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THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS IN THE PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER III (1159-1181)

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THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS IN THE PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER III (1159-1181)

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DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY
TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

30 OCTOBER 2000

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to record my thanks first and foremost to my supervisor, Professor Ian S. Robinson, for his invaluable advice and constant assistance. I am grateful to the staff of the Department of Medieval History, in particular Professor Christine Meek, Head of Department, for their support and encouragement. Thanks are due also to Cathy Lennon, Department secretary and to my fellow postgraduate students and friends who gave advice and support.

I owe a debt of gratitude also to the staff of the Library of Trinity College, especially Ms. Anne Walsh and Ms. Mary Higgins. Thanks are due to all those who helped in collecting important material from various libraries, including Douglas Carver in the Vatican Library in Rome. I benefited greatly from the translations of German sources provided with consistent efficency by Meike Sommer and Verena Kaufmann of the Humboldt University in Berlin. Finally I owe my thanks in particular to my family, whose help and support have been essential to the successful completion of this dissertation.

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS IN THE PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER III: 1159-1181

SUMMARY

The pontificate of Alexander III was dominated by the schism in the western Church, which began with the divided election of September 1159. The schism had its origins in the factional division within the college of cardinals during the pontificate of Alexander's predecessor, Pope Adrian IV (1154-59). The college became deeply divided concerning the new political strategy adopted by the papacy under Adrian. The Treaty of Benevento, which was concluded by Adrian with King William I of Sicily on 18 June 1156, reversed the previous pattern of papal alliances. The radical reorientation of papal policy initiated by Adrian and the papal chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, caused the factionalisation of the sacred college between 1156 and 1159.

The factionalism among the cardinals led to a divided election following Adrian's death in September 1159. Roland secured the support of twenty-three cardinals and was consecrated as Pope Alexander III.[8] The pro-imperial minority within the college, which eventually consisted only of five cardinals, elected Octavian, cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, who was enthroned as "Victor IV". Alexander was preoccupied for most of his pontificate with the prolonged and arduous struggle to establish himself as the rightful pope. The factionalism within the college provoked a schism in the Church which was not resolved for eighteen years. The schism also set off a bitter conflict between the empire and the papacy, as Emperor Frederick I supported the anti-pope Victor.

The cardinals played a crucial part in promoting the legitimacy of Alexander's cause. The pope was consistently dependent upon the services of the cardinals in pursuing his struggle for universal recognition. He relied particularly on the diplomatic activity of the cardinals who acted as papal legates. Alexander also required the support of

the cardinals who served as permanent advisers within the papal curia to maintain the normal operation of the papal government. The pope depended completely upon the support of the cardinals to sustain and promote his cause during the Victorine schism. Hitherto the only full account of the cardinals in Alexander's pontificate is Johannes Matthias Brixius' *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1181* (dissertation: Berlin, 1912). Since the purpose of Brixius' dissertation was to trace the careers of all the cardinals from the pontificate of Pope Innocent II until the end of the pontificate of Alexander III, the author's biographical studies of individual cardinals are necessarily brief and cannot be expected to cover the full range of the cardinals' activity. I am attempting a study of the careers of the individual cardinals which is as comprehensive as possible. I have benefited greatly from reading the dissertation of Barbara Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (dissertation: Würzburg, 1964), which is a model of the prosographical enquiry that I am attempting in this dissertation. My study is based principally upon the letters and privileges of Alexander III but a wide range of narrative sources and letter collections have also been consulted.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*:	J.M. Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1181* (dissertation: Berlin, 1912)
EHR:	*English Historical Review*
Gött. Nachr.:	*Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*
JL:	P. Jaffé and S. Loewenfeld, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, (Leipzig, 1888)
Lib. Pont. II:	*Le Liber Pontificalis II*, ed. L. Duchesne (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2: Paris, 1892)
MGH:	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Constitutiones:	*Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum 1*
Libelli de lite:	*Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*
MPL:	J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*
Janssen, *Legaten*:	W. Janssen, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Schisma Anaklets II bis zum Tode Coelestins III (1130-1198)* (Cologne-Graz, 1961)
Materials:	*Materials for the history of Thomas Becket, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 67,* ed. J.C. Robertson
Alexandre III:	M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III. Etude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre* (Paris, 1956)
M. Pacaut, *'Les Légats'*:	M. Pacaut, *'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181' ,Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 50 (1955),* 821-838
Potthast:	A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I* (Berlin, 1874)
Recueil:	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, Rerum Francicarum et Gallicarum Scriptores, ed. M. Bouquet*
Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II:	P. Jaffé and S. Loewenfeld, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, (Leipzig, 1888)
RHE:	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
Romoaldi Annales:	Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicle, MGH, Scriptores* 19

B. Zenker,	B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis*
Mitglieder:	*1159* (dissertation: Würzburg, 1964)
ZSSRG KA:	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*
	Kanonistische Abteilung

INTRODUCTION

The pontificate of Alexander III was dominated by the schism in the western Church, which began with the divided election of September 1159. The schism had its origins in the factional division within the college of cardinals during the pontificate of Alexander's predecessor, Pope Adrian IV (1154-59). The college became deeply divided concerning the new political strategy adopted by the papacy under Adrian. The Treaty of Benevento, which was concluded by Adrian with King William I of Sicily on 18 June 1156, reversed the previous pattern of papal alliances.[1] The papacy's alliance with the empire, which had been the policy of the papal curia for a generation since the Concordat of Worms in 1122, was clearly undermined by the papal rapprochement with the Norman kingdom of Sicily. The radical reorientation of papal policy initiated by Adrian and the papal chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, caused the factionalisation of the sacred college between 1156 and 1159.[2] The new policy was vehemently opposed by a pro-imperial faction within the college who labelled their opponents the "Sicilian party".[3]

The entrenched nature of the factional division among the cardinals was underlined by Adrian's withdrawal to Anagni in June 1159.[4] The pope, who was accompanied by thirteen cardinals, negotiated an alliance at Anagni with the north Italian communes which were opposed to the authority of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-90).[5] The cardinals present with Adrian while the pope was negotiating with the enemies of

1. Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.394-395
2. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, pp.21-52
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.; Albert, Annals of Stade 1159, *MGH, Scriptores* 16, p.344

the empire have been identified by historians as the members of the "Sicilian party".[6] These cardinals included Roland, cardinal priest of S. Marco, Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, Walter, cardinal bishop of Albano, Gregory, cardinal bishop of S. Sabina, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli, Boso, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio, Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano and Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro.[7] These cardinals were certainly numbered among Adrian's closest collaborators in the college. The "Sicilian party", however, included also cardinals who were not present at Anagni but enjoyed a close association with Adrian and the chancellor, including Julius, cardinal bishop of Palestrina.

The factionalism among the cardinals led to a divided election following Adrian's death in September 1159. Roland secured the support of twenty-three cardinals and was consecrated as Pope Alexander III.[8] The pro-imperial minority within the college, which eventually consisted only of five cardinals, elected Octavian, cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, who was enthroned as "Victor IV".[9] All thirteen cardinals who were present with Adrian at Anagni supported Roland in the divided election of 1159 and subscribed the letter issued by the cardinals to Frederick Barbarossa, which defended the legitimacy of the election of Alexander III.[10] Alexander certainly secured the support of certain cardinals who were not previously associated with his own faction.

6. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
7. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636-1637C; JL10579, col.1637D-1639A
8. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
9. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.303
10. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D

He commanded the support of a large majority of the sacred college from the outset of the schism (unlike Pope Innocent II in the Anacletan schism of 1130). But it is evident that the new pope inherited the "Sicilian party" as the core of his college of cardinals.

Alexander was preoccupied for most of his pontificate with the prolonged and arduous struggle to establish himself as the rightful pope. The factionalism within the college provoked a schism in the Church which was not resolved for eighteen years. The schism also set off a bitter conflict between the empire and the papacy, as Emperor Frederick supported the anti-pope Victor. The cardinals played a crucial part in promoting the legitimacy of Alexander's cause. The pope was consistently dependent upon the services of the cardinals in pursuing his struggle for universal recognition. He relied on the diplomatic activity of the cardinals who acted as papal legates. The participation of the cardinals was essential also in raising finance for the impoverished papal curia, which was deprived of its territorial wealth in the Patrimony of St. Peter as a result of the military predominance of the empire in the schism.[11] Alexander depended too on the cardinals who served as permanent advisers to maintain the normal operation of the papal government. He was fortunate to inherit the dominant faction of Adrian's pontificate as the core of his college of cardinals.

Hitherto the only full account of the cardinals in Alexander's pontificate is Johannes Matthias Brixius' *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1181* (dissertation: Berlin, 1912). Since the purpose of Brixius' dissertation was to trace the

11. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.203-205

careers of all the cardinals from the pontificate of Pope Innocent II until the end of the pontificate of Alexander III, the author's biographical studies of individual cardinals are necessarily brief and cannot be expected to cover the full range of the cardinals' activity. I am attempting a study of the careers of the individual cardinals which is as comprehensive as possible. I have benefited greatly from reading the dissertation of Barbara Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (dissertation: Würzburg, 1964), which is a model of the prosographical enquiry that I am attempting in this dissertation. My study is based principally upon the letters and privileges of Alexander III but a wide range of narrative sources and letter collections have also been consulted.

The College of Cardinals in the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181)

Cardinal Bishops

Albano

Walter:	1159-1177	(p.9)
Henry:	1179-1181	(p.15)

Frascati

Hugh:	1166-1167	(p.24)
Odo:	1170-1172	(p.27)
Peter:	1179-1181	(p.112)

Ostia

Hubald:	1159-1181	(p.29)

Porto

Bernard:	1159-1176	(p.44)
William:	1176-1178	(p.157)
Theodin:	1179-1181	(p.192)

Palestrina

Julius:	1159-1164	(p.54)
Manfred:	1176-1178	(p.251)
Bernered:	1179-1180	(p.58)
Paul:	1181	(p.326)

S. Sabina

Gregory:	1159-1162	(p.61)
Conrad:	1166-1181	(p.66)

Cardinal Priests

S. Anastasia

John:	1159-1181	(p.75)

XII Apostoli

Hildebrand:	1159-1178	(p.90)

S. Cecilia

Manfred:	1173-1176	(p.251)
Peter:	1178	(p.98)
Cinthius:	1178-1181	(p.199)

S. Clemente

Hugh:	1178-1181	(p.211)

S. Ciriaco nelle Terme

Lombardus:	1171	(p.100)

S. Croce in Gerusalemme

Hubald:	1159-1170	(p.105)
Arduin:	1178-1181	(p.303)

S. Eusebio

Roger:	1180-1181	(p.109)

S. Grisogono

Bonadies:	1159-1161	(p.112)
Peter:	1173-1181	(p.117)

SS. Giovanni e Paolo

John:	1159-1181	(p.125)

S. Lorenzo in Damaso

Peter:	1166-1174	(p.232)

S. Lorenzo in Lucina

Albert:	1159-1178	(p.134)

S. Lucia

Peter:	1178	(p.143)

S. Marcello

Matthew:	1179-1181	(p.145)

S. Maria in Trastevere

Laborans:	1180-1181	(p.291)

S. Marco

John:	1168-1181	(p.284)

SS. Nereo ed Achilleo

Henry:	1159-1166	(p.148)

S. Pietro in Vincoli

William:	1159-1176	(p.157)

S. Prassede

William:	1173	(p.168)

S. Prisca

Astald:	1159-1161	(p.169)

S. Pudentiana

Boso:	1166-1178	(p.220)

S. Sabina

Galdin:	1165-1167	(p.172)
William:	1179-1181	(p.184)

S. Stefano in Celio Monte

Vivian:	1175-1181	(p.318)

S. Sisto

John:	1169	(p.191)

S. Susanna

Herman:	1166	(p.207)
Peter de Bono:	1173-1181	(p.268)

S. Vitale

Theodin:	1166-1179	(p.192)

Cardinal Deacons

S. Adriano

Cinthius:	1159-1178	(p.199)
Rainer:	1178-1181	(p.205)

S. Angelo

Herman:	1165-1166	(p.207)
Hugh:	1173-1178	(p.211)
John:	1178-1181	(p.218)

SS. Cosma e Damiano

Boso:	1159-1165	(p.220)
Gratian:	1178-1181	(p.227)

S. Eustachio

Peter:	1159-1166	(p.232)
Hugh:	1166-1177	(p.241)

S. Giorgio in Velabro

Odo:	1159-1161	(p.245)

Manfred:	1163-1173	(p.251)
Rainer:	1175-1181	(p.259)
S. Lucia in Septisolio		
Rudolf:	1159-1160	(p.264)
S. Maria in Aquiro		
Milo:	1159-1160	(p.265)
Peter de Bono:	1166-1173	(p.268)
S. Maria in Cosmedin		
Hyacinth:	1159-1181	(p.274)
S. Maria in Porticu		
John:	1159-1167	(p.284)
Laborans:	1173-1179	(p.291)
S. Maria in Via Lata		
Raymond:	1159-1165	(p.295)
Arduin:	1178-1181	(p.303)
S. Maria Nuova		
Jerome:	1166-1167	(p.306)
Matthew:	1178-1181	(p.308)
S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano		
Odo:	1159-1174	(p.310)
Vivian:	1175	(p.318)
Bernard:	1178-1179	(p.322)
SS. Sergio e Bacco		
Vitellius:	1166-1176	(p.323)
Paul:	1179-1180	(p.326)
S. Teodoro		
Ardicio:	1159-1181	(p.330)

CARDINAL BISHOPS

WALTER CARDINAL BISHOP OF ALBANO

Walter emerged into prominence shortly before the pontificate of Alexander III. His origins are unknown, although he was closely associated with Pope Adrian IV who appointed him as cardinal bishop of Albano in 1158.[1] Walter's friendship with Adrian IV, who had elevated him to the position held by the pope himself before his election, was evident. The English churchman and intellectual, John of Salisbury, referred to their common association with Adrian and declared that the pope had established Walter as a pillar of the Roman church: *"...utriusque nostrum pater sanctissimus Adrianus, qui vos in sancta Romana fortissimam (ut spes est) columpnam plantauit ecclesia,..."*.[2] Walter was numbered among the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian at Anagni in June 1159, who were identified by Madertoner as the members of the "Sicilian party" in the college.[3] Walter was certainly a member of the faction which was associated with Adrian and the chancellor Roland. The cardinal was one of the electors of Alexander III in the divided election of September 1159.[4] He attended Alexander's consecration as supreme pontiff at Ninfa[5] and was a prominent advocate of the new pope from the beginning of his pontificate. Walter subscribed the letter addressed to Frederick Barbarossa by the cardinals supporting Alexander in October 1159 and also participated in the appeal by the cardinals, on behalf of the pope, to the universal church in 1160.[6]

1. B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums 1130-1159*, p.39
2. John of Salisbury, Letters 235, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.432-435
3. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636B, JL10579, 1637D; W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
4. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
5. ibid., p.399
6. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D, *MPL* 200, 62C

Walter served the Roman church under Alexander III most obviously as a trusted permanent adviser of the pope. His prominence as a papal adviser was reflected by consistency of his subscriptions to the extant papal letters and privileges. Walter recorded his first subscription on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the rights of the church of Jerusalem.[7] He subscribed papal documents consistently in the first eight years of the pontificate, witnessing 46 papal letters and privileges between 15 October 1159 and 17 March 1167.[8] Then he ceased to act as a subscriber following his appointment as papal vicar in Rome in 1167. No subscriptions by the cardinal bishop are recorded in the period from March 1167 until 10 October 1172, when the previous consistent pattern of his subscriptions resumed.[9] Walter was again a permanent adviser of the pope until 1177 and he was a constant member of the papal entourage with the exception of his legation to Hungary in 1175-76.[10] The cardinal bishop witnessed 19 papal letters between 10 October 1172 and 29 September 1177, with a temporary interruption in his subscriptions due to the legation from November 1175 until April 1177.[11] The cardinal bishop of Albano was evidently a valued adviser of Alexander III, who subscribed the papal letters and

7. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL* 200, col.73D
8. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL* 200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10663, 115D, JL10679, 126D, JL10698, 131C, JL10714, 140B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217C, JL10859, 219A, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229C, JL10887, 236C, JL10893, 241B, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255B, JL10944, 267D, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295B, JL11077, 316C, JL11083, 318D, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345D, JL11167, 346D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359B, JL11189, 362B, JL11192, 364C, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386B, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453C, JL11295, 423B, JL11340, 449D, JL11341, 451B.
9. Alexander III, JL12165, 886B.
10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.39
11. JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902C, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908D, JL12221, 911A, JL12228, 912B, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12398, 999B, JL12403, 1000C, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133A, JL12909, 1137D, JL12945, 1152D

privileges whenever he was present wihin the pope's entourage. Walter participated regularly in the transaction of the routine business of the papal government until 1177 and even then his participation was ended only by his death, which occurred before the Third Lateran Council in 1179.[12] Walter of Albano was a prominent and trusted adviser to the pope for most of Alexander's pontificate.

Walter's contribution to the eventual triumph of Alexander's cause in the schism was, however, relatively minor, mainly due to the cardinal bishop's primary preoccupation with his duties as an adviser. Unlike other cardinal bishops he was not frequently employed as a legate or a papal representative in the political struggle against the emperor. Walter remained constantly with the pope as a permanent adviser until Alexander's enforced departure from Rome in 1167, when the city was occupied by Frederick's forces. After the anti-pope "Paschal III" (previously Cardinal Guido of Crema) had established himself in Rome, Alexander appointed Walter as the papal vicar in the holy city.[13] The cardinal bishop of Albano served as the pope's representative in Rome until 1172.[14] Walter's appointment as papal vicar underlined the pope's faith in his competence and loyalty.[15] The papal vicar faced the immediate challenge of securing the restoration of Alexander's authority in Rome and the expulsion of the anti-pope from the holy city. Alexander's adherents, including John of Salisbury, were hopeful that both the Roman commune and the city-states of Tuscany could be persuaded to oppose the anti-pope.[16] John even expressed the hope

12. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder* , p.39
13. John of Salisbury, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de La France, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.584B
14. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.166
15. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.39
16. John of Salisbury, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 584B

that Walter's service to Alexander's cause in Rome might only be the prelude to the capture of Guido of Crema.[17] This proved a vain hope however as the anti-pope continued to oppose Alexander freely until his death in 1168.[18] Moreover even after Guido of Crema died, Walter proved unable to reestablish the pope's authority in Rome. The Roman commune refused to sanction the return of the pope and the cardinals to the city while the schism continued and the imperial partisans retained military control of most of the papal territories.[19] It was only in 1178 after the Peace of Venice that Alexander was allowed to return briefly to Rome.[20] Walter's term as the pope's vicar in Rome was therefore unsuccessful in advancing Alexander's cause. The hostility of the Roman commune after 1167, encouraged by the military strength of the imperial partisans in Italy, presented a formidable and ultimately successful challenge to the efforts of the papal vicar.

Walter remained a trusted associate of Alexander III despite his lack of success as the papal vicar in Rome. The cardinal bishop ceased to serve as the pope's representative in Rome in October 1172, when he resumed his previous role as a permanent papal adviser.[21] Walter was employed as a diplomatic representative of the papal government outside Italy on only a single occasion during Alexander's pontificate, when the pope dispatched him to Hungary as a papal legate in 1175.[22] The cardinal bishop undertook legatine duties in the kingdom between 1175 and 1176, working to settle disturbances in Salzburg with the support of the king of Hungary.[23] The legation

17. John of Salisbury, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 584B
18. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.420
19. ibid., p.426
20. ibid., p.446
21. Alexander III, JL12165, *MPL* 200, col.886B
22. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.39
23. ibid.

to Hungary was Walter's last important service to the papacy under Alexander. It appears that the cardinal bishop of Albano died not long after his return to Rome in 1177. The date of Walter's death is unknown, but he had certainly died before the Third Lateran Council in 1179, when Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, was appointed as cardinal bishop of Albano.[26] The steady pattern of Walter's subscriptions moreover ceased abruptly on 29 September 1177,[27] indicating that the cardinal bishop's death occurred shortly afterwards, late in 1177 or in 1178.

Despite his minor part in the struggle to win universal recognition for the rightful pope, Walter was highly regarded by various distinguished contemporaries in the church. The pope's high opinion of Walter was reflected in the cardinal's role as an adviser and his appointment as papal vicar in Rome. But Walter also commanded respect among distinguished churchmen and intellectuals, such as Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux and John of Salisbury. Arnulf, who maintained a regular correspondence with Walter, expressed affection for the cardinal bishop and admiration for his qualities in one of his letters.[26] The English churchman John of Salisbury, who was closely associated with Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, also expressed a high regard for Walter.[27] John indeed addressed a lengthy missive to Walter in 1167, which was notable for its blunt criticism of the papal curia's failure to support Becket against King Henry II of England.[28] John accused the pope and cardinals of ignoring the canon law, Christ's Gospel and the decrees of the saints.[29] He appealed to

24. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.39
25. Alexander III, JL12945, *MPL* 200, col.1152D
26. Arnulf of Lisieux, Letters 46, *MPL* 201, col.75C
27. John of Salisbury, Letters 235, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.432-439
28. ibid.
29. ibid.

Walter to oppose such iniquity which would endanger his soul, excusing his bluntness on the basis of their friendship: "*Haec iccirco vobis tanquam patri et domino credidi familiarius intimanda ne consensum detis iniquitati, sed animam vestram liberetis apud Deum et homines*".[30] John's appeal to Walter and the bluntness of his criticism of the papal government reflected his high regard for the cardinal bishop, as well as the friendship between the two churchmen. John's respect for Walter's influence in the college was illustrated by his final plea to the cardinal. He requested Walter to secure the vacant position of dean in the church of Rheims for his candidate Master Ralph of Sarre, through the cardinal's influence with the pope.[31] John's confidence in Walter's persuasive powers was more notable than the cardinal's influence on this occasion, as Ralph failed to secure appointment as dean in 1167 and was obliged to wait until the next vacancy to achieve his ambition.[32] Nevertheless it is evident that the cardinal was deeply respected by eminent prelates and churchmen with whom he maintained close connections.

Walter was above all else a respected papal adviser. The cardinal was rarely employed as a diplomatic representative of the papacy. He exerted little influence on the political developments of the schism, even during his term as the papal vicar in Rome. The functional pattern of his career was decided by Alexander, who chose to employ Walter primarily as a member of the papal entourage. The respect which Walter commanded among distinguished churchmen underlined that his qualities as a papal adviser were widely appreciated. Walter's career illustrated Alexander's capable determination of the functional responsibilities undertaken by individual cardinals.

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30. John of Salisbury, Letters 235, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.432-439
31. ibid.
32. ibid.

HENRY CARDINAL BISHOP OF ALBANO

Henry was the scion of a Burgundian noble family, who was born at Marcy near Cluny c.1140.[1] He was enrolled in the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux in 1156 and was elected abbot of Hautecombe at an early age in 1160.[2] Henry was then selected in 1176 as abbot of Clairvaux.[3] His rapid rise through the ranks of the Cistercian order attracted the favourable attention of the pope, who began to employ Henry as an advocate for papal policies shortly after his elevation to Clairvaux. Alexander entrusted Henry with the duty of recruiting secular lords for a Crusade against the Saracens.[4] The abbot pursued this mission with vigour and by January 1178 he was able to report to Alexander that Henry, count of Champagne, had taken the Cross.[5] Henry, however, played a much more influential role in shaping the papacy's response to the prevalence of Cathar ideas in southern France.

The Cistercian order had received in 1177 an appeal for aid from Raymond V, count of Toulouse, against the Albigensian community. The Albigensians formed a neo-manichaean, Cathar sect, which was firmly established in Languedoc by the late twelfth century.[7] Henry became the most prominent advocate of effective action against the sect by the secular and eccleasiastical authorities. In May 1178 he exhorted King Louis VII of France to lead a military expedition against the heretics.[8] His letters to the king illuminated Henry's strategy to oppose the Albigensian movement.

1. J.M. Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums 1130-1181*, p.61
2. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, Abbé de Clairvaux, Cardinal-Evêque d'Albano et Légat Pontifical, p.2 in *Analecta Monastica. Textes et Etudes sur la vie des moines au moyen age 5e série* (Rome, 1958)
3. *Chronicon Clarevallense*, *MPL* 185, col.1247-1252
4. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 1, *MPL* 204, col.215A-216B
5. ibid.
6. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.10-11
7. ibid.
8. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 28, *MPL* 204, col.234B-235A

The abbot was convinced that a purely spiritual mission to Languedoc was futile, as the Albigensians would simply deceive the visiting clergy by pretending to affirm the Christian faith.[9] He believed that only an initiative, which combined the authority of the papacy with secular force, would be effective in restoring the orthodox Christian faith in the region.[10] He developed his ideas for a holy war against heresy in an appeal to the pope in May 1178.[11] Henry urged the pope to entrust the papal legate, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Grisogono, with a mission in cooperation with secular rulers, to crush heresy in Languedoc.[12] The abbot argued that the pope should employ against heresy not only the spiritual sword, symbolising the spiritual authority of the church, but also the material sword of the secular power.[13] Henry invoked the traditional Gelasian idea of the two swords in an innovative fashion, asserting that the material sword should be employed by the secular princes at the pope's command against heresy.[14] His predecessor, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, had promoted the idea that the papacy had the right to command the use of force against Muslims or schismatics, but had specifically opposed violent action against heretics.[15] In a theoretical development of great importance, Henry had decisively altered the Crusading ideology of St. Bernard and the papacy to justify holy war against heresy.[16] Alexander responded to Henry's appeal by authorising a mission to Languedoc in 1178, to be led by Cardinal Peter.[17] The mission was composed of prominent secular

9. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.12-13
10. ibid.
11. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 11, *MPL* 204, col.223B-225A
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.16-17
16. ibid., p.18
17. ibid., p.19

nobles such as Raymond of Toulouse and leading churchmen including Henry himself.[18] The pope had not yet fully accepted Henry's recommendations, as the legation was primarily an ecclesiastical mission which did not become a military expedition.[19] The abbot issued a report of the mission, as an open letter *"Audite Coeli"* to all faithful Christians.[20] He emphasized the danger of heresy in Languedoc, declaring that the Christian faith would have perished completely in the region if the legation had been delayed by even three more years.[21] Henry also sought to show that the Albigensian sect could be defeated, giving the example of a Cathar leader, Pierre Maurand, who was brought to renounce his beliefs as a result of the legation.[22] The abbot's letter was also an appeal for military action against the Albigensian movement.[23] The publication of *"Audite Coeli"* established Henry as the leading advocate of a holy war against heresy, which would be inspired by the papacy. His militancy encouraged Cardinal Peter to recommend his appointment as bishop of Toulouse, but Henry refused to be considered for election to the see.[24] He also declined to be elected as abbot of Cîteaux in December 1178,[25] but was soon drawn away from Clairvaux. In July 1178 Cardinal Peter had recommended to Alexander eleven eminent French churchmen and scholars, including Henry of Clairvaux, for elevation to the sacred college.[26] Alexander promoted only Henry and Bernered, abbot of St. Crépin in Soissons, to the college at the Third Lateran council in 1179.[27]

18. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.19-20
19. ibid.
20. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 29, *MPL* 204, col.235A-240B
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.21
24. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 3, *MPL* 204, col.217D-218D
25. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 27, *MPL* 204, col.233D-234A
26. Peter of S. Grisogono, *MPL* 200, col.1370D-1372A
27. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.272 (Bernered of Palestrina, p.59)

Henry was appointed as cardinal bishop of Albano on 14 March 1179 and was consecrated by Alexander himself on 6 May 1179.[28] The account of his elevation preserved in the work of Benedict of Peterborough recorded that Henry was elected to the college by the cardinals and merely confirmed in his new eminence by the pope.[29] The other contemporary sources, however, recorded that he was appointed as cardinal bishop of Albano by Pope Alexander.[30] As the pope had previously employed Henry to assist the papal legate in France, Cardinal Peter, and evidently valued his qualities, it is most likely that Alexander himself was responsible for the elevation of the Cistercian cardinal.

The new cardinal's influence was evident in the legislation of the Third Lateran Council. Henry's ideas were enshrined in canon 27 of the Council's decrees, which appealed to Christian princes to defend the church by force and prescribed harsh penalties against heretics, including the confiscation of their property.[31] The Council, influenced by Henry's revision of traditional Crusading ideology, adopted the violent repression of heresy as the official policy of the western church.[32] The Cistercian cardinal was soon delegated by the pope to implement the new militancy. He served only briefly as a member of the papal entourage under Alexander. Henry recorded only four subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges of Alexander's pontificate, in the period from 4 May 1179 until 8 December 1179.[33] His final subscription of the

28. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.26
29. Benedict of Peterborough, *Vita et Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I Angliae Regum, Recueil, Scriptores* 13, ed. M. Bouquet, col.179D
30. *Monumenta S. Clarevallensis Abbatiae*, *MPL* 185, col.1553C, *Chronicon Clarevallense*, *MPL* 185, 1249D
31. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.27-28
32. ibid.
33. Alexander III, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346, JL13426, *MPL* 200, col.1238D, JL13481, 1251B, JL13499, Hugo O.P.A. II. Pr.

pontificate was given on 8 December 1179.[34] Henry was never a permanent adviser to the pope, as Alexander selected the cardinal to lead the struggle against heresy, appointing him at the end of 1179 as *"legatus a latere"* to southern France.[35]

Henry's activity during the early months of his legation is poorly documented.[36] The chronicle of Clairvaux recorded that the legate deposed the archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne in 1181.[37] The chronicle's information about Lyons is certainly inaccurate. Guichard, a Cistercian of irreproachable piety, served as archbishop of Lyons until 27 September 1181 and was succeeded in 1182 by John of Poitiers, another highly respected prelate who had previously cooperated with Henry in Languedoc.[38] Neither of these prelates could have been deposed by the legate and it is most likely that Henry acted only to excommunicate an intruder, who sought to usurp the see after Guichard's death.[39] Henry's intervention in Narbonne was, however, more drastic. Pons d'Arsac, the archbishop of Narbonne, was certainly deposed by May 1182, at the legate's instigation.[40] Henry secured the election of Bernard Gaucelin, bishop of Bèziers, as the new archbishop of Narbonne in 1182.[41] The episode underlined the cardinal's severity towards clergy whom he suspected of excessive leniency concerning heresy. He also deposed other office-holders of the church in Narbonne and forced the canons to accept his nominees for the vacant positions.[42] Henry acted forcefully to ensure the complete commitment of the local church to the repression of heresy.

34. Alexander III, JL13499, Hugo O.P.A. II. Pr.
35. W. Janssen, *Die Päpstlichen Legaten In Frankreich (1130-1181)*, p.110
36. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.30
37. *Chronicon Clarevallense*, *MPL* 185, col.1250A
38. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.31
39. ibid., p.39
40. ibid. pp.34-35
41. ibid., p.34
42. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.114

Henry's primary objective, however, was the organisation of a military expedition against the Cathars. He first preached the armed persecution of the heretics at a provincial synod in Avignon in April 1180.[43] At the synod he also extracted a profession of the Christian faith from the suspected heretic, Valdès, an advocate of evangelical poverty, who was based in Lyons.[44] Henry sought assistance from the ailing King Louis VII in the autumn of 1180 but decided to organise the military action personally, when Louis and his successor Philip II declined to participate in the enterprise.[45] In 1181 the cardinal raised an army mainly among the secular nobility of Aquitaine, with the extirpation of heresy in Languedoc as his declared objective.[46] For the first time a papal legate led a military expedition within a Christian country.[47] Henry had established a precedent of fundamental importance for the Christian church. The legate's warlike measures achieved considerable initial success. His forces moved against Roger II Trencavel, vicomte of Béziers and a leading patron of the Albigensian community.[48] The fall of Roger's castle of Lavaur, which was attributed by the chronicle of Clairvaux to a miracle,[49] was achieved by Henry with the complicity of Roger's wife Adelaide.[50] The legate captured two leading members of the Albigensian community, Raymond de Baimiac and Bernard Raymond, securing their conversion to the Christian faith.[51] The conversions were apparently voluntary and durable, as the two Cathar leaders later became canons of the church in

43. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.111
44. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.32
45. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.112-113
46. Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon, MGH, Scriptores* 26, p.245[39-42]
47. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.36
48. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.114
49. *Chronicon Clarevallense*, *MPL* 185, col.1250A
50. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.36
51. ibid. pp.36-37

Toulouse.[52] Roger also submitted to the legate in 1181, along with many of his followers, who publicly renounced their Cathar beliefs.[53] Henry's assertion of papal authority by military force had secured a spectacular short-term success.

The legate's success was, however, a purely temporary phenomenon. The Albigensians mainly returned to their previous practices as soon as Henry's forces withdrew in the autumn of 1181.[54] He therefore sought to rally the church of southern France against the Cathar community during the rest of his legation.[55] Henry presided over ecclesiatical councils at Le Puy in September 1181 and at Bazas on 8 December 1181, where he again denounced the heretics to the assembled clergy.[56] He concluded his legation in southern France by presiding over a synod at Limoges in February 1182, where he adjudicated a prolonged dispute between the abbey of St. Sever and the Benedictine congregation of Ste-Croix de Bordeaux.[57] Henry gave judgement in the case, which had been delegated to him by Alexander, in favour of the abbey of Ste-Croix.[58] His judicial role reflected normal papal practice in the twelfth century,[59] which involved the delegation of judicial cases to relevant prelates, including cardinals. Although he undertook other legatine business unrelated to heresy, the main purpose of Henry's legation was clearly the enforcement of the new papal policy of repression in France. While he achieved no permanent success, the legate had established highly influential precedents for the papacy's future struggle against heretical movements.

52. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.115-116
53. ibid.
54. ibid., pp.115-117
55. ibid., pp.116-118
56. ibid., pp.116-117
57. Henry of Albano, Letters 30, *MPL* 204, col.241A-247A
58. ibid.
59. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.190-191

Henry was a respected member of the papal entourage under Alexander's immediate successors. He maintained a regular record of activity as a witness to the extant letters and privileges of Pope Lucius III, between August 1182 and 11 November 1185.[60] He was one of the cardinals selected by Pope Urban III to preside over a council at Verona on 3 March 1187, which was designed to settle a dispute between the patriarch of Aquileia and the bishop of Concordia in Venetia.[61] When Urban died in October 1187, shortly after the overthrow of the Christian kingdom of Outremer, Henry was proposed by a group of cardinals as his successor.[62] But he advocated the election of the papal chancellor, Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, who was enthroned as Gregory VIII.[63] The new pope rewarded Henry by appointing him as the papal legate to preach the Third Crusade to the princes of Europe.[64] The cardinal was to be a fervent advocate of the Crusade for the last year of his life.

Henry began his legation in the empire, securing the agreement of Emperor Frederick I to take the Cross by December 1187.[65] Gregory's unexpected death on 17 December 1187 did not affect Henry's legation as a Crusading preacher.[66] He preached the Crusade to a great assembly of clergy at Liège on 2 March 1188, issuing an appeal to the prelates in his letter *"Publicani et Peccatores"* to uphold Christian values of humility, poverty and simplicity in the face of disaster in the east.[67] The legate then preached the Crusade to an imperial Diet at Mainz on 27 March 1188,

60. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
61. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.42
62. *Monumenta S. Claraevallensis Abbatiae*, *MPL* 185, col.1553D, F. Ughellus, *Episcopi Albanensis, Italia Sacra I*, p.254
63. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.43-44
64. *Monumenta S. Claraevallensis Abbatiae*, *MPL* 185, col.1553D-1554A
65. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.46
66. ibid., p.45
67. Henry of Albano, Letters 31, *MPL* 204, col.247B-249B

and won the adherence of the assembled German princes to the Crusade.[68] While Henry's legation in the empire was highly successful, his negotiations with the rulers of England and France proved inconclusive. He secured the commitment of King Philip Augustus of France and King Henry II of England to the Crusade by March 1188, but they resumed their war in the summer.[69] Henry organised an inconclusive peace conference at Bonmoulins in November 1188 and secured a truce between the monarchs until 13 January 1189, hoping to persuade them to honour their crusading vows in the meantime.[70] But the kings of western Europe departed for the east only in 1190, although the emperor began his expedition in 1189.[71] The legate did not survive to witness the fate of the Crusade. Henry died at Arras on 1 January 1189.[72]

Henry of Albano was one of the most influential cardinals of the twelfth century. He was one of four French cardinals elevated to the college by Alexander, reflecting the pope's determination to maintain close connections with the Capetian kingdom. As the most famous Cistercian of his time in the college, Henry's career underlined the influence of the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century within the papal curia. He redefined the Crusading ideology and secured the adoption by the papacy of his militant approach to heresy. His military expedition to Languedoc in 1181 was a watershed in the evolution of the medieval papacy, establishing precedents which would guide papal policy long after his death. Henry was a skilled advocate and propagandist for the Crusading ideal, who left an enduring legacy to the papacy and the western church.

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68. Henry of Albano, Letters 32, *MPL* 204, col.249C-252A
69. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, p.52
70. ibid., p.53
71. ibid., p.53
72. ibid., p.54

HUGH CARDINAL BISHOP OF FRASCATI (TUSCULUM)

Hugh was a scion of the great Roman noble family of the Pierleoni, who had first come to prominence as the allies of the reform papacy in the late 11th century.[1] More recently the Pierleoni had unsuccessfully opposed the dominant pro-imperial party in the papal government after the Concordat of Worms.[2] Hugh indeed was the nephew of "Anacletus II", the unsuccessful Pierleoni claimant to the papal dignity in the schism of 1130.[3] Hugh's family had, however, regained the favour of the papacy during the pontificate of Pope Adrian IV. The renewed friendship between the Pierleoni and the papacy was underlined by Hugh's appointment as bishop of Piacenza in 1155.

Hugh's elevation to the episcopate owed much to the efforts of the pope. Following the abdication of the previous bishop, Adrian informed the clergy and people of Piacenza on 2 January 1155 of his decision to confirm the selection of Hugh Pierleoni, which had been made initially by his legates.[4] The pope also announced his intention to lift the interdict which had been imposed on Piacenza.[5] Adrian declared that the papal punishment would be removed at the request of Hugh and his relatives, who had sustained and defended the Roman church by their aid and counsel: *"Addit, se interdictum agro Placentino propter rapinas irrogatum sustulisse, petentibus Hugone eiusque parentibus, quorum consilio inquit et auxilio Romana ecclesia potissimum sustentatur et ab hostium impugnatione defenditur."*[6] Hugh's appointment

1. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.127; H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), pp.369-370
2. ibid., pp.168-169
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
4. Adrian IV, JL9975, *MPL* 188, col.1382C
5. ibid.
6. ibid.

as bishop of Piacenza was evidently accomplished at the instigation of the pope. Adrian showed a high regard for the Pierleoni family in securing Hugh's elevation and he was equally determined to consolidate the Roman nominee's position in the diocese. The pope subsequently made known to all the clergy of the diocese on 4 March 1155 that he had consecrated Hugh as their bishop.[7] At the same time Adrian commended Bishop Hugh to the clergy and people of Piacenza.[8] Hugh owed his first major promotion in the church to the favour of the pope, which was evidently won above all by the importance of Pierleoni support for the papacy in Rome.

Hugh's elevation to the college of cardinals by Alexander III was influenced by the bishop's loyalty as well as the power of his family. Hugh faithfully supported Alexander after the divided election of 1159, but was compelled by adherents of the emperor to abandon his see.[9] He then entered the congregation of the regular canons of St. Victor in Paris, remaining in exile until his elevation to the college.[10] Hugh was nominated as cardinal bishop of Frascati on 18 March 1166.[11] Alexander had only in the previous year reestablished himself in Rome, through the fragile and short-lived pact with the Roman commune.[12] The pope urgently required support from the Roman nobility against the emperor and the anti-pope "Paschal III". The Pierleoni had been the most prominent noble leaders within the commune since its foundation in 1143.[13] Hugh's appointment to the college was a shrewd political manoeuvre by the

7. Adrian IV, JL10006, *MPL* 188, col.1392B
8. Adrian IV, JL10007, *MPL* 188, col.1392D-1393A
9. John of Salisbury, Letters 124, Oxford Medieval Texts 1, ed. W.J. Millor et al, p.213; K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter*, p.114
10. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), p.369
11. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
12. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.412
13. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.181

pope to consolidate the support of an influential noble clan and reinforce papal authority in Rome, through the promotion of a prelate of proven loyalty.

Hugh's career as a cardinal ended almost before it began. Hugh was dead by 21 April 1166, barely a month after his appointment.[14] He subscribed only a single privilege issued by Alexander III. The cardinal bishop witnessed the pope's letter confirming the goods and rights of the north Italian monastery of S. Clement of Peschiera.[15] His unexpected death must have been a setback to Alexander's efforts to consolidate his support in Rome, which indeed came to nothing when the pope was again compelled to withdraw from the city in 1167 because of Frederick Barbarossa's Italian expedition.[16] The pope was not entirely unsuccessful, however, as Hugh's family were numbered among the few consistent supporters of Alexander's cause in Rome during the schism.[17] The importance which the pope attached to the allegiance of the Pierleoni was underlined by the subsequent appointment of the cardinal bishop's nephew and namesake, Hugh Pierleoni, as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo.[18]

Hugh, cardinal bishop of Frascati, is notable as one of the few Roman cardinals appointed by Alexander III. The pope appointed only three natives of Rome to the college between 1159 and 1181.[19] Hugh's career also illustrated the reemergence of the Pierleoni as the prominent allies of the papal government in the holy city. Hugh's short-lived elevation to the college, however, did little to assist Alexander's ineffectual efforts to restore papal authority in Rome.

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14. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
15. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL* 200, col.409D
16. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.417
17. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273
18. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
19. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273

ODO CARDINAL BISHOP OF FRASCATI

Little information is provided by the sources concerning Odo's origins or his career before his appointment as a cardinal. Odo was elevated to the college by Alexander III in 1170, when he was appointed as cardinal bishop of Frascati.[1] It is likely that Odo was appointed in December 1170, as his first subscription to a papal privilege was given on 21 December 1170.[2] Odo witnessed a privilege issued by Alexander, confirming the rights and possessions of the abbey of S. Maria di Chiaravelle.[3] Odo had not previously served as a member of the sacred college and he was elevated directly to the order of the cardinal bishops.

Odo served as cardinal bishop of Frascati only for a brief period. He witnessed only four papal documents, which are recorded in the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III, between 21 December 1170 and 9 May 1171.[4] His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 9 May 1171, when Odo witnessed a papal privilege extending the protection of the apostolic see to the Italian church of S. Trinità di Alfiano.[5] The cardinal bishop maintained a regular pattern of subscriptions during his short time in the college. Odo was evidently a member of the papal entourage, who remained constantly in attendance at the papal court.

Odo disappeared from the sources after May 1171. He had certainly died by 21 February 1172, when Alexander referred to his deceased collaborator in a letter to

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
2. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Mailand* 16, p.100
3. ibid.
4. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1902*, *Papsturkunden in Mailand* 16, p.100, Alexander III, JL11878, *MPL* 200, col.718D, JL11887, 723A, P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1908, Nachtrage zu den Papsturkunden Italiens II.* 17, pp.251-252
5. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1908, Nachtrage zu den Papsturkunden Italiens II.* 17, pp.251-252

the abbot of Ourscamp.[6] It appears that Odo had made a favourable adjudication on a legal claim brought by the monks of Ourscamp shortly before his death, although the sources provide only limited information concerning his involvement. Certainly Alexander approved the decision taken by Odo and other bishops to concede certain possessions to the abbot and monks of Ourscamp.[7] The cardinal bishop clearly acted in a judicial role on behalf of the pope.[8] As Odo was not described in any source as a papal legate, it is likely that he was appointed by the pope as a "judge-delegate" to investigate a legal claim brought by the monks of Ourscamp to the apostolic see. This practice was consistent with an emerging pattern within the papal government in the later part of the twelfth century, which involved the delegation of complex judicial cases to cardinals or local churchmen.[9] Odo's role in providing the adjudication sought by the monastic congregation underlined that he had established himself as a valued adviser of the pope. His career was, however, cut short by death not long afterwards. Odo died sometime between May 1171 and February 1172.[10]

While Odo served only briefly as a member of the sacred college, he was by no means an insignificant figure. His elevation underlined Alexander's tendency to appoint new cardinal bishops from the ranks of churchmen who enjoyed no previous service in the college.[11] The cardinal's transaction of important judicial business reflected his status as a respected papal adviser. Odo was a valued but short-lived member of the cohort of permanent advisers in the sacred college.

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6. Alexander III, JL11987, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.249
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.175; J.E. Sayers, *Papal Judges-Delegate in the province of Canterbury* 1198-1154, p.97
10. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
11. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.272

HUBALD CARDINAL BISHOP OF OSTIA

Hubald Allucingoli was a native of the city of Lucca in Tuscany.[1] He was already an experienced member of the college of cardinals before Alexander's election. Indeed by 1159 Hubald enjoyed the longest service within the college of any cardinal supporting Alexander, with the sole exception of Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro. Hubald had been appointed to the college by Pope Innocent II, who nominated him as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano in December 1138.[2] He was promoted on 23 May 1141, also by Innocent II, becoming cardinal priest of S. Prassede.[3] During the pontificate of Adrian IV (1154-1159) Hubald became a leading advocate of the new papal policy of alliance with the Norman kingdom of Sicily. His allegiance is evident as early as 1156 when he participated in the negotiations with William I of Sicily which led to the Treaty of Benevento.

In 1155 the survival of the Norman Kingdom seemed doubtful. William's monarchy was seriously threatened by a dangerous rebellion among his vassals and an invasion by the military might of the Byzantine empire.[4] The threat to the Norman state was intensified by the hostility of the papacy, so William sought an agreement with Adrian IV. According to Boso's account in his biography of Adrian IV, William promised to acknowledge his vassalage to the Papacy and restore the "liberty" of the church in his realm.[5] The king also pledged to make territorial concessions by ceding the important fortresses of Padule, Montefusco and Morcone to the Patrimony of St. Peter and

1. Richard of Poitiers, *Chronica, Continuatio Itala, MGH, Scriptores* 26, p.85[18].
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.43
3. ibid.
4. Boso, *Vita Hadriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.394
5. Boso, *Vita Hadriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.394

promised military aid against the rebellious Romans.[6] These terms were very attractive to the pope, embodying most of the concessions which his predecessors had sought and failed to secure from William's father, King Roger II. The majority of the cardinals, however, favoured the traditional alliance with the empire against the Norman kingdom of Sicily, which had been maintained for a generation.[7] Adrian therefore acted cautiously, sending Hubald to question William's envoys and ascertain the reliability of their promises.[8] Hubald reported positively to the pope on the King's initiative, confirming the generous nature of the terms.[9] The pope apparently favoured acceptance of the Sicilian proposal but was blocked by the feeling of the college: the majority of the cardinals refused to consent to the terms.[10] The peace initiative which Hubald supported and advocated was rejected. The disagreement between the pope and a substantial pro-imperial faction within the college was the first indication of the factional division which would lead to schism in 1159.

Hubald was evidently a prominent advocate of rapprochement with the Norman kingdom at an early stage. It is no surprise then that he was deeply involved in the negotiations which made the Sicilian alliance a reality. The cardinal priest of S. Prassede was a trusted collaborator of Adrian IV. The pope had entrusted him with the initial negotiations on William's diplomatic initiative. When the negotiations were resumed in very different circumstances in 1156, Hubald was again employed as a papal envoy.[11] On this occasion the pope's position was less favourable: William I had

6. Boso, *Vita Hadriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.394
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. ibid.
11. ibid., p.395

decisively defeated the invading Byzantine force at Brindisi and reestablished his rule over Apulia.[12] Adrian then dispatched the majority of the cardinals to Campania and awaited the victorious king at Benevento, with a small group composed of his close collaborators in the college which included Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Prassede.[13] The Pope appointed Hubald, along with Julius, cardinal priest of S. Marcello and Roland, the chancellor of the Roman church and cardinal priest of S. Marco as his envoys to negotiate a peace agreement with William I.[14] The successful negotiations conducted by Hubald and his colleagues led to the Treaty of Benevento in 1156. The treaty reversed the previous pattern of papal alliances, replacing the traditional linkage to the empire by the alliance with the Norman kingdom of Sicily.[15] Already by 1156 Hubald had emerged as a leading political figure in the college of cardinals. He was a trusted collaborator of Adrian IV and the chancellor Roland. Hubald was a prominent founding member of the "Sicilian party" among the cardinals,[16] which formed to uphold the new policy promoted by the pope. Hubald's appointment as cardinal bishop of Ostia in December 1158 underlined his status as a close colleague and ally of the pope.[17]

Hubald's elevation to the dignity of cardinal bishop had a particular importance in the circumstances of 1159. As dean of the sacred college, the cardinal bishop of Ostia not only held the senior position among the cardinals but had the duty of crowning the pope. The traditional role of the cardinal bishop of Ostia in the ceremony of election,

12. Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.395
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. ibid.
16. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
17. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.43

consecration and coronation ensured that Hubald's influence was substantial in the disputed election which followed Adrian's death. Hubald was identified by Boso as a leading supporter of the chancellor Roland from the outset: "With divine assent the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, together with those of Albano, Porto and Sabina, and the other Cardinals, Priests and Deacons...made the Prior of the Deacons place the Papal mantle on him who was their choice."[18] Hubald was portrayed as the most important supporter of Roland, who proposed the chancellor's election as pope when it became clear that he commanded the support of a large majority among the cardinals. The election in Rome was, however, disrupted by violence and the pro-imperial minority in the college proceeded to elect Octavian, cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, who was enthroned as "Victor IV".[19] Hubald then played a crucial role in securing and legitimising Roland's election as Pope Alexander III. At Ninfa Alexander was consecrated and crowned as the Supreme Pontiff of the Roman church "by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, to whom alone the duty of the consecration of a Supreme Pontiff belongs".[20] Boso naturally used the tradition of consecration by the cardinal bishop of Ostia as propaganda in Alexander's favour. Hubald's prestige and influence were, however, clearly significant in achieving and legitimising Alexander's election.

The cardinal bishop of Ostia remained a steadfast supporter of Alexander III as the pope began his prolonged struggle for recognition as the legitimate head of the Roman church. Hubald subscribed the letter issued by the twenty-three cardinals who supported Alexander in the election,[21] which was addressed to Frederick Barbarossa,

18. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p. 397
19. ibid., p.399
20. ibid.
21. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D

defending the righteousness of Alexander's elevation. He also subscribed the letter issued by twenty-five cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church, appealing for general recognition of the rightful Pontiff.[22]

Hubald's importance as a leading permanent adviser of the pope was illustrated by the consistent record of activity established by the cardinal bishop, as a witness to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate. He subscribed forty-two documents issued by Alexander III in the period from 15 October 1159 to 27 July 1165.[23] Hubald witnessed the first letter issued by Alexander III on 15 October 1159, which confirmed the privileges of the church of Jerusalem.[24] The cardinal bishop of Ostia then subscribed the vast majority of papal letters (forty-two of the forty-five issued in this period) until the summer of 1165, when he witnessed a papal document confirming the rights and possessions of the monastery of S. Daniel in Venice.[25] Following this subscription Hubald established no further record of activity until 8 February 1168, when he again subscribed a papal document confirming the rights and possessions of the church of Jerusalem.[26] His subscriptions broke off temporarily because he undertook important legations to Sicily and the Byzantine empire in this period.[27] After this interruption his consistent pattern of subscriptions was resumed.

22. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 62D
23. Alexander III, Jaffé-Loewenfeld 10593, *MPL* 200, 73, JL10594, 75D, JL10663, 115D, JL10679, 126D, JL10698, 131B, JL10714, 142B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217B, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 222B, JL10863, 225D, JL10864, 227B, JL10875, 229C, JL10887, 236C, JL10893, 241B, JL10900, 245D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255B, JL10999, 284C, JL11026, 295B, JL11077, 316C, JL11083, 318D, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345D, JL11167, 346D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362B, JL11192, 364C, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C
24. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL* 200, 73D
25. JL11221, *MPL* 200, 388C
26. JL11379, *MPL* 200, 469A
27. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415

A further seventy-seven subscriptions by Hubald were recorded between 8 February 1168 and 24 May 1181, in a steady stream which testifies to his prominence as a leading political figure in the papal government.[28]

The consistent pattern of Hubald's subscriptions provides only part of the evidence for his importance in the papal government. Hubald's influence as a permanent adviser of Alexander III was underlined by his role in settling a highly controversial case which was appealed to the pope in the early years of the pontificate. The abbots of Vezelay were embroiled in an ongoing dispute with the count of Nevers, who had imposed burdens and dues on the monastery which undermined its freedom.[29] In 1161 following the death of Abbot Pontius of Vezelay the count of Nevers harassed his successor William and provoked the new abbot to take his case to the papal court.[30] In 1165 William set out to defend his cause personally at the papal court and was received with great honour by the pope.[31] But the excommunicated count's supporters brought a legal action against the abbot: this action was rejected by Alexander following the intervention of Hubald, who opposed the proceedings.[32] But the dispute

28. Alexander III, JL11379, *MPL*200, col.469A, JL11385, 474A, JL11386, 477B, JL11389, 479B, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495B, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569B, JL11607, 574D, JL11608, 576B, JL11609, 576A, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583A, JL11622, 588D, JL11632, 592D, JL11635, 595A, JL11636, 597B, F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra* 4, p.672, *MPL*200, p.602B, JL11644, 606B, JL11651, 610C, JL11708, 635A, JL11731, 649D, JL11831, 695B, JL11892, 727B, JL12131, 867D, JL12139, 870B, JL12155, 880A, JL12205, 902C, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907A, JL12217, 908C, JL12221, 911A, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12398, 999B, JL12403, 1000C, JL12452, 1019B, JL12682, 1062B, JL12695, 1067C, JL12702, 1069A, JL12718, 1075D, JL12721, 1077C, JL12722, 1077D, JL12732, 1080B, JL12741, 1083C, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133A, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144D, JL12945, 1152D, JL13012, 1159A, JL13047, 1166D, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176D, JL13105, 1185D, JL13272, 1201C, JL13284, 1203A, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214C, JL13361, 1221B, JL13370, 1223A, JL13371, 1225A, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13465, 1246C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, JL13624, 1268C, JL14357, 1293D, JL14375, 1298D, JL14393, 1308C

29. Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de libertate monasterii Vizeliacensis, MGH, Scriptores* 26, p.143

30. ibid.

31. ibid., p.150

32. ibid., p.150

dragged on with acrimonious exchanges at the papal court between the count's agents and the supporters of the abbot, including Godfrey Angligena, sub-prior of Vezelay, who sought Hubald's assistance.[33] It reflects Hubald's importance in the college that Godfrey chose to approach him, arguing that the adherents of the count were showing great disrespect to the pope with their incessant lobbying.[34] On receiving the appeal Hubald acted swiftly and decisively. The senior cardinal bishop warned the pope that the count's supporters, who had constantly pestered him for a favourable decision, were now attending religious services in the pope's presence.[35] As the count's adherents had been in contact with an excommunicate and were liable to fall under the ban themselves, their action was a serious transgression. The pope gave instructions that the count's agents were to be expelled from the church precincts and apparently also from the papal court.[36] Hubald implemented this order personally, directing papal officials to expel the comital delegation.[37] The chronicler Hugh of Poitiers recorded that the count's adherents withdrew in disgrace to their master, while Abbot William, having received the apostolic blessing, returned to Vezelay in August 1165.[38] The substantial influence exerted by the experienced cardinal bishop was illustrated by the eventual outcome of the case. Hubald's intervention was regarded as decisive by the monastic chronicler Hugh. Hugh was a monk of Vezelay and supporter of Abbot William at the papal court in 1165, who sought to defend the conduct of his superior in vindicating the rightful liberty of the monastery.[39] There is

33. Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de libertate monasterii Vizeliacensis, MGH, Scriptores* 26, p.150
34. ibid.
35. ibid.
36. ibid.
37. ibid.
38. ibid.
39. ibid.

good cause, however, to accept the accuracy of this characterisation of Hubald's part in the affair. Hubald was the most experienced adviser of the pope. The outcome of the dispute reflected the reality within the sacred college that some members were more influential than others. Certainly it appears that few cardinals were more influential than Hubald of Ostia.

Hubald's prominent role as a leading permanent adviser of the pope was a constant feature of the pontificate. His influence in shaping the judgements delivered by the pope was underlined in the course of the Third Lateran Council in 1179. The archbishop-elect of Bremen, Berthold, attempted to secure recognition from the papacy of his election as metropolitan of the great north German archdiocese at the Third Lateran Council.[40] The chronicler Arnold related that Hubald was deliberating on Berthold's claims "at the head of the council of the Roman church".[41] The author's reference to the "council of the Roman church" can only mean the college of cardinals which advised the pope.[42] The cardinals evidently evaluated Berthold's claims and conveyed their conclusions to the pope. Hubald played the leading part in guiding the deliberations of the college on the validity of the election. Alexander then declared Berthold's election invalid, sternly rebuking him for accepting appointment in a manner contrary to the sacred rules of the church.[43] Hubald's participation in the judgement of this important ecclesiastical case reflected his influential position in the papal government. Hubald was the senior member of the college who of all the cardinals commanded the greatest prestige and respect among his colleagues.

40. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum II, MGH, Scriptores* 21, p.132$^{30-35}$
41. ibid.
42. ibid.
43. ibid.

The veteran cardinal took on a wide range of functions throughout the pontificate, acting as a leading papal diplomat as well as a permanent adviser. Hubald undertook a legation to Sicily in 1166, which was designed to win the support of King William I for an alliance with the Byzantine empire against Frederick Barbarossa.[44] The cardinal bishop was deeply involved in complex negotiations between the papacy, the Norman kingdom and the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus between 1166 and 1168.[45] Manuel offered regular financial aid to the embattled pope and held out the prospect of the union of the churches, if Alexander agreed to transfer the crown of the western empire to him.[46] While Alexander urgently needed to secure Byzantine financial assistance for his cause, he could not concede terms which would have enraged most of his allies in Western Europe.[47] The pope therefore temporised, sending Hubald and John, cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to Constantinople for negotiations with the eastern emperor.[48] The result of this legation in 1167 was inconclusive and Manuel again sought to win papal recognition as the legitimate Roman emperor following the embassy.[49] Alexander openly declined to make any commitment to the Byzantine envoy concerning the imperial crown, but he also sent Hubald and John back to the eastern emperor to retain the option of further negotiation with Manuel.[50] The cardinals averted a diplomatic rupture with the Byzantine monarch despite Alexander's unwillingness to support his ambitions and Manuel maintained his

44. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.95
45. ibid.
46. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415
47. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.80-82
48. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415
49. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.420
50. ibid.; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.84-85

financial aid for Alexander's allies, the Lombard city-states.[51] Although the papal project of an alliance between the Byzantine empire and Sicily was never fully achieved, the legates to the Byzantine court had enjoyed outstanding success. Hubald had participated successfully in a diplomatic process which delivered substantial rewards for the papacy.

The senior cardinal was also a prominent representative of the papacy in the negotiations which ended the schism. In 1175 Emperor Frederick made a diplomatic approach to three leading cardinals including Hubald, Bernard cardinal bishop of Porto and William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Frederick proposed negotiations to end the conflict and the pope appointed Hubald and his two colleagues as papal legates to the imperial court.[52] Hubald's leading position within the delegation soon became evident. When Frederick received the papal envoys at Pavia the cardinal bishop of Ostia took the most prominent part in presenting their case.[53] Boso's account of the occasion in his *Vita Alexandri III* emphasized the key role played by Hubald as the chief spokesperson for the papal delegation. A lengthy oration was attributed to Hubald, in which he spoke strongly for the restoration of peace and harmony in the church, while defending Alexander III as the rightful pope and rebuking the emperor for his support of various anti-popes.[54] Then the two other cardinals followed him, speaking only briefly on the same questions.[55] Hubald was clearly the leader of the papal delegation, preeminent among his colleagues due to his senior position in the college. The cardinals engaged in prolonged negotiations with

51. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.83-84
52. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.430
53. ibid., pp.430-431
54. ibid., pp.430-431
55. ibid., pp.430-431

Frederick and also consulted their Lombard allies to secure a satisfactory peace agreement.[56] But the negotiations failed as neither the cardinals nor the Lombard envoys found any basis for agreement with the emperor and the legates were obliged to report this setback to the pope.[57] It was, however, only a temporary reverse, as the negotiations resumed in 1176 after Frederick's defeat by the Lombard League at Legnano and led to the provisional peace agreement of Anagni.[58]

Hubald remained deeply involved in papal diplomacy in 1176-1177, participating in the process which led to the final settlement of the schism. In December 1176 Alexander dispatched Hubald, along with Rainer, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, to secure guarantees of safe conduct from the emperor, which would allow the pope to proceed safely to the designated site for the final negotiations.[59] The two cardinals were received cordially by Frederick and obtained security guarantees for the pope and the Lombard envoys.[60] Hubald and Rainer agreed with Frederick arrangements for the negotiations in which the pope would be based in Bologna and the emperor in Imola.[61] Alexander referred to the role of the two cardinals in response to Frederick's subsequent attempt to relocate the negotiations to Ravenna or Venice. The pope refused to change the location arranged through the mediation of Hubald and Rainer, without seeking the advice of the cardinals and the consent of the Lombard League.[62] Although the negotiations were soon relocated to Venice, Alexander was evidently reluctant to change course until the absent cardinals,

56. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.441
57. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.431
58. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.434
59. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.443
60. ibid.
61. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.437
62. ibid.

especially Hubald and Rainer, had been fully consulted. Hubald had played a significant role in initiating and sustaining the diplomatic process which led to the Peace of Venice.

The cardinal bishop of Ostia also participated in the final negotiations for the Peace which ended the schism in the Church. Hubald was one of the seven cardinals appointed by Alexander in April 1177 to conclude the negotiations with the emperor.[63] Hubald formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals including Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, William, cardinal bishop of Porto, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[64] Hubald and his colleagues obtained security guarantees from the emperor for the pope's allies, the representatives of the Lombard League and the king of Sicily.[65] The diplomatic activity of the cardinals ensured that the negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion. They absolved the emperor from the bonds of excommunication, opening the way for his formal reconciliation with the pope in July 1177.[66] Hubald was a leading member of the select group of cardinals who secured the peace agreement with the empire. He had participated in the initial negotiations which first indicated Frederick's desire for peace and then facilitated the agreement at Venice by securing the necessary security guarantees for the pope and his allies. Hubald had acted as a papal representative in the business of peacemaking to a greater extent than any other member of the college.

63. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446
64. ibid.
65. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
66. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439

The cardinal bishop also played an important part in facilitating Alexander's return to Rome in 1178. After the Peace of Venice the Roman commune, which had been hostile to Alexander for much of his pontificate, indicated its willingness to welcome the pope back to the holy city.[67] Alexander appointed three members of the sacred college as his envoys, to negotiate an agreement with the Romans which would safeguard the interests of the papal government, namely John cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Hugh cardinal deacon of S. Angelo and the ubiquitous Hubald of Ostia.[68] Hubald and his colleagues were successful in negotiating an agreement which incorporated the security guarantees demanded by the pope. The agreement allowed the self-governing Roman commune to retain its autonomy but also provided for restoration of the papal possessions in the city and for an oath of fealty to the pope by the representatives of the Roman commune. The representatives of the Roman aristocracy who made up the senate pledged to guarantee the security of the pope, the cardinals and the pilgrims who visited the holy city.[69] The efforts of Hubald and his colleagues paved the way for the pope's triumphant return to Rome in 1178.[70] It was indeed a temporary achievement, as the renewed hostility of the Romans compelled Alexander to withdraw again in the following year.[71] But the accord secured by the cardinals enabled Alexander to preside over the Third Lateran Council in his pontifical city in 1179. Hubald had helped to ensure that the papacy was able to summon a general council of the church under the pope, which symbolized the

67. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.445
68. ibid., p.446
69. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.446
70. ibid.
71. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.174

primacy of the Roman See after the turmoil of the schism.[72] He was the only cardinal who was a central figure both in the negotiations which ended the schism and in the papacy's efforts to reach agreement with the Roman commune. Hubald was an outstanding papal diplomat who made an invaluable contribution to the peacemaking policy pursued by Alexander in the last years of his pontificate.

