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The Mystery of Merania: A New Solution to Old Problems (Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia during the Investiture Controversy) (Part 1)

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The Mystery of Merania: A New Solution to Old Problems (Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia during the Investiture Controversy)

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This paper deals with issues concerning the historical background that engendered the imperial (titular) Duchy of Merania and the modality by which this mysterious territory became part of the Holy Roman Empire. The author first demonstrates that *Meran(ia)* refers to a microregion situated between the Učka mountain range and the river Rječina at the very east of the Istrian peninsula that historically belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia. Second, he outlines interpretations regarding how this patch of land became part of the Holy Roman Empire. The takeover of Merania is posited in the second half of the 1070s, in the period of Croatian king Zvonimir who fostered enmity with the Holy Roman emperor Henry IV by officially taking the side of the reform papacy and pope Gregory VII during the Investiture Controversy. It is in this context that the attacks against Zvonimir's kingdom ensued, led by a noble knight Wezelin whose identity is discussed in detail; this marks the beginning of the imperial takeover of Merania.

Keywords: Merania, Margraviate of Istria, Kingdom of Croatia, Patriarchate of Aquileia, Investiture Controversy, Gregory VII, Demetrius Zvonimir, Henry IV

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Skrivnost Meranije: Nove rešitve starih problemov (Sveto rimsko cesarstvo ter Kraljevina Hrvaška - Dalmacija v času investiturnega boja)

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Članek obravnava problematiko zgodovinskega ozadja, ki je ogrožalo (naslovno) cesarsko Vojvodino Meranijo in način, na katerega je to skrivnostno ozemlje postalo del Svetega rimskega cesarstva. Avtor najprej pokaže, da se *Meran(ia)* nanaša na mikroregijo med goro Učko in reko Rječino na skrajnem vzhodu istrskega polotoka, ki je bila del hrvaško-dalmatinskega kraljestva. Sledi oris razlag, kako je ta kos ozemlja postal del Svetega rimskega cesarstva. Prevzem Meranije je umeščen v drugo polovico sedemdesetih let 11. stoletja, v obdobje hrvaškega kralja Zvonimirja, ki je podprl reforme in se uradno postavil na stran papeža Gregorja VII. v investiturnem boju ter gojil sovražstvo do cesarja Henrika IV. V tem kontekstu so sledili napadi na Zvonimirjevo kraljestvo pod vodstvom viteza Vecelina, s čigar identiteto se podrobno ukvarja avtor članka. Napadi označujejo začetek cesarskega prevzema Meranije.

Ključne besede: Meranija, mejna grofija Istra, Kraljevina Hrvaška, oglejski patriarhat, investiturni boj, Gregor VII., Dimitrij Zvonimir, Henrik IV.

Introduction: The Mysterious Duchy

Rarely has there been a title as confusing as the one adorned by Conrad II, count of Dachau, in the middle of the 12th century: *Conradus dux Meranus* in 1152¹ and *Conradus de Dachauve, dux Croatiae Dalmatiquae* in 1154.² Furthermore, the same individual was called *Croatiae atque Dalmatiae dux* by his prolific contemporaries, Otto, the bishop of Freising, and Rahewin, the authors of the *Deeds of Frederick I*.³ The main points of confusion were that this was the very first mention of a duchy called *Meran* and that the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia lay outside the Holy Roman Empire's jurisdictional sphere. How and why were these titles created, what did they designate, and how did they end up with Conrad II of Dachau?

Of the two new ducal titles, the second one is easier to explicate. Namely, the best part of the old Roman province of Dalmatia had been practically divided by the 9th century between a Croatian, inland region ruled by the respective dukes/kings, and a coastal part nominally under Byzantine sovereignty.⁴ As Croatian monarchs gradually expanded their jurisdictions over the Dalmatian territories of the waning Byzantine Empire, the two jurisdictional regions were fused under the *potestas* of one king who began adorning the title *rex Dalmatie et Croatiae*.⁵ According to a 13th-century chronicler of Split, Archdeacon Thomas, "all the successors of Držislav

¹ D. F. I, no. 14, ed. Appelt, pp. 26–27. This is the first and only mention of a *dux Meranus* before the 1180s. The charter is, however, not authentic and the *terminus post quem* of its composition must be dated to 1157, the year when Albert the Bear started being titled as *marchio Brandenburgensis*. Herkenrath, *Wibald von Stablo*, pp. 114–115. Notwithstanding its dubious authenticity and the fact that Conrad II appears with the title of a duke for the first time in 1154 (charter cited in n. 2), it is *communis opinio* that the count of Dachau was indeed given the ducal title in 1152 at roughly (or precisely) the same time as Welf VI was given the titular duchy of Spoleto. See Werle, *Titelherzogtum*, pp. 275–277; Arnold, *Princes and Territories*, pp. 98, 102–103; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 79–80; Deutinger, *Von den Liutpoldingern*, p. 314; Dendorfer, *Von den Liutpoldingern*, pp. 345, 352.

² *Monumenta Parthenii Chiemeseensis*, pp. 447–449, no. 4.

³ Otto of Freising–Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, lib. 1, c. 26, and lib. 4, c. 17, ed. Waitz–Simson, p. 43, l. 28–29, and p. 257, l. 1.

⁴ Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 254–255; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 28–29; Budak, *Early Medieval Boundaries*, pp. 36–39; Basić, *Sjeverna i srednja*, pp. 427ss; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 51–52.

⁵ The expansion of Croatian regal authority over Byzantine Dalmatia was by no means a simple, unilinear process. For an up to date overview of this development see e.g. Gračanin, *Bizant na hrvatskom*, pp. 495–516; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 161–174, 222–234.

[c. 969–c. 997] were called kings of Dalmatia and Croatia. They received the insignia of kingship from the emperors in Constantinople and were styled their “eparchs” or “patricians.” They inherited the lordship of the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia by succession from their fathers and forefathers”.⁶ However, it was not until the reign of Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1075) that the Croatian kings began styling themselves as *reges Chroatorum et Dalmatarum*.⁷ This composite title passed on to Hungarian kings after Coloman I finished the conquest of the Kingdom of Croatia, begun by his predecessor Saint Ladislav in 1090/91.⁸ In that way, the wearers of the crown of St. Stephen were officially titled as kings of “Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia”.⁹ However, the title of *dux Dalmatiae atque Croatiae* was also adorned by the Venetian doges, the heads of the polity that exerted considerable influence along the eastern Adriatic coast; the nucleus of the title – *dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum* – was triumphantly assumed by Peter II Orseolo following his successful Eastern Adriatic campaign in 1000, the year when numerous Dalmatian communities officially recognized Venetian authority.¹⁰ In the 1090s, the same period when the Croatian regal throne was contested by local nobles and Hungarian kings from the Arpad dynasty, the Venetians officially added *atque Chroacie* in their elaborate title:

⁶ *Ab isto Dirscisclovo ceteri successors eius reges Dalmatie et Chroatie appellati sunt. Recipiebant enim regie dignitatis insignia ab imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis et dicebantur eorum eparchi sive patricii. Habebant namque ex successione sue originis partum et proavorum dominium regni Dalmatie et Chroatie.* Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum*, c. 13, ed. Perić et al., pp. 60 (Latin original), 61 (English translation). King Stephen Držislav reigned in the second half of the 10th century (c. 969 – c. 997). Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, pp. 57–58.

⁷ It cannot be ascertained who exactly was the first Croatian ruler to begin using the title “Croatian and Dalmatian king”. The oldest charter record of this compound title, *Dei gratia Croathorum atque Dalmatinorum rex* is dated to 950 and the reign of king Michael Krešimir II, but the document is a later forgery, most probably based on the sources from the era of Peter Krešimir IV. CD 1, no. 28, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 39–43; Karbić, *Razvoj političkih ustanova*, p. 95. The compound title first started to be used, it would seem, by Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1075) who was titled *rex Chroatorum et Dalmatarum* already in 1060, however even this document is not authentic. CD 1, no. 64/I, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 87–89; Karbić, *Razvoj političkih ustanova*, p. 95. The only source in whose authenticity there is no reasons to doubt that mentions Peter Krešimir IV as king in Byzantine Dalmatia is the Evangelary of Osor (*Evangeliarium Apsarense*) from 1070/71 (also dated to 1081/82) that clearly states the obedience due to both the emperor (Byzantine) and the king (Croatian) in *Exsultet*. Badurina, *Osorski evanđelistar*, pp. 201–205; Petrak, *The Byzantine Emperor*, pp. 54–56; Karbić, *Razvoj političkih ustanova*, pp. 96, 103. On the dating of the evangelary to 1070/71 see Margetić, *O nekim vrelima*, pp. 132–134. The compound title was definitely used by Demetrius Zvonimir (1076–1089) who is titled *Dei gratia Chroatie Dalmatieque dux* ruling over *Chroatorum Dalmatinorumque regnum* and, following his official crowning, *Chroatorum atque Dalmatinorum rex*. CD 1, nos. 109 and 110, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 139–141 and 141–142. I will return to this crowning later in the paper.

⁸ Bárány, *The Expansion*, pp. 344–347; Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, pp. 65–66; Nikolić Jakus, *Ugarska*, pp. 621–625; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 284–294.

⁹ E.g. *Ego Collomannus Dei gratia rex Ungarie, Croatiae atque Dalmatie*. CD 2, no. 6, ed. Smičiklas, pp. 9–10.

¹⁰ *Anno quidem incarnationis Redemptoris nostri millesimo quarto, ducatus vero domni Petri Veneticorum ac Dalmaticorum ducis decimo.* John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum*, lib. 4, c. 65, ed. Berto, p. 202. On this campaign see Ortalli, *Pietro II Orseolo*, pp. 13–27.

gloriosus dux Venetię atque Dalmatię sive Chroatię et imperialis prothosevator.¹¹ Hence, by the time of Conrad II of Dachau the title of a *Dalmatie Croatiaque* ruler was contested by at least two powerful polities, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Commune of Venice, the latter in the guise of Byzantine representatives.

Dalmatia remained a disputed territory in the first half of the 12th century as Venetian doges and Hungarian kings vied for supremacy in the maritime region. Although the Holy Roman Empire did not interfere in these affairs at first, the relation between the emperor and the Hungarian throne deteriorated during the reign of Géza II (1141–1162). Officially backing up the pretender to the Hungarian throne, Boris Kalamanos, Conrad III (1138–1152), king of the Romans, was indirectly drawn in open military conflict against the ruling monarch in Hungary.¹² At the same time, Géza II was also on inimical terms with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, a monarch in league with king Conrad III.¹³ Encroached by enemies on three sides – the Holy Roman Empire to the West, Venice to the south and Byzantium to the east – Géza II was forced to fight from a difficult position; Dalmatia was, consequently, left more exposed to outside interference. It was in

¹¹ There is considerable confusion in historiography regarding the beginnings of this specific title in Venice. It has often been thought that it began with the famous Byzantine chrysobull of 1082 (dated to 1092 by some) by which the Byzantine emperor, among other things, bequeathed to the Venetian doges the title of imperial *protosebastos*. However, the famous chrysobull – although not preserved in either original or in an *in extenso* copy, its contents are recorded in later bulls – never mentions the title of Croatian duke. The best edition is in *I trattati con Bisanzio*, no. 2, ed. Pozza–Ravegnani, pp. 35–45. The first ever Venetian doge to adorn the title of a Croatian duke was either Vitale Faliero in 1094 (the document is only preserved in a twelfth century copy, so the title might be a later addition) or Vitale Michiel in 1097. The 1094 document where the doge is titled *divine gratie largitate Venetiarum, Dalmatiae atque Croatiae dux et imperialis protosevaston* is edited in Romanin, *Storia documentata* 1, pp. 392–395, no. 19. The 1097 document, where the doge is titled *gloriosus dux Venetię atque Dalmatię sive Chroatię et imperialis prothosevator*, is edited in several publications, see e.g. CD 1, no. 168, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 208–209. See also Lazzarini, *I titoli*, pp. 271–313, esp. pp. 286–287. Responsible for the above-mentioned confusion is the doge-chronicler Andrea Dandolo who wrote of Venetian legates who journeyed to Constantinople and who received from emperor Alexius a *chrysobull for Dalmatia and Croatia* (highlighted by the author) and the office of a *protosebastos*. From that point on, continued Dandolo, the doges added to their title: *atque Chroacie et imperialis prothosevastos*. *Euntes autem legati, ab Alexio alacriter vissi, crusobolium Dalmacie et Chroacie et sedis prothosevastos optinuerunt, quibus postea reversis, dux suo adidit titulo: atque Chroacie et imperialis prothosevastos*. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 39, ed. Pastorello, p. 217, l. 10–13. In this passage, convincingly argues Madden, Dandolo simply enumerated all the titles the doge held from Byzantium, “both old and new”, old being that of Dalmatian dukes and imperial *protosebastos*, the new being that of Croatian dukes. This voyage to Alexius and the conferment of the title of Croatian dukes described by Dandolo must have taken place between July 1090 and before 1096 (or 1094 if Falier’s documents is taken to be completely free of later interpolations). Madden, *The Chrysobull*, pp. 23–41, esp. pp. 35–36. For the alternative dating of Alexius’s chrysobull see Frankopan, *Byzantine Trade Privileges*, pp. 135–160, esp. p. 155.

¹² Makk, *The Árpáds*, pp. 36–41; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 56–57. Géza II waged war against the margrave of Austria, Henry Jasomirgott, on September 11, 1146 and was victorious at the Battle by the river Leitha. Otto of Freising–Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, lib. 1, c. 31–32, ed. Waitz–Simson, pp. 48–51.

¹³ Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, pp. 229–238. Cf. Makk, *The Árpáds*, pp. 42–62.

this chaotic vying for supremacy that the ambitious Holy Roman emperor Frederick I Barbarossa decided to enter the battle for dominion over Dalmatia, or at least openly challenge Hungarian sovereignty in the region. The ambitious monarch even planned a full-scale military invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary, but the plan was not supported by the imperial princes and thus it never came to fruition.¹⁴ Barbarossa could, however, symbolically proclaim his own pretensions to the disputed province by creating *ex novo* the title of the duke of Croatia-Dalmatia and freely bestowing it upon his distinguished subject. The title was bequeathed to Conrad II of Dachau who, it is commonly argued, had helped Barbarossa climb the regal throne and was hence appropriately rewarded for his support.¹⁵

Out of all the contestants to the jurisdictions over Dalmatia, the Holy Roman Empire had the least *de iure* and *de facto* authority; the only thing Conrad II of Dachau could do with his opulent ducal title was to pompously flaunt it. Therefore, it was already Edmund Freiherr von Oefele in the late nineteenth century who famously concluded that the ducal titles of both Conrad II and his son were nothing more than merely symbolic denominations that – besides clearly revealing the emperor’s ambition to include Dalmatia and Croatia in the Holy Roman Empire – carried no real jurisdictions over the designated territories.¹⁶ Indeed, there is absolutely no trace of any activity whatsoever of either Conrad II or his son related to Dalmatia and Croatia. Conrad III would exclusively be called “duke of Dachau”, never mentioning Dalmatia or Croatia in his title.¹⁷

Notwithstanding its honorary character, Conrad’s title was subsequently bequeathed to Berthold IV of the counts of Andechs in 1180.¹⁸ However, from 1183 the title of the

¹⁴ Otto of Freising–Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, lib. 2, c. 6, ed. Waitz–Simson, p. 107, l. 10–18; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 67–68.

¹⁵ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 80. The argument is based on the fact that Conrad II of Dachau was present in Bamberg when king Conrad III issued his final charter, in February 1152. Thus, it is believed that Conrad II was present when the king died and, consequently, influenced the election of a new monarch. D. C. III, no. 270, ed. Hausmann, pp. 467–470. Moreover, both Conrad II of Dachau and Frederick I Barbarossa supported Welf VI against Henry Jasomirgott during the 1143 skirmishes for the Bavarian duchy. *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, a. 1143, ed. Waitz, p. 79 (the only source clearly stating Frederick’s involvement in Welf’s campaigns); Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, lib. 7, c. 26, ed. Hofmeister, p. 352, l. 12–15; *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, c. 25, ed. Weiland–Pertz, p. 34; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 40–41. In addition, Conrad II had even been taken prisoner by the future emperor during Frederick’s attack on Henry of Wolfratshausen in 1146, but “out of his [Frederick’s] innate nobility” the count of Dachau was released unconditionally. Otto of Freising–Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, lib. 1, c. 26, ed. Waitz–Simson, pp. 43–44. Finally, it is also argued that Conrad II is among the *quidam de Baioaria nobiles* that joined Barbarossa on his military expeditions against duke Conrad of Zähringen in 1146. *Ibid.*, lib. 1, c. 27, ed. Waitz–Simson, p. 44, l. 11–15; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 42.

¹⁶ Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 71.

¹⁷ “Auf den Dachauer war jedenfalls um so weniger Rücksicht zu nehmen, als derselbe seinen Herzogstitel nie an jene Ländernamen knüpfte, sich immer nur Herzog von Dachau nannte.” Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 71–72.

¹⁸ The first time the members of the comital house of Andechs appear with a ducal title is in a donation charter dated January 1181 where the duke is styled as *Ego Perchtoldus dux Dalmatie*. *Monumenta Formbacensia*, pp. 139–140, no. 10. Another often cited charter that mentions Ber-

duke of Dalmatia and Croatia started giving way to that of duke of Meran(ia), the one Conrad II used only once in public documents.¹⁹ From 1196 onwards the Dalmatian-Croatian part was completely dropped and the sole ducal title used by the heirs of the comital house of Andechs was that of Meran(ia).²⁰ What is the story behind this mysterious ducal title, what are its connections, if any, to Dalmatia-Croatia, and was this an actual imperial territory in which the title holders exerted real jurisdictional powers?

Traditionally it was believed that the Duchy of Meran stemmed from the eponymous city in the County of Tirol, indeed a territory of the Holy Roman Empire.²¹ However, already in 1803 Joseph Hormayr Freiherr zu Hortenburg, an Innsbruck-born lawyer and historian, expounded persuasive arguments in support of the thesis that Meran actually refers to a maritime part of Dalmatia and hence the confluence of the titles duke of Dalmatia-Croatia and duke of Merania.²² For

thold IV as *dux Meranie* is indeed dated *anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXX, indictione XII*, that is 1180, however, the document is only preserved in two later editions: a 15th-century German translation of the original 1180 donation and a confirmation of the 1180 donation by Berthold IV and his sons written between 1188 and 1204, a forged document; in both cases the titles might have been changed from the original. Oefele dated the document first to 1180 (Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 145–146, no. 253, citing the German edition) and the confirmation to a period between 1188 and 1204 (*ibid.*, p. 166, no. 377). The *in extenso* versions of these documents are edited in Hormayr, *Sämtliche Werke* 3, pp. 157–160 (German translation) and pp. 160–163 (confirmation). It is a historiographic consensus that the duchy was given to the counts of Andechs in 1180 – during the diet of Altenburg (September 1180) – for the same reason that the march of Styria was elevated into a duchy (also in 1180) – to remove the comital houses of Andechs and Styria from the jurisdictions of the newly appointed Bavarian duke Otto II of Wittelsbach (also in 1180). *Regesta Imperii* 4/2.3, nos. 2562 (conferment of Bavaria to Otto II of Wittelsbach), and 2563 (the elevation of Styria from a march into a duchy) ed. Opll, pp. 261–262. See also Schütz, *Das Geschlecht*, pp. 66ss; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 438; Lyon, *Princely Brothers*, p. 115. Note on house of Andechs naming conventions: there are currently several systems of naming in use when referring to the counts of Andechs, some that take into account the members of the older line, the counts of Diessen from which the counts of Andechs stem from, and the others that do not. According to the traditional one, used by Oefele for example, Berthold the first margrave of Istria from house Andechs who dies in 1188 is Berthold III; according to the more recent one, used by Lyon for example, this same individual would be called Berthold II, his father being Berthold I of Andechs. However, this Berthold I (termed according to Lyon's system) was also called count of Diessen (*de Diezzen*), of Plassenburg (*de Plassenberch*) and of Kamnik (*de Stein*). In regional Istrian historiography (and in national Slovenian, Croatian and Italian as well) it is much more common to use the older system of naming, the one used by Oefele, and this is the one that I will use throughout this paper. Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 10 (Stammtafel); Tyroller, *Genealogie*, pp. 150–151, 153–154, 158–160 (Stammtafel 10); *Herzöge und Heilige*, p. 272 (Stammtafel). Cf. Lyon, *Princely Brothers*, pp. 182, 240 (appendix).

