THE PAPAL CURIA AND ALBANIA IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

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During the fourteenth century, especially, numerous papal letters were addressed to the archbishopric of Antibari (Bar in Serbian/Tivar in Albanian) and its dioceses[1], to the archbishopric of Dyrrachium or Durazzo (Drač in Serbian/Durrës in Albanian) and its bishoprics[2], as well as to other bishoprics in the area, such as Prisriana (Prizren in Kosova), Scopia (Scopia in Macedonian/Skoplje in Serbian/Shkup in Albanian), Achrid (Ohrid in Macedonian/Ohri in Albanian), and Bothroto (Butrinti in Albanian). The question of whether they were in any way Albanian or Albania[3] in the Middle Ages is not the focus of this paper, and should not draw the attention of the reader. The important fact for this study is that they lay at the borders of Western Christianity, in, or directly connected with, the political structure of the *Regnum Albaniae,* a Catholic kingdom bordering the Byzantine Orthodox kingdoms in the Balkans. The question

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[1] Dulcinium (Ulcinj in Serbian/Ulqin in Albanian), Scodra or Scutari (Skadar in Serbian/ Shkodra in Albanian), Dagno (Danja in Albanian), Alessio (Lezha in Albanian), Polati (Pulti in Albanian), Sappa (Sapa in Albanian), Sarda (Shurdhah in Albanian), Satti (Svač in Serbian/ Shasi in Albanian).

[2] Avlona (Vlora in Albanian), Balezo (Baleci in Albanian), Tzernic (Çermenikë in Albanian), Stephaniaka (Stefaniakë in Albanian), Cunavia (Kunavia in Albanian), Croya (Kruja in Albanian), Wregu (Vregu in Albanian).

[3] Opinions differ about what Albania was in the Middle Ages. Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Das Venezianische Albanien* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001), 47, holds to the statement of Simon Fitzsimons (Symon Semeonis) of 1322 that Albania was simply a geographical region, although the latter was more complete in his opinion because he also attributes to this geographical region a particular language: *Albanya est provincia inter Sclavoniam et Romanyam, per se linguam habens.* Ducellier connects the term Albania with its inhabitants rather than with the geographical spread in his definition: "From the Eleventh Century onward, a compact Albanian nucleus, known henceforth as Arbanon, extended between the central valleys of the Shkumbin and Devoll, which moreover did not exclude the existence of Albanian communities all the way to the seacoast, especially in the areas surrounding Dyrrachion, as well as in northwestern Macedonia, where the Hellenic influence had always been superficial, and Slavic invasions had definitely not led to the disappearance of all preexistent elements." See Alain Ducellier, "Genesis and Failure of the Albanian State in the XIV and XV Centuries", in *Studies on Kosova*, ed. Arshi Pipa and Sami Repishti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 4.

to be elaborated in this survey is whether the political structure of the *Regnum Albaniae* meant anything important for Catholic religiosity in these territories at the borders of the Eastern Church and, if yes, what it meant.

The term *Regnum Albaniae* appears for the first time in 1267, in the Treaty of Viterbo, between Charles I Anjou and the Latin emperor of Byzantium, Baldwin II, to attack the Balkans.[4] The term was registered only in the chancellery of Anjou. *De jure, Regnum Albaniae* was proclaimed in 1272, when Charles I of Anjou made known his election as its legitimate king.[5] Charles I Anjou presented the *regnum* as a natural descendent of the *Principatum* Albaniae,[6] but the Albanian medievalist Pëllumb Xhufi argued that there was no his-

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[4] The Treaty of Viterbo (May 27, 1267) became the cornerstone of Angevin hostility towards the Palaiologoi in the following decades. According to the treaty, Charles would provide 2,000 cavalry to fight for Baldwin; in exchange, the king would be given one third of the conquered territory, besides suzerainty over Achaea. See Ludwig Thallóczy, Konstantin Jireček, Milan von Šufflay, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1913, reprint: Tirana and Pristine: DPA and Ekskluzive, 2002) (henceforth *AA*) 1, n. 253, Pëllumb Xhufi, "Shqiptarët përballë Anzhuinëve (1267–1285)" (The Albanians Facing Anjou), *Studime Historike* (1987), 205 (henceforth Xhufi, "Shqiptarët").

[5] February 21, 1272 (*AA* 1, n. 268). According to the Angevin document, the Albanian "bishops, *contes, barones*, soldiers and the citizens" elected and accepted Charles I Anjou as their king. See also Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 15; Gennaro Maria Monti, *Mezzogiorno d'Italia nel medioevo: Studi Storici* (Bari: Laterza, 1930), 80; *Historia e popullit shqiptar* (The History of the Albanian people) (Tirana: Toena 2002), 204; John Deno Géanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 234. Ducellier interprets this fact as an expression of desire for the independence of the Albanians of Durres: "Les Albanais de Durazzo, en mettant Charles d'Anjou à la tête de ce royaume d'Albanie, entendaient, tout en s'assurant de leur autonomie théorique, ne pas renoncer à la forme oligarchique qui régissait leur cite-Etat et ses environs." See Allain Ducellier, *La Façade maritime de L'Albanie au Moyen Age, Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), 263 (henceforth Ducellier, *La Façade maritime*). For more about Charles I Anjou and his dynasty, see Andreas Kiesewetter, *Die Anfänge der Regierung König Karls II. von Anjou (1278–1295): das Königreich Neapel, die Grafschaft Provence und der Mittelmeerraum zu Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Historische Studien, 451 (Husum: Matthiesen, 1999) (henceforth Kiesewetter, *Die Anfänge*).