Hubald owed his success as a legate not simply to his diplomatic skills but to his high reputation among his contemporaries. He was praised for his honesty and impeccable character by the Sicilian chronicler Hugh Falcandus, who compared him favourably with his colleague John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia.[73] Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, regarded Hubald as one of the few incorruptible cardinals.[74] Thomas believed that Hubald was a reliable ally in the archbishop's struggle against King Henry II of England, because of the cardinal's integrity and devotion to the cause of the Church.[75] The cardinal was highly regarded even by the western emperor, who sought his aid in achieving peace between the empire and the papacy.[76] Hubald's distinguished reputation and his prominence as a leading servant of the Roman church paved the way for his own election as pope following the death of Alexander III in July 1181. The cardinal bishop's election as pope was the logical consequence of his wide-ranging and highly influential position in the college of cardinals for over two decades.

Hubald, who assumed the pontifical title of Lucius III, was described in 1181 by the

72. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.188
73. Hugh Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie, Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 22, pp.102-103
74. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 30, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.50; Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 444, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.475-477; Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 538, *Materials* 7, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.27
75. ibid.
76. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.24

crusader prelate and historian, William of Tyre, as "a very old and moderately learned man".[77] Certainly Lucius was elderly at the time of his election, having served as a cardinal for over 42 years. His pontificate was perhaps too brief to allow the new pope to make a substantial impact on the Church or the papacy's relations with the empire. Lucius III served as pope for four years and two months, until his death in 1185.[78] It appears that Hubald's most substantial and constructive contribution to the Roman church was made during his tenure as cardinal bishop of Ostia under Alexander III, not in the course of his own relatively brief pontificate.

Hubald played a crucial part in achieving and legitimising Alexander's election. He was the most influential permanent adviser among the cardinals under Alexander. He was also a highly successful papal diplomat, who represented the papal government more consistently and prominently than any other cardinal in the negotiations which ended the schism. Hubald was the only cardinal who played a leading part in the negotiation of the Peace of Venice and also contributed to the papacy's transient agreement with the Roman commune. He contributed greatly to the eventual success of the papacy in overcoming the crisis of the schism. Alexander was fortunate to be able to call upon the services of Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, as an adviser, diplomat and peacemaking representative.

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79. William of Tyre, *Historia* XII.7, 1075, *Le Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux I, II Partie*
80. Richard of Poiters, *Chronica, Continuatio Itala cod. E2, MGH, Scriptores* 26, p.85[18]

BERNARD CARDINAL BISHOP OF PORTO

Bernard originally belonged to the congregation of the regular canons of S. Frediano of Lucca.[1] He was a *magister* whose legal background equipped him well for his career in the curia.[2] Bernard entered the service of the papal government under Pope Innocent II, who appointed him as prior of the Lateran.[3] He was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Clemente and also as archpriest of St. Peter by Pope Eugenius III in December 1145.[4] Bernard developed particularly close connections with leading political and ecclesiastical figures in the German kingdom. In 1153 he helped to negotiate the Treaty of Constance which established an alliance between the empire and the papacy: in conjunction with this mission Bernard undertook a highly successful visitation of the German church on behalf of the papacy, which contributed greatly to his prestige and reputation.[5] His conduct was widely praised by distinguished churchmen such as Gerhoch of Reichersberg, a leading German theologian.[6] Bernard's colleague in the legation, Gregory, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, was fiercely criticised for his financial exactions. Bernard, however, was acclaimed by Gerhoch for proceeding through "modesty and honesty", in contrast to the pride and greed of his colleague.[7] Moreover Bernard gained a reputation not only for integrity but for diplomatic skill. The cardinal priest was very successful in pacifying the clergy of Halberstadt, settling disagreements which they were having

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.292.
2. ibid., p.29-30
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.53
4. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I, Ecclesia S. Petri in Vaticano 32,* p.141; *ibid. 35,* p.142; J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.53
5. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.55
6. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Libelli Selecti*, ed. E. Sackur, *MGH, Lib de Lite III*, p.513
7. ibid.

among themselves.[8] Bernard therefore secured widespread respect as a result of the legation, especially in the German kingdom, where he formed close connections with leading ecclesiastical and political figures.[9] Bernard forged links with eminent royal advisers, including Abbot Wibald of Stablo, an influential adviser of King Conrad III and of Frederick Barbarossa at the outset of his reign.[10] Indeed he developed such a close relationship with Wibald that the royal adviser viewed him as an advocate within the college, requesting Bernard on one occasion to commend him to the pope and the cardinals.[11] Wibald's request underlined Bernard's importance as a permanent papal adviser before Alexander's pontificate.

Bernard was an influential figure in the college under Pope Adrian IV, who entrusted him with a difficult legation to the diet of Besançon in 1157, to rebuke the emperor for the abduction of Eskil, archbishop of Lund.[12] Bernard accompanied the chancellor Roland on the embassy to the imperial court and the two cardinals were described by the emperor's biographer, Rahewin, as greater than all others in the Roman church - "*...ambo divitiis, maturitate et gravitate insignes et prae omnibus aliis in Romana ecclesia auctoritate maiores...*".[13] This was striking testimony to Bernard's importance in the college, especially as the chancellor was the leading political figure in the papal government under Adrian IV. After the legation resulted in a bitter dispute with the emperor, both legates were peremptorily ordered back to Rome by Frederick: it is clear that Roland and Adrian IV himself were regarded as the major offending

8. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Libelli Selecti*, ed. E. Sackur, *MGH, Lib de Lite III*, p.513[8]
9. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.55
10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.30
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I Imperatoris* 3, p.173

parties by the imperial court.[14] Bernard's diplomatic skills were unable to prevent the incident, but his reputation as a diplomat and conciliator survived intact. Indeed the cardinal's high reputation and conciliatory style were still sufficiently appreciated that he was to be proposed as a compromise candidate for the papacy within two years of the Besançon affair.

Bernard was evidently a trusted colleague of Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal bishop of Porto and S. Rufina in December 1158.[15] After Adrian's death, however, he was promoted by some cardinals as a candidate in the papal election of 1159, in an effort to unite the deeply divided college which had split over the Sicilian alliance favoured by the pope.[16] The chancellor Roland, the leading figure in the "Sicilian party", commanded the support of a majority of his colleagues but faced the vehement opposition of the pro-imperial minority led by Cardinal Octavian.[17] Bernard's candidacy was envisaged as an alternative to the most prominent representatives of the opposing factions in the college.[18] The cardinal bishop of Porto certainly appeared credible as a compromise candidate. Bernard provoked no opposition from any section of opinion in the college: he was a loyal colleague of Adrian IV who was also acceptable to the emperor because of his close connections with respected German prelates.[19] But Bernard's candidacy never became a serious factor in the election. Gerhoch of Reichersberg related that the cardinals who had initially proposed Bernard backed off from their nomination: some gave their support

14. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.56
15. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder* , p.53
16. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, ed. E. Sackur, *MGH, Lib de Lite III*, p.360[16]
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, pp.57-58

to the chancellor, while the remainder wavered between Roland and Octavian.[20] Bernard himself became a prominent supporter of Roland and helped to secure his election by the majority of the cardinals.[21] It is evident that the cardinal bishop of Porto did not actively promote his own candidacy: indeed Zenker asserted that he withdrew in favour of Roland, as he was particularly close to the chancellor in the college.[22] The unknown cardinals who proposed Bernard's candidacy were, however, apparently reluctant to press his claims forcefully, retreating from their initial nomination to adhere to the existing factions. It is likely, therefore, that the withdrawal of Bernard's candidacy owed as much to the extent of the factionalism in the college, which militated against the emergence of a viable alternative to the established parties, as to any loyalty to Roland.

Bernard nevertheless became one of the most prominent and active adherents of Alexander III. The cardinal bishop of Porto served Alexander by undertaking a number of important legations during the schism.[23] Bernard was entrusted with a highly sensitive embassy to France in November 1162, along with Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin. They were instructed to placate the French king, Louis VII, who was normally a close ally of Alexander III but was seriously discontented with the papacy's generosity to his rival, King Henry II of England.[24] Henry had been granted a papal dispensation allowing the immediate marriage of his son to Louis' daughter, as a result securing immediate possession of the disputed

20. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, ed. E. Sackur, *MGH, Lib de Lite III*, p.360[18]
21. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
22. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.31; Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636C-1637C, JL10579, 1637D-1639A
23. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.31
24. M. Pacaut, *'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181'*, *RHE* 50 (1955), p.832

territory of the Vexin.[25] Alexander later cancelled their mission and entrusted the negotiations with Louis to French prelates.[26] The pope's high regard for Bernard was, however, clearly illustrated by his letter to Henry, archbishop of Rheims concerning the legation, when he praised the cardinal bishop in fulsome terms: *"venerabilem fratrem nostram B. Portuensem episcopum, virum siquidem honestum, literatum et religiosum...transmissuri..."*[27] Bernard was evidently a close colleague of Alexander III, who was highly respected for his integrity, learning and piety.[28] It appears that Alexander employed Bernard as a diplomat especially in the papal government's relations with its allies during the schism. The cardinal bishop of Porto acted as a papal legate to the Norman kingdom of Sicily, which was strongly supportive of Alexander throughout the schism, in 1166 and probably again in 1168.[29] He also acted as the pope's diplomatic representative to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in 1167, at a time when Manuel was contemplating an alliance with the papacy.[30] The pope clearly rated Bernard's loyalty and diplomatic skills very highly.

Alexander's admiration for the cardinal bishop was widely shared by his leading contemporaries. Thomas Becket, the embattled archbishop of Canterbury, corresponded regularly with the cardinal bishop and appealed constantly for Bernard's assistance in his struggle with King Henry II.[31] In 1163 Becket pleaded for Bernard's help in persuading the pope and the college to sustain him against the English king. The archbishop announced that he was sending his loyal associate Master Henry, to

25. M. Pacaut, *Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181*, *RHE* 50 (1955), p.832
26. ibid.
27. Alexander III, JL10772, *MPL* 200, 179
28. ibid.
29. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.96
30. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.31
31. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 31, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.51

the pope and certain cardinals including Bernard.[32] Becket's agent was instructed to provide the pope and cardinals with evidence of the afflictions of the English church under Henry II.[33] The archbishop clearly regarded Bernard as one of his allies in the college, who was sufficiently influential and sympathetic to assist him at the curia. In 1168 Becket again wrote to Bernard, complaining about the temporary suspension of his powers as archbishop and primate.[34] Bernard's sympathies lay with the archbishop but he replied to Becket excusing the papal policy and urging patience on the fiery prelate.[35] In the course of the dispute the cardinal bishop appears to be a widely respected figure in the church, a trusted ally of the archbishop who nevertheless sought to moderate Becket's anger on the pope's behalf.

Bernard's reputation and diplomatic skill commanded respect not only within Alexander's party but among his foremost opponents. Bernard's last legation in 1175 was provoked by the emperor's request for his assistance in mediating a settlement of the schism. Frederick made a diplomatic approach to three cardinals, including Bernard, Hubald of Ostia and William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, to initiate negotiations between the empire and the papal court.[36] Frederick chose to seek Bernard's assistance despite the cardinal bishop's steadfast loyalty to Alexander III, which had been evident not only in his previous legations but in a confrontation with the emperor at St. Jean de Losne in 1162.[37] Frederick had aimed to secure

32. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 31, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.51
33. ibid.
34. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 443, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.473
35. ibid. 445, p.477
36. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.430
37. ibid., pp.406-407

Alexander's deposition by a council of the church at St. Jean de Losne, which he sought to organise in conjunction with the French king, Louis VII.[38] The plan failed when Alexander refused to attend the assembly and dispatched a group of cardinals to defend his cause against the anti-pope, including Bernard, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Hyacinth of S. Maria in Cosmedin and Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro.[39] As the sole cardinal bishop in the group Bernard was the senior member of the delegation which opposed the anti-pope and helped to ensure that Frederick's strategy failed. Nevertheless in 1175 Barbarossa dispatched envoys to Bernard and his two colleagues in the college, urging them to come to him in safety to restore the peace between the empire and the Roman church.[40] The emperor's decision to seek the cardinal bishop's assistance thirteen years later, despite his prominent opposition to the anti-pope, underlined Bernard's influence in the college and his enduring reputation as a conciliator.[41] Frederick's diplomatic overture may well have been an attempt to undermine Alexander's position, by negotiating directly with leading cardinals and promoting division between them and the pope. Any such hopes were to be disappointed. Despite his reputation as a conciliatory diplomat, Bernard loyally and consistently upheld the cause of the pope in the negotiations with the emperor. When the three cardinals were cordially received by Frederick at Pavia, all three members of the college challenged the emperor for his opposition to the rightful pope and demanded universal recognition of Alexander III as the basis of any peace settlement.[42] Hubald of Ostia took the lead

38. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407
39. ibid.
40. ibid., p.430
41. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.31
42. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.430-431

in admonishing the emperor, but Bernard also spoke in defence of the pope.[43] The prolonged negotiations concluded unsuccessfully when neither the cardinals nor their Lombard allies were able to find a firm basis for agreement with the emperor.[44] While the negotiations were not immediately successful, the efforts of Bernard and his colleagues had initiated the peacemaking process, which was not finally abandoned by either side and led within two years to the Peace of Venice. The cardinal bishop's final legation illustrated again his value to the pope as a capable diplomat and conciliator who was conspicuously faithful to Alexander's cause.

Bernard's duties under Alexander III were not restricted to his important diplomatic functions. He also served as a permanent papal adviser, who subscribed the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate with remarkable consistency, taking into account his extensive duties as a legate. He subscribed Alexander's first letter on 15 October 1159, which confirmed the privileges of the church of Jerusalem.[45] Bernard witnessed no fewer than 103 papal letters and privileges between 1159 and 1176.[46] His pattern of subscriptions was interrupted only briefly from May 1166 to March 1167

43. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.430-431
44. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.441[5]
45. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col. 73D
46. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col. 73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10663, 115D, JL10665, 118D, JL10679, 126D, JL10698, 131B, JL10714, 140B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217B, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 225D, JL10875, 229C, JL10887, 236C, JL10893, 241B, JL10900, 245D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255B, JL10944, 267C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295B, JL11077, 316C, JL11083, 318D, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359B, JL11189, 362B, JL11192, 364C, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453B, JL11341, 451B, JL11366, 462D, JL11379, 469A, JL11385, 474A, JL11386, 477D, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495B, JL11424, 502D, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569B, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576A, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583A, JL11622, 588A, JL11632, 592A, JL11635, 595A, JL11636, 597B, MPL200, 602B, JL11643, 605B, JL11708, 635A, JL11731, 649A, JL11789, 671A, JL11810, 685B, JL11816, 688D, JL11831, 695B, JL11878, 718D, JL11887, 723A, JL11900, 734A, JL12139, 870B, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880A, JL12165, 886B, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12398, 999B, JL12403, 1000C, JL12452, 1019B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12682, 1062C, JL12695, 1067C, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D

for the legation to Sicily[47] and again between March and December 1167 for the legation to the Byzantine empire.[48] The only other significant interruption in Bernard's subscriptions occurred from March to November 1175, during his participation in the negotiations with the emperor.[49] The cardinal bishop's final subscription was given on 22 June 1176, when he witnessed a papal letter to the bishop-elect of Sens.[50] The consistency of Bernard's subscriptions illustrated his status in the college of cardinals. The cardinal bishop was evidently a leading permanent adviser of the pope and one of the most prominent political figures in the papal government.

While Bernard was one of the most prominent and active supporters of Alexander III in the college during the schism, he was not entirely preoccupied with his service to the Roman church.[51] After his elevation to the college he retained a deep concern for the institution of the regular canons.[52] The cardinal bishop's concern was apparent in his letter to Guarin, the abbot of St. Victor in Paris.[53] Bernard expressed concern for the order of regular canons and entrusted his nephew and namesake to the care of the abbot.[54] Bernard's correspondence with Guarin reflected his enduring attachment to the Augustinian order. His concern for the order was sufficiently strong to claim his attention even in the midst of Alexander's prolonged struggle for universal recognition as the rightful pontiff. Bernard's role as a leading diplomat and adviser in

47. JL11276, 453B, JL11341, 451B
48. JL11341, 451B, JL11366, 462D
49. JL12452, 1019B, JL12524, 1036B
50. JL12718, 1075D
51. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.31
52. ibid.
53. Guarin of St. Victor, Letters 10, *MPL* 196, col.1394
54. ibid.

the service of the pope was the dominant feature of his career but it did not monopolise his attention to the exclusion of all else. Bernard of Porto died on 18 August 1176, shortly before the end of the schism which had necessitated many of his legations on behalf of the embattled pope.[55]

Bernard's high reputation for integrity, piety and learning,[56] along with his considerable diplomatic skills, made the cardinal bishop a credible candidate for the papal dignity itself by 1159. Bernard's great prestige and diplomatic skills meant that he was an invaluable advocate of Alexander's cause during the schism. The cardinal bishop played a important role through his numerous legations in maintaining good relations with the pope's allies in the conflict. Bernard acted as a loyal conciliator on behalf of Alexander III, with the pope's allies, subordinates and even his staunchest opponents. The negotiations pursued by Bernard and his colleagues with Frederick Barbarossa initiated the peacemaking process which eventually led to the Peace of Venice. The cardinal bishop was a leading papal diplomat and an immensely valued permanent adviser of the pope. He was a distinguished *magister* with impeccable religious connections. Bernard served the papacy most effectively as a skilled diplomat and conciliator of unimpeachable loyalty to Alexander III.

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55. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder* , p.53
56. Alexander III, JL10772, *MPL* 200, 179

JULIUS CARDINAL BISHOP OF PALESTRINA

Julius was elevated to the college of cardinals in 1144 by Pope Lucius II who appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Marcello.[1] Julius' appointment was his first appearance in the sources, as his origins are unknown.[2] The cardinal priest of S. Marcello enjoyed a lengthy and distinguished career in the Roman church under successive popes before the schism of 1159. Pope Eugenius III displayed a particularly high regard for the cardinal. Soon after his election in 1145 Eugenius committed the church of S. Maria de Camella to Julius and his successors, as a permanent possession of the church of S. Marcello.[3] As the rights of jurisdiction over the church had been controversial,[4] the pope's decision was an important mark of papal favour for Julius.

Julius also developed a close association with Eugenius' second successor, Pope Adrian IV. He cooperated with the English pope in achieving the radical realignment of papal policy, which was the most significant development of Adrian's pontificate. Julius was one of the papal legates, along with the chancellor Roland and Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Prassede, who negotiated with King William I of Sicily and concluded the Treaty of Benevento on behalf of Adrian IV in 1156.[5] Julius was one of the earliest proponents of the new alliance with Sicily and the reversal of the traditional papal policy based on the alliance with the empire.[6] He was evidently a leading member of the "Sicilian party" from the outset. Julius' allegiance to the pope and to the "Sicilian party" which supported Adrian's policy was underlined when the

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.52
2. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.42
3. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I*, p.77
4. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.42
5. Boso, *Vita Hadriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.395 (Hubald of Ostia, p.31)
6. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43

pope elevated him to the order of the cardinal bishops. Julius was appointed as cardinal bishop of Palestrina on 19 December 1158.[7] Julius' support for the chancellor Roland in the divided election of 1159 was the natural consequence of his political allegiance.[8] The cardinal bishop of Palestrina was a faithful adherent of Alexander III. He subscribed the letters addressed by the cardinals supporting Alexander to the emperor and the universal church in the aftermath of the divided election.[9]

Julius rapidly became an active advocate for an embattled papal government confronting the extraordinary challenges of the schism. Alexander entrusted Julius and Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio, with an important legation to Hungary.[10] The date of this embassy has remained uncertain and Zenker asserted that the legation occurred either in 1160 or 1161.[11] The available evidence indicates, however, that the legation to Hungary was initiated in 1160. Julius was not recorded as a subscriber to any papal privilege in 1160 or the first eight months of 1161, so it appears that his absence from the papal court began in the earlier year and continued in 1161.[12] The timing of the legation explains the otherwise surprising paucity of subscriptions in this period by the experienced cardinal bishop.

Julius' mission to Hungary formed part of a concerted diplomatic offensive by Alexander III to win the support of the rulers of Christendom, involving a series of legations to the various Christian kingdoms.[13] Julius and his colleague were not immediately successful, as King Geza II of Hungary initially adopted a position of

7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.52
8. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43
9. Alexander III, *MPL*200, col.59D, *MPL*200, 62C
10. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403
11. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43
12. Alexander III, JL10679, *MPL*200, col.126D
13. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403

neutrality in the schism.[13] The papal legates had, however, succeeded in persuading the king to avoid any commitment to the anti-pope "Victor IV".[14] Julius and Peter undertook further negotiations with Geza in August 1161.[15] The papal legates succeeded in agreeing a concordat with the Hungarian king, which ensured that Alexander received recognition as the rightful pope.[16] Julius and his colleague had secured a significant success for Alexander at an early stage of the pope's prolonged struggle with the empire. Their achievement was all the more notable as the cardinals had won the support of a realm which was traditionally regarded by the western emperors as a client state rightfully within their sphere of influence. Julius had proved an invaluable advocate of the papacy in the turmoil of the schism.

Alexander showed considerable confidence in the cardinal bishop throughout the early years of his pontificate. Following Julius' return from Hungary, the pope entrusted the experienced cardinal with a much more difficult task. Julius was appointed as the papal vicar in Rome late in 1161.[17] The most notable feature of Julius' career under Alexander III was that he was consistently employed as a political advocate and representative for the papacy. Julius hardly served at all as a papal adviser under Alexander. The cardinal subscribed only a single diploma issued by Alexander, witnessing the papal privilege on behalf of the church of S. Maria Nuova on 30 September 1161.[18] The virtual absence of subscriptions before this date by the experienced cardinal is explained by his legations to Hungary. Julius' appointment as

13. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43
14. ibid.
15. ibid.
16. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.110
17. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43
18. Alexander III, JL10679, *MPL*200, col.126D

papal vicar in Rome before the end of 1161 ensured his separation from the papal entourage for the remaining three years of his life. Alexander was obliged to withdraw into exile in France in 1162 while Julius remained in Italy as the papal vicar, acting as the representative of the papacy in the Patrimony of St. Peter.[19] Julius' virtually complete absence from the papal entourage was dictated by his primary role as a leading advocate for Alexander III in the early years of the schism.

Julius' functions as the papal vicar were defined by the schism. He was confronted with the formidable challenge of rebuilding the pope's authority in Rome and the surrounding region following the advances made by the imperial forces. By 1161 almost the entire Patrimony of St. Peter had been seized by the supporters of the emperor with the exception of southern Latium and a few isolated towns such as Orvieto, Terracina and Anagni.[20] The Roman commune was hostile to Alexander's cause and had forced his withdrawal from the city in 1161.[21] Julius' activities as the papal vicar are poorly documented, but it is clear that the Roman nobles remained hostile to Alexander until 1165, when the commune temporarily submitted to Julius' successor as vicar, John cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[22] The papal vicar could achieve little success in the face of the military predominance secured by the imperial forces and the continuing hostility of the Romans. Alexander apparently recognised, however, that few others could have achieved greater success in the unfavourable circumstances immediately after his enforced departure and Julius continued to serve as the papal vicar until his death in October 1164.[23]

19. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.404
20. ibid.; P. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter*, pp.202-205
21. ibid.
22. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.412
23. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.43

Julius belonged to the cohort of cardinals who served the papacy primarily as active advocates and diplomats. Julius and his colleagues who fulfilled this role were the vanguard of the papal array in the struggle against the empire. His career underlined the crucial part played by this cohort within the sacred college in enabling the papacy to meet the political demands of the schism. The cardinal was a highly effective papal diplomat who gave valuable service to Alexander's cause, especially through his successful legatine activity in Hungary. His death at an early stage of the pontificate should not obscure the reality that Julius of Palestrina was one of the most valued and capable advocates of the pope in Alexander's arduous struggle against the empire.

BERNERED CARDINAL BISHOP OF PALESTRINA

Bernered was a French monk who was appointed to the college of cardinals late in Alexander's pontificate. Little is known concerning his origins except that he was the son of Elinus and Odelina.[1] Bernered had enjoyed a long career as a prominent figure in French monasticism before his elevation to the college. Bernered became a monk of St. Crépin le Grand in Soissons and was selected as the fourteenth abbot of the Benedictine monastery in 1164.[2] He served as abbot of St. Crépin le Grand for most of the remainder of his life, until his appointment as a cardinal in 1179.

Bernered's elevation to the college was due partly to the recommendation of the influential papal legate in France in 1178, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Grisogono.[3]

1. *Ecclesia Suessionensis*, *Gallia Christiana IX*, p.398C
2. ibid.
3. ibid.

Alexander had instructed Peter to supply him with information concerning suitable candidates for appointment to the sacred college in the course of the Third Lateran Council which was to be held in 1179.[4] Alexander requested the names of nominees noted for "morality, knowledge of letters and religion", and Peter responded by formulating a list of prominent religious figures.[5] The proposed nominees included monks such as Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, Simon, prior of Mont-Dieu, the abbot of St. Rémi and the abbot of Igny, as well as Abbot Bernered himself.[6] Eminent *magistri* were also included among the eligible candidates, notably Bernard of Pisa, Peter Comestor and Gerard Pucella.[7] Among all the distinguished monks and scholars recommended by the cardinal, Alexander selected only Abbot Bernered and Abbot Henry.[8] Bernered was appointed as cardinal bishop of Palestrina in the course of the Third Lateran Council in 1179.[9] The manner of Bernered's elevation to the college reflected Alexander's considerable respect for the French churchman. His immediate elevation to the order of the cardinal bishops, in preference to existing cardinal priests or deacons who might have secured promotion, gave the strongest indication of Alexander's high regard for the abbot.

Bernered's career in the sacred college was, however, too brief to provide any opportunity for the use of his undoubted ability and experience in the service of the papacy. The cardinal bishop was appointed only two years before the end of Alexander's pontificate, but he died even before Alexander III himself. Bernered

4. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273
5. Peter of S. Grisogono, Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae 11, *MPL* 200, col.1370D-col.1372A
6. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.272
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60

took up his duties as cardinal bishop of Palestrina on 4 May 1179 and died at Monte Cassino on 3 July 1180.[10] The cardinal bishop served only briefly as a member of the papal entourage. Bernered subscribed three letters and privileges issued by Alexander III, between 29 May 1179 and 26 February 1180.[11] Bernered's record as a subscriber to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate indicates that he was a respected although not particularly prominent papal adviser during his brief term in the sacred college.

Bernered served the papacy too briefly to leave any distinctive mark as a cardinal. He was one of the four French cardinals elevated by Alexander. The cardinal's origins reflected the pope's determination to maintain close connections between the papacy and the French kingdom, which provided essential financial and diplomatic support for Alexander during the schism.[12] Bernered also formed part of the cohort of leading monastic figures appointed to the college by Alexander. The cardinal bishop's short-lived eminence illustrated especially the enduring influence of Benedictine monasticism on the papacy under Alexander III.

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10. *Ecclesia Suessionensis*, *Gallia Christiana IX*, p.399B
11. Alexander III, JL13426, *MPL* 200, col.1238D, JL13477, 1248C, JL13624, 1268C
12. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273

GREGORY CARDINAL BISHOP OF S. SABINA

Gregory was a native of Rome, who was born in the Roman district of the Suburra.[1] He entered the college of cardinals in 1140, when he was appointed by Pope Innocent II as cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastevere.[2] Gregory served successive popes for almost two decades before the pontificate of Alexander III. He was one of the papal representatives in the successful negotiations with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa for the Treaty of Constance in 1153, acting on behalf of Pope Eugenius III.[3] The cardinal also participated in the renewal of the same Treaty in 1155, as the legate employed by Adrian IV.[4] In 1154 Gregory was appointed as cardinal bishop of S. Sabina by his uncle, the short-lived pontiff Anastasius IV.[5] He was evidently a prominent and experienced member of the college of cardinals well before Alexander's election in 1159.

Gregory's stature in the Roman church in 1159 was illustrated by the claims of the anti-pope's followers shortly after the divided election. The adherents of "Victor IV" alleged through the synodal letters of the Council of Pavia that Gregory had initially pledged his obedience to their candidate.[6] Octavian's partisans claimed that Gregory was then won over to Alexander's cause by bribery: *"G. Sabinensis episcopus et...alii multi obiederunt domino Victori : qui, ut accepimus, varia spe pecuniarum seducti, postea abierunt retrorsum."*[7] This claim that the cardinal bishop's allegiance was

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.112
2. Innocent II, JL8092, *MPL* 179, col.509D
3. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.51
4. ibid.
5. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.57
6. Alexander III, Letters 10, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752D.
7. ibid.

bought in the divided election is highly implausible. The Council of Pavia, which accepted and disseminated these partisan claims, was dominated by German and Italian prelates loyal to the emperor and had recognised Octavian as the rightful pope.[8] The Council's conclusions were not likely to show objectivity in their treatment of Alexander's supporters among the cardinals and Gregory was a prominent supporter of Alexander from the outset of the schism. The pro-Alexandrine historian Cardinal Boso flatly contradicted the claims of the Council, identifying Gregory as an elector of Roland in the divided election itself.[9] Gregory was also present at Ninfa when Alexander was crowned and consecrated as supreme pontiff.[10] Gregory was firmly supportive of Alexander in the immediate aftermath of the divided election. The cardinal bishop subscribed to the letter issued shortly after the election by twenty-three cardinals supporting Alexander, which was addressed to the emperor.[11] Significantly Gregory was the first subscriber to this document issued by the cardinals, which defended the righteousness of Alexander's election.[12] Likewise the cardinal bishop of S. Sabina was the first cardinal recorded as a subscriber in the declaration made by Alexander's supporters which was addressed to the universal church.[13] This document, issued by the twenty-five cardinals now backing the pope, was effectively a manifesto for Alexander's cause.[14] Gregory had not only supported Alexander in the divided election but became a leading advocate for the new pope immediately afterwards. It is evident that Gregory was not a corrupt defector from the

8. Alexander III, Letters 10, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, 752D
9. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
10. ibid., p.399
11. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col. 59D
12. ibid.
13. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col. 62C
14. ibid.

pro-imperial faction, but a steadfast supporter of Alexander III.

The vitriol of the anti-pope's allies was a tribute to Gregory's prominence among the cardinals in 1159. He had served as a cardinal for almost two decades and was more prominent in seniority and experience than most of Alexander's supporters in the college. Moreover Gregory enjoyed the longest service as a cardinal bishop of all his colleagues in 1159 and was the only cardinal bishop whose appointment predated the pontificate of Adrian IV. Adrian had elevated Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto and Julius, cardinal bishop of Palestrina to the rank which they held in 1159, while Walter, cardinal bishop of Albano, had been appointed to the college by Adrian.[15] Gregory was, however, closely associated with Adrian's faction within the college before the divided election. The cardinal bishop of S. Sabina was numbered among the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian at Anagni in the summer of 1159, while the pope was negotiating with the enemies of the empire.[16] It is likely therefore that Gregory was committed to the "Sicilian party" before the disputed election. The cardinal bishop was certainly an important adherent of Alexander III during and after the divided election because of his experience and seniority in the college. Gregory's appointment as the papal vicar in Rome immediately after Alexander's election underlined the new pontiff's high regard for the experienced cardinal bishop.[17]

Gregory acted as papal vicar under Alexander III for barely two years, from 1159 to 1161.[18] He was given little chance to establish his authority in Rome or the papal

15. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.134-135
16. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, 1636C-1637C; JL10579, 1637D-1639A
17. J.M. Watterich, *Alexandri III Annales, Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, p.493
18. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.166

territories in Italy due to the devastating impact of the schism. The papal territories in central Italy were rapidly overrun by the supporters of the emperor and the pope's authority was restricted to the papal strongholds and vassals of southern Latium.[19] Moreover the anti-pope commanded substantial support in Rome itself and Alexander was obliged to abandon the city altogether in 1161, retreating into exile in France early in the following year.[20] Gregory's authority as the papal vicar was therefore virtually non-existent. The cardinal bishop had apparently given up the hopeless struggle by the spring of 1162. In February 1162 he was with the pope at Genoa, accompanying Alexander on his journey into exile.[21] The cardinal bishop of S. Sabina evidently exerted no real influence as the papal vicar in his native city, due to the devastating impact of the schism on the territorial authority of the Roman church. While his role as the papal vicar in Rome yielded no positive results for the papal government, the evidence of the papal letters and privileges suggests that Gregory was a respected adviser of the pope until his death in 1162. The cardinal bishop subscribed a papal document issued by Alexander III for the first time on 9 April 1161, when he witnessed the pope's privilege to the church of Genoa:[22] during the period from 1159 to 1162 he failed to subscribe only the first three letters issued by Alexander which contained subscriptions by cardinals.[23] Gregory remained a regular subscriber after April 1161, witnessing all ten of the relevant letters issued by the pope from April 1161 until September 1162.[24] The cardinal bishop of S. Sabina's final

19. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.403-404
20. ibid.
21. Alexander III, JL10698, *MPL*200, col.131B
22. Alexander III, JL10663, *MPL*200, col.115D
23. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10624, 85D
24. Alexander III, JL10663, *MPL*200, col.115D, JL10665, 118D, JL10698, 131B, JL10714, 140B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147A, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B

subscription was recorded on 20 September 1162, to a papal privilege confirming the rights and privileges of the church of S. John Kaltenborn in Germany.[25] While Gregory's subscriptions in Alexander's pontificate were by no means extensive, he did nevertheless witness a very high proportion of the papal letters and privileges issued in the first three years of the pontificate and was clearly consulted by the pope on a regular basis. It is evident that Gregory was a valued papal adviser in the early years of Alexander's pontificate. The date of his death is not recorded, but he disappeared from the sources after his final subscription in September 1162.[26] Gregory died in the last months of 1162.[27]

Gregory's contribution to Alexander's pontificate was by no means insignificant. Gregory was a leading adherent of Alexander III in the divided election of 1159 and he played his part in creating the overwhelming majority for Alexander among all the orders of the sacred college, which ensured the pope's election and made possible his long struggle for recognition. Gregory's service as a permanent papal adviser in Alexander's pontificate was certainly short-lived, but his consistent participation during this brief period underlined his status as a respected member of the papal entourage. His participation in the papal government under Alexander was evidently limited due to his death only three years after the divided election. Gregory was, however, an experienced and influential cardinal who played an important part in upholding Alexander's cause at the outset of the schism.

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25. Alexander III, JL10759, *MPL* 200, 171B
26. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.51
27. JL10759, *MPL* 200, 171B

CONRAD CARDINAL BISHOP OF S. SABINA AND ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ

Conrad of Wittelsbach was the scion of a leading German noble family.[1] Conrad, who was born between 1120 and 1130, was the son of Otto, count-palatine of Bavaria and Helika, countess of Langenfeld.[2] Following his education in the schools of Bologna, he began his career as a canon of Salzburg and was elected in 1161 as archbishop of Mainz, at the instigation of Emperor Frederick I.[3] Conrad was a loyal imperial prelate in the first years of the schism, who did not question the legitimacy of the anti-pope "Victor IV".[4] His early career followed a normal pattern for an aristocratic German prelate who enjoyed the favour of the emperor.

The course of Conrad's career changed fundamentally in 1164 when he gave his obedience to Pope Alexander III.[5] After the death of Octavian, Conrad took the opportunity offered by his pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela to submit to Alexander.[6] Frederick, however, acted decisively to reassert his authority over the German church as Alexander's cause began to gain adherents even among his own episcopal nominees. The emperor enforced an oath upon all the German princes and prelates never to recognise "Roland" as the rightful pope, following the Diet of Wurzburg in May 1165.[7] Conrad was deposed from his see and replaced by the imperial chancellor Christian of Buch.[8] When the deposed prelate was forced into exile with the papal court, Alexander immediately appointed him as cardinal priest of

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63
2. ibid.
3. ibid.; B. Smalley, *The Becket conflict and the Schools*, pp.141-143
4. Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum I, MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.82[23]
5. F. Ughellus, *Sabinenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra I*, p.161D
6. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.487-488
7. Alexander III, JL11215, *MPL*200, col.382D
8. F. Ughellus, *Sabinenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra I*, p.161D, Alexander III, JL11238, *MPL*200, col.398D

S. Marcello on 18 December 1165.[9] Soon afterwards the pope appointed Conrad as cardinal bishop of S. Sabina.[10] Alexander certainly aimed to reward Conrad for his loyalty, but was also seeking to provide him with an income from a titular church, as he had lost the revenues of his archdiocese as a direct result of his adherence to Alexander. The pope always acknowledged Conrad as the rightful archbishop of Mainz even after his elevation to the sacred college. Conrad recorded his first subscription on 18 March 1166 as cardinal bishop of S. Sabina and archbishop of Mainz, witnessing the papal privilege for the church of S. Clement in Peschiera near Verona.[11] The pope and the new cardinal were clearly determined to assert Conrad's rightful status against the claims of Christian of Buch.

Conrad established only a partial and intermittent record as a member of the papal entourage. He recorded only eleven subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate from 18 March 1166 until 6 August 1177.[12] His final subscription as the titular archbishop of Mainz was given on 6 August 1177, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and rights of the German monastery of S. Udalrich in Augsburg.[13] Conrad was not at all a permanent adviser of the pope. The German cardinal was, therefore, not particularly influential despite his high status as a cardinal bishop. In 1165 he opposed the cause of the abbot of Vezelay, who was engaged in a prolonged dispute with the count of Nevers, at the papal court but Alexander decided the case in the abbot's favour despite Conrad's opposition.[14]

9. F. Ughellus, *Sabinenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra I*, p.161
10. ibid.
11. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409D
12. Alexander III, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453C, JL11415, 495B, JL11424, 502D, JL11585, 563D, JL11594, 567D, JL11596, 569B, JL11878, 718D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12909, 1137D
13. Alexander III, JL12909, *MPL*200, 1137D
14. Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de libertate monasterii Vizeliacensis, MGH*, Scriptores 26, p.150

Conrad did not, however, serve the papacy primarily as a member of Alexander's entourage. Alexander valued his contribution as an active advocate for the papal cause in the schism highly enough that Conrad was rarely present at the papal court. Conrad was employed by the pope as a legate within the empire. Alexander appointed the German cardinal as a legate to his native province of Bavaria, in an attempt to create a strong papal party in Germany.[15] The titular archbishop was appointed as *legatus a latere*, but was also effectively a permanent native legate when he began his legatine duties in Germany in 1169.[16] Conrad's appointment was a highly innovatory measure by the pope, as Conrad was recognised by the papacy as a cardinal legate and a native metropolitan prelate. He became an external cardinal, who enjoyed a status which was almost unprecedented in 1166 as a cardinal and archbishop.[17] Conrad's exceptional status was dictated by the demands of the schism and especially by the weakness of the pope's support in Germany, where Frederick's authority was firmly established.

The cardinal undertook his first legation in 1167, when he initiated a diplomatic approach to the imperial court in a vain effort to end the schism.[18] Frederick, whose forces were advancing on Rome, demanded Alexander's abdication, followed by a new election to the papacy.[19] When Conrad brought this uncompromising message back to the curia, the cardinals immediately rejected it and instead the pope and his entourage fled from Rome.[20] If Conrad's diplomatic endeavours at the imperial court

15. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.488
16. ibid., p.170
17. ibid., p.91
18. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.64
19. ibid.
20. ibid.

proved futile, his efforts to create a strong opposition to Frederick in Germany were almost equally unsuccessful. The cardinal undertook almost constant legatine activity within the empire in the period from 1169 until the Peace of Venice. Conrad acted as a papal legate to the empire in 1169-1170[21] and again in 1171-1175.[22] In 1169 he brought the *pallium* to Adalbert, the newly elected archbishop of Salzburg, who was an adherent of Alexander.[23] Conrad sought to reinforce the resolve of Adalbert and Albo, bishop of Passau, in their support for Alexander.[24] He also encouraged opposition to the imperial policy among the clergy of Bohemia and consecrated Frederick, the new bishop of Prague, in 1169.[25] But Conrad was unable to create a papal party of princes and prelates which could have effectively challenged the emperor's ecclesiastical policy.[26] Frederick had successfully enforced his policy upon the German princes and episcopate through the rigorous measures of the Diet of Wurzburg.[27] Even King Vladislav of Bohemia, who was Adalbert's father, remained a loyal vassal of the emperor and Conrad could not secure his allegiance for Alexander, despite considerable sympathy for the pope among the clergy of Bohemia.[28] In the German kingdom only Salzburg remained faithful to Alexander and even Salzburg's loyalty was not always certain during Adalbert's archiepiscopate.[29] Conrad's first legation to the empire was therefore largely a failure.

Conrad's second legation within Frederick's territories began with a mission to

21. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.106-107
22. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III (1159-1181)', *RHE* 50, 1955, p.831
23. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.106-107
24. ibid.
25. ibid.
26. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.488-489
27. ibid.
28. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.107-108
29. ibid., pp.108-109

northern Italy from 1171 to 1173.[30] Alexander instructed the cardinal on 28 January 1172 to prevent the resumption of a dispute between the monastery of S. Zeno in Verona and the city of Ferrara, concerning possession of the castle of Ostiglia.[31] The pope warned Conrad that the dispute had been settled by the mediation of a certain Oberto de Orto and the legate should be prepared to prevent a recurrence of the conflict, which would threaten the peace between the city-states.[32] Conrad's mission was designed to maintain peace between the city-states of Verona, Vicenza and Ferrara, which would facilitate unity of action among them against the empire.[33] The legate was relatively successful in securing Alexander's objectives, as the alliance between the Lombard city-states remained intact until the Peace of Venice.

While Conrad's legatine activity was not restricted to Germany, he was certainly employed more regularly as a papal diplomat in his native realm than anywhere else. Pacaut believed that the cardinal's second legation to the empire lasted only from 1171 until 1173[34] but the documentary record indicates that Conrad was active as a legate in south-east Germany at least until 1175. In 1174 Conrad was clearly acting as the leader of Alexander's embattled adherents in Germany. He received papal letters on 8 September 1174, in which Alexander instructed him to support and encourage the archbishop of Salzburg, lest Adalbert should lose heart and give up the struggle.[35] The pope's misgivings were well founded. Adalbert withdrew from his See in the same year, due to the severe pressure placed upon him by the imperial government.[36] The

30. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.84-85
31. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 5, *Ferrara* 13, p.236
32. ibid.
33. Alexander III, JL12137, *MPL*200, col.770C
34. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III (1159-1181)', *RHE* 50, 1955, p.831
35. Alexander III, JL12390, *MPL*200, col. 994C, JL12392, *MPL*200, 997D
36. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.81

legate, however, continued his activity for Alexander's cause in the archdiocese after Adalbert's departure. The pope instructed Conrad, on 21 March 1175, to urge Theobald, bishop of Passau, to restore certain churches to the south German monastery of Mondsee.[37] The local bishops and clergy had maintained their loyalty to Alexander, which enabled Conrad to intervene in local disputes as the resident papal representative in the archdiocese.[38] The clergy of Salzburg had displayed exceptional loyalty to the pope since the outset of the schism. But Conrad's influence in maintaining the archdiocese's commitment to Alexander's cause after the departure of the metropolitan should not be discounted. While the legate had little success in winning new converts to the papal cause in Germany, he had provided determined leadership to the resilient papal party in Salzburg.

Conrad's legatine activity was undertaken almost entirely in Germany and northern Italy, although Pfaff believed that he acted for a time as Alexander's general in central Italy.[39] The documentary evidence, however, does not support such a theory. The papal vicars in Rome during this period, who effectively served as the pope's representatives in central Italy, were John, cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1164-1165) and Walter, cardinal bishop of Albano (1167-1172).[40] Moreover Conrad's lengthy legations in the empire effectively denied him the opportunity to undertake another long-term mission as a papal representative. It is evident that Conrad served the papacy primarily as a resolute and tenacious advocate within the empire, who played a crucial part in sustaining Alexander's adherents in his native Germany.

37. Alexander III, JL12447, *MPL* 200, 1016D
38. ibid.
39. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.84-85
40. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.166

The later course of Conrad's career was shaped by the Peace of Venice. He returned to the papal entourage by 1177 to participate in the negotiations which ended the schism.[41] Conrad was numbered among the cardinals who witnessed the formal ratification of the Peace by the emperor on 25 July 1177.[42] Alexander ensured that provision was made for the cardinal in his agreement with Frederick, although Conrad was unable to vindicate his claim to Mainz, as Christian retained the archdiocese.[43] Conrad, however, was elected in August 1177 as archbishop of Salzburg, by the local bishops and clergy who were present in Venice, at the instigation of the pope.[44] Alexander informed the clergy of Salzburg on 9 August 1177 of Conrad's election, declaring that he would replace Adalbert, who had voluntarily abdicated from his See.[45] Adalbert was, however, obliged to abandon his claim to Salzburg by the pope and the emperor in 1177 to facilitate Conrad's election.[46] Alexander's actions underlined his determination to compensate Conrad for the loss of his archdiocese and reward the legate for his valuable service as an advocate during the schism.

Conrad maintained an even more limited record of activity as a subscriber after the Peace of Venice than previously. His first subscription as cardinal bishop of S. Sabina and archbishop of Salzburg was given on 10 August 1177.[47] Conrad recorded only five subscriptions to the extant papal letters and privileges for the remainder of Alexander's pontificate, in the period from 10 August 1177 until 12 April 1179.[48] He

41. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.84-85
42. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.95[28]
43. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63
44. Alexander III, JL12912, *MPL*200, col.1141B
45. ibid.
46. *Annales Mellicenses, MGH, Scriptores* 9, ed. G.H. Pertz, pp.505-506
47. Alexander III, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.313
48. Alexander III, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.313, JL12932, *MPL*200, 1152D, JL13370, 1223A, JL13371, 1225A, JL13380, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.343-344

evidently remained an external cardinal after the end of the schism. The innovative nature of his role under Alexander largely established the pattern for his career. Conrad served as archbishop of Salzburg only briefly after Alexander's death. His final subscription as archbishop of Salzburg was recorded on 13 May 1182, when he witnessed the privilege issued by Pope Lucius III for the hospital in Palermo, established by the Sicilian official Matthew of Ajello.[49] In 1183 Conrad was restored to his previous office as archbishop of Mainz, following the death of Christian.[50] Conrad was universally recognised as archbishop of Mainz and cardinal bishop of S. Sabina until his death in 1200.[51] He had succeeded in vindicating his claim to his original archdiocese, while he also retained his status as an external cardinal.

During the last phase of his career Conrad remained an independent-minded prelate who was generally loyal to the imperial government, but never became subservient to the emperor. He supported Emperor Frederick in his conflict with Pope Urban III, urging the Diet of Gelnhausen in 1186 that the German bishops should request the pope to make peace with the emperor.[52] Conrad briefly joined the rebellion of the Rhineland princes against Frederick's successor, Emperor Henry VI, in 1192, but he soon submitted to Henry and was restored to royal favour.[53] Henry indeed respected Conrad sufficiently to appoint him as one of the leaders of the German Crusading army which set out for Palestine in 1197.[54] Conrad was also appointed by Pope Celestine III as a Crusading legate to Syria.[55] He had succeeded in retaining imperial

49. P.F. Kehr, *Gott. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Sizilien* 18, pp.324-325
50. F. Ughellus, *Sabinenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra I*, p.161
51. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63
52. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum* 3, *MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.155
53. Gislebert, *Chronicon Hanoniense, MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.582[20]
54. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum* 5, *MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.210
55. F. Ughellus, *Sabinenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra I*, p.162A

favour and the confidence of the papal curia - no mean feat at a time of continuing tension between the curia and the imperial court. When the Crusade was abandoned due to the sudden death of the emperor, Conrad remained in the east until 1198,[56] acting as a papal legate and imperial representative. Conrad undertook the coronation of Leo of Armenia as a king and brokered a peace agreement between him and the Prince of Antioch.[57] The cardinal returned first to the papal court in Rome and then to a German realm in turmoil.[58] Conrad pledged his allegiance to Philip of Swabia, who was disputing the succession with the Welf prince Otto of Brunswick, but sought primarily to restore the peace between the Welf and the Staufen.[59] Conrad, however, died in October 1200, shortly after taking up the task of mediation.[60]

Conrad provided valuable service to the papacy under Alexander, as the leading advocate of the papal cause in Germany. His constant legatine activity in the empire helped to keep intact the embattled papal party in Salzburg. Conrad was the sole German cardinal elevated to the college by Alexander, as he was one of the few German prelates to support the pope openly. Conrad's career, as a cardinal who retained his archiepiscopal title, marked an important innovation within the sacred college, which foreshadowed the emergence of the category of external cardinals. He enjoyed a distinguished career following the schism as an external cardinal who retained the favour of the emperor and the papacy. Conrad, however, showed a willingness to defy the imperial government, most notably in his tenacious advocacy of Alexander's cause, which was unusual among contemporary German prelates.

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56. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum* 5, *MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.210[24]
57. ibid., p.210[37]
58. Innocent III, Potthast 860, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I*, p.81
59. *Continuatio Admuntensis, MGH, Scriptores* 9, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.589[13-33]
60. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum* 6, *MGH, Scriptores* 21, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.214[22]

CARDINAL PRIESTS

JOHN CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. ANASTASIA

John was a native of Naples, in the southern Italian territories of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.[1] He was a regular canon of S. Victor in Paris, which was the most learned of the Augustinian houses.[2] John was appointed as cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco by Pope Eugenius III in 1150.[3] He was promoted by Pope Adrian IV who appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Anastasia on 14 March 1158.[4] John was closely associated with the Sicilian policy of Adrian IV. He was one of the thirteen cardinals who were present with Adrian at Anagni in June 1159,[5] when the pope was conducting negotiations with the Lombard communes and King William I of Sicily, the enemies of the empire.[6] John was a committed member of the "Sicilian party" in the college. His close association with Adrian and the chancellor Roland was underlined by his influential role in the divided election of 1159.

John's prominence in the disputed election was affirmed by friends and foes alike. The canons of the church of St. Peter, who supported the anti-pope, submitted their account of the cardinal's actions to the Council of Pavia.[7] The Roman clergy claimed that John and two other members of Roland's faction acted ruthlessly to secure his elevation in defiance of a previous electoral agreement not to proceed in the absence of unanimity among the cardinals.[8] John, working in concert with Odo, cardinal

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.73
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.55
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. Adrian IV, JL10579, *MPL* 188, col.1637D
6. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
7. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
8. ibid.

deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro and Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli, attempted to invest Roland with the papal mantle.[9] The canons of St Peter were bitterly hostile to John and his colleagues, claiming that their actions resulted in the disruption of the election.[10] The biased portrayal of the cardinals by the Roman clergy, reproduced by the imperial propagandist Rahewin, is certainly not entirely accurate. Alexander's biographer, Cardinal Boso, claimed that the election was disrupted by the Roman adherents of Octavian.[11] Boso's account has greater credibility on this occasion because Octavian commanded little support among the cardinals and required the assistance of the Roman nobles and the empire to sustain his cause. John's prominence as a leading partisan of the chancellor was however emphasized also by Arnulf of Lisieux, a firm supporter of Alexander III, in correspondence with the cardinal.[12] Arnulf rejoiced in Alexander's election and congratulated John on his role in achieving the pope's elevation.[13] The accusations of Alexander's enemies clearly exaggerated the cardinal's part in disrupting the election, but it is evident that Cardinal John was a leading advocate for Roland in the disputed election who had little inclination to compromise with the pro-imperial minority.

John's prominent participation in the divided election set the pattern for his entire career. The Neapolitan cardinal emerged as a determined and controversial advocate of the pope from the outset of the schism. He served the pope most effectively in his native region. In 1160 John acted as a papal legate in Sicily, raising a substantial sum

9. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
10. ibid.
11. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
12. Arnulf of Lisieux, Letters 18, *MPL*201. col.31D
13. ibid.

of money for the papacy.[14] John's second legation to Sicily in 1166 also achieved considerable success in raising money for the pope.[15] Alexander's close ally, King William I of Sicily, on his death-bed, gave John the sum of 40,000 florins to assist the pope in continuing the struggle against Frederick and the cardinal immediately conveyed this money to Rome.[16] John played a significant part in sustaining the embattled papal court in the first decade of the schism through his successful diplomatic activity in his native land. His career as a diplomat reflected Alexander's preference for the employment as legates of cardinals who were native to the relevant legatine territory.[17]

John was not merely a capable diplomat, however, but a forceful and aggressive advocate of the papal cause. The cardinal did not hesitate to take highly controversial measures as a papal envoy during his third legation to Sicily in 1166-67. John returned to Sicily after the death of William I as a papal legate to Queen Margaret, who headed the regency government for the young King William II.[18] The legate immediately involved himself in a court intrigue designed to secure the downfall of the queen's influential adviser, Richard Palmer, bishop-elect of Syracuse.[19] Palmer was opposed by a powerful coalition of secular and ecclesiastical politicians led by Bishop Gentilis of Girgenti and including the royal advisers Matthew of Ajello and Caid Peter.[20] John acted to secure Palmer's expulsion from Sicily by obtaining a papal

14. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders. III 1159-1169*, p.91
15. ibid.
16. John of Salisbury, Letters 168, Oxford Medieval Texts II, p.117
17. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.74
18. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders. III 1159-1169*, p.99
19. ibid.
20. ibid.; D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, pp.222-223

letter summoning the elect to Rome for his consecration.[21] The Sicilian chronicler Hugh Falcandus alleged that John was seeking his own election as archbishop of Palermo, which would gladly be granted by the conspirators in return for his assistance.[22] The cardinal was not, however, solely motivated by desire for personal advancement, although such considerations may have influenced his actions. The pope's letter was a general instruction proclaiming that all newly elected bishops in Sicily were obliged to seek consecration in Rome.[23] The papal decree had the potential to change fundamentally the relationship of the Sicilian episcopate to the papacy. The power of the Sicilian crown over the episcopate had been recognised by the papacy in the Treaty of Benevento, which severely limited papal jurisdiction over the Sicilian church.[24] If the decree had been accepted by Palmer, John would have secured a precedent for the expansion of papal authority over the Sicilian bishops.[25] The cardinal was seeking to undermine the rights of the Sicilian crown over the episcopate, with the full support of the pope.

John's subtle design collapsed due to Palmer's expertise in the unforgiving business of court intrigue. Palmer first refused to leave Sicily on the basis that the pope had failed to specify a date for his consecration. He then won the support of Richard, count of Molise, the leading adviser of the queen.[26] Count Richard blocked John's renewed efforts to remove Palmer and ensured that the royal court asserted its rights under the Treaty of Benevento.[27] The abortive intrigue damaged John's reputation in

21. Hugh Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie, Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 22, p.95
22. ibid.; G.A. Loud and T. Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.143-144
23. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.101
24. ibid.
25. ibid.
26. ibid.
27. ibid.

his native land. He was accused by Hugh Falcandus of involvement in bribery and conspiracy against the king.[28] For good measure John was alleged to have dissolved the marriage of Richard de Sagio, captain of Apulia, against all principles of right and justice.[29] The cardinal's character was compared unfavourably with the higher morals of his colleague, Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who also served as a legate to Sicily in 1166.[30] Hugh Falcandus' account certainly provides an accurate reflection of the animosity which the legate's intrigues had aroused in the Sicilian court. The accuracy of Hugh's allegations is however much more questionable: the Sicilian chronicler provided the sole report of John's actions in 1166 but his hostility to the cardinal was evident.[31] John was a forceful advocate for the papacy, who excelled especially in raising money for the pope. Such financial exactions were almost by definition profoundly unpopular, which may well explain much of the criticism levelled at the cardinal. Moreover a central objective of John's intrigues in 1166 was the advancement of the papal authority, which tended to draw particularly strong opposition in Sicily where papal legates had traditionally been excluded by the Norman kings.[32] It appears that John was heavily criticised by the Sicilian chronicler especially for the efficacy of his service to the pope. Alexander certainly retained a high regard for the cardinal's service in his native region, as John was employed as a legate to Sicily again in 1169.[33]

John's fourth legation to Sicily provided a valuable insight into the cardinal's

28. Hugh Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie, Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 22, pp.102-103
29. ibid., p.106
30. ibid., p.106
31. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.75
32. ibid.
33. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.102

controversial activities on behalf of the papacy. John became involved again in the intrigues of the royal court, following the specific instructions of the pope. The legate was employed by Alexander to resolve the disputed succession to the archdiocese of Palermo, which was again vacant following the banishment of the archbishop-elect, Stephen of Perche.[34] The chapter's nominee, Walter Ophamil, was supported by the highly influential chancellor, Matthew of Ajello, but opposed by Queen Margaret and both factions appealed to the pope.[35] Having received money from both parties, on 22 June 1169 Alexander instructed Cardinal John and the suffragans of Palermo to consecrate Walter.[36] The cardinal and the bishops implemented the pope's directive on 28 September 1169.[37] John had intervened to settle the ecclesiastical dispute in accordance with the instructions of the pope. His renewed involvement in the factional divisions of the court occurred in the service of the papacy. The available evidence drawn from his four legations to Sicily does not support the biased report of Hugh Falcandus. John was not the corrupt opportunist portrayed by the Sicilian chronicler but a formidable advocate for the papacy, whose determined promotion of the pope's objectives attracted fierce criticism in his native region.

While the cardinal served the pope most prominently as a legate to Sicily, he also undertook important legations designed to defend the papal cause in the schism. His participation in the mission to St. Jean-de-Losne in 1162 underlined his role as a leading papal representative in the conflict with the empire. Frederick's attempt to

34. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.102
35. ibid., pp.102-103
36. Alexander III, JL11268, Romuald a.a.O., p.437
37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.103

secure Alexander's deposition, through an ecclesiastical council convened by the French and German rulers at St. Jean-de-Losne, posed a grave danger to the pope.[38] Alexander sought to neutralise the threat by refusing to recognise any council convened to judge him but he also dispatched five cardinals to the meeting between the emperor and King Louis VII.[39] The papal representatives included John of S. Anastasia, along with Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce, Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin and Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro.[40] The cardinals were intended to observe the meeting and intervene in defence of the pope's cause only if the proceedings became unfavourable for Alexander.[41] But Louis' steadfast support for Alexander and the pope's absence ensured that the meeting ended in deadlock, so the cardinals returned triumphantly to Alexander to report the failure of the emperor's plan.[42] John was one of only five cardinals selected to represent Alexander and testify to the solidity of the college's support for the pope at the most hazardous stage of the schism. He was a valued advocate who was well capable of upholding the pope's cause in the face of his enemies.

John represented the papacy again in the negotiations which ended the schism. He accompanied Alexander to Venice in the spring of 1177[43] and was deeply involved in the negotiations which led to the Peace of Venice. John was one of the seven cardinals appointed by the pope in April 1177 to act as negotiators of the peace with

38. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407
39. ibid.
40. ibid.
41. W. Janssen, *Die Päpstlichen Legaten In Frankeich 1130-1198*, p.81
42. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.407
43. ibid., p.437

the empire.[44] John formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, William, cardinal bishop of Porto, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[45] The cardinal priest of S. Anastasia joined with the other six papal representatives in absolving Frederick from the bonds of excommunication, opening the way for his formal reconciliation with the pope in July 1177.[46] John was also present to witness the oath taken by Henry, count of Dietz, ratifying the Peace on behalf of the emperor.[47] The legate was a member of the select group of cardinals which secured the peace agreement with Alexander's great opponent. John was numbered among the most forceful and effective advocates of the papal cause in the college of cardinals.

It is evident that the cardinal was primarily an active advocate for the papacy rather a member of the cohort of permanent advisers in the college. John was, however, a respected adviser whenever he was present at the papal court. His first subscription in the pontificate occurred on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[48] The cardinal's final subscription was given on 29 May 1179 to the pope's privilege for the church of SS. Stephen and Willehad in Bremen.[49] John subscribed seventy-two papal letters, in which his name

44. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446[16]
45. ibid.
46. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
47. *Constitutiones* 1, *MGH*, p.367[40]
48. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.74D
49. JL13426, *MPL*200, col.1238C

can be definitely identified, in the intervening two decades.[50] While his pattern of subscriptions was clearly broken by frequent legations, the cardinal's subscriptions were sufficiently numerous to indicate that John was a valued counsellor of the pope when he was to be found in the papal entourage. Alexander's appreciation for the cardinal's counsel was reflected by the judicial role entrusted to John at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. John was instructed to investigate the claims of Berthold, archbishop-elect of Bremen, who sought consecration at the Council.[51] Alexander was concerned about the procedure of Berthold's election and the report that he was not even a priest.[52] The delegation of clergy from Bremen was examined by John and his colleague Rainer, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro: the clergy were found to disagree concerning the nature of Berthold's election.[53] Alexander then declared Berthold's election invalid on the basis of the cardinals' report.[54] John had played a crucial part in the settlement of the ecclesiastical case, along with a few other cardinals including Rainer and Hubald of Ostia, the senior member of the college.[55]

50. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10663, 115D, JL10698, 131B, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217C, JL10861, 222B, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229C, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292B, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318A, JL11153, 341A, JL11158, 345D, JL11167, 346D, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359B, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386A, JL11221, 388C, JL11379, 469B, JL11386, 477D, JL11389, 479C, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495B, JL11421, 501C, JL11424, 502A, JL11425, 504B, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569B, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576B, JL11643, 605B, JL11731, 649A, JL11789, 671B, JL11887, 723A, JL11892, 727B, JL12131, 867D, JL12139, 870B, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908C, JL12221, 911D, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12789, 1099C, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133A, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144A, JL13318, 1209D, JL13370, 1223A, JL13371, 1225A, JL13420, 1237A, JL13426, 1238C

51. Albert, *Annals of Stade 1176-1179, MGH, Scriptores* 16, p.348[38]

52. ibid., p.348[38-41]

53. ibid., p.348[47]

54. ibid., p.349[8]

55. Arnold, *Chronica Slavorum* 2, *MGH, Scriptores* 21, p.132

This judicial role reflected not only Alexander's faith in John's expertise but the cardinal's readiness to intervene forcefully in highly controversial ecclesiastical disputes. Such willingness to court controversy was a consistent feature of John's activity on behalf of the papacy throughout the pontificate and it was evident again in his reaction to the Becket affair.

Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, appealed to the pope in 1164 after his conflict with King Henry II had compelled his flight from the Angevin kingdom.[56] John rapidly emerged as a prominent opponent of the archbishop within the college. In 1164 Becket received a warning from an anonymous source within the papal court, identifying the cardinals who were opposed to his cause and determined to assist the king, including John of S. Anastasia.[57] Becket certainly regarded the cardinal as a dangerous enemy when in the same year he warned his envoy to the papal curia, Gunther, to ensure that his business did not come to the attention of William of Pavia or John of Naples.[58] Becket's fears were well-founded as John maintained a friendly correspondence with the English king. The cardinal assured King Henry in 1168 of his willingness to serve his interests and informed him of the latest developments concerning the dispute within the curia.[59] John reported correctly that the powers of the archbishop would soon be suspended by the pope.[60] John was evidently opposed to Becket's cause primarily because he was determined to maintain close connections with the king of England. The cardinal was severely criticised for his support of the

56. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 47, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 5, p.82; F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.98-105
57. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 6, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.212D
58. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 47, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 5, p.82
59. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 396, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 6, pp.380-382
60. ibid.

king by Becket's adherent John of Salisbury, who levelled accusations of corruption against him. John of Salisbury related allegations that the cardinal and many of his colleagues had been bribed by Henry to secure the support of the college.[61] John declared that even the clergy who supported the English king cursed John of Naples, who had seduced the pope in the service of the king.[62] The English churchman faithfully reflected the view of Becket and his fellow exiles that John's opposition to their cause was motivated simply by greed.

It is impossible, however, simply to dismiss the cardinal as a corrupt opportunist. John's devotion to the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century was a notable feature of his career. John maintained a close association with the regular canons of S. Victor in Paris, undertaking a friendly correspondence with Abbot Guarin of S. Victor, a leading representative of the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century.[63] Guarin provided two regular canons of S. Victor for an Augustinian foundation which John himself had established, in response to a request for assistance from the cardinal.[64] John expressed his gratitude in a letter to the abbot and brothers of S.Victor in which he praised the qualities of the regular canons.[65] John's close connections with the order of the regular canons indicates that he was a more principled and religious figure than his critics suggested. Zenker discussed his motives for opposing Becket and concluded that he turned against Becket for political reasons, though he was surely sympathetic to the archbishop's religious conduct.[66]

61. John of Salisbury, Letters 279, Oxford Medieval Texts II, CNL Brooke et al, pp.606-607
62. ibid., pp.606-607
63. Guarin of S. Victor, Letters 4, *MPL* 196, col.1389D
64. ibid.
65. Guarin of S. Victor, Letters 11, *MPL* 196, col.1394C
66. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.76

John certainly aimed to maintain a close connection for the papacy with King Henry and Becket's opponents in the English church. He acted to assist Gilbert Foliot, the royalist bishop of London, who thanked the cardinal in 1172 for his aid to the bishop and clergy in their difficulties.[67] Gilbert had sought and received John's assistance for his appeal against his second excommunication in 1171, which was lifted in May 1172.[68] John's aid to such a prominent opponent of the archbishop underlined his concern to preserve amicable relations between the papacy and the English crown and church, despite Becket's grievances.

The exiled archbishop, however, did not regard John as an irreconciliable enemy. Despite the earlier allegations of corruption directed against the cardinal by John of Salisbury, Becket believed that John had become increasingly supportive of his cause in the last three years of the conflict. In 1169 Thomas requested the cardinal's assistance, asserting that John had promised most firmly aid, advice and protection to the church of Canterbury.[69] Becket again addressed the cardinal in friendly terms later in the same year, urging him to ensure that Gilbert Foliot was denied absolution from Becket's excommunication.[70] In a third letter issued in 1169 the archbishop congratulated John on his support for the church of Canterbury.[71] Zenker cited this correspondence as evidence that Thomas was able to change John's opinion of the case.[72] It is likely that John displayed greater sympathy to Becket's cause in the later years of the dispute: otherwise such conciliatory missives from the formidable exile

67. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 219, *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and CNL Brooke, pp.290-291
68. ibid.
69. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 589, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 7, pp.132-133
70. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 617, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 7, pp.187-189
71. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 218, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 384
72. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.77

would hardly have been possible. The cardinal had however not abandoned his earlier strategy of maintaining close links with the Angevin monarchy and its loyal bishops. Despite Becket's admonitions John remained supportive of Gilbert Foliot, who was grateful for his aid as late as 1172.[73] The cardinal also maintained amicable relations with Henry II, which was acknowledged in 1171 by the royal envoys to the papal court after the murder of Thomas Becket.[74] Henry's ambassadors reported to him on their efforts to seek the aid of cardinals normally regarded as allies of the king, including John of Naples, who was absent from the papal court.[75] John was clearly still perceived as an ally by Henry's agents in 1171, which suggests that there had been no open or decisive change in the cardinal's approach to the conflict. He had succeeded in maintaining a close connection with the Angevin ruler throughout the dispute, while improving his relations with the archbishop. This achievement was a tribute to John's diplomatic skills. More significantly, however, John's actions illustrated his strategy of consistent conciliation towards the king and the royalist bishops, despite Becket's hopes that the cardinal had been won over to his cause.

The cardinal's conciliatory demeanour towards the kings of western Europe was also underlined by his correspondence with the French king, Louis VII. In 1164 John promised to assist Louis in response to the king's appeal on behalf of Peter, archbishop of Bourges.[76] Peter had complained to the pope concerning the monks of Deuil, who were encroaching on the possessions of the church of Bourges.[77] John

73. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 219, *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L Brooke, pp.290-291
74. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 325, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 477-478
75. ibid.
76. Louis VII, Letters 261, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, p.86
77. ibid.

assured the king that he would use his influence within the papal court to seek a rapid and successful resolution of the case.[78] John corresponded with Louis again in 1165, appealing to the king on behalf of an exiled Sicilian baron, Florius de Camebotta.[79] He requested that Louis should heed Florius' petitions, as he had been a great landowner in Calabria before losing his possessions for the sake of the pope.[80] John evidently sought to develop a close connection with the king,[81] so that he would secure some degree of influence with the French court which could be used to further his objectives, such as the advancement of his south Italian compatriot. The cardinal's conciliatory approach towards the Angevin and Capetian rulers was, however, an integral part of his service to the papacy. It was essential for Alexander to maintain the support of the kings of western Europe in his desperate struggle with the emperor and John's policy of conciliation served the political interests of the papacy.

John's consistent strategy of conciliation towards the most powerful kings of western Europe may have provoked the ire of John of Salisbury, but it did not undermine his reputation within the papal curia. Alexander maintained an unwavering confidence in the cardinal throughout his pontificate. Indeed the faith which Alexander placed in him was ultimately disastrous for John, as his final legation for the pope led to his violent death. Alexander instructed the cardinal to undertake a legation to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus, in 1180.[82] Following Manuel's death, however, his cousin Andronicus usurped the throne in 1182.[83] In 1183 the new ruler

78. Louis VII, Letters 261, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.86
79. Louis VII, Letters 362, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 118C
80. ibid.
81. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.76
82. Robert de Monte, *Chronica, MGH, Scriptores* 6, p.533
83. ibid.

orchestrated the massacre of the entire Latin population of Constantinople.[85] John remained in the city although his mission had clearly failed and so perished with his western compatriots.[86] John had refused to leave Constantinople, declaring that he would remain to uphold the unity of the church and the command of Pope Alexander: *"Ego hic sto pro unitate ecclesie et precepto domini mei Alexandri pape."*[87] Alexander himself had died in 1181 and the quotation was attributed to John by the chronicler Robert, who provided a highly favourable account of his death, concluding that miracles had been reported at his tomb.[88] Robert was apparently seeking to promote John's prospects for canonisation but his account of the cardinal's motivation appears broadly reliable. While John was hardly a saintly figure, his stubborn loyalty to the papacy certainly brought his turbulent career to a violent end. John served primarily as a formidable advocate of the papal cause throughout the schism, although he was a valued counsellor of the pope whenever he was present in the papal entourage. His highly effective legations to Sicily underlined the efficacy of the papal strategy involving the employment of legates who possessed close connections with their legatine territory.[89] John sustained severe and frequently unjustified criticism from some contemporaries, especially for his assistance to the Angevin king against Becket. The cardinal's consistent promotion of the political objectives of the papacy defined his career. John's fierce loyalty and resolution made him an advocate of extraordinary value for Alexander III, although these same qualities surely contributed to his death in 1183.

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84. Robert de Monte, *Chronica, MGH, Scriptores* 6, p.533[57-59]
85. ibid.
86. ibid.
87. ibid.
88. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.74

HILDEBRAND CARDINAL PRIEST OF XII APOSTOLI

Hildebrand was a scion of the Grassi, a noble family of Bologna.[1] He was a *magister*, who was educated in the schools of Bologna.[2] Hildebrand became a member of the Augustinian congregation of S. Maria di Reno in his native town.[3] He was highly regarded by Pope Eugenius III, who delegated important duties to him even before his elevation to the sacred college. Hildebrand was appointed as Rector of the church of S. Geminian of Modena in 1148, following the temporary suspension of the diocese of Modena by Pope Eugenius.[4] The Bolognese churchman acted as administrator of the church of Modena between 1148 and 1156.[5] He enjoyed a lengthy association with the church, serving as Rector again between 1174 and 1175 in the course of an episcopal vacancy.[6] His capable service to the church of Modena was the prelude to his elevation to the sacred college.

Hildebrand was appointed as cardinal deacon of the Roman church by Eugenius III in June 1152.[7] As a *magister* who was also a regular canon, Hildebrand offered the papal curia valuable legal expertise, combined with a respected religious background. He enjoyed rapid advancement in the college under successive popes. He was appointed by Eugenius III as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio by January 1153.[8] Hildebrand was promoted by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal priest of XII Apostoli on 21 December 1156.[9] The cardinal was regularly employed as a

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.107
2. ibid.
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.55
4. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 5, *Episcopatus Mutinensis* 15, p.304
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.107; Tiraboschi, *Memorie storiche Modenesi III cod. dipl.* p.30
6. Lucius III, JL14987, *MPL*201, col.1237C
7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.55
8. ibid.
9. ibid.

diplomat by various popes. Eugenius entrusted him with a legation to Verona, which is not very well documented in the sources.[10] Hildebrand was maltreated in the course of the legation, for unknown reasons, by certain citizens of Ferrara.[11] The pope instructed the cardinal and the local bishops to excommunicate all the citizens who bore responsibility for the offence and to prohibit the celebration of the sacraments, with the exception of baptism and the last rites, in the diocese of Ferrara.[12] The cardinal served frequently as a legate in northern Italy before the schism. In 1154 he undertook legatine duties in Ravenna and Mantua.[13] Zenker suggests that he was perhaps employed by Adrian IV as a legate to the Lombard city-states between 1156 and 1157, but his participation in this legation is not definitely established.[14] Hildebrand's character and diplomatic skills were highly regarded not only by successive popes, but by north Italian observers of his legations. A chronicler in Ravenna paid tribute to the legate's integrity and wisdom.[15] Such an accolade, which was not universally bestowed upon papal legates by local observers of their legations, testified to Hildebrand's diplomatic talents as well as his honesty.

Hildebrand developed a close association with Adrian IV in the period which preceded the schism. He was one of the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian in Anagni in the summer of 1159, who were numbered among the pope's closest collaborators in the college.[16] The cardinal priest was certainly a member of the

10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.108
11. ibid.
12. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 5, *Ferrare* 11, p.236
13. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.108
14. ibid; G. Dunken, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der papstlichen Legaten in der Zeit des Kampfes zwischen Kaisertum und Papsttum in Oberitalien unter Friedrich I*, p.18
15. *Spicilegium Ravennatis Historiae, R.I. S.S.* 1, p.540
16. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636C; JL10579, 1637D

"Sicilian party" in the college, which supported Adrian's policy of alliance with the enemies of the empire, including the Norman kingdom of Sicily.[17] Hildebrand's allegiance to the faction of Adrian and the chancellor Roland was underlined by his prominent role in the divided election of 1159.

The imperial propagandist Rahewin claimed that Hildebrand and two other cardinals acted ruthlessly to secure Roland's elevation, provoking the disruption of the election.[18] Rahewin reproduced a partisan account by the canons of the church of St. Peter, who supported the anti-pope "Victor IV".[19] The canons alleged that Hildebrand, acting in concert with John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, attempted to invest Roland with the papal mantle, disregarding the will of the college which favoured a unanimous election.[20] The biased portrayal of the cardinals by the Roman clergy is certainly inaccurate, as the canons ignored the disruption of the election by the Roman adherents of the anti-pope.[21] Moreover a subsequent appeal to the universal church was issued on behalf of Alexander III by twenty-five cardinals, reflecting the reality that Alexander commanded the support of a substantial majority within the college.[22] Hildebrand did not defy the will of the college, but acted most forcefully to implement the decision of the majority. The appeal by the cardinals, which was subscribed by Hildebrand, related that Cardinal Odo, assisted by Hildebrand, sought to invest Roland as pope following his election by the majority of the cardinals.[23] The Bolognese cardinal's

17. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
18. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
19. ibid.
20. ibid.
21. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
22. J.M. Watterich, *Alexandri III Annales, Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, pp.493-499
23. ibid; Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C

prominent part in the disputed election was confirmed by friend and foe alike. While Alexander's enemies misrepresented his actions, it is evident that Hildebrand was a determined advocate of Roland in the divided election, who had little inclination to compromise with the pro-imperial minority.

The cardinal soon emerged as a leading advocate for the pope's cause in the schism. He subscribed both the appeal to the universal church and the letter issued by the cardinals to Emperor Frederick I, which defended the righteousness of Alexander's election.[24] Hildebrand undertook constant diplomatic activity in northern Italy throughout the schism.[25] He acted as a permanent papal legate in Venice between 1159 and 1166.[26] His legation to north-eastern Italy was designed to win the allegiance of the local clergy for Alexander and promote opposition to the emperor in the region.[27] The cardinal, assisted by Henry, patriarch of Grado, secured the allegiance of several bishops in the region, including Ulrich, the newly elected patriarch of Aquileia.[28] Hildebrand worked closely with Henry of Grado not only to promote Alexander's cause but to resolve ecclesiastical disputes in the local church. In 1161 the cardinal and the patriarch together issued a judgement concerning a property dispute in favour of the church of S. Salvatore in Venice, which was later confirmed by Alexander.[29] The cardinal continued his legatine duties in Venice for several years, but his influence as a papal diplomat extended well beyond the city of St. Mark.[30] He

24. J.M. Watterich, *Alexandri III Annales, Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, p.464; ibid., pp.493-499; Alexander III, *MPL*200, col.59D; *MPL*200, 62C
25. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.108-109
26. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
27. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.108-109
28. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.45-46
29. Alexander III, JL10664, *MPL*200, col.118B-118C; JL11340, 449D, JL11585, 563C
30. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.45-46; ibid., p.154; ibid., p.162

maintained close connections with Alexander's few adherents in Germany, including Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg.[31] Eberhard reported regularly to the legate on his efforts to mediate a peace agreement between Alexander and Frederick.[32] But Hildebrand did not involve himself directly in the peace initiatives, which proved unsuccessful.[33] The extensive nature of his legatine activity was underlined by his intervention in the election of a new abbot for the Cluniac monastery of St. Benedict of Paderborn in north Germany.[34] The legate confirmed the election of the new abbot, Raymond, in 1166 or 1167, acting to secure the allegiance of the monastery to Alexander in the perilous circumstances of the schism.[35] The cardinal was a resourceful advocate, who took every opportunity to promote Alexander's cause. Hildebrand's diplomatic skill and his connections with Eberhard of Salzburg and Henry of Grado made him a highly effective papal representative in north-east Italy in the early years of the schism.[36]

The character of Hildebrand's diplomatic activity changed significantly after 1166, when he was first appointed as a cardinal legate with a general authority in Lombardy.[37] Although he was still most active in Venice until 1169,[38] he held the title of "*legatus in tota Lombardia*", which reflected his wide remit as a legate to the entire region of northern Italy.[39] Hildebrand undertook legatine activity in his native region in every year between 1166 and 1178, with the sole exception of 1175.[40] He first

31. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, pp.45-46
32. ibid., pp.47-49
33. ibid., pp.47-49
34. Alexander III, JL11322, *MPL* 200, col.435D-436D
35. ibid.
36. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.108
37. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
38. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III 1159-1169*, p.162
39. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
40. ibid.

worked successfully with Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, to win the allegiance of north-eastern Italy for the pope, following the retreat of Frederick's forces in 1167.[41] He then cooperated with Manfred, cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, between 1170 and 1172 in advising the north Italian city-states, which had formed the Lombard League to oppose the emperor.[42] Hildebrand remained the principal papal adviser to Alexander's allies in the League until the end of the schism.[43] The letter issued by Alexander to the legate and his colleague Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro, in November 1176 illuminated the character of Hildebrand's mission.[44] He was instructed to maintain close connections between the papacy and the League, taking care to inform the Lombards of the pope's current political strategy.[45] The legate was also commanded to preserve the unity and cohesion of the League.[46] Hildebrand was the papacy's most important specialist concerning the politics of northern Italy for over a decade.[47] The cardinal achieved sufficient success in consolidating the unity of the League that the city-states of his native region proved strong enough to defeat Frederick Barbarossa at Legnano in 1176.[48] Frederick's setbacks in Lombardy opened the way for the conclusion of a general peace settlement in 1177.[49] Hildebrand's diplomatic activity in northern Italy greatly contributed to Alexander's eventual triumph in the schism.

While Hildebrand was primarily a highly effective papal diplomat, he also undertook

41. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.493-494
42. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
43. ibid.
44. Alexander III, JL12737, *MPL* 200, col.1082B; P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 6 (1), *Liguria* 49, p.11
45. ibid.
46. ibid.
47. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III', *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.834-835
48. ibid.
49. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.431-439; K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neigbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261

more conventional legatine duties in his native region. He sought unsuccessfully in 1168 to resolve a dispute between Henry, bishop of Modena, and the abbey of Nonantula.[50] The bishop had incurred Alexander's disapproval by seizing the property of Lovoleto from the abbey of Nonantula.[51] In response to the pope's instructions, Hildebrand ordered the bishop to restore Lovoleto to the abbey or to give justice to the abbot of Nonantula in the presence of the legate.[52] The bishop, however, circumvented the legate's authority by appealing directly to the pope.[53] The case dragged on until 1171 or 1172, when it was finally adjudicated in favour of the abbey by Cardinal Manfred.[54] It appears that Hildebrand was not entrusted with the office of judge-delegate, as he was not instructed to investigate and resolve the dispute, but simply to implement the pope's commands. The dispute underlined the limitations on the authority of even a capable legate with extensive local connections.

Hildebrand's constant legatine activity naturally excluded any possibility of regular service as an adviser. His first subscription of Alexander's pontificate was given on 7 November 1159, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the liberties of Monte Cassino.[55] It was Hildebrand's sole subscription in the first decade of the pontificate. He subscribed only twelve papal letters and privileges issued by Alexander, between 7 November 1159 and 26 August 1177.[56] His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on the latter date.[57] The cardinal established only a

50. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 5, *Episcopatus Mutinensis* 20, p.305;
51. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* 5, *Episcopatus Mutinensis* 21, p.305
52. ibid. 22, p.305; ibid. 23, p.305
53. Alexander III, JL11942, *MPL*200, col.750D-751C
54. ibid.
55. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL*200, col.75D
56. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL*200, col.75D, JL11643, 605A, JL11708, 635A, JL11731, 649A, JL11789, 671A, JL11878, 718A, JL11887, 723A, JL11892, 727B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.313-314
57. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.313-314

minimal record as a member of the papal entourage. Hildebrand's career was dominated by his unceasing activity as a papal diplomat.

The cardinal's final period of diplomatic activity coincided with the end of the schism. He worked to maintain the alliance between the papacy and the Lombard League, while the pope pursued the negotiations with the empire, which led to the Peace of Venice.[58] Alexander's consultation with the representatives of the League at Ferrara in April 1177, in Hildebrand's presence, underlined the cardinal's success in maintaining close connections between the allies.[59] He was also present in Venice for the ratification of the peace agreement by Frederick in July 1177.[60] The cardinal did not long survive Alexander's triumph, which his own endeavours as a legate had done much to achieve. Hildebrand died on 8 November 1178.[61]

Hildebrand was one of the eminent *magistri* elevated to the college before 1159, who also enjoyed connections with the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century. He proved a skilful and tenacious advocate of Alexander's cause throughout the schism. The cardinal served consistently as a papal diplomat in his native region. His career underlined the advantages derived by the papacy under Alexander from the employment of cardinal legates who were also natives of the relevant legatine territory.[62] The cardinal's mission in Lombardy made an invaluable contribution to Alexander's struggle for universal recognition. Hildebrand was numbered among the most successful and influential diplomats of Alexander's pontificate.

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58. Alexander III, JL12737, *MPL*200, col.1082B
59. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.438; Alexander III, JL12827, *MPL*200, col.1112B
60. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.95[28]
61. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.55
62. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.164-165

PETER CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CECILIA

Peter was one of the most obscure and short-lived members appointed to the college by Alexander. Indeed nothing is known about his origins or the early stages of his career. Peter was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia in 1178.[1] The date of his elevation is not definitely identified by the sources. It is most likely that Peter was appointed to the college in the spring or early summer of 1178. His predecessor Manfred was appointed as cardinal bishop of Palestrina in December 1176.[2] Peter, however, left no record of activity as a cardinal until 25 May 1178.[3] It appears that Alexander left the office attached to the titular church of S. Cecilia vacant for over a year after Manfred's promotion and appointed Peter to the vacancy only in the early months of 1178.

Peter was recorded as a subscriber in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate only on 25 May 1178.[4] On this occasion Alexander issued a privilege confirming the possessions of the Danish monastery of Brondby.[5] He also issued the privilege protecting the rule and possessions of the monastic house of Longueville-sur-Scie in France.[6] The absence of any further subscriptions indicated that Peter's brief term in the sacred college was cut short abruptly by death. Peter's successor Cinthius Capelli was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia on 22 September 1178 and he recorded his first subscription as a cardinal priest on 1 October of the same year.[7] Peter was certainly dead by late September 1178: indeed it

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
2. ibid., p.64
3. Alexander III, JL13066, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
4. ibid., JL13067, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
5. JL13066, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
6. JL13067, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
7. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, 1185D

is evident that he died shortly after his elevation to the college, serving as a cardinal for only a few months.

Peter was denied the opportunity to render any real service to the papacy as a member of the sacred college by his premature death.

LOMBARDUS CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CIRIACO NELLE TERME AND ARCHBISHOP OF BENEVENTO

Lombardus was a native of Piacenza.[1] He was a *magister* who enjoyed considerable respect among his contemporaries as an eminent legal scholar.[2] In 1163 or 1164 Lombardus became a member of the entourage of Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury.[3] He remained a member of Becket's circle for seven years, until his appointment as a cardinal, although unlike most of the archbishop's associates he was not himself an English exile.[4] Lombardus enjoyed great respect among the exiles, who praised his learning and valued his advice. Thomas's faithful follower Herbert of Bosham related that Lombardus was the most distinguished scholar among all the learned men in the archbishop's entourage.[5] The eminent English exile John of Salisbury urged Thomas to seek Lombardus' counsel concerning the archbishop's correspondence with the papal legate, William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli.[6] As a member of the archbishop's entourage Lombardus attended a public meeting between Becket and King Henry II, which had been convened in November 1167 by the legates, Cardinal William and his colleague Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, in a vain attempt to resolve the conflict.[7] The Italian churchman was certainly a loyal adherent of the archbishop, whose service was valued by Becket and his associates. Lombardus' merits were also recognized by the pope, who appointed him in 1167 as a subdeacon of the Roman church.[8]

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
2. F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra VIII*, p.121
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
4. ibid.
5. Herbert of Bosham, *Vita S. Thomae* 7, *Materials* 3, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 67, pp.523-524
6. John of Salisbury, Letters 228, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. CNL Brooke et al, pp.400-401
7. ibid. 231, pp.416-417
8. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64

Lombardus remained closely associated with Becket's circle of exiles after his promotion. John of Salisbury was in correspondence with the subdeacon and indeed appealed for his assistance in July 1168.[9] John informed Lombardus of the English king's continuing intransigence towards Becket and urged the subdeacon to encourage the papal curia to absolve the innocent and punish the wicked.[10] Lombardus's assistance was sought especially to assist Becket in his efforts to persuade the pope to discipline Roger, archbishop of York.[11] Lombardus was evidently still a faithful associate of the exiles, who hoped that his position in the curia might be turned to their advantage. In 1169 John of Salisbury was informed by Becket that a proposed meeting between the monks of Grandmont and King Henry concerning the conflict should be attended by none of the archbishop's associates with the sole exception of Master Lombardus, subdeacon of the Roman church.[12] This stipulation was a striking affirmation of Becket's faith in the subdeacon's loyalty and judgement. It is significant that Lombardus at this time was residing in the household of William, archbishop of Sens, another notable ally of the exiled prelate who provided a refuge for some members of his entourage.[13] Despite his status as a junior papal official, Lombardus was still very much a member of Becket's circle. The subdeacon remained closely associated with the archbishop's entourage until his elevation to the sacred college.

Lombardus was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco nelle Terme by 19 February 1171.[14] The north Italian churchman's sole subscription to the extant letters and

9. John of Salisbury, Letters 279, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. CNL Brooke et al, pp.602-609
10. ibid.
11. ibid.
12. John of Salisbury, Letters 286, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. CNL Brooke et al, pp.630-631
13. ibid.
14. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64

privileges of the pontificate was given on 3 April 1171.[15] Lombardus witnessed the privilege issued by Alexander for the benefit of the foundation of S. Leucius in Todi, which was a congregation of regular canons in Rome.[16] At the instigation of the pope he was elected soon afterwards as archbishop of Benevento.[17] His subscription on 3 April 1171 was the sole record of activity by Lombardus as cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco. The Italian prelate later issued a privilege for the benefit of the chapter of his church in 1175, which he subscribed only as archbishop of Benevento.[18] It is likely that Lombardus relinquished his title as cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco some time after his election as archbishop of Benevento. He followed the traditional practice, which involved the renunciation of the title of cardinal by a member of the college who was elected to an external diocese.[19] Lombardus did not become an external cardinal but served out his career in a more traditional role as the metropolitan of Benevento.

Lombardus served as archbishop of Benevento only until 1179 at the latest. The duration of his term is not definitely identified by the contemporary sources. Indeed Lombardus' service to the church of Benevento is not very well documented and is surrounded by considerable confusion in the sources. Ciaconius claimed that an English churchman, Herbert, was archbishop of Benevento during this period, but Ughellus correctly identified Herbert as the archbishop of Conza in Campania during Lombardus' term.[20] Ughellus also recorded an incorrect report that Guido of Crema, the antipope "Paschal III", was elected as archbishop of Benevento in 1176.[21] Such an

15. P.F. Kehr, *Gott. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Rom* 26, p.178
16. ibid.
17. F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra VIII*, p.121B
18. ibid., p.121D
19. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.91
20. F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra VIII*, p.123D
21. ibid., p.123C

appointment was not merely improbable but impossible, as Guido died in 1168.[22] Moreover Lombardus definitely still occupied the metropolitan see in April 1177, when he issued a letter as the archbishop of Benevento confirming the rights and possessions of the archdeacon Rainulf.[23] The archdiocese was, however, certainly vacant by March 1179, when the suffragans of the archbishop of Benevento subscribed the documents of the third Lateran Council in the absence of a metropolitan.[24] It is evident that Lombardus ceased to act as archbishop of Benevento in the period between April 1177 and March 1179.[25] His career concluded in exceptional circumstances for a prelate of the twelfth century. It appears that the eminent lawyer and churchman abdicated his position.[26] Lombardus' final appearance in the sources occurred in a papal letter issued by Alexander on 27 July 1179.[27] The pope addressed the missive to Lombardus as the former archbishop of Benevento and made various concessions to him at the wish of the canons of that church.[28] The letter guaranteed to the former prelate the ownership of a residence at Turricella, full possession of his books and vestments and the payment of an annual income of twenty-four ounces of gold for the remainder of his life.[29] Lombardus evidently retained the respect of the pope and the affection of the canons in his retirement. As he had not been removed from his archdiocese either by death or disgrace, it is most likely that Lombardus had abdicated his position and retired voluntarily.

22. F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra VIII*, p.123C
23. ibid., p.122B
24. ibid., p.124A
25. ibid., pp.122D-124A
26. ibid., p.122D
27. Alexander III, JL13457, *MPL* 200, col.1242D
28. ibid.
29. ibid.

Lombardus was in some respects an exceptional figure among the cardinals of Alexander's pontificate. Lombardus and Galdin, the archbishop of Milan, were the only two cardinals under Alexander that relinquished their membership of the college after their election to external dioceses.[30] Moreover the voluntary abdication which ended Lombardus' career was unique among the cardinals who served as bishops in Alexander's pontificate and indeed was exceptional among the prelates of his time. His elevation to the sacred college, however, also underlined the most significant development in the composition of the college under Alexander, namely the increasing prominence of the *magistri* among the cardinals. Lombardus was one of the nine *magistri* who may be definitely identified among Alexander's nominees to the college.[31] Lombardus of Piacenza served as a cardinal only briefly, but he was an eminent lawyer and prelate whose elevation reflected the changing nature of the sacred college in the late twelfth century.

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30. *Vita Galdini*, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), pp.593-595, I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.91
31. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.55

HUBALD CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CROCE IN GERUSALEMME

Hubald was a native of Bologna.[1] He belonged to the congregation of the regular canons of S. Frediano of Lucca, which was closely linked to the papacy through the reform of the canons of St. John Lateran, accomplished with the assistance of S. Frediano.[2] Hubald was elevated to the sacred college in 1144, after his uncle Cardinal Gerard of S. Croce in Gerusalemme was elected as pope, taking the title of Lucius II.[3] Pope Lucius appointed his nephew as cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme on 19 May 1144.[4] Very little information about the cardinal's career is provided by the narrative sources. His only recorded legation before the pontificate of Alexander III occurred in 1147, when he served as a papal legate to Farfa.[5] Zenker indeed suggested that Hubald played only an insignificant role in the college despite a lengthy career which lasted from 1144 to 1170.[6] Hubald's record of activity during Alexander's pontificate, however, suggests a different interpretation of his career.

Hubald supported the cause of Alexander III from the outset of the schism. He was numbered among the thirteen cardinals who accompanied Pope Adrian IV to Anagni in the summer of 1159, during the papal negotiations with the King of Sicily and the Lombard communes.[7] Hubald was therefore associated with the policy of the Sicilian alliance favoured by Adrian and Roland.[8] It is evident that he supported Roland during and immediately after the divided election of 1159.[9] Hubald subscribed both

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132
2. ibid.; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.219
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.51
4. ibid.
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132
6. ibid.
7. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, 1636B, JL10579, 1637D
8. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
9. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132

letters issued by the new pope's loyal cardinals defending the righteousness of his election.[10] Indeed the cardinal of S. Croce was the first subscriber among the order of the cardinal priests both in the letter to Emperor Frederick I and also in the declaration addressed to the universal church.[11] Such a position in the record of the cardinals reflected Hubald's seniority among the cardinal priests as well as his loyalty to the pope.

Hubald was the senior member of the order of the cardinal priests by 1159.[12] His participation in the legation to St. Jean-de-Losne in 1162 underlined the value placed on his experience and faithful service by Alexander. The meeting between Emperor Frederick and King Louis VII of France at St. Jean-de-Losne presented the gravest danger yet to Alexander.[13] While the pope himself could not recognize the validity of any assembly convened to judge his cause, he selected experienced representatives drawn from the three orders in the college as his legates. Hubald and John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia were chosen to reflect the support of their order for the pope. They were accompanied by Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin and Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro.[14] The cardinals attended the meeting as observers and reported the failure of the negotiations to Alexander.[15] The legation indicated that Hubald was a considerably more significant figure in the curia than suggested by Zenker's original analysis.[16] Hubald was one of only five cardinals selected to represent Alexander and testify to

10. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D, *MPL*200, 62C
11. ibid.
12. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.51
13. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.80-81
14. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407
15. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.80-81
16. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132

the solidity of the college's support for the pope. It is apparent that the pope chose the cardinals who were to attend the meeting with the greatest care. Alexander respected Hubald's experience and loyalty sufficiently to employ him as an advocate at a most dangerous time for the papal cause.

It is evident, however, that Hubald was only rarely employed as an advocate for the pope's cause during the schism. The cardinal undertook no further diplomatic missions after the legation to St. Jean-de-Losne and for this reason he made little impression on the contemporary sources. Zenker's assertion that Hubald no longer appears after the mission to St. Jean-de-Losne is, however, inaccurate.[17] Hubald subscribed the letters and privileges of Alexander III with remarkable consistency from 1159 until his death in 1170. He subscribed the first privilege issued by the pope on 15 October 1159 confirming the rights of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[18] The final papal privilege witnessed by the cardinal was a confirmation of the rights of the same church on 9 September 1170.[19] In the intervening period of eleven years Hubald witnessed no less than eighty-three letters and privileges issued by the pope.[20] The cardinal's pattern of subscriptions in this period was consistent

17. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132
18. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 75D
19. Alexander III, JL11831, *MPL*200, 695B
20. JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10663, 115D, JL10679, 126D, JL10698, 131B, JL10714, 140B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, JL10853, 210D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217B, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 222B, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229C, JL10887, 236C, JL10893, 241B, JL10900, 245D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255B, JL10944, 267C, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295B, JL11077, 316C, JL11083, 318D, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345D, JL11167, 346C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359B, JL11189, 362B, JL11192, 364C, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386A, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453B, JL11295, 423B, JL11340, 449D, JL11341, 451B, JL11379, 469A, JL11385, 474A, JL11386, 477D, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495B, JL11419, 499C, JL11421, 501C, JL11424, 502D, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11594, 567D, JL11596, 569B, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576A, JL11614, 578B, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583A, JL11622, 588A, JL11635, 595A, JL11636, 597B, *MPL*200, 602B, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606B, JL11651, 610C, JL11708, 635A, JL11731, 649A, JL11789, 671A, JL11810, 685B, JL11816, 688D, JL11831, 695B

enough to surpass the total number of subscriptions by some of his colleagues for the entire pontificate. Hubald's long-serving colleague, John of S. Anastasia, subscribed seventy-four papal documents in the period from 1159 to 1181: the cardinal priest of S. Croce registered more subscriptions even though he survived for only half of the pontificate.[21] The consistent pattern of Hubald's subscriptions reflected his role as a cardinal. He was a prominent member of the advisory cohort in the college of cardinals, which remained almost perpetually in attendance at the papal court. The cardinal was given the office of Archpriest of the Roman church by Alexander,[22] underlining his prominence within the papal entourage. Hubald was a highly respected permanent adviser who served the pope almost exclusively as a core member of the papal entourage.

Hubald of S. Croce was not at all the insignificant and anonymous figure depicted by Zenker,[23] but was in some respects a highly representative figure among his contemporaries in the college. He was numbered among the six members of the college inherited by Alexander who may be definitely identified as regular canons. Hubald's lengthy career in the Roman church reflected the enduring influence exerted by the new religious movements of the twelfth century on the papacy under Alexander III. The Bolognese cardinal was also a leading member of the substantial cohort in the college which served the papacy primarily as permanent advisers. Hubald was a valued counsellor of the pope whose low profile in the struggle with the empire veiled his prominence within the papal entourage.

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21. See above p.83 (John of S. Anastasia)
22. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.51
23. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132

ROGER CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. EUSEBIO

Roger was a monk of Monte Cassino who was elevated to the college of cardinals by Alexander III.[1] Roger was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Eusebio in 1178.[2] He was elected as archbishop of Benevento probably late in the following year, although the date of his elevation is not recorded.[3] Roger succeeded Lombardus, an eminent follower of Thomas Becket who had abdicated as archbishop of Benevento.[4] The archdiocese had just become vacant at the Third Lateran Council in March 1179, when the suffragans of the archdiocese subscribed the documents of the Council without any reference to the metropolitan.[5] In a later document composed by a cleric of the church of Benevento, 1217 was identified as the 38th year of Roger's term.[6] Lombardus had certainly abdicated by March 1179 and was succeeded by Roger towards the end of the same year.[7]

Roger was an external cardinal who retained his rank in the sacred college after his consecration as archbishop of Benevento. External cardinals were generally selected to represent the papacy in their native region as permanent papal legates. External cardinals such as Conrad, cardinal bishop of S. Sabina and papal legate in Germany, undertook missions of great importance for the pope during the schism.[8] Roger was not, however, a papal legate nor was he employed as a diplomatic representative of the apostolic see. He owed his appointment almost certainly to his close links with the

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
2. F. Ughellus, *Beneventani Archiepiscopi, Italia Sacra VIII*, p.124
3. ibid., p.126
4. ibid., p.124
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. ibid., pp.123-124
8. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63

great Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino had long been a centre of reforming monasticism and possessed traditional connections with the reform papacy and the Norman kingdom of Sicily.[9] As a monk of Monte Cassino Roger was likely to be acceptable to the Norman monarchy while also displaying commitment to the ideals of the reform papacy.

Roger's enduring attachment to Monte Cassino was apparent soon after his appointment. In 1180 the new archbishop issued a charter for the benefit of the monastery.[10] Roger and his suffragans granted an indulgence for all new recruits to the monastery for a period of one year and forty days.[11] This measure offered a remission of sins to new members of the congregation who entered the monastery within a well-defined and limited period.[12] It was a generous concession which was evidently designed to promote increased recruitment by the Benedictine congregation.

Roger was appointed to the college late in Alexander's pontificate and therefore played no part in the great struggle to uphold the papal cause in the schism. He enjoyed a career of remarkable longevity as an external cardinal, serving as archbishop of Benevento and cardinal priest of S. Eusebio for forty-one years.[13] Roger proved capable of exerting influence in the curia on behalf of his archdiocese. In 1195 he secured a papal privilege from Pope Celestine III for Richard, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of S. Modesto in Benevento.[14] Roger remained in regular correspondence with Pope Innocent III who displayed, however, increasing discontent

9. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.213-214
10. F. Ughellus, *Beneventani Archiepiscopi, Italia Sacra VIII*, p.126
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. ibid., p.127

with the archbishop.[15] Innocent instructed Cinthius, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and Anselm, archbishop of Naples to investigate Roger's conduct in 1199.[16] The pope complained that much had been reported to him about Roger's actions, which differed too greatly from the honour of the priesthood.[17] But Innocent's dissatisfaction left Roger relatively undisturbed, as he remained firmly in possession of his archdiocese until his death in the pontificate of Honorius III.[18]

Roger worked primarily to safeguard the interests of his church.[19] In the last years of his career he developed friendly relations with the young Staufen king of Sicily and future emperor, Frederick II.[20] Roger secured a royal privilege from Frederick for the monastery of S. Modesto, which confirmed an earlier privilege by King William II.[21] Roger's success in securing royal favour underlined his consistent preoccupation with the interests of his archbishopric, which were closely associated with the well-being of the local Benedictine congregations. Roger died on 25 December 1221.[22]

Roger was a capable prelate who obtained concessions from the papacy and the royal power designed to benefit his archbishopric and the Benedictine order. He played little part in the promotion of the objectives of the apostolic see under Alexander or his successors. Roger's career reflected the enduring connections enjoyed by the sacred college with Benedictine monasticism, which were maintained by the papacy despite the substantial influence of the new twelfth century religious movements.

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15. F. Ughellus, *Archiepiscopi Beneventani, Italia Sacra VIII*, p.127
16. *Die Register Innocenz' III 2. Band. 2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199-1200: Texte* ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek, A.A. Strnad (Rome and Vienna, 1979), 227 (236), pp.434-436
17. ibid.
18. F. Ughellus, *Archiepiscopi Beneventani, Italia Sacra VIII*, p.132
19. ibid., pp.127-132
20. ibid., p.129
21. ibid., pp.129-130
22. ibid., p.132

BONADIES CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. GRISOGONO

Bonadies was a native of the city of Rome.[1] He was elevated to the college of cardinals by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo on 21 December 1156.[2] Bonadies was promoted, also by Adrian IV, on 14 March 1158 when he became cardinal priest of S. Grisogono.[3] He was closely associated with Pope Adrian and the chancellor Roland. Bonadies was a member of the "Sicilian party", although he was not numbered among the cardinals who accompanied Adrian to Anagni in June 1159 and were regarded by later sources as the pope's closest allies in the college.[4] Bonadies was nevertheless among the strongest supporters of the chancellor Roland in the divided election of 1159. The cardinal priest's devotion to Roland's cause was recorded by the imperial propagandist Rahewin.

Rahewin's description of the disputed papal election in the *Gesta Friderici* identified Bonadies as an important participant in a conspiracy to secure Roland's elevation.[6] Rahewin was the continuator of the chronicle of Otto, bishop of Freising, who initiated the composition of the *Gesta* as a panegyrical work designed to glorify the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. Rahewin therefore sought to justify the actions of the emperor and defend Frederick's intervention in support of the anti-pope "Victor IV" following the disputed election. The chosen tactic of the imperial propagandist was to assert the existence of a plot by a faction in the college, designed to achieve the

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.64
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
3. ibid.
4. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.64
6. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.327

election of the chancellor.[7] The German biographer attributed a significant role in this conspiracy to Bonadies, claiming that the cardinal initially urged the clergy of his own titular church to make their submission to "Victor IV", while he plotted with other cardinals of a similar persuasion to secure Roland's election.[8] The somewhat tenuous evidence for this allegation was provided in Rahewin's account by a certain "John of Rome", who was not identified definitively but was apparently a Roman cleric supporting the anti-pope.[9] This shadowy figure claimed that Bonadies had entered into a conspiracy at Cisterna with John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and other unnamed cardinals to elect their chosen candidate.[10] Bonadies and his colleagues were accused of elevating Roland to the papal dignity at Cisterna, declaring that as they lacked a head following Adrian's death they would set up a lord of their choice: "*Quoniam modo sumus sine pastore et sine capite, faciamus nobis dominum.*"[11] Rahewin's account is evidently partisan and unreliable. The imperial propagandist was hostile to Alexander III and sought to legitimise the election of the anti-pope by portraying Alexander's election as the product of a fraudulent conspiracy.

Moreover Rahewin's assertions are clearly contradicted by Cardinal Boso, Alexander's biographer, in his detailed description of the pope's election. After the divided election in Rome, Boso related that Alexander was consecrated and crowned as the supreme pontiff at Ninfa by Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, in the presence of the cardinals.[12] While both biographers were equally partisan, Boso's account is more

7. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.327
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. ibid.
11. ibid.
12. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.399

credible on this occasion. It is significant that Bonadies was not mentioned at all by Boso, who was his colleague in the college and a fellow member of the "Sicilian party". Alexander's biographer would have known of his colleague's viewpoint in 1159 and would surely have praised his activities if Bonadies had provided important assistance to Alexander's cause. The cardinal priest of S. Grisogono was moreover a relatively junior member of the college in 1159. He had been appointed to the college in 1156, less than three years before the divided election.[13] It is scarcely credible that such a relatively junior and inexperienced cardinal could have played such an important role in determining the outcome of the papal election. Alexander's election was based on the support of the vast majority of the cardinals, as he held the support of twenty-three cardinals immediately after the divided election, while the anti-pope was backed only by five members of the college.[14] Rahewin attempted to obscure this unfortunate reality by propounding the theory of a conspiracy by a few cardinals, including junior members such as Bonadies.[15]

The imperial propagandist's flawed description of Alexander's elevation was, however, correct in underlining Bonadies' steadfast support for Alexander III. The cardinal priest was a signatory to both of the letters issued by Alexander's supporters among the cardinals asserting the righteousness of the pope's cause.[16] Bonadies appeared as a subscriber to the letter addressed by the cardinals to the emperor and to the declaration by the members of the college to the universal church.[17] While Bonadies was hardly the conspirator portrayed by Rahewin, he was certainly a prominent

13. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
14. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
15. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.327
16. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col. 59D, *MPL* 200, 62C
17. ibid.

supporter of Alexander III during and after the divided election.

Bonadies' career after the papal election in 1159 was brief and shrouded in obscurity. The cardinal priest of S. Grisogono subscribed only a single document issued by Alexander III. He witnessed the privilege granted by the pope to the monastery of Pontigny on 19 February 1160.[18] Bonadies was conspicuous by his absence as a papal adviser. It is evident, however, that the cardinal priest commanded the trust of the pope, who employed him as a papal legate. Alexander entrusted Bonadies and Henry, archbishop of Benevento, with an important legation to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus.[19] It appears that Bonadies was dispatched as a legate to Constantinople in 1161, as such an appointment explains his absence as a subscriber after February 1160. The cardinal's diplomatic mission was designed to secure the support of the eastern emperor for Alexander III in his struggle against the western emperor and the imperial anti-pope. The papacy could potentially derive great benefit from an alliance with the Byzantine empire. Most importantly the eastern emperor could offer substantial financial aid to an embattled papal government which had been deprived of its territories and revenues in central Italy during the schism. The considerable prestige still commanded by the ancient Christian empire of the Byzantines, especially in the kingdoms of eastern Europe, could also encourage more universal recognition of Alexander III. Bonadies had been entrusted with a diplomatic mission of considerable importance, which reflected Alexander's faith in his competence and loyalty.

The cardinal was not, however, empowered by the pope to make the sweeping

18. Alexander III, JL10624, *MPL* 200, col.85D
19. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.64-65; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.72

concessions sought by Manuel Comnenus, who aspired to unite the imperial titles of the east and the west under his own sceptre.[20] Bonadies' mission was therefore a failure, due to the unrealistic aspirations of the Byzantine emperor and the caution of the papacy under Alexander III in entertaining such radical claims. The legation to Constantinople was the only diplomatic mission undertaken by Bonadies in the pontificate of Alexander III. The cardinal priest's career was cut short immediately after the Byzantine legation. Indeed it is unlikely that Bonadies even survived to report personally to the pope on the fate of his legation as he died in 1162, probably on the journey back to the papal court from Constantinople.[21]

The most remarkable feature of Bonadies' career as a cardinal was its brevity. He was a protégé of Adrian IV, who engineered his elevation to the college. Bonadies was a firm supporter of Alexander III in the divided election of 1159, but he did not play a leading role in securing Alexander's elevation. He served the papacy under Alexander almost exclusively as an active advocate of the papal cause in the schism. Bonadies acted as a diplomatic representative of the papacy in Alexander's initial efforts to win the support of the rulers of Europe. His mission to the Byzantine empire was unsuccessful through no fault of his own and underlined the confidence which the cardinal inspired in the pope. Bonadies' early death denied him the opportunity to render valuable service to the papacy in the crisis of the schism.

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20. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.65
21. ibid.

PETER CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. GRISOGONO AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF FRASCATI

Peter was a native of Pavia in northern Italy.[1] He was a *magister*, whose expertise and integrity were commended to Alexander III in 1169 by the subdeacon Vivian:"...*magister Petrus, vir honestus et bene litteratus...*".[2] Peter began his career as an archdeacon, perhaps in the French diocese of Chartres, although his association with Chartres is not definitely established.[3] Peter rendered useful service to the papacy well before his elevation to the sacred college. Vivian formed a high opinion of Peter's qualities as a result of the archdeacon's assistance to his legation in 1169.[4] Vivian, who struggled vainly to secure a reconciliation between King Henry II of England and the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, employed Peter as an envoy to the royal court.[5] This diplomatic activity proved perilous, as Peter was attacked and robbed by unidentified assailants in the Angevin territories.[6] Alexander condemned the attack and the archdeacon secured considerable respect within the papal curia, despite the failure of the legation.[7] Peter's legal expertise and his creditable service to the papacy in 1169 established him as an eligible candidate for promotion to the sacred college.

Peter's early career was spent in the French church and he was elected as bishop of Meaux in 1171.[8] But he did not long remain as a member of the French episcopate. Peter was elevated to the sacred college in 1173, when Alexander III appointed him

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
2. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 90, *MPL*200, col.1448D-1451A
3. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.836
4. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 90, *MPL*200, col.1448D-1451A
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. Alexander III, JL11710, *MPL*200, col.637D
8. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.166

as cardinal priest of S. Grisogono.[9] He continued, however, to receive the revenues of the diocese of Meaux, until he was instructed by Alexander on 8 September 1175 to facilitate the election of a new bishop.[10] The cardinal acceded to the pope's command, which also warned him not to concern himself further with the diocese.[11] Peter did not become an external cardinal, as Alexander was evidently determined that his new nominee would serve the the interests of the papacy above all else.

Peter established only a minimal record as a member of the papal entourage. His first subscription was recorded on 14 October 1173, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which guaranteed the protection of the papacy for the convent of S. Maria di Manerbo in Milan.[12] Peter witnessed only eight papal letters and privileges between 14 October 1173 and 1 May 1179.[13] He recorded his final subscription as cardinal priest of S. Grisogono on 1 May 1179, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and rights of the French monastery of S. Maria of Foigny.[14] It is evident that Peter was not at all a permanent papal adviser. The cardinal's limited record as a member of the papal entourage is explained by his extensive activity as a papal diplomat.

Peter was employed by Alexander primarily as a papal legate in France. The cardinal undertook his most important legation to France between 1174 and 1178.[15] Peter was instructed to mediate the conflict between King Henry II of Engand and his

9. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
10. Alexander III, JL12518, *MPL*200, col.1033B
11. M. Pacaut, Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181, *RHE* 50 (1955), p.836
12. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Mailand* 17, p.101
13. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Mailand* 17, p.101, JL12241, *MPL*200, col.919C, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974B, JL13334, 1214D, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225B, JL13408, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346
14. JL13408, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346
15. M. Pacaut, Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181, *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.836-837

rebellious sons, who had allied with King Louis VII of France.[16] Alexander hoped that the cardinal would then be able to persuade Louis to act as a mediator between the pope and Emperor Frederick I.[17] The pope requested the king's brother Henry, archbishop of Rheims, to assist the legate's efforts to restore peace between the warring monarchs and then between the church and the empire.[18] Peter achieved considerable success in his peacemaking mission. He played an important part in mediating a peace agreement between King Henry and the Plantagenet princes, which was concluded at Montlouis in September 1174.[19] But Frederick's fifth expedition to Italy in 1174 removed any realistic opportunity for a peace initiative by King Louis.[20] Peter, however, continued to work for an enduring reconciliation between the kings. He undertook the task of mediation between the rulers again following Louis' complaints about the treatment of his daughter Alice to the pope in 1176, when the French king claimed that Henry had deliberately delayed her marriage to his own son Richard.[21] Alexander instructed Peter and Hugh, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, on 21 May 1176, to ensure that Henry either arranged for the celebration of the marriage or returned Alice to her father.[22] As the Angevin ruler ignored Louis' concerns, the pope reiterated his previous instructions to Peter in April 1177, ordering him to impose an interdict upon the Angevin territories if neccessary.[23] Alexander aimed to secure an enduring peace between the kings, to pave the way for a Crusade to

16. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.93
17. ibid.; Alexander III, JL12369, *MPL*200, col.986C
18. Alexander III, JL12370, *MPL*200, col.987A
19. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.94
20. ibid.
21. ibid., p.100
22. Alexander III, JL12705, *MPL*200, col.1072C
23. Alexander III, JL12821, *MPL*200, col.1108A; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, pp.181-182

Outremer.[24] Peter took effective action to secure peace, mediating an agreement between the kings at Nonancourt on 21 September 1177.[25] While the marriage dispute remained unresolved, the rulers agreed to keep the peace and made a commitment to join a Crusade to the Holy Land.[26] Peter had fulfilled the primary purpose of his original mission.

The cardinal undertook a wide variety of legatine duties, in addition to his important diplomatic activity. He sought with some success to persuade French nobles to commit themselves to a Crusade and was present when Henry, count of Champagne took the Cross in 1177.[27] The legate reorganised the administration of the schools of Paris in October 1174, although his activity is poorly documented and the nature of the regulations which he introduced remains unknown.[28] He worked most frequently to resolve various disputes which affected the church, including a serious conflict in north-east France between the monastery of St. Vaast in Arras and Count Baldwin IV of Hainault, which Peter settled in favour of the monastery.[29] He continued his legatine activity in most regions of France, judging ecclesiastical cases in Burgundy, Poitou, Champagne and Blois.[30] He also attempted unsuccessfully to challenge the actions of Maurice, bishop of Paris, who had appointed a nephew of Louis' treasurer as an archdeacon.[31] Peter, however, generally maintained cordial connections with the royal court and endeavoured to ensure that King Louis was fully informed of the

24. Alexander III, JL12684, *MPL*200, col.1061B
25. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.101; Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 28, *MPL*204, col.234B-235A
26. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.101
27. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 1, *MPL*204, col.215-216
28. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.95; Alexander III, JL12397, *MPL*200, col.998D
29. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.95-97
30. Alexander III, JL12511, *MPL*200, 1032C, JL12420, 1022B, JL12523, 1036B, JL13259, 1201C
31. Alexander III, JL12679, *MPL*200, col.1061B

peace negotiations between the papacy and the empire.[32]

Peter's final commission before his return to the curia was given to him by Alexander at the instigation of Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, who urged the pope to entrust the legate with a mission designed to combat the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc.[33] Peter led a mission to the region between August and October 1178, which was composed of local secular nobles and eminent churchmen, including Henry of Clairvaux.[34] The legation, which was primarily an ecclesiastical mission rather than a military expedition, converted only a single Cathar leader, Pierre Maurand.[35] The mission did little to undermine the strength of the Albigensian movement.[36] Despite the unproductive outcome of his endeavours in Languedoc, Peter had conducted a unusually prolonged and successful legation, which finally concluded in the autumn of 1178.[37] The cardinal had transacted the important diplomatic business of the mission and the more conventional legatine duties with equal proficiency.

Peter undertook the most influential initiative of his career shortly before the end of his legation. In response to an instruction from the pope, the legate submitted to Alexander in 1178 the names of eleven eminent French churchmen and scholars, whom he considered eligible for promotion to the sacred college.[38] He recommended most highly representatives of the new twelfth century spiritual movements, including Henry, abbot of Clairvaux and Simon, prior of the Carthusian house of Mont-Dieu.[39]

32. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.97; Alexander III, JL12745, *MPL*200, col.1087D
33. Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.18-20; Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 11, *MPL*204, col.223B-225A
34. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.104-107
35. Henry of Clairvaux, Letters 29, *Audite Coeli*, *MPL*204, col.235A-240B
36. ibid.
37. Alexander III, JL13035, *MPL*200, col.1163D; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.107
38. Peter of S. Grisogono, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 11, *MPL*200, col.1370D-1372A
39. ibid.

The legate also proposed other prominent French monks, namely Peter, abbot of S. Rèmi of Rheims, Peter, abbot of Igny, the Cistercian *Magister* Baldwin and Bernered, abbot of St. Crépin le Grand in Soissons.[40] The cardinal's nominees also included eminent *magistri* such as Peter Comestor, Bernard of Pisa and Gerard Puella, as well as lesser known figures including *Magister* Herbert and Ivo, archdeacon of Rouen.[41] Peter asserted that the criteria set by the pope for the nominations were "morality, knowledge of letters and religion".[42] His list of nominees certainly satisfied Alexander's criteria, but the background of the nominees indicated that such qualities were not the sole attributes required for elevation to the college. Peter's nomination of six monks underlined that the monastic value of obedience was highly prized by the pope, who was evidently concerned to ensure the loyalty of his appointees.[43] The recommendation of at least five legal scholars by the legate reflected his appreciation of the increasing importance of the *magistri* within the papal government. Monastic obedience and legal expertise were attributes which dictated Peter's nominations as much as the broader criteria which he mentioned.

Peter's recommendations exerted considerable influence upon the appointments made by Alexander at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. Although only two of Peter's nominees were elevated to the sacred college, both churchmen were appointed to positions of great importance and prestige. Henry of Clairvaux was appointed as cardinal bishop of Albano, while Abbot Bernered became cardinal bishop of Palestrina.[44] The influence exerted by Peter upon the selection process reflected

40. Peter of S. Grisogono, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 11, *MPL* 200, col.1370D-1372A
41. ibid.
42. ibid.
43. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.272
44. ibid.

the pope's confidence in the legate as his leading representative in France. Peter had established himself as the papacy's expert in the affairs of the French kingdom.[45]

The cardinal's service as a diplomat was certainly appreciated by Alexander, who appointed him as cardinal bishop of Frascati in early May 1179.[46] He recorded his first subscription after his promotion on 4 May 1179, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the possessions and privileges of the Flemish monastery of St. Andrew in Neufchateau.[47] As cardinal bishop of Frascati, Peter maintained once again a minimal record of activity as a member of the pope's entourage. He subscribed only four papal letters and privileges between 4 May 1179 and 27 July 1179.[48] His final subscription of Alexander's pontificate was given on 27 July 1179, when he witnessed the pope's letter to Lombardus, who had recently abdicated as archbishop of Benevento.[49] Peter hardly remained within the papal entourage at all, but was employed consistently as a papal diplomat.

The cardinal was entrusted with a legation to France and the empire within three months of his promotion, in the autumn of 1179.[50] He was preoccupied with ecclesiastical business on this occasion.[51] The legate acted to implement the decrees of the Third Lateran Council in Germany, inspecting the enforcement of discipline in various religious foundations including the abbey of Siegburg.[52] He then conducted a wide-ranging visitation of the French church. Peter visited the church of St. Martin

45. M. Pacaut,'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835
46. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
47. Alexander III, JL13411, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346
48. Alexander III, JL13411, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13457, 1242D
49. Alexander III, JL13457, *MPL* 200, 1242D
50. M. Pacaut, Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181, *RHE* 50 (1955), p.837
51. ibid.
52. ibid.

of Tours in the spring of 1181.[53] He continued his legatine activity in eastern France, mediating a dispute between Manasses, bishop of Troyes, and his chapter.[54] Peter also visited the dioceses of Langres, Rheims and Autun.[55] His second legation was an effective assertion of papal authority over the French church. The legate himself enjoyed considerable prestige in the kingdom, which was underlined in 1180 by his election as archbishop of Bourges.[56] It is likely that he declined to accept office, as he never served as metropolitan of the see, but instead concluded his legation and returned to the curia by February 1182.[57] Peter's career drew to a close shortly after his final legation. He served the papacy only briefly under Pope Lucius III. He recorded his final subscription on 2 August 1182, to the privilege issued by Lucius for the monastery of S. Sepolcro of Piacenza.[58] Peter died in early August 1182.[59]

Peter was the most important papal diplomat in France in the second decade of Alexander's pontificate. He became an influential member of the sacred college indeed as a result of his special expertise concerning the French church. He was one of the nine northern Italian cardinals elevated by Alexander, but his closer connections with the French kingdom made France his natural legatine territory. He was also numbered among the nine *magistri* appointed to the college by Alexander. Peter's career underlined the substantial influence secured by the *magistri* within the sacred college and the papal government under Alexander.

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53. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.120-122
54. ibid.
55. ibid.
56. ibid.
57. ibid.
58. P.F Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Parma und Piacenza* 37, p. 57
59. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65

JOHN CARDINAL PRIEST OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

John was a native of Sutri in central Italy.[1] He was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Eugenius III, who appointed him as cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1151.[2] John was not numbered among the closest collaborators of Pope Adrian IV, who accompanied the pope to Anagni in the summer of 1159.[3] He was, however, a staunch adherent of Pope Alexander III from the outset of the schism. John was one of the twenty-three electors of Alexander, who issued the letter to the Emperor Frederick I in October 1159, which defended the legitimacy of the pope's election.[4] The cardinal also subscribed the appeal made by the cardinals, on behalf of the pope, to the universal church.[5] John's support for Alexander's cause soon proved a valuable asset to the pope in his struggle for universal recogition.

Alexander employed the cardinal almost exclusively as an advocate for the papal cause in the early years of the pontificate. John recorded only a single subscription as a member of the pope's entourage during the first six years of Alexander's pontificate. He witnessed the papal privilege on 7 November 1159, which confirmed the liberties of the monastery of Monte Cassino.[6] John established no further record as a member of the papal entourage until 18 March 1166.[7] His intensive activity as a papal diplomat meant that John was a permanent absentee from the papal entourage in the early years of the schism. He undertook an important legation in 1160 to the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, seeking the permission of King Baldwin III to enter the

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.137
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.55
3. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636B, JL10579, 1637D
4. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
5. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C
6. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL* 200, col.75D
7. Alexander III, JL11266, 409D

kingdom as a papal legate.[8] Baldwin, who feared internal dissension within the kingdom and legatine exactions, was initially reluctant to allow the church to declare for Alexander.[9] But an ecclesiastical council at Nazareth, attended by the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, declared in favour of the pope and John was invited to enter the kingdom.[10] He worked assiduously to raise money for the pope within the church of Outremer.[11] His work was so effective that William of Tyre recorded considerable resentment at his exactions among clergy who had initially welcomed him.[12] The legate returned to Rome only briefly to provide the curia with the income from Outremer, before undertaking a second legation to Jerusalem in 1162.[13] On this occasion John cooperated with the Patriarch of Jerusalem to dissolve the marriage of the new king, Amalric, and remained in the east until 1164.[14] He was once again highly successful in his mission, raising a substantial sum of money for the papacy in the Crusader kingdom.[15] John's success in his financial endeavours proved a great advantage for his more difficult mission as the papal vicar in Rome.

The legations to Outremer established John as a valued advocate for Alexander's cause. When the pope's vicar in Rome, Julius, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, died in 1164, Alexander appointed John as the new papal representative in the holy city.[16] The Roman commune was hostile to the pope, who had been compelled to withdraw into exile in France in 1161.[17] John succeeded in winning the allegiance of the Roman

8. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403, William of Tyre, *Historia, MPL* 201, 741C
9. William of Tyre, *Historia, MPL* 201, 741C
10. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.67
11. ibid.
12. William of Tyre, *Historia, MPL* 201, 741C
13. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.68
14. ibid.
15. ibid.
16. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.412
17. ibid., p.404

nobles by utilising the money which he had raised in the east. The cardinal secured an oath of fealty to the pope, by the representatives of the Romans, through the payment of a substantial bribe to the leading members of the commune.[18] He regained control of the papal possessions in the city and also won the allegiance of the neighbouring area of Sabina.[19] Partner suggested that the commune had submitted to Julius of Palestrina in 1165.[20] But Alexander's biographer, Cardinal Boso, clearly identified John as the papal vicar who won over the commune and permitted Alexander's return to Rome in November 1165.[21] While John had certainly achieved an important victory for the papacy, his success proved short-lived. The pope was forced to withdraw from Rome again in 1167, due to the superior military force deployed by Frederick Barbarossa during his fourth Italian expedition.[22] The cardinal had secured a notable short-term success, which was, however, soon reversed by forces beyond his control.

John established a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage following Alexander's return to Rome in 1165. He recorded his first subscription for over five years on 18 March 1166, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the benefit of the church of S. Clement in Peschiera.[23] John emerged as a respected member of the papal entourage, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis after March 1166. The cardinal recorded no less than sixty-three subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate between

18. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.412
19. ibid.
20. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.205
21. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.412
22. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.206-207
23. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409D

18 March 1166 and 26 September 1180.[24] John's increasing prominence within the papal entourage was underlined by his appointment as archpriest of the church of St. Peter.[25] He secured the highly prestigious position of archpriest to the famous church some time after the death in 1170 of the previous incumbent, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[26] John certainly held the office of archpriest by 30 April 1178, when he was addressed by the pope as cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and archpriest of St. Peter in a privilege issued for the benefit of the canons of the church.[27] The cardinal had evidently established a certain status, as a senior and prominent member of the papal entourage, during the final decade of his career. But John's service as an advocate was too valuable to the pope for Alexander to employ the cardinal consistently as an adviser.

