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EMPRESS ADELHEID AND THE SALIAN QUEEN OF THE PADUAN LEGEND

Background. *The article provides interpretation of stay in Padua in 1090–1091 of Empress Adelheid, wife of Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich IV and daughter of Vsevolod, King of the Rus', based on the analysis of legend about the Queen known under the name of Berta in the Paduan stories and Chronicle of Ronaldino da Padova (13th century). The inhabitants of the city had honoured the memory of the legendary Queen for a long time for her donation to the Cathedral of Padua and for her support of their petition to the Emperor to grant a privilege of restoration of the symbol of Padua's military strength, the chariot (carroccio) decorated with the city's banner. According to several historical sources, the story was based on the historical fact that Emperor Heinrich IV gave Bishop Milo jurisdiction over the city of Padua on 26 June 1090. Bishop Milo commissioned a fresco portraying him and the royal couple in the Cathedral of Padua to commemorate the event.*

Methods. *Analysis of Italian and German chronicles and imperial diplomas as well as the medieval art objects preserved in Padua is conducted in the article with the aim to reconstruct events connected with the stay in Padua of the imperial court in 1090–1091.*

Results. *Information about role of the representatives of the Salian dynasty (Emperor Heinrich IV, King Conrad, Empress Adelheid) in the developments in the first half of the 1090s is analyzed as well as the data about commemoration of the royal couple in the Paduan urban space in the early 14th century. The hypothesis is proposed that Empress Adelheid served as the prototype for the Queen from the legend, and that the name of Adelheid was substituted with the name of Berta, the first wife of the Emperor, after defeat of Heinrich IV at the Papal Council of Piacenza in 1095.*

Conclusions. *The study presents a reconstruction of the less researched Italian episodes in life of Empress Adelheid and outlines her duties as an Empress.*

Keywords: *medieval, Adelheid, Evpraksia, Emperor Heinrich IV, Berta, Padua.*

Background

Medieval Paduan literature, art and legends created an image of a Queen who lived in Padua in the early 1090s in the tenure of Bishop Milo (1083/84–1095) and was remembered for her donations to the church and her key role in restoration of Padua's symbolic carroccio. Ronaldino da Padova (ca 1200–1276) lauded the Queen in "Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane" (further – "Cronica"). She was commemorated on the 11th century painting in the Cathedral of Padua (now lost) and in three monuments, where she was represented together with her husband: a marble headstone (4th century and 12th century), placed above the portals of the Curia Vescovile (the western entrance to the Episcopal Palace), a marble tombstone with commemorative inscription (1309) in the atrium of the Capitular Library, and a relief of a royal couple with the adjusting plaque of Bishop Pagano della Torre (1309) at the Episcopal palace. The local legends told that she died in Padua in 1098 and was buried in the Cathedral to which she made a donation. She was venerated upon her death in a way that resembled a cult. The masses were celebrated in her memory on the prescribed days and candles were lit, and the Paduans gathered to read prayers for her. In Ronaldino's "Cronica" she was mentioned as a wife of King Conrad, while according to the inscriptions on the monuments the name of her husband was King Heinrich IV, and in all these cases she was named Berta. Who was the legendary Queen in reality?

The legend had been in focus of the scholarly analysis for several centuries. Jacopo Salomonio corrected "Conradus" to "Henricus" (Heinrich IV (1050–1106)) in quotation from Ronaldino in "Urbis patavinae inscriptiones sacrae, et profanae" (Salomonio, 1701, p. 2). Bishop Francesco Dondi Dall'Orologio, who compared the narrative of the legend with the extant written documents in "Dissertazione quarta sopra l'istoria ecclesiastica di Padova" (1807), concluded that the legend prescribed Queen Berta, the first wife of Heinrich IV, actions that she did not perform in her life. Giuseppe Cappelletti in "Storia di Padova dalla sua origine sino al

presente. Volume primo" (1874) informed that Heinrich IV was in Padua in 1090–1091 together with his wife Berta in spite of the fact that she died in December 1087. According to Andrea Gloria, Berta had never visited Padua ("Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo" (1877)). Attilio Simioni in "Storia di Padova dalle origini alla fine del secolo XVIII" (1882) narrated the events that took place when Heinrich IV visited Padua in company of his second wife (Adelheid), not mentioning her name. Tilman Struve in "Heinrich IV., Bischof Milo von Padua und der Paduaner Fahnenwagen. Zu einem wenig beachteten Bildnis des salischen Kaisers und seiner Gemahlin" (1996) made a comprehensive analysis of artistic features of the Salian reliefs in Padua. The reconstruction of events with participation of second wife of Heinrich IV in her own lifetime and with her own name remains the task for analysis.

