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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PL 200

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“From the centre, ... local styles often appeared to be ‘corruptions’ or ‘provincializations’ of the original model, the emphasis falling on what was lost. From the periphery itself, on the other hand, what one sees is a creative process of accomodation, assimilation or ‘syncretism.’ Once again, it is necessary to tell the story from multiple points of view.”<sup>1</sup>

Peter Burke

## CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

### ***1.1. Aims and Methods***

Center-periphery relations have already been studied from a number of aspects (discussed below). This “model” can be applied to economic, political or cultural units; Western Christendom, however, has rarely been analyzed from this point of view.

Studying the center-periphery relations of Western Christendom, the geographical framework to be observed is basically defined by historical circumstances. Nevertheless, a well-selected chronological period could add much to the research on this problem. An analysis of the political relations and types of communication between Rome and the “peripheral stripe” (the Iberian Peninsula, the British Isles including Ireland, Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, and Dalmatia) in a period, when the Church itself and the papal system of government also underwent a period of significant reorganization (1073-1216), would be really informative. Such a study could reveal not only the inner structure of Western Christendom, but the changes of inner relations as well.

This thesis approaches this very large topic through case studies. Besides putting limits to the period it was crucial to find small, comparable (geographical)

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.), 13.

units on the peripheries, the status of which could be analyzed on the basis of primary sources of the same kind. Moreover, these sources need to be large enough to provide relevant information, but not too extensive to handle. I have chosen to examine the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181), a short period in the “era” lasting from Gregory VII (1073-1085) until the death of Innocent III (1198-1216). Two archbishoprics, Uppsala in the northern and Spalato (Split) on the southeastern rim of Western Christendom were selected for comparison. Their situation is similar in terms of lying on the edge of Western Christendom, but at the same time there are significant differences concerning their geographical positions, their political structures, and the levels of their political and ecclesiastical development as well as their cultural surroundings. The source-basis chosen for this thesis, papal documents (letters) related to these places from the pontificate of Alexander III, provides direct information about the question, how Spalato and Uppsala, two “peripheral”(?) archbishoprics from a twentieth century scholarly perspective, fit into Western Christendom in the understanding of the twelfth century papal court, more precisely the Alexandrine curia.

## ***1.2. Problems and Limits***

Broad research on the Rome-periphery relations in the significant period of 1073-1216 would add much to the study of Western Christendom as a whole. This thesis, however, must perforce be limited in every possible sense, including sources, time, and place. Choosing the letters of Pope Alexander III as source-basis put limits to the subject of the research: instead of the study of *interactions* or mutual relations we can speak about a one-sided perception of the Alexandrine curia. This was not an arbitrary decision, however. The relatively late establishment of royal chanceries

does not allow us to use contemporary letters from the studied areas,<sup>2</sup> and makes it impossible to examine the point of view of the other side.

Nonetheless, narrative sources such as the works of *Saxo Grammaticus* or *Thomas the Archdeacon*<sup>3</sup> could have made the source basis much wider. There is no doubt that these works provide a great deal of valuable and useful information and I will refer to them in some cases, but I do not intend to analyze these sources in details. An analysis of this kind would require a separate research undertaking, as the large number of papers and books written on these topics clearly shows.<sup>4</sup>

Using the letters as the source basis, other problems emerge. First, except for that of Gregory VII there are no papal registers before the time of Innocent III. Thus, letters written under the pontificate of Alexander III can only be gathered from different collections, meaning that (probably) the complete sample of letters is not analyzed in this thesis.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, the chancery rule for cases of charters not

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<sup>2</sup> The first chancellor of Sweden, Karl, otherwise the bishop of Linköping, is known from the beginning of the thirteenth century, while the first royal charters available are from the reign of Knut Eriksson (1167-1195). Brigitta Fritz, "Chancery Registers in Scandinavia," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Karl Borchard (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1998), 523-528; Jan Öberg, "Königliche Kanzlei und Diplomatie in Schweden bis um 1250," *Filologiskt arkiv* 19 (1974): 2-9.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. F. Rački, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Scriptores 26. (Zagreb: 1894) (hereafter *Historia Salonitana*); Nada Klaić, ed., *Historia Salonitana maior* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1967.); *Saxonis Grammatici Historiae Danicae libri XVI*, ed. Christianus Adolphus Klotzius (Leipzig: 1771). John Dusa gives a list of narrative sources in John Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities. Development and Transformation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 21-23. (Hereafter Dusa, *The Medieval*.)

<sup>4</sup> Karsten Friis-Jensen, ed., *Saxo Grammaticus: a Medieval Author between Norse and Latin Culture* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1981); Karsten Friis-Jensen, *Saxo Grammaticus as Latin Poet: Studies in the Verse Passages of the Gesta Danorum* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987). Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, "Toma Arhidakon Splićanin (1200-1268) – nacrt za jedan portret" (Thomas the Archdeacon of Split (1200-1268): Sketch for a Portrait), *Povijesni Prilozi* 14 (1995): 117-135. Referring to Thomas' work in connection with the foundation of Ragusa and the status of Ragusan church, Lovro Kunčević, "The Foundation Myths of Medieval Ragusa," MA Thesis in Medieval Studies (Budapest: CEU, 2003.), 48-50 and the works referred to there.

<sup>5</sup> Besides the letters published in *Opera omnia Alexandri III. Romani pontificis opera omnia: id est epistolae et privilegia, ordine chronologico digesta; accedunt variorum ad ipsum epistolae*, Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, vol. 200 (Paris: Migne, 1955) I also used Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 2. (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829) (hereafter Fejér, *Codex II*) and *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2. *diplomata saeculi 12. continens (1101-1200)*, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904) (hereafter *Cod. Dipl. Croatiae II*); Lauritz Weibull, *Register 1053-1169*, Diplomatarium Danicum I, 2. (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1963); Carl A. Christensen, *Diplomer 1170-1199*,

containing privileges was that no year, only the day and month were given besides the place of issue, which can cause serious confusion concerning the dating of certain papal letters and edicts.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence, on the basis of these sources few reliable chronological conclusions can be drawn. I will not try to fill chronological gaps or correct data.

The third problem I have to deal with is terminological. In the title I have called the two archbishoprics “peripheral.” Periphery is not the only expression that can characterize the outermost rims of Western Christendom; other terms, such as frontier, fringe or borderland are also widely used in recent scholarship. I will explain my reasons for the choice of periphery in the following chapter, the aim of which is to define the terms (center, periphery, Western Christendom) to be used in the paper.

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Diplomatarium Danicum I. 3. (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1977). Additionally, J. v. Pfluck-Harttung, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Verlag von Kohlhammer, 1884) (hereafter Pfluck-Harttung, *Acta II*); Nándor Knauz, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol.1. (Esztergom: Horák Egyed, 1874) were used.

<sup>6</sup> Paulus Rabikauskas, “Die Arbeitsweise der päpstlichen Kanzlei (Ende 12.-Anfang 13. Jahrhundert),” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 41 (1995): 267. This rule changed in the time of Gregory VIII.



## CHAPTER TWO – WESTERN CHRISTENDOM AND PERIPHERY

### II.1. Definitions

The Greek noun περιφέρεια was first used in the geometrical sense to describe things like perimeter and arc, while the adjective περιφερής, -ές (τινί) meant “to be surrounded, to be enclosed by something.” Today’s dictionaries describe the meaning of periphery with phrases such as “the outer edge of an area” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary), an “area lying beyond the strict limits of a thing” (Merriam-Webster), “the outermost part or region within a precise boundary,” or as an “outer boundary or edge of an area or surface, or the region directly inside or outside of this” (Wordsmyth). Another connotation of the word is reflected in explanations like “the less important part of a group or activity” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary) or “the nonessential area or aspect of something” (Wordsmyth). It is clear from these definitions that periphery can hardly be understood *per se*, since it is a part of a given, well-defined unit with concrete borders. Moreover, as the peripheral part is close to the outer edge/boundary of the whole, it is less important than other parts within it.

The definitions above listed several synonyms for “periphery,” and scholarship dealing with Western Christendom also applies different expressions to its outer edges. Speaking of Spain, England, and Sicily, Robinson<sup>7</sup> uses the term “peripheral” lands. Under the title “Gregory VII and the Periphery of Latin Europe” H. E. J. Cowdrey describes the situation of the Church in south Italy and Sicily, in the

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<sup>7</sup> “This discrepancy between the amount of *census* paid by the monasteries and churches of the ‘inner kingdoms’ of Italy, Germany and France and those of the ‘peripheral kingdoms’ of Sicily, Spain and England is closely related to the chronology of the spread of papal protection.” Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 271. (Hereafter Robinson, *The Papacy*.)

northeast Adriatic, in Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Russia and in the Scandinavian Kingdoms, Iceland, the Anglo-Norman Kingdom, Ireland, and Christian Spain.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, Spain, for instance is often regarded as a frontier, based on the Turnerian approach to this concept,<sup>9</sup> and Colin Morris in his book *Papal Monarchy*<sup>10</sup> put Scandinavia and Eastern Europe under the title of “Christian Frontier.” In a similar way, Halecki applies different terms to Poland and Hungary when “qualifying” them as “borderlands of western civilization” and parts of East Central Europe.<sup>11</sup> Jenő Szűcs, in his work on the regions of Europe, used another version of the latter expression: Central Eastern Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Due to the variety of perceptions and ideologies concerning “frontier,” the use of the term immediately raises the problem of interpretation. Most medievalists agree that “in the Middle Ages frontiers were not lines but zones or regions.”<sup>13</sup> Here, however, the consensus ends and a wide variety of different concepts comes, which Nóra Berend summarized briefly at the beginning of her book on medieval Hungary.<sup>14</sup>

The term “borderlands” seems to be simpler, lacking such an accretion of related theories. In this paper, however, I prefer the use of the term “peripheries” when I refer to the archbishoprics as parts of the Western Christendom. The reason for this resides in the topic itself.

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<sup>8</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 423-480.

<sup>9</sup> Nóra Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.), 8. (Hereafter Berend, *At the Gate*.)

<sup>10</sup> Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). (Hereafter Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*.)

<sup>11</sup> Oscar Halecki, *The Borderlands of Western Civilization. A History of East-Central Europe* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952).

<sup>12</sup> Jenő Szűcs, *Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról* (Sketch of the Three Historical Regions of Europe) (Budapest: Magvető, 1983), 67.

<sup>13</sup> Berend, *At the Gate*, 14.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-17.

In his book of *The Making of Europe*, Robert Bartlett gave a twofold definition of Latin Christendom: it was “a rite and obedience.”<sup>15</sup> These two formulas refer to the (Latin, more precisely Roman) liturgical uniformity and to the fact that *Christianitas* was linked to one jurisdictional authority: the pope. Western Christendom, however, was far from being only a religious entity. “By the eleventh century” – as Bartlett writes – “Latin Christendom can be used to designate ... a society”<sup>16</sup> and *Christianitas* was a “quasi-ethnic territorial entity.”<sup>17</sup> While Bartlett’s definition emphasizes the unity of Western Christendom, in several respects it was a heterogeneous world. The recent book of Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt* (Europe Discovers its Diversity) 1050-1250<sup>18</sup> draws the attention to this characteristic feature. The two approaches are summarized well by the expression used by László Katus in his article on *Respublica Christiana*: “Unity in Diversity.”<sup>19</sup> Bartlett also emphasizes this dual quality of Western Christendom in his article “Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe.”<sup>20</sup>

This thesis, concentrating on Western Christendom and on its inner relations and structure from a political point of view, covers the papal court and a group of Christian monarchies, which were not in the same situation in terms of their functions and positions in this network. There was a kind of hierarchical order among them, certainly not unchangeable, but to some extent determined. Rome and the papal

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<sup>15</sup> Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), 243. (Hereafter Bartlett, *The Making*.)

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-253.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt 1050-1250* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> Katus László, “*Respublica Christiana*,” *Rubicon* 8 (1997 no.5-6): 15-18.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Bartlett, “Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe,” in *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire, 29-45 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1996). (Hereafter Bartlett, “Patterns of Unity.”)

court,<sup>21</sup> for instance, never moved from its central position (at least from the Gregorian reform until the Reformation), neither did the lands geographically the farthest, from the ecclesiastical point of view less developed, and politically less dominant. These latter areas were the peripheries of Western Christendom, where Uppsala and Spalato situated.

This paper aims to examine a kind of relationship *inside* this entity called Western Christendom. The concepts of “frontier,” however, understood in its original sense (wilderness to be conquered) or in the “linear-zonal boundary sense” or in the sense of borderlands and a “contact zone, where an interchange of cultures was constantly taking place”<sup>22</sup> are oriented to the *outside* of it. Studying the relations between the lands on the edge of Latin Christendom and kingdoms outside this political-religious-cultural unit, it would be reasonable to use the expressions of “frontier” or “borderland” and apply the first concept to Uppsala and the last to Spalato. In this thesis, however, I prefer the term “peripheral” – not to deny or neglect the possible function of these lands as mediators between cultures, but to emphasize their place within Western Christendom.

## ***II.2. The Periphery of Twelfth-Century Western Christendom***

As shown in the previous subchapter, the word “periphery” cannot be interpreted alone, without a unit of which it is a part. Moreover, its “secondary status” needs to be compared with a place/places of “better” position, namely the center. Certainly, the core-periphery (center-periphery) model to be applied on Western Christendom in

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<sup>21</sup> Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, “Die Bedeutung Roms in päpstlichen Zeremoniell,” in *Rom in hohen Mittelalter: Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 47-61. (Hereafter Schimmelpfennig, “Die Bedeutung.”)

<sup>22</sup> Berend, *At the Gate*, 7.

this thesis is not new. Scholars like Wallerstein,<sup>23</sup> Braudel,<sup>24</sup> and Weber,<sup>25</sup> however, first used it to describe economic systems of the early modern and modern ages. Although Michel Rowlands<sup>26</sup> pointed out some difficulties of reflecting the model back to earlier economies, numerous works dealing with economic and social structures, art and culture of earlier periods, including the medieval period, use the terms center/core and periphery.

Which territories formed then the periphery of the Western Christendom? Since Western Christendom was not a solid, unchangeable system, to answer this question it is essential to mark a period before applying the model on this entity. The present thesis concentrates on the second half of the twelfth century. For the analysis of structures and their changes, however, a longer period is needed. In the introduction I suggest the time between the pontificate of Gregory VII and Innocent III as “ideal” to be examined, especially from the ecclesiastical and political point of view. Certainly, talking about Western Christendom as a whole and analyzing it from various points of view enables us to take these time limits less strictly. However, these dates correspond approximately with the traditional High Middle Ages (1050-1300)<sup>27</sup> and the “Hochmittelalter” dating (1050-1250).

In this thesis, likewise, it is reasonable to deal with “periphery definitions” of a period after 1050. It is not the schism of 1054 that makes the time around 1050 ideal as a starting point of an epoch. The schism did not cause radical or final geographic

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<sup>23</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *Modern World-System. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European world-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme XV<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Tome 3. Le Temps du monde*. (Paris: 1979.), 11-70.

<sup>25</sup> Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1991.)

<sup>26</sup> Michael Rowlands, *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1-11. (Hereafter Rowlands, *Centre and Periphery*.) He also gives a brief summary of the evolution of the model.

changes, since after 1054, as well as earlier in other territories, Western Christendom continued to expand its borders to the north and east, and also on the Iberian Peninsula. Nor in an ideological sense was this break between the east and west a turning point. Although Bartlett, saying that “the Christendom that became newly aware of itself in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not the Christendom of Constantine, but an assertively western or Latin Christendom,”<sup>28</sup> seems to suggest that there was some change in the self-definition of the west by the eleventh century, Ullmann has pointed out that the “ideological conflation of *Romanitas* and *Christianitas*”<sup>29</sup> is observable as early as the time of Charlemagne. Moreover, the roots of this identification go back to Pope Gregory I.<sup>30</sup> This means that *Christianitas* was identified with the West much earlier than the mid-eleventh century.

“The papacy had enjoyed a position of prestige and centrality in Western Europe since the very birth of official Christianity under Constantine.”<sup>31</sup> It is true that the city of Rome had an outstanding liturgical role,<sup>32</sup> but, in my opinion, it would be a mistake to restrain the center of Western Christendom to this geographical place. Recognizing the Curia (in other words the pope or papacy) as the center, however, raises questions, at least before the eleventh century. In a spiritual sense Irish<sup>33</sup> and Anglo-Saxon monks became the cultural-spiritual leaders of Western Christianity

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<sup>27</sup> Richard William Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Penguin, 1990) calls the period of 1050-1300 the Age of Development; Malcolm Barber, *The Two Cities. Medieval Europe 1050-1320* (London: Routledge, 1993.)

<sup>28</sup> Bartlett, *The Making*, 254.

<sup>29</sup> Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London: Methuen & Co., 1955), 61. (Hereafter Ullmann, *The Growth*.)

<sup>30</sup> Ullmann, *The Growth*, 61-62, 88, 119-120.

<sup>31</sup> Bartlett, *The Making*, 243.

<sup>32</sup> Schimmelpfennig, “Die Bedeutung,” 47-61.

<sup>33</sup> For the special position of Ireland in Western Christendom and its perception see Bartlett, *The Making*, 21-22.

from the fifth to the seventh centuries (figure 1), and later the Frankish Empire and the “official imperial policy” gave impetus to the strengthening of the Church. Nor were the monastic reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Cluny, Gorze, Hirsau) centered on Rome or directed by the curia. “The directive role” the papacy exercised “from the eleventh century onwards,”<sup>34</sup> and the fact that the curia became the center of Western Christendom, was very much the result of changes inside the Church.

In the course of the about 150 years that passed between 1073, when Gregory VII was elected to the papal see, and 1216, when Innocent III died, the Church underwent a period of significant reorganization. The Western Church acquired many of the characteristics of a secular state; it developed into something of a monarchy.<sup>35</sup> Rufinus, the twelfth-century canonist, in his opening speech at the Third Lateran Council (March 1179), characterized the papal government with the following words:

There are many things to wonder at in the sight of an assembly of such noble fathers, and as I look I see this blessed gathering of prelates as presenting the image of a magnificent city, where there is the king, nobles, consuls and also the crowd of people. Is not the chief pontiff the king? The nobles or magnates are his brothers and flanks, the lord cardinals; the archbishops are the consuls; and we other bishops and abbots are not ashamed in so noble city to take the place of people.<sup>36</sup>

The most important phenomena that reflect this “monarchic” character of the Church are connected to different aspects of government. In this period Rome developed (1) a judicial-legislative and (2) a financial system of its own; (3) it emphasized the governing (sovereign) character of the pope, (4) it laid down the main

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 20

<sup>35</sup> Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*; Robinson, *The Papacy*; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum: von der Antike bis zur Renaissance* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996). (Hereafter Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum*.); Ullmann, *The Growth*.

<sup>36</sup> G. Morin, “Le discours d’ouverture du concile général du Latran (1179),” *Memorie della pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* III.2 (1928): 116-117. Translation by Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 205.

directions of an independent foreign policy, and (5) it re-structured the bureaucratic system supporting and serving the different branches of government.

1. By the beginning of the thirteenth century Rome had developed an elaborated, autonomously functioning judicial and legislative system, independent and clearly separated from any secular influence. Canon law developed: sources were organized systematically, law collections were created, and skilled jurists were trained to apply the law.<sup>37</sup> Not only were the elective system and the rules of canonical elections settled, but the work of Church officials was also regulated.

The papacy was also concerned to emphasize and effect the exclusive authority of its own jurisdiction over clerics and ecclesiastical issues. This was not an easy task. In some places, such as northern Europe, where neither the royal power nor ecclesiastical authority was strong and a clear distinction between the clerical and secular was not crucial, it was difficult to make people, even clerics, understand the importance of this issue.<sup>38</sup> In the empire, on the other hand, where both were well developed, the clerical and secular authorities were each unwilling to let the other gain influence easily.

2. The system of finance was another issue.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the eleventh century (from the time of Urban II, 1088-1099) the papacy had introduced the system of asset management used in Cluny, and probably the Clunian monk Peter was appointed as the first chamberlain (*camerarius*). The so-called *Liber censuum*, compiled around 1192 by Cencio Savelli, later Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), shows

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<sup>37</sup> James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London: Longman, 1995). (Hereafter Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*.)

<sup>38</sup> Alexander III warns his subjects in Scandinavia with the following words: "... nec eum [scilicet Stephanum archiepiscopum] aut alium quemlibet Ecclesiae praelatum coram laicis accusare, seu ad saeculare iudicium trahere praesumatis" (PL 200 coll. 610, no. 634), and "Accedit ad haec quod clerici sive ipsi adversus laicos, sive laici adversus eos, litigantes experiri voluerint laicorum iudicia subire, et secundum ipsorum instituta sive leges agere vel defendere se coguntur" (PL 200 coll. 855, no. 979).



the Apostolic Chamber in its fully developed form. The weak points of the system, however, became apparent from time to time, and while the curia was able to improve the central administrative aspects (by compiling registers), the collection of the incomes and their transmission to Rome remained a basic problem.

3. The leader of the new, centralized Church was of outstanding importance. The undebatable supreme position of the pope in the Church was supported by the doctrine of papal primacy,<sup>40</sup> while the frequent use of some terms referring to him as *gubernator* and *iudex totius ecclesiae*<sup>41</sup> emphasized the “secular” aspect of his leadership, which slowly gained more and more significance. From the time of Alexander III not only his letters and decretals are good sources for the study of the twelfth century political thought, but other contemporary works such as Rufinus’ *De*

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<sup>39</sup> On papal finance, see William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia Press, 1934). (Hereafter Lunt, *Papal Revenues*.); Robinson, *The Papacy*, 244-191.

<sup>40</sup> The roots of the theory of papal primacy were the ideas emphasizing the superiority of Rome over other churches, by the means of terms *vicarius Christi* and *princeps apostolorum*; Pope Leo I (440-461) was the first to use the simile of *caput-membra* for this relation. Moreover, another formula favoured by Leo, *indignus haeres beati Petri*, suggested that the pope had a dominant role in judicial affairs because he had “succeeded to the same legal powers as St. Peter.” Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought* (London: Routledge, 1996), 31. (Hereafter Canning, *A History*.) A few centuries later, Nicholas I (858-867) stressed the leading position and outstanding power of Rome and the pope as *vicarius Petri*. Gregory VII (1073-1085) also adopted this idea (“Although not claiming the vicariate of Christ for himself, Gregory nevertheless in his function as vicar of St. Peter applies to himself the same fullness of power with which St. Peter was credited.” Ullmann, *The Growth*, 280), and finally the theory became an important element of medieval canon law. Another idea supporting and giving impetus to the development of papal primacy theory came from Pope Gregory I (590-604). He claimed that the power of binding and loosing was given exclusively to St. Peter, so he is reasonably called *princeps apostolorum*. First of all, the reform papacy managed emphasize this doctrine and tried to take the opportunities provided by the theory. However, the theory of papal primacy – referring to St. Peter – became fully developed by adopting the idea of *plenitudo potestatis*, which by the thirteenth century meant “the fullness of Christ’s jurisdictional power given to St. Peter.” (Canning, *A History*, 32.) In the end, the primacy (and authority) of the Roman pontiff became obvious and undebatable in matters concerning faith (the doctrine of papal infallibility) and the liturgy, in questions related to the canonization of saints and synodal decisions and in the field of ecclesiastical justice (*iudex totius ecclesiae*). See I. S. Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-280. (Hereafter Robinson, “Church and Papacy.”); Canning, *A History*, 29-38.

<sup>41</sup> According to Gratian, “Sola enim Romana ecclesia sua auctoritate valet de omnibus iudicare; de ea vero nulli iudicare permittitur.” The development of this view led to the point that the pope was considered not only the defender (*defensor*) of the Christian law, but also its creator. Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” 286-288.

