 1080 underlined thus:— Pollenzo

(Much of these had been alienated to monasteries by 1080.)

II. The dominions of the House of Savoy, c. 1189.

- (a) Border (approximate only) of Humbert III's lands in 1050 shown thus: -----

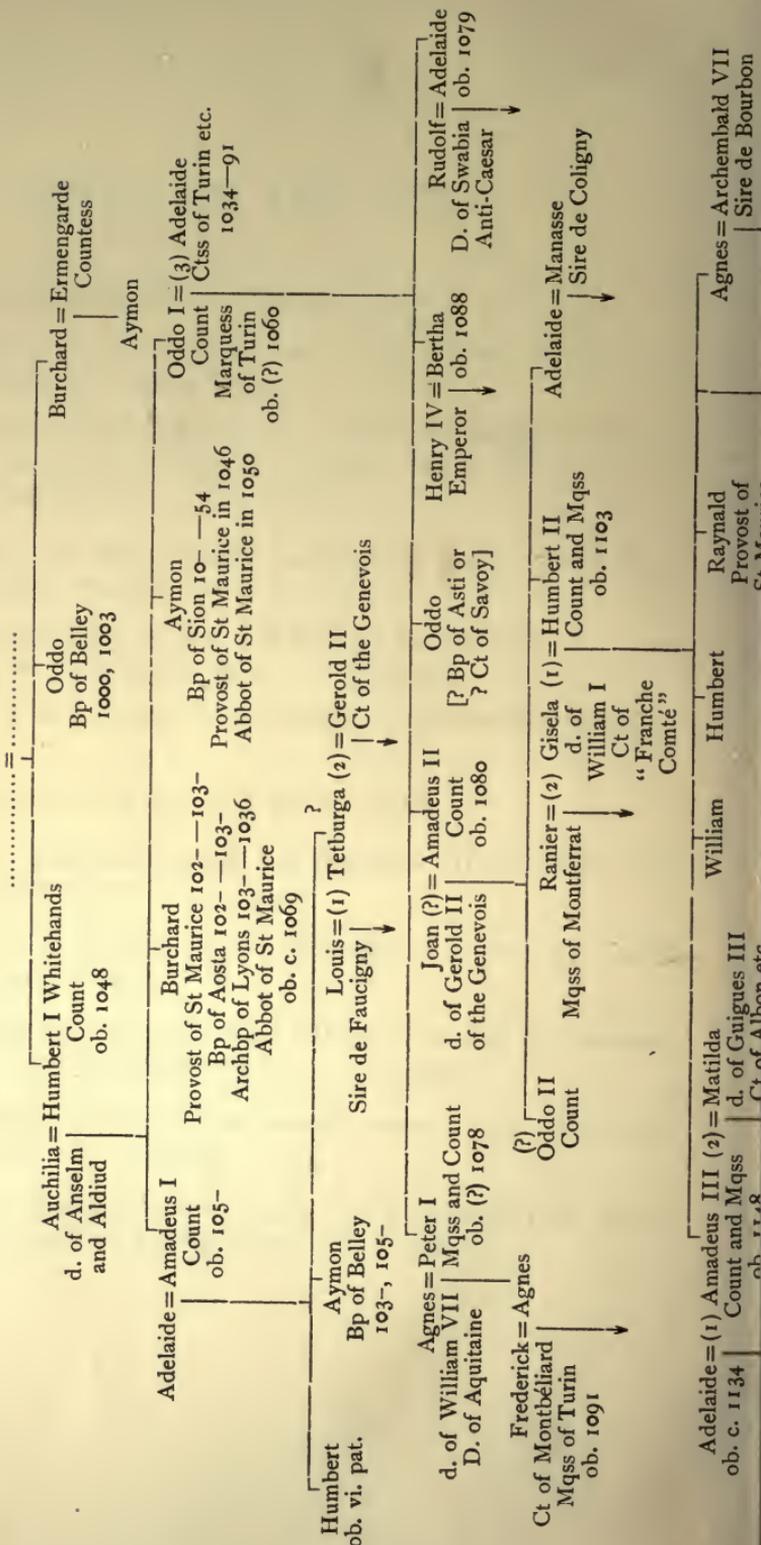
- (b) Border of Humbert III's acquisitions in Italy, c. 1168, shown thus:— — . — . — . —

- (c) Demesne-towns of Humbert III in his Italian acquisitions, c. 1180, underlined thus:— Miradolo

- (d) Practically independent vassal states, etc., underlined thus:— Coligny

- (e) Towns founded between 1189 and 1233 have their names enclosed in brackets thus:— (Cuneo)

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY TILL 1233



K. of France (Alice) ob. 1137

Sire de Montmorency

William (illegitimate)

Humbert III = Alice Sire de Beaujeu (Adelaide)

Faidiva = (1) Humbert III (3) = (2) Count and Mqss of Toulouse ob. 1189

Gertrude (1) = (2) d. of Thierry Ct of Flanders

Alice Azzo IV (1) = Sophia (?) Mqss of Este ob. s. p.

(4) = Beatrice d. of Gerard I Ct of Mâcon

Thomas = Margaret or N(ichola?) d. of William I Ct of the Genevois ob. 1233

Anna (?) = (1) Amadeus IV (2) = Cecilia Count and Mqss de Baux ob. 1223

d. of Guigues-André Dauphin

Beatrice m. Manfred III Mqss of Saluzzo

Margaret m. Boniface II Mqss of Montferrat

Clementia d. of Conrad D. of Zähringen

Affonso I = Matilda K. of Portugal ob. 1158

William I (1) = Agnes Ct of the Genevois

Juliana Abbess of St André-le-haut Vienne, ob. 1194

Margaret

Anna (?) = (1) Amadeus IV (2) = Cecilia Count and Mqss de Baux ob. 1223

Humbert ob. 1223 s. p.

Aynon Lord of Chablais

William Bp el. of Valence, Liège and Winchester

Boniface Bp el. of Belley Archbp of Canterbury

Philip Bp el. of Valence Archbp el. of Lyons Ct of Franche Comté, Count and Mqss

Beatrice m. Raymond-Berengar Ct of Provence

Margaret m. Manfred III Mqss of Saluzzo

Margaret m. Boniface II Mqss of Montferrat

Thomas Ct of Flanders Lord of Piedmont

Peter II Lord of Chablais, Faucigny and Vaud Count and Mqss

Peter II Lord of Chablais, Faucigny and Vaud Count and Mqss

Franche Comté, Count and Mqss

Margaret m. Hartmann Ct of Kyburg

from whom descends the present house of Savoy

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