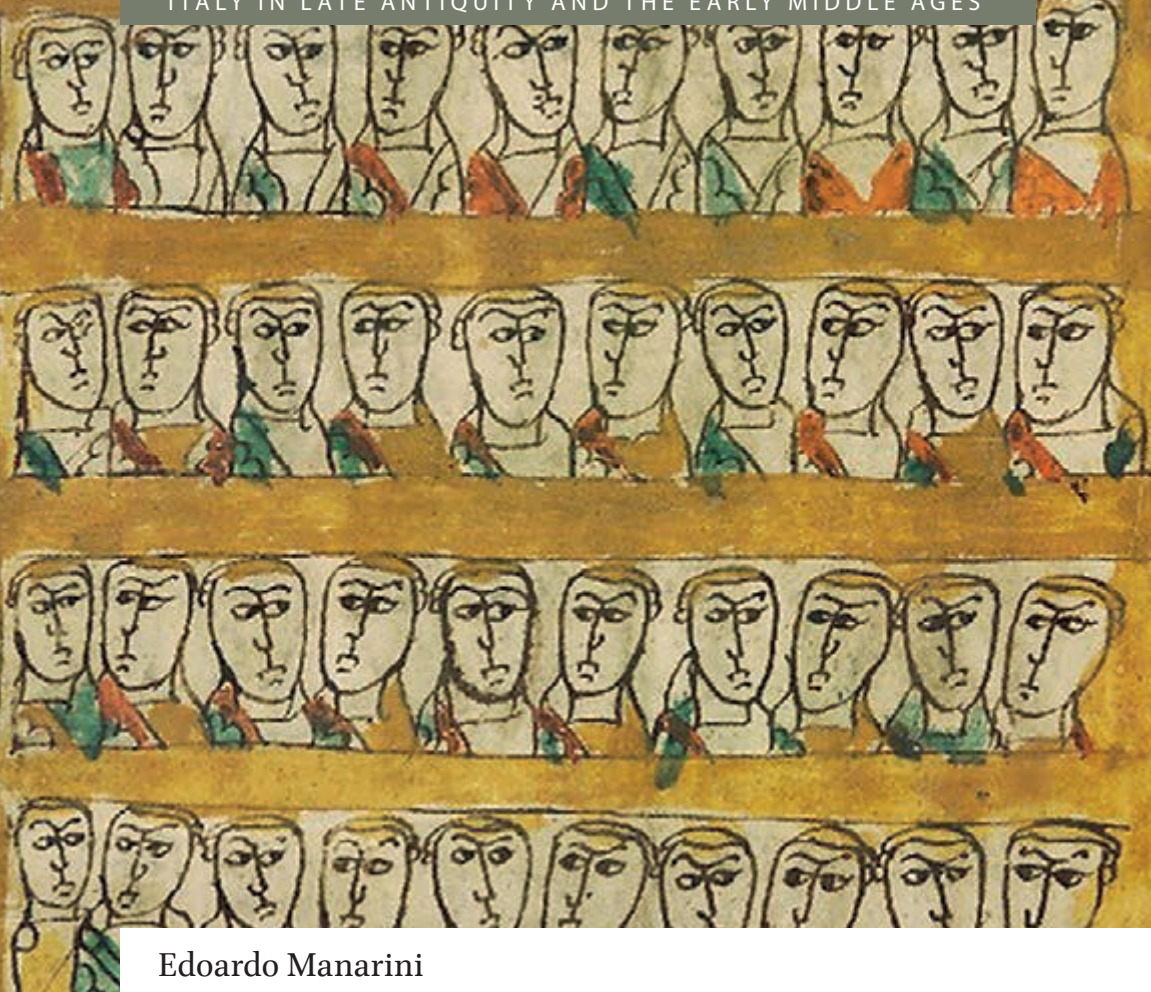


ITALY IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES



Edoardo Manarini

Struggles for Power in the Kingdom of Italy

The Hucpoldings, c. 850-c. 1100

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Struggles for Power in the Kingdom of Italy



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For Alda and Clavio, Emilia, Elena, and Laerte



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Prefatory Note

Almost all personal names in this book are rendered into modern English from Latin, thus Boniface for *Bonifacius* or Adalbert for *Adelbertus*. In cases when names are not present in modern English, I chose a regularized Latin form, like Cuniza or Winizus. Ecclesiastical names of churches and religious institutions are rendered in Italian for the sake of clarity. When using Latin expressions or phrases in sentences a translation can be found in either the main text or in the relevant footnote.



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This monograph re-elaborates materials I have been studying and elaborating on for more than a decade now. This opportunity given by Amsterdam University Press has allowed me to approach it all once again, reorganize my assumptions, and make changes and corrections on previous theories I have proposed and published before. In embarking on this new effort, I had two aims: first, for this book to be an updated version of my research on the topic as complete and current as possible; second, to bring to the attention of an anglophone readership, from both inside and outside academic circles, themes and historiography associated with early medieval Italy, which, apart from a few valuable exceptions, are often difficult to attain and ultimately relegated to the wings rather than the forefront of early medieval history.

