While the bishop's away...:
Absentee bishops of Parma during the investiture conflict

Robert Houghton

At the start of the eleventh century the bishops of northern Italy were among the most powerful figures in the region. They typically held a broad array of lands, rights and jurisdictions and, as a result, they featured prominently within the politics of the Empire.[1] By the early decades of the twelfth century, the position of many of these bishops had changed dramatically and in many cities their temporal role was drastically curtailed.[2] This collapse of the secular authority of the Italian bishops is often linked to the Investiture Contest and a broader failure of imperial power in northern Italy.[3] It is argued that the Investiture Contest and, in particular, the installation of reforming bishops in the cities of Italy during this period caused the reduction of their secular role.[4] This is placed in stark contrast with the bishops of the "Imperial Church System" of previous centuries who are traditionally presented as loyal supporters of the emperor, chosen from his court and empowered through his intervention.[5] The bishops were no longer magnates of the empire

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[1] P. Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale (774-1252)*, Storia di Roma 10 (Bologna, 1947), pp. 117–8; V. Fumagalli, 'Il potere civile dei vescovi italiani al tempo di Ottone I', in C.G. Mor and H. Schmidinger (eds.), *I Poteri Temporali dei Vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1979), pp. 77–86, at p. 77; G. Albini, 'Vescovo, comune: il governo della citta tra XI e XIII secolo', in R. Greci (ed.), *Il governo del vescovo: chiesa, città, territorio nel Medioevo parmense* (Parma, 2005), pp. 67–85, at p. 67; J.W. Bernhardt, 'King Henry II of Germany: Royal Self-Representation and Historical Memory', in G. Althoff, J. Fried, and P.J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 39–70, at pp. 49–50.

[2] O. Banti, '"Civitas" e "comune" nelle fonti italiani dei secoli XI e XII', in G. Rosseti (ed.), *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1977), pp. 217–32, at pp. 231–2; R. Bordone, *La società cittadina del Regno d'Italia: Formazione e sviluppo delle caratteristiche urbane nei secoli XI e XII* (Turin, 1987), pp. 7–18; C. Wickham, 'The sense of the past in Italian communal narratives', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the past in twelfth-century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 173–90, at pp. 185–6; E. Coleman, 'Sense of Community and Civic Identity in the Italian Communes', in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds.), *The community, the family, and the saint: patterns of power in early medieval Europe: selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994, 10-13 July 1995*, International medieval research 4 (Turnhout [Belgium], 1998), pp. 45–60, at p. 45.

[3] C. Wickham, 'Getting justice in twelfth-century Rome', in C. Dartmann et al. (eds.), *Zwischen Pragmatik und Performanz: Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur*, Utrecht studies in medieval literacy 18 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2011), pp. 103–31.

[4] J.K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The evolution of Civil Life, 1000-1350* (London, 1973), p. 41; M. Guenza, 'Pastori e signori: La grande potenza dei vescovi parmensi', in R. Greci (ed.), *Il governo del vescovo: chiesa, città, territorio nel Medioevo parmense* (Parma, 2005), pp. 47–66, at p. 53.

[5] J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, MGH Scriften 16.2 (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 40–7; L. Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna, 1964), pp. 44–9; R. Schumann, *Authority and the Commune, Parma 833-1133* (Parma, 1973), pp. 146–7.

concerned with upholding imperial power, but rather tools of the Gregorian reformers dedicated to removing themselves from the corruption of the secular world. This broad narrative of the Investiture Contest has overshadowed analysis of political change on a local level. Many bishops did lose their secular roles during this conflict, but closer inspection of the charter sources suggests that this was more a result of prolonged physical or political absences from their see than an immediate consequence of changing ideologies. This paper will take the bishops of Parma as a case study to demonstrate the gradual nature of this transformation of the political position of the Italian bishops and to highlight the importance of the absence of the bishop in this transition.

Over the course of the last decade Miller, Cushing and Stroll amongst others have provided extensive and insightful accounts of historiographical trends relating to the Investiture Contest.[6] As they observe, various historians have highlighted inconsistencies within the narrative of the Investiture Contest and the Gregorian reform movement and how these interacted with the Imperial Church System of the German Empire. Two themes raised by these authors are especially relevant here:

Firstly, the presentation of reform as an activity undertaken by the papacy and opposed by the emperor has been challenged. Local reform movements have been given greater prominence in recent works: Robinson and Miller in particular have shifted the emphasis of reform from a centralised movement driven by the pope in Rome to a series of local initiatives supported by the lower orders of the clergy but driven by the laity.[7] Likewise, authors such as Schmidt, Tellenbach and Stroll have emphasised that those opposed to Gregory VII and his followers were not necessarily opposed to reform, rather

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[6] K.G. Cushing, *Reform and the papacy in the eleventh century: spirituality and social change*, Manchester medieval studies (Manchester, 2005), pp. 32–6; M.C. Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', *History Compass* 7.6 (2009), pp. 1570–80; M. Stroll, *Popes and antipopes: the politics of eleventh century church reform*, Studies in the history of Christian traditions v. 159 (Leiden, 2012), pp. 1–7.

[7] M.C. Miller, 'Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996), pp. 311–32; M.C. Miller, 'Religion makes a difference: Clerical and lay cultures in the courts of Northern Italy, 1000-1300', *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), pp. 1097–130, at p. 1099; M.C. Miller, *The bishop's palace: architecture and authority in medieval Italy*, Conjunctions of religion & power in the medieval past (Ithaca, 2000); I.S. Robinson (ed.), *The papal reform of the eleventh century: lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, Manchester medieval sources series (Manchester, 2004), p. 1.

they differed in their views about how this reform should be carried out.[8] In sum, the Investiture Contest was not just a two sided affair of pope against emperor. Bishops, aristocrats and cities were not simply "Imperial" or "Papal", but were very much concerned with their own interests and goals.[9]

Secondly, the nature of the Imperial Church System has come under scrutiny.[10] As numerous authors have demonstrated, although the emperor played a decisive role in the selection of the bishops in this period, this should not be viewed as evidence for their loyalty.[11] Once in office, the bishops under the Ottonians and Salians often owed greater allegiance to their new diocese than to the emperor and upholding the interests of their diocese could lead them into conflict with the emperor.[12] While bishops invested by the Emperor sometimes held personal connections with him, this should not be interpreted as unwavering mutual support. Instead, the bishops were powerful figures whose support needed to be courted and maintained just like that of the secular magnates.

These points present a complex picture of reform within the Investiture Contest: one which is very far removed from a simple conflict between the reforming pope and conservative emperor over the issue of investiture. However, many studies of Church, Imperial or Italian history still reduce this complex political situation to a single issue church against state conflict. Miller has observed this trend and has highlighted a tendency among historians of these events to acknowledge these new arguments but to create

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[8] G. Tellenbach, *The Church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*, Cambridge medieval textbooks (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 159–60; M.A. Schmidt, 'Der 1061 zu Basel gewählte Gegenpapst Honorius II', in S. Slanička (ed.), *Begegnungen mit dem Mittelalter in Basel: eine Vortragsreihe zur mediävistischen Forschung*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 171 (Basel, 2000), pp. 11–20, at p. 17; Stroll, *Popes and antipopes*, pp. 243–7.

[9] J.A.F. Thomson, *The Western church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1998), p. 94.

[10] Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen*; T. Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.3 (1982), pp. 347–74.