[6] *Principatum Albaniae* appeared in the historical source at the end of the twelfth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in February 1208, Pope Innocent III addressed a letter to Demetrius (*nobili viro Demetrio, Arbanensi principi*); see *AA* 1, n. 133; the principate had started to function as a political entity and had also begun to expand in the north as well as in the south. According to Stoian Novaković, the term "Arbanon" extended in the north, in the province of Pulati, as early as during the suzerainty of Archont Progon, who was the Albanian noble proclaiming the *principatum Albaniae*; see Stoian Novaković, *Spomenici zakonski, sropskich drzava srednega veka* (Belgrade, 1912), 384. During the reign of Demetrius, the toponym "Arbanon" was also extended to the southern territories of

torical basis for such a representation, since the two political structures did not have any continuation, neither in the purpose for which they came into being nor in their function nor in the way they were received by the locals. That is why he called the *Regnum Albaniae* an Angevin invention.[7]

According to the studies of Francesco Carabellese, the *Regnum Albaniae* of Charles I Anjou extended from the mountains of Accroceraunt (from Avlona in the south at the mouth of Drini River) to Lissus in the north, with undetermined borders in the hinterland.[8] Charles I Anjou had projected this *regnum* as the core of a whole empire, to be reached step by step with the help of crusades and campaigns.[9] Proclaiming himself king of a fraction of the Balkan territories, although this section was very small, he wanted to legitimize in advance his suzerainty over the peninsula and, if possible, over the whole Byzantine Empire.[10]

About the functioning of the Angevin *Regnum Albaniae*, Ducellier concluded that it was a "structure politique artificielle ... régime d'occupation militaire, tout y a été fait par la guerre et pour la guerre",[11] and Kiesseweter called it a "fantome" which could not expand its borders beyond the city walls of Durres.[12] Nevertheless, it was a kingdom, *un royaume distinct de royaume de Naples*,[13] and as a such it had its own means and organs of government, which were located mainly in Durres, the capital of the kingdom. It had also its governmental organs, such as the general captain who, in other words, was a vice-king;[14] the *capitaneus et vicarius generalis*; "*the marescallus in partibus Alba-*

Chunavia and Cernick up to the valley of the Shkumbin River; see *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 14, ed. Augustus Heisenberg (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903), 28.

[7] Xhufi, "Shqiptarët", 204.

[8] Francesco Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti politici e commerciali con Venezia e l'Oriente: Documenti e Monografie* (Bari, 1911), 45 (hereafter Carabellese, *Carlo*). See also Gennaro Maria Monti, *Ricerche sul Dominio Angioina in Albania*, Studi Albanesi, vols. 5-6 (Rome: Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, 1935–1936), 1-22; idem, *Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, 80-81.

[9] Durrës was thought to be the main base of Charles I Anjou for his expeditions against Constantinople. With regard to his oriental policy see George Yver, *Le Commerce et les Marchands dans l'Italie mèridionale au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle*, Bibliothèque des Ècoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 88 (Paris: Librairie des Ècoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1903), 9-23; Gennaro Maria Monti, *Da Carlo I a Roberto di Angiò: Ricerche e documenti* (Trani: Vecchi e C., 1936); Lénárt Boehm, "De Karlingis imperator Karolus, princeps et monarcha totius Europae. Zur Orientpolitik Karls I. von Anjou", *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 88 (1968), 1-35; Peter Herde, *Karl I. von Anjou* (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1979); see also Silvano Borsari, "La politica Bizantina di Carlo I d'Angiò dal 1266 al 1271", *Archivio Storico per le provincie Napoletane* 74 (1955), 319.

[10] Ducellier, *La Façade maritime*, 262.

[11] Ibidem.

[12] Kiesewetter, *Die Anfänge*, 69.

[13] Ducellier, *La Façade maritime*, 262.

[14] Ducellier, *La Façade maritime*, 264.

niae, who commanded the army etc."[15] Thus, functional or artificial, with or without a king, the royal status of the kingdom could not be erased once had been was proclaimed and recognized.

Although the *Regnum Albaniae* was officially proclaimed in 1272, its first mention in the papal chancellery dates from 1317, in a document in which Pope John XXII asked Guillelmo de Montegrano, the bishop of Cunavia in the archbishopric of Durres in the *Regnum Albaniae*, to present himself at the papal curia within twenty days (*Guillelmo de Montegrano episcopo Cunaviensis de Archiepiscopatu Duraseno in Regno Albaniae ... ut infra viginti dierum spatium post citationem huiusmodi se coram nobis personaliter representer*).[16] The other papal letters in which *Regnum Albaniae* is mentioned, dating from 1317 to 1320, show the papal concern for the Catholics of the *Regnum Albaniae*, who were being persecuted by Serbian schismatics that had occupied the territories of the *Regnum*.[17] This concern gave birth to serious preparations for a Christian crusade against the Serbs in 1319, in which the Albanian nobles would have played the basic role.

On June 17, 1319, Pope John XXII sent letters to the Albanian nobles encouraging them to resist the Serbian occupation and the mistreatment of the Catholics in Albanian territories *(sub gravi tirannide illius regis perfidi Rascie nedum scismatici et religionis christiane totaliter inimici)*.[18] He addressed them in groups according to their geographical location. One letter was for the Musaka family, which had its possessions in the south of present day Albania. The papal letter was addressed to Mentulo Musatio *comiti Clissaniae*, to Andrea Musatio *Regni Albaniae marescallo*, and to Theodoro Musatio, *prothosevas-*

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[15] The first was probably Guillaume Bernard, who later became general captain, *AA* 1, n. 290. He was succeeded by Philippe d'Artulla (Ervilla) (see Carabellese, *Carlo*, 72) and then by Geoffroy de Polisy, (ibidem, 104), who for some months was replaced by Jacques de Campagnol due to illness. After the 1280s, no more marescalls are mentioned (Ducellier, *La Façade maritime*, 265).

