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Mapping a Monastic Network: Peter Damian and Fonte Avellana in the Eleventh Century

By

Kathryn L. Jasper

Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

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Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Maureen C. Miller, Chair

Professor Susanna Elm

Professor Rosemary Joyce

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Abstract

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Mapping a Monastic Network examines a “grassroots” reform movement in the Italian Marches, the monastic congregation of Fonte Avellana, how it functioned as a communications network, and how interactions between individuals and with the landscape produced a compelling and politically potent vision of personal and institutional change. In a new take on "history from the bottom up," I have used two strategies to rewrite the prehistory of the papal revolution of the late eleventh century usually called the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Conflict. One is, literally, to look at the ground: by mapping the spread of this monastic network with Geographic Information System (GIS) tools and site surveys, I have reconstructed relations among communities within the congregation and considered the impact of topography on religious ideals and political relations. Second, having discovered and utilized documentation from the daughter houses of Fonte Avellana, I have reconsidered the center from the periphery, recovering the contributions of those who collaborated with the congregation's charismatic prior, the theologian, cardinal, and papal polemicist, (Saint) Peter Damian (1007-1072). The result is a more dynamic and inclusive portrait of how and why ecclesiastical reform convulsed European society at the end of the eleventh century.

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Abbreviations

<i>Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani</i> , volumes 1-4. Edited by Kurt Reindel. Munich: <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> , 1988-1993.	Reindel, <i>Briefe</i>
<i>The Letters of Peter Damian</i> , volumes 1-6 Edited by Owen J. Blum. Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1989-2005.	Blum, Letters
Archivio di San Lorenzo, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, Italy.	ASL
Archivio di Stato, Florence, Italy.	ASF
<i>Carte di Fonte Avellana (975 -1139)</i> , volume 1. Volume IX, no. 1 in <i>Thesaurus Ecclesiarum Italiae</i> . Edited by Celestino Pierucci and Alberto Polverari. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1972	<i>Carte</i>
<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>	<i>TRHS</i>

A Bridge Between Past and Present

Some historians have characterized eleventh-century Church reform as a “papal revolution.” Harold Berman argued over three decades ago that modern Western legal traditions emerged during this period as a result of papal initiatives.¹ Karl Leyser later described the conflict between popes and emperors as a revolution for the sake of both institutional and ideological change.² Revolution it surely was, but the predominance of the papacy in advancing change has been questioned over recent years. Scholars now emphasize local reform efforts, but as yet their studies fall short of explaining how these myriad localized initiatives became a European-wide movement under papal leadership.

In the early decades of the eleventh century, popes and emperors cooperated to address clerical transgressions such as of the buying and selling of Church offices (simony) and clerical marriage (nicolaitism). However, by the second half of the century liberating the Church from lay control also became part of the papal reform agenda. Church reform then erupted into a violent struggle between papal and imperial supporters during the late 1070s. The work of previous popes opened the door for Pope Gregory VII to redefine ecclesiastical authority radically in the final quarter of the century, asserting that lay powers were subservient to spiritual authorities. Consequently, he clashed with lay rulers and with the German emperor, Henry IV, in particular. Historians have studied reform polemics extensively, but we know little about how these ideas spread and how they were interpreted. This study explores the actual processes of reform by studying its communication through networks and its relationship to practices in land tenure. It focuses upon one protagonist, (Saint) Peter Damian (1007-1072), and the wider network of institutions that grew up through his influence. Peter Damian not only wrote treatises on reform, but also implemented his ideas at the hermitage of Fonte Avellana from 1043 until his death in 1072.

While early scholarship represented reform as a uniform, papal-directed effort, “Mapping a Monastic Network” critiques more recent emphasis on highly localized changes by interrogating communications among institutions, revealing the movement of both people and ideas. This dissertation demonstrates that a congregation of reform monasteries and hermitages in central Italy functioned as a network, communicating local strategies – particularly regarding economic practices – to Rome and beyond. It also shows how eremitic spirituality interacted with regional topographies and economic resources to link specific places with highly charged universal polemics about the liberty of the Church. It argues that the sacralization of monastic properties and their economic resources forged tangible connections between local economies and more abstract papal rhetorics of reform. Lastly, this study contends that beyond epistolary correspondence, the personal presence of Peter Damian contributed to the success of personal and institutional networks. The overwhelming dependence of these networks on Damian also shows the limits of that success and the importance of charismatic individuals to the reform movement.

¹ Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

² Karl J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1250* (London: Hambledon Press, 2004). Professor Leyser’s book was published posthumously.

I. The Economics of Reform³

“Mapping a Monastic Network” identifies new economic practices and personal connections as part of reform. As such, this project speaks to larger historiographical problems in explaining the rise of reform and concomitant institutional change. The classic interpretations of Church reform espoused a top-down explanation of change, and their characterization of the movement’s economic aspects also emphasized papal actions. However, in the decades following 1980, an interpretive shift reconsidered the center from the periphery. Rather than focusing primarily on the efforts of the papacy in combating clerical abuses and the usurpation of ecclesiastical property, new studies examined local reform movements to uncover the complex social, political, and economic dynamics behind reform. While my findings here contribute to studies of reform “on the ground,” they also show how local initiatives spread and took on larger political significance in late eleventh-century disputes between papal and imperial partisans.

Ecclesiastical Control of Economic Resources

For decades the standard narrative of Church reform derived from two sources: the three extensive tomes of Augustin Fliche’s interpretation entitled, *La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne*,⁴ published between 1924 and 1937, and Gerd Tellenbach’s revisionary opus, *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung in Zeitalter des Investiturstreites*, first published in 1936 and translated into English in 1940 as *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*.⁵ Fliche’s strongly Catholic interpretation focused on the triumph of the papacy over the German emperors and the liberation of the Church. Furthermore, Fliche viewed all early Church reform as a prelude to the pontificate of Gregory VII. He was concerned primarily with the two major figures in conflict, the pope and the emperor, and their conceptions of authority.⁶ While Gerd Tellenbach’s German Protestant response to Fliche argued that the Investiture Conflict was the manifestation of an age-old struggle between secular and spiritual leaders over the right world-order of Christian society, his concentration on ideas did not yield a new understanding of the economics of reform.⁷ Fliche and Tellenbach generally agreed that the

³ Portions of this subsection in the introduction will be published in an article entitled, “The Economics of Reform” *History Compass* (under contract, expected in spring 2012).

⁴ Augustin Fliche. *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols., Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniensis, Études et documents 6, 9, 16 (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniensis and Paris: E. Champion, 1924-37).

⁵ Gerd Tellenbach. *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940; rpt. ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1991).

⁶ In contrast, Henri de Lubac, in his *Corpus mysticum: l'eucharistie et l'Eglise au Moyen age* (Paris: Aubier, 1949), examined the patristic tradition in theological discourse from the Carolingian to Gregorian periods and amends Fliche’s conception of reform. He contended that protagonists of this era of eleventh-century crisis included not only popes and emperors, but also theologians, writers, and intellectuals from the Carolingian schools. De Lubac offered a historiographical model that is not linear, but one that experiences a transition from a Carolingian order to a feudal anarchy, and finally to the Gregorian order.

However, according to Ovidio Capitani’s overview of reform historiography (“Esiste un’ ‘Eta Gregoriana’? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica” *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* [1965]: 467), G.B. Borino, in the tradition of Fliche, proposed in the first volume of the *Studi Gregorii* that the history of reforming popes, reform polemic, the state, the empire, emperors, bishops, archbishops, essentially anyone or anything related to Church reform, ultimately related to the work of Gregory VII, and for this reason the reform of the Church comes under the name of Gregory VII (Roma I, 1947), 15.

⁷ Raffaello Morghen later followed Tellenbach’s model; namely, a return to the consciousness of man and a religious interpretation of life and of the world (see *Il Pontificato di Gregorio VII* [Roma : Edizioni dell'Ateneo,

struggle for rights over ecclesiastical lands and tithes contributed to discontent, but that these issues were largely addressed by papal legislation. Both Catholic and Protestant top-down theories stressed the role of rights over lands and resources (chiefly tithes) as abuses fueling demands for reform, but did not directly connect local attempts to reform these practices to the broader movements for ecclesiastical reform.

Fliche painted a dark picture of life before papal reform during the late ninth and tenth centuries in which the laity controlled the Church, its property and possessions. Throughout this period the Church was ravaged by “abuses,” especially clerical concubinage and simony, but also by lay usurpations of ecclesiastical revenues. Unchaste clerics themselves contributed to the problem. As early as the late tenth century, reformers were concerned that married priests bequeathed ecclesiastical property to their children and thereby depleted Church revenues. Fliche viewed the practice as a moral problem as much as an economic one stating that such clerics had an “insatiable cupidity.”⁸ He located the reform of abuses in the context of papal triumph over lay authorities placing particular importance on the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085), who stood as the reformer *par excellence* for Fliche and liberator of the Church.

Usurpations of property were also rooted in a long-established tradition of patronage, the acceptance of which left religious institutions vulnerable to ambitious donors. Fliche paid little attention to the history and function of these proprietary institutions. Though he discussed the role monasteries like Cluny played in pioneering the use of immunities to avoid proprietorship, he did not characterize these activities as precursors to papal reform.⁹ Rather, the reform of inappropriate uses of Church revenues, first championed by Atto, bishop of Vercelli (924-961), preceded later papal legislation against simony and nicolaitism. Bishops like Atto convened councils at which they swore to reclaim and protect ecclesiastical property. Papal reformers, beginning with Leo IX (1048-1054), then took up the mantle of earlier episcopal reformers and propelled a movement forward based on an ideology of spiritual authority that had tangible economic effects (sole control of Church property). Fliche included economic reforms as part of a larger struggle to eliminate abuses, thus his narrative focused on papal legislation and polemic and the consequent “reconquest” of the Church from lay control, which included wresting away ecclesiastical property from the hands of avaricious laypersons.

Tellenbach, however, placed the condemnation of lay control of Church lands within contemporary renegotiations of authority. He described the censure of the practice, which had thrived for centuries in Western Christendom and remained relatively unchallenged until the

1960]). However, he revised Tellenbach’s definition of *libertas* and overall had a more exclusively religious perspective. Cf. Morghen’s “Ideali religiosi e azione politica nell’opera di Gregorio VII,” *Studi Gregoriani* III (Roma 1948), 163-172, and *Medioevo Cristiano*, Bari I ed. 1951. Also see J. Van Laarhoven, “Christianitas et Réforme Grégorienne,” *Studi Gregoriani* VI (Roma 1959-1961), 1-98. Like Tellenbach, Van Laarhoven discussed the ideology of reform.

⁸ “Leur cupidité est insatiable: pour parer leurs femmes, ils pillent les temples et font souffrir les indigents; pour enrichir leur famille, ils se montrent rapaces, usuriers, avarés, envieux, fraudeurs” (Fliche, *La réforme* vol. I, 62).

⁹ Fliche, *La réforme* vol. I, 43. Fliche further argued that the ideas essential to Gregory VII’s program could not be found in Cluniac literature. Monastic reform never included a plan for widespread “religious regeneration” developed under Gregory VII (42). Fliche described Cluny’s contribution to the formation of Gregorian ideas as two-fold: first, the Cluniac congregation put forth the question of moral reform, which brought to the forefront the practices of simony and nicolaitism; second, the Cluniac model with its strong centralized organization served as an example for Gregory VII when he sought to reassert the connections between the secular Church and the Holy See (60).

mid-eleventh century, among the more salient changes of the Middle Ages.¹⁰ Tellenbach maintained that although some Carolingian capitularies showed an attempt to regulate proprietary rights over churches and monasteries, no one objected to the practice itself until after 1050.¹¹ He cited the reforming monastery of Cluny as an example, which sought the protection of the Holy See in the early tenth century and thereby nominally became a proprietary monastery of the pope.¹² But churches and monasteries voluntarily brokered these economic relationships with laypersons as well. Tellenbach agreed with Fliche that efforts to curb abuses predated the eleventh century, but that the papacy ultimately pushed through lasting solutions. Throughout the tenth century, reforming monasteries sought exemptions and immunities to liberate their communities from lay or episcopal interference and encouraged patrons to surrender existing proprietary institutions to their congregations. The secularization of Church property left the avenue open for other abuses, most notably simony, complaints of which survive also from the tenth century.¹³ Nonetheless, ecclesiastics and laypersons regarded the custom of proprietary churches and monasteries as completely normal for centuries.

Tellenbach argued effective reform only occurred with a reform papacy; the reform program under Leo IX anticipated legislative changes to the custom.¹⁴ From the outset of his papacy, he showed a “lively interest in the Roman *Eigenklöster* [proprietary institutions].”¹⁵ Although it was the German Emperor Henry III (b. 1017-1056) who appointed Leo to the pontificate in 1048, according to the long-standing tradition of lay investiture, Tellenbach credited him as the first pope to transform the office. This transformation of the papacy drove its prelates to challenge what Tellenbach termed the “proprietary system.”¹⁶ But for the author, the denunciation of the “system” occurred as part of a desire to return to the “right order of the world” in which the priestly hierarchy existed separately from the secular (Gregory VII went so far as to proclaim the former superior) and therefore Church property could not fall under lay control. Unlike Fliche, Tellenbach noted that the proprietary system was a way for lay people to take an active role in the life of the Church, but conflict arose because that role fundamentally

¹⁰ In principle, a layperson would offer a charitable donation to a local monastery and in return the donor could expect the monks to pray for his or her soul. But a monastery dependent on a lay patron could also be forced to submit to his or her authority. A donor could install the abbot and claim ecclesiastical revenues from these institutions (the income generated from rents, mills, water rights, agricultural produce, or even the tithe) and direct them towards personal, secular enterprises. Churches and monasteries also voluntarily ceded property to elite laypersons in the form of renewable land leases. The tradition of lay control over ecclesiastical patrimonies led to outright usurpations of property as well.

¹¹ Tellenbach, 91-93.

¹² As Tellenbach pointed out, the pope’s rights over Cluny were merely formal (93).

¹³ For example, Liutprand of Cremona (d. ca. 972) wrote about the sale of the Archbishopric of Narbonne to a ten-year-old relation of the Counts of Catalonia for 100,000 *solidi* (see John Howe, “The Nobility’s Reform of the Medieval Church” *The American Historical Review* 93 [1988], 320).

¹⁴ Leo, formerly Bruno, bishop of Toul, had previously advocated monastic reform during his episcopate. He placed the monasteries of St Evroul, St Mansuy, and Moyennoutier under the reformer William of Volpiano, founded a priory at Deuilly and was a great supporter of the nunnery at Poussay (Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* [Manchester: Manchester United Press, 2005], 65).

¹⁵ Tellenbach, 99.

¹⁶ The term “proprietary church” (*Eigenkirche*) was first coined by Ulrich Stultz in 1895 in his monograph, *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechts* (Berlin: H.W. Müller, 1895; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1955). The concept of proprietary institutions has been recently questioned by scholars, who dispute the universality of the model (see a discussion on this point in Anna Trumbore Jones’ book entitled, *Noble Lord, Good Shepherd: Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine, 877-1050* [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 84-85).

opposed the “sacramental idea of the hierarchy” that reformers revived.¹⁷

Although Fliche and Tellenbach showed that reformers found the idea of Church revenues used towards secular gain immoral, their interest in the economic aspects of reform was limited; neither author explored the potential for material loss that proprietorship created. As mentioned above, by the eleventh century proprietary rights had become heritable. If a lay landholder had the option to divide his property amongst his heirs, the property of the Church could become increasingly partitioned and scattered, and incomes intended for religious life would be lost. For this reason reformers found the arrangement especially problematic.¹⁸ Beneficiaries of these churches not only received the property but also the obligation to provide a priest, a privilege granted only to bishops according to Church law.¹⁹ The issue of *res ecclesiae*, the property of the Church, was even more central in later disputes between reformers and Emperor Henry V (b. 1081-1125),²⁰ material that Fliche and Tellenbach omitted from the discussion because both narratives viewed the pontificate of Gregory VII as the apex of the reform movement.

Fliche and Tellenbach also neglected the economic problems posed by married clergy, the concern being that these priests could pass their property to lay heirs. The primacy of clerical celibacy in the agendas of early episcopal reformers and subsequent synodal legislation of the early eleventh century attests to its importance. The Synod of Pavia convened by Pope Benedict VIII (d. 1024) and Emperor Henry II (b. 972-1024) in 1022 proclaimed the unchastity of the clergy immoral in no uncertain terms, but the majority of the council’s legislation centered on the economic side of the problem. The Church felt the loss of ecclesiastical property to filial inheritance and declared that the children of priests, who were technically already serfs, would retain that status forever and remain part of the Church’s property. The issue was repeated in subsequent papal councils but not discussed in theological terms before 1059, when decrees of the Roman synod prohibited unchaste priests and lower clergy from serving the altar.²¹

¹⁷ Tellenbach, 71.

¹⁸ In 1060 Peter Damian wrote the following about alleged leases: “... aeclesiis reddere sua bona nullatenus acquiescent, et non modo ipsi dum vivunt, proprietario quasi iure possideant, sed et in posteros sui germinis eminus possidenda transmittant... quia et sancta prophanant” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2, Letter 74, 373-374; English edition see Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3, Letter 74, 154). This passage is discussed in further detail below in Chapter 5, p. 100. The charitable donation was a sacred transaction and the origins of the practice were as old as Christianity itself. Beyond its importance to Christian tradition, religious institutions depended on charitable grants to support their way of life. See Elisabetta Filippini, “*Illa quae sub nudo benedicii vocabulo seculares accipunt*: Pier Damiani, Fonte Avellana, e le concessioni enfiteutiche e beneficiarie” (in *Fonte Avellana del secolo di Pier Damiani*, Atti del XXIX Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti, Fonte Avellana, 29-31 agosto 2007, ed. Nicolangelo D’Acunto (Verona: Gabrielli, 2008), 150 and 155.

¹⁹ Damian’s contemporary, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (c. 1005-1061) exhorted princes to aid the Church in reclaiming her lands in his treatise, *Libri tres adversus simoniacos* written between 1057 and 1058 (Humbert of Silva Candida, *Libri tres adversus simoniacos* in *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII*, vol. I, ed. Friedrich Thaner [Hanover, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 1891], 212).

²⁰ Cushing, 1998, 137.

²¹ The link between the 1022 and 1059 councils has come under debate, but the financial losses associated with clerical marriage and concubinage continued to be an issue throughout the eleventh century, as it had been for bishops in the tenth century. See Uta-Renate Blumenthal, “Pope Gregory VII and the Prohibition of Nicolaitism,” in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 241-242. See also Anne Llewellyn Barstow’s *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York, 1982). For the legislation of the Council of Pavia (1022) see *Constitutiones et Acta Publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. I, ed. Ludewig Weiland (Hannover: *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 1963), 71, line 29.; *Ibid.*, p. 75. for the papal decrees and p. 77 for the imperial confirmation of those canons. See in that same volume the Roman Synod decrees of 1059, pp. 546-548, and especially p. 547, number 3.

After Fliche and Tellenbach published their works, among the earliest scholarly articles to address reform and economics directly was a piece in *The Catholic Historical Review* entitled, "Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and Its Economic Import" written by Demetrius B. Zema in 1941.²² Zema called more attention to economic issues, but his interpretation remained in the traditional framework of papal revolution. Zema argued that Church reform was in part directed towards the distribution of property and resources, and their recovery through legislation. Zema stated, "An impoverished Church could never be a disciplined Church. Economic reform was, therefore, to be the condition of moral reform."²³ His article described the reclaiming of churches in general and the property of the Holy See in particular as central to the reform program.²⁴ Zema also published similar studies in 1944 and 1947 on the papal strategies to restore Rome's patrimony in a manner not unlike other reforming bishops.²⁵ Diverging from the works of Tellenbach and Fliche, Zema considered the main economic concerns of reformers not only the indirect losses accrued as a result of simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture, but also the revenues directly lost from the enfeoffing, sale, and leasing of ecclesiastical estates, in addition to outright usurpations, and the associated practice of operating proprietary churches and monasteries and the appropriation of their tithes and charitable donations, all of which were condemned in the letters of Popes Leo IX and Gregory VII, and Cardinals Deusdedit, Humbert, and Peter Damian.²⁶ However, in keeping with his predecessors, Zema embraced the traditional approach to the study of reform. He stated that legislation was the first step in reforming these abuses, which had actually become customary law, beginning with the pontificate of Leo IX. Although laws existed they went unenforced until the revival of canon law and the campaign against customary law.²⁷ In short, Zema's study addressed the upper-level economic legislation of reform and the fact that it was initiated and overseen by the Holy See.

These traditional narratives acknowledged some role for economic issues, but attributed actual reform to late eleventh-century popes. This approach leaves us with unanswered questions about the trajectory and scope of economic change. The eleventh century witnessed several critical transformations in the ways in which medieval society conceived of property and ownership both physically and philosophically. How did ideas about reform influence, cause, or intersect with contemporary shifts in land tenure practices and the exploitation of land resources? Should we embrace an economically determinist model of change? To what extent was reform motivated by financial concerns? How did the nature of the land market affect reform principles? Or, to be more prudent, should we not separate out the economy and reform as determinants of structural change? Just as economic forces contributed to the process of reform, reform itself had economic consequences.

²² D. B. Zema, "Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and Its Economic Import" *The Catholic Historical Review* xxvii (1941): 16-38.

²³ Zema, 1941, 18.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ D.B. Zema, "The House of Tuscany and of Pierleone in the Crisis of Rome in the Eleventh Century," *Traditio* ii (1944): 155-175; and "Economic Reorganization of the Roman See during the Gregorian Reform," *Studi Gregoriani* I (1947): 137-168.

²⁶ Zema, 1941 23

²⁷ Zema, 1941, 19-20.

It took some decades before scholars would challenge the older narratives. For example, I.S. Robinson's and H.E.J. Cowdrey's superb works on papal history,²⁸ Dieter Hägermann's recent volume on the Investiture Contest,²⁹ and Leidulf Melve's two-volume opus on reform polemics in the public sphere provide new interpretations of debates on authority.³⁰ While reform polemic and legislation remains a subject of great interest today, much has also changed in how historians read the economics of reform.

As the discipline of history embraced quantitative methods during the 1960s, David Herlihy, an innovator of new modes in historical inquiry, used computer-assisted analysis of masses of data to show that there was an overall increase in ecclesiastical patrimonies long before the pontificate of Leo IX. He argued based on this research that the pattern of attrition in Church property stopped and then reversed throughout Western Europe from 950 to 1050.³¹ Herlihy partially credited contemporary reformers for the increase in ecclesiastical patrimonies. At the time his interpretations of the situation were among the few primarily economic in nature. John Gilchrist later used Herlihy's data in his monograph, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, which led the way for later works on the relationship between the Church, its doctrines, and the economy. Gilchrist stated he sought to answer two questions, "[W]hether the Church exercised an influence in economic matter proportionate to its wealth, and to what extent was there conflict or harmony between the economic behavior of Christians and the doctrines of the Church."³² Although these questions drove Gilchrist's analysis, he confessed that they remain unanswered at the close of his narrative. With this statement, Gilchrist acknowledged the complexity of the issues involved, a complexity not formerly appreciated in earlier studies on the medieval economy.³³ In terms of eleventh-century reform, Gilchrist touched briefly on the impact of reform on Church property and organization. He cited Herlihy's claim in his article of 1958, "The Agrarian Revolution in Southern France and Italy, 801-1150" that between c. 1050 and 1120 Europe saw an eighty-percent decrease in land transfers, meaning that both the laity and the Church appreciated retaining and consolidating land.

The Interpretive Shift

Overall both Tellenbach and Fliche viewed reform as a pan-European movement that radiated outward from Rome.³⁴ A new generation of historians began exploring the understudied

²⁸ See I.S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1978), and *The Papacy 1073-1198, Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

²⁹ Dieter Hägermann, *Das Papsttum am Vorabend des Investiturstreits* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2008).

³⁰ Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate During the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, 2 volumes, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 154, ed. A.J. Vanderjagt (Boston: Brill, 2007).

One especially noteworthy change in these some of these sweeping narratives is the rejection of Fliche and Tellenbach's evaluation of the pontificate of Gregory VII the apex of the reform movement, which afforded less attention to his successors. For example, see Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991).

³¹ David Herlihy, "Church Property on the European Continent, 701-1200" *Speculum* 36: 1 (1961), 96-98.

³² John Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London: St Martin's Press, 1969), 4.

³³ Gilchrist, 122.

³⁴ Fliche argues this point in book three of *La Chrétienté Médiévale 395-1254* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1929), 281-301; see Tellenbach's similar assertions in section IV, chapter 3, 112-125. The pan-European interpretation of

aspects of reform on the ground in the 1980s. In tandem with this new perspective scholars recognized the local diversity in reform movements, and started to examine the actual manifestation of the polemic that earlier historiography found so compelling. Whereas traditional approaches advocated a neat linear evolution for the process, which spread across Europe from Rome, more current scholarship underscores the localized character of reform movements. In 1988, for example, John Howe returned to Herlihy's argument and found we had underestimated the initiative of the nobility in reform, which Howe noted "would have horrified Fliche."³⁵ As he stated, some regional studies demonstrated the positive contributions of the laity in reform. For example, Constance Brittain Bouchard's monograph published the year before Howe's article, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198*, examined relations between nobles and ecclesiastical institutions in a specific region.³⁶ Bouchard also discussed the contributions of the nobility in reforming institutions and described these interactions between clerics and lay elites as dynamic and complex. For example, if clerics and nobles came from the same familial clan, oftentimes their economic interests were more aligned than in competition. Howe called for a synthesis of studies like Bouchard's to move beyond the "stereotype" of the noble as the enemy of reform.³⁷ He demonstrated that laypersons were far more proactive about returning ecclesiastical properties and possessions than reformers implied, thereby forcing a reevaluation of agency in economic change during the late tenth and eleventh centuries. Herlihy's findings would also appear to confirm that assessment.

Constance Bouchard's and John Howe's research made evident that the field's turn toward social and economic history benefitted reform studies enormously and it continues to do so. This trend appeared in contemporary scholarship on Italy as well. Published in 1979, an article by Yoram Milo entitled, "Dissonance between Papal and Local Reform Interests in Pre-Gregorian Tuscany,"³⁸ forced researchers to reevaluate the centrality of Rome. Milo demonstrated how Tuscan reform was critical to the papacy's conflict with the German Emperors, but was neither "a homogeneous phenomenon, nor was it categorically supported by Rome."³⁹ To discover the relationship between Roman and Tuscan reform, Milo claimed, we must go beyond their mutual ideologies. Indeed, Milo successfully showed that reform ideologies had very real effects in the campaign to remove the simoniac bishop, Peter Mezzabarba, led by Vallombrosan monks, which Rome did not support though Mezzabarba was nevertheless deposed in 1068.⁴⁰ Similarly, Giuseppe Fornasari emphasized how varied reform movements could be in the eleventh century.⁴¹ Fornasari framed reform in Italy according to a

reform found numerous supporters, including Raffaello Morghen, Henri de Lubac, G.B. Borino, J. Van Laarhoven (cited above).

³⁵ Howe, 1988, 319.

³⁶ Constance Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Yoram Milo, "Dissonance between Papal and Local Reform Interests in Pre-Gregorian Tuscany," *Studi Medievali* 3 (1979): 69-86.

³⁹ Milo, 69.

⁴⁰ Milo, 71-72.

⁴¹ See Giuseppe Fornasari, *Medioevo riformato del secolo XI: Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII* (Naples: Liguori, 1996); "La riforma gregoriana nel 'Regnum Italiae,'" *Studi Gregoriani* 13 (1989), 281-320; "Conscienza ecclesiale e storia della spiritualità: Per una ridefinizione della riforma di Gregorio VII," *Benedictina* 33 (1986): 25-50; "Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII: dall'ecclesiologia 'monastica' all' ecclesiologia 'politica'?" in *Fonte Avellana nel suo millenario*, I., *Le Origini* (Atti del V Convegno del Centro di studi avellaniti, Fonte Avellana 26-8 agosto 1981),

convention common in Italian medieval history that describes phenomena as unique and confined to a specific place. He thus categorized individual reform movements based on geographical areas. Both Milo and Fornasari approached reform regionally and argued that the source of these movements was not always the papacy. The localization of Church reform historiography found supporters not only in Milo and Fornasari, but also in the more recent work of Nicolangelo D'Acunto on Florence, and Valerie Ramseyer on Salerno.⁴²

While Milo's work did little to bring economic issues to the forefront, his article was the first of many that advocated polygenesis in reform. John Howe,⁴³ Maureen Miller,⁴⁴ Greta Austin,⁴⁵ and Kathleen Cushing⁴⁶ have all made similar claims. There are a number of recent articles on the initiatives of local bishops, and R.I. Moore has shown how the mobilization of the *populus* directly influenced reform as well,⁴⁷ as do studies on the Pataria, a later eleventh-century movement based in Milan and directed toward the misuse of ecclesiastical resources caused by clerical marriage and simony.⁴⁸ These local perspectives form the immediate historiographical background to my work.

Greta Austin argues in her essay, "Bishops and Religious Law, 900-1050," that not only should we dismiss the "'top-down' model of 'Gregorian' reform," but we must also not draw a hard line between canonists and popular movements.⁴⁹ Austin's main focus is not on economic issues, but her work underlines pragmatism and local dynamics. Her case study of Burchard, bishop of Worms (c. 950 – 1025) illustrates this point. Burchard compiled a book of canon law with which he intended to teach priests and canons of the cathedral, and which would also serve

151-244; *Celibato sacerdotale e "autocoscienza" ecclesiale: per la storia della "Nicolaitica haeresis" nell'occidente medievale* (Udine: Del Bianco, 1981).

⁴² Nicolangelo D'Acunto, "Lotte religiose a Firenze nel secolo XI. Aspetti della rivolta contro il vescovo Pietro Mezzabarba," *Aevum* LXVI (1993), 279-312; D'Acunto addresses reform in additional publications including "Tensioni e convergenze tra monachesimo vallombrosano papato e vescovi nel secolo XI," in *I Vallombrosani nella società italiana dei secoli XI e XII* (Atti del I Colloquio Vallombrosano, Vallombrosa, 3-4 settembre 1993, Vallombrosa 1995), 53-79; "Riforma Gregoriana e lotta per le investiture," in *Nuova secondaria* XII/8 (1995): 55-58; "Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII," *Nuova rivista storica* LXXVII (1993): 477-488. Valerie Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy, 850-1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

⁴³ John Howe, *Church Reform & Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); and, Howe, "St Berardus of Marsica (d. 1130). 'Model Gregorian Bishop,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58:3 (2007): 400-416.

⁴⁴ Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona 950-1150* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); also see Miller's article, "Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200" in *Medieval Purity and Piety* (cited above), 305-335.

⁴⁵ Greta Austin, "Bishops and Religious Law, 900-1050," in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. John Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 40-57.

⁴⁶ Cushing, 1998.

⁴⁷ R.I. Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *TRHS* 5/30 (1980): 49-69. Moore defines the *populus* as "those parts of society whose members were not deemed by the rest to have any independent role in public affairs" (51).

⁴⁸ The Pataria movement represents one of the earliest foci of micro-studies under the larger subject of Church reform. The classic work is Cinzio Violante, *La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1955). See also H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarnes and the Church of Milan," *TRHS* 5/18 (1968): 25-48.

⁴⁹ Austin, 41. The author credits Martin Brett with this assertion that we do not "contrast canonists with 'local communities.'" As she states, Brett credits the development of canon law before the mid-twelfth century to both local communities and bishops (Martin Brett, "Canon Law and Litigation: The Century before Gratian," in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 7 [Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1995], pp. 21-40).

as a handbook.⁵⁰ Austin describes his dual purpose in writing this book as “pastoral and pragmatic,” meaning law grew out of practical concerns for his diocese. The author cites Martin Brett’s work on canon law in which Brett claims the development of law began not in papal circles, but was motivated by local problems. Christof Rolker and Kriston Rennie have both published studies on the role of bishops in legal inquiry and the production of canon law texts. Rolker examines canon law in the epistolary collection of Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040- c. 1116), and Rennie’s study focuses on the episcopate of Hugh of Die from c. 1073 until 1106.⁵¹ In the case of the diocese of Worms the bishop himself led the new interest in law, long before Gregorian reform.⁵² Austin’s study shows the dialogue between prelates and their communities drove reform. In addition to formulating and revising canon law, these bishops labored to recover their patrimonies and these efforts also grew out of localized disputes.

Kathleen Cushing’s monograph entitled, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* enlarges this perspective. In this study, the author puts reform in its larger social context and devotes one chapter (“Reform in Practice”) to the real impact of reform legislation.⁵³ Despite a wide geographical and chronological scope Cushing discovers some economic effects of reform on the ground, such as a linkage between building and reform in the eleventh century. Prelates directed ecclesiastical revenues towards significant building projects, such as cathedrals, in conjunction with reform at Lucca, Rheims, Cologne, Canterbury, and Compostella, among other locales.⁵⁴ It is highly probable these bishops would seek to secure their patrimonies in part to fund such endeavors. The case of Lucca in particular shows the attempts of Bishop Anselm II to reclaim the episcopal patrimony his predecessors had leased to numerous laypersons. To return the patrimony to its original state, Anselm asked that tithes be paid in cash and not in kind, and also prohibited additional alienation of property unless dire circumstances so required.⁵⁵ Again, Cushing’s work is not primarily economic, but her approach allows her to find some economic consequences of reform.

Also in recent years, scholars have begun to reconsider the connection between property and episcopal power. Susan Wood’s significant survey entitled *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* rigorously traces the origins and development of the *Eigenkirche* throughout Western Europe. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier and Susan Reynolds have criticized the concept of “proprietary” institutions,⁵⁶ but Wood defends the idea that contemporaries regarded churches as property. While Reynolds asserts that feudal terminology of ownership, when applied to churches, signified a form of stewardship more akin to protection than exploitation, Wood disagrees and states, “We can reasonably regard a church as ‘property’ if it is not only so called at the time... but is inherited whole or in shares, alienated by gift, sale, or lease, or made the

⁵⁰ Austin, 54.

⁵¹ Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Kriston R. Rennie, *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073-1106)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

⁵² Austin, 55.

⁵³ Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 24.

⁵⁴ Cushing, 2005, 93.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁵⁶ Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l’église dans le province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cis-pyrénéenne) de la fin du huitième à la fin du onzième siècle* (Toulouse: Association des publications l’Université de toulouse-Le Mirail, 1974); Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 61; 418-419.

matter of lawsuits.”⁵⁷ Wood argues that this notion of property holding applied to “lesser churches,” which she defines in her introduction as chapels, parish churches, small monasteries, and collegiate churches, but that “great churches” were subject to a lordship, usually exercised by the ruler. This singular “authority” extended beyond merely a right to hold property. Wood describes this lordship as “more focused and intermittently proprietary than the ruler’s overall protective charge of the Church.”⁵⁸ Although her book offers a survey of the proprietary “system” in Western Europe, Wood discusses specific cases involving the intersection of reform and property in the context of both monastic and Gregorian reform movements. Furthermore, she states that proprietary rights, inextricably bound to authority, varied widely in practice.⁵⁹ As she writes, “Ambiguity, fuzziness, and even paradox may bring us closer to the proprietary church than logic or legal analysis.”⁶⁰

Anna Trumbore Jones’ 2009 monograph, *Noble Lord, Good Shepherd: Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine, 877-1050*, critiques both Wood’s and Magnou-Nortier’s arguments. Trumbore Jones points out that while Magnou-Nortier rightly rejected the idea that the Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries was “merely a tool of the laity,” she also acknowledges the validity in Wood’s claim that lay elites remained unconcerned about limiting their interactions with churches and their property for “fear of seeming abusive.”⁶¹ In the case of the region of Aquitaine, Trumbore Jones agrees with Magnou-Nortier that the episcopal office was exceptionally complex, but not that contemporaries understood the various functions of the episcopate as distinct; that is, in the investiture of bishops “both property and office were at stake.”⁶²

Another example in this vein of scholarship, R.I. Moore’s essay, “Property, Marriage, and the Eleventh-Century Revolution: A Context for Early Medieval Communism,” places the economic concerns of reformers in the context of a greater socio-economic transition.⁶³ Moore asserts that the consequences of Church reform were “inextricably linked with the restructuring

⁵⁷ Susan Wood, *Proprietary Churches in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3.

⁵⁸ Wood, *Proprietary Churches*, 3-4. See also 304-309.

⁵⁹ Other notable works on the relationship between property and authority include the volume edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracer, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). An essay by David Ganz in that volume, “The Ideology of Sharing: Apostolic Community and Ecclesiastical Property in the Early Middle Ages,” speaks to issue of the economics of reform in particular. See also Wendy Davies’ essay in *Property and Power* entitled, “Adding Insult to Injury: Power, Property, and Immunities in Early Medieval Wales”; T. Reuter “Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops, and Nobles in Early Eleventh-century Saxony: The Evidence of the *Vita Meinweri*” (in *Property and Power*). See also W. Hartmann, “Der rechtliche Zustand der Kirchen auf dem Lande: Die Eigenkirche in der fränkischen Gesetzgebung des 7. bis 9. Jahrhunderts,” in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo: Espansione e resistenze* (Settimane di Studio 28, 1982) 397-441; A. Hedwig, “Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen zur fränkischen Grundherrschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte/Zeitschriftenband* 109 (1992): 1-64. A classic book on the subject is F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert) Mit einem Kartenanhang* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1965; 2nd ed. with additional section, Munich, 1988).

⁶⁰ Wood, *Proprietary Churches*, 739.

⁶¹ Trumbore Jones, *Noble Lord, Good Shepherd*, 85.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ R.I. Moore, “Property, Marriage, and the Eleventh-Century Revolution: A Context for Early Medieval Communism” in *Medieval Purity and Piety* (cited above), 179-208. See also Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 950-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), in which the author expands on this argument.

of lay society.”⁶⁴ He examines how monasteries like Cluny managed to recover and secure their patrimonies and finds that their success resulted from the promotion of celibacy and a related restructuring of lay society, both of which were closely connected to the Peace of God and later reform movements. Two critical changes in the eleventh century, the increase in Church property David Herlihy first identified and the simultaneous shift to primogeniture, were mutually dependent. This shift helped to resolve disparate ideas on marriage and property holding.⁶⁵ In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries monks began to see land as inalienable property with boundaries. Therefore, the claims and quitclaims over donations between donors and beneficiaries resulted from different conceptions of land tenure.⁶⁶ But the laity came to embrace the idea of immovable property as well, which coincided with the move towards single-heir inheritance.⁶⁷

Moore argues that the progression toward primogeniture developed out of a social revolution, a reformulation of social orders that defined the lay and clerical spheres, and it was chastity that created the distinction.⁶⁸ Support for chastity helped monks reclaim lost property because celibacy “rendered the monks and their possessions untouchable by profane hands.”⁶⁹ Therefore monastic land was distinctly separate from lay property.⁷⁰ As the debates about celibacy moved outside the monastic context to include the secular clergy, the issue became central to papal reform, but it also led to discussions about marriage, monogamy, incest, and legitimate and illegitimate offspring.⁷¹ Moore identifies the social complexities of Tellenbach’s “proprietary system,” but also shows that reformers were not operating in a vacuum. Numerous existing and new social pressures contributed to changes in property management, and in turn economic reform dramatically affected social organization.

As the aforementioned studies show, historians now consider the efforts of local bishops and monasteries, as well as popular “grassroots” movements in reforming the misappropriation of ecclesiastical property. Although scholars no longer favor the connection between the control of Church property and papal primacy that dominated the historiography of the early twentieth century, there remains one outstanding problem. How do we arrive at the papal revolution from localized movements? To approach a solution, the economics of reform cannot occupy the background. “Mapping a Monastic Network” brings these issues to the forefront. It presents an economic study of land tenure and how ideas about reform, pragmatic and ideological, affected the management of property. The Burgundian monastery of Cluny has been extensively studied in this regard.⁷² The eleventh century was an age that saw the rise of many other reform-minded

⁶⁴ Moore, 1998, 193-94.

⁶⁵ Moore, 1998, 187.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Moore cites Barbara Rosenwein’s landmark study of Cluny, *To Be the Neighbor of St Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny’s Property, 909-1049* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1989).

⁶⁷ Moore, 1998, 189-190.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Moore, 1998, 191.

⁷⁰ Ibid. The physical boundaries reinforced the new social ones forming under what Moore terms a new “cosmology.”

⁷¹ Moore, 1998, 191.

⁷² Barbara Rosenwein, for example, examines property management at Cluny argues in her monograph, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*. Although she draws no connection between local and universal reform, her thesis explores the underlying motivations governing charitable donations. She argues land held special significance in the interactions between regional elites and the monastery of Cluny (chapter 2, 49-77). Through this process of gift giving, elites established and later solidified ties with the monastery. As Rosenwein argues, property was the “glue” of social relationships (13). As Rosenwein states, “Donations had social meaning: they created and reinforced

congregations – the Vallombrosans, the Camaldolesi, and Peter Damian’s own congregation of Fonte Avellana.

Secondly, this dissertation situates economic changes perpetuated by reform movements within greater economic and social transformations of the period. Historians like R.I. Moore and Karl Leyser consider the role of the “*populus*” in reform movements, and therefore connect Church reform to the wider socio-economic changes of the eleventh century,⁷³ but neither of their works focuses on cash flow or financial transactions. The lack of information on the economic strategies employed as a part of reform movements is a significant historiographical gap. Lastly, this study seeks to reconcile the classic narrative of papal legislation and authority with current scholarship focused on the initiatives of local movements. The dissertation analyzes the dialogue between local and papal reform during the eleventh century. It focuses on one member of the papal curia, an individual active simultaneously on a universal and a local level, and his personal friendship network. “Mapping a Monastic Network” finds the connections between localized reform campaigns and the papacy to reveal that the interplay between the papal and the local, in which one informed the other, determined the course of both.

II. Peter Damian and Fonte Avellana

Polemicist, theologian, cardinal, and self-proclaimed humble monk, Peter Damian had a hand in shaping many salient events of the eleventh century. Born in 1007 to a noble but impoverished family in Ravenna, he was the youngest son of six children.⁷⁴ As an infant and young child, he was greatly mistreated by his parents. When Damian showed a predisposition for learning, it was his elder brother, Damianus, who arranged for his brother’s education.⁷⁵ Most likely Peter added his brother’s name to his own out of reverence for this compassion shown to him early in life. Damian studied the liberal arts at schools in both Faenza and Parma.⁷⁶ As a young man he taught rhetoric in Ravenna,⁷⁷ but also demonstrated a proclivity for fasting among other pious activities.⁷⁸ Damian had an impressive academic career before his

personal ties, with all the ambivalence inherent in such relationships” (48). These same processes may have been at work in the Italian Marches, Tuscany and Umbria. That is, the symbolic significance of property may have created ambiguity that inevitably led to conflict.

⁷³ R. I. Moore, “Family, Community and Cult of the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *TRHS*, fifth series 30 (1980), 49-69; Karl J. Leyser, “On the Eve of the First European Revolution,” in *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe II: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994).

⁷⁴ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2, Letter 94 (English translation available in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 94), which Damian addressed to two of his sisters, Rodelinda and Sufficia. Letter 138 (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 138; English translation available in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 [2004], Letter 138) was addressed to his brother, Damianus. Letter 106 references a second brother, Marinus (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 106; English translation available in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 106). A final brother is mentioned in John of Lodi’s *Vita* of the saint (Johannes von Lodi, *Vita Petri Damiani*, in *Studien zue literarischen Wirksamkeit des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Stephan Freund, MGH [Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung], 1995, ch. I, 206).

⁷⁵ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. II, 210.

⁷⁶ “Adolescentem me in Faventina urbe propter litterarum studia constitutum audire contigit, quod enarro” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 44, 30; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. II [1990], Letter 44, 240; cf. *Vita S. Petri Damiani* [ed. cit.], ch. II, 210). “Memini plane, quia, cum apud Parmense oppidum liberalium atrium studiis docendus insisterem...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 70, 320; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 70, 109-110).

⁷⁷ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 2, 211.

⁷⁸ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 3, 213-214.

conversion, but after an unknown amount of time spent teaching⁷⁹ he began to consider the religious life. The scandalous living associated with urban schools troubled Damian. According to his biographer, John of Lodi, Damian happened to meet two brothers from Fonte Avellana while contemplating the spiritual direction his life should take.⁸⁰ After a period of forty days in a cell, Damian traveled to Fonte Avellana and was welcomed into the community where he immediately assumed a monastic habit.

Peter Damian referred to the hermitage of the Holy Cross at Fonte Avellana as a “poor little place” (*pauperculus locus*).⁸¹ We can imagine that this was the case when he underwent his conversion in 1034. Founded in the late tenth century, the hermits received their rule from Saint Romuald (c. 950-1027) in 989. Fonte Avellana’s founder, Ludolphus, also served as the order’s first prior. He had come to the base of Mount Catria, not far from Gubbio, with his companion Julian and the two eventually attracted several followers.⁸² The hermitage takes its name from the valley at the foot of the mountain where there was a spring (*fons*) amongst the pine trees, though the name literally translates as “Hazelnut Spring.” In this peaceful landscape shadowed by the Apennines, the two hermits formed a community of brothers. The hermits lived in common, but in separate cells following a strict regimen of fasting, prayer, manual labor, and occasional bodily mortification.⁸³

By the early decades of the eleventh century, the brothers had acquired a reputation for austerity and piety, and John of Lodi writes that Damian had heard of the hermits’ activities while living in Ravenna.⁸⁴ Attracted by their ascetic existence under the modified Benedictine Rule of Saint Romuald, which was intended for hermits, Damian joined the order and became a novice.⁸⁵ After a year as a novice Damian left for some years to give lectures at nearby monastic communities and to live amongst their congregations. While living at the monastery of Saint

⁷⁹ As Owen J. Blum states, in a letter to the Empress Agnes dated 1067 (on the date, see Giovanni Lucchesi, *Clavis S. Petri Damiani*, in *Studi su Saint Pier Damiano in onore del cardinale Amleto John Cicognani* [Faenza: Biblioteca Cardinale Gaetano Cicognani, 1961, 2 ed. 1970], 148) Damian writes, “It is now exactly three decades, with the addition of about two years, since I exchanged my academic garb for a monastic habit,” therefore he became a hermit at Fonte Avellana in 1035 when he was twenty-eight years old (Blum, Introduction to *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], 5; Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 [2004], Letter 149, 177-178). The Latin is as follows: “Tres plane annorum decades subiuncto fere biennio transacte sunt, ex quo clericalem cycladem cuculla mutavi” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 149, 552). See also A. Wilmart, “Une lettre de S. Pierre Damien à l’impératrice Agnès,” *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), 140. Blum also mentions that one could interpret this passage as Damian leaving aside clerical attire and therefore a benefice. Dante Alighieri wrote in the *Divina Commedia* that Damian was a canon at the canonry of Santa Maria in Porto (*Paradiso*, canto XXI, stanza 121; Blum, Introduction to vol. 1 of *Letters* [1989], 5, n. 11). On this interpretation see Kurt Reindel, “Neue Literatur zu Petrus Damiani,” *DA* 32 (1976), 437FF, and M. Mazzotti, “Questioni Portuensi,” *Studi Romagnoli* 2 (1951), 307-322.

⁸⁰ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 4, 215-216. John was a hermit of Fonte Avellana and Damian’s companion during the 1060s. Presumably much of the information in his biography came from Damian himself (see Lester K. Little, “The Personal Development of Peter Damian” in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab, and Teofilo F. Ruiz [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976], 322).

⁸¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 3, 106. The English translation is available in Blum, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 3, 87.

⁸² Celestino Pierucci, Introduction to *Carte di Fonte Avellana (975 -1139)*, p. XI.

⁸³ Celestino Pierucci, “San Pietro Damiani e Fonte Avellana” in *Fonte Avellana nella Società dei Secoli XI e XII* (Fonte Avellana: Il Convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti, 1978), 163.

⁸⁴ “Hoc autem eo meditante atque assiduis orationibus exorante, quatenus sibi a Domino aditus panderetur salutis, ecce duo fratres ab eremo sanctae crucis fontis Avellanae, cujus fama iam sibi plane innotuerat, illuc directi adveniunt” (*Vita S. Petri Damiani* [ed. cit.], ch. 4, 215-216).

⁸⁵ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* [ed. cit.], ch. 4, 216-217.

Vincent in Furlo he composed his *Vita* of Saint Romuald. The relationships he established during these years away from his hermitage continued to be important long after he returned to Fonte Avellana. The news of Damian's success as a reform-minded ascetic had reached his own community while he was away, and upon returning the current prior appointed him *economus* (cellarer or steward of the monastery's property and resources), and named him as his successor. Accordingly, his brothers elected him prior over the approximately twenty hermits after the death of Damian's predecessor in 1043.⁸⁶

Damian's fame continued to grow, due in no small part to his own communications to high-ranking prelates, popes, and emperors. He also traveled to Rome and other Italian cities frequently to attend papal synods addressing clerical abuses, and composed several tracts on these offenses that garnered the author much attention. In 1057, Pope Stephen X sought to make Damian a cardinal. Damian refused to accept the office until forced to do so under threat of excommunication, but for the remainder of his life he lamented how his elevation as cardinal and his obligations to the papacy kept him away from the eremitic life. Damian found himself at the center of papal strife until his death in 1072. As a prominent member of the papal curia, Damian operated as one of its chief polemicists and theologians during the era of reform preceding the election of Pope Gregory VII. He also acted as legate and mediator during conflicts in Milan, Burgundy, and Parma. Despite his onerous obligations, as this dissertation will argue, Damian continually pushed reform in the region around Fonte Avellana, spanning the modern Italian regions of the Marches, Umbria, and Emilia-Romagna.

Throughout his priorate, Peter Damian made significant changes at Fonte Avellana and founded several daughter houses during his lifetime to form a congregation of hermitages and monasteries, the details of which are found within his letters and in the charters of Fonte Avellana and those of its aggregate houses. Understanding the congregation as a network communicating reform ideas and practices addresses the problem of the relationship between local communities and events in Rome and the broader European-wide movement. Damian wrote numerous letters to powerful prelates and lay authorities, as well as to his fellow hermits. This collection of correspondence containing 180 letters shows Damian's political and social relationships directly affected to Fonte Avellana's administration. Damian's letters also demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of civil and canon law, as well as history, literature, and theology. Read in tandem the letters complement the charters, which are primarily focused on property transactions including bills of sale, donations, leases, and land exchanges. In addition, among these documents several papal privileges and legal documents such as judicial proceedings (*placita*) and oaths record the rights and privileges of the hermitage.

Few of the surviving charters of Fonte Avellana's daughter houses have been transcribed or published. This study, however, incorporates the documentary evidence from the congregation of Fonte Avellana to identify patterns in practices of land tenure common among the daughter houses. These sources present the situation in northeastern Italy from the ground up, but this study also takes into account wider connections between people and institutions. Furthermore, the dissertation incorporates charter evidence from other monasteries in the region, both reform-minded and proprietary institutions (though in practice that dichotomy was far from absolute), to present a more complete picture of the monastic landscape around the congregation of Fonte Avellana. The study pays particular attention to the economic practices of these houses, but archaeological evidence also demonstrates that beyond economic practices, Fonte Avellana

⁸⁶ Damian writes that the number of brothers is twenty "more or less" plus an additional fifteen lay brothers (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 170; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 161).

cultivated a unique form of religious life among its daughter houses that was reflected in the surrounding topography.

III. Communications, Networks, and Places

Communications and Social Network Theory

Scholars addressing communication networks describe several catalysts for long-distance contact in the Middle Ages. Most prominent among these are trade, warfare, Christian mission, and pilgrimage. The means of communication include face-to-face encounters, letters read aloud in private or public settings, and articles involved in trade, usually goods and coins. Tracing communication and reconstructing networks of communication require either travel accounts or physical evidence. If a Byzantine coin is found in Northern France, we can infer some degree of communication between the two regions. If a merchant recorded the details of his voyages and those accounts survive, we can determine with whom he interacted and when. Letters in particular are an invaluable source in retracing how powerful magnates communicated with their constituents, often for the purpose of uniting against a common foe, or for building a propaganda campaign against that foe. Communication is linked to power.

Another important aspect of communication studies is its focus on the individual. For example, Michael McCormick argues in his monograph on Mediterranean trade, *On the Origins of the European Economy, Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, that the study of individuals and their travels provides substantial information on long-distance communications.⁸⁷ Whereas McCormick ties these individual voyages to trade routes and the movement of goods, this study focuses on the spread of ideas via Peter Damian. His letters to powerful prelates, to his brothers, and to his lay supporters stand as artifacts of communication. The dissertation studies the movement of these letters to uncover the nature and function of both Fonte Avellana's congregation and Damian's personal friendship network of lay and ecclesiastical authorities.

I accept McCormick's notion that we can uncover cultural history through economic history, specifically by locating connections between individuals to reconstruct a larger network. McCormick's work and I.S. Robinson's theories on friendship circles together offer an approach based on searching for nodes of contact and rates of communication. Robinson identifies a phenomenon comparable to that found in McCormick's data, but within the context of Gregorian reform. In his article "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," Robinson describes a specific technique Gregory employed to ensure the success of his reform program. Gregory established an extensive friendship network across Europe through correspondence, papal legates, and personal interactions whenever possible. The pope cultivated relationships with both clerics and laypersons in order to create centers for papal propaganda in various locations.⁸⁸ Thus, Gregory maintained outposts of reform against local opposition.

Robinson argues that Gregory's friendship letters anticipate similar letter collections of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries because his letters also entreat the recipient for prayers and are unconcerned with business matters.⁸⁹ Overall, Gregory's letters to lay authorities

⁸⁷ Michael McCormick, *On the Origins of the European Economy, Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16-17.

⁸⁸ I.S. Robinson, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," *History* 63 (1978), 1-22.

⁸⁹ Robinson, 1978, 8.

express spiritual concern and are intimate in nature. Additionally, like later twelfth-century correspondence Gregory's friendship network launched a coordinated effort through letter writing to place pressure upon the recipient toward a particular course of action during crises. Robinson claims that Gregory followed Peter Damian's own practices in this respect. As he states, "Gregory VII imitated the example of Peter Damian in this as in many other aspects of his reforming practice. It is no exaggeration to say that his principle instrument for the enforcement of reform was the political pressure which he could exert through his friendship network and which he could direct by means of letters."⁹⁰ Robinson maintains that communication reinforced power.⁹¹

Although Robinson and McCormick highlight how communications buoy authority, the study of networks is by no means limited to an analysis of power. "Mapping a Monastic Network" also locates the patterns present in Damian's communications. Through his letters, we can observe when and where he directed his efforts. His communications changed over time to respond to specific crises. Personal relationships were central to this effort. Using social network theory to identify points of contact out of which social relationships developed, I reconstruct the paths by which reform spread.

Sociologist Ronald Brierley characterizes social network analysis as follows: "Social network analysis may be defined as the disciplined inquiry into the patterning of relations among social actors, as well as the patterning of relationships among actors at different levels of analysis such as persons or groups."⁹² My method was inspired by social network theory in so far as I look for points of contact out of which social relationships could have developed, and via which ideas about reform would have spread. However, as is often the case, sociological methods do not entirely accord to the practice of history. Therefore my approach ultimately results from working around its limitations. Sociologists would characterize Peter Damian's fraternal network as a *partial* social network because the context of the data includes not a set of interconnected individuals, but rather the communications of one individual (Damian) to groups or persons in the set that seemingly did not communicate with one another. While this may be the case in Damian's *personal* network, network theory would also define the boundaries of the *fraternal* network as those in direct contact with Peter Damian. Although Damian's letters to his disciples dominate the historical record, indirect evidence suggests social interactions also took place frequently between the daughter houses of Fonte Avellana. Even if we cannot track these

⁹⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁹¹ Likewise, Karl Leyser examines the relationship between communication and power from the ninth through the eleventh centuries in Western Europe within two volumes of his compiled works. In particular, his essay "The Crisis of Medieval Germany" explores how opponents of Gregory VII in Germany mobilized their supporters against the pope via letters sent from pro-imperial ecclesiastical authorities. According to Leyser's findings, imperial power depended on a network of supporters, the construction of which hinged on the ability to communicate effectively with those supporters. Thus, Gregory's strategy was not limited to papal networks (Karl Leyser, "The Crisis of Medieval Germany," in *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe, the Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter [London: The Hambledon Press, 1994]).

⁹² Ronald L. Brierley, "The Analysis of Social Networks" in *Handbook of Data Analysis*, eds. Melissa Hardy and Alan Bryman (London: SAGE Publications, 2004), 505. On social networks see also Carolyn J. Anderson, Stanley Wasserman, and Bradley Crouch, "A *p** Primer: Logit Models for Social Networks," *Social Networks* 21(1999): 37-66; Stephen P. Borgatti and Martin G. Everett, "The Notion of Position in Social Network Analysis," in Peter V. Marsden, ed., *Sociological Methodology* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 1-35; Linton C. Freeman, "Social Networks and the Structural Experiment," in Linton C. Freeman, Douglas R. White, and A. Kimball Romney, eds., *Research Methods in Social Network Analysis* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1989), 11-40; Noah E. Freidkin and Eugene C. Johnsen, "Social Positions in Influence Networks," *Social Networks*, 19 (1997): 209-222.

specific instances of contact we can often identify who is and is not connected to whom. Letters represented Damian's primary means of disseminating his ideas, but these communications alone did not form the network. Damian's charisma and prominence in papal reform ensured the survival of his epistolary collection, but we should not rule out the possibility that Fonte Avellana's monks and hermits exchanged letters among themselves as well.⁹³

In lieu of statistical data analysis and modeling, I adopt an ethnographic analysis insofar as I can observe actors within a specific context about which historians know a great deal. The main difficulty in this task is delineating the boundaries between agent (monk/hermit) and structure (Western Monasticism).⁹⁴ To resolve the problem of the relationship between agency and structure, I turn to social theories that attempt to renegotiate the binaries inherent in classical interpretations posited by Durkheim, Marx, Weber, and Lévi-Strauss that search for the *linkages* between actor and structure, or ideologies and social behaviors, rather than observing the *dynamic* between the two that more recent scholars argue creates culture. One outcome of such intellectual endeavors is practice theory, on which this study relies. In order to avoid a common pitfall of network analysis, the "static construction of identities," social networking studies should treat network ties as dynamic or "practice-oriented."⁹⁵ Relationships in the network were not static and changed over time to respond to various social restraints and opportunities. Until recently network theorists struggled to conceive of social networks working dynamically, but the advantage of a practice orientation is a deeper knowledge of both networks and culture, because it requires an understanding of where and how structure, agency, and culture intersect.⁹⁶

The fundamental supposition of practice theory is that "neither the material world (the world of action) nor the cultural world (the world of symbols) can exist (or be coherently structured) independently."⁹⁷ It is the interplay between the two worlds in which one informs the other that determines their mutual construction. Pierre Bourdieu has proposed that culture is the result of the dialectic between social structures and structuring dispositions, the latter of which he terms the *habitus*.⁹⁸ In short, because these dispositions are lasting and transposable they determine a course of action in all settings. Their durability then depends on the individual actor,

⁹³ The Benedictine Rule clearly states that monks could send letters with the permission of the abbot (See *RB 1980, The Rule of Saint Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, eds. Timothy Fry et al. [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981], ch. 54).