¹⁹ Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 72.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 171ss, regestum 426ss.

²¹ Popularized by a 15th century Bavarian chronicler Veit Arnpeck for example. Veit Arnpeck, *Chronica Baioariorum*, ed. Leidinger, pp. 206–207. Subsequently taken over by e.g. Köhler, *De ducibus Meraniae*, p. 9; Hormayr, *Versuch einer pragmatischen*, pp. 168–173; Schultes, *Diplomatische Beyträge*, p. 191.

²² Hormayr, *Über die*, pp. 153–172, subchapter 4 titled “Woher entstand der Herzogs-Titel von Meran?” The same arguments were delineated in his later monograph-lengthy account “Die Grafen von Andechs, Diessen, Plassenburg, Wolfratshausen und Ambrab, Markgrafen von Istrien, Pfälzgrafen in Burgund, Herzoge in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Meran”, edited in Hormayr, *Sämtliche Werke* 3, relevant passages on pp. 190–211, esp. pp. 208–10.

example, the anonymous author of *Historia peregrinorum*, a chronicle of the Third Crusade, clearly stated that Berthold IV was *dux Dalmacie sive Meranie*.²³ The same synonymous relationship is found in another crusader account, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, where the very count of Andechs is titled *dux Dalmatię que et Croatia seu Merania dicitur*.²⁴ Moreover, Hormayr cited both *Historia Salonitanorum* of Archdeacon Thomas and documents from *Illyricum sacrum* – an 18th-century collection of ecclesiastical primary sources pertaining to Dalmatian bishoprics edited by Daniele Farlati – that spoke of a region called *Maronia* and of a *dux Marianorum* in the context of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia.²⁵ Finally, Henry Sendlinger of Munich, continuing the world chronicle of Rudolf of Ems, wrote of “a land Meran” that “lay between Hungary and a heathen land that was once called Dalmatia”.²⁶ Based on these primary sources, Hormayr confidently concluded that the title of a *dux Meranus* must refer to a Dalmatian-Croatian region.

Throughout the nineteenth century the “Dalmatian Merania” thesis steadily gained ground at the expense of “Tirolian Merania”. Thus in 1863 Franz Xaver Krones von Marchland wrote with conviction that the Duchy of Meran(ia) cannot refer to the Tirolian city, but must connote Istria and Dalmatia; the name of the region would stem from the German “Der Lande ‘am Meere’”, and from “Meer an”, meaning literally “lands by the sea”.²⁷ This opinion was also followed by the Ljubljana-born historian August Dimitz in his multi-volume classic account of the history of Carniola.²⁸ However, it was not until a landmark publication on the history of the house of Andechs, penned by the already mentioned Bavarian historian and archivist Oefele, that a new era of research on the Duchy of Merania was ushered in.

Although Oefele simply took over the existing theses on the provenance of Meranian ducal title, chiefly the arguments propounded by Hormayr, the main value of his publication and the reason why it stood the test of time as the classic

²³ *Imperator ergo in exercitu quinque bellicas turmas instituit... Prima siquidem acies fuit incliti Sueuorum ducis... secunda Boemorum et Ungarorum... tertia Bertholdi ducis Dalmatie sive Meranie...* *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, p. 138, l. 20–28. This chronicle was known to Hormayr and his contemporaries by way of an older edition prepared by Jacob Basnage under the title *Friderici I imperatoris cognomento Barbarossae expedition ad sepulchrum Domini ab aequaueo auctore conscripta* and published in *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum* 3, pp. 499–526, quoted passage on p. 509.

²⁴ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, ed. Chroust, p. 31, l. 14–15.

²⁵ Hormayr, *Sämtliche Werke* 3, pp. 208, 210. The relevant passage in *Historia Salonitanorum* is the following: *Istaque fuerunt regni eorum confinia... ab aquilone vero a ripa Danubii usque ad mare Dalmaticum cum tota Maronia et Chulmie ducatu*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum*, c. 13, ed. Perić et al., p. 60. The relevant document cited by Farlati in *Illyricum sacrum* 3, p. 155, refers to a *Iacobus dux Marianorum* (better edition in CD 1, no. 134, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 169–170) and stems from the era of king Zvonimir (although its authenticity is questionable). I will return to the question of equating *Maronia* to *Merania* later in the paper, namely in n. 47.

²⁶ *Ein lant Meran ist genannt / Und lag zwischen Ungern und dem haidnlant / Daz hier zuvor Thalmatiana*. Quoted from Hormayr, *Sämtliche Werke* 3, p. 209.

²⁷ Marchland, *Umriss des Geschichtslebens*, pp. 51, 157.

²⁸ Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains* 1, p. 159, n. 1. The book was translated into English by Andrew J. Witter (here Dimitz, *History of Carniola*, p. 109, n. 4).

account of the history of the house Andechs-Merania lies in the appended collection of primary sources, edited as detailed *regesta*.²⁹ In full accordance with Hormayr, Oefele argued that Tirolian Merano had nothing to do with the title awarded to both counts of Dachau and those of Andechs. Instead, the Meran in question indeed referred to a jurisdictional region of the Dalmatian-Croatian Kingdom.³⁰ These claims were based on the same primary sources analyzed by Hormayr, including Farlati's *Illyricum sacrum*, *Historia Salontiana* of Archdeacon Thomas and Sendlinger's continuation of Rudolph's chronicle. Oefele even took over the linguistic explanation according to which Merania stems from German "Meer an", just like Marania does from Slavic "More", meaning sea; both names literally translate to a *maritima regio*, "a land by the sea".³¹ Finally, Oefele also cited a 14th-century *regestum* of a 1366 document enumerating the possessions that Hugo VIII of Duino (Slo./Cro. Devin, Germ. Tybein) held from the Aquileian Church; the lord was said to have had, among others, lands *in Meran sive in Croatia*.³² Based on all of these passages from the primary sources, the archivist ascertained that the Duchy of Merania was in essence a *pars pro toto* synecdoche for the Duchy of Dalmatia-Croatia.

These duchies were, concluded Oefele, only honorary titles, bestowing absolutely no jurisdictions in these territories to their respective dukes; since both titles in essence referred to the Kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia, a polity outside of imperial jurisdictional sphere, they were only titular duchies.³³ The Bavarian historian, however, had to somehow explain the two mentions of a *Ducatus Maraniae* in sources from 1221 that explicitly posited this mysterious territory to the east of the river Livenza in Friuli. Namely, in the conflict between the commune of Treviso and the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the patriarch demanded in July 1221 that the Trevisans return all the occupied territories *ab aqua Lipientiae a montibus ad mare per totum Forumiulium usque ad Ducatum Meraniae*.³⁴ The papal legate who was sent to arbitrate the conflict decreed in August of the same year that the commune of Treviso was to hand over to the Patriarchate *omnia loca, castra et villas constitutas ab aqua Lipientiae ad Ducatum Meraniae a montibus usque ad mare per totum Forumiulium*.³⁵ Oefele offered an explanation: *Ducatus Meraniae* in these two sources must refer to "all the possessions of the counts of Andechs in Carinthia, Styria and Carniola", but only

²⁹ Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 107–219, a total of 703 *regesta*; a further 24 documents were published *in extenso* on pp. 223–249.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 71–3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72.

³² This was a new piece of evidence, unknown to Hormayr. Oefele cited the *regestum* of the document from the edition of *Thesaurus Ecclesiae Aquileiensis* edited by Giuseppe Bianchi. TEA, no. 1264, ed. Bianchi, pp. 358–359. To this day, the *in extenso* version of this charter has not been found. The *regestum* in question was not made by Odorico I Susanna, who compiled the majority of the *regesta* and whose work, titled *Thesauri claritas*, forms the majority of Bianchi's edition, but by his son John, who continued his father's work. The entire project was finished by John's son, Odorico II. On *Thesaurus ecclesiae Aquileiensis* see Corgnali, *Intorno al*, pp. 11–35, esp. p. 18.

³³ Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 71–72.

³⁴ *Documenta historiae foroiuliensis*, no. 64, ed. Bianchi, pp. 26–28 (quotation on p. 27).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 66, ed. Bianchi, p. 30.

up to river Isonzo in the east as this was Friuli's easternmost border.³⁶ To validate this thesis, the archivist cited a document from 1254 issued by Hartmann Junior, the count of Kyburg, that mentions "all dependencies or properties, castles, villages and jurisdictions existing in the dioceses of Chur and Konstanz [belonging] to the Duchy of Merania" – here the term *Ducatus Meraniae* is indeed used to designate the entire domain of the comital house of Andechs.³⁷

The thesis on the Croatian provenance of the Duchy of Merania was widely accepted by subsequent generations of historians, but the precise location of this Dalmatian-Croatian "land by the sea" remained a mystery for decades. For example, August Dimitz claimed, only partially in accordance with Oefele, that Merania "refers to the Margraviate of Istria", probably because the counts of Andechs held the title of Istrian margraves from 1173 to 1208.³⁸ Georg Herlitz was no more precise when he wrote in 1909 that Merania is "a Dalmatian coastline that first belonged to Istria".³⁹ Regardless of the fact that this maritime region could not be located more precisely, there was a general consensus that *Ducatus Meranie* was only a titular duchy and that it referred to a coastline region of Dalmatian-Croatian kingdom.⁴⁰

It was not until Ljudmil Hauptmann published his landmark study on medieval Carniola that the territory of Merania was finally exactly demarcated.⁴¹ The Slovenian historian accomplished this feat by analyzing two famous narrative sources discussing the early medieval borders of the Kingdom of Croatia in relation to Merania. According to the older text – the famous treatise written in 10th century by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenite later dubbed *De administrando imperio* – the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia reached as far as the "frontiers of Istria" and the town of Labin (Ital. Albona) (but not including it).⁴² However, the second source – a century and a half younger account penned by

³⁶ Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 73, n. 2.

³⁷ *Nos Hartmannus junior de Kiburc notum facimus universis presentes litteras inspecturis, quod nobilis vir Hugo comes palatinus Burgundie et nobilis A. comitissa palatina uxor eius dederunt nobis pro dote seu maritaggio Elizabeth filie eorundem primogenite uxoris nostre mille Marcas argenti boni... et quicquid iuris habebant et habere debebant in castro quod dicitur Linzeborc et suis appendiciis ac rebus aliis, castris, villis et iuribus existentibus in Curiensi et Constantinensi diocesibus ad dominium ducatus Meranie... spectantibus. Urkunden für die Geschichte der Stadt Bern*, no. 328, ed. Zeerleder, pp. 446–447 (quotation on 446). Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 73, n. 2.

³⁸ Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains* 1, p. 159, n. 1.

³⁹ "Ein Küstenstrich in Dalmatien, der Istrien zunächst gelegen war, trug der namen 'Meran'." Herlitz, *Geschichte der Herzöge*, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁰ There were, on the other hand, different opinions. E.g. in 1903 Dane Gruber took over the "Tirolian Merania" thesis that he based on a completely wrong reading of Oefele. The Croatian historian argued that Tirolian Meran owes its name to Croatian migrants from Dalmatia who called their new home in Tirol "the land of mariners". Gruber, *Bertold Meranski*, p. 19. The thesis merits no further comment and even Gruber himself later gave up on the argument and, one would assume, re-read Oefele. Gruber, *Povijest Istre*, p. 86.

⁴¹ Hauptmann, *Krain*, pp. 315–484 (German original) = *Nastanek in razvoj Kranjske* (Slovenian translation). I will be citing from the Slovenian edition.

⁴² "From the river of Zentina begins the country of Croatia and stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is, to the city of Alburnum, and on the side

the prolific Arab cosmographer Muhammad Al-Idrisi as part of his famed *Book of King Roger* – positions the western Croatian border between the towns of Lovran (Ital. Laurana) and Bakar, the former being “the last maritime town of Aquileian land”, the latter “the first of the lands of Croatia that take the name of Dalmatia”.⁴³ Based on these historical accounts, there was only room for one conclusion: the western border of the Kingdom of Croatia moved between the late 10th and mid-12th centuries from the Učka mountain range (Ital. Monte Maggiore) to the river Rječina (Ital. Fiumara) – this territory was annexed to “Aquileian land” at the expense of the Croatian-Dalmatian kingdom. In this context “Aquileian land” could only refer to Istria, a margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Aquileian patriarchs who, moreover, owned the most landed estates on the Peninsula.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the Aquileian *ministeriales* lords of Duino with lands *in Meran sive in Croatia* held, among others, the towns of Mošćenice (Ital. Moschiena), Veprinac (Ital. Apriano), Kastav (Ital. Castua) and Rijeka (Ital. Fiume) – all these places are situated exactly between the Učka mountain range and Rječina (see map 1).⁴⁵ Thus, the mystery of Merania was solved at last and

of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon the province of Istria.” Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 30, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, pp. 145, 147. It was Mommsen who famously ascertained that Labin did not belong to Croatia, *usque ad* meaning “up to, but not including”. Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3, p. 389. Chapter 30 was not written by the emperor, but by another, anonymous author. Bury, *The Treatise*, pp. 524–525, 556–561. See also Ančić, *Zamišljanje tradicije*, pp. 133–151, esp. pp. 143ss.

⁴³ The full title of Al-Idrisi’s book is literally translated as “The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands” and it is conventionally called *Opus geographicum* in Latin or *The Book of King Roger* after the commissioner of the work, king Roger II of Sicily. The entire work has been edited in original Arabic and published as Al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum, sive “Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant”*, ed. Cerulli et al., 9 vols (Napoli 1970–1984). I have not consulted this edition. The chapters dedicated to Italy and its neighbors, including Croatia, were edited in original Arabic and translated into modern Italian as *L’Italia descritta nel “Libro del Re Ruggero” compilato da Edrisi*, ed. Amari–Schiaparelli, relevant passages on pp. 83–84, 106. I will be citing exclusively from this edition, namely the Italian translation. On Al-Idrisi see Oman, *Al-Idrisi*, pp. 1032–1035. See also Baldazzi, *Il Mediterraneo*, pp. 160–164.

⁴⁴ The patriarchs of Aquileia expanded their possessions and jurisdictions in Istria by way of royal/imperial donations and *donationes pro remedio animae* of distinguished Istrian lords. Thus, the Church of Aquileia acquired the town of Muggia (Slo./Cro. Milje) in 931 by way of a donation of Italian kings Hugo and Lothar; in 977 the patriarchs bought Izola (Ital. Isola) from a Venetian Vitale Candiano; Pićan (Ital. Pedena), Stari Pazin (Ital. Pisinvecchio) and Plomin (Ital. Fianona) were donated to Aquileian Church by Saxon emperors, namely Otto III and Henry II; the regal rights over the bishoprics of Poreč, Trieste and Pula, including the right to appoint and invest bishops, were donated by emperor Henry IV in 1081, 1082 and 1093 respectively; in 1096 Nigrinjan (Ital. Nigrignano) was donated to the Aquileian Church by a John, son of Rantulf; Petrapilosa (Ital. Pietrapelosa, Germ. Rauenstein) was donated by duke Henry of Eppenstein in 1102 and a princely donation by Ulrich II, the son of Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde brought numerous castles and walled hill-top towns under the lay *potestas* of Aquileian prelates. Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, pp. 288–307. For the donation of Ulrich II, including the best edition of the charter, its facsimile and translation into modern English, Banić, *Donationes pro remedio*, pp. 45–67.

⁴⁵ This is known from the testament of Hugo VIII of Duino analyzed by Peter Štih and Miha Kosi. The testament is held in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna in the collection *Allgemeine Urkundenreihe*, sign. AUR 1374 VI 24. Two other towns of Merania region, Lovran

the jurisdictional microregion could finally be precisely outlined: it was the small maritime territory on the eastern coast of the Istrian peninsula stretching from the town of Brseč (Ital. Bersezio) to the river Rječina and bordering the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia.⁴⁶ Consequently, the *Maronia* and *dux Marianorum* cannot refer to the Duchy of Merania in question as the *Maronia* mentioned by Archdeacon Thomas refers to the island part of the Split diocese.⁴⁷ Even though Hormayr and Oefele were wrong to connect Merania with the Dalmatian Maronia, they were ultimately right in concluding that Merania refers to a Croatian-Dalmatian territory.

Moreover, not only was the geographical location of Merania uncovered, but it was also ascertained that this jurisdictional region had been torn away from the Kingdom of Croatia and indeed put under the *potestas* of the Holy Roman Empire. Consequently, the dukes of Merania could have had real jurisdictional powers in their duchy; however insignificant and small it may have been, Merania was not necessarily a merely titular duchy. As a result of this new interpretation, the sources from 1221 mentioning a *Ducatus Meraniae* to the east of river Livenza would refer to the actual Duchy of Merania, situated at the easternmost border of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.⁴⁸

However, solving the mystery of the exact location of Merania simply engendered a larger riddle – it remained to be uncovered how, when, and why the Kingdom of Croatia lost this territory in the first place, why it was conferred upon the counts of Dachau, then the counts of Andechs and, lastly, the Patriarchate of Aquileia. To this day there are only three accepted theses regarding these questions and all of them, as shall be demonstrated, are lacking in support. The present paper thus offers a new solution to these interpretative problems by closely (re)examining all the primary sources attesting to the putative takeover of Merania and contextualizing the change of jurisdictions differently from the dominant historiographical narratives. First, the three theses will be presented in detail along with all the counterarguments. According

(Ital. Laurana) and Brseč (Ital. Bersezio), belonged to the counts of Gorizia (see map 1). For all of this see Kosi, *Spopad na prehode*, pp. 40ss, n. 137. For the transcription of the relevant part of Hugo VIII's testament, Štih, *I conti*, p. 143, n. 7.

⁴⁶ Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, pp. 78–83. There were, however, disagreements with Hauptmann's location of Merania. E.g. Erwin Herrmann published a paper in 1975 in which he tried to argue that the Duchy of Merania refers to a territory between the rivers Tagliamento and Corno. Herrmann, *Die Grafen*, pp. 1–35, esp. 10–14. Such theses have been met with little success. For a historiographic overview of this issue see also Aigner, *Vojvodina Meranija*, pp. 39–54 (bilingual Slovenian/German edition).

⁴⁷ This was famously argued by Stjepan Gunjača, taken over by Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, the leading authority on *Historia Salontiana*, and subsequently by the editors of the English translation of Thomas's chronicle. Gunjača, *Ispravci i dopune* 3, pp. 102–105; Matijević-Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon*, p. 135; Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum*, c. 13, ed. Perić et al., p. 61, esp. n. 8 where the editors correctly define Maronia as “the insular part of the archdiocese of Split, later to be separated from it and made into the bishopric of Hvar (the islands of Brač, Hvar and Vis)”. The *dux Marianorum* would thus have to refer to a royal official with jurisdictions in (roughly) the same area. The old opinion that *dux Marianorum* refers to the independent rulers of the Narentines has successfully been deconstructed and proven untenable in Ančić, *Miho Barada*, pp. 17–43.