[16] ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 2, fol. 183r; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 63, fol. 363v. This document is also mentioned in *AA* 1, n. 633, and also given as a regestum in Guillaume Mollat, *Jean XXII (1316–1334). Lettres communes* (Paris: Boccard, 1921–1947), n. 5251 (hereafter Mollat, *Jean XXII*). It is edited by Louis Guérard, *Documents pontificaux sur la Gascogne*, vol. 1 (Paris: H. Champion, 1896), n. 14 (hereafter Guérard, *Documents*).

[17] *Dum ad personam venerabilem fratrem nostrum Andream episcopum Croiensem, qui ab ecclesia sua, per Urošium regem Rasciae schismaticum occupata, exulare compellitur*, ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 8, fol. 70, ep. 96; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 67, fol. 26, ep. 96; ed. Aloysius L. Tautu, *Acta Joannis XXII (1317–1334) e registris vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1952), n. 4 (hereafter Tautu, *Acta Joannis*), mentioned as a regestum by Mollat, *Jean XXII*, n. 5629.

[18] ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 2, fol. 183r; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 63, fol. 363v; mentioned in *AA* 1, n. 633, also given as a regestum in Mollat, *Jean XXII*, n. 5251, edited by Guérard, *Documents* 1, n. 14.

tori.[19] Another letter was addressed to the nobles of middle and northern Albania: to *Guillermo Bleniste prothosevastoni, Guillermo Aranite protholegaturo, Caloiohanni Bleniste comiti, Paulo Materango ceterisque baronibus regni Albanie.*[20] A third letter was sent to *Baldislao Conome Dioclee et maritime Albanie comiti,*[21] whose possessions are understood to have defined the territorial extension of the *Regnum Albaniae* in the north.

In the official textbook of the history of Albania, these papal bulls are interpreted as if the Albanian nobles wanted to abandon the Byzantine rite and embrace the Catholic rite in order to also be separated ecclesiastically from the Serbs.[22] Nevertheless, this was not the case, at least not until one comes across a document in which the Albanian nobles directly or indirectly asked for this. Pope John XXII addressed them as *dilectis filiis* and such an *intitulatio* could never be made to non-Catholics.[23] Such a description, as a devoted Catholic, may even be attributed to Ladislav,[24] who is often believed to have been a Slav of the Eastern rite.[25] The starting point of such a mistake has been his name,[26] forgetting that Dioclea, where his possessions were, had been under the direct influence of Helena, the Catholic French princess and wife of the Serbian King, Stephen I Uroš,[27] who oversaw intense Catholic activity in these regions[28] and

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[19] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 109, fol. 140r, ep. 571; it is also given in *AA* 1, n. 648, and also in Tautu, *Acta Joannis*, n. 22a; Augustin Tbeiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabularis Vaticanis* (henceforth Tbeiner, *Mon. Hung.*) 1 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1852), n. 1264; Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. 7 (Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1817), 64B (hereafter Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*); a fragment is given by Caesare Baronio, Odericus Raynaldi and Giacomo Laderchi, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (henceforth Baronio et al., *Ann. Eccl.*) vol. 18 (Paris and Freiburg 1887, in the years 1318 and 1335; Theiner, *Mon. Hung.* 15, 178.

[20] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 109, fol. 140r-140v, ep. 572, (secret letter). It is partly given by *Ann. Eccl.* 1318 and 1335, 178; and Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* 7, 63; it is fully edited in Theiner, *Mon. Hung.* 1, n. 1264; and also in *AA* 1, n. 649.

[21] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 109, fol. 140v, ep. 573.

[22] Selim Islami and K. Frashëri, *Histori e Shqipërisë*, vol. 1 (Tirana: Universiteti shtetëror, 1959), 273.

[23] Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 44-46.

[24] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 109, fol. 140v, ep. 573.

[25] Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, "Les Ordres mendiants et l'expansion de l'Église latine dans les Balkans", in *Alle frontiere della Cristianità. I frati Mendicanti e l'evangelizzazione tra '200 e '300. Atti del XXVIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 2000* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medievo, 2001), 245; *AA* 1, n. 650, comment of Šufflay.

[26] Jireček's method of basing his study of ethnic relations mainly on the interpretation of personal names has been taken too seriously. On the basis of the personal names, facts cannot be created to prove ethnicity, especially as regards the Albanian and Slavic personal names, which are all hidden under the Latin writing elements.

[27] When Stephen Dragutin, who reigned for only a short time alone, divided his reign into three parts among his sons and his wife, Helena, she received the territories at the coast of the Adriatic, from Dubrovnik to Shkodër, and these regions were for a long time known as the territories of *domina regina mater*. In the hinterland, she received Plava (near Gucia) in

had a vivid correspondence with the papacy regarding issues of faith.[29] The papacy was allowed to direct activities in these territories during her lifetime, but since the Catholic element was strong, it certainly also had continuing influence after her death. In the context of the preparations for a crusade against the schismatics, Pope John XXII might have considered these territories as active for the issue and that is why it should be no wonder that a 'Slav'[30] from the Dioclean region was considered a *dilectus filius* and one of the leading political forces of the *Regnum Albaniae*, which was first of all a Catholic kingdom.