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Edoardo Manarini

Bologna, November 2020



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Abbreviations

AAN	Archivio Abbaziale di Nonantola
ASBo	Archivio di Stato di Bologna
ASFf	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ACAFe	Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile di Ferrara
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>Bologna 10</i>	<i>Le carte bolognesi del secolo X</i> , ed. by Giorgio Cencetti (Roma, 1977)
<i>Bologna 11</i>	<i>Le carte bolognesi del secolo XI</i> , 2 vols., ed. by Giovanni Feo (Roma, 2001)
<i>CdC Firenze</i>	<i>Le carte della canonica della cattedrale di Firenze (723–1149)</i> , ed. by Renato Piattoli (Roma, 1938)
<i>CdM Badia</i>	<i>Le carte del monastero di S. Maria in Firenze (Badia)</i> , 2 vols, ed. by Luigi Schiaparelli and Anna Maria Enriques (Roma, 1990)
<i>ChLA 54</i>	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , vol. 54, <i>Italy XXVI, Ravenna I</i> , ed. by Giuseppe Rabotti and Francesca Santoni (Zurich, 2000)
<i>DD C II</i>	<i>Conradi II diplomata</i> , ed. by Harry Bresslau, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 4</i> (Hannover, 1909)
<i>DD FI</i>	<i>Frederici I diplomata 1158–1167</i> , ed. by Heinrich Appelt, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 10.2</i> (Hannover, 1979)
<i>DD H II</i>	<i>Heinrici II et Arduini diplomata</i> , ed. by Harry Bresslau, Hermann Bloch and Robert Holtzmann, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 3</i> (Hannover, 1900–3)
<i>DD H III</i>	<i>Heinrici III diplomata</i> , ed. by Harry Bresslau and Paul Fridolin Kehr, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 5</i> (Berlin, 1931)
<i>DD H IV</i>	<i>Heinrici IV diplomata</i> , ed. by Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 6</i> (Weimar Hannover, 1941–78)
<i>DD H V</i>	<i>Die Urkunden Heinrichs V und der Königin Mathilde</i> , ed. by Matthias Thiel, MGH <i>Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae 7</i> , digital pre-edition https://data.mgh.de/databases/ddhv/index.htm



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- DD K III* *Karoli III diplomata*, ed. by Paul Fridolin Kehr, MGH *Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum* 2 (Berlin, 1937)
- DD L II* *Ludovici II diplomata*, ed. by Konrad Wanner, MGH *Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum* 4 (München, 1994)
- DD Mat* *Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, ed. by Elke Goetz and Werner Goetz, MGH *Laienfürsten- und Dynastienurkunden der Kaiserzeit* 2 (Hannover, 1998)
- DD R II* *I diplomi italiani di Ludovico III e Rodolfo II*, ed. by Luigi Schiaparelli (Roma, 1910)
- DD O I* *Conradi I, Heinrici I et Ottonis I diplomata*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH *Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 1 (Hannover, 1879–84)
- DD O II* *Ottonis II et Ottonis III diplomata*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH *Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 2 (Hannover, 1893)
- DD O III* *Ottonis II et Ottonis III diplomata*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH *Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 2 (Hannover, 1893)
- ECC* *Epitome chronicorum Casinensium*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 2.1 (Milano, 1723), pp. 347–70
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- Ravenna 8–9* *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, ed. by Ruggero Benericetti (Faenza, 2006)
- Ravenna 10.1* *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*, vol. 1: *Archivio Arcivescovile (aa. 900–957)*, ed. by Ruggero Benericetti (Ravenna, 1999)
- Ravenna 10.2* *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*, vol. 2: *Archivio Arcivescovile (aa. 957–976)*, ed. by Ruggero Benericetti (Imola, 2002)
- Ravenna 11.1* *Le carte ravennati dell'undicesimo secolo*, vol. 1: *Archivio Arcivescovile (aa. 1001–1024)*, ed. by Ruggero Benericetti (Imola, 2003)
- Ravenna 11.2* *Le carte ravennati dell'undicesimo secolo*, vol. 2: *Archivio Arcivescovile (aa. 1025–1044)*, ed. by Massimo Ronchini (Faenza, 2010)

- RI I.3.1* *Die Karolingier im Regnum Italiae 840–887 (888)*, ed. by Herbert Zielinski, in *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/962)*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3.1 (Köln, 1991)
- RI I.3.2* *Das Regnum Italiae in der Zeit der Thronkämpfe und Reichsteilungen 888 (850)–926*, ed. by Herbert Zielinski, in *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/962)*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3.2 (Köln, 1998)
- RI I.3.3* *Das Regnum Italiae vom Regierungsantritt Hugos von Vienne bis zur Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen (926–962)*, ed. by Herbert Zielinski, in *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/962)*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3.3 (Köln, 2006)
- RI II.1* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich I. und Otto I 919–973*, ed. by Emil von Ottenthal, in *Regesta Imperii II: Sächsisches Haus 919–1024*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 1 (Innsbruck, 1893)
- RI II.2* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto II 955 (973)–983*, ed. by Hans Leo Mikoletzky, in *Regesta Imperii II: Sächsisches Haus 919–1024*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 2 (Wien, 1950)
- RI II.3* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto III*, ed. by Mathilde Uhlirz, in *Regesta Imperii II: Sächsisches Haus 919–1024*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3 (Wien, 1956)
- RI II.4* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich II 1002–1024*, ed. by Theodor von Graff, in *Regesta Imperii II: Sächsisches Haus 919–1024*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 4 (Wien, 1971)
- RI III.1.1* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Konrad II 1024–1039*, ed. by Heinrich von Appelt, in *Regesta Imperii III: Salisches Haus 1024–1125*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 1.1 (Wien, 1971)
- RI III.3.2* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV 1065–1075*, ed. by Tilman von Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III: Salisches Haus 1024–1125*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3.2 (Köln, 2010)