⁴⁸ Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, p. 83.

to their proposed main protagonists of the Meranian takeover they will be dubbed the “Royal Thesis”, the “Ulrich Thesis” and the “Duino Thesis” respectively. Once all leading interpretations have been deconstructed, the paper will introduce the new thesis as well as the contextual framework in which it is embedded. Finally, the study concludes with counterarguments to the newly proposed thesis, demonstrating that while some aspects may be challenged due to the quantity and quality of surviving primary sources, the new interpretation is nevertheless a significant improvement over the existing historiographical narratives.

Solution 1: The “Royal Thesis”

The first influential historiographical narrative regarding the jurisdictions over Merania was penned by Bernardo Benussi, a champion of 19th-century Istrian medieval history.⁴⁹ Benussi based his thesis on a very biased reading of *De administrando imperio*, specifically c. 30. According to the Rovinj-born historian, the old Roman border between Istria and Liburnia had indeed been the river Raša (Ital. Arsia), but by the second half of the 6th century this border had already shifted to the river Rječina, *Tarsia* in Latin.⁵⁰ Benussi based this argument on the 14th-century Venetian chronicle written by Andrea Dandolo, the future doge who indeed wrote of Istrian borders during the Avar incursions that had been *ab urbe Tarsia*.⁵¹ This shift from *Arsia* to *Tarsia* occurred, according to Benussi, already in the age of emperor Constantine I in the 4th century. In support of this argument Benussi cited Mommsen who simply wrote that “whether Plomin was incorporated to Istria in the age of Constantine, or whether it continued to be attributed to Dalmatia, is uncertain”.⁵² As this very emperor territorially reorganized the Empire and since “Istrian bishoprics appear to already exist at the time of this sovereign”, Benussi felt there was no need to back his argument any further.⁵³

This borderline at Rječina, continued Benussi, also moved and this is corroborated by Constantine Porphyrogenite who wrote that “the hills mark its [Istrian] borders to Dalmatia”.⁵⁴ These “hills”, Benussi claimed, could only refer to Ćićarija as Labin mentioned in *De administrando imperio* as the city bordering Istria and Croatia, was not Croatian, but Istrian. Benussi’s thesis rests partly on Mommsen’s reading of c. 30 of Porphyrogenite’s manual according to which the *usque ad Albo-*

⁴⁹ On Bernardo Benussi see Ivetic–Radossi, *Prefazione*, pp. 5–14.

⁵⁰ Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, pp. 56–58. His most detailed account of this shift from *Arsia* to *Tarsia* is idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 162–178.

⁵¹ Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 2, ed. Pastorello, p. 86, l. 31.

⁵² Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3, p. 389.

⁵³ Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, p. 60; idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 165–166, 177, 181, 182–183.

⁵⁴ “Costantino Porfirogenito ci dice che dal tempo in cui L’Istria fu ridotta a provincia militare (Thema), i monti segnavano il suo confine verso la Dalmazia.” Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, p. 57. This shift from Rječina to the Učka mountain range is also explicated in more detail in Idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 169–171.

nam must be understood as “up to Labin, but not including it”.⁵⁵ This indeed is the most logical reading of the passage and to this day it is the dominant interpretation of the passage. Moreover, already in 1012 Plomin (Ital. Fianona) in the district of Labin was confirmed by emperor Henry II as a temporal possession of Aquileian Church, donated by his predecessors during the age of “counts Poppo and Sizo”.⁵⁶ While Benussi admitted that the mountain ranges of Učka and Ćićarija represent the natural, easily-defensible boundary, he nonetheless continued to interpret river *Tarsia* as the westernmost border of Croatia. The reasons for such an interpretation were the following: on the one hand, there were no “županijas” (territorial organization of medieval Croatian kingdom that could be translated as counties) northwest of Lika as he could not find them mentioned in Rački’s collection of Croatian primary sources, while on the other hand the bishop of Pula had jurisdiction over not only Labin and Plomin, but over the entire territory to the east of Učka up to the river Rječina, including Rijeka.⁵⁷ Therefore, while the easternmost border of Istria had in fact moved from Rječina to Ćićarija during the age of “barbaric” (Avar and Slavic) incursions of 6th and 7th centuries, this mysterious territory between Rijeka and Učka had, argued Benussi, not been a part of the Croatian kingdom – it was reconquered by the Franks already in the 9th century and formed part of *Regnum Italiae*.⁵⁸ In this line of argumentation Benussi was blinded by his unrepentant nationalism and strong anti-Slavic sentiment, usual for his day and age.⁵⁹ However, arguments catalyzed through such means are bound to be flawed and untenable.

⁵⁵ Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, p. 57; Idem, *Tharsatica*, p. 170. See n. 42 in this paper.

⁵⁶ D. H. II, no. 243, ed. Sickel, pp. 279–280. These counts can only be dated to 10th century. Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, pp. 329–330.

⁵⁷ Benussi, *Nel medio evo*, pp. 58, 62–64, 68, n. 190, but cf. p. 538; idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 172–173. This fact regarding the ecclesiastic jurisdictions of bishops of Pula Benussi based on 17th-century description of Istria penned by Giacomo Tomasini. See n. 75 in this paper.

⁵⁸ This point was most emphatically made in his later writings. E.g. in 1922 he wrote that “[d]a quando appare nei documenti, Fiume non appartenne mai alla Croazia. Subordinata dall’epoca carolingica all’ autorità secolare dei vescovi di Pola, fu considerata parte della provincia aquileiese e con ciò del reame italico.” Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 127. See also idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 171, 176–177 where the author supports this thesis by citing the charter issued by Otto III to Aquileian patriarch John in 996, confirming the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Aquileian See over “the bishopric of Trsat” (Ital. Tersatto, near Rijeka). This is the only mentions of this *episcopatus Tarsaticensis* and the charter must be read in the context of disputes between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado (as well as between Aquileia and the Bishopric of Poreč) over the primacy of their Sees in the region, especially in Istria. It is in this momentous struggle that patriarch John IV sought “confirmation” of his jurisdictions from emperor Otto III based on the forged charter allegedly issued by Charlemagne in 803 (the forged charter must be dated to the 10th century) by which the Patriarchate of Aquileia received jurisdictions over all Istrian bishoprics, including the non-existent ones such as Rovinj and Trsat. Thus, the 996 charter does not testify to Aquileian secular dominion over Trsat and, consequently, over the territory between Učka mountain range and Rječina. Instead, it testifies to John IV’s attempts at securing the victory for his Church against the Patriarchate of Grado for the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Istria. The charter is edited in D. O. III, no. 215, ed. Sickel, pp. 626–627. On this charter see Leicht, *Il diploma ottoniano*, pp. 1–8, esp. pp. 2–5. On John IV, Tilatti, *Giovanni IV*, <http://www.dizionariobiograficodefriulani.it/giovanni-iv/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

⁵⁹ For a general context on how these issues manifested in historiography of this specific frontier region see Zabbia, *Ricerca medievistica*, pp. 221–241.

Thus, there was no Merania for this historian. There was only Istria up to river Rječina or mount Čičarija later, and from Rječina to the east there was Croatia. That would in turn lead to the conclusion that the Duchy of Merania was indeed a mere titular duchy referring to Dalmatia and Croatia and the Istrian historian did not fail to cite Oefele whose thesis he adopted.⁶⁰ However, he still had to explain how exactly this entire territory from Učka to Rječina ended up with the lords of Duino.

Benussi's solution was simple: the secular jurisdictions were simply given over to house Duino by the bishops of Pula who had in turn received the entire territory by way of a royal donation, issued sometime during the 9th or 10th century.⁶¹ The argument is based on two primary sources. First, there are 15th-century notes from the bishop of Pula Dominic de Luschi who wrote explicitly of his jurisdictions in the region in question, especially of various tributes in kind that were due to him by the lords of Walsee, the heirs to house Duino.⁶² According to De Luschi, the *census* owed to the bishop by the lords of Walsee comprised of one falcon, one riding horse and two hunting dogs. These symbolic gifts – nicely drawn on top of De Luschi's original notes – were due to every new bishop for their ingress into the Bishopric.⁶³ Specifically, this tribute was due for Rijeka, Kastav, Veprinac and Mošćenice, and this was enough for Benussi to ascertain the centuries-long secular jurisdiction of bishops of Pula over these territories.

However, upon closer reading it becomes clear that the secular lordship is not implied in these notes; the tribute is not due because the bishop had once been the temporal lord of these places, but because – and this is explicitly stated by De Luschi – the lords of Walsee (and one can suppose the lords of Duino before them) were given rights to levy tithes in these places.⁶⁴ Therefore, it was only the episcopal tithes that had been enfeoffed, not the entire temporal jurisdiction over the towns in question. This is further corroborated by the fact that the book of incomes of the Bishopric of Pula from the same period, 1426/29, feature detailed lists of various dues collected in Pula and its dependencies, in Medulin and the adjacent villages, in Vodnjan and Bale, in Labin and even in the distant Kostanjica in northern Istria, but at no place does it mention any incomes from places between Brseč and Rijeka – *in Meran sive in Croatia*.⁶⁵ At the same time, the tax roll (*urbarium*) of the counts of Walsee from c. 1400 explicitly lists the tithes (*zehent*) from all of the mentioned

⁶⁰ Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, p. 397.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258–259; Benussi, *L'Istria*, pp. 116–117; *idem*, *Tharsatica*, pp. 183–187. The most detailed argumentation of this thesis is *idem*, *Il feudo*, pp. 97–111.

⁶² These notes are edited in Gnirs, *Die Noten*, pp. 23–28.

⁶³ *Tenetur dominus de Valsa in quolibet episcopo novo dare unum equum parafredum et duos canes vibriseos id est braccos et unum avem austurem*. Gnirs, *Die Noten*, p. 25; Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 103.

⁶⁴ *Omnia praedicta loca suprascripta vicelicet terram Fluminis, Castrum Castoe, Castrum Val Prenaz, Castrum Moscanic ... quibus locis ipse dominus de Valsa decimas exigit, quas et loca praedicta primo erant episcopatu et data fuerunt in feudum*. Gnirs, *Die Noten*, p. 25; Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 103.

⁶⁵ Gnirs, *Zwei Rechnungsbücher*; *idem*, *Die Noten*, p. 25; Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 103.

towns.⁶⁶ This practice of enfeoffing episcopal tithes to lay nobles is a phenomenon common to the entire medieval Latin Christendom and the ecclesiastical province of Aquileia exemplifies this practice perfectly.⁶⁷ For example, the tithes of Izola (Ital. Isola) belonged to the bishop of Trieste – not because his bishopric owned Izola as a temporal possession, but because it was part of his diocese – who enfeoffed it to count Engelbert II of Gorizia,⁶⁸ the bishop of Poreč enfeoffed tithes of Rovinj – a town not under his secular rule, but ecclesiastical – to a variety of his retainers, some even on quite inimical terms with the bishop.⁶⁹ Thus, when De Luschi writes that “these dogs show the maximum lord of my Church and Bishopric”, and that “I was ready to forsake the dogs if the said places and towns were to return to my Bishopric”, he simply refers to the right to collect episcopal tithes in the peripheral areas of his diocese; even though this right had been enfeoffed by his predecessors and the due tribute had not been paid “for over fifty years”, it nonetheless remained the prerogative of his Church that the unyielding bishop wanted fully acknowledged.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Kos, *Jedan urbar*, pp. 3–20, esp. p. 11 where Kos correctly states that “[t]ithe is a levy that was originally paid to the Church. In the period of our tax roll’s composition it [the tithe] was already in the hands of lay feudal lords”.

⁶⁷ Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, esp. pp. 90–91, 147–148, 151–153 (discusses a case from Piran in Istria from the 13th century), 165–177; Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, esp. pp. 113–114; Castagnetti, *La decima*, pp. 215–233; idem, *Le decime*, pp. 507–530; Eldevik, *Episcopal Power*, esp. pp. 10–15. Like the majority of northern Italy and the entire Veneto region, Istria too was a region of *quartesium* or *quartese* – one fourth of total tithe was always reserved for the local parish. The statute of Veprinac from 1507 testifies explicitly to this practice: “Our law is to give a tenth of grain and wine and lambs of which a fourth part goes to the priest” (orig. *Zakon naš e, da imamo gdi dat desetinu žita i vina i ênac; od toga grê popom četrti del.*). *Veprinački zakon*, cap. 35, ed. Margetić, p. 156. On *quartese* see e.g. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, pp. 119ss.

⁶⁸ Izola was a temporal possession of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, purchased from Vitale Candiano, a Venetian citizen, by patriarch Radoald and confirmed by emperor Otto II in 977. D. O. II, no. 154, ed. Sickel, p. 174. The bishop of Trieste first enfeoffed the tithes of Izola to count Engelbert II of Gorizia who subsequently gave them to Ulrich II, patriarch of Aquileia, who in turn bequeathed them to St. Mary’s monastery in Aquileia. All this is read from the privilege of pope Alexander II issued to this monastery from April 1174. The best edition of this charter is *Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria*, no. 23, ed. Härtel, pp. 111–114. Noticeable is the same wording used by De Luschi centuries later where tithes and the corresponding place are both mentioned as belonging to the bishopric: *Wernhardus Tergestinus episcopus decimam cuiusdam loci sui Episcopatus cui Insula nominatur*. Again, this does not, just like in the writings of De Luschi, refer to secular ownership. CDI 1, no. 146, ed. Kandler, p. 284.

⁶⁹ E.g. CDI 1, nos. 167 and 168, ed. Kandler, pp. 315–316, and pp. 317–318. That the Bishopric of Poreč exercised only ecclesiastical and not also temporal rule over Rovinj was ascertained already by Benussi. Benussi, *Storia documentata di Rovigno*, pp. 42–50; idem, *Nel Medio evo*, pp. 226–227. An insightful paper on various disagreements (to put it very mildly) between bishops and their *milites*, very much comparable to examples from medieval Istria, is Reuter, *Filii matris nostrae*, pp. 241–276.

⁷⁰ *Ipsi vero canes maximum dominum ostendebant ecclesie et Episcopatus mey ... Et si sibi durum videtur; canes sibi dimittere paratus eram, si loca et castra predicta rederet Episcopatus mey*. Gnirs, *Die Noten*, p. 28; Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 104. In the book of accounts of the Bishopric of Pula there is only one single entry mentioning *decime terre Fluminis* and it is mentioned in the context of expenditures, not incomes. Namely, the bishop of Pula paid three pounds of small denari to a certain *hostiarius*, who brought the tithes of Rijeka to Pula. Gnirs, *Die Noten*, p. 23. This is the only entry mentioning tithes from any place east of Učka in the book of accounts of

As an interesting side note, once the adamant De Luschis finally received his two dogs, he named them “Walsee” and “Duino”.⁷¹

This old argument that the bishops of Pula were the temporal lords of the entire territory to the east of the Učka mountain range up to Rijeka stems from pre-scientific historiography, namely the writings of an early modern historian, the Gorizian humanist Martin Bauzer (1595–1668).⁷² It was this scholar that wrote in his *Historia rerum Noricarum et Foroiuliensium* that the towns of Rijeka, Kastav, Veprinac and Mošćenice had once belonged to the Bishopric of Pula, that they were bequeathed to the lords of Duino and, in 1400, to their successors, the lords of Walsee; he even mentions the exact tribute that was due to every new bishop by these lords, precisely as described by Luchis.⁷³ Although Bauzer’s historical writings have been judged as “worthless for older periods”, it is clear that this particular passage stems from the same 15th-century notes of bishop De Luchis as it explicitly mentions the lords of Walsee and the impositions in kind owed to the bishop.⁷⁴ Other historians and chorographers of the era, most notably Giacomo Tomasini who also wrote in mid-17th century, only noted “very extensive jurisdictions” of the bishops of Pula, “encompassing many places of the Empire, among which Rijeka is prominent, a populous land situated opposite of Trieste, where at times the bishops reside due to cleanliness of air”.⁷⁵ Virtually identical was the description of his contemporary Prospero Petronio.⁷⁶ Thus it was only Bauzer who interpreted the bishops of Pula as worldly lords who had enfeoffed their secular possessions to the

Pula’s bishops and it does not even list these as incomes, so this line in itself does not prove the bishopric’s right to collect *decimae* in these lands as was argued by Benussi. Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 106. Cf. Klen, *Feudalna desetina*, pp. 287–299, esp. pp. 287–88, who erroneously insists on a strict division between ecclesiastic and secular tithes, concluding that “[t]here are no notices thus far that would attest to simultaneous collection of both secular and ecclesiastic tithes in Rijeka.” Namely, there was only one tithe, ecclesiastic in origin, of which one fourth was universally reserved to the local chapter – the *quartese*. As bishops and archbishops began enfeoffing their tithes – the remaining three fourths that is – the *quartese* began to be called, somewhat misleadingly, “the ecclesiastical tithe” as opposed to “the secular tithe”; both were in fact simply parts of a single ecclesiastical tithe and this notion obviously eluded Klen.

⁷¹ *Quibus canibus imposui nomen uni Valsa, altero Duyno*. Gnirs, *Die Noten*, p. 28; Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 104.

⁷² On Martin Bauzer (called Baučer in Slovenian) see Grossi, *Bauzer, Martino* <http://www.dizionariobiograficodefriulani.it/bauzer-martino/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019]; Mihelič, *Bavčer, Martin* <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi136331/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

⁷³ The full passage, quoted by Benussi, is: *Fluminis oppidum, Castua, Veprinacium et Moscheniza vici feruntur quondam fuisse fisci Pollensis Ecclesiae, collati fiduciae dynastarum Duinensium quorum ultimus memoratur Hugo ... quo mortuo ad annum salutis 1400, dynasta de Walda (Rupertus) institutus de Duino, de Senoseza, de Guteneco, de Flumine, Castua, Veprinacii et Moscheniza castellis, de quibus ultimis locis eo pacto institutus fertur a Polensi praesule ut quemvis novum praesulem, nova honoraret donatione duorum venaticorum canum, unius asturis et pulli equini eleganter exornati, ut eius loci documenta habent*. Benussi, *Il feudo*, pp. 97–98. The original Latin text remains unedited, only Slovenian translation has so far been published. Martin Bauzer, *Zgodovina Norika i Furlanije*, trans. Jelinčič.

⁷⁴ Grafenauer, *Struktura in tehnika*, p. 219. Mihelič, *Vloga Martina Bavčerja*, pp. 235–242.

⁷⁵ Tomasini, *De commentarij storici-geografici*, p. 471.

⁷⁶ Petronio, *Memorie sacre*, p. 261.

lords of Duino, and this argument rested exclusively upon the already discussed bishop De Luschi's notes. The same argument found its way into the writings of Angelo Vidovich, a 19th-century canon of Pula's chapter, who wrote that "the cities of Rijeka, plus Kožljak, Nova Vas (Ital. Villanova d' Arsa), Šušnjevića, Paz, Kastav, Veprinac and Mošćenice are places not only under spiritual, but temporal dominion of the bishops of Pula, and this is known from the old cadaster from the time of bishop Dom. de Luschi who died in 1451".⁷⁷ Again, Vidovich's argument is based on the same source, only this time with more places added to the list; all of these localities were indeed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Pula, but no source attests to the supreme temporal authority exercised by the bishops.