The cardinal undertook his most important legatine activity for the papacy as a diplomat to the Byzantine empire. John twice served as a legate to the Byzantine court, in concert with Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, in 1167 and 1168.[28] The Emperor Manuel I offered the pope in 1167 a close alliance against Frederick Barbarossa and the union of the Orthodox and Roman churches.[29] Manuel, however,

24. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409D, JL11276, 453C, JL11295, 423B, JL11340, 449D, JL11385, 474B, JL11389, 479C, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11596, 569B, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576A, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583A, JL11622, 588A, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597B, JL11643, 605A, JL11731, 649A, JL11789, 671A, JL11810, 685B, JL11816, 688D, JL11831, 695B, JL11878, 718A, JL11887, 723A, JL11900, 734A, JL12131, 867D, JL12139, 870B, JL12155, 878C, JL12159, 880A, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902C, JL12398, 999B, JL12403, 1000C, JL12452, 1019B, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12682, 1062C, JL12695, 1067C, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077D, JL12732, 1080B, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D, JL13012, 1159A, JL13047, 1166D, JL13055, 1169B, JL13075, 1176D, JL13272, 1201C, JL13284, 1203A, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214C, JL13342, 1219B, JL13361, 1221C, JL13370, 1223A, JL13371, 1225A, JL13420, 1237A, JL13426, 1238C, JL13453, 1241A, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13624, 1268C, JL13692, Hugo O.P.A. II. Pr. p.165

25. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.137-138

26. ibid.

27. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I, Eccl. S. Petri in Vaticano* 39, p.143

28. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1169', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.830

29. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415

demanded the cooperation of the papacy in securing the restoration of a single Roman empire, ruled by the Byzantine monarch, as the price for his substantial concessions.[30] Alexander urgently needed to maintain Byzantine financial aid for his cause and Manuel's tempting proposal for a religious union offered a potential triumph for the apostolic see.[31] But the pope simply could not legitimise Manuel's objective of a universal empire. Such a radical concession would not only have enraged most of his allies in western Europe, but could have compromised the apostolic primacy claimed by the papacy itself.[32] Alexander therefore prevaricated, sending Hubald and John to undertake further negotiations with the emperor in Constantinople, where they were soon joined by Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto.[33] The legates were instructed to persuade Manuel to abandon his unrealisable objective, but to maintain his offer of political alliance and religious union.[34] The presence in Constantinople of the most senior cardinal bishops, along with the experienced Cardinal John, underlined the importance which Alexander attached to the legation. The legates failed to reach any agreement with Manuel, as he was unwilling to concede a religious union without any papal commitment to his project of a universal empire.[35] But the cardinals, who concluded their legation by January 1168, succeeded in preserving Byzantine financial aid for the papal cause.[36] Alexander's primary objective was therefore achieved, as Manuel maintained his considerable financial

30. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415
31. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.80-81
32. ibid.
33. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.415
34. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.82
35. ibid., pp.83-84
36. ibid., pp.83-84

support for the pope's allies, the Lombard city-states.[37] Moreover Manuel initiated another diplomatic mission to the pope in May 1168, reiterating his previous offer.[38] John and his colleagues had won an important diplomatic success, by keeping alive the possibility of a firm alliance.[39]

Manuel's renewed attempt to win papal support for his claims led to John's second legation to Constantinople. Alexander openly declined to make any commitment to the Byzantine envoy concerning the imperial crown, but the pope also sent John and Hubald back to the imperial court with Manuel's envoy, to retain the option of further negotiation with the emperor.[40] The legates discussed with Manuel the issues of religious union and the universal claims of the Byzantine empire, but unsurprisingly failed to resolve their differences.[41] But the cardinals again averted a diplomatic rupture with the eastern empire, maintaining friendly connections with the Byzantine ruler.[42] Indeed Manuel continued his vain efforts to persuade Alexander of the merits of his original offer, sending another mission with the same purpose in 1170.[43] The legates to the Byzantine court had enjoyed outstanding success. They had secured valuable assistance from the *Basileus* for the papal cause and maintained cordial relations with the Byzantine court,[44] while they avoided any commitment to Manuel's ideal of universal empire. John had participated, with conspicuous success, in a diplomatic process which delivered substantial rewards for the papacy.

37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.83-84
38. ibid., pp.84-85
39. ibid., pp.84-85
40. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.420, W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.84-85
41. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.84-85
42. ibid., pp.85-86
43. ibid., pp.85-86
44. ibid., pp.85-86

The cardinal continued to serve as a papal diplomat during the final decade of the pontificate. John undertook legations to northern Italy in 1172 and 1178.[45] His legatine activity is poorly documented and he was not numbered among the legates most frequently employed by Alexander to support the Lombard League.[46] Pacaut suggests that John served as a legate to Milan much earlier, in 1160, but this conclusion is inaccurate, as the cardinal undertook his legation to Jerusalem in 1160.[47] The papal legate to Milan in 1160 was John of Anagni, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu.[48] The experienced cardinal priest's final diplomatic mission on behalf of the papacy was undertaken in 1178, when he again participated in successful negotiations with the Roman commune. Alexander selected John, along with Hubald of Ostia and Hugh, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, to secure favourable terms from the commune for his return to Rome.[49] The cardinals obtained guarantees from the Roman representatives for the security of the papal court and won the restoration of the papal possessions in the city.[50] The accord negotiated by the cardinals enabled Alexander to make a triumphant return to Rome in 1178.[51] Their achievement was transitory, as the renewed opposition of the commune forced Alexander to withdraw again in 1179.[52] But the cardinals at least ensured that Alexander was able to preside over the Third Lateran Council in the holy city. John's contribution to the accord underlined his efficacy as a leading papal diplomat.

45. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.138
46. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.830
47. ibid.
48. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 18, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368
49. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.446
50. ibid.
51. ibid.
52. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.174

The nature of John's career as an outstanding papal diplomat influenced his attitude to the conflict between King Henry II and Thomas Becket. John enjoyed cordial connections with the church of Canterbury before the schism, maintaining friendly relations with Becket's predecessor, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.[53] When Becket appealed to the papacy during his exile, however, John proved unsympathetic. In 1167 Thomas complained directly to the cardinal that John had withdrawn his support from the church of Canterbury.[54] John's response reflected his reluctance to offend the Angevin king. He emphasized the necessity for moderation and patience and warned Thomas that the king should be conciliated at this time.[55] The cardinal was concerned to preserve amicable connections between the papacy and the Angevin monarch, in an era of crisis for the papacy. John corresponded with the king in 1168, expressing the hope that the exiled archbishop would accept translation to a French diocese.[56] But the cardinal became more sympathetic to Becket's cause in the last three years of the conflict. While Thomas' adherents were condemning John in 1168 for his assistance to the king,[57] the archbishop himself declared in 1169 that the church of Canterbury now hoped for aid and comfort from the cardinal.[58] John had changed his approach to the conflict by 1169, when his support for Becket's cause became known in the French church.[59] It is most likely that he was never hostile to the archbishop's cause, but merely feared the consequences if the papacy lost the

53. John of Salisbury, Letters 10, Oxford Medieval Texts I, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, p.17
54. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 290, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.166-168
55. ibid. 291, pp.168-170
56. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 130, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.313
57. John of Salisbury, Letters 279, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.608-609
58. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 587, *Materials* 7, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.130-131
59. ibid. 541, pp.33-34

support of the English king at the height of the schism. When Alexander's position gradually improved after Frederick's retreat from Italy in 1168,[60] John displayed a greater readiness to support Becket. The cardinal was above all a skilful advocate of the papal cause in the schism, who evaluated his attitude to other ecclesiastical questions on the basis of the vital interests of the papacy in a most perilous era.

John's service to the papacy under Alexander reached its term shortly before the end of the pontificate. He recorded his final subscription of the pontificate on 26 September 1180.[61] Alexander referred to John's death in a letter which he issued on 4 January 1181, to Paul, cardinal bishop of Palestrina and other heirs of the deceased cardinal.[62] While the date of his death is not definitely identified by the sources, it is evident that John died in the final three months of 1180.

John was numbered among the most important advocates of Alexander's cause during the schism. The cardinal served as a regular papal adviser when he was present at the papal court, for the most part in the later years of the pontificate. He was, however, primarily a skilled diplomat who performed legatine duties of an extraordinary range and variety. He did not undertake legatine activity of a specialised nature in a particular territory, although he enjoyed particular success in his legations to the Byzantine empire and the Crusader states. The cardinal acted as a papal representative wherever Alexander's need was greatest during the schism. John was consequently one of the most active and effective diplomats in the sacred college, who contributed greatly to Alexander's eventual triumph in the schism.

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60. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.417-419
61. Alexander III, JL13692, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.364
62. Alexander III, JL14356, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.413

ALBERT CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. LORENZO IN LUCINA

Albert of Morra, who was born between 1105 and 1110, was a native of Benevento.[1] He began his career in the church as a regular canon of St. Martin of Laon in France and retained close connections with the Augustinian congregation throughout his career.[2] Albert was a *magister*, who composed a commentary on the *Decretum* of *Magister* Gratian.[3] As a distinguished Decretist and regular canon, Albert offered the papal curia a valuable source of legal expertise combined with impeccable religious connections. He was elevated to the college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano in February 1157.[4] Albert was promoted by Adrian on 14 March 1158, when he was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina.[5] Albert was not numbered among the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian at Anagni in the summer of 1159, who included the pope's closest collaborators in the college.[6] The cardinal priest was, however, a close associate of the chancellor Roland and indeed deputised for him as vice-chancellor of the Roman church between 26 September 1157 and 1 December 1157.[7] Albert therefore supported Roland in the divided election of 1159. He was one of the twenty-three cardinals who issued the letter to Emperor Frederick I in defence of Alexander III, shortly after the divided election.[8] Albert also subscribed the appeal addressed by the cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[9] The Italian cardinal was a staunch adherent of

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.125
2. Anonymous of Laon, *Chronica*, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 18, ed. M. Bouquet, p.706
3. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.126
4. ibid.
5. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.57-58
6. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636; JL10579, 1637
7. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.126; Adrian IV, JL10313, *MPL* 188, 1529D
8. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 59D
9. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 62C

Alexander III from the outset of the schism.

Albert emerged as an invaluable papal diplomat in the turmoil of the schism. He undertook a legation to Hungary in 1161 or 1162.[10] The mission is, however, so poorly documented that even its objective is unknown.[11] Albert undertook a much more important legation to the region in 1165. His second legation was designed to enhance the influence of the papacy in the region, which was threatened by the expansion of the Byzantine empire.[12] Emperor Manuel I Comnenus launched an invasion of Hungary in 1165.[13] The Greek Orthodox church simultaneously made important advances in Dalmatia, as various bishops in the coastal region repudiated the authority of the papacy.[14] Albert first acted to consolidate the papacy's connections with King Stephen III, visiting the royal court between January and December 1165.[15] Following the death of Peter, archbishop of Spalato, in 1166, Albert made Spalato the base for his legation and worked effectively to promote the interests of the papacy in Dalmatia.[16] Albert's efforts were so successful that the clergy and people of Spalato elected him in 1167 as their new archbishop.[17] But Alexander firmly instructed Albert to decline election, as the pope would not tolerate the cardinal's permanent absence from the papal entourage.[18] Albert had achieved considerable success in revitalising the authority of the papacy in the coastal province, although Byzantine influence remained strong especially in southern Dalmatia.[19]

10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.125-129
11. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.116
12. ibid., pp.118-121
13. ibid., p.117
14. ibid., pp.118-121
15. ibid., pp.118-121
16. ibid., pp.118-121
17. ibid., pp.118-121
18. Alexander III, JL11361, *MPL*200, 461C
19. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.118-121

Albert was also employed as a papal diplomat in the abortive negotiations with Frederick Barbarossa in 1163, when Alexander sought to explore the possibility of a reconciliation with the emperor.[20] The pope dispatched Albert, along with Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, Peter, bishop of Pavia and Henry, bishop of Troyes, as legates to the imperial court.[21] But Frederick rejected their proposal for negotiations and demanded that the schism should be settled by seven German or Italian bishops.[22] Alexander immediately rejected this scheme, which was the equivalent of an ecclesiastical council dominated by the emperor.[23] Although the legation was a failure, Albert's participation in the mission to the emperor reflected his considerable reputation as a diplomatic representative of the papacy.

Albert's status as a leading papal diplomat was underlined when he was entrusted with the most important legation of his career in 1171. Albert and Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale were appointed as *legati a latere* to the court of King Henry II of England, following the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, by royal knights on 29 December 1170.[24] Alexander issued a general excommunication of the murderers and all those who had assisted them.[25] The legates were instructed to investigate the guilt of the king and conduct appropriate negotiations concerning the conditions of his reconciliation to the Church.[26] The formidable challenge faced by the legates was made no easier by King Henry, who abruptly departed for Ireland late

20. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.59-61
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. ibid.
24. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.425; Alexander III, JL11897, *MPL*200, 730D; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
25. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262
26. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.425; Alexander III, JL11897, *MPL*200, 730D; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87; F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262

in 1171.[27] The cardinals nevertheless conducted a highly effective legation in France during Henry's absence. The legates intervened vigorously in ecclesiastical disputes in Le Mans, Angers and Tours.[28] Their wide-ranging legatine activity extended also to Paris, where they secured the abdication of Ervisius, abbot of St. Victor in Paris because of his secular life-style.[29] The main business of the legation remained, however, in abeyance until Henry's return to Normandy in 1172.[30]

Albert and Theodin moved promptly to initiate negotiations with the king after his return. The legates first met Henry on 16 May 1172, but the king failed to agree the terms sought by the legates for his reconciliation with the Church.[31] The issues which dominated the negotiations were the nature of the king's responsibility for the crime and the restoration of normal relations between the papacy and the royal government.[32] The legates reached agreement with the king on 21 May 1172 at Avranches.[33] Henry took a public oath that he had not ordered the murder of Becket, but admitted that he bore a degree of responsibility for the crime.[34] The king also made a series of commitments which were required by the legates. Henry pledged to allow appeals to the papacy from the English church and promised the restoration of the possessions of the church of Canterbury.[35] He also agreed to restore the possessions of the archbishop's adherents and to provide military aid to the kingdom

27. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
28. ibid.
29. ibid.
30. ibid.; Alexander III, JL12149, *MPL*200, col.887A; Guarin of S. Victor, Letters 1, *MPL*196, 1387D-1389C; ibid.13, 1395C-1396A
31. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
32. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262
33. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516
34. ibid.; Arnulf of Lisieux, Letters 74, *MPL*200, col.103D; ibid. 118, 141A
35. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516

of Jerusalem.[36] The legates then oversaw Henry's formal reconciliation with the Church.[37] While royal control over the English church was by no means broken, the legates had secured important concessions from the Angevin ruler. The concession of free appeals to Rome was a particularly significant success for the papacy.[38] Moreover Henry's general agreement to abrogate customs hostile to the Church opened the way for further negotiations between the papacy and the royal government.[39]

The legates immediately began the task of restoring normal ecclesiastical conditions within the English church. They acted to sanction elections for the many sees which had been left vacant during the conflict.[40] The actions of the legates in 1173 opened the way for elections in various dioceses, including Canterbury, Bath, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Winchester.[41] Albert and Theodin played a crucial part in restoring order to the English church after the severe problems caused by the conflict. They also advised Alexander in favour of the canonisation of Thomas Becket, which was proclaimed in March 1173.[42] The legates exerted immense influence on the affairs of the Church within the Angevin territories. While the power of the royal government concerning episcopal appointments remained substantial, the legation paved the way for the regular exercise of papal jurisdiction over the English church.[43]

36. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516; ibid. 772, p.516; ibid. 774, p.520; ibid. 775, p.522; John of Salisbury, Letters 309, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.752-755
37. ibid.; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.473-484
38. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262
39. M.G. Cheney, "The compromise of Avranches of 1172 and the spread of canon law in England", *EHR* 56 (1941), pp.177-199
40. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 789, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.552-553
41. John of Salisbury, Letters 312, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, p.766; ibid. 316, p.776; ibid. 319, p.780; Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 220, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L Brooke, p.293; ibid. 221, pp.295-296; ibid. 222, pp.296-297
42. Alexander III, JL12219, *MPL*200, 901A; Herbert of Bosham, Letters 783, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.544-545
43. F. Barlow, Thomas Becket, pp.260-262

Albert and Theodin had conducted an exceptionally difficult legation with outstanding success.

Albert was a highly effective papal diplomat who conducted legatine activity of considerable scope and variety. He was not, however, a prominent advocate of the papal cause in the conflict with the empire. He undertook extensive legatine activity in northern Italy, which was a crucial battle-ground between Alexander's allies and the emperor, only between 1177 and 1180 following the conclusion of the papacy's struggle with the empire.[44] Albert performed legatine duties in Parma and Novara in 1177 and was legate to Lombardy again in 1179.[45] His legation to Ravenna in 1180 was the cardinal's final diplomatic mission of Alexander's pontificate.[46] Albert worked to reestablish firm connections between the papacy and the churches of northern Italy following the turmoil of the schism. His legatine activity was evidently very different from the duties performed by Alexander's legates in Lombardy throughout the schism, when they had vigorously assisted the Lombard League against the emperor. Albert was a valued papal diplomat who most frequently undertook legatine activity which was not directly related to the schism.

Albert was also a leading member of the papal entourage under Alexander. He recorded his first subscription of the pontificate on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the privileges of the church of Jerusalem.[47] Albert witnessed no less than sixty-seven letters and privileges issued by

44. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.127
45. ibid.; G. Dunken, Die politische Wirksamkeit der papstlichen Legaten in der Zeit des Kampfes zwischen Kaisertum und Papsttum in Oberitalien unter Friedrich I, *Historische Studien* 209, pp.140-147
46. ibid.
47. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 73D

Alexander between 15 October 1159 and 9 February 1178.[48] The cardinal recorded his final subscription of the pontificate on 9 February 1178.[49] Albert maintained a regular pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage when he was present at the papal court. He enjoyed the complete confidence of Alexander III who appointed him as chancellor of the Roman church in February 1178.[50] Albert began to issue the papal letters and privileges as chancellor on 16 February 1178.[51] He was the sole chancellor appointed by Alexander, who had maintained a vacancy in the most important office of the papal government for most of his pontificate.[52] Albert's elevation was a mark of rare distinction which underlined his status as a most valued and experienced papal adviser.

The chancellor enjoyed not only the trust of the pope, but the high regard of his eminent contemporaries. Peter of Celle, abbot of S. Rèmi in Rheims corresponded regularly with the cardinal and regarded Albert as his friend and advocate within the papal curia.[53] Albert also enjoyed cordial connections with the eminent Carthusian monk, Simon, prior of Le Mont-Dieu.[54] John, bishop of Poitiers, a trusted associate

48. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10698, 131B, JL10714, 140B, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10853, 210D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217C, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 222C, JL10887, 236D, JL10893, 241B, JL10900, 245D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267C, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292B, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318A, JL11379, 469B, JL11385, 474B, JL11424, 502A, JL11425, 504B, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11608, 576B, JL11614, 578B, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583A, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597B, *MPL*200, 602B, JL11643, 605A, JL11644, 606B, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11810, 685B, JL11831, 695D, JL11878, 718A, JL11887, 723B, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12722, 1077A, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094B, JL13012, 1159B, JL13024, In bibl. nat. Paris ms. lat. 18394 f.11

49. Alexander III, JL13024, In bibl. nat. Paris ms. lat. 18394 f.11

50. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.275

51. ibid.; J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.57-58

52. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.275

53. Peter of Celle, Letters 86, *MPL*202, 532D; ibid. 87, 533C; ibid. 88, 534B; ibid. 89, 536C; ibid. 90, 537C

54. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 170, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.343A

of Thomas Becket, regarded Albert as a principled advocate of the interests of the Church, who was therefore one of Becket's few reliable allies at the papal court.[55] Albert maintained particularly close connections with the order of regular canons.[56] He took a leading part in the reform of the Augustinian congregation of St. Victor in Paris in 1171-1172 and remained in correspondence with Guarin, who was selected as abbot of St. Victor following the reform of the congregation.[57] Albert himself founded a new order of regular canons in Benevento.[58] He therefore enjoyed a deserved reputation among his contemporaries as a deeply religious and austere cardinal.[59] Albert owed his considerable prestige in the western Church not least to his extensive connections with eminent religious figures, including leading representatives of the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century.

Albert continued to serve as chancellor after Alexander's death in 1181, until he himself was elected as pope in October 1187.[60] The chancellor opposed the policy of confrontation with the empire pursued by Pope Urban III (1185-1187).[61] The English chronicler Gervase of Canterbury even claimed that Albert was so friendly with the emperor that he betrayed to Frederick the secrets of the papal curia.[62] But it is hardly credible that the universally respected churchman, who was the sole cardinal entrusted by Alexander with the most important position of the papal government, would have engaged in such a treacherous intrigue.[63] Albert's undeniable opposition

55. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 32, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.51-52; ibid. 60, p.114; ibid. 501, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.586-589
56. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.127-129
57. ibid.; Guarin of St. Victor, Letters 1, *MPL* 196, 1387D; ibid. 13, 1395C
58. P. Kehr, 'Papst Gregor VIII als Ordensgründer' in *Miscellanea* 2, 250; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.128
59. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* 3, *Scriptores* 82, ed. R. Howlett, p.266
60. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.127-129
61. ibid.; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.86-87
62. Gervase of Canterbury, *History* 2, *Scriptores* 71, p.388
63. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.129

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59. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* 3, *Scriptores* 82, ed. R. Howlett, p.266
60. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.127-129
61. ibid.; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.86-87
62. Gervase of Canterbury, *History* 2, *Scriptores* 71, p.388
63. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.129

to Urban's policy, however, commended the chancellor to the cardinals, who elected him as pope following Urban's death in October 1187.[64] Albert, who assumed the papal dignity as Pope Gregory VIII, was elected by acclamation largely at the instigation of Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano.[65] Gregory, who was enthroned shortly after the overthrow of the Christian kingdom of Outremer, immediately proclaimed the Third Crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem, issuing the bull *Audita tremendi severitate judicii* on 29 October 1187.[66] His pontificate was almost incredibly brief, lasting only fifty-seven days, but not entirely insignificant. Gregory entrusted an important legation as a Crusading preacher to Henry of Albano and initiated negotiations to restore amicable relations with the empire.[67] His final initiative was the mediation of a peace agreement between Pisa and Genoa, which permitted their support for the Crusade.[68] Gregory died in Pisa on 17 December 1187.[69]

Albert was numbered among the most important members of the sacred college under Alexander. He was a valued papal diplomat and a leading permanent adviser of the pope. His career illustrated the firm connections enjoyed by the papacy with the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century. Albert was an eminent *magister* who was also renowned for his sanctity and austerity. His legal expertise, combined with his deeply religious background and interests, made Albert an invaluable associate of the pope as chancellor of the Roman church.

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64. *Monumenta S. Claraevallensis Abbatiae, MPL* 185, col.1553D; F. Ughellus, *Episcopi Albanensis, Italia Sacra I*, p.254
65. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* 3, *Scriptores* 82, ed. R. Howlett, p.266; Gerald of Wales, *Gemma Ecclesiastica* 2, *Scriptores* 21, ed. J.S. Brewer, p.187
66. *Annales Romaines* 4 (1182-1187), Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.349
67. ibid.; Y. M-J. Congar, Henri de Marcy, pp.43-44
68. *Annales Romaines* 4 (1182-1187), Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.349
69. ibid.; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.129

PETER CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. LUCIA

Peter was a trusted lieutenant of Alexander III long before his appointment to the sacred college. Peter was a native of Gaeta.[1] His first appearance in the sources occurred in 1169, when he undertook a diplomatic mission to Sicily as a subdeacon of the Roman church.[2] Alexander dispatched Peter to the royal court to raise money for the papacy.[3] The subdeacon became embroiled in the disputed succession to the archbishopric of Palermo.[4] Queen Margaret sought to block the consecration of the candidate elected by the chapter, Walter Ophamil, who was supported by the chancellor Matthew of Ajello, by offering money to the pope.[5] Peter accepted 700 ounces of gold from the queen on behalf of the curia and promised to assist her cause.[6] His promises proved of little value to the queen. The dominant court party of the chancellor also offered financial inducements to the pope and Alexander chose to sanction Walter's consecration.[7] Peter's mission was undoubtedly a success from the stand-point of the embattled papal curia, despite the shabby treatment of the queen.

Peter also undertook a legation to the Byzantine empire in 1169, but his mission is poorly documented.[8] The subdeacon served most effectively as a papal representative in the Patrimony of St. Peter. In 1170 the pope had secured legal possession over the town of Tuscolo and the fort of Monte Cavo by agreement with Count Raino of Tuscolo.[9] Alexander instructed Peter and the nobleman Giovanni di Supino to take

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.103
2. H. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie ed.Siragusa, Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, p.163
3. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.102-103
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. H. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie ed.Siragusa, Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, p.163
7. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.102-103
8. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III', *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.821-838
9. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.423

possession of the town and citadel of Tuscolo on behalf of the apostolic see.[10] Peter and his colleague established the pope's authority over the town rapidly and without difficulty.[11] The successful completion of their mission enabled Alexander to reside in Tuscolo for two years.[12] The successful assertion of the pope's authority proved short-lived, however, as the renewal of the conflict between Tuscolo and the Romans obliged him to leave the city in 1172.[13]

Peter's faithful service to the papacy was rewarded when he was elevated to the sacred college. Alexander appointed Peter as cardinal priest of S. Lucia in the early part of 1178. Peter was recorded as a subscriber to papal documents only on 30 May 1178.[14] The two letters issued by Alexander on this occasion included a privilege for the monastery of Mount S. Eligius and a letter to Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg, summoning him to the Third Lateran Council.[15] Peter ceased to appear in the sources shortly after his elevation. Indeed there is evidence neither of further activity by Peter nor of the appearance of any successor as cardinal priest of S. Lucia in Alexander's pontificate.[16] It is likely that Peter died shortly after his appointment as a cardinal and his place in the college was not filled by the pope.

Peter of Gaeta was a minor and obscure member of the college under Alexander. His brief service as a cardinal left little imprint on the contemporary sources. He had, however, proved a capable and trustworthy representative of the papacy in Sicily and the Patrimony of St. Peter during his career as a subdeacon.

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10. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.423
11. ibid.; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.209
12. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.209
13. ibid.
14. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.145
15. Alexander III, JL13069, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323, JL13070, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
16. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.145

MATTHEW CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. MARCELLO

Matthew was a native of Angers.[1] He was a distinguished *magister* who acted as a teacher of law in the schools of Paris before his appointment as a cardinal.[2] His eminence as a legal scholar was acknowledged by Gerald of Wales who was a student in Paris at the time of Matthew's elevation to the college of cardinals.[3] Brixius believed that Matthew was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Marcello at the latest on 22 December 1178.[4] Gerald of Wales asserted erroneously that Matthew was elevated to the sacred college in the course of the Third Lateran Council in March 1179.[5] Matthew, however, recorded his first subscription as cardinal priest of S. Marcello on 2 January 1179.[6] He witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of Cadeo near Udine.[7] Matthew had received his appointment by early January 1179 and was evidently serving as cardinal priest of S. Marcello almost three months before the Third Lateran Council.

The elevation of Matthew of Angers reflected the emergence of the *magistri* as an important cohort in the sacred college. The increasing pressure of legal business transformed the late twelfth century curia into a court of final appeal for all of Christendom.[8] In response to this pattern which he himself had promoted, Alexander enlisted the skills of the *magistri* in the service of the Roman church in a systematic fashion. Matthew was one of the nine eminent *magistri* promoted by Alexander.

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
2. ibid.
3. Gerald of Wales, *Libri de rebus a se gestis II, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.415[12]
4. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
5. Gerald of Wales, *Libri de rebus a se gestis II, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.415[12]
6. JL13273, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.336
7. ibid.
8. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.55; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273

Matthew established a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage from 2 January 1179 until 24 May 1181.[9] After his initial subscription on 2 January 1179, he witnessed two further privileges before the Third Lateran Council. Matthew subscribed a papal privilege issued on 12 January 1179 for Herbert, abbot of S. Theoderic in Rheims.[10] The cardinal priest then witnessed another privilege issued by Alexander at the request of Philip, archbishop of Cologne, confirming the rights and privileges of the church of S. Maria of Marre.[11] After the Third Lateran Council Matthew maintained a consistent pattern of subscriptions for the last two years of the pontificate. The cardinal priest of S. Marcello witnessed twelve privileges issued by the pope from 7 April 1179 until 24 May 1181, which encompassed virtually the entire period from the Third Lateran Council to the end of the pontificate.[12] Matthew's final subscription of Alexander's pontificate occurred on 24 May 1181, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the liberty and the possessions of the French monastery of St. Bertin.[13] Matthew was evidently a valued papal adviser, who established a consistent record as a witness to papal letters and privileges in the final years of Alexander's pontificate.

Matthew remained a permanent papal adviser after Alexander's death, in the pontificate of his successor Lucius III. Matthew was identified as a member of the papal entourage in March 1182 by the English chronicler Roger of Hoveden, during the appeal by William, king of Scots, for the removal of the papal ban imposed on his

9. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.145-146
10. Alexander III, JL13276, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.336
11. Alexander III, JL13277, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.336
12. JL13370, *MPL* 200, col.1223B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13465, 1246C, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, JL14375, 1298D, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308A, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
13. Alexander III, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416

realm by Alexander III.[14] In response to the appeal, Pope Lucius absolved William from the sentence of excommunication and lifted the interdict upon his kingdom on 17 March 1182.[15] Lucius pronounced his judgement in the presence of his cardinals, including Matthew of Angers, cardinal priest of S. Marcello.[16] Cardinal Boso recorded that extensive consultation with the cardinals before important decisions was normal practice in Alexander's pontificate.[17] It is likely that the pope sought the advice of Matthew and his fellow cardinals before formulating his judgement in this appeal. Matthew continued to serve as a papal adviser until the autumn of 1182. The cardinal was recorded as a witness to the privileges of Lucius' pontificate for the last time on 27 August 1182.[18] Matthew subscribed the papal privilege which confirmed the liberties and immunities of the church of Sarsina.[19] He established no further record of activity after his final subscription.[20] Although the date of his death is not definitely identified by the sources, it is evident that Matthew died in the late autumn of 1182.

Matthew was a valued member of the cohort of permanent advisers in the college under Alexander and his successor Lucius III. His appointment reflected the pope's concern to consolidate his connections with the French kingdom, which had provided a vital bulwark of support during the schism. His elevation also underlined the increasing prominence of the *magistri* among the new entrants to the sacred college under Alexander. Matthew's career, as a legal expert and cardinal, reflected the new influences which came to dominate the sacred college in the late twelfth century.

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14. Roger of Howden, *Chronica II, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 51, ed. Stubbs, p.268
15. ibid.
16. ibid.
17. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.397-446
18. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1910, Nachtrage zu den Papsturkunden Italiens IV.* 16, p.259
19. ibid., pp.259-263
20. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64

HENRY CARDINAL PRIEST OF SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO

Henry, who was a native of Pisa, enjoyed a distinguished career in the Church before his elevation to the sacred college.[1] He began his service to the papacy as a subdeacon of the Roman church under Pope Eugenius III.[2] Henry was an administrative assistant to the pope during the controversial prosecution of Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers, by Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux in 1148.[3] The subdeacon then became a monk of Clairvaux, developing close connections with Abbot Bernard.[4] Henry was highly regarded by Eugenius III, who shared the Pisan monk's origins and his connections with the Cistercian order.[5] Henry was elected as the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio alle Tre Fontane near Rome, filling an office previously held by Eugenius himself.[6] The pope then elevated his Pisan compatriot to the sacred college, appointing Henry as cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in April 1151.[7]

Henry was certainly a protégé of Eugenius III, but he enjoyed the respect of successive popes. He was employed by Pope Adrian IV as a legate to Sicily in 1155, although Henry's negotiations with King William I of Sicily were unsuccessful.[8] Adrian also entrusted the cardinal with a legation to Pisa in 1159 and employed him as a judge delegate in his native region.[9] The pope instructed Henry to investigate and judge a dispute between the bishops of Florence and Pistoia concerning the

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.54-55
2. *Gesta in condemnatione Gilberti Porretani, Recueil, Scriptores* 14, ed. M. Bouquet, col.329C
3. John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, p.21
4. Ernaldo, *Vita et Res Gestae S. Bernardi Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis* 2, *MPL* 185, col.297B
5. Bernard of Clairvaux, Letters 295, *MPL* 182, col.409C
6. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.96-97
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia III, Etruria* 20, p.122

monastery of S. Martin de Coiano.[10] Henry determined that the church of Pistoia should receive possession of the monastery on 8 August 1159.[11] The delegation of important judicial functions to the cardinal underlined his respected position within the papal curia before the schism.

While Henry was a valued member of the sacred college under Adrian, he was not numbered among the pope's closest collaborators. Henry worked to avoid conflict between the empire and the papacy, which became increasingly likely following the Treaty of Benevento between the papacy and the Norman kingdom of Sicily in 1156.[12] The cardinal was not at all associated with the faction in the college which supported Adrian's policy of alliance with the Norman kingdom. Henry and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, were employed by Adrian as legates to Emperor Frederick I in 1158.[13] They were instructed to resolve the bitter dispute which arose between Frederick and the pope following the Diet of Besançon in 1157.[14] The cardinals completed a difficult and hazardous legation with distinction. They were robbed and imprisoned by the lawless counts of Eppan in the Tyrol but managed to reach the imperial court at Augsburg after Hyacinth's brother negotiated their release.[15] The legates succeeded in restoring cordial diplomatic relations between the emperor and the papal curia in the short-term.[16] But Henry's subsequent efforts to secure a full reconciliation between the empire and the Roman church failed completely. The cardinal persuaded Adrian to dispatch a further legation to Frederick

10. *P.F. Kehr, Italia Pontificia III, Etruria* 20, p.122
11. ibid. 21, p.122
12. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.62
13. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.97
14. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 3, p.189
15. ibid.
16. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.97

which included Henry himself in 1159, but the legates failed to reach agreement with the emperor on various contentious issues, including Frederick's nomination of Guy of Biandrate as archbishop of Ravenna.[17] Henry made strenuous but ultimately unsuccessful efforts to avert the conflict which began in September 1159.

It is evident that Henry was not associated with the "Sicilian party" in the college, which favoured alliance with the enemies of the empire. He was not one of the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian in Anagni in the summer of 1159, who included the pope's closest collaborators.[18] Henry was, however, a staunch adherent of Alexander III from the outset of the schism. He was numbered among the twenty-three cardinals who issued the letter to Frederick in defence of Alexander's elevation shortly after the divided election.[19] Henry also subscribed the appeal by the cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[20] While the cardinal had favoured compromise with the empire, he emerged as a determined advocate for the papal cause following the outbreak of the schism.[21] Indeed his support for Alexander's cause was sufficiently prominent to attract vitriolic accusations by the partisans of the anti-pope "Victor IV". The Victorine party alleged that Henry had ordered the imprisonment of Raymond, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, who supported the anti-pope.[22] The Synodal Acts of the Council of Pavia recorded that Raymond was robbed and fiercely beaten at Henry's instigation, causing the cardinal priest's excommunication by "Victor IV".[23] The records of the Council, which were

17. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.98; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.197-199
18. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636C; JL10579, 1637D
19. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
20. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C
21. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.99
22. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.338
23. ibid.; Alexander III, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752C

composed by the anti-pope's adherents, are entirely unreliable. It is hardly credible that the respected Cistercian cardinal, who had long sought compromise between empire and papacy, would have authorised not merely the detention but the maltreatment of another cardinal. The Victorine account produced by the Council of Pavia was essentially a work of propaganda, which contained biased and inaccurate accusations against Henry.

The Cistercian cardinal emerged as a leading advocate of Alexander's cause in the schism. The pope appointed Henry and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano as legates to France in December 1159.[24] The legates, who were joined by William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, in 1160 following the Council of Pavia, were instructed to secure the allegiance of the kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander.[25] The cardinals suffered an initial setback when the abbey of Cluny refused to declare for Alexander.[26] But the legates soon found substantial support for Alexander within the French episcopate and the English church.[27] The cardinals were welcomed by the abbey of Vezelay and by Henry, bishop of Beauvais, the brother of King Louis VII of France.[28] The legates attended a synod of the French church in Beauvais which declared for Alexander, while a council of English bishops in London also supported his cause.[29] But the decision concerning the allegiance of the kingdoms rested ultimately with their monarchs, who proved reluctant to bring the question to a rapid conclusion. The negotiations were dominated by King Henry II of England.

24. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403; JL10600, *MPL*200, 81D-82B
25. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.7-8
26. ibid., p.15; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.99-100
27. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.17-18
28. Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de libertate monasterii Vizeliancensis, MGH, Scriptores* 26, ed. G. Waitz, p.150; Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis* 4, *MPL* 194, 1623D
29. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.20-28

Louis had agreed to act jointly with the Angevin ruler, who deliberately delayed any decision to secure his own political advantage.[30] King Henry was determined to arrange the premature marriage of his young son to Louis' infant daughter Margaret.[31] The celebration of the marriage would guarantee possession of the important region of the Vexin for the king of England as the princess' dowry.[32] The legates secretly granted a dispensation for the marriage in a joint letter to Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.[33] Their actions opened the way for a council, composed mainly of the prelates of the two kingdoms, which was convened in Toulouse in October 1160.[34] Cardinal Henry and his colleagues represented the pope's cause at the Council, which declared in favour of Alexander.[35] The cardinals had succeeded in winning the allegiance of the most important kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander's cause.

Henry and his colleagues did not long enjoy their triumph in France, however, as Louis was outraged when the royal marriage occurred prematurely in November 1160.[36] The French king immediately banned the legates from his realm and resumed his previous war with the Angevin ruler.[37] Despite their dispute with Louis, the cardinals undertook a variety of legatine duties between 1160 and 1162.[38] In July 1161 Henry and William witnessed the abdication of Hugh, the blind archbishop of Dol, at the Angevin court in Le Mans.[39] The legates sought with some success to end the war

30. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.28-31
31. ibid.
32. ibid., pp.28-33
33. Hugh of Rouen, Letters 14, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.700-701
34. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.32-34
35. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.67-68
36. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.35-37
37. Alexander III, JL10636, *MPL* 200, 90D-92D
38. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.39-42
39. ibid.; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.70

between the kings, securing a truce by June 1161.[40] Henry and his colleagues also attempted to discipline Hugh, abbot of Cluny, who opposed Alexander's cause, but were unable to act against him in 1161 as a result of their expulsion from France by Louis.[41] The legates entrusted the proceedings against the abbot instead to Henry of Beauvais.[42] The legatine activity of the cardinals, which was concluded by May 1162,[43] was less influential following the Council of Toulouse, due to the restrictions imposed on their mission by King Louis. Henry and his colleagues had, however, secured a triumph of the greatest importance for the papacy in the schism, by winning the allegiance of the most powerful rulers of western Europe for Alexander III. The Cistercian cardinal had proved a highly effective advocate of the papal cause in the conflict with the empire.

Henry's successful diplomatic activity inevitably restricted his contribution as a member of the papal entourage. He was not a member of Alexander's entourage at all until June 1162, following the conclusion of his legation. He recorded his first subscription in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate on 9 June 1162.[44] Henry witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the French monastery of La Chaise-Dieu.[45] The cardinal then subscribed no less than thirty-one papal letters and privileges between 9 June 1162 and 4 May 1166.[46]

40. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.39-42
41. ibid.
42. Alexander III, JL10660, *MPL*200, 111B-112D
43. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.77-78; Alexander III, JL10719, *MPL*200, 144C
44. Alexander III, JL10730, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.159
45. ibid.
46. ibid.; JL10739, *MPL*200, col.156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217C, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 222B, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229C, JL10887, 236D, JL10893, 241B, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267C, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316C, JL11083, 318A, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345D, JL11167, 346D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359C, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11266, 409D, JL11268, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.199, JL11276, 453C

He recorded his final subscription of the pontificate on the latter date, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions of the church of Modena.[47] The cardinal maintained a regular record of activity as a member of Alexander's entourage between 1162 and 1166. Henry was evidently a respected member of the papal entourage when he was present at the papal court.

The Cistercian cardinal was a leading papal adviser in the final years of his career. Alexander sought Henry's advice in 1165 about a dispute concerning the monastery of Clairvaux, which led to the abdication of the abbot, Geoffrey of Auxerre.[48] The pope informed Henry, archbishop of Rheims, in May 1165 that he had acted in accordance with the advice of Cardinal Henry and Alan, bishop of Auxerre, concerning the business of the abbey of Clairvaux.[49] Alexander described Henry in this letter to the archbishop as an indispensable member of the papal entourage, praising his ability, prudence and loyalty: *"...vir discretus et prudens et nobis devotissimus, pro magnis ecclesiae negotiis, quae instant necessarius nobis admodum et opportunus existat, nec eius absentiam possimus nullatenus sustinere"*.[50] The pope's assertion that Henry's presence at the papal court was essential for the transaction of the important business of the Church was a striking affirmation of the Cistercian cardinal's importance as a papal adviser. Henry's counsel was not always accepted by the pope, who upheld the case taken by the abbot of Vezelay against the count of Nevers, despite Henry's reservations about the abbot's cause.[51] But it is evident that Henry was numbered

47. Alexander III, JL11276, *MPL*200, 453C
48. Alexander III, JL11171, *MPL*200, 350D
49. Alexander III, JL11194, *MPL*200, 368D
50. ibid.
51. Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de libertate monasterii Vizeliacensis, MGH, Scriptores* 26, ed. G. Waitz, p.150

among the most prominent and influential advisers of the pope.

Henry's influence was certainly recognised by Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury. The cardinal's assistance was valued by Thomas in his prolonged conflict with King Henry II of England. Becket indeed warned his trusted ally John, bishop of Poitiers, to trust the archbishop's business at the papal court to nobody except the pope and Henry of Pisa.[52] Thomas regarded Henry as his most reliable ally in the college in the early years of the conflict. He appealed to the cardinal in 1166 to persuade Alexander to act against the king, for the sake of the authority of the papacy and the liberty of the English church. Thomas appealed for Henry's aid again later in the same year, declaring that his cause depended upon the cardinal's support and counsel.[54] Henry was an ally and confidant of Thomas Becket, who valued his advice and influence within the papal curia.

Henry enjoyed the high regard not only of the exiled archbishop, but of a series of eminent contemporaries. He maintained close connections with the famous German theologian, Gerhoch, provost of Reichersberg.[55] Gerhoch greatly appreciated Henry's friendship and dedicated a number of his works to the cardinal, including his commentary on Psalm 64 and his book *Liber de laude fidei*.[56] Henry was also in correspondence with the Norman prelates, Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux and Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen.[57] The cardinal enjoyed the friendship and respect of eminent

52. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 60, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.110-116
53. ibid. 196, pp.389-391
54. ibid. 248, pp.53-54
55. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.100-101
56. ibid.; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Commentarius in Psalmum* 64, *Lib. de Lite* 3, *MGH*, p.439; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Liber de laude fidei, Opera inedita* I, pp.167-276
57. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 32, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.238C; Arnulf of Lisieux, Letters 23, *MPL*201, col.45D; ibid. 26, col.46D

secular figures, including Eleanor, queen of England.[58] Henry maintained cordial connections with King Louis VII and his chancellor, Hugh of Champfleury, despite Louis' anger at the legates in 1160.[59] Henry was in regular correspondence with Louis, addressing at least four letters to him on diverse questions between 1163 and 1164.[60] The cardinal also received friendly letters from Louis, seeking Henry's assistance concerning the proceedings at the curia against Manasses, bishop of Orléans, whom Louis wished to protect.[61] Henry's high prestige among his eminent contemporaries may be attributed not only to his character, but to his diplomatic skill and influence within the papal curia. His friendly connections with secular rulers and eminent churchmen underlined Henry's extraordinary value to the papacy as a diplomat and adviser. Alexander did not, however, enjoy the benefit of the cardinal's service for his entire pontificate. Henry died in May 1166.[62]

Henry was numbered among the most prominent and influential cardinals of Alexander's pontificate. He was one of the few cardinals who undertook a wide variety of functional responsibilities with uniform distinction. Henry was an invaluable papal diplomat, who made a vital contribution to the eventual triumph of Alexander's cause in the schism. He also acted as a highly influential permanent adviser to the pope until his death. Henry's career, as an eminent Cistercian cardinal and legate, underlined the advantages derived by the papacy from its close connections with the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century.

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58. Alexander III, Letters 25, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.767C
59. Hugh of Champfleury, Letters 27, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.205B
60. Louis VII, Letters 192, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 59B; ibid. 212, 67C; ibid. 317, 103B; ibid. 334, 107D-108B
61. ibid. 111, 34C; ibid. 320, 104C
62. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.54-55

WILLIAM CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF PORTO

William was a native of Pavia.[1] He served as archdeacon in his native city before his elevation to the sacred college.[2] He was promoted to the college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli.[3] William was not, however, closely associated with the faction within the college which supported Adrian's policy of alliance with the Norman kingdom of Sicily. He was not numbered among the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian at Anagni in the summer of 1159, who included the pope's closest collaborators.[4] William's native town of Pavia was closely allied with the imperial government.[5] He himself was one of the legates who sought unsuccessfully to resolve various disputes between the empire and papacy, in the course of a mission to Emperor Frederick I in 1159.[6]

The Pavian cardinal was, however, a loyal adherent of Alexander III from the outset of the schism. William subscribed the letter issued by twenty-three cardinals to the emperor immediately after the divided election, which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's election.[7] The cardinal priest also participated in the appeal addressed by the cardinals to the universal Church on Alexander's behalf.[8] William's commitment to the papal cause was recognised by Alexander, who employed him as an observer at the Council of Pavia which endorsed the claims of the anti-pope "Victor IV" in 1160.[9] The Victorine party alleged that William supported the anti-pope and interpreted his

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60
2. ibid.; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.118-123
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60
4. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL*200, 1636C-1637C; JL10579, 1637D-1639A
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.118-123
6. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.78
7. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D
8. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 62C
9. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.118-123

silence throughout the Council as acquiesence in its conclusions.[10] The cardinal was also accused of betraying Alexander's cause by certain adherents of the pope, including John of Salisbury, who claimed that William had undermined the Roman church through cowardice or treachery.[11] But the various allegations were entirely inaccurate. William did not defend Alexander's cause at the Council because his official participation would have given the assembly the status of a legitimate synod.[12] Alexander had refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Council to judge his cause and William was therefore precluded from participating in the synod as his official representative.[13] William could only act as the papal observer at the Council, which allowed the Victorine partisans to portray him falsely as an adherent of the anti-pope. William's subsequent actions provided ample evidence of his absolute loyalty to Alexander III.

William emerged as a leading advocate of the papal cause in the schism. The pope had appointed Henry and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano as legates to France in December 1159.[14] The legates, who were joined by William in 1160 following the Council of Pavia, were instructed to secure the allegiance of the kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander.[15] The cardinals were welcomed by the abbey of Vezelay and by Henry, bishop of Beauvais.[16] The legates attended a synod of the French church in Beauvais which declared for Alexander, while a council of

10. Alexander III, Letters 10, *Recueil, Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752
11. John of Salisbury, Letters 233, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.424-427
12. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, pp.84-85
13. ibid.
14. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403; Alexander III, JL10600, *MPL* 200, 81D-82B
15. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.7-8
16. Alexander III, JL10720, *MPL* 200, 153; Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis 4*, *MPL* 194, 1623D

English bishops in London also endorsed his cause.[17] But the decision concerning the allegiance of the kingdoms rested with their rulers. Although the Capetian court was certainly sympathetic to Alexander, King Louis VII had agreed to act jointly with King Henry II of England who acted to delay any decision.[18] Henry was determined to secure the premature marriage of his young son to Louis' infant daughter Margaret.[19] The celebration of the marriage was guaranteed to bring possession of the border region of the Vexin for Henry as the princess' dowry.[20] The legates granted a dispensation for the marriage in a confidential letter to Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.[21] Their actions soon proved highly controversial but in the short-term paved the way for a council, composed mainly of the prelates of the two kingdoms, which was convened in Toulouse in October 1160.[22] William played a particularly prominent part in representing the pope's cause at the Council, eloquently opposing the representatives of the anti-pope.[23] The Council of Toulouse declared in favour of Alexander largely as a result of the skilful diplomacy and advocacy of the legates.[24] The cardinals had succeeded in winning the allegiance of the most important kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander's cause.

William and his colleagues did not long enjoy their triumph in France, however, as Louis was outraged when the royal marriage occurred prematurely in November 1160.[25] The Capetian king immediately banned the legates from his realm and

17. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.20-28
18. ibid. pp.28-31
19. ibid., pp.28-31; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.90-91
20. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.28-33; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.90-91
21. Hugh of Rouen, Letters 14, *Receuil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.700-701
22. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.32-34
23. J.M. Watterich, *Alexandri III Annales, Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, pp.511-512; *W. Janssen, Legaten*, pp.67-68
24. ibid.
25. ibid.; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.35-37

resumed his previous war with the Angevin ruler.[26] The cardinals continued to undertake legatine duties between 1160 and 1162 but their activity was restricted to the Angevin territories during this period.[27] William, who attended the Angevin court in Le Mans in July 1161, acquired a reputation as a particularly close ally of King Henry II as a result of the legation.[28] The legates sought with some success to end the war between the kings, securing a truce by June 1161.[29] The legatine activity of the cardinals, which was concluded by May 1162,[30] was much less important following the Council of Toulouse, due to Louis' short-lived but severe disenchantment with the papacy. William and his colleagues had, however, secured perhaps the most important single triumph for papal diplomacy in the schism, winning the allegiance of the most powerful rulers of western Europe for Alexander III. William had proved a highly effective advocate of the papal cause in the conflict with the empire.

William undertook diplomatic activity of considerable range and variety for the papacy under Alexander. He was an important participant in the complex negotiations between the papacy, the Byzantine empire and the French king between 1163 and 1167.[31] The Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus, consistently sought papal support for the restoration of a universal empire ruled by the Byzantine monarch, as the price for Byzantine financial assistance to Alexander.[32] The pope, who could not concede such terms without causing outrage among the rulers of western

26. Alexander III, JL10636, *MPL*200, 90D-92D; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.35-37; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.67-68
27. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.39-42
28. ibid.; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.70
29. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.39-42
30. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.77-78; Alexander III, JL10719, *MPL*200, 144C
31. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.76
32. ibid., pp.76-77

Christendom, initiated a subtle diplomatic initiative to secure financial aid from the eastern emperor.[33] Alexander instructed William to correspond with Manuel on behalf of the Roman church in 1163.[34] William affirmed that the imperial title had been usurped by Frederick's predecessors and recognised the legitimacy of Manuel's universal claims.[35] He urged the eastern emperor to support the papacy and form an alliance with King Louis VII of France against Frederick Barbarossa.[36] The leading part taken by William in the papal initiative allowed the pope to consolidate cordial connections with the Byzantine court, while he himself avoided an explicit commitment to Manuel's plans. The cardinal participated in similar negotiations in 1167 to promote an alliance between the eastern empire and the Norman kingdom of Sicily.[37] William's efforts to broker an alliance between King William II of Sicily and the Byzantine ruler against the western emperor ultimately proved unsuccessful.[38] But the extensive diplomatic activity by William and other legates achieved Alexander's primary objective. The pope succeeded in securing Byzantine financial support while he evaded a definite commitment to Manuel's unrealisable ambitions.[39] William's participation in the papal initiatives underlined his diplomatic skill as well as his close association with Alexander.

William was also frequently employed as a papal diplomat in his native region. He undertook a legation with Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and

33. William of S. Pietro in Vincoli, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 34, *MPL*200, col.1391D-1392C
34. ibid.
35. ibid.; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.76-77
36. ibid.; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.76-77
37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.97
38. ibid.
39. ibid., pp.84-86

Peter, bishop of Pavia, to Emperor Frederick I in northern Italy in 1164.[40] The mission, which sought to explore the possibility of a reconciliation, failed completely due to Frederick's intransigence.[41] William also undertook various legations to promote Alexander's cause in the conflict with the empire in northern Italy. He acted as a cardinal legate in the region between 1168 and 1169, when he worked to expel royalist bishops from the dioceses of Lombardy.[42] He undertook similar legatine duties in northern Italy between 1171 and 1172, working with Galdin, archbishop of Milan, to secure the elevation of bishops who were loyal to Alexander.[43] It is evident that William was a skilful and tenacious advocate of the papacy in the conflict with the empire.

The schism did not, however, provide the occasion for the most controversial legation of William's career. William and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, undertook a legation to Normandy between 1167 and 1168 to resolve the conflict between King Henry II and Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury.[44] The legates were instructed by Alexander to mediate a settlement between the king and the archbishop.[45] William was, however, regarded with grave suspicion by Becket and his adherents.[46] The cardinal had opposed Becket's cause when the archbishop first appealed to the curia in 1164 and had sought to persuade the Cistercian Order to suspend their criticism of the king concerning the conflict.[47]

40. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.62
41. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.821-838
42. ibid.; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.118-123
43. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.118-123
44. ibid.
45. Alexander III, JL11344, *MPL*200, 454D-456A
46. John of Salisbury, Letters 212, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.343-346
47. Helinand, *Chronicon, MPL*212, 1066D; Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 125, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 309C

The cardinal priest enjoyed friendly connections with the king and Becket was outraged at his selection as a legate.[48] The archbishop's distrust of the legation and the intransigence of the king presented a formidable and ultimately impossible challenge to the legates. Their power to negotiate with the king was restricted by Alexander, who also instructed them not to enter England unless a full reconciliation between Henry and Becket had been achieved.[49] The legates failed to secure any agreement between the king and the archbishop at a conference near Gisors in November 1167.[50] The cardinals succeeded only in drawing upon themselves the wrath of both protagonists. Henry was angered that the legates were not commissioned by Alexander to judge the conflict, while they were severely criticised for weakness in their negotiations with the king by Becket's adherents.[51] The legation was a complete failure, which merely underlined the intractable nature of the conflict.

Following the failure of the mission William received particularly vitriolic criticism from members of Becket's circle, who believed that the cardinal had been induced to support the king by bribery.[52] The archbishop himself denounced William as a deadly enemy of the church.[53] John of Salisbury even described the cardinal as a heretic and agent of Antichrist.[54] Although William certainly assisted King Henry, the fierce attacks of Becket's circle distorted the cardinal's motives. William was concerned

48. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 312, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.208; ibid. 313, pp.209-210; ibid. 329, pp.242-244; ibid.349, pp.296-297
49. Alexander III, JL11348, *MPL*200, 454D-456A; JL11359, 460A-460D
50. John of Salisbury, Letters 231, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.417-422
51. ibid. 233, pp.425-427; ibid. 236, pp.444-445; Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 181, *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, pp.243-244
52. John of Salisbury, Letters 212, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.343-347; ibid. 226, pp.394-397; ibid. 232, pp.422-425; ibid. 272, p.563
53. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 359, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.396; ibid. 405, p.396
54. John of Salisbury, Letters 234, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.432-435

above all to prevent a conflict between the papacy and the Angevin ruler, who controlled the payment of Peter's Pence, which was Alexander's only regular source of income.[55] William and Odo indeed warned Alexander that the dispute could cause serious harm to the papacy.[56] A breach between the pope and the English monarchy might well have proved disastrous for the impoverished and embattled papal curia. Becket's royalist critic, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, was commended by William to the pope because the cardinal aimed to secure peace between the king and the church.[57] William's determination to maintain cordial relations between the curia and the Angevin court governed his actions during the legation. William's much criticised strategy concerning the conflict between Becket and King Henry II was entirely consistent with the cardinal's determined advocacy of Alexander's cause in the schism. William certainly retained the high regard of the pope despite the various criticisms of his conduct, as Alexander employed him as a legate in the negotiations which ended the schism. William indeed also commanded the respect of Alexander's foremost opponent, as it was Frederick Barbarossa who first requested the cardinal's assistance in mediating a settlement of the conflict. The emperor made a diplomatic approach in 1175 to three leading cardinals including William, Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia and Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, to initiate negotiations between the empire and the papal curia.[58] The three cardinals, who were entrusted by Alexander with a legation to Frederick, failed to identify a firm basis for an

55. William of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Odo of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 38, *MPL*200, 1394B-1396A
56. ibid.
57. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 245, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.47; William, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 37, *MPL*200, 1393C-1394A
58. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.430

agreement with the emperor.[59] Although the negotiations proved unsuccessful, the efforts of the legates helped to initiate the process which led to the Peace of Venice. William's diplomatic activity was certainly appreciated by Alexander, who appointed him as cardinal bishop of Porto on 17 December 1176.[60] He was one of the seven cardinals selected by Alexander in April 1177 to negotiate the final peace settlement with the empire.[61] He formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[62] The legates initiated negotiations with Frederick Barbarossa at Chioggia near Venice and sought to overcome his reluctance to make peace with the Lombard League.[63] The cardinals proposed that Frederick should swear an oath to observe a permanent peace with the Roman church, peace with the king of Sicily for fifteen years and a truce with the Lombards for six years.[64] Frederick acted to have the required oath sworn on his behalf by Dedo, count of Groitsch.[65] The successful diplomatic activity of the legates paved the way for the conclusion of the Peace. The legates absolved Frederick from the bonds of excommunication, allowing his formal reconciliation with the pope in July 1177.[66] The Pavian cardinal was also present to witness the ratification of the Peace of Venice by Henry, count of Dietz, on behalf of

59. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.430-431
60. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60
61. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446[18]
62. ibid.
63. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
64. ibid.
65. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
66. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439

the emperor.[67] William was a member of the select group of cardinals who secured the peace agreement with the empire. He was numbered among the most prominent and effective advocates of Alexander's cause within the sacred college.

William served the papacy under Alexander primarily as an invaluable papal diplomat. The cardinal's record as a member of the papal entourage was naturally restricted by his extensive diplomatic activity. He was not a member of Alexander's entourage at all until May 1162, following the conclusion of his legation to France. William's first subscription of Alexander's pontificate was recorded on 22 May 1162, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the French monastery of St. Stephen of Nevers.[68] William witnessed sixty-nine letters and privileges issued by Alexander between 22 May 1162 and 28 November 1176, which marked his final subscription as cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli.[69] He maintained a regular record of activity as a subscriber when he was present at the papal court. William was not, however, numbered among the permanent advisers of the pope who remained almost constantly in attendance at the papal curia. He maintained only a limited record as a member of the papal entourage following his promotion. He recorded only nine subscriptions in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate as cardinal bishop

67. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II.*, p.439
68. Alexander III, JL10721, *MPL*200, col.145D
69. Alexander III, JL10721, *MPL*200, col.145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10853, 210D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215B, JL10857, 217C, JL10863, 255D, JL10875, 229C, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267C, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11158, 345D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359C, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378A, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453C, JL11295, 423B, JL11340, 449D, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606B, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11878, 718A, JL11887, 723B, JL11892, 727B, JL11900, 734B, JL12131, 867D, JL12139, 870B, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12205, 902C, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908C, JL12221, 911D, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12398, 999B, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019B, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077A, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D

of Porto, between 31 December 1176 and 5 October 1177.[70] His relatively slender record as a member of Alexander's entourage reflected William's highly successful activity as an advocate of the papal cause throughout the conflict with the empire. The cardinal's career drew to a close shortly after the end of the schism. William died on 18 January 1178 in Aversa.[71]

William was numbered among the most important members of the sacred college under Alexander. He undertook wide-ranging diplomatic activity with outstanding success, working consistently to cultivate close connections with various secular rulers. The cardinal was an outstanding and highly controversial advocate of Alexander's cause in the schism. William was the sole cardinal elevated to the college before the pontificate, who was promoted by Alexander to the order of the cardinal bishops.[72] This unique distinction reflected Alexander's appreciation of the crucial contribution made by William to the success of the pope's struggle for universal recognition.

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70. Alexander III, JL12747, *MPL*200, 1088D, JL12773, 1094B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133A, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144A, JL12948, ***Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II***, p.315
71. ***Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores*** 19, p.459[4]
72. B. Zenker, ***Mitglieder***, pp.118-123

WILLIAM CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. PRASSEDE

William was one of the lesser known cardinals elevated by Alexander III. Nothing is known about his origins or his career before his elevation. His titular church of S. Prassede had been placed under the authority of S. Maria di Reno in Bologna by Pope Anastasius IV.[1] William may, therefore, have enjoyed connections with the famous congregation of regular canons, although such an association cannot be confirmed.

The date of William's elevation is not definitely identified, but it is most likely that he was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Prassede in early December 1173. William recorded his only subscription in the papal letters and privileges on 20 December 1173.[2] He witnessed the papal privilege which placed a hospital at Verona under the protection of the apostolic see.[3] This is the sole record of the cardinal's career in the contemporary sources. William was not mentioned even in a privilege issued by Alexander, at an unknown date, which confirmed concessions previously made to the church of S. Prassede by Pope Celestine II.[4] William evidently enjoyed only a brief term in the college. The date of his death is unknown, although he was certainly dead by 23 January 1178, when Alexander confirmed the concession of S. Prassede to the congregation of S. Maria di Reno, without referring to William.[5] It is most likely that William died shortly after his appointment to the college.

William's career as cardinal priest of S. Prassede was brief and shrouded in obscurity.

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1. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I, Ecclesia S. Praxedis* 11, p.52
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.67
3. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Venedig* 12, p.231
4. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I, Ecclesia S. Praxedis* 12, p.52
5. Alexander III, JL13012, *MPL* 200, col.1159A

ASTALD CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. PRISCA E AQUILA

Astald was a native of the city of Rome.[1] The Roman churchman was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio by Pope Celestine II in December 1143.[2] Astald was promoted by Pope Eugenius III, who selected him as cardinal priest of S. Prisca e Aquila on 2 March 1151.[3] Astald was not closely associated with Alexander's predecessor Adrian IV: he did not accompany the pope to Anagni in the summer of 1159 and consequently was not numbered among the cardinals who were identified by Madertoner as the members of the "Sicilian party" in the college.[4] It is clear, however, that Astald supported Alexander III in the divided election of 1159.[5] The cardinal priest of S. Prisca subscribed both letters issued by the majority of the cardinals proclaiming their support for Alexander in the aftermath of the disputed election. Astald was a subscriber to the letter of the cardinals to Frederick Barbarossa in 1159 and he also subscribed the declaration in favour of Alexander issued by the cardinals to the universal church.[6] While the cardinal priest was not a prominent factional ally of the chancellor before the election, he was a loyal supporter of the new pope.

Astald's service to the papacy under Alexander III was extremely brief. The cardinal priest witnessed only the first three privileges issued by the pope. He subscribed the pope's letter confirming the privileges of the church of Jerusalem on 15 October 1159.[7] Astald also witnessed Alexander's privilege issued on 7 November 1159 which

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.95
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.49
3. ibid.
4. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.95
6. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D, *MPL* 200, 62C
7. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL* 200, 73D

confirmed the liberties of the monastery of Monte Cassino.[8] His final subscription was made on 19 February 1160 to the papal privilege for the monastery of Pontigny.[9] Astald's name disappears from the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III after February 1160.[10] He was a regular papal adviser only for the first year of Alexander's pontificate. The cardinal priest of S. Prisca died in 1161[11] and his death at such an early stage of the pontificate explains his limited record of activity under Alexander.

The timing of Astald's death does not, however, fully explain the limitations of his role in the college. Zenker asserted that the body of subscriptions by the cardinal as a whole indicated that he belonged to the permanent entourage of the pope.[12] Astald certainly formed part of the cohort of cardinals which served the pope primarily or exclusively as a corps of advisers. He was not entrusted with a legation by Alexander in 1160 at a time when a considerable number of cardinals were employed as legates to advance the pope's cause among the uncommitted churches and wavering rulers of Europe.[13] Astald was never an advocate for the pope in Alexander's struggle for survival. Zenker's conclusion that the cardinal priest of S. Prisca was a permanent member of the papal entourage is confirmed to a certain extent by the evidence of his activity under Alexander III.[14] Such a conclusion, however, does not fully illuminate the obscurity of Astald's career.