Politically seen, Pope John XXII addressing the Albanian nobles and not the king of the *Regnum Albaniae* himself[31] indicates his interest in direct and effective diplomatic relations with the leaders of these territories. Grouping them and addressing them in this way may show his attempt to create unity among the local authorities, a Catholic stronghold in this threatened region. From the papal side the instructor *viva vocis* of this unity was an Albanian bishop, Andreas Croensis,[32] who himself had suffered persecution by the Serbian schismatics. In other words, it might also be asserted that Pope John XXII wanted to strengthen the local identity of this Catholic kingdom, which was to become a strong papal weapon in the Balkans. Even if Ladislaus were a Slav, this is not a counter-argument for the statement, because *Regnum Albaniae* was

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the northern Lim and the castle of Brnjac in the uper part of the Ibri. In this way, Helena had all of Dioclea under her dominion. See Konstantin Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben. Erster Band bis 1371* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1911, reprint Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967) (hereafter Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*).

[28] Helena, who is praised for her eloquence, her good spirits, generosity, religious life, and her good behaviour, was very active in building and founding religious institutions. According to Barleti, she renewed Drishti and other towns in Dioclea, destroyed by the Mongol invasion, founded Catholic churches and monasteries in Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, Shkodër; and in the hinterland she founded the Serbian monastery of Gradac, on the Ibar (Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, 318-319, 328).

[29] On March 23, 1291, Pope Nicholas IV praised Helena, the Queen of Serbia and Rascia, because through Marino, the archbishop of Bar, she had made known to the pope that she would take care for the conversion even of the emperor of the Bulgarians to the Catholic rite. See ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 46, fol. 14r-17v.

[30] Whether Ladislaus was a Slav should not be determined only by his name. The kings of Hungary were often called Ladislaus, and they were certainly not Slavs.

[31] Pope John XXII addressed Philip of Tarent: *Dilecto filio nobili viro Philippo clarae memoriae regis Siciliae filio, principi Tarentino*, and did not address him as the King of the *Regnum Albaniae*. ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 109, fol. 162v, ep. 671 (Litt. Secr.); *AA* 1, n. 648; Theiner, *Mon. Hung.* 1, n. 1263; Tautu, *Acta Joannis*, n. 22.

[32] Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani*, I (Münster: Regensberg 1898), 216: Andreas Croensis is mentioned only in 1318 and 1320. Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 2 (Verona: Mazziana, 1976), 103, is more detailed when giving the years (June 6, 1318 and July 16, 1320), but he offers no other details.

not a kingdom based on ethnicity but on religion, specifically the Catholic religion.

Not only politically, but also religiously, the territories of the *Regnum Albaniae* were continuously threatened by the expansion of the Eastern rite. This was strongly supported by the political powers of the Byzantine Empire or other states such as the Serbian kingdom, which, being merged at expense of the Byzantine Empire, strictly followed the Byzantine rite.[33]

Serbian rule, which from the beginning of the fourteenth century had started to expand over almost the whole Balkans, violently imposed the Eastern rite on the population. This tendency reached its peak with King Stephen Dušan, who in December 1348 proclaimed himself "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks". In his widespread kingdom, the Latin rite was called Latin heresy and as such it was also recorded in his codex of laws, the *Zakonik*, which was promoted in Scopia in May 1349.[34] This was a normative *apparatus* to be applied not only in the Serbian kingdom, but also in the occupied territories of Macedonia, Thesalia, Epirus, and Albania. Persecutions of the Catholics, which became legitimate through this codex,[35] were recorded in the papal letters and also by different travelers.[36] Religious persecution of the Catholic population in these territories, such as confiscation of property, expulsion, physical mutilation, and the death penalty, was massive after the year 1349.

After having pushed his boundaries into Greece and having assumed the title "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks," Stephen Dušan was meditating on the conquest of Constantinople, but under the flag of the Western Christian

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[33] Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, 328.

[34] For this study, I have used the translation of Đurica Krstić, ed., *Dushan's Code: the XIV Century Code of Serbian Tsar Stephan Dushan / the Bistritza Transcript*, 2nd ed. (Belgrade: Vajat, 1997) (hereafter *Dushan's Code*).

[35] *Dushan's Code*: "Article 6: And concerning the Latin heresy: Christians who have turned to the use of unleavened bread shall return to the Christian observance. If any fail to obey and do not return to Christian Orthodoxy, let him be punished as is written in the Code of the Holy Fathers.
Article 7: And the great church shall appoint head priests in all market towns to reclaim from the Latin heresy those Christians who have turned to the Latin faith, and to give them spiritual instructions, so that each one of them returns to Christianity.
Article 8: And if a Latin priest be found to have converted a Christian to the Latin faith, let him be punished according to the Law of the Holy Fathers.
Article 9: And if a half-believer be found to be married to a Christian woman, let him be baptized into Christianity if he desires it. But if he refuse to be baptized, let his wife and children be taken from him, and let a part of his house be allotted to them, and let him be driven forth.
Article 10: And if any heretic be found to live among the Christians, let him be branded on the face and driven forth, and whoever shall harbour him, let him too be branded.
Article 83: And whoso utters a heretical word, if he be noble let him pay 100 perpers, and if he be a commoner, let him pay 12 perpers and be beaten with sticks."