- RI III.3.4* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV 1086–1105/06*, ed. by Gerhard von Lubich, in *Regesta Imperii III: Salisches Haus 1024–1125*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3.4 (Köln, 2016)
- RI IV.2.2* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Friedrich I 1158–1168*, ed. by Ferdinand Opll and Hubert Mayr, in *Regesta Imperii IV: Lothar III und ältere Staufer 1125–1197*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 2.2 (Wien, 1980)
- RI IV.3* *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich VI 1165(1190)–1197*, ed. by Gerhard von Baaken, in *Regesta Imperii IV: Lothar III und ältere Staufer 1125–1197*, ed. by Johann F. Böhmer, vol. 3 (Köln, 1972)



Preface

This book offers us the history of one family as a microcosm of huge changes in Western European society between the ninth and twelfth centuries. This was a period in which the broadly post-Roman world of Late Antiquity gave way to a distinctively medieval landscape dominated by lords, castles, an ever-more tightly controlled peasantry and the growing power of aristocratic families and other elites. Historians have long debated the nature and chronology of these changes: did they happen slowly? suddenly? violently? Some even doubt that they happened at all in the ways traditionally understood. Italian historians have made vital contributions to the debates surrounding the centuries separating Charlemagne from Frederick Barbarossa, the Carolingian Empire from the communes, but the works of scholars such as Cinzio Violante and Giovanni Tabacco were rarely translated into English. For a variety of reasons (and of course with some notable exceptions), anglophone historiography of the period has traditionally been conducted within paradigms constructed from French (rather than German or Italian) building blocks. While Italian history and its modern historiography are hardly unknown, they are not nearly as familiar to anglophone students of the period as they ought to be. This is particularly the case in light of the rich collections of documentary evidence that survive from south of the Alps in greater numbers than most other parts of Europe in the same period, and which have the potential to cast light on all manner of issues in social, economic and political history. Meticulous analysis of these documents forms the bedrock of the arguments presented in this book, along with careful dissection of the fascinating narrative sources. The book builds on and responds to the work of Violante, Tabacco and other prolific and influential twentieth-century historians; but it also represents a burgeoning renewal of interest in early and central medieval Italy in the hands of a new generation of Italian scholars over the last few decades. The so-called 'Hucpoldings' are unusual in several ways – not least the extensive traces members of the family left in the surviving sources across several regions and several centuries, as they sought to accommodate their status to the often bewildering succession of Frankish, German and Italian rulers who fought to control the kingdom of Italy. This evidence permits surprisingly detailed analysis of how these wealthy aristocrats manipulated the resources available to them in their pursuit of social and political power: the control of land and churches, the pursuit of marriages and alliances, the acquisition of political offices. It can also show us how those strategies



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and options changed across the period in response to evolving political, social and economic conditions. Accordingly, Manarini's study of this family takes us to the heart of what was distinctive about the exercise of power in Italian society between the ninth and twelfth centuries – and also helps us understand what Italian history can tell us about the transformation of medieval Europe more generally between the ninth and twelfth centuries.

Simon MacLean

University of St. Andrews, Scotland



Introduction

Abstract

The introduction outlines the subject of the research. One of the most relevant early medieval elite kinship groups of the Italian kingdom were the Hucpoldings, named after that Hucpold who had held the office of count palatine under Louis II. Key features of the research are the long chronological range and the wide geographical area investigated. The chapter then retraces the main historiographical steps taken in investigations of early medieval kinship groups from the second half of the twentieth century until the latest developments. A specific section is dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the documentary and narrative sources used in this research.

Keywords: kinship; Hucpoldings; prosopography; archival collections; historiography

This book investigates the Hucpoldings, a group of individuals united by a blood lineage, who all, either directly or indirectly, lead back to Hucpold. He lived during the central decades of the ninth century and was a member of the Carolingian *Reichsadel* and count palatine during the rule of Louis II in Italy (844–875). This study will focus on a detailed examination of the prosopographical, political and patrimonial aspects of each known member of his lineage, according to classic methods of early medieval kin history. Through a thematic analysis of the distinctive elements of the Hucpolding group, we shall identify not only the members of the kin group but also consider the powers they attained, their relationship networks and their collective memory and self-cohesion.

Chronologically, this research commences in the mid-eighth century, with the first records of Hucpold in Italy, and continues well into the latter part of the twelfth century, when, after thirteen generations, the various branches of the lineage had followed separate routes. Its geographical focus will be on three regional blocks within which the leading figures of the group operated: first, the Romagna, particularly the city of Ravenna; second, the

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eastern Po valley between Modena and Bologna; third, Tuscany, especially the city of Florence together with the north and east Tuscan Apennines. Although Spoleto and Camerino were also a field of Hucpolding activity, the paucity of surviving documentation renders detailed discussion unfeasible.

A comprehensive understanding of an historical subject such as the Hucpoldings is a significant historiographic necessity, as they were one of the main kinship groups of Frankish origin who settled in Italy with the aim of achieving the rank of marquis. The Hucpoldings should be added to the four key affinities identified by Paolo Cammarosano at the end of the ninth century in the Italian kingdom.¹ Instead, they have remained on the margins of studies on the Carolingian period. Furthermore, the evolution of the group is marked by two peculiarities of notable interest, which together constitute a *unicum* of the Italian aristocratic milieu: first, the early development of lordship in a territory, which did not coincide with the areas of official appointments; and second, the persistent use of symbolic elements signifying an awareness and collective memory to preserve active blood-related connections within the extended kinship group.