[11] G. Althoff and H. Keller, *Heinrich I. und Otto der Grosse: Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe*, Persönlichkeit und Geschichte Bd. 122/123-124/125 (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 217–22; E. Hlawitschka, *Vom Frankenreich zur Formierung der europäischen Staaten- und Völkergemeinschaft, 840-1046: ein Studienbuch zur Zeit der späten Karolinger, der Ottonen und der frühen Salier in der Geschichte Mitteleuropas* (Darmstadt, 1986), pp. 212–5; T. Reuter, *Germany in the early middle ages, c. 800-1056* (London, 1991), pp. 156–8; J.W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship and royal monasteries in early medieval Germany: c. 936-1075*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4th ser., 21 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 27–8.

[12] H. Keller, 'Grundlagen ottonischer Königsherrschaft', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach* (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 17–34, at pp. 26–7; Reuter, *Germany in the early middle ages*, pp. 156–8; Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship*, p. 28.

accommodations within the existing narrative rather than to reconsider the narrative as a whole.[13] While the political, social and religious nuances of reform and the Investiture Contest have been demonstrated repeatedly, there has been little real change to the overall narrative.

The changing secular role of the Italian bishops during the eleventh century is a case in point: it remains typical to make a direct connection between the loss of a bishop's secular power and the reconciliation of his see with the pope. In Parma, prior to 1104 the bishops had been close allies of the emperor: Cadalus (1045-1072) had been anti-pope, Everard (1072-1084) and Guido (1091-1104) were both active in the imperial court and host.[14] These bishops are typically presented as holders of important secular powers. However, Guido's successor, Bernard degli Uberti (1104-1133), was an avowed supporter of the successors of Gregory VII and thus is presented relinquishing his secular powers because of his adherence to Gregorian ideologies.[15] In reality, as I will demonstrate below, the situation was significantly more complicated but this has been ignored or accommodated to fit within the existing narrative. For example, Schumann, who has provided one of the most detailed discussions of the social and political history of Parma in this period, acknowledges that the bishop's secular position was undermined during the episcopate of Guido, hence before the installation of Bernard, but argues that this was largely because of ideological and military pressure from the Gregorian reform movement.[16] The collapse of the bishop's power remains tied to ideological change.

Although reform ideology certainly had significant impact on the political situation within the Italian cities, this focus on ideology has led to the eclipse of more practical reasons for these changes, such as the changing practical needs of these bishops, their engagement with shifting Imperial policy and strategy, and the prolonged absence of many of these bishops from their cities during this period. These two assumptions, that the Italian

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[13] Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', p. 1570.

[14] G. Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens: unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern mit den Listen der Bischöfe 951-1122*, Reprints 4 (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 186–7; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 159–60; P. Bonacini (ed.), 'Sulle Strade dei Canossa dal Parmense Tutto Intorno', in 'Sulle Strade dei Canossa dal Parmense Tutto Intorno', *Studi Matildici IV Atti e Memorie del Convegno Il territorio parmense da Carlo Magno ai Canossa* (Modena, 1997), pp. 11–44, at p. 32.

[15] E. Nasali Rocca, 'Parma e la Contessa Matilde', in 'Parma e la Contessa Matilde', *Studi matildici: atti e memorie del Convegno di studi matildici (Modena e Reggio Emilia 19, 20, 21 ottobre 1963)* (Modena, 1964), pp. 53–68, at p. 61; Guenza, 'Pastori e signori', pp. 47–66.

[16] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 97, 211.

bishops lost their secular power suddenly and that this was caused by the ideological change connected to the installation of a Gregorian bishop in a given see, need to be questioned.

This historiographical trend can be connected to the types of sources favoured by many modern authors. There remains a tendency to follow the narrative sources, most typically the lives of reforming bishops and of the reforming popes. The key issue with these documents is that their authors sought to present the bishops in preparation for their ascension to sainthood.[17] As a result, the bishops who supported the popes are presented as model reformers while whose who supported the emperor are presented as grasping and simoniac. The predominance of these sources as the basis for the historiography has certainly influenced the common narrative.

In contrast, the charter sources have been relatively underused. Where they do appear they are generally employed to augment arguments based on the narrative sources. This is problematic as it restricts our perspective of the changing role of the bishops. There are certainly issues connected with the use of the charter sources. Certain types of document are significantly more likely to survive than others; the position of the Church as the leading repository for these documents means that a high survival rate can be expected for documents which supported the interests of clerical institutions and a rather lower survival rate for documents which did not benefit the keepers of the clerical archives. Rhetoric within these documents must also be noted; terms and phrases were often selected to underline the rights of those who composed the texts. However, despite these issues, a more extensive consideration of the charter sources can provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of the period.

Through the use of the charter sources I will first demonstrate that there was a reduction in the visibility of the bishops of Parma in secular roles within their diocese during the second half of the eleventh century and that this coincided with an increase in the political and economic activity of several other local groups. I will argue that these

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[17] A.M. Orselli, 'L'idea e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana', in 'L'idea e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana', *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale* (Ravenna, 1985), pp. 3–182; M.F. Patrucco, 'Le origini', in R. Greci (ed.), *Il governo del vescovo: chiesa, città, territorio nel Medioevo parmense* (Parma, 2005), pp. 13–28; H.C. Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien*, Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat 13 (Zurich, 1955).

groups often came into competition with the bishop and that this led to a reduction in the bishop's secular role and authority. Finally, I will present this decline in episcopal authority as a result of the changing focus and role of the bishops, arguing that Cadalus, Everard, Guido and Bernard all held positions which repeatedly drew them away from their diocese and allowed other groups and individuals to usurp the bishop's power.

The secular activity of Parma's bishops, cathedral chapter and proto-commune

At the start of the eleventh century, the bishop of Parma was undoubtedly the dominant figure in his diocese. He was the leading landholder in the county and held dominion over most of the key monasteries and churches of the area.[18] He had extensive rights of jurisdiction over the diocese. The bishop had been granted the jurisdictional rights over the *curtis regia* and *districtus* of the city by Carloman in 879.[19] This was extended to judicial control and immunities over a three mile radius around the city by Otto I in 962.[20] Ultimately, after prolonged negotiations, the bishop of Parma, Hugh (1027-1040), received the *comitatus* within the diocese in the 1030s which gave him the comital rights over justice within the diocese and restricted the rights of the counts of Parma to the small portion of the east of the county which lay outside the diocese.[21] Individual bishops held strong connections with key figures in Italy and the Empire. Siegfried (981-1012) was related to the Canossans, a powerful local family, and was extremely active within the diocese, consolidating his control over the region.[22] Henry (1015-1027) and Hugh served as Imperial chancellors and both had their position strengthened and extended by the Emperor

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[18] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 117.

[19] P.F. Kehr (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Karlmanns', in 'Die Urkunden Karlmanns', *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, Die Urkunden der Deutschen Karolinger 1 (Berlin, 1934), fol. 24.

[20] T. Sickel (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Otto I', in 'Die Urkunden Otto I', *Die Urkunden Konrad I, Heinrich I und Otto I*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1 (Hannover, 1884), fol. 239.

[21] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 45–6; Guenza, 'Pastori e signori', p. 59.

[22] V. Fumagalli, 'Per la storia di un grande possesso canossiano nel Parmense: La corte di "Vilinianum"', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienschen archiven und Bibliotheken* 49 (1968), pp. 73–94, at pp. 89–91; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 197–8.

through a series of charters.[23] These bishops embody the image of ecclesiastical rule through extensive and effective secular powers.