[36] Pëllumb Xhufi, "Albanian Heretics in the Serbian Medieval Kingdom", in Kristaq Prifti, ed., *The Truth on Kosova* (Tirana: Encyclopedia publishing house, 1993), 48-54.

army, which he himself wanted to lead with the blessings of the papacy. The situation was quite favorable for his strategy: on March 2, 1354, Suleiman, son of the powerful Emir Orkhan, had taken Gallipoli. Byzantium turned to Rome for help, playing again on the question of church union, for which the papacy had fought so hard. Stephen Dušan made use of these circumstances, and addressed himself to the papacy for conversion to the Catholic rite.

In the 1350s, the papal curia sent legates to *Regna Rasciae, Albaniae, et Sclavoniae*, to accomplish what Stephen Dušan had requested and to instruct the converts, if this were going to become true. Letters about the legation of December 1354 are addressed to Stephen Dušan,[37] to Helena, the Queen of the Serbs,[38] to the Serbian patriarch Joanichi,[39] to Ludwig, the King of Hungary,[40] to the secular powers *nobilibus viris universis principibus commitibus et Baronibus Servie, Sclavonie ac Albaniae*,[41] and to the religious authorities of these territories.[42] The conversion never took place because of the death of Stephen Dušan.

Regnum Albaniae, although no longer playing an important role as such, since it had become quite weak under Serbian rule, was still addressed as a *Regnum* by the papal curia, and this might have made the Albanian nobles remember their political status and its importance. As an indirect result, after the death

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[37] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236, fol. 222v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244B, fol. 125r, ep. 288; also edited by Pierre Gasnault, *Innocent VI (1352–1362). Lettres Secrètes et Curiales* (Paris: Boccard, 1959), n. 1249 (hereafter Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*).

[38] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236, fol. 224v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244B, fol. 37r, ep. 76. Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*, n. 1250.

[39] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236 fol. 225r-226r.; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244B, fol. 36r, ep. 75; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244C, fol. 80r, ep. 211; Aloysius L. Tautu, *Acta Innocenti VI (1352–1362) e regestis vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1961), n. 30; Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium Historiam Illustrantia* (henceforth: Theiner, *Mon. Slav.*) 2 (reprint Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), n. 22; Luke Wadding, *Annales Ordinis Minorum seu trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (Roma: Bernabò, 1731–1745), vol. 8, a. 1354, 1-5, 108-115 (hereafter Wadding, *Annales Minorum*); Györgyi Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticvs Hungariae, Ecclesiasticvs ac civilis* (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829-1844), vol. 9, vol. 7, n. 81; Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*, n. 1251.

[40] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244C, fol. 76r-v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236, fol. 238v. Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*, n. 1248.

[41] ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 127, fol. 32r-v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 227, fol. 4v-5r, ep. 12. Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*, n. 1259.

[42] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236, fol. 230r-v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 244B, fol. 36v; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 227, fol. 5r, ep. 15; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 236, fol. 229r-v. Gasnault, *Lettres Secrètes*, n. 1253: *Ven. fratribus - Archiepiscopis et episcopis et dilectis filiis electis abbatibus et aliis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum prelatis et clericis ac personis ecclesiasticis secularibus et regularibus Capitulis quoque ac conventibus ecclesiarum et monasteriorum ipsorum dictorum Benedicti et Augustini necnon Cuniacensi, praemonstaensi, cisterciensi ac aliorum ordinum necnon Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalemi sancte Marie Theotonicorum et Calatanensis magistris prioribus et preceptoribus universis et singulis per Regna Rassie et Serviae ac Albaniae constitatur gratiam et comunionem apostolice sedis habentibus salutem etc.*

of Stephen Dušan there was a massive conversion of schismatics in *partibus Albaniae*.[43] It started with the conversion of the zupans of Zeta, the brothers Balsha, in 1369,[44] and it continued in the whole area.

The flourishing of Catholicism on the borders of the Eastern rite was not without internal problems of discipline, which seem to have been known in the whole area which bordered the Eastern rite, as some of the papal letters show. For instance, on March 31, 1304, Pope Benedict XI wrote to the prior of the Dominicans in Hungary, pointing out some of the main problems, which presented the state of being *ad confines* in the southeast of Catholic Europe:

> *Dilecto filio priori provinciali fratrum Predicatorum in Ungaria. Cum sicut nobis extitit intimatum, nonnulli fratres tui ordinis sint filii sacerdotum latinorum, quos patres ipsorum ex matrimonio ab eis contracto ante susceptionem sacrorum ordinum secundum ritum Grecorum in sacerdotio genuerunt, discretioni tue, de cuius circumspectione fiduciam gerimus in Domino specialem, dispensandi auctoritate nostra cum duobus ex eis defectum huiusmodi patientibus, quibus ad hoc propria merita repereris suffragari, quod eodem non obstante defectu ad administrationes, prelaturas et officia predicti dumtaxat ordinis, citra tamen officium provincialis prioris ejusdem ordinis, assumi licite valeant, plenam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Datum Rome apud Sancum Petrum, II kalendas aprilis, anno primo.*[45]

The geographical affinity of the people using the Eastern rite in these territories led to the canon law being ignored or deformed among the Catholics of the region. *Secundum ritum Graecorum* was not only the marriage of a priest and his illegitimate children, but the direct result of this was also that these illegitimate children received ecclesiastical offices. There were many other errors, which needed to be addressed by the papacy in these parts, and the papal curia started a whole campaign against the errors. The Hungarian Dominicans and later also the Minorites became the leaders of this campaign against errors which originated from the affinity to the Eastern rite. The inquisition instituted by Pope Nicholas IV[46] and Pope Boniface VIII[47] in *provinciis Serbiae, Rasciae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Bosnae, et Istriae nec non in archiepiscopatibus Duracensi, Antibarensi,*

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[43] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 250, fol. 142r, 155r; Aloysius L. Tautu, *Acta PP. Urbani V (1362–1370) e regestis vaticanis aliisque fontibus.* (Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae 1964), n. 212, n. 212b (hereafter Tautu, *Acta Urbani V*).