This was, it seems, enough to forge the myth of worldly authority of the bishops of Pula that was subsequently popularized by the likes of Pietro Kandler (who read Vidovich), Rodolfo Pichler (who read Kandler), Max Doblinger (who read Pichler) and Carlo de Franceschi (who read Kandler and who has been read by every subsequent generation of Istrian historians).⁷⁸ Moreover, a scholar following in their footsteps and the author of an influential and voluminous monograph on the history of Rijeka, Giovanni Kobler, even "ascertained" the year of the original enfeoffment: 1139.⁷⁹ At this point it is needless to state that this is also completely ungrounded in primary sources; the lords of Duino indeed appear in historical records for the very first time precisely in 1139, but this document mentions neither the Bishopric of Pula, nor any territory situated between Učka and Rječina.⁸⁰ The year 1139 was simply picked as "the most likely period" when the supposed enfeoffment took place. The subsequent generation of less careful historians simply overlooked the "supposed" part of the argument and took the year 1139 as the date when the lords of Duino began exercising their jurisdictions in Rijeka, Veprinac, Kastav and Mošćenice.⁸¹

For Benussi, however, there was another source that led him to believe that there was more to the bishop's powers than merely ecclesiastic authority. Namely, in his study on the castle of Duino Rodolfo Pichler cited a document from 1312 that purportedly mentions the lords of Duino as holding Rijeka from the bishops

⁷⁷ This work, titled *Memorie sacre attinenti alla storia ecclesiastica della chiesa di Pola*, is still unedited. The original passage is quoted by Benussi: *Inoltre la città di Fiume, più Cosliaco, Villanova, Susgnevizza, Pas, Castova, Veprinac, e Moschenitze erano luoghi dipendenti dai vescovi di Pola e nello spirituale e nel temporale, come si ha dai catastici antichi ancor sotto il vescovo Dom. de Luschi che morì nel 1451*. Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 101.

⁷⁸ Kandler, *Indicazioni*, p. 19; CDI 4, no. 1034, ed. Kandler, p. 1771; Pichler, *Il castello di Duino*, pp. 138, 165, 235; Doblinger, *Die Herren von Walsee*, pp. 334, 531–532; De Franceschi, *L'Istria*, pp. 98, 233, 434.

⁷⁹ De Franceschi, *L'Istria*, p. 434, citing personal communication with Kobler. Kobler, *Memorie* 1, pp. 47, 51, 258, although he never explained his argumentation for this very dating (Benussi does that for him in one of his more amusing inner dialogues, see Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 113).

⁸⁰ CDI 1, no. 133, ed. Kandler, pp. 262–263. See also Kosi, *Spopad na prehode*, p. 40.

⁸¹ Simoniti, *Statut Mošćenica*, p. 98; Darovec, *A Brief History*, p. 30 (dating it to "the first half of 12th century"); Fabjanović, *Kastavština*, <http://istra.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=1325> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

of Pula and not from the counts of Gorizia, their seigniors.⁸² Although Benussi criticized Pichler for not editing the source *in extenso*, he nonetheless took over these notices as given.⁸³ Thus, Benussi emphatically concluded that he “had no doubt whatsoever” that “Rijeka with Kastav, Veprinac and Mošćenice had been enfeoffed by the Bishopric of Pula to the lords of Duino and to the lords of Walsee”.⁸⁴ Not only was in this way the Aquileian regestum mentioning lands in *Meran sive Croatia* completely neglected, but the 1312 document in question – housed in Austrian Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna in *Allgemeine Urkundenreihe* collection under signature AUR 4151 – does not mention the bishops of Pula in any way whatsoever, let alone as the putative lords of Rijeka; this part was simply inferred by Pichler and uncritically taken over by Benussi.⁸⁵

Even though these writings do not explicitly testify to the worldly authority of the bishops of Pula, they were nonetheless traditionally read as the definitive proofs that the bishops of Pula had originally been the secular lords of these towns and that they had subsequently enfeoffed them to the lords of Duino. The only thing that Benussi needed to solve was how the bishops of Pula became the worldly lords of this territory in the first place. His solution was imaginative: the bishops must have received the entire region by way of a royal donation issued by an Italian king sometime between c. 850 and c. 950. As there is no donation charter of the sort – absolutely no primary source that would attest to any sort of temporal jurisdictions of the bishops of Pula exists – Benussi based this argument simply on comparative examples: the nearby bishoprics of Poreč and Trieste both received royal grants precisely during this time period; therefore, the same process must have occurred in Pula as well.⁸⁶

⁸² Pichler, *Il castello di Duino*, p. 165. The lords of Duino were ministerials to both the patriarchs of Aquileia and to the counts of Gorizia. From 1366, however, they pledged themselves exclusively to house Habsburg and alienated all the possessions they held from their previous lords, a turn of events that spelled disaster for the waning Gorizian counts. On lords of Duino see Kos, *Iz zgodovine devinskih*, pp. 91–134; Štih, *I conti*, pp. 142–159; Kosi, *Spopad na prehode*, pp. 40–43, 90–94 and 214 (the most up to date family tree). The scholarship on *ministeriales*, famously defined as “unfree noble knights”, is substantial. See e.g. Bosl, *Noble Unfreedom*, pp. 291–311; Zotz, *Die Formierung*, pp. 3–50; Arnold, *Instruments of Power*, pp. 36–55. For a monographic treatment of the topic see e.g. Idem, *German Knighthood*; Bacci, *I ministeriali*.

⁸³ “È deplorabile che il detto scrittore [Pichler] non abbia trovato la necessità di pubblicare per intero o in calce o in appendice i documenti ch'egli poté avere dall'Archivio imp. di Vienna.” Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 114, n. 2.

⁸⁴ “Che Fiume con Castua, Veprinaz, e Moschenizze fossero dalla chiesa vescovile di Pola date in feudo ai Duinati, ai Walsee, come abbiamo veduto non havvi dubbio alcuno.” Ibid., p. 106. Similar statement in idem, *Tharsatica*, p. 183.

⁸⁵ The document is published *in extenso* in *Listine o odnošajih* 3, no. 107 (appendix to charters from vols. 1–3 (1116–1347)), ed. Ljubić, pp. 438–439.

⁸⁶ “I vescovi di Pola avrebbero avuto i feudi al Quarnaro ... per opera ed al tempo dei re italici, di quei re che furono tanto larghi e generosi verso le altre chiese istriane: in numeri rotondi, fra l'850 ed il 950.” Benussi, *Il feudo*, pp. 108–111, quotation on p. 108. Similarly in idem, *Tharsatica*, pp. 184–185. Cf. the opinion of Kandler who, much like Benussi, argued that the secular power of the bishops of Pula began with a royal donation, but he thought it was Conrad II who issued the diploma, precisely in 1028 nonetheless. Kandler, *Indicazioni*, p. 19. This argument is also utterly unsubstantiated.

Finally, Benussi searched for the exact date when the territories were first enfeoffed to the lords of Duino by the bishops of Pula. Even though he criticized his predecessors who dated the original enfeoffment in 1139 because their claims were unsubstantiated, Benussi likewise argued for a dating with no basis in primary sources: “the first decades of the 12th century”.⁸⁷ The first primary source that actually attests to lords of Duino exercising their jurisdiction in Merania, specifically Rijeka, stems from 1300 and has nothing to do with the Bishopric of Pula.⁸⁸

No royal or imperial donation to the bishopric of Pula from the Middle Ages has ever been discovered; moreover, the only primary source to ever link the lords of Duino to the Bishopric of Pula is the note of bishop De Luschi and its interpretation in terms of secular jurisdictions stands in complete contradiction with the 1366 Aquileian document. Despite this, Benussi’s thesis was largely accepted. Even though a part of the “Royal thesis” has fallen out of favor following Hauptmann’s landmark study of 1928, the old historiographic narrative to which Benussi lent his academic weight – according to which the bishops of Pula were the secular lords of Rijeka, Veprinac, Kastav and Mošćenice who simply enfeoffed these territories to the lords of Duino – is still widely accepted.⁸⁹ However, this thesis rests on an utterly biased and wrong reading of *De administrando imperio*, on a purely fictitious royal donation bequeathing upon the bishops of Pula temporal jurisdictions in territories east of Učka, and on a completely wrong reading of both the 1312 charter and the notes of bishop Dominic de Luschi – the crown “proofs” of the entire narrative. Furthermore, the 1366 document that explicitly testifies to lords of Duino holding lands *in Meran sive in Croatia* from the Aquileian Church had to be, for the sake of the thesis, wholly ignored.⁹⁰ As the only part that is “salvageable”

⁸⁷ Benussi, *Il feudo*, p. 113.

⁸⁸ The original document is lost, only a regestum survives, written by Pavel Puzel (1669–1721), an early modern scholar of Stična monastery, in his *Idiographia sive rerum memorabilium monasterii Sitticensis descriptio*. Puzel summarized the document with the following words: *Hugo vero de Dvino, vel Diwno, seu secundum aliquos Tybein Dominus in Liburnia civitatis Fluminensis ad ora maris Adriatici sitae, concedit, ut de Sancto Vito, suo Fluminensi civitate, monasterium possit pro sua necessitate educere, beneficio clitellariorum equorum 50 soumas samiosve salis, et 6 olei, quotannis sine ullo telonio, muta aut vectigali*. Quoted from Kos, *Jedan urbar*, p. 3, n. 3.

⁸⁹ De Vergottini, *Lineamenti storici*, pp. 39, 44, but cf. p. 76; Pirchegger, *Überblick*, p. 512; Klebel, *Über die Städte*, pp. 58–59; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 467; Bertoša, *Istra od 6.*, p. 125; *Istria nel tempo*, pp. 242–243, 273; Škunca, *Prošlost Crkve*, p. 78; Banić, *Teme iz istarskog*, p. 454, n. 24 where the author wrongly designates the lords of Duino first as counts and then as advocates of Aquileian Church – they were neither and those titles belonged to the counts of Gorizia.

⁹⁰ Kobler, who subscribed to the “Royal thesis”, wanted to interpret the 1366 *regestum* in some way and his solution must have angered Benussi greatly. According to Kobler, Merania from 1366 refers simply to Istria – precisely to Kožljak, Hum and Vranja that the lords of Duino held from Aquileian Church (they did not, except for maybe Vranja) – and since a part of Istria inhabited by the Slavs was called Croatia by some (it was not, especially not in the Middle Ages), hence the *in Meran sive in Croatia* designation. Kobler, *Memorie* 1, p. 49. Kožljak had indeed been first a temporal possession of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, but it passed on – *sive iuste sive iniuste* – to counts of Gorizia by way of their ministerials, the lords of Kožljak. Although it was

from this historiographical construction is the fact that the bishops of Pula at some point before the end of the 14th century enfeoffed their episcopal tithes to the lords of Duino, the “Royal thesis” must be completely abandoned.

Solution 2: The “Ulrich Thesis”

Unlike Benussi, Hauptmann correctly interpreted c. 30 of *De administrando imperio* and defined the Učka mountain range as the border between Istria and Croatia in the mid-10th century. As this border had already shifted to the river Rječina by the mid-12th century, the territory the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia lost had to be the mysterious Merania mentioned in the 1366 document. Once Hauptmann ascertained the exact territorial location of this historical border region, he proceeded to inquire into the modalities of its incorporation into the Holy Roman Empire. The Slovenian historian first investigated the age immediately surrounding Conrad II of Dachau as he had been the first imperial noble with the title of Meranian duke. However, according to Hauptmann, the imperial takeover of Merania could not have happened during the lifetime of Conrad II as Barbarossa’s planned invasion of Hungary never took place.⁹¹ Therefore, even before the mid-12th century, the region of Merania had to have been already incorporated into the Empire. Consequently, the roots of Conrad’s ducal title had to lie elsewhere. Hauptmann sought them in the count’s family inheritance; he found them in a woman named Williburga.

The prolific Bavarian humanist Johannes Turmair, also known by his alias *Johannes Aventinus*, wrote in the first half of the 16th century, as part of book seven of his famed *Annales ducum Boiariae*, that the wife of *Chunradus Dachunus* had been a certain *Billepyrga* who bore the count a son, *Chunradus secundus, dux Dalmatiae*.⁹² It is not known on what primary source Aventinus based this fact;

revented by the patriarchs for a short time in the first half of the 14th century (in 1342 patriarch Bertrand of Saint-Genies even confirmed its enfeoffment to lords of Duino who originally held it in pledge from Beatrice, the widow of Henry II of Gorizia), Kožljak was back in the *potestas* of Gorizian counts already before 1366. Hum mentioned by Kobler is simply a wrong reading of *turris que dicitur Cholmtz* that in fact refers to Humac, right next to Kožljak, and not Hum in the district of Buzet. For all of this, with detailed citation of primary sources, Štih, *I conti*, pp. 136–140. Finally, it cannot be ascertained who originally enfeoffed Vranja to lords of Duino, counts of Gorizia or Aquileian patriarchs. Vranja is mentioned neither in the testament of Albert III of Gorizia, nor among the documents of Aquileian Church. Primary sources only attest that the lords of Duino held Vranja in the second half of the 14th century and that it passed on to house Habsburg following the peace treaty of Šiška (Germ. Keissach, Keitsch) by Ljubljana (Germ. Leibach) of 1370, signed between the Austrian dukes and Venice. De Franceschi, *I castelli*, pp. 337–346. Peace treaty of Šiška is edited in CDI 3, no. 803, ed. Kandler, pp. 1364–1371.

⁹¹ Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, p. 83. See n. 14 in this paper.

⁹² *Ex Arionulpho et Beatrice nascuntur Otto Phalatiensis et Chunradus Dachunus. Huius uxor Billepyrga, filii, Chunradus 2. dux Dalmatiae, et Arionulphus Dachunus; ille Bergomi in expeditione Italica decessit anno nostris 1158.* Turmair, *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, lib. 7, c. 1, ed. Riezler, 3, p. 243. The editors of the older edition of *Annales Ducum Boiariae* had *Wilpyrga* instead of *Billepyrga*. Cf. Aventinus, *Annales Boioariorum libri septem*, p. 621. Conrad II indeed went to Bergamo as part of Frederick Barbarossa’s Italian expedition and he died there in 1159.

the *Chronicon Schirensense* that the author of Bavarian annals consulted does not mention this relationship.⁹³ It is often argued that Turmair, “the father of Bavarian historiography” read primary sources that have disappeared since his time, but it has also been demonstrated that he would sometimes let his imagination shape the narrative.⁹⁴ In any case, the name *Willibirch* is indeed mentioned in the necrology of Indersdorf abbey, a monastery founded by Otto IV of Scheyern (or I of Wittelsbach) c. 1120.⁹⁵ Since this monastery is closely connected with the counts of Dachau, both comital houses of Dachau and of Wittelsbach stemming from counts of Scheyern, the *comitissa Willibirch* reminded a lot of the *Billepyrga* mentioned by *Aventinus*.⁹⁶ Thus, it was already in 1784 that the editors of *Monumenta Boica* series published under the auspices of the Bavarian Academy of Science connected the two persons: by the name *Willibirch comitissa* they added “forte uxor Conradi I. Dachaw”.⁹⁷ Subsequent historians simply ignored the “forte” part. For example, two distinguished 19th century scholars who dedicated considerable attention to the history of house Dachau – Johan Ferdinand Huschberg and Friedrich Hektor the count of Hundt – both posited the mysterious Willibirg (sic!) as the wife of Conrad I, the father of Conrad II, the first duke of Merania.⁹⁸ However, it was Andreas Dauscher who took it upon himself to exactly pinpoint the origins of this mysterious countess.

Dauscher was inspired by the work of Hugo, the count of Walderdorff, and a passage from *The Weingarten History of Welfs* that read: “Sophie had four daughters

Tunc etiam Conradus Croatiae atque Dalmatiae dux, natione Noricus, de castro Dachowa oriundus, apud Pergamum finem vivendi fecit, eiusque corpus in terram suam deportatum, in monasterio Schiren sepultum est. Otto of Freising–Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, lib. 4, c. 17, ed. Waitz–Simson, p. 257, l. 1–5.

⁹³ Konrad of Scheyern, *Chronicon Schirensense*, ed. Jaffé, pp. 615–623, esp. pp. 620–621.

⁹⁴ On *Aventinus* see Strauss, *Historian*; Schmid, *Die historische Methode*, pp. 338–395; and more recently Riedl-Valder, *Aventinus*.

⁹⁵ The best edition is *Necrologium Undensdorfense*, ed. Baumann, pp. 172–198, *Willibirch comitissa* on p. 174. On the founding of Indersdorf abbey see Sattler, *Zur Gründung*, pp. 470–477.

⁹⁶ There is some discrepancy in the naming of this Otto, the first member of the comital house Scheyern to move to Wittelsbach castle and thus assume the byname “of Wittelsbach”. According to Kamillo Trotter, he would be Otto V, but according to Franz Tyroller (and the majority of present-day scholars) he would be Otto IV of Scheyern. The problem is whether a count Otto mentioned in 1014 in Henry II’s charter to the Church of Bamberg should be interpreted as the father of Otto, the advocate of Freising and the husband of countess Haziga of Scheyern, or not. Since there are no primary sources that would attest to this family connection and since comital house of Scheyern stems from this marriage between countess Haziga and Otto, I am subscribing to Tyroller’s naming scheme. Trotter, *Die Grafen von Scheyern*, pp. 29–36; Tyroller, *Genealogie*, pp. 246–247, 254–255 (Stammtafel 18); D. H. II, no. 324, ed. Sickel, pp. 409–410. The most recent overview of the origins of comital house Scheyern and Haziga’s inheritance that made Otto *comes de Scheyern* is Holzfurtner, *Haziga und Otto*, pp. 23–35.

⁹⁷ *Monumenta Understorfensis*, p. 168 (the necrology was edited only partially under the title *Excerpta necrologii Understorfensis*, pp. 168–170). It should be noted that there are several entries with the name *Willibirch* in the necrology; why the editors decided on 14th of January that only mentions a *Willibirch* instead of 11th of January that mentions a *Willibirch comitissa*, is unknown. Cf. *Necrologium Undensdorfense*, ed. Baumann, p. 174.

⁹⁸ Huschberg, *Aelteste Geschichte*, p. 242; Hundt, *Kloster Scheyern*, appendix: Tafel über den Mannsstamm des Hauses Scheyern-Wittelsbach.

by duke Magnus: our Wulfhild, Eilika the mother of Margrave Albrecht of Saxony, a third whom the duke of Moravia married, and a fourth whom count Ekkehard of Scheyern took from a nunnery in Regensburg and joined to himself in marriage”.⁹⁹ Hugo of Walderdorff analyzed this chapter in relation to Sophie’s offspring and filled in the gaps left by the 12th-century anonymous author of the chronicle: the Moravian duke would be Conrad I of Brno (†1092) and his wife would be Walburga (surely from Wirpirk, mentioned by Cosmas of Prague), whereas Ricarda would be the name of Ekkehard’s wife.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, argued the count of Walderdorff, these Walburga and Ricarda could not be the daughters of duke Magnus because the anonymous Saxon Annalist (*Annalista Saxo*) explicitly wrote, in several places, that Sophie had only two daughters with Magnus Billung: Wulfhild and Eilika.¹⁰¹ Thus, the two other daughters, those that married the duke of Moravia and the count of Scheyern respectively, had to be Sophie’s children from her first marriage to Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde, the first margrave of Istria.¹⁰²

These arguments were taken over by Andreas Dauscher who strengthened Walderdorff’s theses by adding onomastic and chronological dimensions: both Ricarda and Wilbirga (sic!) are names connected to Ulrich’s side of the family (his maternal side to be more precise) and are not found in the family of Magnus Bilung.¹⁰³ However, Dauscher’s arguments concerning the Moravian duke and his wife were the most important. Conrad I of Brno, argued Dauscher, could not have been the husband of Sophie’s and Ulrich’s daughter as the duke of Moravia had married a progeny of the house of Tengling – a Hildburg, daughter of Friedrich, the

⁹⁹ *Ipsa autem Sophia ex duce Maginone quatuor filias habuit: Wulfildem nostrum, Ailicgam matrem Adelberti marchionis de Saxonia, terciam quam duxit dux Maravie, quartam quam Egehardus comes de Scirin a quodam monasterio sanctimoniualium in Ratispona abstulit, ac sibi matrimonio copulavit. Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, c. 15, ed. Weiland-Pertz, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Walderdorff, *Die Verwandtschaft*, p. 593. On Cosmas’ Wirpirik: Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, lib. 2, c. 45, ed. Bretholz–Weinberger, p. 151, l. 12–13, n. 2.

