

bright daylight, turns the face towards the ground, or shades the eyes with the hand or otherwise. Stanley tells us that Edward fixed his eyes always on the ground. All we have are the words, *Continua gravitate iocundus, humiliatis incedens visibus, gratissimae cum quovis affabilitatis*. If *humiliatis incedens visibus* can be interpreted to signify photophobia, then almost every medieval saint was an albino. Of the general description of the biographer the remark that when angered *leonini videbatur terroris* is hardly consistent with the habit or appearance of the typical albino. It seems to me that the single characterisation by a contemporary which we possess does not in the least justify us in asserting that Edward 'was doubtless an albino.' The miniatures of the Cambridge University French Life of Edward, probably painted within 150 years of his death, give him a yellow beard and hair; they show at any rate that the tradition of white hair from birth, or of albinism, was not current at that date.

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A Point in the Itinerary of Henry IV, 1076-1077.

THE identification of the place where Henry IV negotiated with his mother-in-law, Adelaide of Turin, for leave to cross the Alps on his way to Canossa, has been long in dispute.¹ Its name is only given by Lampert of Hersfeld, and in the two best manuscripts (of which the superior, A¹, derives from an eleventh, the other, B¹, from an eleventh or twelfth century copy) it appears as *Ciuīs* (A¹) and *Cuus* (aut *Ciuīs*) (B¹).² These two forms leave the original reading a little doubtful, with perhaps a slight balance of probability in favour of *Cuus*, as the more strange and more likely to be changed by a copyist into the more Latin-sounding *Ciuīs*.

The route on which we have to look for this place is made clear by Berthold.³ He says:

Rex natalem Dei apud Bizantium in Burgundia, uno ibidem vix die commoratus, quomocumque celebravit. Inde assumpta uxore et filio necnon toto suorum comitatu et apparatu, . . . Genovae Rodano transito, Alpes asperissimo vix scandens reptansque itinere, festinus Longobardiā per Taurinensem episcopatum intravit.

Thus Henry must have crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis pass, since he reached Italy by the diocese of Turin.⁴ One detail, supplied by Lampert, confirms this, viz. that the empress and her ladies were drawn down the snow-covered pass on ox-skins, a

¹ See for the various views Meyer von Knonau, *Heinrich IV*, ii. 749-50, and Wurstemberger, *Peter der Zweite, Graf von Savoyen*, p. 37-8, n. 9.

² See Holder-Egger, *Lamperti Opera*, 'Script. Rer. Germ.' p. 285.

³ *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, *Script.* v. 288.

⁴ This is also the conclusion of Meyer von Knonau, *op. cit.* ii. 750-2, and of Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, p. 165.

practice which, under the name of *glissade à la ramasse* and with the substitution of wooden sledges for the skins, long remained a peculiarity of the Mont Cenis transit.⁵ Besides, the Mont Genève is out of the question, since it is far more roundabout from Geneva, Henry's last certain halting-place, and, if it were chosen, we should hear of the intervention of the Guigonids (later Dauphins), through whose lands its Burgundian approach led. Before Henry reached the pass, however, he met Adelaide of Turin and her son Amadeus II. Adelaide, the mother of Henry's queen, Bertha, was at that time the real ruler of West Piedmont (i.e. the 'March of Turin,' which was her paternal inheritance) and of the counties of Maurienne, Savoy proper, and Belley, as well as of other lands, which had belonged to her deceased husband, Oddo I of Savoy. Her two elder sons by Oddo I were Peter I, marquess of Turin, whose absence from all these negotiations is curious,⁶ and Amadeus II, later⁷ count of Savoy, who in 1077 is seemingly in possession of a great appanage, although he has no title, west of the Alps.

Lampert after mentioning Henry's Christmas at and start from Besançon, then proceeds :

Cum in locum qui Ciuus (Cuus) dicitur venisset, obviam habuit socrum suam filiumque eius Amedeum nomine, quorum in illis regionibus et auctoritas clarissima et possessiones amplissimae et nomen celeberrimum erat. Hi venientem honorifice susceperunt.

Professor Holder-Egger in his note on this passage considers that *Ciuus* is a corruption of *Iais* (i.e. Gex), as elsewhere Lampert's text has *Civois* for *Ivois*. Thus Gex at the foot of the Jura, north of Geneva, would be the place of meeting. Against this identification however it may be urged that it involves a considerable misreading in the text, and that Gex lay well to the north of the Savoyard domains of that time; we know of no possessions north of Geneva,⁸ while the main block of land from Geneva to Annecy was ruled by the counts of the Genevois, not by the combined house of Savoy-Turin. This last point is important, as the text of Lampert

⁵ This was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Coolidge; see his *Alps*, l.c.