⁹⁴ Brieger, 508. See also Edward O. Laumann, Peter V. Marsden, and David Prensky, "The Boundary Specification Problem in Network Analysis," in Ronald S. Burt and Michael J. Minor, eds., *Applied Network Analysis: A Methodological Introduction* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1983), 18-34; Peter V. Marsden, "Models and Methods for Characterizing the Structural Parameters of Groups," *Social Networks*, 3 (1981): 1-27; John W. Mohr and Vincent Duquenne, "The Duality of Culture and Practice: Poverty Relief in New York City, 1888-1917" *Theory and Society* 26 (1997): 305.

⁹⁵ Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 16. For a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu, one of the original outliners of practice theory, see Helmut K. Anheier, Jürgen Gerhards, and Frank P. Romo, "Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography," *American Journal of Sociology*, 100 (1995): 859-903. Ann Swidler's seminal article, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 273-86 argued culture should be studied in terms of practices versus shared beliefs or morality. See also McLean's (2007) discussion of Swidler's work (20-21).

⁹⁶ Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 7.

⁹⁷ Mohr and Duquenne, 309.

⁹⁸ McLean, 2007, 18; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 40; See also his classic work, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

who makes decisions based on his or her desire to break or to maintain the status quo. Bourdieu argues that action tends to favor a reproduction of the status quo because of the weight of these social restraints on individual choice.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Bourdieu also points out that the *habitus* is not as rigid a concept to include only the “reproduction” of social action. Rather, our use of the *habitus* in new situations indicates a “regulated improvisation.”¹⁰⁰ But Bourdieu’s definition is not without its flaws. Although he claims that the *habitus* does not simply elicit the reproduction of social orientation, he expects that few transformations will occur in social systems. Later theorists have painted a different picture, one without the neat lines of Bourdieu’s model.¹⁰¹ The production of culture is not as tidy as he portrays it; the dynamics involved are in constant flux, as Paul McLean has shown in his study of letter writing in Florence under the Medici.¹⁰²

Damian built his ties not independently, but through a mutual dialogue between actors working within a structure that he did not invent, but modified to reflect his goals and interests. Thus Damian maintained a dialogue with both the structure in which he operated, and the hermits and monks with whom he communicated. Moreover, Damian’s disciples formed their own relationships and practices in keeping with, or independent from, Damian’s precepts. These multiple dialectical relationships built the fraternal network. This approach rejects the primacy of Damian, which would evoke the pejorative “great men” historiographical tradition. Admittedly, the construction of a network via epistolary communications represents a mode of cultural production that ultimately has at its heart an isolated individual, a “great man,” in this case.¹⁰³ However, I attempt to show in this study not merely the activities of Damian, but the activities of the monks and hermits in the congregation of Fonte Avellana.

Mapping as Methodology

This dissertation moves from the macro level of Damian’s far-reaching friendship network to the micro level of individual sites and their relationship to one another to reveal the physical manifestations of reform in the Italian landscape. It also evaluates the role of the landscape itself in the development of Fonte Avellana’s congregation. Central to this analysis is a sense of place,¹⁰⁴ an understanding of specific locations as not parts of any whole, but, as Tim Ingold puts it, “[E]ach place embodies the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this

⁹⁹ Bourdieu, 1990, 95; McLean, 2007, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Bourdieu, 1990, 57; McLean, 2007, 18.

¹⁰¹ See for example Bonnie Erickson, “Culture, Class, and Connections,” *American Journal of Sociology* 102:1 (1996): 217-51; also Anne Kane, “Culture Analysis in Historical Sociology: The Analytic and Concrete Forms of the Autonomy of Culture,” *Sociological Theory* 9:1 (1991): 53-69.

¹⁰² See Bourdieu, “The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed” *Poetics* 12 [1983]: 311-356. McLean, 2007; cf. his article, “A Frame Analysis of Favor seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 104 (1998): 51-91

¹⁰³ Bourdieu, 1983, 312.

¹⁰⁴ On this concept in general, the classic works are Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), and Alan Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990). See also Pred’s earlier article, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-geography of Becoming Places,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74: 2 (1984), 279-297. Other important works include Tim Creswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000); M. Rodman, “Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality,” *American Anthropologist* 9:(3 (1992): 640-656.

respect is different from every other.”¹⁰⁵ The meaning of the term “landscape” also requires a clear definition, though landscape is not a universal concept.¹⁰⁶ There are always many landscapes because our world depends on who we are.¹⁰⁷ According to Barbara Bender, landscapes are not passive because people generate a sense of identity through “engaging and reengaging, appropriating and contesting, the sedimented pasts that make up the landscape.”¹⁰⁸ Wendy Ashmore agrees, arguing that in understanding the landscape researchers should take into account the “decisions and depositions” involved in making place.¹⁰⁹ In sum, the landscape is not a product but a participant in social action. As such, we cannot conceive of the monastic landscape as a series of individual places (castles, churches, monasteries, hermitages, towns and rural settlements) and features (mountains, rivers, roads), but as a holistic entity comprised of multiple components intertwined with social, political, and economic processes.

“Mapping a Monastic Network” examines the dialectic between the topography, social actors, and a long tradition of monastic models that created a distinct sense of place within the hermitages and monasteries of the congregation. For Damian and his brothers, their sense of place was formed by a particular understanding of “wilderness.” The religious experience in the wilderness depended not only the physical land features, but also on the sights, smells, and sounds of the landscape.¹¹⁰ How one interacted with the landscape was essential to spiritual development. According to ancient models, monks tamed the wildness of their surroundings while hermits lived within their natural environment. But in reality the situation proved even more complex within the congregation of Fonte Avellana, where the physical layout of each site corresponded to the devotional practices of the community.

In order to clarify the stakes of reform within local communities, “Mapping a Monastic Network” considers what factors affected Damian’s decisions to found houses in specific places. For Peter Damian, eremitic and coenobitic life had to exist outside of urban centers, but not necessarily in remote areas. The houses of the congregation all lay near roads and therefore had access to centers of communication in the region, including markets and other small settlements. This study locates each house of the congregation geographically with respect not only to roads and other resources, but also to other known religious centers including monasteries, hermitages, churches, and bishoprics. The result is a more inclusive portrait of the divisions forming in the late eleventh century on the ground between papal and imperial supporters.

¹⁰⁵ Tim Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape” *World Archaeology* 25:2 (1993), 155.

¹⁰⁶ On landscape studies, see also J.D. Porteous, *Landscapes of the Mind: Worlds of Sense and Metaphor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Barbara Bender, Introduction to *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, ed. Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1-18; Denis Cosgrove, “Landscapes and Myths, Gods and Humans,” in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Bender (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 281-305; Steve Mills, “Sensing the Place: Sounds and Landscape Perception,” in *(Un)settling the Neolithic*, ed. Douglass Bailey, Alasdair Whittle, , and Vicki Cummings (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005); Rosemary A. Joyce, Julia A. Hendon, and Jeanne Lopiparo, “Being in Place: Intersections of Identity and Experience on the Honduran Landscape” in *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, ed. Brenda J. Bowser and María Nieves Zedeño (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Julian Thomas, “The Politics of Vision and the Archaeologies of Landscape,” in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Bender (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 20. See also Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space* (Oxford: Berg, 2006 [first edition 1998]), 25.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Wendy Ashmore, “‘Decisions and Dispositions’: Socializing Spatial Archaeology,” *American Anthropologist* 104:4 (2002): 1172-1183.

¹¹⁰ See Ingold, 1993, 155.

By exploring multiple dynamics of the reform movement “Mapping a Monastic Network” bridges the chasm between early scholarship, which characterized reform as a uniform, pan-European movement, and more recent studies that stress the regional variation in eleventh-century reform movements. The congregation of Fonte Avellana provides an excellent vehicle to reconcile this historiographical problem. Although Fonte Avellana operated in one corner of Italy, this reforming monastery initiated a local movement that was simultaneously connected to wider papal reform. It connects the local and the universal by studying how reform ideas traveled through both personal and institutional networks. Fonte Avellana, a local movement, laid the groundwork for the wider papal reform agenda. While each religious house represented a node in the network tied to Damian and to Rome, and therefore pushed forward reforming agendas by means of their presence and practices, the congregation’s monastic ideals grew out of relations between houses as well and therefore did not come solely from the top down.

Spiritual Networking: The Congregation of Fonte Avellana

As Peter Damian considered the state of monastic life he grieved over its decline: “Notice the leaf on the tree, trembling in the winter cold, and having consumed all the green it once had during the fine days of autumn, is now about to fall. It is scarcely attached to the branch on which it hangs and shows all the signs of a gentle downfall.” With his usual dramatic flair, he continued, “The winds howl, gusting this way and that, and the winter cold grows deeper under the pressure of the dense air. And to add to our wonder, the ground is strewn with all the other fallen leaves, and the tree, having lost its foliage, stands shorn of its beauty.”¹¹¹ But Damian seized upon one hope. That one leaf remains fixed on the tree, although abandoned, “like a last heir succeeds to the fraternal inheritance.”¹¹² He asked of his brethren, “What are we to understand from this meditation, but that not even a leaf on a tree dares to fall to the ground but that God wills it so? So why should we marvel that while most of the monastic order is decaying, Almighty God, who fixes the leaves of his choice to the tree while others are falling, should strengthen some of his servants to bear the burden of various afflictions?”¹¹³ And indeed Damian records he received the mantle, “[My creator] wished me to have this office of unworthy service in a community small in number but one that counts good men.”¹¹⁴

Here, in the preface to his rule for hermits, Damian described his hermitage as divinely favored. Surrounded by decay, he expected Fonte Avellana, and later its daughter houses, to radiate monastic success. To achieve this end he made decisions consistent with contemporary attitudes about reformed institutions. While he granted each community its own prelate, which effectively rendered daughter houses administratively independent over internal affairs, he retained the right to intervene and in some cases to impose an abbot.¹¹⁵ To ensure no lay interference in managing their patrimonies, Damian secured papal protection for his foundations. He required formal obligations in the form of annual duties to the motherhouse, but he also rooted these burdens in a profound sense of community. His overall approach coupled the juridical commitments of the communities with the dedication of the brothers, the latter of which

¹¹¹ “Videamus in arbore folium sub ipsis pruinis hyemaliabus lapsabundum et consumpto autumpnalis clementiae virore iamiam pene casurum, ita ut vix ramusculo, cui dpendet, inhaereat, se apertissima levis ruinae signa praetendat. Inhorrescunt flabra, venti furentes hinc inde concutiunt, brumalis horror crassi aeris rigore densatur, atque, ut magis stupeas, defluentibus reliquis undique foliis terra sternitur et depositis comis suo arbor decore nudatur...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 169). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 160).

¹¹² “... cum illud solum nullo manente permaneat et velut cohaeredum superstes in fraternae possessionis iura succedat” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 169). English translation in Blum, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 160).

¹¹³ “Quid autem nobis intellegendum in huius rei consideratione relinquitur, nisi quia nec arboris folium preter divinum cadere preasumat imperium? Quid ergo mirum, si defluente iam ex maxima parte monachico ordine quosdam servos suos omnipotens Deus in perferendo diversarum temptatum labore corroborat, qui et quae vult in arboribus folia caeteris decidentibus ligat?” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 169-170). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 160).

¹¹⁴ “Quapropter immensas creatori meo gratias refero, qui me indignum locum ministrerii habere voluit in conventu non multorum sed bonorum...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 170). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 161).

¹¹⁵ Mansueto Della Santa, *Richerche sull'idea monastica di S. Pier Damiani* (Arezzo: Edizioni Camaldoli, 1961), 133.

he developed via epistolary communications. Because the individual houses governed themselves, personal relationships were fundamental in uniting the congregation.¹¹⁶

A united congregation could more easily facilitate strict adherence to Damian's ideals. Furthermore, the notion of the relationship between community and the individual fits within his ecclesiology. Between 1048 and 1053¹¹⁷ Damian sent one of his most well known works, *Dominus vobiscum* to a monk named Leo.¹¹⁸ In the text Damian describes each member of the faithful as the Whole Church, meaning that the entire Church lies within the soul of the individual. Or, as he more eloquently states, "Holy Church is both one in all and complete in each of them; that is to say, simple in many by reason of the unity of faith, and multiple in each through the bond of love and the various charismatic gifts, since all are from one, and all are one."¹¹⁹ The management of Fonte Avellana's congregation likewise considered the individual monk as fundamental to the whole and each monastery as a pillar supporting the overall structure. In turn each pillar had to be strong on its own.

This chapter seeks to understand Damian's vision of fraternal charity and how it underwrote the relationships between houses, but it also attempts to go beyond the overwhelming presence of Damian in the source record to uncover the contributions and activities of his disciples. Consequently I argue that the joint contributions of its founder and of the monks and hermits in the congregation created a monastic network, dependent on mutual communications. The argument also situates the behavior of the network within its larger context, Benedictine monasticism, to show that the activities of the community remained consistent with the Benedictine Rule. All monasteries and hermitages in the congregation observed the Rule, though hermitages made accommodations for a more rigorous lifestyle. I also propose that Peter Damian's connection to the papal curia spurred the rapid development of the congregation. At stake here is the question of the origins of monastic reform. While the model of Cluny seems to have influenced some aspects of Damian's foundations, the impetus came not from Rome or Cluny, but from Damian and his brothers. The congregation of Fonte Avellana offers a case study of how ideas about monastic reform were transmitted and interpreted on the ground and supports the argument for polygenesis in reform initiatives.

In his *Vita* of Saint Peter Damian John of Lodi included among Peter Damian's foundations the hermitages of the Most Holy Trinity at Suavicinum near Fonte Avellana, Saint Barnabas at Gamogna, near Marradi, and the Most Holy Savior at Monte Preggio near Perugia.¹²⁰ To this list we must add the monastery of Saint Bartholomew at Camporeggiano near Gubbio and the hermitage of Saint Albericus at Ocri near Sarsina, which contemporary charters confirm as daughter houses. John of Lodi listed only two other monastic foundations, Saint John

¹¹⁶ On Fonte Avellana as a network, see Nicolangelo D'Acunto, *La rete monastico-eremitica di Pier Damiani e quella di Fonte Avellana* in *Dinamiche istituzionali delle reti monastiche e canonicali nell'Italia dei secoli X-XII*. Atti del XXVIII Convegno di Centro Studi Avellaniti (Fonte Avellana, 2006), ed. N. D'Acunto, Negarine di S. Pietro in Cariano (VR), 2007, 133-156.

¹¹⁷ F. Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (Göttingen, 1875), 95.

¹¹⁸ As Blume notes, the identity of Leo in the letter is unclear as Damian communicated with three different monks by that name. Most likely this man was Leo of Sitria (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 28, 255-256, n. 2).

¹¹⁹ Damian, Letter 28: "Sancta ecclesia et in omnibus sit una et in singulis tota, numirum in pluribus per fidei unitatem simplex et in singulis per karitatis glutinum diversaque dona karismatum multiplex, quia enum ex uno omnes, omnes unum" (Reidel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 28, 256). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1, Letter 28, 264-265.

¹²⁰ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7. This hermitage was founded originally by Saint Romuald on land held in possession by the Marquis Rainerius (Peter Damian, *Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. Giovanni Tabacco [Roma: nella sede dell'instituto Palazzo Borromini, 1957], ch. 39).

the Baptist of Acereta near Marradi, and Saint Gregory at Conca near Rimini.¹²¹ However, Peter Damian never pulled Saint Gregory at Conca into the fold of Fonte Avellana.¹²² The management of its patrimony contradicted the fundamental aspects of Damian's economic practices at Fonte Avellana. The community also paid no annual tribute to Fonte Avellana, and, perhaps more significantly, received no communications from Damian. This chapter will discuss Saint Gregory's in so far as it presents a negative model of Damian's ideal relationship to a daughter house.

I. Development of the Congregation

To define Fonte Avellana as a "congregation" borders on anachronism because the word implies a highly centralized unit, which was not the case in the eleventh century. The modern conception of a congregation was unknown to Peter Damian and his contemporaries and the term therefore meant something different in this particular context.¹²³ At its most base a *congregatio* refers to a gathering together of individual entities. At Fonte Avellana, it denoted ties between houses, juridical and spiritual.¹²⁴ Damian reiterated often that houses were bound to one another by a *vinculum charitatis*. Even if juridical ties were weak and obligations were not imposed upon every house, Damian understood his foundations as a collective unit.¹²⁵

Fonte Avellana became the head of a monastic congregation ten years into Damian's priorate. It developed rapidly over a few years outwardly from the hermitage of Fonte Avellana. We have only approximate dates of foundation, which are all within a few years of one another. Damian founded the hermitage at Suavicinum probably around 1050, though according to the *Annales Camaldulenses* Damian erected Suavicinum closer to 1048.¹²⁶ A letter survives to its prior, John, which Damian composed in 1057¹²⁷ and since Dominic Loricato preceded John in that office, we can only know for certain that Damian established the community sometime

¹²¹ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7. Although the editors of Fonte Avellana's charters, C. Pierucci and A. Polverari include a charter from the hermitage of Saint Nicolò di Monte Corno dated 1055, there is no evidence this hermitage was affiliated with Fonte Avellana during Damian's lifetime (*Carte*, doc. 9, 19-22).

¹²² This assertion that Saint Gregory's was not a part of the congregation of Fonte Avellana has been proposed by G. Cacciamani ("Le fondazioni eremitiche e cenobitiche di S. Pier Damiano. Inizi della congregazione di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana" *Ravennatensia* V, Atti dei convegni di Ravenna e Rovigo [1972-1973; Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 1976], 16) and more recently by Nicolangelo D'Acunto's in "Pier Damiani e gli esordi del monastero di S. Gregory" in *Pier Damiani e il monastero di Saint Gregory in Conca nella Romagna del secolo XI*, Atti del convegno di studio in occasione del primo millenario della nascita di Pier Damiani, Morciano di Romagna 27-29 April 2007, ed. N. D'Acunto (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2008), 119-146. This dissertation adds another dimension to this assertion by incorporating an analysis of the economic policies of Saint Gregory, especially with respect to those of Fonte Avellana, in chapter 5.

¹²³ One charter in the collection records Damian using the term *congregatio* to describe the collective of monasteries: "Ego in Dei nomine donnus Petrus Dei gratia prior Fontis Avellanae una cum voluntate monachorum meorum et cuncta congregatione iure enphiteosis do et trado..." (*Carte*, doc. 22, 56). However, the document from which this passage is cited has been deemed possibly spurious by the editors of the charters for several compelling reasons. For example, the paleographic features are inconsistent with eleventh-century documents, and the use of the title "prior claustrale" in the charter is not recorded in any other document before the thirteenth century (see bibliographic note to doc. 22, *Carte*, 55).

¹²⁴ Della Santa, 97.

¹²⁵ If he considered *congregatio* to mean community, then he would have also counted *conversi* and other religious in both daughter houses and the various chapels and churches included in the patrimony of Fonte Avellana (Della Santa, 98).

¹²⁶ J.H. Mittarelli and Anselmo Contadoni, eds., *Annales Camaldulenses*, vol. 2 (Venice: J.B. Pasquali, 1756), 213.

¹²⁷ Reidel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 153; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 153.

before that date. Ocri became part of the congregation when Pope Leo IX issued a bull committing the hermitage to Damian and his successors.¹²⁸ Although the authors of the Camaldolese Annals date the foundation prior to 1049,¹²⁹ Leo IX's bull can only be dated to his pontificate, between 1049 and 1054. A few years later Damian established a hermitage at Monte Poggio near a site where Saint Romuald had once lived in a cell.¹³⁰ The first mention of the hermitage of Monte Poggio dates between 1055 and 1057. Damian described the feats of a hermit there named Leo in a letter to the hermit Teuzo formerly of the monastery of Saint Mary in Florence,¹³¹ but that does not exclude the possibility the foundation could have been much older.¹³² Indeed John of Lodi places the foundation of Monte Poggio chronologically between that of Suavicinum (c. 1049) and of Gamogna and Acereta (c. 1053), and 1053 is the date given in the *Annales Camaldulenses*.¹³³ The editors of the charters of Fonte Avellana date the first document pertaining to the monastery at Acereta between 1053 and 1057. The prominent historian of the congregation, Mansueto Della Santa, stated in 1961 that the monastery had to have been founded after Gamogna, around 1056 or 1057.¹³⁴ The foundation date of Gamogna is generally accepted to be earlier, between 1053 and 1055.¹³⁵ However, Damian described the original donation of land by the Guidi count Tehtgrimus as intended for the monastery and not the hermitage, which presents a strong case that Damian constructed Acereta first.¹³⁶ In addition, Acereta controlled the patrimony of two houses in 1060, though that fact does not present solid proof it existed before Gamogna.¹³⁷ The Romualdian tradition would have the monastery founded second. Therefore, the date remains roughly fixed between 1053 and 1057. As we possess the original endowment charters of the monasteries of San Bartholomew and Saint Gregory the confirmed dates for each foundation are 1057 and 1060, respectively.

Chronological Development of the Congregation

Hermitage	Foundation Date
The Most Holy Trinity at Suavicinum	c. 1048
Saint Albericus at Ocri	c. 1049-1054
The Most Holy Savior at Monte Poggio	c. 1053
Saint Barnabas at Gamogna	c. 1053-1055

¹²⁸ “Quapropter heremum, que dicitur Ocri, in Saxena videlicet territorio constitutam, tibi Petre Damiane prior eiusdem heremi tuisque successoribus adiudicamus, et ipsam heremum in suo statu persistere et in perpetuum valere decernimus” (Carte, doc. 8, 17).

¹²⁹ *Annal. Camald.*, vol. 2, 10.

¹³⁰ *Vita S. Pier Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7, 228.

¹³¹ Reidel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [(1983), Letter 44; English translation from Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 44.

¹³² *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7, 228.

¹³³ *Annal. Camald.*, vol. 2, 134.

¹³⁴ Della Santa, 110.

¹³⁵ *Annal. Camald.*, vol. 2, 233.

¹³⁶ Reidel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 63, 223; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 63, 17-18; Ruggero Benericetti, *L'eremo e la cattedra, Vita di S. Pier Damiani* (Milan: Ancora, 2007), 52 n. 58; see Jean Leclercq, *San Pier Damiano Eremita e Uomo di Chiesa* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1972, 105, n. 61; originally published in French as, *S. Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église* [Rome, 1960]), and Giovanni Lucchesi, “Per una vita di San Pier Damiani. Componenti cronologiche e topografiche” in *San Pier Damiani nel IX centenario della morte (1072-1972)* I (Atti dei Convegni di Studi Avellaniti, 1972), 139. Hereafter I refer to this text as *Vita*. Both Leclercq and Lucchesi agree that Acereta was constructed first.

¹³⁷ G. Cacciamini, 10.

Monastery	Foundation Date
Saint Bartholomew at Camporeggiano	1057
Saint John the Baptist at Acereta	1053-1057 ¹³⁸
(Saint Gregory at Conca)	(1060)

Conditions of Foundation

In the spirit of Saint Romuald Damian did pair some hermitages and monasteries together in a relationship of mutual support, but this partnership existed only between Fonte Avellana and Camporeggiano, and Gamogna and Acereta. Otherwise, Damian left hermitages to survive on their own. The first daughter houses of the congregation were stand-alone hermitages, Ocri, Suavicinum, and Monte Poggio.¹³⁹ All the information we possess on the hermitage of Ocri comes from the papal bull of Leo IX, which does not reveal the names of the hermitage's benefactors, only that they founded the community for the care of their souls.¹⁴⁰ Likewise we know little of Suavicinum's patrons, but the community presumably relied on a lay donor for the initial land grant. At Monte Poggio, the Marquis Rainerius had already given lands to Romuald in the area around *Castrum Praedium* when Damian reclaimed the site for his own foundation.¹⁴¹ Similarly, Damian built Gamogna and Acereta on lands given to him by Count Tehtgrimus, who likely invited him to found a religious house there. A wealthy mother, Rozia, and her three sons charged Damian directly to build the monastery of Saint Bartholomew with the substantial donation they handed over to his administration. From its foundation it was tied to Fonte Avellana as a supportive entity, as described in the charter.¹⁴² However, since Fonte Avellana had existed for decades before it began a relationship with a dependent monastery, and as it is unclear whether or not Damian designed Gamogna and Acereta deliberately as a dual foundation (because the construction date of the latter remains in question), there is no definitive proof Damian founded any monastery or hermitage with the plan to twin the two. Nevertheless, Damian seized the opportunity to do so when it presented itself.

¹³⁸ This is not Della Santa's date; he dates Acereta's foundation between 1056 and 1057, which would imply two phases of construction in the congregation, the first focused on hermitages and the second on monasteries (Della Santa, 107-110).

¹³⁹ Although Ruggero maintains in his recent biography of Peter Damian that Monte Acuto was a part of the congregation, an assertion this chapter refutes, the identification of Monte Poggio with Monte Acuto or Monte Corona is impossible. As G. Cacciamini stated in his 1976 article, the *Vita Romualdi* places the hermitage near the castle of Poggio (*castrum Praedium*) and Monte Corona is 15 kilometers from Poggio (Ruggero, 9).

¹⁴⁰ It is worth quoting the entire passage containing this reference: "Nec ulli hominum liceat in ipsam heremum per hostilem impetum violenter irrumpere et servos Dei, qui illic habitaverint, vel expellere vel depredationibus infestare, salvo tamen iure fidelium laicorum qui eiusdem heremi patroni sunt et eam pro animarum suarum remedio condiderunt" (*Carte*, doc. 8, 18).

¹⁴¹ "Que omnia dum ille surda aure contempnit, Romualdus locum cum suis discipulis deserens, non longe a Castro Predii in virtute Rainerii, qui postmodum Tuscie marchio factus est, abitavit" (Peter Damian, *Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. Giovanni Tabacco [Roma: nella sede dell'istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1957], ch. 38, 81-82). The editor of the *Vita*, Giovanni Tabacco notes that Rainerio was the son of a Guido count in the Arezzo area (82, n. 2). Emperor Henry II made him duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino before 1012 and then duke and marchese of Tuscany later, but not after October of 1016.

¹⁴² San Gregorio was likewise founded by a powerful family, the Benno, but there is no evidence of an additional foundation.

A Time-lapse View

If we accept the earliest date for the foundation of Ocri, then the congregation (Saint Gregory's excluded) developed from 1048 until 1057. Eleven years is a rather long period to assume Damian anticipated his call to the papal curia and hastened to put plans for a congregation into play before his departure. However, the construction of the *hermitages* took place in relatively quick succession before Damian left for Rome in 1057; he founded four hermitages in five to seven years. If Damian felt the imperative for reform pressing on him, it would make sense to quicken the process of building a congregation. As early as the first year of his priorship Damian campaigned for reform in the Marches. He continued to lament the deplorable state of the region and the urgency of its problems for years to come.¹⁴³ He had already constructed a network of friends in the region, and transforming his own community into a fraternal network would have been a logical next step.

Another reason seems more likely for the rapid construction of the congregation. The rise of Fonte Avellana's congregation occurred alongside a crucial turning point in papal reform. Damian became prior of the hermitage of Fonte Avellana in 1043, but it was not until 1048 at the earliest that the community assumed responsibility for a daughter house. What spurred him to construct a congregation? The first document associated with the congregation, the privilege of Leo IX issued sometime between 1049 and 1054, named Peter Damian as prior of the hermitage of Ocri.¹⁴⁴ According to tradition, Damian founded Suavicinum even earlier. But it was Leo who legally placed Ocri in Damian's hands, and the years in which Damian formed the congregation of Fonte Avellana coincided with a period of intense papal reform. Leo became pope in 1049 and launched a reform program basic on canonical legislation, which his successors expanded. There is no direct evidence Leo urged Damian to construct a congregation, but the two maintained a close relationship. Damian collaborated more with this pope than with any of his predecessors. He was present at Leo's consecration in Rome and attended the Easter synods during his pontificate that convened in Rome or occasionally outside the city. Damian played an active role in these synods and helped spread their decrees in his works and letters.¹⁴⁵ It seems hardly a coincidence that Fonte Avellana's congregation emerged at the same moment Damian rose to preeminence in the papal curia.

Damian used his connections to the papacy to obtain immunities for Fonte Avellana's daughter houses, placing them under the protection of Rome. Arguably Damian waited to found additional religious institutions until he could secure papal support. In this way Damian was likely inspired by the Cluniac tradition, in which papal immunities and privileges played an important role. Beyond those juridical practices, Cluny offered an example of a congregation that Damian possibly had in mind when he began constructing his own. As discussed below, the election of the prior at Fonte Avellana mirrored the practice at Cluny. Furthermore, as was the case in the congregation of Fonte Avellana, Cluniac daughter houses did not have uniform obligations to the motherhouse; many maintained relatively weak ties while others paid substantial annuities and received imposed prelates.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 4 and 13; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letters 4 and 13.

¹⁴⁴ "Quapropter heremum, que dicitur Octi, in Saxena videlicet territorio constitutam, tibi Petre Damiane prior eiusdem heremi tuis successoribus adiudicamus, et ipsam heremum in suo statu persistere et in perpetuum valere decernimus" (*Carte*, doc. 8, 17). The use of the word *adiudicamus* underlines the legality of the decision.

¹⁴⁵ Benericetti, 67-68.

¹⁴⁶ Della Santa, 97, n. 139.

Significantly, the rise of Fonte Avellana's congregation also occurred alongside a decline in communications between Peter Damian and the monasteries of Santa Maria of Pomposa and Saint Vincent in Furlo. In 1040 Damian acted as a *magister* to the community of Pomposa. Two years later Damian left Pomposa for the monastery of Saint Vincent and even wrote a letter on their behalf to the Marquis of Tuscany, Boniface, during his stay.¹⁴⁷ After he left the monastery and became prior of his own community, his focus shifted. Throughout the 1040s Damian maintained a relationship with Pomposa. He sent various letters to the community, individual monks, and the abbot.¹⁴⁸ One letter in particular, written in 1044, expresses a unique overture. At that time, Fonte Avellana was still a modest hermitage with no daughter houses of its own and Pomposa was a much older foundation with affiliated houses. In the letter, Damian named himself and his community as subjects and servants to Pomposa as its legal possession.¹⁴⁹ But after 1054¹⁵⁰ Damian stopped writing to Pomposa. He did not compose another letter until sometime after 1067 when he wrote to Abbot Mainard of the monastery, and that was the final letter he wrote to the community.¹⁵¹ Damian found a better protector for his hermitage in the reformed papacy, and he also turned his attentions to his own congregation in the 1050s. Then in the 1060s, once he had established Fonte Avellana's houses and the conditions of affiliation, Damian initiated contact with the monastery of Montecassino and he pursued that relationship throughout the decade.

II. The Structure of the Congregation

Terms of Affiliation

Damian required juridical commitments from Fonte Avellana's daughter houses that he intended to survive him. These legal obligations in tandem with his frequent communications created a dynamic between the personal and the institutional in which one reinforced the other. Fonte Avellana's approach to affiliation subjugated the congregation's members formally and legally through financial obligations and papal mandates, but to balance the formality of these ties, the charters' many provisos also stress community in keeping with Damian's vision of Fonte Avellana's congregation. Leo IX mandated that Damian and his successors maintain the hermitage of Ocri in its present state.¹⁵² Although the charter specifies that Ocri shall not be subject to any monastery, thus securing its independence, and also guarantees sole possession of its various properties, Damian's appointment as prior granted him the final word on any matter. Documents from Camporeggiano, Acereta, and Gamogna¹⁵³ show the same juridical approach to monastic affiliation. Damian saw that all daughter houses operated under an independence akin to that enjoyed at Ocri. The conditions of affiliation ensured administratively strong foundations; however, Damian reserved the right to adjust that administration as he saw fit.

When three wealthy brothers and their mother, Rozia, made a substantial donation to Peter Damian in March of 1057, the family specified that a Benedictine monastery be founded

¹⁴⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 2; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 2. The dating of Letter 2 in the corpus is highly disputed (see Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2, 203).

¹⁴⁸ Chapter 3 addresses the relationship with Pomposa in greater detail.

¹⁴⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 6; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 6.

¹⁵⁰ The later letters to Pomposa can only be dated between 1047 and 1054.

¹⁵¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 153; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 153.

¹⁵² *Carte*, doc. 8, 17.

¹⁵³ Documents from Monte Poggio and Suavicinum do not survive.

with the endowment.¹⁵⁴ Two of the brothers, Rodolf and Peter would eventually commit not only their property but also themselves to the ascetic vocation at Fonte Avellana.¹⁵⁵ The charter made several additional stipulations of the foundation. It acknowledged Damian as the sole founder, described conditions for abbatial election, and legally obligated the community at Saint Bartholomew to pay a tribute twice a year to Fonte Avellana.¹⁵⁶ In theory, tribute paid by a daughter house guaranteed protection from the motherhouse. Only monasteries were committed to this requirement, which indicates two different customs of affiliation among hermitages and monasteries; the latter was legally required to perform a regular, formal act of submission to the motherhouse. The charter from Saint Bartholomew's also demanded that the brothers provide thirty fish of good quality on Septuagesima (before Easter) and again on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in September.¹⁵⁷ This biannual obligation was so vital to affiliation that in January of 1063 when Alexander II confirmed Saint Bartholomew's immunity and rights and placed the monastery and its properties under the Rome's jurisdiction the pope also specifically affirmed that the brothers owed thirty fish twice a year.¹⁵⁸ The abbot of the monastery, John, further validated the arrangement in another charter issued also in January of 1063 between Camporeggiano and Fonte Avellana.¹⁵⁹

The monastery of Acereta paid a tribute as well, though not in kind. A charter dated between 1053 and 1057 records that the abbot of Acereta agreed to give Fonte Avellana five *libras* of *denarii* once a year. The arrangement applied to his tenure and to that of his successors.¹⁶⁰ This particular charter survives in a poor state of preservation, and many details of the agreement are lost. Consequently, we do not know how the nearby hermitage of Gamogna participated in paying this pension. Until 1060, however, Gamogna and Acereta maintained a common patrimony and therefore the brothers would have taken the cash payment from shared funds. After 1060 the burden likely remained with the monastery as no hermitages in the congregation ever paid a tribute.

The language used to describe the affiliation between Fonte Avellana and its daughter houses oscillates between legal and fraternal. As stated above, when Leo IX placed Ocri in the hands of Peter Damian he granted (*adiudicare*) that the hermitage would not be subject to any other monastery, thereby securing its affiliation to Fonte Avellana alone.¹⁶¹ The charter also ensures that even if the hermitage chose of its own volition to become a monastery, it would not

¹⁵⁴ *Carte*, doc. 11, 26-28.

¹⁵⁵ Rudolf later became bishop of the nearby see of Gubbio in 1059. He died not long after in 1061. We know virtually nothing of his brother, Peter.

¹⁵⁶ In turn, Fonte Avellana only retained jurisdiction over Saint Bartholomew as long as it remained under the "eremitical order" ("quandium ipsa erimus sub eremitico ordine permanet" [*Carte*, doc. 11, 28]).

¹⁵⁷ "...annualiter duas iam dicti eremi persolvat piscationes, videlicet triginta pissces [sic] optimos et medianos, minimos vero non inter lucios et tincas, in septuagesima, similiter in exaltatio Saintcte Crucis" (*Carte*, 11, 28).

¹⁵⁸ *Carte*, doc. 17, 45. John's successor, Mainard, sought confirmation of papal protection from Alexander II again between 1065 and 1067, but the grant of protection depended on Saint Bartholomew's ties to Fonte Avellana. The Holy See guaranteed the monastery would remain under papal protection on the condition it remained subjected to Fonte Avellana as its motherhouse ("a karitate heremi Fontis Avellani aliquatenus non recedat" [*Carte*, doc. 25, 64]).

¹⁵⁹ *Carte*, doc. 19, 49.

¹⁶⁰ *Carte*, doc. 13, 31-32.

¹⁶¹ "Nec liceat ulli mortalium, non parve, non magne persone ipsam quandoque heremum ad seculi iura redigere, vel alicui prorsus monasterio subiugare" (*Carte*, doc. 8, 17).

come under the right (*ius*) of another monastery.¹⁶² The 1057 charter guaranteeing Saint Bartholomew's incorporation into the congregation employs similar terms. In this first recorded evidence of Saint Bartholomew's affiliation to Fonte Avellana, Rozia and her sons held by right (*ius*) the lands they granted to found the monastery, properties and pertinences that they turned over to the control (*ius*) of the monastery. However, the document further stipulates that Peter Damian would be responsible for the foundation of the community, including the installation of its first abbot from one of Fonte Avellana's numbers or from elsewhere, but always of his choosing. The donation specifies that the monks would observe the Rule of Saint Benedict, but also required the monastery remain under the direction (*regimen*) and authority (*iussio*) of Damian.¹⁶³

The charter, however, limits this authority on several points. It prevents Damian and his successors from alienating any property held by Saint Bartholomew, from submitting the community to any outside authority, and from changing in any way the rule observed by the community. Damian specifically was denied license (*licentia*) to take such actions.¹⁶⁴ If Damian failed to respect these conditions control of the monastery would fall to Rome, otherwise Saint Bartholomew would remain perpetually under the rule, right, and protection of the hermits at Fonte Avellana, provided the hermits themselves adhered to their own ascetic way of life.¹⁶⁵ The agreement made demands not only of Fonte Avellana, but of Saint Bartholomew as well. If the brothers of the monastery failed to meet their own obligation, unless the prior of the hermitage would pardon the lapse, they would owe a cash penalty of ten gold *libras* to Fonte Avellana.¹⁶⁶ In all, the tributes owed by Acereta and Camporeggiano represented a relatively insignificant sum. Although perhaps symbolically important, the executors of the charters never intended these obligations alone to bind the houses together. Rather, the exercise of *caritas* that Damian tirelessly advocated, which his brothers then put into practice, supplemented these financial commitments.

The Congregation as Community: Fraternal Caritas

Within these highly jurisprudential documents specific spiritual relationships and obligations were also articulated.¹⁶⁷ Among the conditions of Saint Bartholomew's 1057 charter,

¹⁶² "Eninvero predictum locum per semetipsum quidem fieri monasterium, si congruum visum fuerit, non abnuimus, iure vero alterius monasterii subici, omnimodis prohibemus" (Ibid.).

¹⁶³ "Omnia supradicta nostra deveniant ad ius et proprietatis eiusdem monasterii tali videlicet modo ut tu donnus Petrus tuique successors debeant ibi ordine abbatem sive de tuis monachis sive de aloos quibuscu(m)que tibi placuerit, qui regulam Sancti Benedicti debeant observare et sub vestra iussione et regimine vivere secundum precepta Dei et eiusdem regule Sancti Benedicti" (Ibid.).

¹⁶⁴ "Et non habeatis licentia tu supradictu Petrus vel successors tui iam dictum monasterium vindere vel donare vel cambiare vel in aliena iura transferre nec canonica facere nec a seculare ordinem revocare, sed sempre in ordine regule Sancti Benedicti faciatis imperpetuum permanere" (Ibid.).

¹⁶⁵ "Quod si ea que superius interdiximus facere presu(m)pseritis et ea non observaveritis quod supra dictum, ipsum monasterium cum omnibus suis pertinentiis cadat ad iure Sancti Petri apostolic, apostolice videlicet Sede. Si vero haec observaveritis, illud monasterium semper sit sub regimine et iure et protectione heremi Fontis Avelani quandium ipsa erimus sub eremitico ordine permanet" (Ibid., 27-28).

¹⁶⁶ "Quod si abbas aut conventus eiusdem persolvere noluerit, nisi prior erimi [sic] perdonaverit... [monasterium] componat dece libras auri supradicto eremi" (Ibid.).

¹⁶⁷ See Guido Cariboni, "Fraterna karitas utrumque in Christi amore connectat. Ideali fondativi e dinamiche istituzionali presso i monasteri Romagnoli legati a Pier Damiani" in *Pier Damiani e il monastero di San Gregorio in Conca nella Romagna del secolo XI*, Atti del Convegno di studio in occasione del primo millenario della nascita

one clause obligates the community at Saint Bartholomew to support and house hermits, and to hand over goods for the use of the hermits *cum caritate*.¹⁶⁸ The free movement of monks between communities underlines the idea of a united congregation. The sharing of moveable goods particularly evokes this sentiment. The document explicitly grounds this clause in *caritas*, a ubiquitous term in the charters of Fonte Avellana and its daughter houses. In this context *caritas* signifies a sincere and generous sentiment, which should accompany acts of fraternal kindness.

The legible text in the fragmentary charter describing the commitment of Acereta (1053-1057) makes no reference to *caritas* and mentions only that the abbot of the monastery and his successors were obligated to pay an annual tribute to Fonte Avellana.¹⁶⁹ However, the later charters of Saint Bartholomew, which are intact, expound further on the role of *caritas* in the relationship between daughter house and its mother hermitage. The 1063 privilege of Alexander II also discusses the housing of Fonte Avellana's hermits at Saint Bartholomew. The document states that a hermit could live at the monastery due to some illness or frailty and that he should be received *cum caritate*.¹⁷⁰ The harsh existence at the hermitage may have been too great a burden for a hermit with significant health problems, and the less physically demanding lifestyle of the monastery and its more comfortable housing situation offered a curative setting superior to the that of the hermitage.

The 1063 charter between Saint Bartholomew's abbot, John, and Peter Damian, representative of Fonte Avellana, reconfirms the provisions in the earlier foundation charter (1057); namely, the biannual offering and the housing and care (*restaurandum*) of hermits at the monastery. Once again, the document associates the latter condition with *caritas*, "At any time we will accept with charity your monks who may remain [at our monastery] to live or to recuperate."¹⁷¹ When Alexander II issued a second privilege between 1065 and 1067 to acknowledge that Saint Bartholomew remained under the protection of the Holy See, he stated that in accordance with previous legislation the monastery should not recede from the *caritas* of Fonte Avellana.¹⁷² Within this final privilege in particular, the term *caritas* holds a more complex significance than merely charity and generosity; beyond its usual range of meaning *caritas* stood for the bond between motherhouse and daughter house.

Peter Damian as Head of the Congregation

Near the end of his life, Peter Damian concluded that one component of the imposed fraternal bond had failed to meet expectations; he lost faith his monks could sustain the amicable division of goods. The first indication the practice would not succeed occurred in 1060, when Damian adjudicated a dispute between the monastery of Saint John of Acereta and the hermitage of Saint Barnabas of Gamogna. Like Camporeggiano the monastery of Acereta was traditionally

di Pier Damiani (1007-2007). Morciano di Romagna, 27-29 April 2007, ed. Nicolangelo D'Acunto (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2008), 105-118.

¹⁶⁸ "Quod si aliquo t(em)pore vestros monachos ibi ponere ad abitandum vel aliquid vestris usibus tollere cum caritate" (Ibid., 27).

¹⁶⁹ *Carte*, doc. 13, 31.

¹⁷⁰ "...per aliquem debilitatem aut egritudinem monasticam in mon(asteri)o habitare, cum caritate suscipiatur..." (*Carte*, doc. 17, 45).

¹⁷¹ "Quod si aliquo t(em)pore vestros monachos ibidem ponder ad habitandum vel ad restaurandum, cum caritate accepimus" (*Carte*, doc.18, 47).

¹⁷² "...a kartitate heremi Fontis Avellani aliquatenus non recedat" (*Carte*, doc. 25, 64).

Benedictine. The brothers of Gamogna, while abiding by the principles of the Rule, nevertheless practiced a more rigorous eremitic lifestyle. Despite this disparity Damian had expected Gamogna and Acereta to exist as interdependent communities when he founded them between 1053 and 1057.¹⁷³ His plan depended on the proximity of both houses and their adherence to a common Rule.¹⁷⁴ However, Damian's idealized vision of monastic cooperation failed to accommodate his fledgling houses' divergent economic interests.

The charter recording the mediation begins, "It is not so wondrous if among men, even holy men, who have nevertheless been surrounded by human fragility, ill will should find a place."¹⁷⁵ Damian continues to cite the Fall of the Angels as historical precedent for the litigation.¹⁷⁶ With these words Damian excused the behavior of his brethren as natural and expected. He then loquaciously detailed the irreparable rift that economically separated his two founding houses permanently. The document states the two houses found themselves often in conflict, owing to the fact they observed different ways of life. In order to avoid further scandal,¹⁷⁷ Damian intervened in 1060 and resolved the conflict by rendering Gamogna "*et libera et subiecta*."¹⁷⁸ Damian officially declared the hermitage independent of Acereta, leaving the brothers free to practice their way of life, but he also subjected them to an annual pension of twelve Venetian *denarii* payable to the monastery. Beyond this tribute, the abbot of Acereta would have no other legal rights or power over the hermitage.¹⁷⁹ The abbot would also grant any monk leave to choose the eremitic life at Gamogna if he so desired.¹⁸⁰

Damian intended the two houses to remain connected through *fraterna caritas*, but the majority of the charter details their economic separation. All previously shared property underwent a thorough partitioning. In one case, the hermitage inherited the church of Saint Donato along with all its pertinences, except for two mills on the property granted to the monastery including the area immediately surrounding said mills.¹⁸¹ The division missed no detail. At the close of the agreement, Damian returned to *caritas* as a final attempt to reunite estranged brothers. Similar to the agreement between Fonte Avellana and Saint Bartholomew, he ordered that "when it shall be necessary, and with the permission of the prior, the monastery shall receive with fraternal kindness the sick brothers of the hermitage for the purpose of sustaining and restoring them back to health, and, with the permission of the abbot, the hermits

¹⁷³ The earliest documentation for Acereta and Gamogna has been lost and therefore a more precise foundation date is impossible. See Maurizio Panconesi, *Un Eremo ed un Saintto: lungo le vie del Medioevo: L'Eremo di Gamogna, S. Pier Damiani e la Badia di Acereta* (Faenza: GenBleu), 97.

¹⁷⁴ Damian borrowed the practice of founding two adjacent communities, a monastery and a hermitage, from Saint Romuald. The monastery, according to the Camaldolese order, would prepare the monks for their eventual conversion to the eremitic life. See Introduction to *Vita Saint Pier Damiani* di John of Lodi, edited by Roberto Cicala and Valerio Rossi (Roma: Cita Nuova, 1993) 21-22. For Damian's views on this cohabitation, see P. Palazzini, *Saint Pier Damiani nel contado di Urbino* (Urbino, 1973), 15-16.

¹⁷⁵ "Non est mirum si inter homnes licet Saintctos, humana tamen fragilitate circumdatos, locum livor inveniat..." (*Carte*, doc. 15, 36).

¹⁷⁶ I would like to thank Alan Bernstein for providing his insight on this particular phrase in the document in May 2008.

¹⁷⁷ "...necesse est providere et futuris scandalorum vepribus..." (*Carte*, doc. 15, 37)

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ "Nullum itaque ius dominii, virtutis ac potestatis abbas iamdicti monasterii siver per se sive per suos in prefatam heremum sibimet vindicare presumat..." (*Carte*, doc. 15, 37).

¹⁸⁰ "...nisi tantum quod monachos suos, qui Vitam heremitcam fortassis elegerint, illic ad habitandum constituere liceat" (*Ibid.*).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

shall freely admit monks coming from the monastery.”¹⁸² The final clause stipulates that should the number of hermits drop below three, the hermitage along with all its patrimony shall come under the monastery’s jurisdiction.¹⁸³

The 1060 charter rather succinctly summarizes Peter Damian’s vision for his monastic network. He did not leave the mediation between Gamogna and Acereta for the monks themselves to conduct. He made the ultimate decision on the division of property because his relationship to the two monasteries was one in which he maintained indubitable authority. But he displayed the same care and control over the entire congregation and not especially over Gamogna. After the dispute between Gamogna and Acereta over property, Damian possibly recognized the problem would spread. In a letter written between 1065 and 1071 to his entire congregation Damian dissolved the sharing of resources, which was common practice not only at Saint Bartholomew’s, but also throughout the congregation. In that same letter he identified the requirements for membership in Fonte Avellana’s congregation. First and foremost, Peter Damian’s personal authority governed affiliation. He addressed his brothers as those placed under his care and administration, and reminded them of their shared bond of *caritas*. He defined members of the congregation explicitly as those houses committed (*commissa*) to him, which as long as he was alive would stand as one.¹⁸⁴ As such, goods passed between his brothers and their communities indiscriminately. In fact, it is possible the brothers even circulated his letters among themselves. But Damian was concerned that in his absence the charitable spirit governing this practice might fade,¹⁸⁵ and asked in anticipation of his death that the brothers restore immediately any items discovered in one monastery but belonging to another. As he writes, “without any intrigue or crafty argument, purely and simply return whatever is not yours... whoever, therefore, shall violate this my decision, shall be subject to excommunication until he has done condign satisfaction.”¹⁸⁶

The consequence for transgression of Damian’s mandate was severe, but this letter lacked the legal validity of a charter. The document was not a contract between two parties. It was not witnessed nor adjudicated by any outside person. This was undoubtedly a deliberate move on the part of Peter Damian, a man who never shied away from legal transactions. He employed no further implement to guarantee his authority on the matter, which indicates such an act would have been unnecessary; his word was sufficient. As this letter to his congregation shows, Damian was its undisputed head even long after he became cardinal.

Priorship and Abbatial Election

Whether or not Damian renounced the title of prior after he became cardinal bishop has long been a point of contention in the scholarship.¹⁸⁷ The answer cannot be definitively known;

¹⁸² “...cum necessarium fuerit, et monasterium infirmos fratres heremi ad refocilandum et sustentandum usque ad Saintitatem cum licencia prioris fraternal benignitate suscipiat et hermite fratres monachos de monasterio venientes, cum licentia abbatis, libenter admittant” (Ibid.).

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ “Omnibus fratribus in qualibet heremo sub nostri ministerii custodia consitutis, Petrus peccator monachus individue vinculum caritatis. Nostris, dilectissimi, quia loca ista nobis commissa, me vivente quasi unum sunt...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 134, 455-456). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 134, 76.

¹⁸⁵ “.... frigescente forsitan caritate....” (*Carte*, doc. 33, 87).

¹⁸⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 134, 456; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 134, 76.

¹⁸⁷ For example see Della Santa 92-94; Lucchesi, *Vita*, I, 29, 33; Pierucci, Introduction to *Carte*, XIV-XV.

only one document after 1057 names Damian as prior and that charter¹⁸⁸ is generally held to be a forgery. But we can observe that for all intents and purposes, Damian acted as head of the congregation. He obtained papal immunities, negotiated juridical disputes, and in his letters he describes his monasteries as committed (*commissa*) to him alone.¹⁸⁹ Damian's repeated interventions and the tenor of his communications indicate he continued to govern the congregation after he left for Rome, but six other brothers held the office of prior at the hermitage of Fonte Avellana from 1059 until 1071.¹⁹⁰ A charter dated between 1068 and 1069 documents the presence of two priors simultaneously, Peter Damian and Baruncius.¹⁹¹ The practice was not unprecedented. In the Benedictine tradition a community could have two positions of authority, an abbot and a prior. Damian also had a compelling example in Pope Stephen X, who continued to govern Montecassino even after he left the office as abbot.¹⁹² The manner of election, however, derived from Cluny.

The office itself was originally Benedictine, but came to signify something very specific in some eleventh-century ascetic movements. Since "prior" literally referred to the first man among brothers (*prior inter fratres*), the title managed to retain a humility lacking in that of "abbot," which at this time assumed a sense akin to *dominus*. This meaning suited eremitic life particularly well as it struck directly at abbatial vanities.¹⁹³ The term was not unique to Damian by any means.¹⁹⁴ Neither was Fonte Avellana's practice of nominating a prior before the death of his predecessor, a strategy many institutions found useful in preventing simoniacal elections. The abbot of Cluny, Aimardus, designated Maiolus as his successor before his death,¹⁹⁵ just as Peter Damian's own biography of Odilo of Cluny explains Maiolus named Odilo to succeed him.¹⁹⁶ John of Lodi records that Peter Damian's predecessor also named him the next prior with the consent of the hermits at Fonte Avellana.¹⁹⁷ Damian maintained the tradition after 1057 insofar as he nominated a successor and, with the brothers' consent, that man would exercise authority as the acting prior in Damian's absence. When one prior deserted the priorship at

¹⁸⁸ *Carte*, doc. 22.

¹⁸⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 134, 456; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 134, 76.

¹⁹⁰ Della Santa, 92; the charters of Fonte Avellana name many of these men as prelates of the hermitage.

¹⁹¹ "...a vobis Petrus presbiter et monachus Sancte Crucis pro ex persona domno Beruncius presbiter et priore de suprascripto heremum Sancte Crucis et vestrisque successoribus in perpetuum" (*Carte*, doc. 27, 71). On the question of Peter Damian renouncing his title, see Pierucci, Introduction to *Carte*, XIV.

¹⁹² G. Cacciamini, 24.

¹⁹³ The saint observed the failings of the office as the *Vita Romualdi* recounts a tale of one particularly detestable abbot (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.] ch. 45, p. 86-87); Della Santa, 90-91.

¹⁹⁴ On the meaning of "prior" in eremitic communities, see Celestino Pierucci, "La vita eremitica secondo S. Pier Damiano," in *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072-1972)*, vol. 4 (Cesena: Centro Studi e Ricerche Sulla Antica Provincia Ecclesiastica Ravennate, 1978), 69; O. Capitani, "San Pier Damiani e l'istituto eremitico," in *Le'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*. Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola 30 August -6 September, 1962 (Milan, 1965), 147; and Della Santa 94-97. Although somewhat dated, K. Hallinger's discussion of the title "prior," as Della Santa states (90, n. 114), very nicely outlines the origins and evolution of the word. See Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Flochmittelalter*, II (Roma: Studia Anselmiana, 1951). Also DuCange, "Prior," in *Glossarium Mediae et Infirmae Latinitatis*, vol. VI-VII, 505.

¹⁹⁵ Syrus of Cluny, *Vita Maioli*, in Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati: recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny, 954-994* (Paris: Cerf, 1988).

¹⁹⁶ S. Peter Damian, *Vita S. Odilonis*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed., J.P. Migne, vol. 144 (Paris: 1867), col. 925-944; Della Santa, 94.

¹⁹⁷ "Magister vero eius tantam ipsius prudentiam ac zelum considerans, laetabatur strenuum se recepisse discipulum, cui toto committeret ipsius eremi guveracula. Assumpto itaque discipulorum consultu..." (*Vita S. Petri Damiani* [ed. cit.], ch. 7, 226-227).

Fonte Avellana, Damian wrote him stating, “Clearly, at my command, even at my request, and after being promptly elected by the brothers, you accepted the governance of the hermitage,”¹⁹⁸ which reveals the process to be consistent with Cluniac practice and the stipulations contained in the Rule that the abbot shall name the prior, and that while he should take the brothers’ decision into account,¹⁹⁹ ultimately he shall have the final word.²⁰⁰

In his rule for hermits Damian also states that the prior was to be chosen not from the monastic order, but from among the hermits.²⁰¹ But the inverse was not the case at the monastery at Camporeggiano. As stated above, the foundation charter of Saint Bartholomew prevented Damian from alienating its property, changing its rule, or subjecting it to any outside authority.²⁰² The endowment also mandated that the abbot of Saint Bartholomew should be appointed in the monastery itself,²⁰³ but Peter Damian and his successors held the right to install an abbot found either among the hermits of Fonte Avellana or an outside candidate of Damian’s choice.²⁰⁴ Pope Alexander II adjusted this provision in his privilege of 1063 in which the pope granted the monks the right to elect from among their own numbers an abbot of their choosing. This particular clause delineated boundaries between the rights of the community and the rights of local bishops, especially the bishop of Gubbio, whom the document identifies as a potential usurper.²⁰⁵ Bishops could not appoint abbots, and since the charter required the abbot’s consecration by the Roman pontiff, the Holy See could prevent the insertion of unwanted candidates.²⁰⁶ However, the document secures the possibility of a candidate from the motherhouse, stating that in the event of the abbot’s death if a fitting replacement could be found at Fonte Avellana then he should be appointed to the position.²⁰⁷ Thus Fonte Avellana, in the spirit of *caritas*, could assist in providing a worthy abbot, but that candidate would not be forced upon the community.²⁰⁸

The party who solicited this privilege from the pope is unknown, but it was issued during the same month in which the abbot of Saint Bartholomew confirmed in a second charter the obligations the monastery owed to Fonte Avellana. Perhaps with these two charters, the Abbot John and Peter Damian preemptively sought to reduce the opportunity for conflict by delineating

¹⁹⁸ “A me plane iussus, immo rogatus, et a fratribus indifferenter electus, heremi regimen suscepisti...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 176, 279). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 176, 279.

¹⁹⁹ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.) chapters 64 and 65.

²⁰⁰ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), chapters 3 and 65.

²⁰¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 50, 125; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 50, 327.

²⁰² *Carte*, doc. 11, 27.

²⁰³ “...qui ibide ordinatus fuerit...” (Ibid.). The term *ordinatus* is problematic here. I have translated it as “appointed” to avoid a malapropism. Ordination as it is understood today was not as concrete a concept in the eleventh century. As Gary Macy has shown, ordination underwent a change in understanding in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so in this context we are dealing with a nebulous term (Macy, *The Hidden History of Women’s Ordination* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008], see especially chapter 1, “The State of the Question,” pp. 3-22, and chapter 2, “What Did Ordination Mean?” pp. 23-48). To explain briefly, in the early Middle Ages, ordination was simply an appointment to a particular office or function (Macy, 33), but in the eleventh century ordination came to include priestly powers and by the twelfth its meaning had yet to be fully resolved (42).

²⁰⁴ “Videlicet modo ut tu donnus Petrus tuique successors debeant ibi ordinare abbatem sive de tuis monachis sive de aliis quibusc[u]mq[ue] tibi placuerit” (*Carte*, doc. 11, 27).

²⁰⁵ “Episcopus etiam Eugubine ecclesie non habeat licentiam iam dictum monasterium molestare, minuirevel in aliquo perturbare sive per se sive per sumissam [sic] personam” (*Carte*, doc. 17, 44).

²⁰⁶ “Preterea Saintcimus atque decernimus... quod suis qualem voluerint abbatem elligant a Romano pontifice consecrandum” (*Carte*, doc. 17, 44-45).

²⁰⁷ “Et obeunte abate, si ydoneus repertus fuerit in ipsa heremo, ibi abbas ordinetur” (Ibid., 45).

²⁰⁸ Cariboni, 115.

the boundaries of jurisdiction. There is no indication Saint Bartholomew already found itself in some unenviable predicament that demanded a legal solution. In any case, in 1063 the three parties reconfirmed the earlier terms of affiliation, specifically the monastery's obligation of a biannual offering of fish and the receiving of sick brothers from Fonte Avellana.²⁰⁹ Not long after Alexander issued his final privilege directed at the monastery of Saint Bartholomew. Dated between 1065 and 1067, the document highlights the fraternal connection between Fonte Avellana and the monastery. The primary purpose of the charter was to confirm papal protection and states only very briefly that the abbot should be appointed at the monastery.²¹⁰ The names of Saint Bartholomew's abbots provide no information as to whether or not they came from Fonte Avellana, in particular because the eleventh-century necrology of the hermitage is lost. We can nonetheless surmise from the charters that the door was open to Peter Damian to impose an abbot on the community at Saint Bartholomew, even after Alexander II specified between 1065 and 1067 that the abbot should be appointed in-house. As the pope did not qualify the clause in any way, Fonte Avellana's hermits remained eligible candidates.