¹⁰¹ *Annalista Saxo, Chronicon*, a. 1070, and a. 1106, ed. Nass, p. 416, l. 17–19, and p. 528, l. 7–12; Walderdorff, *Die Verwandtschaft*, p. 594.

¹⁰² Walderdorff, *Die Verwandtschaft*, pp. 594–595. Cf. the words of *Annalista Saxo*: *Magnus quoque dux Saxonie obit, qui duxerat uxorem Sophiam, viduam Oderlici de Wimmar, sororem Ladizlai regis Ungarorum, genuitque illi duas filias Wifhildem et Eilicam*. *Annalista Saxo, Chronicon*, a. 1106, ed. Nass, p. 528, l. 7–9. I have written extensively on Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde as margrave of Istria and of his family relations, especially in my forthcoming paper “*Marchionatus Istrie origo: (Re)interpreting the Genesis of the March of Istria and the Socio-Generational Background of Its First Margraves (c. 1060 – c. 1100)*”. Cf. Würth, *Die Grafen*, pp. 91–132, although there are some mistakes and inconsistencies that I correct in my forthcoming paper. Note on nomenclature: This Ulrich of Weimar-Orlamünde, the first margrave of Istria who dies in 1070, is the second Ulrich to rule over the March of Carniola, his maternal great-grandfather, Ulrich I of Sempt-Ebersberg, being the first († 1029). Thus, he is at times called Ulrich II and his eponymous son Ulrich III († 1112). However, looking strictly agnatically, he is the first member of the comital house of Weimar-Orlamünde named Ulrich and should thus be called Ulrich I, even though he inherited the name (as well as the title of the margrave) from his mother’s side of the family (thus, looking cognatically, he would be Ulrich II). As medieval genealogies are regularly constructed agnatically, I will refer to this Carniolan and Istrian margrave exclusively as Ulrich I, his eponymous son being Ulrich II.

¹⁰³ Dauscher, *Ueber die Familie*, p. 165.

count of Tengling.¹⁰⁴ How can the notices from *The Weingarten History of Welfs* be reconciled with these facts? Dauscher's solution was ingenious: the 12th-century Weingarten monk must have made a mistake and wrote *dux Maravie* instead of *dux Maranie*!¹⁰⁵ Thus, triumphantly concluded Dauscher, the Williburg mentioned by Hundt as the wife of Conrad I must be the daughter of Sophie and Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde.

Leaving aside the fact that Conrad I was not a Meranian duke and that there is absolutely no primary source that would attest to a Willibirch (or any other form of the name) as the daughter of either Ulrich I or Sophie, Dauscher's argument was, astonishingly enough, accepted. It was taken over by Anton Mell in his highly influential account on the history of Carniola and from Mell it was subsequently taken over by Ljudmil Hauptmann.¹⁰⁶

This family connection – (un)documented in sources as it is – lay at the very basis of Hauptmann's thesis, for it must have been precisely through this Williburga that Conrad II inherited the territories of Merania.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Merania, at this point already a duchy, was also inherited, it is argued, by Berthold IV of Andechs in 1180. Following the death of Conrad III, who died without issue, the Duchy of Merania, would have passed on to the counts of Andechs by way of another family tie. This was either with the olden Weimar-Orlamünde line (Sophie II, the daughter of Poppo III and Ricarda of Spanheim, thus a granddaughter of Ulrich I and the already discussed Sophie, being the wife of Berthold II of Andechs, the grandfather of Berthold IV the first duke of Merania from the house of Andechs) or with the Wittelsbachs (Hedwig the wife of Berthold III, margrave of Istria,

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166. The author never states from where he took over this "fact". He just writes "[i]n den genealogischen Tabellen erscheint als Gattin Konrads von Brunn eine Hildburg von Tenglingen (wohl eine Tochter Friedrichs von Tenglingen oder Beilstein, der um 1080 starb)." Bearing in mind that Dauscher wrote this paper in 1876, he could have consulted several genealogical tables that indeed posited the daughter of Friedrich of Tengling as the wife of Conrad I of Moravia, e.g. Chmel, *Der Österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 1, p. 230. This connection is wrong. The more up-to-date family tree of the Sighardingers posits Hildburg, the putative wife of Konrad of Moravia, as the sister of Friedrich I, count of Tenglingen, and the daughter of Sighard VI. Brunner, *Herzogtümer und Marken*, p. 86. However, the dominant opinion that Hildburg of Tenglingen is indeed the *coniunx Cunradi nomine Wirprik* mentioned by Cosmas of Prague is very much ungrounded in primary sources. Indeed, Cosmas mentions the offspring of the comital house of Tengling, namely Sighard X and his brothers, the bishop of Freising who he names Ulrich (should be Henry) and Frederick (who he names as their brother-in-law, should be just brother), as military companions to Ulrich II of Moravia, the son of Conrad I and Wirprik, but this is the only connection between these two families attested in the primary sources. The editors of 1923 edition of Cosmas' *Chronica* distanced themselves from this interpretation, but did not offer an alternative. Since I have discussed the possibility of Wirprik actually being the daughter of Ulrich I in details in my forthcoming paper "*Marchionatus Istrie origo*", I will not delve on this matter here, but it should be noted that there is far more evidence in support of the Weimar-Orlamünde thesis, than the Tenglingen one. Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, lib. 2, c. 45, and lib. 3, c. 15, ed. Bretholz–Weinberger, p. 151, l. 12–13, and p. 177, l. 13–17, n. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Dauscher, *Ueber die Familie*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁶ Mell, *Die historische*, p. 29; Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁷ Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, p. 83.

being the presumed daughter of Otto I of Wittelsbach).¹⁰⁸ In conclusion, prior to being elevated into a duchy in the 1150s, Merania had to have been a possession of Ulrich I, the margrave of Carniola and Istria. Hauptmann now only had to find a way by which this region changed jurisdiction from the Croatian kings to imperial margraves; he found it in a 14th century Hungarian chronicle.

The anonymous composer of the *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* – a 14th-century illuminated narrative formerly called “Vienna Illustrated Chronicle” due to it being held in the Vienna Imperial Library until 1934, but now properly titled *The Illuminated Chronicle of the Deeds of Hungarians* (hereafter IC)¹⁰⁹ – penned the following account:

King Zvonimir of Dalmatia, who was a brother-in-law of Géza, sent messengers to King Solomon and Duke Géza and asked them to give help to him against his enemies, namely the Carinthians, who at that time had seized the border regions of Dalmatia. The king and the duke therefore collected an army and marched into Dalmatia, and they restored to him in its entirety the territory taken from him.¹¹⁰

For the history of Merania, this brief passage would spark a veritable historiographical revolution.

It was already Ferdinand Maksimilijan Šišić, a champion of Croatian positivistic historiography, who correctly ascertained that the passage in question refers to the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 82. Older scholarship, that is before Hauptmann’s landmark study of 1928, saw the hereditary relationship exclusively by way of the marriage between Hedwig of Wittelsbach (at times taken for a sister of Conrad III of Dachau) and Berthold III (at times taken for Berthold IV). E.g. Herlitz, *Geschichte*, p. 14. Cf. Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 22. It must be stated that there is no evidence from primary sources that would link this *Hadewic... uxor Bertholdi marchionis* mentioned in Diessen necrology to the comital house of Dachau; there is only a line in the testament of Frederick of Wittelsbach from c. 1168 that states: *item duas curtes in Puch, et duas Hovdorf delegatas in manu Udilrici de Lochusen, comiti B. de Andechse*. As this clearly refers to Berthold III of Andechs, this is the basis of the argument that the *Hadewic* in question was somehow related to the Wittelsbachs. *Necrologium Diessense*, ed. Baumann, p. 22. Frederick’s testament is edited in *Die Urkunden des Klosters Indersdorf* 1, no. 18, ed. Hundt, pp. 10–13. Although in his PhD thesis Jonathan R. Lyon correctly noticed that “[t]he identity of Margrave Berthold II[I] of Istria’s first wife, for example, remains a mystery”, that “virtually nothing else about her is known” and that even though “[h]istorians speculate that she was a member of the house of Wittelsbach”, “[t]here is, however, no evidence to connect her directly to that [Wittelsbach] family”, he still designated that very Hedwig as “Hedwig of Wittelsbach” in his 2013 monograph. Lyon, *Cooperation, Compromise*, p. 274; idem, *Princely Brothers*, p. 182. Tyroller also has a Hedwig of Wittelsbach, daughter of Otto IV of Scheyern as the wife of Berthold III of Andechs. Tyroller, *Genealogie*, pp. 251, 254–255 (Stammtafel 18). Trotter has this Hedwig as the daughter of Conrad II of Dachau. Trotter, *Die Grafen von Scheyern*, pp. 30, 35.

¹⁰⁹ On the history of this manuscript and its older denominations, see Karsay, *The Codex*, pp. 1–4.

¹¹⁰ *Misit itaque rex Zolomerus Dalmacie, qui sororius Geyse erat, nuncios ad regem Salomonem et duces Geysam, et rogavit eos, ut propria persona eorum contra adversarios suos, scilicet Carantanos ipsum adiuverent, qui tunc marchiam Dalmacie occupavera<n>t. Rex igitur et dux collecto exercitu iverunt in Dalmatiam et ablatam sibi restituerunt integre*. Note that the translators translated *marchia Dalmacie* as “border regions of Dalmatia”; I will translate it as “Dalmatian march” or “the March of Dalmatia”. IC, c. 99, ed. Bak–Veszprémy, pp. 188, 190 (Latin original), 189, 191 (English translation).

period between 1063 and 1067.¹¹¹ The fact that Zvonimir had not been a crowned king at the time – he is first mentioned as a *ban* (a sort of a viceroy) in 1070 and as a king in 1076 – did not matter to Šišić.¹¹² Moreover, the same historian interpreted the *adversarios suos, scilicet Carantanos* as none others than the military companions of King Henry IV during his 1063 campaigns against the Hungarian King Bela I, the opponent of young Solomon who was the son of late King Andrew I and husband to Judith, the sister of the young Roman king.¹¹³ Since Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde, the first margrave of Istria, partook in this military expedition and since this very margrave was titled as *marchio Carentinorum* by chroniclers such as Lampert of Hersfeld and *Annalista Saxo*, Šišić concluded that it was precisely this individual who attacked Zvonimir's Dalmatian march.¹¹⁴ Thus, as Ulrich I occupied parts of Croatian-Dalmatian kingdom, the reigning king Peter Krešimir IV had been "preoccupied" by "serious unrests that have been triggered by the banning of Slavic liturgy and by other church reforms" and hence powerless to interfere.¹¹⁵ For these reasons, Zvonimir had to rely on his relatives on the Hungarian throne for help in reclaiming the lost territories; the help arrived after king Solomon and his duke Géza I made peace with each other and decided to aid their Croatian relative.¹¹⁶

For Hauptmann, this was the missing link that would complete his Meranian narrative. Having taken over Šišić's reading of the IC's paragraph, Hauptmann added one additional interpretative layer: Ulrich I had indeed taken over a large part of this "Dalmatian march", including Merania, and a large part was subsequently reclaimed by the joint military operation led by king Solomon, duke Géza I and *ban* Zvonimir, but the territory between the rivers Raša and Rječina was not among them. Thus, concluded Hauptmann, it was precisely in the 1060s – more precisely during Henry IV's 1063 military campaign against Bela I or its immediate aftermath – that Merania had been ripped away from the Croatian-Dalmatian kingdom and annexed to Ulrich's March of Istria, thus officially becoming a part of the Holy Roman Empire.¹¹⁷ Finally, continued Hauptmann, Ulrich II, the son

¹¹¹ Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 527.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 527, n. 72. The first ever mention of Demetrious Zvonimir in charters, named as *Suinimir banus*, is CD 1, no. 84, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 115–116. He was crowned in October 1076 in Solin and appears with the title *Chroatorum atque Dalmatinorum rex* already on 9th of October of the same year. CD 1, nos. 109 and 110, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 139–141 and pp. 141–142. On the crowning of Zvonimir see e.g. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 447. For the dating of the crowning, Stipišić, *Pitanje godine krunidbe*, pp. 57–66. On the title and function of a *ban* in the early medieval Kingdom of Croatia, see Karbić, *Razvoj političkih ustanova*, pp. 110–112.

¹¹³ Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, pp. 527–528.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 528–529. Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1062, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 79, l. 12, a. 1063, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 88, l. 9-13; *Annalista Saxo*, *Chronicon*, a. 1062, ed. Nass, p. 405, l. 8. All the subsequent translations of passages from Lampert's *Annales* will be taken from Robinson, *The Annals*.

¹¹⁵ Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 529. Šišić is referring to Alexander II's prohibition of Slavic liturgy. CD 1, no. 67, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 94–96. See also Garzatati, *Ohrid, Split*, pp. 307–334.

¹¹⁶ Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 529.

¹¹⁷ Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, pp. 84–85.

and heir to Ulrich I, gifted a majority of the lands he inherited from his father in Istria to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, including Lovran (he did not, the *Vrana* in question refers to Vranja, not Lovran), while the other part of Merania – from Lovran to Rijeka – belonged to the aforementioned Williburga and thus entered the domain of the counts of Dachau.¹¹⁸ This, Hauptmann argued, perfectly explains Al-Idrisi's description of Lovran as the last town of Aquileian lands and Bakar as the first town of Croatia – the part in between Lovran and Bakar, had been under the counts of Dachau.

The last step – the transfer of Merania from house Andechs to the patriarchs of Aquileia who in turn gave the lands *in Meran sive in Croatia* to their ministerials the lords of Duino – was at this point easy to deduce. Following the death of Otto VIII of Andechs (†1248), claimed Hauptmann, Berthold V, the patriarch of Aquileia and brother to Otto VIII, inherited, among other things, Merania and he “could have” donated this region to Aquileian Church during his life time (†1251).¹¹⁹ The narrative was now complete.

Hauptmann's thesis on the faith of Merania has been immensely popular and widely accepted. Bogo Grafenauer completely took it over and also argued that Ulrich II indeed possessed Merania by way of inheritance from his father because the town *Vrana* mentioned in the 1102 donation charter refers to Lovran (it does not).¹²⁰ Nada Klaić, a particularly influential Croatian medievalist, slightly modified Hauptmann's thesis, arguing that Solomon and Géza I helped Zvonimir reclaim the lost territories only after 1070 – after the death of Ulrich I who was also married to Géza's sister Sophie – but in relation to Merania she accepted the argument unchanged: this territory had once been Croatian, it was conquered by Ulrich I and was not reclaimed by Géza, Solomon and Zvonimir, thus remaining a part of the Holy Roman Empire.¹²¹ N. Klaić also delineated the territory of the mysterious “Dalmatian march” – the term that appears exclusively in the IC – and argued that it corresponded to eastern Istrian coastline, the Kvarner region including the towns

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 85. The argument is based on the donation charter from 1102 by which Ulrich II donates vast amounts of properties in Istria to patriarch Ulrich of Eppenstein and the Aquileian Church. However, none of the Meranian towns are mentioned in the donation. For the best edition of this donation charter, along with its translation into modern English, see Banić, *Donationes pro remedio*, pp. 59–64. See also n. 120 in this paper.

¹¹⁹ “The link between both [the counts of Andechs and the Patriarchate of Aquileia] could be the last descendent of the family, Berthold of Aquileia [Berthold V], of whom it is known that he had very richly endowed the Patriarchate from his family heirloom” (“Povezava med obema bi lahko bil zadnji predstavnik rodbine, Bertold Oglejski, o katerem je znano, da je zelo bogato obdaril patriarhat iz dediščine svoje rodbine.”). Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, p. 83. One such donation of Berthold V to the Patriarchate of Aquileia refers to Slovenj Gradec (Germ. Windischgrätz), donated with all its rights, jurisdictions, properties and dependencies in 1251. *Urkundenbuch des Herzogtums Steiermark* 3, no. 88, ed. Zahn, pp. 153–154.

¹²⁰ Grafenauer, *Vprašanje hrvatske krajine*, pp. 254–260, esp. 259. The argument is untenable – *Castrum Vrana* refers to Vranja, not Lovran. The same Vranja had been donated to Ulrich I by king Henry IV in 1064 as a reward for his “faithful service” (referring to his participation in the Hungarian campaign of 1063). D. H. IV, no. 135, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 176–177.

¹²¹ Klaić, *Da li je*, pp. 125–138; eadem, *Historijska podloga*, pp. 225–279, esp. pp. 266–279; eadem, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 378–380.

of Rijeka and Vinodol as well as the islands of Cres, Krk and Rab – the geo-cultural area of Glagolitic script.¹²² Hauptmann's Meranian narrative survives to the present day and in its essence it has largely remained unchallenged and unmodified; both in regional Istrian scholarship and in national, Slovenian and Croatian historiography, Hauptmann's "Ulrich thesis" enjoys a dominant position, accepted by authoritative historians such as Miroslav Bertoša, Peter Štih and Neven Budak.¹²³ It took a bold historian – Lujo Margetić – to challenge the dominating view and to acutely point out several incongruous interpretative jumps in argumentation.

Solution 3: The "Duino Thesis"

Tenaciously swimming against the current, Margetić drew inspiration from Miha Barada, a prominent scholar of medieval Croatia who was the first to publicly challenge Hauptmann's thesis on Merania by proclaiming it to rest on "completely arbitrary arguments".¹²⁴ Margetić deconstructed Hauptmann's thesis by closely re-examining the following primary sources: the IC and its chapter on Zvonimir and the Carinthians, the donation charter of Ulrich II from 1102, the aforementioned two documents from 1221 mentioning the *Ducatus Meraniae*, and Al-Idrisi's description of the debated territory.¹²⁵

Regarding the 14th-century narrative source, Margetić argued that Hauptmann completely distorted the account of the events as described in the IC: Zvonimir was supposed to be the king, yet he is not; Carinthians are not really Carinthians, but a military detachment led by Ulrich I, the margrave of Carniola and Istria; the Hungarian king and duke were supposed to completely restore the occupied territories, yet they only recover a part.¹²⁶ According to Margetić, the IC should be read the same way as the *Cronica per extenum descripta* by Andrea Dandolo, as a narrative that does not shy away from "remorseless alteration of facts" in order to legitimize, celebrate and glorify its main protagonists – the Venetian commune and its doges for Dandolo, Hungarian kings for the compiler of the IC.¹²⁷ Therefore, the IC, being written just after the triumphant campaigns of Louis I of Anjou who (re)conquered Dalmatia and (re)affirmed the *potestas* of the Hungarian crown over this contested region, needed to depict the 14th-century change of jurisdiction in

¹²² Klaić, *Da li je*, p. 136 and passim; eadem, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 378-379. I will return to this issue later in the paper.

¹²³ Bertoša, *Istra od 6.*, p. 130; Štih-Simoniti-Vodopivec, *Slovenska zgodovina*, p. 72; Štih, *Od Karniole*, p. 476; Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, p. 63; Majnarić, *Karolinško, Otonsko*, p. 527; Nikolić Jakus, *Ugarska*, p. 619; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 220, 256.

¹²⁴ Barada, *Hrvatski vlasteoski feudalizam*, pp. 14–15, n. 14.

¹²⁵ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 39–62.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43. Margetić dedicated several studies to Venetian chroniclers, most notably Andrea Dandolo, in the context of medieval Croatia-Dalmatia. See e.g. Margetić, *Vjerodostojnost vijesti*, pp. 117–146; idem, *Vijesti Andrije Dandola*, pp. 209–258; idem, *Odnosi Hrvata*, pp. 4–15.