*bono pacis* and his opening speech at the Lateran Council or Boso's *Vita Alexandri*<sup>42</sup> are also clear reflections of the papal ideology.

4. In the eleventh century Rome left the epoch when it was ruled by Roman nobility (the Crescentius family) and the emperor.<sup>43</sup> The ecclesiastical (Gregorian) reform movement, the success of which depended largely on the power and position of the pope, aimed to free the Church from secular influence. In the framework of this "desecularization," besides the inner purification of the Church (celibacy and the prohibition of nepotism and simony), the Holy See started to form its own foreign policy, independent of the influence of any secular power. The two main directions of this policy were the strengthening of the papal position in the lands already belonging (or which had once belonged) to Latin Christendom (such as Spalato), and the further expansion of the Western Church by converting people who were not yet Christian (as in the case of Uppsala).<sup>44</sup>

5. Finally, the bureaucracy needed to fulfill the requirements of these new systems was also created. The systematic organization of the *Curia Romana* started in the eleventh century as a result of the centralization efforts of the papacy. Among its many different departments (congregations, tribunals, offices) the Apostolic Chamber (*Camera Apostolica*) and the Papal Chancery (*Cancellaria Apostolica*) were of crucial importance at the end of the twelfth century. (Figure 2)

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<sup>42</sup> "Recognoscente itaque toto mundo ipsum pontificem Christi vicarium et beati Petri catholicum successorem..." Boso, "Vita Papae Alexandri III," in *Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, vol. 2., ed. L. Duchesne, 397-446 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), 403. (Hereafter *Liber Pontificalis* II.); and the legates of Emperor Frederick speaking in the consistory in the peace negotiations: "Dominus noster imperator ... misit nos cum plenitudine potestatis ad praesentiam vestram, instanter postulans ut verbum illud concordie ac pacis... auctore Domino compleatur. Notum est enim et indubitatum quod ab initio nascentis Ecclesie omnipotens Deus in orbe duo esse voluit quibus principaliter mundus hic regeretur, sacerdotalis dignitas et regalis potestas." *Liber Pontificalis* II, 434.

<sup>43</sup> Harald Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum im Mittelalter: eine Papstgeschichte im Spiegel der Historiographie* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 198), 100-108. (Hereafter Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum*.)

The term *cancellaria* was used in the *curia* only after the 1170s.<sup>45</sup> The basis for an independent department from which letters were sent out was laid down by John of Gaeta, cardinal-deacon and chancellor, at the end of the eleventh century. However, the second half of the twelfth century witnessed some changes worth noting: the number of charters issued by the chancery grew dramatically, trained jurists appeared among the employees of the chancery, and several technical innovations were implemented in this period.<sup>46</sup> To what extent these changes were the result of papal activity is difficult to decide. However, “it is hard to deny that some popes, such as Alexander III and Gregory VIII, as well as Innocent III played the role of *spiritus movens*.”<sup>47</sup>

The lifelong positions of chamberlain and chancellor – who was otherwise the principal advisor of the pope<sup>48</sup> – were by no means negligible. This is made clear by the list of several eminent persons among the chamberlains, such as Cardinal Boso, the author of the *Life of Alexander III*,<sup>49</sup> and Honorius III; four of the twelfth-century chancellors later became popes (Gelasius II, Lucius II, Alexander III and Gregory VIII).<sup>50</sup>

Concerning the chancery, one further interesting episode demonstrates the growing importance and power of the departments of the papal bureaucratic network.

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<sup>44</sup> The conversion efforts can be explained first of all with religious reasons, but – talking about borderlands – they had political aspects as well.

<sup>45</sup> Rabikauskas, “Die Arbeitsweise,” 264. It was called *scrinium*, the original meaning of which had been archive.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 263-271.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>48</sup> Robinson, *The Papacy*, 93-98. Writing about Hadrian IV, Morris says: “Some historians have seen him as tough and inflexible, but others as a relatively mild man whose policy was fashioned by some authoritative advisors, notably Roland, who was already papal chancellor at the time of Hadrian’s accession, and Boso, the papal chamberlain.” Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 190.

<sup>49</sup> *Liber pontificalis* II, 397-446.; *Boso’s Life of Alexander III*, tr. G. M. Ellis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973). (Hereafter *Boso’s Life of Alexander III*.)

<sup>50</sup> For the preeminent position of the chancellor in the twelfth century curia, see also Robinson, *The Papacy*, 93-94.

Alexander III did not appoint a chancellor between 1159 and 1178, and Innocent III kept the chancellor's office vacant for another eighteen years between 1187 and 1205.<sup>51</sup> It is difficult to say whether these popes, who knew well the mechanisms of the papal chancery (especially Alexander III), considered this function dangerous for their governing power or whether the reason behind this phenomenon was financial.<sup>52</sup>

As noted above, in the course of a process started by the middle of the eleventh century with the strengthening of the papal position (primacy) the Church, leaving behind its provincial epoch,<sup>53</sup> became a centralized institution. Since Christian (Roman) religion, and therefore the Roman Church was the most important unifying factor in the West (*Latinitas-Christianitas*), the centralization of the Church led to the integration of Western Christendom.<sup>54</sup> In this way the center-periphery model can reasonably be applied to Western Christendom as *Christianitas* and *Latinitas*<sup>55</sup> with the Holy See in its center only after this process had started and produced its first results in the eleventh century.

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<sup>51</sup> Rabikauskas, "Die Arbeitsweise," 266. "It is noteworthy that precisely those popes kept the chancellor's office vacant for a long time who themselves were chancellors before. This happened with cardinal Roland (Bandinelli), who – as Alexander III – did not appoint any chancellors for eighteen years (Sept. 1159-Febr. 1178). The chancellor finally designated, Albert of Morra, held his office until he himself was elected Pope (Gregory VIII). Then the office of the chancellor remained vacant for another eighteen years (1187-1205)... Innocent III spent the first eight years of his pontificate without a chancellor, until in December 1205 he appointed his relative, Cardinal Deacon Johannes of St. Maria in Cosmedin, as chancellor."

<sup>52</sup> "The chancery was led further on by the chancellor, though the Pope – perhaps because of financial reasons – could hold this office as well, especially when they themselves (as Alexander III and Gregory VIII) had been chancellors." Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum*, 180.

<sup>53</sup> Gert Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.), 185; Karl Heussi qualifies the period between 900-1300 AD as the "Rise and Bloom of Papal Church." Karl Heussi, *Az egyháztörténet kézikönyve* (Handbook of Church History) (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 183-242. (Hereafter Heussi, *Az egyháztörténet*.)

<sup>54</sup> "With control over its clergy, the papacy became an awesome, centralized bureaucratic powerhouse, an institution in which literacy, a formidable tool in the Middle Ages, was concentrated." Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.), 23.

<sup>55</sup> Besides *christianitas* and *latinitas* the terms *respublica christiana* and *orbis Christianus* could also describe the community of peoples belonging to Western Christianity. Endre Sashalmi, "Az Európa-eszme változása a kora középkortól a XVIII. század végéig" (The Change of the Idea of Europe from

At this point, however, the other characteristic feature, the heterogeneity of Western Christendom has to be emphasized. While the unity was religious, the diversity was economic, social (e.g. the emergence of towns), political, sometimes cultural (e.g. the expansion of Romanesque or Gothic art).<sup>56</sup> In this system, after achieving ecclesiastical supremacy the papacy gradually became interested in the issue of secular power and, moreover, laid claim to it. The leading religious power of the West, by adopting some characteristics of the secular monarchy, became similar to it in many respects. The papacy developed into a dangerous rival of the imperial “model” of lay power: while it adopted some features of the secular for itself, it was also successful in depriving the secular ruler of his religious character and functions, preserving them exclusively for itself. The most important political consequence of this change was the serious and long-lasting conflict known as the Investiture Contest between the papacy and the empire, the most powerful and at the same time the neighboring realm.<sup>57</sup>

This miscellaneous character of Western Christendom is what makes it difficult to define its center and periphery. Concluding the previous paragraphs, from the mid-eleventh century the curia, geographically the territory of northern Italy and southern France, can be regarded as the center not only from an ecclesiastical, but also from a political point of view. The centers of monastic and other reform movements in the tenth and eleventh centuries, i.e. *Treuga Dei*, the Cluny reform and the Cistercian renewal (Citeaux, Clairvaux), were in Burgundy. (Figure 3) Nevertheless,

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the Early Middle Ages to the End of the Eighteenth Century) *Valóság* (2003, no.6): 32-37, 33. (Hereafter Sashalmi, “Az Európa-eszme változása.”)

<sup>56</sup> See also Bartlett, “Patterns of Unity.”

<sup>57</sup> Mondin also refers this fusion of the inner (religious) and the outer (political) affairs of the Church when he states that Gregory VII’s attempts to encourage lay rulers to cooperate with the papacy in order to make politics serve the interests of faith and the Church “led to the ‘intertwining’ of reform and

taking demographic and economic aspects into consideration, “northern France and northern Italy proved extremely innovative regions ...[thus] these areas ... formed a ‘core’ or ‘metropolitan region’ in relation to the ‘periphery’ around them.”<sup>58</sup>

At first sight defining the periphery is simple. Nevertheless, perhaps the peripheral status can be established in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland in a convincing manner, but it is arguable whether this label can be applied to the British Isles,<sup>59</sup> the Outremer (or Russia).<sup>60</sup> Another question is whether a homogeneous periphery can be drawn at all when these larger units (Scandinavia, the British Isles) – in a political as well as in a religious sense – differ so much from each other,<sup>61</sup> moreover, neither do they form a consistent or uniform whole internally. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a large part of the Iberian Peninsula was under Muslim control, while the Balkan region belonged to the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The northern Germanic and inner Scandinavian territories still faced some reminiscence of certain pagan elements. On the eastern border of Western Christendom, both Hungary and Poland were in the crossfire of the Eastern and Western Churches. Poland, however, especially after the imperial invasion of 1157 (Boleslaw IV, 1146-1173), entered the sphere of interest of the empire. Hungary from time to time (László II /1162-1163/,

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politics.” Battista Mondin, *Pápák enciklopédiája* (Encyclopaedia of Popes) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2001), 217. (Hereafter Mondin, *Pápák enciklopédiája*.)

<sup>58</sup> Bartlett, *The Making*, 20.

<sup>59</sup> It is remarkable that Henry II never chose the imperial (anti-papal) side, although due to the Becket case his relations with Alexander were not without conflicts. In a religious sense the Norman-Angevin-Plantagenet kingdom was the subject, in the political sense the supporter, of the Holy See. Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum*, 175.

<sup>60</sup> See Robinson and Cowdrey in Chapter II.1., and also Heussi, *Az egyháztörténet*, 186. For the Kievan Rus and its place in Europe see Márta Font, “Kényszerpályák és választási lehetőségek a keresztény nagyhatalmak árnyékában (Közép- és Kelet-Európa a 10-12. században)” (Compulsion and Opportunity for Choice in the Shadow of Christian Empires. Central and Eastern Europe in the Tenth-Twelfth Centuries.) Doctoral Dissertation (Pécs, 2001). (Hereafter Font, “Kényszerpályák.”)

<sup>61</sup> In the long term this difference is clearly visible: Scandinavia moved into the centre from the periphery in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while the Iberian Peninsula lost its previous central

István IV /1163/ and Béla III /1173-1196/) came under the influence of the Byzantine Empire, although this rule never became dominant. As Morris says, on the part of the papacy “the northern and southern frontiers required different approaches”<sup>62</sup> – as well as the lands on the eastern border.

Certainly, the aim of this thesis is not to answer these questions or define the possible centers and describe the structure and changes of the peripheries. It aims only to illuminate the complexity of this problem by the analysis of the relations of the Holy See with two small units within its sphere of interest. This analysis is limited to a short period of time (1159-1181) and a small part of Western Christendom (the archbishoprics of Spalato and Uppsala) and, since these were basically religious-ecclesiastical relations, this study will add further information only to these aspects of the center-periphery model of Western Christendom.

### ***II.3. The Peripheries in Curial Perception***

Describing the periphery of eleventh through thirteenth century Western Christendom on the basis of reliable statistical data is hardly possible, since such statistics rarely exist.<sup>63</sup> Some information, however, is available to support the “general impression”<sup>64</sup> of periphery. The geographical distance, the ecclesiastical system and its development (the foundation of bishoprics and archbishoprics [figure 4]) as well as the intensity of communication (by letters or legates) between the curia and the given lands can be taken into account. Furthermore, conclusions can be drawn from the

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position from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and fell into a semi-peripheral status. Jenő Szűcs, *Európa régiói a történelemben* (The Regions of Europe in the History) (Budapest: MTA, 1986.), 5.

<sup>62</sup> Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 264).

<sup>63</sup> Bartlett, *The Making*, 20.

<sup>64</sup> Dieter Brosius, “Kurie und Peripherie – das Beispiel Niedersachsen,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 71 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991.), 325-339.

dispersion of clerical estates and from references to different areas in the sources.<sup>65</sup>

On the basis of such data the tables and diagrams below give some indication of the center and peripheries of Western Christendom between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

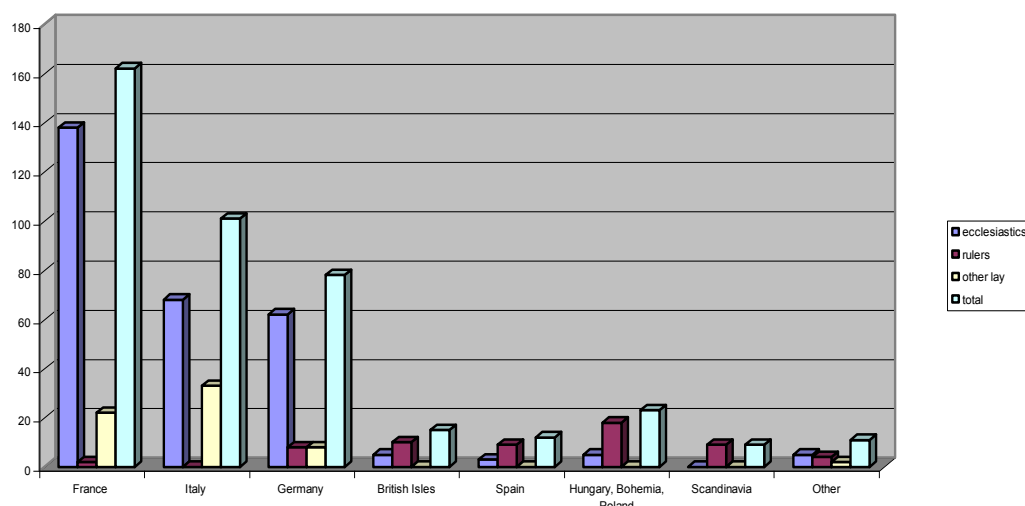


Table 1. The letters of Pope Gregory VII  
Based on the data of Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*.<sup>66</sup>

Region	Number of letters to			
	Ecclesiastics <sup>67</sup>	Rulers	Other lay	Total
France	642	79	9	730
British Isles	126	22	4	152
Italy	70	1	9	80
Germany	21	1	0	22
Scandinavia	15	6	0	21
East Central Europe	15	2	1	18
Iberian Peninsula	10	6	0	16

Table 2. Recipients of Pope Alexander III's letters  
(on the basis of the collection in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 200)

<sup>65</sup> The example for this kind of approach is the study of Dieter Brosius.

<sup>66</sup> Bartlett, *The Making*, 247.

<sup>67</sup> Containing only the letters sent to bishoprics or archbishopric sees.



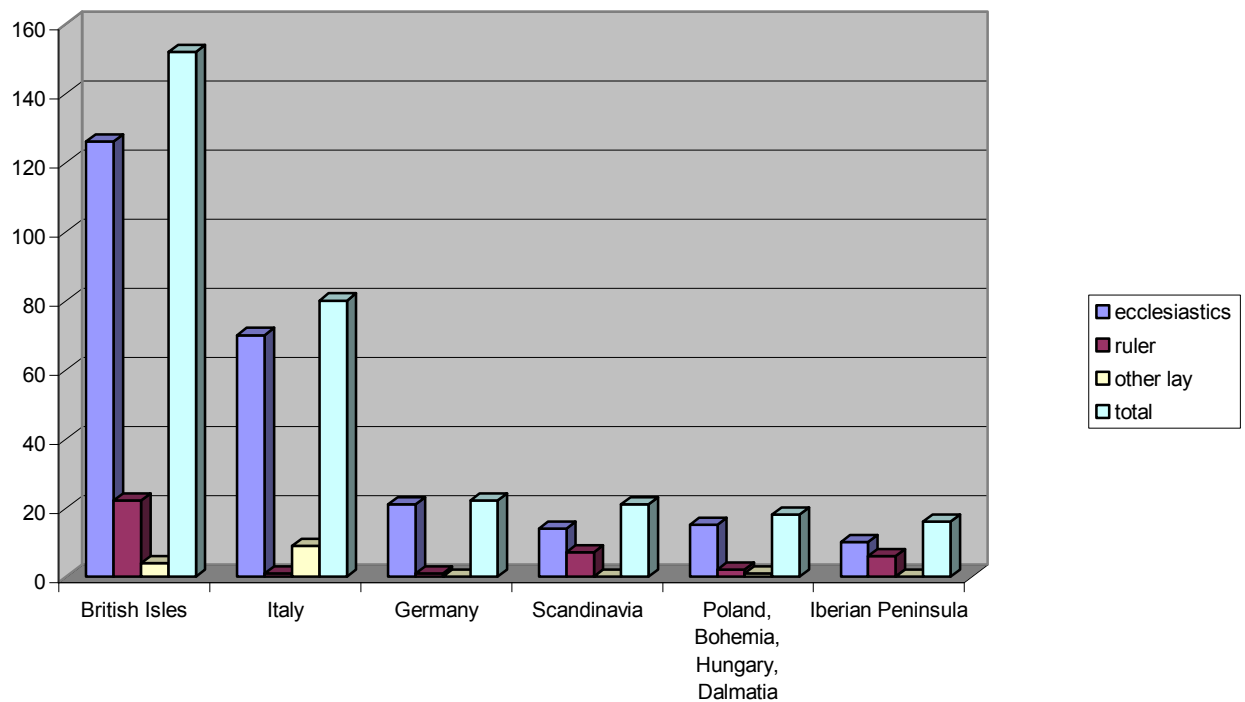


Table 3. Letters of Pope Alexander III<sup>68</sup>

Region	Number of legations
Italy	11
Hungary,Bohemia, Dalmatia	10
Sicily	9
Germany	7
France	4
Byzantium	6
Iberian Peninsula	2
Jerusalem	2
England	1

Table 4. Alexander III's legates and diplomatic activity (1159-1169)

Based on Werner Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159-1169)* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 162-166. and Werner Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche und Gegenpäpstliche Legaten in Deutschland und Skandinavien 1159-1181* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 110.

<sup>68</sup> Due to their large number, the diagram does not show the letters sent to France.

Region	Archbishops	Bishops
France	12	67
Iberian Peninsula	4	18
England and Scotland	2	13
Italy	1	7

Table 5. Number of archbishops and bishops present at the Council of Tours (1163)  
Based on Robert Sommerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163)*  
(Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 27-29.

Further conclusions concerning the ecclesiastical-political status of different areas in Western Christendom can be drawn from the relations and intensity of cooperation between the Holy See and the ruling elites. Alliances and treaties, the characteristics of the organization of ecclesiastical systems and the spread of monastic orders, the introduction of institutions like anointing or coronation, the canonization of ruler saints, and the personal visits of kings to Rome all shed light upon the system of *Christianitas*. Looking at the faraway lands from the center, an important question is whether the curia was able to impose its will on these areas concerning, for example, jurisdictional or financial issues and whether it exercised its power (excommunication, interdiction) efficiently there.

At the same time it is worth studying what kind of a general picture of these places was present in the Rome. It would be unreasonable to expect an exact “periphery-definition” from the twelfth century curia. What can be studied is the question of whether the Holy See saw any common characteristic feature in the situation of these lands or whether it turned towards them with any special attitude. The “historical facts” mentioned in the previous paragraph reflect the curial approach. Nonetheless, formulae, terms and expressions used by the Roman chancery to characterize these lands can also add much to solving the problem.

## CHAPTER THREE – THE SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES

### III.1. Alexander III (1159-1181)

Pope Alexander III<sup>69</sup> was not in an easy situation during his pontificate. Besides his main political enemy, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, he had to face four antipopes<sup>70</sup> (supported by Barbarossa) as well as his opponents within the Church. Moreover, he was not able to stay in Rome: “he had to seek a place to stay outside the self-governing city: in France or in southern Italy, in Campagna or in Tuscany, in Segni and Anagni, in Terracina and Tusculum, in Viterbo, in Ferentino and Veroli and Velletri, in Monte Albano and Palombara.”<sup>71</sup> (Figure 5) However, he tried to continue his pursuit of the aims established by the eleventh-century reform papacy: to extend Christian territories by conversion, to establish papal rule in the Church (papal primacy), and to obtain the political leadership – besides religious – in Western Latin Christendom by proving the superiority of religious power over secular power.

Rolando Bandinelli (Pope Alexander III), born into a noble family in Siena, was successful in his career. After teaching law in Bologna,<sup>72</sup> in 1150 he became

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<sup>69</sup> Cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Cardinal priest of S. Marco, chancellor, leader of the “*Sicilian party*.” Heinrich Kerner, *Papst Alexander III.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1874); Johannes Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997). (Hereafter Laudage, *Alexander III.*)

<sup>70</sup> Victor IV (1159-1164), Paschal III (1164-1168), Calixtus III (1168-1178), Innocent III (1179-1180). Except France, where Louis VII (1131/37-1180) had already reigned for about 25 years, just before the beginning of Alexander III’s pontificate there were important changes on the thrones of the Christian monarchies. In the second half of the twelfth century these rulers – Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), Henry II of England (1154-1189), William I (1154-1166) and II (1166-1189) of Sicily, Alfons VIII of Castile (1158-1214), and Valdemar I of Denmark (1157-1182) – decided the affairs of Western Christendom. Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum*, 174.

<sup>71</sup> Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum*, 135.

<sup>72</sup> There is some doubt in recent scholarship concerning Alexander’s activity in Bologna. “Another early Bolognese law teacher who commented in detail on Gratian’s text was Master Rolandus. ... Modern scholars used to assume that he was the same Rolandus who later became Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), although this identification now seems mistaken.” Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 49. See also the following: Ambrosius M. Gietl, *Die Sentenzen Rolands nachmals Papstes Alexanders III.* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1969.), v-xx.; John T. Noonan, “Who was Rolandus?” in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington (Philadelphia, 1977), 21-48; Friedrich Thaner, *Die Summa Magistri Rolandi nachmals Papstes Alexanders III.* (Innsbruck: Verlag

cardinal under the pontificate of Eugene III, and three years later he was appointed papal chancellor. Boso characterized him and summarized his career in the following way:

Alexander III is a Tuscan, a native of Siena, the son of Rainucci. His original name was Roland, and as a Cardinal Priest of St. Marc, he was Chancellor of the Apostolic See. His pontificate has lasted eighteen years. Because of his great fame in the Church of Pisa, where all had held him dear and in high renown, he was summoned by Pope Eugene of blessed memory to his Church at Rome. When the Holy Father under divine impulse considered him ready, he raised him first to the rank of Cardinal Deacon, of the title of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and then made him Cardinal Priest, of St. Mark, and finally, since Roland continued to go from one great achievement to another, the pope appointed him to the office of Chancellor of the Holy See. Roland is a man of great eloquence, well enough learned in the writings of both human and divine authors, and skilled by careful practice in the understanding of them; moreover, he is a man of Schools, ready in the ways of polite speaking, at once thoughtful, kind, patient, merciful, gentle, sober, chaste, assiduous in the bestowing of alms and ever intent on performing all the other good works that please God. As a result “the Lord made him increase among his people and gave him a great priesthood.”<sup>73</sup>

Alexander was known as the “leader of the Sicilian party,” the rival of the pro-imperialist group of cardinals.<sup>74</sup> As papal legate, chancellor and advisor of Hadrian IV, he was present at the Imperial Diet in Besançon in 1157, where the Imperial

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der Wagner'schen Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1874.), xxiii-xxv.; Rudolf Weigand, “Magister Rolandus und Papst Alexander III,” *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 149 (1980), 3-144; Rudolf Weigand, “Glossen des Magister Rolandus zum Dekret Gratians,” in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liotta (Siena: Nella sede dell'Accademia, 1986), 389-423.