Only once in the historical record did Peter Damian insert his candidate as prior over one of Fonte Avellana's daughter houses. While in the 1050s he sent Domenico Loricato, one of Fonte Avellana's hermits known for his extreme asceticism, to reform the monastery of Sitria and then later Dominic resided in a cell near the community of hermits at Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli in the 1050s, neither monastery was officially affiliated with Fonte Avellana's congregation.²¹¹ However, before Dominic fulfilled these obligations he did hold the office of prior at the daughter hermitage of Suavicinum also at Damian's request.²¹² Damian founded Suavicinum in 1048 and it stands to reason Dominic was most likely its first prior, which would accord with the common practice of the founder installing the first prior or abbot. Saint Bartholomew's foundation charter also gave Damian that right.

Peter Damian acted, therefore, as undisputed head of several autonomous corporate bodies. He himself defined affiliation as a legal and fraternal tie to his person, and the charters corroborate this statement. The pope placed the hermitage of Ocri directly under his care, as Rozia and her sons trusted Damian to manage the founding of Saint Bartholomew and to choose its first abbot. The remaining houses Damian founded himself. Due to the conditions of their foundations Damian reserved the right to intervene in some capacity. Nevertheless, he wanted strong individual administrations. Gamogna and Acereta shared a common patrimony, at least until 1060, but each had their own prelate presiding over the community. Damian primarily structured ties within the network horizontally and not vertically; monasteries and hermitages

²⁰⁹ *Carte*, doc. 18, 47-48.

²¹⁰ "Sed abbas qui illic fuerit" (*Carte*, doc. 25, 64).

²¹¹ Peter Damian, *Vita Sancti Dominici Loricati*, in Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 109, 221; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 109, 224.

²¹² In addition to monasteries, when the bishopric of Gubbio became vacant in 1059 Fonte Avelana's own hermit Rudolf assumed the seat. Although there is no evidence in the charters of Fonte Avellana or in the letters of Peter Damian that Dominic spent time at Sitria or Suavicinum, Ottavio Turchi in *Della Vita di S. Domenico confessore detto il Loricato* (Rome: Attornio De Roffi, 1749) claims that Damian sent Dominic to both houses (136-138), and perhaps installed Dominic as prior of Suavicinum upon its foundation (129), but when Dominic had returned after his sojourn to Saint Emiliano, he found the position of prior at Suavicinum occupied by John (138). Ludovicus Iacobillius makes the same claim that Dominic was sent by Damian to Sitria in his *vita* of the saint (*Vite de'Santi e Beati dell'Umbria*, vol. III Bologna Forni Editore 1971 [1661] 338); *Ibid.*, vol. II [1971], 336-339). On Dominicus Loricatus, see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. III (1989), NR 109, 207 n. 20.

maintained equal independence with respect to one another.²¹³ Such a model ensured the preservation of mutual charity and the idea of the congregation as a community.

III. The Fraternal Network of Peter Damian

Having mapped the congregation and described its internal operations, can we call it a “network”?²¹⁴ According to social network theory, the boundaries of Damian’s fraternal network would include only those individuals in direct contact with Peter Damian. However, Damian’s communications alone did not construct the network. The evidence reveals social interactions took place also between the daughter houses of Fonte Avellana. Furthermore, it is highly likely Fonte Avellana’s monks and hermits exchanged letters among themselves as well.²¹⁵ Damian’s disciples formed their own relationships and practices in keeping with, or independent from, Damian’s precepts. Together with Damian’s communications, the multiple dialectical relationships between monks and hermits built the network.

I turn now to the medium through which Damian pursued the construction of a network, his letters, wherein we can also track the contributions of his disciples.²¹⁶ Every communication presented an opportunity for spiritual guidance, but the dispensation of this advice varied. This chapter will not discuss the content of the letters at length, though it is important to mention a few key characteristics of his style. Self-representations served an important function in the letters and suited Damian’s changing purposes. He utilized words and phrases to express

²¹³ Cariboni, 111. Cariboni cites the privilege of Leo IX in which the pope prohibited the subjugation of Ocri to any other monastery.

²¹⁴ See Brieger, 2004, 505; see also Carolyn J. Anderson *et al.*, 1999, 37-66; Stephen P. Borgatti and Martin G. Everett, 1992, 1-35; Linton C. Freeman, Douglas R. White, and A. Kimball Romney, eds., *Research Methods in Social Network Analysis* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1989); Noah E. Freidkin and Eugene C. Johnsen, 1997, 209-222.

²¹⁵ The Benedictine Rule clearly states that monks could send letters with the permission of the abbot (*Benedicti regula*, [ed. cit.], ch. 54).

²¹⁶ Significant studies have recently been undertaken by medieval scholars on the subject of letters. For example, see Walter Ysaebert, “Medieval letters and letter collections as historical sources: methodological questions and reflections and research perspectives (6th-14th centuries)” in *Studi Medievali* 3,50:1 (2009): 41-73; Gillian R. Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: a Semantic and Structural Analysis* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002); Roland Oberson, *Héloïse et Abélard : à singulière esclave, maître spécial* (Paris: Hermann, 2010); John Van Engen, “Letters, Schools, and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Dialektik und Rhetorik im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Johannes Fried, Schriften des historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien, 27 (München: Oldenbourg, 1997), 97-132; Matthew J. Dal Santo, “The Shadow of a Doubt: a Note on the *Dialogues* and *Registrum Epistolarum* of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604)” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61:1 (2010) 3-17; Geoffrey D. Dunn, “The Christian Networks of the Aniciae: the Example of the Letter of Innocent I to Anicia Juliana” *Revue d’études augustiniennes et patristiques* 55:1 (2009) 53-72; Serena Ferente, “Reti documentarie e reti di amicizia: i carteggi diplomatici nello studio delle alleanze politiche” *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo* 110:2 (2008): 103-116; Michael Jucker, “Trust and Mistrust in Letters: Late Medieval Diplomacy and its Communication Practices” in *Strategies of Writing: Studies in Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, eds. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene Van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 213-236; De Mayo, “Ciceronian *Amicitia* in the Letters of in Gerbert of Aurillac” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 38:2 (2007): 319-337; H.M. Canatella, “Friendship in Anselm of Canterbury’s Correspondence: Ideals and Experience” in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 38:2 (2007): 351-367; Samuel Rubenson, “Argument and authority in early monastic correspondence” in *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late-Antique Monasticism*, Proceedings of the International Seminar in Turin, December 2-4, 2004 (Dudley, MA : Uitgeverij Peeters en Dept. Oosterse Studies, 2006), 75-87.

humility and modesty, or alternatively to present his expertise or superiority.²¹⁷ Damian also spoke to recipients as if in conversation. He posed questions, rhetorical or otherwise, to engage the reader as if he were present. This dialectic style was employed by Damian's contemporaries as well, and remained in use for centuries during the Middle Ages. He relied heavily on metaphors²¹⁸ to deliver his messages and supported his arguments with both scripture and other spiritual texts, but included *exempla* from his own observations and experience as well.

Damian helped develop a letter-writing tradition that would remain active well into the Early Modern period. Although the rhetorical style particular to letter writing predated the eleventh century, Alberic of Montecassino was the first to write about the *ars dictaminis* in a systematic manner not long after Damian's death.²¹⁹ Alberic organized the letter in five parts: *salutatio* (greeting), *exordium* (also referred to as the *proemium*, or an introduction to the material), *narratio*, *petitio* (any requests), and *conclusio*. Damian for the most part wrote within the confines of these *formulae*, but still managed to preserve his own style.²²⁰

²¹⁷ See Paul D. McLean, 2007. McLean relies on various categories of discursive techniques formulated by different researchers, and Erving Goffman in particular. He provides an excellent table detailing the techniques he finds in his data and their use and purpose (27-28). He draws primarily on the following text: Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper Colophon Books), 1974). See also Goffman's other works, *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior* (New York: Pantheon, 1967); *Strategic Interaction* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969); *Forms of Talk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). While these categories are useful, I find them rather general. This chapter will define more specific techniques based on the data that may or may not overlap with what other scholars have determined to be standard (general) strategies in building relations. This approach is particularly apt to this data set, as we have recorded the strategies of only one member of the network and no general context in which to compare techniques.

Although important works, none of the studies cited above seek to integrate sociological theory with historical method. McLean, however, attempts to accomplish this goal in his monograph. I borrow from McLean here the method by which he finds culture (as defined in the introduction above) in networks to discover Fonte Avellana's monastic identity. As he states, "The strategic and relation-building work of networking is quintessentially cultural. This cultural work simultaneously seeks resources and constructs identities. Crucially, *both* elements filter through the practical cultural tools upon and out of which social interaction is constructed, making a study of these tools and their assembly imperative" (6). McLean refers here to the Bourdieuan notion of actors negotiating social behavior within the constraints of the *habitus* (see introduction above). In his case study of Medici networks, he looks at how actors strategized to achieve their desired political ends while conscious of self-preservation, which meant individuals could rely on proven strategies that were "safe," or distinguish themselves by taking a risk and breaking social conventions (6). McLean also argues that social networks are studied in terms of either "undersocialized or oversocialized conceptions of their significance" (7). That is, either networks are merely a means for actors to pursue their own agendas, or the identities of actors are limited to their position in the social network. The former refers to the perspective of social capital theory and the latter to network analysis (7-8).

²¹⁸ In particular, the metaphor of the Christian warrior he often repeated. See his letter to William (Letter 10) in particular.

²¹⁹ Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 53, n. 1. The *Breviarium de dictamine* is edited only in excerpts in L. Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. Quellen und Erörterungen zue bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte* 9, I (Munich, 1863), pp. 3-46. The *Dictaminum Radii* was published by Mauro Inganez and H.M. Willard in *Miscellanea Cassinese* 14 (Montecassino, 1938); see also H. Hagendahl, "Le manuel de rhétorique d'Albericus Casinensis," in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956): 56-70. A new edition of these two works, together with *De barbarismo et soloetismo*, is being prepared by Thomas J. Coffey of Creighton University. For the English translation, see Joseph M. Miller, "Alberic of Montecassino. *Flowers of Rhetoric*," *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*. Joseph M. Miller, Michael H. Posser, and Thomas W. Benson, eds. (Bloomington, 1973), 131-161.

²²⁰ See McLean, 2007, 45.

Damian constructed a strong foundation for his congregation at Fonte Avellana based on personal contact. He wrote only one letter to the congregation before his elevation to the cardinalate in 1057, and twenty to his individual disciples, to the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, and to its daughter houses after that date. In Damian's letters, we can observe his campaign to recruit and retain monks, and to cultivate monastic discipline among his brothers. Through sustained dialogue Damian looked after his brothers' spiritual well being. In his letters he exhorted mindfulness of their vows, answered the spiritual questions they posed, and praised their diligence in the eremitic vocation. Damian cultivated the individual commitment of each brother.

He refused to lose even one recruit, as he demonstrated twice during his career. In 1045 he tried to convince a brother from another hermitage to continue with his plan to join the hermits of Fonte Avellana. Unfortunately for William the ex-hermit, the consumption of wine at Fonte Avellana was strictly regulated²²¹ and his fondness for the drink had thus prevented him from fulfilling his promise. But Damian did not abandon his latest conscript and implored him to reconsider.²²² Then between 1049 and 1057 he warned the abbot of Saint Apollinaris in Classe to return a runaway hermit to him under threat of reporting the abbot at the upcoming Roman synod.²²³ One final letter survives regarding a hesitant convert in which Damian argues to the *advocatus* Atto that in abandoning his plan to enter the monastery (in this case Damian referred either to Pomposa or to a daughter house of Fonte Avellana, Saint Bartholomew in Camporeggiano²²⁴), he had violated a promise made to God, which was far more grave than breaking any other manner of vow.²²⁵ These letters anticipate Damian's dedication to individual monks and his efforts to retaining their loyalty after 1057.²²⁶

In 1058 Damian wrote to his secretary Aripandus along with his fellow hermit Rodulfus. In this particularly intimate letter, Damian tells of his recent malady that left him contemplating his own death.²²⁷ He writes, "It is the quality of cordial friendship that a brother tells his brother

²²¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 18, 172; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, "Rule for Hermits," 163. Damian's later Letter 50 (1057) also discusses the use of wine (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 91).

²²² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 10, 128-136; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 10, 113-123.

²²³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 29, 282; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 29, 293. The date is according to Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2, 154 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 29, 290, n. 1).

²²⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 25, 234; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 25, 236. Damian mentions Atto had made a pledge to convert to abbot Mainard, and nothing further. The abbots of Pomposa and Camporeggiano shared this name.

²²⁵ The dating of Letter 25 ranges from 1046 to 1067. See Giovanni Lucchesi, *Clavis S. Petri Damiani*, in *Studi su Saint Pier Damiano in onore del cardinale Amleto John Cicognani* (Faenza: Biblioteca Cardinale Gaetano Cicognani, 1961, II ed. 1970), 87; cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 25, 236, n. 1). If the earlier date is accurate then together with the letter to William these are the only two letters regarding specific brothers that date to the period in which Damian resided at Fonte Avellana, presumably because he was physically present.

²²⁶ Another letter, not able to be dated, exhibits more subdued chastisement for another deserter. The newly elected prior of Fonte Avellana, Gebizo, stepped down from his elected office under the pretence of infirmity only to assume the abbacy of another monastery, founded by his brother, shortly after. Damian implored Gebizo to return to Fonte Avellana as prior, or live as a monk in another monastery (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 176, 278-283; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 [2005], Letter 176, 279-285).

²²⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 55, 149; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 55, 357. The dating of this letter is controversial. Lucchesi (*Vita*, nos. 109, 122-128) dates the letter to 1058, while Neukirch (96) dates it between 1054-1057. Finally, K.M. Woody (*Damiani and the Radicals*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University [1966], 224) dates it to the end of June 1064 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 55, 355, n. 1).

both good news and bad, so that as one's heart faithfully feels compassion for the bearer of such a message when misfortune strikes, it can likewise rejoice with him when all goes well."²²⁸ He closes the letter with similar sentiments and reveals the sincerity of his relationship to his two brothers. "As a friend, my dear brothers, I have revealed these matters to you, my friends and confederates, and with intimate familiarity have explained the course of my affliction as if I were speaking to my blood brothers."²²⁹ Damian composed the final letter to Aripandus in the corpus sometime after 1064²³⁰ in which he advised him to abandon his regret over having entered the hermitage before completing his education, a subject Aripandus had often discussed with Damian.²³¹

Toward the end of his priorship Damian wrote a letter to the hermit, Teuzo, of Florence in which he shared stories of several other disciples.²³² He wrote about Martin Storacus, who, although he refused to accept his prior's advice to avoid excessive penance, nonetheless had much to offer Damian. Martin, on occasion, would offer his counsel to Damian in especially difficult arbitration cases or in "some matter of ecclesiastical importance."²³³ He spoke of a brother named Leo at the hermitage of Preggio, another of Fonte Avellana's daughter houses. He had a rapport with Leo, and he was well informed of his daily penance practices.²³⁴ Damian described also his admiration for his brother Dominic Loricatus. He considered Dominic his "lord and teacher," (*doctor et dominus meus*)²³⁵ and a man who never failed to exceed expectations. Praise abounds for Damian's beloved brother Dominic Loricatus also in his *Vita*, which Damian composed at the urging of Pope Alexander II in 1064.²³⁶ Damian maintained a very close friendship with Dominic over many years. In addition to Dominic, another of Damian's closest disciples, John of Lodi, joined the brothers of Fonte Avellana around 1060, when he received his first letter from the then cardinal bishop.²³⁷ Damian provided John with an allegorical interpretation of the ten plagues of Egypt. He begins the letter, "Only recently, my dear son, did you turn your back on Pharaoh, and at the same time abhor the slavery of this proud and tyrannical king of Egypt. It is, therefore, necessary for you now to undergo many kinds of temptation as you proceed through the desert..."²³⁸ With these words, Damian welcomed John into the eremitic life by cautioning him about the pitfalls of vice. He wrote his letter, along with

²²⁸ "Unanimis amicitiae proprium est, ut cum fratre frater et prospera communicet et adversa, quatinus fideliter animus sicut referenti in adversitate compatitur, ita nichilominus et in prosperis unanimiter collaretur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 55). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 55, 355.

²²⁹ "Haec vobis, dilectissimi, tamquam complicitibus et amicis amicus exposui, meaeque visitationis seriem velut uterinis fratribus unanimi familiaritate digessi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 55, 153). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 55, 360.

²³⁰ The dating is according to Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2, 153f (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 [2004], Letter 117, 318, n. 1).

²³¹ See Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Introduction to Letter 117, 318.

²³² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 7-33; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 221-243. For the dating of this letter (1055-1057), see Lucchesi, *Clavis*, 89 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 44, 221, n. 1).

²³³ "pro necessitatibus aecclasiasticis" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 44, 16). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 226.

²³⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 20; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 230-231.

²³⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 21; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 232.

²³⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 109; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 109.

²³⁷ For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2, 153 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 78, 169, n. 1).

²³⁸ "Contempsisti nuper, fili karissime, Pharaonem, et superbi Regis ac opprimentis Aegypti simul abhominatus es servitutem. Necesse est ergo nunc, ut gradiens per desertum multa temptationum genera subeas..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 78, 386). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 78, 169.

the previous three after he had participated in three Roman synods and received his curial appointment.²³⁹ In fact, the letters to disciples continue and increase especially after 1057.

Around 1062 he responded to a question posed by the hermit Adam on creation. He mentions Adam also in his *Vita* of Dominic Loricatus.²⁴⁰ Two years later,²⁴¹ he praised the former abbot of San Pietro in Perugia, Bonizo, who had recently left his monastery to become a hermit at Fonte Avellana.²⁴² He passed on accolades to two other hermits, Ambrosius²⁴³ and Liupardus, extolling their choice to live and die inside the walls of the hermitage, and ultimately to be buried there.²⁴⁴ In 1067 he wrote to another friend and brother, Baroncius, who would eventually become prior over the hermitage, on the consequences of over-dispensing penance. He explains his reason for writing as follows, “What I often emphasized when I was with you, I now write to you in my absence, and lest it get away like something floating by, I attach this slender cord of my writing,”²⁴⁵ a sentence that invoked a previous conversation. In a comparable letter that cannot be dated, Damian responded to the hermit Bucco’s query on whether or not God sends good or bad angels to punish sinners.²⁴⁶ In a letter dated 1067 to the Marquis Rainerius II,²⁴⁷ he shared stories about his fellow monk, Richard, a brother at Camporeggiano who eventually became its prior.²⁴⁸ Thus through sustained dialogue Damian looked after his brothers’ spiritual well being. In his letters he exhorted mindfulness of their vows. He carefully and thoughtfully answered the spiritual questions they posed. He praised their diligence in the eremitic vocation. Damian also tried repeatedly to leave the cardinalate behind to retire amongst his monks, and he made an effort to visit personally the hermitages of Gamogna and Fonte Avellana. Even after 1057 Fonte Avellana’s brethren were never out of his mind.

Damian concerned himself with the community as well as the individual. Between 1045 and 1050,²⁴⁹ while in residence, he wrote his first collective letter to the hermits of Fonte Avellana. He declared his desire to preserve for posterity the way of life practiced at the hermitage during his term as prior. Damian writes, “My brothers, I should like to relate briefly a few things about the type of life you lead, so that what one can now read in your living deeds may also be handed down in writing for the information of those who will come after us in this

²³⁹ Damian was present at the Synod of Sutri in 1046 and two others held by Clement II and Leo IX, respectively.

²⁴⁰ For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2, 153 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 92, 18, n. 1). Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 109, 215; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 109, 219.

²⁴¹ For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 184 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 105, 163, n. 1).

²⁴² On the likelihood that Bonizo was indeed the abbot of St Peter in Perugia see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 105, 159, n. 1.

²⁴³ Ambrosius had previously received one communication, an introduction to Catholic theology, from Damian sometime after 1060 (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 81; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 81).

²⁴⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 128, 428-429; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 128, 45-48.

²⁴⁵ “Quod praesens verbis sepius inculcavi, nun absens scribo, et ne fluctuantis materiae more decurrat, funiculum scriptionis innecto...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 150, 555). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 150, 181.

²⁴⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 173, 266-268; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 173, 264-266.

²⁴⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1989), Letter 151; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 151.

²⁴⁸ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1989), Letter 169, 249; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 169, 245.

²⁴⁹ For the date see Neukirch 94. Woody (*Damiani*, 197) places a later date on this letter of ca. 1058.

place.”²⁵⁰ In addition he sought to ensure no deviation from his instructions. He states, “But that there be no opportunity for excuse in not observing these rules, I attempted, in keeping with the narrow limits of this little place, to acquire property that you might be able to support the number of brothers”²⁵¹ I previously mentioned, unless you fail to care for its administration.”²⁵² In 1065 he wrote a second letter to the brothers²⁵³ instructing them to continue the custom of fasting on the vigils of eight feasts rather than to succumb to the increasingly popular habit of eating during these preparatory periods.

He sent similar letters to two other hermitages in the congregation, two to Suavicinium between 1057²⁵⁴ and 1060 and two to Gamogna between 1065 and 1066. Around 1057 or 1058, Damian wrote to the prior John of the hermitage at Monte Suavicinium asking that the brethren there pray with their arms extended.²⁵⁵ His second letter to Suavicinium written in 1060²⁵⁶ recounted an experience in which Damian had accepted a silver vase from an abbot and later, ravaged by guilt over his avarice, returned the gift.²⁵⁷ The lesson gleaned from this experience was that “the servant of God should be fearful when he receives anything of temporal value, and should rejoice when he loses it.”²⁵⁸ Damian, wont to convey his abhorrence of temporal goods to his brethren, composed one of his better known letters on this subject to the hermits at Gamogna in 1066. His previous communication to the hermitage around 1065 had been relatively benign, providing instructions on how to fast.²⁵⁹ In his second letter, he berated the brothers for numerous offenses, “This also not a little disturbs me that, in exceeding the limits of obedience despite my commands, you indiscriminately accept alms from laymen, eagerly enlarge your holdings, and, in a word, both publically and privately scurry to become rich.”²⁶⁰ He was informed of their behavior when a potential convert, Erlembald Cotta of Milan, reported to

²⁵⁰ “Volo autem, fratres mei, de vestrae conversationis ordine hic pauca perstringere, ut quod in vestries nunc vivis operibus legitur, etiam apicibus traditum ad eorum, qui nobis in hoc loco successuri sunt, notitiam transferatur” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 170). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, 161.

²⁵¹ As stated in the introduction, Damian writes that the number of brothers is twenty “more or less” plus an additional fifteen lay brothers (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 170; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 161).

²⁵² “Ut autem ad haec observanda nullus excusationi pateat locus, iuxta id quod exiguitati loci humilis competeat, studuimus eotenus possessiones acquirere, ut praedictum fratrum numerum possis, nisi exercendi cura defuerit, sustentare” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 177). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, 168-169.

²⁵³ Blum states that the letter lacks a specific addressee other than Damian’s “beloved brothers” (*fratres karissimi*) so we can assume the recipients were the hermits of Fonte Avellana. It is nonetheless possible he addressed the letter to the entire congregation. See Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Introduction to Letter 18, 332.

²⁵⁴ Blum explains the dating for this letter varies (*Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 53, 343, n. 1). Della Santa (*Idea monastica*, 218f.) places the letter between 1057 and 1058. Neukirch 96 dates the letter from 1050 to 1058 and Lucchesi (*Clavis*, 66) provides a date of 1061.

²⁵⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1988), Letter 53, 139; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 53, 343.

²⁵⁶ For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, nos. 142 and 144.

²⁵⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1988), Letter 76, 381; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 76, 164-165.

²⁵⁸ “Enimvero servus Dei tunc debet timere, cum temporale quid percipit, tunc gaudere cum perdit” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 76, 381). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 76, 165.

²⁵⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 137, 467-472; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 137, 90-96.

²⁶⁰ “Hoc etiam me non levius movet, quia praetergresso nichilominus oboedientiae limite, helemosinas a saecularibus indifferenter accipitis, possessionis vestrae funiculos inianter extenditis, et ut cuncta brevis sermo concludat, in occulto simul et publico fieri divites festinates” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 142, 507). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 142, 130.

Damian a negative encounter he had with his monks when he had visited Gamogna with the hopes of joining the community.²⁶¹

A man, traveling from Milan on his way to visit me, passed your [hermitage]. As he himself told me, he sought in my name to obtain lodging with you. Worn out by his travels, he stayed on somewhat longer to rest but made it a point to keep an eye on your behavior, noting carefully that some of you –without mentioning names – chattered away like old women about trifles and idle nonsense, saw others consorting with laymen, telling unseemly jokes, and engaging in elegant wantonness. Whence it happened that, besides despising you and because of you our entire congregation, he completely abandoned the very purpose of becoming a monk, in so far as that purpose can be impeded.²⁶²

Damian saw Gamogna as part of a larger whole, the congregation of Fonte Avellana. His informant confirmed for him that the fall of one monastery could have negative impact on the entire body. Despite his chastisement, Damian closed the letter with a kindly retraction of his anger, “Forgive my words, dearly beloved brothers, and if perhaps I have exceeded to some extent the bounds of calm correction, attribute it rather to zeal for fraternal charity than to malice.”²⁶³ In another letter to Gamogna written sometime after 1065 Damian justified his right to guide the brothers in their way of life with an exquisitely appropriate metaphor in which Peter Damian likens his pastoral care to that of a steward over a manor:

Managers of rentbearing estates or stewards of lands, while making every effort to please their lords, do not permit the fixed rates to be reduced during the period of their tenure. I too, to whom the guardianship, not just of sundry physical things but of your souls was committed, would be very much afraid if the return on your crops that should be brought to the Lord’s barns were lessened while I was in charge, if through my connivance, God forbid, the full measure of your holy service were not fulfilled.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 142, 503, n. 2.

²⁶² “Vir quidam a Mediolanensi urbe progrediens dum me quaereret, per vos transitum habuit, sed et habitare vobiscum, ut ipse professus est, sub meo nomine concupivit. Qui dum lassus itinere moram velut quiescendo protraheret, se dab explorationis vestrae custodia clausos oculos non haberet, nescio quos vestrum anilies nugas et ociosa perpendit deliramenta profundere, cum laicis etiam scurriles iocos et ludibria vidit urbana miscere. Unde factum est, ut non modo vos nostrumque propter vos contubernium omne contempneret, sed et ipsum conversionis animum quantum deprehendi potuit funditus amisisset” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 142, 504). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 142, 128. The English translation has “monastery” instead of “hermitage,” which I have replaced here. As shown in the Latin text above, Damian wrote only “per vos transitum habuit.”

²⁶³ “Pacite ori meo, dilectissimi fratres, et si fortassis in aliquo limitem modestae correptionis excessi, zelo potius fraterni amoris adscribite quam livoris” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 142, 521). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 142, 142.

²⁶⁴ “Pensualium conductores aedium vel procuratores agrorum, dum dominis suis placere desiderabiliter ambient, exactionum canones minui villicatus sui tempore non permittunt. Nos etiam quibus non quarumlibet rerum, sed animarum vestrarum est commissa custodia, valde pertimescimus, si frugum vestrarum redditus qui dominicis

The first of the two letters sent to all of Fonte Avellana's monastic communities also emphasized that Damian had the obligation as prior to discipline his congregation. Between 1065 and 1070 he wrote to all his brethren, "The rule of discretion is properly observed in a community of spiritual brothers, if the guidance the prior provides imitates the attention he gives a horse. It is obvious that he uses the spur to urge it on, the reins to hold it back. He goads on the horse that is moving too slowly, and curbs one that is prancing and proudly neighing... did not Moses urge on the people of Israel with a kind of goad?"²⁶⁵ After this explanation, Damian laid down a decree. No hermit would be forced to practice self-flagellation, but if so moved a brother was permitted to perform the act during recitation of the forty psalms once a day, but no more except during the two preparatory penitential periods before Christmas and Easter, respectively, when one could go as far as sixty psalms.²⁶⁶ Before his final salutation, Damian justified himself once more, "By acting in this fashion, I am not, as it were, exceeding my authority, but am imitating the example found in God's law."²⁶⁷ The knowledge of Gamogna's capacity for egregious behavior compelled Damian to reiterate his rights and authority over the hermitage, possibly because he perceived their divergent attitude toward property as bordering on rebellious. In the final letter written between 1065 and 1071 to his entire congregation, also mentioned above, Damian dissolved the sharing of resources first mentioned in Saint Bartholomew's foundation charter. The letter shows Damian understood himself as the keystone within his monastic structure. Perhaps he underestimated the commitment of his monks and hermits, but in the end he believed his death could be detrimental to the practices established within the congregation because their survival depended on his presence.²⁶⁸

The analysis above emphasizes Damian's agency in constructing the network, but if we sift through Damian's rhetoric, we notice that in fact many of Damian's letters to his brothers *responded* to petitions for spiritual counsel. Therefore, the brothers themselves also had a hand in constructing the network. In 1057, Damian fulfilled the "worthwhile request" of one of his brothers at the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, Stephen, for a written rule of the eremitic life.²⁶⁹ In that same year²⁷⁰ Damian answered another request from Aripandus, who had desired that his prior send him some of his writings. As Damian states, "You have urged me, my dear son, to

inferebatur orreis, sub nostra cura minuitur, si sanctae servitutis vestrae pensum per nostram, quod absit, coniventiam non impletur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 137, 467). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 137, 90.

²⁶⁵ "In conventu spiritalium fratrum tunc discretionis ordo congrue geritur, si moderatio rectoris imitetur diligentiam equities. Ille siquidem calcaribus utitur ut impellat, frenis ut reprimat. Stimulat equum tardius incedentem, refrenat superbe frementis vestigial glomerantem... an non quibusdam, ut ita loquar, stimulis urgebat Moyses populum Israel..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 133, 453). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 133, 73.

²⁶⁶ "In duabus autem quadragesimis quae videlicet natalem Domini vel sancrosanctum pascha praecedunt..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 133, 454; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 [2004], Letter 133, 74).

²⁶⁷ "Et hoc facientes non quasi nostrae usurpamus auctoritatis arbitrium, sed divinae legis imitamur exemplum" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 133, 454). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 133, 75.

²⁶⁸ As this letter indicates the brothers habitually shared property, inter-monastery contact therefore occurred frequently. Therefore it is possible the brothers circulated even his letters among themselves.

²⁶⁹ "Honestae petitionis tuae..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 79). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 50, 289. See Reindel, Letter 50, 77-79 n. 1-3 for a complete discussion on the controversy surrounding the dating of this letter.

²⁷⁰ Mansueto Della Santa dates this letter between 1057 and 1058 (220).

write something for you.”²⁷¹ Damian consented and composed a tract on the virtues of accepting correction in religious life because such action would only strengthen one’s humility.²⁷² Ambrose, another young hermit, received a similar letter when he first entered the hermitage sometime after 1060.²⁷³ Damian yet again wrote at the behest of one of his brethren saying, “Dearest son, you request that I compose something for you on the Catholic faith.”²⁷⁴ The hermits Stephen and Aripandus and the novice Ambrose, not Damian, initiated these exchanges. Since the brothers took it upon themselves to build personal ties with their prior, it stands to reason the monks made the same efforts within their own communities and between houses as well.

In particular, the fact that goods were exchanged between communities at least until 1065 indicates personal contact occurred often. Objects would have been carried from house to house by the brothers themselves, and if these monks or hermits traveled some distance to share material objects they would most likely not have gone alone. A multitude of relationships could have formed as a result of the sharing of resources. Although the sharing of goods ultimately failed, the movement of people proved more fruitful. We possess some examples of these exchanges. As stated above, Dominic Loricatus spent time at the monastery of Sitria, the hermitage at Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli, and Fonte Avellana’s daughter house at Suavicinum. Dominic was not the only brother to visit other communities. One of Damian’s letters implies that the prior of the monastery at Camporeggiano, Richard, traveled to territory of Perugia in which Damian had erected the hermitage of Monte Preggio. And around 1069 Damian’s nephew, Damianus, also a hermit at Fonte Avellana, visited Camporeggiano to learn the modes of ecclesiastical chant. Damian had received this news from another brother, Ubaldus. In a letter to his nephew, Damian advised Damianus to return promptly to the hermitage lest he be seduced by the laxity of the monastery, which indicated Damian desired some restrictions be placed on intercommunity visitations.²⁷⁵

Frequent exchanges would seem to contradict one of the more fundamental aspects of Benedictine life, stability. Saint Benedict wrote in the Rule that monks should remain until their death in the monastery where they took their vows, but the Rule also sanctions travel between communities provided the monks comply with a few conditions. Its precepts required monks away from the monastery on errands or engaging in manual labor at a distance not to neglect the Divine Office.²⁷⁶ Benedict also devoted a chapter to brothers sent on a journey, for whom the community should pray during their absence.²⁷⁷ Visiting monks were to be received as guests, but if a pilgrim so requested and had honored the ways of his hosts, he could join the community with the permission of his own abbot.²⁷⁸ Benedict forbade any travel, “however small,” without the abbot’s consent,²⁷⁹ and in keeping with the Rule on two occasions Peter Damian reprimanded

²⁷¹ “Exigis, dilectissime fili, ut tibi liquid scribam...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 54, 140). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 54, 344.

²⁷² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 54, 139-148; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 54, 344-354.

²⁷³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 81, 417-448; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 81, 202-232.

²⁷⁴ “Exigis, fili karissime, ut aliquid tibi de catholica fide conscribam...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 81, 417). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 81, 202.

²⁷⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 158, 86; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 158, 91.

²⁷⁶ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 50.

²⁷⁷ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 67.

²⁷⁸ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 61.

²⁷⁹ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 67.

hermits who had abandoned their commitment to Fonte Avellana and fled, but his letters and the charters of the congregation encouraged certain approved exchanges. Furthermore the movement of monks within the same congregation, especially for the sake of reform, had its precedent in the relationship between Cluny and its daughter houses.

Saint Gregory at Conca

Although Damian's biographer and companion, John of Lodi, included the monastery of Saint Gregory at Conca among the saint's foundations,²⁸⁰ Damian never wrote about the community, to the community, and the monastery itself never met the criteria of affiliation outlined in the preceding pages. To paraphrase Nicolangelo D'Acunto, we may search in vain for any mention of the monastery of Saint Gregory at Conca among the letters, sermons, liturgies, and hagiographies of Peter Damian and ultimately we will find nothing.²⁸¹ The community of Saint Gregory at Conca behaved contrary to the practices and ideals observed by members of the congregation and moreover, Peter Damian's own comportment toward the monastery contrasted sharply with the patterns established within Fonte Avellana's congregation. We shall leave aside for now the divergent economic practices of Saint Gregory's to focus on the ways in which the monastery contradicted how Damian conceived of a daughter house.²⁸²

Previous scholarship includes Saint Gregory's in the congregation of Fonte Avellana based solely on the fact that Damian was its founder.²⁸³ While the monastery was tied to Peter Damian personally, there is no evidence of a connection to Fonte Avellana.²⁸⁴ There are twelve charters recording property transactions at the monastery of Saint Gregory, all of which fail to mention Fonte Avellana. In fact, Peter Damian only appears first in a document from 1069, five years after the monastery's foundation, though the charter concedes substantial authority to the hermit. The donation of Peter di Bennoni and his wife, Erigunda, acknowledges Damian as founder and places by right (*meo iure*) the properties under discussion into the hands of Damian himself (*in ius et dominium tuum*).²⁸⁵ Since Damian held this right to both the monastery and its patrimony, he had the option to impose the standard obligations of affiliation on Saint Gregory's. But Saint Gregory's never paid any tribute to Fonte Avellana, which the monasteries of Camporeggiano and Acereta were required to provide offerings to their motherhouse or face severe cash penalties.

Damian regarded the community of Saint Gregory's differently than he did his other foundations. John of Lodi wrote that Damian spent time at Fonte Avellana whenever he could, because he could never forget about his brothers with whom he had lived at the time of his conversion and whose welfare had been entrusted to him.²⁸⁶ Damian understood himself as both

²⁸⁰ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7.

²⁸¹ "Invano cercheremmo il benché minimo riferimento esplicito al monastero di S. Gregorio in Conca, nell'imponente mole di scritti di Pier Damiani: letter, agiografie, testi poetici e liturgici che pure occupano più di duemila colonne in due interi tomi della *Patrologia Latina* del Migne" (D'Acunto, 2008, 119).

²⁸² These economic practices are discussed at length in Chapter 5.

²⁸³ For example, see G. Rabotti, *Le relazioni tra il monastero di San Gregorio in Conca ed il vescovo di Rimini nei secoli XI e XII*, in *Studi Romagnoli*, XIII (1962). As D'Acunto notes, Celestino Pierucci in the introduction to the *Carte di Fonte Avellana* (p. XII) qualifies this point (130-131).

²⁸⁴ D'Acunto, 131.

²⁸⁵ *Le carte del monastero di S. Gregorio in Conca di Morciano*, vol. I (1014-1301), ed. Emiliano Bianchi (Ravenna: Girasole, 2009), doc. 11, p. 83.

²⁸⁶ "Porro quamquam his gerendis prudens Dei servus instaret, tamen dilectum sanctae crucis fontis Avellani locum et collegium, quod ipse prae omnibus tamquam unicum diligebat, crebro, quocumque diverteret visitare curabat.

head and active member of the congregation simultaneously. As his repeated requests to leave his position in the Roman curia show, he wanted nothing more than to return to his life at Fonte Avellana. There, and within other foundations, he cultivated personal relationships. The pages above detail the intimate friendships Damian maintained with hermits and monks across the congregation. When his brothers reached out for his counsel, he very willingly provided it. When he perceived a lapse in moral judgment or behavior, he addressed it. He arbitrated larger disputes himself, rather than leaving these issues for individual prelates to resolve. During his tenure as prior, and even at the end of his life, he took steps to ensure the survival of the congregation. Damian afforded no such attention to Saint Gregory's. No letters survive either from the community to Damian, or from Damian to individual monks or to the collective body. John of Lodi carefully compiled and organized all of Damian's correspondence and despite the inevitable lacunae, it seems unlikely all of Saint Gregory's epistolary communications should be lost when so much survives from other houses, especially considering Peter Damian never even mentions the monastery in any of his copious texts. John of Lodi correctly included Saint Gregory's among the foundations of Peter Damian, but its example shows that being founded by Damian did not automatically grant an institution inclusion in the congregation or the network. Individuals within foundations, or entire communities, had to share in the congregation's way of life in order to be a part. As social network theory suggests ties were not unidirectional, but two-way or multidirectional.

Damian's actions towards Saint Gregory's were consonant with the lack of communications. He virtually ignored the community of Saint Gregory after its foundation. Saint Gregory's never experienced the autonomy that had become so important within the congregation of Fonte Avellana. In fact, the situation there was quite the opposite. The brothers accepted the patronage of the wealthy Bennoni family and Damian left the community to its fate as a proprietary house. The family was among the most economically powerful in the region, and if not loyal to the pope at the very least they remained neutral with respect to Rome's objectives.²⁸⁷ In any case, Damian entrusted San Gregory's to the Bennoni family. Not until the early 1070s did he turn his attention to the monastery and only then to dispose of its administration. On November 16th of 1070, Peter Damian handed Saint Gregory's and all its property over to the bishop of Rimini, Opizo.²⁸⁸ Because Damian trusted its defense and the administration of its patrimony to the local bishop, Saint Gregory's could never be a part of the congregation.

The act appears even more unusual as it took place years after Camporeggiano had taken steps to limit episcopal interference, and after Damian, acting as papal legate, had intervened on behalf of Cluny in a conflict with the bishop of Mâcon in 1063.²⁸⁹ Though Damian sacrificed monastic autonomy, traditionally a non-exempt monastery would have been subject to the pastoral care of the nearest prelate.²⁹⁰ But his decision more likely resulted from practical concerns. In November of 1070, Peter di Bennoni had recently died leaving no heirs, which

Nequaquam sane illorum oblivisci poterat, cum quibus a suae conversionis exordio conversatus fuerat, quosque iussione magistri sibi commendatos esse recolebat" (*Vita Damiani* (ed. cit.) 229-230). This passage is also cited by D'Acunto in "Pier Damiani e gli esordi," 131.

²⁸⁷ D'Acunto, 2008, 133.

²⁸⁸ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 13, 88-90. This decision would later contribute to the deterioration of the relationship between the monastery and the bishop (see Giuseppe Rabotti, "Le relazioni tra il monastero di San Gregorio in Conca ed il vescovo di Rimini" *Studi Romagnoli* 13 [1962]: 215-240).

²⁸⁹ G. Cacciamini, 15-16. See Letters 100 and 103 to the monks of Cluny and to Abbot Hugh, respectively.

²⁹⁰ G. Cacciamini, 16.

stripped the monastery of its benefactor and protector. As the counts of Rimini loomed overhead as a potential threat to fill this vacuum, the bishop presented the better option.²⁹¹ Moreover, Damian's reasons for these unusual decisions hinged primarily on a wider and more precarious political situation. From the outset the monastery was a political tool. Damian chose the monastery's titular saint, Gregory the Great, deliberately. His name recalled the Holy See in a region particularly hostile to the papacy near Ravenna, a strong center of papal opposition.²⁹² Therefore it would serve Damian's interests to grant its governance to the bishop of Rimini, a man loyal to Alexander II, and to back his power in the region with a substantial patrimony, especially considering Opizo's colleague, the archbishop of Ravenna, had sided with the anti-pope and former bishop of Parma, Cadalus, only a few years prior.

Monastic Alliances

Saint Gregory's would have played a vital role in Damian's larger network because of the political milieu it occupied. Despite the fact the monastery was never a part of Fonte Avellana's congregation, it represented an outpost of reform in a highly contentious area of the Marches. Among its allies the monastery counted Damian himself, who by extension tied the community to Rome. Damian similarly established relationships with several other monasteries in the region, but these interactions depended on his communications and visitations. Saint Gregory's received neither, though the monastery would still prove useful to Damian's agenda. Like Saint Gregory's, these other monastic allies were not part of Fonte Avellana's congregation; rather, they represented alliances peripheral to the fraternal network. In addition to Damian's overtures, the hermitage of Fonte Avellana occasionally interacted with these periphery houses as well.

Before Peter Damian became prior of Fonte Avellana, he had already built up ties to three influential monasteries in the Marches, the monasteries of Saint Mary at Sitria, Saint Mary at Pomposa,²⁹³ and Saint Vincent at Furlo.²⁹⁴ These three houses appear never to have communicated with Fonte Avellana or its congregation, and indeed Damian's communications to Pomposa and Saint Vincent's drop off even before 1057. Sitria, only six kilometers from Fonte Avellana, is the exception. As mentioned above, Dominic Loricato spent time at Sitria and the hermitage of Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli, very near to Sitria. In light of the presence of Dominic Loricato, Sitria seems a member of the congregation. The same could be said of Saint Emilian's. While the evidence, or lack thereof, does not preclude these conclusions, based on the criteria established here for affiliation, these houses did not meet the basic requirements. Moreover John of Lodi never mentions them as members of the congregation, because Damian did not found these houses, nor were they placed in his hands by a higher authority. If the eighteenth-century biographers' accounts are accurate and Dominic traveled to the houses of Sitria and Saint Emilian at Damian's request to reform those communities, that would present a

²⁹¹ Ibid, 137.

²⁹² D'Acunto, 2008, 134.

²⁹³ Pio Laghi, "S. Guido, abbate di Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 7-107; R. Gregoire, "Pomposa et la reforme de l'eglise au XI siècle" *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 3-19; B. Calati, "Il 'De perfectione monachorum' di S. Pier Damiano ed il contributo di Pomposa all riforma monastica del secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 37-72; J. Leclercq, "Cultura spirituale e ideale riformatore dell'abbazia di Pomposa nel secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 73-88; L. Gatto, "Studi Mainardeschi e pomposiani," *Collana di saggi e ricerche* 4 (1969).

²⁹⁴ G. Buroni, *I Monasteri benedettini del Metauro nell'archidiocesi di Urbino* in *Studia Picena*, XV (1940), p. 1-17; *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 334; *Vita Sancti Romauldi* (ed. cit.), chapters 56-57; *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), chapters 5-6.

compelling argument for affiliation or at least dependency. However, the authors do not state that Dominic replaced the abbots of these communities or enacted changes in practice. On the contrary, Dominic accepted penance from the abbot of Saint Emilian's. Dominic served as an example of ascetic holiness in these cases, not a prelate.

Similarly, historians have argued that the monastery of the Holy Savior at Monte Acuto near Perugia was a daughter house of Fonte Avellana.²⁹⁵ In a letter dated between 1055 and 1057, Damian stated he had recently acted as prior over the monastery "dedicated to our blessed Savior" near Perugia, which is generally assumed to be the monastery at Monte Acuto.²⁹⁶ In a later letter of January 1069 he mentions again being present at a monastery that scholars suggest was Monte Acuto.²⁹⁷ These two instances aside, Damian appears not to have integrated Monte Acuto into his congregation. Even if he acted as prior of the community for a time, he most likely accepted the position as a temporary reformer, much like his own disciple Dominic Loricato had done. In the interest of reform, Damian sought to bring as many religious foundations under his influence as possible, but that plan did not necessarily include formal affiliation in the congregation of Fonte Avellana.

Many additional examples demonstrate social interactions between the congregation and its neighbors. In 1051 Damian offered an unknown abbot named Albizo the use of a horse from Fonte Avellana.²⁹⁸ In 1062, the hermits of Gamogna accepted lands in emphyteusis from the abbot of the nearby monastery of Santa Reparata.²⁹⁹ Two years earlier, the *carta definitionis* between Gamogna and Acereta listed among the possessions of the monastery "that which we hold in the monastery of Saint Benedict."³⁰⁰ The *Annales Camaldulenses* state this clause refers probably to the monastery of Saint Benedict in Bifurco not far from Acereta, but in any case this unidentifiable monastery was counted as part of Acereta's dependents. In a letter sent some time after 1064 Damian wrote to Bonizo, abbot of the monastery of Saint Peter in Perugia,³⁰¹ to praise him for leaving his prelacy in favor of an eremitic life at Fonte Avellana.³⁰² Around the same time, Damian asked two abbots of unknown monasteries to edit his works, but he also addressed that letter to John of Lodi thus forming a small circle of colleagues and facilitating a connection between a prominent hermit at Fonte Avellana and the heads of two other communities.³⁰³ One final example dates to 1071, when the monks accept lands granted in emphyteusis from the monastery of Saint Lawrence in Campo Maggiore in the valley of Cesano.³⁰⁴

We have, therefore, a strong case for inter-monastery relations between the hermitage of Fonte Avellana and some surrounding institutions. It is also highly likely that Dominic Loricatus, Damian's nephew, Damianus, and Richard of Camporeggione were not the only brothers to travel to other communities. However, there is no sign these houses engaged in any

²⁹⁵ Benericetti, 50-51. For a bibliography on this house see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 28, n. 61.

²⁹⁶ "In Perusino denique monasterio sancti videlicet Salvatoris, cui nuper et ipse praefui..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 44, 28). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 238.

²⁹⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 156, 75; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 156, 80.

²⁹⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 37; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 37.

²⁹⁹ ASL, document 234, Gamogna, Oct. 14, 1062.

³⁰⁰ "... quod habemus in monastery Sancti Benedicti" (*Carte*, doc. 15, 38).

³⁰¹ Saint Peter's had a strong connection to the Holy See and received numerous privileges during the eleventh century. Silvana de Stefano, *Regesto in transunto dell'archivio di s. Pietro in Perugia* (Perugia, 1902).

³⁰² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 105; Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 105.

³⁰³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 116; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 116.

³⁰⁴ *Carte*, doc. 30, 80-82.

legal or financial agreement with the congregation of Fonte Avellana. In short, Fonte Avellana formed alliances with Sitria, Saint Emilian, and the other aforementioned monasteries. Although we cannot conclude whether or not these monasteries were dependents of Fonte Avellana in any legal sense, we do know without doubt the houses shared people, objects, and ideas. Like the monastery of Saint Gregory, Damian expected these communities to emit waves of reform in a zone he viewed as plagued by dissenters. Both he, and his disciples, reached out to them in various ways.

Fonte Avellana provided the austere existence of the Desert Fathers so many contemporary ascetics sought, a religious path that came into vogue especially during the twelfth and thirteen centuries, but the congregation's particular brand of eremitism included a striking emphasis on community. Peter Damian and his disciples forged a unique monastic identity at Fonte Avellana based on personal ties and the sharing of resources during the period of his leadership from 1043 until his death in 1072. Unlike classic historiography on monastic congregations, this chapter has considered Fonte Avellana from the perspective of the daughter houses to understand the monastic congregation as a network. In this network various types and strengths of affiliation were present. The congregation itself formed a fraternal network, linked horizontally between houses and vertically to Peter Damian himself as head. On the periphery other reforming monasteries in the region occasionally had contact with the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, but they were never members of the congregation or part of the fraternal network. This characterization of a congregation as a network could help historians better understand how ideas about reform were disseminated. Because each religious house represented a node in the network tied to Damian and to Rome, their presence and practices pushed forward reforming agendas on the ground. But we must also remember that the congregation's monastic ideals grew out of relations between houses as well and therefore did not come solely from the top down.

This chapter has focused primarily on the fraternal network, in which the notion of a congregation as a community predominated both Damian's communications and internal legislation. This idea predates similar values embraced by monastic orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most notably the Cistercians. The Cistercians mandated with the *Charta Caritatis* a congregation-wide commitment to maintain friendship and mutual charity, but they were not the first to invent such an approach. Furthermore, the model Damian created may have had its parallels in contemporary orders. Alongside Fonte Avellana, the Vallombrosans and Camaldolese monastic congregations also arose during the eleventh century in north-central Italy, and their practices and internal relations could show similar strategies. At the same time, we cannot underestimate the role of Damian's charisma in initiating and maintaining relationships.

While only further research on the rise of these Italian congregations could answer these questions, from the example of Fonte Avellana we can draw three conclusions about its role in the narrative of monastic reform. First, the rise of Italian hermits should occupy a more prominent place in that narrative. Fonte Avellana's appearance was not a result of a widespread movement; the hermits and monks of the congregation themselves propelled the movement forward. Their activities show a bottom-up initiative for reform. In short, the study of Fonte Avellana as a network reveals the impact of grassroots movements in eleventh-century reform. Damian began building the congregation of Fonte Avellana before he left for Rome, before he was working from the "epicenter" of reform. Lastly, and tangentially related to the former point, the neat line from the reforms at Cluny and Gorze to large-scale reform of the secular clergy fails to accommodate the efforts of Fonte Avellana and its congregation. We should be cautious in

assigning Augustin Fliche's classic interpretation to the situation in the northeastern Italy.³⁰⁵ Damian's use of papal immunities and the ability of the motherhouse to supply abbots for daughter houses conforms with Cluniac practices, but his personal and fraternal networks, working in tandem to reform what he perceived to be one of the most problematic areas of Europe, represented a novel innovation. Damian rooted his reforms in personal relationships. In that regard he was a forerunner for the work of Pope Gregory VII. I.S. Robinson argued in 1978³⁰⁶ that Gregory constructed an extensive friendship network to combat opponents at a local level. The following chapter will explore how Damian managed his own personal, reforming network, which he developed well before his one-time colleague.

³⁰⁵ Fliche, 1924-27.

³⁰⁶ Robinson, 1978.

The Communication of Reform

When Peter Damian adjudicated a property dispute in 1060 between two daughter houses of Fonte Avellana, the hermitage of Gamogna and the monastery of Acereta, Count Guido and his wife Ermellina not only witnessed this document recording the terms of the mediation, they also consented to uphold Damian's decision.³⁰⁷ Moreover, they promised that in the event the hermitage became deserted (*ad nichilum devenerit*), they would not gain rights or power over any church property.³⁰⁸ Usurpation of church lands was common practice for many Guidi counts who were powerful landholders in Tuscany and Modigliana. Consequently they were not generally on good terms with Peter Damian. However, their participation in the resolution, while unusual considering their reputation, accords with Damian's mentality concerning the local aristocracy. He repeatedly engaged counts and bishops surrounding his monasteries regarding local reform initiatives. The 1060 charter indicates Damian's attempt to cultivate relationships with local magnates in the best interests of the congregation, and his commitment to sustain peace within his own community. But Damian's communications extended beyond the Marches. His personal friendship network spanned Italy and eventually crossed the Alps, and the vestiges of his relationships remain. Letters survive addressed to his personal network of correspondents including nobles like the Guidi and various high-ranking ecclesiastics, whom Damian beleaguered with demands and admonishments in the name of reform.³⁰⁹

As Owen J. Blum, the editor of the English editions of Damian's letters, states, "By a stroke of providence and the chance of artful human preservation, the massive letter collection of Peter Damain has become a part of mankind's literary legacy."³¹⁰ While historians at the University of Regensburg were compiling Damian's writings for a new Latin edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (the basis for the English versions edited by Blum *et al.*) they realized that one could classify all the texts as letters. An incredible 180 letters survived the centuries, both because Damian was a prolific letter writer and because his letters were deliberately preserved.³¹¹ Damian wrote as part of his active contemplation and as a substitute for manual labor.³¹² At Fonte Avellana he created the ideal conditions to compose his texts. He

³⁰⁷ "Insuper nos quiden Guido comes et Ermelina cometissa mea uxor spondimus promittimus atque obligamus omnibus abbatibus predicti monasterii quod digginicio predicta a domno Petro venerabili pontifici, nobis concientibus, ut dictum est, inter monasterium et heremum facta custodire modique omnibus obserare..." (*Carte*, doc. 15, 38).

³⁰⁸ "... non habeamus licentiam nec potestatem alie aecclesie illam concedere vel [quoque] modo consentire..." (*Ibid.*).

³⁰⁹ Approximately 84 percent of the letters were written after Damian's ascension to the cardinalate in 1057 (only 29 letters date prior to 1057). The majority of the letters Damian addressed to bishops and monks and congregations outside of Fonte Avellana (42 and 39 letters, respectively, each roughly 23 percent of the total and together comprising nearly half of the collection). Damian wrote 23 letters to his own disciples, to the community of Fonte Avellana, to other monasteries in the congregation, and to the congregation as a whole (nearly 13 percent of the collection). Twenty letters he sent to popes, or about 11 percent, and 34 to laypersons of various social rank (about 19 percent). The remaining 24 letters (around 13 percent) Damian sent to miscellaneous clerics or dioceses.

³¹⁰ Owen J. Blum, Introduction to vol. I of Peter Damian's *Letters* (1989), 3.

³¹¹ Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 12.

³¹² Damian wrote in 1059, "As one who does not know how to engage in useful manual labor, I write that I might restrain my wandering and lascivious mind with a leash" ("...ut qui operibus manuum utiliter insudare non noveram, cor vagum atque lascivum quodam meditationis loro restrigerem, sicque cogitationum ingruentium strepitum atque

had a substantial library and a secretary at his disposal to record his thoughts, and a number of other monks to aid in the copying and editing of the letters. No letters have been found among the archives of his recipients. We have copies due only to Damian's diligence; he preserved an in-house copy of every letter he sent and kept them all at Fonte Avellana.³¹³ Some letters were intended for the addressee's eyes only and were sealed and occasionally accompanied by instructions or private information given to the recipient by the letter bearer. Other letters circulated among religious institutions where they were subsequently copied and forwarded.³¹⁴ All of the letters, whether public or private, served the same purpose: to preserve for posterity his positions and interpretations of a myriad of ecclesiastical and theological issues.³¹⁵ For that reason, Damian himself admitted he occasionally got carried away and "offended against the rule of epistolary brevity."³¹⁶

With little exception Damian did not date his letters, which was common contemporary practice. The editors of the Latin publications marginally adjusted some of the dating established first by Franz Neukirch in 1875 and then a century later by Giovanni Lucchesi in 1972,³¹⁷ and Damian's letters have fairly precise dates. As a result, historians can study the letters chronologically, and only ten letters cannot be dated. Damian himself organized his letters in such a way he was able to cite earlier writings in later compositions.³¹⁸ He asked two bishops to help in the editing and correcting of his letters around 1059³¹⁹ and in 1064 his disciple, John of Lodi, assumed this task.³²⁰ The four main codices on which both the Latin and English editions of Damian's letters are based were compiled at Fonte Avellana,³²¹ and they were arranged according to topics or chronology.³²²

Although his letters have been extensively studied, scholars have not analyzed the patterns present in Damian's communications. Damian's correspondence shows that after 1057 his letter writing changed direction and purposes when he was made cardinal. But regional concerns and connections dominate the correspondence, meaning Damian continued to direct his

accidia orepentis instantiam facilius propulsarem" [Reindel, *Briefe*, [1988], Letter 62, 219; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 62, 14].

³¹³ Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 14-16.

³¹⁴ Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 16.

³¹⁵ Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 17.

³¹⁶ "... epistolaris regulam brevitatis offendi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 57, 189). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 57, 389.

³¹⁷ Neukirch, 1875; G. Lucchesi, 1 (1972), 13-79; 2 (1972), 13-160; A. Gibelli, *Monografia dell'antico monastero di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana* (Faenza, 1896).

³¹⁸ Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 18.

³¹⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 62; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 62.

³²⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 116; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 116.

³²¹ These four manuscripts are *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3797* (V1), *Cod. Urbino lat. 503* (U1), *Cod. Cassinensis 358* (C1), and *Cod. Cassinensis 359* (C1). V1 and U1 are incomplete, and C1 and C2 use materials from Fonte Avellana, but are copies produced at Montecassino. No eleventh-century codex contains all of Damian's letters; some letters are found only in later manuscripts. Therefore there is no alpha text. Reindel's *Briefe*, vols. I-IV (1983-1993) provides details on all the manuscripts containing Damian's texts, including their provenance and transmission. Many Early Modern compilations of the letters also exist, the most well known of which being the work of Contantine Gaetani, a sixteenth-century Benedictine monk born in 1568 and later appointed by Pope Clement VIII to edit Damian's works (Blum, "Introduction" [1989], 24). In 1832 the prefect of the Vatican Library, Angelo Mai, made the first important addition to Gaetani's widely published edition of the *Testimonia novi testamenti* and the account of Damian's companion on a trip to Cluny. Then in the nineteenth century, Migne published all previously published texts in volumes 144 and 145 of the *Patrologia Latina*. Today the *MGH* and English editions include other texts discovered after the *PL* volumes were published (see Blum, "Introduction" [1989], 25).

³²² Blum, "Introduction" (1989), 21.

focus locally even after 1057 when he assumed his new office in Rome. Through his letters we can see how his reform ideas spread and in particular his concerns about ecclesiastical property and its protection. A social network as an interconnected system typically includes parties that support one another, as was the case in the fraternal network. In Damian's personal network the various parties involved were notionally and pragmatically incompatible. Moreover, these parties exchanged communications with Damian only and did not generally communicate among themselves. For that reason, it is more accurate to characterize this network as a partial social network.