However, even at this early point there were occasional challenges to the bishop's authority. Most dramatically a riot in Parma at Christmas in 1037 threatened the lives of the bishop and the emperor Conrad II who was visiting the city. The riot was only put down through the intervention of the imperial host: a massive external force.[24] This riot targeted the bishop and its timing suggests that it was a protest against his acquisition of comital jurisdiction throughout the diocese and how this would interact with the rights of the rioters as set out by the *Constitutio de feudis* earlier in 1037.[25] Although the rioters were defeated, the incident displayed the ability and willingness of the city of Parma to rise against its bishop for the first time. As such an uprising did not happen again in Parma until 1104 this earlier riot has been viewed as an isolated incident.[26] However, while the intervening bishops did not face such a visible threat to their power it is possible to observe a steady erosion of their authority over the course of the later eleventh century. Several changes demonstrate the bishop's withdrawal from the government of his diocese while highlighting the increasing importance of several groups and individuals with competing interests.

An important indication of the reduction of the bishop's secular role in Parma appears in 1059 when Cadalus began the construction of a new cathedral and episcopal palace outside the city walls.[27] As Miller has argued, this demonstrated the reduced prominence of the bishop within the city.[28] The movement of imperial, episcopal and comital palaces beyond the walls of the cities of Italy during this period was connected to

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[23] Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens*, p. 186; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 97.

[24] C. Violante, 'Aspetti della politica italiana di Enrico III prima della sua discesa in Italia (1039-1046)', *Rivista storica italiana* 64 (1952), pp. 157–76, at p. 170; G. Fasoli, 'La realtà cittadina nei territori canossiani', in 'La realtà cittadina nei territori canossiani', *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del III Convegno di Studi matildici (Reggio Emilia, 7 - 9 ottobre 1977)* (Modena, 1978), pp. 55–78, at p. 62; Albini, 'Vescovo, comune', p. 69.

[25] P. Brancoli Busdraghi, *La formazione storica del feudo Lombardo come diritto reale*, Testi, studi, strumenti 15 (Spoleto, 1999), pp. 76–93, 173–5.

[26] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 210.

[27] Guenza, 'Pastori e signori', p. 60.

[28] M.C. Miller, 'Topographies of Power in the urban centres of Medieval Italy: Communes, Bishops and Public Authority', in P. Findlen, M. Fontaine, and D.J. Osheim (eds.), *Beyond Florence: the contours of medieval and early modern Italy* (Stanford, 2003), pp. 182–3.

an acknowledgment of the autonomy of the citizens of these cities.[29] By physically removing himself, Cadalus recognised a change in his role as bishop and a reduction in his power over the city. This change in the role of the bishop is highlighted by Schumann's observation that the court sessions held by the bishops after this point were conducted outside the city.[30] Although the cathedral was not completed and consecrated until 1106, the start of these constructions was an implicit acknowledgement by the bishop of his reduced role.

Alongside this physical withdrawal, there is considerable evidence that the bishops of Parma steadily withdrew from the government of their diocese. The clearest sign of this is the dramatic reduction in the number of surviving charters issued by these bishops during the late eleventh century. The existence of these charters is a meter not only for the actual economic, political and jurisdictional powers of the bishop, but also for the symbolic importance of his association with these transactions in the minds of his congregation.[31] As such, their rate of survival is a useful gauge for an individual bishop's visibility and authority.

Cadalus was initially quite active, between 1046 and October 1061 he issued four charters.[32] These included three documents granting lands and rights to the monastery of San Paolo in the centre of Parma, a wealthy and prestigious institution, which underlined Cadalus' control over his city.[33] The fourth of these documents gave land in *precaria* to Guido, a *iudex* of the palace and *advocatus* for the church of Parma.[34] Again, the existence of the document underlines a connection between the bishop and a key figure within the

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[29] P. Racine, 'Naissance de la place civique en Italie', in J. Heers (ed.), *Fortifications, portes de villes, places publiques, dans le monde méditerranéen*, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 4 (Paris, 1985), pp. 301–22, at p. 315; M. Morselli, *Le origini di un comune cittadino: analisi di alcuni documenti del liber privilegiorum comunis mantue* (Modena, 1992), p. 67; Miller, 'Topographies of Power in the urban centres of Medieval Italy', p. 187.

[30] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 206–7.

[31] H. Keller, 'Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und Ottonen: Urkunden als "Hoheitszeichen" in der Kommunikation des Königs mit seinen Getreuen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 400–41, at pp. 431, 435; O. Guyotjeannin, 'Ecrire en chancellerie', in M. Zimmermann (ed.), *Auctor et auctoritas: invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale : actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 14-16 juin 1999* (Paris, 2001), pp. 17–35, at pp. 17–21; E.J. Goldberg, *Struggle for empire: kingship and conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca, 2009), p. 213.

[32] G. Drei, *Le carte degli archivi parmensi del secoli X-XI*, 2 vols, 2 (Parma, 1928), fols 77, 78, 83, 108.

[33] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 77, 78, 83.

[34] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 108.

city. Cadalus also appears in three charters associated with the imperial court.[35] The first of these, produced on 12 November 1046, was a *placito* issued by Anselm, a royal *misus*, which ruled in favour of Cadalus and returned lands near Vicenza to control of the bishop.[36] In the following year on 1 May, Henry III created a charter confirming Cadalus in his rights as bishop, including control of the *comitatus*.[37] Finally, on 13 July 1052, Henry issued a charter supporting Cadalus' endowment of the monastery of San Giorgio in Braida near Verona with several holdings in the region.[38] These documents demonstrate a very visible connection between the emperor and the bishop of Parma, legitimising Cadalus' authority within his diocese. Cadalus' political involvement with other key figures in and around his diocese is demonstrated through two surviving documents.[39] On 18 June 1051 Boniface of Canossa, the most powerful secular figure in the region, issued a judgement in favour of Cadalus concerning property at Sala near Modena.[40] In a charter of 15 May 1060 a group of landholders donated property to Cadalus to support the foundation of a chapel in Vitaliano dedicated to St Peter.[41] Throughout the first fifteen years of his episcopate, Cadalus was closely connected with important individuals and institutions within his diocese and with the emperor. He carried out his secular roles with great energy.

However, after he claimed the papal throne in October 1061, Cadalus almost disappears from the charter record. He issued one further charter before his death in 1072, a grant to his cathedral chapter on 20 April 1069,[42] and is mentioned in only one donation, a gift of land in Sala by one Tegrime on 29 July 1062.[43] Subsequent bishops followed this trend. Everard appeared only rarely within the charters of his city, producing only three surviving documents over the course of his episcopate while no charters issued by Guido or Bernard survive.[44] Only one donation was received by these three bishops: a document dated 15 January 1114 from the court of Matilda of Canossa gifting land in Monticello in

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[35] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 81; H. Bresslau (ed.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 5 (Berlin, 1931), fols 197, 298.
[36] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 81.
[37] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fol. 197.
[38] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fol. 298.
[39] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 90, 107.
[40] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 90.
[41] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 107.
[42] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 122.
[43] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 111.
[44] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 128, 139, 140.

the county of Parma to Bernard.[45] The gradual disappearance of the bishops of Parma from these charters, starting in the last decade of the episcopate of Cadalus and continuing under his successors, is a strong indication of their reduced role in the secular sphere.

The appearance and absence of imperial *diplomata* issued to these bishops of Parma are of particular importance. These documents were statements of imperial support for and protection of the rights of the bishop within his city and diocese. The receipt of these documents was a statement not just of the emperor's authority to grant these rights, but also of the bishop's authority to exercise these rights. Cadalus had his episcopal rights, including the controversial control of the *comitatus*, confirmed within a document of 1047.[46] This was an important declaration of imperial support for his authority and underlined the central role the bishop of Parma continued to play within the city. However, no such documents survive confirming Everard, Guido or Bernard in their rights as bishop. This is significant because every previous bishop of Parma since the reign of Otto II (973-983) had received royal or imperial confirmation of their rights.[47] These omissions, combined with the relatively low output of their episcopal chanceries imply a reduced role for these bishops in the rule of their diocese.