[44] ASV, *Instr. Misc.*, 2526.

[45] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 51, fol. 154r, ep. 664, ed. Ch. Grandjean, *Le registre de Benoit XI* (Paris: Bibliotbèque des Écoles Francaises d'Atbènes et de Rome, 1905), n. 832.

[46] Tbeiner, *Mon. Hung.* 1, n. 611, n. 610.

[47] Tbeiner, *Mon. Hung.* 1, n. 614.

Ragusino, Spalatensi ac Iadrensi et eorum dioecesibus was put under the supervision of the prior of the Dominicans in Hungary.[48]

In other letters, one receives a clearer description of the activities that the Dominicans and Minorites were supposed to conduct in these territories. Pope Clement V[49] and John XXII[50] addressed the Minorites and Dominicans to missionize the *terras Sarracenorum, paganorum, Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, Iberorum, Alanorum, Gazarorum, Gothorum, Zichorum, Rutenorum, Jacobitarum, Meclitarum aliarumque non credentium nationum Orientis,* granting them the authority to communicate with the locals *non obstante si aliqui sunt excommunicatione ligati.* The Minorites and the Dominicans were also granted the authority to baptise, to grant the confirmation of the sacraments, and the faculty to absolve and to give dispensations for every kind of irregularity, such as to those clerics who had received the ecclesiastical offices without reaching their mature age, or without being proper (*ydoneus*) according to canon law; to those who had been married in a prohibited blood affinity or with schismatics, or had been living together with the latter; to those who had murdered ecclesiastics, had used violence upon clerics, or were excommunicated for other different reasons like apostasy, simony, etc.

The Dominicans and Minorites certainly also conducted their missionary activity in the territories of Albania, although this is not explicitly said in the papal letters. It is obvious that the enumeration of the territories into which the Minorites and Dominicans were sent as missionaries started with Saracens, Greeks and Bulgarians, and their territories included the direct borders of *Regnum Albaniae*, and parts of the Albanian territories themselves, such as the Orthodox autocephaly of Ohrid. Even the Latin archbishopric of Durrës, which was the core of the *Regnum Albaniae*, was freely considered oriental, because it depended on the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople[51] and was thus either the base for or aim of missionary activities. Thus, seen from the ecclesiastical viewpoint, although *Regnum Albaniae* was completely Catholic it included two archbishoprics which were dependent on different patriarchates: the archbishopric of

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[48] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 82, fol. 4r, ep. 13; Theiner, *Mon. Hung.* 1, n. 787; Mollat, *Jean XXII*, n. 29, 662; Tautu, *Acta Iohannis*, n. 91.

[49] Wadding, *Annales Minorum* 6, 110; Konrad Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum* 5 (Rome: Typis sacrae congregationis de propagnada fide, 1898), n. 84 (hereafter Eubel, *Bullar. Francisc.*); Tautu, *Acta Clementis V (1303–1314) e regestis vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Rome: Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1955), n. 17.

[50] ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 10, fol. 448r; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 67, fol. 319v, ep. 62; Baronio et al., *Ann. Eccl.*, n. 7; Thomas Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 2 (Rome: Mainard, 1730), 136; Mollat, *Jean XXII*, n. 8186, n. 46, 791; Tautu, *Acta Iohannis*, n. 14 (October 23, 1321); ASV, *Reg. Aven.*, 17, fol. 337r; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 73, fol. 4v, ep. 24; Eubel, *Bullar. Francisc.* 5, n. 35-37, 84; Mollat, *Jean XXII*, n. 16,102; Tautu, *Acta Iohannis*, n. 48.

[51] Michael Le Quien, *Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus; quo exhibentur Ecclesiae, Patriarchae, caeterique praesules totius orientis*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1740), 240-255; Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. 2: *Hierarchia Latina Oriens* (Verona: Mazziana, 1964), 276-277.

Dyrrachium or Durazzo with its bishoprics dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the archbishopric of Antibari with its bishoprics dependent on the Patriarchate of Aquila.

To return to the general problems of the area as lying at the borders of the Eastern rite, mirrored in the religious life inside the *Regnum Albaniae* and its surroundings, it is worth mentioning some of the main encountered cases to see how problems were handled. In January 1347, Pope Clement VI addressed a letter to Antonio, the bishop of Dulcinj who, being born of a marriage legitimate according to the Eastern rite (*ex legitimo tamen matrimonio, secundum ritum Orientalis Ecclesiae, cui vicini sunt, geniti*) was accepted by the Benedictine Order, and even confirmed as abbot, after having received an apostolic dispensation by Pope Clement VI.[52]