Dalmatia as “the return of legitimate state of things”.¹²⁸ Hence the story of king Zvonimir, the relative of Hungarian royal family; hence the noble military help and the successful recuperation of entire Dalmatia; hence the subsequent story of king Ladislav's takeover of Croatia and Dalmatia following the death of king Zvonimir, undertaken not “out of greed, but because according to the rights of royalty the inheritance fell to him. For King Zvonimir stood to him in the first degree of affinity, and had no heir”.¹²⁹ The background of the whole story is simply the building of “moral legitimacy” for Hungarian sovereigns. In short, the IC paragraph in question was simple “political propaganda”, but – just as the story of Ladislav's campaigns in Croatia-Dalmatia – there was an underlying factual basis that engendered the narrative in the first place: for Margetić, that was simply the attack of Géza I and king Solomon on the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia.¹³⁰ Although he did not bother to specify more precisely why and when this putative Hungarian attack occurred, in one of his other papers Margetić argued that the forces invading Rab in the first half of the 1070s, traditionally believed to have been the Normans, were in fact the Hungarians.¹³¹ As a conclusion Margetić points out that absolutely

¹²⁸ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 44.

¹²⁹ *Quod tamen rex non fecit propter cupiditatem, sed quia secundum regale iustitiam sibi competeat hereditas. Quoniam quidem rex Zolomerus in primo gradu affinitatis eidem at<D>inebat et heredem non habuit.* IC, c. 132, ed. Bak-Veszprémy, pp. 246 (Latin original), 247 (English translation).

¹³⁰ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 45, 57.

¹³¹ Margetić, *Pozadina prvoga ugarskog*, pp. 75–119; idem, *Odnosi Hrvata*, pp. 15–21. This argument is based on a line from a 14th-century narrative written by a pro-Venetian bishop of Rab, George de Hermolais, who stated in his *Miracles of St. Christopher* how a certain *Unragorum* (Farlati's reading) or *Varagorum gens* (Rački's reading) invaded the island. *Illyricum Sacrum* 5, ed. Farlati, pp. 231–235; *Documenta*, no. 224, ed. Rački, pp. 455–457. Traditionally, this invasion has been ascribed to Normans under count Amico II who indeed engaged in maritime warfare in Dalmatia precisely in this time. Margetić, characteristically swimming against the current, discarded the reading *Varagorum* and opted for *Unragorum* who he then identified as Hungarians. This argument has been largely abandoned in Croatian historiography, primarily because there are other primary sources attesting to Norman forces attacking Dalmatian islands and cities precisely during this period; even a Croatian king – most probably Peter Krešimir IV – was captured by Amico II and his Norman contingent (*comes Amicus regem Croatiae cepit*). CD 1, no. 107, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 136–137 (quotation on 136); William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, lib. 3, ed. Wilmans, p. 273, l. 393–395; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 38, ed. Pastorello, p. 215, l. 28–30. It is still not entirely clear on whose behalf, if anyone's but his own, count Amico II acted when he attacked Dalmatia. Since pope Gregory VII fostered amicable relations with Amico II and since he did propose an invasion of “a province by the sea, not far from us” in January 1075 to Danish king Sweyn II, it is possible that it was the Roman pontiff that stood behind this military expedition. Reg. Greg. VII, no. II, 51, ed. Caspar, pp. 192–194. On this letter see Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, pp. 543–547. Another possibility is that it was the Byzantine emperor, displeased with Peter Krešimir IV's expansionism at the expense of imperial jurisdictions in Dalmatia, who directed Amico II. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 440–441 (dates king Slavac erroneously, supports the former thesis); Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, pp. 55–56 (argues Amico II was “a freebooter”); Nikolić Jakus, *Južna Italija*, pp. 576–577 (best overview, takes no decisive stance); Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 231–232 (supports the latter thesis). In any case, the argument that it was Amico II and his Normans that attacked Rab and not king Solomon and Géza as Margetić claimed is by far the more substantiated of the two.

nothing can be inferred from the IC regarding either the territories between Labin and Rijeka – Merania – or the jurisdictions of Carniolan-Istrian margrave Ulrich I.

The next primary source, the donation charter of Ulrich II to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, was easily used as a counterargument to the dominant Meranian narrative. The donation, assuredly and correctly argued Margetić, makes absolutely no mention of any territory lying between the rivers Raša and Rječina. Thus, the charter itself can in no way support Hauptmann's thesis.¹³² Moreover, there is another document, a royal donation issued by king Henry IV to Ulrich I in 1064 by which twenty royal *mansi* were bestowed upon the margrave that would speak against Hauptmann's arguments.¹³³ Namely, the possessions donated to Ulrich I were all located to the west of Učka, right by the Croatian border as described by *De administrando imperio* (see map 1). Therefore, concluded Margetić, during the age of both Ulrich I and his son, Merania was still part of *Regnum Croatie et Dalmatie*.¹³⁴

For the two 1221 documents mentioning the Duchy of Merania Margetić simply took over the old opinion and arguments put forth by Oefele: *Ducatus Meraniae* simply refers to the entirety of possessions under the jurisdiction of the comital house of Andechs.¹³⁵ For Margetić, it would be unfathomable that the troops of Treviso reached as far east as the Kvarner region and that Istria would be considered as part of *Forumiulii*. Therefore, Oefele's interpretation, backed by the aforementioned charter of count Hartmann of Kiburg from 1254, is the only acceptable reading of the *Ducatus Meraniae* mentioned in the 1221 documents.¹³⁶

Finally, the description of Al-Idrisi, argued Margetić, does not support the view that Merania had been divided into two regions: the one extending from Brseč to Lovran being Aquileian, to other from Lovran to Rijeka being under the house Dachau. The Arab geographer clearly states that "after the lands of Aquileia... follow those of Croatia called Dalmatia" – the two distinct jurisdictional regions, Aquileian and Croatian, are unquestionably described as neighboring.¹³⁷

In the conclusion to his counterarguments Margetić states that even though Hauptmann took for granted the hereditary transfer of Merania from the counts of Dachau to those of Andechs – he indeed never detailed his argumentation for this claim – this is also untenable due to simple chronology: Conrad III died in 1182 and Berthold IV is called *dux* already in 1180 (*recte* 1181).¹³⁸ This argument was later taken over by Andrej Komac who masterfully demonstrated that Berthold IV's ducal title had nothing to do with house Dachau. Instead, convincingly argued Komac, it was the alliance between house Andechs and Frederick Barbarossa – the ruler who

¹³² Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 45–46; Banić, *Donationes pro remedio*, pp. 59–64.

¹³³ D. H. IV, no. 135, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 176–177.

¹³⁴ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 45, 56.

¹³⁵ Oefele, *Geschichte*, p. 73, n. 2.

¹³⁶ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 47.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49; Al-Idrisi, *Libro del Re Ruggero*, ed. Amari–Schiaparelli, pp. 83–84, 106.

¹³⁸ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 49. The year of Conrad III's death is given in The Greater Annals of Schäflam, a. 1182: *Chounradus dux de Dachau obit. Annales Scheftlarienses maiores*, a. 1182, ed. Jaffé, p. 337, l. 12.

aimed to consolidate the Empire's southern borders by strategically strengthening the position of his powerful and dependable allies – that resulted with the elevation of Berthold IV to the rank of duke.¹³⁹ Furthermore, in complete accordance with Oefele, both Margetić and Komac concluded that Merania had indeed been a mere titular duchy as there was not a single primary source that would attest to any sort of factual jurisdictional power of either house Dachau or house Andechs in the territory between Brseč and Rijeka.¹⁴⁰ Finally, the last will and testament of Otto VIII of Andechs, by which all the possessions of this comital house were bestowed upon his sister Adelheid (†1279), fails to mention Merania simply because this region was not under the *potestas* of the titular dukes.¹⁴¹ Even if Merania had been automatically inherited by Otto VIII's sisters, argues Margetić, the territory could not have been inherited by Berthold V (†1251) as his sisters outlived him.¹⁴² Consequently, Hauptmann's thesis that it was Berthold V of Andechs, the patriarch of Aquileia, who "could have" donated Merania to his Church, is also untenable.¹⁴³

Although Margetić had been very successful in pointing out the many flaws in Hauptmann's argumentation, his solution to the Meranian problem was not that fortunate. Based on the fact that Ulrich II did not donate any possession between Učka and Rijeka led him to conclude that the imperial, or in this case Aquileian takeover of Merania must have taken place between 1102 and 1152/3, the year of Al-Idrisi's fabled account. Margetić had found one opening in the primary sources, more precisely in one narrative account, in which he then placed the beginning of the putative occupation. Namely, between the death of Hungarian king Coloman I in February 1116 and the attack on Dalmatia by the Venetian doge Ordelafo Falier in May of the same year, there was a visit by the Holy Roman emperor Henry V to Venice. This meeting between Henry V and Falier is described by Andrea Dandolo with the following words: "In the following month of May emperor Henry V, having arrived to Venice, was welcomed in the ducal palace as a guest... as he retreated, he promised to lend aid against the Hungarians who once again invaded Dalmatia".¹⁴⁴ According to the doge-chronicler, the emperor indeed honored his

¹³⁹ Komac, *Utrditev grofov Andeških*, pp. 283–294; idem, *Od mejne grofije*, pp. 55–63.

¹⁴⁰ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 50; Komac, *Od mejne grofije*, p. 75. This is the dominant opinion in German historiography as well, advocated by e.g. Werle and, more recently, Jürgen Dendorfer. Werle, *Titelherzogtum*, p. 279; Dendorfer, *Von den Liutpoldingern*, p. 345. It is also adopted by Miha Kosi. Kosi, *Andeško-Meranski*, <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/rodbina/sbi1000510/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

¹⁴¹ The testament is edited *in extenso* in Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 246–247, no. 21.

¹⁴² Otto VIII had two sisters, Agnes and Adelheid. The former died sometime between 1257 and 1263, the latter composed her last will and testament in November 1278, thus the year 1279 is usually taken as her death. For Agnes, MDC 4/2, nos. 2799, and 2800, ed. Jaksch, p. 592. For Adelheid, Chevalier, *Mémoires historiques* 1, pp. 362–367 nos. 55–58. See also Oefele, *Geschichte*, pp. 39–40, 42.

¹⁴³ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁴ The full passage is: *In sequenti mense marcii Henricus quintus imperator, Veneciam accedens, in ducali palacio hospitatus est, liminaque beati Marci et alia sanctorum loca, cum devocione maxima, visitat, et urbis situm, edificiorumque decoritatem, et regiminis equitatem multipliciter commendavit, curiam etiam suorum principum tenens, pluribus monasteriis in-*

promise and lent aid, just as Byzantine emperor Alexius did, when Ordelafo Falier attacked Zadar soon thereafter.¹⁴⁵ Even though this is the only historical account that testifies to Henry V's aid in the Venetian recovery of Zadar and Dalmatia, and even though the *communis opinio* is that the promised help never arrived, for Margetić this was the key in solving the Meranian mystery.¹⁴⁶

It was precisely during these military campaigns, argued Margetić, that the imperial troops, led by Ulrich of Eppenstein, patriarch of Aquileia and loyal supporter of the imperial cause, took over the Croatian territory bordering the Margraviate of Istria, Merania. Thus, the help promised by the emperor to the Venetians was realized through these attacks on the north-western borders of Dalmatia, carried out by the ministerials and other vassals of the Aquileian Church, the most prominent among them being the lords of Duino.¹⁴⁷ The result of this joint military enterprise on the weakened Hungarian kingdom led by the underage king Stephen II was not just the loss of Dalmatian islands and cities to Venice, but also the loss of Merania to the Patriarchate of Aquileia. This chain of events, according to Margetić, explains both the lords of Duino as possessing lands *in Meran sive in Croatia* – they held it *de iure* from the Church of Aquileia, but they were *de facto* owners of these lands having conquered them themselves in the second decade of the 12th century – and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops of Pula over this region – they also got it from the patriarchs of Aquileia who, moreover, enjoyed the imperial privilege bestowing upon them the right to appoint and invest the prelates of *episcopatus Polensis*.¹⁴⁸

This thesis, concluded Margetić, is strongly influenced by the opinion of Miho Barada who claimed, back in 1950s, that Merania had been lost in 1116 and taken over by Holy Roman emperor Henry V.¹⁴⁹ The only difference between Barada's thesis – one that the historian never analytically argued and followed with corresponding footnotes – is that Margetić did not believe in any direct involvement of

munitatum privilegia de suis posesionibus Ytali regni concessit, in quibus ducalis provinciam regnum apelat: multis igitur a duce et Venetis sibi impensis honoribus, in suo recessu, contra Ungaros, denuo Dalmaciam invadentes, auxillam sponndit. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 41, ed. Pastorello, p. 230, l. 16–22.

¹⁴⁵ *Dux autem, in proximo mense madii, suo undique colecto exercitu, et Henrici imperatoris atque Alexii Constantinopolitani advictus presidiiis, contra Ungaros, qui ad subveniendum castrum ladre redierant, in Dalmaciam egressus est.* Ibid., ed. Pastorello, p. 230, l. 23–25.

¹⁴⁶ As was correctly summarized by Makk, “it seems more likely that the support of the two emperors meant only an endorsement in principle of the war. The German sovereign was conducting his second Italian campaign in 1116–1117, the Emperor of Byzantium was fighting the Seljuqs in Asia Minor and the Kievan Russians in 1116, so neither could have been anxious to open up a new front by directly participating in the Hungarian-Venetian conflict.” Makk, *The Árpáds*, p.18. See also Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* 1, p. 223.

¹⁴⁷ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 59–60.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 59–61. This privilege is only known by way of two 14th-century *regesta* in *Thesauri claritas. Item privilegium Henrici imperatoris quod patriarcha Aquilegensis libere possit eligere episcopum Polensem, sub data MXCIII. Item transcriptum privilegii donationis facte per Henricum imperatorem Aquilegensi Ecclesie de episcopatu Polensi*. TEA, nos. 536, and 539, ed. Bianchi, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ Barada, *Hrvatski vlasteoski feudalizam*, pp. 14–15.

emperor Henry V or his troops; instead, the help came indirectly from the Patriarchate of Aquileia and its ministerials, the lords of Duino.

Even though Margetić pointed out many flaws in Hauptmann's Meranian narrative, his own solution to the problem was lacking. Specifically, the thesis of Aquileian military involvement in Venetian-Hungarian wars of 1116 is completely undocumented in primary sources. Even more baseless is any action whatsoever taken by the lords of Duino, the ministerial family itself only beginning to appear in historical records in 1139.¹⁵⁰ Finally, even if one decides to believe the words of Andrea Dandolo that Henry V somehow actually aided the Venetian troops, there is absolutely no evidence that the territory of Merania was impacted by these campaigns in any way. For these reasons, one would suppose, Margetić's thesis does not enjoy as prominent a place in historiography as Ljudmil Hauptmann's. Although it is acknowledged as an (unlikely) alternative scenario to Meranian takeover by the likes of Peter Štih and Andrej Komac, only a few historians have fully embraced the "Duino thesis", Tomislav Raukar and Maurizio Levak being the most prominent among them.¹⁵¹ As both solutions to Meranian mystery are lacking, there must be another option: one that would acknowledge the criticism levied against Hauptmann's thesis, but that would at the same time remain firmly grounded in primary sources.

(Appendix, primary and secondary sources as well as summary will be published at the end of the part 2 in the next issue of Zgodovinski časopis)

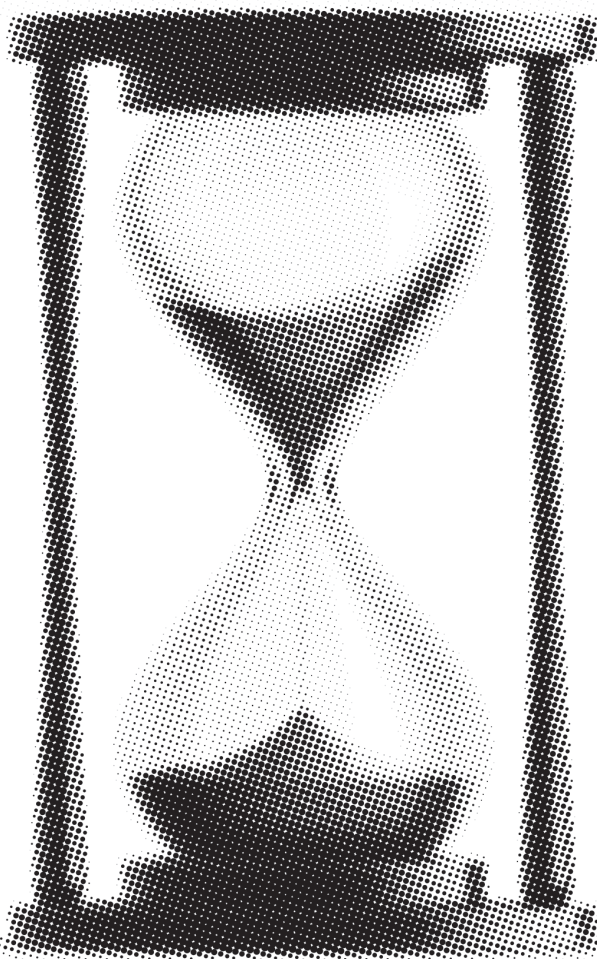
¹⁵⁰ See n. 80.

¹⁵¹ Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 273; Levak, *Istra i Kvarner*, p. 410.

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Josip Banić

The Mystery of Merania: A New Solution to Old Problems (Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia during the Investiture Controversy) (Part 2)*

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The Mystery of Merania: A New Solution to Old Problems (Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia during the Investiture Controversy)

This paper deals with issues concerning the historical background that engendered the imperial (titular) Duchy of Merania and the modality by which this mysterious territory became part of the Holy Roman Empire. The second part outlines interpretations regarding how this patch of land became part of the Holy Roman Empire. Since there is still no satisfying answer as to how, when precisely, and why this change of jurisdictions took place and who were the main protagonists of this takeover, the author proposes a new solution to this age-old mystery. The takeover of Merania is posited in the second half of the 1070s, that is in the period of Croatian king Zvonimir who fostered enmity with the Holy Roman emperor Henry IV by officially taking the side of the reform papacy and pope Gregory VII during the polarizing Investiture Controversy. It is in this context that the attacks from the direction of Istrian march and the Duchy of Carinthia ensued against Zvonimir's kingdom, led by a noble knight Wezelin whose identity is discussed in detail; this marks the beginning of the imperial takeover of Merania.

Keywords: Merania; Margraviate of Istria; Kingdom of Croatia; Patriarchate of Aquileia; Investiture Controversy; Pope Gregory VII; King Demetrius Zvonimir; Emperor Henry IV, 11th century.

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Skrivnost Meranije: nove rešitve starih problemov (Sveto rimsko cesarstvo ter Kraljevina Hrvaška-Dalmacija v času investiturnega boja)

Članek obravnava problematiko zgodovinskega ozadja, ki je ogrožalo (naslovno) cesarsko Vojvodino Meranijo in način, na katerega je to skrivnostno ozemlje postalo del Svetega rimskega cesarstva. V drugem delu sledi oris razlag, kako je ta kos ozemlja postal del Svetega rimskega cesarstva. Še vedno nimamo zadovoljivega odgovora na vprašanje, kako, kdaj točno in zakaj je prišlo do spremembe jurisdikcije ter kdo so bili glavni akterji prevzema, zato avtor predlaga novo rešitev te starodavne skrivnosti. Prevzem Meranije je umeščen v drugo polovico sedemdesetih let 11. stoletja, v obdobje hrvaškega kralja Zvonimirja, ki je podprl reforme in se uradno postavil na stran papeža Gregorja VII. v polizirajočem investiturnem boju ter gojil sovraštvo do cesarja Henrika IV. V tem kontekstu so sledili napadi na Zvonimirjevo kraljestvo iz smeri Istrske marke in Vojvodine Koroške pod vodstvom viteza Vecelina, s čigar identiteto se podrobno ukvarja avtor članka. Napadi označujejo začetek cesarskega prevzema Meranije.