Astald can hardly be described as an influential papal adviser. His service as a member of the sacred college under Alexander was indeed too brief to permit the

8. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL*200, 75D
9. Alexander III, JL10624, *MPL*200, 85D
10. ibid.
11. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.95
12. ibid.
13. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403
14. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.95

exertion of any significant influence by the cardinal. Astald's obscurity in the pontificate of Adrian IV was, however, more significant. The cardinal priest of S. Prisca subscribed only twenty of the seventy-seven documents compiled in the *Patrologia Latina*, which contained the subscriptions of members of the college.[15] During Adrian's pontificate therefore Astald subscribed little more than a quarter of the documents which were witnessed by the most influential advisers of the pope within the sacred college.[18] The cardinal priest's participation as a papal adviser was relatively limited and infrequent even under Alexander's predecessor. He was all too clearly not a trusted associate of Pope Adrian, but a peripheral figure who commanded little influence in the college. Astald's obscurity and his limited role even as an adviser preceded the pontificate of Alexander III and were not simply the consequences of the cardinal's death very early in the new pontificate.

Astald owed his original elevation to Celestine II and his promotion to Eugenius III: his career in the curia stagnated after the death of his patrons. Certainly he played only a marginal part as a papal adviser under Adrian IV. Likewise in the pontificate of Alexander III, Astald was a minor figure who served the papal government only in a limited advisory role. Astald was numbered among the permanent advisers of the pope, but the cardinal priest of S. Prisca was a minor member of the advisory cohort in the sacred college.

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14. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.95
15. Adrian IV, JL9963, *MPL* 188, col.1369B, JL9984, 1382B, JL9997, 1387B, JL9999, 1389A, JL10013, 1393D, JL10020, 1399B, JL10029, 1403B, JL10050, 1411D, JL10053, 1415B, JL10092, 1436C, JL10225, 1485C, JL10258, 1493B, JL10288, 1508B, JL10383, 1552D, JL10387, 1557A, JL10410, 1567A, JL10531, 1608D, JL10539, 1611D, JL10566, 1630C, JL10572, 1632C
16. ibid.

GALDIN CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. SABINA ARCHBISHOP OF MILAN

Galdin was a member of the distinguished Milanese vavassor family of de la Sala.[1] He was originally ordained in Milan and spent the greater part of his life as a loyal assistant to successive archbishops in his native city.[2] Galdin was first appointed chancellor to the archbishop of Milan in 1138.[3] He served as chancellor for almost a quarter of a century, acting as the principal administrator of the Milanese church for two archbishops, Rivaldo (until 1145) and then his successor Hubert of Pirovano (1145-1166).[4] Galdin rose steadily through the church hierarchy, becoming first subdeacon in June 1144 and then deacon within the Milanese church in January 1147.[5] He had already been chancellor for over a decade when he was elevated to the position of archdeacon in 1149.[6] Galdin was evidently a prominent and experienced servant of the Milanese church before Alexander's pontificate. In 1159, at almost the same time as the divided election to the papacy, Galdin worked successfully in cooperation with the archbishop and the archpriest Milo to resolve a dispute between the abbot of Morimund and the provost of Rofate.[7] Galdin might well have served out his career as a loyal and distinguished servant of his local church but for the schism. The schism, however, catapulted Galdin into the college of cardinals and ensured that he ended his career as a leading representative of the papal government.

1. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini*, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 *(April)*, p.594B
2. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.61
4. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.595
5. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.61
6. ibid.
7. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini*, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 *(April)*, pp.594-595

Hubert, archbishop of Milan, pledged his support to Alexander III and remained loyal to the pope after the anti-pope "Victor IV" was acclaimed as the rightful pontiff by the Council of Pavia in 1160, with the strong support of Emperor Frederick I.[8] Galdin was a faithful supporter of the archbishop and the pope in Milan, which had emerged as a centre of opposition to the imperial government in Lombardy by 1160.[9] The archbishop and consuls of Milan were excommunicated by the anti-pope, while the city itself was besieged by the imperial forces.[10] Hubert therefore fled the city, accompanied by Galdin and other loyal churchmen, joining Alexander on his journey into exile in France in 1161.[11] Their archdiocese was soon deprived of its main city as well as its senior clergy. When the Milanese were compelled to surrender the city in 1162, the Emperor organised the expulsion of all the inhabitants and the destruction of Milan.[12]

Galdin remained in exile with the papal entourage for four years after his escape from Milan, returning to Italy with the pope in 1165.[13] In the meantime Alexander had clearly been favourably impressed by Galdin's ability and loyalty. Shortly after his return to Rome in December 1165 the pope appointed Galdin as cardinal priest of S.Sabina.[14] Alexander's judgement was vindicated by the later course of Galdin's career. The Milanese cardinal was destined to become an invaluable agent and representative of the papal government in its prolonged conflict with the empire. Only a few months after Galdin's elevation to the college of cardinals his superior Hubert,

8. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.834
9. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594B
10. ibid., pp.594-596
11. ibid., p.594B
12. ibid., pp.594-596
13. ibid., p.594B
14. ibid.

archbishop of Milan, died in exile at Benevento on 28 March 1166.[15] The pope nominated and consecrated Galdin as the new archbishop of Milan apparently without consultation with the clergy and people of the archdiocese.[16] Any involvement by the clergy and people in the election would have been impractical following the dispersal of the Milanese population by Frederick in 1162.[17] The author of the *Vita Galdini* emphasized that the new prelate did not accept appointment lightly, but was reluctant to undertake such great responsibilities after his exile and the hardships which he had suffered.[18] Indeed Galdin's biographer related that he only accepted consecration to seek the restoration of the church of Milan and bring the clergy and people back to their rightful allegiance to the legitimate pope.[19] The author of the *Vita Galdini*, the Milanese monk Hilarion, was a propagandist biographer who produced a highly favourable portrayal of Galdin, designed to promote his claims to sainthood after his death.[20] Despite this propagandist portrayal of the new archbishop, the account of the *Vita Galdini* accurately identified the central aspect of the mission which had been entrusted to Galdin. Alexander III appointed Galdin as archbishop and subsequently papal legate in Lombardy to secure the adherence of the Lombard church and communes to the rightful pope. This required the new archbishop to rally the defeated Milanese against the emperor[21] and create a renewed centre of opposition to the imperial government in Lombardy. Galdin had become the principal representative of the papal government in Lombardy, even as the north Italian region

15. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594C
16. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835
17. ibid.
18. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594D
19. ibid.
20. ibid., p.593
21. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835

became a central theatre of the papacy's conflict with the empire. Shortly after his appointment as papal legate in 1166 agitation among the Lombard city-states against the imperial rule broke out into open rebellion.[22]

The exiled archbishop made contact with representatives of the rebellious city-states in April 1167.[23] In the same month a group of the city-states engaged in an act of open rebellion against the emperor. Lombard forces drawn from the communes of Bergamo, Mantua, Verona, Brescia and Cremona engineered the restoration of Milan.[24] The Lombard troops encouraged and protected the return of the exiled citizens: the Milanese reoccupied their ruined city on 27 April 1167.[25] Galdin had evidently been involved in the negotiations which led to the rebellion and he acted quickly to exploit the opportunity to restore papal authority in Milan. The exiled legate hastened to return to his homeland, travelling by sea to Venice and then proceeding overland to Milan.[26] The deliberately circuitous route travelled by Galdin was well chosen to evade the partisans of the Emperor. This was necessary especially as Frederick had mounted another Italian expedition against Alexander in 1167. Indeed he had succeeded in capturing Rome in July 1167 and forced the pope to flee to Benevento.[27] But despite this success the imperial government's authority was soon seriously undermined in Lombardy. Galdin made a triumphant return to Milan on 5 September 1167, welcomed with great rejoicing by the people of the resurgent commune.[28] The new archbishop and papal legate was escorted to the greater church

22. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594E
23. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835
24. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594E
25. ibid.
26. ibid., p.594F
27. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.206-207
28. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.594F

of Milan by the gonfalonieri of the city, who carried above his head the pallium, his official symbol of office as a prelate.[29] Alexander's allies and supporters in Lombardy now had a prominent and capable leader.

Galdin soon made his presence felt in his native city and within a wider regional framework. The new archbishop rapidly reestablished his authority over the Milanese church. His actions were proudly recounted in the *Vita Galdini*, which related that the "attackers of the unity of the church" were obliged to cease their activity and desist from their persecution of Alexander's supporters.[30] Some supporters of the emperor were reconciled with the pope's representative, while others were expelled from the city.[31] Galdin's leadership ensured that the obedience of the church of Milan to Alexander III was secured, even as the reconstruction of the city was completed under his direction in 1167.[32] The papal legate's success in establishing his authority over the see of St. Ambrose had a profound importance in Alexander's long struggle to preserve the authority and independence of the papacy. Galdin's success in Milan recreated a bastion of faithful support for the pope in Lombardy. An important centre of opposition to the emperor was reestablished, and Frederick's authority in the province was seriously undermined. The restoration of Milan also added significantly to the strength of the Lombard League, which was formed by the rebellious north Italian communes. The League, which was established in December 1167, was a military alliance by sixteen north Italian city-states designed to defend their liberty against the imperial government.[33] The new League was committed to an

29. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), pp.594-595
30. ibid., p.594F
31. ibid.
32. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835
33. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.124

alliance with Alexander III and a common struggle with the papacy against the emperor and the anti-pope.

Galdin was deeply involved in enhancing the military and political strength of his Lombard allies. The new city of Alessandria was established at the instigation of the League,[34] as a bastion of Lombard opposition to the Emperor: the new city symbolised the League's alliance with Alexander III. The inhabitants of the ruined city of Tortona, destroyed by Frederick in 1155, were resettled in the new city.[35] The new citizens pledged to stand loyally with the Lombard League, as recorded by the *Annales Mediolanenses*, "at the command of Galdin and the consuls of Milan".[36] The archbishop was evidently one of the leaders of the Lombard communes and he played an important role in building the League as a powerful secular ally for the papacy.

Galdin's contribution to the ultimate success of the papal government under Alexander III was made in his position as the permanent papal legate in Lombardy. His role in upholding Alexander's cause in the midst of the papal-imperial conflict was fundamentally different from most other cardinals, who acted primarily as the permanent advisers of the pope.[37] Indeed Galdin was a member of the college of cardinals only for a brief period. He ceased to serve as cardinal priest of S. Sabina after he established himself securely in Milan. Indeed only two subscriptions to papal documents by Galdin are recorded during his period as a cardinal. He subscribed a privilege issued by Alexander III on 11 November 1166, confirming the rights and goods of the monastery of Pontigny.[38] Galdin also witnessed a papal document issued

34. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.124
35. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 18, p.377
36. ibid.
37. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.266
38. Alexander III, JL11295, *MPL* 200, 423C

on 5 January 1167, confirming the privileges of the church of S. Salvatore in Venice.[39] Galdin subscribed these documents as cardinal priest of S. Sabina and archbishop of Milan.[40] Galdin evidently continued to serve as a member of the college of cardinals for a short time after his consecration as archbishop in April 1166. Certainly he still held the title of cardinal priest of S. Sabina in January 1167. However the document issued in that month contained his last recorded subscription, as he left the papal entourage in 1167 to establish himself in Milan. Subsequently the *Vita Galdini* refers to its hero as *archiepiscopus Galdinus* or as *S. Galdinus* :[41] the title of cardinal priest disappears from the record after 1167. Galdin retained the title of cardinal priest for almost a year after his consecration as archbishop of Milan because he remained an exile deprived of his archdiocese. When he began to act as archbishop of Milan in 1167, Galdin ceased to serve as cardinal priest of S. Sabina. The permanent papal legate followed the traditional practice of relinquishing his place in the college after securing episcopal office.[42] Galdin's importance to the papal government during the schism had, however, little to do with his brief span as a cardinal. He served the Roman church as the pope's principal representative in his native region, the adviser of Alexander's allies and the dedicated opponent of his enemies.[43] In this role Galdin worked consistently to secure the triumph of the papal cause in Lombardy, by enhancing the power of Alexander's secular allies and by asserting the authority of the papal government over the Lombard bishops.

39. Alexander III, JL11340, *MPL* 200, 449A
40. ibid.
41. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), pp.594-595
42. K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter*, pp.186-201
43. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835

Galdin acted decisively to assert his authority over the episcopate of Lombardy. The papal legate was determined to compel the Lombard bishops, who were generally loyal to the emperor and the anti-pope "Paschal III", to give obedience to Alexander as the rightful pope. His first major success was secured in 1168, when he acted to replace Alberic, bishop of Lodi.[44] The archbishop issued a series of demands that left little room for equivocation. He warned that the clergy and people of Lodi must repudiate their allegiance to the anti-pope "Paschal III" and acknowledge Alexander III as the rightful pope.[45] They were also required to elect a new bishop: unless they obeyed these commands the clergy were instructed to abstain from the exercise of their sacerdotal functions and threatened with the loss of the benefits of their clerical office.[46] Galdin had threatened the clergy of Lodi with exclusion from the church. His grim warnings indicated that he would not hesitate to impose an interdict on the city of Lodi if necessary. The clergy and nobles of Lodi conceded the legate's terms, pledging their obedience to Alexander III and agreeing to elect a new bishop.[47] Albert, provost of the church of Ripalta, was elected as bishop of Lodi and was consecrated by Galdin.[48] The archbishop had succeeded in asserting his legatine authority over the diocese of Lodi and in securing the city's allegiance for Alexander and the League. The episode illustrated the power which could be exercised by a permanent papal legate over a local church. It reflected also Galdin's determination and ruthlessness in pursuing his objective, namely the subjection of the Lombard episcopate to the legitimate pope.

44. F. Ughellus, *Mediolanenses Archiepiscopi* 87, *Italia Sacra* 4, p.157B
45. ibid.
46. ibid.
47. ibid., pp.157B-158C
48. ibid., pp.157B-158C

Galdin's ultimatum to the rulers and clergy of Lodi was only the beginning. Further successes soon followed as the papal representative gradually established his authority over the bishops of Lombardy. Galdin consecrated a number of new suffragans to replace royalist bishops, employing different tactics to secure their appointment in the various dioceses. The papal legate was highly successful in creating a reliable corps of Lombard bishops who gave obedience to Alexander and were loyally subordinate to Galdin himself. Nine north Italian dioceses received new bishops who were loyal to Alexander III and consecrated by Galdin between 1168 and 1173, namely Lodi, Cremona, Bergamo, Vercelli, Alba, Asti, Novara, Turin and Brescia.[49] A new diocese of Alessandria was also created by the pope at the request of Galdin and the leaders of the League.[50] The royalist bishops of Lombardy were placed on the defensive by the papal representative's vigorous campaign after 1167 and were frequently deposed and evicted from their dioceses. The resourceful prelate had effectively ensured the triumph of Alexander's cause in the Lombard episcopate. It was Alexander alone who was responsible for Galdin's elevation to the college of cardinals in 1165 and his appointment to the archdiocese of Milan.[51] The pope's faith was evidently not misplaced - the Milanese legate had achieved great success in upholding Alexander's cause in his native region.

Galdin's achievements as the papal representative in his native region were underlined by the failure of Frederick's fifth Italian expedition in 1174. The emperor returned to Italy with substantial German forces in 1174 and succeeded in subduing

49. F. Ughellus, *Mediolanenses Archiepiscopi* 87, *Italia Sacra* 4, pp.158C-159A
50. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.418-420
51. Pacaut, 'Les Légats', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835

the towns of Susa and Asti.[52] Frederick then besieged but failed to capture Alessandria as his forces were threatened by the army of the Lombard League.[53] The imperial government was able to secure local successes but could not defeat the League or subdue any of its major centres, such as Alessandria. Frederick's recognition of the League's power was apparent when he sought negotiations for peace after failing to take Alessandria.[54] The Lombard League was strong enough by 1174 to resist the imperial government effectively, encouraging the emperor to consider a peace settlement with the pope and his allies. The strength of the League was certainly not all Galdin's doing. Various cardinal legates, especially Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli, also assisted the League, which in any event commanded strong support in the autonomous communes.[55] But Galdin had played a significant role in consolidating the political and military strength of the League. The reemergence of Milan as a centre of opposition to imperial rule in 1167, which was facilitated by Galdin, was a major addition to the strength of the League. The papal legate's successful campaign to assert his authority over the episcopate assisted the League by undermining the authority of the imperial government. Galdin died shortly before the League's forces defeated the emperor at Legnano in 1176, but his efforts had contributed significantly to the eventual success of the Lombard communes in their battle for autonomy. Galdin had given invaluable service to the papacy by his success in enforcing the recognition of Alexander among the Lombard bishops and by his role in sustaining the Lombard communes. The ecclesiastical and secular functions

52. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 18, p.377
53. ibid.
54. ibid.
55. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835; cf. above p.90 (Hildebrand of XII Apostoli)

performed by the papal representative evidently complemented each other, as Alexander's cause was inextricably linked with the struggle of the Lombard communes after 1167. Galdin's success in this double endeavour made a substantial contribution to the eventual triumph of Alexander III.

As the metropolitan of his archdiocese and papal legate Galdin acted above all as the resourceful and energetic representative of the embattled pope. The sources, especially the *Vita Galdini*, give the greatest emphasis to Galdin's role as the defender of the rightful pope in the schism. However his performance of certain traditional ecclesiastical duties, notably the suppression of heresy, receives some attention in the *Vita* and the chronicles. Galdin acted vigorously to oppose the Cathars, a neo-manichaean sect, which began to flourish in Lombardy during the schism.[56] According to the *Vita Galdini*, the archbishop vehemently opposed the "pest" of the Cathar heresy.[57] Galdin sought to combat the Cathars by educating his flock more thoroughly in the basic doctrines of the Christian faith.[58] At the same time he constantly denounced the errors of the Cathars from the pulpit.[59] It is impossible to determine the efficacy of Galdin's efforts, but his concern with heresy clearly took second place to his primary role as the principal papal representative in Lombardy during the schism. The schism had dominated the later part of Galdin's career and made the Milanese prelate a leading collaborator and representative of the pope. The legate's career came to an end shortly before the end of the schism. Galdin died on 18 April 1176, shortly after Easter.[60]

56. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats,' *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835
57. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.595B
58. ibid.
59. ibid., p.595C
60. ibid., p.595C

The account of his death provided by Hilarion, who recounted that the archbishop died within the church precincts in the presence of the clergy and people of Milan,[61] was designed to underline his saintly attributes. Reports of miracles at his tomb, in which invalids were healed of their afflictions, were also intended to enhance Galdin's claims to sainthood.[62] Hilarion sought to construct a portrait of Galdin as a righteous and saintly pastor, worthy of elevation to the company of the saints. The propagandist author of the archbishop's biography was to achieve his objective, as Galdin soon came to be numbered among the saints of the Roman church.[63]

While Galdin was a member of the college of the cardinals only for a brief period, his contribution to Alexander's eventual triumph in the schism was immense. Galdin's prominence was dictated by the schism, which brought him to Alexander's attention and provoked his appointment as the permanent papal representative in Lombardy. The Milanese prelate was not at all a conventional archbishop: his career as an archbishop and legate was dominated by the conflict, which clearly took precedence over more mundane ecclesiastical concerns. Galdin ensured the triumph of the papal government over the pro-imperial party in the local episcopate. He also contributed significantly to the successful opposition of the Lombard communes to imperial rule. Galdin was above all the resolute and brilliantly successful representative in his native region of the embattled pope, during the crisis of the schism.

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61. Hilarion, *Vita Galdini, Acta Sanctorum Bollandii* 2 (*April*), p.595C
62. ibid.
63. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.835

WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. SABINA

William was a member of an illustrious French noble family, which was closely linked to the Capetian ruling house.[1] He was the son of Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne and the brother of Adela who became the wife of King Louis VII of France.[2] William, who was born in 1135, was given numerous ecclesiastical offices at an early age due to his connections with the royal house.[3] He was elected as bishop of Chartres in 1165 and received consecration from Alexander III himself at Montpellier.[4] Then William was elevated to the archdiocese of Sens, receiving consecration on 22 December 1167.[5] He retained possession of the diocese of Chartres throughout his full term as archbishop of Sens.[6] William maintained his authority over Chartres for eight years with the agreement of the pope and it was only when he was translated to the archdiocese of Rheims in 1176 that he ceased to act as bishop of Chartres.[7] His elevation to the most prestigious ecclesiastical office in the French church underlined the value of his family connections. William's illustrious connections had paved the way for his rapid rise to the pinnacle of the French church. William also benefited from the favour of the pope, who facilitated his lengthy tenure of the diocese of Chartres and sanctioned his translation to Rheims.[8]

William was, however, not only an outstanding clerical representative of the great aristocracy, but a reforming prelate who maintained close contacts with eminent

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.67
2. *Ecclesia Carnotensis, Gallia Christiana* 8, col.1144E
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.67
4. *Ecclesia Carnotensis, Gallia Christiana* 8, col.1145C
5. ibid., col.1145D
6. ibid., col.1145E
7. ibid., col.1146B
8. ibid., col.1145E

reforming churchmen and with the papacy. He enjoyed cordial connections with Thomas Becket and his entourage, especially John of Salisbury, who was his eventual successor as bishop of Chartres.[9] William was indeed a staunch ally of the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, making frequent appeals to Alexander to uphold Becket's cause against his enemies.[10] Alexander himself valued William's assistance in the implementation of the papacy's reform policies well before his elevation to the sacred college in 1179.[11] In February 1171 or 1172 Alexander instructed William, as the legate of the apostolic see, to work with the bishop of Meaux and the abbot of Le Val-Secret for the restoration of the rule of the congregation of S. Victor in Paris.[12] William was selected by the pope to restore the reforming rule of the congregation of regular canons, which had been undermined by the previous abbot.[13] Then on 3 August 1173 the pope instructed William, as a papal legate, to safeguard the rights of the monastery of S. Martin of Tours.[14] William's service to the papacy as a permanent legate in his native realm clearly predated his elevation to the sacred college. On 1 October 1178, Alexander confirmed concessions previously made by William, then archbishop of Sens and papal legate, to the church of Ste-Opportune in Paris.[15] William was a trusted collaborator of the pope within the French church, who was employed by Alexander as a native legate before his elevation to the sacred college.

William was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Sabina in the course of the Third

9. *Ecclesia Carnotensis, Gallia Christiana* 8, col.1145E-1146A
10. William of Chartres, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 49, *MPL*200, col.1407D-1408D; ibid. 50, 1408D-1409D; William of Sens, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 67, *MPL*200, 1425B; ibid. 68, 1425D-1426C; ibid. 69, 1426D-1428A; ibid. 70, 1428B-1428C; ibid. 71, 1428D-1430C; ibid. 72, 1430D-1432B
11. V. Pfaff,'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), p.86
12. Alexander III, JL11974, *MPL*200, col.771C
13. ibid.
14. Alexander III, JL12232, *MPL*200, col.914D
15. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, col.1185B

Lateran Council in March 1179.[16] The English abbot Benedict of Peterborough believed that William was elevated to the college through election by the cardinals, with the approval of the pope.[17] This assertion that the cardinals were largely responsible for William's appointment is not supported by any other contemporary source and cannot be entirely accurate. The pope had consistently favoured William from the outset of his ecclesiastical career and more recently he had employed the French prelate as a permanent legate in his native territory. While he may well have consulted the cardinals, it is most likely that Alexander himself brought about William's elevation to the sacred college. A certain ambiguity has arisen concerning William's title, as he was incorrectly identified by Pfaff as the cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli since 1169.[18] It is certain, however, that William of Pavia served as cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli from 1158 until 1176.[19] William, archbishop of Rheims, was addressed as cardinal priest of S. Sabina in a papal letter issued by Alexander shortly after his elevation in April 1179.[20] William's title and identity are therefore clearly established by the contemporary sources.

William was never a permanent adviser to the pope. He made only two subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges of Alexander's pontificate.[21] William witnessed the papal privilege issued on 8 April 1179 which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the French monastery of Tournus.[22] His second and final subscription of the

16. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.95E
17. Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I Angliae Regum*, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 13, ed. M. Bouquet, col.179C
18. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), p.86
19. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60
20. Alexander III, JL13383, *MPL*200, col.1231D
21. Alexander III, JL13386, *MPL*200, col.1233D, JL13377, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.344
22. Alexander III, JL13386, *MPL*200, col.1233D

pontificate was recorded on 10 April 1179, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the rights and possessions of the church of Passau in Germany.[23] William acted as a native papal legate in France and was only rarely present at the papal court after the Third Lateran Council. Various papal letters were issued by Alexander III to William as the permanent legate in his native realm.[24] On 14 April 1179 the pope instructed William, as cardinal priest of S. Sabina and legate of the apostolic see, to ensure that the Cistercian abbey of Clairmarais in France should not be bound to pay dues to anyone.[25] Soon afterwards on 17 April 1179 Alexander ordered the archbishop and legate to protect the Cistercian order and specifically the French abbey of Dun-sur-Aron from any kind of extortion.[26] William's activity as a native legate was sufficiently valuable to guarantee substantial benefits for the archbishop from the curia. In June 1179 William appealed to the pope against the archbishop of Sens, who was claiming the right to officiate at the coronation of Philip Augustus, the heir to the French throne.[27] William secured a papal bull which endorsed the right of the archbishop of Rheims alone to crown the kings of France and won the agreement of King Louis VII to the terms of the bull.[28] He then crowned and anointed Philip, with the assistance of the archbishops of Sens, Bourges and Tours.[29] William had won a great triumph for his archdiocese with papal assistance, resolving the conflict for precedence concerning the coronation between the archbishops of Rheims and Sens.[30]

23. Alexander III, JL13377, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.344
24. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), p.86
25. Alexander III, JL13383, *MPL* 200, col.1231D
26. Alexander III, JL13386, *MPL* 200, col.1233D
27. Roger of Howden, *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.100[40]
28. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.96A
29. ibid., col.96C
30. ibid., col.96B

While William provided valuable service to the papacy under Alexander as a native legate, the coronation dispute reflected his most fundamental concerns, namely the interests of his archdiocese and the affairs of the French kingdom. He had previously served as the tutor of his nephew Philip and he emerged as a leading royal adviser after Philip's accession in 1180.[31] He was involved in a brief rebellion against the king in 1180 with his brothers the counts of Blois and Sancerre, but the breach between them was evidently soon repaired, since Philip had appointed the archbishop as a royal adviser by 1182.[32] William served for the rest of his career as an external cardinal who was numbered among the king's most trusted collaborators. Indeed he declined to obey an instruction issued by Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III, which demanded his presence in Rome, on the basis of a conflicting royal command.[33] Philip informed the pope that he was keeping William in France because of his importance to the kingdom and he extolled his uncle's merits in fulsome language: *"Adsistit nobis super omnes amicos et fideles nostros carissimus avunculus noster Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus."*[34] Philip clearly valued his uncle's service, as he claimed that William was his most important adviser, who ranked in his estimation above all his friends and vassals.[35] It is equally apparent that William gave his highest loyalty to the king rather than the papal curia.[36] He was present within the papal entourage rarely and was willing to evade papal instructions in his service to the king. William was an external cardinal who was primarily a servant of the French king.

31. *Ecclesia Carnotensis, Gallia Christiana* 8, col.1145A-1146B
32. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.96E-97A
33. ibid., col.97D
34. ibid.
35. ibid.
36. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), p.86

The last two decades of William's career underlined his role as an external cardinal and devoted royal adviser. He was present in Ferrara in 1187 for the election of Pope Gregory VIII but returned to France before Gregory's early death and the election of his successor Clement III.[37] William and his sister, the dowager queen Adela, were entrusted with the regency of France from 1190 until 1192, during the absence of Philip Augustus who participated in the third Crusade.[38] In 1193 William was involved in negotiations between the French king and Emperor Henry VI, concerning the fate of King Richard I of England, who had been captured by an imperial vassal during his return from the Crusade.[39] William offered to mediate the conflict between his nephew and Richard at a conference to be arranged by the emperor and King Philip, but Richard feared with some justification that the proposal was designed to prevent his release and persuaded the emperor to abandon the plan.[40]

William acted as a diplomatic representative for his royal nephew again in the final years of his career, when he attempted to resolve Philip's conflict with the papacy concerning his second marriage. Philip deserted his second wife Ingeborg and wished to marry his mistress Agnes of Meran.[41] The king's actions provoked his excommunication by the pope.[42] William acted as an intermediary between Philip and Pope Innocent III, who issued a letter on 2 November 1201 which recognised the legitimacy of the children of Philip and Agnes.[43] Philip then ended the dispute by

37. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.97D
38. ibid., col.98C
39. Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 3, *MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.163[6]
40. ibid.
41. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.99C
42. ibid.
43. Innocent III, Potthast 1499, *MPL* 214, col.1191D

returning to Ingeborg.[44] William had again proved his value to the French king, as a leading royal servant who was also a member of the sacred college. His value to the curia as an external cardinal was more dubious, although he certainly retained the confidence of successive popes, including Innocent III who made the concession concerning Philip's matrimonial dispute in correspondence with William and other French prelates. William became seriously ill in the course of his third journey to Rome in 1201 and he died in the following year on 7 September 1202 at Laon.[45]

William was an external cardinal who served simultaneously as a member of the sacred college and as the archbishop of the most important metropolitan see in France. William was one of four French cardinals who were appointed to the college by Alexander.[46] His elevation underlined Alexander's consistent concern to consolidate the papacy's close connections with the Capetian monarchy. William was not at all a permanent adviser of the pope and he served the papacy under Alexander and his successors almost exclusively as a permanent legate in his native kingdom. While he held the office of a native legate, William became primarily a faithful royal servant after King Philip II secured his collaboration as an adviser by 1182.[47] He was essentially an aristocratic French prelate who was preoccupied with the interests of the French king. William of Champagne was an exceptional figure among the cardinals elevated by Alexander, as an external cardinal whose allegiance was given outside the papal curia.

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44. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.99C
45. ibid., col.100C
46. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.54
47. *Ecclesia Remensis, Gallia Christiana* 9, col.96E-97A

JOHN CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. SISTO

John was perhaps the most obscure member of the college of cardinals under Alexander III. Nothing is known about John's origins or his previous career before his elevation. He left only a minimal record in the contemporary sources.[1] Indeed John's existence is known only because of a single recorded appearance in the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III.[2]

The date of John's elevation to the college is not recorded by the sources, but it is likely that he was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Sisto late in 1168 or in early January 1169. John witnessed a papal privilege for the first time on 16 February 1169.[3] Alexander's privilege confirmed the rights and possessions of the Cistercian monastery of Fontenay, which had been placed under the protection of the apostolic see by Pope Eugenius III.[4] This privilege contained John's only subscription to any papal letter or document.[5] The privilege for the Cistercian monastery indeed remains the sole record of the cardinal's career in the contemporary sources.[6] Although the date of his death is not definitely identified, it is most likely that John died in the early months of 1169, only a short time after his appointment to the college.

John's career was shrouded almost completely in obscurity. He is known to historians only because of a single subscription in the extant privileges of the pontificate. It is evident that John of S. Sisto was a member of the papal entourage so briefly that his very existence has passed almost unnoticed.

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1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63
2. W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1906, Beiheft II, Papsturkunden in Frankeich II* 27, pp.51-52
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.121

THEODIN CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. VITALE AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF PORTO

Theodin was a native of Arrone in central Italy.[1] He was a *magister,* who entered the service of the papacy well before his elevation to the sacred college.[2] Theodin was serving as a subdeacon of the Roman church by 1161, when he undertook a mission to Spain on behalf of the papacy.[3] Theodin and Leo, the chaplain of Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, worked to raise money for the pope in southern France and Spain between 1161 and 1162.[4] The subdeacon was also employed as an envoy to England in 1163, when he summoned the English prelates to attend the Council of Tours.[5] He also undertook a legation to Dalmatia, in concert with John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu and the subdeacon Vitellius, between 1163 and 1164.[6] While the mission is poorly documented, it is apparent that the legates achieved little success, as Alexander entrusted Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina with a further legation in 1164 to enhance papal authority in the region.[7] In 1163 Theodin was appointed to the office of *camerarius*, acting as one of the two chamberlains of the pope.[8] He held therefore an important position which dealt with the financial administration of the papal government.[9] Theodin's impressive record of service to the papacy, combined with his legal expertise, made him an eligible candidate for promotion to the sacred college.

Theodin was elevated to the college by Alexander III, who appointed him as cardinal

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
2. Alexander III, JL10645, *MPL*200, col.101D
3. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.78
4. ibid.
5. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.163
6. ibid., p.118
7. ibid., p.118
8. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.257
9. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.277

priest of S. Vitale on 18 March 1166.[10] He recorded his first subscription in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate on 18 March 1166, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the benefit of the north Italian monastery of S. Clement in Peschiera.[11] Theodin witnessed forty-nine papal letters and privileges between 18 March 1166 and 25 April 1179, when he recorded his final subscription as cardinal priest of S. Vitale.[12] The cardinal was a respected member of the papal entourage, who was called upon to witness the extant papal letters and privileges on a regular basis. Theodin was not, however, a permanent adviser of the pope. His pattern of subscriptions was interrupted between 9 September 1170 and 20 April 1176, when he was absent from the papal entourage.[13] This lengthy absence from the papal curia was caused by the prolonged legation undertaken by Theodin to King Henry II of England, following the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.[14] The cardinal's important legatine activity ensured that he never became a permanent member of the papal entourage.

Theodin undertook the most important legation of his career in 1171, following the murder of Thomas Becket by royal knights on 29 December 1170. The violent death of the archbishop, which marked the culmination of his intractable conflict with King

10. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
11. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A
12. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A, JL11269, Bull. Lat. p.42, JL11295, 423B, JL11276, 453C, JL11340, 449A, JL11341, 451B, JL11379, 469B, JL11385, 474A, JL11386, 477D, JL11389, 479C, JL11411, 491B, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11418, 499C, JL11421, 501C, JL11424, 502B, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576A, JL11614, 578C, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583B, JL11643, 605B, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11831, 695D, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077A, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133B, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144A, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214C, JL13370, 1223B, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.343
13. Alexander III, JL12695, *MPL*200, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B
14. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87

Henry II, caused widespread outrage throughout western Christendom. Alexander issued a general excommunication of the murderers and all those who had assisted them.[15] The pope also appointed Theodin and Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, as *legati a latere* to the Angevin court.[16] The legates were instructed to investigate the guilt of the king and conduct appropriate negotiations concerning the conditions of his reconciliation to the church.[17] The formidable challenge faced by the legates was made no easier by King Henry, who abruptly departed for Ireland late in 1171.[18] Theodin and Albert nevertheless conducted a highly effective legation in France during Henry's absence. The legates intervened vigorously in ecclesiastical disputes in Le Mans, Angers and Tours.[19] Their wide-ranging legatine activity extended also to Paris, where they secured the abdication of Ervisius, abbot of St. Victor in Paris because of his secular life-style.[20] The main business of the legation remained, however, in abeyance until Henry's return to Normandy in 1172.[21]

Theodin and Albert moved promptly to initiate negotiations with the king after his return to Normandy. The legates first met Henry on 16 May 1172, but the king failed to agree the terms sought by the legates for his reconciliation with the church.[22] The issues which dominated the negotiations were the nature of the king's responsibility for the crime and the restoration of normal relations between the papacy and the royal government.[23] The legates reached agreement with the king on 21 May 1172 at

15. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262
16. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.425; Alexander III, JL11897, *MPL*200, 730D
17. ibid.; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
18. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
19. ibid.
20. ibid.; Alexander III, JL12149, *MPL*200, col.887A; Guarin of S. Victor, Letters 1, *MPL*196, col.1387D-1389C; ibid.13, 1395C-1396A
21. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.85-87
22. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516
23. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262

Avranches.[24] Henry took a public oath that he had not ordered the murder of Becket, but admitted that he bore a degree of responsibility for the crime.[25] The king also made a series of commitments which were required by the legates. Henry pledged to allow appeals to the papacy from the English church and promised the restoration of the possessions of the church of Canterbury.[26] He also agreed to restore the possessions of the archbishop's adherents and to provide military aid to the kingdom of Jerusalem.[27] The legates then oversaw Henry's formal reconciliation with the church.[28] While royal control over the English church was by no means broken, the legates had secured important concessions from the Angevin ruler. The concession of free appeals to Rome was a particularly significant success for the papacy.[29] Moreover Henry's general agreement to abrogate customs hostile to the church opened the way for further negotiations between the papacy and the royal government.[30]

The legates immediately began the task of restoring normal ecclesiastical conditions within the English church. They acted to sanction elections for the many sees which had been left vacant during the conflict.[31] The actions of the legates in 1173 paved the way for elections in various dioceses, including Canterbury, Bath, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Winchester.[32] Albert and Theodin played a crucial part in restoring order to the English church after the severe problems caused by the

24. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516; Arnulf of Lisieux, Letters 74, *MPL* 200, col.103D; ibid. 118, 141A
25. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 771, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.513-516
26. ibid. 771, pp.513-516; ibid. 772, p.516; ibid. 774, p.520; ibid. 775, p.522
27. ibid; John of Salisbury, Letters 309, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.752-755
28. ibid.; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.473-484
29. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.260-262
30. M.G. Cheney, 'The Compromise of Avranches of 1172', *EHR* 56 (1941), pp.177-199
31. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 789, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.552-553
32. John of Salisbury, Letters 312, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L Brooke et al, pp.766-769; ibid. 316, pp.776-777; ibid. 319, pp.780-783; Gilbert Foliot, Letters 220, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L Brooke, pp.293-295; ibid. 221, pp.295-296; ibid. 222, pp.296-297

conflict. They also advised Alexander in favour of the canonisation of Thomas Becket, which was proclaimed in March 1173.[33] The cardinals exerted immense influence on the affairs of the church within the Angevin territories. While the power of the royal government concerning episcopal appointments remained substantial, the legation opened the way for the regular exercise of papal jurisdiction over the English church.[34] Theodin and Albert had conducted an exceptionally difficult legation with outstanding success.

Theodin's diplomatic skill was highly regarded by the pope, who employed him as a legate again in the negotiations which ended the schism. He was one of the seven cardinals appointed by Alexander to negotiate the peace with the empire.[35] Theodin formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals, including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, William, cardinal bishop of Porto, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[36] The cardinals initiated negotiations with Emperor Frederick I at Chioggia near Venice and sought to overcome his reluctance to make peace with the Lombard League.[37] They proposed that Frederick should swear an oath to observe a permanent peace with the papacy, peace with the king of Sicily for fifteen years and a truce with the Lombard League for six years.[38] Frederick acted to have the required oath sworn on his behalf by Dedo, count of Groitsch.[39] The diplomatic activity of the cardinals ensured that the

33. Alexander III, JL12219, *MPL*200, 901A, JL12201, 900B
34. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, pp.127-128
35. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446
36. ibid.
37. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
38. ibid.
39. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439

negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion. Theodin and his colleagues absolved Frederick from the bonds of excommunication, opening the way for his reconciliation with the pope in July 1177.[40] The cardinal was also present to witness the formal ratification of the Peace of Venice, by Henry, count of Dietz, on behalf of the emperor.[41] Theodin was a member of the select group of cardinals which secured the peace agreement with Alexander's great opponent. The Italian cardinal was numbered among the most effective diplomats in the college.

Theodin's capable service as a papal diplomat was appreciated by Alexander, who appointed him as cardinal bishop of Porto and S. Rufina by early May 1179.[42] He recorded his first subscription as cardinal bishop of Porto on 4 May 1179.[43] Theodin witnessed thirteen papal letters and privileges between 4 May 1179 and 24 May 1181.[44] His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 24 May 1181, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the liberty of the French monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer.[45] Theodin maintained a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage following his promotion.

The Italian cardinal remained a member of the papal entourage for some years after Alexander's death. Theodin maintained a record of activity in the extant letters and privileges of Pope Lucius III between 5 November 1181 and 11 November 1185.[46] He

40. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
41. *Constitutiones* 1, *MGH*, p.367
42. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
43. Alexander III, JL13411, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346
44. Alexander III, JL13411, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.346, JL13420, *MPL*200, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241A, JL13465, 1246C, JL13477, 1248B, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, JL13624, 1268C, JL14357, 1293A, JL14389, 1305A, JL14393, 1308C, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
45. JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
46. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431

served the papacy only briefly under Lucius' successor Pope Urban III.[47] Theodin maintained a record of activity in the extant letters and privileges of Urban's pontificate only from 9 December 1185 to 13 March 1186.[48] While the date of his death is not definitely identified, the cardinal certainly disappeared from the sources after 13 March 1186. It is most likely that Theodin died in 1186.

Theodin was a respected member of the papal entourage under Alexander, but he rendered his most important service to the papacy as a legate. He was the sole cardinal who contributed both to the Peace of Venice and the settlement between the papacy and King Henry II of England. He was one of the twelve cardinals appointed by Alexander who were previously in the service of the papacy. Theodin was also numbered among the nine *magistri* who were elevated to the college by Alexander. His legal expertise and proven record of service to the papacy were the typical attributes sought by the pope in his nominees to the sacred college. Theodin's career, as a *magister*, papal official and cardinal, reflected the forces which came to dominate the sacred college in the late twelfth century.

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47. F. Ughellus, *Portuenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra* 1, p.127
48. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.492

CINTHIUS CARDINAL DEACON OF S. ADRIANO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CECILIA

Cinthius Capelli was a native of the Trastevere district of Rome.[1] He was a member of the Papareschi family and a relative of Pope Innocent II.[2] Cinthius was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him on 14 March 1158 as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano.[3] He was not numbered among the cardinals who accompanied Adrian to Anagni in the summer of 1159, who were the pope's closest collaborators in the college.[4] Zenker is certainly correct, however, in identifying Cinthius as a loyal follower of the chancellor Roland.[5] The Victorines claimed that the cardinal indicated his support for the anti-pope "Victor IV" by proxy at the Council of Pavia.[6] The synodal letters of the Council recorded that Cinthius, who was prevented from attending the Council only by illness, pledged his obedience to "Victor IV" through an unnamed envoy.[7] The official records of the Council, issued by the Victorines, were essentially a work of propaganda. Cinthius' support for Alexander III was clearly established well before the Council of Pavia. He subscribed the letter issued by twenty-three cardinals to the emperor immediately after the divided election, which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's election.[8] Cinthius also joined most of his colleagues in issuing the appeal on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[9] It is likely that the Victorine progandists simply took advantage of

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59
2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636B, JL10579, 1637D
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154
6. Letters of the Council of Pavia 10, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752D
7. ibid.
8. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
9. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C

Cinthius' illness during the divided election itself[10] and claimed falsely that he was an adherent of the anti-pope.

Cinthius soon established a consistent record of activity as a member of Alexander's entourage. He recorded his first subscription of the pontificate on 9 April 1161, witnessing Alexander's letter to Syrus, archbishop of Genoa.[11] Cinthius maintained a consistent pattern of subscriptions as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano for over seventeen years. He witnessed no less than ninety-two papal letters and privileges in the period from 9 April 1161 until 6 September 1178.[12] Cinthius' final subscription as a cardinal deacon was recorded on 6 September 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the rights and possessions of the French monastery of Neuweiler-les-Saverne.[13] The cardinal deacon was a respected permanent adviser of the pope, who was called upon to witness the papal privileges on a regular basis.

Cinthius indeed was very rarely entrusted with external duties which went beyond his normal participation in the business of the papal entourage.[14] On an unknown date

10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154
11. Alexander III, JL10663, *MPL*200, col.115A
12. Alexander III, JL10663, *MPL*200, col.115A, JL10698, 131C, JL10717, 143D, JL10722, 147B, JL10741, 159D, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215C, JL10857, 217D, JL10875, 229D, JL10893, 241B, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255D, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295D, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318B, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345A, JL11177, 352D, JL11187, 356C, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11220, 386C, JL11221, 388C, JL11295, 423C, JL11276, 453D, JL11340, 449B, JL11379, 469C, JL11385, 474C, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11607, 574A, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588B, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597C, *MPL*200, 602C, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671C, JL11831, 695B, JL11878, 718D, JL12139, 870C, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902D, Jl12215, 905A, JL12216, 907B, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919C, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974C, JL12398, 999C, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069C, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077B, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12779, 1098D, JL12789, 1099C, JL12796, 1101A, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110C, JL12873, 1123D, JL12909, 1137D, JL13012, 1159B, JL13047, 1166B, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176A, JL13096, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.324
13. Alexander III, JL13096, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.324
14. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154

between 1160 and 1163, Cinthius and John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu, acted on behalf of the curia to resolve a dispute between the monasteries of Fontenay and Le Mans.[15] Likewise in 1167 the pope informed Henry, archbishop of Rheims, that Cinthius and Manfred, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, had previously judged a case between two obscure French litigants, Ersendis and O. Rufo.[16] The two cardinals had adjudicated the dispute in favour of Ersendis, judging that Rufo owed her a considerable sum of money.[17] The settlement by Cinthius of certain judicial disputes was, however, part of the routine business of the papal entourage.[18] The cardinal's activity formed an integral part of his career as a permanent papal adviser.

Cinthius' role within the sacred college was illustrated by his connections with Gerhoch, provost of Reichersberg. The cardinal had developed friendly relations with the eminent German churchman and theologian and he played an important part in resolving Gerhoch's conflict with Folmar of Triefenstein.[19] Gerhoch's christological writings had provoked protests by Folmar to the papacy and Alexander delegated to Cinthius the duty of dealing with the dispute.[20] Cinthius communicated to Gerhoch the favourable outcome of the curia's deliberations, informing him that the pope had upheld the orthodoxy of his writings and dismissed the claims of his opponents.[21] But the cardinal also warned Gerhoch that he should not provoke public argument over doctrine, since he might lead people into error and cause trouble for himself.[22] It is

15. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154
16. Alexander III, JL11354, *MPL* 200, col.457D-458A
17. ibid.
18. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154
19. ibid., p.155
20. ibid.
21. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Letters 21, *MPL* 193, col.585D-586A
22. ibid.

evident that Cinthius had investigated the case on the pope's behalf and therefore played a central role in the resolution of the dispute. The important function performed by Cinthius in the theological dispute reflected the increasing specialisation of the twelfth century curia, which was characterised by the delegation of judicial cases to members of the college.[23] The delegation of the case to Cinthius underlined his status in the college as an influential papal adviser, who commanded the respect of the pope and his colleagues.

Cinthius was employed as a papal diplomat hardly at all throughout his lengthy career. He acted as a papal legate only once, when he undertook a diplomatic mission to northern Italy in 1177, with William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli.[24] As the legation was undertaken in the same year as the conclusion of the Peace of Venice, it is likely that the cardinals were working to maintain close connections with the pope's allies, the Lombard city-states, even after the conflict between the empire and the papacy was ended. The legation, however, formed part of the normal duties of the curia,[25] at a time when the pope and most cardinals were also engaged in the business of peacemaking in the same region. Cinthius' activity in 1177 conformed entirely to the normal pattern of his career. He accompanied Alexander in his journey to Venice, reaching Trieste with the pope in March 1177.[26] Cinthius was numbered among the cardinals who travelled with Alexander to Zadar, before their entry into Venice.[27] The cardinal deacon was also present with many of his colleagues at the ceremony

23. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.190-191
24. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.154
25. ibid.
26. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.443[39]
27. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.437

on 25 July 1177, when Emperor Frederick I formally ratified the Peace of Venice.[28] Cinthius remained a constant member of the papal entourage in 1177, as he had done throughout the conflict with the empire. The cardinal remained an influential permanent adviser, who was not called upon at all to serve as an advocate of the papal cause, throughout the schism.

Cinthius' qualities as an adviser were certainly appreciated by the pope. Alexander promoted Cinthius on 22 September 1178, appointing him as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia.[29] His first subscription after his promotion was recorded on 1 October 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the possessions and privileges of the church of the Ste-Opportune in Paris.[30] Cinthius witnessed fifteen papal letters and privileges from 1 October 1178 until 24 May 1181.[31] His final subscription of the pontificate was given on the latter date, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the liberty and possessions of the monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer.[32] The regular pattern of Cinthius' subscriptions reflected the consistent nature of his career. Cinthius remained after his promotion a constant fixture within the papal entourage until the end of the pontificate.

Cinthius served only briefly as a papal adviser under Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III. He maintained a record of activity in Lucius' pontificate only from 5 November 1181 until 18 June 1182.[33] Pfaff believed that he later became cardinal

28. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, ed G.H. Pertz, p.95[28]
29. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59
30. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, col.1185D
31. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, col.1185D, JL13272, 1201D, JL13334, 1214D, JL13361, 1221C, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13624, 1268D, JL14357, 1293A, JL14375, 1298D, JL14393, 1308A, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
32. Alexander III, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
33. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431

priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and served as a military commander for Pope Innocent III in Sicily.[34] This theory is, however, highly improbable. Cinthius' final subscription as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia was recorded on 18 June 1182, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the possessions and privileges of the French church of S. Maria of Autrey.[35] Cinthius, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, left no record in the sources until 17 February 1191, in the pontificate of Lucius' third successor, Pope Clement III.[36] It is most unlikely that Cinthius of S. Cecilia simply disappeared from the sources and then reemerged almost a decade later bearing a different title. Brixius is correct in concluding that Cinthius died as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia during the pontificate of Lucius III,[37] while it appears that his namesake was elevated to the college in 1191 by Clement III. It is most likely that Cinthius Capelli died shortly after June 1182, no more than a year after Alexander himself.

Cinthius served the papacy under Alexander exclusively as a member of the papal entourage. He was an influential member of the cohort of permanent advisers within the sacred college. Cinthius' career as an adviser illustrated the specialisation of the curia in the twelfth century, which was marked by the extensive delegation of judicial functions to individual cardinals. The preoccupation of the papal curia with the enormous volume of legal and administrative business in Alexander's pontificate underlined the value of capable and conscientious permanent advisers such as Cinthius Capelli.

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34. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale Unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.87-88
35. Lucius III, JL14666, *MPL* 201, col.1149D
36. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.536
37. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59

RAINER CARDINAL DEACON OF S. ADRIANO

Rainer's origins and early career remain largely unknown, due to the paucity of the records concerning the cardinal in the contemporary sources. Rainer was elevated to the sacred college late in the pontificate of Alexander III, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano on 22 September 1178.[1] Rainer was the successor to Cinthius, who was appointed on the same date as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia.[2]

Rainer established a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage under Alexander from 2 November 1178 until 15 April 1181.[3] His first subscription was recorded on 2 November 1178, when he witnessed a papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and rights of the monastery of S. Maria of Esrom in Denmark.[4] Rainer maintained a consistent pattern of subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges issued by the pope from the Third Lateran Council until the end of the pontificate. His first subscription after the Third Lateran Council was recorded on 7 April 1179, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the monastery of S.Nazarius of Lorsch in Germany.[5] The cardinal deacon witnessed nine privileges, in which his name was definitely identified, in the period from 7 April 1179 until 15 April 1181.[6] Rainer's final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 15 April 1181, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the church of Bourg-Achard in France.[7] Rainer had

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
2. ibid., p.59
3. Alexander III, JL13370, *MPL*200, 1223C, JL13420, 1237C, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13477, 1248C, JL13595, 1265D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298B, JL14389, 1305B
4. Alexander III, JL13117, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.326
5. Alexander III, JL13370, *MPL*200, 1223C
6. Alexander III, JL13370, *MPL*200, 1223C, JL13420, 1237C, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13477, 1248C, JL13595, 1265D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298B, JL14389, 1305B
7. Alexander III, JL14389, *MPL*200, 1305B

established himself as a regular adviser of the pope in the last two years of the pontificate. No legations by Rainer were recorded in this period by the contemporary sources. The regular pattern of his subscriptions provides a clear indication that he remained in the papal entourage, presumably employed by the pope as an adviser rather than a diplomat or advocate. It is evident that the cardinal deacon of S. Adriano served the papacy primarily as a member of the papal entourage.

Rainer remained a permanent papal adviser under Alexander's successor. He maintained a record of activity in the pontificate of Lucius III from 5 November 1181 until 15 July 1182.[8] Rainer's final subscription was recorded on 15 July 1182, when he witnessed the privilege issed by Lucius III for the monastery of La Cava in southern Italy.[9] While the date of the cardinal's death is not definitely identified, he disappeared from the contemporary sources after 15 July 1182. His successor Gerard left his first record as cardinal deacon of S. Adriano in the extant privileges of the pontificate on 12 January 1183.[10] Rainer of S. Adriano died in the last six months of 1182.[11]

Rainer was a relatively minor figure in the sacred college under Alexander. He played no part in the great struggle to uphold Alexander's cause during the schism, due to the late timing of his appointment. Rainer was, however, a respected member of the papal entourage, who was recorded as a witness to the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis during the last years of the pontificate. Rainer of S. Adriano was a member of the cohort of permanent papal advisers within the sacred college.

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8. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.431-432
9. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Salerno, La Cava und Neapel* 22, p.257
10. Lucius III, JL14813, *MPL*201, 1175D
11. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66

HERMAN CARDINAL DEACON OF S. ANGELO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. SUSANNA

Herman was numbered among the *magistri*, the legal experts who formed a growing element in the college from the middle of the twelfth century.[1] The cohort of *magistri* was increasingly vital to the efficient administration of the curia, due to the increased volume of legal business which led to the expansion of the papacy's judicial functions in the course of the twelfth century.[2] Herman became a subdeacon of the Roman church in the final year of the pontificate of Adrian IV.[3] He served as a subdeacon and scriptor in April and May 1159.[4]

Herman was employed by Alexander III as a notary and subdeacon of the Roman church from the outset of his pontificate.[5] Herman's role as an official of the papal curia was, however, considerably more significant than his titles suggested. For the first six years of Alexander's pontificate the papal letters and privileges were given *"per manum Hermanni, sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae subdiaconi et notarii"*.[6] The subdeacon Herman exercised the administrative functions normally performed by the chancellor of the Roman church from 15 October 1159 until 5 August 1165, without holding the title of chancellor.[7] The office of chancellor became vacant in 1159 due to the election of the chancellor Roland as Pope Alexander III and the pope chose to maintain a formal vacancy in the office until 1178.[8] Herman was therefore the principal administrator of the papal government in the early years of the pontificate.

1. Louis VII, Letters 191, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.59C
2. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.75B; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.274
7. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.274
8. ibid.

It is evident that Herman occupied a position of considerable importance, even though he was elevated to the college of cardinals only late in his career.

Herman's correspondence with the royal court in France on behalf of the papacy underlined his status in the curia. In 1163 Herman entered into correspondence with Peter, the nephew of Hugh of Champfleury whom he employed as an intermediary to his uncle, the bishop of Soissons and chancellor to king Louis VII.[9] Herman sought Hugh's aid to encourage the French king to place the church of S. John the Evangelist in Bourges under his protection.[10] Herman was effectively acting as the papal chancellor, seeking the assistance of his French counterpart, Hugh of Champfleury, on a matter of concern to the papal court. Herman was recommended to the king by William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who supported his efforts to secure royal protection for the church.[11] The cardinal emphasized his friendship for Herman in fulsome terms: *"Hermannus dilectus et specialis amicus noster"*.[12] It is unlikely that William's expressions of goodwill sprang entirely from personal friendship for the subdeacon. The cardinal was evidently aware of Herman's important administrative role and of the value which Alexander attached to his service. Herman was no ordinary papal notary but the principal administrative assistant of the pope for the first six years of Alexander's pontificate.

The high value which Alexander placed on Herman's service was underlined by his appointment as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo on 17 December 1165.[13] Herman continued to act as the principal cleric of the chancery for some time after his

9. Louis VII, Letters 193, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.59C
10. ibid.
11. Louis VII, Letters 191, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.58E
12. ibid.
13. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62

elevation to the college. A papal privilege for the monastery of S. Clement in Peschiera on 18 March 1166 was given by Herman as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo.[14] He continued his administrative duties even after his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Susanna in March 1166.[15] The papal letters and privileges were still issued by Herman as cardinal priest of S. Susanna from 8 April 1166 until 11 October 1166.[16] The cardinal ceased to issue the documents of the papal chancery after November 1166, when he was replaced by Gerard, a notary of the Roman church.[17] Pacaut believed that Herman reappeared briefly as the principal cleric of the chancery and issued a papal privilege on 4 May 1167, which provided the final record of activity by the cardinal shortly before his death.[18] This privilege which confirmed the rights and possessions of the church of Modena was certainly issued by Herman as cardinal priest of S. Susanna.[19] The privilege was, however, correctly identified in the register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld as a letter which was issued on 4 May 1166.[20] Pacaut's conclusions were based on an incorrect entry in the *Patrologia Latina*, which placed the letter in 1167, probably due to an error by the scribe.[21] Herman had certainly ceased to serve as the de facto chancellor by 1167, although he was still the leading administrative figure of the papal curia in the summer and autumn of 1166 even after his appointment as a cardinal priest. Herman's disappearance from the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate after November 1166 heralded the end of his career.

14. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, 411B
15. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
16. ibid.
17. JL11295, *MPL*200, 423B
18. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.274
19. JL11276, *MPL*200, 453B
20. JL11276, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.199
21. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 454D

It is most likely that Herman died towards the end of 1166, about the same time as his administrative role was taken over by the notary Gerard. It is inconceivable that Alexander would have replaced such a valued administrator, who had continued in his previous role after his elevation to the college, unless the cardinal had died.

The most notable feature of Herman's career was his role as the head of the papal chancery, even though he never held the title of chancellor. Alexander deliberately maintained a formal vacancy in the office of chancellor for almost two decades.[22] It is likely that Alexander chose not to appoint a leading cardinal as chancellor because he feared the development of factionalism in the college. A powerful chancellor could become a focus for policy-based divisions, as Roland had done in the previous pontificate when he became closely associated with the Sicilian policy. Herman, a subdeacon possessing legal and administrative experience, fulfilled Alexander's purpose admirably. He discharged the important administrative duties of the chancery with unobtrusive competence. The delegation of the chancellor's functions to the capable but low-profile Herman ensured that no cardinal would become as prominent and controversial as Alexander himself had been in the previous pontificate.

Herman was an important papal administrator under Alexander despite the brevity of his term in the college. Alexander's deliberate suspension of the office of chancellor[23] was rendered practicable by Herman's reliable and unassuming service to the papacy. The significant part played by Herman in the papal government under Alexander reflected the increasing prominence of the *magistri* within the papal administration and college of cardinals in the late twelfth century.

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22. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.274
23. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.97

HUGH CARDINAL DEACON OF S. ANGELO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CLEMENTE

Hugh was a member of the great Roman noble family of the Pierleoni.[1] He was the grand-nephew of the anti-pope "Anacletus II" and the nephew of Hugh, cardinal bishop of Frascati.[2] The elder Hugh was appointed to the sacred college by Alexander in 1166, securing a special distinction for his family which had forfeited the favour of the papacy after the Anacletan schism.[3] Hugh died shortly after his elevation, but his nephew was to render more lasting service to the papacy. The younger Hugh first entered the service of the Roman church in 1159.[4] He served as a regular canon of the congregation of S. Victor in Paris before his appointment as a cardinal and he later retained friendly connections with Guarin, abbot of S. Victor, as a member of the sacred college.[5]

Hugh was appointed by the pope as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo in 1173. While the date of his elevation is not definitely identified by the contemporary sources, Hugh's first subscription was recorded on 14 March 1173, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the benefit of the church of S. Stephen of Dijon.[6] It is most likely that Hugh was elevated to the college in early March 1173. Hugh's elevation was certainly influenced by the local power of his family in Rome. The Pierleoni were the most prominent noble leaders within the Roman commune since its foundation in 1143.[7] Alexander urgently required the support of the Roman nobility against the emperor

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
2. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29, pp.369-370
3. ibid.
4. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
5. Guarin of S. Victor, Letters 9, *MPL* 196, col.1392D-1393C
6. Alexander III, JL12205, *MPL* 200, col.902D
7. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.181

and the anti-pope "Calixtus III". Hugh's elevation was a clever political manoeuvre by the pope to consolidate the support of an influential Roman noble clan.

Hugh maintained a record of activity as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo in the period from 14 March 1173 until 29 July 1178.[8] But he never established a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage during this period. Hugh witnessed only twelve papal privileges from 14 March 1173 until 19 June 1178, which were preserved in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate compiled in the *Patrologia Latina*.[9] His final subscription as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, which was preserved in P.F. Kehr's collection of papal documents, was recorded on 29 July 1178.[10] Hugh witnessed the papal privilege which guaranteed the protection of the apostolic see for the Italian church of S. Peter de Ripa.[11] He therefore recorded only thirteen subscriptions to the extant papal privileges during his entire term as a cardinal deacon. Hugh was not numbered among the permanent advisers of the pope during this period, because he was employed by Alexander primarily as a papal diplomat.

Hugh undertook an important legation to England, which involved his absence from the papal curia for over three years from 1 March 1174 until 5 April 1177.[12] He was instructed by Alexander to resolve intractable jurisdictional issues between the church and the English crown, which were still unsettled in the aftermath of the conflict between the king and Thomas Becket.[13] Hugh, who entered England in October 1175,

8. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
9. Alexander III, JL12205, *MPL*200, col.902D, JL12238, 917A, JL12241, 919C, JL12349, 974C, JL12796, 1101B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12873, 1123A, JL12898, 1133B, JL12909, 1137D, JL13012, 1159B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176A
10. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1905, Nachtrage zu den Papsturkunden Italiens. I.* 25, pp.354-355
11. ibid.
12. Alexander III, JL12349, *MPL*200, col.974C, JL12796, 1101B
13. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.173-174

enjoyed considerable success in his negotiations with King Henry II.[14] Hugh was the first *"legatus a latere"* permitted by Henry to cross into England itself.[15] The cardinal legate was not initially well received by the English clergy as he enjoyed precedence over Becket's successor Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who held a permanent legation.[16] Hugh, however, secured important concessions from the king, including the settlement of the question of criminous clerks, which had been a bone of contention between the king and Becket.[17] Henry conceded that clerics would not be brought before secular judges, unless they were held guilty of encroaching upon the privilege of the royal forest.[18] Hugh won a concession of great importance to the papacy by agreeing a limited exemption which mattered very little to Alexander. Henry also pledged that the murder of clerics would be severely punished, through a judicial procedure which involved joint action by the royal judges and the ecclesiastical authorities.[19] Hugh had succeeded in resolving complex issues, concerning the conflicting claims of royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, much to the advantage of the papacy.

Hugh was highly successful in achieving the original objectives of his diplomatic mission. He was, however, much less effective in fulfilling the pope's hopes for a resolution to the tangled marriage dispute between France and England. King Louis VII had accused Henry of delaying the marriage between his son Richard and Louis' daughter Alice, who was awaiting the marriage at the English court.[20] Alexander

14. Robert de Monte, *Chronica, MGH, Scriptores* 6, p.521[47]
15. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.129
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. ibid., p.131
20. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.100

instructed Hugh and Peter, cardinal priest of S. Grisogono on 21 May 1176 to exhort Henry to arrange the marriage or return the princess to her father.[21] Hugh had only recently completed his negotiations with the Angevin king and chose to evade the pope's instruction, fearing that the success of his legation could be jeopardised.[22] Instead he concluded his legation to the English court in July 1176, leaving for Normandy with the archbishop of Rouen.[23] Hugh was accompanied by the envoys of King William II of Sicily, who had negotiated a marriage contract between their ruler and Henry's daughter Joanna.[24] As Hugh was specifically linked with the Sicilian envoys by the author of the *"Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I"*[25], it is likely that the legate was well-disposed towards the marriage alliance. The interests of the papacy were certainly well served by the marriage contract between the powerful Angevin ruler and Alexander's most reliable ally. Hugh concluded his legation to the Angevin dominions in Normandy, although the contemporary sources provide very little information about his work in the province. He was mainly concerned with the resolution of minor ecclesiastical disputes. On an unknown date in 1176 Hugh instructed the clergy of Bayeux to settle their debts to the bishop, Henry.[26] This was one of the very few interventions by the legate in the affairs of the local church which were recorded by the sources. He spent only a relatively brief period in Normandy, returning to Rome by 5 April 1177.[27] Hugh's work in Normandy was evidently a minor postscript to his highly successful legation in England.