<sup>73</sup> *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, 43. Peter Munz describes Boso's work in the following way: “It is a work of history in its own right and falsely described as a Life of Alexander III. Boso's work is in fact a history of the long schism in the church brought about by the double election of 1159 and perpetuated until the Peace of Venice in 1177. It makes no claim to be a Life of Alexander because it is not only says nothing about his career before the election but also purposely omits all those events and activities of his pontificate which do not strictly belong to the history of schism.” *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, 1.

<sup>74</sup> “The two factions whose rivalry caused the schism – the ‘Sicilian party’ and its pro-Imperial opponents – came into being during the pontificate of Hadrian IV, inspired by the ‘friendship ... between the lord Pope Hadrian and William [I] of Sicily.’ ” It was, at least partly, Hadrian's own creation: from the thirteen cardinals surely belonging to this party Hadrian recruited four and promoted five others within the college. Robinson, *The Papacy*, 79.

Chancellor Rainald von Dassel translated the expression of *beneficium* as “Lehen,”<sup>75</sup> thus opening a new phase of the investiture contest. In 1159 Rolando was elected pope, but until 1176, with the battle of Legnano and the victory of the Lombard League, his position as Roman pontiff was debatable and shaky.<sup>76</sup> After he was finally acknowledged as the legitimate pope in the peace treaty of Venice (1177),<sup>77</sup> one of his most important aims was to put an end to the Western Schism then and forever. In this respect the election of the pope was a key issue, and the first decree of the Third Lateran Council (1179) declared that a two-thirds majority of the votes was needed to elect the pope.<sup>78</sup> Although this and the other decrees<sup>79</sup> of the synod were of outstanding importance, in practice they could not be actualized till the very end of the twelfth century.

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<sup>75</sup> “Beneficium is the normal Latin for benefit or gift; it was also in Germany the standard term for a fief, and Rainald, who was translating, chose this meaning and rendered it as Lehen.” Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 191. For “beneficium” see Charles du Fresne Sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol.1 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanst., 1954), 628-633.

<sup>76</sup> After the death of Hadrian IV, Frederick II grasped the chance to intervene in the papal election, and as a result of this, besides Alexander III, Cardinal Monticello was also elected as Pope Victor IV (1159-1164). Not long after the election, Milan was besieged and devastated by imperial troops, and northern as well as central Italy fell into the hands of the emperor – the Norman allies of the pope were not willing to fight. Alexander fled to France, from where he returned to Rome only in 1165, after the death of Victor IV. In 1166, however, due to the new military campaign of Frederick II, he had to leave for Benevento, which was under Norman control. Malaria caused great losses to his army, which prevented the emperor from more successes. At the same time, the northern Italian cities formed their own alliance system, called the Lombard League, which supported the pope until the final victory of the league over the emperor in 1176. The peace treaty acknowledged Alexander III as the legitimate pope. Besides Kerner see also Ludwig Falkenstein, “Alexander III und der Streit um die Doppelwahl im Châlons-sur-Marne (1162-64),” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 32 (1976): 444-494.

<sup>77</sup> The emperor recognized Alexander III and agreed to restore all papal estates and lands. J. H. Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 342. The territory of Countess Matilda and of the Count Bertinoro, however caused some problems. *Liber Pontificalis* II, 443.

<sup>78</sup> This rule is still in force today with one small modification according to which a two-thirds majority plus one vote is needed.

<sup>79</sup> These were, for instance, synodal decrees concerning simony, concubinage and the accumulation of ecclesiastical goods. *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien. Konzilien des Mittelalters*, ed. Josef Wolmuth (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973), 205-225. (Hereafter *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien II.*); Raymond Foreville, *Lateran I-IV* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1970). For the key issue of marriage see James A. Brundage, “Marriage and Sexuality in the Decretals of pope Alexander III,” in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liotta (Siena: Nella sede dell’Accademia, 1986), 57-83; Charles Donahue, Jr., “The Policy of Alexander the Third’s Consent Theory of Marriage,” *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval*

### III.2. Uppsala and Spalato

For the object of the survey in this study I have chosen two archbishoprics, both lying on the rims of Western Christendom in the neighborhood of another, non-Roman Catholic, culture. The other characteristic features of the two archdioceses are, however, entirely different.

#### III.2.1. Uppsala

Until the second half of the twelfth century Rome did not show a serious interest in maintaining connections with the Scandinavian region.<sup>80</sup> The lack of contacts was not only the result of the weakness of the papacy,<sup>81</sup> but the late and many times scattered Christianization<sup>82</sup> of the northern lands also caused long survival of pagan customs<sup>83</sup> and late ecclesiastical development.

The conversions of rulers were crucial for the Christianization of this region, and later they played important role in organizing the Church administration in their

*Canon Law. Toronto, 21-25 August 1972*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 251-281.

<sup>80</sup> Heinrich Holze, "Von der Reichskirche zur Papstkirche. Das *regimen universale* Gregors VII. in seinen Briefen nach Skandinavien," *Kerygma und Dogma* 36 (1990): 245-267. On the early contacts with Sweden Carl F. Hallencreutz, "Gregory VII and the Emerging Church in Sweden" in *Annual Report 1991 of Uppsala Studies of Mission*, ed. Carl F. Hallencreutz (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 1992), 3-9.; H .E. J. Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Reform in the Anglo-Norman Lands and in Scandinavia." *Studi gregoriani per la storia di Gregorio VII e della riforma gregoriana* 13 (1989): 321-352.

<sup>81</sup> Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum*; Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum*.

<sup>82</sup> On the Christianization of Scandinavian lands see Lesley Abrams, "The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia," *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 213-249; Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood, ed., *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.), 61-102.; Birgit and Peter Sawyer, ed., *The Christianization of Scandinavia. Report of a Symposium held at Kungälv, Sweden 4-5 August 1985* (Alingsås: Viktoria Bokförlag, 1987).

<sup>83</sup> Peter and Birgit Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia, From Conversion to Reformation, ca. 800-1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 104. (Hereafter Sawyer and Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*.) In 1066, Stenkil, the Swedish ruler did not allow Egino, the bishop of Lund, and Adalvard the Younger from Sigtuna to destroy the temple of Uppsala. Adam Bremensis, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* IV, 30. (Hereafter Adam, *Gesta*.); Wolfgang See Grün, *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation (1164)* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholz Verlag, 1967), 53. (Hereafter See Grün, *Das Papsttum*.)

territories. Harald Bluetooth (950-986) of Denmark was baptized in 965, while in Norway the reign of Olaf Tryggvasson (995-1000) meant the beginning of the Christian kingdom.<sup>84</sup> In Sweden Olaf Skotkönung (994-1021/1022) is considered the first Christian ruler. The traditional date of his conversion is 1008, which is probably wrong, since there is evidence for Christian coins being issued in Sigtuna in 995.<sup>85</sup> At any rate, he was the last among the northern rulers to become Christian – even in Iceland Christianity was officially accepted by the Althing in 1000.

Under the rule of Olaf Skotkönung the first permanent bishopric was established in Skara, but it was not until the twelfth century that Christianity gained a strong foothold in Sweden and the organization of the parish and diocese system started. An important characteristic of the Swedish ecclesiastical system is what Nyberg has pointed out, comparing the territorial structuralization of the *thing* communities and bishoprics. Unlike Denmark, in Norway and Sweden, where the territories of the *things* and the bishoprics were closely and clearly related to each other, one can rather speak about an organization process of the Church from beneath instead of one directed by the royal house from above.<sup>86</sup>

The development of the Scandinavian, among them the Swedish church provinces, is not a topic without problems. The main sources, Adam of Bremen's *Gesta* (1070/1075), the so-called "Florence list" (from 1120/1124, but probably reflecting the situation of 1103/1104) and the foundation charter of the archbishopric of Uppsala (1164) contain contradictory information concerning the first episcopal

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<sup>84</sup> Although Håkon (935-959/961) had already been educated according to Christian morals in England.

<sup>85</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*, 104.

<sup>86</sup> Tore Nyberg, *Die Kirche in Skandinavien* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986), 23, 77. (Hereafter Nyberg, *Die Kirche*.)

towns in Sweden.<sup>87</sup> Tore Nyberg in his book on the Scandinavian church analyzed this problem in detail – for this thesis, however, the information in the 1164 privilege is enough and can be considered reliable.<sup>88</sup> According to this, four bishoprics were subject to Uppsala: Skara, Linköping, Strangnas, and Vasteras.

The history of the Swedish archbishopric itself is not less complicated. The archbishopric of Uppsala was founded in 1164 by Alexander III, when Denmark and Norway already had their own archdioceses: Lund (1103) and Trondheim/Nidaros (1154).<sup>89</sup> Before the establishment of the Swedish archbishopric, at the beginning of the twelfth century at the latest, a bishopric had already existed in Uppland, at Sigtuna. At that time the so-called Old Uppsala (Gamla Uppsala) was the most important center of pagan cults. As a symbolic act, the see of Sigtuna was transferred to Old Uppsala in the 1130s. It was the bishopric situated in Old Uppsala, which was raised to the rank of archbishopric in 1164. From 1210, however, there were serious attempts to transfer the archbishopric to a town – back to Sigtuna or to a settlement called Östra Aros located at a mouth of a river – in order to eliminate the (primarily economic) disadvantages of a village-see. Finally, in 1273 the see moved to Östra Aros, the name of which was changed to Uppsala.

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<sup>87</sup> Contradicting the Florence list containing seven place names (Scara, Liunga, Kaupinga, Tuna, Strigin, Sigituna, Arosa), the foundation charter (*Errichtungsprivileg*) of the archbishopric of Uppsala (1164) mentions only five dioceses (Scarensis, Lincopensis, Strengenensis, Arusiensis episcopatus, and Upsalensis archiepiscopatus).

<sup>88</sup> “Et ne de caetero provinciae Sueciae metropolitani possit cura deesse, commissam gubernationi tuae Upsaliam urbem ejusdem provinciae perpetuam metropolim ordinavimus, et Scarensem, Lincopensem, Strengenensem et Arusiensem episcopatus ei tanquam suae metropoli perpetuis temporibus constituimus subjacere, et eorundem locorum episcopos, tam praesentes quam futuros, sicut metropolitani suis tam tibi quam tuis successoribus obedire,” PL 200 coll. 302, no. 260. Gams in his *Series episcoporum* lists the same bishoprics in Sweden: Linköping, Scara, Arosia (Westeraes vel Westrosia) and Strengnaes, subject to the archbishopric of Uppsala. Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 337-341. (Hereafter Gams, *Series*.)

<sup>89</sup> For the political background of the establishment of the archbishopric in Uppsala and Danish-papal relations under Alexander III see Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, 178-199.



Speaking about the political conditions of the twelfth century Swedish realm, two rival families started their fight for the throne from the 1130s: the descendants of King Sverker (1130/1134-1156) and the successors of King Erik the Holy (1156-1160). Sweden, the last of the Scandinavian kingdoms to become firmly established,<sup>90</sup> was ruled by local chieftains and *things* for a long time. In spite of occasional connections (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries many kings of Svear were Götar) until the end of the twelfth century Svear and Götar were basically separated, geographically as well as politically. “The first Swedish ruler to be addressed by the papacy as king of the Svear and Götar”<sup>91</sup> was Karl Sverkersson (1161-1167), but the one who gained recognition throughout Sweden in 1172 was the member of the rival dynasty, Knut Eriksson (1167-1196).

The reason behind the constant throne fights and political instability was the unsettled order of royal succession. Since either on the basis of belonging to the royal clan or as descendants of a successful conqueror many people could lay claim to the crown at the same time, there was always a great number of candidates for the throne, including illegitimate children and collateral relatives. First Svend Estridsen of Denmark (1047-1076) tried to solve the problem, ordaining that his sons should follow each other on the throne according to their age.<sup>92</sup> Coronation as a means to ensure the throne was first used in Norway: Magnus V was crowned in 1163, at the age of five. In Denmark, Valdemar I made his eight-year-old son, Knut VI, co-regent in 1170, while in Sweden the first coronation took place in 1210.

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<sup>90</sup> Or the first, but there are no signs of continuity between the eighth-century kingdom centered on Uppsala and the tenth-century realm of the Ynglinga dynasty in southern Sweden.

<sup>91</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*, 60.

<sup>92</sup> Erich Hoffmann, “The Unity of Kingdom and Provinces in Denmark during the Middle Ages” in *Danish Medieval History. New Currents*, ed. Niels Skyum-Nielsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1981), 95-109. (Hereafter Hoffmann, “The Unity of Kingdom.”); Erich Hoffmann,

Compared to other Scandinavian realms or other countries of Europe in the second half of the twelfth century, Sweden was a young and in many senses a weak kingdom. Political instability and rivalry often resulted in seeking supporters beyond the frontiers of the realm. Marital relations with Denmark, therefore, with their political importance and consequences, were not rare.<sup>93</sup> (Figure 6)

### III.2.2. Spalato

The archdiocese of Spalato (Split) was different in many respects. The archbishopric see was transferred here from Salona after the Slavs (or Avars) in 614 AD destroyed the town. Salona, a Roman administrative and economic centre,<sup>94</sup> which had had its heyday at the beginning of the fourth century when Emperor Diocletian built a palace not far from here, had never recovered from the attack.<sup>95</sup> The Slavs founded a new settlement, Solin, instead of living in the ruined city, while the refugees found asylum in Diocletian's palace. The religious and cultural tradition of Salona, therefore, revived in Split.<sup>96</sup> The first archbishop of Spalato, John of Ravenna at the end of the eighth century<sup>97</sup> turned Diocletian's mausoleum into a cathedral. Thus, in 1164 when the archbishopric of Uppsala was set up, Spalato had already been an archdiocese for five centuries, with a Christian tradition originating in the third century. (Figure 7)

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*Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976).

<sup>93</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*, 62.

<sup>94</sup> Neven Budak, "Drei Zentralstädte in Dalmatien: Salona, Zadar, Split," in *Hauptstädte zwischen Save, Bosporus und Dnjepr. Geschichte-Funktion-Nationale Symbolkraft*, ed. Harald Heppner, 101-123 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998.), 104-105. (Hereafter Budak, "Drei Zentralstädte.")

<sup>95</sup> On Salona and its early history see more in Budak, "Drei Zentralstädte," 103-107; Dusa, *The Medieval*, 33-45.

<sup>96</sup> Even if it is difficult to prove the continuity of settlement in the case of Salona and Split, the existence of a functional continuity cannot be argued. Budak, "Drei Zentralstädte," 106.

<sup>97</sup> *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 5 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1933), 527. According to Gams archbishop between c. 650-680. Gams, *Series*, 420.

Spalato, however, was different in other respects, too. Belonging also to the Byzantine sphere of interest, it was not a “pure” Latin diocese and – similarly to Uppsala a few centuries later – the Roman Church faced the influence of another religious community. It was not so much the pagan element as in the north, but from 732 (Šišić) or 863 (Novak) until 923 Spalato and its suffragans were subjected to the patriarch of Constantinople. The hair and beard-wearing customs of the priests showed the influence of the Greek Church, and the use of Slav liturgy was still a serious question in the eleventh century synods.<sup>98</sup> The Slav liturgy was worth noting even for Boso when he described Alexander’s arrival in Zadar:

*Ideoque preparato sibi de Romano more albo caballo, proceSSIONaliter deduxerunt eum per mediam civitatem ad beate Anastasie maiorem ecclesiam, in qua ipsa virgo et martyr honorifice tumulata quiescit, cum immensis laudibus et canticis altisone resonantibus in eorum slavica lingua.*<sup>99</sup>

Spalato played an important role in creating the Croatian kingdom, and in 1075<sup>100</sup> the synod of Solin<sup>101</sup> (with a papal legate as its chair) elected Dimitar Zvonimir as the king of Croatia and Dalmatia. Situated on the Dalmatian coast, however, Spalato did not belong to one kingdom as clearly as in the situation of Uppsala and the Swedish realm. Venice, Hungary, and Byzantium were all interested

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<sup>98</sup> As Bartlett has pointed out, liturgical uniformity (the Latin language and Roman rite) was crucial for the unity of Latin Christendom: “In the late eleventh century, as the Spanish Mozarabic rite was replaced by the Roman, and the Slavonic liturgy was suppressed in Bohemia, the ‘Latin’ and ‘Latin Christendom’ gained meaning.” Bartlett, *The Making*, 19. From the beginning of twelfth century one of the terms describing Western Christendom was *latinitas*. This Latin world meant those lands which accepted papal supremacy in spiritual-ecclesiastical affairs and which used Latin as their liturgical and cultural language. Sashalmi, “Az Európa-eszme változása,” 33. According to Dusa in the Dalmatian towns “the practice of the liturgy in Slavonic language ... indicates a puzzling resistance to Latinity,” while Klaić considers it as the reflection of Byzantine policy that intended to “allow liturgy and scriptures to be expressed in the native vernacular of any suffragan people.” Dusa, *The Medieval*, 39.

<sup>99</sup> *Liber Pontificalis* II, 437.

<sup>100</sup> Or in 1076.

<sup>101</sup> “In Salonitana basilica Sancti Petri.”

in controlling the city; in the twelfth century the last two were successful, while later in the fifteenth century Venice became the sovereign over the city.<sup>102</sup>

Nevertheless, in the twelfth century (by the end of which the development of communes in the Dalmatian cities roughly ended) Spalato enjoyed greater freedom than other cities did on the Dalmatian coast. Between 1119 and 1165 the Hungarian kings did not emphasize their claim for sovereignty over the city nor the Byzantine rule of 1165 to 1180 leave significant traces in Spalato. It did not change the inner relations of the city and, due to the lack of a firm basis and the relative weakness of Byzantine control, it remained, in the words of Ferluga, “an episode without consequences.”<sup>103</sup> Yet, Thomas of Spalato characterized the Byzantine epoch as a time of prosperity.<sup>104</sup>

The problems had their origin rather in the diversity of interests inside the city. Not only did the archbishop and the clergy of the cathedral chapter and monasteries form two interest groups, but there were also two main parties among the citizens. Until the death of Prior Črneha, the *maiores* (group of time-honored families) ruled the city, while after that the so-called “Zadar-friend” party gained influence. Though confronted with the *comes*<sup>105</sup> (who replaced the prior by 1140) and other groups, in Split (Spalato), the influence of the eleventh century papal reform movement was the

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<sup>102</sup> At the beginning of the twelfth century, it, like other Dalmatian towns, was a free commune under the direct authority of a Hungaro-Croatian king. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the medieval free commune was replaced by a Venetian administration, which lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. Tomislav Marasović, *Diocletian's Palace: The World's Cultural Heritage in Split, Croatia* (Zagreb: Dominović and Buvina, 1994).

<sup>103</sup> Jadran Ferluga, “L'administration byzantine en Dalmatie.” In *Byzantium on the Balkans. Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1976), 178.

<sup>104</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 73.

<sup>105</sup> Unlike in Zadar, where the bishop and the *comes* (both representing the Venetian interests) collaborated in gaining influence over the city, in Split the *comes* (usually Slavic by name) intended to reduce the power of the archbishop (delegated from Hungary or Rome) and clergy. Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1984), 101. (Hereafter Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen*.)

most remarkable in Dalmatia;<sup>106</sup> the position of the archbishop was firm. Neither did Emperor Manuel interfere in the ecclesiastical situation, since for the realization of his plans in Italy he had to maintain good connections with the pope.

The relations of the archbishops and the Holy See, however, were not without conflict. Gaudius (1136-1158), who became archbishop of Split in 1136, was consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom. Since this act threatened the independence of the church of Dalmatia and its direct subjection to Rome, Innocent II (1130-1143) reluctantly sent the *pallium* to Gaudius. In the 1150s the Venetian efforts to gain influence in Dalmatia and this tension between Spalato and Rome resulted in the fact that Anastasius IV (1153-1154) chose Zadar to be raised to the position of metropole. After the two-year service of Absalon (1158/59-1161), who maintained lively connections with the kingdom of Hungary, Peter of Narni (1161-1166) was designated and consecrated to the archbishopric see. Although elected by the clergy, papal legate Albert (future pope Gregory VIII) was not consecrated as an archbishop. The later pontiffs in Split also came from Italy: Gerhard (1167-1175) came from Verona, while Rainer (1175-1180) was earlier the bishop of Cagli. While the schism between Alexander III and Victor IV affected the further development of the city only moderately<sup>107</sup> (after Absalon's departure for Hungary,<sup>108</sup> by the way, Spalato joined the party of Alexander), Spalato was integrated into the Roman Catholic Church to a larger extent with the archbishops delegated from Rome.

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 99., note 67.

<sup>108</sup> Between 1157 and 1161 Géza II of Hungary (1141-1162) was on the imperial side; at the synod of Pavia (1160) the envoys of Géza also acknowledged Victor IV. In 1161-1162, however, he moved nearer to Alexander III. Due to the Byzantine-Hungarian wars (1162-1167), Stephan III (1162-1172) returned to the alliance system centered on Frederick II, while after 1167 the relations between

## CHAPTER FOUR – FORMS OF CONTACT

The following chapters of the thesis will focus on the analysis of the intensity and the nature of contacts between Rome and the two archbishoprics. The aim is twofold: (1) to compare in brief Curia-Uppsala and Curia-Spalato relations with that of the Holy See and certain central church provinces, and (2) to find the similarities and differences in the positions of the two sample territories. Thus, first the frequency of contacts will be studied, and then the “content” of these relations will be analyzed.

### ***IV.1. Correspondence with the Local Elite***

The Papal See had basically three major ways to maintain connections with the lands of Western Christendom. It could use political-diplomatic channels – corresponding and cooperating with the secular leader(s) of the targeted area. If it had the possibility, it could use the church and its resident prelates to influence politics and help to push a certain country in the direction desired by the papal court.<sup>109</sup> Thirdly, the system of legates meant a kind of mixture of these two approaches: the faithful members and unconditional supporters of the curia could conduct diplomatic-political tasks in foreign territories.

The first approach was postulated on the existence of a powerful ruler or ruling group who was willing to correspond with the pope and able to enforce his/their authority in the territories under his/their control. This was not really the case in Uppsala or in Spalato. In Sweden continuing dynastic rivalries made the

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Hungary and the papacy slowly improved again. Kristó Gyula, *Magyarország története 895-1301* (The History of Hungary 895-1301) (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 166- 175.