Although they were leading figures in several areas of the kingdom, the different branches of the group have never been critically compared,² thus impeding an effective overall picture of Hucpolding activities. The Bolognese branch alone has been studied more consistently, at the beginning of the 1900s, under the name of counts of Bologna. Overly severe historiographical categorization, however, has significantly distorted the reconstructions. As a result, kinship activities have been forced into a widespread administrative structure attributed to the whole Carolingian kingdom, including the Bolognese territory which was never completely a part of it – at least administratively speaking.³ Thanks to recent historiographical achievements,⁴ we can move beyond the local Bolognese dimension more easily, first and foremost through the collective name Hucpoldings, as opposed to the traditional label of counts of Bologna (*conti di Bologna*): by shifting attention from the geographical area onto single individuals of the group. This has meant broadening the field of investigation to consider kinship presence and activity over the greater part of the kingdom of Italy. To overcome the

1 Cammarosano, *Nobili e re*, pp. 175–9. On the main *Reichsadel*'s groups of the Carolingian Empire see Werner, 'Bedeutende Adelsfamilien'.

2 A few of studies have referred to the kinship group as a whole – and thus should be noted – even if they did not engage closely with Hucpolding developments: R. Rinaldi, 'Le origini dei Guidi'; R. Rinaldi, 'Esplorare le origini'; Pallavicino, 'Le parentele del marchese Almerico II'.

3 See Chapter 3.

4 See Lazzari, *Comitato*.



difficulties created by this considerable geographical dispersion, which becomes evident through the examination of archive sources, it has been necessary to consider kinship connections in the widest possible sense, thus conferring importance on each and every horizontal cognatic tie we find.

This study engages with the historiographical responses to aristocracy and elites which attained its most productive point in the last two decades of the last century.⁵ Its start cannot therefore avoid comparison with interpretative models of that time,⁶ which are still unsurpassed on the Italian landscape even when compared with more recent progress in other European historiographies.

The first two sections build on the work of Giovanni Tabacco and Cinzio Violante: the former proved to be more sensitive to institutional themes; the latter was more attentive to the elements of patrimony and kinship.⁷ Initially antithetical, the positions of these two schools of thought gradually drew closer together over later generations, finally reaching a common historiographical sensitivity that became the fundamental method for the more developed studies in this line of research in the first half of the 1990s.⁸

Nonetheless, the application of the Italian method to a research topic such as the Hucpoldings, characterized by a patrimony spread across most of the kingdom of Italy, brings complications at times insurmountable, as illustrated by the scarce historiographical work the topic has received thus far. To overcome the impasse, and go beyond the kinship framework offered by patrimonial evidence alone, it has been necessary to reconsider the original criteria of the *Personenforschung* of Gerd Tellenbach,⁹ as adjusted by the approach of Tiziana Lazzari.¹⁰ The approach of isolating single individuals and rebuilding each one's political career, official roles, property and family ties has enabled considerable expansion of our understanding of the kinship group as a whole, and as a bloodline. In this way, it has been possible to establish, or presume, ties and solidarities between a number of individuals of a wide, extended kinship group up until at least the beginning of the eleventh century.¹¹

5 Collavini, 'Vito Fumagalli e le aristocrazie', pp. 268, 278–82.

6 Such as Sergi, *I confini del potere*; Cammarosano, *Nobili e re*.

7 See Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*; Violante, *Atti privati e storia medievale*.

8 Results from that time were collected in the series *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti*.

9 See Tellenbach, 'Zur Bedeutung der Personenforschung'.

10 See Lazzari, 'La rappresentazione dei legami'.

11 Not all the historiography agrees on this method, assuming that it is a projection of historians: Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*; Hummer, *Visions of Kingship*. See also the recent and comprehensive account of the transformation of Italian elites and aristocratic groups by Schoolman, 'Aristocracies in Early Medieval Italy'.



The investigation has been further enriched thanks to encounters with recent historiographical achievements in other European countries, primarily France, where the careful use of anthropological instruments in historical analyses has even enabled a reanalysis and redrafting of the general framework of the institutional history of early medieval Europe.¹² Specific attention has been placed on female actors and on the complexity of horizontal relationships in broad groups.¹³ This perspective allows us as never before to put together an overall picture of Hucpolding development and history.

On the theme of political relationships established by early medieval aristocracies, one must consider the lack of studies in family history dedicated to aristocratic networks and cognatic ties, both features essential to these kind of social groups.¹⁴ Recently, British historiography has developed effective models for understanding the policies and tactics applied to relationships of individuals at the top of Carolingian society: Janet Nelson and Simon MacLean have analysed, in a new light, the behaviours and above all the political relationships moulded by the last Carolingian emperors, Charles the Bald (875–877) and Charles the Fat (881–888);¹⁵ Stuart Airlie has closely investigated the relations and power-building networks of the Carolingian and Frankish aristocracies;¹⁶ Barbara Rosenwein has reconsidered the behaviour and munificent activities of Berengar I of Italy (888–924), who, despite widespread historiographical prejudice,¹⁷ can be followed back to a coherent and effective political strategy;¹⁸ and finally, Constance Bouchard has focused on the transformation of medieval aristocratic groups in an extensive study on the Bosonids.¹⁹

Along with the significant emergence of gender studies also applied to the early medieval period,²⁰ these dissertations brought about the recent investigation by Tiziana Lazzari into the political and patrimonial influence of the queens of the kingdom of Italy.²¹ A new gender analysis thus devised has

12 See Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*; Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir*; Bougard et al., 'Les élites du haut Moyen Âge'.