21. Alexander III, JL12705, *MPL* 200, col.1072C
22. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.100
23. ibid., p.108
24. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.91[23]
25. ibid.
26. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.108
27. ibid., pp.108-109

Hugh was again employed as a diplomatic representative of the papacy in the negotiations with Roman commune in 1178. Alexander, who had been excluded from Rome for most of his pontificate, was eventually invited to return by the Roman commune following the end of the schism.[28] Alexander appointed three cardinals to obtain appropriate security guarantees from the commune for the papal court, including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, John, cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Hugh of S. Angelo.[29] Hugh and his colleagues secured the agreement of the commune to maintain peace and security for the pope and his entourage: the Romans also pledged to restore the papal possessions which they had appropriated during the schism.[30] The peace agreement paved the way for Alexander's triumphant return to Rome in 1178.[31] The treaty proved, however, only a temporary advance for the papacy, as the Romans rebelled again in 1179.[32] But even the transitory success secured by Hugh and his colleagues was a worthwhile achievement, as the agreement enabled Alexander to preside over the Third Lateran Council in his pontifical city in March 1179.[33] Hugh's connections with the Roman nobility clearly made him a valuable advocate for the interests of the papal curia in his native city.

Hugh's capable service as a diplomat was certainly appreciated by the pope, who promoted him in the autumn of 1178. Hugh was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Clemente on 22 September 1178.[34] The Roman cardinal established a more regular record as a member of the papal entourage after his promotion. His first subscription

28. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.445-446
29. ibid., p.446
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
32. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.174
33. ibid.
34. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62

as cardinal priest of S. Clemente was recorded on 14 November 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege issued for the benefit of the Order of St. John.[35] He witnessed fifteen privileges which were recorded in the extant letters and privileges of Alexander's pontificate in the period from 14 November 1178 until 24 May 1181.[36] Hugh's final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 24 May 1181, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the possessions, privileges and liberty of the French church of St. Bertin in St. Omer.[37] The cardinal had established a regular pattern of subscriptions to the extant papal documents following his promotion. Hugh was a respected papal adviser during the final years of Alexander's pontificate.

The Roman cardinal was, however, still employed as an advocate for the papacy in its uneasy relations with the local nobles of the Patrimony of St. Peter. When local Roman nobles in the Patrimony attempted to exalt the fourth anti-pope "Innocent III", Hugh was selected by Alexander to deal with the pretender.[38] In 1179 Hugh succeeded in capturing the anti-pope, who was compelled to submit to Alexander and imprisoned indefinitely.[39] The threat posed to the pope by the latest claimant was negligible, but Hugh had acted decisively to eliminate any challenge to the legitimacy of Alexander's position. Hugh Pierleoni remained an effective advocate of the papacy among the Roman aristocracy until the end of Alexander's pontificate.

Hugh served the papacy only briefly under Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III. He

35. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Malta* 17, pp.395-396
36. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Malta* 17, pp.395-396, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.326-327, Alexander III, JL13334, *MPL* 200, col.1214D, JL13370, 1223B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241A, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, JL13624, 1268D, JL14375, 1298D, JL14389, 1305A, JL14393, 1308A, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
37. Alexander III, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
38. Sigebert, *Continuatio Aquicinctina, MGH, Scriptores* 6, p.418[25-27]
39. ibid.

left a record of activity in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate only from 5 November 1181 until 17 March 1182.[40] Hugh's final subscription was recorded on 17 March 1182.[41] Brixius believed that Hugh's final subscription was given on 15 July 1182.[42] Certainly Hugh, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, registered his subscription on 15 July 1182, to a papal privilege for the benefit of the Italian monastery of La Cava.[43] But the subscriber was not Hugh Pierleoni but Hugh the newly appointed cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, who recorded his first subscription on 14 July 1182.[44] Hugh Pierleoni disappeared from the sources after 17 March 1182. Although the date of his death is not definitely identified by the sources, it is most likely that Hugh of S. Clemente died shortly after his final subscription in the spring of 1182.

Hugh Pierleoni was one of only three Roman cardinals elevated by Alexander. His elevation underlined the rehabilitation of the Pierleoni a generation after the Anacletan schism. While Hugh became a regular adviser after his promotion, he rendered his most valuable service as a papal diplomat. He was primarily a highly effective advocate of the interests of the papacy, both in the kingdoms of western Europe and especially in Rome itself. Hugh's background as a regular canon underlined the influence exerted by the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century upon the papacy under Alexander III. The career of Hugh Pierleoni, a member of the Roman aristocracy and a regular canon, illustrated the diverse elements which shaped the composition of the sacred college under Alexander III.

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40. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
41. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.438-439
42. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
43. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Salerno, La Cava und Neapel* 22, p.257
44. Alexander III, JL14681, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.442

JOHN CARDINAL DEACON OF S. ANGELO

John was one of the lesser known cardinals appointed to the sacred college by Alexander III. His origins and early career have not been recorded in the contemporary sources. John was elevated to the college on 22 September 1178, when the pope appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo.[1] He was the successor to Hugh Pierleoni, who was appointed on the same date as cardinal priest of S. Clemente.[2]

John established a record of regular activity as a member of the papal entourage. The cardinal deacon's first subscription was recorded on 30 October 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of S. Benedict of Crema in Lombardy.[3] John established a consistent record of subscriptions in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate in the period from the Third Lateran Council in March 1179 until Alexander's death in August 1181. He witnessed Alexander's privilege on 26 March 1179, which confirmed the rights and possessions of the German church of St. Georgen in the Black Forest.[4] John subscribed sixteen privileges which were recorded in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate between 26 March 1179 and 19 July 1181.[5] On the latter date the cardinal deacon witnessed the privilege issued by the pope which guaranteed the possessions of the canons in the church of Treviso.[6] John was a respected member

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63
2. ibid.
3. Alexander III, JL13116, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.326
4. Alexander III, JL13342, *MPL*200, 1219C
5. Alexander III, JL13342, *MPL*200, 1219C, JL13370, 1223C, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265D, JL13624, 1268D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298A, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308B, JL14409, 1312B, JL14414, 1314C
6. Alexander III, JL14414, 1314C

of the papal entourage, who was called upon to witness papal letters and privileges on a regular basis in the last years of the pontificate. His final subscription was recorded shortly before Alexander's death. John witnessed the privilege issued on 28 July 1181, which confirmed the rights and possessions of the monastery of S. Peter de Monte.[7] The cardinal deacon was a permanent adviser of the pope in the last two years of Alexander's pontificate, when he was a constant presence within the papal entourage. John remained a member of the sacred college only briefly under Alexander's successor, leaving no further evidence of activity after Alexander's death. The extant letters and privileges of Pope Lucius III contain no record of activity by the cardinal deacon as a member of the papal entourage.[8] His successor Hugh recorded his first subscription as cardinal deacon of S. Angelo on 14 July 1182.[9] John had certainly died by then and Brixius believed that the cardinal was dead by 21 May 1182.[10] The date of his death cannot be identified with any certainty, but it is evident that John died in the first year of the pontificate of Lucius III. The cardinal deacon did not long survive the pope who had appointed him to the college.

John was a relatively minor member of the college of cardinals under Alexander III. He was virtually unknown to the contemporary sources and was recorded only by the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III. He played no part in Alexander's struggle for universal recognition due to the timing of his appointment. The cardinal became, however, a permanent member of the papal entourage after his elevation. John of S. Angelo was a minor member of the advisory cohort in the sacred college.

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7. JL14420, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.417
8. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.431-432
9. JL14681, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.442
10. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.63

BOSO CARDINAL DEACON OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. PUDENTIANA

Boso, the principal historian of the twelfth century papacy, was a Tuscan churchman. While historians previously considered him to be English because of his close contacts with English churchmen, Boso was definitely identified by Geisthardt as a native of Loppia near Lucca.[1] It is likely that he was a regular canon of S. Maria di Reno in Bologna, as his later titular church of S. Pudentiana enjoyed close connections with the famous congregation of regular canons.[2] Boso began his service to the papacy in 1135 when he served as an assistant to Guido, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, during the cardinal's legation to Spain.[3] Boso acted as a papal legate to Spain in 1148, summoning the Spanish clergy to the Council of Rheims.[4] Following the death of Cardinal Guido, who served as papal chancellor between 1146 and 1149, Boso was given authority over the papal chancery by Pope Eugenius III.[5] While the Tuscan churchman never held the title of chancellor, he was the head of the chancery as a scriptor of the Roman church between 6 November 1149 and 27 May 1152.[6] Boso received official appointment as a leading office-holder of the papal government under Pope Adrian IV, who nominated him in 1154 as the papal chamberlain (*camerarius*).[7] As chamberlain Boso was the director of the papal finances and he also assumed responsibility for the administration of the Patrimony of St. Peter.[8] He was an experienced papal official well before his elevation to the sacred college.

1. F. Geisthardt, *Der Kämmerer Boso*, p.39; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152
2. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I, Mon. ss. Adriani atque Laurentii* 3, p.59; Trombelli, *Memorie istoriche concernenti le due Canoniche di S. Maria di Reno* 55, p.277
3. *Historia Compostellana* 3, *MPL* 170, col.1218C
4. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152
5. ibid.
6. Eugenius III, JL9355, *MPL* 180, col.1400D; JL9585, 1529D
7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
8. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152

Boso was appointed as cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano by Adrian IV on 21 December 1156.[9] The chamberlain was Adrian's trusted associate, who became a leading agent of the pope's territorial policy in central Italy.[10] The territories claimed by the papal curia were frequently dominated by the Roman noble families or local Italian communes.[11] Adrian made a sustained effort to assert papal authority in the Patrimony of St. Peter, employing Boso as his principal representative in the region.[12] The cardinal led a military expedition in 1158 against the minor noble Adenulph of Aquapuzza who was forced to submit to the pope as a vassal.[13] Boso played an important part in the acquisition of *castra specialia Ecclesiae*, special fortresses of the church within the Patrimony, which were held by papal vassals.[14] The cardinal was a zealous exponent of Adrian's policy, which was based upon the use of feudal institutions to enhance papal authority within the Patrimony.[15] Boso was evidently numbered among Adrian's closest collaborators.

The cardinal deacon was one of the thirteen cardinals present with the pope at Anagni in the summer of 1159, while Adrian was engaged in negotiations with the enemies of the empire, including the Lombard city-states and the kingdom of Sicily.[16] Boso was a leading member of the "Sicilian party" in the sacred college. He naturally emerged as an important ally of the chancellor Roland in the divided election of 1159. Indeed the canons of the church of St. Peter, who supported Octavian, claimed that

9. Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397; J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
10. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.192-194
11. ibid.
12. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.192-194
13. ibid.
14. Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.396; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198; Continuity and Innovation*, pp.30-31
15. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.195-196
16. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, 1637B

Boso sought to use military force to secure Roland's election.[17] The canons alleged that the chamberlain had established a garrison in their church to control the venue of the election and intimidate the cardinals.[18] The Roman clergy denounced Boso in vitriolic terms, identifying him as the author of evil who had caused the schism: "...auctorem scelerum Bosonem, primogenitum Sathanae...".[19] The account of Boso's enemies was certainly not entirely reliable and was indeed violently biased against the cardinal deacon. Boso, however, enjoyed considerable authority as the papal chamberlain under Adrian and certainly controlled the guards of the papal household in the palace of St. Peter's in 1159.[20] He was definitely concerned to prevent any attempt by the pro-imperial minority within the college to control the election of Adrian's successor and he used the garrison of St. Peter's to safeguard Alexander III immediately after the disputed election.[21] It is likely, therefore, that Boso acted to obstruct an attempt by Octavian's Roman adherents to control the election, but no real evidence exists that the chamberlain sought to intimidate the cardinals.[22] The vitriolic abuse which he received from the anti-pope's partisans was a tribute to Boso's efficacy in opposing their cause.

Boso was a loyal advocate of Alexander III throughout the schism. He was one of the twenty-three cardinals who issued the letter to Emperor Frederick I which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's elevation.[23] Boso also subscribed the appeal addressed

17. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
18. ibid.; W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, pp.73-74
19. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
20. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.75; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.256
21. ibid.
22. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
23. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D

by the cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[24] Boso ceased to act as chamberlain and administrator of the Patrimony at the beginning of the pontificate.[25] The latter function indeed became largely redundant as the pope's authority in central Italy collapsed early in the schism, as a result of Frederick's effective military support for the anti-pope "Victor IV".[26] Boso himself related that the entire Patrimony of St. Peter, except for the towns of Orvieto, Terracina and Anagni as well as the fortress of Castro dei Volsci, was seized by imperial forces by 1161.[27] The cardinal instead played an important part in securing finance for the embattled papal curia during the conflict. He undertook various legations which were designed almost entirely to raise money for the papacy. Boso was frequently employed as a legate in his native Tuscany, where he raised money for the papacy in Pisa in September 1161.[28] He undertook a similar legation to Genoa between March and August 1162, again collecting money for Alexander.[29] Boso was active as a financial agent of the papacy in Tuscany again in 1173 or 1174, when he undertook legatine duties in the diocese of Lucca.[30] He may also have undertaken financial exactions during his brief legation to northern Italy in 1177, although such activity cannot be confirmed as the mission is not well documented by the contemporary sources.[31] While Boso no longer served as chamberlain under Alexander, he remained an invaluable papal representative who worked assiduously to maintain the solvency of the papal finances during the schism.

24. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 62C
25. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152
26. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.204-205
27. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.204-205
28. Alexander III, JL10677, *MPL* 200, 126A; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.14
29. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.55; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152
30. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.149-152
31. ibid.

Boso undertook important duties for the papal curia as a legate and financial agent, but he served the papacy under Alexander primarily as a respected member of the pope's entourage. He recorded his first subscription of Alexander's pontificate on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the rights of the church of Jerusalem.[32] Boso witnessed twenty-six letters and privileges issued by Alexander between 15 October 1159 and 2 August 1165, when he gave his final subscription as cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano.[33] He maintained a regular pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage during his service as a cardinal deacon. Boso was appointed by Alexander on 18 March 1166 as cardinal priest of S. Pudentiana.[34] His first subscription was recorded on the date of his promotion, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the benefit of the monastery of S. Clement of Peschiera in northern Italy.[35] He then subscribed no less than seventy-four papal letters and privileges between 18 March 1166 and 29 July 1178.[36] His final subscription of the pontificate was given on the latter date, when he witnessed the

32. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D
33. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10663, 115A, JL10698, 131C, JL10759, 171C, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10857, 217D, JL10875, 229D, JL10887, 236D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255D, JL10944, 267D, JL10999, 284C, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318A, JL11187, 356C, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11220, 386B, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1907, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich IV.* 39, pp.120-122
34. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
35. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, 409D
36. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, 409D, JL11295, 423B, JL11340, 449A, JL11341, 451B, JL11276, 453C, JL11379, 469B, JL11385, 474B, JL11389, 479C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11419, 499C, JL11421, 501C, JL11425, 504B, JL11585, 563D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588A, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597B, *MPL*200, 602B, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11831, 695B, JL11878, 718B, JL11887, 723B, JL11892, 727B, JL11900, 734B, JL12139, 870B, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902C, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908C, JL12221, 911A, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974B, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019B, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036B, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077A, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12779, 1098C, JL12789, 1099C, JL12796, 1101A, JL12812, 1102D, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133B, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144D, JL13012, 1159B, JL13047, 1166A, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176D, P.F. Kehr, *Gött Nachr. 1910, Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens I* 25, p.354

papal privilege for the benefit of the north Italian convent of S. Peter de Ripa.[37] Boso maintained a particularly consistent and impressive record as a subscriber following his promotion. Boso served the papacy under Alexander above all as a valued permanent adviser, especially after his elevation to the order of cardinal priests.

Boso's status as a member of the papal entourage was illustrated by his connections with leading contemporaries, especially in the English church. He maintained friendly relations with Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who regarded the cardinal as his ally and advocate within the curia under Adrian IV.[38] Boso also enjoyed a long-standing association with Theobald's successor, Thomas Becket, which began before the Council of Rheims in 1148.[39] Thomas referred to their friendship in 1166, when he successfully sought Boso's support at the curia against the allies of King Henry II of England.[40] The cardinal's close association with Adrian IV, the only English pope, formed part of a network of connections with eminent English churchmen. It is evident that successive archbishops of Canterbury regarded Boso as a respected papal adviser who could act as an effective defender of their interests at the papal court.

Boso's prominence as a permanent adviser to Alexander III found expression in his biography of the pope. Boso was a prolific contributor to the *Liber Pontificalis*, who composed biographies of seventeen popes, including all the pontiffs of his own lifetime.[41] His most important and extensive work is the *Vita Alexandri III*, his

37. P.F. Kehr, *Gött Nachr. 1910, Nachtrage zu den Papsturkunden Italiens I* 25, p.354
38. John of Salisbury, Letters 11, Oxford Medieval Texts 1, ed. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke, pp.18-19
39. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 250, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.57-59
40. ibid.
41. Duchesne, *Le Recueil du Cardinal Boson, Lib. Pont. II*, XXXIX

biography of Alexander III. The cardinal provided a consistently favourable portrayal of Alexander's struggle for universal recognition. He acted as Alexander's propagandist, composing a dramatic narrative which lamented the pope's misfortunes early in the pontificate and glorified his triumphant return to Rome following the Peace of Venice.[42] Boso's work reflected his experience as a contemporary of the pope. He participated in the most notable developments of Alexander's pontificate from the divided election until the ratification of the Peace of Venice, which Boso witnessed as a member of the papal entourage.[43] His detailed knowledge of the events of Alexander's pontificate reflected Boso's position as a valued papal adviser.[44] The cardinal concluded his biography of Alexander shortly before his own death in the later months of 1178.[45]

Boso was a remarkably determined and tenacious representative of the papacy under successive popes. His activity as the principal papal administrator under Adrian IV established an important precedent for the expansion of the temporal power of the papacy. He served Alexander primarily as an important permanent adviser, although he was also employed as a legate and financial agent of the papacy. As a biographer Boso acted as a propagandist for Alexander and for the cardinals as the indispensable advisers of the pope. His *Vita Alexandri III* remains an essential source for later historians, due especially to his comprehensive knowledge and experience as a trusted associate of Alexander III.

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42. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.397-446
43. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.443[39]; *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, Scriptores* 27, *MGH*, p.95[28]
44. F. Geisthardt, *Der Kämmerer Boso*, pp.63-76; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.257
45. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.152; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.397-446

GRATIAN CARDINAL DEACON OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO

Gratian, the nephew of Pope Eugenius III, was a native of Pisa.[1] He was a *magister*, who received his education as a jurist and canon lawyer in the schools of Bologna.[2] Gratian was a learned Decretist, establishing himself as a canonist who commented primarily on the *Decretum* of *Magister* Gratian of Bologna.[3] The *Decretum* was composed c.1140 as a private compilation of canons and soon became the most influential text on canon law in the contemporary schools.[4] The *Decretum* was adopted as the canon law book of the curia by the last decade of the twelfth century.[5] Gratian produced studies on the work of his famous namesake, including a commentary on the *Decretum* which he composed under the pseudonym of *cardinalis* in 1160, long before his elevation to the sacred college.[6] As a *magister* and Decretist, Gratian enjoyed legal expertise which proved invaluable in his service to the papacy.

Gratian was appointed as subdeacon and notary of the Roman church in 1168.[7] He immediately undertook administrative functions of great importance within the papal government. Alexander had deliberately maintained a vacancy in the office of papal chancellor following his own election as pope.[8] The papal chancery, which was the principal admininstrative office of the papal government, was supervised instead by officials such as the subdeacon Hermann and Gerard, a notary of the Roman church.[9]

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.61
2. ibid.; B. Smalley, *The Becket conflict and the schools*, p.143
3. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.338
4. S. Kuttner, *History of ideas and doctrines of canon law in the Middle Ages*, pp.1-16; J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp.47-49
5. W. Holtzmann, "Die Benutzung Gratians in der papstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahr hundert", *Studia Gratiana* 1 (1953), pp323-349
6. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, pp.338-339
7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.61
8. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, pp.274-275
9. ibid.

The pope appointed Gratian in 1168 as the principal cleric of the papal chancery.[10] The subdeacon issued the papal letters and privileges in his name between 21 March 1168 and 7 February 1178, performing the functions normally exercised by the papal chancellor.[11] Gratian was the most important official of the papal government for almost a decade, although he was never elevated to the office of chancellor.[12] It is likely that Alexander feared the emergence of factionalism in the sacred college if a prominent cardinal was appointed as chancellor. As the pope could not risk any internal dissension among the cardinals during the schism, the employment of Gratian as the head of the papal chancery provided an ideal solution. The *magister* possessed the necessary legal expertise to fill the position while his junior status as a subdeacon, who received no official title during his term, prevented resentment among the cardinals. Gratian therefore served primarily as a leading official of the papal government, in the decade which preceded his elevation to the college of cardinals.

The subdeacon, however, undertook an important diplomatic mission for the papacy in 1169, when Alexander employed him as a legate to King Henry II of England.[13] Alexander informed the king on 28 February 1169 that Gratian and his colleague Vivian, archdeacon of Orvieto, had been appointed as legates to mediate the conflict between Henry and Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury.[14] The legates were instructed to resolve the intractable conflict, by securing the peaceful return of Becket to his archdiocese and the restitution of the property of his church.[15]

10. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, pp.274-275
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.85, M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.828-829
14. Alexander III, JL11579, *MPL*200, col.571D
15. ibid.

Gratian was an ally of the archbishop, who assured Becket of his determination to assist his cause.[16] Thomas correctly regarded the subdeacon as a trustworthy friend within the curia, preferring him to Vivian whom he did not know well.[17] The legates showed considerable determination in their negotiations with the king and his associates. They warned royalist clergy who had been excommunicated by Thomas, including Godfrey Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, that they must observe the primate's sentence.[18] Then in the course of two conferences with Henry in 1169, the legates argued forcefully for a reconciliation between the king and Becket.[19] Gratian even warned Henry that the legates represented the papal curia, which was accustomed to command kings and emperors: *" ...Nos enim nullas minas timemus, quia de tali curia sumus, quae consuevit imperare imperatoribus et regibus."*[20] His uncompromising assertion of papal primacy won Becket's approval, although it did little to shake Henry's intransigence.[21] The negotiations failed to secure any agreement, as the king refused to give firm guarantees to the legates concerning Becket's restoration to his church.[22] Gratian returned to Rome in 1169, while Vivian made further unsuccessful efforts to mediate the conflict.[23] While their mission was a failure, the legates were regarded by the king's opponents as incorruptible servants of the apostolic see, who had struggled honourably to overcome royal intransigence.[24]

Gratian's creditable performance of important legatine duties, combined with his

16. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 615, *Materials* 7, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.185-186
17. ibid. 609, pp.171-173, Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 201, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.369D
18. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 581, *Materials* 7, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.115-116
19. ibid. 560, p.71
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 90, *MPL*200, col.1448D-1451A
23. ibid.
24. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 225, *Receuil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.388D

proven record of service to the papacy, established him firmly as an eligible candidate for promotion to the sacred college. He was appointed as cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano on 3 March 1178.[25] Gratian recorded his first subscription in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate on 28 March 1178, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of S. Lambert of Carinthia.[26] The cardinal soon established a regular record of activity as a member of the pope's entourage. Gratian witnessed seventeen papal letters and privileges between 28 March 1178 and 24 May 1181.[27] His final subscription of Alexander's pontificate was recorded on the latter date, when he witnessed the papal privilege confirming the liberty and the possessions of the French church of St. Bertin in St. Omer.[28] Gratian was evidently a respected papal adviser, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis, in the final years of Alexander's pontificate.

Gratian served as a papal adviser for more than two decades following Alexander's death. While he undertook a legation to northern Italy between 1187 and 1189,[29] he was primarily a member of the papal entourage. His influence within the curia was highly regarded by the monks of Christ Church in Canterbury, who constantly appealed for Gratian's aid against Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the primate's plans for a new foundation of canons.[30] The monks sought unsuccessfully to

25. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.61
26. Alexander III, JL13036, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.321
27. Alexander III, JL13036, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.321, JL13105, *MPL* 200, col.1185D, JL13272, 1201D, JL13318, 1209A, JL13334, 1214A, JL13342, 1219C, JL13370, 1223C, JL13420, 1237C, JL13426, 1238D, JL13465, 1246C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298A, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308B, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
28. Alexander III, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
29. V. Pfaff,'Die Kardinale unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 1955, pp.90-91
30. *Epistolae Cantuarienses* 56, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of King Richard I* 2, *Scriptores* 38, ed. W. Stubbs, p.45; ibid. 199, p.182; ibid. 419, pp.375-376

persuade Pope Clement III to appoint Gratian as a legate to England in 1189.[31] They regarded him as the most distinguished cardinal, praising his righteousness and incorruptibility.[32] He was certainly a forceful and independent figure. In 1189 Gratian left the papal court in protest at the promotions made by Clement III, criticising particularly the new cardinal bishops of Ostia, Porto and Albano.[33] Gratian, however, soon returned to the papal court, serving as a member of the papal entourage under Pope Celestine III, between 2 May 1191 and 3 December 1197.[34] Gratian's final subscription as a cardinal was given on 30 May 1205, when he witnessed a privilege issued by Pope Innocent III for the abbey of Eberbach in Germany.[35] While the date of his death is not definitely identified, his successor John established his first record of activity on 4 May 1206.[36] Gratian died in the later months of 1205 or early in 1206. Gratian was above all an invaluable member of the papal entourage under Alexander, although he also served occasionally as a diplomat. He acted as the unofficial head of the papal chancery before his promotion. He was numbered among the twelve cardinals appointed by Alexander, who were previously in the service of the papacy. Gratian was also one of the nine eminent *magistri* elevated by the pope. He typified the ideal attributes sought by Alexander in his nominees to the college, legal expertise and a proven record of service to the papacy. Gratian's career, as a distinguished *magister* and canonist, reflected the new influences which came to dominate the sacred college in the late twelfth century.

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31. *Epistolae Cantuarienses* 296, *Chronicles* 2, *Scriptores* 38, ed. W. Stubbs, p.280
32. ibid. 292, p.277; ibid. 460, pp.419-420; ibid. 538, p.503
33. ibid. 315, p.301
34. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.577
35. Innocent III, Potthast 2522, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I*, p.216
36. Innocent III, Potthast 2767, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I*, p.237

PETER CARDINAL DEACON OF S. EUSTACHIO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. LORENZO IN DAMASO

Peter de Mizo was a member of a noble Roman family.[1] Peter was elevated to the college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio in March 1158.[2] His first subscription occurred on 24 April 1158, when he confirmed the rights and possessions of the church of S. Felicula in Parma.[3] Peter was closely associated with the faction in the sacred college which supported the Sicilian alliance promoted by Adrian and the chancellor Roland. He was numbered among the thirteen cardinals who were present with Adrian in Anagni in the summer of 1159, when the pope was negotiating with the enemies of the empire.[4] As a trusted collaborator of the pope, Peter was evidently a member of the "Sicilian party" among the cardinals.[5] His allegiance was underlined by his support for Alexander III from the outset of the schism. The cardinal deacon subscribed the two letters issued by the cardinals who supported Alexander's cause to the emperor and the universal church.[6] Moreover Peter soon emerged as a highly effective advocate for the pope in the early years of the schism.

Alexander entrusted the cardinal deacon with an important legation to Hungary at the end of 1159.[7] The legation, which was undertaken by Peter in conjunction with Julius, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, formed part of the concerted diplomatic offensive mounted by Alexander to secure the adherence of the rulers of Christendom.[8] Peter

1. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo,' *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1972), pp.365-366
2. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177
3. Adrian IV, JL10403, *MPL* 188, col.1564C
4. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.45
5. ibid.
6. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D, *MPL* 200, col.62C
7. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403
8. ibid.

and his colleague faced a difficult challenge in winning the allegiance of the Hungarian crown and church. King Geza II initially preferred to remain non-commital in his negotiations with Alexander's legates and the imperial envoy, Daniel, bishop of Prague.[9] In the church province of Dalmatia, Lampridius the archbishop of Zara openly opposed Alexander.[10] Peter began his mission in Dalmatia and succeeded in ensuring the obedience of the clergy of Spalato to the pope, partly through the appointment of Peter, bishop of Narni to the archiepiscopal See of Spalato.[11] Peter was then joined by Julius for the negotiations with the Hungarian monarch and while they were not immediately successful, the legates managed to ensure that the king made no commitment to the anti-pope "Victor IV".[12] Peter briefly returned to the curia in December 1160, making a report to Alexander before undertaking his second legation to Hungary in July 1161.[13] As instructed by the pope, he delivered the *pallium* to Lucas the archbishop-elect of Gran, who had emerged as an important ally of the legates at the royal court, and resumed the negotiations with Geza.[14] Peter and Julius succeeded in agreeing a concordat with Geza in August 1161, which ensured that Alexander received recognition as the rightful pope.[15] The legates had achieved their primary objective, although Geza secured substantial concessions as the price for his support.[16] While the king agreed to refrain from the removal or translation of bishops, the legates conceded that future legations to Hungary would depend on the

9. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.112-113
10. ibid.
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. ibid., pp.114-115
14. Alexander III, JL11308, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.201
15. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.110
16. ibid., p.116

approval of the king and allowed him to prevent appeals by his clergy to the curia.[17] It was nevertheless a significant success for Peter and his colleague, who had won the support of a realm traditionally regarded by the western emperors as a client state rightfully within their sphere of influence.

Although Julius returned to the curia in 1161, Peter remained in Hungary for a further two years after the concordat with the king.[18] The cardinal deacon became the foremost advocate for the papacy to the Magyar kingdom. He reported regularly to the pope on political and ecclesiastical developments in Hungary and Dalmatia. In 1161 the legate had warned Alexander of the appointment of a twelve-year-old boy as bishop of Trau by a lay noble: Alexander promptly instructed Peter, archbishop of Spalato, to expel the intruder.[19] Peter also sought to safeguard the interests of the papacy in Hungary following the death of King Geza II on 31 May 1162, which threatened the hard-won achievement of the legates.[20] Geza's death precipitated a lengthy struggle for the succession, which brought the danger of aggressive intervention by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus and by Frederick Barbarossa.[21] Geza's eventual successor, King Stephen III, remained loyal to Alexander's cause, but was threatened by rival claimants including his relative Stephen who enjoyed the support of Manuel Comnenus.[22] A faction of the Hungarian aristocracy also favoured a military intervention by the western emperor.[23] Peter was sufficiently concerned about the various dangers by 1163 that he chose to report

17. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.116
18. ibid.
19. ibid., pp.115-116
20. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177
21. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.117
22. ibid.
23. ibid.

personally to the pope in France.[24] Alexander acted to support the legate, urging his loyal follower Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg, to counsel the emperor against an invasion of Hungary: perhaps because of Eberhard's intervention the German invasion never materialised.[25] Stephen III retained his throne despite a Byzantine military offensive against the kingdom[26] and despite the various threats to the concordat of 1161, the allegiance of Hungary to the papacy was maintained. This achievement was due in no small measure to Peter's efforts during his second legation from July 1161 until April 1163.[27] The cardinal had succeeded in creating a powerful court party that was sympathetic to Alexander, including Lucas, archbishop of Gran and the dowager queen Euphrosyne, who exercised great influence with King Stephen.[28] As Peter's allies formed the dominant party in the royal court until Stephen's death in 1172, the papacy was assured of the continuing allegiance of the Hungarian kingdom after the legate's departure in 1163.[29] Peter had played a crucial part in securing the kingdom's adherence to Alexander and had successfully consolidated the important diplomatic success of 1161.

Peter had established himself as the curia's expert on Hungary and Dalmatia by 1163.[30] While he himself was not employed as a legate to the royal court again, the pope entrusted him with another important and difficult legation to Dalmatia in 1168.[31] The obedience of the regional church to the apostolic see had been

24. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.117
25. ibid.
26. ibid.
27. ibid., pp.116-117
28. ibid.
29. ibid., pp.117-121
30. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177
31. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.120

undermined by the growing influence of the Byzantine empire.[32] The expansionist policy of the Emperor Manuel produced a significant impact in Dalmatia. Certain bishops in southern Dalmatia had adopted the Greek Orthodox rite.[33] The loyal archbishop, Peter of Spalato, had died in 1166 and papal excommunications of other recalcitrant bishops had little effect.[34] Peter's legation, which he undertook after his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, was designed to counter Byzantine influence and secure the obedience of the local bishops.[35] Unfortunately the legation is poorly documented and little is known about Peter's work on this occasion.[36] It appears, however, that Peter succeeded in restoring papal authority over the local bishops, as it was the last legation which Alexander was obliged to send to Dalmatia for almost a decade.[37] Certainly the cardinal completed his work successfully within the year, as he had returned to the papal court at Benevento by September 1168.[38] Peter was an accomplished diplomat, who provided invaluable service to Alexander as a papal advocate in Hungary and Dalmatia during the schism.

Peter's greatest successes as a papal diplomat were achieved in Hungary, but his legatine activity was not restricted to this region. The cardinal undertook a mission to Sardinia in 1164, where he sought to win the allegiance of a monastic order under the protection of the papacy, the Camaldolese, for Alexander.[39] The degree of success attained by the legate was not recorded by the sources, but the mission underlined

32. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.120
33. ibid.
34. ibid.
35. ibid., p.121
36. ibid., pp.120-121
37. ibid., pp.121-122
38. Alexander III, JL11419, *MPL* 200, 499C
39. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull' origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1972), pp.365-366

Peter's determination and tenacity as an advocate for Alexander's cause. The cardinal's extensive legatine activity was a substantial asset to the papacy in the prolonged struggle against the emperor and the various anti-popes.

Peter was numbered among the cardinals who served the papacy primarily as active political advocates. This pattern of activity was particularly evident in the early years of the schism, when the cardinal was rarely present at the papal court. In the first four years of the pontificate the cardinal deacon subscribed only a single papal privilege.[40] He witnessed Alexander's privilege on 13 June 1161 which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the church of Grado.[41] Peter then disappeared from the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate until April 1163, due to his legation to Hungary. On 21 April 1163 the cardinal witnessed a papal privilege for the benefit of the church of S. Germanus in Paris.[42] Peter subscribed twelve papal letters and privileges in the period from 21 April 1163 until 27 July 1165.[43] He did not, however, establish a consistent pattern of subscriptions even during this period, as he undertook his mission to Sardinia in 1164.[44] The cardinal's regular legatine activity ensured that he was present with the papal entourage only intermittently. Peter's service to the curia as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio was dominated by his activity as an advocate of the papal cause in the dangerous early years of the schism, when Alexander was in exile and his position appeared most insecure.

40. Alexander III, JL10665, *MPL*200, 118D
41. ibid.
42. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 208D
43. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10859, 219A, JL10875, 229D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255D, JL11026, 295D, JL11083, 318B, JL11153, 341D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11221, 388C
44. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177

Peter's role in the college changed significantly, however, after his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Zenker believed that his final appearance in the sources as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio occurred on 1 August 1165.[45] It is evident, however, that Peter's last subscription as a cardinal deacon, was given on 3 August 1165.[46] Peter witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions of the French monastery of St. Sauveur de Lodève.[47] The date of his appointment as a cardinal priest is not definitely identified by the sources. Peter's first subscription as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso was recorded on 11 October 1166, when he witnessed the papal privilege which guaranteed the protection of the Apostolic See for the monastery of SS. Felix and Fortunatus in Vicenza.[48] It is most likely that Peter received promotion at the end of 1165 or in the early months of 1166, shortly after Alexander's return to Rome. The pattern of the cardinal's career altered to some degree after his promotion. His successful legation to Dalmatia in 1168 underlined that Peter remained a valued papal diplomat.[49] But the Roman cardinal no longer acted almost exclusively as an advocate for the pope in Alexander's struggle for recognition. Peter established a regular pattern of subscriptions to the extant papal letters and privileges as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. He witnessed the privilege issued by Alexander on 11 November 1166 which confirmed the rights and possessions of the French monastery of Pontigny.[50] Peter subscribed thirty-eight papal

45. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1907, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich IV.* 38, p.120
46. ibid. 41, pp.123-124
47. ibid. 41, pp.123-124
48. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Mailand* 14, p.98
49. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders. III 1159-1169*, p.120
50. Alexander III, JL11295, *MPL*200, 423B

documents in the period from 11 November 1166 until 17 July 1174.[51] His final subscription on the latter date was given to the privilege issued by the pope which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of S. Maria and S. Martin of Cure in France.[52] Peter maintained a consistent record of activity as a member of the papal entourage during his time as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. During this phase of his career he was a respected adviser as well as an advocate, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis.

Peter's role as a member of the papal entourage was illustrated by the nature of his connections with Thomas Becket and the royal court of England.[53] Peter corresponded with the archbishop of Canterbury in 1163, appealing to Becket on behalf of the church of S. Mary of the Saxons in Rome, which was used by the English pilgrims to the holy city.[54] He informed the archbishop that the church had become so impoverished that very few clergy and almost no laity were to be found there.[55] Peter sought the archbishop's assistance in securing financial support from England for the pilgrims' church.[56] It is likely that Peter made this appeal as a Roman cardinal who was concerned with the welfare of the church in Rome during the pope's exile from the city.[57] The appeal also underlined his cordial relations with the

51. Alexander III, JL11295, *MPL*200, 423B, JL11340, 449A, JL11341, 451B, JL11419, 499C, JL11421, 501C, JL11424, 502A, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11608, 576B, JL11614, 578B, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583B, *MPL*200, 602C, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11731, 649B, JL11831, 695D, JL11878, 718B, JL11887, 723B, JL11900, 734B, JL12139, 870C, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905D, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908C, JL12221, 911A, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12349, 974B, JL12387, 994B
52. Alexander III, JL12387, *MPL*200, 994B
53. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177
54. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 39, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 5, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.64-65
55. ibid.
56. ibid.
57. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.176-177

archbishop immediately before the outbreak of Becket's conflict with the king.[58] Despite his amicable relations with the archbishop, Peter also maintained connections with the royal court of King Henry II. The royal envoys to the papal court in 1171, following the murder of Thomas Becket, reported to Henry on their contacts with the cardinals normally considered to be friendly to the king, including Peter de Mizo.[59] The cardinal evidently maintained friendly relations with the English court, but it cannot be assumed that he was an advocate of Henry's cause within the curia. Peter received little attention from the archbishop in Becket's extensive correspondence throughout the conflict: he was certainly not fiercely reviled by Becket, unlike certain colleagues including William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was an ally of the king.[60] It is virtually impossible that Peter would have escaped the archbishop's wrath if he had attempted to assist the king. Peter played little part in the conflict and retained connections with the English court without giving offence to the archbishop. His connections with the protagonists in the conflict were amicable rather than close and it is most likely that Peter, an experienced diplomat, remained politely aloof from both parties. Peter's low profile in the most controversial ecclesiatical dispute of the pontificate, however, was not only a tribute to his diplomatic skills. While he maintained a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage after his promotion, Peter never sought or secured a highly prominent role as an adviser. He was a conscientious but not highly influential papal adviser during his service as a cardinal priest until his death in 1174. Peter de Mizo died on 14 September 1174.[61]

58. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 39, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 5, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.64-65
59. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 325, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.477E-478A
60. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 312, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 6, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.208
61. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.82

Peter de Mizo was a highly successful advocate of Alexander's cause in the first decade of the schism. His successive legations to Hungary and Dalmatia secured important achievements for the apostolic see. Peter's career did not follow a consistent functional pattern, but was shaped in a varied fashion by the pope. Alexander employed Peter primarily as a diplomat during his service as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio but retained him within the papal entourage as an adviser for much of his term as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. The Roman cardinal's virtual absence from the struggle between Thomas Becket and his enemies underlined that he was never a prominent or influential permanent adviser of the pope. Peter de Mizo deserves to be remembered first and foremost as a diplomat who rendered valuable service to the papacy and contributed significantly to Alexander's eventual triumph in the struggle for recognition by the princes and clergy of Christendom.

HUGH CARDINAL DEACON OF S. EUSTACHIO

Hugh was a native of Bologna.[1] He was elevated to the sacred college by Alexander III, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio on 18 March 1166.[2] Hugh of Bologna succeeded Peter de Mizo, who was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1166.[3]

The Italian cardinal's career in the Roman church began at the height of the schism, but he was not employed for most of his term in the college as an advocate of Alexander's cause. Instead Hugh established a consistent record of activity as a

1. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.443[39]
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
3. ibid., p.59

member of the papal entourage. His first subscription was recorded on 18 March 1166, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the monastery of S. Clement in Peschiera.[4] Hugh witnessed sixty-eight letters and privileges issued by Alexander in the period from 18 March 1166 until 6 September 1177.[5] The cardinal deacon subscribed the papal privilege on the latter date, which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the church of S. Donatian in Bruges.[6] Hugh served the papacy almost exclusively as a member of the papal entourage for over a decade. The cardinal's final subscription of the pontificate, which is recorded only in the register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld, was given on 8 October 1177.[7] The regular pattern of Hugh's subscriptions to the papal privileges from March 1166 until October 1177 illuminated the cardinal's role in the sacred college. Hugh was a valued permanent adviser of the pope, who remained constantly present within the papal entourage for most of his career. It was only towards the end of his career that the cardinal deacon was called upon to serve as a diplomatic representative of the papacy.

Hugh acted as an advocate for the pope with the Venetian ruling class in the final months of the schism. The cardinal accompanied Alexander on his journey to Venice for the negotiations which ended the schism. He was numbered among the cardinals

4. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A
5. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, 409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11341, 451C, JL11379, 469C, JL11385, 474C, JL11386, 477D, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11419, 499D, JL11421, 501D, JL11424, 502B, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11594, 567D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574A, JL11609, 576B, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588B, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597C, *MPL*200, 602C, JL11643, 605C, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635C, JL11731, 649C, JL11789, 671C, JL11810, 685B, JL11816, 688D, JL11831, 695D, JL11878, 718D, JL11887, 723B, JL11900, 734B, JL12139, 870C, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905A, JL12216, 907C, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912C, JL12238, 917A, JL12241, 919C, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069C, JL12718, 1075D, JL11722, 1077B, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083D, JL12742, 1084D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094C, JL12779, 1098D, JL12789, 1099D, JL12796, 1101A, JL12873, 1123A, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144B
6. Alexander III, JL12932, *MPL*200, 1144B
7. ***Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II***, p.315

who reached Trieste with the pope in the spring of 1177.[8] The cardinal deacon then proceeded with Alexander by sea to Zadar.[9] His attendance in the papal entourage was a normal feature of his service to the curia. Alexander, however, now entrusted Hugh with a diplomatic mission of the greatest importance for the successful conclusion of the peace. As the Emperor Frederick had requested that the negotiations should be concluded in Venice, the pope was obliged to obtain guarantees from the city-state for his security.[10] Alexander, therefore, instructed Hugh and his colleague Rainer, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, to obtain security guarantees from the Doge and aristocracy of Venice for the safety of the pope and his entourage.[11] Hugh and Rainer were specifically directed to secure commitments that Venice would guarantee the security of the negotiations and prevent the emperor from entering the city without the agreement of the pope.[12] The rulers of Venice conceded the required guarantees on oath and the negotiations proceeded in the city of St. Mark.[13] The success achieved by Hugh and his colleague in obtaining the Venetian security guarantee paved the way for the subsequent peace agreement. The undertaking reflected Alexander's high regard for Hugh, who had been entrusted with a commission vital to the papacy at a sensitive stage of the negotiations with the empire. The pope's faith was certainly vindicated by the outcome. Hugh proved a capable diplomat whose talents were by no means restricted to the transaction of routine business within the papal entourage.

8. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.443[39]
9. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.437
10. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.446[31]
11. ibid., p.446[35]
12. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.446[35]
13. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.438

The mission to Venice in April 1177 was the only major diplomatic endeavour undertaken by the cardinal deacon.[14] No other legations by Hugh were recorded by the narrative sources. The cardinal continued his service as a member of the papal entourage until his death. Hugh, along with many other cardinals, attended the ceremony on 25 July 1177 which marked the formal ratification of the Peace of Venice by the emperor.[15] He did not long survive the end of the schism. Hugh died at Benevento in December 1177, shortly after his return from Venice.[16]

Hugh served the papacy under Alexander primarily as a valued member of the advisory cohort in the college. The cardinal deacon also acted successfully as a diplomatic advocate for the pope, when he was entrusted by Alexander with a mission which broke with the pattern of his previous service as an adviser. The course of Hugh's career as a cardinal was essentially determined by the pope, who chose to retain him within the papal entourage for most of his time in the college. Hugh was an experienced permanent adviser, who was sufficiently versatile also to be a successful diplomat. Hugh's career reflected the reality that the functional distinctions within the sacred college were largely determined by Alexander himself.

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14. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.446[35]
15. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.95[29]
16. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.459[3]

ODO CARDINAL DEACON OF S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO

Odo Benincasa was the scion of a great Roman noble family.[1] He was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Innocent II, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro in 1132.[2] Innocent promoted Odo during the schism of 1130-38, at a time when his Pierleoni rival Anacletus commanded the allegiance of the city of Rome. The pope was concerned to fill vacancies in the college of cardinals[3], but it is likely that Odo's appointment was also motivated by Innocent's concern to win greater support in Rome. Odo served the papacy for almost a whole generation before the schism of 1159 and was the only cardinal in Alexander's pontificate who had previously experienced the rigours of a bitter division in the church.

Odo left only a very limited record of activity in the narrative sources in the first two decades of his service as a cardinal.[4] Zenker's assertion that he was a member of the papal entourage during this period is plausible.[5] Certainly Odo was identified as a member of the papal entourage by Balderic, the biographer of the archbishop of Trier, when he accompanied Pope Eugenius III to Germany in 1147.[6] Balderic described Odo as a most temperate man of a noble Roman family: *"Odo Bonaecasae, mansuetissimus homo, ex Romanis ortus nobilibus..."*.[7] Odo enjoyed the respect of successive popes who relied upon the experienced cardinal in the decade before the divided election of 1159. Pope Anastasius IV entrusted him with an important

1. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26 (1972), pp.336-337
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.45
3. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.159
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. Balderic, *Gesta Alberonis archiepiscopi, MGH, Scriptores* 8, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.255[12]
7. ibid.

legation to France in May 1154.[8] Odo was instructed to undertake the mission to resolve ecclesiastical disputes within the French kingdom which had been mishandled or aggravated by the previous legate Jordan, cardinal priest of S. Susanna.[9] Odo was obliged to appease the outrage caused by Jordan, who was bitterly denounced by Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux and even by the Carthusian prior of his own former house, Le Mont-Dieu.[10] Odo was already in 1154 the senior member of the college and the pope evidently relied upon his experience and diplomatic skills to overcome the problems left by the previous legation.[11] Unfortunately Odo's legation is poorly documented and not all of his work in France during this period can be identified.[12] Sufficient evidence exists, however, to indicate that the legate completed his mission with considerable success. His achievement in resolving the local disputes which plagued the abbey of Cluny was particularly notable.[13] The great centre of Benedictine reforming monasticism had enjoyed the protection of the apostolic see for over two hundred and fifty years, but its possessions were seriously threatened by the local aristocracy.[14] Odo acted decisively to resolve the disputes, summoning an ecclesiastical council at Mâcon which would guarantee the possessions of Cluny.[15] He also invited the leading nobles of the region, including the duke of Burgundy and the count of Mâcon, to attend the assembly.[16] Odo secured the resolution of the conflict after three days of negotiation.[17] Cluny was guaranteed the secure and peaceful

8. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.57
9. ibid.
10. ibid., I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.163-164
11. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.57
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. ibid.
16. ibid.
17. ibid.

tenure of its possessions by the council and most importantly Odo secured pledges of security on oath from the nobles for the abbey's possessions.[18] The legate had acted with determination and diplomatic skill to resolve a prolonged and controversial conflict. Little else is known about Odo's work, but the absence of serious complaints to the papacy concerning his legation provides a further indication that Odo's mission was successful. The legate had certainly succeeded in calming the storm of protest aroused by his predecessor, which had threatened the reputation of the papacy. Odo was a skilful diplomat and a reliable advocate for the apostolic see.

Odo was a trusted associate not only of the short-lived Pope Anastasius IV, but of his successor Pope Adrian IV. The cardinal deacon was clearly supportive of the pope immediately before the outbreak of the schism. He was one of the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian in Anagni in the summer of 1159, who were numbered among the pope's most trusted collaborators in the college.[19] Odo was certainly a member of the "Sicilian party" among the cardinals and his allegiance to the chancellor Roland was universally recognized after his influential role in the divided election.[20]

Odo was the most senior member of the college by 1159 and as a result of his long service he held the title of prior of the cardinal deacons.[21] As the senior cardinal, he played a crucial part in the election of Alexander III.[22] Indeed the canons of the church of St. Peter, who favoured Octavian, claimed that Odo and two other members of the chancellor's faction acted to secure Roland's election in defiance of a

18. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.57
19. Adrian IV, JL10579, *MPL* 188, col.1637A
20. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26 (1972), pp.336-337
21. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.159
22. ibid.

previous electoral agreement not to proceed in the absence of unanimity.[23] The Roman clergy alleged that Odo, working in concert with Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli and John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, attempted to invest Roland with the papal mantle.[24] The partisan portrayal of the cardinals by the Roman clergy was not entirely accurate, as they failed to mention the subsequent disruption of the election by Octavian's allies.[25] Odo's prominence in the election was, however, confirmed by friends and enemies alike. Alexander himself affirmed that he was invested with the papal mantle by Odo, prior of the deacons, before the ceremony was violently disrupted by Octavian and his partisans.[26] Alexander's biographer, Cardinal Boso, also related that the prior of the cardinal deacons placed the mantle on the chancellor.[27] It is certain that the senior cardinal took the lead in the formal investiture of Alexander III as the supreme pontiff. Odo was a prominent advocate for the chancellor in the divided election, who played a vital role in securing Roland's elevation. The support of the senior member of the sacred college was of great importance to Alexander's cause, as the pope acknowledged when he emphasized Odo's role in his election.[28]

The cardinal deacon was a leading adherent of the new pope from the outset of the schism. He subscribed the letters issued after the election by most cardinals, who appealed to the emperor and the church for the universal recognition of the pope.[29] Odo was recorded as the first subscriber among the cardinal deacons, who were

23. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
24. ibid.
25. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
26. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.300
27. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.397
28. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.300
29. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D, *MPL*200, 62C

ranked by order of seniority.[30] The hierarchy of the subscribers underlined the value of Odo's support for Alexander. The pope certainly appreciated Odo's efficacy as an advocate of his cause, as he entrusted the cardinal with a legation to Genoa in 1160.[31] Odo undertook the mission in conjunction with another experienced Roman cardinal, Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[32] It is likely that the legates were instructed to secure the allegiance of the great city-state and sea-power for Alexander. It appears that the mission by the cardinals was successful, as the Genoese were consistently supportive of Alexander's cause throughout the schism.[33]

Odo was a member of the papal entourage under Alexander only briefly. He subscribed the first privilege issued by the pope on 15 October 1159, which confirmed the privileges of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[34] Odo witnessed only five papal privileges, which were preserved in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, in the period from 15 October 1159 until 1 December 1161.[35] Odo's final subscription of the pontificate was given on 1 December 1161, to Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the church of Autun.[36] He served the papacy under Alexander too briefly to establish a consistent record as a member of the papal entourage. Odo disappeared from the sources after his final subscription. He had certainly died by 21 December 1162, when his successor Manfred was elevated to the college.[37] It is most likely that Odo died in 1162.

30. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D, *MPL*200, 62C
31. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.160
32. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.162
33. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.404
34. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 73D
35. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10679, 126D, JL10684, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.155
36. JL10684, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.155
37. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.45

While Odo served the papacy under Alexander only briefly, he was not at all an insignificant figure. His career began in the midst of the Anacletan schism and ended not long after the outbreak of the schism of 1159. While much of his career was spent within the papal entourage, he also proved a capable diplomat well before Alexander's pontificate. The senior cardinal's central role in the divided election reflected his importance as an advocate for Alexander. He survived too briefly, however, to establish a clear record as an advocate or a permanent adviser during the new pontificate. Odo was an immensely experienced and valuable associate of the pope, who made an influential contribution to his cause at the outset of the schism.

MANFRED CARDINAL DEACON OF S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO, CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CECILIA AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF PALESTRINA

Manfred was a native of Lavagna in Northern Italy.[1] He was elevated to the sacred college by Alexander III, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro on 21 December 1162.[2] Manfred succeeded Odo, who had died earlier in the same year.[3] Brixius suggested that his service as a member of the papal entourage began on 7 January 1163.[4] The register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld indicates that Manfred recorded his first subscription to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate on 21 February 1163.[5] It is evident that he first established a record of activity as a cardinal in the first two months of 1163.

Manfred maintained a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage. He witnessed forty-five papal letters and privileges between 21 February 1163 and 16 August 1173.[6] He recorded his final subscription as a cardinal deacon on the latter date, witnessing the privilege issued by Alexander III for the monks of Marseilles.[7] Manfred was a respected member of the papal entourage, who witnessed the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis. He also assisted in the transaction of the routine business of the papal entourage. Manfred and Cinthius, cardinal deacon of

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. Alexander III, JL10822, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.165
6. Alexander III, JL10822, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.165, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10856, 215C, JL10857, 217D, JL10875, 229D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255D, JL10944, 267D, JL11026, 295D, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318B, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345A, JL11177, 352D, JL11187, 356C, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11221, 388D, JL11266, 409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11341, 451B, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11419, 499D, JL11421, 501D, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671C, JL11878, 718D, JL11887, 723B, JL11892, 727B, JL12215, 905A, JL12216, 907B, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912B, JL12235, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.266
7. Alexander III, JL12235, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.266

S. Adriano, adjudicated a dispute between two obscure French litigants, Ersendis and O. Rufo, while the papal court was based in France.[8] The cardinals gave judgement in favour of Ersendis, proclaiming that O. Rufo owed her a sum of money.[9] Manfred was not, however, a permanent adviser of the pope. Alexander valued his talents as a diplomat too highly to retain him permanently at the papal court.

Manfred was first employed as a papal diplomat in 1166, when he undertook a legation to Sicily with Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto.[10] The legates worked to encourage the regency government for the young king, William II, to develop an alliance with the Byzantine empire against the western emperor.[11] The regent, Queen Margaret, was willing to consider such an alliance, which was, however, not realized as negotiations between the papacy and the Byzantine court proved unsuccessful.[12] Manfred and his colleague came to the assistance of the monastery of the abbey of the Holy Trinity in Mileto during their legation, as the abbey was under the protection of the papacy.[13] Abbot Maurus sought the aid of the legates, as a new altar for the monastery could be consecrated only by the pope, or a cardinal bishop who was acting as a papal legate.[14] Manfred supported the abbot's petition and Bernard agreed to consecrate the altar.[15] The intervention of the legates reflected the expansion of papal influence in the kingdom during Alexander's pontificate, especially during the minority of William II when papal legates operated freely in Sicily.

8. Alexander III, JL11354, *MPL* 200, col.457D-458A
9. ibid.
10. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.96
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. ibid.

Manfred served as a legate to Sicily again in 1167. When Rome was seriously threatened by the forces of Emperor Frederick I, the regency government dispatched Sicilian galleys, carrying envoys with financial aid, to assist Alexander's escape from the city.[16] The pope, who declined to flee immediately, instead sent Manfred and Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro, with the ships to the Norman kingdom.[17] The activity of the cardinals in Sicily is very poorly documented.[18] It is apparent, however, that the mission was designed simply to convey Alexander's gratitude to the royal court for its support and to consolidate the papacy's close connections with the kingdom.[19] While Manfred was not perhaps the most influential legate dispatched to the royal court in Sicily, he clearly contributed to the exceptionally close alliance between the Norman kingdom and the papacy under Alexander.

Manfred rendered his most valuable service to the papacy as Alexander's legate in Hungary. The cardinal deacon undertook two important legations to Hungary, between 1168 and 1169 and from 1174 to 1175.[20] It was, however, his first legation which proved most beneficial for the apostolic see. Alexander had won recognition from the Hungarian monarchy in 1161 only at a high price. The pope had conceded the right to consider appeals by the Hungarian clergy and agreed to a royal veto over papal legations in the concordat of 1161.[21] As the kingdom was now firmly committed to Alexander's cause, Manfred sought to modify the concordat.[22] The new concordat,

16. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.417
17. ibid.
18. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.102
19. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.417
20. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.122-124
21. ibid., p.116
22. ibid., pp.122-123

which was negotiated by the legate, was recorded in full by Alexander's loyal biographer, Cardinal Boso.[23] Boso wrongly identified the Hungarian ruler who approved the concordat as Bela III: but Bela's predecessor, Stephen III, remained king of Hungary until March 1172 and it was Stephen who granted the new concordat in 1169.[24] Boso's extensive treatment of the concordat indicated, however, that it was regarded by the papal court as a great triumph for the apostolic see.[25] Manfred achieved an unqualified success in his negotiations with the Hungarian court. King Stephen abandoned the concessions secured by his father Geza in 1161 and renounced in unequivocal terms royal claims concerning the appointment and dismissal of the episcopate.[26] The crown conceded to the papacy the right to judge the clergy and deprive them of ecclesiastical benefices.[27] The new concordat provided a rare example of the complete vindication of the papacy's programme concerning church reform and papal primacy. Manfred's only failure occurred in his relations with the papacy's ally, Lucas, archbishop of Gran, who ignored the legate's instructions to consecrate Andreas as bishop of Gyor.[28] Manfred's first legation was, nonetheless, an outstanding success which vindicated papal claims disputed by secular rulers throughout Europe.

The cardinal's second mission to the Magyar kingdom was undertaken in the context of a more unfavourable local environment between March 1174 and February 1175.[29] The papacy had enjoyed the favour of the royal government under King Stephen,

23. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.444-445
24. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.122-124
25. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.444-445
26. ibid.
27. ibid.
28. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.123
29. ibid., pp.123-124

which was dominated by Lucas and the dowager queen Euphrosyne.[30] Following Stephen's death in March 1172, his advisers lost their influence under the new king, Bela III.[31] Manfred faced the challenge of maintaining the achievements of papal legates in the previous decade.[32] His legation proved less successful than his first mission to the kingdom, as the legate had little prospect of influencing the policy of new government. Although the previous agreement with the papacy was not repudiated, Bela entered an alliance with the Byzantine empire and his regime maintained much closer connections with the court of the Emperor Manuel I than with the papal curia.[33] Manfred's achievements as a papal diplomat in Hungary remained considerable, however, and his legatine work had enjoyed a degree of success unprecedented in most Christian kingdoms.

Manfred was also employed as a papal representative in his native Lombardy. In 1169 he worked with Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano to secure the adherence of the city-states of north-east Italy for the Lombard League.[34] Manfred conducted a more lengthy legation in northern Italy between 1170 and 1172, in association with Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli.[35] Manfred was appointed as *legatus a latere* to his native region primarily to assist Hildebrand in safeguarding the cohesion of the League.[36] He acted with the cardinal priest to advise the League until his return to the papal court by March 1173.[37] Manfred sought especially to

30. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.123-124
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. ibid.
34. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.830
35. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.493-494,
36. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.89,
37. Alexander III, JL12215, *MPL*200, 905A

resolve disputes which might divert the attention of the League from the common struggle against the emperor. In 1171 he resolved a conflict between the French monastery of Lérins and the canons of Ventimiglia in Liguria, concerning the rights of the monastery of St. Michael in Ventimiglia, which maintained close connections with Lérins.[38] In 1172 he informed Alexander of a conflict between Galdin, archbishop of Milan and local tithe-collectors, which the pope then acted to resolve.[39] Manfred helped to preserve the cohesion of the Lombard League, which proved strong enough to resist the emperor effectively. The cardinal deacon had served with distinction as a papal diplomat in his native Lombardy, Sicily and especially Hungary. Manfred was primarily a skilful advocate of the interests of the papacy, whose diplomatic skills were particularly valuable in the perilous era of the schism.

Manfred's service as a diplomat was rewarded when Alexander appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Cecilia on 21 September 1173.[40] His career followed a similar pattern after his promotion. He maintained a regular record of activity as a subscriber to papal documents when he was present at the papal court. The cardinal witnessed twelve papal letters and privileges between 28 September 1173 and 28 November 1176.[41] Manfred was, however, absent from the papal court for over a year between March 1174 and July 1175, when he undertook his second legation to Hungary.[42] As cardinal priest of S. Cecilia, he did not become a permanent member of the advisory cohort, but remained an active advocate for the papal curia.

38. Lucius III, JL14822, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.451
39. Alexander III, JL12147, *MPL*200, col.874B-876C
40. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
41. Alexander III, JL12238, *MPL*200, col.917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974B, JL12504, 1024B, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077A, JL12741, 1083C, JL12742, 1084D
42. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.122-124

The consistent pattern of Manfred's career was underlined by his service as a member of the highest order within the sacred college. He was appointed as cardinal bishop of Palestrina on 17 December 1176.[43] His first subscription as a cardinal bishop was recorded on 29 December 1176, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the possessions and privileges of the monastery of S. Julien de Pereyo in Spain.[44] He subscribed eleven papal documents between 29 December 1176 and 14 January 1178.[45] His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 14 January 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions of the town of Civita Castellana.[46] Manfred evidently maintained once again a regular pattern of activity as a member of Alexander's entourage. But during the final phase of his career, the cardinal also rendered his most valuable service to the pope as a diplomat, participating in the negotiations which ended the schism.

Manfred accompanied Alexander to Venice in the spring of 1177[47] and was deeply involved in the negotiations which led to the Peace of Venice. He was one of the seven cardinals selected by the pope in April 1177 to negotiate the peace with the emperor.[48] Manfred formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, William, cardinal bishop of Porto, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[49] The

43. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
44. Alexander III, JL12744, *MPL*200, col.1086D
45. Alexander III, JL12744, *MPL*200, col.1086D, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094B, JL12779, 1098C, JL12789, 1099C, JL12796, 1101A, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12909, 1137D, JL13011, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.319
46. Alexander III, JL13011, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.319
47. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.437, *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.443[39]
48. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446[19]
49. ibid.

cardinals successfully concluded the negotiations with the imperial representatives and absolved Frederick from the sentence of excommunication.[50] They also witnessed the formal ratification of the Peace of Venice by Henry, count of Dietz, on behalf of the emperor on 1 August 1177.[51] Manfred was a member of the select group of legates, who successfully conducted the most important diplomatic business of Alexander's pontificate. The cardinal was numbered among the most skilful and effective advocates of the papal cause in the sacred college. Manfred's role in Venice was the culmination of his distinguished career as a papal diplomat. He died shortly after the conclusion of the Peace. His death is mentioned in a letter issued by Alexander on 30 January 1178, assuring the abbot of Monte Cassino that a picture procured by Manfred and Vivian, cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Celio Monte, would be returned to the abbey.[52] Manfred had died at Anagni on 17 January 1178.[53]

Manfred contributed substantially to the pope's eventual triumph in the schism. Although he maintained a regular record of activity when he was present within the pope's entourage, he was above all a skilled and versatile papal diplomat. He was one of the numerous north Italian cardinals elevated by Alexander. He undertook legatine activity in Lombardy, but his diplomatic achievements were not at all restricted to his native region. Manfred enjoyed an unusual distinction in Alexander's pontificate, as he was the only cardinal deacon who advanced through the three orders of the college to the rank of cardinal bishop. Manfred's gradual advancement within the sacred college was a tribute to his outstanding diplomatic and political talent.