While the bishops of Parma became steadily less involved in the production and receipt of charters within and around their diocese several other groups and individuals became more prominent. The cathedral chapter is a particular example of this shift in political activity. The canons had their rights upheld by Henry III (in 1055), Henry IV (in two documents in 1081) and Henry V (in 1111).[48] The charter of Henry III, produced on 6 June 1055, simply restated imperial protections for the canons of Parma granted in earlier

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[45] E. Goez and W. Goez (eds.), *Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, Monumenta Germaniae historica. Laienfürsten- und Dynastenurkunden der Kaiserzeit 2 (Hannover, 1998), fol. 132.

[46] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fol. 197.

[47] T. Sickel (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Otto des II', in 'Die Urkunden Otto des II', *Die Urkunden Otto des II und Otto des III*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 2 (Hannover, 1893), fol. 257; H. Bresslau (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Heinrichs II', in 'Die Urkunden Heinrichs II', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II und Arduin*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 3 (Hannover, 1900), fol. 71; H. Bresslau (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Konrads II', in 'Die Urkunden Konrads II', *Die Urkunden Konrads II, Mit Nachträgen zu den Urkunden Heinrichs II*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 4 (Hannover, 1909), fol. 98.

[48] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fol. 342; H. Bresslau (ed.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 6 (Hannover, 1909), fols 340, 341; A. Gawlik and M. Thiel (eds.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs V. und der Königin Mathilde*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 7 (München, 2003), fol. 73.

charters issued by Otto II and Otto III.[49] The documents produced by Henry IV, on 3 and 14 December 1081, record legal proceedings in favour of the canons of Parma and confirming their control of property in Madregolo and Pizzo respectively.[50] This extended territory was reiterated alongside the more general guarantees of immunity and protection by Henry V on 16 May 1111.[51] This series of documents demonstrates an ongoing imperial connection with the cathedral chapter in Parma and a fairly substantial extension of the lands held by this institution. The corresponding absence of imperial charters recognising the authority of Everard, Guido and Bernard suggests that the cathedral chapter was being recognised as a more prominent political power and was displacing the traditional connection between the emperor and the bishop.

At the same time, several of the surviving charters of Cadalus and Everard extended the lands and rights of the cathedral chapter or individuals within it.[52] The first of these, produced by Cadalus on 20 March 1069, granted land (*mascaricia*) in Vigoferdulfi and Penolini.[53] This was followed in 1081 by two documents created by Everard, the first confirmed a donation to the cathedral chapter by the canon Albert, the second went further guaranteeing all the rights and lands held by the cathedral chapter. [54] This final charter was almost unprecedented in its scope, only the 877 foundation charter of the cathedral chapter issued by bishop Guibodo had provided such a unilateral declaration of the political position of the cathedral chapter in relation to the bishop.[55] The receipt of these documents demonstrate that the cathedral chapter was becoming more prominent in economic and political terms: its members were receiving control of greater lands and rights and having these rights recognised by important figures. The appearance of these documents does not necessarily mean that the cathedral chapter was at odds with the bishop or that the canons were coming to eclipse their prelate politically. However, the interaction between the

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[49] Sickel (ed.), 'O2', fol. 253; T. Sickel (ed.), 'Die Urkunden Otto des III', in 'Die Urkunden Otto des III', *Die Urkunden Otto des II und Otto des III*, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 2 (Hannover, 1893), fol. 343.
[50] Bresslau (ed.), *H4*, fols 340, 341.
[51] Gawlik and Thiel (eds.), *H5*, fol. 73.
[52] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 122, 139, 140.
[53] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 122.
[54] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 139, 140.
[55] U. Benassi, *Codice diplomatico parmense: secolo VIIII* (Parma, 1910), fol. 13.

canons and the emperor demonstrates a more active role for this organisation which coincided with a reduction in the activity of the bishop.

During this period members of the cathedral chapter also appear more frequently as the donors of charters. The canons had participated in this role before, but these documents were previously produced in isolation. At several points during the late eleventh century the canons undertook unprecedented levels of charter activity. Between 1064 and 1068 members of the cathedral chapter appear issuing three charters.[56] A more substantial and prolonged burst of activity began after the death of Everard: 18 charters were issued by representatives of the cathedral chapter between 1087 and 1102.[57] The chapter remained active in the production of charters throughout the episcopate of Bernard.[58] Not only was the importance of the cathedral chapter recognised by the emperors and the bishops, but its members played a demonstrably greater role in the government of the diocese.

There is also evidence that the laity within Parma became more politically active during the eleventh century. Beyond the politically motivated riots of 1037 and 1104 the charter record provides other, more subtle, indicators of growing political and economic activity. Between the end of the 1040s and the start of the 1070s the rate of survival of documents mentioning lay individuals without public office increased from one or two a decade to seven or eight a decade. This suggests firstly that the economic activity of lay individuals was increasing and secondly that these individuals sought to have this activity formalised, gaining a position within the legislative system. Both of these factors suggest that lay individuals within the city were becoming more important.

The language used within the charters relating to the laity in Parma provides evidence of progressively stronger collective political identity and activity across this period. Local individuals mentioned in the episcopal and private documents of Parma of the eleventh century were increasingly identified as *de civitate Parmense* or *de Parmense*. Such documents were created in 1032, 1038, 1044, 1049, 1057, 1058 and this rate of production continued throughout the eleventh century.[59] The use of the terminology *de*

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[56] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 112, 115, 119.
[57] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 146, 147, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 169; G. Drei, *Le carte degli archivi parmensi del secoli XII* (Parma, 1950), fols 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12.
[58] Drei, *CAP12*, fols 32, 33, 55, 58.
[59] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 51, 64, 75, 89, 102, 105, 129, 135, 157.

civitate Parmense to describe secular participants in the documents of the church of Parma appears first on 26 June 853 when the brothers Gariberto and Arioaldo, son of Ragimbaldo, of the city of Parma (*de civitate Parmense*) are recorded completing a transaction with the archdeacon Ariberto.[60] Several other private and episcopal documents created throughout the ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries made use of this terminology, but it was only in the 1030s to 1050s that this term appears to have become relatively common. Prior to this point, episcopal documents involving transfers of lands or leases were more commonly drawn up to refer to the secular parties only by their patronyms. This shift in terminology is representative of a recognition of the nature of the city as a social foci first by the bishop and cathedral chapter of Parma and later by the inhabitants of the city itself. While this is by no means conclusive evidence of a strong urban identity, it does suggest an increasing tendency to view Parma as a city, as the central focus of the county and as a means to describe those within it. These individuals were being recognised as part of a politically and economically important element within Parma. This was not a sudden change and must be seen as a gradual shift over the course of many decades, but nevertheless reflects a fundamental transformation in the ideological and practical role of the urban laity.

In sum, the charter record presents a steadily decreasing visibility of the bishops of Parma throughout this period while the cathedral chapter and laity became more visible. This in turn demonstrates a more important and more active role for individuals and groups within the city and a fundamental change in how the diocese was governed. Taken in isolation, this does not demonstrate the erosion of the bishop's authority. To show this it is necessary address the allegiances of and interactions between these various active powers within this changing local political structure and within the broader scope of the Investiture Contest.