Monasteries, bishops, and lay landholders found themselves in constant competition over property rights and usages in the Marches, which is where Damian concentrated his reforming efforts early in his career. He frequently contacted local dioceses and sought the aid of both the pope and the emperor to reform the region. He also cultivated relationships with the see of Ravenna and the monastery of Pomposa in 1040s and 1050s. After receiving his papal appointment in 1057, his center of operations moved from Ravenna to Rome. Simultaneously his focus shifted west of the Marches to the monastery of Montecassino. He expanded his vision geographically, but never ignored the region around Fonte Avellana. Letters to his congregation only increase after 1065 and his communications to bishops in the Marches continue until his death in 1072. Likewise, he contacted the regional aristocracy with greater frequency after 1057 and even presumed to instruct them on secular justice.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Damian's fraternal network began with a program of discipleship established early in his priorship at Fonte Avellana and he later extended the system to the hermitage's daughter houses. In his correspondence to his disciples Damian exercised intimate pastoral care. He constructed a strong foundation for his congregation based on personal relationships. While his correspondence within his wider communication network expressed concern over the foremost problems plaguing the Church, he approached his relationships in his personal network in the same way.

I. Monasteries: Beacons of Reform

Damian did not stop at constructing a network of daughter houses dependent on Fonte Avellana; at once he initiated relationships with monasteries and hermitages outside of the congregation to build his personal network. These included four other monasteries located in the Marches: Saint Mary's in Sitria, Saint Mary's in Pomposa, Saint Vincent's in Furlo, and Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli. Damian did not consistently have direct, tangible authority over these houses, but that fact did not diminish his influence over their activities. He dispensed spiritual counsel and theological and scriptural interpretations in both his relationships with Fonte Avellana's monks and hermits and in his external friendships. *Caritas* governed Damian's communications to his own brothers, but also those addressed to houses or individuals outside of the congregation. The only difference between his relations with houses inside or outside of the congregation was therefore juridical.

Pomposa received particular epistolary attention during the 1040s.³²³ In that decade Damian concentrated a great deal of energy on the monastery's reform, but after 1057 his

³²³ On the relationship between Peter Damian and the monastery of Pomposa see Pio Laghi, "S. Guido, abbate di Pomposa," *Analecta Pomposiana* 3 (1967), 7-107; Réginald Grégoire, "Pomposa et la reforme de l'église au XI siecle," » *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 3-19; B. Calati, "Il *De perfectione monachorum* di S. Pier Damiano ed il contributo di Pomposa alla riforma monastica del secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965): 21-36; A. Samaritani,

attentions shifted.³²⁴ He had been particularly close to the Abbot Guido, who died in 1046, and then he also maintained relations with Guido's successors, the first and second Abbots Mainard.³²⁵ In fact, he dedicated his well known work, *De perfectione monastica* to the second Abbot Mainard.³²⁶ Of the three abbots, Guido expressed the most interest in reform. The abbot already counted the archbishop of Ravenna, Gebhard, among his friends when he reached out to Damian.³²⁷ Guido first invited him to deliver several lectures on Scripture to the community and to respond to specific questions in 1041.³²⁸ Damian's earliest communication to a brother of Pomposa, sent sometime between 1040 and 1041,³²⁹ to layman and later monk was sent before the man's conversion. Damian wrote to the nobleman Honestus on the subject of Jews at the latter's request. He offered extensive arguments against Jews in a dialectic format with an invented opponent.³³⁰ Damian composed this letter while living at Pomposa, which probably affected his recipient's later choice of residence. Then in 1044 Damian addressed the entire community as his "beloved father and lords."³³¹ He lamented the fact he was away from the monastery and asked that the monks regard him and Fonte Avellana as their own "legal possession."³³² He also states, "Whatever should be your wish, without hesitation demand of us as your subjects and servants."³³³ His closing remarks included the request that the brothers remember him in their prayers. Damian wanted to unite Pomposa and Fonte Avellana, but the terms of the relationship remain nebulous. There was no discussion of formal ties or property relations, indicating the houses would be linked through *caritas* and nothing further.

Damian did, however, assume the responsibility of regulating the behavior of Pomposa's abbot. At some point between 1047 and 1054 Damian presented the first Abbot Mainard a lengthy list of Scriptural citations designed to shame the prelate for his fondness of fine garments. He writes, "It had been a long time, my brother since the passion for fine clothes has

"Contributi di Pomposa alla storia del secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965), 37-72; J. Leclercq, "Cultura spirituale e ideale riformatore dell'abbazia di Pomposa nel secolo XI," *Analecta Pomposiana* 1 (1965): 73-88; L. Gatto, "Studi Mainardeschi e pomposiani," *Collana di saggi e ricerche* 4 (1969).

³²⁴ According to Réginald Grégoire ("Pomposa," 5-6) the monastery of Pomposa was always loyal to the German emperors from the time Conrad II declared the house a royal monastery on November 22, 1001. As Grégoire notes, during the schism created by Henry IV's appointment of the antipope Clement III, all documents from Pomposa recognize Clement as the only pontiff (18). However, as Calati argues during Damian's lifetime, and especially at the time of the schism involving Cadalus, the monks strove for equilibrium in negotiating their ties to the emperor with their relationship with Damian and Pope Alexander II (58). In fact, the abbots of Pomposa participated in many reform councils and synods held between 1014 and 1068 (Grégoire, 6-7).

³²⁵ As Blum mentions, Lucchesi in his *Vita*, no. 56 identifies two abbots of Pomposa named Mainard (*Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 24, n. 1, p. 227). The second abbot Mainard was appointed by Henry IV in 1063 (Grégoire, 9).

³²⁶ B. Calati, "Il *De perfectione monachorum*," 21. Calati states that although some debate surrounds the identity of the letter's intended recipient, it was absolutely Mainard and his community. Grégoire agrees with Calati on this point ("Pomposa," 15).

³²⁷ Grégoire, 7.

³²⁸ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 6.

³²⁹ See G. Lucchesi, "L'antilogus contra Judaeos di S. Pier Damiano e Pomposa," in *Analecta Pomposiana* I (1965), 89f for the dating of this letter (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 1, 37, n. 2).

³³⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 1, 63-102; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. I (1989), Letter 1, 37-83.

³³¹ "Dilectissimi patres et domini..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 6, 114). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 6, 95.

³³² "... et nos et totum nostrum conventum quasi proprii vestri iuris possessionem esse indubitanter agnoscite..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 6, 114). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 6, 95.

³³³ "... quicquid vobis placuerit, tamquam vestris subiectis atque domesticis abseque ulla cunctacione iubete" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 6). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 6, 96.

inflamed you, and, if I might use the phrase, like the head of a deadly fever has scorched the flesh of your ambition.”³³⁴ His words imply that friendly concern moved Damian to reprove the abbot, but arguably his anxiety ran deeper. The abbot, as the head of Pomposa, set the example for its behavior and by saying nothing, Damian ran the risk of losing the entire house to the excesses of its prelate. He later criticized his friend Honestus for similar overindulgence. In his case, it was gluttony. Damian writes to the monk, “Brother, do not be a slave to gluttony of to the desires of the flesh, you who have vowed to the author of temperance to be his night. You should be ashamed to be a serf to carnal pleasure.”³³⁵ Damian followed Pomposa’s spiritual progress closely as he was remarkably aware of the failings of individual monks.³³⁶ Damian’s communications to Pomposa break off for nearly a decade following this letter, but he did compose one final letter to the monastery dated after 1067.³³⁷ In this letter Damian offers his opusculum *De perfectione monachorum*, in which he describes the duties and obligations ascribed to the monastic vocation and encourages the brothers of Pomposa to ascend to the eremitic life.

After his conversion, Peter Damian spent more time at nearby monasteries than at Fonte Avellana. He lived at Pomposa for at least a year from 1040 until 1041.³³⁸ Then in 1042 he was at the monastery of Saint Vincent in Furlo,³³⁹ a monastery very near to Fonte Avellana on the Via Flaminia, writing the life of Saint Romuald. He made an appropriate choice to write Romuald’s *Vita* at Saint Vincent’s; the saint had reformed the monastery years before³⁴⁰ and one of his most famous disciples was its former abbot, Gaudentius.³⁴¹ While in residence, he interceded on the monks’ behalf with the margrave of Tuscany, Boniface³⁴² and there began the relationship between the house of Canossa and Peter Damian. Boniface himself was predisposed to cooperate. He remained on good terms with the monastery of The Holy Savior at Camaldoli, also a Romualdian foundation, and traveled to Pomposa every year to confess.³⁴³ Moreover as Donizo reports in the *Vita Mathildis*, when Guido of Pomposa discussed the evils of simony with his friend Boniface he eventually persuaded him not to sell any more churches.³⁴⁴ Damian

³³⁴ “Diu iam, frater, est ex quo tibi preciosarum vestium estus incanduit et, ut ita loquar, ambitionis tuae viscera tamquam loetiferae febris ardor excoxit” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 24, 227). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 24, 227.

³³⁵ “Noli, frater, noli gulae vel carnis deservire libidini, qui te militem spondesti sobrietatis auctori. Pudeat te carnalium voluptatum esse vernaculum...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 27, 244). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 27, 248.

³³⁶ Letter 175 is also addressed to a monk Honestus, but it is unclear whether or not it is the same monk of Pomposa. The letter was reconstructed from fragments preserved by John of Lodi in the *Liber Testimoniorum* (*Collectanea*) that do not accord with Letters 1 and 27 (see Blum, Introduction to Letter 175, and page 277, n. 1).

³³⁷ The identity as the addressee of this later letter (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 153; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 [2005], Letter 153) to the second abbot Mainard and his community (containing the opusculum *De perfectione monachorum*) remains controversial. See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4, Letter 153 13, n. 1 for a discussion on the subject.

³³⁸ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.) chapters 5-6.

³³⁹ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 6. Saint Vincent’s is also known as *San Vincenzo di Petra Pertusa* and *San Vincenzo al Furlo* or *Badia del Furlo*.

³⁴⁰ See *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 333-334.

³⁴¹ In this *Vita* of the saint, Damian recounts stories of the relationship between Gaudentius and Romuald (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.], ch. 57).

³⁴² The dating of Letter 2 in the corpus edited by both Reindel and Blum is highly disputed (Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 203).

³⁴³ Donizo, *Vita Mathildis*, I, 16, trans. Romano Marradi (Mantova: Editoriale Sometti, 2007), 136-137 (also discussed in Grégoire, “Pomposa,” 8).

³⁴⁴ Donizo, *Vita Mathildis*, I, 16, 136-137.

himself wrote to Boniface on temporal power in 1042. At the close of the letter, he begged the margrave to “protect the monasteries that lie in your area and not allow them to be plundered or molested by the many troops under your command.”³⁴⁵ He requested that Boniface pay particular attention to Saint Vincent’s and that he return to the monastery its “legal control, [and] the estates held by usurpers.”³⁴⁶ Based on this statement, Boniface held some jurisdiction over Saint Vincent’s, but Damian provides no additional information on the nature of his authority.³⁴⁷ Damian’s role, however, is clear. He considered it his responsibility to act as the monastery’s advocate.

He also recruited potential new converts on behalf of the monastery of Saint Vincent. In a letter to Landulf Cotta of Milan, Damian describes his efforts to lure both a rich nobleman and the bishop of Fossombrone to the monastery. Damian himself admits he pressured the lay aristocrat Ardoinus “with fawning and flattery,” but the man made numerous excuses and continually delayed his conversion.³⁴⁸ Simultaneously, the abbot of Saint Vincent’s was dissuading Ardoinus from entering the monastery because the monks depended on his generous grants. Ardoinus fell ill and died before he could convert, and shortly thereafter the abbot of Saint Vincent’s had a vision of the unfortunate man tormented in hell. The abbot asked why Ardoinus had not appealed to Saint Vincent himself, whose memory he had honored so well during his life. Ardoinus replied that Saint Vincent was always very busy. Damian explains how divine justice returned a punishment appropriate to Ardoinus’ sin: just as he delayed becoming a monk, Saint Vincent tarried in providing his assistance.³⁴⁹ Likewise Bishop Adam of Fossombrone made constant excuses when Damian asked why he had not yet fulfilled his promise to join the brothers at Saint Vincent’s. A devotion to his see prevented Adam’s conversion, despite his willingness to resign. He worried his diocese would be overrun by plunderers upon his departure. In the end he also succumbed to illness and died a bishop. From these two examples Damian concluded that worldly attachments should never bar one from committing himself to the religious life.³⁵⁰

Damian exerted great spiritual influence over the brothers of Saint Vincent’s. In his May 1066 communication to Gamogna, he discussed how he had reformed the practices of its community. He writes, “In the monastery of Saint Vincent... I had established as a strict regulation that the beginning of Lent be observed with special rigor: that for three days all the brethren fast on only a little bread and water; that no word pass their lips except when reading or praying; that they walk barefoot in grief and mourning; that after chanting the office in common they chastise one another with switches.”³⁵¹ He goes on to say that while most of the brothers

³⁴⁵ “De monasteriis autem, quae nunc tibi vicina sunt, ex Dei parte depecor et humiliter peto, ut manum illis tuae defensionis adhibeas et ab exercitus multitudine, qui tecum sunt, non depraedari vel molestari permittas” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983] Letter 2, 104). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 2, 85-86.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ See Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 2, 86, n. 8.

³⁴⁸ “... cevendo, blandiendo...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 70, 312; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 70, 103.

³⁴⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 70, 312; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 70, 104.

³⁵⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 70, 316-317; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 70, 107-108.

³⁵¹ “... in monasterio beati Vincentii... hoc tamquam regulare constitueramus edictum, ut sub districti censura rigoris quadragesimale celebraretur initium. Nimirum ut per triduum omnes fratres nonnisi modicum panis cum aqua comederent, nulla nisi lectionum sive orationum verba proferrent. Nudis pedibus lugubres ac merentes incederent, expleto communi modulatione psalterio mutual se scoparum castigatione purgarent” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 142, 316-317). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 142, 139.

joyfully complied with his rules, one obstinate brother refused to fast. After Damian observed his behavior, he asked him if he had any sin to confess. The brother claimed he had nothing to confess. A day later he was in bed, ill, demanding the Eucharist as if on his deathbed, though he exhibited no signs of sickness. As the other monks gathered around him, he suddenly whispered a confession in the ear of one of his brethren that merited fifteen years of penance. Then, after receiving the host, he vomited bile and died.³⁵² Damian shared this story with the monks of Gamogna as a warning for the disregard of the congregation's rules.

Damian sought to exert his influence over the community at Saint Mary's in Sitria as well. He wanted the monastery to return to its earlier state when Romuald in residence at the hermitage he founded. One of Damian's most important disciples, Leo of Sitria, lived at Fonte Avellana. His friendship with Leo did not serve in reforming the monastery, however, because the epithet attached to his name indicates Sitria was an earlier residence.³⁵³ According to the seventeenth-century *Vita* of Domenic Loricatus by Ludovicus Iacobilius,³⁵⁴ Damian dispatched his admirable disciple Domenic to act as prior to Sitria in the 1050s. In so doing, Damian could affect change in the monastery from the top down. Possibly at Damian's request as well, Domenic also spent time in a cell outside Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli, a monastery close to Sassoferrato and therefore very near to Sitria. In the Saint's *Vita*, Damian characterizes the abbot of Saint Emilian's as "a young man, easygoing in manner and unaccustomed to giving spiritual advice."³⁵⁵ Damian came to this conclusion based on a story in which Domenic was moved to prostrate himself at the feet of the monastery's abbot, a man who usually dispensed inappropriately light penance, but in a unique case imposed the chanting of thirty psalters on Domenic. The saint, surprised by this substantial penance, decided the abbot had bestowed divine judgment upon him and therefore he remained in his cell until he had completed all thirty psalters.³⁵⁶ In sum, only the presence of Domenic brought about positive change at the monastery, which possessed an inadequate abbot. However, unlike Sitria in this case Domenic's influence was not judicial but rather spiritual.

II. Crisis in the Marches

Fonte Avellana's congregation represented a powerful, collective force in the region operating under common principles. Peter Damian shored up the congregational structure through his relations to nearby monasteries, which both spiritually supplemented his own

³⁵² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 142, 517; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 142, 103.

³⁵³ Damian had multiple disciples named Leo. Letter 28, including his minor work, *Dominus vobiscum*, was possibly addressed to Leo of Sitria (see *Annales Camaldulenses*, vol. II, eds. Johanne-Benedicto Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni [Venice: J.B. Pasquali, 1756], 158; Neukirch 95). See also Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 17-19; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 228-230, and Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989) Letter 110, 238; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 241.

³⁵⁴ Ludovicus Iacobilius, *Vite de'Santi e Beati dell'Umbria*, vol. III Bologna Forni Editore 1971 [1661] 338; Ibid., vol. II 1971, 336-339. See also Ottavio Turchi, *La Vita di S. Domenico Confessore detto il Loricato eremita Benedettino di Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana tratta dalli scritti di San Pier Damiani* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1749).

³⁵⁵ "Ille autem erat iuenculus, levis morbus et consiliis spiritalibus insuetus..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 109, 221. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 109, 224.

³⁵⁶ The word Damian uses literally is "psalteria," a psalter, not psalms, which demonstrates the extreme nature of the penance (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 109, 221; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 109, 224-225).

communities and reinforced his status as a reform leader. But Peter Damian never stopped expanding his efforts. His personal network in Italy moved beyond Fonte Avellana's congregation and its neighboring houses to span the entire peninsula. Geographically, the network was primarily an Italian one, and his letters responded to local problems or in the interest of cultivating a friendship. Often he conflated these two applications, and in particular when he addressed bishops and their dioceses. Damian predominately directed his correspondence prior to 1057 to recipients in the Marches. Although early in his priorship Damian frequently communicated with local clerics, he also lamented the deplorable state of the Marches to outside authorities to garner support.³⁵⁷ In 1043³⁵⁸ he wrote archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi an intimate letter pleading that he bring to the pope's³⁵⁹ attention the problematic bishops of Fano and Pesaro. In 1045³⁶⁰ he contacted Pope Gregory VI directly on the matter, and this time added the bishop of Castello³⁶¹ to the list of errant clergy. Damian's reprobation in his letter to Lawrence of Amalfi provides no specific information on the bishops' crimes. He writes only that they are "notorious and guilty."³⁶² The subsequent letter to Gregory VI offers more details. Damian exhorts, "May we now restore the golden age of the apostles and under your discreet leadership may ecclesiastical discipline be revived. Repress the avarice of those aspiring to episcopal dignity and overthrow the seats of the money-brokers selling doves."³⁶³ He also specifically describes the bishop of Pesaro as an "adulterous, incestuous, and perjured plunderer."³⁶⁴ According to these vivid descriptions, simony appears a viable possibility.

Damian again contacted the pope, this time Clement II, in 1047 to bring the problem of the unreformed local clergy to his attention.³⁶⁵ In doing so he fulfilled the request of emperor Henry III, whom he had previously engaged in 1046³⁶⁶ when supporters of the former archbishop of Ravenna had been petitioning the emperor on his behalf for the return of his see. Damian extolled the emperor's virtuous expulsion of Widger saying, "The church is rescued from the clutches of a wild plunderer, and your well-being is hailed as the salvation of all the world."³⁶⁷ The emperor responded favorably to such noble praise. He repeatedly wrote Damian to discuss

³⁵⁷ As concerns correspondents outside of his immediate area, Damian wrote one letter to Lawrence of Amalfi, seven letters to Rome, and two letters to Emperor Henry III before 1057.

³⁵⁸ Regarding the dating of this letter, Blum writes, "This letter must be dated after the banishment of Archbishop Lawrence from Amalfi in 1039, and before the expulsion of Benedict IX from Rome (September, 1044)" (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 4, 90, n. 1).

³⁵⁹ According to Blum, Damian could refer here to Benedict IX or Gregory VI, but more probably to Benedict (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 4, 91, n. 5).

³⁶⁰ For dating of the letter see Neukirch, 91, and Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 68 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 13, 130, n. 1).

³⁶¹ Blum argues that is bishopric is most likely that of Citta di Castello, subject to Rome (*Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 4, 132, n. 17).

³⁶² "... infames illi et criminosi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 4, 111). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 4, 92.

³⁶³ "Reparetur nunc aureum apostolorum saeculum, et praesidente vestra prudencia aecclesiastica reflorat disciplina. Reprimatur avaricia ad episcopales infulas anhelancium, everantur cathedrae columbas vendencium nummulariorum" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 13, 144). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 13, 131-132.

³⁶⁴ "... [Pensaurensis ecclesia] de manu illius adulteri, incestuosi, periuri atque raptoris" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 13, 144). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 13, 131-132.

³⁶⁵ For dating of the letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 77 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 26, 244, n. 1).

³⁶⁶ For dating of the letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 70 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 20, 194, n. 1).

³⁶⁷ "... aecclesia de manu violenti praedonis eripitur et salus esse tocius mundi vestra incolomitas iudicatur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 20, 200). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 20, 195.

the dire condition of the church in the Marches, as Damian explains to Clement, “The invincible lord Emperor commissioned me, not once but frequently, and, if I may dare say so, deigned to ask that I come to you. He requested that I inform you both of what was happening in the churches of our region and of what I deemed imperative for you to do.”³⁶⁸ Damian apologized for his hesitation in making the arduous journey to Rome, even though the emperor commanded that he deliver a letter regarding these matters to the pope in person. Ultimately he decided to enlighten the pope by letter and avoid wasting time “in running here and there.”³⁶⁹ His argument in the letter is straightforward. According to Damian, despite the papacy’s return from “darkness”³⁷⁰ the Marches remain abandoned and locked in that same darkness. He requested that the pope employ the vast resources in his arsenal in reform of the Church. He paid particular attention again to the bishop of Fano, excommunicated yet still in office, and to the bishop of Osimo, “involved in so many and such unprecedented crimes.”³⁷¹

Damian’s repeated pleas indicate a lack of action on the part of the papacy to expel bishops guilty of simony. Nevertheless, he remained stalwart in his advocacy. His actions indicate that he observed that reform from above did not automatically translate on the ground. Therefore his role as a liaison between local and universal interests depended also on direct communication with problematic neighboring clerics. Damian wrote four letters in the 1040s whose recipients are all unknown, but as these letters were written early in his career it is likely all resided near Fonte Avellana. In 1043³⁷² he expressed his thanks to an unnamed bishop for alms given to his community, and at the close of the letter he requested that the bishop advance two clerics to the diaconate. In 1045³⁷³ he wrote to another bishop, John, seeking friendship and further building his personal network. He proposed a visit in order to discuss, as he writes, “certain matters that I must, in all humility, bring to your attention, matters of urgent importance to you, not merely for the life to come, but also for the present time.”³⁷⁴ Along with this letter, Damian enclosed some of his “little works,” perhaps to prepare the way for this discussion, because the matters foremost on his mind he could not include in the letter for “fear [of] the curious eye of him who might intercept it.”³⁷⁵ In the same year he wrote to yet another bishop, this time reproving the acceptance of gifts from unworthy men.³⁷⁶ He wrote while away from Fonte Avellana, finding the problem sufficiently urgent that it warranted a written warning despite frequent similar admonishments delivered in person.³⁷⁷ Lastly, sometime before 1047³⁷⁸

³⁶⁸ “... et deos meos huc illucque discurrendo perdere timeo...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 26, 241.

English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 26, 244.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ “Tenebris” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 26, 241. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 26, 245.

³⁷¹ “... tot et inauditis criminibus...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 26, 241-242. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 26, 246.

³⁷² For the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 60 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 5, 93, n. 1).

³⁷³ For the dating of this letter, see Neurkirch, 2. (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 12, 127, n. 1).

³⁷⁴ “Nulla quipped ab humilitate mea vobis sunt sugerenda non solum ad futuram, sed etiam ad praesentem vitam vobis maxime necessaria” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 12, 141). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 12, 129.

³⁷⁵ “... si curiosum supervenientis oculum non timerem” (Ibid).

³⁷⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 14. For the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 151 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 14, 134, n. 1).

³⁷⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 14; English translation in English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 14.

he wrote to a bishop “G,” possibly Gislerius of Osimo,³⁷⁹ regarding the worthlessness of temporal goods in the face of eternal salvation. In 1049 he wrote again to the bishop of Osimo,³⁸⁰ though his identity as Gislerius remains uncertain, taking advantage of a recent tragedy in his diocese in which many people died, to remind the bishop to convert and avoid eternal punishment. Damian writes, “Do not delay any longer, nor by putting off the remedy for your salvation from day to day corrupt your soul, but enter quickly, while you can, into the harbor of reform lest sudden disaster overtake you while you wait, lest the waves of unexpected death engulf you, and you be swallowed up in the fiery pit of hell.”³⁸¹

The sentiment within these letters, an offer of friendship, contrasts starkly with the message they communicate: the danger of intemperance, with the threat of simony underlying this trepidation. Not unlike his letters to Gregory VI and Clement II, in these four letters Damian brought those issues that he deemed important to the attention of his colleagues and then implored them to accept his advice. Thus he labored on both ends to enact reform. During the 1050s Damian maintained and expanded this program. In a letter dating between 1049 and 1054³⁸² he thanked the bishop of Sarsina³⁸³ for receiving a “poor little man” he sent to him for guidance and support. He asked for his continued protection of this man, but at the close of the letter his tone becomes more ominous, “O, how unfortunate it is to enjoy temporarily the good things of this world, and to hasten toward everlasting fire as if one were daily carried about on a litter with eyes tightly closed. Who knows how near death might be, now unforeseen, as if it were lying in wait for us...”³⁸⁴ As in the 1040s, he expressed in this letter his ideas about temporality in a ominous manner, explaining the unpredictability of death and its potential consequences should the recipient not heed his warnings, but in later letters he went even further.

In the 1050s Damian interfered more heavily in affairs outside his own congregation. Around 1050 an opportunity arose allowing him to intervene in a conflict between the bishops of Senigallia and Fossombrone. Pope Leo IX had granted Damian a piece of land in a locality known as Massa Sorbituli upon which he built a church. This particular area was under dispute between the aforementioned bishops and Damian feared he had added to the conflict by having Bishop Benedict of Fossombrone consecrate the church. He wrote to Bishop Robert of Senigallia seeking the addressee’s forgiveness for this act. He attributed his decision to misinformation, “I allowed this church to be consecrated by the bishop of Fossombrone, not as an act derogatory of your position, but because I heard from the inhabitants there that it was his

³⁷⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 22; English translation in English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 22. For the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita* nos. 40 and 2, 151 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 22, 208, n. 1).

³⁷⁹ See Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 22, 208, n. 2.

³⁸⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 30; English translation in English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 30. For the dating of this letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 40 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 30, 294, n. 2).

³⁸¹ “ne ulterius differas, ne salutis tuae remedium de die in diem procrastinando animam tuam seducas, sed intra cito, dum licet, in portum conversionis, ne tardantem repetini opprimant casus, ne te inopinatae mortis absorbeat fluctus et estuantis gehennae deglutiat baratrum” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 30, 283). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 30, 295.

³⁸² See Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 35 on dating this letter (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 32, 54, n. 1).

³⁸³ Blum argues this is Bishop Ubertus of Sarsina because his name appears in a 1027 charter of Conrad II and again in another document dated 1052 (*Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 32, 54, n. 2).

³⁸⁴ “O quam miserum est in huius saeculi prosperitate modico tempore vivere et ad eterni ignis incedium cotidie clausis oculis velut in lectica positum properare” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 32, 331). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 32, 55.

predecessor's customary right, even though a recent one."³⁸⁵ Damian then declared his allegiance to Robert, owing to the fact he had thus far been unable to maintain a friendship with the bishop of Fossombrone. He even went so far as to describe the latter as his enemy. In closing he asked Robert to protect this small parcel of land, which he declared to be indubitably part of his diocese. Damian, accustomed to the papacy's lack of response in the region, took it upon himself to organize against problematic prelates. Also with this letter, he invited Robert into his circle of friends.

In a similar letter, Damian presented a short tract to the bishop of Osimo, Gislerius, attacking a Bishop Maurus.³⁸⁶ Apparently Bishop Maurus had argued that a monk's abandonment of his conversion be condoned provided the individual had not undergone a lengthy period of probation, as the Benedictine Rule stipulates.³⁸⁷ In this case, while present at the Roman synod Damian had successfully brought issue of the problematic bishop to the attention of Pope Leo IX, who consequently sent a letter to Gislerius because "he could think of no more qualified person in his area to handle the situation."³⁸⁸ The mysterious identity of Maurus suggests he was fictitious,³⁸⁹ but the problem addressed was a very real fear for Damian, so much so that he involved the pope and composed a treatise on the subject for a local bishop. Opportunely, he strengthened his ties to Gislerius at the same time. In addition, he wrote to Gislerius' congregation in 1050,³⁹⁰ again in the name of the pope, informing the diocese that the plundering of a bishop's property after his death would result in excommunication.³⁹¹ Also within this letter Damian succinctly summarized his view on Church property, "If they who bestow their goods on the Church, by a happy exchange, obtain the remission of their sins, it follows that they who steal Church property with barbarian fury will fall into the abyss of eternal damnation."³⁹²

³⁸⁵ "... quod aecclesiam ab episcopo Simphronensi consecrati passum sum, testis michi conscientia, non causa vestrae derogationis feci, sed quia consuetudinem licet novam ab incolis sui decessoris audivi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 34, 335). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 34, 59 (see n. 3 on page 59 for the identity of Benedict).

³⁸⁶ For the dating of this letter, see Neukirch 56, 94 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 38, 73, n. 1).

³⁸⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 38, 351; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 38, 76.

³⁸⁸ "Itaque quia ad executionem huius negotii idoniorum in illis partibus virum nequivit addiscere..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 38, 349). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 38, 74. Damian mentioned, before he delved into the complex discourse on this subject, that he had met Bishop Guido of Numana at the Roman synod. Bishop Guido of Numana died in 1051, therefore this synod was held in either 1049, 1050, or 1051 (see Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 38, 73, n. 5). Damian recounted how he had openly expressed his anger with the bishop at the synod over his having subscribed to this error. Bishop Guido, however, vehemently denied his culpability and was eventually found innocent. Nonetheless, "vibrati iam iaculi impetum," or, "the flight of the arrow already released" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 38, 349; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 38, 74), Damian directed his attack at another unknown opponent present. Thus Damian revealed how he had already showed his zeal to combat this "vice," as he called it, and he enclosed in this letter another "little work" against the Bishop Maurus expounding the evils of inviting monks to return to the world.

³⁸⁹ Lucchesi argues that Maurus is actually Guido of Numana (Lucchesi, *Clavis*, 203). However, Blum believes Maurus represents merely a rhetorical device (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 38, 75, n. 13). In either case the choice of the name "Maurus" may be significant and perhaps carries a pejorative sense. DuCange, for example, cites the word *leprosus* as a synonym for *Maurus*, though the reference dates to the late twelfth century (DuCange, *et al.*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887, t. 5, col. 313a).

³⁹⁰ For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 88 and Neukirch 93f. (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 35, 61, n. 1).

³⁹¹ Blum points out that since Gislerius was still in office in 1050, there is no reason to believe the congregation of the diocese gave cause for this letter (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 35, 63, n. 12).

³⁹² "Porro si hii qui bona sua aecclesiae conferunt, proprii reatus absolutionem felici commercio promerentur, consequenter etiam illi, qui aecclesiasticas facultates barbarica feritate diripiunt, in aeternae dampnationis

Damian, assuming a personal responsibility for the religious life of his region, inserted himself into another dispute over property in 1051.³⁹³ He addressed a rift among the canons of Fano, the majority of which had chosen individual habitation over living in common. He urged them all to return to communal life in friendly discourse, but nonetheless scolded the canons for what he called an absurd decision. Damian, as this case shows, was already comfortable with adjudication outside his jurisdiction (his own community) when the bishop of Imola contacted him in regards to another property case between two laypersons a few years later.³⁹⁴ A man impatient to claim his inheritance had wounded his benefactor and seized property that was only to come to him upon the donor's death. Damian declared that the beneficiary had no further rights to the patrimony because he had violated the original agreement that the owner would retain possession as long as he lived and moreover had inflicted violence to do so. Damian cautions that anyone acting contrary to his decree would be subject to excommunication.

Although the occasion to intrude in disputes offered the prospect of building relationships, Damian remained proactive in constructing his network. Rather than passively await an opportunity, Damian engaged in spiritual mentoring and exchange much like he had with his own brethren. Damian's communications, prone to exegetical discussions regardless of the subject under discussion, often held only that purpose. Before 1057 he wrote to another unknown bishop, beseeching his colleague to oversee the education of priests.³⁹⁵ Then again, around 1050, he wrote to a priest and an archbishop on consanguinity and marriage. This surviving letter cites a previous communication as part of an ongoing dialogue that began with Bishop John of Cesena and Amelric, the archdeacon of Ravenna.³⁹⁶ Damian asked these additional participants to reconsider his former position based on this new argument.³⁹⁷ He in turn requested advice, "In answering, therefore, tell me whether in calculating the degrees of relationship I should continue in the opinion I first described, or should rather follow the view that I lately came upon; so that as with your help, burdensome doubt in many things removed for me, so through my effort many will give proper thanks to you."³⁹⁸ Damian's request for an alternative interpretation reveals his goal to be mutual collaboration. Thus Damian created a situation in which he could foster relationships based on intellectual discussion. As this second letter refers to a discussion that began years previously, we can conclude Damian was successful in his attempt.

voraginem cadunt" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 35, 338). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 35, 63.

³⁹³ Circa 1051. See Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana. Ricerche sulla riforma del secolo XI* (Herder, 1999), 82 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 39, 98, n. 1).

³⁹⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 42, 3; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 42, 216-217. A. Campana dates this letter between 1053 and 1067 ("Due lettere, nuove di S. Pier Damiani," *Revisa di Storie della chiesa in Italia* 1 [1947], 85 ff. [cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 42, 216, n. 1]). There is nothing in the letter to indicate it was written after Damian's elevation to cardinal bishop.

³⁹⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 47; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 47.

³⁹⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 19; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 19.

³⁹⁷ The former argument is contained in Letter 19. As this letter takes up the previous discussion, the recipients could be local clergy. However, the surviving letters are found in manuscripts outside Italy and the archbishop "A," according to Blum, could be Alfano of Salerno (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 36, 64, n. 3).

³⁹⁸ "Rescribe igitur, si in supputandis parentelae gradibus vel in eo perserverare debeam, quod ante descripsi, vel usurpare potius, quod nuper inveni, ut dum a te mihi mutis onerosa dubietas tollitus, a multis tibi per me digna gratiarum action referatur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 36, 345). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 36, 70.

Damian would proffer advice or a harsh scolding. Although in many situations throughout his life Damian acted the humble supplicant in his letters, in as many cases he also behaved as a self-righteous authority on monastic life. He assumed the latter role when he contacted the clerics of the church of Florence on the question of monastic flagellation around 1055.³⁹⁹ Damian argued that when he had written previously about the practice⁴⁰⁰ he had not intended his advice for laymen or even other clerics. Stating that his instructions applied only to the monastic life he rendered any criticisms from these parties irrelevant. But the true target of this letter was the novel institution of urban eremiticism. Damian complained that these “solitaries living in town”⁴⁰¹ had joined the critics to declare flagellation an atrocious activity because they possessed the freedom to pick and choose what they liked from the catalog of monastic practices. Damian countered their protests with evidence from several Scriptural passages, which proved the act of bodily penance had been long sanctioned.

Beyond spiritual mentoring, on one occasion Damian also volunteered practical assistance for a local abbot. In a letter dating between 1050 and 1057⁴⁰² he wrote to his “dear friend” Albizo.⁴⁰³ Damian had heard that his friend was without a horse, and like the dutiful neighbor he offered one from Fonte Avellana. He explained the arrangement to Albizo as a charitable donation.⁴⁰⁴ He went so far as to offer in lieu of a horse, should Albizo have already acquired one, a valuable piece of cloth towards the purchase of a second horse.⁴⁰⁵ To verify the sincerity of his gift Damian presented the cloth free of obligation, “But that you may not think that what I say is mere pretense, if you have no other source, and if you do not take any of the animals I freely offer, so that I too may have no doubt in trusting you, keep the [cloth] I gave you. God forbid that earthly goods should separate me from him with whom I am united in spirit, and that I should deny him any external thing.”⁴⁰⁶ In this way Damian incorporated another prelate into his circle.

The content of Damian’s communications in the 1050s surpassed his initial sermonizing to resolve practical disputes, while never lacking his customary exegetically supported arguments. He found the crisis in the Marches sufficiently compelling to hold his attention until his death, though scholarship generally accepts that Damian lost interest in local reform after his elevation to the papal curia in 1057. His later letters prove otherwise. Rather, after 1057 he divided his focus between the Marches and Tuscany, and wider concerns. Papal business allowed him to broaden his communications as far as Constantinople; he wrote to the city’s

³⁹⁹ For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 152, and Woody (*Damiani*, 50f.) who places it before 1060 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 45, 244, n. 1).

⁴⁰⁰ See Letter 18, written to a monk at Fonte Avellana and commenting on monastic discipline (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18).

⁴⁰¹ “Urbici heremitae, forenses videlicet solitarii...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 45, 35). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 45, 245. See Chapter 4 for a discussion on this urban hermit, Teuzo.

⁴⁰² For the dating of this letter see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 152f. (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 37, 71, n. 1).

⁴⁰³ “Karissime” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 37, 346). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 37, 71. As Damian offers that his friend collect a horse, we assume that Abbot Albizo resided relatively close to Fonte Avellana.

⁴⁰⁴ I.e., a good work.

⁴⁰⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 37, 347; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 37, 72.

⁴⁰⁶ “Ut autem, quae dicimus, simulara non credas, si aliunde non habes et quae libenter offerimus nostra non tollis, ut de teipso quoque debeamus absque ulla dubietate praesumere, fiduciam subtrahis. Absit enim, ut cum quo michi mens est una, terrena substantia sit divisa et illi exteriora quaelibet denegem...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 37, 347). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 37, 72.

patriarch in 1062 in defense of Rome's position on the *Filioque* clause.⁴⁰⁷ Also on behalf of the pope he contacted Queen Anne of France in October 1059, and initiated his relationship with the Empress Agnes in the following year.⁴⁰⁸ In the 1060s he sent many letters to Milan during the crisis of the Pataria movement, and likewise in response to the appearance of the antipope and former bishop of Parma, Cadalus. His papal obligations facilitated his relationship with Cluny as well, and the monastery received several communications over the 1060s. On a visit to Cluny in 1063, he met the archbishop of Besançon and wrote to him in 1064 both to praise the character of the prelate and to recommend he reform certain abuses he observed while in France.⁴⁰⁹

Although Damian expanded his personal network during these years, he did not neglect either the Marches in general or the congregation of Fonte Avellana in particular, its presence being his strongest local reform tool. In 1059⁴¹⁰ he informed Pope Nicholas II that the people in the vicinity of Fonte Avellana were overjoyed at his election, and then asked for the pope to lift the excommunication he imposed on the people of Ancona, who were “physically dying, and because of your decision, the sword of Peter is on the attack, causing the death of their souls.”⁴¹¹ One year later⁴¹² he wrote to a bishop possibly identified as Ugo of Gubbio⁴¹³ on the alienation of Church property. In 1062⁴¹⁴ he contacted Bishop Oldericus of Fermo while at Fonte Avellana, to discuss whether or not bishops and abbots could defend their property by taking up arms. Damian rather definitively concluded that spiritual power was more powerful than temporal weapons, but his phraseology invited Oldericus' input on the subject. He made a similar request sometime after 1064⁴¹⁵ in a letter addressed to two unknown abbots, Gebizo⁴¹⁶ and Tebaldus, and the hermit John of Lodi. He asked his “dear friends” to edit his works as he felt he had previously made a grave error in a tract on John the Baptist.⁴¹⁷

In 1064 he lectured the later beatified Bishop Mainard of Urbino on the subject of almsgiving.⁴¹⁸ Within this letter Damian explains that the rich are “dispensers rather than

⁴⁰⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 91. The English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 91.

⁴⁰⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 64 and 71. The English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letters 64 and 71.

⁴⁰⁹ Damian criticized the fact clerics and monks remained seated during Divine Office and even the mass (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 111, 251). The English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 111, 251.

⁴¹⁰ For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 131 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 60, 404, n. 1).

⁴¹¹ Pope Nicholas II had excommunicated the people of Ancona due to the actions of their political authorities (see Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Introduction to Letter 60, 404).

⁴¹² Damian mentions the plenary council of Florence, which convened in 1055, took place five years prior (see Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 151, n. 3).

⁴¹³ At the time Damian composed this letter, the sees of both Gubbio and Assisi had a Bishop Ugo (cf. Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 62). A later letter to Bishop Mainard of Gubbio contains similar content (Letter 157), and Blum interprets this fact as an indication that the recipient of this letter was Ugo of Gubbio (see *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 151, n. 2).

⁴¹⁴ For the dating, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 164 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 87, 299, n. 1).

⁴¹⁵ For the dating of the letter, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, 2.153 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 116, 315, n.1).

⁴¹⁶ Blum recommends consulting Reindel, vol. 3, 314-315, n. 1 for suggestions on the identity of Gebizo (Letter 116, 315, n. 2).

⁴¹⁷ “Dilectissimi” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 116, 315). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 116, 315.

⁴¹⁸ The date accords to Lucchesi, *Vita*, no.191 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 110, 227, n. 1). Damian also possibly had a relationship with the previous bishop, Teuzo. In a letter to an unknown Bishop V, Damian describes an incident involving two priests of Urbino, one of whom encountered the Devil on the road and, thinking him a local feudal lord, inadvertently swore allegiance to him. Damian explains that this priest came to the palace of the Bishop Teuzo to beg for penance while Damian was present, and indeed Damian assisted in prescribing the appropriate penance (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 80, 408). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3

possessors.”⁴¹⁹ As their wealth is not their own, when the rich provide alms they practice justice rather than mercy.⁴²⁰ His recipient was no doubt a wealthy man himself, with powerful friends for whom Damian probably intended this subject matter.⁴²¹ Also in this letter, Damian dropped the names of his own influential contacts. He cited a story told to him by the bishop of Spoleto,⁴²² and then another about the charitable acts of the Margrave Mainfred and his wife who ruled on the frontiers of Liguria.⁴²³ Leo the hermit, possibly of Fonte Avellana, recounted several incidents to Damian because he had a chance to witness the magnate’s extraordinary altruism while he and several of his brothers were staying in a hermitage on his lands.⁴²⁴ Damian mentioned other tales shared with him by a Margrave Bernard,⁴²⁵ Bonizo, abbot of the monastery of Saint Severus near Orvieto,⁴²⁶ Hugh of Cluny,⁴²⁷ Duke Godfrey of Lorraine,⁴²⁸ and Bishop Mainard of Silva Candida.⁴²⁹

A few years later during Lent 1067 Damian wrote to another diocese in the Marches. The clergy and people of the church of Faenza had recently contacted him and requested a visit when their bishop, Peter, had died.⁴³⁰ In this letter Damian explained that he was unable to come to Faenza due to a recent illness and certain other unspecified issues.⁴³¹ He did, however, promise a visit in the future and his counsel in the meantime. He writes, “Wherefore, until I am able to come and be of service to you, I am sending this short letter to explain in a few words what, in my opinion, you should do.”⁴³² The diocese required Damian’s consent before taking action, but his words offer only his humble “services.” He was well informed on the events that had transpired. He continues, “So far as I can gather, there was an agreement among you, a thing

(1992), Letter 80, 191-192. Blum speculates Teuzo is the bishop of Orvieto, because Damian explains the story dates to ten years previously, which accords with evidence of a bishop Teuzo at Orvieto in 1054 and 1059 (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 80, 192, n. 40). Palazzini contends this is Teuzo of Urbino (*San Pier Damiani*, 25). The fact that Damian explicitly identifies the priest as from Urbino strongly implies that Teuzo was the bishop of that see. For Damian’s relations with Urbino, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, n. 34.

⁴¹⁹ “Qui ergo divites sunt, dispensatores potius iubenter esse, quam possessores...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 110, 227). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 230.

⁴²⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 227; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 230-231.

⁴²¹ Blum, Introduction to Letter 110 in *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), 230-231.

⁴²² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 237; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 240.

⁴²³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 238; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. IV (1998), Letter 110, 241.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 239; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 241. See also *Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, 288 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 110, 240, n. 67).

⁴²⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 241; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 243.

⁴²⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 242; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 244.

⁴²⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 243; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 244.

⁴²⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 110, 244; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 110, 246.

⁴³⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 147; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 147.

⁴³¹ Blum speculates that Damian refers here to the crisis in Florence, which he discusses in Letter 146 (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 147, 533). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 147, 155-156; see also Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5, Letter 147, 167, n. 2.

⁴³² “Quamobrem donec nos in sevicium vestrum venire contingat, quod iuxta modulum nostrum vobis faciendum esse conicimus, per huius epistolaw paginulam brevissimae prolationis eloquia destinamus” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 147, 543). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 147, 167.

that has impressed me deeply, and you were incited to follow unanimously what together you determined to do, namely, not to elect a bishop until the arrival of the king.”⁴³³ Damian approved this decision and encouraged the congregation to request that the pope not invest a bishop but that the see remain vacant until Emperor Henry IV could arrive. In the interim period, he recommended they find a suitable administrator, and that if necessary he himself would come perform the sacraments until such an individual could be found.⁴³⁴

Though Damian had been close to Bishop Peter of Faenza, his commitment to that diocese was not exceptional. He followed developments in the see of Gubbio closely throughout his career as well and even after 1057. During Lent of 1069 or 1071, he wrote to Bishop Mainard of Gubbio. As in his earlier correspondence to various bishops, he urged Mainard to reject temporal wealth, but in this case, he was extremely critical of the prelate. He implored Mainard to recover Church property granted to lay elites and to reform his practices and reproved him for allowing estates to fall into lay hands during his prelacy.⁴³⁵ Gubbio was the closest bishopric to Fonte Avellana, and Damian himself had occupied its seat years before. In addition, brothers of the hermitage had also held the see before and after his death. Damian recognized Gubbio as an important center of reform and despite his papal obligations he refused to abandon his former loyalties.

Damian never wrote to Italian clerics outside the Marches with the same consistency he afforded Fonte Avellana’s neighbors. In fact, his letters to outlying bishoprics show he concentrated his reform outside of the region primarily in times of immediate crisis, with few exceptions. As mentioned above, he contacted Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi to discuss the deposition of the bishops of Fano and Pesaro in 1043.⁴³⁶ It is not until after 1058 he contacts another bishop outside the Marches. In one of the outstanding cases, he wrote to Archbishop Alfano of Salerno in that year⁴³⁷ for the sole purpose of thanking him for his assistance in the past and expressing his general admiration for episcopal office. He wrote Alfano once again near the end of his life in 1069 to share stories of monastic reform.⁴³⁸ During Lent of 1060 Damian instructed Albert, bishop of either Velletri or Ostia, on the principles behind the distribution of alms.⁴³⁹ In that same year, he wrote to the cleric Landulf Cotta of Milan.⁴⁴⁰ While Damian had been in the city during the Pataria uprisings, Landulf had promised to enter

⁴³³ “In quantum vero deprehendere possumus, unus spiritus fuit, qui et nostri cordis ingeniolium tetigit, et sanctam prudentiam vestram in id, quod inter vos pactum est atque conventum, unanimiter incitavit, videlicet ut non eligatis episcopum usque ad Regis adventum” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 147, 544). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 147, 167-168.

⁴³⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 147, 544; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 147, 168.

⁴³⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 157, 80; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 157, 84-87.

⁴³⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 4; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. I (1989), Letter 4.

⁴³⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 59; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 59. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 150f. (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 59, 394, n. 1).

⁴³⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 168; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 168.

⁴³⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 73; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 73. On the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, nos. 60 and 148 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 73, 147, n. 1).

⁴⁴⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 70; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 70. This date accords to Neukirch, *Das Leben* 99, Wilmart, “Une lettre,” 132f., and Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 53 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 70, 102, n. 1).

the priesthood. In this letter, Damian reminded him of that vow and included several examples of men who had reneged on similar promises.⁴⁴¹

Three other letters to Milan survive in the corpus, one of which Damian composed on behalf of Pope Alexander II and not in his own name. He wrote it in 1061,⁴⁴² after the initial turmoil that brought Damian to the city in the first place, to convey the pope's distress over spiritual life in his native Milan. In the second letter, which Damian wrote in 1063,⁴⁴³ he thanked the Archbishop of Milan, Wido, for a gift of two stoles he had reluctantly accepted. He perhaps later regretted that decision. At the end of 1065 or the beginning of 1066,⁴⁴⁴ he had to write the leaders of the Pataria once more to inform them that their work was not done; the archbishop, now refusing to reform, was threatening to undo all their efforts.⁴⁴⁵ The only other letter referencing Milan Damian addressed to archdeacon Hildebrand in 1059 to report (prematurely) on his success in the city.⁴⁴⁶

In 1062 another calamity drove Damian to write the bishop of Parma, Cadalus, whom the regent Empress Agnes and her cohort had recently nominated as the antipope Honorius II following the election of Alexander II.⁴⁴⁷ Damian first patronizingly condemned Cadalus' actions, "If one does not correct a boy who is stealing eggs, he will later have to bear with a major thief who breaks his stables."⁴⁴⁸ Damian's role as the pope's right hand required his action during such catastrophes, and he wrote Cadalus again not long after the first letter in the same year this time on the offensive after Cadalus' refusal to abandon his claims to the papal office, which had manifested into physical violence and a brutal attack on Rome.⁴⁴⁹ Damian's next episcopal communication, dated 1064, admonished Bishop Cunibert of Turin for allowing clerical marriage in his diocese, which Damian witnessed on a return trip from France.⁴⁵⁰ Overall, when a problem arose Damian fulfilled his responsibility to the papacy; however, his regular communications on reform he directed at the Marches.

⁴⁴¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 70, 310-322; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 70, 102-112.

⁴⁴² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 84; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 84. Dating according to Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 159 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 84, 247, n. 1).

⁴⁴³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 101; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 101. The date and recipient follows Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 101, 115. Blum describes Reindel's decision between Hugh of Cluny and Wido of Milan as a "toss up," but I accept his choice based on Reindel's evidence (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 101, 120, n. 1).

⁴⁴⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 129; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 129.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Cinzio Violante, "Patarines," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 10: 940-942 (Detroit, 2003).

⁴⁴⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 65; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 65. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 147 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 65, 24, n. 1).

⁴⁴⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 88; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 88. Dating according to Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 163 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 88, 309, n. 1).

⁴⁴⁸ "Qui non corripit puerum ova furantem, magnum postea latronem patitur, equorum stabula perfringentem" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 88, 516). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 88, 309.

⁴⁴⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 89, 516; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 89. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 163 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 89, 326, n. 1).

⁴⁵⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 111. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 112. The date accords to Lucchesi, *Vita* 54, no. 180 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 112, 258, n. 1). Damian also wrote to Adelaide, Duchess of Turin, to ask for her support of the bishop (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 114; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 114).

III. Centers of Reform

Ravenna

Damian focused more attention on local reform than scholars have acknowledged to this point. The majority of the letters not yet discussed he addressed to Rome and Germany, of which he wrote several solely in the interest of building his papal and imperial connections, but he corresponded primarily with the two parties when a serious situation so compelled him. Beyond Rome and Germany, Damian established two nodes of contact that he used to enact reform outside of his own congregation. The first was the see of Ravenna and the second the monastery of Montecassino. Montecassino was strongly connected to the reform movement, but before the contentious decades of the 1070s and 1080s Ravenna was also known for some reform initiatives and Peter Damian and other reformers actively courted the see. Ravenna was the natural choice for reform ally. The archbishop had for decades granted lands in emphyteusis to magnates in the Marches and had several ties in the area. A connection as powerful as the archbishop of Ravenna would have been invaluable to Damian not only because he was landlord to most of the aristocracy in the Marches, but also due to his allegiance to the emperor. In Damian's mind, the German emperors were not roadblocks on the way to reform but outposts of much needed aid.

The relationship between Peter Damian and the archbishopric of Ravenna began early in the former's career but faded after his papal appointment. Damian's first communication to the see of Ravenna in 1043 was a request to be excused from an invitation to visit the archbishop Gebhard.⁴⁵¹ The burden of his recently assumed priorship had prevented Damian from traveling north. He took the opportunity also in this letter to praise the archbishop for his continued resistance to the temptation of simony. The following year a new archbishop, Widger, occupied the see and received a very different letter than his predecessor.⁴⁵² Damian criticized Widger claiming that the former archbishop had willingly accepted his counsel "both concerning the good of his own soul and also regulations on spiritual matters,"⁴⁵³ whereas the current prelate failed to correspond with Damian at all. Damian's primary concern was the welfare of monasteries under the archbishop's personal supervision, and in particular the spoliation of the monastery of Saint Apollinaris in Classe.⁴⁵⁴ After sending this letter to the archbishop himself, Damian launched additional complaints against him in 1045⁴⁵⁵ when he wrote to a priest in Ravenna. This particular priest held the office of treasurer in the archiepiscopal curia, a significant position.⁴⁵⁶ Damian sought his friend's good judgment on the choice between a contemplative, eremitic life versus one devoted to the active care of souls. He explained that

⁴⁵¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 3; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 3. For the date see Neukirch, 25, 47, 91 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 3, 87, n. 1).

⁴⁵² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 7; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 7, 97-99. For the date of this letter see Hans Peter Laqua, *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformator Petrus Damiani (1042-1052)* (München 1976), 131-134 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 7, 97, n. 1).

⁴⁵³ "... de salute suae animae et de spiritalium ereum ordinacionibus..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 7, 116). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 7, 98.

⁴⁵⁴ Blum states that although the monastery to which Damian refers is not named, the *Annales Camaldulenses* (vol. II, 100) indicate that it was San Apollinaris in Classe, which had come under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric.

⁴⁵⁵ For the dating of this letter see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 67 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 8, 100, n. 1).

⁴⁵⁶ On this office see G. Buzzi, "La curia arcivescovile e la curia cittadina di Ravenna dall'850 al 1118," *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano* 35 (1915): 7-187.

having witnessed first-hand Archbishop Widger's failings, because he had accepted his invitation to visit Ravenna, he questioned the efficacy of his pastoral function.

While it remains unknown whether or not Damian's various lamentations reached the emperor, in 1046 Henry III deposed Widger at an imperial diet held in Aachen. The reason according to a report by Anselm, a canon at Saint Lambert's in Liège, was that Widger had occupied his see for two years without being consecrated.⁴⁵⁷ As mentioned above, Damian praised the emperor for this action and instructed him to ignore advice and not to restore Widger to his office. He also informed Henry of the underhanded activities of the deprived Widger. Damian expected that he and Henry shared the same views on ecclesiastical patrimony, and reported that former archbishop, conversely, did not, "I would not wish my lord King to be unaware that this pernicious man has forwarded his pretentious letters to Ravenna; some, indeed, sent secretly to individuals, and others addressed to the whole church, in which he pledged himself to do everything they wished regarding church property."⁴⁵⁸ This remark stood as the principal example Damian put forth to persuade the emperor of Widger's pernicious behavior.

Damian welcomed Widger's successor Henry into his good graces in his first letter, though he quickly lost faith in the archbishop's faculties. From 1052 until 1058, the two deliberated on pressing issues and Henry accepted Damian into his confidence, but Damian comported himself as the intellectual superior in the relationship. Damian sent him his *Liber Gratissimus* in 1052,⁴⁵⁹ a work commissioned by Pope Leo IX who had called for similar tracts from all bishops,⁴⁶⁰ in which Damian argued for the validity of clerical ordination by simonists.⁴⁶¹ He explained his offering to Henry as follows, "Since by the gift of God you were recently consecrated bishop, I thought that no more appropriate literary offering could be presented to you than one written about bishops."⁴⁶² The completed treatise sent to the Holy See in 1061 included an addendum that mentions Archbishop Henry, "The bishop of Ravenna, to whom this book was first sent, because he had been recently promoted and was therefore unknown to me, was thought to be proficient in scriptural theology. But since I was unable to elicit from him even the slightest spark of a solution in this matter, I decided to be satisfied with

⁴⁵⁷ Anselm, a canon of St Lambert in Liège, recorded the judicial process by which Widger was deposed in *Ex Anselmi gestorum episcoporum Leodiensium recensione altera* c. 54, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 14 (1883), 115. Scholars offer various conjectures as to why Widger was never consecrated. G.B. Borino, for example, argues that Pope Gregory VI never consecrated the bishop because he had been appointed by Henry III (*L'elezione e la deposizione di Gregorio VI* in "ASRSP," 39 [1916], see pp. 141 - 252, 295 - 410). Cinzio Violante and Ovidio Capitani, however, disagree (see Violante, "La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica," 1 *Studi storici* 11 (1955), 47f., and Capitani, *Immunità vescovili ed ecclesiologia in età « pregregoriana » e « gregoriana »*. *L'avvio alla « restaurazione »* [Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 1966]). Borino also cites Letter 20 as offering evidence contrary to Anselm's account ("Invitus ultra montes cum domno papa Gregorio abii," in *Studi Gregoriani* 1 [1947]: 3-46). F.J. Schmale does not support this conclusion ("Die Absetzung Gregors VI. in Sutri und die synodale Tradition," *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 11 [1978]: 55-103). Cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. I (1989), Letter 20, 194, n. 3.

⁴⁵⁸ "Verumtamen nolo lateat dominum meum regem, quia pestifer ille vir ad Ravennatem urbem suas epistolas fabricavit, alias quidem occulte singulis, alias vero communiter universis, in quibus se facturum omnia quaecumque ipsi voluerint, de rebus aecclesiae sponndit" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 20, 201). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 20, 196.

⁴⁵⁹ For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, nos. 91-94 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 40, 111, n. 3).

⁴⁶⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 40, 392; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 40, 113.

⁴⁶¹ Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida represented the other side of the debate and maintained that clerics ordained by simoniacal prelates had to be reordained.

⁴⁶² "Qui sacerdotium auctore Deo noviter susceperunt, nullum tibi imprimis offerendum munus, quam quod de sacerdotibus factum est, congruentius credidi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 40, 390). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 40, 113.

the authority of the Apostolic See.”⁴⁶³ Damian had little regard for Henry’s canonical understanding, which is also apparent in his other letters to the archbishop. In 1052 he educated Henry on the use of bread and wine in the mass, and specifically pointed out that the physical makeup of each substance was largely irrelevant.⁴⁶⁴ Then in 1058 he answered a letter sent by the archbishop requesting Damian’s learned opinion on the disputed papal election in which the legitimately elected Nicholas II faced the opposing pope occupying the Apostolic See, Benedict X.⁴⁶⁵ Damian favored the cardinals’ candidate and exhaustively discredited Benedict. Henry had asked that Damian’s reply be kept secret, and Damian speculated that his reason was to prevent any problems for his honest judgment, but he refused to acquiesce and instead asked that the letter be made public.⁴⁶⁶

Damian handled the archbishops of Ravenna with careful rhetoric, but he never failed to assert his agenda. Since a problematic prelate had the potential to compromise Ravenna’s value Damian stayed attentive to those who occupied its seat. Ravenna was important because the archbishop’s influence reached most areas in the Marches, and because the see was the nearest center of reform to Fonte Avellana. From there Damian could direct reform at the archdiocese and also operate on a wider level. However, after 1058 only one other letter to Ravenna survives and Damian addressed it not to the archbishop, but to his nephew whose ordination at the monastery of Saint Apollinaris in Classe he had witnessed himself.⁴⁶⁷ The abrupt end in his communications to Ravenna coincides with his ordination as cardinal bishop the year before. Therefore, the archbishopric possibly lost its usefulness as a reform hub when Damian gained direct access to the Roman curia. Also after 1057, Damian assured many of Fonte Avellana’s daughter houses papal protection and thus linked them to the Holy See.