13 Crucial to these perspectives are Bougard, 'Les Supponides', and Lazzari, *Le donne nell'alto medioevo*.

14 Rare examples in Italian historiography are Delogu, 'Ricerche sull'aristocrazia', pt. 3; Pallavicino, 'Le parentele del marchese Almerico II'; Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo*.

15 Nelson, *Charles the Bald*; MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*; MacLean, 'After his death a great tribulation came to Italy ...'.

16 Airlie, *Power and Its Problem*.

17 See for example Tabacco, *Struggle for Power*, pp. 172–3.

18 Rosenwein, 'Family Politics of Berengar I'.

19 Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, pp. 74–97.

20 See Wood, 'Genealogy Defined by Women'.

21 *Il patrimonio delle regine*, ed. Lazzari.



also meant that the queens' kinships have had to be reconsidered and therefore the behaviour of the kingdom's magnates has had to be redefined, both within the aristocracy and towards the royal power. This is an approach which Lazzari had herself developed in her study of Supponid women.²² Although these lines of research are not specifically focused on examining the whole development of each aristocratic group, the overall view obtained from this historiographic perspective has also proven to be fundamental to an analysis applied to a much broader period, as in the case of the relations shaped by the Hucpoldings.

Property analysis and reconstruction of patronage networks alone occupy our attention for most of the second part of the book due to the quantity and complexity of the data. Primary importance should be given to patrimonial investigations because of patrimony's dispersion and abundance: it is precisely the land assets which indicate the territorial frameworks of the kinship group's political concerns. Properties are the better documented elements of the lineage history, thus they become both the focus of and the basis for an overall reconstruction of the Hucpolding issue.

The third part is composed of two chapters which form the conclusions of the whole study and the culmination of our prosopographical investigation and reconstruction of the group's patrimony. The book here moves away from interpretative models mentioned so far and proposes, through thematic analysis, the diachronic reconstruction of the evolution of group's powers and awareness of their relations of kinship. Indeed if in the first two sections, the objective is to identify, deconstruct and understand each single genealogical, political and patrimonial detail, this last section aims to lift into an overall framework the specific peculiarities that bond those individuals known as Hucpoldings.

Before proceeding to Chapter 1, a few words must be said about the documentary and narrative sources considered for this study.

Documentary Evidence: Dispersal of Properties, Archival Geography

Both the issues of political mobility and the dispersal of assets has affected in turn the conservation of pertinent documentary sources. The case of the Hucpoldings' archival holdings is representative of the way in which early medieval aristocracies operated within the kingdom of Italy: active in three different regional areas, the members of the group established relationships with a wide variety of both religious and lay associates, making it impossible

22 Lazzari, 'Una mamma carolingia'.



to concentrate on documents in a single archival centre, where continuous selections of their charters might have been gathered. This geographical spread is remarkable because it covers three different regions of the kingdom. Further, it also corresponds to an equally considerable documentary fragmentation, resulting in the majority of cases in differing amounts of evidence for each area of activity, even over a short to medium time span.

To overcome the difficulties posed by this documentary situation for an overall framework, it is necessary to consider each archival document beyond its immediate content. The aim here is to reconstruct the pathway by which each single item of evidence was preserved, thereby identifying the original collection and the religious institution to which it originally belonged. In this way, by giving importance to the geography of the archival fonds, it has been possible to reflect on each single area of property asset in a wider historical context, taking advantage of the great care taken by the religious houses to preserve these documents.²³ This methodology offers good opportunities to recognize and highlight long-standing political and patrimonial connections long hidden in surviving documentation between these collectors and individual representatives of the group.

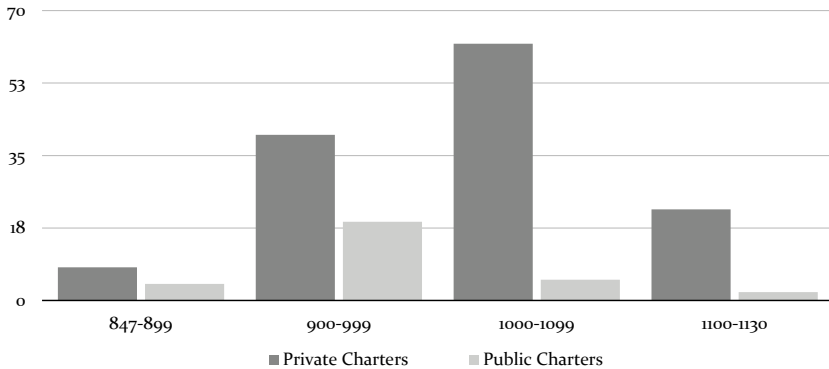
In the abbey of Nonantola for example,²⁴ a single document dated 936 certifies a direct patrimonial relationship between the powerful abbey and the Hucpoldings active in the same area, perhaps even in direct opposition to the *coenobium*. The absence of further documentation among the Nonantolan charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries would appear to bear witness to the lack of any other direct relationship between these figures, each hegemonic, in regard to a portion of land between Modena and Bologna. In any case, the conservation in the abbatial archive of some Hucpolding documents, written between 1094 and 1130 and regarding third parties, enables a patrimonial relationship to be established between them culminating in the final success of Nonantola.