Challenges to episcopal authority

The increasing political and economic prominence of the cathedral chapter and the laity within Parma coincided with several direct challenges to the authority of the bishop. Schumann has argued that the increasing involvement of the cathedral chapter in the

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[60] G. Drei, *Le carte degli archivi parmensi del secoli X-XI*, 2 vols, 1 (Parma, 1928), fol. 8.

governing of the diocese was undertaken with the consent of the bishops and that this was in fact a means by which the bishops strengthened their hold on Parma.[61] This is an attractive argument and it would justify the traditional perception of the eleventh century bishops of Parma as the leading secular power within their diocese. However, it has two flaws:

Firstly, there is no evidence that the increased role of the cathedral chapter did anything to halt the growing power of the laity within the city. This was demonstrated most spectacularly through the 1104 riot against Bernard, his subsequent two year exile, and the various concessions he was obliged to make to the laity during the rest of his episcopate.[62] However, as highlighted above, even before these dramatic events, the laity of Parma became markedly more active within the charter record and were increasingly recognised as part of a politically active group within these documents. Moreover, the increased charter activity of the cathedral chapter and the laity over the course of the eleventh century often coincided: members of these two groups often appear in the same documents. This suggests that interaction between the cathedral chapter and the laity of Parma increased while the bishop was marginalised. Empowering the cathedral chapter did not discourage the increase in economic and political importance of the laity of the city. On the contrary, interaction between the laity and the clergy increased the importance of both.

Secondly, there are signs that the clergy did not always act in the interests of the bishop. As early as 1046, envoys of the Emperor Henry III intervened in a dispute between Cadalus and his cathedral chapter. This dispute concerned the control of various lands around Vicenza and Parma and was resolved in favour of the canons.[63] This was a fairly minor incident, but it does demonstrate that episcopal control of the cathedral chapter was not complete even in the 1040s. A more serious example of clerical disobedience appears over the course of the late 1090s during the episcopate of Guido. In 1096, 1099 and 1100 charters were issued by Addo, prepositus of the church of Parma, which are recorded by Rodulfus or Vetus, notaries of King Conrad, the son of Henry IV.[64] This is significant

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[61] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 122–4.

[62] R. Volpini, 'Bernardo degli Uberti', in A.M. Ghisalberti (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 9 (Roma, 1967), pp. 292–9, at pp. 296–8; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 212–24; Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens*, pp. 187–8.

[63] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 80, 81, 82.

[64] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 165, 169, 172.

because Conrad was in rebellion against his father from 1093 while Guido remained a steadfast supporter of Henry.[65] Addo was therefore acting against Guido's interests, apparently in order to preserve and extend the power of the cathedral chapter. There is no evidence that Guido exercised any control over his clergy and the dispute between Cadalus and his canons in the 1040s suggest that this division had been developing for several decades.

These divisions suggest that while the bishops were often able to work alongside their clergy, this alliance was far from absolute. The cathedral chapter became central to the everyday running of Parma, taking control of roles previously held by the bishop, and its members were willing to use these new powers for their own ends even if these were counter to those of the bishop. Likewise, relationship networks shifted within Parma, removing the bishop from his prominent role and instead emphasising the dynamic between the cathedral chapter and the proto-commune.

Other threats to the bishop's authority within Parma were posed by powerful members of the lay nobility. A particular example of this is the Canossan family who appeared with increasing frequency in the charter sources for the monasteries and churches in and around Parma in the second half of the eleventh century. This corresponds to a long standing strategy of this family to extend their power through influence over clerical institutions.[66] The earliest surviving evidence of this in Parma appears in a charter of 18 July 1073 where Matilda of Canossa and her mother Beatrice donated a property in Castellucchio to the abbey of San Paolo within the city of Parma.[67] Most significantly, the pair used the charter to state that should the bishop of Parma or the abbess of the abbey

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[65] Fasoli, 'La realtà cittadina', p. 63; I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 287.

[66] V. Fumagalli, 'I Canossa tra realtà regionale e ambizioni europee', in 'I Canossa tra realtà regionale e ambizioni europee', *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del III Convegno di Studi matildici (Reggio Emilia, 7 - 9 ottobre 1977)* (Modena, 1978), pp. 27–37, at p. 33; R. Brunelli, 'Diocesi di Mantova', *Storia religiosa della Lombardia* 8 (1986), pp. 13–42, at p. 20; R. Rinaldi, 'Da Adalberto Atto a Bonifacio. Note e riflessioni per l'edizione di un Codice Diplomatico Canossano prematildico', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 101 (1997), pp. 13–91, at p. 28.

[67] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 9.

attempt to alienate these lands and their associated rights, then the property was to be given to the bishop of Mantua, a figure very much within the Canossan sphere of influence:[68]

> *Quod si Parmensis episcopus vel abbatissa predicti monasterii hoc*
> *secundum iamdictum tenorem non observaverint tunc predicta terra*
> *cum prenominata ecclesia et cum rebus ad eas pertinentibus deveniant*
> *in virtute et potestate Mantuani episcopi et tamdiu in sua potestate*
> *permaneant quousque parmensis episcopus vel abbatissa prefati*
> *monasterii suprascritum tenorem firmiter observaverint.* [69]

This was an explicit and direct challenge to Everard's authority within the city.[70] The monastery of San Paolo and its attached abbey was a powerful institution and was traditionally closely tied to the bishops of Parma: successive bishops had endowed the abbey.[71] Everard reacted quickly, restating the privileges received by the monastery from the bishop of Parma in a charter later that year.[72] Neither the Canossans nor the bishop of Mantua seem to have made any further attempt to draw San Paolo into their orbit during Everard's lifetime, so this attempt to assert Canossan influence seems to have failed in the short term. However, the existence of this exchange of charters does highlight the threat to the bishop's power posed by the Canossans.

In the later eleventh century, Matilda made a more concerted and successful effort to extend her influence over the monasteries within and around Parma. On 12 November 1099 she made a sizable donation to the monastery at Brescello on the edge of the diocese and county of Parma, including farms and woods across the county.[73] This was followed on 14 January 1107 by a reiteration and extension of earlier grants by the family to the abbey of San Paolo in Parma which were ultimately confirmed by Henry V on 28 September 1109.[74] These claims to authority were not countered by the bishop which implies an unwillingness or inability to oppose Canossan inroads into the county.

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[68] Fumagalli, 'I Canossa', p. 29; Rinaldi, 'Da Adalberto Atto a Bonifacio', pp. 73–4; P. Golinelli, 'L'Italia dopo la lotta per le investiture: la questione dell'eredità matildica', *Studi Medievali* 3 42.2 (2001), pp. 509–28, at p. 516.

[69] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 9.

[70] Nasali Rocca, 'Parma e la Contessa Matilde', pp. 57–8.

[71] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 18, 19, 42, 43, 77, 78.

[72] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 128.

[73] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 55.

[74] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fols 99, 118.

In addition to the Canossans, the count of Parma, Ubert, reappeared as a political force within Parma during the 1090s. The counts of Parma had held relatively little jurisdictional power within Parma since the 1030s when most of the *comitatus* had been transferred to the bishops.[75] However, Ubert issued a charter to the abbey of San Giovanni on 29 June 1093.[76] He did this just outside the walls of Parma, making a statement of his authority at the heart of the bishop's power, challenging the bishops jurisdiction over the *comitatus* and threatening the bishop's older rights of jurisdiction within and around the city. Likewise, he made a statement of his connection with the monastery of San Giovanni, an institution within Parma itself. Ubert can be seen as a rival to the bishops of Parma through his connection to Matilda demonstrated by his appearance as witness to several of her charters.[77] Furthermore, Ubert had been present at the defence of Mantua in 1090 to 1091 on Matilda's behalf and in opposition to Guido, the then bishop of Parma.[78] As such, Ubert's charter may be assumed to be designed to alienate the monastery from Guido's circle and draw it into his own.