Methods

Information about lives of the members of the Salian dynasty in the 1090s in primary and secondary sources will be analyzed in this article with the aim to interpret identification of the historical figures, mentioned in Ronaldino's "Cronica" and in inscriptions carved on stone. The idea that the legends (popular histories) reveal information about ruling women when any other source is unavailable (Norrie, 2020, p. 502) will be applied to reconstruct episodes, connected with stay of Empress Adelheid, the second wife of Emperor Heinrich IV, in Padua in 1090–1091.

Results

The reign of King Heinrich IV influenced political and ecclesiastical developments in the second half of the 11th century. He was elected co-ruler of his father Emperor Heinrich III (1017–1056) as an infant in 1053, crowned King in 1054 and Holy Roman Emperor in 1084. In 1055 Heinrich IV was betrothed to Berta (1051 – December 1087), daughter of Margravine of Turin Adelaide and Otto, Count of Savoy, both of Carolingian descent. Berta left Italy being infant and grew up at the German court, where Empress Agnes, Heinrich IV's mother, brought her up together with

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own daughters (Robinson, 2004, p. 25). The marriage was concluded in summer 1066. Berta accompanied King Heinrich IV to Italy twice. In winter 1076–1077 she followed him on his first visit to the Italian Kingdom for three-days penance before the gate of the castle of Canossa, in 1084 to Rome, where Heinrich IV and Berta were crowned Emperor and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire by Antipope Clement III in an extraordinary attempt to achieve superiority over Pope Gregory VII. The Paduan legend imply that the King was in Padua together with his spouse. However, Heinrich IV's first wife Berta, according to the Paduan historians F. Dondi Dall'Orologio (1807) and A. Gloria (1877), had never visited Padua on her stays in Italy. Berta died in Mainz, where she was buried and later transferred to the Salian sepulchre in the cathedral in Speyer (Spira) (*Annales Sancti Disibodi*, 1861, p. 9).

In 1089, in conformity with the Salian model of governing, in which Emperor and Empress constituted the symbolic pair responsible for the Empire, Heinrich, being the 39 years old widower and having two sons and a daughter, remarried the equally highborn woman who was crowned Empress. Adelheid, a widow of Saxon Margrave Heinrich the Long of Stade, was the member of the rich East European royal family (in the chronicles her father Vsevolod was called King of the Rus'), that had maintained relations with Heinrich IV for many decades and aided him financially on multiple occasions. King of the Franks Philip I Capet (ruled 1060–1108) was Adelheid's first cousin (his father Henri I Capet married Vsevolod's sister Anna). Letters to King Philip I, in which the deposed Heinrich IV reflected on his misfortune, show importance that he attached to maintaining relations with his peer king, kinsman of his wife, long after Adelheid's departure from the German court.

On his final visit to Italy in 1090 Heinrich IV was accompanied by his second wife Adelheid (see Radvan, 2023). According to information about the place of issuance of the imperial diplomas, Verona received the imperial court in April, while in June the Emperor was already in the fortress of Rivalta, conquered from Comitissa Matilda of Tuscia, where he dealt with Venetian and Paduan affairs. On 16 June 1090 Heinrich confirmed pacts sanctioned by his predecessors and concluded between the Venetians and the people subjected to his reign (Gloria, 1877, p. 330). Ten days later, in a diploma of 26 June 1090 (Doc. 304, Gloria, 1877, pp. 328–300), produced by Chancellor Oger of Ivrea and attested by Archchancellor Herimannus, Heinrich IV confirmed privileges that had been granted to the church of Padua by his predecessors and gave Bishop Milo jurisdiction over the city of Padua and administration of its infrastructure. Bishop of Padua was also given new possessions, the Arena and the Roman theatre ("*Arenam quoque cum satyro*" (Doc. 304, Gloria, 1877, p. 329)) with servants and maids. Emperor, remaining the supreme ruler in the city, delegated to the Bishop of Padua considerable authority.