Montecassino

Not long after Damian broke off contact with the see of Ravenna, he began a new relationship with the monastery of Montecassino that continued into the final years of his life. From 1061 to 1069 Damian sent twelve letters to the monastery, most of which he intended for their abbot, Desiderius. Montecassino received more letters than any other single party during Damian’s entire career. By the 1060s, Peter Damian had changed his strategy. He turned away from Ravenna and concentrated on monastic congregations as his means to reform. His plan began when he expanded his own congregation of Fonte Avellana in the late 1050s, but culminated in his relationships with the monasteries of Montecassino and Cluny. He maintained contact with the abbots of both houses, and several times traveled to Cluny on papal missions, but he directed far more of his epistolary communications to Montecassino. Its charismatic

⁴⁶³ “Porro autem Ravennas ille episcopus, cui libellus hic principio missus est, quia nuper promotus atque ideo mihi erat incognitus, scripturarum habere scientiam putabur. Sed quoniam ab eo super hac questione ne tenuem quidem scintillam solutionis exculpere potui, auctoritate sedis apostolicae me contentum esse decrevi...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 40, 509). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 40, 214.

⁴⁶⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 41, 2; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 41, 215. For the date see Neukirch 96f., who dates the letter between 1052 and 1058 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 41, 215, n. 1).

⁴⁶⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 58; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 58. For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, nos. 118 and 127 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 58, 390, n. 1).

⁴⁶⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 58, 194; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 58, 393.

⁴⁶⁷ Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Introduction to Letter 137, 57.

leader had much in common with Damian as far as ambition and influence. Desiderius himself would later become Pope Victor III.

As was Damian's habit, he contacted Desiderius principally to share advice on how to lead his monks. In his first letter to the abbot, dated 1061, he warned that flattery could negatively affect his prelacy.⁴⁶⁸ He also suggested that despite various duties demanding his attention, Desiderius should make time for solitary contemplation.⁴⁶⁹ In the same year he contacted the abbot once again, along with the entire community, this time addressing Desiderius as "the archangel of monks."⁴⁷⁰ In this letter, Damian described monastic institutions as the last hope for reform. Following a discourse on the wretched state of the world he states, "My dear friends, you must take special care always to be immensely grateful to God that, in this age, you were chosen to live apart from the world in which it is obviously difficult for anyone to be saved."⁴⁷¹ Damian had previously questioned his capacity to save souls in such troubled times,⁴⁷² but on this occasion he expressed a more decided cynicism. He viewed monks, and no one else, as specially selected for salvation, "as if [God] had chosen your small number from among the many who were about to perish in the flood, and brought you into the refuge of the ark, coated with pitch, that you might live."⁴⁷³ Peter Damian's increased focus on both Montecassino and his own congregation during the 1060s reflects his new understanding of the world, wherein he afforded monastic communities an even more privileged position.

Damian's initial overtures elicited no response from Desiderius. In 1063, after already having written three letters,⁴⁷⁴ he complained to the abbot, "I have written to you, not twice but frequently; and to this very day I have been unable to extract one single iota that you saw fit to write in return."⁴⁷⁵ Consequently Damian explained he would adopt a different approach. He goaded Desiderius by imposing spiritual instruction on the distinguished abbot, whom Damian himself described as "more learned."⁴⁷⁶ As in his previous letter, he cautioned the abbot not to overinflate his ego despite his extraordinary virtues; rather, he should concentrate on correcting his vices.⁴⁷⁷ He should also embrace fasting, refrain from criticizing absent persons, and accept criticism himself.⁴⁷⁸ Damian did not write the community again until the end of 1063,⁴⁷⁹ after he

⁴⁶⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 82; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 82. For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 161 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 82, 233, n. 1).

⁴⁶⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 82; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 82.

⁴⁷⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 86, 459; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 86, 255.

⁴⁷¹ "Quamobrem summopere curandum vobis est, dilectissimi, ut immensas Deo gratias iugiter referatis, qui videlicet hoc tempore de mundo estis electi, quo constate in eo quempiam difficile posse salvari" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 86, 461). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 86, 255.

⁴⁷² See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 8; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 8.

⁴⁷³ "... quam velut olim in cataclismo de multis pereuntibus vos paucos elegit, ac in bituminatae arcae latibulum, ut viveretis..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1988], Letter 86, 461). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 86, 257.

⁴⁷⁴ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 82, 86, and 90; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letters 82, 86, and 90. Letter 90 is a fragmentary text reconstructed from the *Liber testimoniorum veteris et novi testamenti* of John of Lodi containing a commentary on I and II Samuel and the Psalms.

⁴⁷⁵ "Ego autem tibi, venerabilis frater, non bis sed sepius scripsi, verumtamen usque hodie ne unum quidem iota, ut rescribere dignareris, extorsi" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 95, 42); English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 95, 46.

⁴⁷⁶ "Doctiorem" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 95, 43). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 95, 47.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

had finally received a letter from Desiderius. Damian apologized for his late reply, but he had been occupied due to the “urgency of synodal business.”⁴⁸⁰ Desiderius had asked Damian’s opinion on a miraculous event. A woman who suspected her husband of infidelity asked a neighbor how to keep her husband satisfied in their marriage. The neighbor, in Damian’s words “a wicked woman, obviously deserving of punishment in the flames of hell,”⁴⁸¹ told her friend to receive communion but save the host and later combine it with a magic potion for her husband to drink. Before the woman could perform this deed, however, the host transformed. One half remained bread, but the other became flesh. Damian concluded that God had changed the bread to prove at once the impudence of the wife’s crime and the truth of the sacrament.⁴⁸² Damian shared similar stories with Desiderius and finished his letter abruptly after a lengthy narration so as not to “exceed epistolary conciseness and breach the rules of brevity.”⁴⁸³

Damian had once complained about Desiderius’ poor correspondence, but the abbot valued his friendship. In fact, in 1064 Damian pleaded with him to retract a threat that he would not be remembered in the monks’ prayers if he failed to visit Montecassino. Damian claimed old age prevented him from making the arduous journey, and he did not want to die outside his hermitage. Still he was torn between leaving his brothers and losing the “aid of a more numerous and incomparably holier community.”⁴⁸⁴ Damian viewed Montecassino as an important ally, and at the close of this letter he expressed his hope to visit the monastery soon.⁴⁸⁵ Damian did eventually visit Montecassino. He spoke with Desiderius in person when he spent Lent with him in 1069. After Lent, he sent the abbot a letter in which he began a new discourse on images of Peter and Paul. He hesitated at first to send a letter, his relationship with Desiderius being so frank and intimate he had already wondered what else they could discuss. He writes, “I do not understand how anything new could be written to you, when I consider that very often we were able to communicate to one another whatever was necessary in conversation.”⁴⁸⁶ In the end a new subject occurred to Damian and he shared it with his friend.

Peter Damian cultivated a friendship not only with Montecassino’s abbot, but also with its deacon, Alberic. Damian sent two letters to the monk in 1065,⁴⁸⁷ the first of which responded to questions Alberic had posed on Scriptural interpretation. The second letter also addressed a previous communication. Alberic had inquired about the biblical reckoning of time, and Damian presented him with a thorough explanation at the end of which he dismissed his own argument

⁴⁷⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 102; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 102. For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 181 (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 102, 123, n. 1).

⁴⁸⁰ “... synodali prepeditus instantia...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 102, 119). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 102, 123.

⁴⁸¹ “Quae nimirum perversa et ultricis flammis evidenter obnoxia...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 102, 119). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 102, 123-124.

⁴⁸² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 102, 120; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 102, 124.

⁴⁸³ “... ne regulam brevitatis excedat epistolare compendium” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 102, 138). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 102, 141.

⁴⁸⁴ “... uberioris et incomparabiliter sanctoris auxilium conventus...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 106, 169). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 106, 175.

⁴⁸⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 106, 185; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 106, 191.

⁴⁸⁶ “... iam quid novi ad te scribi valeat, non invenio, dum quicquid necessarium esse poterat frequentius iteratum alterutra confabulatione perpendo” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 159, 91). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 159, 94.

⁴⁸⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 126 and 127; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letters 126 and 127. Dating of Letter 126 accords to Lucchesi (cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 [2004], Letter 126, 27, n. 1).

saying that the imminent end of the world made his calculations irrelevant. There is one final letter to Alberic in the corpus, which Damian also sent to Cardinal Hildebrand,⁴⁸⁸ in which he returned to a previous exegetical discussion on the significance of Lent, as well as a reading of two passages from scripture.⁴⁸⁹ He sent his final letter to Montecassino in 1069, which he wrote for the entire community.⁴⁹⁰ Therein he encouraged the monks to resume public flagellation on Fridays, his last attempt to bring the monks closer to eremitical devotional practices.

Damian held Montecassino in higher regard than Pomposa or any other monastery, apart from his own. He paid a great deal of attention to Montecassino in the 1060s, and even though he admired Desiderius and his community he still meddled in their affairs. His intrusions occurred during the same period he concentrated intensely on monastic business within his own congregation and spoke to his monks as a cohesive community. He reached out to Montecassino and solidified Fonte Avellana's congregation to develop two powerful reform centers. Damian constructed his fraternal network and his personal network simultaneously. In the 1040s and 1050s he founded several daughter houses and also tied additional nearby monasteries to Fonte Avellana. At the same time he corresponded with local bishops to include in his personal network many important prelates in the Marches, and during his priorship he paid particular attention to the see of Ravenna. Damian also created a similar affiliation with the monks of Montecassino after his overtures to the archbishop of Ravenna failed to yield fruit. Beyond his ecclesiastical contacts Damian had many prominent lay allies, which is the subject of the following section.⁴⁹¹ Damian's personal network was more tenuous than the fraternal network, as the various bishops, lay magnates, and minor clerics with whom Damian corresponded most often had no ties to one another, official or otherwise; their only connection was to his person.

IV. Lay Friendships

Damian's lay friends numbered nearly as many as his ecclesiastical contacts, and included the margraves of Tuscany, two German emperors, and the empress Agnes. Geographically his lay communications were concentrated in Tuscany and Umbria and consequently these friendships largely served to support Damian's monasteries, although he had contacts in Rome and even north of the Alps as well. As a member of the curia he spoke to Henry III and his wife, Agnes, with the full backing of the papacy and with its objectives in mind. His letters to Agnes do not appear until after his appointment. Papal concerns initiated the relationship and to some extent maintained it as well. Damian had a far more substantial affiliation to the empress than to her husband. Damian wrote only two letters to Henry III, and only one to his son, Henry IV. We are aware of only two personal encounters between Damian and Henry III. Damian was in Rome for Henry III's coronation around 1046, and met the

⁴⁸⁸ Blum states that in two manuscripts, *MSS Vaticanus Urbinus latinus* 503 and *Montecassino* 359 Hildebrand is the only recipient, but in *MS Vaticanus* 4930 excerpts from this letter name Alberic as the addressee. Blum argues that although Damian sent the letter to both parties, his introduction to Hildebrand is letter formal than was his usual style (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 [2005], Introduction to Letter 160, 103; see also O.J. Blum, "Alberic of Montecassino and a Letter of St Peter Damian to Hildebrand," *Studi Gregoriani* 5 [1956]: 291-98).

⁴⁸⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 160; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 160.

⁴⁹⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 161; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 161.

⁴⁹¹ It would appear arbitrary to categorize bishops and aristocrats separately, as bishops often came from the aristocracy. However, Damian held different expectations of his relationships with laypersons and therefore I distinguish them from bishops in the network.

emperor again in Ravenna in 1055. Then some fourteen years later he traveled to Frankfurt in August of 1069 to meet Henry IV concerning his proposed divorce.

Damian targeted Agnes rather than her husband or son. She presented a more promising investment, but such was not always the case. Damian's first communication to Agnes he sent in conjunction with the other cardinal bishops. Around January of 1060⁴⁹² he responded to her request that the pope send the pallium to the Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz. Agnes, acting as regent for her young son Henry IV, had invested the former abbot of Fulda with his see, and then elected not to involve the papacy any further than asking for the pallium from afar. However, during the pontificate of Alexander II it was decreed that the pallium could only be received in Rome.⁴⁹³ Damian informed Agnes of this fact and stated that the archbishop must visit the tomb of the Apostles himself.⁴⁹⁴ Though not initially an ally of the papacy, Agnes became more and more sympathetic towards the Church. She later converted to the monastic life several years after the death of her husband in 1056 when she spent considerable time at an Italian monastery in 1062. She brought her sister-in-law, Hermisindis, with her to Rome who would eventually become a nun as well. Hermisindis herself also corresponded with Damian.⁴⁹⁵ At this time Damian began a friendship with Agnes and wrote a second letter to the former empress,⁴⁹⁶ who had recently surrendered her title and estate. Agnes had previously elicited the wrath of Damian and many of his colleagues for various infractions, not least of which was her role in the appointment of the anti-Pope Honorius II.⁴⁹⁷ But by 1062 the relationship between Agnes and Damian had become more than amicable. In his letter he reminded Agnes of conversations they shared when he visited her both at the monastery of Fruttuaria and in Rome. He worried Agnes might change her mind. He urged her to persevere in her new life with exempla he hoped would inspire others as well, "Now, I make these things known, venerable empress, not on your account, since you, I fear, will be quite offended by my words, but rather that wherever your outstanding virtue is proclaimed, it may provide great edification for those who read it."⁴⁹⁸

For Damian, Agnes represented the ultimate example of sacrifice for the monastic vocation. If she were to return to her secular life, it would be a public rejection by a powerful personage of what he believed was the ideal existence on earth. Moreover, Agnes had the potential to become the perfect liaison between the Church and the Empire. Much was at stake, and for that reason Damian often wrote Agnes reassuring her of her choice. Between 1065 and 1066, he wrote a letter to offer her solace in the wake of his recent departure and her newfound loneliness.⁴⁹⁹ His concern for Agnes' solitude did not wane and shortly after he sent the first letter, he offered a second letter of consolation, in which he states, "In place of purple that will

⁴⁹² As Blum notes, Siegfried became archbishop on January 6th and not long after Damian sent this letter (*Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 71, 113, n. 1).

⁴⁹³ Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 71, 113, n. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 71, 324-325; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 71, 113-115.

⁴⁹⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 136; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 136.

⁴⁹⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 104; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 104. Blum explains that the dating of this letter depends on how long Agnes remained in Rome between 1063 and 1065 (*Letters*, vol. 4 [1998], Letter 104, 145, n. 1).

⁴⁹⁷ See *Liber ad amicum* by Bonizo of Sutri on this subject (*Bonizonis episcopi Sutriensis Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Duemmler, in *MGH Libelli de lite*, I [Hannover 1891], 568-620).

⁴⁹⁸ "Haec autem non propter te, venerabilis imperatrix, edissero, quam et his verbis pocius offendere pertimesco, sed ob id pocius, ut dum tuae virtutis insigne utcumque depromitur, non parva legentibus aedifacio procuretur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 104, 149). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1998), Letter 104, 153.

⁴⁹⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 124; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004) Letter 124.

fade with time you may receive the robe of immortality. And in exchange for a crown, fashioned of earthly metal, may you wear that diadem made in heaven adorned with precious stones.”⁵⁰⁰ He remained concerned that in a state of lonesomeness Agnes might be tempted by the alluring benefits of her former life.

By 1067, Damian realized his goal; Agnes agreed to act as papal legate to the German court. Hildebrand had asked Agnes to persuade her son to assist the Holy See with the looming threat of a Norman foray into Rome. In exchange, the papacy would grant Henry the imperial crown. In this case, Damian’s objectives were perhaps not entirely congruent with those of the papacy. Both parties wanted Agnes as an ally, but Damian worried that too much time spent at the German court, immersed in familiar surroundings, could break her resolve. In January of 1067 he sent her a letter while she was away imploring her to return as quickly as possible.⁵⁰¹ Then in Lent of that year he sent his final letter to Agnes, again lamenting her travels to Germany.⁵⁰² He expressed his confidence in her commitment, “Although I take it as certain that, as the angels who are sent as God’s ministers never turn aside from the mission assigned to them, but, constantly carrying out their delegated duties, always fix their unalterable gaze on his face, so also you, wherever you walk and wherever you go, do not turn your eyes away from the sight of your heavenly spouse.”⁵⁰³ Damian continued to appeal to Agnes’ conscience saying that many people now doubt she will ever return and only her presence could “gladden the hearts” of those awaiting her.⁵⁰⁴ He admitted the purpose of her absence was warranted, but he states, “And with the voice of the Roman Church I will say to you exactly what in Canticles the new universal Church cried out to the synagogue of old, ‘Come back, Come back, Sunamite maiden, come back that we may gaze upon you.’”⁵⁰⁵ Damian then revealed the source of his disquiet. He tells of his own childhood, and of the time he happened to pass the house in Ravenna where he was born. He had no desire to pass the house let alone to enter, but on another occasion when he sister was gravely ill he had no choice but to come inside the house. On this incident he writes, “At the sight of secular things and worldly lifestyle, the old conflict again erupts, so that the wild thorns and nettles and briars, that had lost their power to pierce or burn, now spread more destructively in the field of our soul.”⁵⁰⁶ Perhaps with this story Damian provoked a similar realization in Agnes, at that time surrounded by “secular things” herself. He closed the letter with these instructions, “You should therefore speak to the Roman Church in the words of

⁵⁰⁰ “... et pro temporali purpura stolam immortalitatis accipias. Ac pro corona quae de terreno fuerat fabricata metallo, illud diadema suscipias quod in caelo factum est de lapide precioso” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 130, 436. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 130, 54.

⁵⁰¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 144; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 144.

⁵⁰² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 149; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149.

⁵⁰³ “Quamquam pro certo crediderim quia, sicut angeli divinitus in ministerium missi, nunquam ab eo prorsus a quo diriguntur abscidunt, sed intra ipsum iugiter in delegati muneris executione currentes, inreverberati optutus aciem semper in eius speculatione defigunt, sic et tu quocumque graderis, quocumque discurras, ab aspectu sponsi caelestis oculos non avertis...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 149, 548). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149, 173.

⁵⁰⁴ “Corda letifica” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 149, 548). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149, 173.

⁵⁰⁵ “Dicam etiam tibi ex voce Romane aeclesie, quod in Canticis nova universalis ecclesia clamat veteri synagoge: ‘Revertere, revertere, Sunamitis, reveretere ut intueamur te’” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989]), Letter 149, 549). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149, 174; Cant. 6.12.

⁵⁰⁶ “De secularium nempe rerum et mundanae conversationis aspectu rediviva rursum bella consurgunt, ut uticarum vepriumque ferales aculei, qui pungendi vel urendi vires amiserant, in agro mentis nostre perniciosius inhorrescunt” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 149, 552). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149, 178.

Ruth to her mother-in-law, ‘Do not urge me to go back and desert you. Where you go, I will go, and where you stay I will stay.’⁵⁰⁷ Damian took it upon himself to ensure Agnes’ loyalty to the Church, and indeed his concern was well founded. Agnes had spent most of her life as an empress, and before the death of her husband was no friend to the Church. She had rather suddenly changed her ways, so Damian took no chances in losing this valuable ally.⁵⁰⁸

However, with the exception of Agnes, Peter Damian was more interested in lay authorities operating in Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches.⁵⁰⁹ Damian’s relationship to the local magnates had a slow start but began even before he became prior. He reached out above all to those persons endowed with the power to make important decisions, primarily judges and aristocrats. He contacted the judge, Bonushomo of Cesena, twice on the same matter sometime before 1047.⁵¹⁰ He instructed the judge not to dwell on temporal matters, but to concentrate on spiritual wisdom.⁵¹¹ Toward the end of his life he again dispensed counsel to a judge when in 1070 he asked his friend, Judge Moricus, to avoid swearing oaths and to give alms to the poor.⁵¹² After 1057 when Damian was physically present less often in the Marches, he advised lay landholders regarding their secular activities progressively more and more. He also initiated a friendship with Beatrice of Canossa.

Several years after his letter to Boniface in which he asked the margrave to relinquish his rights over the monastery of Saint Vincent,⁵¹³ he wrote his first communication to Beatrice in 1057.⁵¹⁴ In the letter he responded to news received from her husband, Godfrey that the two had decided to live in chastity. He had met Godfrey in Rome where the duke had announced the couples’ intention⁵¹⁵ and shortly after Damian congratulated the duchess on her good virtues and offered examples of women who had lived in continence with their husbands including Sarah wife of Abraham and Galla, the second wife of Theodosius. Peter Damian’s approval of Beatrice’s husband did not last long. Even though Godfrey had come to the papacy’s aid on several occasions, most notably during the crisis instigated by Cadalus, by the end of the 1050s Damian concluded the Duke had mismanaged his affairs so completely that he was therefore

⁵⁰⁷ “Dic ergo tu Romanae aecclesiae quod dixit illa socru suae: ‘Ne adversis,’ ait, ‘michi ut relinquam te, et abeam. Quocumque enim perrexeris pergam. Ubi morata fueris, et ego pariter morabor’” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 149, 554). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 149, 180; Ruth 1.16.

⁵⁰⁸ In the corpus a letter survives addressed to a Milanese countess named Blanche (Letter 66), whom Damian also mentions in Letters 92, 93, and 109. As there are no contemporary records of the countess, and Blum speculates she is fictitious and that perhaps Letter 66 was in fact intended for Agnes (*Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 66, 40, n. 2).

⁵⁰⁹ On at least two occasions he did use his ties to the empire to gain local assistance. First he petitioned the imperial family’s support early in his career concerning the disastrous state of the church in the Marches, and then when Henry came to Italy to quell the uprising of Godfrey of Lorraine after the death of Duke Boniface, Damian acted as mediator at the request of the monks of Saint Vincent’s. Their monastery, its property, and its dependent had suffered greatly due to the conflict, which lasted from 1052 until 1055. See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 142, 520; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 142, 141-142.

⁵¹⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 21 and 23; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letters 21 and 23.

⁵¹¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 23, 218; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 23, 218.

⁵¹² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 170; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 170.

⁵¹³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 2; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. I (1989), Letter 2.

⁵¹⁴ For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 203, Neukirch 97, and F. Dressler, *Petrus Damiani. Leben und Werk* (Rome: Herder, 1954), 164 n. 369. Cf Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 51, 335, n. 1.

⁵¹⁵ See Lucchesi, *Vita* nos. 175 and 203 on time Damian spent in Rome during the synods convened by Pope Stephen IX.

compelled to point out his failings. He wrote Godfrey sometime between 1059 and 1063⁵¹⁶ to criticize the Duke's neglect of his region. He writes, "I now repeat in my letter what I have often said to you in person. I am saying, indeed, that I am greatly displeased that you neglect this principality in which almost 100,000 people live, as if it were some little country town, and do not turn it over to a governor who will rule and administer it."⁵¹⁷ In sum, Damian suggested that if the Duke could not adequately govern his territory, he should find a suitable replacement to rule in his name. He focused on one specific fault, the Duke's inability to punish criminals properly, which had led to a surge of violence in the region. Damian cited examples of judicial administration from history and Scripture to persuade Godfrey to change his ways, but apparently the Duke did not comply; Damian sent another letter also between the years 1059 and 1063 on the same subject.⁵¹⁸ The letter implies that he had sent several other communications, "so that, at least by badgering requests, a matter that is highly important be effected."⁵¹⁹ Because the Duke persisted in his leniency in dispensing justice, Damian considered it his duty to speak for Godfrey's subjects who suffered the consequences of his poor decisions.⁵²⁰ Moreover, Damian had the best interests of his monastic congregation in mind, which would also have been affected by Godfrey's judicial laxity.

Damian then took it upon himself to educate Duke Godfrey's chaplains at the beginning of 1066. Writing from Gamogna, he replied to three points made by the chaplains. First, the priests argued that clerics could legally marry. Second, that one who has purchased his ecclesiastical office cannot be charged with simony, unless he has paid also for the imposition of hands. Lastly, the chaplains accused Damian of avarice. It would be difficult to find three other charges that Peter Damian would consider more egregious, although he called the final charge the lesser of the three and informed his recipients that in general their attack caused him only "minor distress."⁵²¹ Damian claimed he had responded briefly, but in the rather lengthy letter he addressed each charge in turn with extensive canonical and Scriptural evidence, despite his absence from Fonte Avellana's library.⁵²² Perhaps Damian would have responded to these chaplains' accusations even if they had not been part of Godfrey's entourage; however, it is more likely these priests received a reply precisely for that reason. It would have served Damian's network to have Godfrey's clerics understand his point of view, as they were the Duke's spiritual advisers.

Damian's relationship to Beatrice developed far more smoothly than the one he had with her husband. He spoke highly of Beatrice and never had cause to attack her person or her actions.⁵²³ Godfrey, on the other hand, frequently caused Damian distress. Although during

⁵¹⁶ For the date see Neukirch, *Das Leben* 101f., Lucchesi, *Vita* no. 203 and 2.155, and Woody, *Damiani* 218. Cf. Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 67, 70, n. 1.

⁵¹⁷ "Quod ergo vivis tibi sepe sermonibus protuli, hoc nunc per epistolam replico. Fateor sane multum mihi displicet, quia monarchiam hanc, in qua pene centum milia degunt hominum, tamquam rusticum quendam viculum negligis, eamque duci per quem regi et amministrari debeat, non committis" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 67, 281-282). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 67, 71.

⁵¹⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 68; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 68.

⁵¹⁹ "Sepe nuntius post nuntium mittitur, ut res, quae nimis est necessaria, importunes saltim precibus impetretur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 68, 290). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 68, 79.

⁵²⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 68, 290; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 68, 80.

⁵²¹ "... quia michi pro minimo est..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 141, 489). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 141, 113.

⁵²² See Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Introduction to Letter 141, 112.

⁵²³ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 141, 490, and vol. 4 (1993), Letter 154, 69; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 141, 114 and vol. 6 (2005), Letter 154, 73.

Lent of 1067 he asked the couple to help pay for a biblical lectionary for the monastery of Acereta,⁵²⁴ by the next year Godfrey received a very different letter. The duke and margrave had heard the pleas of Cadalus, bishop of Parma and then antipope Honorius II. In his address to Godfrey, Peter Damian lost no time expressing his dissatisfaction. He immediately states he sends a “reprimand of fervent zeal.”⁵²⁵ Damian considered the duke’s decision to communicate with Cadalus a personal affront that “pierced a broken heart as if with the most profound pain’s sharpest prick.”⁵²⁶ Although Godfrey had previously fought against Cadalus, whom Damian hailed as “the Antichrist,” he subsequently chose to listen to the enemy. This letter is not a harsh rebuke of Godfrey, but a fervent entreaty for his return to the side of justice. Damian writes distinctly different letters to his enemies when appalled by their actions. In his letters to Cadalus himself, for example, Damian never feigned camaraderie nor did he express deep disappointment with the bishop. Rather, he harshly berated the prelate and openly declared his enmity. In his communication to Godfrey, however, he sought to preserve the friendship.

Godfrey and Beatrice were useful contacts for Damian in many respects, but they were not the only nobles with whom Damian interacted. He also had a relationship with Marquis Rainerius II of Monte Santa Maria, a dependent territory of Tuscany, and his wife Countess Guilla. He approached Guilla first shortly before 1067 asking her to reform the “morally deficient” house into which she had married.⁵²⁷ In Damian’s eyes Rainerius, not unlike Godfrey, governed poorly. Damian urged Guilla to provide a good example for her husband who would surely not impede her just governance. Specifically, Damian complained about the marquis’ excessive obligations and taxes upon serfs, and his seizure of property belonging to the poor.⁵²⁸ Perhaps by virtue of Guilla’s influence, Rainerius confessed his sins to Damian in 1067. Rainerius, however, found the penance Damian imposed far too inconvenient to complete. Damian called for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but Rainerius feared the perilous journey. His confessor sent a letter calming the marquis’ apprehensions and assured him that the Lord would keep him safe and in the end would reward his efforts.⁵²⁹

Damian, ever prone to tumultuous encounters with influential Tuscan families, also had difficulty with the Guidi counts. They were significant benefactors to many of the monasteries in Modigliana as a result of their association with Romuald.⁵³⁰ Furthermore, Damian credited Count Tehtgrimus with the foundation of Saint John’s in Acereta. But even before the foundation of that monastery, Damian wrote to a member of the family between 1045 and 1046.⁵³¹ He followed up on a previous conversation shared in the archbishop’s residence in Ravenna during which the “illustrious” T., whom Giovanni Lucchesi identifies as Tetgrimus of the Guidi,⁵³² had inquired about the significance of the canonical offices.⁵³³ Damian responded

⁵²⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 148; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 148,

⁵²⁵ “... zeli ferventis obloquium...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 154, 68). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 154, 72.

⁵²⁶ “... et tabefactum cor velut acutissimo doloris intimi pugione transfodit...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 154, 68). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 154, 72.

⁵²⁷ “... domum... male moratam...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 143, 522). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 143, 144.

⁵²⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 143, 522; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 143, 144.

⁵²⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 151, 1-5; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 151, 3-6.

⁵³⁰ See Damian’s *Vita* of the saint (ed. cit.), chapters 38 and 78.

⁵³¹ For the date, see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 158 (Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 17, 145, n. 1).

⁵³² Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 158.

⁵³³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 17; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 17.

at length to that question and in so doing solidified his friendship with the nobleman. Although this communication is the only surviving letter sent directly to a member of the Guidi family, the counts were nevertheless a part of Damian's personal network based on their connection to Acereta. Their relationship with the monastery was far from harmonious, however. In a letter to Hildebrand sent in 1059⁵³⁴ Damian defended himself on charges brought forth by the dependents of the Guidi that he had constructed the monastery of Acereta on lands that they had given to their serfs. Damian countered that the Guidi count, Tehtgrimus had died without heirs and donated part of his lands and villas surrounding the site.⁵³⁵ Damian's opinion of the family was already tarnished before this incident; he had described one Guidi count, Lothar, as a tortured soul in hell before 1045.⁵³⁶ But in 1060 he again tried to reconcile past conflicts when he obligated Count Guido and his wife to provide for the welfare of Gamogna and Acereta.

We should understand the role of the Guidi in the 1060 charter as an example of social networking, and especially within the context of communication and Church reform. Landholding aristocrats held the power to destroy or to bolster significantly local reform movements. Damian believed in their usefulness and for that reason relentlessly beleaguered the resident nobles around his congregation to behave in a specific manner. He attacked not only their spiritual deficiencies, but also their temporal administration because he saw both as contributing factors to successful lordship. He defined success as the creation of the ideal Christian community, which required the upright participation of laypersons and clerics. The means to reach both parties and to enact reform was communication, in-person as well as epistolary. Admittedly, his basic approach was not innovative. Communication networks existed before Peter Damian. However, before the eleventh century in Europe no one had yet implemented a large-scale effort to mobilize a program of ideas. He managed this task through personal relationships. More often than not he wrote to individual ecclesiastics and nobles rather than to an office, monastery, or diocese. In sum, he intended friendship and not merely formalized interactions.

V. Networks of Reform

Damian created different networks of correspondents. The brothers and institutions of Fonte Avellana's congregation formed one network, which by the 1060s Damian perceived as a unified whole when he wrote the first collective letters to all monasteries. His personal network, established in the 1040s, included other monks and monasteries, regional bishops, popes, cardinals, and powerful lay magnates, among whom he counted the German imperial family. Damian dispensed communications within his personal network to create two outposts of reform. He reached out to Ravenna during the 1050s as the nearest outlet to the wider collaborative papal and imperial movement. When the attempt to cooperate failed and while he himself spent more time at Rome, he began a relationship with the monastery of Montecassino that lasted the final twelve years of his life.

⁵³⁴ This date is problematized in Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), 221. Reindel follows Borino, "L'arcidiaconato di Ildebrando" in *Studi Gregoriani* 3 (1948), 514, and Dressler, *Petrus Damiani*, 145.

⁵³⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 63, 223; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 63, 17. For further information on Tehtgrimus, see Lucchesi, *Vita*, no. 23. Blum cites Woody (*Damiani*, 53) on Damian's description of these properties (*Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 63, 17, n. 12).

⁵³⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 14, 148; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 14, 137. For the date see Lucchesi, *Vita* 2, 151.

The correspondence of Peter Damian changes after 1057. When Damian assumed his position as cardinal bishop, the Holy See obligated him to resolve immediate crises. These crises facilitated the expansion of his communication network throughout Northern Italy, over the Alps and even as far as Constantinople. Also after 1057, Montecassino replaced Ravenna as Damian's primary reform ally outside of Rome. In general after his elevation Damian sought higher-powered friends. Most notable among these was Montecassino's Abbot Desiderius, who only rarely deigned to respond to Damian's supplications, and the Empress Agnes. Despite these changes, Damian still focused intensely on the region around Fonte Avellana until his death in 1072. Through his combined role in the papal curia, including his activities as papal legate, and his position as prior over the congregation of Fonte Avellana Damian could operate on both the local and universal stages. Additionally, his relationship with the Empress Agnes was tangentially associated with the larger reform movement vis-à-vis her connection to the imperial court.

Ultimately Peter Damian realized legislation from above was insufficient. Early in his priorship his frequent requests for assistance in the Marches went ignored. He witnessed first hand that ideas radiating outward from Rome achieved no practical end without active enforcement, usually involving the address of problematic economic practices. For that reason Damian supplemented upper-level reform with reform on the ground. Even though his skillful planning left room for error, he was not adverse to revising his decisions and experimenting with new approaches. Inspired by Damian, Pope Gregory VII would also build a friendship network with the intent to extend Rome's reform agenda even further.⁵³⁷ Though the former monk Hildebrand did not always see eye-to-eye with Damian, he recognized the utility of this particular strategy. The innovations Damian implemented extended beyond communications and networking to singular practices in land tenure, the subject of the final two chapters. Ideas about monastic space and the economics of reform travelled through his networks and manifested throughout the landscape of Northeastern Italy.

⁵³⁷ See I.S. Robinson's seminal article, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII" (cited above). Also, Kristine R. Rennie's recent article, "Extending Gregory VII's 'Friendship Network': Social Contacts in Late Eleventh-Century France" *History* 93: 312 (2008): 475-496.

The Monastic Landscape⁵³⁸

During the eleventh century, monks and hermits transformed the Italian landscape by their very presence in the countryside and the rapid proliferation of their formal foundations. This century saw the rise of two of the most influential monastic congregations of the period, the Camaldolesi and the Vallombrosan orders with foundations spanning Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches. Of no less importance, the congregation of Fonte Avellana emerged in the eleventh century alongside these prominent orders. Although the hermitage of Fonte Avellana was located in the Marches, its foundations crossed regional boundaries into Umbria to the south and Emilia-Romagna to the north. All of the houses followed the backbone of the Apennines in an arch over northeastern Italy. Agriculture managed to thrive in this mountainous area because of its lowland valleys and terrace farming techniques, exercised by tenant farmers either independently or on behalf of a proprietor. Politically it was among the more highly contentious places in Europe at the time, home to many fervent papal and imperial supporters, both lay and ecclesiastical. This complex landscape in which the congregation expanded helped to determine its development. The mountains, open valleys, rural settlements, castles, monasteries and churches comprised the landscape, but it represented not the setting in which action took place, but one component part entwined with multiple social processes that included the distribution of private power and the growth of economic centers.

This chapter examines the impact of these surroundings on the congregation. I explore the interplay between large-scale processes, the topography, and centuries of monastic tradition, all of which influenced Peter Damian's decisions in founding houses in particular locales. My purpose is two fold. First, rather than offer a static representation of settlement patterns in the countryside, which supposes social action occurs within a stationary landscape, this chapter shows that the dialogue between the landscape and the actors therein determined social processes, including the formation of a monastery or hermitage as "place." Second, I search for the lived experience of eremitism and monasticism within the congregation, which depended on a unique understanding of "wilderness." Like the Desert Fathers, Damian understood monks and hermits thrived unimpaired by the temptations and distractions of the urban scene, but he moved beyond ancient eremitic and coenobitic models. Damian developed a unique form of religious life in which monks and hermits used their respective environments to reconcile personal and communal devotion. His design twinned eremitic and coenobitic communities and depended on varying degrees of experience in the "wilderness." This chapter offers a case study of two houses in the congregation, which reveals that Peter Damian valued "wilderness" in very specific terms. Summarily the present study argues that Peter Damian's notion of monastic reform took advantage of the surrounding topography and geography, and that his disciples brought his plan to fruition.

As stated in Chapter 2, in his *Vita* of Peter Damian John of Lodi credited the Saint with the foundation of the hermitages at Suavicinum, Gamogna, and Monte Preggio,⁵³⁹ and

⁵³⁸ I will soon publish a truncated version this chapter in an essay entitled, "Reforming the Monastic Landscape: Peter Damian's Design for Personal and Communal Devotion," *Proceedings of the 9th International Symposium on Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (in press, expected fall 2012).

contemporary charters name the monastery of Saint Bartholomew at Camporeggiano and the hermitage at Ocri as daughter houses of Fonte Avellana. Damian's *Vita* listed only two other monastic houses founded by the Saint, Acereta and Saint Gregory's at Conca.⁵⁴⁰ As Peter Damian never integrated the monastery of Saint Gregory at Conca into the congregation of Fonte Avellana, it is excluded from the discussion here.⁵⁴¹

Geographically the daughter houses radiated outwards from Fonte Avellana and surrounded the hermitage on all sides roughly forming a ring around the motherhouse. Ocri lay north of the hermitage whereas Suavicinum was southeast; Monte Preggio was southwest of Fonte Avellana and Gamogna and Acereta occupied the northwest; Camporeggiano lay due west. The daughter houses of the congregation circled the motherhouse on all sides.⁵⁴² Damian would have had some control in the selection of the sites, but he had to work with what he was given. Land donations could be extensive and Damian may have had a great deal of space in which to construct a foundation, whether nearer or farther from the motherhouse or in a particular orientation toward a resource or feature of the landscape. In most cases it is impossible to know if the general locations of these communities resulted from deliberate planning or happenstance. Damian founded the hermitage of Suavicinum in 1048,⁵⁴³ presumably with lands provided by a wealthy patron. He established the hermitage at Gamogna and the monastery of Acereta between 1053 and 1055⁵⁴⁴ on lands granted to Damian by the Guidi count Tehtgrimus.⁵⁴⁵ The monastery of Saint Bartholomew (founded 1057) likewise had a wealthy lay patron. Damian's biographer recounts that he placed the community of Monte Preggio near to where Romuald had once lived in a cell around 1053.⁵⁴⁶ Pope Leo IX granted Damian the office of prior over the hermitage of Ocri between 1049 and 1054. In short, Damian received the opportunity to erect foundations on

⁵³⁹ *Vita S. Petri Damiani* (ed. cit.), ch. 7. This hermitage was founded originally by Saint Romuald on land held in possession by the Marquis Rainerius (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.], ch. 39).

⁵⁴⁰ *Vita Petri Damiani*, ch. 7. Although the editors of Fonte Avellana's charters include a document from the hermitage of Saint Nicolò di Monte Corno dated 1055 in their volume, there is no evidence this hermitage was affiliated with Fonte Avellana during Damian's lifetime (*Carte*, doc. 9, 19-22).

⁵⁴¹ As stated above, this assertion that Saint Gregory was not a part of the congregation of Fonte Avellana has been proposed by G. Cacciamani ("Le fondazioni," 16) and more recently by Nicolangelo D'Acunto (2008), 119-146.

⁵⁴² Refer to the map of Fonte Avellana's congregation in the appendix.

⁵⁴³ *Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, 213.

⁵⁴⁴ Pierucci and Polverari date the first document pertaining to the monastery at Acereta between 1053 and 1057. The prominent historian of the congregation, Mansueto Della Santa, also declared in 1961 that the monastery had to have been founded after Gamogna, around 1056 or 1057 (*Idea monastica*, 110). The foundation date of Gamogna is generally accepted to be earlier, between 1053 and 1055 (*Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, 233). However, Damian described the original donation of land by the Guidi count Tehtgrimus as intended for the monastery and not the hermitage, which presents a strong case that Damian constructed Acereta first (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 63, 223; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 63, 17; see also Benericetti [2007], 52 n. 58; Jean Leclercq, *San Pier Damiano Eremita e Uomo di Chiesa* [Brescia: Morcelliana, 1972], 105, n. 61; originally published in French as, *S. Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église* [Rome, 1960]; Lucchesi, *Vita*, I, 139). Both Leclercq and Lucchesi agree that Acereta was constructed first. In addition, Acereta controlled the patrimony of two houses in 1060, though that fact does not present solid proof it existed before Gamogna. On this point see Cacciamini, 10. The Romualdian tradition would have the monastery founded second. Therefore, the date remains roughly fixed between 1053 and 1057.

⁵⁴⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988) Letter 63, 223; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 63, 17-18.

⁵⁴⁶ Damian described the feats of a hermit there named Leo in a letter written between 1055 and 1057 to the hermit Teuzo formerly of the monastery of Saint Mary in Florence (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 44, 20; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1989], Letter 44, 230). John of Lodi places the foundation of Monte Preggio chronologically between that of Suavicinum (c. 1049) and of Gamogna and Acereta (c. 1053) (*Vita S. Petri Damiani* [ed. cit.] ch. 7, 228), and 1053 is the date given in the *Annales Camaldulenses* (vol. II, 134).

specific parcels of land, but he would have still had control over the setting and construction. The *precise* location and design of a site resulted from a careful decision.

Even if the daughter houses of Fonte Avellana found themselves near resources solely by virtue of a charitable donation, the monks and hermits therein nonetheless reaped the benefits from these endowments. This part of Italy remained well connected from the early Roman through the medieval periods. Both Roman and medieval roads wove lines throughout the *contado* in the Marches and Umbria,⁵⁴⁷ and their architects managed to produce remarkably contiguous courses. There has yet to be a study of the minor roadways of northeastern Italy, but scholars have well documented the main routes of travel, many of which run just below the surface of modern highways. Most follow the lines of the valleys, which one would expect in the Apennines. Though it is difficult to determine whether or not a Roman road would have remained viable centuries later, itineraries of imperial Rome and the early and central Middle Ages for the Marches relate some consistent information. In tandem with archaeological evidence, we now possess a working map for routes of travel during Damian's priorate.⁵⁴⁸

Though it appears contradictory to establish a retreat from the world next to one of its lifelines, throughout northern Italy monasteries commonly lay near roads.⁵⁴⁹ It is not surprising these monasteries would appear along highly trafficked routes, but why intentionally place one next to a road thus making it relatively accessible and vulnerable to potential dangers? The simple answer is that the benefits outweighed the risks. Although cloistered, the monks would have to travel occasionally outside the walls to collect produce such as grain and perhaps also rents, visit nearby markets, or even other monasteries. The hermits of Fonte Avellana travelled as well. In addition, Benedictine monasticism had a long tradition of offering hospitality to travelers, which might have influenced the choice of locations near roads. Damian's letters tell us that inter-house contact took place often within the congregation.⁵⁵⁰ As he states regarding the hermits of Fonte Avellana, "Often a brother is commanded to travel some distance, guiding the pack animals, and frequently he is sent to the market to buy or sell."⁵⁵¹ Since these religious needed unobstructed avenues for travel, monks themselves (or lay brothers)⁵⁵² likely assumed the

⁵⁴⁷ On roads in the Marches see *Le strade nelle Marche. Il problema nel tempo*. Atti del Convegno (Fano, Fabriano, Pesaro, Ancona, 11-14 October 1984), in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche*, 89-91 (1984-1986), vol. 3 (Ancona, 1987); *Istituzioni e società nell'Alto Medioevo marchigiano*, Atti del Convegno (Ancona, Osimo, Jesi, 17-20 October 1981), in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche* 86 (1981) vol. I (Ancona, 1983); L. Quilici, *La rete stradale del ducato di Spoleto nell'Alto Medioevo* in *Atti IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1983), vol. I, pp. 399-420. Also, see Francesca Fei's more recent study, "Note sulla viabilità e sugli insediamenti abbaziali nelle marche," in *Le Abbazie delle Marche, storia e arte*, a cura di Emma Simi Varanelli (Roma: Viella, 1992), 233-248; Annapaola Mosca, "Aspetti dell'insediamento lungo la via Flaminia in età tardoantica ed altomedioevale" in *La viabilità medievale in Italia. Contributo alla Carta Archaeologica medievale*, ed. Stella Patitucci Uggeri. Atti del V Seminario di Archeologia Medievale, Cassino, 2000. Quaderni di Archeologia Medievale, IV (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 2002).

⁵⁴⁸ See Francesca Fei's article (cited above), which utilizes the documentary and archaeological evidence and provides several maps, parts of which I used when constructing the map in the appendix (figure 1).

⁵⁴⁹ Fei, 234.

⁵⁵⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 133, 452-454; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 133, 73-75.

⁵⁵¹ "Sepe post sagmarios frater procul ire praecipitur, sepe distrahendi vel coemendi gratia ad nundinas destinatur" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 110; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 313).

⁵⁵² The term in the letter, "*famuli*," is unclear, but according to Blum in this context seems to mean "*conversi*" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 93; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 299, n. 36).

responsibility of constructing smaller roads and paths, or they restored portions of Roman roads that had either fallen into disuse or become impassible.⁵⁵³

Although the hermits traveled, as was the case with many contemporary hermitages the founders of Fonte Avellana in the late tenth century located the ascetic retreat purposefully away from roads to recreate the remote desert landscape of their Late-Antique predecessors. But it was not as distant from the secular world as it might have been. Three roads surrounded the hermitage and the most well traversed of these was the ancient Via Flaminia, which ran northeast of the hermitage and passed right along the two nearby settlements, Cagli and Luceoli (today Cantiano), then near the monastery of Saint Vincent at Furlo and on to Fano, Pesaro, and Rimini. Constructed by the consul Gaius Flaminius as a military route from Rome to the Adriatic Sea, the first stones of this road were laid between 220 and 219 BCE, but it continued in use well into the medieval period and it is possible even today to drive along its winding path where a few surviving Roman mile markers still mark the passing distance. Tributaries of the Via Flaminia passed very near to the approximate locations of the hermitages of Suavicinum and Monte Preggio as well. No physical structures survive of these two sites, but even a conservative estimate of the general position of Suavicinum (near the mountain of the same name) and Monte Preggio (near the Castle of Preggio in Umbertide) would place them perhaps under fifteen kilometers from these roads. Possibly additional roads surrounded the hermitage of Ocri, but in the absence of that evidence the two hermitages Damian personally founded, Suavicinum and Monte Preggio, appear more accessible. Although its exact location remains unknown, Ocri would have been at least thirty to forty kilometers away from the closest route off the Via Flaminia. In contrast Damian placed the monasteries of Camporeggiano and Acereta alongside roads.⁵⁵⁴ The patrimony of Fonte Avellana also included properties bordered or crossed by roads. A 1062 land donation from two women, Ermengarda and her daughter, Berta, describes one boundary line of the property as the “public road” (*via publicam*) that ran near the monastery of Saint Paternian in Fano.⁵⁵⁵ In addition, Peter Damian purchased land bordered by the Via Flaminia (*a secundo latere Flaminea plubica [sic]*) between 1068 and 1069 on behalf of Fonte Avellana from Ugo and his wife Biza.⁵⁵⁶

Roads represented important resources that connected centers occupying the landscape around Fonte Avellana and its daughter houses, including episcopal sees as well as the archbishopric of Ravenna, reforming and proprietary monasteries, various *castelli*, and the rural settlements that grew up around these seats of power. These centers proved another valuable resource for the congregation. Monks and hermits could build relationships with nearby religious institutions sympathetic to reform. However, this was not a region divided neatly among reform-minded institutions and prelates and proprietary foundations. That dichotomy fails to accommodate the reality of monastic life in the eleventh century. Lay patronage did not necessarily compromise the religious integrity of an institution, and even so-called reforming monasteries committed spiritual transgressions. Thus the distribution of political entities varied, but within this composite landscape Fonte Avellana and its daughter houses reached out to establish relations with nearby foundations and bishops. In similar fashion the three largest proprietary monasteries in the area clustered together, as their patrons intended.

⁵⁵³ Fei, 247.

⁵⁵⁴ Medieval structures survive on all three sites. See figure 2 in the appendix, a floorplan of the surviving structures at Acereta.

⁵⁵⁵ *Carte*, doc. 16, 41.

⁵⁵⁶ *Carte*, doc. 27, 72.

The geographical extent of Fonte Avellana's monastic friends remained small before Damian began to found daughter houses. The monasteries of Saint Mary in Sitria and Saint Vincent at Furlo maintained a close relationship with Peter Damian before and during his early priorate. Sitria was only around ten kilometers from Fonte Avellana, and the monastery of Saint Vincent lay about 25 kilometers to the north, a day's journey.⁵⁵⁷ An unnamed hermitage in Luceoli, also about a day's travel to Fonte Avellana, provided one of the hermitage's most famous ascetics, Dominic Loricato in the early 1050s. Later Dominic spent time at Sitria and then in a cell outside the hermitage of Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli, which lies at the base of the valley where the rivers Freddo and Sentino meet descending from Fonte Avellana.⁵⁵⁸ Fonte Avellana also supplied at least two bishops for the closest episcopal seat at Gubbio after Peter Damian's departure from the community in 1057.⁵⁵⁹

Just as Fonte Avellana surrounded itself with allies, the hermitage of Monte Preggio lay near two monasteries in Perugia with ties to the papacy and a Romualdian foundation near Monte Acuto. The dependent monasteries of the bishop of Perugia, Saint Peter's and Saint Mary's Val di Ponte, received numerous papal privileges in the early eleventh century.⁵⁶⁰ Fonte Avellana had an important connection with the former. The abbot of Saint Peter's in Perugia, Bonizo, renounced his prelate to join the community at Fonte Avellana in 1064.⁵⁶¹ Peter Damian also at one time served as prior to the nearby hermitage of the Holy Savior in Monte Acuto.⁵⁶² Although a later example, it is worth noting that the monastery of Acereta also reached out to a neighboring Benedictine house when its abbot accepted a grant in emphyteusis from the monastery of Saint Reparata in 1097.⁵⁶³ The monastery of Saint Benedict in Bifurco, a community reformed by Romuald and once endowed with imperial privileges, was also not far away from Acereta and the hermitage of Gamogna.⁵⁶⁴ There is no evidence either Saint Reparata or Bifurco were proprietary monasteries during Damian's lifetime, though the surrounding lands were largely held by the Guidi counts of Tuscany and their retainers.⁵⁶⁵

The hermitage of Suavicinum, however, found itself in some proximity to proprietary houses. These hermits seemed to reside in a hostile area. Their abbot once asked for assistance from Damian regarding a spate of plundering.⁵⁶⁶ The Attoni family supported three monasteries not far from Monte Suavicino, the houses of Saint Victor in Chiuse near Sassoferrato and Fabriano, Saint Angelus infra Ostia, Saint Mary in the Apennines, both near Fabriano. An additional foundation, the monastery of Saint Peter in Conero near Numana, lay on the coast

⁵⁵⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 2 and 28; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letters 2 and 28.

⁵⁵⁸ Peter Damian, *Vita S. Dominici Loricati*, in Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 109; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 4 (1989), Letter 109.

⁵⁵⁹ Rudolf (1059-1061) and John of Lodi (1105-1006).

⁵⁶⁰ De Stefano, *Regesto di s. Pietro in Perugia*, 9. Also see *Le carte dell'archivio di Perugia*, eds. Tommaso Leccisotti e Costanzo Tabarelli (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1956); *Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di Santa Maria Val di Ponte*, I (969-1170), *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, ed. Vittorio de Donato (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1962).

⁵⁶¹ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 105, 159, n. 1.

⁵⁶² Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44 and vol. 4 (1993), Letter 156; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, and vol. 6 (2005), Letter 156; Regg. Iacobilli Vite de santi III, 303; *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 287.

⁵⁶³ ASL, document 449, Acereta, July 20, 1097.

⁵⁶⁴ Henry II granted the monastery its first privilege in 1021 (Mon. Germ. Dipl. III 588 n. 463). See *Vita Romualdi* (ed. cit.), ch. 32 and 34, pp. 69-70, 73.

⁵⁶⁵ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 63; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 63.

⁵⁶⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 53; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 53.

below Ancona.⁵⁶⁷ Its patrons founded this monastery far away from the other three, but the houses of Saint Victor, Saint Angelus, and Saint Mary lay within a relatively small geographical space. However, due to their large patrimonies and the rural *pievi* they controlled, these monasteries extended their influence beyond the immediate environs. The property of the Attoni lay adjacent to lands held by Peter Damian as well. In 1065 Atto and his wife Bona sold to Suppo a piece of property the border of which the charter describes as, “[a] *quarto latere terra de Petri Damianum*.”⁵⁶⁸ The monastery of Saint Mary in the Apennines had its own dependent house, the monastery of Saint Blaise.⁵⁶⁹ Saint Victor’s also had two daughter houses, the female monasteries of The Holy Savior of the Valley (San Salvatore di Valle) and Saint Mary of Frasassi (also called Bucca saxorum). The charters of Saint Victor’s record a donation from the abbot of Saint Urbanus,⁵⁷⁰ which indicates another connection. All of these foundations lay in a concentrated area of the Marches, whereas Fonte Avellana’s daughter houses spanned the Marches, Emilia-Romagna, and Umbria.

Arguably the geographical distribution of these communities demonstrates the Attoni possessed great freedom in selecting a location, much more so than Damian because they founded monasteries on their own lands whereas Damian built his houses on property acquired through charitable donations. The Attoni chose to consolidate their foundations and to create a cluster of socio-political entities loyal to them and dependent on their patronage. Necessity perhaps compelled Damian to found hermitages and monasteries at some distance from Fonte Avellana. It was not until the 1060s Fonte Avellana began to amass substantial properties near to the hermitage in the county of Cagli.⁵⁷¹ These lands were not under Fonte Avellana’s control when Damian constructed the congregation in the late 1040s and 1050s. Similarly, the endowment granted to the monastery at Camporeggiano left the monks in control of numerous lands around Gubbio, but Damian received this donation in 1057, after he had established three hermitages and one monastery in other areas.⁵⁷² Although Damian constructed his congregation where he could, the vast collection of Damian’s correspondence suggests he tended to distribute ties over a wider geographical space. Damian cultivated relationships with priests, monks, hermits, abbots, and bishops throughout the Italian peninsula and beyond the Alps. By the time Damian began founding daughter houses, he had already solidified friendships with religious communities neighboring Fonte Avellana. Possibly Damian viewed the opportunity to extend his fraternal network farther away from the motherhouse as advantageous or even preferable.

⁵⁶⁷ On the Attoni, see Elisabetta Archetti Giampaolini, “Nobilità fondiaria e territoriale in alcune aree della marca del centro-nord tra X e XII secolo: problematica relativa alla mancata creazione di signorie cittadine” in *Studi Medievali* 3, *La signoria rurale nel Medioevo italiano*, vol. 1 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1997).

⁵⁶⁸ Aurelio Zonghi, ed., *Carte diplomatiche fabrianesi* I, in *Collezione di documenti storici antichi*, II, ed. C. Ciarvarini (Ancona, 1872), 2.

⁵⁶⁹ On the monastery of Saint Blaise, see A.M. Giorgi, *Fabriano e la sua diocesi. Testimonianze archeologiche e storico-artistiche: le abbazie*, Tesi di laurea, 1989-90, Univ. di Bologna, Relat. R. Farioli Campanati, p. 160-163; A.G. Biocchi, *La valle di Somaregia o Salmaregio nella diocesi di Nocera Umbra. Cenni storici*, Fabriano 1974, 353-354; O. Turchi, *De Ecclesiae Camerinensis Pontificibus*, libri VI, Roma 1872, app. XXIII, p. XLV.

⁵⁷⁰ The charters of San Vittore record a donation from the abbot of San Urbano of half the property held by the priest Vitalis near Castel Petrosino in a place called *Larcianum* (Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 28). For San Urbano see O. Turchi, *De ecclesia*, 151-154, and App. III, pp. XX-XXI; App. XLV, pp. LXVI-LXXIX; L. Marchegiani, *I benedettini nella Valle dell’Esinante: abbazia di S. Urbano in Studi Maceratesi*, 2 (Macereta 1967): 189-205.

⁵⁷¹ See the following documents recording donations in *Carte di Fonte Avellana*: 10 (c. 1055), 16 (1062), 23 (1066); all include lands in Cagli. See also *Carte*, doc. 27, which documents a sale of land in the county of Cagli purchased by Peter Damian and his acting prior, Baroncius between 1068 and 1069.

⁵⁷² *Carte*, doc. 11, 26-28.

Regardless of the degree to which Damian controlled the general positioning of sites, as it stood in the mid-eleventh century Fonte Avellana acted as the motherhouse to several daughter houses spanning a wide area while positioned in significant locations. Suavicinum was very near to three prominent proprietary houses founded by the powerful Attoni family. Camporeggiano lay near Gubbio, an important bishopric in the region. Gamogna and Acereta occupied lands held by the Guidi counts of Tuscany, not far from the Romualdian house of Saint Benedict in Bifurco and almost exactly halfway between Ravenna and Florence. Damian founded the hermitage of Monte Preggio near to two other communities where he developed important ties, the monastery of Saint Peter in Perugia and the hermitage at Monte Acuto.

Whether by felicitous coincidence or deliberate planning, Damian secured politically strategic locations for Fonte Avellana's daughter houses. Subsequently he concerned himself with protecting the borders and property of the motherhouse. After Damian's departure for Rome, Fonte Avellana negotiated peace pacts with local lay magnates regarding property. In 1059 several men of the Ughi-Umberti family, a powerful seigniorial family in the immediate area around Fonte Avellana and possessing lands adjacent to the Attoni family's patrimony, swore to the prior, Peter of Rudolf and his successors to free the areas immediately around the hermitage of tenants, especially women.⁵⁷³ Sometime later, around 1067 nineteen members of various elite families in the region promised Peter Damian that they would never subject Fonte Avellana to any church or person, never usurp or invade the property of the hermitage, and that they would repay any damages incurred therein by either themselves or their retainers within fifteen days.⁵⁷⁴ Beyond assuring the safety of Fonte Avellana's property, these agreements show an attempt by the hermits to define their space, to draw a line between the sacred and the profane in the countryside. The removal of lay people and of women in particular speaks to this issue.