<sup>109</sup> I refer to cooperation between the pope and his prelates similar to that described by Mary C. Cheney as an “interplay between the central government of the Church and the provincial bishops.” Mary C. Cheney, “Alexander III and Roger of Worchester” in *Proceedings of the Fourth International*

king's position unstable. During the twenty-two years of Alexander's pontificate three kings ruled Sweden (St. Erik, Karl Sverkersson, and Knut Eriksson) and in all three cases murder put an end to their reign.<sup>110</sup> Speaking of Spalato in the twelfth century we have to reckon with a free commune, under the authority of a Hungarian king or the Byzantine Emperor. Who could be the appropriate lay partner in negotiation with the high pontiff in this complicated network of interest groups? The Grand Council, the *comes*, the Hungarian king, the Byzantine *dux* or the Emperor?<sup>111</sup> Compared to two "central" archbishoprics the table below shows the dispersion of letters sent to (or dealing with) Uppsala and Spalato:

	Ecclesiastic	Ruler	Other lay
Rheims	460	78 (Louis VII)	9
Canterbury	57	19 (Henry II)	4
Spalato	15	1 (Béla III of Hungary)	1
Uppsala/Sweden	10	2 ( <i>K. rex, Guthermus dux</i> )	2

Table 6. Number of letters sent by Alexander III (according to the addressees)<sup>112</sup>

Once the place for political-diplomatic correspondence was so limited, the Holy See had to take advantage of the remaining two forms. The situation was not easy. In 1159 Sweden did not even have its own archbishopric; during his pontificate

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*Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 207-227.

<sup>110</sup> In the framework of the dynastic rivalries St. Erik (1150/56-1160) was killed at Uppsala by Karl Sverkersson (1161-1167) helped by the Danes. Karl was killed by Knut Eriksson (1167-1195), who was followed by Sverker (1196-1208) from the rival dynasty of St. Erik, first deposed and forced into exile, then killed when trying to regain the throne. The situation was not much better in Norway. There, during the pontificate of Alexander, the following persons were kings: Inge (1136-1161), Håkon (1159-1162), Magnus (1163-1184) and Sigurd (1162-1163). Denmark, however, was different because Valdemar I ruled from 1157 to 1182.

<sup>111</sup> In Zadar, the system of internal relations was less complicated: the *comes*, controlled by and collaborating with Venice, cooperated with the bishop as well. (From the 1160s the *comites* came from the Maurocena / Morosini family, and Venice played an important role when the bishopric of Zara was transformed to an archbishopric.) The three important factors of power were on the same side. Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen*, 101.

<sup>112</sup> Two letters to Sweden, PL 200 coll. 852, no. 976 (addressees: the archbishop of Uppsala and *dux Guthermus*) and PL 200 coll. 863, no. 984 (sent to *clerici et laici Lingacopensis episcopatus*) are counted twice, while PL 200 coll. 860, no. 980 (*reges, principes et Christi fideles per regna Danorum, Norvegensium, Guetomorum, et Gothorum constituti*) is listed among the letters written to "other lay."

“Alexander III was in the process of telling these subjects of his what to do, making their church better organized, clearing up various ecclesiastical matters on this outer rim of Christendom.”<sup>113</sup> Checking the addressees of the twelve letters sent to Sweden there is only one to a certain *K. rex* – all the others were addressed to the archbishop, to bishops or to *fideles*. It seems that in maintaining correspondence with the Swedish territories and “making their church better organized” the pope tried to rely on the local clergy. However, unlike other prelates in countries where the ecclesiastical system was well established and church was deeply incorporated to political (and social) life,<sup>114</sup> he did not expect them to act politically.

The situation seems to be similar in Spalato. The pope, however, maintained lively connections directly with the archbishop rather than with the clergy of the town. Moreover, in the second half of the twelfth century the pontiffs of Spalato were delegated by the Papal Court, and making the connections even closer, Archbishop Gerard (1167-1175) was a papal legate as well.

#### ***IV.2. Legates as Mediators***

Western Christendom in the second half of the twelfth century was an immense and, at least in the plans of the Holy See, constantly growing territory. At the same time, according to the aims of the papacy, Rome itself intended to control its world entirely. A reflection of this idea can be found in a letter of Pope Alexander III addressed to the Church of Linköping:

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<sup>113</sup>Dick Harrison, “Quod magno nobis fuit horrore... Horror, Power and Holiness within the Context of Canonisation,” in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*. (Medieval Canonization Processes, Legal and Religious Aspects), ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 4. (Hereafter Harrison, *Quod magno*.)

<sup>114</sup> Luke, for instance, the archbishop of Esztergom – thanks to the circumstances in Hungary and his personal characteristics – was able to play an important role in politics.



*Ex injuncto nobis apostolatus officio fratres et coepiscopos nostros tam vicinos quam longe positos sincero charitatis affectu debemus diligere et ecclesiis quibus Deo militare noscuntur, patrocinio ejus uberius nutriantur et in suis rationabilibus petitionibus exaudiantur.*<sup>115</sup>

The realization of this plan, however, was not so simple; besides the sometimes enormous geographical distances, political conflicts caused further difficulties. The pope and the curia did not have a stable base in Rome, and moreover, during the pontificate of Alexander III it was forced to reside in different parts of Italy and southern France. It was not moveable enough, however, and – largely due to its constant financial problems<sup>116</sup> – it did not have a chance to visit all the lands belonging to its sphere of interest. The papal legates offered the opportunity of continuous correspondence; they, as representatives of the pope, were also important means of the centralized government.<sup>117</sup>

These legates took an active part in papal diplomacy by carrying messages, collecting information, and conducting negotiations.<sup>118</sup> How effective (and crucial) their activity was, even or especially in lands far from Rome, can be seen, for example, in the fact that the Norwegian archbishopric was founded owing to the legation of Nicholas Breakspeare, later Pope Hadrian IV.

According to the typical classification of legates, a distinction was made between *legatus natus*, *legatus missus* and *legatus a latere*. The legates of lower rank,

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<sup>115</sup> PL 200 coll. 1163. no. 1338.

<sup>116</sup> “The numerous begging letters to French churchmen (notably to Archbishop Henry of Rheims) describe the financial straits of the Alexandrine curia.” Robinson, *The Papacy*, 247.

<sup>117</sup> “Les légats sont les instruments essentiels de l’autorité pontificale et de la centralisation administrative de l’Église.” Marcel Pacaut, “Les légates d’ Alexandre III (1159-1181),” *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique* 50 (1955): 835. (Hereafter Pacaut, “Les légates.”) “It was the reform papacy which had developed the legation into one of the most important instruments of papal government. ... These cardinal legates were the principal link between the papacy and those regions which the curia never visited: Spain, England, Scandinavia, eastern Europe and Outremer. ... The political and diplomatic skills of their legates made a significant contribution to the victory of Innocent II in the 1130s and Alexander III in the schism of 1159-1177.” Robinson, *The Papacy*, 92.

usually equal to that of a bishop or papal chaplain, were the *legati missi*, the less important envoys; the cardinal legates were the *legati a latere* commissioned with the more important issues; both were sent out from Rome. Finally, the native prelates of a church province, who combined the office of a bishop or archbishop and the papal plenipotentiary of a legate, were called the *legati nati*. In the second half of the twelfth century, however, this classical form of the “emissary-system” had not yet crystallized.<sup>119</sup> From our point of view, an important remark is that – regardless of the problem of whether the use of this term is appropriate in their case or not<sup>120</sup> – the *legati nati* of the twelfth century “were more numerous, more active, more powerful” than their thirteenth-century colleagues, and “their legatine title was far from being honorific.”<sup>121</sup>

Legatine activity in Uppsala and Spalato makes this general picture a bit more composite and does not accord entirely with Robinson’s statement above. First, as a short remark, although the “classical” legatine system was not established by the time of Alexander III, Boso had already used the phrase *utile consilium pape visum est ut aliquos ...ex latere suo destinare deberet*<sup>122</sup> when he was talking about legates sent by the pope. Moreover, the fact that he always listed the names of emissaries shows that

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<sup>118</sup> Marcel Pacaut distinguished three types of legatine commissions: political-ecclesiastical (in German territories), purely corresponding (Sicily), or legates delegated to deal with certain ecclesiastical problems (England, Thomas Becket). Pacaut, “Les légates,” 829.

<sup>119</sup> “En réalité, les différenciations entre les diverses catégories ne seront fixées que dans la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.” Pacaut, “Les légates,” 838., and also Robinson, *The Papacy*, 147-149.

<sup>120</sup> “The third category of the Decretalists, the *legatus natus*, was missing from the eleventh and twelfth-century scene. Certainly we can identify numerous legates who were ‘natives’ in their legatine provinces and who combined a permanent papal legation with the office of bishop or archbishop; and historians have often regarded these as the forerunners of the thirteenth-century *legati nati*.” Robinson, *The Papacy*, 149.

<sup>121</sup> “They were in fact legates of a type unknown to the later Middle Ages, created by the needs of the reform papacy and transformed by the changing of circumstances of the twelfth century into less powerful but still influential papal representatives.” Robinson, *The Papacy*, 149.

<sup>122</sup> *Liber Pontificalis* II, 403, but also *Liber Pontificalis* II, 415: “utile tamen visum est ut pontifex ...episcopum et cardinalem ... de latere suo ... ad eiusdem imperatoris praesentiam destinaret.”

their work was already of outstanding importance to the papal court.<sup>123</sup> These legates, however, had nothing to do with Uppsala or Spalato.

Speaking of the northern territories, antipope Victor IV (1159-1164) sent his legates to Denmark in 1159 and 1161,<sup>124</sup> Alexander III sent his in 1177,<sup>125</sup> subdeacon Stephanus led a Norwegian legation in 1163<sup>126</sup> and cardinal priest Vivianus was dispatched in 1176.<sup>127</sup> There is no evidence, however, that any papal legate visited Sweden in the time of Alexander III. Legates are mentioned in four letters sent to this region.<sup>128</sup> Nonetheless, only one of these was addressed to Sweden (to Colo, the newly elected bishop of Linköping) – the others were sent to Denmark. All these Scandinavian letters mention Eskil, the archbishop of Lund as *apostolicae sedis legatus* – a *legatus natus* in Denmark. The very same term was used for Gerard, archbishop of Spalato in letters no. 533, 669 and 671.<sup>129</sup>

The envoys mentioned in four other letters written to Spalato, Albert (no. 461), Raymund of Capella (no. 1303 and 1317) and Theobald (no. 1567) were non-native legates, although not named as *legati a latere*. Besides these, another letter, dated from earlier than any of the above-mentioned, does not use the term *legatus* at all, but refers to two papal emissaries from Italy, Julius and Peter, by name.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> For instance *Liber Pontificalis* II, 403, 415, 425, 427, 433.

<sup>124</sup> Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, 178-183.; Werner Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche und Gegenpäpstliche Legaten in Deutschland und Skandinavien 1159-1181* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965.), 12-15. (Hereafter Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche*.)

<sup>125</sup> Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche*, 106.

<sup>126</sup> Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, 183-194.; Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche*, 92-101.

<sup>127</sup> Ohnsorge, *Päpstliche*, 101-102.

<sup>128</sup> PL 200 coll. 428-430, nos. 415, 416; PL 200 coll. 607, no. 632 and PL 200 coll. 849, no. 974.

<sup>129</sup> The other archbishops addressed or mentioned in the letters were not legates: Absolon and Peter, archbishops of Spalato (1158/59-1161 and 1161-1166), Lampridius, archbishop of Zara (Zadar) (1146-1179).

<sup>130</sup> PL 200 coll. 122-123, no. 49.

Land	Letter no.	Date	Name of the Legate	Title (besides <i>legatus</i> )	Matter
Scand.	PL 415	1166	Eskil	Archbishop of Lund	The pope asked King Valdemar to restore Eskil to his office
Scand.	PL 416	1166	Eskil	Archbishop of Lund	
Scand.	PL 632	1169	Eskil	Archbishop of Lund	Eskil mentioned as supporting authority
Scand.	PL 974	1171-72	Eskil	Archbishop of Lund	Mentioned in connection with the abdication of the bishop of Linköping
Spalato	PL 49	1161	Julius	Episcopus Praenestinus	The pope recommends the legates
			Peter	S. Eustachii diaconus cardinalis	
Spalato	PL 461	1167	Albert	S. Laurentii in Lucina presbyterus cardinalis	The pope declines to confirm Albert's election as archbishop
Spalato	PL 533	1167-69	Gerard	Archbishop of Spalato	A "civil" case between Gottfrid of Siponto and some men from Šibenik
Spalato	PL 669	1168-70	Gerard	Archbishop of Spalato	Advice (how to govern the archbishopric wisely)
Spalato	PL 671	1169	Gerard	Archbishop of Spalato	Litigation between the Templars and the bishop of Scardona
Spalato	PL 1303	1177	(Gerard)	Archbishop of Spalato	Raymund was captured by pirates; the pope orders Gerard to excommunicate them
			Raymund	Subdiaconus	
Spalato	PL 1317	1177	Raymund	Subdiaconus	Litigation between the archbishops of Spalato and Zara
Spalato	PL 1567	1180	Theobald	Subdiaconus	The pope recommends Theobald

Table 7. Papal legates in Scandinavia and Spalato in the letters of Alexander III.

Although the roles of the archbishop-legates of Lund and Spalato under the pontificate of Pope Alexander III cannot be neglected, the letters sent to Spalato especially demonstrate that by the end of 1150s (at least in these places) the *legati a latere* were considered as more efficient means of papal government than their native colleagues.<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, the reasons for the relative lack of *legati a latere* in the north are several-sided. Apart from the distance between Rome and the northern territories, the possible reasons which can be revealed behind this fact are political ones. Firstly, Emperor Frederick I was keen on blocking the contacts of the Holy See and its (real or possible) supporters in or beyond the empire. His attempts were not

without result, simply because of the geographical position of his realm, which cut the (potential) allies off from each other.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, after the schism of 1159, King Valdemar, who had already taken the feudal oath to Emperor Frederick I in 1158, decided, with a remarkable number of Danish bishops (the bishops of Ripen, Aarhus, Roskilde, Schleswig and Odense), to support the antipope, Victor IV.<sup>133</sup> Peace was only made between the Alexander and Valdemar 1170, when Alexander canonized Knut Lavard, the father of Valdemar and Eskil crowned Knut VI, the son of Valdemar. Therefore, the correspondence between the king and the pope and the legatine activity in Denmark started only after 1170. This Danish attitude towards Rome also affected Swedish-papal relations: Karl Sverkersson, who married Kristina, the niece of Valdemar I and seized the throne with his help, was in a kind of alliance with the Danes.

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<sup>131</sup> These facts support Robinson's other statement that the idea according to which the *legatus a latere* is superior to the *legatus natus* already existed by the mid-twelfth century. Robinson, *The Papacy*, 160.

<sup>132</sup> In one of his letters to the archbishop of Salzburg, Alexander III describes the fact that his legates were not allowed to enter the territory of the empire.

<sup>133</sup> Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, 199. Victor's legates visited Denmark in 1159 and 1161.

## CHAPTER FIVE – THE NATURE OF CONTACTS

### ***V.1. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and the Judicial Role of Legates***

Marcel Pacaut, who made a distinction between the permanent legates and the *legati a latere*, summarized his views concerning the “types” and functions of legates in the following way:

Alors que les légats permanents sont seulement des “correspondants” chargés de contrôler et d’informer, les légats *a latere* sont des exécutants ayant pour fonction d’imposer et de trancher.<sup>134</sup>

Whether or not it is possible to make such a sharp classification, besides their corresponding-diplomatic role Pacaut pointed out clearly another function of the legates: a kind of executive one.

As has been already mentioned in Chapter II. 2., the development of a centralized government was strongly related to a system of law and jurisdiction that was theoretically well defined and functioning in practice. For the curia, jurisdiction was a way to enforce the authority of the Papal See on its subjects. The importance of this issue becomes evident if we recall Bartlett’s definition of Western Christendom. Besides “liturgy,” the other element of the definition was “obedience” to one authority, the pope. Where the Holy See could enforce its jurisdictional rights through legates or archbishops/bishops, the subjects obeyed the central authority (pope) meaning that they accepted it. In other words, they formed an integral part of Western Christendom. In those territories, however, where the traces of legatine or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction were rare or the references to ecclesiastical jurisdiction are dominated by the problems related to it, this form of accepting the

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<sup>134</sup> Pacaut, “Les légates,” 826.

supreme authority did not exist. Thus those areas were not so much organic parts of the unit called Western Christendom.

The personal character of twelfth-century popes, many of whom were educated in law, gave further emphasis to this jurisdictional aspect of papal government. The efforts to give a precisely defined legal status to everything and to enforce the already established laws, resulted in an enormous number of judicial cases, difficult to deal with one by one in the curia. This situation was even worse when the problems emerged in places far from the residence of the Holy See; in this case the process of curial decision was quite slow. The legates, who were mobile but at the same time directly responsible to the pope,<sup>135</sup> and most of whom were trained in law, would have been ideal tools in the hands of Rome to solve this problem.

The idea that the pope was *iudex totius ecclesiae*, the supreme judge, was not only an important element of the theory of papal primacy, but also part of Canon Law since Gratian.<sup>136</sup> In the letter to the clergy of the church of Uppsala, the manifestation of this idea can be found in the following form: *Archiepiscopi persona nullius examini praeterquam Romani pontificis noscitur subjacere*.<sup>137</sup> From the point of view of the legates, to act effectively presupposed that their decisions were considered lawful. For this, they had to have the necessary right and authority from the pope.<sup>138</sup> It is clear that the legates belonged to the privileged category of – according to

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<sup>135</sup> The *legati a latere* were even more closely linked to the pope if they were appointed from the group of cardinals. “Parmi les clercs romains qui sont chargés de légation, la plupart sont des cardinaux” (Pacaut, “Les légates,” 828.) and “From the early twelfth century onwards all the important legations were entrusted to cardinals.” (Robinson, *The Papacy*, 92.) On cardinal legates see Robinson, *The Papacy*, 92-93.

<sup>136</sup> Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” 286-288.

<sup>137</sup> PL 200, coll. 610, no. 634.

<sup>138</sup> It was not an easy question, because another idea, the theory of *plenitudo potestatis*, which in its classical form was formulated by Bernard of Clairvaux, tended to exclude everyone from sharing any rights with the pope. It is also interesting to note that this terminology derived from a letter of Pope Leo I which dealt with the status of the papal vicar in Thessalonica., and Leo I used it “to indicate how

Bernard of Clairvaux – “those who have received power over others,”<sup>139</sup> since Gregory VII had already stated that “the legate presides over all the bishops in a council even though he is inferior in rank and he can pass sentence of excommunication against them.”<sup>140</sup> They had the right and duty to settle disputes, and it is also clear that their decisions had to be obeyed:

... speramus quod eadem causa sub examine suo dignum debeat effectum sortiri. ... Mandamus ...quod ipse inde statuerit, suscipias firmiter et observes.<sup>141</sup>

The term *potestas*, however is not mentioned explicitly in connection with legates,<sup>142</sup> which means that their important role in practice was not reflected by the official terminology.

On the other hand, the envoys were given precise instructions concerning their legations.<sup>143</sup> The letter complaining about the capture of Raymund of Cappella<sup>144</sup> mentions some *litteras* of the pope,<sup>145</sup> while another, dealing with litigation of the archbishop of Spalato and Zara concerning the right over the bishopric of *Fara* (Lesina), says *eidem subdiacono dedimus in mandatis*.<sup>146</sup> The rest of this second letter describes the steps of the judicial process, which reflects the existence of an elaborated system under the supreme jurisdiction of the pope. After listening to the

the delegated and therefore partial authority of a papal vicar, that is legate, differed from the pope's, which was full in relation to it.” Canning, *A History*, 32.

<sup>139</sup> “According to your canons, some are called to share of the responsibilities, but you are called to the fullness of power. The power of others is confined within definite limits, but your power extends even over those who have received power over others.” Bernard, *De consideratione* II.8.16. Translation from Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” 282.

<sup>140</sup> Gregory VII, *Dictatus Papae* 4. Translation from Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” 283.

<sup>141</sup> PL 200 coll. 1143, no. 1317.

<sup>142</sup> It is worth noting – especially if we bear in mind the privileged position of legates – that the term *plena potestas eligendi archiepiscopum* appears in another letter (*Cod. Dipl. Croatiae II*, no. 156) in connection with *clerici et laici*.

<sup>143</sup> Pacaut, “Les légates,” 826.

<sup>144</sup> PL 200 coll. 1129, no. 1303.

<sup>145</sup> “... et ei quidquid habebat in navi valens ultra sexaginta marcas argenti et litteras etiam nostras et illas etiam quas praefatus rex nobis mittebat.” It is not quite clear what these “litteras nostras” were, but since Raymund was on his way back from Sicily, we can infer that it was not the letter addressed to the king.



reasons and excuses (*rationes et alligationes*), hearing witnesses (*testes*), putting down studiously the testimonies of the witnesses (*juratorum depositiones studiose conscribere*) the legate had to send the whole material to the pope (*nobis*), including the terms asked by the parties when they appeared before the apostolic see (*terminum competentem quo debeant ... apostolico se conspectui presentare*).

Even from these letters, the superior and privileged position of the *legati a latere* over other clergymen is obvious. The papal “propaganda,” however, was shockingly accurate not to mention any terms (for example, *plena potestas*) or emphasize any aspects of the legates’ activity that could threaten or cause even the smallest harm to the theory of papal primacy.

Speaking of archbishops and native legates, there is no evidence for Eskil’s judicial role. Moreover, the only letter<sup>147</sup> dealing with a judicial conflict emerged from the fact that a noblewoman named Margareta seized *per violentiam* some lands (*terram de Culsne*) of a monastery and the ornaments of their church (*ornamenta sua in ecclesia de Weng*).<sup>148</sup> This was addressed, however, to King Valdemar; he was asked to help the brothers with his *regia sublimitas*.

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<sup>146</sup> PL 200 coll. 1143, no. 1317.

<sup>147</sup> PL 200 coll. 651, no. 693.

<sup>148</sup> According to the chronicle of the Abbey of Øm (Cara Insula), in 1165 some brothers were sent out of the Cistercian abbey of Vitskøl to Sminge, from where they soon moved to Veng. At that time Veng was a Benedictine monastery under the patronage of King Valdemar, now transferred to the Cistercians – not in an indisputable way. “One Lady Margaret is said to have carried out a property transaction with the king, intending to establish a nunnery in Veng instead. This deprived the new monks of access to parts of Veng abbey’s previous estates.” After this interplay, not lacking a reason for looking for more monastic freedom than the royal abbey provided, the monks moved to Kalvø, “where a Benedictine community existed as cella under Veng abbey; these gave up immediately on the arrival of the newcomers.” This place, however, “was humid and lacked communications,” so finally the brothers chose Øm. Tore Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2000), 189-194. (Hereafter Nyberg, *Monasticism*.); James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1992), 55-56. (Hereafter France, *The Cistercians*.) Among the letters of Alexander III, five (nos. 415, 416, 636, 637, 693) deal with the problems related to the monastery of Veng/Kalvø. Three of them were addressed to Valdemar, while in the other two the pope refers to the bishops of Denmark and the abbot of the monastery about his correspondence with Valdemar.

At the same time, four letters to the Dalmatian region deal with cases belonging to the judicial authority of the archbishop. The first was a problem derived from a statute enacted in Spalato: *cives Spalatenses statuerunt ut nulli de civitate ipsorum liceat aliquas possessiones vel bona immobilia ecclesiae alicui donare, vendere seu legare*.<sup>149</sup> The letter was addressed, however, to the archbishop of Zara (*archiepiscopus Iadrensis*),<sup>150</sup> who was instructed to excommunicate the officials and put the town under interdict (*per excommunicationem in officiales ipsius civitatis et in eandem civitatem interdicti sententias*).

The next case was a “civil” one: some men from Šibenik (*homines de Sevenico*) did not hesitate to deprive a certain man named Gottfrid, the son of Bonumir from Siponto, of his properties.<sup>151</sup> Gerard, the archbishop of Spalato and apostolic legate, was ordered to warn the men to give back his *res* and, in the case that they refused to do that, to excommunicate them.