From a numerical point of view, the charters relating to members of the Hucpoldings as leading and acting figures, witnesses or even just named, amount to 162: 12 dating to the ninth century, 59 to the tenth century, 67 to the eleventh, and finally, 24 for the early decades of the twelfth century. While the majority of the deeds are property transactions, there are 28 public documents, one part imperial diplomas, the other part *placita*, distributed as follows: 10 for the ninth and tenth centuries and 4 for the eleventh century.

23 At least until the twelfth century, any documentary collection was preserved by religious institutions: Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, pp. 53–5.

24 For a close analysis see Chapter 6.



Table 1. The Hucpoldings' charters: a general overview (847–1130)

As far as the origin of the collections is concerned, the documentation comes from numerous religious houses situated in the three geographical areas where the Hucpoldings were active. In Romagna, the archiepiscopal archive of Ravenna collected acts relating to the group from the end of the ninth century until the end of the eleventh.²⁵ This archive, however, does not represent the only archive of the exarchate area: albeit in lesser quantities, the archives of the Pomposa abbey and of S. Andrea Maggiore of Ravenna also preserve some charters concerning the group.²⁶

Highly fragmented preservation in Tuscany is a faithful reflection of the various spheres of activity of the kinship group over the centuries. The most continuous and considerable archives are to be found within Florence and surrounding area, where the group operated uninterruptedly from the middle of the ninth century. The archive of S. Giovanni's cathedral exclusively preserved the only surviving acts from the monastery of S. Andrea of Florence,²⁷ the first monastic associate of the group.²⁸ In the archive of S. Giovanni there are also acts dating from the eleventh and twelfth century

25 On the development and on the types of document in the archiepiscopal archive of Ravenna see *Ravenna 10.1*, pp. xvi–xxxvi.

26 On the Pomposa archive see *Regesta Pomposiae*, pp. 9–43. A hundred charters from S. Andrea Maggiore's archive are currently preserved at the BNF in Paris, bound in a single codex named *Codex Parisinus*; on the codex history and on its contents see Vespignani, *La Romània italiana*, pp. 116–20.

27 Most of S. Andrea's archive was probably merged with that of S. Miniato al Monte at the beginning of the eleventh century, when the latter institution was granted property rights on the former see *Le carte del monastero di S. Miniato al Monte*, p. 8.

28 See Chapter 5, pp. 187–90.

which relate to Adimarus' descendants, who were involved with the cathedral clergy milieu of Florence for a considerable length of time.²⁹ Also in Florence, there is the archive of S. Maria – the so-called *Badia fiorentina* – the first monastic foundation ascribable to the group.³⁰ In the countryside, we can add the archive of S. Salvatore a Settimo,³¹ a rural church which benefitted from the patrimony of the Hucpoldings from the ninth century where later the Cadolings established a Benedictine foundation. A little further into the Apennines towards the north in the Mugello area, we also consider the nunnery of S. Pietro a Luco, founded at the end of the eleventh century.³²

Coinciding with the group's attainment of the office of marquis of Tuscany, we can observe a wider archival fragmentation, a clear consequence of the significant spread of relations the group entered into in that area. The tenth-century charters relating to Willa I, Hugh I and Boniface II are preserved in various monastic, episcopal and ecclesiastical archives all over Tuscany. In addition to the collection belonging to the *Badia fiorentina*, copies or originals of deeds are preserved in the monastic archives of S. Michele di Marturi, S. Salvatore a Fontana Taona and S. Salvatore al Monteamiata, in the episcopal archives of Lucca and Volterra and in the chapter archives of Pisa and of Florence, already mentioned.

The archives of the monastery of Camaldoli and of S. Fedele di *Strumi*, on the other hand, preserve a good number of acts relating to the leading figures of the kinship group and their descendants who operated in the more eastern sector of the Tuscan Apennine area in direct contact with the valleys of Romagna.³³ The two monasteries were privileged beneficiaries of both the Guidi and of individuals representing the Bologna branch of the group, who were united in marriage with the former in the eleventh century. Documentation from the wealthy abbey of Polesine, S. Maria della Vangadizza, closely connected with Marquis Hugh I outside Tuscany, is also collated with the same Camaldoli archive. Indeed, it is likely that with the transfer of the abbey to Camaldoli determined by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) in 1213,³⁴ monastic charters also arrived there, where they were consulted and transcribed for the *Annales Camaldulenses*. Nonetheless, in

29 See Chapter 3, pp. 144–48.

30 *Badia fiorentina's* archive is now preserved in the *Diplomatico* of the Archivio di Stato of Florence; see *CdM Badia*, vol. 1, p. xi.

31 Now kept together with the collection of S. Frediano in Cestello also in the Florence *Diplomatico*; on the archival path see *Le carte di S. Salvatore a Settimo*, pp. xiii–xv.

32 S. Pietro a Luco's archive is also preserved in the Florence *Diplomatico*.

33 These two monastic archives were also gathered in the Florence *Diplomatico*.

34 See Vedovato, 'L'inizio della presenza', pp. 97–107.

the new location of the same archive at the Archivio di Stato of Florence it does not appear possible to trace any of the acts from the Vangadizza abbey, probably because they began at some point to follow another, unknown path of conservation.