Damian was as just as attentive to the spatial organization of individual sites. When he became prior of Fonte Avellana in 1043, he inherited a former Romualdian community situated in the forested foothills of Mount Catria. A church served as the nucleus of the site and probably included an adjacent chapter, oratory, and refectory, and perhaps other buildings, with hermits residing in individual cells surrounding the central structures. During his priorate Damian himself occupied a cell on one side of the church while his disciple Dominic Loricatus lived in a cell on the opposite side.⁵⁷⁵ Early in his tenure Damian decided to erect a cloister next to the church. He did so for a specific purpose, "that if anyone is still delighted with the deep-rooted customs of the monastic order, he might still have a place for the usual solemn processions on the principle feasts."⁵⁷⁶ Damian described the various accoutrements of the space as bells, lavers, two silver chalices, a silver cross, and an adorned altar; he also managed to procure "precious vestments" for the celebrating of mass.⁵⁷⁷ When placed together with the existing structures, the cloister recreated a monastic space.⁵⁷⁸ With this new design Damian revised the way of life at Fonte Avellana and departed from the rigorous eremitic model of Saint Romuald. Indeed Damian's ideas, while drawing on historical precedent, innovated in several respects.

⁵⁷³ "...promittimus nos quod non siamus nos nec nos heredibus neque in facto neque in consilio de nullius abitatione omnium per nullis vis modis ingenio da odie in antea usque in perpetu(um). Et si quacu(n)que magna(m) [sic] parvaque persona abitacio mulieris facere voluerit, non abea licencia faciendum..." (*Carte*, doc.14, 33-34).

⁵⁷⁴ *Carte*, doc. 24, 60-62.

⁵⁷⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 21; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 231.

⁵⁷⁶ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 18, 178; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, 169. On the significance of the *claustrum* in Letter 18, see Della Santa, 70 -76.

⁵⁷⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 18, 178; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, 169.

⁵⁷⁸ Della Santa, 76.

Two daughter houses in particular, the monastery of Saint John the Baptist at Acereta and the hermitage of Saint Barnabas at Gamogna best illustrate this point. Damian situated the two communities in close proximity, a decision that reflects the symbiotic relationship he encouraged between them. In addition Damian believed it should be every monk's goal to graduate from a coenobitic to an eremitic existence. These two sites represented the physical manifestation of his plan. In a letter to an unidentified abbot written in 1067, Damian described the transition from monastery to hermitage as the desired goal of all monastic life according to the Benedictine Rule.⁵⁷⁹ Damian had provoked the abbot's anger when he accepted some of his monks at Fonte Avellana. The abbot argued that the Rule prohibits monks from leaving their own community in favor of another.⁵⁸⁰ Damian responded in turn that when Benedict composed his Rule he sought no jurisdiction over hermits. Therefore, Saint Benedict never forbade a monk to be received at a hermitage. In fact he encouraged monks to leave the monastery for the eremitic life. In the Rule, Benedict writes that hermits undergo a "probationary" phase in the monastery and after this period of spiritual training find themselves able to combat earthly temptations independent of their community and the support of their brethren.⁵⁸¹ As Damian writes, "For one wishing to reach the heights of perfection, the monastery must be transitional, and not a place to stay; not a home, but a hostel; not the destination we intend to reach, but a quiet stop along the way."⁵⁸² For this reason it is convenient to speak of those in the monastery of Acereta as "brothers," and those in the hermitage of Gamogna as "hermits," even though Damian conceived of hermits as more advanced brothers.⁵⁸³ Although the distinction in practice was not absolute, understanding the relationship between brothers and hermits was a fundamental component of Damian's plan for monastic reform.

In the case of Acereta and Gamogna, Damian intended the former to be more than a transitional locus; he wanted the monastery to support the hermitage in every way possible to preserve its way of life. Originally, the two houses shared a common patrimony, which would have relieved the concerns of its administration from the hermitage and freed the hermits from secular tasks that could distract from spiritual pursuits. Although internal disputes required Damian to put an end to the shared patrimony in 1060, the monastery remained obligated to receive sick hermits from Gamogna and care for them as long as their infirmity required. Likewise the hermitage retained its sole obligation; Gamogna would freely welcome any monks coming from the monastery.⁵⁸⁴ Though the charter recording this mediation does not specify the reason for the monks' visit, the clause provides for those brothers ready to take the next step and transfer permanently to the community at Gamogna.

⁵⁷⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4, Letter 152 (1993), 6. The English translation is available in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 152, 7-8.

⁵⁸⁰ See *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 61.

⁵⁸¹ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch.1.

⁵⁸² "Ad perfectionis igitur summa tendenti monasterium transitus debet esse, non mansio, non habitatio sed hospitium, non finis intentionis, sed quedam quies itineris" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 [1993], Letter 152; 8; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 [2005], Letter 152; 9).

⁵⁸³ Damian writes that though the brothers use the name "hermit," for "humility's sake" they prefer "penitents" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 83-84; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 293).

⁵⁸⁴ "Hac eciam nostra precepcione decernimus ut monasterium et heremus hoc inter se invicem debeant quatinus, cum necessarium fuerit, et monasterium infirmos fratres heremi ad refocillandum et sustentandum usque ad sanitatem cum licentia prioris fraterna benignitate suscipiat et heremite fratres heremi monachus de monasterio venientes, cum licentia abbatis, libenter admittant" (*Carte*, doc. 15, 38). In accordance with the precepts of the Rule, the charter specifically requires the monks seek permission of the abbot before visiting the hermitage.

In this relationship of mutual support, the hermitage would assure the sanctity of the monastery and the monastery would manage the administrative burdens of the hermitage.⁵⁸⁵ The idea was not original to Damian; he borrowed it from his champion of eremitic life, Saint Romuald. Romuald of Ravenna, onetime monk at the monastery of Saint Apollinaris near Classe and renowned ascetic, traveled throughout the countryside of Umbria and the Marches in the early eleventh century where he founded and reformed several hermitages and monasteries. He had previously spent time living as a hermit outside the walls of monasteries, and the idea of a dual community followed. He founded the hermitage of the Holy Savior at Campus Malduli in 1012,⁵⁸⁶ which would become the head of the Camaldoli order, and two years later the monastery of Fonte Buono joined the complex, located around three kilometers from the hermitage.⁵⁸⁷ Damian's *Vita* of the saint indicates he believed Romuald shared his attitude on eremitism as the apex of religious life.⁵⁸⁸ But the first dual communities of hermits and monks far predated Romuald's foundations.

Although the notion of a community of hermits may strike our modern sensibilities as ironic, given the fear and insecurities of an eremitic existence in the remote deserts of Late-Antique Egypt and Syria many wandering ascetics found it natural and necessary to band together. Saint Anthony may have stood as the fourth-century's ascetic *par excellence*, but his example of solitary life proved hard to follow for some. In his *Vita* of Pachomius (d. 348) Jerome explains that the saint and contemporary of Anthony enclosed a wall around the huts of his hermit brethren, which provided them a sanctuary from external threats, and subjected them to a common rule. Around the same time communities of hermits living in cells around the cell of a revered ascetic appeared in the Levant. Unlike their Egyptian counterparts these communities, or *laurae*, never subscribed to a rule but obtained individual spiritual instruction from their head. Dual communities came into vogue also in the fourth century. Saint Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), for example, founded many hermitages near monasteries so that one community could support the other. Basil, unlike Peter Damian, considered coenobitism the height of religious life. In the West we find echoes of Basil's model in the communities at Vivarium, founded by Cassiodorus (c. 490 - c. 583) in Southern Italy, where both coenobitic and eremitic foundations existed side by side to support one another.

⁵⁸⁵ Pompeo de Angelis, "I Vescovi Avellaniti a Gubbio," in *Gubbio e San Pier Damiani: Atti del 13 Convegno del centro di studi avellaniti*, Fonte Avellana-Gubbio, 1989 (Città di Castello: Tibergraph, 1991), 29-39; 32.

⁵⁸⁶ There is some debate over the foundation of Camaldoli. According to tradition, as described in the *Annales Camaldulenses* (vol. I, 346-347), a wealthy nobleman, Maldolus, granted the original piece of land upon which Romuald placed the hermits. However, the charter evidence suggests that Bishop Theobaldus of Arezzo was the hermitage's first patron. He granted the brothers a substantial gift of properties their pertinences in 1027 (cf. *Regesto Camaldoli*, eds. L. Schiaparelli and F. Baldasseroni, vol. I. *Regista Chararum Italiae* [Roma: Ermanno Loescher & Co., 1907], doc. 86; 36). On the foundation of Fonte Buono, see Augustinus Fortunius, *Historia Camaldulensium*, pars I, lib. I, cap. XXIX (Venice 1575, 1579).

⁵⁸⁷ Damian's *Life* of the saint does not describe in any detail the founding of Camaldoli, but the author was aware of Romuald's earlier cohabitations, and most likely Damian confused the site of "*Aquabella*," which he does discuss, with "*Campus Maldoli*" in the text (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.], ch. 46, 87). *Aquabella* traditionally equates to Vallambrosa. Damian writes that Romuald traveled from the monastery of San Salvatore Val di Castro and decided to remain not far from the Apenines in a place called Aquabella, which we should understand as Camaldoli and not as Vallombrosa (*Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 340).

⁵⁸⁸ Romuald did not always succeed in convincing monastic communities of the merits of this idea (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.], ch. 34, 73).

Peter Damian wrote his own history of the eremitic vocation in his rule for Fonte Avellana that included the Old Testament examples of Elijah, Elisha, and Moses. He also mentioned Saints Paul and Anthony, and John the Baptist, who all lived in the wilderness “without eating food supplied by men.”⁵⁸⁹ Damian concluded that the institution had two branches, those who lived in cells and those who wandered in the “desert”; the former he called hermits and the latter, anchorites. According to Damian, the Book of Jeremiah recounts that the first anchorites were the descendants of Jonadab, who drank no wine or any other spirit.⁵⁹⁰ They lived in tents and stopped traveling only once it became dark. As Damian explained, the Psalms tell us that these men suffered captivity during the persecutions when the Chaldean army invaded Judaea and forced them into the cities, and as a result they despised towns as prisons and regarded the wilderness and its solitude as a “peaceful place to dwell.”⁵⁹¹ However, Damian noted that anchorites during his own time were scarce or even nonexistent and chose therefore to concentrate his discussion on hermits.⁵⁹²

Damian had a long tradition of monastic modeling behind him. While he drew on the works of his predecessors, he innovated in the execution of their ideas. Unlike Romuald who made one prelate preside over both monastery and hermitage at Camaldoli, Damian appointed a separate head of each community. Arguably he wanted to allow each community greater administrative independence.⁵⁹³ In keeping with this decision, he meant for the communities to exist in two distinct ways and the topography of the sites reflects his particular agenda. Gamogna and Acereta are located on the modern border between the regions of Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna. Like much of the Apennines, the area’s chief agricultural crops are olives and grapes, although contemporary charters also record properties with mills possibly used to grind grain. The social geography around Gamogna and Acereta mirrored Fonte Avellana’s surroundings; it included reforming monasteries, local imperial monasteries, powerful lay elite landowners, small landholders, and tenant farmers. Small settlements dotted the landscape, which raises the question, how isolated were these religious houses? What was their relationship to the “wilderness,” the archetypal locus of ascetic experience?

Only four kilometers separate Gamogna and Acereta, though the distance appears much greater. Both houses occupy the rural countryside near the modern town of Marradi, but Gamogna rests in the foothills of the Apennines while Acereta occupies a lowland valley. The physical structure of the monastery was not unlike other contemporary houses. The site included at the very least a cloister, church, and refectory.⁵⁹⁴ Damian described life in a monastery as more than a withdrawal from the world. He considered a monastic community a “small number among the many who were about to perish in the flood, and [were] brought... into the refuge of

⁵⁸⁹ The word Damian uses is “*victus*,” which simply means nourishment in general (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 83; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 293)

⁵⁹⁰ Jer. 35:6; Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 50, 83; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 50, 293. As Blum notes, Jeremiah cites only wine (293, n. 16).

⁵⁹¹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 50, 83; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 50, 293

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Benito Catani, “L’insediamento monastico ed eremitico,” *Studi Romagnoli* XLIV (1993), 506.

⁵⁹⁴ No contemporary structures survive. The earliest medieval building, the church, dates to the thirteenth century. However, these more recent buildings were erected on the foundation of the original monastery. Only excavation could reveal to what extent the Early Modern structures follow the medieval floor plan, but a survey of the site I conducted with a small crew in 2009 suggested that the architects of the later reconstructions of Acereta did build directly over the original foundation and made only minor changes (see appendix, figure 2). The data from that same survey was also used in generating two surface maps to visualize the landscape surrounding Gamogna (figure 3) and Acereta (figure 4).

the ark.”⁵⁹⁵ This metaphor characterizes the monastery, in Damian’s words, as a “vivarium of souls,”⁵⁹⁶ or a safe haven from worldly corruption, a term he notably borrowed from Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*.⁵⁹⁷ The monastery, however, ensured not only enclosure from the secular but also removal from the wilderness. Although monasteries historically have existed in city and countryside, many monastic foundations in Italy during the central Middle Ages frequently claimed undesired and uncultivated lands in the rural *contado*.⁵⁹⁸ Many monks regarded the practice of taming the landscape and creating a livable space as fundamental to their spiritual development. Damian founded Acereta away from nearby localities, and far from the larger urban centers of Faenza and Florence. He most likely built the monastery in that particular place primarily to support the hermitage,⁵⁹⁹ but regardless of its origins the result of Damian’s decision meant the monastery was granted the opportunity to forge a community out of nothing in an undeveloped forested area. The process recalls Old Testament accounts of the Hebrews moving into the Land of Canaan; like the Hebrews, the monks would also bring the worship of God into a new territory.⁶⁰⁰

After the initial construction of the monastery, the community would have had to carve out an existence and provide for basic needs. For example, at Acereta there remains today evidence of arable land in the eleventh century. Fruit trees and fields yielding root vegetables thrive on site and throughout the valley, and as stated earlier, eleventh-century documents repeatedly mention viniculture and olive production nearby. The monastery’s primary source of income came from rents and produce from nearby properties, acquired through donations, but there is every indication the monks could have also engaged in agriculture on their own premises. Moreover, Benedict himself prescribed that monks participate in agricultural activities. As he wrote, “Idleness is the enemy of the soul,”⁶⁰¹ and he specifically identifies plowing and planting as legitimate ways to pass the time. Benedict’s words on manual labor are also well known, “They must not become distressed if the local conditions or their poverty should force them to do the harvesting themselves. When they live by the labor of their hands, as our father and the apostles did, then they are really monks.”⁶⁰²

Peter Damian believed that manual labor was essential to spiritual improvement and complained to his disciple, Aripandus, that many religious neglected to learn a trade and therefore lacked discipline.⁶⁰³ He expressed a similar grievance to Desiderius of Montecassino

⁵⁹⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 86, 462; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 86, 257.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum. Einführung in die geistlichen und weltlichen Wissenschaften, Cassiodor; übersetzt und eingeleitet*, ed. Wolfgang Bürsgens (New York: Herder, 2003), I, 29.

⁵⁹⁸ Ultimately their ascetic pursuits stand, at least in theory, equally unaffected by rural or urban surroundings because the monastery was, as Damian put it, a *vivarium*.

⁵⁹⁹ See note 544 above.

⁶⁰⁰ Joshua 24:5; see also Gregory the Great’s Life of Saint Benedict that shows (in an earlier time) this mentality: “Ubi uetustissimum fanum fuit, in quo ex antiquorum more gentilium ab stulto rusticorum populo Apollo colebatur. Circumquaque etiam in cultu daemonum luci succreuerant, in quibus adhuc eodem tempore infidelium insana multitudo sacrificiis sacrilegis insudabat” (Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogorum libri IV*, 2.8.10, lines 97-102, ed. A. de Vogüé, SChr, vol. 260 [Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1979], 168. Cf. the English translation by Myra L. Uhlfelder. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues, Book II: Saint Benedict*. The Library of Liberal Arts [Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967], 18).

⁶⁰¹ *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 48.

⁶⁰² *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 48. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Libri Dialogorum* (ed. cit.), I, 3. Damian cites Gregory frequently in his letters.

⁶⁰³ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988) Letter 54, 145; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 54, 351.

in 1061. He told the abbot of his concern that monks tended to gossip during hours in which they should be working or reading, according to the Benedictine Rule.⁶⁰⁴ However, Damian himself had some difficulty following his own advice. Unable to work with his hands in any “useful” way, he turned to writing. In a letter he sent to two bishops in 1059 he stated, “I have undertaken to write several small works, not, indeed, that I might place them on the pulpits in the churches (which would be presumptuous) but especially because without some sort of occupation I could not bear the idle leisure and the tedium of a remote cell. As one who does not know how to engage in useful manual labor, I write that I might restrain my wandering and lascivious mind with a leash.”⁶⁰⁵ Cluny was the forerunner in substituting the Divine Office for manual labor. Damian similarly advocated forms of labor compatible with life in one’s cell, a life of prayer and penitence; that is, copying codices, studying and reading.⁶⁰⁶ Therefore, it is conceivable the monks of Acereta embraced the same reinterpretation of the Rule and did not labor with their hands, but Damian never said as much. He prescribed practices for hermits, not monks. His favorable attitude toward acquiring a trade would support the practice of agricultural cultivation as a means to ensure monastic discipline.

The attention required to maintain a garden made the process as much a spiritual exercise as a practical one. However, the act of cultivation would have held significance beyond a faithful interpretation of the Rule.⁶⁰⁷ Even if the monks engaged in only small-scale production at the level of a *hortus Monasticus*, this monastic garden would have provided for the monks’ alimentary needs; in addition to fruits and vegetables, the monks could plant legumes, a fundamental base for their diet.⁶⁰⁸ The medieval garden demanded substantial labor: the enclosure of the space, followed by furrowing and then planting and finally harvesting. From mid-April to mid-October furrowing and planting had to be repeated roughly every twenty days, depending on the type of seed. The monks would also have to weed the garden often and perhaps transplant items.⁶⁰⁹ In sum, the garden received frequent and careful attention. For the monks, the repetition of these tasks was a daily exercise in manipulating their environment and working as a community.

The monastery of Acereta may have been enclosed, but it was by no means entirely isolated. The structure today stands next to the modern road, which likely runs parallel to the medieval one. Acereta was responsible for two communities, and their access to the outside world served to sustain the hermitage. While the monastery of Acereta provided the hermits with a connection to the world, the hermitage of Gamogna was a retreat from it. The monks labored to change the space in which they resided, but the hermits on the hill above sought to

⁶⁰⁴ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988) Letter 86, 498-499; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 86, 292.

⁶⁰⁵ “Noverit sanctitas vestra, dilectissimi mihi patres et domini, quia praesumpsi quaedam opuscula scribere, non tam videlicet, ut legis aecclesiasticis, quod temerarium fuerat, aliquid adderem, quam ob hoc praecipue, quia sine quolibet exercitio inertis ocii et remotioris cellulae tedia non perferrem, ut qui operibus manuum utiliter insudare non noveram, cor vagum atque lascivum quodam meditationis loro restrigerem, sicque cogitationum ingruentium strepitum atque accidia orepentis instantiam facilius propulsarem” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988] Letter 62, 219). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 62, 14.

⁶⁰⁶ Della Santa, 79.

⁶⁰⁷ See *Benedicti regula* (ed. cit.), ch. 66 on the presence of a garden on site. Gardens were not exclusive to the countryside, but existed in towns as well (see Bruno Andreolli, “Il ruolo dell’Orticoltura e della frutticoltura nelle campagne dell’alto medioevo” in *L’ambiente vegetale nell’alto Medioevo: settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo*, 37: Spoleto, 30 marzo-5 aprile 1989 [Spoleto: La Sede del Centro, 1990]), 175-209).

⁶⁰⁸ Andreolli, 197.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 196.

exist more within their natural surroundings. Damian insisted that hermits live in the wilderness, that they remove themselves as far from the urban scene as possible. The best example of his attitude on this point comes from another of his letters. Between 1055 and 1057, Damian wrote to an urban hermit to chastise his behavior and in so doing explained the qualitative differences between urban monasticism and his ideal ascetic way of life. The hermit Teuzo, formerly of the monastery of Santa Maria in Florence, had left his community to reside in a cell within the city center. At the request of his abbot, Albizo, Peter Damian visited Teuzo in his cell and attempted to reason with him and persuade him to return to the fold. In the end, the man refused to listen and violently expelled Damian from his cell.⁶¹⁰ Damian did not give up, however, and later wrote a lengthy diatribe criticizing Teuzo's way of life. He asked of Teuzo, "If you are a monk, what business do you have in cities? If you are a hermit, what are you doing among the crowds in town? What do noisy marketplaces or towered fortresses contribute to a cell?"⁶¹¹ In Damian's mind, the problem was the goal of Teuzo's asceticism. He accused the man of seeking fame and glory. As he wrote, "Now those who act as if there was a shortage of forests and seek solitude in the cities, what else are we to think but that they are not looking for the perfection of solitary life, but rather for applause and glory?"⁶¹² He proceeded to explain that practicing public feats of asceticism such as fasting would grant him singular authority and influence over the surrounding crowd. As a result Teuzo would come to judge himself not by the "testimony of [his] own conscience," but by the opinion of the "flattering mob."⁶¹³ The city held additional threats to the fundamental principles of ascetic life. As Damian writes, "to be unacquainted with wine in the city would be a miracle."⁶¹⁴ Damian's own rule for hermits⁶¹⁵ proscribed strict moderation in the consumption of wine. In addition, while a hair-shirt attracts no attention in the hermitage, in the city its wearer becomes a spectacle. Likewise for bare feet and bare legs.⁶¹⁶ While in the city a

⁶¹⁰ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 12; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹¹ "Sed, queso, si monachus es, quid tibi cum urbibus? Si heremita, quid tibi cum civium cuneis? Quid enim cellae vel fora strepentia vel turrita conferunt propugnacula?" (Ibid.). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹² "Enimvero qui tamquam deficientibus silvis solitudinem in urbibus quaerunt, quid aliquid credendum est, nisi quia solitariae vitae non perfectionem, sed favorem potius et gloriam aucupantur?" (Ibid., 13). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹³ "Illic igitur captato vulgi favore civumfluus, quicquid tibi mens vel improvisa dictaverit, proprio iudicio lex habetur, quicquid praeceps lingua decurrerit, sententia deputatur. Nec te metiris iuxta testimonium propriae conscientiae, sed secundam opinionem potius assentatricis turbae, apud quam videlicet venalis pallor in vultu et auditum nomen stuporem mentibus ingerit" (Ibid., 13-14). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹⁴ "Vinum namqui in urbe nescire prodigium est, in heremo bibere satis ignobile" (Ibid., 14). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹⁵ Damian's wrote his first rule for hermits between 1045 and ca. 1050, and the second dates between 1050 and 1057, with a second edition appearing in 1065. As the dating of the second rule accords with the foundation date of Gamogna, I refer to that rule in my text. On the dating of Letter 50, see Reindel, *Briefe*, Letter 50 (1988), 77-79, n. 1-3.

⁶¹⁶ "Cilitium in heremo vestimentum, in urbe spetaculum. Cruribus pedibusnudatis incedere in heremo quidem regula, in foro autem afflictio cernitur indiscreta" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 14). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

“flimsy quilt” would be considered roughing it, hermits should sleep on “rushes and papyrus.”⁶¹⁷ Lastly, whereas one assumes silence as the norm in a hermitage, in the city it is all too rare.⁶¹⁸

Damian exhorted Teuzo to visit a rural hermitage, to see how hermits lived and thrived in the wild. For Damian, the “woods” or *silvae* enabled a rigorous asceticism that would be impossible to achieve in the city. But he located the hermitage some distance from the monastery, which was also in a rural setting. He desired an even more remote and untamed plot of land. Gamogna even today is surrounded by vegetation and reachable only by rough mountain trails, and conditions could only have been more extreme in the Middle Ages, particularly during the winter months. In the eleventh century a church stood on site, possibly with an adjoining scriptorium or refectory, but these would have been the only permanent structures. The hermits lived in cells alone or with a companion. Their cells could have been constructed away from the church, even at a significant distance, in the hills surrounding the property. Today there remains no trace of these cells; their architects did not build them to last, they built them to keep out the elements without any further embellishment. This living situation was not unique to the daughter hermitages of Fonte Avellana. There were numerous analogous hermit communities founded throughout Italy in the spirit of Eastern monasticism. The vision behind the layout of this hermitage, however, depended on more than recalling the Desert Fathers.

The hagiography of Eastern ascetics tells us that early hermits took extreme measures to immerse themselves in the wilderness and even preferred to live off the land and to eat “naturally,” meaning they foraged for food and ate uncooked vegetables and fruit.⁶¹⁹ This tradition of eating raw vegetables as an expression of sanctity carried over into the West in early medieval hagiographical texts. Gregory of Tours’ *Historia Francorum*, composed in the sixth century, describes the diet of the hermit-recluse Hospicius during Lent as roots from Egyptian herbs, which he had obtained from traders.⁶²⁰ Similarly Jonas of Bobbio’s *Life of Saint Columbanus*, written in the late seventh century not long after the Saint’s death, recounts a tale of Columbanus and his companions fasting for nine days and surviving on the bark of trees and roots of herbs.⁶²¹

There is no sign of such a tradition at Gamogna. The experience of living in the wilderness did not include foraging for food. As Damian states *anchorites*, not hermits, engaged in that behavior. The hermits at Gamogna lived according to the Benedictine Rule, which

⁶¹⁷ In haeremo stratum molle iuncus est vel papyrus, inter cives applauditur centone contentus” (Ibid.). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹⁸ “Quod enim illic conversatio rara mirabile, reddit hic sotietas fraterna commune. Ac per hoc, quod illic praeconio laudis attollitur, hic generaliter inditum gloriam non meretur” (Ibid.). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 225.

⁶¹⁹ For example, see *Vitae Patrum sive Historiae Eremiticae libri decem*, Tomus I, Liber IV, ex *Dialogo Severi Sulpicii et Institutis et Collationibus Joannis Cassiani* (J.P. Migne, ed., PL 73, caput X, col. 822 [Paris, 1879]). Cf. Massimo Montanari, “Vegetazione e Alimentazione” for a discussion of these texts (in *L’ambiente vegetale nell’alto Medioevo: settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo*, 37: 30 marzo-5 aprile 1989 [Spoleto: presso la Sede del Centro, 1990], 281-322). See also Jacques Le Goff, “The Wilderness in the Medieval West” *The Medieval Imagination*, 2nd ed., trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 47-59.

⁶²⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Liberi Historiarum X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levinson, “Fuit autem apud Nicensim eo tempore Hospicius reclausus magnae abstinenciae, qui... in diebus autem quadragesimae de radicibus herbarum Aegyptiarum, quas heremitae utuntur, exhibentibus sibi negotiatoribus alibatus” (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, tomus I, pars I, liber VI [Hannover, Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1951]), 272.

⁶²¹ Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, 14, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum Separatim Editi, 37), ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1905), 167-68.

Damian somewhat modified according to his own specifications including the exclusion of fish from their diet and the strict regulation of wine, and with the addition of bodily mortification. Going without food served as a penitential exercise, and as Damian states, “By fasting we mean eating bread with salt and water.”⁶²² The brothers fasted throughout the year, five days a week from the Ides of September until Easter. The time between Easter and Pentecost would include four fast days with meals served twice daily on Tuesdays and Thursdays.⁶²³ Regular meals consisted of cooked vegetables and legumes from produce shared with their brothers in the lower valley.⁶²⁴ Unlike the Desert Fathers the hermits at Gamogna lived in the wilderness not solely for its own sake. To be sure, Damian perpetuated an earlier tradition that characterized the wilderness as a battlefield in which hermits fought on the front lines against evil.⁶²⁵ Forests had also been reputed sites for the miraculous since antiquity. But as Damian explained in his letter to the urban hermit, Teuzo, hermits must live in the remote *silvae* also because they are not cloistered. To preserve their particular form of religious life the hermits exploited their isolation to encourage silence and contemplation. If Damian placed the monastery, a more lax religious community, in too close proximity, its presence could potentially impede these goals.⁶²⁶

Furthermore, the hermits’ experience in the wilderness corresponds to Damian’s plan for devotional practices. The physical layout of Gamogna and Acereta suggests that spirituality at the hermitage emphasized personal devotion while the monastery embodied communal devotion; rather, life at Gamogna did not separate personal and communal devotion, but sought to integrate the two. As stated above, the brothers lived in a community, but in individual cells. Practices such as going barefoot throughout the year and self-flagellation the hermits would have carried out alone. In addition, spiritual exercises depended on complete silence, which made them profoundly personal. The isolation of the site and of the cells on the Apennine hilltop increased the efficacy of these practices. However, these hermits lived together. Even though they performed many spiritual acts alone, the entire community engaged in the *same* practices.

Damian wrote in his Rule for hermits that the virtue that surpassed all others in the community was mutual charity. For that reason, he required that each man in the hermitage share willingly all his worldly possessions. He further wrote that if a brother took ill his companions would volunteer to nurse him. Lastly, when a brother died, everyone would fast for

⁶²² “Ieiunare autem illos dicimus, qui panem cum sale et aqua percipiunt” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 89). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 50, 297. Damian remains consistent here with his earlier rule (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 172; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 163).

⁶²³ Damian also mentions that from the octave of Pentecost until the feast of Saint John the Baptist (June 24th), the hermits would be served a stew every Tuesday and Thursday at 3 pm. From the feast of Saint John until the 13th of September a meal would be served twice a day, also on Tuesdays and Thursdays, while they observed their fast as usual on the remaining four days (Sunday being excluded) (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 87-88; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 296). Damian stipulates the schedule of fasting in far more detail in his earlier rule (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 172-173; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 163-164).

⁶²⁴ Damian uses the word “*pulmentum*,” which Blum *et al.* translate as “stew,” but we have no further details (see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 88, n. 27). Presumably their diet mirrored that of their brothers in the monastery, with the exception of far more frequent fasting.

⁶²⁵ “Illi siquidem sub divinae protectionis clipeo delitescunt, isti vero in campum certaminis prodeuntes victoriae titulis decorantur” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4, Letter 152 [1993], 12). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6, (2005), Letter 152, 13.

⁶²⁶ In Damian’s own words, “Non itaque ad monasterialem laxitudinem ab heremitica vos libeat districtione descendere et relictis lege spiritus carnalis illecebrae lenociniis consentire” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 177). English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 18, 168.

seven days, perform seven-hundred prostrations, discipline his body seven times with one-thousand lashes, chant thirty psalters and celebrate mass for the deceased for thirty consecutive days. In addition, all priests would personally celebrate seven masses.⁶²⁷ Damian oriented the site of Gamogna toward personal piety but mandated provisions rooted in fraternal cooperation to balance the system of devotion.

Damian's design for Gamogna was as pragmatic as it was spiritual, and the spiritual aspect of his plan focused more on living in a community than on living in the wilderness. The location *in silvis* was nonetheless fundamental to Damian's vision for two reasons. On an isolated hilltop, the elements made life all the more physically demanding. It also shielded the hermits from prying eyes that would encourage vanities, to which Teuzo would have been subjected in a city like Florence. In contrast the monks of Acereta created a spiritual oasis in the wilderness, a cloistered island or *vivarium*. In both cases one's interaction with, and understanding of, the physical characteristics of the landscape were as important as the landscape itself. At least in this sense, Gamogna and Acereta were not unlike Cîteaux. Any other connection between these communities would be a teleological fallacy; the Cistercian order appeared later and rose in response to different circumstances. But it would be an invaluable avenue for future research to consider how later reforming congregations, like the Cistercians or the Carthusians, reinvented the relationship between religious life and the "wilderness" as Damian had done in the Italian Apennines.

In addition to the ideological importance of land, for the monks and hermits of Fonte Avellana property formed the basis of their political authority as well. The congregation's practices in acquiring property complicated the existing local political economy. The numerous distinct economic strategies implemented at Fonte Avellana to support religious life show the congregation understood ecclesiastical property as distinct from lay property. Reform influenced economic relationships, and ideas about reform, pragmatic and philosophical, affected land management among the daughter houses. While this chapter has focused on ideologies of land use, the following chapter will discuss land as an economic resource. The analysis will be framed in terms of larger categories including competition over resources, and the struggle between local and regional authorities.

In light of the importance of rural spaces to the vibrant religious life of eleventh-century Italy and the presence of a multifaceted political economy, I would like to consider briefly why scholarship has neglected rural Italy during this period. Historiography of the later Middle Ages discusses the countryside primarily as a passive player in the growth of cities, therefore the *contado* does not appear in the narrative until relatively late. But the relationship between city and countryside was a dynamic one, not limited to production and consumption. Uncultivated lands and isolated forests played a significant role in the religious life of northern Italy in the central Middle Ages. While the city created a distinct urban culture, which included economic, social, and religious life, alongside this development was the articulation of a new spirituality in a rural setting that helped deal with age-old Christian concerns in a new context.

⁶²⁷ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 50, 98-99; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), 304. Damian's earlier rule omits only the additional masses performed by priests (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 175; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 166).

Economies and Political Economies of Reform

Peter Damian often found storytelling the most effective means to relay a message. Though Scripture provided much of his inspiration, he also borrowed a large part of his material from the experiences of friends and colleagues. Once he shared with Pope Nicholas II the disturbing tale of a count damned in hell,⁶²⁸ which he first heard related by the archdeacon Hildebrand when he spoke to the Church of Arezzo against lay usurpation of ecclesiastical property in the fall of 1059. As Hildebrand told it, there was a certain count who lived in Germany and had died ten years prior. By all accounts had led an “unsullied” life.⁶²⁹ At some point after the count’s death, a cleric experienced a spiritual descent into hell where he was surprised to find this same count perched on a ladder above raging fires. He occupied the top rung while his ancestors stood on those below. Damian describes the place as “one of loathsome darkness, an immense abyss that extended without limit in all directions, and from the deepest point rose the ladder that was placed there.”⁶³⁰ As a new arrival took his place on the ladder, his ancestors behind him would move down one place a rung at a time, ever lower. The cleric inquired as to why the count, a man who had lived a decent and honest life,⁶³¹ suffered this torment. The count replied that the reason for his punishment was the family’s possession of a piece of property that rightfully belonged to the diocese of Metz, “which his great grandfather had taken from the blessed Stephen.”⁶³² As the tenth heir to this inheritance he received the same retribution for his sin as his predecessors, or as Damian states more eloquently, “For since the same kind of avarice had united them in sinning, so also a common torture would be theirs.”⁶³³

The moral of the story, although very clear in the text, Damian overtly explains, “Unjust possessors of ecclesiastical property should take notice and carefully beware that while they satisfy themselves with the profits of others, afterward they do not feed the devouring flames with their very beings.”⁶³⁴ Eleventh-century reformers like Hildebrand and Damian regarded this offense as very grave, as evidenced by the severity of the punishment earned. For many historians, the condemnation of lay control of Church lands stands among the more significant changes of the Middle Ages. For the Church the problems inherent in the possession of ecclesiastical property by lay elites were numerous, however, and extended beyond Damian’s regard for its putridity. The sole purpose of Church property in the minds of reformers was to support religious endeavors. If a lay party controlled said property, the income generated from lands, mills, water rights, agricultural produce, rents, or even the tithe would go towards purely secular gain. Many reformers found this idea morally base, and moreover it created very real losses. A lay landholder also had the option to divide his property amongst his heirs. As the property of the Church became increasingly partitioned and scattered, incomes intended for religious life were lost. Cash flow declined in tandem with Church authority over its own land.

⁶²⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 72, 346-347; English translation in Blum, *Letters* (1993), Letter 72, 132-133.

⁶²⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 72, 346; English translation in Blum, *Letters* (1993), Letter 72, 132.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid., 347; English translation in Blum, *Letters* (1993), Letter 72, 133.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

Although a portion of the property lost resulted from belligerent usurpations, monasteries and bishops also voluntarily entered into renewable land leases with laypersons. Therefore not only were many ecclesiastics complacent about the issue, they themselves largely perpetuated it throughout Europe.

Similar problems arose when religious institutions acquired rich patrons. Monasteries depended on land grants, but their acceptance of patronage left them vulnerable to ambitious entrepreneurs. A lay patron offering a charitable donation to a local monastery would expect in return that the monks to pray for his or her soul and usually also for those of the family. The number of donations a monastery received was often an indication of its perceived piety. However, donors frequently made additional demands. A monastery dependent on a layperson could be forced to submit to his or her authority and in so doing that institution became less an instrument of spirituality and more a political tool. In effect, laypersons could found a monastery solely for political gain. They could install an abbot of their choosing, perhaps a political ally or family member, and manage all lands held by the monastery. Consequently they could rule over tenants, collect revenues, and control any resources present such as roads and waterways. That monastery would become a proprietary house, essentially the private property of one person or the collective venture of a single family. The chief concern for many reformers, including Peter Damian, was that the religious life within such an institution would suffer.

For these reasons, the primary economic goal of reformers was the recovery and protection of ecclesiastical property, and Peter Damian paid particular attention to this element of the reform agenda. The Gamogna-Acereta dispute settlement discussed in the previous chapter reveals some tangible manifestations of this goal. The document describes two specific economic practices that reflect Damian's priorities: first, the sharing of resources within the congregation and second, the absolute retention of monastic property. In the agreement Count Guido and his wife, Ermellina, specifically renounced any rights or power regarding the transfer of property should the hermitage become abandoned. In the words of the charter, "We shall hold neither permission nor power to remove or transfer [the property] to another church."⁶³⁵ The reputation of the Guidi counts as usurpers of monastic property preceded them, but it was not unusual in the context of the wider reform movement to insert such a clause. However, the charters of Fonte Avellana and its congregation reveal an even more complex landscape of economic concerns.

Under Damian's watch, that is from the start of his priorate in 1043 until his death in 1072, the congregation of Fonte Avellana continually experimented with reform economic practices that led to new ways of managing property and various attempts to renegotiate lay relationships. The monks rarely relinquished its property to elite laypersons, despite the fact it was an extremely common practice throughout eleventh-century Italy with a long tradition. The patrimony of the hermitage of Fonte Avellana itself was in large part acquired proactively, and the hermits there did not rely heavily on lay patronage. In fact, only one house Damian founded, San Gregorio in Conca, acquired steady lay support.

Damian never opposed the idea of charitable donations. Although he was aware of its practical problems, he also understood the history and significance of the act and therefore Fonte Avellana's acceptance of donations does not run contrary to Damian's principles. As he states, "From the very beginning, when the Church was still a young institution, the custom took root that those who came to the faith would dispose of their possessions and would place the price

⁶³⁵ "... non habeamus licentiam nec potestatem alie aeclesie illam concedere vel [quoque] modo consentire..." *Illam* here refers to the hermitage, described as *ecclesia* in this particular passage (*Carte*, doc. 15, 38).

they had received for them at the feet of the apostles.”⁶³⁶ From the apostles these gifts gradually fell into the hands of churches and from there “the Church was able to support not only clerics who functioned in their sacred offices, but could also give relief to various needy folk and to those who suffered in poverty.”⁶³⁷ Thus when wealthy laypersons acquired Church property, according to Damian’s logic, these usurpers deprived widows and orphans and other persons in need of support.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, Damian understood that alleged leases, such as long-term emphyteusis grants, in actuality permanently prevented the recovery and restoration of that land.⁶³⁹ In a letter sent to an unidentified bishop in 1060 he argued, “In whatever way they may have received them, they never agree to return their property to Churches; they not only hold on to them with a quasi-proprietary right while they are alive, but they also pass them on to their descendants to be held by them far into the future.”⁶⁴⁰ Damian found the associated practice of granting parish churches to laymen even more base, “because they profane sacred places.”⁶⁴¹ He expressed a similar view on lay possession of the tithe.⁶⁴² The charitable donation for Damian represented a sacred transaction in which the donor entered into a relationship with God for which the religious institution acted as guarantor.⁶⁴³ The spiritual contract involved only an exchange of property for *remedium animae*.⁶⁴⁴ In reality the agreement assumed a more secular appearance; it became the foundation of vassalage.

Damian was concerned a donation preserved its original form and intention. He generally wanted his communities to remain independent. He first sought to realize this idea at the motherhouse, where he consolidated property and embraced the idea of a Christian community. Later the notion of an interdependent, larger community spread throughout the congregation and was supported by the sharing of resources. The 1060 charter and Damian’s letter (1065-1071) addressed to the entire congregation⁶⁴⁵ explain how resources travelled indiscriminately between houses. Although there is no evidence of a formal economic policy within Fonte Avellana’s congregation, the act of sharing resources and the disinclination to grant land to (elite) laypersons seem regular practice during the term of Damian’s priorate. The 1060 charter also shows that Peter Damian was well informed on the economic status of Fonte Avellana’s daughter houses, and in that case even intervened.

⁶³⁶ “Ecclesiae quippe nascentis initio hic mos inolevit, ut quilibet venientes ad fidem, possessionum suarum iura distraherent, atque ad pedes apostolorum precium, quod ex his sumebatur, offerrent” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 74, 370; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 151-152).

⁶³⁷ “Unde scilicet non modo clericos sacris excubantes officiis aecclesia pasceret, sed et refrigerii stipem diversis indigentibus et inopia laborantibus ministraret” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 74, 371; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 152)

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 74, 372; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 74, 153-154.

⁶⁴⁰ “... ut quolibet modo semel acceperint, aecclesiis reddere sua bono nullatenus acquiescant, et non modo ipsi dum vivunt, proprietario quasi iure possideant, sed et in posteros sui germinis eminus possidenda transmittant” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 74, 373; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 154).

⁶⁴¹ “Sunt etiam, qui plebes saecularibus tradunt, hii nimirum tanto gravius delinquant, quanto et sacrilegium committere convincuntur, quia sacra prophanant...” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 74, 374; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 [1992], Letter 74, 155).

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Elisabetta Filippini, 2008, 150.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. III (1989), NR. 134, 455-456; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. V (2004), 76.

I. The Economy of the Italian Marches

The unique nature of Fonte Avellana's property management emerges when placed in its context. The economy of the Italian Marches was not unlike other areas of Central and Northern Italy in the eleventh century. The region was largely agrarian and *curtes*, rural estates, reigned over the landscape,⁶⁴⁶ punctuated by small towns and castles. Cagli and Gubbio were the nearest towns to the hermitage, both of which had their own bishops and seigniorial aristocracy. Bishops, monasteries, and lay magnates were the primary landholders in the region, although the charters of Fonte Avellana list donations from several petty landholders in Cagli and the adjacent settlement of Luceoli, today Cantiano. Landholding and agricultural production comprised the local economy, and members of the local aristocracy were major economic players. The nobility controlled land within a relatively concentrated area,⁶⁴⁷ but their properties remained scattered within that area. The most powerful lay lord was the duke of Spoleto, but his presence did not directly affect Fonte Avellana until the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁴⁸

Counts of Frankish and Lombard origin surrounded Fonte Avellana on all sides. Their estates were traditionally divided into a *pars dominica* and a *pars massarica*. The former portion they cultivated directly, and the latter was allocated to tenant farmers.⁶⁴⁹ After the tenth century, this system declined rapidly in Northern and Central Italy. In part because of partible inheritance and in part because lords fragmented their lands in frequent property exchanges and leases, which was a major impediment to the complex peasant labor system. Lords became less interested in directly managing agricultural production and more involved in the consolidation of power.⁶⁵⁰ Although property transactions could involve cash, lords engaged in the practice primarily out of desire to increase their power base. Large landholders found it more appealing

⁶⁴⁶ Franca Sinatti D'Amico, "Le Istituzioni Giuridiche della Società Rurale: La Gestione della Terra in Area Avellanita" in *Fonte Avellana nella Società dei Secoli XI e XII* (Fonte Avellana: Il Convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti, 1978), 61. After the Carolingian state disintegrated in Italy, rural society increasingly embraced a system of *curtes*, or estates. On the *curtis* during the Carolingian period in France see Y. Morimoto, "Autour du grand domaine carolingien: aperçu critique des recherches récentes sur l'histoire rurale du haut moyen âge (1987-1992)" in *Economie rurale e Economie urbaine au moyen Age*, ed. A. Verhulst and Y. Morimoto (Ghent: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 108, 1994), 25-79; A. Verhulst, "La genèse du régime domanial classique en France au haut moyen âge," in *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in occidente nell'alto medioevo*, (Spoleto: Settimane, 13, 1966), 135-66; Jean-Paul Devrocy, *Etudes sur le grand domaine carolingien* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993). On land tenure in Italy, the classic tome is Pierre Toubert, *Les Structures du Latium medieval* (Rome: Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2 vols., 1973). Toubert's later works on the subject of *curtes* in Italy include *Dalla terra ai castelli. Paesaggio, agricoltura e poteri nell'Italia medievale* (Turin: Touring Club Italiano, 1981) *Atlante stradale d'Italia. Nord*, 6th edn. Milan, and "Il sistema curtense: La produzione e lo scambio interno in Italia nei secoli VIII, IX e X," in *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 6, *Economia naturale, economia monetaria*, ed. R. Romano and U. Tucci (Turin, 1983), 3-63.

⁶⁴⁷ Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy, Central Power and Local Society 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), 181. Although Wickham focuses upon areas west of the Appenines, his description of the nobility is consistent with the charter evidence of Fonte Avellana, which includes donations from prominent Frankish aristocrats. He argues that the nobility in areas such as Parma and Siena were remnants of the Carolingian state. Wickham states, "[They were] the vassals and tenants of the Carolingian magnates and bishops, whose original landed bases had been the leases of these magnates to their clientele" (181).

⁶⁴⁸ A *missus* of the Duke of Spoleto presides over a plactium in 1094. This document represents the only evidence of the Duke's interaction with the hermitage (*Carte di Fonte Avellana*, doc. 81, 189-190).

⁶⁴⁹ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Saggi di Storia Economica e Sociale* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1988), 32.

⁶⁵⁰ Chris Wickham, "Rural Economy and Society" in *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Christina La Rocca (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 132. Again, Wickham does not directly refer to the Italian Marches, but the charters indicate a similar pattern to that of Tuscany.

to attract dependents with land distribution than to focus on the cultivation of that land.⁶⁵¹ The *pars dominica* had represented their participation in the local economy; this portion of land would generate personal income. Petty landholders functioned similarly, but on a smaller scale with lesser estates. Landholders found it more profitable to extract cash rents from tenants working on their lands versus cultivating the land themselves. While lay lords began to abandon agricultural management, Fonte Avellana continued actively cultivating and overseeing production in their *pars dominica*. Agricultural products were their chief source of income, as was still the case for many smaller landholders in the region. Thus land was a valuable commodity for two reasons. Farming remained important and land equated to power, especially with the rise of banal lordship; namely, rule over dependents vis-à-vis the *bannum*, or a lord's power to dictate arbitrarily his own commands, punishments, and duties over a servile population. The laity increasingly partitioned their property in a disorganized manner,⁶⁵² often dividing their property in exchange for cash.⁶⁵³ Cash was a useful tool, but not the goal of production. Rents could be paid in cash, as could fines for reneging on a contract.⁶⁵⁴ Nonetheless, farming did not depend on cash and any conception of a profit economy is premature. The local marketplace served as a locus for trade and sale of surplus, which was not intended for large profit.⁶⁵⁵

The political economy of the region in which the majority of houses within Fonte Avellana's congregation were located,⁶⁵⁶ that is the Marches between Ancona and Camerino on the east and Gubbio in Umbria on the west, was torn between papal and imperial supporters. The charters of Fonte Avellana contain the names of several Lombard and Frankish families who formed networks to strengthen their political power in the region. These families also founded proprietary monasteries and occupied bishoprics. Frankish counts had represented the majority of the aristocracy, but in the late tenth century Lombard families entering the region displaced these counts.⁶⁵⁷ These Lombard nobles received their titles as *comites de Romania* directly from Otto III in the late tenth century. The emperor divided the region into eight counties: Fano, Senigallia, Fossombrone, Cagli, Jesi, Osimo, Pesaro, and Ancona.⁶⁵⁸ The counts had also been granted substantial lands from the Archbishop Peter of Ravenna, who alienated Church properties in emphyteusis.⁶⁵⁹ These nobles frequently seized Church lands. Properties and goods of the monastery of Farfa were repeatedly plundered, and the letters of Peter Damian

⁶⁵¹ Marisa Buscarini Spalla, "Ceti Sociali nella Documentazione Avellanita" in *Fonte Avellana nella Società dei Secoli XI e XII* (Fonte Avellana: Il Convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti, 1978), 201.

⁶⁵² Cinzio Violante, "La Signoria Rurale nel Contesto Storico dei Secoli X-XII" Introduction to *Strutture e Trasformazioni della Signoria Rurale nei Secoli X-XIII*, number 44 of *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico*, eds. Cinzio Violante and Gerhard Dilcher (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996), 14.

⁶⁵³ The presence of liquid capital implies a market economy; however, the concept of a profit-driven economic structure in this setting is anachronistic (cf. Elide Mercatili Indelicato, "Principi di Etica Sociale ed Economia in Area Avellanita" in *Fonte Avellana nella Società dei Secoli XI e XII* [Fonte Avellana: Il Convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti, 1978], 242).

⁶⁵⁴ All of the contractual agreements in the charters demand cash penalties for breaking the agreement.

⁶⁵⁵ The monks of Fonte Avellana frequented these marketplaces, and their lay counterparts did the same.

⁶⁵⁶ Gamogna, Acereta, and Monte Preggio were technically on the outskirts of the Marches, the latter in Umbria and the former two houses in the Mugello of Tuscany.

⁶⁵⁷ Giampaolini, 1987, 151.

⁶⁵⁸ Roberto Bernacchia, "Gli Ottoni e la Formazione della Marca di Ancona" in *Ottone III e Romualdo di Ravenna, Impero, Monasteri e Santi Asceti* (Atti del XXIV Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti, Fonte Avellana, 2002 [Verona: Il Segno dei Gabrielli Editori, 2003]), 101; Giampaolini, 1987, 103; See Appendix 1, "The Italian Marches, AD 1040-1100."

⁶⁵⁹ Giampaolini, 1987.

record similar incidents at the hermitage of Suavicinum and the monastery of Saint Vincent in Furlo.⁶⁶⁰

A few powerful Frankish families remained in the area, but the new Lombard counts held more significant power directly from the emperor. This imperial connection would remain strong during the Investiture Conflict in the later eleventh century. In spite of Lombard hegemony, the Frankish Ughi-Umberti family had the most frequent interactions with Fonte Avellana in the charters. Their sphere of influence included Cagli, Luceoli, Gubbio, and Nocera. The remaining families recognized as Frankish include the Bucco and Berardi, centered around Cagli and Senigallia, respectively.⁶⁶¹ Members of the Bucco family appear more often after Damian's priorate, although they serve as witnesses to one bill of sale in 1068.⁶⁶² The Berardi begin to have relations with the monastery in the 1080s, and they had always had a good rapport with several noble families, all of Lombard descent; namely, the Grimaldi, appearing in Camerino in the eleventh century; the Gislieri, one of whom was bishop of Osimo from 1022 until 1057, were active in Osimano as well; and lastly, the Arnolfi family whose base of operations was Senigallia. The Grimaldi and the Gislieri had ties to the remaining Lombard families as well as to the Berardi.⁶⁶³ Other Lombard families include the Gozoni, usurpers of Farfa's property, and whose patrimony also extended into Senigallia, and the Attoni-Alberici and Adelberti families, whose lands ranged from Gubbio and Cagli to Castle Petroso and Senigallia.⁶⁶⁴ In fact, an Adelberti held the episcopal seat of Senigallia in 1028. The Attoni-Alberici had ties to the Grimaldi and the Gislieri, as well as the Ughi-Umberti. In particular, the Ughi-Umberti possessed various lands in Cagli near those held by the Attoni-Alberici.⁶⁶⁵ In short, what this laundry list of names reveals is that the network of landholding nobles was extensive and interconnected across family lines.

The archbishops of Ravenna, as lords over these land holders, penetrated the regional economy as well. The presence of the church of Ravenna was further felt through its monastic foundations in the Marches.⁶⁶⁶ These included the monastery of the Holy Savior in Massa Celle Fausti, on the road through Sarsina, which at the start of the tenth century was part of the church of Ravenna; also, the monastery of Saint Lawrence in Esino, which receives its first mention when Conrad II confirmed its patrimony in 1026, became a dependent of the monastery of Saint Severus in Ravenna in 1053.⁶⁶⁷ Based on its location it would have been joined to the episcopal patrimony of Urbino.⁶⁶⁸ Similarly, the monastery of Saint Justina near Fossombrone was listed

⁶⁶⁰ Elisabetta Archetti Giampaolini, "Nobiltà Fondiaria e Territoriale in Alcune Aree della Marca del Centro-Nord Tra X e XIII secolo: Problematica Relativa all Mancata Creazione Di Signorie Cittadine" in *La Signoria Rurale nel Medioevo Italiano*, vol. I, eds. Amleto Spicciani and Cinzio Violante (Atti del Seminario tenuto nel Dipartimento di Medievistica dell'Università di Pisa e nella Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 23-25 marzo 1995 [Pisa : Edizioni ETS, 1997-1998]), 82. On the plundering of the hermitage of Suavicinum, see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 63; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 3 (1992), Letter 63. On the plundering at Saint Vincent's, see Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983) Letter 2, 104. English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 2, 85-86.

⁶⁶¹ Giampaolini, 1987, 226.

⁶⁶² *Carte*, doc. 27, 71-72. The date is questionable; it could be 1068 or 1069.

⁶⁶³ Giampaolini, 1987, 226-227.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 227; cf. Appendix 2, "Lombard and Frankish Families."

⁶⁶⁶ For the monastery of the Holy Savior in Massa Celle Fausti, see S. Baluzius, *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta*, I [Lucca 1761], p. 402; *Codice Bavaro*, cit., n. 183; C. Leonardi, "Monasteri benedettini nella valle superiore del Metauro," in *I Benedettini della Massa Trabaria*, Atti del convegno di Sestino del 6 settembre 1980, 58-59.

⁶⁶⁷ See *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, App. 128, col. 280, App. 77, col. 143; III, App. 218, col. 322, 325.

⁶⁶⁸ Alvise Cherubini, "Territorio e abbazie nelle Marche" in *Le abbazie delle Marche. Storia e Arte* (1992), 310-311.

as a dependent of the ancient house of Saint Apollinaris in Classe near Ravenna.⁶⁶⁹ Finally, the monastery of Saint Gaudentius⁶⁷⁰ outside Senigallia received a concession in emphyteusis from the archbishop of Ravenna in 1081.⁶⁷¹ This last example extends beyond Damian's priorate, but it is noteworthy that the church of Ravenna continued to assert itself in the local economy late in the eleventh century.

The monastery of Farfa also exerted some influence in the Marches early in the eleventh century. Among its possessions was an important priory founded not far from Ancona, Saint Mary's in Pie' di Chienti, and two prominent monasteries in the region, Saint Martin's in Valle Fabiana on the road to Serrapetrona⁶⁷² and Saint Victoria's in Matenano. The former was an ancient possession of Farfa, but it later passed to the bishops of Camerino in the second half of the eleventh century, who made several donations to its abbot.⁶⁷³ The latter, Saint Victoria's, was one of the region's most important monasteries. It served as the residence of the abbot of Farfa after he tried to escape Saracen raids in the tenth century for a period of about thirty-five years during which time it was greatly endowed and completely dependent on Farfa. Around 1039 it received its first prior and gradually became more autonomous.⁶⁷⁴ In addition to these foundations, the monastery of Farfa itself possessed local *curtes*.⁶⁷⁵

The papacy likewise made some inroads into the Marches, although not nearly often enough according to Peter Damian's communications. Various popes placed many of the regional monasteries under papal protection during the eleventh century, and these houses in turn chose to attach themselves to Rome to protect their patrimonies. The monastery of Saint Gerontius in Cagli, for example, located very near to Fonte Avellana, was placed under papal protection in the first half of the eleventh century. It was an ancient foundation, constructed before 700, and came to be counted among the daughter churches of the Holy See.⁶⁷⁶ The monastery received its first privilege from Nicholas II sometime between 1059 and 1061, and Alexander III later confirmed this document extending papal protection. The few surviving documents pertaining to the house of Saint Gerontius show that the monastery held some power in the area, controlling lands in the territory of Cagli, Acqualagna, Fossombrone, Fano, Urbino,

⁶⁶⁹ Cherubini, p. 277; See G. Mazzatinti, *Archivi della storia d'Italia*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1903, III, p. 256; A. Vernarecci, *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi ai nostri*, 3 vol., I, Fossombrone 1903, 202-203.

⁶⁷⁰ For the monastery of Saint Gaudentius see A. Polverari, *Senigallia nella storia*, vol. 2 (Senigallia: Edizioni 2G, 1981), p. 224, app. 7.

⁶⁷¹ Although other documents from the monastery of Saint Gaudentius dating from the eighth through the eleventh centuries exist, scholars question their veracity (Cherubini, 205).

⁶⁷² See O. Marcaccino, *La storia del monastero benedettino di S. Mariano in Valle Fabiana attraverso le sue pergamene*, Studi Maceratesi, 2 (1966), 237-253.

⁶⁷³ Cherubini, 324-325.

⁶⁷⁴ On the monastery of Saint Victoria, see D. Pacini, *I monaci di Farfa nelle valli picene del Chienti e del Potenza*, Studi Maceratesi, 2 (Macerata 1967), 129-132; G. Avarucci, *Documenti e testimonianze sul primo monastero farfense nel Piceno*, Studi Maceratesi, 10 (Macerata 1976), 105-111; D. Pancini, *Possessi e chiese farfensi nelle valli picene del Tenna e dell'Aso (secoli VIII-XII)*, Atti e Memorie della Dep. di Storia Patria per le Marche 86 (1981), 371-372 (published again recently in Pancini, *Per la storia medievale di Fermo e del suo territorio. Diocesi, contea, marca (secoli VI-XIII)* [Fermo, 2000]). On the coexistence of 2 abbots in the late tenth century see *Chronicon* I, 47. Abbot Ugo (997-1039) introduced Cluniac reforms as did his successor Suppone (1039-1046). The monks eventually elected their own abbot (1089) in opposition to the abbot elected by Farfa (see Cherubini, 337-338 and Pancini, 400).

⁶⁷⁵ The monastery of Saint Savinus of Fermo, for example, was situated amongst the *curtes* of Farfa (Cherubini, 331-332).