The third conflict also ended with an order of excommunication: the pirates who captured the papal legate Raymund of Capella on his way back from William, the king of Sicily, had to be excommunicated by Gerard.<sup>152</sup> The most serious and elaborated description of *excommunicatio* can be read here:

*Si vero ad commonitionem commendati vestram id non fecerint, eosdem et omnes qui tunc in praedicta Sagettia fuerunt, contradictione et appellatione cessante, publice accensis candelis auctoritate nostra excommunicetis, et si nec infra decem dies resipuerint, in civitate Sevenici, si eius fuit ipsa Sagettia, omnia divina, praeter baptismum parvulorum et poenitentiam prohibeatis officia celebrari. Illos autem qui in praedictum subdiaconum nostrum violentas manus injecerunt sublato appellationis remedio publice excommunicatos sine dilatione denunciatis.*

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<sup>149</sup> Fejér, *Codex II*, 159.

<sup>150</sup> Without the title of *apostolicae sedis legatus*.

<sup>151</sup> PL 200 coll. 524, no. 533.

<sup>152</sup> PL 200 coll. 1129, no. 1303.

Finally, there is one case which lacks the sentence of excommunication – most probably due to the ecclesiastical character of the parties involved: *L. [Lampridius] Scardonensis episcopus* and the *dilecti filii militiae Templi*, who argued over the status of the monastery of Vrana.<sup>153</sup>

Concerning juridical issues, the letters sent to Uppsala (or Scandinavia) and Spalato do not give a homogeneous picture. The fact that the previous missives (except the one written to Valdemar) do not deal with jurisdictional issues suggests that the papacy could not enforce its judicial authority on these territories to any considerable extent. Nonetheless, this statement can be argued if we connect the task of jurisdiction exclusively to the activity of *legati a latere*. This would make it possible to explain why Gerard (archbishop but born in Italy) decided in such cases and Eskil did not. This would be a mistaken hypothesis, however, since there is considerable evidence even in the letters for the judicial activity of *legati nati* or high priests without legatine titles. The following short letter written to Henry, archbishop of Rheims (the brother of King Louis VII), by no means *legatus a latere* supports this argument:

*ALEXANDER episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri HENRICO, Remensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.*

*Causam quae inter dilectos filios nostros fratres Sancti Remigii et G. de Joinvilla, super controversia quae inter eos vertitur, noscitur agitari, discretionis tuae committimus audiendam et fine debito terminandam. Ideoque per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus, quatenus utramque partem ante tuam praesentiam convoces, et rationibus hinc*

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<sup>153</sup> PL 200 coll. 633, no. 671. At the time of Gregory VII the monastery *cum omnibus mobilibus suis et immobilibus* was donated to the Roman Church by Demetrius (perhaps Zvonimir), *Dalmatiae Croatiaeque dux*, which led to a debate over whether it fell under the bishop's authority or not.

*inde auditis diligenter et cognitis, causam ipsam, justitia mediante, decidas.*<sup>154</sup>

Another element of these cases important to note is that in Spalato excommunication was a common means of sanction against laymen. *Excommunicatio*, however, is also mentioned in a letter to Uppsala, but only in a theoretical form, without exercising it in practice.<sup>155</sup> Probably in an area converted not long before the consequence of expelling a “sinner” from the Christian community (preventing him from taking part in sacramental and liturgical life) did not have the “social isolation” effect as in territories where Christianity was more strongly rooted.<sup>156</sup> Here, the separation of lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the practice of obsolete judicial means caused the problems for the Church at that time.<sup>157</sup>

## **V.2. Central Issues in the Correspondence**

As a trained jurist and former chancellor of the Holy See, Alexander III knew the bureaucratic system and clearly saw the judicial-legislative problems of the curia. His practical point of view determined the kind of tools he considered effective in dealing with them. In this way, many of the concrete provisions of Alexander III’s pontificate were meant to help the functioning of a centralized (pope-centered) government, and they were strongly related to the law and jurisdiction or Church administration

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<sup>154</sup> PL 200 coll. 266, no. 208. In another letter to Henry, archbishop of Rheims (PL 200 coll. 200, no. 134): “eadem controversia (quae inter duas mulieres, pro domo quadam noscitur) in tuo vel episcopi Belvacensis iudicio finem debitum sortiatur.”

<sup>155</sup> “Illos vero qui in clericos violeatas manus, nisi forte se defendentes, injiciunt, poenam excommunicationis incurrere sacrosancta Romana jampridem statuit, et inviolabiliter tenet Ecclesia: nec a quoquam omnino, nisi a Romano pontifice, vel de mandato ejus, absolvi patitur aut permittit” PL 200 coll. 859-860, no. 979.

<sup>156</sup> Robinson, *The Papacy*, 384. For the topic of Christian morals in Sweden see the conclusion.

<sup>157</sup> “...nec eum [scilicet Stephanum archiepiscopum] aut alium quemlibet Ecclesiae praelatum coram laicis accusare, seu ad saeculare iudicium trahere praesumatis” (PL 200 coll. 610, no. 634); “Accedit ad haec quod clerici sive ipsi adversus laicos, sive laici adversus eos, litigantes experiri voluerint laicorum iudicia subire, et secundum ipsorum instituta sive leges agere vel defendere se coguntur” (PL 200 coll. 855, no. 979); “Ferventis vero aquae, vel candentis ferri iudicium, sive duellum, quod

(canonical elections, the system of legates, the papal chancery). The other dominant tasks (supporting monasteries and conversion) were rooted in spiritual ideas: the renewal of the Church and the theory of mission.<sup>158</sup>

### V.2.1. Canonical Election (*Electio Canonica*)

The Third Lateran Council (1179) regulated the election of the pope in the following way:

*Statuimus ergo, ut, si forte inimico homine superseminate zizaniam, inter cardinales de substituendo summo Pontifice non poterit esse plena concordia, et duabus partibus concordantibus pars tertia concordare noluerit, aut sibi alium praesumpserit nominare, ille absque ulla exceptione ab universali ecclesia Romanus Pontifex habeatur, qui a duabus partibus concordantibus electus fuerit et receptus. ... Ex hoc tamen nullum canonicis constitutionibus et aliis ecclesiis praeiudicium generetur, in quibus debet maioris et sanioris partis sententia praevalere.*<sup>159</sup>

The rules of the episcopal election were also included in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* in the form as it was settled in this council.

*...praesenti decreto statuimus, ut nullus in episcopum eligatur, nisi qui iam trigesimum annum aetatis exegerit, et de legitimo marito sit natus, qui etiam vita et scientia commendabilis demonstratur. §.1. Quum vero electus fuerit, et confirmationem electionis acceperit, et ecclesiasticorum bonorum administrationem habuerit, decurso tempore de consecrandis episcopis a canonibus diffinito, is, ad quem spectant beneficia, quae habebat, de illis disponendi liberam habeat facultatem. §.2. Inferiora etiam ministeria, ut puta decanatum, archidiaconatum, et alia, quae curam animarum habent annexam, nullum omnino suscipiat, sed nec parochialis ecclesiae regimen, nisi qui iam vigesimum quintum annum aetatis attigerit, et scientia et moribus commendandus existat. ... §.3. Clerici sane, si contra formam istam quemquam eligerint et eligendi tunc potestate privatos, et ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis triennio noverint se [esse] suspensos.*<sup>160</sup>

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monomachia dicitur, catholica Ecclesia contra quemlibet etiam, nedum contra episcopum non admittit” (PL 200 coll. 859, no. 979).

<sup>158</sup> Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 263-268.

<sup>159</sup> *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii IX* I.6.6.

<sup>160</sup> *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii IX* I.6.7.

The election of Pope Alexander III and the schism is a well-studied topic, not to be dealt with here in detail.<sup>161</sup> Among the letters, however, are three on a topic connected to the question of election. They are worth studying, especially because they were written to different addressees in different parts of Western Christendom: to legate Albert in Spalato, to bishop Colo of Linköping, and to King Béla III of Hungary.

The first, written to the papal legate Albert of Morra, is a polite but clear rejection of his petition to confirm him as the archbishop of Spalato.

*...super eo quod nobis significasti quod clerus et populus Spalatensis te in pastorem suum voluerunt assumere, tibi voluntatem nostram et animum aperimus, quod si etiam tu velles, et major pars fratrum nostrorum instaret, nulla ratione consentiremus, nec unquam possemus induci, quod a nobis absenteris, a quibus ita pure et sincere diligeris, et tam charus acceptusque haberis.*<sup>162</sup>

From this letter, dated 31 August 1167 (both according to the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae*), it is not quite clear why Albert turned to the pope and why Alexander answered his request negatively. Kornél Szovák says that

the situation in Dalmatia worsened as the see of the archbishop became vacant in 1167 and Spalato elected the papal legate Albert of Morra, staying there continuously between 1165 and 1167, archbishop, but he – because the pope was not willing to confirm him – rejected the election.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Besides the above mentioned works of Zimmermann, Schimmelpfennig, Morris, Robinson, see Hubert Jedin, ed, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Band III/2. Die mittelalterliche Kirche: Vom Hochmittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Reformation (1124-1517)* (Freiburg: Herder, 1985), 77-83; Laudage, *Alexander III*; Willibald Madertoner, *Die zwiespältige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159* (Wien: 1978); Moritz Meyer, *Die Wahl Alexander III. und Victor IV.: 1159. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirchenspaltung unter Kaiser Friedrich* (Göttingen: Bente, 1871); Martin Preiss, *Die politische Tätigkeit und Stellung der Cisterzienser im Schisma von 1159 – 1177*, (Berlin: Ebering, 1934); Sommerville, Robert, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163)* (Berkeley, 1977).

<sup>162</sup> PL 200 coll. 461, no. 461.

<sup>163</sup> Kornél Szovák, “Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században” (Papal-Hungarian connections in the twelfth century) in *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. István Zombori (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 36. (Hereafter Szovák, “Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok.”) Szovák, however, continues: “Finally, the situation was solved in a way that between 1167 and 1180 the archbishop of Spalato was the permanent legate of the Holy See in Dalmatia.” It is difficult to find a problem the solution of which was that the archbishop was papal

Nonetheless, Thomas the Archdeacon refers to the disagreement between the clergy and citizens:

*Factum est autem, ut eo tempore congregaretur clerus spalatine ecclesie pro archiepiscopo eligendo. Et tandem premissis tractatu de electione cuiusdam in archiepiscopum, ut moris est, omnium vota in personam eiusdem cardinalis concorditer convenerunt. ... protinus Johannes comes, coadunata populari multitudine ... veniunt ad eundem legatum ... Et tunc concinari incipiunt dicentes, quod alias eum diligerent, et vellent per omnia revereri; sed non consentiunt, ut eorum archiepiscopus efficiatur.*<sup>164</sup>

In my opinion it is possible that Alexander's answer is not a simple rejection of the confirmation of an elected candidate, but a political-diplomatic reaction to the internal conditions in Spalato. In 1167 Byzantine control was already established in Spalato and – although he was busy in dealing with the papal-imperial conflict and the schism – probably the pope did not want to give up his positions on this part of the Dalmatian coast. The fact that after Manuel had taken control of the city Alexander did not incorporate the bishoprics of Nin, Senj and Krbava in the church province of Zadar shows that he intended Spalato to play an important role in the curial policy. Therefore in this fragile situation it would not have been a wise decision to make somebody an archbishop against the will of the citizens. Nevertheless archbishop Gerard, who was finally elected, later came into serious conflict with the citizens.

The problem with this interpretation, however, is raised by Alexander's own words. Alexander did not support the election of Albert – according to his words, the will of the *clerus et populus*. In this letter, therefore, there are no traces of

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legate as well. The solution suggests that the problem was the lack of a papal legate in Spalato – in that case, however, Alexander probably would not have recalled Albert to the curia. If the problem were the vacant see, the important thing was to elect an archbishop, regardless of his being a legate or not. In my opinion, it is hard to find any direct connection between the fact that Albert was not confirmed and that Gerard (1167-1175) bore the title of a papal legate as well.

<sup>164</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 67-68.

disagreement between the clergy and the people of Spalato.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, the circumstances of the supposed “election” are not clear, either. The letter does not use the expression “*electus*” or “*electio*,” a term which is frequent otherwise in Alexander’s letters. All we know from the letters is that the citizens “wanted to have (*voluerunt assumere*) him as their pastor” and that perhaps the brothers would insist on (*instaret*) something which could be their decision made at the election, or their simple will without any “official form.”<sup>166</sup>

Still, Alexander did not want Albert to become archbishop of Spalato. What other grounds can be found for this? A plausible solution would be that though several archbishops later received the title of legate, it was not common to make a papal legate an archbishop in a foreign country. In my view, this would have been a good collateral reason, but by no means the main cause.<sup>167</sup>

The next thing that comes to mind is that Albert was inappropriate for a position like this. This is not likely, however; probably, he fulfilled the “official requirements,”<sup>168</sup> and it is hard to imagine that he was lacking in personal skills if we consider his later career as a legate in France,<sup>169</sup> as papal chancellor, and finally as pope.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> The two sources agree, however, that the brothers elected Albert in an indisputable manner (“major pars fratrum nostrorum”).

<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, in the *Series episcoporum*, besides the name of Petrus VI Lombardus (1161-1166) the name of Albert is also listed in italics: *Albert. Card. de Mora, el. (Pseudo-Gregor. VIII)*. Gams, *Series*, 420.

<sup>167</sup> I could not find any evidence of such a canonical prohibition nor any examples for the possible existence of such a “custom.”

<sup>168</sup> Which were laid down officially only later, in the Third Lateran Council – although we have to take into consideration what Vauchez quoted from Grosjean in connection with canonization: the law was “what Alexander III believed to be law, possibly unwritten, but still law in force.” André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 26. (Hereafter Vauchez, *Sainthood*.)

<sup>169</sup> After the Becket’s death, to negotiate with Henry II at Caen. *Liber Pontificalis* II, 425.

<sup>170</sup> Gregory VIII, although only for 8 weeks in 1187.



No sources or information are known about the personal relationship of Alexander and Albert, and neither is it known to what extent the pope respected and appreciated the efforts and the skills of his legate by that time. Still, we have to infer that in the letter the real cause of rejection is revealed: the pope needed Albert for his plans (*nec unquam possemus induci, quod a nobis absenteris*) – although presumably less because of his good character (*a quibus ita pure et sincere diligeris, et tam charus acceptusque haberis*), than because of his talent (*injunctae tibi legationi prudenter et studiose intendas, ut Ecclesia Romana de diligentia et studio tuo laetum incrementum recipiat*).<sup>171</sup> This means that Albert's application for the archiepiscopal see was refused because of the "higher" general interests of the papacy (pope) – in spite of his canonical election.

The case of Colo, the bishop of Linköping, is different. The first problem is the dating of the letter; unfortunately, this letter<sup>172</sup> is a good example of what Rabikauskas mentions in his article on the papal chancery. The chancery rule was that if charters did not contain privileges, no year was given, only day, month and place of issue, which can cause serious confusion concerning the dating of papal letters and edicts.<sup>173</sup>

The *Patrologia Latina* dates the letter between 1171 and 1172. According to the *Series episcoporum*, Colo was the bishop of Linköping between 1160 and 1195/1196, which at least raises the possibility that a date of 1171-1172 for the confirmation is wrong. Moreover, the letter says that the previous bishop named Stenar, who abdicated, put his pontifical dignity (*pontificalem dignitatem*) in the

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<sup>171</sup> Albert of Morra was born in Campagna, studied in France and became "canonicus" in the monastery of St. Martin in Laon. Hadrian IV appointed him cardinal, he was chancellor from 1178 and pope in 1187.

<sup>172</sup> PL 200 coll. 849, no. 974.

<sup>173</sup> Rabikauskas, "Die Arbeitsweise," 267. This rule changed in the time of Gregory VIII.

hands of Eskil, archbishop of Lund. Since the Swedish archbishopric in Uppsala was already established in 1164, the content of this letter seems to confirm the data of the *Series* in the sense that Colo had to have been elected before 1164. It must be noted, however, that after Uppsala was raised to the status of an archbishopric Eskil remained the primate of the Swedish church.<sup>174</sup> At the same time it is also possible that the confirmation took place only after the conciliation of Valdemar I and Alexander III mentioned in Chapter IV.2 above.

Nevertheless, the letter was written and the pope confirmed the election of Colo. The circumstances were a bit unusual: his predecessor, Stenar chose the monastic life instead of the bishop's office.<sup>175</sup> Colo was elected by the *clerus et populus eiusdem loci*, and got the consent of the archbishop as well as that of the king and the magnates of the territory (*assensu archiepiscopi et regis atque ducis terrae*). Steinar should not have abdicated without the consent of the Roman pontiff (*verum licet ei non licuerit absque auctoritate Romani Pontificis episcopati dignitati abrenuntiare*) because this break of the regulations might have resulted in debate over the status of the episcopal see. The pope, however, bearing in mind the interest of the church (*necessitas ecclesiae*), confirmed the election and consecration. Alexander, therefore, disregarded the necessity of a clear judicial-administrative situation in order to fill the vacant episcopal see as soon as possible. This letter can be seen as evidence for the hypothesis that Alexander III did not apply the general rules rigorously and the papal policy was flexible enough to reckon with special local circumstances

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<sup>174</sup> Erich Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und skandinavischen Völkern* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholz, 1975), 199. (Hereafter Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige*.)

<sup>175</sup> "...Steinar, quondam Lingacopensi episcopo claustralem quitem episcopali honori praeponente et pontificalem dignitatem in manu venerabilis fratris nostri Eskili Londensis archiepiscopi, et regalia coram rege et primatibus regni libere et spontanee resignante..." According to the *Series episcoporum* he was also the bishop of Waxjö. Gams, *Series*, 338.

(*necessitas ecclesiae tuae*). Moreover, in another letter<sup>176</sup> Alexander gives the following advice to his legate: *statum terrae et qualitates et mores hominum plenius cognoscere studeas*.<sup>177</sup>

In the previous case it was noted that certain secular authorities had the right to influence the election of church officials. This question was a crucial aspect of the secular-spiritual relations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the intensity of this conflict, however, was not the same in different parts of Western Christendom. It raged in the empire, caused problems of varying severity in most of the Christian monarchies, and it was almost negligible in some territories far from Rome, where the Church did not penetrate so deeply into the social-political institutions.<sup>178</sup>

For Spalato and the status of the Spalatian archbishopric, the letter written to Béla III, king of Hungary adds further information. In Hungary the situation was “moderate:” the relations of Géza II (1141-1162) or Stephen III (1162-1172) with Alexander can be characterized as a “policy of balance” or a “policy of compromises.”<sup>179</sup> Although occasionally interspersed with smaller conflicts, the period between 1172 and 1196, during the reign of Béla III – in spite of his strong connections with Byzantium – was also basically “peaceful” from a papal point of view.<sup>180</sup> One of the last problems of Alexander’s pontificate, however, emerged here in 1180. The see of Spalato became vacant, since Rayner was stoned to death by the Slovenes. Then “Béla III ordered the people of Spalato to elect a member of the

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<sup>176</sup> PL 200 coll. 632, no. 669.

<sup>177</sup> Perhaps the parallel is not perfect, since the letter quoted above was written to Gerard, archbishop of Spalato, in Steindorff’s understanding as a kind of warning and protest against Gerard’s negligence towards his office. Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen*, 107.

<sup>178</sup> It is not the task of this thesis to analyze the process (and its different forms), starting with the reform movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries and continuing with the investiture contest, at the end of which the Western Church excluded all forms of secular power from the election of church officials.

<sup>179</sup> For details, see Szovák, “Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok,” 32-37 and note 96.

Hungarian high clergy to the see of Spalato.”<sup>181</sup> The town raised the problem with Alexander III, who warned the king to respect the freedom of the town (*civitatem ipsam in sua libertate*) and their right of canonical election (*juxta formam privilegiorum Romanorum pontificum et sacrum canonum liberam electionem habere*). In general, the Hungarian kings accepted the special rights of the Dalmatian towns including electing bishops,<sup>182</sup> but in this case Béla was firm, the conflict dragged on, and the new archbishop, Peter – of Hungarian origin – was established only in 1185.

As is clear from the end of the story, the papal warning was not effective (although Alexander died in the next year). It is a question to what extent it was important for Rome to decide the problem for its own sake. This letter is not of any considerable length, lacks any clear reference to possible sanctions or punishments, and deals with an entirely different topic in its last third. In my opinion, it is more evidence of a policy which is flexible enough to close its eyes to smaller infractions than the reflection of a serious secular-spiritual conflict.<sup>183</sup>

The *electio canonica* was a major point of the Alexandrine curial policy; the fact that the question of election was the topic of letters sent both to Sweden and to Dalmatia proves its importance. The letters reflect the idea of canonical election and emphasize the papal demand for its enforcement. The papacy, however, did not put its ideas automatically and universally in practice; it was capable of (forced to?) adapt

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 37-40. In fact, a great many of the conflicts between the pope and the king were the result of the quarrels between the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>182</sup> In 1108 Coloman confirmed the privileges of Trogir, Zara and Spalato. According to the results of recent research, these documents, providing a broad frame of self-government exceptional in southeastern Europe at that time, are authentic and from the same period. The privilege of Trogir, the entire text of which has survived, says “Who is elected by the clergy and people I ordain bishop and comes.” László Katus, *A délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok története* (History of Southern Slav-Hungarian Relations) (Pécs: 1998), 17.

<sup>183</sup> Only the use of the term *regia potestas* at the end of the letter hints slightly at the supremacy theory.

itself to local circumstances. Among these three cases, the election of Albert was definitely canonical: according to Alexander's letter, he was elected by the *clerus et populus*,<sup>184</sup> moreover, by the majority of brothers.<sup>185</sup> In spite of this, he was the only who did not become an archbishop – because of the political-diplomatic or bureaucratic interests of the Holy See. On the contrary, Colo, despite the doubtful legality of his election, became archbishop – since it was essential for the Papal Court to fill the vacant see as soon as possible.

Finally, Béla III also put his candidate in the archbishopric of Spalato. This affair, however, reflects the nature of papal-Hungarian relations. As has been already mentioned, Coloman acknowledged the right of Zara and other Dalmatian towns to canonical election. This was a *de facto* working custom under the rule of Coloman's successors, regardless of whether they confirmed this privilege or not.<sup>186</sup> Then, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Holy See was successful in making the royal powers acknowledge the privileges of the Church (Golden Bull, 1222). Before and after, however, the secular powers tried to prevent canonical election from becoming an ecclesiastical right of general validity. Béla III's attitude is an example of this reaction, as is that of Sigismund two hundred years later.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> This expression causes problems in the interpretation of the letter. Taken as a reflection of internal relations of Spalato it is hard to understand. Since this term appears in the letter sent to Spalato as well as in the one sent to Colo, it is also possible that the chancery used it as a formula reflecting the idea of canonical election. Thirdly, in the case of Spalato *clerus and populus* recalls the formula of the privilege issued by Coloman in 1108, according to which the clergy and people had the right to elect their bishop.

<sup>185</sup> Although not by the two-thirds majority, but this affair took place before the Third Lateran Council.

<sup>186</sup> On the problem of the *electio canonica* and the investiture in Hungary, see Vilmos Fraknói, *A magyar királyi kegyúri jog Szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig: Történeti tanulmány* (The "ius patronatus" of the Hungarian Kings from Saint Stephen to Maria Theresia: A Historical Study) (Budapest: MTA, 1895); Szovák, "Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok," 24-25.

<sup>187</sup> For the conflict between the pope and Sigismund of Luxemburg see Ferenc Eckhart, *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet* (The History of the Hungarian Constitution and Law) (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 138.