These challenges to the bishops' authority were mirrored by moves made by the town of Borgo San Donnino (modern Fidenza). Borgo San Donnino was economically and strategically important: it dominated the major trade and pilgrimage route over the Apennines through the Cisa pass and on the Via Emilia towards Piacenza.[79] The town had been placed under the control of the bishop of Parma in the tenth century, but in the last decades of the eleventh century attempts were made to remove the town from the bishop's circle. A charter of Urban II in 1088 placed the church of Borgo San Donnino under papal protection: a move probably designed to alienate the town from the control of the bishop of Parma.[80] In 1096 and 1097, the town sided with Conrad during his rebellion against his father Henry IV as evidenced by the production of a series of charters within Borgo San Donnino by Conrad's notaries.[81] This brought the town into direct conflict with Guido and

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[75] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 45.
[76] Drei, *CAP2*, fol. 156.
[77] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 47–9.
[78] F. Fabbi, 'Le famiglie Reggiane e Parmensi che hanno in comune l'origine con la Contessa Matilde', *Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi. Atti e memorie* 9 3 (1963), pp. 167–200, at p. 183; D.J. Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115* (Manchester, 2010), p. 172.
[79] J. Hill, 'Pilgrim Routes in Medieval Italy', *Bollettino del C.I.R.V.I.* 9 (1984), p. 10.
[80] Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, p. 172.
[81] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 214–5.

Borgo San Donnino would continue to challenge the authority of the bishop of Parma in the early twelfth century, rebelling against Bernard in 1108.[82] Its autonomy was recognised in a charter of Henry V in 1111 which gave Borgo San Donnino a direct connection to the emperor through the installation of a royal governor.[83] These events indicate an increasing ability to resist the authority of the bishop which can be traced to the 1080s.

Local churches and, particularly, monasteries within the diocese of Parma also became more politically active during the late eleventh century. The charters issued by Matilda and Ubert highlighted above represent their own claims to authority within and around Parma, but also indicate a political role for the monasteries themselves. These institutions had traditionally received most of their rights from the bishop of Parma: the monastery of San Paolo was a particular recipient of the bishop's largesse during the early eleventh century.[84] Their new found connection to a variety of powerful individuals in the later eleventh century and early twelfth century suggests that these monasteries were becoming more actively involved in the political machinations within and around the county of Parma. The increasing connection of these institutions with noted opponents of the bishop suggests that they were drifting from his control.

The charter evidence demonstrates that a broad variety of individuals and institutions became more economically and politically active around Parma during the eleventh century. Relationship networks became more complex and the cathedral chapter adopted a central role while other groups also became more prominent. At the same time, the bishop's visibility was greatly reduced. Eventually he virtually disappeared from the charters of the city. While this in and of itself does not necessarily indicate a reduction in the bishop's authority, his conflicts with these groups and increasing inability to counter them strongly suggest that his secular role and authority were being eroded long before the episcopate of Bernard or even Guido. Instead, this trend, which culminated in the dramatic events of Bernard's episcopate, had its root in much earlier changes which can be traced ultimately to the episcopate of Cadalus. As such, the lapse in bishop's secular authority can not be seen simply as a result of the sudden introduction of reform ideology to the church

[82] Albini, 'Vescovo, comune'.
[83] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 215.
[84] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 42, 43, 77, 78, 83.

of Parma through the arrival of Bernard or through Gregorian activity within and around Parma during the episcopate of Guido. Instead we must look for other, longer term causes for this change.

The bishops of Parma as absentee bishops

Cadalus, Everard, Guido and Bernard can all be considered absentee bishops for large parts of their rule and this corresponds strongly with the eclipse of the bishop as the dominant power within the county of Parma by the end of the eleventh century. All four of these bishops held considerable interests in events outside their diocese. This was not unusual, previous bishops of Parma had undertaken duties throughout Northern Italy including that of imperial chancellor.[85] However, these earlier bishops had generally retained a strong interest in the control of their own diocese. For example, Siegfried was particularly active in the production of charters (he is recorded as donor in nine episcopal documents during his thirty year episcopate)[86] while Hugh's interest in the control of his diocese is reflected in his concern over acquiring the *comitatus*.[87] In contrast, during the late eleventh century, the involvement of the bishops of Parma in affairs outside their diocese and often beyond Lombardy came to dominate their interests and activities leading to their absence, first ideologically and then physically, diminishing their role within their diocese. This trend of increasing absence can be observed across the period and correlates with the ongoing erosion of the bishop's authority highlighted above.

Cadalus as bishop of Parma was initially very active within his own diocese and Northern Italy in general. As noted above, he was heavily involved in charter production in the early years of his rule as bishop and seems to have remained in the diocese to a much greater extent than his successors. However, even at this early stage Cadalus' actions suggest that he was a different type of bishop from his predecessors in Parma. Cadalus was not prolific in his production of charters to the same extent as Siegfried. Likewise, Cadalus did not go to the same measures to increase his power within the diocese as Hugh had done

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[85] Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens*, p. 186; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 97.
[86] Drei, *CAP*, fols 72, 74, 81; Drei, *CAP2*, fols 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 16.
[87] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 44–5.

through his acquisition of the *comitatus*. Instead, Cadalus moved his cathedral and palace outside the city. Although this physical alienation was only slight it was of great symbolic importance and suggests that Cadalus was, even early in his career, willing to relinquish some of his authority within his diocese. Guenza has gone so far as to suggest that Cadalus' construction of a new cathedral was an early indication of his designs on the papacy and a change in his political goals.[88] At the same time, the charter record demonstrates that Cadalus sought to build a relationship network across the Empire. He retained a connection to Verona, the city of his family's origin, while cultivating relationships with bishops across Northern Italy.[89] He appeared in imperial charters, not only as a recipient but as a witness and as a petitioner demonstrating a connection with the emperor but also with the other individuals mentioned in these documents such as the bishops of Piacenza and Cremona.[90] This stance was not incompatible with the maintenance of a strong position within Parma itself, but Cadalus's activities outside Parma do suggest a difference in his priorities as bishop when compared to his predecessors. Although these factors do not mean that Cadalus should be considered an absentee bishop in his first decade as bishop of Parma, they do underline an important change in the role of the bishop of Parma during the early part of his episcopate. While he still held a great deal of power within his diocese, he also played a very active role in Northern Italy as a whole and even at this early point this broader role may have undermined episcopal power in Parma by allowing or requiring the cathedral chapter to assume a more important role.

Episcopal visibility in the charter record for Parma declined substantially following Cadalus' claim to the papacy and the timing of this change was not coincidental. Cadalus was absent from the city only briefly: he was in Basel for his election in 1061 and then led a series of militarycampaigns to Rome for most of the period 1061 to 1064. After this point Cadalus seems to have remained in Parma. However, after his election Cadalus' involvement in the production of charters is much less evident while the cathedral chapter increasingly took on these roles. Although Cadalus was physically present at Parma, at the walls of the city if not within the city itself, he was absent from the rule of his diocese. This

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[88] Guenza, 'Pastori e signori', p. 60.
[89] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fol. 298.
[90] Bresslau (ed.), *H3*, fols 222, 318.

change can be explained by two factors, both intimately connected to Cadalus' election to the papacy. Firstly, Cadalus viewed himself as the rightful pope. He refused to withdraw his claim even in the face of condemnation at the synod of Mantua in 1064, at which the clergy and imperial representatives formally recognised Alexander II and excommunicated Cadalus.[91] This ongoing claim is evidenced within Cadalus' charters where he is referred to as *apostolicus electus*.[92] As Cadalus no longer portrayed himself as bishop of Parma it is hardly surprising that he withdrew from his role as bishop: this would leave him open to charges of simony and implicitly acknowledge the failure of his claim to the papal throne. Secondly, in order to maintain any hope of claiming the papal throne Cadalus was reliant on the support of individuals from outside his diocese. It was his connections built with prominent members of the Italian clergy that had secured his election in Basel and he continued to interact with these bishops and abbots and the representatives of the imperial court even after his excommunication in 1064.[93] Henry, archbishop of Ravenna, and Benzo, bishop of Alba remained supporters of Cadalus until his death and were excommunicated as a result.[94] Godfrey the Bearded, the stepfather of Matilda of Canossa, was reprimanded and ordered to perform penance by Alexander II for his contact with Cadalus.[95] Cadalus' ability to retain connections with these figures was of paramount importance to his claim on the papacy. For these reasons, it was necessary for Cadalus to change the style of his episcopate: he focused on his relationships outside the diocese over those within the diocese.