A supplication letter of the archbishop of Antibari from September 9, 1363[53] shows a variety of cases which needed papal dispensation. One of these cases was certainly regarding promotion: sons of schismatic priests (about 25 of them) who had received an ecclesiastical office in the Catholic hierarchy (*in sua provincia sint multi filii presbyterorum ad sacerdotium promoti)* needed papal dispensation from their *defectibus natalium.*[54] Another case was the usage of violence against clerics and canonicals. This violence must have been quite fierce, since the papal nuncios and legates did not absolve them (*quod impositas et collectas Legatorum et Nuntiorum Sedis Apostolicae non solverunt*).[55] Because of the mixture of rites and population in the province of Antibari (*propter diversas nationes schismaticas ac aliorum ac partialitates terrarum*), there were often also cases concerning consanguinity (*multi sunt qui pro pace contrahenda vicissim matrimonium contraherunt in quarto consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradu)*, which also needed papal dispensation once the couples had converted to the Catholic rite.[56] As a matter of fact, the cases of matrimonial irregularity, namely those of fourth degree consanguinity relationships, were so numerous that Pope Urban V granted the archbishop of Antibari the faculty to absolve such marriages whenever they appeared.[57] Two main reasons for this phenomenon are given in the same letter: because of the multitude of schismatics in the province and because of war among the powerful believers (marriages served as a means to set peace and friendship among them).[58] The dispensation for such

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[52] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 174, fol. 336r, ep. 1004; Theiner, *Mon. Slav.* 1, n. 287; *AA* 2, n. 28; Tautu, *Acta Clementis VI (1342–1352) e regestis vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Rome: Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1960), n. 118 (hereafter Tautu, *Acta Clementis VI*).

[53] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 40, fol. 141r. Tautu, *Acta Urbani V*, n. 42.

[54] Ibidem.

[55] Ibidem.

[56] Ibidem.

[57] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 252, fol. 148v, ep. 546; Tautu, *Acta Urbani V*, n. 43.

[58] Ibidem: *Cum itaque sicut exhibita nobis tua periculo continebat in provincia tua Antibarensi nonulli viri et mulieres existant, qui non ignorantes se quarto consanguinitatis vel affinitatis gradu fore coniunctos, propter multitudinem schismaticorum ibidem existentium*

marriages was to be given, independently of actual guilt (*non ignorantes se quarto consanguinitatis vel affinitatis gradu fore coniunctos).*

The impossibility of distinguishing between Catholics and schismatics, especially in cases concerning the visitation of holy places, 'forced' the papal curia to give indulgences to all of them alike. Thus, for instance, the church of St. Stephen in Shkodra seems to have been visited by Catholics and schismatics alike (*Ecclesia cathedralis beati Stephani protomartyris de Scutaro apud catholicos et schismaticos in magno honore et reverentia habeatur*),[59] because the bishop of Shkodra asked Pope Clement VI for indulgences for each of them and the indulgences were granted (*Fiat in festis Sancti Stephani de uno anno et una quadragena; in aliis de centum diebus. R*).[60]

* * *

In sum, it may be concluded that the religious situation along the southeastern Adriatic coast changed a great deal after the installation of the Angevin dynasty in these territories, and especially after the proclamation of the *Regnum Albaniae*. Since the spread and consolidation of the Catholic faith lacked the supporting political framework up to then, the *Regnum Albaniae* promoted by the Angevins was a good ground for the spread and flourishing of the Roman Catholic rite in these parts on the borders of Eastern Christianity. The *Regnum Albaniae* was thus more than a political structure; for the papacy it was the secular arm responsible for the implementation of Catholicism in the local population, and a basis for outreach to the Balkans.

The political impact of the French dynasty and the French popes[61] in the region brought the so-called "Third Period of the Albanian Diocesan Formation",[62] which, as a matter of fact, had started with the fall of Constantinople but

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et partialitatis gentium illarum partium necnon guerras inibi inter fideles vigentes, pro pace contrahenda inter eorum consanguineos et amicos, per verba de presenti matrimonium invicem contraxerunt et ex eis soboles procrearunt, Nos in hac parte tuis supplicationibus inclinati, Fraternitati Tuae absolvendi hac vice auctoritate nostra iuxta formam Ecclesiae sex insimul matrimonium contraxerunt et de quibus tibi videbitur quod conscientiam, eis tamen prius separatis ad tempus de quo videbitur currisse noscuntur, si hoc humiliter petierint, iniunctis eis inter alia nec committentibus praebeant consilium, auxilium vel favorem et poenitentia salutari et aliis quae de iure fuerint iniungenda et demum cum venit, non obstante, matrimonia de novo insimul contrahere et in ex eis susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam decernendi, plenam et liberam concedimus tenore praeseentium facultatem.

[59] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 13, fol. 25v; Tautu, *Acta Clementis VI*, n. 117.

[60] Ibidem

[61] One of the main goals of the French popes was the propagation of Christianit and its spread in the Orient; see Ludovico Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del medio evo*, 1 (Rome: Desclee e C. Editori, 1925), 66.

[62] Šufflay distinguished three periods of the formation of bishoprics in Albania: *Primäre Bisho fssitze* were those which came into being during the third and fourth centuries until

was not very obvious until the end of the thirteenth century. The process of diocesan formation begun to arise with the proclamation of the *Regnum Albaniae*, and it reached its end more or less at the time when the Great Schism started and the area of the Avignon papacy finished. The emergence of new Catholic dioceses and the transformation of Byzantine-Orthodox sees into Latin Catholic ones was characteristic for this period. Catholicism spread in all the territories of the southeastern Adriatic coast, although just for a short time. The *Regnum Albaniae* offered a political structure for the Catholic religion and served the papal curia as a vessel in which the religious feelings could best be shaped. It was a period of strong differentiation, which after a short term of quietness was followed by the Ottoman suppression and, as its direct result, by the impoverishment and contraction of the bishoprics.[63]

602. Besides Dyrrachion, they included Doclea, Sarda, Scodra, Lissus, Scampa, Amantia, Appolonia, Byllis, Aulona, and perhaps Ulcinium. The *secundāre Schicht* (until 1250) was characterized by new and *metamorphisierte* bishoprics, exemplified by Stephaniaka, Arbanum, Kruja, Antibari, Drivasto, Suacium, etc. The third period started around the end of the forth crusade and lasted approximately until the year 1370. See Millan von Šufflay, "Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien, Die orthodoxe Durchbruchzone im katholischen Damme", in *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen,* 2 vol. (Munich: von Duncken andHumlot, 1916), 188-282.