Ključne besede: Meranija, mejna grofija Istra, Kraljevina Hrvaška, oglejski patriarhat, investiturni boj, papež Gregor VII., kralj Dimitrij Zvonimir, cesar Henrik IV, 11. stoletje.

* Part 1 was published in *Zgodovinski časopis* 74 (2020), 3–4, pp. 296–327.

Solution 4: The “Wezelin Thesis”

Interestingly enough, one piece of evidence that has the potential to solve the Meranian mystery is a rather well-known primary source, edited multiple times throughout the 19th century, but for some reason ignored by Benussi, Hauptmann and Margetić. Namely, in 1079 pope Gregory VII wrote a condemning letter to a noble knight Wezelin.¹ In this letter of reproach, the heir to St. Peter warned his subject not to attack “him who the Apostolic See appointed king in Dalmatia”.² If the audacious knight fails to heed the pope’s warning, “the sword of St. Peter” would be unsheathed and mercilessly released upon him and his followers.³ Since the letter is dated to 1079 and since Demetrius Zvonimir had been crowned king by the very pope’s legate in 1076, the letter indubitably refers to this distinguished Croatian monarch; this is also the consensus in historiography. Does this letter then have anything to do with the loss of Merania?

Traditionally, this letter has been interpreted in the context of Ulrich I’s putative wars against Zvonimir as read from the IC and as narrated by Ferdo Šišić. Thus, historians wanted to see a Carniolan-Istrian lord in this Wezelin, somehow related to Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde, or a “Carinthian” as mentioned in the IC. The editor of the 1079 letter even wrote “presumably a Carinthian count” as he annotated the source.⁴ After Hauptmann published his landmark article, this Wezelin became a completely unimportant character, a *post-mortem* reflex of a bygone era. Everything that was supposed to have happened had already happened: Ulrich I conquered large parts of the Dalmatian march, the Hungarian king and his duke helped Zvonimir reclaim everything but Merania, and the whole story was over by the end of the 1060s; there was simply no place for this Wezelin and his attacks. Even Margetić did not find a place for this letter and for the noble knight Wezelin

¹ The best edition is Reg. Greg. VII, no. VII, 4, ed. Caspar, pp. 463–464. The facsimile of the original is reproduced in Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 51 and in Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, p. 93.

² *Contra eum, quem in Dalmatia regem auctoritas apostolica constituit*. Reg. Greg. VII, no. VII, 4, ed. Caspar, p. 463.

³ *Quodsi te temeritatis tuę non poenituerit, sed contra mandatum nostrum contumaciter ire temptaveris, scias indubitanter, quia gladium beati Petri in audaciam tuam evaginabimus et eodem pertinaciam tuam et omnium, qui tibi in ea re faverint, nisi respiscas, multabimus*. Ibid.

⁴ “Vermutlich ein karantanischer Graf.” Ibid., ed. Caspar, p. 463, n. 1.

in his study on Merania, so he simply decided to completely ignore this source.⁵ The success enjoyed by Hauptmann's interpretation explains why historians have not bothered with this letter any more than to simply state how a knight, most probably linked to the Carniolan-Istrian region and margrave Ulrich I, dared to attack Zvonimir, but he was warned by the pope and thus the attacks ended. This is the dominant interpretation of this letter to this day.⁶ The only variations on this theme regard the exact relation of Wezelin to Ulrich I: for some historians he was his youngest son, for others he was his brother, for some he was even his great-uncle, while the vast majority simply see him as Ulrich's heir, the margrave of Istria in the 1070s.⁷ He is most often linked to another Wezelin, the Istrian count from 1027 (who in turn is at times, erroneously, interpreted as Ulrich I's father).⁸ However, all such interpretations are ungrounded in the primary sources.

Wezelin, the count of Istria from the first half of the 11th century, is rarely mentioned in primary sources, yet historians have turned to him often in explaining a wide array of various historiographical problems. In authentic primary sources this *comes Wecellinus* appears no more than four or five times: in 1014 he signed a donation of Sigimbald, the bishop of Poreč, as *Wecil vicecomes*; perhaps this is the same individual that in 1017 signed yet another document linked to the bishopric of Poreč as *dominus Wecel de civitate Parentina*; in 1027 he played a prominent role as the advocate of Carinthian duke Adalbero of Eppenstein in his dispute with Aquileian patriarch Poppo and his advocate Waltram; in the following year he is mentioned as the brother of bishop of Ceneda, Helmiger (*Helmigerius episcopus et eius frater Wecellinus*); finally, in 1030 there is a record of his son Constantine

⁵ Margetić dealt with this letter and Wezelin in several other papers, but never in the context of Meranian takeover. See n. 48.

⁶ Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 51, 388; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, p. 51; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 441–442; Kosi, *...quae terram nostram*, p. 48; Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, p. 64; Levak, *Istra i Kvarner*, p. 409; Majnarić, *Karolinško, Otonsko*, pp. 528–529; idem, *Papinstvo*, p. 544; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 23, 216–217, 220, 259.

⁷ E.g. N. Klaić has him as “an Istrian knight”, “probably margrave's vassal”; Raukar simply denotes him as “by all accounts an Istrian feudatory”; Birin describes him as “one of Istrian or Carniolan liegemen of Aquileian patriarchs”; for Levak he is “an Istrian nobleman”; Majnarić designates him as “Istrian margrave”. See previous footnote. Budak is more careful as he writes that “[w]e do not know for certain who was this Vecelin and was he in the service of Aquileian patriarch who wavered between fealty to the pope and Henry IV, or was he Istrian-Carniolan margrave, the brother of Ulrich II.” Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 259. The thesis that Wezelin was related to Ulrich I is championed by Ivan Jurković who penned an influential encyclopedia entry where he stated that “his brother [Ulrich I's] Wezelin II took over the administration of the margraviate”, equating this Wezelin II as the noble knight Wezelin from the pope's letter. Jurković, *Weimar-Orlamünde*, <http://istra.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=3039> [last access: 04. 08. 2019]. This opinion was taken over by Marija Mogorović Črljenko, Jurković's student who used his unpublished notes as her secondary literature, in yet another influential paper where Wezelin of the papal letter was also equated with the brother of Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde. Mogorović Črljenko, *Istarski markgrofovi*, pp. 87–88.

⁸ I have dealt with the genealogy of Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde in great details in my forthcoming paper “*Marchionatus Istrie origo*.” Therefore, I will briefly summarize some seminal aspects of this discussion, only inasmuch as they pertain to Wezelin.

who also signed a charter issued by the bishop of Poreč, Engilmar (*signum manus Constantini filii Ecilii comitis*).⁹

The only other primary sources that mention this individual – and this is the main source of confusion in the historiography that engendered multiple erroneous interpretations – are the two forged donation charters composed by Boniface, the bishop of Poreč (1282–1305) in 1305.¹⁰ These two documents, one purportedly issued by a countess Azica, the other by a countess Williburga – both dated to 1040 according to the year of incarnation, 1042 according to indiction and 1044 according to the year of Henry’s reign – feature a *comes Weceelinus*. In Azica’s donation he is the late husband of Williburga, the donor’s mother, and thus a grandfather to an Ulrich, Azica’s son; in Williburga’s charter he is her still living husband and Ulrich’s father.¹¹ Since Williburga II of Sempt-Ebersberg was indeed a grandmother to Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde, historians dearly wanted the family relationships described in Azica’s donation (but not in Williburga’s) to be authentic. They are not.

The mother of Ulrich I was Hademoud II of Sempt-Ebersberg, the daughter of Williburga II of Sempt-Ebersberg and Werihen III, the count of Friuli and Istria who appears in primary sources from 991 to 1028.¹² This Werihen III, as has been

⁹ The sources, in chronological order, are edited in the following publications: CDI 1, nos. 88, and 89, ed. Kandler, pp. 188–189, and pp. 190–191; D. C. II, nos. 92, and 132, ed. Bresslau, pp. 125–127, and pp. 177–179; CDI 1, no. 91, ed. Kandler, pp. 193–194.

¹⁰ I have discussed these forgeries in detail in my forthcoming paper “Anatomy of a Forgery: New Insights into the False Donation Charters of Istrian Countesses Williburga and Azica” where I built upon the conclusions reached by Danilo Klen who convincingly demonstrated that the two donation charters are historical fakes (*acta spuria*) composed by the chancellery of bishop Bonifacius in late 13th or early 14th century. See Klen, *Fratrija*, pp. 19–34. These two charters are nowadays presumed lost, but they were edited in the 18th century by Iohannes Benedictus Mittarelli and Anselmus Castadoni. *Annales Camaldulenses 2*, ed. Mittarelli–Castadoni, appendix: pp. 80–82 (Azica’s donation), pp. 82–84 (Williburga’s donation).

¹¹ Azica’s donation: [*i*]gitur qualiter inlustrissima Azcica totius nobilitatis compos, patre Wecelino et Wilpurga nobilissima matre Hystriensium quondam comite et comitissa procreate, [*d*]at igitur predicta domina Azcica consensu domine Wilpurgae matris sue adhuc viventis, et consensu domini Wolderici filii sui, qui coram stabat. Williburga’s donation: [*d*]at igitur predicta domina Wilpurga consensu domini Weceolini, et consensu domini Woldorici, [*h*]ac itaque oblatione facta eadem domina una cum supradicto Iacobo advocato suo consensu Woldorici filii sui. See previous note.

¹² The marriage between Williburga II and Werihen III is attested in the *codex traditionum* of Geisenfeld monastery where a *notitia traditionis* states that countess Williburga donated properties to the family monastery *ex petitione filie sue Liutkarde*, for the memory of her soul and her deceased husband Werihen (*in memoriam sue anime, defunctique mariti Werigandi*). *Monumenta Geisenfeldensia*, p. 182, no. 4. The connection between Williburga and Werihen is also attested in the *liber traditionum* of St. Peter’s monastery in Salzburg, an ecclesiastical institution under Werihen’s advocacy. SUB 1, no. 34, ed. Hauthaler, pp. 269–270. This Werihen appears, besides the *notitiae* of St. Peter’s monastery, as Istrian count (*Hueribent Histriensium comes* and *Weribent comes*) in 991. CDI 1, no. 85, ed. Kandler, pp. 184–185. He is also the *Werihen comes* to whom emperor Otto III donated half of Salcano and village Gorizia in 1001. D. O. III, no. 412, ed. Sickel, pp. 846–847. He is also the count of Friuli mentioned in 1028 (*in pago Foroiulii in comitatu Wari-enti comitis*). D. C. II, no. 132, ed. Bresslau, pp. 170–172. See also Štih, *Guariento*, <http://www.dizionariobiograficoifriulani.it/guariento/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019]. That Hademoud II was the mother of Ulrich is attested in the *codex traditionum* of Ebersberg monastery where a *notitia*

masterfully demonstrated by Peter Štih, cannot be the same individual as count Wezelin as this very duo is featured together in two separate documents (in 1027 and 1028 respectively).¹³ Moreover, a popular interpretation in which Werihen III had been the first husband to Williburga II and Wezelin the second, the latter being the father of Hademoud II (presumably also known as Azica) is likewise untenable due to chronology.¹⁴ Namely, Hademoud II is the oldest of Williburga's daughters, mentioned at one point as the only grandchild of Ulrich I of Sempt-Ebersberg, yet both Gerberga and Liutgard are mentioned – the former explicitly, the later implicitly – as daughters of Williburga II and count Werihen.¹⁵ Since Gerberga and Liutgard can only be younger than Hademoud, there is no way that the mother of Ulrich I was born from Williburga's hypothetical second marriage to Wezelin.

Finally, there is a creative solution proposed by Gerald Gänser – who was in turn influenced by Franz Tyroller – according to which the Werihen mentioned in Istria, in Salzburg, and in Geisenfeld's *liber traditionum* is the same person as Istrian count Wezelin from the 1020s and the advocate of Carinthian duke Adalbero.¹⁶ This does not stand up to scrutiny. Namely, the Istrian count Wezelin appears first as a viscount (*vicecomes*) in 1014, and only in 1027 as a count.¹⁷ As such, he cannot be the same individual as count *Hueribent* and *Weribent* mentioned in Poreč

traditionis states: *Hec eadem Ovdalrico, qui filius erat Hadamovde, filię Willipirge, sororis Adalperonis, dedit predium Peringin et maius Wizzinvelt cum attinentibus omnibus. Das Cartular des Klosters Ebersberg*, no. 44, ed. Hundt, pp. 143–144. This Williburga II is sometimes interpreted as Williburga III, as Williburga II would be the presumed wife of count Poppo I of Kühbach, as was famously argued by Tyroller. Tyroller, *Genealogie*, p. 66. That this construction remains utterly ungrounded in primary sources is demonstrated by Gottfried Mayr who showed that the counts of Kühbach have no documented family ties with the comital house of Sempt-Ebersberg. Mayr, *Die Grafen von Kühbach*, pp. 123–124. As such, the wife of Werihen III and the daughter of count Ulrich I of Sempt-Ebersberg should be denominated as Williburga II, not III.

¹³ Štih, “*Villa quae Sclavorum*”, pp. 108–110. They are featured together in D. C. II, nos. 92, and 132, ed. Bresslau, pp. 125–127, and pp. 177–179.

¹⁴ This interpretation was famously proposed already in 1792 by Hermann Scholliner who wrote of Williburga's two marriages, first with Werihen, the count of Friuli and Istria, and the second with Wezelin, the count of Istria. Scholliner, *De Gerbirge*, pp. 594–599 (Werihen), pp. 600–605 (Wezelin). This opinion was then popularized by the likes of Czörnig in his monumental monograph on the counts of Gorizia and Benussi in the ambit of Istrian historiography. Czörnig, *Das Land Görz*, p. 479, n. 1; Benussi, *Nel Medio evo*, p. 334. Finally, it found its way into an immensely influential paper authored by Heinz Dopsch and Therese Meyer. Dopsch–Meyer, *Von Bayern*, pp. 342, 346.

¹⁵ The 11th-century chronicle of Ebersberg family records how Ulrich I, the father of Williburga II, at one point in his life lamented how he only had one surviving grandchild, a Hademoud, the daughter of Williburga II. *Oudalricus ergo nullam ex filiis prolem videns preter unam virginem Hadamuodem vocabulo, neptem suam de filia Willibirga*. *Chronicon Eberspergense*, ed. Arndt, p. 13. Thus, the Liutcard who petitions her mother Williburga II to donate properties to family monastery in Geisenfeld to the lasting memory of her husband – and therefore certainly Liutcard's father – Werihen, can only be younger than Hademoud II. *Monumenta Geisenfeldensia*, p. 182, no. 4.

¹⁶ Gänser, *Die Mark (2. Teil)*, pp. 112–113. This opinion was at first followed by Peter Štih, but he later rebuked it and went back to “two marriages” thesis as advocated by Scholliner (n. 14 in this paper). Štih, “*Villa quae Sclavorum*”, pp. 110–111; idem, *Der friulanische Graf*, pp. 70–79; idem, *Guariento*. Cf. Tyroller, *Genealogie*, pp. 68–69.

¹⁷ CDI I, no. 88, ed. Kandler, pp. 188–189; D. C. II, no. 132, ed. Bresslau, pp. 177–179.

in 991.¹⁸ While both Tyroller and Gänser are correct in claiming that Williburga II married only once, that marriage must have been to Werihen III, the count of Friuli and Istria and the advocate of St. Peter's monastery in Salzburg, not Wezelin the advocate of Carinthian duke Adalbero and count of Istria. The two forgeries from 1305 are nothing but a patchwork of various charters available to episcopal chancery in the late 13th, early 14th century that were clumsily abridged, reworked, and anachronistically rewritten as *instrumenta publica*; they do contain traces of authentic sources and historical facts, but Ulrich I's genealogy is not among them.¹⁹

Therefore, it must be concluded that there is no primary source that would attest to an eponymous son of count Wezelin from the 1020s, let alone a source that would allow us to interpret this hypothetical individual as a brother or son or any other relative of Ulrich I. Yet, a *Wezel junior*, the presumed son of *comes Wecellinus* and Williburga II of Sempt-Ebersberg, is often found in the secondary literature. E.g. Gänser writes about him in his highly influential study on the social relations of house Eppenstein, but he was led astray by the 1305 forgeries.²⁰ What is more, he mistook Werner of Reichersberg, the brother of Starchand I and son of count Asquin, to be the putative *Wezel junior*.²¹ The confusion lies in the fact that Wezelin is a common nickname, a hypocoristicon, for Wern(h)er. There is another famous example of this name-nickname pairing: Werner the archbishop of Magdeburg was often called Wezel(in), even by the pope.²² Although they do not cite any primary or secondary source, Heinz Dopsch and Therese Meyer also have a *Wezelin junior* in their genealogical table, presumably taken over from

¹⁸ CDI 1, no. 85, ed. Kandler, pp. 184–185.

¹⁹ On the elements of *notitiae traditionum* in these two forgeries – namely the designation *brevis scriptiuncula* in the charters' *narratio* – see Härtel, *Notariat und Romanisierung*, p. 912, n. 119, and p. 918, n. 143; Štih, *Anfänge und Entwicklung*, pp. 303–304.

²⁰ Gänser was primarily led astray by the two forgeries which he used as trustworthy sources for 11th century history. Moreover, Gänser equates the names Werihen and Wezelin, believing them to be mutually interchangeable; thus, he believes that only Wezelin had been Williburga's husband, and this Wezelin would then be the same individual denoted as *Werigand* in Geisenfeld's *liber traditionis* and the advocate of St. Peter's monastery in Salzburg. Consequently, he equates Azica from the forgery with Hademoud II. Since the whole argument is based solely on the two forgeries from a much later period, it should be entirely abandoned. Gänser, *Die Mark (2. Teil)*, pp. 112–113.

²¹ Gänser, *Die Mark (2. Teil)*, p. 113, citing SUB 1, no. 21 (*recte* 22), ed. Hauthaler, p. 241. This *notitia traditionis* indeed mentions a *nobilis vir nomine Wezil*, but since this Wezil disposes of properties of a count Asquin (*comes Ascuinus*), namely Radlach, he must be the same person as Werner, the brother of Aribo who inherited Radlach. *Annales Reicherspergenses*, ed. Wattenbach, pp. 448, 455. Thus, the Wezil of *Codex Baldwini* is none other than Werner of Reichersberg, the heir to count Asquin, the *consanguineus* of St. Hema. All of this is convincingly argued by Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, pp. 215–239, esp. pp. 218–219 and p. 237.

²² His Saxon compatriot Bruno regularly refers to him as Werner (*Werinherus*). Bruno of Merseburg, *Saxonicum bellum*, c. 18, c. 26, c. 38, and *passim*, ed. Lohmann, p. 24, l. 9–10, p. 30, l. 7, p. 39, l. 20, and *passim*. But both Henry IV and pope Gregory VII refer to him as Wezelin. D. H. IV, no. 238, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 301–302; Reg. Greg. VII., nos. I, 39, and II, 68, ed. Caspar, pp. 61–62, and pp. 225–226. This name-nickname connection was known to both Ljudmil Hauptmann and Ferdo Šišić. Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, p. 219; Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 576.

Gänsler.²³ However, no primary source attests to count Wezelin from 1020s having any children other than the aforementioned Constantine.