Judging from the documents issued by the imperial and antipapal chancelleries, the imperial court was in Padua from the end of December 1090 to January 1091. On his first visit to Padua in the capacity of the Holy Roman Emperor in the beginning of the new year (which for the Paduans started on Christmas 25 December) the Emperor was preoccupied with ecclesiastical concerns. He attended proceedings of the royal court of justice at which Abbess Teupilla of the Monastery of San Pietro and her advocate defended the Monastery's right to donation, made by Bishop Milo in 1088 (the donation was confirmed in the imperial diploma of 31

December 1090). He met Abbot Petrus on issues of the Monastery of Santi Ilario e Benedetto and confirmed the privileges and immunities of the Monastery in the diploma of 6 January 1091. The imperial court might still stayed in Padua on 19 January 1091, when Antipope Clement III issued a bull to the Monastery of San Pietro. In May 1091 the court had already left Padua.

Additional information about activities of the royal family in Padua can be traced in "*Ronaldini Patavini Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane*" (1256). Ronaldino's professional success was dependant on the accuracy in conveying information: being a notary, he was assigned to write important documents for both laic and ecclesiastical purposes (i.a. to register testimonials on miracles of Beato Pellegrino in 1267). He taught grammar and rhetoric at the University of Padua (*Studium Patavinum*). In the chapter "*Hic tangitur de carrocio paduano*" he reminded of the events from the past of his native Padua to evoke memories of common values among his contemporaries.

Ronaldino mentioned in "*Cronica*" beautiful portraits of Milo, Bishop of Padua, King Conrad and his wife Queen Berta on the painting over the altar in the main church of Padua (the Cathedral), which commemorated granting to the Paduans permission to restore a chariot ("*carroccio*"), the symbolic credentials of the city's military power that had been destroyed by Attila. According to Ronaldino, the Queen on behalf of the Paduans, petitioned to the King to give the Paduans a privilege of possessing the *carroccio*, and the King granted her request. The grateful Paduans built the chariot and called it "*Berta*" to honour the Queen (Ronaldini Patavini..., 1905–1908, pp. 124–125). Cesare Foligno in "*The Story of Padua*" (1910) provided a description of the chariot: "*the carroccio (from carro, car), a stoutly-built car, was the symbol of political freedom for the towns. It was a four-wheeled vehicle drawn by three to six pairs of oxen, on which was erected an altar, and the keenest knights collected around it. Shame befell the army that lost it in a battle*" (Foligno, 1970, p. 17). The importance of possessing the *carroccio* was, according to Ronaldino, connected with the collective dignity of the inhabitants of the city: the *carroccio* represented civic honour, strength and glory of the Paduans, and the enemies were trembling at the sight of its ride on the battlefield (Ronaldini Patavini..., 1905–1908, pp. 124–125). According to several historical sources (i.a. Simioni, 1968, p. 173; Bonardi 1898/1899), the legend about the *carroccio*, known to the Paduans and retold by Ronaldino (Dondi Dall'Orologio, 1807), might have echoed the unprecedented donation of Padua to Bishop Milo. The ecclesiastical administration of Bishop Milo, count of Piove de Sacco, differed from the communal one, which Padua obtained in the 12th century, nevertheless it contributed to strengthening the civic spirit.

In a dialogue between a father and his son, a form, which Ronaldino chose to retell the history of the *carroccio*, the father told about the painting that could be seen above the altar in the Cathedral. The painting (now lost) was still in the Cathedral in Ronaldino's time. When Ronaldino read "*Cronica*" for the professors and students of *Studium Patavinum* in the cloister of Sant'Urbano on 13 April 1262 (Zabbia, 2017), the audience would recognize the painting.

Bishop of Padua commissioned a painting, "probably a fresco" ("*wahrscheinlich eine Frescodarstellung*" (Struve, 1996, p. 308)), to highlight his relations with the King and the Queen and commemorate the Queen's petition or donation. The apse fresco of the Basilica of Aquileia, dated 1031, with

portraits of Bishop Poppone and the founders of the Salian dynasty Emperor Conrad II and his wife Gisela, their little son and the late Emperor Heinrich II, might have influenced the Paduan historical painting. The square nimbus (a sign of a living person, *signum viventis*) above Bishop Poppone's head symbolized that he was the person who commissioned the fresco (Fondazione Aquileia, 2020). Enrica Cozzi suggested that the image of Bishop Milo would also have the square nimbus (Cozzi, 1993, p. 29). Attribution of the royals, suggested by Ronaldino, was most probably based on the 13th century tradition that memorized the late 11th century's Salians (Emperor Heinrich IV, Empress Adelheid, King Conrad) as King Conrad and Queen Berta, his wife. The names *Berta* and *Henricus* appeared in the early 14th century on the monuments commissioned by Bishop Pagano della Torre.

Who were King Conrad and Queen Berta, portrayed with Bishop Milo?

The name Conrad was given to Heinrich IV at his birth after Emperor Conrad II, his grandfather. When the boy was baptized five months later, he was given the name Heinrich (Robinson, 2004, p. 19), and he had never been named Conrad afterwards.

King Conrad (1074–1101), son of Heinrich IV and Berta, was crowned King of the Germans in Aachen in May 1087. He was Heinrich IV's representative in Italy. Conrad participated in hostilities against Comitissa Matilda of Tuscany, he could follow his father and step-mother Adelheid to Padua. In 1092 Heinrich sent Conrad with the military troops to the March of Turin to contest the last will of his grand-mother Margravine Adelaide of Turin, who died on 19 December 1091, and claim his rights as a heir (Bernoldi Chronicon..., 1844, p. 454). In 1093 Conrad rebelled against his father and certainly would not visit Padua until spring 1097 while Heinrich IV still was in Italy. Conrad, King of Italy from 1093, had never visited Padua together with his wife Maximilla, they married in 1095 and Milo died the same year, so he was not the king portrayed in the Cathedral. Nevertheless, Conrad revived a forgotten custom, although not connected with the carroccio: welcoming Pope Urban II in Cremona in March 1095, King Conrad walked on the street holding a bridle of the Pope's horse. The ceremony, supposedly introduced by Emperor Constantine I, was performed for the last time in the 9th century (Robinson, 2004, p. 271). In 1099 Heinrich IV deposed Conrad as King of the Germans in favour of the youngest son Heinrich V (1086–1125) (the name of the future wife of Heinrich V was Matilda).

Confusion of names *Henricus* and *Conradus* can be interpreted as a result of misspelling or omission of letters in the earlier reference sources. On the monogram of the diploma of 24 August 1097 issued by King Conrad in Pisa for the monastery of San Gorgonio on the Isola di Gorgona his name was written *HVNRADVS REX* (Doc. 4, Die Urkunden..., 1959, pp. 674–675) (compare *HENRICVS REX*). Interestingly, the late 11th – early 12th century inscriptions commemorating the noble Paduans, Cono da Calaone and his wife Berta ("dominus Conus de Calaone et domina Berta uxor ejus" (Doc. 320, Gloria, 1877, p. 344), contain almost similar names. The name *Conus*, almost homographic to *Conradus*, appeared in two inscriptions in the church in Candiana, they informed that in 1097 Cone founded a monastery of Candiana where the donator himself and his wife Berta were buried in 1104 and 1105 respectively (Doc. 320, Gloria, 1877, p. 344).

Diploma that Milo received on 26 June 1090 was issued two and a half years after Queen Berta's death and three months after arrival of Heinrich IV and his second wife Adelheid to Italy. The Queen was not mentioned together with Antipope Clement III, Oger, Bishop of Ivrea, and Heinrich, Bishop of Utrecht as an intervener in the diploma.

Information about the painting in the Cathedral and restoration of the carroccio in the late 11th century, provided by Ronaldino in "Cronica", remains the extant written evidence that tells about the role of the Queen in the events of importance for the Paduans. As A. Bonardi observed in "Le origini del comune di Padova", presence of the Queen in the composition indicated that she most likely acted as an intermediary in favour of Bishop Milo (Bonardi, 1898, p. 6).

Milo was of German origin, his knowledge of German would facilitate communication with Queen Adelheid, who came to Italy for the first time. The portraits on the painting, mentioned by Ronaldino, provide evidence that in June 1090 Queen (Adelheid?) successfully supported before the Emperor the petition in favour of Bishop Milo and the Paduans. The royal couple was accommodated in the Episcopal Palace (Cappelletti, 1874, p. 66), built on the place of the ancient Roman palatium (Struve, 1996, p. 300). The Episcopal Palace was rebuilt in 1309, in the tenure of Bishop of Padua Pagano della Torre (1302–1318). In the capacity of the chancellor of the University of Padua Pagano della Torre promoted studies of history of Padua (De Vitt, 1987). Reliefs of the Queen and the King that Bishop Pagano della Torre ordered to install (or reinstall) at the Episcopal Palace, might have reminded of the past splendour narrated by Ronaldino.

According to descriptions provided on the portal of cultural heritage of the Catholic Church in Italy (Portale dei beni culturali ecclesiastici (BeWeB)), the relief of the Queen and the King on the marble headstone (4th century and 12th century) above the portals of the Curia Vescovile (the western entrance to the Episcopal Palace) has inscriptions in Gothic letters carved in the marble: *BER / THA REGINA* (top, left), *HEN / RICVS / IIII REX* (top, right) (Bottega Veneta. (sec. IV, sec. XII)). The Salian relief is a spolia, the sculptor reused the marble Roman tombstone of a married couple and decorated it with the carved crowns and inscriptions (Struve, 1996, p. 296).

Another relief of the royal couple at the Episcopal Palace (dated 1309) is supplied with the carved inscriptions in Gothic letters above the figures: *BERTHA / REGINA, HENRICVS / QUARTVS RE* and the coat of arms under the figures (two crossed halberds) (Bottega Veneta. (1309)). The adjusting stone plaque installed under the relief has an inscription about the role of Bishop Pagano della Torre in the reconstruction of the Palace: "*M. CCC. VIII. DNS. PAGANVS / DE. LA TURRE. DE. MEDIOLANO. EPS. / PADVAN. FECIT. FIERI. HOC. PALACIVM. CVM. SALA*" (Bottega Veneta. (1309). Lapide) ("D. Paganus de Turre de Mediolano Episcopus Paduanus fecit fieri hoc Palatium" (Dondi Dall'Orologio, 1807, p. 21)). Installing the monuments to the royal couple, Bishop Pagano della Torre followed the tradition to honour and commemorate the donors, who made donations either to the Bishopric or to the Cathedral (Selvatico, 1869, p. 134).

The marble tombstone, placed originally in the Cathedral of Padua (in the 17th century it was "to the right of those who enter through the main entrance" (Orsato, 1678, p. 268), in the 19th century it was in the atrium of the Capitular Library (Dondi Dall'Orologio 1807, p. 19)), has an inscription, framed

by the images of the Queen and the King: "*Praesulis ac Cleri presenti predia phano, / Donavit Regina jacens hoc marmore Berta, / Henrici Regis Patavi celeberrima Quatri / conjux, tam grandi dono memoranda per aevum!*" (Salomonio, 1701, p. 40). The inscription tells about the donation made by the most famous Queen, wife of Heinrich IV, in the presence of the prelates and clergy, and states the commitment, that such a great gift will be remembered throughout the ages.

According to F. Dondi Dall'Orologio, there were no extant written documents in the Archivio Capitolare in Padua about any kind of donation to the Cathedral, made by Queen Berta, wife of Heinrich IV (Dondi Dall'Orologio, 1807, pp. 19–20). It is worth mentioning that construction of the church of San Martino in Piove de Sacco (now Cathedral) was similarly commemorated in stone. Bishop Milo, Lord and count of Piove de Sacco, launched its rebuilding in 1090, the construction was finished in 1110 in the tenure of his successor Bishop Elect Pietro Cisarella. The mosaic inscription on the floor of the church, reproduced later on its wall, informed:

*PRAESVLIS EST TEMPLI FINITO TEMPORE PETRI
MILO FVNDAVIT VIR PRAESVL ET IMPERIALIS
MXC. MCX.* (Doc. 301, Gloria, 1877, p. 324).

By the analogy, the inscription on the tombstone about the Queen's donation can be considered as the evidence of the same validity as the mosaic inscription in the church of San Martino. Both inscriptions were made in Bishop Pietro's tenure and probably on his own commission.

The tombstone, reconstructed in 1309, led scholars to the conclusion that the Queen lived in Padua after Heinrich IV's departure, she died there in 1098 and was buried in the Cathedral. Sertorio Orsato referred to the record about Berta's death in the year 1098, made in the Urspergense Chronicle (Orsato, 1678, p. 268) (in "Conradi a Lichtenauu, abbatiss Urspergensis Chronicum", published in 1569, the date was already edited to 1088). According to S. Orsato, the inscription on the tombstone could be interpreted either that Queen Berta was buried under the marble or was carved in the marble as the great benefactor of the Cathedral (Orsato, 1678, p. 269). The year 1098 could however refer to the time of Adelheid's departure from Italy that only was possible after Heinrich left for Germany in 1097, and thus it indeed marked her physical disappearance from contemporary Italian and German communicational space.

Discussion and conclusions

Story of Adelheid's life in Italy in the early 1090s was at some point deliberately disguised under the name of Berta. The Paduan historians of the 17th–19th centuries (with the exception of A. Simioni) did not mention the second wife of the Emperor at all and extended life of his first wife up to the year 1098. Adelheid's personality had been projected onto the legendary Queen, who stayed in Padua in 1090–1091 and in 1098 and was popular with the Paduans for being a donor and a mediator, attentive to their civic ambitions and supportive to their patriotic mood, who presented their petition to the King and performed the ceremony of handing over a banner to Bishop Milo for decoration of the carroccio. Queen Berta appeared in chronicles on her own in the time of reign of her sons, named as the mother of King Conrad and King Heinrich V.

What caused manipulation with names in the late 11th century Padua? Why was Adelheid's name replaced with the name of Berta?

Developments in marriage of Adelheid and Heinrich IV (mistreatment she suffered at his hands, her flight from

imprisonment in Verona with help of Heinrich's enemies, Comitissa Matilda of Tuscia and her husband Welf V of Bavaria, legal actions taken at her request at the Legatine synod of German Bishops in Constance in 1094 and at the Papal Council in Piacenza in 1095, where she sought and obtained separation from Heinrich IV and reestablished her own position as a Queen) might provide some explanations.

The Council of Piacenza absolved Adelheid from penance and condemned and excommunicated Antipope Clement III and King Heinrich IV as heretics.

Bishop and Historian Otto of Freising (ca 1111–1158), cited by Burchard of Ursperg (1177–1230) in his Chronicle, observed that notorious in their wrongdoings kings and emperors of the past were usually deposed by their own subjects (Burchardi..., 1916, p. 6). Heinrich IV was almost unique in his record of being suspended from governing with the help of excommunications. Heinrich IV was also known as Hainricus Malus (the Evil) for evil he brought to the countries and for crimes he committed against his own subjects (Burchardi..., 1916, p. 6). Pope Gregory VII's first excommunication of Heinrich IV in February 1076 envisaged following measures: "I forbid King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, [...] to govern any part of the Kingdom of the Germans or of Italy; I absolve all Christians from any oaths to him which they have already taken or shall take in the future and I forbid anyone to serve him as if he were King. For it is right that one who seeks to detract from the honour of your church shall himself lose the honour which is accorded him" (Pullan, 1966, pp. 141–142).

The constraints imposed on him by excommunication at Piacenza were similar. Pope Urban II's policy worked to ensure transition of power from Heinrich IV to the younger representatives of the Salian dynasty. Heinrich IV had to rely on the loyal subjects and temporal allies to maintain his status yet he had to crown the youngest son as co-ruler in 1099 to ensure legitimate continuity of his reign only to be deposed by him in 1105. While Queen Adelheid won the trial, the imperial antipapal forces, the ecclesiastical and laic nobility, which Heinrich himself had selected and promoted for many years, were defeated at the Council of Piacenza, and he as their leader had been left aside the pan-European Crusader endeavor. In contrast to his penance experience in 1077, when he was followed to Canossa by Berta and Conrad and supported by his mother-in-law Margravine Adelaide of Turin, his kinswoman Comitissa Matilda of Tuscia and his Godfather Abbot Hugh of Cluny, Heinrich IV was now abandoned by the wife and the elder son. The rulings of the Council launched the long and difficult process of regaining papal authority over the schismatic clergy subordinated to Antipope Clement III.

The pro-Heinrican view of the developments can be traced in a record made in Augsburg in the Annales Augustani. Being the "assembly point for Italian expeditions" (Robinson, 2004, p. 108), Augsburg accumulated the news that were reflected upon in the chronicle written by the Canons of the Cathedral of Augsburg in the way, "always faithful to the Empire" (Struve, 1993, p. 58). The entry for the year 1094 in the Annales Augustani lamented insults against the Empire: the Emperor was defamed by various charges, the Empress deserted her husband and retired to the enemy ("Imperii miseranda contumelia. Imperator criminibus diversis diffamatur, imperatrix maritum deserens secessit ad hostes" (Annales Augustani, 1839, p. 134)). The expectations that the stability of Empire would be maintained by the royal couple failed. Adelheid not only abandoned Heinrich but also brought

about the major shift in the Empire: the ruling of Piacenza made fall of the carefully arranged by Heinrich system of relations between him and his laic and ecclesiastic subjects inevitable and visible on the European scale.

Heinrich returned to Padua for the last time in May 1095, in June 1095 he left for Verona. F. Dondi Dall'Orologio, who researched documents issued by Heinrich IV in May and June 1095, concluded that Bishop Milo might have died in the end of May 1095 (Dondi Dall'Orologio, 1807, p. 33). Heinrich's diploma to the monastery of San Pietro in summer that year mentioned "Milonis Pataviensis episcopi beatae memoriae" (Doc. 312, Gloria, 1877, p. 337), which might imply that Milo, who had been consecrated Bishop of Padua by Antipope Clement III and had served on this position for more than a decade, was loyal to both Heinrich IV and Clement III until his death (Dondi Dall'Orologio 1807, p. 33). Pietro Cisarella, successor of Bishop Milo in Padua from 1096, had the title Bishop Elect for all his tenure (he had never been consecrated neither by Antipope Clemens III nor by Pope Paschal II). As all the ecclesiastics, loyal to Heinrich IV, he maintained "schismatic" customs long after Heinrich's departure from Italy in 1097 and death of Antipope Clement III in 1100.

The disappearance of Adelheid's name from public memory in Padua can be interpreted as result of revenge taken by the abandoned husband. Several cases of Heinrich IV's intended manipulation with identities went in records proving that neither of his spouses had been treated respectfully. Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093/94–1169) told in "De investigatione antichristi" how Adelheid lectured husband for his attempt to disgrace her disguising himself as another person (Gerhohi Praepositi, 1897, pp. 324–325). *Annales Stadenses* informed under the year 1093 that Conrad's rebellion was caused by Heinrich's remark about Conrad's resemblance to a Prince of Swabia (*Annales Stadenses*, 1859, pp. 316–317), aimed to undermine his son's dignity and defame the late Berta. The order to replace the name of Adelheid with the name of Berta must have come from the Emperor.

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ІМПЕРАТРИЦЯ АДЕЛЬГЕЙДА І САЛІЙСЬКА КОРОЛЕВА З ПАДУАНСЬКОЇ ЛЕГЕНДИ

В с т у п . Дослідження присвячено перебуванню в Падуї у 1090–1091 рр. імператриці Адельгейди, дружини імператора Священної Римської імперії Генріха IV і доньки київського князя Всеволода, з урахуванням аналізу легенди про королеву, яка увійшла в середньовічні падуанські перекази і хроніку Рональдіно з Падуї (XIII ст.) під іменем Берта. Мешканці міста протягом тривалого часу вшановували пам'ять легендарної королеви за її дар падуанському Собору та за підтримку петиції падуанців перед імператором про відновлення символів військової сили міста, колісниці ("сагоссіо") із прапором міста. У багатьох історичних джерелах ці події пов'язують із передачею імператором Генріхом IV 26 червня 1090 р. міста Падуа під юрисдикцію єпископа Падуї Міло. На замовлення єпископа Міло в падуанському соборі було виконано фреску для увічнення цієї події, на якій зображувався сам єпископ, а також королівське подружжя.

М е т о д и . Проаналізовано італійські та німецькі історичні джерела, а також середньовічні матеріальні пам'ятки, що збереглися в Падуї, з метою відтворення подій, які відбувалися під час перебування в Падуї імператорського двору у 1090–1091 рр.

Р е з у л ь т а т и . Проаналізовано інформацію про участь представників Салійської династії (імператор Генріх IV, імператриця Адельгейда, король Конрад) у подіях першої половини 1090-х рр. і дані про увічнення пам'яті про королівське подружжя в міському просторі Падуї на початку XIV ст. Запропоновано гіпотезу, що прототипом королеви з легенди була Адельгейда, ім'я якої після поразки Генріха IV на Папському соборі в П'яченці у 1095 р. було замінено іменем першої дружини імператора Берти.

В и с н о в к и . Здійснено реконструкцію малодосліджених епізодів із життя в Італії імператриці Адельгейди й окреслено її повноваження як імператриці.

К л ю ч о в і с л о в а : середньовічний, Адельгейда, Євпраксія, імператор Генріх IV, Берта, Падуа.

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