[63] Ibidem, 209.

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Edited by

Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen

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ABBREVIATIONS RELATED TO THE COLLECTIONS OF THE VATICAN SECRET ARCHIVES

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano

Arm. = Armadio

Congr. Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Ap. = Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Apostolica

Instr. Misc. = Instrumenta Miscellanea

Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. et Div. = Penitenzieria Apostolica, Registra Matrimonialium et Diversorum

Reg. Vat. = Registra Vaticana

Reg. Lat. = Registra Lateranensia

Reg. Suppl. = Registra Supplicationum

Reg. Aven. = Registra Avenionensia

RPG = Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum

PREFACE

The present publication contains selected papers from two international conferences: the first was held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Bergen (Norway), in October, 2003[1] and the second at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest (Hungary), in January, 2004.[2] The purpose of these meetings was to gather researchers interested in the history and significance of the papal curia and, in particular, the Apostolic Penitentiary, in the later Middle Ages. The main emphasis was placed on a comparative approach and on the role of peripheral areas of Western Christendom in their communication with the Holy See.

There are various kinds of centre-and-periphery hierarchies.[3] There are geographic, social, economic, and cultural peripheries and centres. "The general textbooks ... address materials from the geographical and social peripheries of privileged cultures only as adjuncts to their central narrative. ... The history of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe become excursus to a central narrative."[4]

However, concerning the communication of the Holy See with various areas of Christendom in the Middle Ages, the impact of 'peripheries' has attracted a new interest in recent years. Since the opening of the archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary to researchers in 1983 relatively few scholars have exploited the sources, but recently their number has increased. Most of them have studied the supplications to the Penitentiary of petitioners from their own home countries and edited material on a national basis. The German Historical Institute, under the leadership of Ludwig Schmugge, has already published several volumes of entries concerning German-speaking territories. Also, the Norwegian and Icelandic material has recently been released by Torstein Jørgensen and Gastone Saletnich. Similar enterprises are in process in several other countries: Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, England and Wales. The examination of territo-

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[1] "*The Late Middle Ages and the Penitentiary Texts: Centre and Periphery in Europe in the Pre-Reformation Era.*"

[2] "Ad Confines. *The Papal Curia and the Eastern and Northern Peripheries of Christendom in the Later Middle Ages(14th – 15th c.).*"

[3] For this and the following, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Center and Periphery in the Teaching of Medieval History," in *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 252.

[4] Ibidem, 248.

ries on the geographic peripheries in their relation to Rome has been a main focus in these studies.

The archival material of the Penitentiary and the communication of the papal curia with the various regions of late medieval Europe should, however, not be studied only on national levels. There is an increasing need for such studies to be supplemented by comparative searches for differences and analogies in how Christians from different corners of Europe used the papal offices and were treated by them. It is well known that even though the regulations of canon law were in theory the same for everyone, regional differences in interpreting and applying them emerged in the Late Middle Ages. The need to turn to the papal authority in matters of canon law varied depending on the role of local bishops and the presence or absence of papal legates or collectors, who often had the power to deal with similar matters *in partibus.* Also, people in the central territories of Christendom had different opportunities for turning to the papal curia with their requests than those living on the peripheries of the Christian world.

Questions like these played the central role in the discussions of the two conferences noted above. In this book we will render an overview of the present status of this new field of research. As an introduction, Piroska Nagy deals with the question of how to apply centre-periphery models to a comparative analysis of the sources. Kirsi Salonen uses the Penitentiary registers from the period of Pope Pius II to analyse the supplications, their provenance, and the role of peripheries.

Two peripheral parts of late medieval Europe and their significance concerning the communication with the Holy See represent the main part of the publication: Northern Europe and East Central Europe. Comparative analyses of Scandinavian and Scottish source material from the Penitentiary Registers are made by Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Irene Furneaux. The studies on East Central Europe are introduced by an inquiry concerning the general importance of the area for the papal curia (Jadranka Neralić), and an overview of the communication of the Holy See with Albania (Etleva Lala). Piroska Nagy and Kirsi Salonen offer a quantitative analysis of East Central Europe and the Penitentiary (1458–1484), followed by contributions on individual territories, such as the Czech lands (Lucie Doležalová) and Dalmatia (Ana Marinković). The contribution by Gastone Saletnich and Wolfgang Müller indicates that in any studies of the role of peripheries one must not neglect the more central areas. Blanca Szeghyová and Ludwig Schmugge show that local archives and their contents are an indispensable additional source for comparative analyses.

Many friends and colleagues have helped in preparing this book for print. We are pleased to thank the personnel of the Penitenzieria Apostolica, especially Padre Ubaldo Todeschini, for reading the manuscript and suggesting useful corrections. We are also much obliged to the skilled staff of the *Sala di Studio* in the Vatican Archives, who patiently brought us volume after volume of the reg-

isters and helped with other problems. Judith Rasson from Central European University deserves our gratitude for copyediting our text.

Finally, we wish to thank the academic institutions which in a more direct way have promoted this project: the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen, the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest, the Institut für Realienkunde of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Finland, and the Department of History at the University of Tampere.

Bergen, Budapest, and Tampere, November 2004

Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen