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Representation of Power of the Prince-Bishop Raimondo della Torre Patriarch of Aquileia (1273-1299)

Luca Demontis

Political communication was important during the Middle Ages in order to legitimate the power of a sovereign and to establish a strong ruling over a territory. This case study of Raimondo della Torre, patriarch of Aquileia, is a paramount example of the importance of political communication. Raimondo used a wide range of political and cultural instruments to set up his power as prince-bishop over a territory with a strong feudal system more responsive to ceremonies than to written documents. With an innovative use of propaganda, Raimondo established successful ties with the social and political components of the patriarchate and promoted the devolopment of his princedom.

The political career of Raimondo della Torre started in a different political landscape. In 1259, the della Torre family had risen to power in Lombardy and established their seigniory in Milan and allied cities. Raimondo became bishop of Como in 1262, 1 and in this role he oversaw the implementation of political strategies to inaugurate his seigniory in several cities of Northern Italy. At the end of 1273, Raimondo was elected as the successor of Gregorio da Montelongo to the patriarchate of Aquileia. He was appointed to this important charge by Pope Gregory X, who had also supported the political ambitions of the della Torre family on other occasions (Fig. 1). 2

Raimondo took control of a war-torn patriarchate of Aquileia, in which no patriarch had ruled over the past four years and over which neighbouring powers had ignited a civil war. To solve this difficult situation, he appointed plenipotentiaries from his and other families faithful to the della Torre's that were successful in bringing peace to his

¹ On this topic see L. Demontis, 'Tra Comune e Signoria. L'ascesa al potere della famiglia della Torre a Milano e in "Lombardia" nel XIII secolo', in: *Quaderni della Geradadda*, 16 (2010), pp. 71-102 fermi.univr.it/rm/biblioteca/scaffale/d.htm#LucaDemontis; *Idem*, 'Giudicati e Signorie. Due percorsi di potere a confronto nel medioevo', in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 38, 1 (2008), pp. 3-25 fermi.univr.it/rm/biblioteca/scaffale/d.htm#LucaDemontis; *Idem*, 'II tentativo di signoria di Francesco della Torre in Trezzano sul Naviglio. I documenti della canonica di S. Ambrogio (gennaio 1276)', in: *Aevum*, LXXXI, 2 (2007), pp. 485-522; *Idem*, 'Fra Cortenuova e Desio: il sostegno di alcune famiglie "nobili" milanesi all'ascesa politica dei della Torre (1237-1277)', in: *Libri & Documenti*, XXXI, 1/3 (2005), pp. 1-18.

² For example when the pope's brother, Visconte de Visconti, head of the commune of Milan, formally recognized the della Torre seigniory over Milan with the 'sacramentum potestatis' (1272), see *Idem*, 'Raimondo della Torre patriarca di Aquileia (1273-1299). Politico, ecclesiastico, abile comunicatore', Alessandria, Edizioni Dell'Orso, 2009, doc. n. XVI (1274 April 13, Milan), pp. 31-33, 327-29.

lands.³ Moreover, the patriarch Raimondo began building his image of a magnificent prince-patriarch with concrete actions of good ruling and propaganda sustained by all his financial resources and a loan from his brothers, Napoleone and Francesco della Torre, seigneurs of Milan.⁴

As part of his political communication, Raimondo designed his journey towards Aquileia as an instrument of 'propaganda' to represent the patriarch as a majestic and powerful prince (Fig. 2). He declared that the loan was necessary to carry out this trip, 'in emendis equis et drapis sibi et familie sue et in aliis sibi et familie sue necessariis seu utilibus'. 6 Raimondo left Milan on 19 July 1274 with a sumptuous retinue full of symbolism drawn from the Holy Scriptures in order to represent the patriarch Raimondo in all his majesty and wisdom: sixty young Milanese noble squires surrounded the patriarch Raimondo following the famous quotation from the Song of Songs: 'It is Solomon's litter, escorted by sixty valiant men chosen from Israel's finest' (Song of Sg. 3,7). The core of the retinue was preceded by fifty 'golden' knights, as they received the 'cingulum militiae' and the golden spurs. Each of these knights had a squire and four war horses. The choice of the number 50 is drawn from the Bible, where this number is used to represent regality. 8 The patriarch and his squires were followed by 600 knights with two war horses each. Also in this case the number 600 is a symbol taken from the Holy Scriptures, where it often refers to the number of soldiers of an army, like king David's army. The retinue was also strengthened by 100 'cataphracti' sent by the allied Commune of Cremona. 10 The 50 knights that headed the retinue, the 60 squires that surrounded the patriarch, and the 600 knights that followed him are all strong illustrations of Raimondo's strategy to appear as wise and regal a sovereign as king Solomon and as determined and pugnacious as king David. The parade of Raimondo della Torre with 750 knights and 60 squires had to be very imposing and majestic if one of the most mighty kings of the time, Alfonso X the Learned, king of Castile-Leon and 'Rex

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³ *Idem*, 'Da servi a ufficiali: affrancamento, promozione sociale e carriera politica al seguito di Raimondo della Torre patriarca di Aquileia (1273-1299)', in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39, 2 (2009), pp. 933-961, p. 934 http://fermi.univr.it/rm/biblioteca/scaffale/d.htm#LucaDemontis.

⁴ Two different documents were written for the loan of 10,000 pounds. In the first document, they requested all people and things of the patriarchate as security for the loan. Immediately afterwards, on the same day, they prepared another document in which they requested as security Raimondo's palace in Milan and his properties in Lombardy (including the castle, town and lands in Montorfano, near Como). Probably, after the first document was written, they worried about the possibility of Raimondo's sudden death before taking power over the patriarchate. In fact this possibility was not rare at that time. A famous case is the death of the emperor Frederick I, who died passing the river Göksu. Moreover, Gastone della Torre, Raimondo's nephew and patriarch of Aquileia (1312-1319), died before taking possession of his see after falling from a horse near Florence; see *Idem*, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., pp. 49-52.

Two centuries later a famous painter, Benozzo Gozzoli, portrayed the journey towards the council of Florence of 1439: the magnificence of Lorenzo de Medici stood out among several important characters including the Byzantine emperor John VIII, the patriarch of Constantinople, Piero and Giuliano de Medici, and others. See the fresco 'La cavalcata dei Magi', 1459-1462. Florence. Palazzo Medici, chapel.

⁶ Idem, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., doc. n. XVIII (1274 July 16, Milan), pp. 333-36.

⁷ Sixty is a recurring number in several books of the Bible as symbol of totality and perfection referred to people, animals, cities, sizes: 2 Kings 25,19; Exodus 8,13; 1 Mac 7,16; Ct 6,8; Gen 52,25.

⁸ 'Now Adonijah, whose mother was Haggith, put himself forward and said, "I will be king." So he got chariots and horses ready, with fifty men to run ahead of him. (1 Kings 1,5); 'Absalom provided himself with a chariot and horses and with fifty men to run ahead of him' (2 Sam 15,1).

⁹ "In this way, David went, with the 600 soldiers he had, to Achis, Moach's son, king of Gat" (1 Sam 27,2); see also Ex 14,7; Jud 3,31; Jud 18,11-17; Jud 20,47; 1 Sam 13,15; 1 Sam 14,2; 1 Sam 23,13; 1 Sam 30,9; 2 Sam 15,18; 1 Mac 6,42.

¹⁰ A. Muttoni, *La parte del patriarca Raimondo nelle vicende dei Torriani*, Lecco, La Grafica, 1934, p. 41.

Romanorum', went to Beaucaire to meet the pope in 1275 with a retinue composed of 500 knights.

Accompanied by this sumptuous and numerous retinue, Raimondo passed through several cities in Lombardy and Veneto, arrived in Friuli, and officially took power over the patriarchate of Aguileia in 1274. Raimondo had to prove himself as the only and true patriarch, against advocates of Philippe Duke of Carinthia, a German candidate supported by the Friulan aristocracy loyal to the Empire previously elected by the Chapter of Aquileia. As part of this strategy, an ancient ceremony set the stage for the entry of Raimondo into the two capitals of the patriarchate, ecclesiastic and political. 11

In the solemn entry into Aquileia, religious capital of the patriarchate, Raimondo arrived riding a white mule surrounded by his seventeen suffragans, by the prelates of the diocese of Aquileia, by the feudal lords, and by the ambassadors of the city councils. This ceremonial entry recalls the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. Upon reaching the city gate of All Saints, Raimondo was welcomed by the Chapter of Aguileia that joined the procession towards the Basilica. At the head of procession came the 'baculum' with the cross, symbol of the authority of the Patriarch of Aquileia. 12 In the parvis of the Basilica, the patriarch dismounted from the mule 'super lapidem consignatum', went into the church, stopped in the centre of the nave, and genuflected to receive the blessing from the dean of the Chapter. Afterwards, some monks removed the patriarch's cloak. The dean and the canons of the Basilica led the new patriarch 'ad sedem' to install him, then Raimondo received the 'osculum pacis'. After the 'Te Deum laudamus' the patriarch sat on the throne and his investiture was complete, 13 as symbolized by the ringing of the bells of the basilica according to custom. 14 Ringing the bells was an important instrument of communication used by both religious and political authorities. For instance, in 1269 Raimondo della Torre, bishop of Como, conferred the 'funes campanarum' and the 'claves ostiarum' as symbols of power in the ceremony of investiture of the abbot of St. Abbondio of Como. 15

While the bells, cross and mule were the symbols of the head of the Church of Aquileia, other emblems were used for the ceremonial entry of the prince-patriarch into the political capital, Cividale. In this context, Raimondo mounted a war horse and was followed by the military aristocracy of Friuli. At the city gates of Cividale, the noble ministers welcomed their prince who proceeded inside followed by a magnificent procession. This solemn entry was the first act of communication of his political power. Subsequently, a noble minister, traditionally of the family Boiani, handed to the patriarch the great 'Alemannic' sword. 16 The patriarch drew it and showed it to his subjects, representing his 'mero' and 'misto imperio', and resolute justice against the

¹¹ On the topic of ceremonial entries see M. C. Miller, 'The Florentine Bishop's Ritual Entry and the Origins of the Medieval Episcopal Adventus', in: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 98 (2003), pp. 5-28; M. Raufast Chico, '¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona (1458)', in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 36, 1 (2006), pp. 295-333.

12 'Thesaurus Ecclesie Aquilegensis', ms. in Archivio di Stato di Udine, Fondo patriarcato di Aquileia, b. 1, p.

iii G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni*, VIII, Venezia, Antonelli, 1851, pp. 447-449.

¹⁴ P. Paschini, 'Usanze feudali alla corte del patriarca d'Aquileia', in: *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, XVIII (1922), pp. 265-281, p. 102.

Demontis, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., doc. n. IX (1269 April 9), pp. 314-15.

¹⁶ Defined in this way because of the triangular shape of the blade with a large base; on this topic see J. Flori, La cavalleria medievale, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2002, pp. 25-29.

'predones, latrones et spoliatores' 17 of the patriarchate of Aquileia. In the Dom of Cividale, after the ceremony of enthronement by the four great ministerials (the most important officials of the patriarchal court), Raimondo showed the 'Alemannic' sword to the people from the top of the throne. Afterwards, he gave back the sword to the deputy of the feudality of the patriarchate who sheathed it in a white silk scabbard. 18

Subsequently, the feudal lords who held fiefs belonging to the Church of Aquileia took their oaths of allegiance in the presence of the patriarch. Also the deputies of the towns which had particular privileges asked for their renewal. They swore the oath while kneeling, putting their hand on the book of Gospels open on the prince's lap. This type of ceremony was widespread in the territories of Eastern Europe tied to the Holy Roman German Empire. Therefore it was not unusual to see similar ceremonies in Hungary, Carinthia¹⁹ and in Rome during the Christmas mass, celebrated by the pope in the presence of the emperor (Fig. 3).²⁰ Ceremonial entries proved instrumental in putting the other candidate to the patriarchate out of action and to giving a central position to Raimondo.

The patriarch della Torre had to rule the ecclesiastical principality and to attract the approval of the different components of society (nobles, town dwellers, serfs, neighbouring princes) for his political plans. To this purpose, Raimondo resorted to a wide range of instruments of political communication that included feudal and serfsfreeing ceremonies, architectonic renovation of major town buildings and the use of the iconography of power, a painstaking monetary policy, poetry, and theatre plays.

The ceremonies were without doubt one of the most successful ways of political communication towards many different types of audiences. Their solemnity was designed to impress the spectators and to perpetuate the memory of the patriarch. Some of these ceremonies were intended to bestow lands and privileges to the nobles in exchange for allegiance and military services to the patriarch. By kneeling in front of Raimondo, the nobles received feudal privileges symbolized by particular object-symbols of power. For instance, red silk flags were given to the neighbouring princes, hoods or hats to noblemen, and rings to prelates. Then, the vassal swore allegiance to the patriarch and to the Church of Aquileia in the presence of the court and other nobles. For example, in 1280 in the patriarchal palace of Sacile, Raimondo della Torre 'cum quodam vexillo rubeo quod in suis tenebat manibus investivit nobilem virum dominum Guecellettum', count of Prata, of all the domains bestowed upon his father Wecello by the Church of Aquileia 'cum omni honore, dominio, comitatu, iurisdictione et ratione ad ipsa feuda spectantibus'. 21 The ceremony ended with the oath of allegiance of the count of Prata kneeling in the presence of the patriarch Raimondo. Another example consists of Raimondo accepting the 'grata fidelitatis obsequia' that the noble family de Varmo offered in 1275 for the present and the future, 'cum quodam caputio quod in suis tenebat manibus de sua tenuta liberaliter investivit' the domains and the castle of Asquino de Varmo to his son Federico.²²

¹⁷ 'Compianto del patriarca Gregorio' in Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, Cod. R. 71 Sup. f. 142 r. ¹⁸ Demontis, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., p. 184.

²² Ivi, doc. n. XXXI (1275 December 31, Aquileia), pp. 189, 363-65.

¹⁹ See *Idem*, 'Cerimonie e linguaggi del potere del principe nel Basso Medioevo: il caso di Raimondo della Torre, patriarca di Aquileia (1273-1299)', in: *Studi e Ricerche*, II, 11 (2009), pp. 9-26, pp. 19-21.
²⁰ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVIII, Parisiis, Garnier, 1895, pp. 1181-82.

²¹ Demontis, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., doc. n. LIII (1280 April 11, Sacile), pp. 191, 197, 407.

Altogether, Raimondo employed several ceremonials in order to secure the loyalty and military support of feudal lords for keeping peace within the patriarcate and for military enterprises in Lombardy. Another important example of feudal investiture took place in the town of Lodi, during a military enterprise against the Visconti family of Milan. The patriarch Raimondo 'manu propria investivit dilectum filium Marzuttum monacum', kneeling 'ad pedes dicti domini patriarche', abbot of the monastery of St Peter de Silva 'cum quodam anulo de eodem monasterio et iuribus spectantibus et pertinentibus'. The witnesses ended the ceremony 'plausis manibus'. 23 The transfer of power with a ring from the sovereign to an addressee is a very ancient ceremony. One of the first mentions is in the book of Genesis, where the pharaoh invested Joseph with the power over Egypt in the presence of the court.²⁴

In addition to these feudal ceremonies, Raimondo enacted ceremonies for the freeing of serfs.²⁵ In the first of two phases, the master entrusted the serf to the local patriarchal officer in his town of residence. In the second phase, the officer brought the serf to Cividale and entrusted him to the patriarch Raimondo in the presence of the court and people. With this ceremony, the serf was freed and accepted into the Church of Aquileia as ministerial worker in the service of the patriarch. 26 There was a great difference between Raimondo's serf-freeing ceremonies and the 'manumissiones' that were enacted directly under the orders of feudal lords. In fact after the 'manumissiones', freed serfs without work and with very poor living conditions often went back to work as serfs for the previous feudal lord. The freedom granted by the patriarch Raimondo was legally acknowledged with a written document but also with a ceremony according to the feudal customs.²

The basis for the serf-freeing ceremonies enacted by Raimondo consisted of several ideological and political arguments. In the great debate over the idea of 'servitus', resumed in the thirteenth century by Albert the Great, Thomas Aguinas, and Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, Raimondo della Torre seems to favour the idea of Bonaventura that the 'servitus' of man is unnatural, 28 and that therefore it is a just mission to combat it. Raimondo most likely met Bonaventura in Milan on the occasion of the visit of pope Gregory X on his way to the Council of Lyons. In addition to philosophical and moral considerations, freeing serfs in the countryside would prove instrumental in fuelling an urban renaissance during the ruling of Raimondo.

The della Torre family had a special fondness for the architectonic development of the cities in their domains which contributed to their grand strategy of propaganda. For instance, Napoleone della Torre had the Naviglio Grande built in Milan in 1272. This construction, stunning for that time, improved commerce and would allow the transport of marble from Candoglia in Switzerland to the centre of Milan for the building of the new cathedral a century later. Also Raimondo envisioned the contribution of public buildings to political propaganda, following an approach of communication that was

²³ Demontis, 'Raimondo della Torre' cit., doc. n. XLVIII (1279 September 24, Lodi), pp. 191, 398-99.

²⁵ Demontis, 'Da servi a ufficiali', cit., pp. 933-61.

²⁶ For instance, Giovanni di Gonars received a house with garden for the 'feudum ministerii' of washing the patriarchal palace in Aquileia when the patriarch Raimondo and the court took residence there: 'Thesaurus'

On this topic see J.-C. Schmitt, Il gesto nel Medioevo, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1990.

²⁸ C. Fiocchi, Dispotismo e libertà nel pensiero politico medievale. Riflessioni all'ombra di Aristotele (sec. XIII-XIV), Bergamo, Lubrina, 2007, p. 18.

already in use in the communes and the empire in the thirteenth century. ²⁹ Towers, chapels, fountains and palaces, embellished by sculptures, paintings and works of weaving, were *per se* a monumental and sumptuous demonstration to the public of the efficient government exerted all over the patriarchate (Fig. 4). For example, Raimondo had castles and patriarchal palaces built in Udine, Aquileia, Cividale, Tolmino, Gemona and Tolmezzo. San Vito al Tagliamento was rebuilt and fortified with the construction of a castle and city walls, and the settlement of hundred Lombard knights. This town was the western gate of the patriarchate, controlling the important trading road of Sacile-Udine, and Raimondo built a magnificent tower, called Raimonda, to impress the travellers approaching the town through its gate. In Cividale, the patriarch had the roads paved, the market square enlarged, and fountains built in the square and in the patriarchal palace.

The construction of new monuments spurred the renaissance of the towns of the patriarchate, which was also supported by the granting of economic privileges, a tangible demonstration of Raimondo's liberality. He showed attention to the needs of his subjects and in particular to those of town dwellers securing their loyalty and support. For instance, the citizens of Tolmezzo, in order to thank Raimondo for granting privileges to their town, had his coat of arms carved on the public palace to perpetuate the memory of the patriarch and support his political communication.

In addition to the improvement of key towns of the patriarchate, Raimondo also founded a new town at the conjunction of two important trading roads: the road that went from the cities of the Veneto to the eastern border of the patriarchate, and the road 'Bariglaria', which went from Aquileia to the German lands over the Alps. The new town, 'Milan of Raimondo', was a permanent monument to the power of the patriarch Raimondo and his Milanese origins and grew quickly following the granting of trading rights and the migration of Milanese and Lombard people. To further connect the new city with della Torre's Milanese origins, the patriarch Raimondo had a chapel built inside the Basilica of Aquileia and dedicated it to St. Ambrose, patron saint of Milano. The chapel was both a permanent monument of power of the della Torre family and a holy place of prayer where four della Torre patriarchs and other important members of the family were buried (Fig. 5). At the centre of the gothic vault of the chapel, the victorious 'Agnus Dei' stands out holding a cress-staff with a flag. This representation of Christ is yellow-coloured on a blue background, recalling the colours of the flag of the patriarch, uniting political and religious messages: with Christ the patriarchate of Aguileia is victorious over all its enemies and even on death (Fig. 6).

Another example of political iconography is represented by the use of coins as instruments of political communication. While the minting of a new coin usually happened once immediately after the election of a new patriarch, Raimondo della Torre renewed the public coins four times during his government. Coins were a useful way to advertise the ruling of the patriarch-prince: the coat of arms of the patriarch of Aquileia and those of the della Torre family were represented together in small, less valuable coins, that were mainly used locally in Friuli, Istria and Veneto, as well as in more

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²⁹ See B. Cassidy, *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture in Italy, c.1240-1400*, London, H. Miller, 2007.

³⁰ After the battle of Vaprio d'Adda (1281), the Visconti brought to Milan several flags of the towns of the patriarchate as war trophies. From this piece of information it is possible to understand the great loyalty of town dwellers towards the patriarch Raimondo: the 'carrocci' with the flag of the town and the best fighters remained in the battlefield to fight to the last man for the patriarch rather than retreating.

valuable coins, which were diffused internationally (Fig. 7).³¹ Through the coins, the icon of the prince-patriarch was received by all subjects as well as by those who could never see the patriarch personally.

Altogether, Raimondo della Torre implemented new ways of political communication which would become widespread later on during the Renaissance. His political communication was directed to neighbouring princes, nobles, prelates, towns, and serfs and included a magnificent parade of several hundred knights with a symbology drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the ceremonial entries in Aquileia and Cividale, the feudal and serfs-freeing ceremonies, the urban renaissance and the foundation of 'Milan of Raimondo', the iconography of power, the minting of new coins, and others. These are only some examples of the extensive political communication of the patriarch Raimondo that included also ornamental textiles, poetry, plays, and the journey with a sumptuous retinue to the imperial court of Wien organized with propagandistic intents.³² Altogether, Raimondo's political communication methodology allowed him to develop positive relations with his subjects and neighbours and to create a strong image of himself as patriarch of Aquileia.



Fig. 1 © 2013, Luca Demontis. Flag of the Patriarchate of Aquileia (13th-14th century).



Fig. 2 © 2013, Luca Demontis. 'La cavalcata dei Magi', 1459-1462. Florence. Palazzo Medici, Chapel.

³¹ The minting was used as an instrument of political communication also because the 'denari' always kept the same sterling alloy of silver.

³² See a more extensive description of these topics in Demontis, 'Raimondo della Torre', cit., pp. 55-59, 136-51, 156-61, 197, 203, 225, 264, 601.



Fig. 3 © 2013, Luca Demontis. Seal of the Patriarch Raimondo della Torre (1286).



Fig. 4 $^{\odot}$ 2013, Luca Demontis. New patriarchal palace in Udine built by Raimondo della Torre, Udine, Cathedral of St Odorico.



Fig. 5 © 2013, Luca Demontis. Sarcophagus of Raimondo della Torre, Aquileia, Basilica of St Mary, Chapel of the della Torre.



Fig. 6 © 2013, Luca Demontis. *Agnus Dei*, Aquileia, Basilica of St Mary, vault of the Chapel of the della Torre.





Fig. 7 © 2013, Luca Demontis. Silver *denarius* of Raimondo della Torre (last emission, 1287).

Key words

Political communication, Raimondo della Torre, Patriarchate of Aquileia, propaganda, ceremonies

Luca Demontis received a PhD in Medieval History from the University of Milan, and a European Doctorate in the Social History of Europe and the Mediterranean from the University Ca' Foscari of Venice. From 2010 to 2012 he worked as postdoctoral fellow at the University of Cagliari. His research deals with the history of political institutions and propaganda in the Western Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. His works include *Raimondo della Torre patriarca di Aquileia (1273-1299). Politico, ecclesiastico, abile comunicatore*, Alessandria, Edizioni Dell'Orso, 2009; *Alfonso X e l'Italia: rapporti politici e linguaggi del potere*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2012.

Via Libeccio 17 09170 Oristano (Italy) lucademontis@hotmail.com

RIASSUNTO

La rappresentazione del potere del principe-vescovo

Raimondo della Torre, Patriarca di Aquileia (1273-1299)

Raimondo della Torre, fratello del signore di Milano Napoleone della Torre, venne nominato patriarca di Aquileia nel 1273 da papa Gregorio X. Subito attuò un'attenta costruzione della propria immagine, organizzando il viaggio verso la sede patriarcale secondo una precisa simbologia biblica ispirata alle figure di Salomone e Davide; arrivò nei territori del patriarcato e assunse ufficialmente il potere con due cerimonie d'entrata nella capitale religiosa, Aquileia, e in quella politica, Cividale. Per rafforzare il suo potere e ottenere la collaborazione dei sudditi uni concrete azioni di buon governo a un'ampia comunicazione politica che comprendeva cerimonie d'investitura feudale rivolte a nobili, ministeriali e prelati del patriarcato, e ai principi confinanti; cerimonie di liberazione dei servi di masnada; una rinascita economica e architettonica delle città del patriarcato, depresse dalla potente feudalità friulana, con la costruzione di torri, palazzi, castelli, vie, piazze, fontane e la concessione di privilegi; la fondazione di una nuova città chiamata Milano di Raimondo; il ricorso all'iconografia del potere, alle monete, alle opere tessili, alla poesia e al teatro. La comunicazione politica gli permise di sviluppare un rapporto positivo con i suoi interlocutori raggiungendo i suoi obiettivi e creando una solida immagine di sé come principe-patriarca di Aquileia.