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50. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
51. *Constitutiones I, MGH*, pp.367[40]-368[9]
52. Alexander III, JL13015, *MPL*200, 1161C
53. Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicle, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 7, L.R. Muratori, p.294[11]

RAINER CARDINAL DEACON OF S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO

Rainer was a native of Pavia.[1] He was a *magister* and it is likely that his elevation to the sacred college was influenced by his legal expertise.[2] He was elevated to the college by Alexander III, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro in 1175.[3] While the date of his appointment is not definitely identified by the sources, Rainer made his first subscription on 5 July 1175.[4] He witnessed the privilege issued by Alexander which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the military Order of St. James in Spain.[5] The register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld indicates that his career began slightly earlier on 14 January 1175.[6] Rainer's subscription on 5 July 1175 is, however, the first record of activity by the cardinal deacon which is preserved in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate.[7] It is most likely that Rainer was promoted to the sacred college in the early months of 1175.

Rainer established a record of regular activity as a member of the papal entourage. He witnessed twenty-four papal privileges, which have been definitely identified in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, in the period from 5 July 1175 until 13 May 1181.[8] Rainer's final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 15 August 1181.[9] Rainer maintained a consistent pattern of subscriptions as a member of the

1. Albert, *Annals of Stade, MGH, Scriptores* 16, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.348[47]
2. ibid.
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
4. Alexander III, JL12504, *MPL*200, col.1024C
5. ibid.
6. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
7. Alexander III, JL12504, *MPL*200, col.1024C
8. Alexander III, JL12504, *MPL*200, 1024C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069C, JL12722, 1077B, JL12741, 1083D, JL12742, 1084A, JL12796, 1101A, JL12932, 1144B, JL13047, 1166B, JL13055, 1169C, JL13060, 1172A, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214D, JL13370, 1223C, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13595, 1265C, JL13624, 1268D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298A, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308B
9. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.417

papal entourage in the last six years of the pontificate. His consistent record of activity indicates that Rainer served the papacy as a respected permanent adviser, who was summoned on a regular basis to witness the papal letters and privileges.

Rainer was also employed by the pope as a diplomat in the negotiations which ended the schism. Following the provisional peace agreement of Anagni in 1176, Alexander instructed Rainer and Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, to secure a safe conduct from Emperor Frederick I for the pope's journey to Lombardy.[10] It is likely that Rainer was chosen to accompany the experienced Hubald because of his connections with the city-state of Pavia, which was steadfastly faithful to Frederick. The cardinals rapidly accomplished the objective of their mission, as Frederick swiftly confirmed the safe conduct granted to Alexander by his envoys at Anagni.[11] The emperor also agreed with the cardinals the arrangements concerning the location of the peace negotiations, which were to be concluded in Bologna and Imola.[12] The emperor soon sought successfully to change these provisions and the final negotiations were located instead in Venice, which was regarded by Frederick as a more neutral city-state than Bologna.[13] The mission by the cardinals was, however, relatively successful and the imperial guarantees secured by Rainer and Hubald enabled Alexander to undertake his journey to Venice in safety.

Rainer returned to the papal entourage after the success of his diplomatic mission, but he did not resume a purely advisory role. He was numbered among the many cardinals who witnessed the formal ratification of the Peace of Venice by the emperor

10. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.436
11. ibid.
12. ibid., pp.436-437
13. ibid., p.437

on 25 July 1177.[14] Rainer was then entrusted with another important mission by the pope immediately after the conclusion of the Peace. Alexander was deeply concerned to regain possession of the Patrimony of St. Peter, which had been almost entirely lost to imperial partisans at the outset of the schism.[15] As the emperor had pledged the restitution of the papal territories, Rainer and the subdeacon Grecus were delegated by the pope to secure the restoration of the papal lands and rights in Romagna.[16] Rainer joined Frederick's redoubtable soldier-prelate, Christian, archbishop of Mainz, to supervise the restoration of the papal territories in the region.[17] The cardinal's efforts achieved only partial success. Rainer, with Christian's aid, accomplished the restoration of the temporal possessions previously held by the apostolic see in Romagna.[18] But the cardinal failed to secure for the papacy the county of Bertinoro, which the count had bequeathed to the pope before his death in Venice.[19] He briefly managed to take control of the castle of Bertinoro, acting on the instructions of the pope.[20] Rainer was, however, expelled from the castle by the emperor shortly after the Peace of Venice, as Frederick had explicitly excluded the county of Bertinoro as well as the Mathildine lands from the his pledges to restore the papal Patrimony.[21] Rainer protested to the emperor that he could not concede the castle without Alexander's agreement, but his objections were brushed aside by Frederick who used his military strength to take possession of the disputed territory.[22] Rainer was a

14. *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.95[28]
15. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.404
16. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.458[48]
17. ibid.
18. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.211
19. ibid.
20. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.441
21. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.211, Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.443-444
22. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.444

capable advocate for the papacy in the region, but he simply lacked the military force to make all the papal claims effective. The cardinal was clearly a competent advocate for the papacy in its relations with the empire, as well as a respected adviser.

The considerable reputation which Rainer enjoyed within the Roman church was underlined by Alexander's delegation of important legal functions to the cardinal during the Third Lateran Council in 1179. Rainer and John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, were instructed to investigate the claims of Berthold, archbishop-elect of Bremen, who sought consecration at the Council following a disputed election to the See.[23] The pope delegated a judicial role to the two cardinals, who were employed as experts concerning the specific case which had been brought to the pope and the Council.[24] The delegation of ecclesiatical cases to cardinals who possessed relevant expertise reflected the increasing specialisation of the judicial proceedings of the twelfth century curia.[25] The delegation of clergy from Bremen was examined by the cardinals and they were found to disagree among themselves about the procedure of Berthold's election, which was regarded with grave suspicion by Alexander.[26] The pope declared Berthold's election invalid on the basis of the report delivered by the cardinals.[27] Rainer's participation in the judgement of such an important ecclesiastical case illustrated his high reputation in the college as a legal expert and adviser.

Rainer continued to serve as a papal adviser after Alexander's death. He left a record of activity as a cardinal deacon under Pope Lucius III between 5 November 1181[28]

22. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.444
23. Albert, *Annals of Stade, MGH, Scriptores* 16, p.348[38]
24. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.143
25. ibid., pp.190-191
26. Albert, *Annals of Stade, MGH, Scriptores* 16, p.348[47]
27. ibid., p.349[8]
28. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431

and 13 December 1182. Although the register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld indicates that Rainer was appointed as cardinal priest of S. Giovanni e Paolo by August 1182,[29] it is evident that the *magister* remained cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro until December 1182. Rainer's final subscription as a cardinal deacon was recorded to the privilege issued by Lucius III on 13 December 1182, for the benefit of the monastery of Sesto in Velletri.[30] He was appointed by Pope Lucius as cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on 17 December 1182.[31] The cardinal maintained a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage from 23 December 1182 until 16 May 1183.[32] Rainer's final subscription was recorded on 16 May 1183, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of St. Peter at Gand in Flanders.[33] Although the date of his death is not recorded by the sources, the cardinal's career ended in the early summer of 1183. It is most likely that Rainer died in May 1183.

Rainer served the papacy most frequently as a member of the papal entourage but he was not simply a permanent papal adviser. He also proved a capable advocate of the papal curia, especially in the negotiations with the empire concerning the restoration of the papal territories. Rainer was one of the nine north Italian cardinals elevated by Alexander and his origins in the pro-imperial commune of Pavia may well have enhanced his value to the pope as a diplomat. He was also one of the nine *magistri* appointed to the college by Alexander. Rainer's career underlined the importance of the *magistri* in the sacred college of the late twelfth century.

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29. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
30. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1896, Papsturkunden in Venedig* 10, p.305
31. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
32. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
33. Lucius III, JL14885, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.455

RUDOLF CARDINAL DEACON OF S. LUCIA IN SEPTISOLIO

Rudolf was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Celestine II who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Lucia in Septisolio in 1143.[1] The contemporary sources provide little information concerning Rudolf's career and even his origins are unknown.[2] The cardinal deacon was a member of the papal entourage between 29 December 1143 and 12 June 1158.[3] Rudolf was not closely associated with the "Sicilian party" before the schism: he did not accompany Pope Adrian to Anagni in June 1159.[4] But the cardinal deacon supported Roland in the disputed election. Rudolf subscribed the letter issued to Emperor Frederick I by the majority of the cardinals immediately after the divided election, which defended the cause of Alexander III.[5] Rudolf was evidently one of the cardinals who had avoided commitment to any faction in Adrian's pontificate but eventually rallied to Alexander in the disputed election.

Rudolf made virtually no impression on the contemporary sources in Alexander's pontificate. He subscribed only the declaration addressed by the cardinals to the universal church in 1160 which defended the righteousness of Alexander's election.[6] The cardinal deacon left no further record of activity as a member of the papal entourage under Alexander. Rudolf died before the end of 1160.[7]

Rudolf was the most short-lived member of the college inherited by Alexander. He was an obscure figure who ended his career as a loyal but minor follower of Alexander III.

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1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.50
2. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.141
3. Celestine II, JL8465, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.3; Adrian IV, JL10411, *MPL* 188, 1568A
4. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636B, JL10579, 1637D
5. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 59D
6. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, 62C, J.M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, p.493
7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.50

MILO CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN AQUIRO

Milo was one of the lesser known members of the college elevated by Alexander III. Little is known concerning his origins or his career before his appointment as a cardinal. The date of Milo's appointment as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro is not definitely identified by the sources. It is most likely, however, that he was elevated to the college in the last months of 1159 or early in 1160. Milo witnessed a papal privilege for the first time on 19 February 1160, subscribing the privilege issued by Alexander for the benefit of the monastery of Pontigny.[1] The timing of Milo's first subscription gives a strong indication that he was the first new member appointed to the college by Alexander. He was not recorded as a witness to the letters issued by the new pope on 15 October and 7 November 1159.[2] It is likely therefore that Milo was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro in the period from 7 November 1159 to 19 February 1160.

Milo's career as a cardinal is, however, obscured by the paucity of the historical record where he is concerned and this uncertainty extends even to his identity. J.P. Migne in his compilation of the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III was uncertain of Milo's identity and speculated that Milo was none other than Guido, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro during the previous pontificate.[3] Guido was a very shadowy figure who left only a single record in the contemporary sources. He was appointed to the college by Pope Adrian IV and was recorded as a subscriber only once on 13 June 1157.[4] Guido was never again recorded as a witness to the papal

1. Alexander III, JL10624, *MPL* 200, col.85D
2. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL* 200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D
3. J.P. Migne, *MPL* 200, col.67
4. Adrian IV, JL10295, *MPL* 200, col.1516D

privileges after 13 June 1157 and Zenker's conclusion that the cardinal died before the outbreak of the schism is plausible.[5] The available evidence underlines that the titular church of S. Maria in Aquiro was vacant during the divided election of September 1159. The letter issued by the cardinals to Frederick Barbarossa immediately after the outbreak of the schism, which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's election, was not subscribed by any member bearing the title of cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro.[6] It seems evident that Milo was the pope's first nominee to the sacred college after the outbreak of the schism.

Milo's nomination to the college so early in the pontificate was a calculated move by Alexander, as the new cardinal deacon was naturally a loyal adherent of the pope. Milo was numbered among the cardinals who appealed for the universal recognition of Alexander III by the churches of Christendom.[7] The appeal issued to the universal church on the pope's behalf was subscribed by twenty-five cardinals, including only two who had not also witnessed the letter to the emperor, namely Milo and Raymond, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata.[8] Milo was also the final subscriber recorded in the second declaration by the cardinals, underlining his junior status and recent appointment to the college.[9]

It appears, however, that Milo was a member of the papal entourage only for a short time. The contemporary sources reveal no further record of activity by the cardinal deacon after the spring of 1160.[10] Milo's subscription to the papal privilege for the

5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.178
6. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 59D
7. Alexander III, *MPL*200, 62C
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65

monastery of Pontigny on 19 February 1160 marked his only appearance as a witness to the letters and privileges of the pontificate.[11] His successor Peter de Bono was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro on 18 March 1166.[12] The absence of any evidence of further activity by Milo after the spring of 1160 indicates, however, that the cardinal deacon died well before his successor's elevation. It is most likely that Milo died in the later months of 1160, not long after his own appointment to the sacred college.

Milo was evidently a minor member of the papal entourage under Alexander III. While he served as a member of the sacred college too briefly to render any notable service to the papacy, it is likely that the cardinal deacon enjoyed the high regard of the pope. Milo was the first new cardinal who received appointment under Alexander and it is clear that he was a faithful and respected follower of the pope.

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11. Alexander III, JL10624, *MPL* 200, col.85D
12. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.65-66

PETER DE BONO CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN AQUIRO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. SUSANNA

Peter de Bono began his service to the papacy as a subdeacon of the Roman church in the pontificate of Pope Adrian IV.[1] Brixius believes that Peter was a member of a noble family of Verona.[2] Tillmann asserts, however, that Peter was the scion of a noble Roman family.[3] The evidence of the contemporary sources supports Brixius' thesis. A cardinal who is identified only as 'Peter of Verona' is recorded as a subscriber, in a privilege issued by Pope Urban III, following the consecration of the church of St. Peter of Verona on 29 June 1186.[4] Peter de Bono, cardinal priest of S. Susanna is also recorded as a subscriber, in a privilege issued by Urban after the consecration of the Veronese church of St. Julian de Lepida in 1186.[5] Peter of S. Susanna and Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, were the sole cardinals in Urban's pontificate who shared the same name as the mysterious 'Peter of Verona'.[6] Peter of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano was, however, a native of Piacenza, who was elevated to the sacred college only in 1185.[7] Peter de Bono, cardinal priest of S. Susanna, therefore, is the more likely candidate to be 'Peter of Verona', a description which must mean that he was a native of Verona.

It is likely that Peter was a regular canon of S. Maria di Reno at the outset of his career, although such an association cannot be confirmed with complete certainty.[8]

1. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo,' *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), pp.367-369
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
3. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo,' *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), pp.367-369
4. F. Ughellus, *Veronses Episcopi, Italia Sacra V*, p.807A
5. ibid., p.807C
6. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.492-493
7. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.492-493; V. Pfaff, Die Kardinale unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198), *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), p.85
8. Trombelli, *Memorie Istoriche Concernenti le due Canoniche di S. Maria di Reno* 60, p.227

While he entered the service of the papacy under Pope Adrian IV, Peter first came to prominence in the pontificate of Alexander III. The subdeacon served as a papal legate in Spain between 1162 and 1163, acting to summon the Spanish prelates to the Council of Tours.[9] Peter was also one of the numerous envoys employed by Alexander during his exile in France between 1161 and 1165, to maintain close connections with the court of King Louis VII.[10] The subdeacon undertook a difficult mission on Alexander's behalf in February 1165, when he sought to resolve the dispute between the count of Nevers and the Cluniac monastery of Vezelay.[11] Peter and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, were instructed to end the count's hostile activity against the monks of Vezelay.[12] Alexander had entrusted Peter with a letter to Count William, warning him to keep the peace with the monastery.[13] But the count ignored the letter and refused to end his hostile activity against the monks of Vezelay, despite the best efforts of the envoys.[14] Peter and Hyacinth proved able only to persuade Count William to grant a brief truce to the monastery until Easter 1165.[15] Peter had, however, established a record of faithful service to the apostolic see, which made him an eligible candidate for promotion to the sacred college.

Peter was elevated to the college on 18 March 1166, when he was appointed by Alexander as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro.[16] He recorded his first

9. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.58
10. Alexander III, JL11140, *MPL* 200, col.337D-338D
11. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.83
12. Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii* 4, *MPL* 194, col.1642D
13. Alexander III, JL11061, *MPL* 200, col.309D-310B
14. Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii* 4, *MPL* 194, col.1642D
15. ibid.; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.83
16. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65

subscription in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate on 18 March 1166, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the benefit of the north Italian monastery of S. Clement in Peschiera.[17] The cardinal witnessed thirty-four papal letters and privileges between 18 March 1166 and 16 August 1173.[18] His final subscription as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro was recorded on the latter date.[19] Peter evidently maintained a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage. The consistent pattern of his subscriptions between 1166 and 1173 indicated that Peter served primarily as a respected papal adviser during his service as a cardinal deacon.

Peter was only rarely employed as a papal diplomat during his term as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro. He undertook a legation to the kingdom of Sicily in 1167.[20] When Rome was seriously threatened by the forces of Emperor Frederick I, the regency government in the Norman kingdom dispatched galleys, carrying envoys with financial aid, to assist the pope's escape.[21] The pope, who declined to flee immediately, instead sent Peter and Manfred, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, with the ships to the Norman kingdom.[22] The mission was designed simply to convey Alexander's gratitude to the royal court and consolidate the papacy's close connections with the kingdom.[23] The legation was not, therefore, one of the more

17. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL* 200, col.409A
18. JL11266, *MPL* 200, 409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11341, 451C, JL11379, 469C, JL11385, 474C, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11419, 499D, JL11607, 574A, JL11609, 576B, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597C, *MPL* 200, 602C, JL11643, 605C, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635C, JL11731, 649C, JL11789, 671C, JL11831, 695B, JL11900, 734B, JL12139, 870C, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880C, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905B, JL12216, 907C, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912C, JL12235, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.266
19. Alexander III, JL12235, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.266
20. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.417
21. ibid.
22. ibid.; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.102
23. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.417

important missions sent by Alexander to Sicily. A legation by the cardinal to Germany was also identified by Tillmann, but the mission is so poorly documented that it remains almost unknown.[24] Peter was not a leading papal diplomat during his early years as a cardinal. It is evident that Alexander employed Peter primarily as a permanent adviser during his term as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro.

Peter received promotion on 21 September 1173, when Alexander appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Susanna.[25] His first subscription as a cardinal priest was recorded on 28 September 1173, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions of the church of St. Thomas of Chieti in the Abruzzi.[26] Peter then witnessed thirty-nine papal documents, in which his subscription may be definitely identified, between 28 September 1173 and 15 August 1181, when he recorded his final subscription of Alexander's pontificate.[27] He evidently remained a valued member of the papal entourage after his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Susanna. Peter also emerged, however, as a more prominent and effective diplomatic representative of the papacy following his promotion.

Peter was one of the seven cardinals selected by Alexander in April 1177 to negotiate the peace with the empire.[28] He formed part of a delegation of senior and experienced cardinals including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, William, cardinal

24. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), pp.367-369
25. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
26. Alexander III, JL12238, *MPL* 200, col.917D
27. JL12238, *MPL* 200, 917D, JL12349, 974B, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077B, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083C, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094B, JL12812, 1102D, JL12873, 1123D, JL12909, 1137B, JL12932, 1144B, JL13012, 1159B, JL13047, 1166A, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176D, JL13272, 1201D, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214C, JL13342, 1219B, JL13361, 1221C, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237A, JL13426, 1238C, JL14357, 1293A, JL14375, 1298D, JL14389, 1305A, JL14393, 1308C, JL14409, 1312A, JL14414, 1314B, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418
28. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446[18]

bishop of Porto, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[29] The legates initiated negotiations with Frederick Barbarossa at Chioggia near Venice and sought to overcome his reluctance to make peace with the Lombard League.[30] The cardinals requested security guarantees from the emperor for the envoys of the League and the king of Sicily to permit the successful conclusion of the negotiations in Venice.[31] The legates proposed that Frederick should swear an oath to observe a permanent peace with the Roman church, peace with the king of Sicily for fifteen years and a truce with the Lombards for six years.[32] Frederick acted to have the required oath sworn on his behalf by Dedo, count of Groitsch and therefore affirmed that he would not treat the Lombard and Sicilian envoys as his enemies.[33] The successful diplomatic activity of the legates paved the way for the conclusion of the Peace. Peter and his collegaues later absolved Frederick from the bonds of excommunication, allowing his formal reconciliation with the pope in July 1177.[34] The Veronese cardinal was also present to witness the ratification of the Peace of Venice by Henry, count of Dietz, on behalf of the emperor.[35] Peter was a member of the select group of cardinals who secured the peace agreement with the empire. Peter de Bono had emerged by 1177 as a prominent and effective papal diplomat.

Peter had clearly established himself as a valued adviser and capable papal diplomat in the second decade of Alexander's pontificate. But Tillmann's assertion that Peter

29. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446[18]
30. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
34. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
35. *Constitutiones 1, MGH*, p.367[40]; *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, MGH, Scriptores* 27, p.95[26]

was numbered among the most important members of the sacred college exaggerates his influence.[36] He undertook only a few legations, despite the importance of his diplomatic activity before the Peace of Venice.[37] There is little evidence that he exerted greater influence as a papal adviser than many of his colleagues. Peter of S. Susanna was undeniably an important member of the college of cardinals under Alexander, but his influence should not be exaggerated.

Peter remained a valued member of the sacred college under Alexander's successors. He acted as a judge-delegate under Pope Lucius III, working with Cardinal Hyacinth to resolve a dispute between the city of Terracina and the powerful Roman noble family, the Frangipani.[38] He was a papal adviser under Pope Urban III, when the curia was based mainly in his native Verona.[39] Peter died on 20 November 1187.[40]

Peter was a respected member of the papal entourage throughout his career as a cardinal. He also became a leading papal diplomat, who participated in the negotiations which led to the Peace of Venice. He was numbered among the nine north Italian churchmen elevated to the sacred college by Alexander. The cardinal's advancement underlined the importance attached by Alexander to the preservation of close connections between the papacy and the city-states of northern Italy. He was one of the twelve cardinals appointed by Alexander, who had previously been in the service of the papacy. Peter's career reflected Alexander's determination to promote churchmen who had established a proven record of service to the papacy.

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36. H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo,' *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 29 (1975), pp.367-369, A. Luchaire, *Etudes sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres VIII*, 1899, p.115; ibid., p.146
37. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
38. J.E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198-1254*, p.15
39. F. Ughellus, *Veronenses Episcopi, Italia Sacra V*, pp.807A-807C
40. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66

HYACINTH CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN

Hyacinth Bobo, the scion of a great Roman noble family, was born in 1105.[1] He undertook important duties for the papacy well before his elevation to the sacred college. Hyacinth was appointed in 1138 by Pope Innocent II as prior of the subdeacons of the Lateran Palace.[2] The Roman churchman served as a papal representative at the trial of the theologian Peter Abelard between 1138 and 1140.[3] Hyacinth, who sought to defend Abelard at the Council of Sens, was criticised by Abelard's chief accuser, Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.[4] But Hyacinth's support for Abelard did not harm his reputation at the curia, as the disgraced theologian enjoyed considerable sympathy among the cardinals.[5] Hyacinth was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin by Pope Lucius II on 22 December 1144.[6]

Hyacinth was employed as a papal diplomat under successive popes. The cardinal began a close association with King Louis VII in 1149, when Hyacinth acted on behalf of Pope Eugenius III to facilitate Louis' return journey to France after the Second Crusade.[7] The cardinal also undertook an important legation to Spain between 1154 and 1155, vigorously encouraging holy war against the Muslim states in the Iberian peninsula.[8] Hyacinth was a skilled diplomat who sought to promote a compromise between the empire and the papacy in the pontificate of Adrian IV.[9] Adrian

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.52
2. ibid., H. Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26 (1972), pp.350-353
3. ibid.; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
4. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167; S. Bernard of Clairvaux, Letters 189, *MPL* 182, col.357A
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
6. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.52
7. John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, p.62
8. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
9. ibid.; Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 3, p.189

appointed Hyacinth and Henry, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, as legates to Emperor Frederick I in 1158.[10] They were instructed to resolve the bitter dispute between the empire and the papacy, which arose at the Diet of Besançon in 1157.[11] Hyacinth and his colleague completed a difficult and hazardous legation with distinction. The cardinals were first imprisoned by the lawless counts of Eppan in the Tyrol but managed to reach the imperial court at Augsburg after Hyacinth's brother negotiated their release.[12] The legates succeeded in restoring cordial diplomatic relations between the emperor and the papal curia.[13] But their efforts could only delay the looming conflict between the empire and the Roman church.[14] It is evident that Hyacinth was not associated with the "Sicilian party" in the college, which supported Adrian's policy of alliance with the enemies of the empire.[15] Hyacinth was not numbered among the thirteen cardinals present with Adrian at Anagni in the summer of 1159, who included the pope's closest collaborators.[16] The cardinal deacon was, however, a staunch adherent of Alexander III. Hyacinth subscribed the letter issued by twenty-three cardinals to Frederick Barbarossa, shortly after the divided election of 1159, which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's elevation.[17] He was also numbered among the cardinals who issued the appeal on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[18] While Hyacinth had favoured compromise with the empire, he served the cause of the papacy with consistency and dedication in the schism.

10. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 3, p.189
11. ibid.; W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.67
12. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 3, p.194
13. ibid.; W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.67
14. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
15. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, p.67
16. ibid.; Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636; JL10579, 1637
17. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
18. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C

Alexander employed the Roman cardinal especially as a papal diplomat, entrusting him with a series of important legations.[19] In 1160 Hyacinth and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, worked successfully to win the allegiance of the important maritime city of Genoa for Alexander.[20] Alexander initially intended to appoint Hyacinth and Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, as legates to King Louis VII of France in April 1162.[21] The legation was designed to pacify the king, who was enraged by the papal dispensation given to his rival King Henry II of England for the early marriage of a French princess to Henry's son.[22] The pope, however, decided to entrust the legation instead to French prelates, including Louis' brother Henry, archbishop of Rheims.[23] Hyacinth and Bernard undertook a brief legation to the French court between July and August 1162, arranging a meeting between the pope and the king at Sauvigny.[24] The Roman cardinal was also called upon to participate in the mission to St. Jean-de-Losne later in the same year.[25] Frederick's plan to secure Alexander's deposition, through an ecclesiastical council convened by the French and German rulers at St. Jean-de-Losne, presented a grave danger to the pope.[26] While Alexander refused to recognise any council convened to judge him, he also dispatched five senior cardinals to the conference between Frederick and Louis.[27] The papal legates included Hyacinth, Bernard of Porto, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S.

19. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-162; M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III (1159-1181)', *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.821-838
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. Alexander III, JL10711, *MPL* 200, col.137D-138C; JL10712, 138D-139D; JL10713, 139D-140C
23. ibid.
24. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.80-81
25. ibid.
26. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407
27. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407

Teodoro.[28] The legates were instructed to observe the conference and intervene in defence of Alexander's cause only if the proceedings became unfavourable for the pope.[29] But the conference ended in deadlock and the cardinals were able to return triumphantly to Alexander to report the failure of the emperor's plan.[30] Hyacinth was one of only five cardinals selected to represent Alexander and testify to the staunch adherence of the sacred college to the pope, at a most hazardous stage of the schism. The cardinal deacon was a valuable advocate who was well capable of upholding Alexander's cause in the face of his enemies.

Hyacinth undertook diplomatic activity of an extraordinary range and variety for the papacy. He enjoyed friendly connections with King Louis and undertook much of the papal curia's correspondence with the Capetian monarch during the pope's exile in France between 1161 and 1165.[31] Hyacinth issued no less than fourteen letters to Louis between 1161 and 1165 on a wide variety of issues which concerned the papacy.[32] The cardinal received friendly letters from the French king and his chancellor, Hugh of Champfleury, bishop of Soissons, with whom Hyacinth also maintained a cordial association.[33] Hyacinth contributed substantially to the consolidation of close connections between the papacy and the Capetian monarchy, which were maintained successfully throughout the schism. He also undertook legatine duties for Alexander in France. In 1165 Hyacinth sought to persuade

28. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.80-81
29. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.406-407
30. ibid.
31. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167; Louis VII, Letters 155, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.48B
32. Louis VII, Letters 84, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.25A; ibid. 172, 53E; ibid. 190, 58C; ibid. 232, 75; ibid. 260, 85; ibid. 273, 89C; ibid. 327, 103B; ibid. 361, 118B; ibid. 370, 121B; ibid. 377, 122D; ibid. 379, 123B; ibid. 380, 123D; ibid. 381, 123E
33. Hugh of Champfleury, Letters 15, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 203; ibid. 24, 204; Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 136, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 318D

Count William of Nevers to cease his hostile activity against the monks of Vezelay, but could secure only a brief truce for the monastery from the count's depredations.[34] Hyacinth's diplomatic activity was, however, not restricted to the Capetian kingdom. Hyacinth was employed by Alexander in 1164 as a legate to the emperor.[35] The cardinal deacon, along with William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Peter, bishop of Pavia, was instructed to investigate the possibility of a reconciliation with Frederick.[36] The mission, which was undertaken only at the request of King Louis, failed completely due to the intransigence of Frederick Barbarossa.[37] The abortive legation underlines the validity of Pacaut's assertion that Hyacinth was regarded by the pope as the ideal envoy for the most difficult legations.[38] The cardinal undertook the most lengthy mission of his career between 1172 and 1175 when he served as *legatus a latere* in Spain.[39] Hyacinth worked once again to organise a crusade against the Saracens in the Iberian peninsula and developed particularly friendly connections with King Ferdinand II of Léon.[40] He also took a leading part in the collection of revenue for the papacy in the region. In 1173 the legate collected the *census*, the annual payment by monasteries which enjoyed the protection of the apostolic see, from relevant monasteries in Spain and Portugal.[41] His legatine activity in the region therefore brought important financial benefits to the papacy. Hyacinth was the curia's specialist in the affairs of the Spanish kingdoms.[42] But the scope and variety of his

34. Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii 4*, MPL194, col.1642B-1643C; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.83
35. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.62
36. M. Pacaut,'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE*, pp.821-838
37. ibid.
38. ibid.
39. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
40. Ferdinand of Léon, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 11, *MPL*200, col.1369B-1370A
41. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.273
42. ibid.

legatine duties set him apart from most of his colleagues. The cardinal's diplomatic activity in the first fifteen years of Alexander's pontificate encompassed much of western Christendom. Hyacinth's wide-ranging legatine activity reflected his status as a most experienced and influential papal diplomat.

Hyacinth's distinguished record as a papal legate was appreciated by Alexander, who employed him as a legate in the negotiations which ended the schism. Hyacinth was one of the seven cardinals appointed by Alexander in April 1177 to act as negotiators of the peace with the empire.[43] He formed part of the delegation of senior and experienced cardinals, including Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, William, cardinal bishop of Porto, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna and Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale.[44] The legates initiated negotiations with Frederick at Chioggia near Venice and sought to overcome his reluctance to make peace with the Lombard League.[45] They proposed that Frederick should swear an oath to observe a permanent peace with the Roman church, peace with the king of Sicily for fifteen years and a truce with the Lombard League for six years.[46] Frederick agreed to the proposal, acting to have the required oath sworn on his behalf by Dedo, count of Groitsch.[47] The diplomatic activity of the cardinals facilitated the successful conclusion of the Peace of Venice. Hyacinth and his six colleagues absolved Frederick from the bonds of excommunication, opening the way for the emperor's reconciliation with Alexander.[48]

43. *Romoaldi Annales, MGH, Scriptores* 19, p.446
44. ibid.
45. ibid.; K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
46. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250*, pp.260-261
47. ibid.; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439
48. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.439

The Roman cardinal was also present to witness the formal ratification of the Peace by Henry, count of Dietz, on behalf of the emperor, on 25 July 1177.[49] The cardinal deacon was a member of the select group of cardinals who secured the peace agreement with the empire. It is evident that Hyacinth was numbered among the most effective and important advocates of Alexander's cause within the sacred college.

It is certain that Hyacinth rendered his most valuable service to the papacy as a diplomat. But he also established a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage under Alexander. Hyacinth's first subscription in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate was recorded on 7 November 1159, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the rights of the monastery of Monte Cassino.[50] The cardinal deacon witnessed no less than one hundred and thirteen papal letters and privileges between 7 November 1159 and 15 August 1181, when he recorded his final subscription of Alexander's pontificate.[51] He maintained a remarkably consistent pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage, in

49. *Constitutiones* 1, *MGH*, p.367[40]
50. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL*200, col.75D
51. Alexander III, JL10594, *MPL*200, col.75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10663, 115D, JL10698, 131C, JL10714, 142C, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10739, 156A, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215C, JL10857, 217C, JL10859, 219A, JL10861, 222C, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229D, JL10887, 236D, JL10893, 241B, JL10900, 245D, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267D, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318A, JL11153, 341D, JL11158, 345A, JL11167, 346D, JL11177, 352C, JL11187, 356B, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409D, JL11295, 423C, JL11340, 449A, JL11341, 451B, JL11276, 453D, JL11379, 469B, JL11385, 474B, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11419, 499C, JL11607, 574D, JL11609, 576B, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588A, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597B, *MPL*200, 602C, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11810, 685B, JL11816, 688D, JL11831, 695B, JL11878, 718D, JL11887, 723B, JL11892, 727B, JL12504, 1024C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069C, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077B, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083D, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110B, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133B, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144B, JL13012, 1159B, JL13047, 1166A, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176D, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214D, JL13342, 1219B, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225A, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13465, 1246C, JL13624, 1268D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298A, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308B, JL14409, 1312A, JL14414, 1314C, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418

conjunction with his extensive legatine activity. Hyacinth was evidently a valued papal adviser, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges when he was present at the papal court.

Hyacinth was highly regarded not only by Alexander but by a series of eminent contemporaries. The cardinal enjoyed a close friendship with the famous theologian, Gerhoch, provost of Reichersberg.[52] Gerhoch expressed his gratitude to Hyacinth for the cardinal's assistance in a theological dispute concerning the provost's writings and he gave the cardinal his tract *De investigatione Antichristi* as a token of his high esteem.[53] The Roman cardinal also enjoyed cordial connections with other eminent figures including Peter of Celle, abbot of S. Rémi in Rheims, and Eleanor, queen of England.[54] Hyacinth commanded also the respect of Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, who believed that Hyacinth was one of the few incorruptible cardinals.[55] Becket regarded Hyacinth as an ally within the papal curia, who could be relied upon to assist his cause against King Henry II of England.[56] But the cardinal deacon also enjoyed amicable relations with the Angevin ruler, whose envoys to the papal curia in 1171 even hoped for Hyacinth's aid in their negotiations with the pope.[57] Hyacinth evidently took care to avoid giving unnecessary offence to Henry, but maintained close connections with Thomas Becket. The universal respect which Hyacinth enjoyed among his leading contemporaries was a tribute to his character and diplomatic skills.

52. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Letters 22, *MPL* 193, col.586B
53. ibid. 19, 573B; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi, MGH, Lib. de Lite III*, p.307; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.161-167
54. Alexander III, Letters 26, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.767E-768B
55. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 444, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.475-476
56. ibid. 33, 53; ibid. 240, 403
57. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 325, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, 477E

The experienced cardinal remained a leading member of the sacred college for over a decade after Alexander's death in 1181. Hyacinth was the senior member of the college by 1191, having served as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin for forty-seven years.[58] Following the death of Pope Clement III, Hyacinth's enormous prestige and experience led to his election as pope on 10 April 1191, when he assumed the papal dignity as Celestine III.[59] Celestine's freedom of action was gravely restricted by unfavourable political conditions, especially by the "union of the kingdom with the empire".[60] This dreaded prospect for the papacy became a reality in 1194, when Emperor Henry VI vindicated his claim to the kingdom of Sicily.[61] Celestine, who was also compelled to deal with deep divisions within the college concerning papal policy towards the empire, pursued an ambivalent political strategy.[62] The pope engaged in prolonged negotiations with Henry for a full settlement of all disputes, but also refused to recognise Henry as king of Sicily.[63] Celestine's ambiguous policy was terminated only by the unexpected death of the emperor in September 1197, which liberated the curia from imperial pressure and factional division.[64] But it was Celestine's successor, Pope Innocent III, who benefited from the dramatic political reversal for the Staufen dynasty.[65] Celestine died aged ninety-two on 8 January 1198.[66] Hyacinth was a distinguished servant of the papacy for two full generations. The Roman cardinal, who undertook legatine activity of an exceptional range and variety,

58. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.58-94
59. ibid.; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.88
60. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.510-516
61. ibid.
62. ibid.
63. ibid., pp.516-518
64. ibid., pp.521-522
65. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, pp.228-230
66. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.52

was the most active and influential papal diplomat under Alexander. As an invaluable diplomat and eminent papal adviser, Hyacinth was numbered among the most important cardinals of Alexander's pontificate. His influence and prestige as a member of the sacred college were underlined by the universal approbation which he received from his leading contemporaries. Hyacinth was a formidable advocate for the papacy, who made an important contribution to the triumph of Alexander's cause in the schism.

JOHN CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN PORTICU, CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. MARCO AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF PALESTRINA

John was a member of a Roman noble family, the Conti, which was most powerful in his native town of Anagni.[1] He was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of the Roman church in 1158.[2] He was not one of the cardinals present with Adrian in Anagni in the summer of 1159, who included the pope's closest collaborators in the college.[3] John was, however, a firm adherent of Pope Alexander III from the outset of the schism. He was numbered among the twenty-three cardinals who supported Alexander in the divided election and issued the letter to Emperor Frederick I, which defended the righteousness of Alexander's elevation.[4] John also subscribed the appeal addressed by the cardinals to the universal church in defence of Alexander's cause.[5] The cardinal deacon soon emerged as a determined advocate for the papacy in the early years of the schism.

John undertook legatine activity in northern Italy almost immediately after the beginning of the schism.[6] He was employed by the pope as an observer in northern Italy during the Council of Pavia and as a legate to Milan.[7] John initially remained in Piacenza with his colleague, John Piozutus, a subdeacon of the Roman church, during the Council.[8] Although he was summoned to Pavia by the anti-pope "Victor IV", the cardinal refused to attend the Council, denying the legitimacy of any tribunal to judge the pope.[9] Following the proclamation of "Victor IV" as the rightful pope by the

1. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59
3. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col.1636, JL10579, 1637
4. J.M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, p.465, Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
5. J.M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae II*, p.493, Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C
6. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.12-14
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.333

Council, John sought successfully to promote Alexander's cause in Milan, which was the centre of opposition to the imperial government in Lombardy.[10] The cardinal took determined measures against the imperial party in the region. The legate pronounced the first excommunication of the emperor and the anti-pope on 28 February 1160 in Milan, acting even before Alexander himself.[11] In March 1160 John excommunicated Frederick's most prominent adherents in Lombardy, including the bishops of Mantua, Lodi and Cremona, the marquis of Montferrat and the consuls of various city-states.[12] Then on 28 March 1160 he also excommunicated Ludovico de Baradello, a Lombard opponent of Alexander's cause, and declared invalid all laws promulgated by the emperor, until he made peace with the church.[13] John acted in association with Oberto, archbishop of Milan, in imposing spiritual sanctions upon the enemies of the pope.[14] The legate consolidated the connections enjoyed by the papacy with Milan and gave vigorous support to the north Italian communes which opposed the emperor.[15] When John left Milan in June 1160,[16] he had accomplished his mission with great determination and considerable short-term success.

John's zeal as an advocate was recognised by Alexander, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu in 1160.[17] Brixius suggests that he established his first record of activity as a member of Alexander's entourage on 21 December 1160.[18] But the first subscription by John, which can be definitely identified in the

10. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.12-14
11. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 17, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368[21]
12. ibid., p.368[23]; P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia VI (1), Liguria* 36, p.9
13. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 17, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368[28]; P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia VI (1), Liguria* 37, p.9
14. *Annales Mediolanenses, MGH, Scriptores* 17, ed. G.H. Pertz, p.368[21]
15. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.12-14
16. ibid.
17. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.115
18. ibid., p.59

extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, was given on 26 February 1161, when the cardinal witnessed the papal privilege for the benefit of the Spanish monastery of Sahagun.[19] He witnessed fifteen papal letters and privileges between 26 February 1161 and 23 July 1163.[20] His final subscription as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu was given on 23 July 1163.[21] John maintained a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage during his service as a cardinal deacon. He was not, however, a permanent adviser to the pope during this period, as he was also employed as a papal diplomat.

John began a diplomatic mission to Dalmatia in the autumn of 1163.[22] The cardinal, who was accompanied by the subdeacons Theodin and Vitellius, was entrusted with a legation to the ecclesiastical province of Ragusa.[23] Dalmatia was an important arena of ecclesiastical contention between the papacy and the Byzantine Orthodox church, so the legation was designed to counter Byzantine influence in the region.[24] John and his colleagues were honourably received by Lazarus, bishop of Arbania, but little else is recorded by the sources concerning their mission.[25] It is evident, however, that the legation had little success in promoting the influence of the papacy. The Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus, launched an invasion of Hungary between 1163 and 1165, which greatly increased Byzantine influence in Dalmatia.[26] Following the departure of the legates by 1165, Alexander entrusted Albert, cardinal priest of

19. Alexander III, JL10657, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.153
20. JL10657, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.153, JL10663, *MPL* 200, col.115A, JL10698, 131C, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10772, 147B, JL10741, 159D, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, JL10857, 217D, JL10861, 222C, JL10875, 229D, JL10893, 241B, JL10911, 251A
21. Alexander III, JL10911, 251A
22. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.117-118
23. ibid.
24. ibid.
25. ibid.
26. ibid.

S. Lorenzo in Lucina, with a further legation to Dalmatia, which was designed specifically to enhance the waning authority of the apostolic see in the region.[27] The necessity for Albert's legation indicated that the previous mission by John and his colleagues made little impact in the region.

While John served as an advocate of the papal curia in the early years of the schism, the pattern of his career was altered following his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Marco.[28] The date of his promotion is not identified with any certainty by the sources. Ohnsorge suggests that John was already cardinal priest of S. Marco when he undertook his legation to Dalmatia between 1163 and 1165.[29] Zenker, however, believes that the cardinal was promoted in 1167 or 1168.[30] While the date of John's promotion cannot be precisely identified, it is certain that he recorded his first subscription as cardinal priest of S. Marco on 23 January 1168.[31] He witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery of St. Nicol des Près in France.[32] He established a record of activity as cardinal priest of S. Marco only some time after his return from Dalmatia. It is most likely that John received promotion in 1167 or January 1168.

John's promotion initiated a new and notably different phase of his career. As cardinal priest of S. Marco he established a consistent record of activity as a member of the papal entourage. John witnessed forty-seven papal letters and privileges, in which his subscription may be definitely identified, between 23 January 1168 and

27. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.118-119
28. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
29. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.117-118
30. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
31. Alexander III, JL11378, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.207
32. ibid.

24 May 1181.[33] He recorded his final subscription of Alexander's pontificate on 24 May 1181, when he subscribed the papal privilege which confirmed the liberty and the possessions of the French monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer.[34] John was a respected papal adviser, who was generally retained by Alexander at the papal court during this period.[35] He served primarily as a member of the papal entourage in the last twelve years of Alexander's pontificate. The functional pattern of John's career under Alexander changed substantially following his promotion. While he began his service to the papacy as a vigorous advocate of Alexander's cause in the schism, John finished the pontificate as a permanent member of the papal entourage.

John was a respected senior member of the college under successive popes following Alexander's death. Pope Lucius III entrusted him with an important legation to the emperor in 1183, which was designed to resolve the dispute between Frederick Barbarossa and the papacy concerning the rightful ownership of the Mathildine territories.[36] John failed to reach any agreement with Frederick, although he helped to maintain the cordial relations enjoyed by Lucius with the imperial court.[37] The cardinal also undertook other legatine duties in Germany, proclaiming the canonisation of Anno, the eleventh century archbishop of Cologne, in March 1183.[38]

33. Alexander III, JL11378, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.207, JL11379, *MPL*200, col.469B, JL11385, 474B, JL11389, 479C, JL11424, 502A, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11589, 565D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11608, 576B, JL11614, 578B, JL11618, 580B, JL11619, 583B, JL11643, 605B, JL11708, 635B, JL11731, 649B, JL11789, 671B, JL11831, 695D, JL11900, 734B, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905A, JL12216, 907B, JL12221, 911A, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919B, JL12349, 974B, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069B, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077A, JL12732, 1080C, JL13012, 1159B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13272, 1201C, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214C, JL13342, 1219B, JL13361, 1221C, JL13370, 1223A, JL13420, 1237A, JL13426, 1238C, JL13453, 1241A, JL14393, 1308C, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
34. Alexander III, JL14398, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.416
35. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
36. ibid.
37. ibid.
38. V. Pfaff, 'Die Kardinale unter Papst Coelestin III (1191-1198)', *ZSSRG KA* 41 (1955), pp.90-91

John enjoyed the confidence especially of Pope Clement III, who entrusted him with an exceptionally difficult legation to France and England in 1189.[39] The cardinal priest was instructed to mediate a peace agreement between King Philip II of France and King Henry II of England, which would allow the monarchs to fulfil their vows to embark upon the third Crusade.[40] The legate threatened to impose an interdict on their territories if the kings failed to make peace, but his warning had no effect.[41] King Philip was undeterred by the threat of an interdict and accused John of accepting bribes from the king of England.[42] John was unable to secure a truce before Henry's death and his successor King Richard I proved unwilling to conclude a peace agreement.[43] Although the monarchs eventually fulfilled their crusading vows after the legate's departure in 1190, John's mission was an embarassing failure for the apostolic see.[44] Moreover he was equally unsuccessful in fulfilling the pope's instructions concerning the conflict between the monks of Christ Church in Canterbury and their archbishop, Baldwin.[45] John, like Clement himself, favoured the cause of the monks who had appealed to the curia against Baldwin's plans for a new foundation of secular canons.[46] But he was prevented from adjudicating the dispute in favour of the monks by King Richard, who wished to arbitrate the conflict personally.[47] John's legation therefore proved entirely unsuccessful.

The cardinal's failure did not undermine the respect which he enjoyed at the papal

39. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
40. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.134
41. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum, Scriptores* 44, p.458
42. ibid.
43. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.134
44. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.169
45. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
46. *Epistolae Cantuarienses* 310, *Chronicles* 2, *Scriptores* 38, ed. W. Stubbs, pp.294-295; ibid. 304, p.287; ibid. 317, pp.303-304; ibid. 318, p.304
47. ibid. 325, pp.310-311; ibid. 331, p.320; ibid. 564, p.546

curia. John, who was Clement's most valued adviser, was recalled to Rome in 1190 because the pope required his counsel following the death of King William II of Sicily.[48] Moreover Clement appointed John as cardinal bishop of Palestrina in August 1190, awarding him the final promotion of his lengthy career.[49] The pope also ensured the advancement of other members of John's family, the Conti. The cardinal's nephew Lothar of Segni, who was later elected as Pope Innocent III, was appointed as cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco by Clement in 1190.[50] John remained a member of the papal entourage during the last years of his career. He maintained a record of activity as cardinal bishop of Palestrina between 20 August 1190 and 22 March 1196.[51] It is most likely that John died in the spring of 1196.[52]

John was numbered among the cardinals inherited by Alexander who consistently supported his cause during the schism. While he was an effective advocate for the pope early in Alexander's pontificate, the cardinal was later employed almost exclusively as a permanent papal adviser. This pattern reflected a shrewd allocation of functional responsibilities by Alexander. John was a forceful representative and valued adviser for successive popes, but he was never a particularly successful diplomat. Alexander identified the functions which would be most successfully undertaken by the cardinal. John's career underlined Alexander's skilful allocation of functional responsibilities to individual members of the college.

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48. *Epistolae Cantuarienses* 418, *Chronicles* 2, *Scriptores* 38, ed. W. Stubbs, p.321; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.508
49. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.168-170
50. ibid; V. Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III (1187-1191)', *ZSSRG KA* 66 (1980), p.280
51. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.536; ibid., p.577
52. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59

LABORANS CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN PORTICU AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. MARIA IN TRASTAVERE

Laborans was a native of Pantormo near Florence.[1] He was a distinguished *magister*, who acquired an extensive knowledge of canon law in the schools of Paris.[2] Laborans established himself as a leading Decretist, winning renown as a canonist who commented primarily on the *Decretum* of Gratian.[3] The *Decretum*, which was originally a private compilation of canons composed by Gratian c.1140, became the canon law book of the curia in the last decade of the twelfth century.[4] The *Decretum* was already the most influential text on canon law in the contemporary schools during Alexander's pontificate.[5] As a *magister* and learned Decretist, Laborans offered an invaluable source of legal expertise to the papal curia. His renown as a canonist provided the basis for Laborans' career in the sacred college.

Laborans was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu by 21 September 1173.[6] He established a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage following his elevation. His first subscription was recorded on 14 October 1173, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the convent of S. Maria di Manerbo in Milan.[7] Laborans then subscribed an impressive total of twenty-nine papal letters and privileges between 14 October 1173 and 3 August 1179.[8] He recorded his final

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.63-64
2. ibid.
3. R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 6, pp.297-298
4. W. Holtzmann, "Die Benutzung Gratians", *Studia Gratiana* I (1953), pp.323-349
5. J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp.47-48
6. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.63-64
7. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Mailand* 17, p.101
8. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. 1902, Mailand* 17, p.101, Alexander III, JL12246, *MPL* 200, 926A, JL12349, 974C, JL12398, 999C, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12695, 1067D, JL12702, 1069C, JL12718, 1075D, JL12722, 1077B, JL12732, 1080C, JL12741, 1083D, JL12742, 1084A, JL12747, 1088D, JL12773, 1094C, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144B, JL13012, 1159B, JL13047, 1166B, JL13055, 1169C, JL13060, 1172D, JL13334, 1214D, JL13370, 1223C, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL13457, 1242D, P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. 1900, Papsturkunden in Parma und Piacenza* 31, p.52

subscription as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu on the latter date, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the monastery of SS. Gervasius and Protasius in Montebello.[9] Laborans was evidently a respected papal adviser, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis.

The cardinal's service to the papacy was not always related to the business of the papal entourage. He undertook a legation to Lombardy after the Peace of Venice.[10] When the negotiations for a permanent peace between the Emperor Frederick and the Lombard League broke down, Alexander dispatched Laborans to mediate the conflict and prevent further warfare.[11] The cardinal's mission was successful enough to avert a new military conflict, although the emperor did not reach a full peace agreement with the Lombard city-states until 1183.[12]

While Laborans was not unsuccessful as a diplomat, he served the papacy primarily as a member of the pope's entourage. Following his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastavere by 21 December 1179,[13] he maintained a consistent pattern of activity as a subscriber to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate. Laborans witnessed eight papal letters and privileges between 26 February 1180 and 15 August 1181, when he recorded his final subscription of the pontificate.[14] The cardinal sustained a regular record of activity as a member of Alexander's entourage following his promotion. Laborans was above all a distinguished member of the cohort of permanent advisers within the sacred college.

9. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Parma und Piacenza* 31, p.52
10. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.146
11. ibid., I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.498
12. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.500
13. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.63-64
14. Alexander III, JL13624, *MPL*200, 1268D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298A, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308A, JL14409, 1312A, JL14414, 1314C, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418

Laborans reached the pinnacle of his career, as a cardinal and a canonist, only after Alexander's death. He remained a member of the sacred college until 1189,[15] producing his most famous works between 1180 and 1189. He completed his most important work as a canonist, the *Codex Compilationis*, in 1182 during the pontificate of Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III.[16] The *Codex*, which was the product of twenty years of labour by the canonist, rearranged the *Decretum* of Gratian with the addition of recent papal decretals and the canons of the Third Lateran Council.[17] His completion of the *Codex Compilationis* firmly established Laborans as a famous Decretist. The cardinal was not only a renowned canonist but also a theologian, who was the author of a number of theological treatises.[18] His first treatise, *De vera libertate*, was completed by 1161, long before his elevation to the college.[19] But most of his theological works, including the treatises *Contra Sabellianos* and *De relatione praedicatione personae in divinis*, were produced between 1180 and 1189.[20] Laborans' impressive scholarly accomplishments underlined that he was by no means entirely preoccupied with the transaction of the routine business of the papal curia.

The cardinal also emerged, however, as an influential member of the papal entourage in the last years of his career. Laborans was one of the few cardinals who participated in the papal election following the unexpected death of Pope Gregory VIII in December 1187.[21] The unusual circumstances of the election gave a small group of cardinals the decisive voice in the selection of the new pope. Laborans was numbered

15. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.63-64
16. R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 6, pp.297-298
17. ibid.; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, pp.342-343
18. R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 6, pp.297-298
19. ibid.
20. ibid.
21. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Ligurien* 4, pp.189-190

among the eight cardinals who ensured the elevation of Paul Scolari, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, to the papal dignity as Clement III.[22] The Italian cardinal became a trusted adviser of the new pope. In 1189 Clement instructed Laborans to investigate a proposal for the canonisation of Otto, bishop of Bamberg.[23] The cardinal evaluated the evidence and made a recommendation in favour of Otto's canonisation, which was approved by the pope and the cardinals.[24] The episode underlined the influence enjoyed by Laborans as an expert in canon law. He ended his career as an important papal adviser under Clement III.[25] He recorded his final subscription to the extant papal letters and privileges on 6 October 1189, when he witnessed two privileges issued by the pope.[26] While the date of his death is not definitely identified by the sources, it is most likely that Laborans died in the final months of 1189.

Laborans was an immensely talented permanent adviser to Alexander III and his successors. Alexander valued his counsel and legal expertise sufficiently to employ the cardinal primarily as a member of the papal entourage. Laborans was one of the nine eminent *magistri* elevated to the college by Alexander. He was also the most renowned Decretist of his time among the cardinals. As a distinguished canonist and theologian, he was numbered among the most learned members of the college during Alexander's pontificate. Laborans' career, as a *magister*, cardinal and canonist, illuminated the new influences which came to dominate the sacred college and the papal curia in the late twelfth century.

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22. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Ligurien* 4, pp.189-190
23. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.112
24. ibid.
25. V. Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III. (1187-1191)', *ZSSRG KA* 66 (1980), pp.280-283
26. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1898, Papsturkunden in Benevent und der Capitanata* 19, pp.92-93, P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1898, Papsturkunden in der Abruzzen und am Monte Gargano* 20, p.332

RAYMOND CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN VIA LATA

Raymond de Arenis was a native of Nîmes in Languedoc.[1] He began his career as a canon of the church of Beauvais under the supervision of Bishop Henry.[2] He retained close ties of friendship with Henry for the rest of his career.[3] As Raymond was a *magister*, his legal background may well have influenced his elevation to the college of cardinals.[4] Raymond was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata by Pope Adrian IV on 14 March 1158.[5] His first subscription as a cardinal was recorded on 24 April 1158, when he witnessed Adrian's privilege which confirmed the rights and possessions of the church of S. Felicula of Parma.[6] Raymond maintained a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage under Adrian from 24 April 1158 until 12 May 1159.[7] The cardinal's final subscription for almost three years was given on 12 May 1159, when he witnessed the privilege which confirmed the possessions of the French church of Ste. Opportune-du-Bose.[8] The break in Raymond's pattern of subscriptions was caused by his initial opposition to Alexander III in the divided election of 1159.

Although Raymond was elevated to the college by Adrian, he was not at all closely associated with the pope. The cardinal deacon was not present with Adrian at Anagni in the summer of 1159, unlike the thirteen cardinals who were numbered among Adrian's most trusted collaborators in the college.[9] Raymond was one of the few

1. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
2. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
3. ibid.
4. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59
5. ibid.
6. Adrian IV, JL10403, *MPL* 188, col. 1562C
7. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.103
8. Adrian IV, JL10565, *MPL* 188, col.1630D
9. Adrian IV, JL15777, *MPL* 188, 1636B, JL10579, *MPL* 188, 1637D

cardinals who supported Octavian in the divided election. He was numbered among the five cardinals who issued a letter on 4 October 1159 to the princes and bishops of Christendom, which defended the righteousness of Octavian's election.[10] Raymond, however, ceased abruptly to support the cause of the anti-pope "Victor IV" soon afterwards. He was recorded as a subscriber to the appeal which was addressed to the universal church on Alexander's behalf by a majority of the cardinals.[11] Raymond was the only cardinal inherited by Alexander who subscribed the appeal to the universal church issued early in 1160 but not the earlier letter to the emperor, which was composed in October 1159.[12] He was certainly also the sole member to subscribe appeals to the Christian church by both claimants to the papacy. The rationale for Raymond's apparent volte-face cannot be identified with complete certainty. The Council of Pavia, which acclaimed the anti-pope in 1160, endorsed the claims of his adherents that Raymond had submitted to "Victor IV" but was imprisoned by Alexander's allies to prevent his attendance at Pavia.[13] The anti-pope excommunicated Henry, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, claiming that Raymond was seized, severely beaten and imprisoned at his command.[14] As the Council of Pavia was bitterly hostile to Alexander and his adherents, it is unlikely that the accusations against the respected Cistercian cardinal were entirely accurate. But the Victorine account of Raymond's defection cannot be fully discounted, as the cardinal did not acknowledge Alexander as the rightful pope until 1162.[15] Raymond did not rejoin the

10. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.303
11. Alexander III, *MPL*200, col.62C
12. J.M. Watterich, *Alexandri III Annales, Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, p.464, pp.493-499
13. Alexander III, Letters 10, *Recueil, Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752D
14. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.338
15. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180

papal entourage until May 1162, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege guaranteeing the possessions of the French monastery of Gimont.[16] The cardinal deacon therefore remained reluctant to support Alexander unequivocally for the first three years of the schism. His subscription to the appeal on Alexander's behalf to the Christian church[17] was not a deliberate, voluntary defection from the Victorine faction. While the wilder claims of the anti-pope's followers about his mistreatment by a fellow cardinal are implausible, it is likely that Raymond was pressurized or coerced by Alexander's adherents to lend his name to the appeal. Certainly Raymond was sufficiently shaken by his experiences in 1159-60 to avoid any commitment to either party for the next two years.

Raymond finally submitted to Alexander in 1162, when he was perhaps influenced by Henry of Beauvais, who as a bishop and subsequently as archbishop of Rheims was an advocate for Alexander in France.[18] The cardinal established a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage only for three years during Alexander's exile in France. Raymond witnessed only seven papal privileges, which were preserved in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, in the period from 6 May 1162 until 3 August 1165.[19] Raymond gave his final subscription of the pontificate on 3 August 1165, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions of the French monastery of St. Sauveur de Lodève.[20] The cardinal deacon was a minor

16. Alexander III, JL10716, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.157
17. Alexander III, *MPL*200, col.62C
18. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
19. Alexander III, JL10716, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.157, JL10717, *MPL*200, 143D, JL10741, 159D, JL11220, 386C, JL11221, 388D, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1907, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* 4. 39, pp.121-122, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1907, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* 4. 41, pp.123-124
20. W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1907, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* 4. 41, pp.123-124

member of the papal entourage, who did not establish himself as a respected permanent adviser of the pope. Moreover Raymond's service as a member of Alexander's entourage was not cut short by death, but ended abruptly when the pope returned to Rome.

Raymond never again acted as a papal adviser after August 1165, but passed the remainder of his career in his native Languedoc. Various explanations have been offered for the course of the cardinal's career after 1165. Brixius even suggested that Raymond may have died by 1167.[21] The available evidence compiled by Zenker indicates, however, that the cardinal deacon certainly remained active in his native region until 1176.[22] Janssen asserted that Raymond was effectively banned from the papal entourage because of his attitude in 1159.[23] This theory assumed that Alexander wished to remove an unreliable cardinal from his entourage, but was willing to let him retain his title.[24] Zenker believed that a more probable rationale for Raymond's activity was provided by Alexander's concern to retain a permanent observer in France.[25] The available evidence for Raymond's activity after 1165 reveals a more complex picture which does not entirely fit either of the theories.

In 1166 Raymond received an appeal for assistance from Herbert of Bosham, the loyal follower of the embattled archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket.[26] Herbert sought Raymond's aid in winning the support of the pope and the cardinals for the archbishop against King Henry II.[27] Such an appeal would hardly have been made to

21. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.59
22. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
23. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
24. ibid.
25. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
26. Herbert of Bosham, Letters 251, *Scriptores* 67, *Materials* 6, ed. J.C.Robertson, pp.59-62
27. ibid.

a cardinal who was in disgrace and had been deliberately exiled from the papal court. Janssen's thesis is implausible also because Raymond sometimes served the papacy as a diplomat after 1165.[28] Alexander corresponded with the cardinal deacon and the archbishop of Arles on 20 December 1170, to inform the prelates of his attitude concerning the marriage of Ermengarde and Blatius.[29] Very little information is recorded by the contemporary sources about the marriage, but the letter underlined that Alexander remained in cordial correspondence with Raymond. Moreover in February 1174 the pope instructed Raymond to intervene in the marital dispute between Raymond V, count of Toulouse and his estranged wife Constance, the sister of King Louis VII.[30] Raymond, along with Pontius, archbishop of Narbonne and Albert, bishop of Nîmes, was commanded to urge the count to invite Constance's return: they were also enjoined to warn the countess to return to her husband.[31] This piece of matrimonial diplomacy reflected the pope's readiness to employ Raymond as a representative of the papacy in his native region. It is improbable, therefore, that Alexander had deliberately excluded the cardinal from his entourage on the basis of his unreliability.

Raymond's activity does not, however, fully reflect Zenker's suggestion that he was a permanent observer for the papacy in France.[32] He was never given the title of legate in the official papal letters which he received in 1170 and 1174.[33] The pope never formally entrusted him with a legation on behalf of the apostolic see, even in 1174

28. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
29. Alexander III, JL11867, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.241
30. Alexander III, JL12343, *MPL*200, col.972D
31. ibid.
32. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
33. Alexander III, JL11867, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.241, JL12343, *MPL*200, 972D

when the cardinal undertook the important intervention in the matrimonial affairs of the count of Toulouse.[34] Raymond was not regarded as a legate in his native region. In 1171 he settled a conflict between the monastery of Gellone and the widow of a local knight, who had brought complaints previously to the legate Cardinal Hyacinth against the monks of Gellone.[35] Raymond did not bear the title of cardinal legate during his settlement of the dispute, although he had undertaken arbitration of the kind frequently practised by legates.[36] It appears that the cardinal was employed as an official papal envoy on an occasional basis, but was not delegated a specific legatine role on behalf of the apostolic see. He was neither a cardinal legate charged with the performance of a specific mission, nor a papal vicar entrusted with a long-term legation.[37] Zenker's suggestion that Raymond was a permanent papal observer in France is not fully confirmed by the available evidence.[38] Raymond performed a useful role, however, as a papal representative on an intermittent basis in his native region, which apparently satisfied Alexander.

Raymond's ambiguous role after 1165 was unique among the cardinals in Alexander's pontificate. He was neither a papal legate nor was he entrusted with any great ecclesiastical responsibility which could have prevented his attendance with the pope.[39] Brixius correctly rejected the suggestion that the cardinal should be identified with Raymond, archbishop of Arles.[40] Archbishop Raymond served as the metropolitan of Arles from 1163 until 1182, so his term began while the cardinal was still a member

34. Alexander III, JL12343, *MPL*200, col.972D
35. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
36. ibid.
37. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.164
38. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.180
39. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
40. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.117

of the papal entourage.[41] Raymond de Arenis also used no other title than cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata in his letter of 1167 to his friend Henry, archbishop of Rheims.[42] Raymond's virtually unprecedented position as a non-resident cardinal,[43] who lacked a well-defined role imposed by the pope, cannot be explained by identifying him with his contemporary and namesake.