The careers of Everard and Guido were very different from that of Cadalus but they nevertheless focused firmly on events outside their diocese. Everard and Guido were both Germans and neither developed an extensive relationship network within Italy. However, they both spent extended periods of time during their episcopates away from Parma. Everard was at the Synod of Brixen in 1080 as a signatory to the document which deposed

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[91] U.-R. Blumenthal, *The investiture controversy church and monarchy from the ninth to the twelfth century* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 49.
[92] Drei, *CAP2*, fols 111, 122.
[93] Blumenthal, *The investiture controversy*, p. 49.
[94] H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 62–3; Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 108–9; Schmidt, 'Der 1061 zu Basel', pp. 18–9.
[95] Robinson, *Henry IV*, p. 109.

Gregory VII in favour of Clement III,[96] and for most of the period of Henry's second expedition to Italy (1081-1084) it is likely that Everard joined the imperial host south of the Apennines.[97] He was captured by Matilda of Canossa at the battle of Sorbara in 1084, and died in captivity the following year.[98] Two of the three charters issued by Everard as bishop were created in 1081 while Henry IV held court in Parma.[99] Everard's other surviving document, as indicated above, was produced in response to a direct challenge to his authority by the Canossans in 1073. This implies that Everard was away from Parma for most of his life only travelling to the city when his other duties drew him there or when faced with a major challenge to his position: his secular role was ad hoc and sporadic. Guido appears for the first time in the entourage of Henry IV in 1091 during Henry's third Italian expedition.[100] His next, and only other, confirmed appearance was in 1098 at Vercelli at a synod of Guibert of Ravenna, Henry's antipope.[101] These two documents demonstrate Guido's continued allegiance to the imperial cause. In combination with his absence from documents produced in Parma and the appearance of supporters of Henry's rebellious son Conrad in both Parma and Borgo San Donnino, strongly suggest that Guido spent most of that decade with the imperial host and away from Parma: after some initial successes at Mantua and Tricontai, Henry was defeated outside the gates of Canossa in 1092 and forced onto the defensive in a small area around Mantua until 1097.[102] The most visible activity within the episcopates of both of these bishops was military participation which resulted in their absence from Parma for extensive periods. They were not diplomats as Cadalus had been, but they did not fulfil the same roles as the bishops who had come before him. Instead they undertook a new role: one which focused their attentions away from Parma and allowed other groups to take control.

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[96] C. Erdmann (ed.), *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV*, Deutsches Mittelalter Kritische Studientexte 1 (Stuttgart, 1978), fol. Anhang C.

[97] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 160.

[98] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, pp. 161–2; T. Struve, 'Matilde di Toscana-Canossa ed Enrico IV', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992)*, Il mondo medievale (Bologna, 1994), pp. 421–54, at pp. 440–2; Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, p. 172.

[99] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 160.

[100] Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens*, p. 187.

[101] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 330.

[102] Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 284–95; Struve, 'Matilde di Toscana-Canossa', pp. 445–51; Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, pp. 133–44.

Bernard degli Uberti was also absent from Parma for prolonged periods. Although some of these absences were enforced, such as his exclusions from the city from 1104 to 1106 and from 1127 to 1130, Bernard was also frequently drawn away from the city through his other responsibilities. Prior to his installation as bishop of Parma, Bernard had acted as Papal Legate to Northern Italy and he retained this position until his death.[103] This led to frequent journeys across Italy including an expedition to Rome in 1111 when he was captured by Henry V.[104] Likewise, Bernard acted as an adviser to Matilda of Canossa, frequently appearing at her court both before and after becoming bishop.[105] Bernard, like his immediate predecessors as bishop of Parma, fulfilled several roles which took him away from his diocese.

The common theme throughout the episcopates of these four bishops was a focus on events and relationships outside their diocese over those within their diocese. This began with Cadalus who, even before his election as pope, was active within regional politics to a much greater extent than his predecessors. This preoccupation was deepened when Cadalus claimed the papal throne, an action only achieved through his relationship network within Italy, and began to concentrate his efforts on controlling his assumed position. Everard and Guido were also preoccupied with events outside their diocese, spending extended periods leading troops in Lombardy, Emilia and Tuscany in the campaigns of emperor Henry IV. Bernard was drawn away from Parma across Northern Italy and to Rome by his duties as papal legate and advisor to Matilda. In this respect, Cadalus, Everard, Guido and Bernard were all a new variety of bishop. Unlike their predecessors, their interests focussed not on securing their position within their own diocese, but on using their position within their diocese to achieve external goals. These goals varied, but invariably drew the bishop from his city. This was recognised by the emperor and by the bishops themselves through the transfer of powers and rights to the cathedral chapter which began to take a much greater role in the government of the diocese.

Conclusion

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[103] Volpini, 'Bernardo degli Uberti', p. 295; Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 322.
[104] Schumann, *Authority and the Commune*, p. 322; Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, pp. 179–80.
[105] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 97, 114, 115, 132, 134, Dep. 72.

In Parma over the course of the eleventh century, the bishop's secular visibility was steadily reduced while several other institutions including the cathedral chapter, the proto-commune, powerful local lay rulers, monasteries and churches and the town of Borgo San Donnino became more politically and economically prominent. This was not a sudden shift during the episcopate of Bernard or even Guido but can be seen occurring gradually over the course of the century. The change was not simply a result of the replacement of an "imperial" bishop with a "reforming" bishop. Instead, this change in the temporal position of the bishop within his diocese can be connected to a series of bishops who acted within the diocese comparatively rarely. These bishops held responsibilities and interests which focused their attention outside the diocese whether through political or military commitments. This led to their absence and contributed to their loss of visibility within their own diocese while allowing other groups to assume a greater prominence within and around the city. This shift was generally detrimental to the bishop's ability to exercise authority within Parma. All of these other groups came into conflict or competition with the bishops and most were able to use their enhanced position to challenge his control of various powers within the diocese. It was not, as Schumann suggests, the case that the bishop was simply exerting authority through his control of the cathedral chapter or the proto-commune. Rather, these institutions were often in active competition with the bishop.

Other factors affected this loss of authority, but it was the changing position and frequent absence of the bishop which played the central role. The growing economic and political power of the cathedral chapter and proto commune meant that these groups were able to exploit bishop's weakness. The general crisis and warfare of the Investiture Contest was undoubtedly a factor, placing new pressures on the bishop's power structure. Changing ideology may also have played a part, but not to the same extent or in the same manner as is usually assumed: there is no indication that the "Gregorian" bishop Bernard had any change of policy compared to that of his "Imperial" predecessors. Instead a change in ideology may have had an effect through lay demands for clerical separation from temporal power, either out of genuine concern for the validity of the sacraments or as part of a more cynical attempt to secure their own political and economic power. However, there is no clear evidence that this was the case in Parma in this period. It seems instead that more

practical factors were of greater immediate impact on the changing role of the bishop than reform ideology.

A similar situation, where a period of episcopal absence coincided with a reduction of the secular role of the bishop, can be observed in Mantua. The emergence of the commune as the dominant power within the city, eclipsing the bishop is generally dated to the death of Matilda of Canossa, the dominant secular power in the city, in 1115, shortly after the installation of a Gregorian bishop, Hugh, in 1114.[106] However, this should not be seen as a sudden shift in structures of power in the city inspired by a new dominant religious and political ideology. The proto-commune gained increasing powers and rights throughout the eleventh century, while those of the bishop were eroded, often at the hands of Matilda's ancestors.[107] The alienation of the bishop's secular role was particularly pronounced between 1091 and 1114 when the city rebelled against Matilda in support of the emperor Henry IV. The Mantuans exiled Hubald their bishop, a close ally of Matilda, in favour of an imperial candidate, Chonono. Hubald's surviving charters demonstrate his connections with the Canossans: most notably, Hubald appears investing Matilda's husband, Welf, with the family's traditional lands and rights around Mantua shortly before the siege of the city in 1090.[108] They also demonstrate Hubald aggrandising his supporters, most notably his nephew, also named Hubald.[109] Hubald was politically active within and around Mantua, even if he was firmly within a Canossan orbit. However, Chonono disappeared from the charter record after 1093.[110] Hugh, who succeeded Hubald as bishop in exile by 1104, appears infrequently in the charter record and actively participated in the alienation of the rights of his church. Most notably, he made a sizable donation of episcopal

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[106] Brunelli, 'Diocesi di Mantova', p. 37; G. Sergi, 'Dinastie e città del Regno italico nel secolo XI', in R. Bordone, J. Jarnut, and Istituto storico italo-germanico (eds.), *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo*, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico 25 (Bologna, 1988), pp. 151–73, at p. 167; R. Salvarani, 'La cura animarum nella diocesi di Mantova fra IX e XI secolo', in G.P. Brogiolo, G. Andenna, and R. Salvarani (eds.), *Le origini della diocesi di Mantova e le sedi episcopali dell'Italia settentrionale, IV-XI secolo*, Antichità altoadriatiche 63 (Trieste, 2006), pp. 247–71, at p. 249.

[107] V. Fumagalli, *Terra e società nell'IItalia padana: i secoli IX e X* (Torino, 1976), p. 47; V. Fumagalli, 'Mantova al Tempo di Matilde di Canossa', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *Sant'Anselmno, Mantova e la lotta per le Investiture. Atti del Convegno Internazi*, Il mondo medievale (Bologna, 1987), pp. 159–67, at pp. 161–4; Rinaldi, 'Da Adalberto Atto a Bonifacio', pp. 73–4; Golinelli, 'L'Italia', pp. 512–4.

[108] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 42.

[109] P. Torelli, *Regesto Mantovano: Le carte degli archivi Gonzaga e di Stato in Mantova e dei monasteri Mantovani soppressi*, 2 vols (Roma, 1914), fols 101, 106.

[110] Bresslau (ed.), *H4*, fol. 437.

rights and lands to the monastery of San Benedetto Polirone on 1 May 1104,[111] almost certainly as part of Matilda's strategy of empowering this institution in opposition to Mantua.[112] The secular role of the bishop in Mantua had been threatened for several decades but it was only when the bishop was physically removed from the city that his position was eclipsed by the proto-commune.

The case of Ravenna under archbishop Guibert provides an interesting parallel with the changing secular roles of Cadalus in Parma as both figures maintained a claim to the papacy while retaining control of their former position. In his early years as bishop in the 1070s, Guibert was in Ravenna frequently and was often involved in the production of charters in the city: he played an active role in the secular duties of the bishop.[113] After his election as Clement III on 25 June 1080 Guibert was regularly absent from his city but he retained his position as archbishop.[114] The cathedral chapter, which had a long history of activity within the diocese undertook greater roles during this period and produced a correspondingly greater volume of charters. Guibert acknowledged this shift in power towards the cathedral chapter through two extensive grants to his canons on 5 February 1093.[115] Like Cadalus, Guibert's claim to the papacy created a tension with his ability to maintain his secular position as a bishop. This tension is evident within several of Guibert's charters which use his papal year as Clement III, but then refer to him as archbishop Guibert.[116] On other occasions, Clement's papal year is used, but the donor is styled simply as the archbishop of Ravenna.[117] As was the case with Cadalus decades earlier, Guibert

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[111] Goez and Goez (eds.), *M*, fol. 80.

[112] P. Golinelli, 'Culto dei santi e monasteri nella politica dei Canossa nella pianura padana', in 'Culto dei santi e monasteri nella politica dei Canossa nella pianura padana', *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del III Convegno di Studi matildici (Reggio Emilia, 7 - 9 ottobre 1977)* (Modena, 1978), pp. 427–44; Ceccarelli Lemut, 'I Canossa e i monasteri toscani', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992)*, Il mondo medievale (Bologna, 1994), pp. 151–61; A. Tincani, 'Le corti dei Canossa in area Padan', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992)*, Il mondo medievale (Bologna, 1994), pp. 253–78, at pp. 267–75.

[113] O. Francabandera, 'La Chiesa Ravennate sotto l'arcivescovo Guiberto', in R. Benericetti (ed.), *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*, Studi della Biblioteca Card. Gaetano Cicognani nuova ser. 13 (Faenza, 2003), pp. vii–xii, at p. ix.

[114] Francabandera, 'La Chiesa Ravennate sotto l'arcivescovo Guiberto', pp. x–xi.

[115] R. Benericetti (ed.), *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*, Studi della Biblioteca Card. Gaetano Cicognani nuova ser. 13 (Faenza, 2003), fols 399, 400.

[116] Benericetti (ed.), *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*, fol. 399.

[117] Benericetti (ed.), *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*, fol. 400.

and his notaries were not sure how to deal with his dual position: Guibert could not act effectively as archbishop without undermining his campaign for the papal throne. The archbishops of Ravenna retained powerful secular roles after Guibert's death in 1100, but their position was nevertheless changed by his physical and political absence.

A final parallel case is that of the bishop of Rome in the decades around 1100. Whether by choice or necessity the popes of the Investiture Contest acted in a different capacity from their predecessors: their role as bishop of Rome was almost always relegated below their international role as head of the Church.[118] Furthermore, for much of the Investiture Contest the Pope was absent from his city. This was most pronounced during the 1110s and 1120s when a communal movement began to emerge in the city, primarily due to the vacuum of power left by the absence of the Pope.[119] Innocent II was able to reassert his authority in the city in 1138, but this brief communal experiement illustrates the effect episcopal absence could have on the power structures of an Italian city.

These arguments can be applied to several other cities. The disruption of the late eleventh century led to the absence of many Italian bishops from their diocese for prolonged periods. These absences were in part forced through antagonistic locals or by military action, but the role of the bishops of Italy in general was changing. This was related to reform and the Investiture Contest, but mainly in the sense that the crisis changed the practical focus of the bishops from rulers of a small domain with occasional political and military duties on the regional scale to international figures almost constantly concerned with the broader political stage often at the expense of their authority within their own diocese. The decline of the bishops' secular authority in the Italian cities can be better explained through these long term changes in circumstances than through a sudden change in ideology.

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[118] C. Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a new world: the emergence of italian city communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), pp. 124–5.
[119] Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a new world*, pp. 129–31.