⁶ He may have been dead however, for a document in which he appears as alive in July 1078 has been declared a forgery by Count Cipolla (*Carutti, Regesta Comitum Sabaudiae*, clxxxix., cxci.; Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensta*, i. 168). He was certainly dead by October 1078 (*Carutti, Reg.* cxviii.; *Cartario di Pinerolo*, 'Bibl. Soc. Stor. Subalp.' ii. 348), and perhaps the story of his intervention in the affairs of the abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa implies that he lived till 1078 (Willelm. Monach. Vit. *Benedict. Abb. Clus.*, in *Mon. Hist. Patr., Script.* iii. 289-91).

⁷ No document in which he is styled count certainly antedates Peter I's death.

⁸ The only mentions of members of the house north of Geneva in this period are the following :—(a) *Carutti, Regesta*, xlv. (*Cibrario e Promis, Documenti ecc.* p. 25), in which Count Humbert acts as agent in a transfer of land near Nyon to Romain-Moutier in 1018; (b) *Carutti, Supplemento ai Regesta ecc.* xxx. 'Misc. Stor. ital.' Ser. iii. tom. ix., where Count Humbert II is advocate of the monastery of St. Victor at Geneva c. 1095. The northernmost lands of the house, known at this epoch, are at Ambilly, just south of Geneva, in 1022 (*Carutti, Regesta*, lii.; *Cibrario e Promis, op. cit.* p. 97).

implies clearly that Ciuis or Cuus lay in the midst of the Savoyard lands.

We are in consequence led to look further south for the meeting-place. From Geneva Henry's route would naturally go past either Annecy, or else Rumilly, to Albens, shortly after which, and before Aix-les-Bains, he would enter the principal division of Savoyard territory. He would join the pilgrim route from Lyons beneath the Mont du Chat to the south of the Lac du Bourget, and then follow it past Chambéry, Montmélian (where it crossed the Isère), Aiguebelle, and so on up Maurienne to the Mont Cenis.⁹ Now he would naturally make his halts at castles which belonged to the house of Savoy or at monasteries which gave hospitality to travellers, for we need not suppose that the latter would dare to make Henry's excommunication a pretext for shutting him out when he was the countess Adelaide's guest. Of such halting-places the following are to be found on the road after he had entered the Savoyard lands:—Le Bourget (Maltacena, Burgetum), castle of the Savoyards and priory; Lémon (priory by Chambéry); Montmélian (Savoyard castle); Coise (priory); Aiguebelle (town in Savoyard demesne, commanding the entrance into Maurienne). Among all these Coise seems the only possible. It was a priory under the abbey of Novalesa, and was founded in 1036.¹⁰ Its name, in Latin *Cosia* or *Coisia*, would easily become *Cuus*, or *Ciuis* even, in the writings of a German who had only heard the word. It is a convenient halfway house between Aiguebelle and Montmélian, and the last monastery where Henry IV could halt before entering Maurienne.¹¹ Adelaide and her son would ride out to meet the king from Aiguebelle, the entrance of the Maurienne valley, which he was not to pass till the bargain had been made. Indeed, in view of the facts that it was winter time and that this is Adelaide's only recorded visit north of the Alps, it is likely enough that they were in Italy when they knew of his intentions (for he only went by this route as a last resource), and they would in that case barely have time to go further north than Aiguebelle.

Only two other places near the route seem to have a suitable name. One is Cuines (Latin, *Cuina*) in Maurienne; the other is Cusy (Latin, *Cusea*) near Albens. But neither has a monastery or a Savoyard castle at this date at least, and Cusy also lies off the main road.

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* See *Ann. Stad. in Monum. Germ. Hist., Script.* xvi. p. 337, where the route is given, and compare Ball's *Western Alps*, ed. Coolidge, 1898, p. 195-6.

¹⁰ Cipolla, *Monumenta Novaliciensia*, i. 161.

¹¹ The highroad from Montmélian to Maurienne, as I learn from Mr. Coolidge, crosses the Isère at once and runs above the south bank of the river past Coise to Aiguebelle. Coise lay between the posting-stations of Planaise and Maltaverne. In the map of Savoy given in *Theatrum Statuum . . . Sabaudiae Ducis*, 1682, vol. ii. the road is clearly shown. See also Broekedon's map in *Passes of the Alps*, 1828.