### V.2.2. The Issue of Finance

The financial policy of Rome treated the northern and eastern regions in a similar way. Brief research on papal revenues possibly/probably collected from these peripheral areas showed that the papacy did not regard these places as financially profitable, at least from the point of view of the central administration. It would have certainly been too much to expect that the letters would provide evidence for all kinds of papal revenues, but it is still noteworthy that only the tithe (*decima*) is mentioned by name.

In the letters there is no evidence of paying the Peter's Pence or some form of tribute – an annual sum paid by rulers who wanted to ensure the protection of their temporal possessions by ecclesiastical censures – although it is known that England, Scandinavia, and probably also Poland paid the tax called Peter's Pence.<sup>188</sup> Sweden, for instance, started to pay Peter's Pence under the pontificate of Anastasius IV (1153-1154).<sup>189</sup>

In spite of the considerable number of monasteries under papal protection (*sub beati Petri and nostra protectione*)<sup>190</sup> and, contradicting Robinson in the sense that the *census* was a “regular theme of papal letters both to legates and to prelates whom the pope particularly trusted,”<sup>191</sup> in these letters there is no evidence for the payment of *census*. It may be accepted, however, that the few legates sent to the northern or

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<sup>188</sup> Robinson, *The Papacy*, 281; Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, 65-71.

<sup>189</sup> Mondin, *Pápák enciklopédiája*, 245.

<sup>190</sup> Protection meant that the apostolic see could forbid the intervention of temporal powers in the affairs of the monastery and that it was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and episcopal claims of a financial nature.

<sup>191</sup> Robinson, *The Papacy*, 272. For example PL 200 coll. 333, no. 305. (to Mauritius, bishop of Paris): “In quodam scripto librorum nostrorum reperto quod Lateranensi palatio Ecclesia, singulis annis unciam auri persolvere tenebatur, ab abbate et fratribus ejusdem loci eundem censum exegimus. Qui nobis inde responderunt quod in memoria eorum non fuerat, nec aliqua super his scripta habebant, quod census ille ab ecclesia sua Ecclesiae Romanae consueverit ex conditione persolvi. ... Si vero praescripti monasterii abbas aut fratres praetaxatum censum aliquo tempore Ecclesiae Romanae

eastern territories were not those – except perhaps Albert of Morra – whom Alexander “particularly trusted.” Further elements of explanation could be that the sum of the *census* was not considerable compared to tribute or Peter’s Pence, and that these areas were far from the residence of the papal court, which made the collection and transmission of the money more difficult. Probably it was not worth the effort to try to enforce its collection.<sup>192</sup>

Apart from one mention of *eleemosyna*,<sup>193</sup> a term proposed by Robinson as a part of his critique of Lunt’s terminology,<sup>194</sup> there is no reference to any form of subsidy either, which the Alexandrine curia predominantly relied on.<sup>195</sup> Nor does one find the visitation tax, paid by archbishops, bishops and abbots by the end of the twelfth century on the occasion of visiting the tombs of apostles (*visitationes ad limina apostolorum*) when they were confirmed.<sup>196</sup> According to the testimony of letter no. 261, the new archbishop of Uppsala, Stephen (1162-1185), a Cistercian, visited the pope on the occasion of his confirmation,<sup>197</sup> but nothing is known about

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*persolverunt, nolumus quod iustitiae tuae vel ecclesiae tibi commissae aliquod praejudicium debeat generare.*”

<sup>192</sup> In the case of Henry, archbishop of Rheims, for instance, this situation was different: not only was he a friend of the pope, but also he resided in a territory which was relatively close to the papal court at that time – it was much more reasonable to try to get “financial aid” from there.

<sup>193</sup> “...reddite decimas et de novem partibus eleemosynam Domino persolvatis,” PL 200 coll. 1259, no. 1447.

<sup>194</sup> “W. E. Lunt in his studies of papal finances (1934, 1939) called these emergency supplies ‘papal subsidies’ and described them as ‘analogous to the gracious aids levied by feudal lords.’ The term *subsidia* is indeed used for these supplies during the pontificate of Alexander III, but it is only one of a number of terms, of which *eleemosyna* (alms) and *subventio* (help) are the most frequent.” Robinson, *The Papacy*, 268. Lunt also suggested the term *auxilium* for “gifts,” but in our texts it does not appear in the sense of subsidy (*manibus auxilii* /no.983/, *Domino auxiliante* /no. 415/).

<sup>195</sup> “The subsidy was asked, moreover, to meet an exceptional need on the part of the pope. Alexander III, whose exile in from Italy rendered him poor by depriving him of the customary revenues from the States of the Church, repeatedly requested groups of his clerical subjects to grant gifts and gracious aids for the use of church labouring under schism.” Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, 78. Gerhoch of Reichersberg also criticized the heavy dependence of the Alexandrine curia on the emergency supplies of the emperor’s enemies. Robinson, *The Papacy*, 268.

<sup>196</sup> A similar expression, *sepulcrum Dominicum visitant* (PL 200 coll. 861, no. 980) is not identical and does not refer to any kind of tax or subsidy, but to pilgrims who – like crusaders – gained *remissio* of one year in exchange.

<sup>197</sup> “Stephanum, olim Upsaliensis Ecclesiae electum, nunc vero archiepiscopum vestrum, ad sedem apostolicam venientem...” PL 200 coll. 303, no. 261.

the tax. Colo (Bishop of Linköping, 1160-1195/1196), on the other hand, probably did not show up at the court at all (*relatum siquidem est auribus nostris*).

The only revenue about which we know something from the letters is the tithe (*decima*). This expression appears in four of the letters analyzed. Two of these references encourage northern rulers and their subjects to pay the tithe with the following words:

*Episcopis, sacerdotibus et aliis prelatiis vestris ... decimas ... reddere ... studeatis.*<sup>198</sup>

*Decimas autem lex tam Novi quam Veteris testamenti sacerdotibus aliisque ecclesiarum ministris docet esse reddendas. ... Quoniam qui de bonis suis decimas fideliter dederint, et terrena poterunt et coelestia promereri et bonis omnibus abundabunt.*<sup>199</sup>

These kinds of general admonitions to pay the tithe cannot be found in the letters to Spalato. Whereas in Hungary the payment of the tithe, introduced by King St. Stephen in 1001,<sup>200</sup> was basically a working system by the time of Alexander III, in Scandinavia the late conversion and development of ecclesiastical system resulted not only in its the delayed imposition, but also in a special development of tithe.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, although the Third Lateran Council prohibited the lay possession of the tithe,<sup>202</sup> which was otherwise common before the age of the reform papacy,<sup>203</sup> “in

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<sup>198</sup> PL 200 coll. 860, no. 980.

<sup>199</sup> PL 200 coll. 1260, no. 1447

<sup>200</sup> György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and His Work) (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), 162.

<sup>201</sup> It was first imposed in Iceland in 1096/1097, then – only in 1135 – in Denmark, in Norway and Sweden in the course of the twelfth century, and finally in Finland in the thirteenth. In Scotland, David I (1124-1153) “made compulsory the exaction of the teind (or tithe).” Michael Lynch, *Scotland. A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1996), 82.

<sup>202</sup> In fact, the ninth canon against Templars and Hospitallers says: “Ecclesias sane et decimas de manu laicorum, sine consensu episcoporum, tam illos [fratres Templi et Hospitalis] quam quoscumque alios religiosos recipere prohibemus.” *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien II*, 216.

<sup>203</sup> The original meaning of tithe as a voluntary offering was first changed when Pope Damasus ordered its payment under pain of excommunication. With the development of *Eigenkirche* laymen gained the right to and control over the tithe, until the efforts of the reform papacy were successful and the obligation of paying the tithe was incorporated into canon law by Gratian.



many parts of Scandinavia laymen were still taking part of the tithe in the thirteenth century.”<sup>204</sup>

There are different possible reasons why letters do not provide evidence for systematic collection of any kind of revenues on the peripheries under the pontificate of Alexander III. First, before the compilation of the *Liber Censuum* there was no central register of the papal incomes, which also made it difficult to claim them. Secondly, due to the geographical position of these lands, even if the revenues could have been claimed it was by no means sure that they could have been successfully collected and sent to the papal court, which resided far away. From the papal point of view, a more promising attempt was to press the closer lands instead, namely France, England, and Spain.

The letters, in terms of finance, rather reflect a kind of crisis management on the peripheries which aimed to provide the necessary financial support for the existence of churches and monasteries. Since the central financial administration was not able to provide them with money, the Holy See issued privileges allowing these ecclesiastical bodies to collect incomes from all the sources they were able to. In the framework of this policy Alexander III gave complete tithe exemption to the Cistercians for their support during the schism, and it was granted to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers as well, since the curia depended heavily on their financial services.<sup>205</sup> In a letter written to the bishop of Aarhus, Alexander confirmed the tithe

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<sup>204</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*, 110-111. Nonetheless, there are examples of papal warnings “about the abuse of the decima by lay authorities” in Dalmatia from the seventh and eighth centuries. Dusa, *The Medieval*, 102.

<sup>205</sup> For the monasteries, the reform papacy granted exemption from tithes, a situation which changed under the pontificate of Hadrian IV, who limited the tithe exemption of monastic houses to only *novalia*. In July 1169 Alexander III provided the Cistercians with the original privilege. Robinson, *The Papacy*, 241. The Templars and Hospitallers, however, later caused serious problems for the pope. As the ninth canon of the Third Lateran Council says: “Fratrum autem et coepiscoporum nostrorum vehementi conquestione comperimus, quod fratres Templi et Hospitalis, alii quoque religiosae professionis, indulta sibi ab apostolica sede excedentes privilegia, contra episcopalem auctoritatem

exemption of the Cistercians in the following words: ... *a solutione decimarum de laboribus suis ... liberi sunt et immunes*.<sup>206</sup> Numerous monasteries were given “partial” exemptions: *sane novalium vestrorum, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis sive de nutrimentis animalium vestrorum nullus a vobis decimas presumat exigere*,<sup>207</sup> as the monastery of SS Cosmas and Damian and St. Sylvester in Croatia/Dalmatia,<sup>208</sup> and Mogiła in Poland.<sup>209</sup>

Other confirmations are also peripheral reflections of the papal policy supporting monasteries and other ecclesiastical bodies financially. Although not containing the privilege of exemption, they sustained the possessions (*bona et possessiones*) and rights (*libertas*) of different ecclesiastical bodies: the Templars of Vrana,<sup>210</sup> the Cistercians of Veng,<sup>211</sup> the Benedictines of Pannonhalma in Hungary,<sup>212</sup> the nunnery of Gudhem,<sup>213</sup> the bishopric of Linköping,<sup>214</sup> and the Augustine cathedral chapter of Viborg.<sup>215</sup>

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multa praesumunt, quae et scandalum generant in populo Dei et grave pariunt periculum animarum.” *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien II*, 216. On Hospitallers in Hungary see Zsolt Hunyadi, “Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150-1387.” PhD Thesis (Budapest: CEU, 2004.) and “The Central Convent of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Hungary as a Place of Authentication up to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century.” MA Thesis (Budapest: CEU, Budapest College, 1996.).

<sup>206</sup> PL 200 coll. 1281, no. 1480.

<sup>207</sup> This sentence is a formula: in PL 200 twenty-three privileges contain this sentence.

<sup>208</sup> *Cod. Dipl. Croatiae II*, no. 152 and no. 172.

<sup>209</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, vol.1., 30-31, no. 24.

<sup>210</sup> PL 200 coll. 633, no. 671. “fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus jam dictum monasterium ... liberum facias permanere, et memoratos fratres a praelibato episcopo super hoc de caetero molestari nequaquam permittas.”

<sup>211</sup> PL 200 coll. 428-430, nos. 415, 416; PL 200 coll. 651, no. 693.

<sup>212</sup> Fejér, *Codex II*, 191.

<sup>213</sup> PL 200 coll. 1060, no.1230.

<sup>214</sup> PL 200 coll. 1163, no.1338: “sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et praesenti scripti privilegio communimus, statuentes ut quascumque possessiones, quaecumque bona eadem ecclesia impraesentiarum iuste et canonice possidet ... firma tibi suisque successoribus et illibata permaneant.”

<sup>215</sup> PL 200 coll. 649, no. 692. “In 1167 Pope Alexander III took St. Margaret’s in Asmild under St. Peter’s protection and on 21 February 1170 the same grace was bestowed upon the cathedral chapter, expressly stating the incorporation of St. Margaret’s in Asmild and St. Martin’s in the island of Fur in Limfjorden; later the chapter also got St. Vincent’s in Lime. The right of the canons to vote at the election of a bishop was confirmed.” Nyberg, *Monasticism*, 217.

### V.2.3. Canonization

The next issue to be examined, closely related to jurisdiction and also to the theory of papal primacy, is that of canonization. Canonization in the middle of the twelfth century was in a transition period: “Pontifical canonization was increasingly frequently sought, without the translation of saints’ bodies by bishops ceasing.”<sup>216</sup> Nevertheless, taking the canonization of saints into papal hands was another element or reflection of papal centralization efforts. As Renate Klauser put it: “The development of the canonization process intensely proclaims the victorious advance of papal *plenitudo potestatis*.”<sup>217</sup> In the letters of Alexander III the term referring to canonization, i.e. *canonizare*, and its different forms appear only eight times.<sup>218</sup> This relatively small number is rather surprising, since Alexander’s canonization policy is a favored topic of scholarship. There is no doubt that the Alexandrine curia was ready to deal with these cases: during Alexander’s pontificate “twelve canonization causes were introduced and five completed.”<sup>219</sup> He canonized Edward the Confessor (1161),<sup>220</sup> Helen of Skövde (1164),<sup>221</sup> Knut Lavard (1169),<sup>222</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux (1170) and Thomas Becket (1173).<sup>223</sup>

According to Vauchez and many other scholars,<sup>224</sup> the classical evidence of Alexander III’s canonization policy,<sup>225</sup> in the framework of which these processes

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<sup>216</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 24.

<sup>217</sup> Renate Klauser, “Zur Entwicklung des Heiligsprechungsverfahrens bis zum 13. Jahrhundert,” 101.

<sup>218</sup> The form *canonizare* was used once in connection with Anselm /no. 169/, *canonizando* once in connection with Edward the Confessor /no. 34/, Knut Lavard /no. 633/ and Thomas Becket /no.1021/ and *canonizavimus* four times in connection with Thomas Becket /no. 1021, 1023, 1024, 1034/.

<sup>219</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 25.

<sup>220</sup> PL 200 coll. 106, no. 34.

<sup>221</sup> A noble woman, she was falsely accused of murder and killed in 1160. Stephen, the archbishop of Uppsala, by order of Pope Alexander III inscribed her name in the list of canonized saints.

<sup>222</sup> PL 200 coll. 608, no. 633. On Knut Lavard see more in Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige*, 139-174.

<sup>223</sup> PL 200 nos. 1021,1023,1024,1034 and also *Liber Pontificalis* II, 426. Raymonde Foreville, “Alexandre et la canonisation des Saints,” in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, edited by Filippo Liotta, 217-236 (Siena: Nella Sede dell’Accademia, 1986).

<sup>224</sup> A counter-argument is that of Stephan Kuttner, “La réserve papale du droit de canonisation,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., 18 (1938): 172-228.

moved under the authority of Rome from that of the bishops, can be found in a letter written to *K. rex* of Sweden. Contrary to Kuttner, who identifies the addressee as Knut Eriksson, recent scholarship (Foreville,<sup>226</sup> Vauchez) accepts his rival, Kol of Sweden<sup>227</sup> as its recipient.

*Denique quiddam audivimus, quod magno nobis fuit horrori, quod quidam inter vos sunt qui diabolica fraude decepti hominem quemdam in potatione et ebrietate occisum quasi sanctum, more infidelium, veneratur ... Cum etiamsi signa et miracula per eum plurima fierent, non liceret vobis pro sancto absque auctoritate Romanae Ecclesiae eum publice venerari.*<sup>228</sup>

The letter mentions the veneration of a “certain man.” According to Dick Harrison, there is no information as to who is this would-be saint is or whether he “had anything to do with Sweden at all.”<sup>229</sup> André Vauchez, however, seems to be more certain: the man who died in a drunken state is St. Eric of Sweden.<sup>230</sup> Erich Hoffmann<sup>231</sup> suggests Knut Magnusson or Sverker for this saint as the most probable identifications, but he also takes Harald Gilli and St. Eric into consideration.

It is certainly not the aim of this paper to solve the problem of the addressee and the venerated drunken “saint.” There are two things, however, that should be pointed out in connection with this case. First, in my opinion, this letter fits well into the main stream of research and – since “the cult of saints remained ... a marginal issue”<sup>232</sup> for Alexander III, as Vauchez writes – it should be interpreted first of all in the context of the development of the idea of papal primacy. What “horried”

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<sup>225</sup> Foreville, “Alexandre et la canonisation,” 217-236.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 234.; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 25.

<sup>227</sup> From Sverker dynasty. Erich Hoffmann, “Politische Heilige in Skandinavien und die Entwicklung der drei nordischen Völker,” *Politik und Heiligenverehrung*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994), 277-324. Here 315. (Hereafter Hoffmann, “Politische Heilige.”)

<sup>228</sup> PL 200 coll. 1262, no. 1447. With regard to concrete data, we are not indulged in this case. It is not known in which year the letter was issued, and nor is the addressee identified for certain (a Swedish king whose name begins with K – most probably Knut Eriksson [1167-1196]).

<sup>229</sup> Harrison, *Quod magno*, 3.

<sup>230</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 25.

<sup>231</sup> Hoffmann, “Politische Heilige,” 316.

Alexander III was not the venerated person nor the idea that he was probably honored as saint by semi-pagan people.<sup>233</sup> There is no doubt that he would have preferred faithful Christian subjects, but, as Harrison says, the problem was that “the Swedes have decided to venerate a saint without asking the pope whether it is all right.”<sup>234</sup> The pontiff worried about his supremacy – this hardly meant anything for the people of the north, who were “far less experienced with ecclesiastical theory and practice.”<sup>235</sup> For them, holiness was based on “belief *per se* and religious emotions,” not on canon law.<sup>236</sup>

The other point can add some details to the center-periphery question as well, as this case is one of the rare examples of how peripheral cases can sometimes influence central decisions. One reason why this letter got so much attention is that a part of it was incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* by Gregory IX.<sup>237</sup> Unlike other papal “policies,” the theory of the “papal reservation of the right of canonization”<sup>238</sup> was still in the process of development in the time of Alexander III. Thus, in the long term, this peripheral case of a region slowly integrating into Western Christendom became the cornerstone of a central canonical rule.

#### **V.2.4. Spreading the Faith: Preaching and Warfare**

Attempts to enlarge Roman Catholic territories and spread Christian faith were always crucial issues at the Papal Court. In his book covering the period 1050 to 1250, Morris distinguishes four methods of spreading the faith: preaching, the foundation of

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<sup>232</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 27.

<sup>233</sup> We have already mentioned the fact that the Church was usually tolerant enough to acknowledge and adapt the cult of a perhaps not-really-Christian nature, and that at the first stages of conversion it was quite satisfied with a formal acceptance of Christianity.

<sup>234</sup> Harrison, *Quod magno*, 4.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

new settlements as the result of rising population and migration, the foundation of Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys, and warfare.<sup>239</sup> The foundation of settlements was less characteristic in the studied regions – such settlements were founded in Palestine, the frontier zones of Spain and Sicily, in the Slavonic East, and some German cities on the Baltic (Rostock, Lübeck). The foundation of monasteries could help greatly in spreading the faith, but on territories which already had some contacts with Christianity and the development of ecclesiastical organization had already started. Between 1144 and 1194, thirteen Cistercian foundations took place in Denmark,<sup>240</sup> and by 1200 several monasteries existed not only in Denmark, but also in Sweden, Norway and on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. (Figures 8 and 9) Nonetheless, those territories which were “untouched” by these influences required other means: preaching and warfare.

The “papal program” encouraging missionary activity, started by Pope Gregory I, kept its primary importance throughout the centuries. Alexander III also claimed in one of his letters:

*Lex divina et humana desiderat et debitum charitatis exposcit, ut bono et utilitati communi debeamus intendere et ad revocationem et conversionem infidelium operam omnimodam et sollicitudinem adhibere.*<sup>241</sup>

The task of spreading Roman Catholicism among pagan or other Christian people fell heavily, if not exclusively, on territories far from Rome. The farther reaches of Western Christendom, peripheral in many respects by their very geographical (and hence often cultural) nature, played a central role in the realization

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<sup>237</sup> *Corpus Iuris Canonici Decretales Gregorii IX*, III.45.1.

<sup>238</sup> Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 22.

<sup>239</sup> Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 263-268.

<sup>240</sup> Nyberg, *Monasticism*, 248.

<sup>241</sup> PL 200 coll. 1262, no. 1447.

of this idea. Missionary activity and warfare, therefore, were “central” papal programs inevitably present on peripheries. Not only are the letters sent to rulers on this topic evidence of this policy, but Henry II’s atonement for Becket’s murder in Boso’s *Vita* is also an example of the idea’s popularity.

*Pro quo reatu, quia causam necis eius dedisse videor, ducentos milites sub expensis meis ad defensionem christianitatis absque dilataione Hierosolymam destinabo per annum ibidem mansuros, vel tantum eis persolvam unde totidem milites ibidem per annum valeant retinere. Signum quoque dominice crucia usque ad triennium accipiam, et in propria persona illuc proficiscar, nisi remaneam de licentia Romani pontificis.*<sup>242</sup>

At the time of Alexander, the people east of Sweden and the Slavs to the south were those neighbors of the Scandinavian Christian territories where the question of conversion seriously emerged. In the letters, three major territories are mentioned as problematic from the point of conversions: Estonia, Finland<sup>243</sup> and the island of Rügen.

In case of the Estonians, a monk named Fulco was entrusted with the conversion of these pagan people. This attempt meant a peaceful way of convincing: the aim was to convert them – although with the help of true Christians and some support of the lay power – merely by preaching.<sup>244</sup> It seems, however, that the Church was unable to reach its goal in this way alone. Fulco and the missionaries were not enough on their own – the Church needed more than spiritual support.

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<sup>242</sup> *Liber Pontificalis* II, 425.

<sup>243</sup> “The papacy had designated Finland a mission area in c. 1105.” Barber, *The Two Cities*, 394.

<sup>244</sup> “Inde est, quod prudentiam vestram rogamus et attentius monemus ut venerabili fratri nostro Fulconi Estonum episcopo, qui ad convertendam gentem illam diivina gratia inspiratus, ministerium praedicationis et laborem proponit assumere, Nicolaum monachum, qui de gente illa, sicut accepimus, est oriundus, virum religiosum, atque discretum, in socium concedatis” (PL 200 coll. 852, no. 977); “Credimus sane universitati vestrae innotuisse qualiter venerabilis frater noster Fulco Estonum episcopus inopia et paupertate prematur et ad convertendam gentem illam sui episcopatus, quae Christianae fidei ignara est, totis viribus elaboret ... devotionem vestram monemus ... ei manum auxilii porrigatis...” PL 200 coll. 863, no. 983.

It turned to another means: using military skills the lay authorities possessed and which the ecclesiastical lacked, it tried to *force* pagan people to accept the Christian religion.<sup>245</sup> Therefore, besides the letters in which the papacy urges the support of missionary activity among pagan people there are others where the pope asks the addressees to help the interests of Christendom there even by force of arms. Although compulsory conversion was never accepted as official papal policy, from time to time the idea of “conversion by conquest” was put into practice. In the north this happened first in 1147, at the time of the Wendish Crusade, which was sponsored by Bernard of Clairvaux and authorized by Pope Eugene III. In 1168-1169, when the temple of Arkona was destroyed as a result of the Danish expedition, this “procedure” was already common.<sup>246</sup> Moreover, the pope encouraged the nobles to continue the fight against the Estonians by guaranteeing spiritual benefits, usual for taking part in a crusade, in exchange:

*Nos enim eis qui adversus saepe dictos paganos potenter et magnanimiter decertaverint, de peccatis suis de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint remissionem unius anni confisi de misericordia Dei a meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli concedimus sicut his qui sepulcrum Dominicum visitant concedere consuevimus. Illis autem, qui in conflictu illo decesserint omnium suorum, si poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem indulgemus peccatorum.*<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> “...sed Christianae fidei documenta cogantur tenere firmiter et servare” PL 200 coll. 852, no. 976.

<sup>246</sup> Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 263-268; 277; Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, “Wendenzüge – Kreuzzüge,” in *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Michael Müller-Wille, 279-290. (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1995).

<sup>247</sup> PL 200 coll. 861, no. 980. Similar benefits were guaranteed by the twenty-seventh canon of the Lateran Council (1179) to those fighting against heretics: “Nos etiam de misericordia Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, fidelibus christianis, qui contra eos [haereses] arma susceperint et ad episcoporum seu aliorum praelatorum consilium ad eos certaverint expugnandos, biennium de poenitentia iniuncta relaxamus.” *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien II*, 225.



This “new” way of converting people was not only applied in the case of Estonians,<sup>248</sup> the situation was similar with the Finns<sup>249</sup> and the Slavs on the island of Rügen.<sup>250</sup>

*... Phinni semper imminente sibi exercitu inimicorum fidem servare Christianam promittunt, et praedicatores et eruditores Christianae legis desideranter requirunt: et recedente exercitu fidem abnegant, praedicatores contemnunt et graviter persequuntur.*<sup>251</sup>

*Ex litteris ... comperimus quod quaedam insula, Ro nomine, dicta juxta regnum suum<sup>252</sup> posita tantae idolatriae ac superstitioni a primitivis catholicae fidei fuisset temporibus dedita ut circumjacentem regionem sibi efficeret censualem et eidem regno et universis Christianis circumpositis damna multa et crebra pericula incessanter inferret. Quod idem rex coelesti flamine inspiratus et armis Christi munitus, scuto fidei armatus considerans, divino munere protectus eam brachio forti et extento, duritiam hominum illius insulae expugnatur et exprobratiorem immanitatem illorum ad fidem et legem Christi tam potenter ac valide magnanimiter revocavit et suae quoque subjecit dominationi.*<sup>253</sup>

Due to the very nature of the help, these letters were often, but not exclusively, addressed to secular rulers. This form of conversion was acceptable to both the local

<sup>248</sup> PL 200 coll. 860, no. 980.

<sup>249</sup> PL 200 coll. 852, no. 976. The Finns were the last Scandinavian people who converted to Christianity, largely due to Swedish activity in the area. The very first attempts were those of St. Olaf in 1007 and Anundi, the son of a Swedish king, around 1050. In the period which can be called “early Christian” (ca. 1050-1150) the southwestern parts paid taxes to Sweden from time to time, and Christian burials became common in the territory of Varsinais-Suomi and Häme. At the same time, in the eleventh century the influence of Novgorod and the Eastern Church was tangible as far as eastern Häme. Although the “first crusade” of Erik, the king of Sweden, and Henrik, the archbishop of Uppsala, failed to subjugate Finland, large-scale missionary work and the establishment of the first parishes started. In the twelfth century missionary activity, and perhaps the crusades as well, continued in Finland, leading to the harassment of Novgorod and paganism. The formal conversion can be linked to the election of the first Finnish bishop, Magnus in 1291. (Until then the bishops were Swedes.) Jouko Vahtola, “Die Christianisierung und kirchliche Entwicklung Finnlands im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert,” in *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Michael Müller-Wille, 359-371 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1995).

<sup>250</sup> PL 200 coll. 607, no. 632. An island in the Baltic Sea in the coastal zone of the Danes and Slavs, Rügen was an important center of pagan cults. Between 1159 and 1168, Valdemar I, with the help of Henry the Lion, invaded the island and destroyed the temple of Arkona. The people were converted, and Rügen became a part of the bishopric of Roskilde. When the letter was written, Rügen was already subject to Valdemar and the pope ordered it to belong to the bishopric of Roskilde, under the authority of Bishop Absalon.

<sup>251</sup> PL 200 coll. 852, no. 976.

<sup>252</sup> Denmark

<sup>253</sup> PL 200 coll. 608, no. 632.

elite and the Church. On the one hand, the aim of the northern kingdoms was to gain as much influence in the neighboring territories as possible. It just made the situation better that their purpose got further impetus from the leading power of Western Christendom. On the other, the crusading idea made this form of conversion – and expansion – acceptable for the Church as well.

This theme also got social support. The ideal of the ruling elite, i.e. the knightly values (defending the faith and the weak) corresponded with the idea of crusade. Furthermore, the fact that the Cistercians were called *milites Christi* in contemporary sources and that the order enjoyed great popularity among the lay elite sheds light upon the common roots of the two forms of conversion, mission and just war. Young nobles considered a crusade as well as monastic life an ideal form of Christian spirit, but those (as Bernard of Clairvaux himself) who decided to choose the monastery instead of the battlefield saw a greater challenge in this way of life. Bernard of Clairvaux, in this way, was a “symbol” of his era, since his life reflected all the prevalent values of the late twelfth century.

## CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSION: FARAWAY PLACES – PERIPHERAL?

Answering the question as to whether the papal curia had any notion of a periphery including both Uppsala and Spalato, the results of my analysis should be grouped around two main points (noted at the beginning of Chapter IV). First, referring to the periphery definition in Chapter II.1, were there any elements in papal correspondence that suggest that these lands were “less important” than others, and – touching on Burke – were there any “corruptions” of church institutions and rules characteristic for these territories? Secondly, were these areas considered similar to each other, and as such seen as *one* consistent part of Western Christendom or were the differences between their position more remarkable?

The survey of Gregory VII's and Alexander III's correspondence showed that the most intensive communication in Western Christendom took place between the Papal See and the French territories. Italy and Germany were also in the communication network, but considerably less important. The position of the British Isles was specific: in Alexander's correspondence this area had an outstanding position, but for Gregory VII not only France, Italy and Germany, but also the East Central European territories took precedence over the Anglo-Norman Kingdom. These results were influenced by the popes' personal relations. In the case of Alexander III the intensive communication with England was first of all the result of the Becket case, while the more than four hundred letters sent to Henry, the archbishop of Rheims and the brother of Louis VII, are the signs of a friendly (and diplomatically useful) relationship.

The scale of legatine activity gave a somewhat different picture. France, in this respect, lost its leading position, while the East Central European lands,

especially Hungary and Dalmatia, gained importance besides Italy (together with Sicily) and Germany. The first phenomenon, however, can be reasonably explained. In France, where the pope resided and where he was supported unanimously by the high priests as well as by lay rulers there was no need to enforce his authority by legates. He himself or his resident supporters (sometimes *legati nati*) fulfilled this task. In the case of the Adriatic region the intensive legatine activity is a sign of its status different from France or England on one hand and Uppsala on the other. In the second half of the conclusion some possible grounds for this different position will be discussed.

One reason why the studied areas of this thesis are so “underrepresented” in the Alexandrine correspondence, there is no doubt, is the geographical distance. Some letters, both to the eastern and northern regions, use the term *longe positus* to characterize these countries. This expression was used in a letter sent to Linköping<sup>254</sup> as well as in one recommending papal legates to the archbishops and bishops of Dalmatia.<sup>255</sup> This shows that in a geographic sense the papal court did not really make a distinction between the situation of Dalmatia and Sweden: both were located too far away.<sup>256</sup> (Figure 10)

Nor do there seem to have been different approaches to Spalato (Dalmatia) and Uppsala (the northern kingdoms) in respect of their political role and position in Western Christendom. The fact that in the letters sent from Papal Court to the prelates or rulers of these kingdoms there is no mention or direct reference to the

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<sup>254</sup> PL 200 coll. 1163, no. 1338 “Ex injuncto nobis apostolatus officio fratres et coepiscopos nostros tam vicinos quam longe positos sincero charitatis affectu debemus diligere...”

<sup>255</sup> PL 200 coll. 1273, no. 1567. “Cum autem longe positis per nos ipsos paternam impendere diligentiam non possumus...”

<sup>256</sup> The expression “tam vicinos quam longe positos” is used in letters written to Peter, bishop of Zaragoza (PL 200 coll. 868, no. 992) and to bishop Stephen of Monopoli (PL 200 coll. 1268, no. 1418)

emperor, schism or antipope suggests that the Holy See did not regard these areas as considerable powers in the politics of Western Christendom. Even on the rare occasions when it took these places into account the papal court counted on persons, usually archbishops, faithful “representatives” of its interests, instead of kingdoms as a whole. The reason for this lies in the fact that throne-fights and inner political crises resulted in the lack of strong central power (royal authority) and often led to changing sides during the investiture controversy. For instance, although Géza II of Hungary, in a letter to Louis VII of France, finally acknowledged Alexander III (1161),<sup>257</sup> after his death Stephan III joined the emperor again. In this changing situation it is evident that the pope tried to rely on his firmly loyal subjects. In 1163 he turned to Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg (1147-1164),<sup>258</sup> giving him the mandate to write to the archbishop of Esztergom (*Strigoniensis*) asking him to disturb (*disturbandum studeat*) the emperor’s journey in Hungary as much as possible.<sup>259</sup> The addressees of Alexander’s letters written to Scandinavia also reflect this characteristic of the communication.

	Ruler ( <i>reges et duces</i> )	Other lay	Ecclesiastical	Total
Scandinavia	6	1	20	27
Denmark	3	0	11	14
Sweden	2	1	8 (+2)	11 <sup>260</sup>
Norway	0	0	1	1

Table 8. The addressees of Alexander III’s letters written to Scandinavia

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in South-Italy, but it appears in letters sent to Moutiers (PL 200 coll. 871, no. 994) or Lausanne (PL 200 coll. 1247, no. 1435) as well.

<sup>257</sup> Fejér, *Codex*, II. 160-163.

<sup>258</sup> Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta II*, 368.

<sup>259</sup> “Fraternitatem tuam rogamus atque mandamus, quatinus venerabilem fratrem nostrum L(uam), Strigoniensem archiepiscopum, tuis super hoc litteris sollicitare non differas et super angustiis et pressuris suis consolationem ei facias, monens eum attentius et confortans, ut ad ipsius imperatoris transitum disturbandum studeat omnimodo et intendat.”

According to the testimony of the letters, the curia did not make a difference between the status of Uppsala and Spalato in the sense of geographical location and political importance: they were both peripheral, meaning that they were “less important.” Talking about “provincializations” of the periphery, or, from another point of view, about difficulties of exercising papal authority there, further signs of peripheral status can be revealed. These “divergences” become clear if we focus on the problem of how well developed models and (at least in the center) functioning institutions appear in these places. The issue of canonical election, for instance, was treated in similar ways in the two areas: the idea was present and emphasized, but in practice the interests of the curia and the Church influenced its enforcement considerably. The topic of legates and jurisdiction, however, reveals a difference not only between the central and peripheral lands of Western Christendom, but also between the two archbishoprics studied here.

In the previous parts of the thesis I have tried to point out the importance of jurisdiction as means of exercising curial authority in Western Christendom. It has been established that while it is a frequent topic of the letters sent to Spalato, the missives written to Uppsala do not refer to any cases. Moreover, the only Scandinavian letter dealing with such a topic was addressed to a secular ruler, Valdemar, and not to the archbishop of Lund.

Among Alexander III’s charters a large number of privileges confirm *bona et possessiones* of ecclesiastical bodies, and in the correspondence there are examples when Alexander himself gave support to monasteries in such cases or ordered local clergymen to defend its interests – even if the possessions were debated by a lay

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<sup>260</sup> There are two letters to Sweden with more than one addressee: PL 200 coll. 852, no. 976 to the archbishop of Uppsala and dux Guthermus and PL 200 coll. 863, no. 984 to “tam clericis quam laicis Lingacopensis episcopatus.”

person. Had jurisdiction been connected exclusively to *legati a latere* (in that case, however, it would be difficult to explain why other native legates and archbishops fulfilled this task), who did not show up frequently in the north, the picture does not change. The absence of the topic of jurisdiction as well as the small number of *legati a latere* are signs of the difficulties the Holy See had in enforcing its authority in these territories.

Finance is an issue, which – at first sight – the Papal Court seemed to handle in a similar way in the two areas. The general picture indicated by the lack of references to different forms of papal income is that the Holy See did not take the trouble of trying to collect its revenues from faraway places. It did not exercise any “central distribution” policy but tried to provide the ecclesiastical bodies with the necessary financial basis by guaranteeing privileges. These privileges and confirmations were present throughout Western Christendom, in Scandinavia as well as on the Adriatic.

The only thing that modifies this homogenous picture is the tithe (*decima*). The letters to Uppsala and other Scandinavian territories refer to problems related to the payment of tithes in the north. The lack of regular tithe paying is also a sign of being a “less organic” part of Western Christendom than those areas where this system worked.

Further differences between the northern and southern archbishopric become evident from the study of the state of Church and the Christian faith in these territories. A topic emerges in correspondence if it has actuality – the sender has some problems concerning it or wants something to do with it. There is no doubt that the organization of the Church had actuality from the point of view of the Alexandrine curia; not long before that Nicholas Breakspeare, later Pope Hadrian IV, the

predecessor of Alexander III had set up the Norwegian archbishopric of Nidaros (1154), and Alexander himself gave permission to create the Swedish archbishopric in Uppsala.<sup>261</sup> Thus the Church in the north – at least in Norway and Sweden – was considered as being in the middle of an organization process. Numerous complaints about the non-respected status of priests and the lack of obedience towards them,<sup>262</sup> about the “unusual” form of presenting the Eucharist,<sup>263</sup> about the lack of the institution of ecclesiastical marriage,<sup>264</sup> problems concerning the involvement of secular judicial authorities in spiritual matters,<sup>265</sup> and the non-payment of tithes<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> PL 200 coll. 301-303, nos. 260 and 261.

<sup>262</sup> “Eum [Stephanum archiepiscopum Upsalensem] tanquam archiepiscopum vestrum benigne recipiatis et honeste tractetis, et eidem in his quae Dei sunt, sicut metropolitano vestro, omnimodam reverentiam impendatis; et sibi curetis humiliter per omnia obedire, ut de virtute obedientiae possitis commendabiles apparere” (PL 200 coll. 303, no. 261); “Universitati vestrae per apostolicam scriptam mandamus ... venerabili fratri nostro Stephano archiepiscopo vestro, quem nos ob salutem et profectum vestrum ad partes illas direximus, sicut Patri et pastori vestro debitam in omnibus obedientiam et reverentiam humiliter exhibeatis” (PL 200 coll. 609-610, no. 634); “Caeterum, quia sine obedientiae virtute nemo Deo perfecte potest placere aut acceptum servitium reddere, per apostolica vobis scripta praecipiendo mandamus et amndando praecipimus, quatenus venerabili fratri nostro C[olone] episcopo vestro ... omnimodam obedientiam et reverentiam impendatis” PL 200 coll. 863, no. 984.

<sup>263</sup> “Praeterea non sine cordis amaritudine quosdam sacerdotes contra apostolicas institutiones cum sicca faece vini vel cum micis panis vino intinctis missam celebrare audivimus. ... Cum enim Magister veritatis, discipulis suis sacramentum commendaret nostrae salutis, non siccam faecem vini, non micis panis vino intinctas accepit, sed panem et calicem et benedicens dedit discipulis suis. Quia igitur secus agere evangelicae et apostolicae doctrinae contrarium et consuetudini ecclesiae penitus est adversum” PL 200 coll. 851, no. 975.

<sup>264</sup> Because the ritual of marriage often did not follow the rules of the Latin Church, the validity and legitimate character of matrimonial relations could later be doubted, bearing the potential danger of divorce.

“Praeterea non sine cordis amaritudine ... audivimus fideles laicos non Christiano more, absque sacerdotali benedictione et missa, matrimonium contrahere. Unde saepe illicita contingit fieri coniugia, et inter legitimas personas divortium intervenire. ... Caeterum clandestina absque sacerdotali benedictione non debere contrahi coniugia...” PL 200 coll. 851, no. 975.

<sup>265</sup> “Accedunt enim quod clerici sive ipsi adversus laicos, sive laici adversus eos litigantes experiri voluerint laicorum iudicia subiret secundum ipsorum instituta sive leges agere vel defendere se coguntur.” PL 200 coll. 855, no. 979. Furthermore, a considerable part of an extremely long letter (PL 200 coll. 854-860, no. 979) is dedicated to the question of simony, emphasizing the importance of the clear separation of lay and spiritual.

“Ipsi enim vobis inconsultis, sicut dicitur, aut consemptis concedunt et conferunt ecclesias quibus volunt, omnia Simoniace, sive per pecuniam sive per privatam gratiam vel odium agentes. ... Sane laicos ecclesias vel ecclesiastica beneficia dignitatesque concedere, seu de ipsis ulla ratione disponere, sanctorum Patrum ad instar sacrilegii prohibent instituta. Clericos tamen, qui ab eis vel per eos, dato pretio, sive gratis, ecclesias, vel investituram ecclesiae seu ecclesiasticae dignitatis acceperint, praeter ordinis sui periculum, excommunicationis etiam poena condemnant”. PL 200 coll. 855-856, no. 979.

<sup>266</sup> “Decimas autem lex tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti sacerdotibus aliisque ecclesiarum ministris docet reddendas” PL 200 coll. 1260, no. 1447.



reflect Rome's view of the conditions of the Swedish church. Not one of these problems (except some papal warnings directed to the faithful to obey the archbishop) is a theme of any letters written to Spalato.

Another sensitive issue for the papacy in the territories belonging to its authority was "its views on social life, which meant mainly the laws and morality of marriage."<sup>267</sup> It was an even more serious question because Alexander III played a considerable role in the formation of the theory of Christian marriage. The long letters to the archbishop of Uppsala (no. 975) and to a Swedish ruler (no. 1447) especially contain serious critiques and condemnation of certain customs related to marriage and family life, clear evidence of the contradiction between the idea of Christian marriage and some traditional and still existing features of pagan matrimonial relations.<sup>268</sup> "Institutions" such as concubinage (*plures uxores simul habere*),<sup>269</sup> fornication and adultery,<sup>270</sup> incest,<sup>271</sup> exposure and murder of children<sup>272</sup> can be mentioned here.

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<sup>267</sup> Martine De Reu, "The Missionaries: the First Contact between Paganism and Christianity," in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, ed. Ludo Milis, 13-29 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 14.

<sup>268</sup> All these phenomena are connected with the confrontation of two different approaches to marital relations: the lay and the ecclesiastical. While the secular model considered marriage as an alliance between families with important economic, social and political consequences, the Church looked at it as a voluntary bond of the spouses. On medieval marriage see Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) and *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

<sup>269</sup> "Quod latius doctrina apostolica docet et manifestius representat, quae virum plures uxores simul aut mulierem plures viros habere nulla ratione permittit." (PL 200 coll. 1260, no. 1447.)

<sup>270</sup> "Propterea, charissimi filii, fugite fornicationem, quia fornicatores et adulteri testante Apostolo regnum Dei non possidebunt" PL 200 coll. 1260, no. 1447.

<sup>271</sup> "Et defuncto viro nullum de consanguinitate defuncti superstes mulier in virum suscipiat, quia ex hoc sine dubio crimen incestus committitur, ubi nulla dispensatio adhiberi. (PL 200 coll. 1260, no. 1447.); Inde est quod vehementi cor nostrum doloris pulsatur stimulo, audito quod in partibus vestris in tantum libido crudelis et turpis excreverit, ut ... alii incestuosa conjunctione, plerique cum jumentis abominanda se pollucione commaculent." (PL 200 coll. 850, no. 975.); "aut cum matre, filia, consobrina vel nepte agentes ... arctiori poenitentiae jugo curetis compescere." (PL 200 coll. 851, no. 975.); "Non debere contrahi coniugia aut nisi inter legitimas personas, quae infra septimum gradum nulla consanguinitatis linea conjugantur" (PL 200 coll. 851, no. 975).

<sup>272</sup> "Inde est quod vehementi cor nostrum doloris pulsatur stimulo, audito quod in partibus vestris in tantum libido crudelis et turpis excreverit, ut quaedam mulieres prolis suae procurent interitum, earumque corruptores tam horrendo et detestabili facinori non solum consentire, verum etiam persuadere praesumant" (PL 200 coll. 850, no. 975); "Praedictos propriae prolis necatores, et tam ipsum facinus persuadentes et consentientes, seu quoslibet parricidas ... arctiori poenitentiae jugo curetis compescere." (PL 200 coll. 851, no. 975); "Si enim qui jactato in terram semine prolem nolebat ex uxore suscipere percussus a Domino Testamenti Veteris serie dignoscitur, qua poena feriendus esse

From a papal point of view the (probable) existence of these customs led to the impression a “primitive” Christian society with an undeveloped ecclesiastical system. In the case of the letters addressed to Spalato or Hungary, apart from a mention of bigamy, there is no reference of such disrespect of ecclesiastical rules.

In spite of the significant differences between the situation of Uppsala and Spalato listed in the previous paragraphs there was one crucial common feature in their position: by the time of Alexander III both were located on the edge of Western Christendom, and lay in the neighborhood of non-Roman Catholic cultures. The task of mission and expanding the authority of the Holy See to the surrounding peoples could have been an evident topic of the correspondence and crucial issue of the cooperation. This was, in fact, in the case with Uppsala. The pope encouraged the lay authorities not only to support missionaries and their efforts but also to convince pagans of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion in the framework of a “just war.” In Spalato, however, there are no traces of this “encouraging crusade” attitude. There are at least two possible reasons for that. First, these cities lacked the necessary military potential to take part in (or organize) a crusade. Secondly, Alexander III and Manuel, who controlled the neighboring territories of Spalato, were allied against Frederick. In this way they were interested in maintaining, if not friendly at least peaceful, connections with each other. Therefore, they tried to avoid threatening the sphere of interest of the other power.<sup>273</sup>

The other, “inner” form of mission also reveals differences concerning the status of the two archbishoprics. While in the north a large number of Cistercian foundations took place in the twelfth century, on the Dalmatian coast there were no

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monstratur qui natum proprium non abhorret occidere, et mavult inteire quam vivere?” (PL 200 coll. 850, no. 975).

<sup>273</sup> A reflection of this “attitude” can be read at Boso: *Liber Pontificalis* II, 415, 419-420.

such examples. Since these monasteries were intended to spread faith and strengthen Christian belief in those territories (already belonging to the authority of the Roman See) where it was necessary – usually in recently converted areas – their absence in Dalmatia suggests that there was no need for such an inner mission. The basic Christian values, morals and institutions already existed there.

The picture provided by this short conclusion, there is no doubt, is complicated and heterogeneous. Two very general conclusions, however, can be drawn. Concerning their position in the system of Western Christendom both archdioceses were to some extent subjected to central territories such as France and northern Italy (and England, in the time of Alexander).<sup>274</sup> At the same time, however, comparing them with each other, significant differences become evident in their status. The very general conclusion of this difference is that Spalato in the time of Alexander III was a more integrated part of Western Christendom than Uppsala – in spite of the fact that it was in the same borderland/frontier position.

As a consequence, it seems reasonable to apply the label “semi-periphery” to Spalato and “periphery” to Uppsala. The intensity of legatine activity in Spalato is a sign indicative of this position. It was not central, where there was no need for legates since the pope enforced his authority directly, nor really peripheral, where the legates, due to the unfinished development of the ecclesiastical system (and therefore the unfinished integration of those lands into Western Christendom), could not act effectively to establish closer connections with the Holy See.

This semi-peripheral position of Spalato means, however, that geographically no periphery of Western Christendom surrounded the semi-periphery along the

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<sup>274</sup> Except perhaps the issue of canonization. In this case, largely due to the lack of an already existing canonical rule, in (but only in) the long term, the peripheral case could influence central politics.

Adriatic, which certainly draws attention to the role of the Balkans,<sup>275</sup> where the Western and Byzantine world met. In this respect it would be worth comparing the situation of Spalato and the Dalmatian coast to that of archbishoprics on the Iberian Peninsula, where Western Christendom touched the Islamic world.

Once it is clear that there were significant differences in the position of Spalato and Uppsala the question emerges: what is the reason for this and how can this phenomenon be explained? For understanding the center-periphery structure of Western Christendom from the eleventh to the thirteenth century it is necessary to pay attention to the preceding structures. In the first millenium AD there were two large units which played crucial roles in the history of (Roman) Christianity: the Roman and the Frankish Empires.

Until Gregory the Great, the Roman Empire – although seriously weakening by the end of the fourth century when Christianity gained a really strong foothold as a result of Theodosius' decision – was the only territory (except Armenia, Persia and some parts of Mesopotamia) where Orthodox Christianity spread.<sup>276</sup> Germanic peoples (starting with the Goths) followed Arianism until they changed to the Roman Catholicism in the sixth and seventh centuries when they settled down within the borders of the past Western Roman Empire. With the division of the Roman Empire, Christianity (*Christianitas*) did not lose its power as a unifying factor but, with the development of the Greek-Roman dichotomy, *Latinitas* became a further integrative component.

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<sup>275</sup> 1. To which entity did it really belong? 2. Belonging to Byzantium is it also possible to function as a periphery of the West?

<sup>276</sup> The peoples outside the empire were considered *barbari* by the Romans (“*barbari sine lege vivunt*”) and this view did not change in the Christian perception. Referring to the biblical phrase “Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you” (Matt. 7:6), the early Church rejected the idea of converting people living outside the borders of the Roman Empire.

The Franks, the only Germanic people which converted directly to Roman Catholicism, created their empire by the end of the eighth century. Although the political system did not survive long after the death of Charlemagne, the achievements of his *imperium Christianum* determined the future of Western Christendom. In my opinion, the center-periphery system of the eleventh through thirteenth century Western Christendom is closely connected to the empires in the framework of which Western Christianity was formed.

The center of Western Christendom, due to the continuous existence of this *Christianitas-Latinitas* factor, was the territory where both the Roman and Frankish Empires enforced their authority: France (and perhaps northern Italy). This central position was reflected in Gregory VII's as well as in Alexander's correspondence. In this thesis Spalato showed a higher level of integration than Uppsala but it did not reach a central position like Rheims. Spalato, together with southern Italy, the Iberian Peninsula and England for some time, formed a part of the Roman Empire but they were not included in the realm of Charlemagne. (The Adriatic and south Italy, however, experienced the authority of Byzantium as well, while the position of the Iberian Peninsula was also influenced by consequences of the Muslim conquest.) On the other hand, the Roman Empire did not establish control over the German territories but they were subjected to Frankish authority. Here, Christianity spread later and it lacked the firm "popular" basis which was characteristic of the Mediterranean. The establishment of the unique Reichskirche / Eigenkirche system is a consequence of this development and its presence is a sign of this special status of the German territories.<sup>277</sup> Finally, by the end of the twelfth century Western

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<sup>277</sup> Ulrich Stutz and Hans Erich Feine, *Forschungen zu Recht und Geschichte der Eigenkirche. Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Aalen: Scientia, 1989.)

Christendom included lands where neither the Roman nor the Frankish Empire was ever present: Ireland, Scotland, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary<sup>278</sup> – basically the territories scholarship unanimously considers the periphery. (Figures 11-13)

Whether it is possible to interpret the inner relations of Western Christendom between 1050 and 1300 in this way is certainly a subject for further research. This thesis has tried to grasp a very small but representative part of this enormous topic. Two final remarks, however, must be made here. First, certainly not the center-periphery model is the only one with the help of which it is possible to describe the Western Christendom. Studies on the regions of Europe, for instance, can also shed light on the inner structure and the complexity of *Latinitas*. Secondly, since in this thesis the two archbishoprics were looked at from the center, the impression of their position and their role played in Western Christendom is not complete. In the frame of other studies it is necessary to analyze the papal-peripheral relations from a “peripheral” point of view as well. The reason behind this is that the development, in the course / as a result of which these areas gained their position, was not only influenced by “the models they adapted from the neighboring places but largely by their old traditions”<sup>279</sup> and inner characteristic features.

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<sup>278</sup> The position of Hungary is even more complicated since the kingdom itself was not homogenous either: the Danube is a borderline. (See the Roman Province of Pannonia or the ecclesiastical system under the Arpads.)

<sup>279</sup> Font, “Kényszerpályák,” 9-10.

## FIGURES

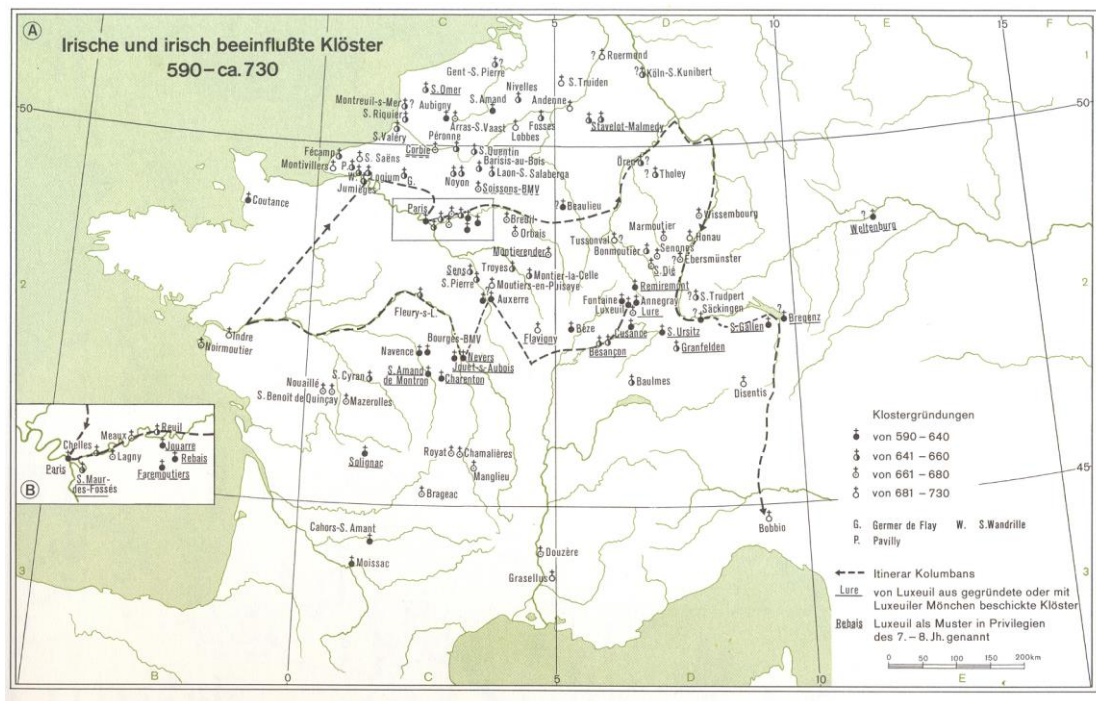


Figure 1. Map of the Influence of Irish Missions

Source: *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hubert Jedin (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 25.

# Pope

Authorities or permanent institutions:

Apostolic Chamber Chamberlain, <i>tesaurarius</i> Dealing with the asset management of the Holy See	Consistory Plenary meeting of the cardinals present in Rome Meetings: two or three times a week Dealing with all the important affairs of the Church	Papal Chancery Chancellor
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People or groups entrusted with specific tasks:

Cardinal who is entitled to listen the confessions instead of the Pope	Cardinals as specifically ordered examining magistrates
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Figure 2. The *Curia Romana*

Based on *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hubert Jedin (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 108.





Figure 3. Map of the Monastic Reform Movements

Source: *Atlas of the Christian Church*, ed. Henry Chadwick (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1987), 69.





Figure 4. State and Church in the Middle Ages

Source: *Atlas of the Christian Church*, ed. Henry Chadwick (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1987), 67.



Figure 5. Map of the Residences of the Papal Curia under the Pontificate of Alexander III (according to Boso's *Vita Alexandri*)

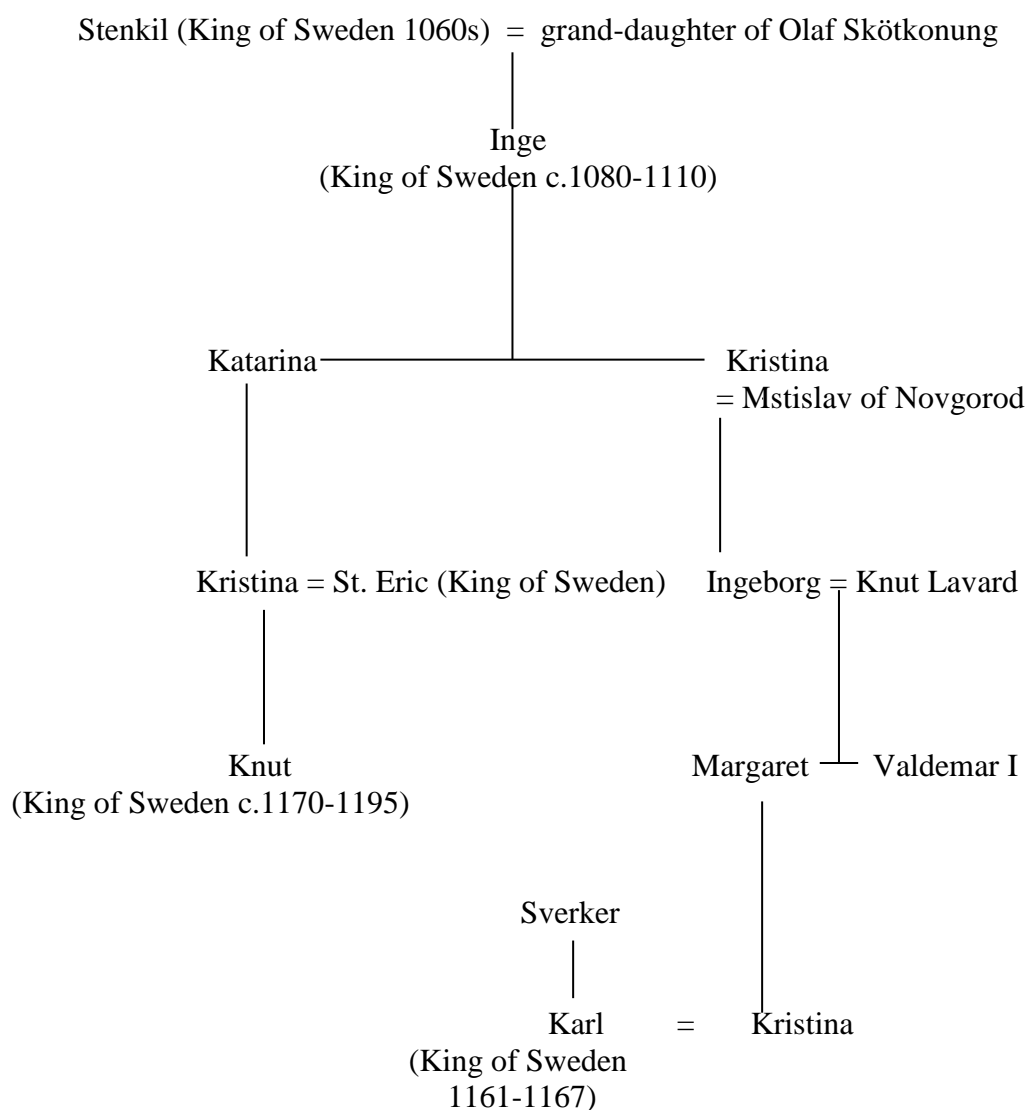


Figure 6. Some marriages of Swedish kings in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Source: Peter and Birgit Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia. From Conversion to Reformation, ca. 800-1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 62.



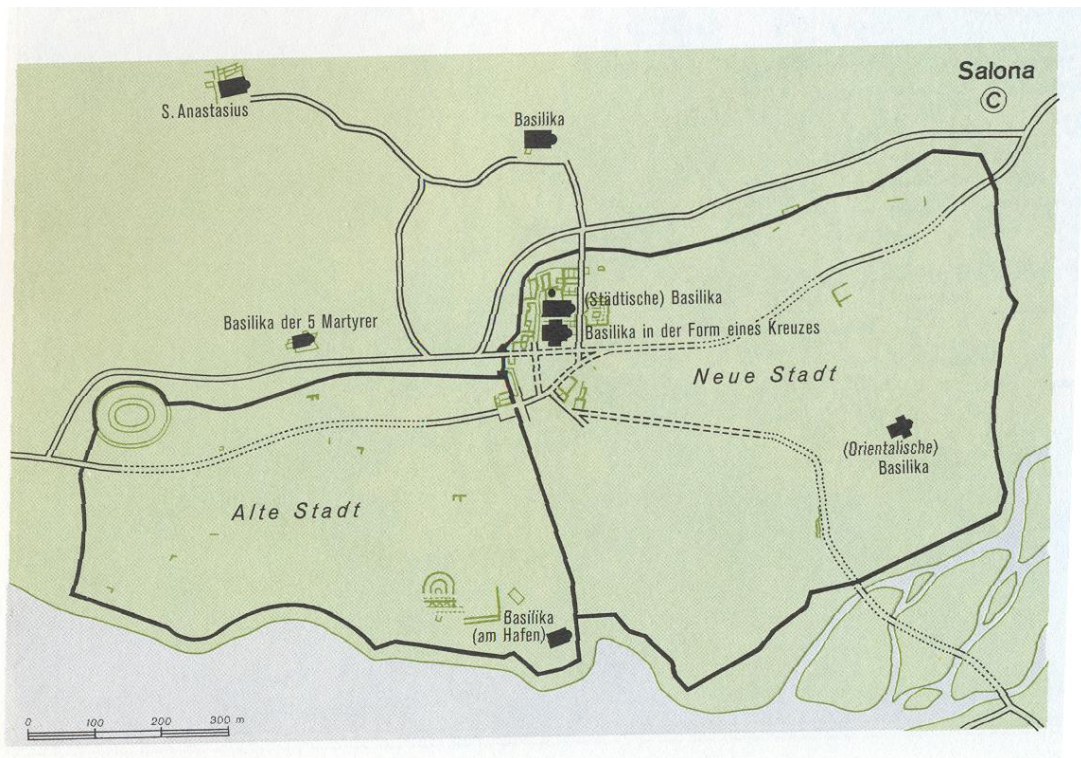
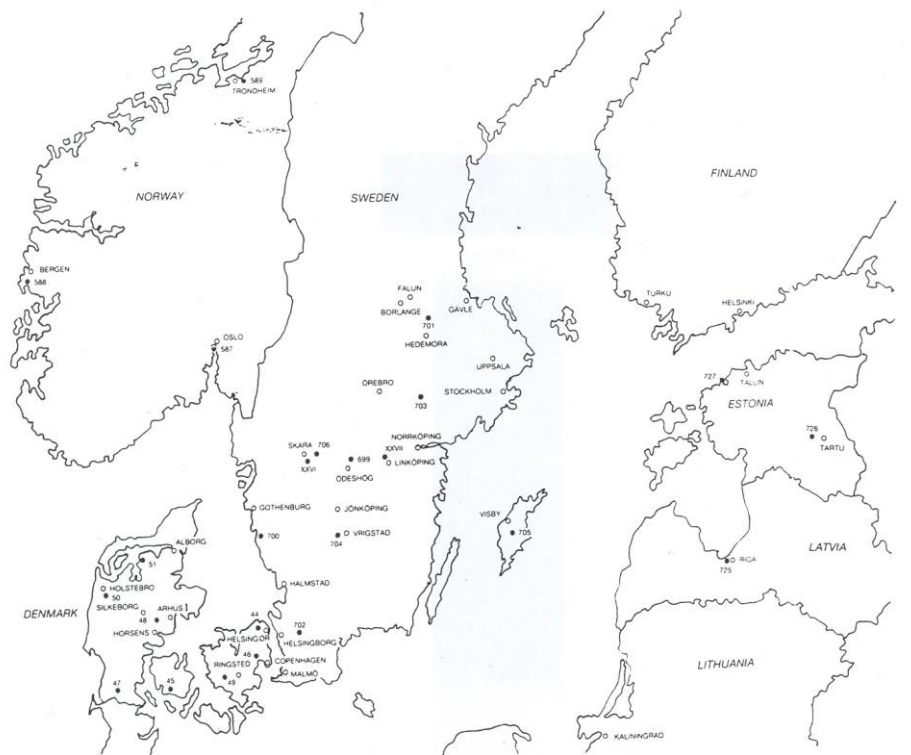


Figure 7. Salona

Source: *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hubert Jedin (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 17.



44 Esrom  
45 Holme  
46 Knardrup  
47 Løgumkloster  
48 Ømkloster  
49 Sorø  
50 Tvis  
51 Vitskøl

587 Hovedø  
588 Lyse Kloster  
589 Tuterø  
699 Alvastra  
700 Ås  
701 Gudsberga  
702 Herrevad  
703 Julita

704 Nydala  
705 Roma (Gudvala)  
706 Varnhem  
725 Dünamüde  
726 Falkenau  
727 Padis  
XXVI Gudhem  
XXVII Vretakloster

Figure 8. Map of the Cistercian foundations in Scandinavia

Source: Stephen Tobin, *The Cistercians : Monks and Monasteries of Europe*. (New York: Overlook Press, 1996), 228.



741 Abraham (Bács Monostor)  
 742 Bélakút (Pétervárad)  
 743 Kostanjevica  
 744 Stična

745 Toplica  
 746 Vallis Honesta (Kutujevo)  
 747 Zagrabia

Figure 9. Map of the Cistercian foundations in Croatia and Dalmatia

Source: Stephen Tobin, *The Cistercians : Monks and Monasteries of Europe*. (New York: Overlook Press, 1996), 222.





Figure 10. The Hereford World Map showing Scandinavia on the edge of the world (bottom-left quarter)

Source: P. D. A. Harvey, ed., *Mappa Mundi. The Hereford World Map* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996)



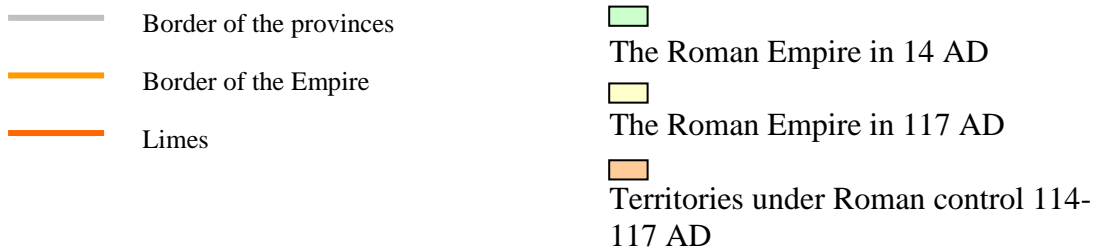
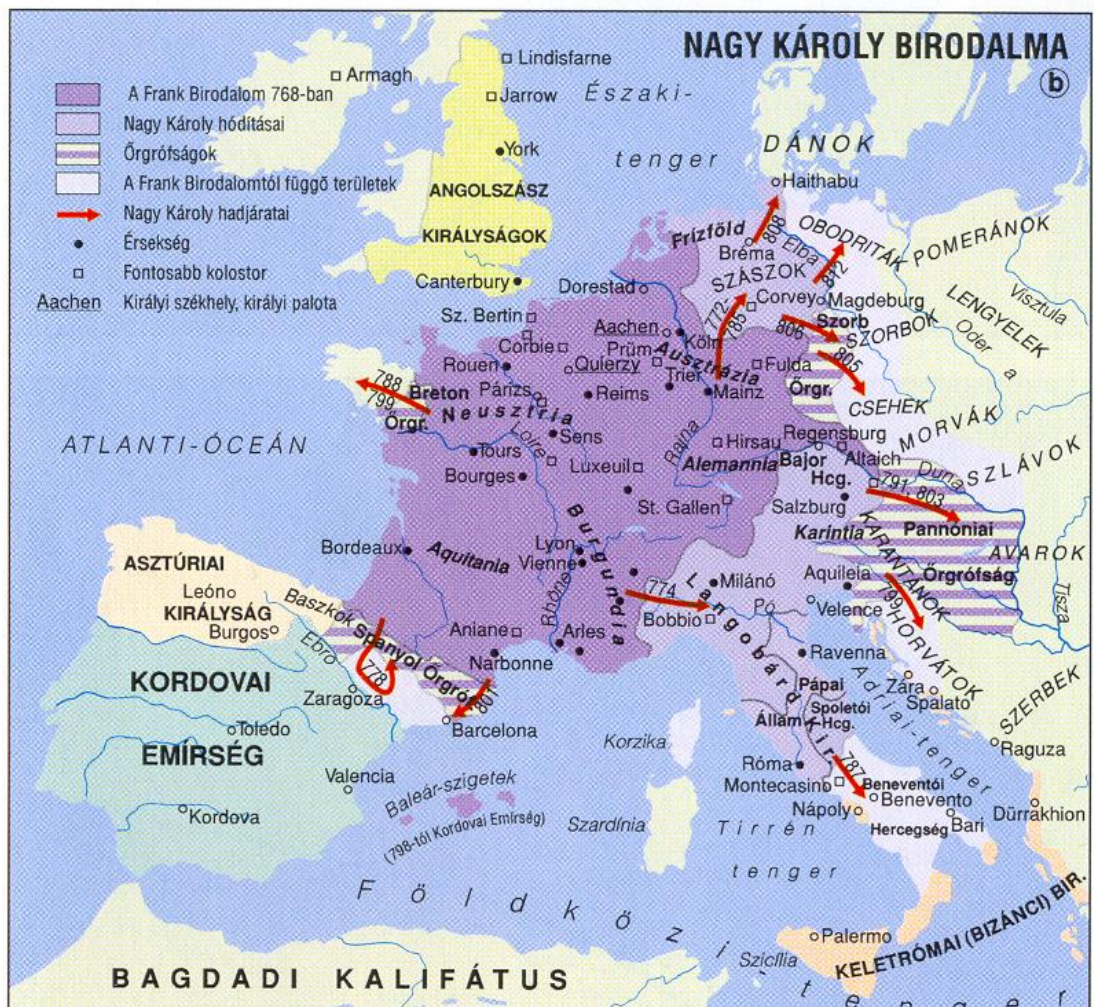


Figure 11. Map of the Roman Empire

Source: *Stiefel Történelmi Atlasz* (Stiefel Atlas of History) (Budapest: Stiefel, 1996.), 8.





 The Frankish Empire in 768 AD

## The Conquests of Charlemagne



## Military Campaigns of Charlemagne



Markgraves



### Territories under Frankish control

Figure 12. The Empire of Charlemagne

Source: *Stiefel Történelmi Atlasz* (Stiefel Atlas of History) (Budapest: Stiefel, 1996.), 10.





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