Again, within Tuscan borders, one might expect to find a significant number of charters pertaining to any member of the kinship group in the archives of Arezzo, particularly for Eberhard, bishop of the city from c.963 to 979 (at least), but in actual fact there is no evidence at all.³⁵ Here there is a gap in documentation which repeats itself for the whole Marche region controlled on no less than four occasions by members of the Hucpoldings between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Despite undeniable political control, certified by the notarial custom of dating according to the years of ducal rule,³⁶ the archives of the religious houses in Spoleto and Camerino do not preserve any concrete evidence of the Hucpoldings.

For the western part of Emilia, the Bolognese territory is the richest area of evidence, thanks to a lengthy patrimonial presence recorded as early as the end of the ninth century, but more so thanks to the foundation of the private monastery, S. Bartolomeo di Musiano. The archive of the *coenobium*, which merged with that of the abbey of S. Stefano of Bologna in 1307,³⁷ preserves the majority of the charters of the group, both those drawn up with private individuals and naturally those in favour of the monks themselves. This collection of acts relates to the Apennine area south of Bologna and the plains to the north. Document survival from Musiano is, however, both fragmentary and insubstantial.

In the more eastern sector of the Bolognese Apennines, the archive of S. Cristina of Settefonti is also relevant,³⁸ since the nunnery collected a part of the documentation of the Bolognese branch of the group from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the area across the plains to the west, the monastery of S. Benedetto in *Adili* must have been a reference point for the first kinship members; however, its archive appears to be lost.³⁹ The only

35 The only charter by Eberhard which has survived was written in Bibbiena (Arezzo) and now preserved through an eleventh-century copy in Faenza, a section of the Archivio di Stato of Ravenna; see *Bologna 10*, no. 26. The copy was made at the abbey of Nonantola, which succeeded in establishing its hegemony over some of the landholdings the charter mentioned; see Chapter 6, pp. 227–28, 255.

36 These are acts belonging to monasteries and abbeys, such as Farfa, Casauria, S. Vittore sul Sentino, Chiaravalle of Fiastra and Fonte Avellana; see Chapters 2, pp. 87–88, and 3, p. 136.

37 Lazzari, *Comitato*, p. 15.

38 These charters are preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Bologna; acts between 1104 and 1230 are edited in synoptic form in Di Pietro, *Monasteri e chiese*, pp. 265–83.

39 On the monastery see Bottazzi, 'Il monastero di S. Benedetto in Adili'.

sketchy evidence is contained in a *breviarium* preserved at the abbey of Montecassino,⁴⁰ which owned the *coenobium* and occasionally undertook inspections of its asset administration.⁴¹ While yet cursory, the information is sufficient to outline the important relationships between *Adili* and the first Hucpoldings who settled in the Bologna area.

For the same region, acts preserved in the archive of Nonantola are also fundamental, as they certify a substantial number of the group's properties in the area over a long period of time: initially in the plains of *Saltusplanus* and then, between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the lower belt of hills along the valleys of the Reno and Lavino rivers. Lastly, evidence of the group's presence on the eastern plains of Bologna and Ferrara can be found in a number of archives in these cities: a good number of documents are preserved in the Bologna cathedral chapter's archive, in the archive of S. Stefano and in the one of S. Giovanni in Monte; others are kept in or are traceable to the archives of the archiepiscopal see of Ferrara and the town monasteries, S. Romano and S. Guglielmo.⁴²

For the first decades of the twelfth century, in addition to the documentation preserved in the monastic collections, mention must also be made of the older acts preserved by the city *comune* for the Bolognese: the pardon and the privilege of 1116 which Emperor Henry V (1111–1125) conceded to the people of Bologna, transcribed at the beginning of the *Registro Grosso*.⁴³ The typology of this source separates it from the patrimonial tenor of previous documentation, as it contains a selection of the acts in the first affirmation of the *comune* of Bologna, particularly in relation to the expansion into the surrounding countryside. The *Registro*, however, is just outside the chronological limits of this study, except for the first two charters issued by imperial power, which, as proof of the existence of an initial structure for a town council, mark a final reshaping of the political power of the Hucpolding lineage across a large part of the district of Bologna.⁴⁴

40 The *breviarium* of John of Montecassino – probably an interpolated text – is included in Peter the Deacon's *Registrum: Registrum Petri diaconi*, pp. 1541–3.

41 See Chapter 6, pp. 221–23.

42 For a general overview on Ferrara monastic and ecclesiastical archives see *Le carte ferraresi*, pp. 7–14.

43 The *Registro Grosso* was composed around 1220 by bringing together transcriptions of charters from the period 1116–1223, which were considered particularly relevant for the *comune* institution; see the edition in *I libri iurium del comune di Bologna*. On the medieval *comune* of Bologna see also the essays in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Bologna*.

44 See Chapter 3.



Narrative Sources

The contribution of narrative sources is important to the study of the Hucpoldings, despite its notable paucity.⁴⁵ In evaluating each literary contribution on the affairs of the first generations in Italy, one needs to consider its specific time and place, thereby permitting insight into how the group was perceived by its contemporaries. Three literary works written over the tenth century prove the presence and activity of the kinship group: *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* and Liutprand of Cremona's *Antapodosis* are sources which might be described as unrelated to the group, since they deal with Hucpolding representatives in so far as they were involved in royal politics throughout the ninth and tenth centuries;⁴⁶ the so-called *Epitome chronicorum Casinensium* – a much lesser-known source which focused on the history of Montecassino abbey – contains in its last part a distinctive narrative sequence isolated from the context, whose particular characteristics allow us to attribute its elaboration to a monastic environment very close to the Hucpoldings.

It is this text, less familiar to scholars, that warrants a little more introduction. As the later title would suggest, the *Epitome Chronicorum Casinensium* chronicles the history of the Benedictine abbey from its establishment until its second destruction at the end of the ninth century, and includes a notable quantity of document transcriptions useful in authenticating the monks' properties.⁴⁷ It is a complex text both in its composition and its tradition, which today still lacks a detailed analysis.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as with all historical compositions relating to medieval Montecassino, it is necessary to take into account Peter the Deacon's reworking – and in some cases out-and-out falsification – over the twelfth century.

45 Beyond tenth-century narratives, one has to consider also briefer accounts from later sources: dated to eleventh century, Hucpolding notices are to be found in two letters by Peter Damian (*Die Briefe des Petrus*, nos. 51, 68) and a passage from the *Vita Mathildis* by Donizo of Canossa (Donizone, *Vita di Matilde di Canossa*, vv. 452–3, p. 46); to the thirteenth century with Magister Tolosanus' chronicle, which includes some relevant passages concerning the kinship branch that settled in Romagna.

46 On these sources see Bougard, 'Le couronnement impérial'; Duplessis, 'Les sources des gloses'; Albertoni, 'La fine dell'impero'; Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona*; Gandino, *Il vocabolario politico*; Buc, 'Italian Hussies'.

47 On Montecassino's early history see Bloch, *Monte Cassino*; Dell'Omo, 'Montecassino altomedievale'; Marrazzi, 'Pellegrini e fondatori'.

48 A first attempt, with Latin transcription and English translation of the Hucpoldings' episode, in Manarini, 'Sex, Denigration'.



The episode that portrays the Hucpoldings as protagonists, however, is hard to attribute to the work of the Cassinese monk; indeed, it is precisely its inclusion at the end of the *ECC* which significantly complicates the unambiguous opinion of falsehood which the German academic Erich Caspar expressed on the whole text in the early 1900s;⁴⁹ indeed, it is the version of the *ECC* printed by Ludovico Muratori that includes the story of the affairs of Hucpold, his wife and his son, Hubald I.⁵⁰ At the time of the Modenese historian, that manuscript of the chronicle could be found in the library of the Cassinese monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore of Venice;⁵¹ later, along with most of the books owned by the Venetian monasteries, it was moved to Padua, first to the former monastery of S. Anna and finally to the current university library where it is still housed today.⁵²

Along with its allusive attribution to a certain librarian of the Holy See, Anastasius, who lived in the eighth century,⁵³ many distinguishing features make the *ECC*'s origin and analysis quite difficult. Nonetheless, a passage concerning the Hucpoldings in one version of the *ECC* permits the hypothesis that that version, or at least some parts of it, came from monastic institutions of Emilia that had been in contact with the kinship group between the ninth and tenth centuries.

This passage needs some explanation before we delve further. The attempt at seduction and the subsequent clash provide the backdrop to the rigorous rivalry that ran between the Hucpolding and Supponid groups for control of the public districts of Emilia, particularly those in the area of Modena.⁵⁴ Indeed, the *comitatus Mutinensis* is the only district to be mentioned explicitly within a total list of nine countships described in the *ECC*.⁵⁵ Linguistic analysis of the Latin text allows the composition of the work to be dated to the central decades of the tenth century,⁵⁶ the period when the Hucpoldings settled more permanently in the Emilian sector. Lastly, we can observe that the only copy of this particular version so far

49 See Caspar, *Petrus diaconus*, pp. 111–21; following Caspar's analysis the *ECC* is commonly placed among Peter the Deacon's forgeries: *Repertorium fontium*, pp. 123–5; see also Meyvaert, 'Peter the Deacon and the Tomb', pp. 24–41.

50 *ECC*, p. 370.

51 *ECC*, p. 347.

52 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, ms. 1607.

53 The supposed author's name is mentioned at the end of the first part of the text dated to 780: *ECC*, p. 363. The reference to this Anastasius *bibliothecarius* is a plausible hint of forgery: Caspar, *Petrus diaconus*, p. 120.

54 Lazzari, 'La creazione di un territorio', pp. 110–11; Manarini, 'Sex, Denigration'.

55 *ECC*, p. 370.

56 Lazzari, 'La creazione di un territorio', p. 117, n. 76.

discovered was preserved in the library of the monastery of S. Giorgio, which from the tenth century had properties in the lowlands of Bologna.⁵⁷ It would seem, therefore, that there was a connection between the Cassinese institution in Venice and the other monasteries of Emilia, also controlled by the same mother house in Montecassino. Among them, S. Benedetto in *Adili* had a certain relationship with the first Hucpoldings at the end of the ninth century.

Despite the *ECC* needing more complete and in-depth study, we can put forward a hypothesis concerning the birth and development of the passage that interests us here: the historical memoirs of the affairs of the Count Palatine Hucpold and his family may have been reinterpreted in a narrative style at one of the Cassinese houses in Emilia, maybe even S. Benedetto in *Adili*, itself. The text of the *ECC*, on the other hand, was composed at Montecassino over a period that falls between its second destruction in 883 and the middle of the twelfth century, when Peter the Deacon was librarian of the abbey. The work was then probably sent from the main institution to its various dependencies, including those in Emilia. Perhaps it was at this point, maybe indeed in the *scriptorium* of *Adili*, that the episode of Hucpold, whose lineage had long been dominant in territories between Modena and Bologna, was added to the Cassinese account.

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57 Pozza, 'Per una storia dei monasteri veneziani', p. 31.



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