Raymond certainly developed a position of considerable prestige and influence in his native region, despite the ambiguity which surrounded his role as a cardinal. In 1174 Count Raymond of Toulouse and the vicomte Bernard Ato II of Nîmes concluded an agreement in the presence of the cardinal deacon, which guaranteed the security of both nobles.[44] Raymond's participation in the ceremony reflected his importance as a local ecclesiastical dignitary. Janssen suggested that he held a position of honour in his native town of Nîmes.[45] Raymond's involvement in the local vicomte's agreement with the powerful count of Toulouse indicated that he enjoyed considerable standing not only in Nîmes, but in the region generally as a native ecclesiastical figure. His final recorded activity in Languedoc was undertaken in conjunction with Albert, bishop of Nîmes.[46] Raymond and Albert on 3 November 1176 opened the will of Ermessinde, countess of Melgueil, who bequeathed her possessions to the count of Toulouse.[47] While he held no office in the church of Languedoc, Raymond had established a position of substantial influence and prestige in his native region in the period from 1165 until 1176. Raymond was a respected regional prelate at least as

41. *Ecclesia Arelatensis, Gallia Christiana* 1, col.562D
42. Henry of Rheims, Letters 2, *Receuil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.183B
43. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.152-153
44. ibid.
45. ibid.
46. ibid.
47. ibid.

much as a papal representative during the last years of his career. The cardinal disappeared from the sources after November 1176. While the date of his death is not definitely identified, his successor Arduin had been appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata by 4 July 1178.[48] It is most likely that Raymond died at the end of 1176 or in the course of 1177.

Raymond was numbered among the *magistri* in the sacred college inherited by Alexander and his elevation by the pope's predecessor foreshadowed the increasing prominence of the lawyers in the college under Alexander. Otherwise the cardinal deacon was not at all a representative figure, enjoying a lengthy and highly unconventional career. Following his early opposition to Alexander, Raymond served only briefly as a minor member of the papal entourage. It is unlikely that the pope deliberately excluded him from his entourage in 1165, but Alexander was certainly not willing to employ the cardinal as a papal diplomat on a regular basis. It is most likely that the pope was satisfied to leave the cardinal in his native region, where he sometimes performed useful diplomatic functions for the papacy but was not appointed as a permanent papal representative. Raymond too appeared content to remain in Languedoc, where he developed a position of local prestige and importance. Raymond enjoyed a unique role in the college under Alexander, as an external cardinal who lacked any clearly defined function and contributed hardly at all to the pope's struggle for recognition. The ambiguity of this role allowed Raymond to end his career as a local ecclesiastical dignitary in his native region.

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48. Alexander III, JL13080, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323

ARDUIN CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA IN VIA LATA AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. CROCE IN GERUSALEMME

Arduin was a regular canon of S. Frediano of Lucca before his appointment to the college of cardinals.[1] The congregation of regular canons of S. Frediano was closely linked to the Roman church through the reform of the canons of St. John Lateran, which was achieved with the assistance of S. Frediano.[2] Arduin was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata by Alexander III in the summer of 1178. While the date of his elevation is not identified by the narrative sources, his first subscription was recorded on 4 July 1178.[3] Arduin witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions and privileges of the church of S. Maria de Rozières in France.[4] It is most likely that Arduin was elevated to the sacred college in early July 1178.

Arduin served as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata for barely two months. His period of service as a cardinal deacon left only a minimal record in the sources.[5] Arduin's final subscription as a cardinal deacon was recorded to a privilege issued by Alexander on 6 September 1178, which confirmed the rights and possessions of the monastery of Neuweiler-lès-Saverne in France.[6] Arduin received promotion on 22 September 1178, when Alexander appointed him as cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[7] Arduin's appointment may well have been influenced by the traditional connections between the congregation of S. Frediano and the titular

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.119
2. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.219
3. Alexander III, JL13080, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.323
4. ibid.
5. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.119
6. Alexander III, JL13096, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.324
7. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60

church of S. Croce.[8] His predecessor as cardinal priest of S. Croce, Hubald, was also drawn from the regular canons of S. Frediano.[9] It is likely that Arduin's rapid promotion owed much to his association with S. Frediano.

Arduin maintained a regular pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage following his promotion. His first subscription as cardinal priest of S. Croce was recorded on 1 October 1178, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the possessions of the French church of Ste. Opportune-du-Bose.[10] Arduin witnessed sixteen privileges in the period from 1 October 1178 until 19 July 1181.[11] On 19 July 1181 Arduin subscribed the privilege issued by the pope which confirmed the possessions of the canons of Treviso.[12] Arduin was a respected member of the papal entourage, who established a consistent pattern of subscriptions to the papal privileges after his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Croce. His regular pattern of subscriptions to the papal letters and privileges underlined that Arduin was numbered among the permanent advisers of the pope in the sacred college. The cardinal served the papacy under Alexander primarily as a member of the papal entourage from the time of his promotion until the end of the pontificate. Arduin's final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 15 August 1181, barely a fortnight before Alexander's death.[13]

8. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.119
9. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.132
10. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, 1185D
11. Alexander III, JL13105, *MPL*200, 1185D, JL13272, 1201D, JL13318, 1209D, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241B, JL14357, 1293A, JL14375, 1298D, JL14389, 1305A, JL14393, 1308A, JL14409, 1312A, JL14414, 1314B, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1910, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* V 83, p.108, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1910, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* V 85, p.109
12. Alexander III, JL14414, *MPL*200, 1314B
13. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431

Arduin remained a member of the papal entourage under Alexander's successor. The cardinal priest maintained a record of activity in the extant letters and privileges of Lucius III in the period from 5 November 1181[14] until 8 January 1183.[15] Arduin's final subscription as a member of the college was recorded on 8 January 1183.[16] The cardinal priest witnessed Lucius' privilege which guaranteed the rights and privileges of the church of St. Cyr de Sancergnes in France.[17] While the date of his death is not definitely identified by the contemporary sources, Arduin left no further record of activity after 8 January 1183.[18] It is most likely that Arduin died in the early months of 1183.

Arduin's career as cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata was brief and passed almost unnoticed by the contemporary sources. He emerged as a more substantial figure following his appointment as cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. In some important aspects of his career Arduin was a representative figure in the sacred college. The cardinal was an unexceptional member of the cohort of permanent advisers within the college. Like many of his colleagues Arduin's role was restricted to his activity as a member of the papal entourage. He was also numbered among the cardinals who were recruited from the congregation of regular canons at S. Frediano. Arduin's career in the Roman church reflected the significant influence exerted by the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century upon the papacy under Alexander III.

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14. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
15. W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1910, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* V 105, p.127
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.

JEROME CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA NUOVA

Jerome's origins and early career are shrouded in obscurity. His activity before his elevation to the sacred college in 1166[1] is hardly recorded at all by the contemporary sources. Brixius suggested that Jerome should perhaps be identified with a certain *Magister* Jerome, who was a canon of the church of S. Maria Nuova in May 1162.[2] The canons of this church were also numbered among the regular canons of S. Frediano of Lucca, while the cardinals of S. Maria Nuova were traditionally drawn from the congregation of S. Frediano.[3] Brixius' thesis cannot be confirmed with complete certainty. But it is likely that Jerome, who became cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova by April 1166, was indeed the regular canon previously identified by Brixius.[4] The regular canons of the titular church, who enjoyed the closest connections with the famous reformed congregation of S. Frediano, certainly provided eligible candidates for promotion to the sacred college whenever the curia sought a new cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova.

Jerome was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova by Alexander III in the spring of 1166. Although the date of his elevation is not definitely identified by the sources, Jerome recorded his first subscription to the extant papal letters and privileges on 16 April 1166.[5] He witnessed Alexander's privilege which confirmed the possessions of the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[6] It is most likely therefore that he received his appointment in early April 1166. Jerome maintained a record of

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.62
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.120
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. Alexander III, JL11269, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.198
6. ibid.

activity as a member of the papal entourage for little more than a single year. Jerome witnessed only five papal documents, in which his subscription was definitely identified, in the period from 16 April 1166 until 24 May 1167.[7] Jerome left a record of activity as a cardinal only in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, serving the papacy exclusively as a member of the papal entourage. Moreover Jerome served only briefly even as a member of Alexander's entourage. His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 24 May 1167, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the benefit of the hospital maintained by the military order of St. John in Jerusalem.[8] Jerome left no further record in the sources after 24 May 1167.[9] While the date of his death was not definitely identified by the contemporary sources, it is most likely that Jerome died in the later months of 1167.

Jerome was a minor member of the papal entourage under Alexander, having little opportunity to establish himself as a permanent adviser to the pope. Jerome's career underlined, however, the influence exerted by the regular canons of S. Frediano upon the papacy under Alexander. The association with S. Frediano which was enjoyed by Jerome and his titular church reflected the close connections forged by the sacred college with the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century.

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7. Alexander III, JL11269, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.198, JL11276, *MPL*200, col.453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11349, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.205, P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Venetien* 7, p.315
8. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1899, Papsturkunden in Venetien* 7, p.315
9. ibid.

MATTHEW CARDINAL DEACON OF S. MARIA NUOVA

Matthew was an obscure figure, who established no clear record of activity before his elevation to the sacred college. Little is known about his origins or his early career.[1] Brixius suggested that Matthew may be identified with *Magister* Matthew, who was mentioned as a subdeacon and canon of the church of S. Maria Nuova, in papal diplomas issued on 20 January 1176 and 12 June 1176.[2] But this identification cannot be verified with certainty.[3] Matthew was certainly a regular canon of the congregation of S. Frediano of Lucca. As we have already seen, the cardinal deacons of S. Maria Nuova were drawn from the famous reforming congregation, while the canons of the titular church were also canons of S. Frediano.[4] So Matthew may well have been a canon of S. Maria Nuova, but this connection cannot be definitely confirmed.

Matthew was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova by Alexander III in 1178. He recorded his first subscription on 28 March 1178, when he witnessed a papal privilege confirming the possessions of the monastery of S. Lambert in Carinthia.[5] While the date of his elevation is not identified by the sources, it is most likely that Matthew was appointed to the college in March 1178. He left a record of activity only in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate. Matthew recorded eighteen subscriptions to the papal letters and privileges between 28 March 1178 and 15 August 1181.[6] His final subscription of Alexander's pontificate was recorded on

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
2. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.123-124
3. ibid.
4. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.123-124
5. Alexander III, JL13036, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.321
6. Alexander III, JL13036, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.321, JL13272, *MPL*200, col.1201D, JL13334, 1214A, JL13371, 1225C, JL13420, 1237C, JL13426, 1238A, JL13453, 1241B, JL13465, 1246C, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265D, JL14357, 1293B, JL14375, 1298B, JL14389, 1305B, JL14393, 1308B, JL14409, 1312B, JL14414, 1314C, JL14421, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418

15 August 1181, when he witnessed the privilege which confirmed the possessions of the German church of S. Maria in Obernkirchen.[7] The cardinal deacon's record of activity reflected his role as a permanent member of the pope's entourage. Matthew was a respected member of the papal entourage, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis, during the last years of the pontificate.

Matthew remained a member of the papal entourage only briefly under Alexander's successor, Pope Lucius III. He maintained a record of activity during Lucius' pontificate for barely two months, between 5 November 1181 and 31 December 1181.[8] The date of Matthew's death is not identified by the sources, although the register of Jaffé-Loewenfeld indicates that his successor Albinus began his term in August 1182.[9] But Brixius' assertion that Albinus' career began in December 1182 is more plausible.[10] Certainly the first subscription which was definitely recorded by Albinus, as cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova, was given on 23 December 1182.[11] It is evident that Matthew died between December 1181 and December 1182.

Matthew was a minor member of the papal entourage under Alexander. While he maintained a regular record of activity in the final years of Alexander's pontificate, the cardinal deacon never became an influential papal adviser. Matthew's career underlined the close connections between the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century and the sacred college. The special relationship between the church of S. Maria Nuova and the congregation of S. Frediano reflected the substantial influence exerted by the regular canons upon the papacy under Alexander.

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7. Alexander III, JL14421, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418
8. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.431-432
9. ibid.
10. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.64
11. Lucius III, JL14716, *MPL* 201, col.1165A

ODO CARDINAL DEACON OF S. NICOLA IN CARCERE TULLIANO

Odo de Cabuano was a native of Brescia.[1] He was a *magister*, who was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Eugenius III.[2] The pope appointed Odo as cardinal deacon of the Roman church by 4 June 1152.[3] The north Italian churchman was appointed as cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano by 11 January 1153.[4] Odo soon emerged as an important papal diplomat in his native region. He undertook diplomatic activity in northern Italy in 1153, 1156 and 1158.[5] In 1158 Odo and his colleague Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro sought to mediate the conflict between the city-states of Milan and Lodi.[6] The legates failed to protect Lodi from the hostility of the Milanese, who sacked the city following the departure of the cardinals.[7] Odo mediated more successfully between Emperor Frederick I and the cardinal's native city of Brescia, which secured terms of peace with the emperor in 1158 following Odo's intervention.[8] Odo was a leading papal representative in Lombardy under Pope Adrian IV. The cardinal participated in the negotiations initiated by Adrian between 1158 and 1159 for an alliance with the north Italian city-states against the empire.[9] Odo's actions in northern Italy reflected his support for Adrian's policy of alliance with the enemies of the empire.

Odo was one of the thirteen cardinals present with the pope at Anagni in the summer

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.56
2. ibid.; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.171-174
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.56
4. ibid.
5. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.171-174
6. Otto Morena, *De Rebus Laudensibus, MGH, Scriptores* 17, p.600[21]
7. ibid.
8. Vincent of Prague, *MGH, Scriptores* 17, p.669
9. W. Madertoner, *Die Zwiespaltige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159*, pp.69-70

of 1159, who were numbered among Adrian's closest collaborators.[10] The cardinal deacon was evidently a firm adherent of Pope Adrian and the chancellor Roland well before the divided election of 1159. Odo was correctly regarded by the canons of St. Peter, who supported Octavian, as a close associate of Roland.[11] He was numbered among the twenty-three cardinals who issued the letter to Emperor Frederick I in defence of the elevation of Alexander III, shortly after the disputed election.[12] Odo also subscribed the appeal addressed by the cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[13] Odo was a committed member of the "Sicilian party" within the sacred college, who consistently supported Alexander's cause.

Odo emerged as a leading advocate of the papal cause in the schism. The pope appointed Odo and Henry, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, as legates to France in December 1159.[14] The legates, who were joined by William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, in 1160 following the Council of Pavia, were instructed to secure the allegiance of the kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander.[15] The legates found substantial support for Alexander within the French episcopate and the English church.[16] The cardinals were welcomed by Henry, bishop of Beauvais, the brother of King Louis VII and they attended a synod of the French church in Beauvais which favoured Alexander.[17] A council of English bishops in London also endorsed Alexander's claims.[18] But the decision concerning the allegiance of the kingdoms

10. Adrian IV, JL10579, *MPL* 188, col.1637D
11. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* 4, p.321
12. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
13. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C
14. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403; Alexander III, JL10600, *MPL* 200, 81D-82B
15. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.7-8
16. ibid., pp.8-10; B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.99-100
17. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.20-28
18. ibid.

rested ultimately with their rulers, who proved reluctant to bring the question to a rapid conclusion. The negotiations were dominated by King Henry II of England. Louis had agreed to act in concert with the Angevin monarch, who deliberately delayed any decision to secure his own political objectives.[19] King Henry was determined to arrange the premature marriage of his young son to Louis's infant daughter Margaret.[20] The celebration of the marriage would guarantee possession of the important region of the Vexin to Henry as the princess' dowry.[21] The legates secretly granted a dispensation for the marriage in a joint letter to Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.[22] Their actions opened the way for a council, composed mainly of the prelates of the two kingdoms, which was convened in Toulouse in October 1160.[23] The legates represented the pope's cause at the Council, which declared in favour of Alexander.[24] Odo and his colleagues had succeeded in winning the allegiance of the most important kingdoms of western Europe for Alexander's cause.

The legates did not long enjoy their triumph in France, however, as Louis was outraged when the royal marriage occurred prematurely in November 1160.[25] The French king immediately banned the legates from his realm and resumed his previous war with the Angevin ruler.[26] Odo attempted to pacify Louis by employing Ervisius, abbot of St. Victor in Paris, as an intermediary to the king.[27] But Louis refused to relent and instructed Odo to return as quickly as possible to the papal court.[28] Odo's

19. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.28-31
20. ibid.; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.90-91
21. ibid.; W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, pp.90-91
22. ibid.; Hugh of Rouen, Letters 14, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.700-701
23. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.39-42; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.70
24. ibid.
25. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.35-37
26. ibid.; Alexander III, JL10636, *MPL* 200, 90D-92D
27. Ervisius of St. Victor, Letters 12, *MPL* 196, 1388A
28. Ervisius of St. Victor, Letters 5, *MPL* 196, 1384D

temporary banishment from France by no means undermined his prestige at the papal curia. Indeed when Odo reported to the pope at Montpellier in April 1162 about the extent of Louis' disenchantment with the papacy, Alexander immediately took measures to restore cordial relations with the king on the basis of the cardinal's advice.[29] Alexander had originally intended to employ Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin as legates to the French king.[30] But Alexander changed his plan on Odo's advice and instead appointed four French churchmen, including Louis' brother Henry, the newly elected archbishop of Rheims, as his envoys to the king.[31] The envoys worked successfully to reestablish amicable relations between the papacy and the royal court.[32] The episode underlined Odo's influence within the papal curia as well as his diplomatic skill. Odo was evidently a valuable and influential advocate of Alexander's cause in the conflict with the empire.

Odo's skill as a diplomat was recognised by Alexander, who employed the north Italian cardinal as a legate to Emperor Frederick I in 1163.[33] Odo formed part of a delegation of distinguished cardinals and prelates, including Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Peter, bishop of Pavia and Henry, bishop of Troyes.[34] The legation was designed to explore the prospects for a reconciliation with the emperor, but Frederick rejected any possibility of negotiations.[35] He instead proposed the adjudication of the conflict by seven German and Italian bishops, which would give

29. Alexander III, JL10711, *MPL* 200, col.137D-138C
30. ibid.; JL10712, 138D-139D; JL10713, 139D-140C
31. ibid.
32. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.54-56
33. ibid., p.59
34. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.831
35. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.60

the same result as a council dominated by the emperor.[36] This proposal was naturally rejected by Alexander and the legation was therefore a failure.[37] Odo's participation in the mission underlined, however, the respect which he commanded within the curia as a result of his considerable achievements as a papal diplomat.

Odo's status as a leading papal diplomat was underlined by Alexander's decision to entrust him in 1167 with one of the most important and difficult legations of the pontificate. Odo and William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, were instructed by Alexander to mediate the conflict between King Henry II of England and Thomas Becket, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury.[38] Odo enjoyed the respect of Becket and his circle of exiles, unlike his colleague Cardinal William who was regarded with suspicion by the archbishop's adherents.[39] Odo was in correspondence with Becket and maintained cordial relations with him.[40] But the cardinal deacon was also concerned to ensure that the papacy retained amicable relations with Henry, who controlled the payment of Peter's Pence which was the curia's only regular source of income in 1167.[41] Odo therefore commended Becket's critic, Gilbert Foliot, the royalist bishop of London, to the pope, describing Foliot as a loyal and religious man.[42] The legates were confronted with a formidable challenge in mediating the dispute, especially as Becket's adherents feared that the legation was designed to undermine the archbishop.[43] The power of the legates to negotiate with the king was

36. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.60-61
37. ibid.
38. Alexander III, JL11344, *MPL*200, 447D; F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, pp.98-105
39. John of Salisbury, Letters 212, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.343-347
40. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 82, *Materials* 5, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, p.158; ibid. 306, p.199; ibid. 309, pp.203-206; ibid. 330, pp.244-245
41. Odo of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 38, *MPL*200, 1394B-1396A; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, pp.84-85
42. Odo, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 35, *MPL*200, 1392C-1392D
43. Alexander III, JL11348, *MPL*200, 454D-456A

restricted by Alexander, who also instructed them not to enter England unless a full reconciliation between Henry and Becket had been achieved.[44] The legates failed to secure any agreement between the king and the archbishop at a conference near Gisors in November 1167.[45] The cardinals succeeded only in drawing upon themselves the wrath of both protagonists. Henry was angered that the legates were not commissioned by the pope to judge the conflict, while they were severely criticised for weakness in their negotiations with the king by Becket's adherents, especially John of Salisbury.[46] The legation was therefore a complete failure, which merely underlined the intractable nature of the conflict. Odo's reputation was not, however, seriously damaged by this setback. He was given credit for showing greater firmness with the king than his colleague William by John of Salisbury.[47] Moreover Thomas himself still regarded Odo as a valuable ally within the curia. The archbishop expressed his gratitude to Odo in 1169 for the cardinal's efforts on behalf of the English church and Thomas urged him as a trusted friend to continue his support for the exiles.[48] The cardinal deacon therefore retained cordial connections with Becket despite the failure of the legation.

Odo also retained the high regard of the pope, who employed him as a legate in his native region during the final years of his career. The cardinal undertook extensive diplomatic activity in northern Italy between 1169 and 1175.[49] He worked with Manfred, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro and Hildebrand, cardinal priest of

44. Alexander III, JL11348, *MPL*200, 454D-456A; JL11359, 460A-460D
45. John of Salisbury, Letters 231, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.417-422
46. ibid. 233, pp.425-427; ibid. 236, pp.444-445; ibid. 280, p.611; Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, Letters 181, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, pp.243-244
47. John of Salisbury, Letters 280, Oxford Medieval Texts 2, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al, pp.609-615
48. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 468, *Materials* 6, *Scriptores* 67, ed. J.C. Robertson, pp.524-525
49. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, pp.171-174

XII Apostoli to secure the allegiance of north-eastern Italy for Alexander in 1169.[50] Odo also undertook legatine activity in Lombardy between 1170 and 1172, in conjunction with Hildebrand and Galdin, archbishop of Milan.[51] The legates worked effectively to consolidate the unity of the Lombard League, using the threat of spiritual sanctions to reinforce the cohesion of the League.[52] Odo also assisted Galdin in opposing the spread of heresy in the cardinal's native city of Brescia.[53] Odo was a valuable and tenacious advocate of the papacy in his native region.

It is evident that Odo served the papacy primarily as a diplomat. He maintained, however, a record of activity as a member of the pope's entourage when he was present at the papal court. Odo recorded his first subscription of Alexander's pontificate on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed the papal privilege which confirmed the rights of the church of Jerusalem.[54] He witnessed forty-eight papal letters and privileges issued by Alexander between 15 October 1159 and 1 March 1174.[55] His final subscription of Alexander's pontificate was recorded on the latter date, when he witnessed the papal privilege for the benefit of the church of Capua.[56] Odo's record as a member of the papal entourage was relatively limited and intermittent as a result of his important legatine activity. The cardinal deacon was

50. M. Pacaut,'Les Légats d'Alexandre III,' *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.830-831
51. ibid.
52. ibid.; P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia VI (1), Liguria* 35, p.9
53. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia VI (1), Brescia* 1, p.332
54. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, 73D
55. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.73D, JL10594, 75D, JL10714, 142C, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215C, JL10857, 217C, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229D, JL10887, 236D, JL10893, 241B, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267D, JL10999, 284C, JL11018, 292C, JL11026, 295C, JL11077, 316D, JL11083, 318A, JL11158, 345A, JL11177, 352D, JL11187, 356C, JL11188, 359D, JL11189, 362C, JL11192, 364D, JL11211, 378B, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409D, JL11276, 453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11341, 451B, JL12215, 905A, JL12216, 907B, JL12217, 908D, JL12228, 912B, JL12238, 917D, JL12241, 919C, JL12244, 924B, JL12349, 974C
56. Alexander III, JL12349, *MPL*200, 974C

employed by Alexander primarily as a prominent papal diplomat in the turmoil of the schism. His career drew to a close shortly before the end of the schism. Odo died in the spring of 1175.[57]

Odo was a leading diplomatic representative of the papacy throughout his career. His wide-ranging legatine activity greatly benefited Alexander's cause especially in the perilous early years of the schism. Odo was entrusted with many of the most difficult legations of Alexander's pontificate. His legatine activity in his native region reflected Alexander's preference for the employment of cardinal legates who enjoyed close connections with the relevant legatine territory. The cardinal deacon was numbered among the *magistri* elevated to the college by Alexander's predecessors and his advancement foreshadowed the increasing prominence of the *magistri* in the sacred college of the late twelfth century. Odo's career underlined especially the central part played by the cardinal legates as invaluable advocates of the papacy under Alexander.

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57. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.56

VIVIAN CARDINAL DEACON OF S. NICOLA IN CARCERE TULLIANO AND CARDINAL PRIEST OF S. STEFANO IN CELIO MONTE

Vivian was a native of Orvieto in central Italy.[1] He was a *magister*,[2] who enjoyed a distinguished career before his elevation to the college of cardinals. As an eminent jurist, Vivian served as the legal adviser to the papal curia before his promotion in 1175.[3] He also attained the office of archdeacon in his native town.[4] Vivian was primarily an important official of the papal government, who commanded the full confidence of the pope. Alexander indeed employed the archdeacon as a legate long before his appointment as a cardinal.

Vivian undertook an important diplomatic mission for the papacy in 1169, when Alexander employed him as a legate to King Henry II of England.[5] Alexander informed the king on 28 February 1169 that Vivian and his colleague Gratian, a subdeacon and notary of the Roman church, had been appointed as legates to the Angevin court.[6] The legates were instructed to resolve the conflict between the king and the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, by securing the peaceful return of Becket to his archdiocese and the restitution of the property of his church.[7] The papal envoys faced a formidable challenge in mediating the prolonged and intractable dispute. Vivian regarded the intransigence of the king as the major obstacle to a settlement, reporting to Alexander that Henry had initially refused to give any guarantees concerning Becket's restoration to his church.[8] While Gratian

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.66-67
2. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 225, *Recueil*, *Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.388D
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.66-67
4. ibid.
5. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.85
6. Alexander III, JL11579, *MPL*200, col.571D
7. ibid.
8. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 90, *MPL*200, col.1448D-1451A

returned to Rome, Vivian made some progress in difficult negotiations with the king, arranging a conference between Henry and the archbishop in November 1169.[9] The king offered to ensure the restitution of the property of the church of Canterbury, as it had been held by Becket's predecessors, but refused to provide security guarantees for the archbishop's peaceful restoration to his see.[10] The negotiations failed to produce an agreement and Vivian blamed the king, warning the pope that the innocent were being persecuted by the Angevin ruler.[11] The legate's complaints were well founded, as Henry had failed even to ensure the security of Vivian's entourage. When the legate dispatched Peter, archdeacon of Pavia, as an envoy to the royal court, he was attacked and robbed by unknown assailants within Henry's territory.[12] Alexander excommunicated Peter's assailants but was obliged to acknowledge the failure of the legation.[13] Vivian was recalled to the curia by January 1170, when the pope entrusted a new legation concerning the conflict to Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen and Bernard, bishop of Nevers.[14] Vivian's unsuccessful mission, however, was not at all damaging to the reputation of the papacy. Becket viewed the efforts of the two legates favourably and praised Vivian and Gratian for warning the king to correct his errors.[15] While their diplomatic mission was a failure, Vivian and his colleague were regarded by the king's opponents as incorruptible servants of the apostolic see, who had served honourably in a difficult cause.[16]

9. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 91, *MPL*200, col.1451B-1452C, M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, p.111
10. Vivian of Orvieto, *Variorum Ad Alexandrum III Epistolae* 91, *MPL*200, col.1451B-1452C,
11. ibid.
12. Alexander III, JL11710, *MPL*200, col.637D-639C
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. Thomas of Canterbury, Letters 225, *Recueil, Scriptores* 16, ed. M. Bouquet, col.388D
16. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.85

The archdeacon's record of service to the papacy and his legal skills made him an obvious candidate for promotion to the sacred college. Vivian was appointed by Alexander as cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano on 7 March 1175.[17] Vivian recorded only three subscriptions to the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate during his service as a cardinal deacon, between 5 May 1175 and 25 August 1175.[18] Vivian's slender record of activity as a cardinal deacon was due entirely to his rapid promotion by the pope. He served as a cardinal deacon for only six months, until his appointment in September 1175 as cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Celio Monte.[19] Following his promotion Vivian undertook a legation to Scotland in 1176 to regulate various ecclesiastical questions at the request of the Scottish episcopate, who feared subjection to England.[20] Vivian incurred the wrath of King Henry II for entering England without his permission, but was allowed to proceed to Scotland after explaining his mission to royal envoys.[21] While his legatine activity is poorly documented, he certainly undertook legatine duties not only in Scotland but in the Isle of Man and Ireland in 1177.[22] Alexander employed Vivian as a diplomat for difficult legations to the Angevin kingdom and the neighbouring regions.

The cardinal was not only a diplomat, however, but also a respected member of the papal entourage. He recorded his first subscription as cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Celio Monte on 15 November 1175, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the

16. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.85
17. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.66-67
18. Alexander III, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.283, JL12504, *MPL* 200, col.1024C, P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1901, Papsturkunden im ehemaligen Patrimonium und im sudlichen Toscana* 7, pp.222-223
19. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.66-67
20. Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 2, *Scriptores* 51, ed. W. Stubbs, pp.98-99
21. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.170
22. Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 2, *Scriptores* 51, ed. W. Stubbs, pp.119-120

monastery of S. Salvatore di Mileto in Rome.[23] The cardinal witnessed nineteen papal letters and privileges between 15 November 1175 and 15 August 1181, when he recorded his final subscription of the pontificate.[24] Vivian maintained a regular pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage. Alexander evidently valued the cardinal's service, as an adviser and as a diplomatic representative of the apostolic see, in almost equal measure.

Vivian continued to serve as a member of the papal entourage under Alexander's successor. He maintained a record of activity as a subscriber under Pope Lucius III, between 5 November 1181 and 7 May 1184.[25] While the date of his death is not definitely identified by the contemporary sources, the cardinal left no further evidence of activity after 7 May 1184.[25] It is evident that Vivian died in the summer of 1184.

Vivian was a valued diplomat and a respected legal expert within the papal entourage. He was one of the nine eminent *magistri*, who may be definitely identified among Alexander's nominees to the sacred college. His career reflected the substantial influence secured by the *magistri* as a cohort in the college during Alexander's pontificate. He was also numbered among the officials of the papal government who were elevated to the college by the pope. Vivian's career combined important attributes, namely legal expertise and a proven record of loyal service to the papacy, which were especially valued by Alexander in his nominees to the college of cardinals.

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23. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Rom.* 27, pp.179-180
24. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1900, Papsturkunden in Rom.* 27, pp.179-180, JL12524, *MPL* 200, col.1036C, JL13047, 1166A, JL13060, 1172D, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1906, Beiheft, Papsturkunden in Frankeich* 56, pp.102-103, JL13272, 1201D, JL13318, 1209D, JL13370, 1223B, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13453, 1241A, JL13624, 1268D, JL14357, 1293A, JL14375, 1298D, JL14389, 1305A, JL14393, 1308A, JL14409, 1312A, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, pp.417-418
25. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.431
26. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, pp.67-68

BERNARD CARDINAL DEACON OF S. NICOLA IN CARCERE TULLIANO

Bernard was one of the lesser known cardinals elevated by Alexander III. Nothing is known about his origins or early career. Bernard was promoted to the sacred college in 1178, when Alexander appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano.[1] Although the date of his appointment is not definitely identified, Bernard's first subscription to the papal letters and privileges was recorded on 24 October 1178.[2] It is likely that Bernard was elevated to the college in the autumn of 1178.

The cardinal deacon maintained a record of activity as a member of the papal entourage only in the first seven months of 1179. He recorded seven subscriptions in the extant letters and privileges of Alexander III between 2 January 1179 and 22 August 1179.[3] Bernard was a member of the papal entourage only for a brief period. His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 22 August 1179, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege which guaranteed the protection of the apostolic see for the French church of Notre-Dame de Salles.[4] Bernard left no further record of activity in the contemporary sources. While the date of his death is not identified by the sources, it is likely that Bernard died in the autumn or winter of 1179.

Bernard was a most obscure member of the sacred college under Alexander. He is known to posterity only through the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate. He served the papacy exclusively as a member of the pope's entourage. Bernard was, however, a short-lived and relatively insignificant member of the papal entourage.

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1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.60
2. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.325
3. Alexander III, JL13272, *MPL*200, col.1201D, JL13370, 1223C, JL13371, 1225C, JL13420, 1237C, JL13426, 1238A, JL13457, 1242D, W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1910, Beiheft 1, Papsturkunden in Frankeich V* 85, p.109
4. W. Wiederhold, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1910, Beiheft 1, Papsturkunden in Frankeich V* 85, p.109

VITELLIUS CARDINAL DEACON OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO

Vitellius was a monk before his elevation to the college of cardinals, but little else is known about his origins.[1] Even his monastic congregation is not definitely identified by the sources. Vitellius' death was recorded in the necrologies of Monte Cassino, which suggests that he may well have enjoyed connections with the great Benedictine monastery.[2] His early career nevertheless remains shrouded in obscurity.

It is evident, however, that Vitellius was a valued papal official before his appointment to the sacred college. He was a subdeacon of the Roman church by 1163, when he participated in a papal legation to Dalmatia.[3] Vitellius, along with John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu and the subdeacon Theodin, was entrusted by Alexander with a diplomatic mission to the ecclesistical province of Ragusa.[4] Vitellius' participation in the mission underlined the pope's high regard for the subdeacon, as legations were largely undertaken by cardinals rather than more junior clergy in Alexander's pontificate. Dalmatia was a crucial arena of ecclesiastical conflict between the papacy and the Byzantine Orthodox church, so the legation was designed to counter Byzantine influence in the region.[5] Vitellius and his colleagues were honourably received by Lazarus, bishop of Arbania, but little else is recorded by the sources concerning their mission.[6] It appears, however, that the mission had no great success in promoting the influence of the papacy. Shortly after the departure of the legates in 1164, the pope entrusted Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
2. *Necrologia Casinese, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 7, ed. L.R. Muratori, p.944B
3. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.118
4. ibid.; M. Pacaut,'Les Légats d'Alexandre III,' *RHE* 50 (1955), pp.828-829
5. ibid.
6. ibid.

Lucina, with a further legation to Dalmatia, designed specifically to enhance the waning authority of the Roman church in the coastal province.[7] The necessity for Albert's prolonged legation to Dalmatia in 1165-1167[8] indicates that the previous mission by Vitellius and his colleagues made little impact in the region.

Vitellius' lack of success as a diplomat did not hinder his advancement. He was elevated to the college of cardinals on 18 March 1166, when Alexander appointed him as cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco.[9] Vitellius established a regular pattern of subscriptions to the letters and privileges of the pontificate. His first subscription was recorded on 18 March 1166, when he witnessed a papal privilege for the monastery of S. Clement in Peschiera.[10] The cardinal deacon subscribed a total of twenty-three privileges between 18 March 1166 and 5 July 1175.[11] His final subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 5 July 1175, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege for the military Order of St. James in Spain.[12] Vitellius was a respected adviser of the pope, who was called upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis. He served the papacy primarily as a member of the papal entourage, although his activity was not entirely restricted to the papal court. Vitellius was appointed by Alexander as the papal rector in the Campagna between 1167 and 1170, but nothing is known about his activity as the pope's representative in the region.[13] Indeed his

7. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.118
8. ibid.
9. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
10. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A
11. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11415, 495C, JL11607, 574A, JL11609, 576B, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588B, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905B, JL12216, 907C, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912C, JL12238, 917A, JL12241, 919C, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974C, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C
12. Alexander III, JL12504, *MPL*200, 1024C
13. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, p.213

career left little imprint on the contemporary sources, with the exception of the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate. The evidence of Alexander's letters underlines that Vitellius' service as a papal adviser was the central aspect of his career.[14] The cardinal deacon's career concluded not long after his final appearance as a member of the papal entourage on 5 July 1175.[15] Vitellius died in the following year, on 19 June 1176 in Monte Cassino.[16] Ciaconius believed that he was elected as abbot of Monte Cassino before his death, but this suggestion is not confirmed by any other source.[17] The cardinal's death in the abbey of Monte Cassino, however, underlined the connections which he enjoyed with the congregation.[18]

Vitellius was primarily a member of the cohort of permanent advisers within the sacred college. His elevation reflected the enduring connections between the traditional Benedictine monastic congregations and the twelfth century papacy. Vitellius was numbered among the twelve cardinals promoted by Alexander who were previously in the service of the papacy. The elevation of such clerical officials guaranteed the absolute loyalty and reliability of the pope's nominees during the turmoil of the schism. Vitellius, like other colleagues appointed to the college from the lower ranks of the Roman church, was an experienced and faithful servant of the papacy at a time when such qualities were particularly valued.

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14. Alexander III, JL11266, *MPL*200, col.409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11295, 423C, JL11415, 495C, JL11607, 574A, JL11609, 576B, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588B, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12205, 902D, JL12215, 905B, JL12216, 907C, JL12221, 911B, JL12228, 912C, JL12238, 917A, JL12241, 919C, JL12244, 924C, JL12349, 974C, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C
15. Alexander, JL12504, *MPL*200, 1024C
16. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.66
17. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.127
18. ibid.

PAUL SCOLARI, CARDINAL DEACON OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO AND CARDINAL BISHOP OF PALESTRINA

Paul Scolari was a native of Rome.[1] He was the son of John and Maria Scolari of the Pinée region of the holy city.[2] Paul was appointed by Alexander as subdeacon of the Roman church and archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore on 3 March 1176.[3] He was elevated to the college of cardinals on 21 September 1179, when Alexander appointed him as cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco.[4] Paul Scolari was one of the few Roman cardinals elevated by Alexander. The pope indeed appointed only three representatives of the Roman aristocracy to the sacred college, the two Pierleoni cardinals and Paul Scolari.[5]

Paul left a record of activity as a cardinal deacon from 17 October 1179 until 22 February 1180.[6] His first subscription was recorded on 17 October 1179, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the rights and privileges of the church of Lausanne and conceding the pallium to Bishop Roger.[7] Paul's final appearance as a cardinal deacon occurred on 22 February 1180, when he witnessed the papal privilege which guaranteed the possessions of the monastery of S. Laurence of Scheningen.[8] It is evident that Paul served only briefly as cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco before his appointment as a cardinal bishop.

Paul was appointed as cardinal bishop of Palestrina and Archpriest of S. Maria by 4 January 1181.[9] His first subscription as a cardinal bishop was recorded

1. *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorem ex. Cod. Veneto, MGH, Scriptores* 14, p.107[25]
2. *Annales Romani, MGH, Scriptores* 5, p.480[6]
3. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
4. ibid.
5. M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III*, p.273
6. Alexander III, JL13475, *MPL*200, 1247A, JL13620, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.360
7. Alexander III, JL13475, *MPL*200, 1247A
8. Alexander III, JL13620, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.360
9. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65

on 13 January 1181.[10] Paul witnessed a papal privilege confirming the possessions and privileges of the canons of the church of Genoa.[11] He subscribed five privileges in the period from 13 January 1181 until 28 July 1181.[12] Alexander's privilege for the monastery of S. Peter de Monte on 28 July 1181 contained Paul's final subscription of the pontificate.[13] Paul was a respected member of the papal entourage who subscribed papal privileges on a regular basis by the end of Alexander's pontificate, although he had served as a cardinal for only two years when Alexander died in August 1181.

The timing of Paul's appointment to the college meant that he played no part in the great struggle with the temporal power which shaped Alexander's pontificate. Paul's most significant accomplishments came about after the death of the pope who had elevated him to the college. He continued to serve as cardinal bishop of Palestrina until December 1187 under three popes, Lucius III, Urban III and Gregory VIII.[14] He was himself an unsuccessful candidate for the papal dignity in the election which followed the death of Pope Urban III in October 1187.[15] Paul was proposed by a group of cardinals, but his candidacy failed to win general support within the college.[16] Instead largely at the instigation of Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, the papal chancellor Cardinal Albert was elected by acclamation as Pope Gregory VIII.[17] The Roman cardinal proved well capable of seizing his opportunity, however, when Gregory died unexpectedly in Pisa after a pontificate of only fifty-seven days.[18] The

10. Alexander III, JL14357, *MPL*200, 1293A
11. ibid.
12. Alexander III, JL14357, *MPL*200, 1293A, JL14393, 1308C, JL14409, 1312D, JL14414, 1314B, JL14420, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.417
13. Alexander III, JL14420, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.417
14. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65
15. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.86
16. ibid., pp.86-87
17. ibid.
18. ibid.

cardinals who were present in Pisa immediately elected Paul Scolari as the Roman pontiff and he assumed the papal dignity as Clement III.[19] The circumstances of the election were unusual and subsequently controversial. Only nine cardinals were present for the election including Paul Scolari himself.[20] Gregory VIII's privilege for the church of Genoa, issued on 11 December 1187 shortly before his death, identified the cardinals who were present in the papal entourage.[21] The witnesses to the papal privilege included only two cardinal bishops, Paul himself and Theobald of Ostia and two cardinal priests, Laborans of S. Maria in Trastavere and Melior of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[22] The remaining witnesses were all cardinal deacons, Hyacinth of S. Maria in Cosmedin, Gratian of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Octavian of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Peter of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano and Radulf of S. Giorgio in Velabro.[23] The electoral college which elevated Paul of Palestrina to the See of St. Peter was a restricted and unrepresentative body. It is likely that most of the cardinals in Pisa had supported Paul's candidacy in October 1187 and were determined to exploit the absence of his potential opponents in December.[24] Clement's elevation was the result of a hasty election by a small group of cardinals, which did not necessarily reflect the general will of the sacred college.

The pontificate of Clement III proved relatively brief but by no means insignificant, encompassing political developments of considerable importance. Clement served as pope for approximately three years and two months.[25] He succeeded in negotiating

19. *Annales Romani, MGH, Scriptores* 5, p.480[6]
20. P.F. Kehr, *Gött. Nachr. phil-hist Kl. 1902, Papsturkunden in Ligurien* 4, p.189-190
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. ibid.
24. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, pp.87-88
25. *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorem ex Cod. Veneto., MGH, Scriptores* 14, p.107[25]

the return of the curia to Rome, by his treaty of 31 May 1188 with the Roman commune.[26] Perhaps more importantly the pope also made numerous appointments to the college of cardinals, increasing its membership from an estimated eighteen to twenty at his accession to a total of thirty-one by 1191.[27] Clement's appointments created a much larger college with a majority of new Roman cardinals.[28] The Roman orientation of the new papal appointments profoundly influenced the nature of the sacred college for the following generation. The pope himself did not long survive to appreciate the effects of his policy. Clement III died on 13 March 1191.[29]

Paul Scolari's career under Alexander is notable mainly because he was one of the three Roman cardinals elevated by the pope. He was a member of the papal entourage in the last years of the pontificate, but was otherwise a relatively minor figure in the sacred college under Alexander, despite his high status as a cardinal bishop. Paul's election as pope was the outcome of a dubious political manoeuvre and it is evident that he did not command the universal support of the cardinals. The pontificate of Clement III was short but by no means barren of positive achievements. The rapprochement with the Roman commune was perhaps the accomplishment most obvious to contemporaries. Clement's lasting legacy, however, was his reconstruction of the sacred college and the transformation of the regional orientation of the college for the next generation.

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26. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.88
27. ibid.
28. ibid.
29. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.65

ARDICIO CARDINAL DEACON OF S. TEODORO

Ardicio was a native of Rivoltella in northern Italy.[1] He was appointed as a subdeacon of the Roman church by Pope Eugenius III.[2] He was identified as a subdeacon in a letter issued by Eugenius, concerning Ardicio's intervention to resolve a dispute between the bishop of Bologna and the abbot of Padua.[3] Ardicio was elevated to the sacred college by Pope Adrian IV, who appointed him as cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro by 4 January 1157.[4] He undertook diplomatic activity for the papacy in Lombardy shortly before the schism. Ardicio and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano sought in 1158 to mediate the conflict between the Lombard city-states of Milan and Lodi.[5] The legates, however, failed to protect Lodi from the hostility of the Milanese, who sacked the town following the departure of the cardinals.[6] Ardicio and his colleague avoided conflict with Milan, as Pope Adrian was seeking to develop an alliance with the powerful city-state against the empire.[7] Ardicio's actions in northern Italy reflected his support of Adrian's policy.[8]

The cardinal deacon was one of the thirteen cardinals present with the pope in Anagni in the summer of 1159, who were numbered among Adrian's closest collaborators within the sacred college.[9] Ardicio was a committed ally of Pope Adrian and the chancellor Roland well before the divided election of 1159. The followers of the anti-pope "Victor IV" subsequently alleged that Ardicio originally supported the

1. J.M. Brixius, *Mitglieder*, p.58
2. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.157
3. Eugenius III, JL9654, *MPL* 180, col.1564B
4. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.157
5. Otto Morena, *De Rebus Laudensibus, MGH, Scriptores* 17, p.600[21]
6. ibid., p.601
7. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.157
8. ibid.
9. Adrian IV, JL10577, *MPL* 188, col. 1636B

anti-pope, but was won over to the party of Alexander III by bribery.[10] This claim, which was disseminated by the Council of Pavia in 1160,[11] was entirely false. Ardicio was not only a close associate of Adrian IV, but a firm adherent of Pope Alexander III from the outset of the schism. He was numbered among the twenty-three electors of Alexander III, who issued the letter to Emperor Frederick I in October 1159 which defended the legitimacy of Alexander's elevation.[12] The cardinal also subscribed the appeal made by the cardinals on Alexander's behalf to the universal church.[13] Ardicio was a steadfast member of the "Sicilian party" in the college, who consistently supported Alexander's cause.

Ardicio emerged as an important advocate for the papacy in the early years of the schism. Alexander entrusted him in 1160 with an important legation to the Byzantine empire.[14] Ardicio and his colleague, the bishop of Tivoli, were instructed to secure recognition of Alexander as the rightful pope by the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Comnenus.[15] The legation was also designed to secure Byzantine financial assistance for the embattled pope.[16] While the legation is poorly documented, it is evident that the envoys were not entirely successful.[17] Manuel sought the papacy's support for the restoration of a universal Roman empire, ruled by the Byzantine monarch.[18] As the legates lacked the authority to concede his terms, Manuel declined to offer official recognition to the pope.[19] The Byzantine ruler did, however, conduct friendly

10. Letters of the Council of Pavia 10, *Recueil, Scriptores* 15, ed. M. Bouquet, col.752D
11. ibid.
12. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.59D
13. Alexander III, *MPL* 200, col.62C
14. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, p.70
15. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.403
16. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.70-71
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. ibid.

negotiations with the legates, indicating his preference for an alliance with the papacy rather than a pact with the western emperor.[20] Ardicio's first legation to Constantinople therefore initiated cordial connections between the Byzantine court and the Alexandrine curia.

The cardinal deacon undertook a second legation to the Byzantine court between 1164 and 1165.[21] As Manuel sought the support of King Louis VII of France for his project of a universal empire, Alexander hoped to secure Byzantine aid by acting as an intermediary between the two monarchs.[22] Louis was, however, reluctant to acknowledge the universal authority of the Byzantine emperor.[23] The pope therefore entrusted Ardicio with another difficult legation in 1164, which was designed to conclude successfully the complex negotiations between the curia, the French king and the eastern emperor.[24] The cardinal initially succeeded in persuading Louis to initiate negotiations with Manuel for an alliance against the western emperor, but then the king unexpectedly refused to send his envoys with Ardicio to Constantinople.[25] Ardicio proceeded with the legation, along with a colleague who was never identified by the sources, possibly Henry, archbishop of Benevento.[26] The envoys conducted a highly successful legation at the Byzantine court, with the assistance of Alexander, who eventually persuaded King Louis to send a conciliatory letter to Manuel.[27] The Byzantine emperor extended full recognition to Alexander III

20. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.70-71
21. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.830
22. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.77-78
23. ibid.
24. ibid.
25. ibid.; W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.82
26. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.77-78; ibid., p.164
27. ibid., pp.77-78

as the rightful pope.[28] Manuel also began to provide financial assistance to Alexander's allies, the Lombard League, in the following years.[29] Ardicio and his colleague had achieved the pope's objectives, while avoiding any commitment to Manuel's grand design of a universal empire. The cardinal was a skilled diplomat, who had delivered a substantial success for the papacy at a most perilous period of the schism, while Alexander was still in exile and his prospects appeared uncertain.

Ardicio's value as an advocate for the papal cause was also underlined by his participation in the mission to St. Jean-de-Losne in 1162. Frederick Barbarossa's attempt to secure Alexander's deposition, through an ecclesiastical council convened by the emperor and the French king at St. Jean-de-Losne, presented a serious threat to the pope.[30] While Alexander refused to recognise any council convened to judge him, he also instructed five cardinals to attend the conference between the monarchs.[31] The papal representatives included Ardicio, along with Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[32] They were instructed to observe the meeting and intervene in defence of the pope's cause only if the proceedings became unfavourable for Alexander.[33] But Louis' firm support for Alexander and the pope's absence ensured that the conference ended in deadlock, so the cardinals returned triumphantly to the pope, reporting the failure of Frederick's plan.[34] Ardicio was one of only five cardinals who were selected to

28. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. 1159-1169*, pp.77-78
29. ibid., p.81
30. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.406
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. W. Janssen, *Legaten*, p.81
34. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, p.407

represent Alexander and testify to the firm support for the pope within the different orders of the college.[35] The north Italian cardinal was a highly effective advocate for the apostolic see, who was well capable of upholding Alexander's cause in the face of his enemies.

Ardicio's diplomatic activity was undertaken mainly in his native region during the second decade of Alexander's pontificate. While he served as the papal representative in Benevento in 1171, the cardinal was employed most frequently as a diplomat in northern Italy in the last years of the schism.[36] He served as *legatus a latere* in Lombardy between 1175 and 1177, cooperating with Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli.[37] As a legate who was also a native of the region, he enjoyed a special expertise in local affairs.[38] The mission of the legates was illustrated by Alexander's letter to the two cardinals in November 1176, when he informed them of the preliminary peace agreement, which had been concluded by the pope and the imperial envoys at Anagni.[39] Alexander pledged that he would not conclude any final peace which excluded the Lombard League and instructed the legates to advise the League to prepare for the peace negotiations.[40] The legates were also urged in the meantime to maintain the unity of the League.[41] Ardicio and Hildebrand worked successfully to maintain the unity of the League and its close alliance with the papacy during the prolonged negotiations which led to the Peace of Venice.[42] The Lombard

35. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II.*, pp.406-407
36. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.158
37. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.831
38. I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, p.165
39. Alexander III, JL12737, *MPL*200, col.1081D
40. ibid.
41. ibid.
42. M. Pacaut, 'Les Légats d'Alexandre III 1159-1181', *RHE* 50 (1955), p.831

representatives participated in the diplomatic process and the Lombard city-states secured a truce for six years with the empire at Venice in 1177.[43] Ardicio was numbered among the cardinals who witnessed the ratification of the Peace of Venice by Emperor Frederick I in July 1177.[44] As a papal diplomat in his native region, the cardinal had contributed to the success of the peace negotiations and helped to safeguard the papacy's alliance with the Lombard city-states.

Ardicio did not, however, serve the papacy solely as a diplomat. He also established a regular record of activity as a member of the papal entourage. His first subscription of the pontificate was recorded on 15 October 1159, when he witnessed Alexander's privilege confirming the privileges of the church of Jerusalem.[45] Ardicio then recorded no less than ninety subscriptions, which are definitely identified in the extant letters and privileges of the pontificate, between 15 October 1159 and 21 March 1181.[46] The cardinal established his final record of activity of Alexander's pontificate on 21 March 1181.[47] Ardicio was evidently a respected papal adviser, who was called

43. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, Duchesne, *Lib. Pont. II*, pp.437-439
44. *Constitutiones I, MGH*, ed. L. Weiland, p.367[40]
45. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.75D
46. Alexander III, JL10593, *MPL*200, col.75D, JL10624, 85D, JL10639, ***Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II***, p.151, JL10663, 115D, JL10679, 126D, JL10698, 131C, JL10714, 142C, JL10717, 143D, JL10721, 145D, JL10722, 147B, JL10741, 159D, JL10759, 171B, JL10776, 180D, JL10829, 200D, JL10830, 201D, *MPL*200, 208D, JL10855, 211C, JL10856, 215C, JL10857, 217B, JL10859, 219A, JL10863, 225D, JL10875, 229D, JL10900, 245D, JL10911, 251A, JL10914, 255C, JL10944, 267D, JL11220, 386B, JL11221, 388C, JL11266, 409A, JL11276, 453D, JL11379, 469B, JL11385, 474C, JL11389, 479D, JL11411, 491C, JL11412, 493D, JL11415, 495C, JL11419, 499C, JL11421, 501C, JL11424, 502B, JL11425, 504C, JL11585, 563D, JL11594, 567D, JL11596, 569C, JL11607, 574D, JL11618, 580C, JL11619, 583B, JL11622, 588B, JL11635, 595B, JL11636, 597C, *MPL*200, 602C, JL11643, 605B, JL11644, 606C, JL11651, 610D, JL11708, 635B, JL11789, 671B, JL11831, 695D, JL11887, 723B, JL11900, 734B, JL12139, 870C, JL12155, 878D, JL12159, 880B, JL12165, 886B, JL12205, 902D, JL12398, 999C, JL12403, 1000D, JL12452, 1019C, JL12504, 1024C, JL12524, 1036C, JL12812, 1102D, JL12823, 1110C, JL12873, 1123D, JL12898, 1133B, JL12909, 1137D, JL12932, 1144B, JL13047, 1166B, JL13055, 1169B, JL13060, 1172D, JL13075, 1176D, JL13272, 1201D, JL13318, 1209D, JL13334, 1214D, JL13342, 1219C, JL13370, 1223C, JL13371, 1225B, JL13420, 1237B, JL13426, 1238D, JL13477, 1248C, JL13481, 1251B, JL13595, 1265C, ***Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II***, p.415
47. ***Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II***, p.415

upon to witness the papal letters and privileges on a regular basis, when he was present within the papal entourage. Ardicio's regular pattern of activity as a member of the papal entourage, despite his frequent legations, underlined Alexander's high regard for the cardinal as an adviser as well as an advocate.

The cardinal was increasingly preoccupied with the affairs of his native region in the final years of his career. Alexander employed Ardicio as a legate to northern Italy for the second time in 1179, when he worked to enforce reforms among the clergy of Lombardy following the turmoil of the schism.[48] The cardinal became even more concerned with church reform in Lombardy after the death of Alexander III. In 1182 Ardicio was described as prelate of his native church of Piadena by Pope Lucius III.[49] Ardicio had apparently taken up a position of authority within the church of Piadena to enforce reforming measures upon the local clergy, although the nature of his authority over his native church is not fully documented. The clergy of Piadena certainly opposed his reforming endeavours, although Ardicio had established some of them in their positions within the church.[50] Pope Lucius rebuked the local clergy and sternly instructed them to show obedience to Ardicio.[51] This struggle with the clergy of his own church marked the final landmark of the cardinal's distinguished career. He established his final record in the extant papal letters and privileges on 13 March 1186, during the pontificate of Pope Urban III.[52] While his successor John was not appointed until March 1188,[53] it is evident that Ardicio died in the spring of 1186.

48. B. Zenker, *Mitglieder*, p.158
49. P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia VI (I), Piadena* 2, p.297
50. ibid.
51. ibid.
52. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II*, p.493
53. Clement III, JL16176, *MPL*204, 1318D

Ardicio's career defies easy functional classification. While he was a respected papal adviser throughout Alexander's pontificate, the cardinal also proved a highly effective advocate of the papal cause. Ardicio was a versatile servant of the papal curia, who was entrusted with a variety of functional responsibilities by the pope. But he rendered his most valuable service to Alexander's cause as a skilled papal diplomat. Ardicio was numbered among the north Italian cardinals inherited by Alexander. The cardinal undertook extensive diplomatic activity in his native region, although he conducted legations with equal success when he lacked connections with the relevant legatine territory. Ardicio's career underlined the essential contribution made by the papal legates to the triumph of Alexander's cause.

CONCLUSION

The appointments made by Alexander III to the sacred college revealed a definite pattern. The pope, who made thirty-four promotions, elevated at least nine *magistri* to the college. The *magistri* appointed by Alexander included Gratian, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Herman, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo, Laborans, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu, Lombardus, cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco nelle Terme, Matthew, cardinal priest of S. Marcello, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Grisogono, Rainer, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Theodin, cardinal priest of S. Vitale and Vivian, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano.[1] The *magistri* formed the most numerous cohort of nominees to the sacred college under Alexander.

The elevation of canon lawyers was not itself an innovation. The *magistri* inherited by Alexander, however, were frequently associated with the new spiritual movements of the twelfth century. Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, was a *magister* and a regular canon of St. Martin of Laon, while Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, was both a lawyer and a regular canon of S. Frediano of Lucca. Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli, was an eminent *magister* and a regular canon of S. Maria di Reno in Bologna.[2] The *magistri* elevated by Alexander, however, were mainly former papal officials, such as Vivian, Herman, Theodin, Gratian and Peter of Pavia, although his nominees also included eminent legal scholars, namely Matthew of Angers and the famous canonist Laborans. It is evident that Alexander's large-scale promotion of eminent *magistri* was a significant departure from the recruitment

1. See above p.227, p.207, p.291, p.100, p.145, p.117, p.259, p.192, p.318
2. See above p.44, p.134, p.90

policy of his immediate predecessors. Alexander displayed a marked preference for the elevation of *magistri* who had previously been in the service of the papacy as administrators or legates. The pontificate of Alexander III saw the emergence of the *magistri* as an influential and indispensable element in the sacred college.

The pope did not, however, fail to maintain the connections enjoyed by the Roman church with the new religious movements of the twelfth century. He appointed as cardinals at least four regular canons, who may be definitely identified in the contemporary sources. These nominees included three canons of the congregation of S. Frediano in Lucca and a member of the Augustinian congregation of St. Victor in Paris. Alexander also elevated the eminent Cistercian monk, Henry of Marcy, abbot of Clairvaux to the college as cardinal bishop of Albano.[3] The pope promoted also three representatives of traditional Benedictine monasticism including Bernered, abbot of St. Crépin le Grand in Soissons, who was appointed to the college as cardinal bishop of Palestrina.[4] Although the *magistri* formed the most important element in the sacred college under Alexander, the pope took care to ensure that the papacy retained a close association with the new religious movements of his own century and the more traditional monastic congregations.

Alexander's appointments policy was inevitably influenced by the schism. His elevation of four French cardinals reflected his determination to consolidate the papacy's connections with France, which provided an essential source of moral and material support to his cause in the schism. Alexander also appointed no less than

3. See above p.15
4. See above p.58

nine north Italian churchmen to the sacred college. The north Italian cardinals indeed formed the largest regional group within the college under Alexander. This pattern of appointments was determined primarily by the importance of northern Italy as the central battle-ground between the empire and the papacy's allies during the schism. The sole German cardinal elevated by Alexander also owed his promotion entirely to the political demands of the schism. Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, was appointed as cardinal bishop of S. Sabina in 1166 as the pope hoped vainly to create a strong papal party in Germany.[5] Likewise the pope's elevation of only three Roman cardinals reflected the weakness of Alexander's support in the holy city during the conflict with the empire. The composition of Alexander's college of cardinals was profoundly influenced by the schism.

The functional responsibilities undertaken by the cardinals in this period were determined by Alexander in the context of the schism. The cardinals who acted as active advocates of Alexander's cause formed the vanguard of the papal array in the struggle against the empire. The diplomatic activity of the cardinal legates made an essential contribution to the vindication of Alexander's claims. It is inconceivable that the pope would have succeeded in his arduous struggle for universal recognition but for the efforts of the legates. The mission by Henry, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano and William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli won the allegiance of the kingdoms of western Europe for the pope in 1160.[6] The skilful diplomatic activity of Alexander's cardinal legates in

5. See above p.66
6. See above p.148, p.310, p.157

Lombardy contributed greatly to the success of the papacy's allies, the Lombard League. The cardinal legates in northern Italy, who generally enjoyed close connections with the region, included William, Odo, Manfred, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro and Hildebrand, cardinal priest of XII Apostoli.[7] Other cardinal legates who worked effectively to promote Alexander's cause included Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio, in Hungary and Conrad of S. Sabina in Salzburg. The most active papal diplomat of the pontificate, Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, laboured consistently to consolidate papal connections with King Louis VII of France and the Christian kingdoms of Spain.[8] Alexander owed much to the cardinals who participated in the negotiations which ended the schism. The senior member of the college, Hubald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and William of S. Pietro in Vincoli played a particularly important part in the process of peacemaking with the empire. They worked with Bernard of Porto to initiate the negotiations with the empire in 1175. Hubald and William also acted to negotiate the Peace of Venice in 1177, in conjunction with Hyacinth, Theodin, Manfred, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Peter, cardinal priest of S. Susanna.[9] The cardinal legates were indispensable advocates of the papacy in the course of Alexander's struggle for universal recognition.

Diplomatic activity was by no means the sole form of advocacy undertaken by

7. See above p.157, p.310, p.251, p.330, p.90
8. See above p.274
9. p.29, p.157, p.274, p.192, p.251, p.75, p.268

the members of the sacred college under Alexander. Cardinals who acted as permanent papal legates or papal vicars in their own region also contributed impressively to the eventual success of Alexander's cause. The most influential papal vicar during the schism was Galdin, archbishop of Milan and cardinal priest of S. Sabina.[10] Galdin, who followed the traditional practice by relinquishing his place in the college following his elevation to his native archdiocese, was the permanent papal representative in Lombardy between 1167 and 1176. Other cardinals worked to defend the papacy's interests in the Patrimony of St. Peter, notably John, cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, who negotiated Alexander's temporary return to Rome in 1165.[11] The pope also benefited from the services of cardinals who worked to raise money for the impoverished and embattled papal curia. Indeed John of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, John of S. Anastasia and the papal biographer Cardinal Boso were numbered among the most effective financial agents of the papacy. Alexander owed his eventual triumph in the schism not least to the skilled and tenacious activity of the cardinals who were employed as advocates of the papal cause.

The important part in Alexander's pontificate played by the substantial corps of cardinals who served primarily or exclusively as permanent advisers of the papacy should not, however, be overlooked. The pope retained many of the cardinals as permanent members of the papal entourage, including experienced papal advisers such as Hubald, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[12] The members of the

10. See above p.172
11. See above p.125
12. See above p.105

pope's entourage helped to maintain the normal operation of the papal government during the schism. The performance of the most mundane administrative acts by the cardinals worked to reinforce Alexander's legitimacy as the supreme pontiff. Alexander's letters and privileges contained the subscriptions of numerous cardinals, which were designed to illustrate the stability of the papal curia in the crisis of the schism.

The single most striking witness to the importance of the cardinals under Alexander was Boso, who was himself cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano in 1159 and was later appointed by Alexander as cardinal priest of S. Pudentiana.[13] Boso's biography of Alexander III emphasizes the solidarity of the cardinals with the pope and promotes the theme that such solidarity established Alexander's legitimacy as pope. Boso relates that the cardinals collectively rejected a diplomatic overture from Frederick Barbarossa in 1167, proclaiming their loyalty to Alexander. Boso shows obvious partisanship for his own order. Enough independent evidence exists, however, to indicate that Alexander was absolutely dependent on the support of the cardinals to overcome the crisis in the Church.

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13. See above p.220

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