⁶⁷⁶ Paul Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, vol. IV: Umbria-Picinum-Marsia (Berlin: Weidmann, 1909), 224.

at least one tithe, two hospitals, various mills, and one to two castles.⁶⁷⁷ In addition, two of its abbots were elected bishop of Cagli.⁶⁷⁸ Other noteworthy examples outside the immediate area of Fonte Avellana include the monasteries of Saint Victor in Arcione near Osimo,⁶⁷⁹ Saint Gaudentius and Saints Peter and Paul *iuxta Pontem Marmoreum* both near Rimini,⁶⁸⁰ Saint Thomas in Foglia between Pesaro and Urbino,⁶⁸¹ Saint Paternian and Saint Lawrence in Campo both near Fano,⁶⁸² and Saint Mary at Pomposa.⁶⁸³ Fonte Avellana itself received its first privilege between 999 and 1003 from Pope Sylvester II.⁶⁸⁴ During Damian's priorate, two daughter houses of Fonte Avellana, the hermitage of Saint Albericus at Ocri and the monastery of Saint Bartholomew in Camporeggiano, also received privileges.⁶⁸⁵ Finally in 1076 Gregory VII made the entire congregation subject directly to the Holy See.⁶⁸⁶

Beyond monasteries, popes also had some relations with local bishops, the outcomes of which varied. Pope Gregory VI excommunicated the bishop of Fano between 1045 and 1046, whereas Leo IX conceded a privilege to the new bishop in 1050. Two powerful seats, Ancona and Urbino, were historically subject to Rome, as was the bishopric of Cagli.⁶⁸⁷ However, members of the pro-imperial aristocracy occupied the sees of Osimo, Camerino, and Senigallia. The familial origins of a prelate made little difference to Peter Damian; he was ultimately only concerned with a bishop's comportment in office. Whereas he asked that Clement II address the failings of the bishop of Osimo,⁶⁸⁸ Damian sided with the bishop of Senigallia in the latter's dispute with the bishop of Fossombrone over property.⁶⁸⁹ Later in the eleventh century, Gregory VII would make more concerted efforts to garner support amongst the region's ecclesiastics. Peter Damian judged correctly the lack of interest on the part of earlier popes regarding the reform movement in Marches. Nevertheless, Rome did maintain its foothold in the region through monastic and episcopal connections.

⁶⁷⁷ Cherubini, 286.

⁶⁷⁸ See G. Buroni, *La diocesi di Cagli* (Urbania: S.T. Bramante, 1943), 78-94; Kehr vol. IV, 224-225.

⁶⁷⁹ The monastery of Saint Victor is located along the medieval road of the Musone near Staffolo and belonged to the diocese of Osimo. See A. Pennacchioni, *Notizie storiche su S. Vittore di Cingoli*, "Corriere Cingolano," II, n. 4-5 (1967), 7-8; Kehr, vol. IV, 221.

⁶⁸⁰ For the privileges pertaining to the monastery of Saint Gaudentius, see Kehr, vol. IV, 169. On the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul *iuxta Pontem Marmoreum* see Kehr, vol. IV, 170-171.

⁶⁸¹ Clement II met Peter Damian at the monastery of Saint Thomas in 1047. Clement also issued a bull confirming the monastery's properties. See Z. Del Vecchio, *L'abbazia di S. Tommaso in Foglia. 980-1980*, p. 7-62; A. Degli Abati Olivieri Giordani, *Memorie della Badia di S. Tommaso in Foglia nel contado di Pesaro* (Pesaro 1778) pp. 5-11 and appendix I pp. 135-136; cf. Cherubini, 272-273.

⁶⁸² For the monastery of Saint Paternian, see M. Amiani, *Memorie storiche della città di Fano*, I-II (Fano 1751), II and App., pp. IV-V (Kehr finds the 876 document spurious); on the consecration possibly by Clement II see *Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, eds. Johanne-Benedicto Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni, vol. II (Venice, 1756), App. XXXIII, col. 65.

The first record of the monastery of Saint Lawrence in Campo occurs in 1001 when Otto III confirmed its patrimony at the request of Pope Sylvester II, therefore the monastery was directly subject to the Holy See. See also *S. Lorenzo in Campo nella sua storia antica e nella vita di oggi: il monastero, la basilica, s. Demetrio M. di Tessalonica*, ed. Francesco Medici (Pergola: Monastero di San Lorenzo in Campo, 1965).

⁶⁸³ Kehr, vol. IV, 180-181.

⁶⁸⁴ *Carte*, doc. 2.

⁶⁸⁵ See discussion below.

⁶⁸⁶ *Carte*, doc. 39.

⁶⁸⁷ Kehr, vol. IV, 223.

⁶⁸⁸ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 26, 241; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 (1989), Letter 26, 246.

⁶⁸⁹ Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 (1983), Letter 34, 335-336; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 34, 59-60.

It was in this setting Fonte Avellana built its congregation, surrounded by ancient monasteries, more recent Romualdian foundations, and numerous proprietary houses all with ties to outside authorities competing for land and power in the area. The fundamental fact to be gleaned from this information is that Fonte Avellana did not exist in a marginal zone or backcountry. On the contrary, the Marches attracted the attention of the archbishop of Ravenna and the monastery of Farfa, Rome, and the German emperors. In this context, its economic practices assume a more weighty significance. For Damian and his congregation, land transactions provided an opportunity to disrupt the status quo.

II. Fonte Avellana's Economic Practices

Fonte Avellana's economic practices were exceptional among monastic houses. Its chief objective remained always the protection of its property, but specifically Damian observed three guidelines: he sought to consolidate property, to isolate the hermitage, and to limit economic relations with lay elites. To this end, land was exploited to its greatest potential. The charters have little information about the hermitage's activities before 1049, and of the first six documents from 975 to 1049 only one, the aforementioned papal privilege, pertains to Fonte Avellana. The remaining five charters record lay transactions including four bills of sale and one confirmation of property to a priest.⁶⁹⁰ The hermitage most likely received donations and possibly even purchased property prior to Damian's priorate, but no such documents survive from that period. The first donation dates to 1055, and from that moment on the charters illustrate Damian's distinctive approaches to land administration.

Fonte Avellana's development as an independent farming community depended largely on the use of available technologies and resources to cultivate the land as efficiently as possible. The hermits employed animal labor, established a lay brotherhood, built irrigation canals, and operated mills. Whether or not the hermits personally worked these mills remains unknown. Presumably, the brothers would have avoided places that facilitated social contact like mills and could have relied on tenants to manage their use. The first donation recording water mills dates to 1055. Peter, a local priest, donated land held in the town of Ponzano near Cagli. The donation lists lands and wooded areas, as well as *aquis* and *aquimolis*; that is, water rights and water mills.⁶⁹¹ Two years later, four members of the Gozo family, Peter, John, and Rudolf, along with their mother Rozia, donated a castle in the village of Camporeggiano (accompanied by numerous *fundi*⁶⁹² and their pertinences) in order to found the monastery of Saint Bartholomew. The *fundi* contained *aquis* and *aquimolis*, as well as *rivis*, or brooks.⁶⁹³

Similarly, in 1062 the hermitage received a donation from Ermengarda and her daughter Berta. Although these two women cannot be definitively connected to any recognized family in the region, the amount of property they donated to Fonte Avellana indicates they were substantial landholders in Cagli. The donation includes, among other things, gardens, vineyards, olive groves, orchards, water sources and a watermill.⁶⁹⁴ In addition, the river Suasano and several irrigation canals border the property, which the brothers presumably used in the various

⁶⁹⁰ *Carte*, documents 1, 4, 5, and 6 are bills of sale, and document 3 is a confirmation.

⁶⁹¹ *Carte*, doc. 24.

⁶⁹² A *fundus* was a farm or an estate.

⁶⁹³ *Carte*, doc. 27, 72.

⁶⁹⁴ *Carte*, doc. 16, 41. The property lies in the town of Cagli on the fundus of *Aquabella*, "cum casis et ortis et cineis et terries...aquis, aquimolis..."

orchards and vineyards.⁶⁹⁵ Several years later in 1069, Peter Damian commissioned his fellow hermit Baroncius to purchase land in the town of Fossagranaria, in the territory of Cagli.⁶⁹⁶ This document represents the single purchase made before 1072. The bill of sale records that the property held orchards, vineyards, and olive groves, water sources and watermills.⁶⁹⁷ Only one donation from 1055 to 1072 does not mention water and watermills (*aquis et aquimolis*), or any other variation.⁶⁹⁸ The majority of the property acquired by Fonte Avellana during Damian's life included rights to water and mills, which demonstrates the importance of irrigation technology and income from mills.⁶⁹⁹ The charters say nothing of the mills' construction, nor do they reveal how the monks managed their mills.⁷⁰⁰ In all probability fees for their use also generated revenue.

A mill was used to grind grain, which was one of Fonte Avellana's chief crops. According to the charters, the hermits specialized in wine,⁷⁰¹ olive oil, grain, and fruits.⁷⁰² Unfortunately, the charters do not indicate the type of grain grown, nor do we know what sorts of fruits were available. Typically the charters list *pomis*, *arbustis fructiferis*, or *arboribus fructiferis*, which are terms meaning fruit trees or fruit-bearing trees but the specific fruit is not clear, other than the mention of olives (*olivis*). The donations also frequently mention *ortis*, or gardens. Presumably these were small vegetable gardens, but again the produce remains unknown. All of these agricultural resources required the support of animal labor and the incorporation of lay brothers into the community.

Mules, horses, and oxen all resided on lands held by Fonte Avellana.⁷⁰³ Peter Damian wanted horses for various purposes. Although horses supported agricultural production, they were also used for transport.⁷⁰⁴ Monks could travel on horses, and horses could carry goods cross-country. Beyond travel and labor, horses could serve as currency.⁷⁰⁵ Shortly after Damian's death, the brothers purchased a house and its pertinences for the price of a horse worth one hundred *solidi*.⁷⁰⁶ In 1083 they purchased one *moggio*⁷⁰⁷ of land for the price of a horse and

⁶⁹⁵ "a primo lat(ere) ipso rio quis est meriente per fossa de predicta Aquabella et ad secundo lat(ere) ipsa via publicam que pergit desuper Sancto Paterniano at ad tercio lat(ere) ipsa fossa de lo Pozolo et meriente in flumen de Suasano et ad quarto lat(ere) predicto flumen et inde revenientes in prima fine q(ui)s est primo lat(ere)" (*Carte*, doc. 16, 41).

⁶⁹⁶ *Carte*, doc. 27, 71-72. The date may be 1068.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁸ *Carte*, doc. 23, 58-59.

⁶⁹⁹ Indelicato, 244.

⁷⁰⁰ Paolo Squatriti notes that although the word *aquimola* indicates it was powered by water, charters rarely offer further information on the structure or function of a mill (*Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400-1000* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 128-129).

⁷⁰¹ According to his first rule for Fonte Avellana, Peter Damian allowed the monks to consume wine in moderation, which had previously been forbidden except at mass (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 172; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 163)

⁷⁰² Indelicato, 239.

⁷⁰³ Indelicato, 244-245; "Noverit ergo dulcissima sanctitas vestra, quia multum me paenituit, quoniam cum vos conqueri caballorum indigentiam audivi, de meo protinus non descendi, non ultroneus ambos obtuli et velle, nolle, te suscipere non coegi... Nunc autem, dilectissime, si equum habes inventum, Deo gratias. Alioquin si adhuc deest, mitte ad nos cum tuis litteris monachum, qui omnes nostros et equos et mulos sollerter aspiciat et qualem sibi placuerit, tollat" (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 37, 346-347; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 37, 71-72).

⁷⁰⁴ Indelicato, 244-245.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁷⁰⁶ "...ecus [sic] uno valen solidis centum in denariis bonis Papiensium" (*Carte*, doc. 38, 98).

an undisclosed cash amount.⁷⁰⁸ Mules could be used in a similar manner, although there is no evidence they were traded for property during the eleventh century. Peter Damian did, however, use oxen as payment in kind in one recorded transaction.⁷⁰⁹

In addition to horses and oxen, lay brothers provided agricultural labor. Damian introduced these *laici* or *conversi* early in his priorate. In his rule written for the monks sometime between 1045 and 1050, he states, “Now in this place, which is called Fonte Avellana, there are usually twenty of us monks, more or less, dwelling in cells or in livings assigned to each, so that all together, counting the lay brothers and servants the number comes to about thirty-five.”⁷¹⁰ Thus the brothers were assisted by fifteen *conversi* and *famuli* (lay brothers and servants). Not only would the *conversi* allow the choir hermits to attend to their duties by taking on the burden of manual labor,⁷¹¹ their presence would increase agricultural yields. The hermits continued to work in the fields as well, as part of their spiritual regimen. Aside from the help of the *conversi*, Damian wanted the brothers to survive entirely on their own labor. The hermits cultivated the gardens, gathered hay and firewood, and labored in the fields in threes or more with the permission of the prior.⁷¹² The brothers regularly traveled to the local market, with mules transporting the load, both to sell any surplus and to make purchases.⁷¹³ As a consequence their properties became part of the local economy. However, Peter Damian’s primary goal was the economic security of Fonte Avellana, not its integration into contemporary economic structures.

Two main principles stood behind Peter Damian’s administration of Fonte Avellana’s lands, one rooted in pragmatic economics while the other held a spiritual purpose. Although Damian needed the brothers to avoid secular entanglements associated with land management as much as possible, at the same time he desired all of Fonte Avellana’s properties to remain under ecclesiastical management. Thus, Damian sought to consolidate their properties to prevent the brothers from engaging in distant property management. Secondly, Damian attempted to segregate physically the lands surrounding Fonte Avellana to limit secular distractions and preserve the spiritual concentration of the hermits.

Damian began to practice land consolidation because consolidated properties would be easier to manage than those located at a greater distance. Consolidation continued even after his

⁷⁰⁷ Land in this region was measured most often in *moggi* (in Latin, *modiari*). The amount of land in a *moggio* varied throughout Tuscany and the Marches. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries around Senigallia, Fano, Ancona, Pesaro, and Rimini, a *moggio* was between 2,612 and 2,762 square meters. Around Spoleto, a *moggio* was between 1,815 and 1,918 square meters (see Aldo Chiavari, “Misure Agrimensorie Altomedievali dell’Italia Centrale, Il Piede di Liutprando ed il Moggio nell’Area Marchiana nei Secoli VIII-XII” in vol. 86 no. 2 of *Istituzioni e Società nell’Alto Medioevo Marchigiano* (Atti e Memorie 86, 1981 [Ancona, Italy: Presso La Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche, 1983]), 940).

⁷⁰⁸ “... pretio quod recepi equum unum et denarios quantos simul convenimus pro hac superdicta causa” (*Carte*, doc. 44, 144).

⁷⁰⁹ *Carte*, doc. 27, 71-72.

⁷¹⁰ “In hoc nempe loco, qui fons Avellani dicitur, plerumque viginti plus minus monachi per cellulas, sive in assignata cuique oboedientia degimus, ut omnes simul cum conversis et famulis tricenarium quinarium numerum aut vix aut breviter excedamus” (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 18, 170; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], Letter 18, 161). The term “*famuli*” appears also in the Letter 50 and the translation of the term as “*conversi*” is discussed in note 552 above (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 [1988], Letter 50, 93; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 50, 299; see also on this page n. 36).

⁷¹¹ As Blum states, the addition of lay brothers into the community relieved the choir hermits from manual labor (Introduction to *Letters*, vol. 1 [1989], 7).

⁷¹² Indelicato, 232.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 232, 242.

departure from Fonte Avellana in 1057. Lands donated to Fonte Avellana from 1055 to 1072 are concentrated in two areas: Cagli and Luceoli.⁷¹⁴ Cagli was a town in the eleventh century and Luceoli was a small fortified settlement.⁷¹⁵ Cagli is slightly north of Luceoli, and Fonte Avellana lies southeast of Luceoli; the three are in close proximity. The patrimony of Fonte Avellana lay almost entirely within the environs of Cagli and Luceoli, with few exceptions.⁷¹⁶ Before 1072, neither Peter Damian nor any other prior acting in his place purchased land outside of this area. As stated above, the hermits made only one purchase before 1072.

In this single purchase dated 1069, Ugo and Biza⁷¹⁷ sold two *moggi* of land to the hermitage in the town of Fossagranaria near Cagli. The price of one pair of oxen was exorbitant based on contemporary pricing standards. The hefty payment paid for this piece of property indicates its value to the hermitage, but no items among its pertinences appear exceptional. The donors conceded lands, mills, orchards, vineyards, and olive groves. It is the property's boundaries that indicate the value of the land; the boundaries adjoin the hermitage on two sides.⁷¹⁸ According to Franca D'Amico, Ugo and Biza were aware the hermitage wanted to incorporate this property into its patrimony and asked a high price.⁷¹⁹ The hermits seemed to have thought consolidation worth the expense. Furthermore, the land was located on a major road, the Via Flaminia that passed by the hermitage, which also increased its value.⁷²⁰ The absence of land concessions offers further evidence for consolidation. From 1055 to 1072, the hermits never sold or traded any portion of their property. Under Peter Damian, the brothers showed a general aversion to alienating property.

In addition to consolidating property, the monks sought to isolate their community. In 1059, several members of the Ughi-Umberti family, the most powerful seigniorial family in the area, swore to free the areas immediately around the hermitage of tenants, especially women: "We promise that... if someone, either great or small, should wish to provide habitation for a woman, he shall not have license to do so under our authority."⁷²¹ Thus, the hermits sought to live as the Desert Fathers, in a barren environment free from temptation.⁷²² Paradoxically, despite this secluded existence, the hermits were not discouraged from traveling to market and to other daughter houses.⁷²³ In addition, they provided aid to the surrounding lay community.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁴ Luceoli is modern-day Cantiano.

⁷¹⁵ Cagli is also the name of the county nearest to Fonte Avellana.

⁷¹⁶ D'Amico, 78.

⁷¹⁷ Due to corruption of the document, it is unknown if Biza is Ugo's wife. Their ancestry is also unknown, but Ugo is possibly connected to the Ughi-Umberti family.

⁷¹⁸ "A lateribus eius: a primo latere ipsa superscripta Fossa Granaria, a secundo latere Flaminea publica, a tercio et a quarto latere terra de superscripto heremu Sancte Crucis [Fonte Avellana] perveniente in primo latere" (*Carte*, doc. 27, 71-72).

⁷¹⁹ D'Amico, 69-70.

⁷²⁰ D'Amico, 70. The local nobility dominated the *contado* and most of its roadways (cf. Giampaolini, 1987).

⁷²¹ "...promittimus nos quod non siamus nos nec nos heredibus neque in facto neque in consilio de nullius abitatione omnium per nullis vis modis ingenio da odie in antea usque in perpetuum. Et si quaecunque magnam parvaque persona abitacio mulieris facere voluerit, non ab ea licencia faciendum..." (*Carte*, 14, 33-34).

⁷²² Angelo Baronio, "Condizioni Politiche e Organizzazione Economica nella Società Avellanita dei Secoli XI-XII" in *Fonte Avellana nella Società dei Secoli XI e XII* (Fonte Avellana: Il Convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti, 1978), 184; I rely on Chris Wickham's definition of seigniorial lordship in medieval Italy. He states, "[S]ignorial is used to denote the local political control that became possible as public power, above all over justice, devolved more and more formally to private lordship" (*The Mountains and the City, the Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988], 308).

⁷²³ Indelicato, 232.

⁷²⁴ Baronio, 190.

Although the 1059 charter indicates their desire for seclusion, Damian also wanted local society to be aware of the spiritual force of Fonte Avellana.⁷²⁵ As long as the brothers themselves dictated the terms of interaction, Damian deemed it acceptable. The hermits served as ascetic examples assisting the poor and sick and as agents of pastoral care (the hermitage controlled several *pievi* throughout the countryside). Thus, the hermits limited interaction with the laity solely on their own property. They also controlled the amount of their property that fell into the hands of lay magnates.

Many other local ecclesiastics did not share Damian's high ideals. The clergy often issued grants of emphyteusis surrendering Church property to lay elites.⁷²⁶ Based on Peter Damian's loathing of simony and lay possession of ecclesiastical goods, it is not surprising there is only one grant of emphyteusis to a layperson prior to 1072. Typically, Damian was on the receiving end of an emphyteusis. In 1062 the Bishop of Faenza, Petrus, made a grant to Peter Damian and his brothers at the hermitage of Gamogna.⁷²⁷ In 1071, Guido, abbot of San Lorenzo, granted Fonte Avellana lands and pertinences near the town of Fano for the annual pension of one candle.⁷²⁸ Damian permitted those emphyteusis grants that would allow the hermitage to retain ecclesiastical property. There exists, however, one emphyteusis from the period before Damian's death issued to a lay noble. In this charter dated 1066, Fonte Avellana grants Gozo, of the Ughi-Umberti family, various lands and possessions including a castle and a church located in the town of Nocera for the annual pension of one candle.⁷²⁹

The validity of this agreement is questionable since the document has certain flaws indicating it could be a forgery, which would explain the contradiction inherent in Peter Damian's decision to concede lands and a church to a lay noble. The charter shows signs the date is incorrect, and the properties listed in the document do not appear in a 1072 *placitum*, or court proceeding, listing Fonte Avellana's possessions.⁷³⁰ The document's flaws are not, however, overwhelming evidence of forgery. If the charter is valid, then there are possible explanations as to why Peter Damian would allow Gozo to control Church property. The property in Nocera is also some distance from the hermitage. If the hermits wanted to limit their managing of distant properties, this grant to Gozo would relieve them of the responsibility.⁷³¹ Second, if it is legitimate, the grant shows that Damian and his hermits cultivated a quasi-feudal relationship with a member of a powerful aristocratic family, a family already connected to Fonte Avellana, meaning this was a prospect advantageous to both parties. The lease was possibly a necessary evil and a means to an end. Third, the grant gives Gozo a castle, an asset the hermits could hardly exploit to its full advantage. It would make sense to place that castle in elite hands, especially to a member of the Ughi-Umberti. This family had already cooperated with Fonte Avellana in 1059, when they signed the charter protecting the borders of the hermitage.

⁷²⁵ Baronio, 187.

⁷²⁶ Maureen C. Miller, "Fraolmo Viscount of Lucca and the Political History of the *Regnum Italiae*: Another Look at Ottonian Government" *Actum Luce Rivista di Studi Lucchesi* 18, 1-2 (1989), 102. Miller focuses on the late tenth century, but the tradition of *livelli* continued beyond this period.

⁷²⁷ *Carte*, doc. 19, 49-50. For further information on the transaction, see Elisabetta Filippini (cited above), 163.

⁷²⁸ *Carte*, doc. 30, 80-82, Fano is relatively far from Fonte Avellana. See Filippini, 164.

⁷²⁹ *Carte*, doc. 22, 55-57.

⁷³⁰ The editors of this charter, Celestino Pierucci and Alberto Polverari, note the discrepancies in the document and question the validity of its content (*Carte*, notes to doc. 22, 55)

⁷³¹ D'Amico, 74.

A year after Fonte Avellana drafted this alleged emphyteusis, the hermitage again took steps to protect its property. In 1067⁷³² members of several local aristocratic families, nineteen altogether, obligated themselves and their heirs to uphold Damian's ideals. That is, they promised never to subject the hermitage to any other church nor to any person, whether for a price or for any exchange of goods.⁷³³ Furthermore, they swore not to seize the hermits' property, whether lands or goods, both mobile and immobile, and not to invade or damage their property. They also granted the protection of the hermits themselves and likewise bound their dependents to the same guarantee neither to plunder the hermits' lands nor to harm the brothers in any way. These men did, however, limit the extent of the damages they would avoid to a maximum of twelve *dinarii* each year. Finally, the men agreed to repair completely any damages done to the hermitage or its property within fifteen days, with the submission of a request. Should the hermitage incur damages, the men offered to swear an oath (*sacramentum et iusiurandum*) to purge themselves of culpability (*expurgavimus*).⁷³⁴ The penalty for violating the agreement was set at thirty pounds of silver.⁷³⁵

In 1072, the hermits graduated from negotiating with minor lords and turned to Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, Matilda, to confirm the safety of their patrimony. Peter Damian had long maintained a relationship with the Tuscan margraves and the congregation of Fonte Avellana capitalized on their prior's excellent rapport with Beatrice and Matilda. Damian had died⁷³⁶ months before the *placitum* was issued in July of 1072, but nonetheless his influence is visible in the terms of the charter. The document exhaustively names each of the numerous churches, lands, tithes all under Fonte Avellana's control and confirms the congregation's right to these properties.⁷³⁷ Moreover, it threatens potential usurpers with a high level of justice, because Beatrice and Matilda placed Fonte Avellana and its patrimony under their personal protection.⁷³⁸

By means of this property the hermits tried so hard to protect, they competed in the local economy in two ways. First, agricultural surplus was sold and traded at local markets. The castles that dotted the region often served as marketplaces where the hermits could trade goods.⁷³⁹ Second, they participated in land exchange with both lay and ecclesiastical parties. They had the resources and connections not only to purchase land but also to acquire Church property through emphyteusis. Furthermore the hermits did not alienate property. The hermits' one concession of land, which may be invalid, concerned a piece of property far removed from the hermitage. Peter Damian's reform policies prohibited the alienation of Church property to lay elites; restrictions on lay possession of Church property did not apply to tenant farmers.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³² The date is in question, because in 1067 the indiction was the fifth and not the sixth, as it is indicated. Fortunately the papal year of Alexander II provides some context (see *Carte*, notes on doc. 24, 60).

⁷³³ *Carte*, doc. 24, 61.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁶ John Howe has recently argued that the date of Damian's death is incorrect and could be pushed forward to 1073. See Howe, "Did St Peter Damian die in 1073? A New Perspective on his Final Days," *Analecta Bollandiana* 128 (2010), 67-86.

⁷³⁷ *Carte*, doc. 34, 88-90.

⁷³⁸ The cash penalty for violating the agreement was two thousand gold *bisancii* (*ibid.*).

⁷³⁹ D'Amico, 132.

⁷⁴⁰ Chris Wickham argues that in Italy the servile system declined in the eleventh century and by the twelfth century servile peasants were rare. Hence the majority of these farmers were most likely free tenants (Wickham 2002, 132). For further information on serfdom in medieval Italy see Dominico Vera, "Le forme del lavoro rurale," in

Evidence of dependents on Fonte Avellana's properties is rare in the eleventh century. In 1079, a cleric named Fosco donated various properties to the hermitage. Among his concessions are several *fundi* occupied by "*homines*" who hold the land by his right.⁷⁴¹ In this context, *homines* are rural tenants subject to a lord.⁷⁴² However, the term *homines* is ambiguous; it could imply free or servile status. The word *servus* (serf or slave) appears only once in the charters during the eleventh century. In 1085, when confirming property rights upon the hermitage Ugo and his wife Gemma mention dependents on their lands. In addition to confirming lands, Ugo and Gemma swore not to impede on the rights of the Monasteries of San Angelo and San Nicolò, and bound their tenants and heirs to the same oath. These individuals are listed as "our men either slave [*servus*] or free."⁷⁴³ Based on this evidence, both free and servile tenants were present in the region, but their existence on Fonte Avellana's property is less clear in the charters. It would be impractical for the hermits not to have tenants on a portion of their lands. Twenty monks and fifteen lay brothers could hardly shoulder the entire workload. Damian also believed the hermits should share the wealth of their patrimony with the local community. He loathed the hoarding of wealth, thus he approved the allocation of lands to poor farmers.⁷⁴⁴ The *pars dominica* was entirely managed by the hermits and the *conversi*, but the *pars massaricia*, comprised of smaller parcels of land (portions of *castelli*, small houses, *fundi*), was held by tenants.⁷⁴⁵ Despite the gradual end of serfdom, the aristocracy continued to exploit peasants.⁷⁴⁶ The lords asserted their power through the collection of rents and oppression of tenants.⁷⁴⁷ In this region in particular, the hegemony of the leading families depended largely on their control of Church property.⁷⁴⁸ As a property owner, Fonte Avellana necessarily participated in these local political structures. The community could choose the terms of its participation, however, and the brothers chose to forge a path very different from their lay counterparts.

The practices of property retention, land consolidation, and efficient exploitation of that land may have filtered down from the mother monastery to its daughter houses, due to the relationship of dependency Fonte Avellana established between itself and the congregation. Even though the charters of the hermitage of Suavicinium do not survive, and only a few exist for the hermitage of Ocri and the monastery of Camporeggiano dating to Damian's tenure, there is substantial evidence for this assertion. Damian himself oversaw the activities of Ocri, according to the papal bulls declaring his obligation, and his most famous disciple, Saint Dominic Loricatus, was the prior of Suavicinium for several years.

III. The Economic Geography

Before turning to the daughter houses of Fonte Avellana, we will first step back to view the larger economic milieu around Fonte Avellana. Specifically, we will examine the economic

Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto Medioevo (Spoleto: Settimane, 45, 1998), 293-342, and Francesco Panero, *Schiavi servi e villani nell'Italia medievale* (Turin, 1999).

⁷⁴¹ "...alies homines dettine a iura mea in fundo Tribbio..." (*Carte*, doc. 44, 114).

⁷⁴² Spalla, 202-203. Spalla states that after the eleventh century, the charters qualify a tenant's status to a greater extent.

⁷⁴³ "...per nostros homines aut servi aut liberi..." (*Carte*, doc. 66, 159)

⁷⁴⁴ Indelicato, 243.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁷ Wickham, 2002, 130.

⁷⁴⁸ See Giampaolini, 1987.

activities of contemporary monasteries in that area. The geographical confines for the environs of Fonte Avellana forms a quadrant straddling the Marches and Umbria. The majority of Fonte Avellana's property before 1072 lay within these boundaries, and also within this space Damian founded the monasteries of Camporeggiano and Conca, and the hermitages of Ocri, Suavicinum and Monte Preggio. The other two daughter houses, Gamogna and Acereta, because of their distance from Fonte Avellana and the remaining houses in the congregation, together offer a separate case study. The area in which the congregation of Fonte Avellana was active spans the core of the Marches and extends from Monte Preggio and Perugia in the southwest corner passing through Gubbio and then Fabriano, on to Cingoli in the southeast tip, then up to Morciano and Conca to the northeast via Fossombrone, then west to Verghereto and Ocri, and finally back down to Monte Preggio and Perugia (see figure 1 in the appendix). The religious life in this area included proprietary houses alongside reformed monasteries. The division between reformed and unreformed monasteries in the Marches during the eleventh century was not black and white. Rather, the religious landscape was colored in grayscale. Steady lay patronage did not by default signify proprietary status, and even relatively autonomous houses had what reformers would regard as spiritual shortcomings. The scarcity of documents in the eleventh century makes any systematic analysis difficult, but to assess patterns in land management policies requires a comparative approach. But rather than an inadequate dichotomy, this study compares the activities of Fonte Avellana to those of its neighboring counterparts in terms of a reformed monastery versus more traditional monastic houses. Thus we are dealing with variants on a gradient scale.

Elisabetta Giampaolini identifies four proprietary houses connected to the Attoni family in her prosopographical study of the Marches. These houses are Saint Victor's in Chiuse near Sassoferrato and Fabriano, Saint Angelus infra Ostia and Saint Mary's in the Appennines also both near Fabriano, and Saint Peter's at Conero in Numana on the coast below Ancona. Due to its location, Saint Peter's is outside the boundaries of this analysis. The only eleventh-century evidence we have for the monastery of Saint Peter is its foundation charter, and only two documents exist pertaining to the monastery of Saint Angelus for the same period. But an extensive collection of charters survives pertaining to Saint Victor's in Chiuse, and although fewer survive from Saint Mary's in the Appennines there is nonetheless sufficient documentation to establish patterns. There are fifty-one total charters involving Saint Victor's dating from 999 to 1085⁷⁴⁹ that reveal a different approach to the management of monastic patrimony from Fonte Avellana.

The settlements around Saint Victor's in Chiuse were built upon Roman foundations and later the zone became occupied by Lombards. The Benedictine monastery (hence its name, *de clusis*) lies at the outer edges of the duchy of Spoleto in the northeast section where the Sentino and Esino rivers meet.⁷⁵⁰ Saint Victor's thrived in the eleventh century in this region of the Appennines, which the Lombard settlers prized for its fine agricultural land and defensive advantages. This was a mountainous area that lent itself to the construction of castles.⁷⁵¹ Saint Victor's premier location allowed the monastery to reap fully the benefits of lay patronage. The monks were surrounded by especially wealthy potential donors, the Lombard counts and their retainers, who proffered prime pieces of land in exchange for spiritual rewards. A member of the

⁷⁴⁹ There are seventy-one charters total in the collection for these dates.

⁷⁵⁰ Romualdo Sassi, *Le Carte del Monastero di S. Vittore delle Chiuse sul Sentino* (Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche. Milano: Multa Paucis, 1962), 3.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

Attoni family had already founded Saint Victor's in Chiuse before the monastery made its first property transaction in 1007. Although Giampaolini refers to the charter as a donation,⁷⁵² the document describes rather a sale. Nearly all other charters dated prior to 1100 in the collection and pertaining to the monastery are donations. Of those donations, many came from the Attoni family and their constituents. As described above, this family was Lombard in origin and held property primarily in Camerino, Gubbio, and Castel Petroso.

Adelbertus and his wife, Gertrude, "according to Lombard law," were the first laypersons to sell lands to Saint Victor's. Giampaolini cites this document to prove the relationship between the Adelberti and Attoni, which is further supported by the proximity of their lands, the common employment of the *scabinus* Sigualdo, and their shared relations with the Grimaldi family.⁷⁵³ Specifically, Adelbertus and Gertrude sold property in the locality of Ceresgola Pecoraricia near the Sentino river in 1007.⁷⁵⁴ Following this sale the monastery made only two other purchases and one land exchange before 1072 (that is, during the period of Damian's priorate). In 1013 the monks bought another piece of land also along the Sentino for twenty *soldi*.⁷⁵⁵ Sixteen years later 1029 the monks acquired yet another property also for twenty *soldi*,⁷⁵⁶ and fourteen years after that they exchanged land with a lay husband and wife in 1043.⁷⁵⁷ It is not until decades later in 1072 that Saint Victor's entered into another land exchange with laypersons.⁷⁵⁸ Other than these exceptional transactions, the monastery mostly received their lands through charitable donations. The brothers accepted thirty donations in total from 1008 to 1072 at only a slightly declining rate.⁷⁵⁹ The charters of Fonte Avellana, in contrast, record only three donations during that same period.

The patrimony of Saint Victor's was, however, comparable to that of Fonte Avellana. Along with their properties the monks also received orchards and vineyards, indicating their chief products were wine and oil. The difference between the two houses was the goal of production. Damian had conceived of Fonte Avellana's economic objective as the supporting of the brothers. Saint Victor's, in contrast, was a private monastery in the hands of the Lombard aristocracy. Its revenues served to strengthen its status in the countryside. Only its economic success could ensure its political presence. The more lands the monastery acquired, the more political control it accumulated on behalf of the Attoni and their constituents. Donations were therefore essential. Saint Victor's also had the potential to exert its influence via two daughter female monasteries founded near Castel Petroso, that of the Holy Savior in the Valley and also the monastery of Saint Mary in Frasassi, also called di Bucca saxorum. One charter in the collection of Saint Victor's records a donation to the monastery of the Holy Savior, wherein the nuns only received minimal autonomy from their founder, Gezo of the Attoni. Gezo declared that the house would never be subject to any other bishop or monastery and endowed the

⁷⁵² Giampaolini, 1987, 123.

⁷⁵³ Giampaolini, 1987, 123.

⁷⁵⁴ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 19.

⁷⁵⁵ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 22.

⁷⁵⁶ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 27.

⁷⁵⁷ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 31.

⁷⁵⁸ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 35.

⁷⁵⁹ The first donation dates to 1010 and from that date until 1020 there are eleven documented gifts of land; from 1020 to 1030 there are five donations; from 1030 to 1040 there are four; from 1040 to 1050 there are six; from 1050 to 1060 there are two; from 1050 to 1060 there are also two; from 1060 to 1072 there are three (Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*).

foundation with six *moggi* of land.⁷⁶⁰ However, Gezo also guaranteed that the house would remain under his economic and political control when he retained the right to choose an abess should the election turn contentious. Gezo himself had chosen its first abess, Inga.⁷⁶¹ These proprietary rights extended to Gezo's heirs as well.

Saint Victor's involvement in the political economy directly affected Fonte Avellana because of the proximity of the two patrimonies. According to a bill of sale between two lay parties, Damian held lands in the immediate area. In 1065 Atto and his wife Bona sold to Suppo a piece of property that was bordered on one side by Peter Damian's land ("[a] quarto latere terra de Petri Damianum"⁷⁶²). Damian had already felt the family's presence as the Attoni's patrimony reached into Gubbio and very near to Fonte Avellana, and this particular monastery had two daughter houses and controlled a number of rural *pievi*. The monks of Saint Victor's also established a relationship with at least one other nearby house, the monastery of Saint Urbanus, a house of some influence that controlled many dependent churches over a large area.⁷⁶³ The charters of Saint Victor's record a donation from the abbot of the monastery of Saint Urbanus. He offered half the property held by the priest Vitalis near Castel Petroso in a place called *Larcianum*.⁷⁶⁴ Beyond Saint Victor's in Chiuse and its allies, as stated above the Attoni also founded three other proprietary monasteries -- the houses of Saint Angelus infra Ostia, Saint Mary in the Appennines, and Saint Peter at Conero. The Attoni foundations represented all that Damian loathed of the realities of monastic life. These monasteries flourished by engaging in the very economic activities he labored to avoid.

Most notably, Fonte Avellana did not grant lands in emphyteusis to laypersons, with one possibly spurious exception mentioned above. Saint Victor's allotted two such concessions. First in 1065 the monastery leased a parcel of land to a layperson for the annuity of one candle and a quantity of incense.⁷⁶⁵ Then again in 1066 the abbot Morico, also called bishop in this document,⁷⁶⁶ with the consent of his brothers ceded to Vico as well as his sons and grandsons⁷⁶⁷ sixty-five *moggi* of land in the county of Camerino. Vico received a substantial amount of property, and its annual price was a quantity of incense, a candle, and a fee of fifty *soldi*.⁷⁶⁸ Such a concession never occurred under Damian's watch at Fonte Avellana, but his attitude was atypical. Based on the sheer number of patrons and donations received from these individuals, the mentality of Saint Victor's toward the laity favored a more integral society. Whereas Damian had drawn his line in the sand between the pure eremitic existence and everything else, Saint Victor's blurred the line between lay and religious in their economic dealings.

Saint Victor's fellow proprietary foundation, Saint Mary's in the Appennines, pursued a similar course; it relied heavily on lay patronage. Located in the territory of Fabriano in the

⁷⁶⁰ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 20.

⁷⁶¹ See Giampaolini, 1997, 83.

⁷⁶² *Carte diplomatiche fabrianesi* I, 2.

⁷⁶³ Cherubini, 306.

⁷⁶⁴ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 28. For San Urbano see O. Turchi, *De Ecclesiae Camerinensis Pontificibus*, 151-154, and App. III, pp. XX-XXI; App. XLV, pp. LXVI-LXXIX; L. Marchegiani, *I benedettini nella Valle dell'Esinante: abbazia di S. Urbano in Studi Maceratesi*, 2 (Macerata 1967): 189-205.

⁷⁶⁵ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 33; Zonghi notes the parchment is problematic because it is not clear why there are two abbots at the same time (*abbati Adamo e Morico*).

⁷⁶⁶ Sassi explains that on the qualification of bishop attributed to the abbot, the following explanations have been given. First, it refers to the bishop of Camerino; a bishop without a diocese at the disposition of the Holy See; a bishop over his monks; a title of honor assigned arbitrarily by the notary or by the abbots themselves (34).

⁷⁶⁷ Three generations was a period of time used for an emphyteusis in eleventh-century Italy.

⁷⁶⁸ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 34. The fee was for *introitus* (entry).

country of Camerino, between Fossato and the settlement of Fabriano itself, the Attoni founded the monastery of Saint Mary in the early eleventh century. Its position was politically and economically advantageous, in part because it lay close to the Via Flaminia. Its first donation in 1003 was a family affair. Ugo, Mainardus, Offo, Atto, and Lamberto, sons of John, along with Bonomo, Bonezone, Rainerius, Peter, Adam, John son of the late Offo, and Attone son of the late Ubertus, and also Tebaldus, Ranierius and Ugolo son of the late Bonezone, all donated goods to Santa Maria and specifically to its abbot, John. The land, situated in the country of Nocera in a place called Castro de Fossato, included churches within the confines of the property (and therefore their revenues).⁷⁶⁹ A certain Transbertus offered the monastery its second land donation in 1038.⁷⁷⁰ Then in 1060 a member of the Attoni, Atto, gave Adam, abbot of Saint Mary's, administrative control over the hermitage of Saint Blaise in Caprile near Campodonico⁷⁷¹ along with all its property, "ad regendum et administrandum et ad iudicandum et custodiendum et sacrificandum et officum faciendum die noctuque..."⁷⁷² The monastery never made a single purchase of land during the eleventh century, which implies all its charitable acquisitions sufficed.

We possess considerably less charter evidence for the Attoni's other two private monasteries, Saint Angelus infra Ostia and Saint Peter's at Conero, than we have for Saint Victor's. But even with limited evidence the pattern of lay patronage remains consistent. The first mention of the monastery of Saint Angelus infra Ostia dates to 1015, the year it was founded by Count Atto and his wife Berta. The couple donated 4,000 *modioli* of land located in the countryside of Camerino and Nocera to its abbot, Peter. The countess later made a second donation to the monastery in 1040, which included a mill.⁷⁷³ Elisabetta Giampaolini points out that this first substantial donation shows not only the main areas of activity for the Attoni family, but more importantly it provides details of their political plan. The family desired control over the principle roads through the Apennines contained within these properties. They wanted these central routes, travelled by pilgrims and soldiers and used for the transport of goods, integrated into their patrimony. Technically, even if these routes fell under monastic jurisdiction the Attoni would ultimately regulate their travel.⁷⁷⁴

Although outside Fonte Avellana's zone of occupation, it is nonetheless relevant that the foundation of Saint Peter's at Conero was also politically motivated, at least in the decision of its geographical position. As Giampaolini observes, the other three Attoni foundations rest squarely in the heart of the Apennines in locations that were beneficial both politically and economically, but this house possessed routes leading all the way to the sea, which made it particularly valuable.⁷⁷⁵ A family called the Amezoni, kinsmen of the Attoni, founded Saint Peter's in the early eleventh century. The Amezoni were counts in the countryside of Osimo and they

⁷⁶⁹ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 14.

⁷⁷⁰ Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 14. The document was difficult for Aurelius Zonghi to transcribe, so there are lacunae.

⁷⁷¹ For Saint Blaise's (San Biagio) see A.M. Giorgi, *Fabriano e la sua diocesi. Testimonianze archeologiche e storico-artistiche: le abbazie*, Tesi di laurea, 1989-90, Univ. di Bologna, Relat. R. Farioli Campanati, p. 160-163; A.G. Bionchi, *La valle di Somaregia o Salmaregio nella diocesi di Nocera Umbra. Cenni storici*, Fabriano 1974, 353-354; O. Turchi, *De Ecclesiae Camerinensis Pontificibus*, libri VI, App. XXIII, p. XLV.

⁷⁷² Sassi, *Carte di S. Vittore*, 14.

⁷⁷³ See Turchi, *De Ecclesiae Camerinensis Pontificibus*, App. II, p. XVII-XX, App. IV, p. XXI-XXII, App. XXIII, pp. XLIV-XLIV.

⁷⁷⁴ Giampaolini, 1987, 147.

⁷⁷⁵ Giampaolini, 1987, 146. According to the document, the lands acquired were bordered by the Adriatic coast, "a tertio latere littus maris" (*Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, App. XXXVI, col. 73).

maintained this family monastery into the thirteenth century.⁷⁷⁶ The only document pertaining to the monastery records a donation⁷⁷⁷ in which Abbot Guimezzone accepted two churches along with all their pertinences from these local lords who called themselves “patroni” of the monastery.⁷⁷⁸

The four private Attoni monasteries occupied a corner of the Marches in which stood many other prominent foundations, but the mountain of San Vicino not far from Saint Victor’s in Chiuse merits special attention because Damian himself founded a hermitage in the center of an important monastic cluster there. He located the hermitage of the Most Holy Trinity among the foothills of Mount San Vicino near the earlier Romualdian foundations of the Holy Savior in Valdicastro also on the mountain, and the monastery of Saint Helena in Esino occupying the valley below. Damian discussed their foundations in his life of the saint, “In the interim, while [Romuald] persisted with the intention [to go on a mission to Hungary], he founded three monasteries: one in Val di Castro, where now his most holy body is entombed, another near the river Esino, and the third nearby the town of Ascolano.”⁷⁷⁹ The final house, outside the geographical scope of this study, is today known as the monastery of Saint Genesius. The description of the second monastery’s location “prope Isinum fluvium” does not indisputably indicate Damian referred to Saint Helena’s. However, this monastery is the most likely candidate because no other eleventh-century monastery in the appropriate site claims the epithet “of the Esino.”⁷⁸⁰ The earliest charter for Saint Helena’s dates to 1130. There exists a questionable foundation charter for the monastery of the Holy Savior in which the count Farfolus founds the hermitage. Paul Kehr doubted its authenticity and many other historians have since concurred.⁷⁸¹ Augustinus Fortunius, author of the *Historia Camaldolensium* asserted that Farfolus did found the monastery.⁷⁸² Arguably the foundation would have benefited Farfolus. Through the monastery of the Holy Savior he would have gained a foothold in a region in which his rivals, the counts of Camerino, resided. Ludovicus Iacobilius, however, claimed that the founder was Ugo, duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino.⁷⁸³ According to the *Annales Camaldulenses*, even if Farfolus was not the founder of the monastery, he was probably among its first patrons.⁷⁸⁴ In sum, based on these authors’ accounts the house played a similar role in local politics as the aforementioned unreformed monasteries.

Also in the shadow of Mount San Vicino lay the monasteries of Saint Mary in Valfucina and Saint Urbanus. The first mention of the foundation dedicated to Saint Urbanus occurs in the donation to Saint Victor’s in Chiuse in 1033 after which its development was rapid.⁷⁸⁵ The

⁷⁷⁶ Giampaolini, 1987, 146.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ann. Camald.*, vol. II, App. XXXVI, col. 72-74.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ann. Camald.*, vol. II App. XXXVI, col. 73.

⁷⁷⁹ “Interim tamen dum in ipsa intentione persisteret, brevi tempore tria consuit monasteria: unum videlicet in Valle de Castro, ubi nunc sanctissimum corpus eius est conditum, aliud prope Isinum fluvium, tertium iuxta oppidum condidit Esculanum” (*Vita Beati Romualdi* [ed. cit.], ch. 38, 79-80).

⁷⁸⁰ Celestino Pierucci, *L’abbazia di S. Elena dell’Esino, memorie storiche e artistiche* (Edizione Camaldoli, 1981), 14.

⁷⁸¹ Kehr, vol. IV, 125.

⁷⁸² See *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 274-275; cf. Augustinus Fortunius, *Historia Camaldolensium* (Venice, 1575), II 35 sq. and 137 sq.

⁷⁸³ See *Ann. Camald.* vol. I, 274-275; cf. Ludovicus Iacobilius, *Vite de’ Santi e Beati dell’Umbria*, vol. III, 356 sq.

⁷⁸⁴ Kehr, vol. IV, 124.

⁷⁸⁵ Cherubini, 306; Turchi, *De Ecclesiae Camerinensis Pontificibus*, 151-154, and App. III, pp. XX-XXI; App. XLV, pp. LXVI-LXXIX.

monastery of Saint Mary in Valfucina also possessed vast holdings from Cingoli to Osimo.⁷⁸⁶ Its first recorded land transaction in 1058 is an emphyteusis grant in which the abbot, John, concedes lands with vineyards in usufruct to Peter in the locality of Santa Lucia.⁷⁸⁷ The only other subsequent record dates to 1074, two years after Damian's death. It is a donation from a man named Amicus of a sum of land and his portion of the church of Saint Helena.⁷⁸⁸ This area was littered with churches, as well as castles including the structures at San Pietro, Isola di San Clemente, Frontale, and Aliforni. It was also close to important centers such as the settlements of Apiro, Matelica, Sanseverino, and Cingoli. It was in a strategic location, near to the imposing castle of Elcito, a true fortress.⁷⁸⁹ Therefore the local aristocracy had much at stake here and had reason to fortify their power in part through their monastic patronage. In this setting, Damian chose to found a hermitage on Mount San Vicino surrounded by lay castles and proprietary monasteries, major travel routes and prime agricultural land in the diocese of Camerino, whose episcopal seat the Attoni themselves occupied much of the time. Inadvertently or deliberately, Damian had to compete in the local political economy because of this foundation and the extension of his congregation in general.

IV. Fonte Avellana in Context

Fonte Avellana, like the Attoni, held influence over monasteries in the area as well beyond its daughter houses. Abundant evidence exists proving relations between Fonte Avellana and the monasteries of Saint Vincent in Furlo, Saint Mary in Sitria, and Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli. Damian spent time at Saint Vincent's early in his career writing Saint Romuald's *Vita* and had even reformed that monastery. He also communicated with Sitria often and had sent Dominic Loricatus to reform its congregation in the 1050s. Descending from Fonte Avellana and past Sitria rests the hermitage of Saint Emilian in Congiu'ntoli where the Rio Freddo and Sentino rivers meet at the base of the valley. Dominic Loricatus spent time as prior at that house in the late 1050s before returning to Suavicinum. Though we lack evidence of their economic practices, these three monasteries responded to Damian's reforms and arguably these included a reformed approach to land tenure.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Fonte Avellana interacted with other monasteries in the region and through these exchanges formed alliances. These other monasteries may also have been predisposed to guard ecclesiastical property from laypersons. They all had something in common: Saint Mary's in Pomposa, whose abbot was a frequent recipient of Damian's letters, received a number of papal privileges in the early eleventh century. Saint Lawrence's in Campo, from which the monks of Fonte Avellana accepted a land grant in emphyteusis in 1071,⁷⁹⁰ and the monastery of Saint Thomas in Foglia near Pesaro where Damian allegedly met Clement II in 1047, also garnered papal protection. Conspicuously missing from the charters of all proprietary monasteries around Fonte Avellana for which we have records are papal privileges. Their charters also record no reconfirmations of their patrimony from their numerous donors. They

⁷⁸⁶ G. Bossi, *L'area benedettina del monte S. Vicino in Aspetti e problemi del monachesimo nelle Marche*, 73-89; Giammario Borri, "Le carte di Santa Maria di Valfucina" *Studia Picena* v. 55 1990, p. 14-15. Borri notes that the documents do not quantify the amount of land granted to the monastery, but the geographical distribution of its holdings, including dependent churches, provides some indication of their total extent.

⁷⁸⁷ Borri, Appendix, doc. 1, 32.

⁷⁸⁸ Borri, Appendix, doc. 2, 32.

⁷⁸⁹ Borri, 6.

⁷⁹⁰ *Carte*, doc. 30.

relied solely on the lay aristocracy to protect their property, without notarized guarantee. Monasteries with which Damian maintained contact followed a different procedure; they turned to Rome to secure their patrimonies. This is not to say Damian influenced that decision as many of these monasteries assumed the practice decades before his priorate, but Damian associated primarily with those houses under papal protection.

Amidst a stormy political economy Damian himself chose to place his congregation under the umbrella of Rome. Damian inherited the hermitage at Ocri when Pope Leo IX confirmed its possessions, identifying one *pieve* in particular, named Damian its prior, and rendered it free from subjection to any other monastery (except Fonte Avellana) sometime between 1049 and 1054.⁷⁹¹ During that same period Leo also confirmed specific goods acquired by Fonte Avellana in the locality of Massa di Sorbetolo.⁷⁹² Most probably Damian urged the pope to mention the specific named properties in question instead of blanketing them under a single reference to properties held. No doubt the *pieve* discussed in the privilege of Ocri was a commodity valued for its potential revenues, and moreover Damian would have wanted to keep that income in the hands of the Church. We have no further details as to the pertinences among Ocri's property.

The foundation charter dated 1057 for the monastery of Saint Bartholomew in Camporeggiano, however, fully expounds the extent of the original patrimony. The brothers Peter, John, and Rudolf, and their mother, Rozia, donated their goods to Fonte Avellana to establish a monastery near Gubbio. Peter and Rudolf themselves simultaneously joined the hermitage of Fonte Avellana. The land Saint Bartholomew's possessed included the castle of Montecavallo with all its pertinences, the villa of Camporeggiano and a church and houses, and other various properties in surrounding *fundi*, and additional houses and churches. In sum, the endowment was substantial and under Damian's leadership it would have been exploited to its greatest potential. The charter in closing discusses papal protection. It states that Saint Bartholomew's was to be subject only to Fonte Avellana and under the protection of that hermitage alone. Only in the case that it should not adhere to the terms of its foundation would the monastery come under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. That is, assuming Fonte Avellana failed to maintain the spiritual welfare of its daughter house, the papacy would step in to rectify the problem.⁷⁹³ Thus, Damian concerned himself not only with papal backing of his congregation's patrimony, but he also took out insurance that any errant house would receive reform should his own hermitage fail to provide it. The agreement changed in January of 1063 when Alexander II formally placed Saint Bartholomew's under the protection of the Holy See, confirming its numerous and overtly specified goods and properties, and extending immunity. According to the document, their patrimony had increased in the interim from their foundation to the issue of this privilege. In spite of his offer of sole protection, the pope ultimately maintained previously existing clauses subjugating Saint Bartholomew's to Fonte Avellana.⁷⁹⁴ In that month the abbot of Saint Bartholomew's, John, confirmed the terms of the arrangement.⁷⁹⁵ Alexander II reconfirmed the agreement between 1065-1067, at the request of Saint Bartholomew's abbot, Mainard.⁷⁹⁶ Also in 1065 Bishop Ubaldus of Gubbio leased episcopal lands in emphyteusis to

⁷⁹¹ *Carte*, doc. 8.

⁷⁹² *Carte*, doc. 7.

⁷⁹³ *Carte*, doc. 11.

⁷⁹⁴ *Carte*, doc. 17.

⁷⁹⁵ *Carte*, doc. 18.

⁷⁹⁶ *Carte*, doc. 25.

Mainard in exchange for some of the monastery's own lands near Burano, which Pope Nicholas II had previously donated.⁷⁹⁷ The abbots of Camporeggiano took repeated steps to secure this extensive property, a decision that accorded with Peter Damian's general plan for the congregation.

To the south of Camporeggiano stood the hermitage at Monte Preggio. Its original charters have perished and therefore no information remains regarding Monte Preggio's economic transactions, but other contemporary evidence reveals various popes repeatedly attempted to keep the diocese of Perugia under Rome's sway. In the south corner of our quadrant under Monte Preggio, the bishopric of Perugia and its two dependent monasteries were the closest major ecclesiastical entities to the hermitage. Fonte Avellana had additional connection with the diocese; the abbot of Saint Peter's in Perugia, Bonizo resigned his position to become a hermit at Fonte Avellana in 1064.⁷⁹⁸

The bishop of Perugia caused frequent problems for the papacy during the 1030s. Bishop Andrea denied Pope Benedict, who had been his consecrator, rights over the monasteries of Saint Peter in Perugia and Saint Mary Val di Ponte publically at a church council held between 1033 and 1036. In 1002 Pope Sylvester II had confirmed the bishop's jurisdiction over the monastery of Saint Peter, and so Andrea refused the Pope's request again in 1036.⁷⁹⁹ In so doing the pope rendered the bishop openly schismatic. The papacy, however, had already made frequent concessions to Saint Peter's. In 1022 Benedict VIII first confirmed its patrimony, and John XIX issued two similar privileges between 1027 and 1033.⁸⁰⁰ Benedict IX also validated a specific acquisition between 1033 and 1045.⁸⁰¹ Then at some point during those years the pope formally conferred rights over Saint Mary's Val di Ponte to the bishop. Gregory VI later confirmed the decision between 1045⁸⁰² and 1046. It appears the two parties reached a compromise because also in 1045 the charters of Saint Peter's record that Pope Gregory VI placed the monastery under the protection of the Holy See and thereby subjected it directly to Rome. In that bull, the pope confirmed Saint Peter's possessions and allowed the monks to elect their own abbot who would then be consecrated by the Holy See.⁸⁰³ Each subsequent pope, from Clement II to Alexander II, reconfirmed this charter from 1046 to 1065.⁸⁰⁴

Rome remained determined to possess Saint Peter's and even relinquished its pursuit of the monastery of Saint Mary to resolve the dispute with Perugia's bishop. Even though Bishop Andrea received rights to Saint Mary's, the papacy had granted numerous privileges to that neighboring monastery before 1045 and after.⁸⁰⁵ In the vicinity Romuald had founded the hermitage at Monte Acuto in 1008, which Peter Damian himself later reformed acting as its one time rector,⁸⁰⁶ and that congregation also received numerous papal bulls.⁸⁰⁷ The papacy afforded

⁷⁹⁷ *Carte e diplomi di Gubbio dall'anno 900 al 1200*, ed. Pio Cenci (Perugia: Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1915), 50-52.

⁷⁹⁸ See Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 105, 159, n. 1.

⁷⁹⁹ Kehr, vol. IV, 62.

⁸⁰⁰ De Stefano, *Regesto di s. Pietro in Perugia*, 9.

⁸⁰¹ De Stefano, *Regesto di S. Pietro*, 9. Also see *Le carte dell'archivio di Perugia*, eds. Tommaso Leccisotti and Costanzo Tabarelli (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1956).

⁸⁰² De Stefano, *Regesto di S. Pietro*, 9.

⁸⁰³ Kehr, vol. IV, 62.

⁸⁰⁴ De Stefano, *Regesto di San Pietro*, 9-10.

⁸⁰⁵ De Donato, *Carte di Santa Maria Val di Ponte*, I, 1-13.

⁸⁰⁶ Regg. Iacobilli Vite de santi III 303; *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 287. Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 2 (1988), Letter 44, 2; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 (1990), Letter 44, 238. See also Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 4 (1993), Letter 156, 75; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 6 (2005), Letter 156, 80.

more attention to the diocese of Perugia than to the many nearby dioceses outside Umbria in the Marches. This is not to say the immediate territory around Monte Preggio garnered more papal support than those areas around Fonte Avellana, but Rome did not have to negotiate nearly so aggressively in its attempts to acquire monastic dependents among Damian's daughter houses and Fonte Avellana's affiliated monasteries. Damian's attitude was very open to papal protection. Furthermore, Damian himself and later his disciples governed the nearest bishopric of Gubbio for most of the eleventh century, meaning the popes did not have to maneuver around a problematic bishop to extend their protection. Much to Damian's dismay, before the pontificate of Gregory VII the papacy generally made few overtures in the Marches towards unreformed bishops, but this corner of Fonte Avellana's territory above Perugia held Rome's attention. The Holy See, however, turned away from the area east of Fonte Avellana wherein the monasteries of Saint Victor in Chiuse, Saint Mary in the Apennines, and Saint Angelus infra Ostia reigned over vast expanses of land in the name of the Attoni. But the decision of lay and ecclesiastical elites and institutions to support reform involved more than a common ideology; it depended on military allegiances as well.

The final Damian foundation inside our quadrant, the monastery of Saint Gregory in Conca near Rimini, deviated entirely from the patterns followed by Fonte Avellana's congregation. Here the monks chose an approach to elite relations closer to the traditional model. The explanation for their behavior is simple: Saint Gregory's was not, in fact, a daughter house of Fonte Avellana. Peter Damian founded San Gregorio around 1060. He had already spent time near Rimini and held its bishop in high esteem.⁸⁰⁸ In his *Liber Gratissimus*, a treatise written in 1050 on the subject of simony, he called Humbert of Rimini "a most revered and upright bishop."⁸⁰⁹ Damian maintained a similar friendship with Humbert's successor, Opizo. The area around Rimini would have been ideal for a new monastic foundation given its pious prelates, but Damian had an additional incentive to found San Gregorio in the diocese. In 1050 he also began a relationship with a powerful family there, the Bennoni. Although no letters written to members of the Bennoni family survive, in 1050 when Benno di Vitaliano died Damian wrote an epitaph for him in elegiac verse, praising his virtues.⁸¹⁰

A decade later in 1061 Benno's wife, Ermengarda, endowed the monastery of Saint Gregory with a substantial donation. As a result the monks became quite wealthy. Ermengard had acquired the castle of Monte Rotondo in 1029 from Gisaltrude, wife of Fulcovinus, and subsequently bequeathed it to the monks of San Gregorio. The castle was located in the county of Urbino near the modern city of Sassocorvaro, and therefore of some distance from the monastery itself, or at least of more distance than that of Fonte Avellana to the majority of its holdings before 1072. Ermengarda's donation included not only the castle and its pertinences located in the *pievi* of Saint Sophia and Saint Mary in Arbor Simigni, respectively, but also the churches of Saint Felicity and Saint Angelus and another piece of property divided into forty *mansi*. The lands supported vineyards and various waterways as well as a mill, and on one side a

⁸⁰⁷ *Ann. Camald.*, vol. I, 287.

⁸⁰⁸ Damian's sermon LXI was delivered to the Bishop of Rimini. See "Sermo LXI in natale Domini sub persona Ariminensis episcopi" (*Sermones*, by Peter Damian, edited by G. Lucchesi [Turnholt, 1983], *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 57). See also D'Acunto, 2008, 123.

⁸⁰⁹ "...Ubertus Ariminensis reverentissimus videlicet et honestissimus presul..." (Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 1 [1983], Letter 40, 479; English translation in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 2 [1990], Letter 40, 187.

⁸¹⁰ M. Lokrantz, *L'opera poetica di S. Pier Damiani* (Stockholm, 1964), 73, n. 99; D'Acunto, 2008, 123.

public road bordered the castle's property.⁸¹¹ With this single donation, Saint Gregory's claimed an advantageous position in the regional economy.

The generous patronage of Ermengarda continued into the coming years. In 1064 for the redemption of her late husband's soul, she donated property located in the *fundus* of Valle, also called Siticiano, and in the *fundus* of Monte Farraci as well, all situated in the *pieve* of Saint Lawrence in Monte Apodiano. The monks received lands rich in agricultural potential, already cultivated and producing vineyards and orchards complete with irrigation canals and organized into *curtes*.⁸¹² Ermengarda made yet another substantial donation also in 1064 in the same area, that is in the *fondi* of Siticiano and Monte Ferraci in the *pieve* of Saint Lawrence in Monte Apodiano. Like the previous donation, the properties mentioned in the charter were once held by a certain Bellinus, whom Ermengarda described in the second donation of 1064 as her retainer ("fidelis meus").⁸¹³ The charter explicitly delineates the boundaries of Ermengarda's donation, the lands of which were located closer to the monastery in the county of Rimini, but it only vaguely describes the various pertinences as "terra culta."⁸¹⁴

Within a few years of its foundation, Saint Gregory's had already acquired a munificent patroness. The monastery's relationship with the local laity continued to assume a radically different character from that of Fonte Avellana. Also during this time, Saint Gregory's issued its first emphyteusis. In 1065 the abbot of the monastery, Bernard, granted the brothers Martin and Andrea, and Andrea's son John three *tornaturae*⁸¹⁵ of land in the *fundus* of Çudeorum located once again in the *pieve* of San Lawrence in Monte Apodiano.⁸¹⁶ Within a year of securing a vast patrimony, acquired in large part from Ermengarda, they had already ceded a part of it to three laypersons for the annual pension of six Venetian coins. In the same year, the monks made a second concession to the three men. In return for an annuity of one pork shoulder at Christmas and six Venetian coins, the abbot of Saint Gregory's ceded eight *tornaturae* of land in the *pieve* of San Lawrence in Monte Apodiano in the *fundus* of Iudeorum.⁸¹⁷

This was the final emphyteusis the monastery conceded, but the appearance of these grants amongst the charters of a daughter house of Fonte Avellana would appear unusual, as would the steady stream of patronage the monastery received. Ermengarda's son Peter continued in his mother's place to act as Saint Gregory's primary benefactor. In 1068 he and his wife, Erigunda, granted some lands to the three sons of Bellino, assumedly the family's dependent mentioned in the 1064 donation of Ermengarda, and the two sons of Bencio. The document cites an important proviso: Peter and Erigunda put aside a portion of the castle and the mountain on the aforesaid lands to be given to the monastery of Saint Gregory in Conca upon the deaths of the five men.⁸¹⁸ The next year the monastery accepted lands from a donor named Leto in the

⁸¹¹ *Le carte di San Gregorio in Conca*, vol. I, ed. Emiliano Bianchi (Ravenna: Edizioni di Girasole, 2009), doc. 4, 72.

⁸¹² "Predictas res, que fuit de predicto Bellino, sunt vineas suas domnicatas in fundo Siticiano et terra culta in fundo Monte Farraci, predictas res cum tegue et cum solamenptis suis, canalis, curtis, ortis, vineis..." (*Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 5, 74)

⁸¹³ "ipsa res que olim detinuit Bellino fidei meo ad iure mea in fundo Valle Siticiano..." (*Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 6, 76)

⁸¹⁴ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 6, 76.

⁸¹⁵ A *tornatura* was a measure of land used especially in Italy during the Middle Ages. See "Tornatura," 3, (par les Bénédictins de St. Maur, 1733-1736), dans Du Cange, *et al.*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort : L. Favre, 1883-1887, t. 8, col. 129)

⁸¹⁶ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 7, 77.

⁸¹⁷ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 8, 77.

⁸¹⁸ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 9, 78-79.

territory of Urbino situated in the *pieve* of Saint Cassian, and in the *fundus* of Madarella near the river Apusa. The lands supported orchards, waterways, and watermills.⁸¹⁹

Ermengarda's son Peter again made a donation in 1069 of numerous properties held in the territory of Rimini in memory of his father, Benno. Peter made a point to mention Peter Damian specifically in the donation as the recipient on behalf of the monastery, but never indicates a connection to Fonte Avellana. The grant bequeathed part of his family's private church of Saint John the Evangelist, and a palazzo along with houses, gardens, and *curtes*. Peter also offered additional *curtes* and *castri* in various *pievi* near Rimini on which stood houses, gardens, vineyards, orchards, woods, waterways and watermills, and cultivated and uncultivated land.⁸²⁰ This donation was as substantial, if not more so, than Ermengarda's first gift. In a relatively short time the monastery of Saint Gregory had become a house of some consequence economically. It owed its financial security entirely to the Bennoni.

Saint Gregory's received support from the bishop of Rimini as well. In May of 1070 Bishop Opizo granted the church of Saint Andrea the Apostle to the monks, located in the *fundus* of Casariola, together with a *mansus* of land. In the same document the bishop leased two additional *mansus* and a half *mansus* for five Venetian *denarii* each year to Peter, son of Benno and Ermengarda, and his heirs for seven years at the end of which time the lease was subject to renewal.⁸²¹ Thus with one motion the bishop reinforced his relationship both with the monastery and its primary patrons. On November 16th of that same year, Peter Damian placed the monastery of Saint Gregory and all its patrimony under the protection and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rimini, Opizo, and his successors, thereby removing the monastery permanently from the hands of its lay benefactors. Damian confirmed that the monastery's patrimony came largely from the Bennoni, stating that the family had conceded numerous properties ("*Petrus Bennonis cum genetrice sua pro animabus suis suorumque parentum concessit*"⁸²²) that would now be subject to Opizo's authority. The bishop also retained the right to confirm and consecrate Saint Gregory's abbot and to enter the monastery freely.⁸²³

On that same day the parties drafted a second charter to define specifically the rights and responsibilities of the bishop. The bishop swore to protect Saint Gregory's actively, and not to cause any damages. In particular, he promised not to usurp monastery's patrimony. Nor could the bishop elect the abbot, he could only consecrate him. The bishop could punish monks only for grave crimes, and could not impose more than twenty guests upon the monastery and not for more than one day. The consequence of violating the agreement was seven pounds (*librae*) of gold.⁸²⁴ Also on November 16, the bishop agreed in a third document to maintain his protection of Saint Gregory's provided the monks themselves adhered to the stipulations of the earlier agreement, and again he promised not to cause any damage or loss to the monks' property.⁸²⁵ In the fourth and final document dated November 16th, the bishop granted in perpetual emphyteusis various lands in the territory of Rimini to the abbot of Saint Gregory's, Ugano. Among the properties Opizo included a fourth part of the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Rimini

⁸¹⁹ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc. 10, 80-81.

⁸²⁰ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.11, 82-85.

⁸²¹ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.12, 86-87.

⁸²² *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.13, 88.

⁸²³ *Ibid.*, 88-90.

⁸²⁴ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.14, 92.

⁸²⁵ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.15, 93-95.

and its pertinences. Peter di Bennoni and his family had once held all these properties, among which were counted many other churches, in temporary *beneficium* from the church of Rimini.⁸²⁶

As discussed in Chapter 2, Peter Damian may have placed Saint Gregory's under Opzione's care because Peter di Bennoni had recently died leaving no heirs.⁸²⁷ Without the support of the Bennoni Saint Gregory's was left wide open to external threats. Damian had to replace the powerful family with an equally formidable protector, and the bishop presented an ideal substitute.⁸²⁸ Nicolangelo D'Acunto argues that this decision supports the notion that Saint Gregory's never belonged to Fonte Avellana's congregation. If it had been a daughter house Fonte Avellana could have guaranteed its protection, at least nominally. Instead the monastery enlisted the aid of a bishop.⁸²⁹

Every charter of Saint Gregory's reads contrary to Damian's plan for his congregation. The monks leased land to lay elites. They never proactively acquired even one piece of property but relied completely on patronage, primarily from one family. Furthermore, the monastery appears to have no connection whatsoever to Fonte Avellana. It did not surrender the annual duties other daughter monasteries paid. Peter di Bennoni named Peter Damian as the recipient and partial inspiration of his 1069 donation, but not as the titular head of Fonte Avellana. Damian himself never witnessed the document. In fact, his presence is not recorded in the charters at all until he hands Saint Gregory's over to the bishop of Rimini. Granted, Damian held sufficient control over the monastery that he made the ultimate decision as to its future, but his approach towards the management of Saint Gregory's in Conca seems relatively hands-off. He never dispatched one of his disciples to the monastery, nor did he communicate with any monks there. Saint Gregory's also never received any individual papal privileges during Damian's priorate.

The charter evidence indicates Damian left the monastery in the hands of its patrons. From Peter Damian's point of view, at best the actions of Saint Gregory's reflect an attempt to engage lay magnates more actively in spiritual life. In addition to donations, an emphyteusis grant could, as Paola Galetti puts it, transform "potential oppressors of the hermitage into defenders of its patrimony."⁸³⁰ Damian had always advocated lay cooperation in reform. At Fonte Avellana he negotiated with local lords of Frankish descent to create a spiritual safe zone around the hermitage, and his outreach to Matilda and Beatrice is another example of seeking relations with the lay authorities when the congregation needed what only they could offer – armed protection or the manning of fortifications, for example. Like Matilda and Beatrice, the patrons of Saint Gregory's demonstrated loyalty to the papacy. Of the sixteen charters dating from 1029 until 1070 all but six cite the dating clause using only the papal regnal years. Four of the six cite both the imperial and papal regnal years (the first two of which date before 1042), and the final two lack any reference. Though the Bennoni probably held imperial ties (Rimini

⁸²⁶ *Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.16, 95-99.

⁸²⁷ "... bone memorie Petrus Bennonis..." (*Le carte di San Gregorio*, doc.13, 89). Nicolangelo D'Acunto states that the only two surviving family members, Tebaldino and Bennoline, sons of Bennone di Vitaliano, disappear from the historical record in 1014 (D'Acunto, 2008, 138).

⁸²⁸ D'Acunto, 2008, 138.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁰ "... da possibili oppressori a difensori del patrimonio dell'eremo" (Paola Galetti, "Modelli gestionali e insediativi della proprietà monastica" in *Fonte Avellana nel secolo di Pier Damiani*. Atti del XXIX Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti, Fonte Avellana, 29-31 agosto 2007 [Verona: Il Segno di Gabrielli editori, 2008], 142).

was traditionally an imperial zone),⁸³¹ they expressed in their charters at the very least a neutral or even pro-papal stance.⁸³² The charters of the Attoni monasteries, on the other hand, primarily use imperial regnal years and repeatedly cite the use of Lombard law. But Damian unequivocally condemned emphyteusis grants between lay and ecclesiastical parties in a letter dated 1060, and by 1065 Saint Gregory's in Conca had already issued two. This activity undeniably runs contrary to Damian's comments on ecclesiastical vassalage.

When Damian finally did turn his focus to Saint Gregory's towards the end of his life, it was to secure the monastery's economic future. As part of that process, Damian was meticulous in contracting the agreements between the bishop of Rimini and the monks of Saint Gregory's, and property retention was of the utmost importance in those documents. Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that Damian did not count Saint Gregory's amongst Fonte Avellana's daughter houses. There is no mention of Fonte Avellana in the charters of Saint Gregory's; it operated independently of the congregation.

The answer as to why Fonte Avellana could not or would not accept Saint Gregory's into the congregation goes beyond the fact that the monastery lies some distance from Fonte Avellana.⁸³³ The particular political situation in Rimini limited complete autonomy at Saint Gregory's. Whereas Damian managed to wrest control of Gamogna and Acereta from the hands of the Guidi retainers, the monks at Saint Gregory's maintained a tenuous independence through cooperation with lay elites, which would not necessarily adversely affect the monastery's religiosity.⁸³⁴ Nonetheless, Saint Gregory's was a proprietary house of the Bennoni and as such would never enter the congregation of Fonte Avellana.

While the economic transactions Saint Gregory's in Conca are remarkably different, those of the hermitage of Saint Barnabas in Gamogna and of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Acereta during the eleventh century reflect Fonte Avellana's overall financial strategy. The two houses functioned as one economic unit until their formal separation in 1060. However, the hermitage and the monastery occasionally received donations jointly even after this date.⁸³⁵ The nearby monastery of Saint Reparata granted lands in emphyteusis for a sum of wine to the hermitage in 1062.⁸³⁶ The following year Peter, bishop of Faenza, leased in emphyteusis one half of the *pieve* of Saint Valentine including a portion of its lands and tithe, excepting a few designated areas, for the annuity of three Venetian *denarii*. The final clause of the lease states that in the event the hermitage is destroyed, the monastery of Acereta would claim rights to the property.⁸³⁷ Other than the original lands donated by the Guidi family to Peter Damian, the two communities received no lay donations during Damian's priorate. They also never ceded lands to lay elites. Their only acquisitions remained these two emphyteusis grants from ecclesiastical

⁸³¹ As D'Acunto notes, when Henry III issued his *De iuramentis clericorum* in Rimini on April 3rd, 1047, "It is difficult to imagine that Benno was not present next to the emperor on that occasion" ("Difficile immaginare che non fosse presente accanto all'imperatore in quella occasione Bennone" [2008, 124]).

⁸³² D'Acunto, 2008, 133.

⁸³³ Ibid., 139.

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ ASL, document 449, Acereta, July 20 1097. The abbot of San Reparata leased a piece of land including vineyards to the monastery of Acereta and the hermitage of Gamogna for the annuity of three sums of wine and twelve *soldi* Lucchesi.

⁸³⁶ ASL, document 234, Gamogna, Oct. 14, 1062.

⁸³⁷ *Carte*, doc.19, 49- 51.

parties. The first recorded lay donation is not until 1079, when two laymen made a charitable donation to Gamogna.⁸³⁸

Gamogna and Acereta were situated in the Mugello, near the border between the regions of Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna. The two houses were flanked by the monasteries of Saint Reparata to the north and Saint Benedict in Alpe to the south. Unlike Fonte Avellana's environs, this mountainous area was more isolated. The four houses of Gamogna, Acereta, Saint Reparata, and Saint Benedict formed a concentrated religious zone. Both the monasteries of Saint Benedict and Saint Reparata lie within only twenty kilometers of Acereta and Gamogna. Even though the Guidi counts were the most powerful landholders in the region with retainers in the Mugello, their proprietary monasteries rested in the Tuscan valley below and in Pistoia in particular.⁸³⁹

Saint Romuald reformed the monastery of Saint Benedict in 1012 and in that year Emperor Henry II granted possession of the monastery to the saint and confirmed its properties.⁸⁴⁰ The monastery's patrimony was widely dispersed over several localities and divided into single *mansi*. The imperial charter specifies those properties contained mills, but offers no additional information about land pertinences. The remaining documentation for Saint Benedict's dates to the final decades of the eleventh century after Damian's death, with the exception on one transaction for which the precise date during that century is unknown. The charter identifies the abbot of Saint Benedict's as Ugo,⁸⁴¹ indicating this charter most likely predates at least 1084 when the abbot was John. John held the office until 1104 but the date he assumed the abbacy is unknown.⁸⁴² Assuming Ugo governed Saint Benedict's during the period of Damian's priorate, his one recorded act as abbot is significant. The abbot granted a lay couple land in emphyteusis for a period of forty years, in exchange for the annual pension of an amount of bread and grain and fifteen Lucchesi *soldi* at the time of renewal.⁸⁴³ Despite the dearth of evidence, the charters that remain show Saint Benedict's conducted itself in a manner very different from that of Gamogna and Acereta. Its properties were numerous and divided into smaller scattered parcels, an inevitable consequence of accepting gifts donated by a petty aristocracy that habitually subdivided its land base. Saint Benedict's also leased church property to lay elites. Damian shunned these two practices, and Gamogna and Acereta followed suit.

The earliest documentation of the other nearby monastery, Saint Reparata, dates to 1025 and records a dispute settlement with Count Guido II.⁸⁴⁴ The monastery then received its first donation in 1052 from two men, Peter and his son Martin.⁸⁴⁵ The indiction cites not only the papal regnal year but also the imperial regnal year, and the list of witnesses present includes

⁸³⁸ ASL, document 243, Gamogna, 1079.

⁸³⁹ See Maurilio Adriandi, "Gli arredi," chapter 2 in *La Badia Fiorentina* (Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1982), 112; also, R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 1956-65, I, pp. 230-231, and 1134. On the Guidi counts in general, see Natale Rauty, *Documenti per la Storia dei Conti Guidi in Toscana, le Origini e i primi secoli 887-1164*, *Depurazione di Storia Patria per la Toscana*, Documenti di Storia Italiana, serie II, vol. X (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki editore, 2003).

⁸⁴⁰ ASL, document 247, San Benedetto in Alpe, December 31, 1012. A fifteen-century copy is also available in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze under Diplomatico, Ripoli, S. Bartolomeo (badia vallombrosana), 00000247.

⁸⁴¹ ASL, document 242, San Benedetto in Alpe, c. eleventh century.

⁸⁴² The final charter citing Giovanni as abbot dates to 1103 (ASL, document 203, San Benedetto in Alpe, February 25, 1103). The following year the monastery had a new abbot (ASL, document 137, San Benedetto in Alpe, January 19, 1104).

⁸⁴³ ASL, document 242.

⁸⁴⁴ ASF 1025 October 6 (Diplomatico, Ripoli, S. Bartolomeo [badia vallombrosana] 00000373).

⁸⁴⁵ ASF 1052 October 14 (Diplomatico, Ripoli, S. Bartolomeo [badia vallombrosana] 00000831).

several “*boni homines*.” In the charter, the two men relinquished various properties though the document does not clarify their pertinences. Saint Reparata’s did not receive a second donation until 1070 when Ebulo son of Bernardo, again in the presence of many *boni homines*, granted a piece of land for which the charter describes borders but none of the property’s attributes, other than the fact a river ran along the border of one side.⁸⁴⁶ In 1072 Saint Reparata’s leased half a *mansus* of land in a locality called Riocavo to Wido son of Corbolo.⁸⁴⁷ The monastery fixed the lease duration at the common period of twenty-nine years, with the option of renewal. The document also explains that Saint Reparata’s had previously leased another piece of land to Wido’s father, Corbolo.

The monastery of Saint Reparata participated in the same activities of its contemporary nearby monastery of Saint Benedict. In light of the surrounding economic life, the practices of Gamogna and Acereta emerge as remarkably different, but in keeping with the patterns established by their congregation. The early economic behaviors of the monasteries discussed above, in the Marches and into Tuscany and Umbria, anticipated the coming schism that erupted after Peter Damian’s death. When Gregory VII demanded loyalty in the face of the imperially elected anti-pope Clement III, a formal break occurred. But the division on the ground had already begun decades before in northeastern Italy, as we can see in the divergence of attitudes toward land tenure. The nature of patronage defined proprietary and even relatively autonomous houses. The larger entity funding the monastic venture had great influence over the foundation’s loyalties. Indeed later charters of proprietary monasteries in this region cite Clement III in the dating clause. Even a 1089 charter belonging to Saint Benedict’s in Alpe dates the transaction to the regnal year of the anti-pope.⁸⁴⁸ Conversely, Fonte Avellana, its congregation, and its affiliates, sided with Rome.

Reformers espoused the protection of ecclesiastical patrimony, and Fonte Avellana’s congregation put this rhetoric into practice. Gradually, Damian and other reformers clarified the difference between reformed and unreformed not only through lofty polemic, but on the ground. For Damian the internal administration of the congregation’s property was also critical. His congregation shared property, exploited it efficiently, and acquired it proactively in part to secure land consolidation.

Damian’s initiatives at Fonte Avellana were designed to secure the hermitage’s independence, and the result was Fonte Avellana’s incorporation into the local political structure. In the environs of Fonte Avellana, Damian avoided the *comites Romani*, allies to the emperor and notorious opponents of reform, and engaged their underlings, the lesser Frankish aristocracy, to resolve conflicts. Damian operated as locally as possible. He created a monastic network that imitated aristocratic political networks. He formed a congregation of daughter houses to support one another and implemented an economic strategy that he closely regulated regardless of his frequent absences. But after his death, Fonte Avellana adopted a wider economic purview and their ambitions changed the political situation at the motherhouse dramatically.

⁸⁴⁶ ASF 1070 December 2 (Diplomatico, Ripoli, S. Bartolomeo [badia vallombrosana] 00001299).

⁸⁴⁷ ASF 1072 March 6 (Diplomatico, Ripoli, S. Bartolomeo [badia vallombrosana] 00001343).

⁸⁴⁸ ASL, document 136, San Benedetto in Alpe, January 29, 1089.

Mapping a Monastic Network

I. Reform “on the ground”

The congregation of Fonte Avellana occupied significant territory in the Italian Marches and Umbria and within that space its monasteries and hermitages created a distinct monastic identity focused on mutual charity and a concomitant sense of community, based on the sharing of resources, people, and ideas. In the fraternal network, various types of ties and varying strengths of affiliation existed; horizontal ties linked individual houses to each other and to the motherhouse, and vertical ties connected the monasteries and hermitages to Peter Damian himself. Reform was transmitted via these ties, since reform ideas sprang not only from Damian’s polemic, but also from conversations between the prior and his disciples. Reform was subsequently disseminated through personal relationships.

The emphasis on community defined these relationships from top to bottom, from motherhouse to daughter house, to the interactions between symbiotic institutions (Gamogna and Acereta, Fonte Avellana and Camporeggiano), to relations within individual houses. Benedictine principles dictated practices rooted in a deep sense of community within the monastery, but the hermits of the congregation observed additional provisions, established by Damian, intended to cultivate *fraternal caritas* among the brothers despite their solitary and scattered living arrangements on site. *Fraterna caritas* represented the primary virtue above all others for the brothers, and indeed Damian regarded the idea of mutual charity as the fundamental principle in uniting Gamogna to Acereta, Camporeggiano to Fonte Avellana, and each house in the congregation to one another. The idea was buoyed by practices such as the sharing of resources, and the care of sick hermits within monasteries.

The development and spread of eleventh-century reform remains difficult to trace, usually because grassroots movements rising in response to contemporary problems often leave little to no documentation of their presence. As a result, local reform movements may appear disparate and disorganized, and more importantly, disconnected from wider reform endeavors or even at odds with larger movements. But the rich documentation of Fonte Avellana affords us a unique opportunity to track the reform of perceived ecclesiastical abuses on the ground. Damian’s built his ecclesiology on the idea of a Christian community in which both lay people and ecclesiastics participated and cooperated in reform. He reached out to both through his letters and visitations and the personal relationships he created helped to realize a wide-scale program of ideas on the ground. Damian sought not merely connections, but friendships, and he formed two communication networks: the fraternal network of the congregation, and his wider personal network including regional monasteries and bishops, popes and cardinals, lay magnates, and the German imperial family. His correspondence changes, however, dramatically after his elevation to the cardinalate in 1057, a position that allowed Damian to extend his personal network over the Alps. Also, the monastery of Montecassino became Damian’s main reform ally apart from Rome during this later period of his life, but he remained ever fixated on his congregation and the reform of the Italian Marches.

Peter Damian’s letters provide ample information on reform practices within the monasteries and hermitages under Fonte Avellana. His disciples played an important role in the preservation and organization of his letters. Due to the diligence of monastic administrators, we

have also extensive records of property transactions at Fonte Avellana, and many additional charters from the hermitage of Gamogna, the monastery of Acereta, and the monastery of Camporeggiano. These documents reveal the economic impact of reform ideals, the tangible effects of reform polemic. Fonte Avellana represents an unique case, because its head authored many important treatises on reform, its ideology and practice, which he attempted to put into practice within the congregation.

While scholarship has long recognized the primary economic mission of eleventh-century Church reform as the recovery of ecclesiastical property, the case study of Fonte Avellana reveals that beyond the protection of Church patrimonies, the *internal* administration and organization of landed property was also a priority. Peter Damian and other reformers such as Romuald developed distinct economic strategies to support new forms of religious life. Reform influenced economic relationships, and it also changed how religious institutions *conceived* of property. This study brings the economics of reform to the forefront and shows that ideas about reform, pragmatic and ideological, affected land management.

We should also consider the behavior of lay elites as a reaction to these new systems of land tenure. In so doing, we avoid simply repeating the allegations of reformers. This line of inquiry reveals the dialectic between local political economies and the wider Church reform movement. Reformers like Damian would describe the behavior of elites like the Guidi counts as a belligerent and aggressive attempt to usurp Church property. These laypersons, however, may have considered their appropriation of ecclesiastical resources an acceptable sharing of property held in common. Among the more dramatic changes following the Gregorian reform movement was the formal delineation of societal boundaries between cleric and layman. The Church imposed a new social order in which priests could no longer marry and ecclesiastical property could not be passed on to heirs; in short, reformers drew a clear line between the laity and the clergy. Laypersons, reluctant to accept these changes, clung to the old order in which there was no distinction between ecclesiastical and lay property. Therefore it follows that the division of resources, according to this perception, should have continued as well.

The congregation functioned as a network of institutions and individuals through which ideas about reform traveled. These ideas concerned the formation of an ideal Christian society in and around the hermitages and monasteries of the congregation, and the execution of this plan involved the reform of specific economic practices. Material wealth was fundamental to the support of religious institutions in the Middle Ages, and the problems these monasteries and cathedral chapters faced mirror what we might find in a modern-day non-profit organization, or in a hospital, or even in a university. In the eleventh century, before the rise of a cash economy, wealth meant landed property. Religious institutions were important economic contributors, and control of landed property was the basis of political authority as well. In the context of a moment of tremendous change, Fonte Avellana implemented two unique economic practices designed to make the financial situation of all houses even more secure. First, the brothers sought to consolidate property; second, they did not lease land to lay elites nor did they rely heavily on charitable donations. The brothers required financial security and independence to pursue their vocation, which made the retention of their resources paramount. For this reason, Damian viewed lay control of Church property as a threat to monastic life. During this period, many clerics and monks began to understand ecclesiastical property as distinct from lay property, which was not previously the case; Church property was indiscriminately shared, sold, divided, and inherited as any other parcel of land. In the eleventh century, church authorities take issue with the practice and fight tradition. Therefore land has been primary in this study, both in terms

of new ideological conceptions of land and land as an economic resource.

The complexities of reform are such that one cannot formulate a complete picture by studying its component parts.⁸⁴⁹ The economics of reform is an area of study that could reconcile the classic narrative of papal legislation and authority with current scholarship focused on the initiatives of local movements. Rather than delineate between two levels of reform, this dissertation has also considered the *dialectic* between local and papal reform during the eleventh century. The result is a more dynamic and inclusive portrait of how and why ecclesiastical reform convulsed European society at the end of the eleventh century. This new narrative of reform integrates spiritual changes with the broader social and political transformations of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The hermits of Fonte Avellana and its daughter houses were active participants in a growing reform movement, and not merely passive examples of ascetic perfection. To date, historians have struggled to define adequately the significance underlying the appearance of numerous hermit communities in Italy during the early eleventh century. Most have placed the rise of the hermits within the context of monastic reform as a precursor to widespread Church reform. Gerd Tellenbach associated hermits with monastic reform, and also emphasized the individualism inherent in monastic and eremitic life. Tellenbach regarded the evolution of monasticism as part of the Church's return to its "primitive" state, but ultimately considered that evolution separate from widespread reform activities. He also described eremitism as contrary to Church doctrine, insofar as hermits advocated "pure spirituality" as the only means to salvation.⁸⁵⁰ In sum, Tellenbach argued that within the medieval Church there existed two hierarchies, the monastic and the priestly, with two different viewpoints on religious roles; monks withdrew from the world and priests sought to convert it. Therefore, because monastic reform and the appearance of hermits did not exploit relations with kings, princes, and bishops for political gain, it did not involve a general reform of the church.

Tellenbach's interpretation does not apply to Fonte Avellana. Peter Damian was not a conventional hermit. He was a leading reformer and a member of the papal entourage. The activities of his hermits were intimately tied to his reform agenda, and therefore Fonte Avellana represents an anomaly in terms of the history of hermitages. In addition, the story of Fonte Avellana offers a solution to the problem of reform origins because it presents the Italian perspective. As John Howe states, "Traditional Gregorian historiography is too transalpine. Fliche was French; Tellenbach German."⁸⁵¹ Essentially, French and German scholars have nationalistic tendencies, finding reform origins in their respective homelands. On this point Howe adds, "One would never guess that popular enthusiasm for reform apparently originated in Italy or that during most of the Gregorian period, from 1049-1130, the Church was ruled by Italian popes whose cardinals were predominantly Italian monks."⁸⁵² This enthusiasm assumed varying manifestations; the congregation of Fonte Avellana was one.

⁸⁴⁹ I borrow this notion from complexity theory, which investigates complex social systems. For a good overview see the editorial by D. O'Sullivan, S. M. Manson, J. P. Messina, T.W. Crawford, "Space, Place, and Complexity Science," in *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006): 611-617.

⁸⁵⁰ Tellenbach, 1940, 43.

⁸⁵¹ Howe, 1997, xvi.

⁸⁵² Howe, 1997, xvii.

II. Fonte Avellana post-1072

The epilogue to this narrative of Peter Damian and Fonte Avellana would have disappointed the prior, during whose lifetime the hermits maintained limited interactions with local elites. However, after Damian's death, the result of his own collaboration with lay powers ushered in a new political era in which the rate of economic transactions with the aristocracy increased at the hermitage. Peter Damian died in February of 1072.⁸⁵³ In July of that same year, Countess Beatrice and her daughter Matilda of Canossa headed an assembly gathered to confirm Fonte Avellana's acquisitions. The assembly included several judges, bishops, and counts, as well as the hermitage's representative (*advocatus*) John of Lodi. Among the judges, Uberto of the Ughi-Umberti was present. The assembly met in the city of Perugia, in the region of Umbria and some distance from the hermitage, but near the daughter house at Monte Preggio. The reason for the location was likely connected to the two figures presiding over the case. Beatrice and Matilda of Canossa frequently governed judicial proceedings in Tuscany during the 1060s and 1070s, showing their justice was continually sought in this region that borders Umbria.⁸⁵⁴ Damian had a long-standing relationship with the Duke Godfrey of Tuscany and his wife Beatrice,⁸⁵⁵ and the hermits used this connection to their advantage.

The *placitum* confirms churches and their pertinences, including tithes, held by Fonte Avellana. Beatrice and Matilda issued a ban on behalf of the hermitage and its representative prohibiting seizure of their property under penalty of two thousand gold *bisancii*.⁸⁵⁶ In previous decades, nobles made similar oaths not to seize property or to harass the brothers, but in this case, lay officials (Beatrice and Matilda) assumed control of the agreement. The hermits were no longer directly responsible for their own welfare. Rather, they relied on the countesses' assistance. On the other hand, the hermits likely turned to Beatrice and Matilda because of their prominent role in the Church reform movement. Since the *placitum* took place so soon after Damian's death, possibly the hermits needed to fill the void left by their former prior with powerful laypersons connected to Church reform and the papacy. This document could represent a desire to continue Damian's ideals, rather than implying that the hermits relinquished control of their interests to lay authorities. However, additional evidence in the cartularies proves that shortly after 1072 the hermits made a definitive break from the practices encouraged by Peter Damian.

After 1072, the rate of charitable donations rises rapidly.⁸⁵⁷ Also after this date, the hermits began both to trade and lease property to lay elites, and they purchased property outside the immediate vicinity of the hermitage. The reasons for these shifts in policy were related to the changing relationship between the hermits and the local aristocracy, and the presence of a growing economy. Prior to 1072, Fonte Avellana received four donations directly to the hermitage.⁸⁵⁸ Between 1072 and 1100, Fonte Avellana received twenty-nine donations.⁸⁵⁹ No

⁸⁵³ As cited above, see John Howe (2010) on Damian's death date.

⁸⁵⁴ Chris Wickham, *Courts and Conflicts in Twelfth-Century Tuscany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 30-31. Although Wickham's focus is twelfth-century Tuscany, he discusses briefly the role of Beatrice and Matilda in judicial proceedings during the late eleventh century.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. Reindel, *Briefe*, vol. 3 (1989), Letter 141; English translation available in Blum, *Letters*, vol. 5 (2004), Letter 141.

⁸⁵⁶ *Carte*, doc. 34, 88-90.

⁸⁵⁷ Although we have significantly less documentation, this pattern appears at Gamogna as well.

⁸⁵⁸ *Carte*, charters 10, 11, 16, and 23.

single donor or family makes a donation more than once, except members of the Ughi-Umberti family who made nine of the twenty-nine donations.⁸⁶⁰ This family had not previously made a single donation to the hermitage. The relationship between the family and the hermits evolved in the late eleventh century as the brothers adopted a new strategy toward their neighbors.

Properties were repeatedly exchanged between Fonte Avellana and local landholders after 1072. Whereas Fonte Avellana purchased only one lay property during Damian's priorate,⁸⁶¹ after his death until the end of the eleventh century the hermits made thirteen purchases;⁸⁶² members of the Ughi-Umberti clan were involved in six of these purchases.⁸⁶³ Aside from the Ughi-Umberti, there are no other families or individuals who sell land to Fonte Avellana more than once. The hermits also ceded property to the Ughi-Umberti, but not through outright purchase.

Exchanges of property also increased ties with lay people. The brothers traded property twice before 1100, first in 1092 and again in 1093.⁸⁶⁴ In 1092, Ubaldus and Fulco of the Ughi-Umberti traded goods held in Cagli, including a *fundus* with vineyards, olive groves, and fruit orchards, in exchange for comparable properties the monks held near Monte San Lorenzo.⁸⁶⁵ In 1093 the hermits made a similar arrangement with Goziano and his wife Porpora.⁸⁶⁶ In addition to property exchanges, Fonte Avellana leased property in 1084 and 1099 to Adam and John, sons of Leto of Fuscarino, and Peter, son of Martin de Bucco, respectively.⁸⁶⁷ None of these men were part of a recognized kin group. Both properties were situated in Cagli, thus they hermits did not permit the lease to avoid managing distant properties.

The hermits had become more open to property exchange with lay elites, and they traded and purchased property with the Ughi-Umberti more often than with any other kin group. Consequently, this family became Fonte Avellana's primary donor. The fact that donations increased, along with purchases, leases, and land exchanges, shows the hermits interacted with the aristocracy more often than they had before 1072. The Ughi-Umberti family was privileged in land purchases, which could be a result of favorable relations, or because this family held strategic properties. The hermits continued a policy of consolidation around Cagli, Gubbio, and Luceoli, and all lands purchased from the Ughi-Umberti were situated in these areas. The hermits consistently purchased property from this family. As a result, interactions between the two parties generated donations. The increase in various property exchanges indicates Fonte Avellana was becoming further integrated into the existing structure of patrons and beneficiaries.

The hermits' economic outlook had changed. They were generally more aggressive in property acquisition after 1072. The brothers purchased land on a wider scale than before, and they purchased property that would generate the most income. In the traditions established under Peter Damian, the hermitage continued to try to consolidate various *fundi* from the disparate donated properties.⁸⁶⁸ Damian had unified Fonte Avellana's lands and discouraged acquisitions

⁸⁵⁹ *Carte*, charters 36, 37, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 77, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90.

⁸⁶⁰ *Carte*, charters 36, 42, 48, 53, 54, 64, 67, 83, 85.

⁸⁶¹ *Carte*, charter 27.

⁸⁶² *Carte*, charters 38, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61, 65, 70, 72, 75, 82.

⁸⁶³ *Carte*, charters 42, 43, 47, 52, 59, and 72.

⁸⁶⁴ *Carte*, documents 79 and 80. The date on charter 80 could be either 1078 or 1093 (*Carte*, doc. 80, 187).

⁸⁶⁵ "Et recepimus ca(m)bio pro nos et Paganello germano nostro in Monte Sancto Laur(rentio) duo tanta ab vestra iure sic(ut) inter nos bene co(m)placuit" (*Carte*, doc. 79, 185-186)

⁸⁶⁶ Neither individual cannot be linked to any known regional family (*Carte*, doc. 80, 187-188).

⁸⁶⁷ *Carte*, documents 60 and 88.

⁸⁶⁸ Baronio, 194

in more distant territories because he did not want the brothers to become entangled in property management. But in the late eleventh century, the hermits bought property in Senigallia,⁸⁶⁹ because of its superior farmland,⁸⁷⁰ and this high-quality soil meant greater yields. In 1091, the hermits bought eight *moggi* of land in Senigallia for three *librae* of *denarii* adjoining their existing property in the area.⁸⁷¹ They purchased land in Senigallia again in 1094. The hermits received four *moggi* of land for twenty *solidi*.⁸⁷²

The brothers' desire to increase production indicates a growing economy. The cartularies contain clues about the state of the local market. First, in the final quarter of the century cash was continually exchanged among various parties, which demonstrates the rising importance of liquid capital. Second, artisans appear in the cartularies after 1072; once in 1078, and again in 1091. In 1078, the carpenter (*faber*) Baruntius signed as a witness to a donation.⁸⁷³ Similarly, in 1091, Martinus "*faber*" witnessed a bill of sale.⁸⁷⁴ The presence of these individuals signals an emerging middle class connected to urban development.⁸⁷⁵ The increase in purchases and donations also denotes favorable economic development in the region during the late eleventh century, and the hermits were adjusting their strategies accordingly.

The political and economic policies of Fonte Avellana shifted over time, as did their role in the Church reform movement. After Peter Damian's death his legacy had little effect on economic relations between the lay aristocracy and the hermitage. The hermits entered into a relationship of interdependency with the aristocracy. They turned to lay powers for protection and aristocrats continued to provide patronage to the hermitage. These relations between Fonte Avellana and the aristocracy may appear unusual within the context of the increasingly polarized and violent development of the reform movement. The movement reached its apex in the Investiture Conflict. The controversy polarized the Marches dividing bishops and aristocrats on the side of either Pope Gregory VII or Emperor Henry IV. The hermits supported the pope, who had taken them under the protection of the Holy See. Gregory VII issued a papal privilege to Fonte Avellana in 1076 "for the fear of God and for the love of our dearest son Peter Damian, cardinal of the Roman Church,"⁸⁷⁶ granting papal protection to the hermitage as well as immunities. He issued a similar privilege four years later, granting immunities and confirming their acquisitions.⁸⁷⁷ Gregory would also have benefited from his ties to Fonte Avellana, a hermitage located in a pro-Imperial region, because he could assert papal presence through this hermitage and its dependents.⁸⁷⁸

Fonte Avellana's papal connections and larger political problems did not adversely affect relations with local lords. Throughout Gregory VII's pontificate (1073-1085), the hermitage prospered with the help of lay donors, because these relationships were localized. In 1080 this region, already divided by the ongoing Investiture Conflict, was hit with another crisis. In response to his renewed excommunication by Gregory VII, Henry IV nominated the Archbishop

⁸⁶⁹ *Carte*, documents 75 and 82.

⁸⁷⁰ D'Amico, 79.

⁸⁷¹ "...a tercio latere vestra iura..." (*Carte*, doc. 75, 176-177).

⁸⁷² *Carte*, doc. 82, 191-192.

⁸⁷³ *Carte*, doc. , 104.

⁸⁷⁴ *Carte*, doc. 75, 177.

⁸⁷⁵ Cf. Spalla, 214-215.

⁸⁷⁶ "...solo Dei timore atque karissimi filii nostril do(m)ni Petri Damiani huius Romane Ecclesie cardinalis amore » (*Carte*, doc. 39, 101)

⁸⁷⁷ *Carte*, doc., 125-127.

⁸⁷⁸ Giampaolini, 1987, 298; Giampaolini, 1997, 90.

of Ravenna, Guibert, as anti-pope. Guibert took the name Clement III and consequently Gregory's position in Italy became complicated.⁸⁷⁹ Bishops and lay authorities sided with either Gregory or Clement according to their exiting loyalties, thus many imperial supporters rallied around the new pope. In the cartularies, imperialists indicated their allegiance in dating clauses. Prior to the 1080s, most charters cite pontifical reigns along with the indiction. After the 1080s, Henry the Emperor begins to appear alone or with Gregory VII. Starting in 1084, Henry increasingly stands alone in the clause and in 1085 Clement III is first mentioned.⁸⁸⁰ After 1085 until the end of the century Henry is named or Henry and Clement are named together, or there is no name at all. The donors' loyalty to the Emperor, recorded in the aforementioned dating clauses, did not prevent them from assisting the hermitage; donations continued to increase from 1085 to 1100.

The aristocracy not only supplied the hermitage with land grants, they also provided protection. A *placitum* issued in 1094 recorded a dispute between Fonte Avellana and John Muto and Welf di Bucco de Mainardo. Bernoldus, a count, presided over the case. Bernoldus had an additional title: *missus domno Wernerius dux et marchio* (retainer of the Imperial Duke and Marquis Wernerius of Ancona and Spoleto).⁸⁸¹ The witness list was impressive: a judge, Grimaldo, two men learned in law (*legidociti*), Rustico and Stephanus of Ancona, as well as various other counts, viscounts, and one abbot. These men counted themselves among those loyal to Duke Wernerius. In the late eleventh century, Wernerius gathered numerous supporters from the Attoni-Alberici and Gislieri families and their followers.⁸⁸² Although these men professed fidelity to Henry IV, they secured Fonte Avellana's interests in 1094. The two defendants (*adversarii*), John Muto and Welf, had either unlawfully seized or occupied lands held by Fonte Avellana. Atto de Gozo, the hermitage's *advocatus*, claimed that a priest named Martinus de Masaro donated the properties to Fonte Avellana and therefore the monks held the lands by right. Atto requested that Bernoldus right the situation. Three days later, Atto again pleaded the case, demanding that Bernoldus "grant law and justice to *Sancta Crux* [Fonte Avellana]."⁸⁸³ At that point, count Bernoldus decreed that the lands lawfully belonged to Fonte Avellana. The count issued a ban (*bannum*) lest anyone violate his judgment. The penalty for breaking the agreement was a cash fine, half of which would go to the hermitage, and half to "the judge himself."⁸⁸⁴ The hermits had relied on Beatrice in 1072, and they turned to Wernerius' supporters in 1094. Moreover, their *advocatus* Atto was a member of the Gozoni family and not a cleric. In the 1072 *placitum*, John of Lido was Fonte Avellana's *advocatus*, as well as a hermit. He later became prior and wrote Peter Damian's biography before his election as bishop of Gubbio in 1105. In 1094, the hermits turned to a lay advocate as well as a lay court. This decision paid off in the end; Atto successfully presented the case and instead of exploiting this opportunity to deprive the hermits of their property, Bernoldus protected the rights of Fonte Avellana.

The schism in the Church created by Guibert's papal nomination did not impact Fonte Avellana politically or economically. Likewise, the hermitage's papal associations did not discourage the aristocracy and the Ughi-Umberti in particular from donating land and goods to

⁸⁷⁹ Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

⁸⁸⁰ *Carte*, doc. 71.

⁸⁸¹ *Carte*, doc. 81, 189.

⁸⁸² Giampaolini, 1987, 300-302.

⁸⁸³ "Facite lege et iusticia ad Sancta Crux" (*Carte*, doc. 81, 190)

⁸⁸⁴ "Ad ipso iudice" (*ibid.*). The exact amount of the fine has been lost, but it was a certain amount of "the best gold pounds" (*auri optimi libri*).

Fonte Avellana. Subsequently, the hermits sought to unify lands obtained through donations in the tradition of Peter Damian's policies. But, they rejected his restrictions on distant land acquisitions. After 1072, the hermits also interacted with the laity on a more regular basis, and ceded properties to the aristocracy with land leases. These changes in policy suggest that Damian's influence over the community ended shortly after his death, though this study has argued that his disciples did not uniformly observe his guidelines even during his priorship. A growing economy was partially responsible for the hermits' desire to increase production with the purchase of more arable land in Senigallia. Nevertheless, widespread economic prosperity cannot fully account for the hermits' activities. The two *placita* of 1072 and 1094 indicate Fonte Avellana's desire to cooperate more often with powerful lay protectors.

Damian's initiatives at Fonte Avellana were designed to secure the hermitage's independence. Through innovative land management based in part on reform ideals, Damian created a self-sufficient patrimony, free from lay interference. However, Damian's economic strategies resulted in Fonte Avellana's incorporation into the local political structure. In order to set the hermitage apart from lay society, Damian imitated aristocratic political networks. He formed a congregation of daughter houses to support one another, with Fonte Avellana at the head. Furthermore, Damian's role in the reform movement strengthened the hermitage's political status. Damian had the backing of the pope, as well as prominent lay authorities backing the papacy. After his death, the situation changed dramatically. Fonte Avellana's economic interests became ever more entwined with those of the regional aristocracy.

Why did the hermits' focus rather suddenly shift to exploiting their patrimony so intensively, and why did they turn to lay magnates to secure that patrimony? Why did the Investiture Conflict not affect Fonte Avellana's economic success, even though it divided the region? The hermitage benefited from relations with lay persons during and after the conflict, which was unusual considering Fonte Avellana's patrons were imperial supporters. The local aristocracy did not allow their imperial ties to interfere in their relations with Fonte Avellana, which offers an interesting conclusion. Widespread political strife did not affect major change at the local level, at least not in Fonte Avellana's case. The hermitage also seemed unconcerned with Church politics (and Peter Damian's approaches to land tenure) after 1072. Perhaps economic conditions forced the hermits to abandon Damian's prescribed practices, which had become impractical in an expanding rural economy. Another possible explanation is that Damian's economic plan was so successful that the hermits reaped the benefits and relied on their existing resources to expand the patrimony further. As a consequence for their actions, the hermits surrendered their independence from lay patronage and support and Fonte Avellana's autonomy did not survive Peter Damian.

Appendix

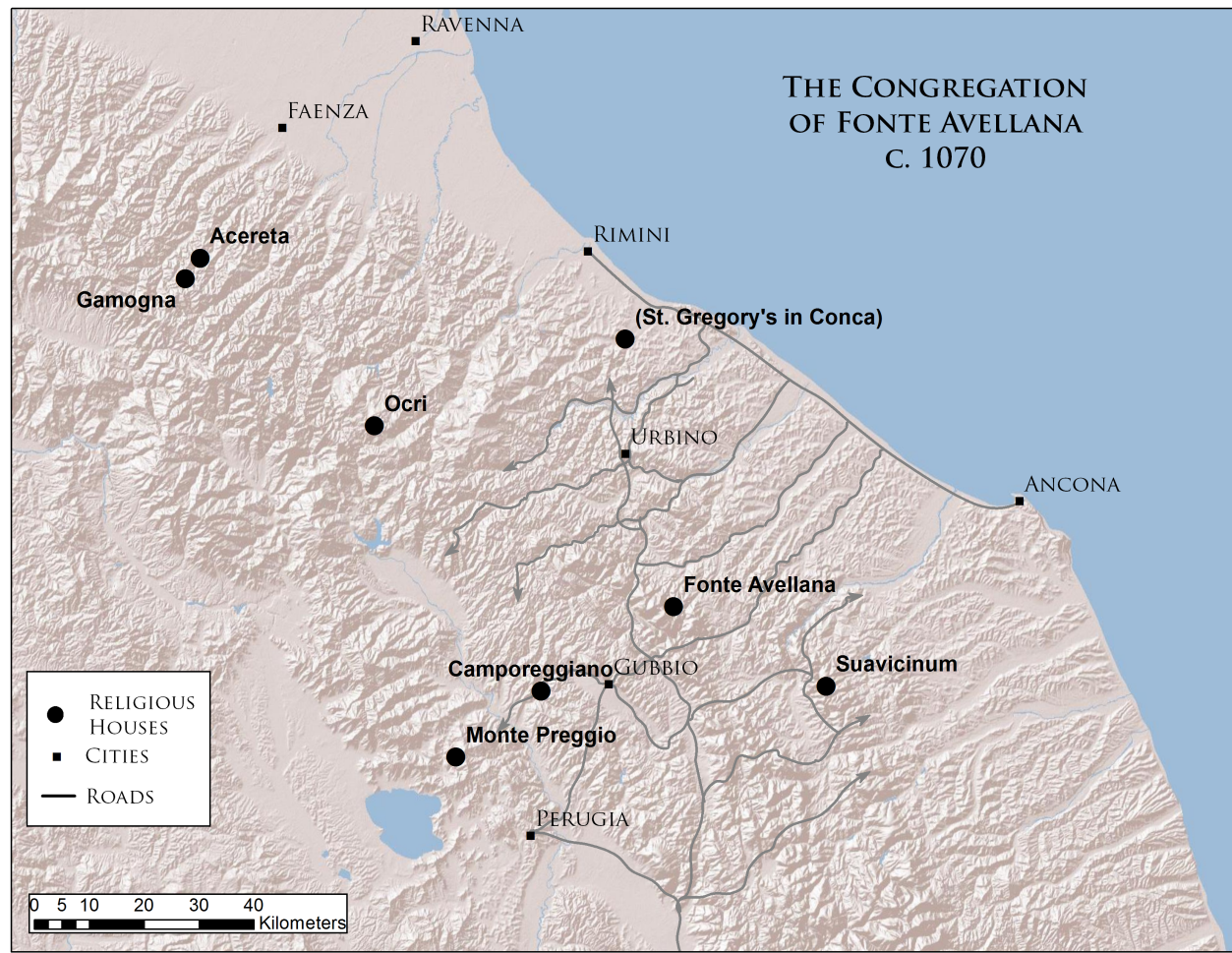


Figure 1: The congregation of Fonte Avellana c. 1070.

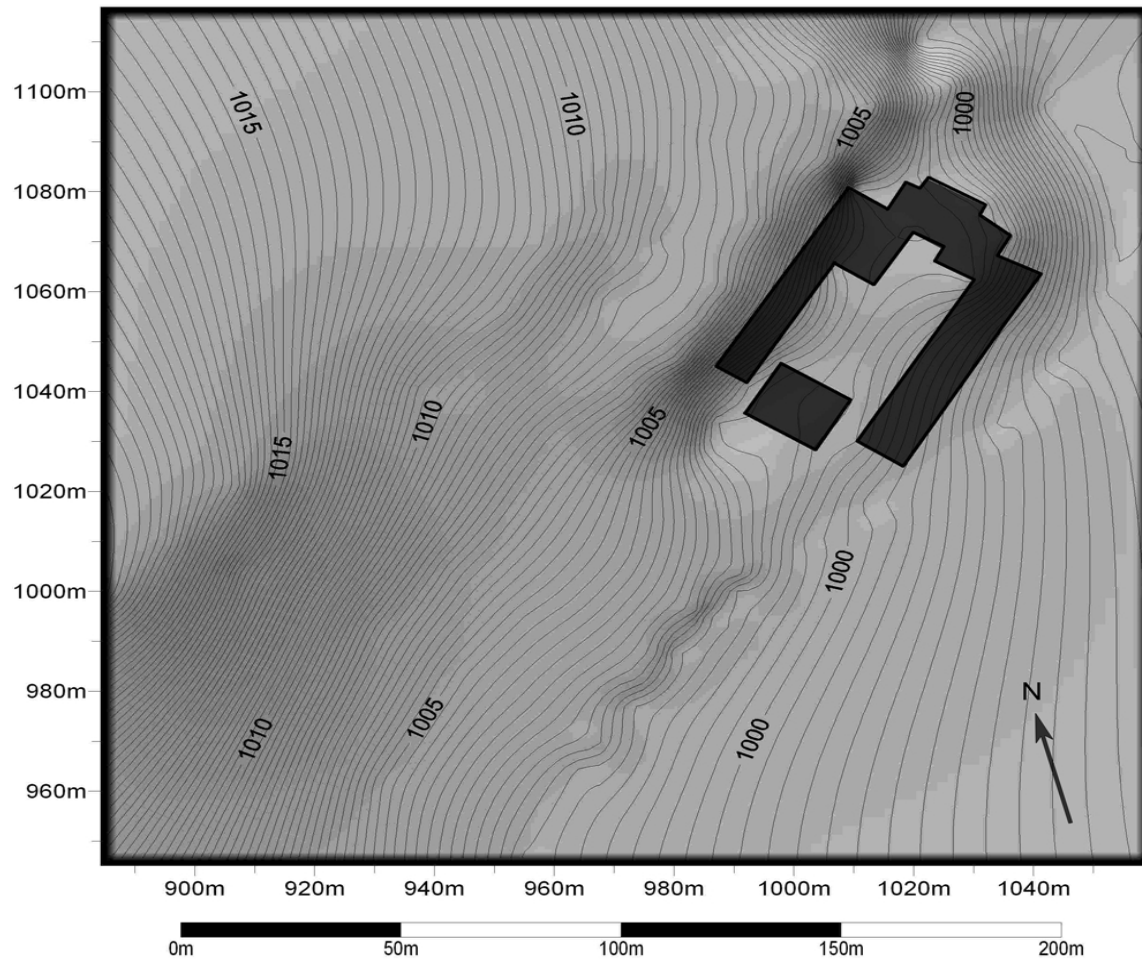


Figure 2: Floorplan of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Acereta.

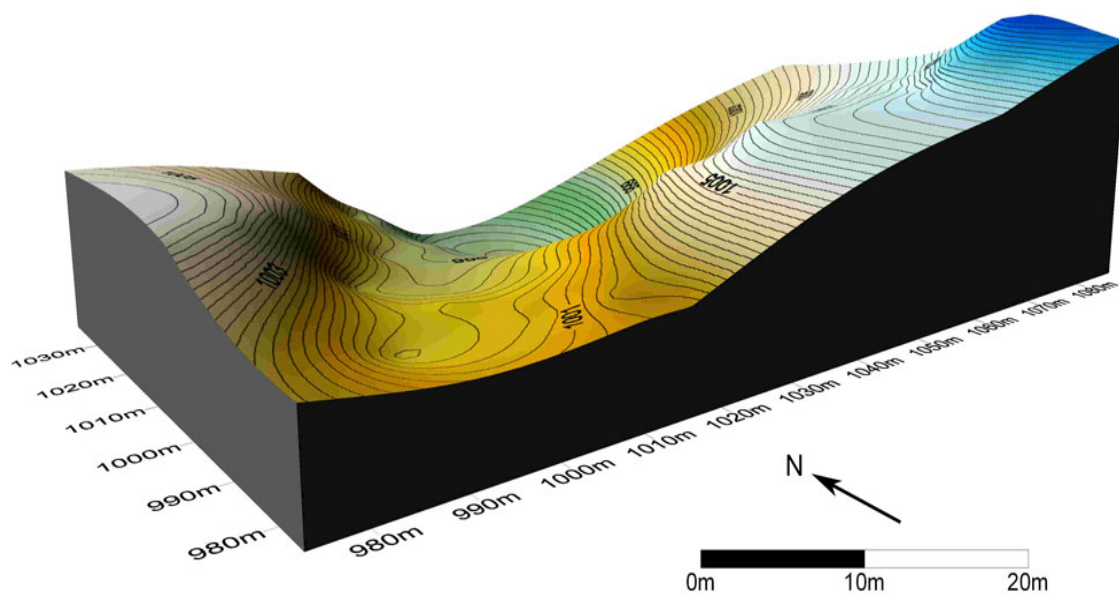


Figure 3: Surface map of the site upon which the hermitage of Saint Barnabas at Gamogna was constructed.

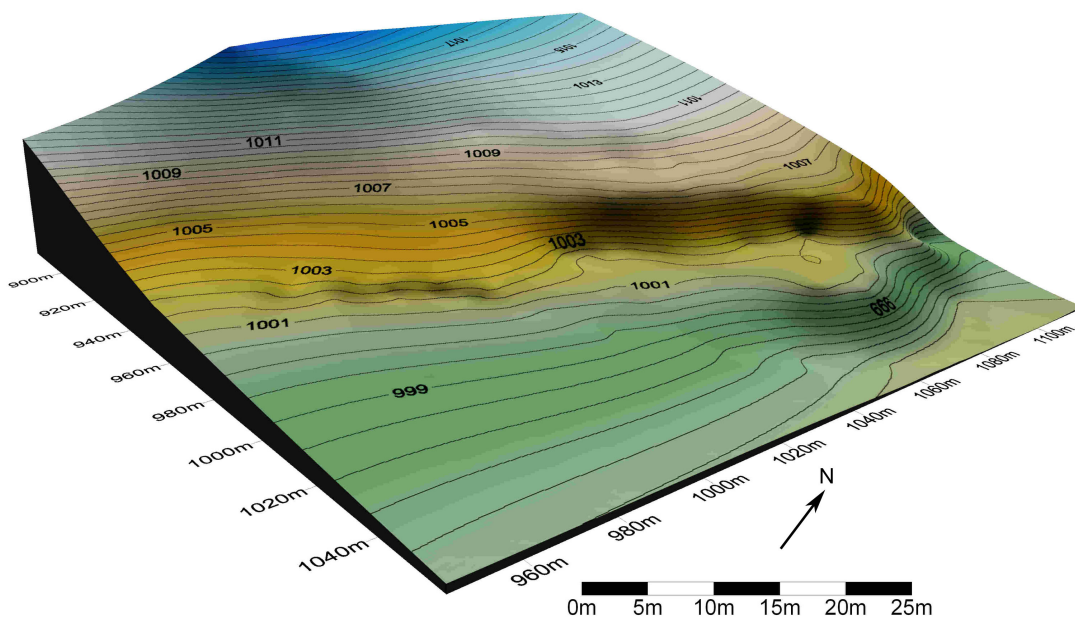


Figure 4: Surface map of the cultivated lands adjacent to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Acereta.

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