Finally, there was never any Wezelin who assumed the title of *marchio Histrie*. The chronology of Istrian margraves is well-known and precisely documented in contemporary primary sources: Ulrich I was margrave from 1061 the latest to 1070, the year of his death.²⁴ At this point the March of Istria had not been entrusted to any other margrave – it is possible that it fell under the *potestas* of Markward IV of Eppenstein, the advocate of Aquileian Church and a close associate and kinsman of Henry IV's.²⁵ In 1077 the County of Istria and the March of Carniola were bequeathed to the Aquileian Church and its patriarch Sighard by emperor Henry IV.²⁶ Following the brief episode of Aquileian rulership, Istria was taken away from the patriarchs' jurisdictions and bestowed upon Henry of Eppenstein who remained the margrave until he succeeded his late brother Liutold as new duke of Carinthia.²⁷ From that point

²³ Dopsch–Meyer, *Von Bayern*, pp. 342, 346.

²⁴ Ulrich I is first attested as Istrian margrave in 1061; the best edition of the document is Margetić, *Pet puljskih isprava*, pp. 145–147, no. 4 (facsimile of the original, albeit a very poor one, on p. 146). On Ulrich's death: Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1070, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 112, l. 23; Annalista Saxo, *Chronicon*, a. 1070, ed. Nass, p. 416, l. 17.

²⁵ There are no sources that mention Markward IV as margrave, but Lampert of Hersfeld wrote how "it was on his own initiative that Markward had seized the territory of another man" (*Markwardum privata presumptione fides alienos invasisse*). Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1073, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 153, l. 19–20 (trans. in Robinson, *The Annals*, p. 181). This line has traditionally been interpreted, starting from Meyer von Knonau back in 1894, as Markward's *de facto* reign over the territories of the recently deceased Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde whose sons and heirs were still minor at the time of his death in 1070. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher* 2, pp. 34–35. As the very Lampert of Hersfeld also wrote how the same Markward IV took over the Duchy of Carinthia following the purported deposition of Berthold of Zähringen in 1073 "without the proceedings required by law", it is very possible that it was the Eppenstein clan, Markward IV and his sons, that were the real ruling powers in the entire Carinthian duchy during the 1070s, including the territories of the former *Marca Wodalrici marchionis*. Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1073, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 140, l. 4–6 (trans. in Robinson, *The Annals*, p. 163). Since Markward IV died in 1076 (at least this is the *communis opinio* since no necrology records the year of his death and since his son Liutold was made duke of Carinthia in 1077, (see MDC 3, no. 437, ed. Jaksch, p. 171), Henry IV could still donate Carniola and Istria to the Patriarchate of Aquileia *de nostra regali proprietate et potestate*. D. H. IV, nos. 295 and 296, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 387–389 and pp. 389–390. See also Klaar, *Die Herrschaft*, pp. 97–107; Gänsler, *Die Mark (2. Teil)*, pp. 96–97; Brunner, *Herzogtümer und Marken*, p. 157. Finally, since the IC mentions a *Marchrat dux Theutonicorum* in the first half of 1070s, it is most probably a reference to Markward IV of Eppenstein. IC, c. 114, ed. Bak–Veszprémy, p. 212.

²⁶ D. H. IV, nos. 295 and 296, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 387–389 and pp. 389–390.

²⁷ *Suus [Udalrici] frater, Liutoldus aliqua sui iuris, ut sibi visum est, scilicet Ducatum Carinthie, concessione regia obtinuit, et aliter eius frater [Henricus] Marchiam Istriam sub eadem concessione possedit. Casuum s. Galli continuatio II*, c. 7, ed. Arxt, p. 159, l. 30–32. Liutold died on the 12th of May, 1090. The year is given by Bernold of Constance: [sub anno 1090] *Ex parte excommunicatorum Liutoldus dux Carinthiorum inopinata morte praeipitur*. Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, a. 1090, ed. Robinson, p. 481, l. 3–4. The date is given by the necrology of St. Lambert. *Necrologium s. Lamberti*, ed. Herzberg–Fränkel, p. 325. Henry was first mentioned as duke of Carinthia in 1093, the same day the March of Carniola was donated to the Patriarchate of Aquileia. D. H. IV, no. 431, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 576–577. See also Klaar, *Die Herrschaft*, pp. 107–118.

Istrian march was under the jurisdiction of Burckhardt II of Moosburg, the former advocate of Aquileian Church, the brother of Berthold, imperial anti-archbishop of Salzburg, and a very close associate of emperor Henry IV (disputed by Poppo III, the son of Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde).²⁸ Although there is a short gap between 1070 and 1077 that could be filled by the presumed margrave (or simply a count) Wezelin as heir to Ulrich I, there is simply no primary source whatsoever that would attest to this scenario.

Since the noble knight Wezelin to whom pope Gregory VII wrote in 1079 is neither the heir to count Wezelin from the 1020s nor a relative of Ulrich I's and definitely not a margrave as is generally assumed, one should look elsewhere to establish both his identity and his role in the wider region. Where does the pope's reproachful letter fit, who was this Wezelin, why did he attack Zvonimir's Dalmatia and what did he (hope to) achieve?

To begin answering these questions, several crucial observations regarding the historical context must be made. Zvonimir pledged himself and his kingdom

²⁸ There is much confusion in scholarship regarding Burckhardt II as margrave of Istria. The root of the problem stems from both Burckhardt II and Poppo III of Weimar-Orlamünde appearing in contemporary primary sources as margraves of Istria at the same time, in 1093. However, Burckhardt II appears with the title of *marchio* for the first time already in 1091. D. H. IV, no. 426, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 571–572. This was known, for example, to Daniel Rentschler, the author of a voluminous PhD dissertation on marches and margraves in the Holy Roman Empire during the Salian era, who concluded that “[d]ie Lage derselben lässt sich anhand der überlieferten Quellen aber nicht ermitteln.” Rentschler, *Marken und Markgrafen*, p. 582. There are, however, two solutions to this conundrum, and both portray Poppo III as anti-margrave, the first of its kind. Namely, if Henry of Eppenstein became the duke of Carinthia only in 1093, that would mean that he had held the March of Istria up to that point; consequently, Burckhardt II could not have been the margrave of Istria in 1091. In this scenario, Burckhardt II would first be the margrave of Carniola, and only then, following Henry's ascension to ducal rank and the donation of Carniolan march to the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1093, the margrave of Istria. Alternative scenario, and this seems more likely, is that Henry of Eppenstein became the duke of Carinthia soon after his brother's death in May of 1090. That would, in turn, mean that Burckhardt II was margrave of Istria already in 1091. In any case, Poppo III of Weimar-Orlamünde was never titled as margrave in official imperial diplomata, only in primary sources of Spanheim family clan's provenance: the *liber traditionum* of St. Paul's monastery in Lavanttal, the family monastery of the Spanheims – as *Poppo Histriensis marchio* – and the necrology of the same monastery – as *benefactor Poppo Marchio Histriensis*. *Urkundenbuch des Benedictiner-Stiftes St. Paul*, no. 5, ed. Schroll, pp. 9–10; Schroll, *Necrologium*, p. 42. The only other source that names this Poppo as margrave is the *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, also of anti-imperial provenance. *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, c. 15, ed. Weiland–Pertz, p. 23. Since the Spanheim clan was in open rebellion against Henry IV and officially supported pope Urban II, and since their greatest rivals in the region were indeed the Eppensteins, it is not surprising that Poppo, married to Ricarda, the daughter of Engelbert I of Spanheim (and thus designated as *gener comitis* in the *liber traditionum*, *Urkundenbuch des Benedictiner-Stiftes St. Paul*, no. 4, ed. Schroll, pp. 8–9), would have been their candidate for the Istrian margrave. MDC 3, nos. 477 and 478, ed. Jaksch, pp. 184–186; Cammarosano, *L'alto medioevo*, pp. 93–96; Štih, *Rodbina koroških Spanheimov*, p. 59; Banić, *Donationes pro remedio*, p. 55. This example of an anti-margrave is a unique occurrence in the Holy Roman Empire of the era. Therefore, Rentschler's conclusion that there are no documented cases of anti-margraves (“Markgrafen, die entgegen dem Willen des Königs ins Amt kamen”), should be reassessed. Rentschler, *Marken und Markgrafen*, p. 881.

to reform papacy in 1076.²⁹ This was a bold political gambit. On the one hand it secured him papal support and a quick, sanctified road to the Croatian throne, but on the other it also engendered powerful enemies. As the newly crowned Croatian monarch daringly picked his side in the Investiture Controversy, he officially proclaimed himself the enemy of the imperial cause. Therefore, Zvonimir's pledge to Gregory VII was clearly understood by his contemporaries as audaciously taking a side in the momentous battle between the Empire and Papacy.³⁰ Hence, "noble knight Wezelin" should be sought among the forces loyal to Henry IV and the Holy Roman Empire, but that does not help much in narrowing down the list of possible places to investigate. There is, however, one line in pope's letter that helps in pinpointing the provenance of the mysterious invader.

Gregory VII begins his letter to Wezelin by professing to being flabbergasted by the knight's action. The way the pope addressed the bellicose noble makes it clear from whence the shock had come: "You, who a while ago have promised fealty to us and to St. Peter".³¹ This line has often been overlooked, but it offers a clue in uncovering the place to look for knight Wezelin. Specifically, there is only one jurisdictional region close enough to Zvonimir's Dalmatia that had traditionally been a bulwark of pro-imperial cause, but that just recently pledged itself to Gregory VII and reform papacy: the Patriarchate of Aquileia under the newly appointed patriarch Henry (1077–1084).³²

²⁹ *Ego, inquam, Demetrius, qui et Suinimir, Dei gratia et apostolice sedis dono rex ab hac hora in antea, sancto Petro et domino meo pape Gregorio suisque successoribus canonice intransibus ero fidelis. ... Regnum autem, quod mihi per manum tuam, donne (sic!) Gebizo, traditur, fideliter retinebo et illud suumque ius apostolice sedi aliquo ingenio aliquanclo non subtraham.* CD 1, no. 109, ed. Kostrenčić et al., p. 140.

³⁰ Zvonimir's coronation is often compared to that of Boleslaw II Szczodry (the Generous) of Poland as it is traditionally argued that this monarch also received his crown from pope Gregory VII, on Christmas 1076. Karbić, *Razvoj političkih institucija*, p. 96; Wyrozumski, *Poland*, pp. 280–281. However, there is no primary source similar to Zvonimir's pledge of fealty that would attest to such an interpretation. There is only one papal letter addressed to "duke" Boleslaw II in April 1075. Reg. Greg. VII., no. II, 73, ed. Caspar, pp. 233–235. Hence, Cowdrey is correct to note that "[n]othing is known of a sequel to this letter, and there is no reason to suppose that Gregory had a direct or even indirect part in Boleslaw's assumption at Gnesen in 1076 of a royal title and crown." Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 452. Be that as it may, Boleslaw II's position is still partially comparable to that of Zvonimir as this monarch also took an anti-imperial position during the momentous Investiture Controversy precisely with his crowning. Cf. the words of Lampert of Hersfeld: *Dux Polenorum... in superbiam elatum... regiam dignitatem regiumque nomen sibi usurpavit.* Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1076, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 284, l. 14–23.

³¹ *Scias nos de prudentia tua multum mirari, ut, qui te esse dudum beato Petro et nobis fidelem promiseris.* Reg. Greg. VII., no. VII, 4, ed. Caspar, p. 463.

³² This argument was first formulated by Šišić, but it has subsequently been ignored for unknown reasons. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, pp. 576–577. Margetić was the only one who openly argued against it, first in 1997 and then again in 2005 when he simply wrote that Šišić's opinion "is not very probable". Margetić, *Odnosi Hrvata*, p. 25, n. 84. As I will demonstrate later in this paper, Margetić's reasoning for abandoning Šišić's thesis is severely flawed. Moreover, Margetić did not offer a better solution – he insisted that Wezelin must be "a papal vassal" and as such he could not have been the patriarch's vassal as well, but he then proposed Wezelin the advocate of abbot Iuvencius about whom no primary source exists that would attest him "a papal vassal". Margetić, *Bilješke*, pp. 19–20.

Following the death of Aquileian patriarch Sighard in August of 1077, there were great tensions in how the new head of St. Hermagoras's chair would be elected.³³ Since Henry IV had just pledged fealty to Gregory VII, it was expected that the new elections would proceed canonically. Thus, pope Gregory VII sent two letters right after Sighard's death, one to the "clergy and people of Aquileian Church", the other to "all bishops suffragans of Aquileian Church", instructing and encouraging them to independently elect their new patriarch.³⁴ Indeed, Aquileian chapter met and elected a new patriarch, but Henry IV, staying true to his ideals and worldviews, disregarded the election and appointed his own imperial chaplain of Bavarian descent, Henry, as new Aquileian prelate – Berthold of Reichenau described the entire proceeding with the following words: "Likewise in Aquileia, after having rejected the man who had been elected by the clergy and people according to canon law, he [Henry IV], in whatsoever way appointed Henry, a canon of Augsburg and his chaplain, as patriarch".³⁵ In order to appease the pope and calm the rising tensions, the newly appointed patriarch undertook a daring move: on 11th of February 1079 the pro-imperial patriarch of Aquileia solemnly and officially pledged his fealty, the fealty of his Church and his *milites*, to pope Gregory VII.³⁶ Henry IV was outraged and he thus stripped the Aquileian Church of both the County of Istria and the March of Carniola, both that had been donated to Sighard in 1077.³⁷ However, patriarch Henry was simply buying time for his monarch and he swiftly returned to the pro-imperial camp, remaining a staunch supporter of Henry IV and a bitter opponent of Gregory VII for the rest of his life.³⁸ Nevertheless, the pledge of fealty to the pope remained and it explicitly stated that the Aquileian *milites* are to serve the Apostolic See: "Whenever I shall have been called upon I will faithfully aid the Roman Church with secular military forces" stood in Henry's oath to the pope.³⁹ Hence the reason for Gregory VII's tone in his letter to *miles Wezelin*.

³³ The date 12th of August as Sighard's death is mentioned by both the necrology of Rosazzo abbey and the necrology of Aquileia. *Urkunden und Memorialquellen*, ed. Härtel–Scalon, p. 281; *Necrologium Aquileiense*, ed. Scalon, p. 276.

³⁴ Reg. Greg. VII., no. V, 5 (letter to *clero et populo Aquilegensis Ecclesie*), and V, 6 (letter to *omnibus episcopis Aquilegensis Ecclesie suffraganeis*), ed. Caspar, pp. 352–354 and pp. 354–355. See also Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 176.

³⁵ *Aquileie quoque Heinricum, Augustensem canonicum et capellanum suum patriarcham, reprobato eo qui canonicè a clero et populo electus est, qualitercumque apposuit*. Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077, ed. Robinson, p. 298, l. 10–12.

³⁶ Greg. Reg. VII., no. VI, 17a/4, ed. Caspar, pp. 428–429: *Sacramentum archiepiscopi Aquiliensis*. See also Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1079, ed. Robinson, p. 353, l. 5–17.

³⁷ The monarch would later blame the bad consultations of his advisors for this move: *postea vero consilio quorundam non bene nobis consulentium eandem Marchiam [Carniole] predicte Ecclesie subtrahendo abstulimus alii eam concedentes*. D. H. IV, no. 432, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, p. 578.

³⁸ According to Berthold of Reichenau, the patriarch Henry was *unus ex intimis regis Heinrici* and he did not heed the papal legation *optima fide et studio*, but instead sent to Henry IV in Regensburg his own *nuntium secretalem, qui voluntatem illius [Heinrici IV.] et obedientiam exploraret*. Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1079, ed. Robinson, pp. 356–357, l. 20–5.

³⁹ *Romanam Ecclesiam per secularem militiam fideliter adiuuabo, cum invitatus fuero*. Reg. Greg. VII., no. VI, 17a, ed. Caspar, p. 429.

By narrowing down the potential regions of Latin Christendom to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, it becomes somewhat easier to search for the Wezelin in question. Namely, there are several individuals who fit the profile, both chronologically and socially. The first is a *Wecelinus de Iuno*, a landowner from Jauntal in Carinthia with his own proprietary church who donated some of his properties to the Aquileian patriarchate and its patriarch Ulrich of Eppenstein.⁴⁰ This Wezelin was equated by Zahn, the editor of the document, to a *miles* of the Patriarchate of Aquileia with possessions in the very Jauntal valley, count Kazelin of the Aribonids.⁴¹ This Kazelin – his name is spelt in various ways – would be a perfect candidate for the Wezelin of the papal letter: he was a *miles* in service of Sighard, the patriarch of Aquileia, a Carinthian nobleman from a powerful family clan – the Aribonids whose offspring served as counts palatines to the Holy Roman Emperors – and he was active precisely during the 1070s and 1080s.⁴² However, there is too much of a difference between the names Kazelin – this form itself being the hypocoristicon of Kadaloh, one of the family's *Leitnamen* – and Wezelin.⁴³ If, however, one is to link the *Wecil palatinus comes* from the 12th-century Salzburg necrology to this Kazelin, also titled as count palatine (albeit in a forged charter), then one could suppose that the two names were used interchangeably, or at least that the contamination Wezelin for Kazelin was common.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ MDC 3, no. 482, ed. Jaksch, p. 187. The document is originally undated, the dating provided by the editors is according to Ulrich's years as patriarch of Aquileia, 1086–1121.

⁴¹ *Urkundenbuch des Herzogtums Steiermark* 1, no. 92, ed. Zahn, pp. 107–108. This opinion was also acknowledged by Hans Pirchegger, Franc Kos and Antonio Battistella, but it has subsequently been ignored. Pirchegger, *Beiträge zur Genealogie*, pp. 55–56; *Gradivo* 3, no. 383, ed. Kos, pp. 222–223; Battistella, *L'Abbazia*, pp. 10ss.

⁴² This Kazelin is mentioned in 1072 as *Chazele comes* in one *notitia* and listed under the *milites* of patriarch Sighard as *Chazili de Muosiza* in another. SUB 1, no. 1, ed. Hauthaler, pp. 771–774. Unfortunately, all other documents mentioning this mysterious knight are either forgeries or interpolated copies of lost originals. Thus, Kazelin is believed to be the founder of Moggio monastery in Friuli, but both the donation charter from presumably 1070 according to which Kazelin bequeaths to Aquileian Church his *castrum Mosniz* (Moggio in Friuli) so that a monastery would be erected there, as well as the 1072 confirmation of this donation by patriarch Ulrich of Eppenstein are forgeries. These documents are best edited in *Urkunden des Klosters Moggio*, nos. U 1, and U 2, ed. Härtel, pp. 77–78, and pp. 78–80. Similar is the situation with Kazelin's supposed endowment for the establishment of Eberndorf collegiate church – the 1106 document attesting to it is also a forgery. MDC 3, no. 535, ed. Jaksch, pp. 215–217. More on these documents and the historical persona of this Kazelin, see Härtel's study in *Urkunden des Klosters Moggio*, pp. 47–58. That Kazelin stemmed from the Aribonids was famously demonstrated by Heinz Dopsch. See e.g. Dopsch, *Die Aribonen*, pp. 85–86, with family trees on pp. 62–63 and pp. 71–72. Unfortunately, I was not able to procure the PhD thesis *Die Aribonen: Ein führendes Adelsgeschlecht in Bayern und Kärnten während des Hochmittelalters* authored by Dopsch in 1968.

⁴³ On *Leitnamen* – the “leading names” – esp. in the context of constructing medieval genealogical relationships, see Werner, *Important Noble Families*, pp. 149–153; Bouchard, *The Origins*, pp. 505–509; Wilson, *The Means*, pp. 81–85.

⁴⁴ *Necrologia s. Rudberti Salisburgensis*, ed. Herzberg-Fränkell, p. 108 (date of death: 22nd of February). This *Wecil palatinus* remains a mysterious figure. Already in the 18th century, historians equated him with count Wezelin, the advocate of duke Adalbero, count of Istria and Carinthian waldpot. *Excerpta necrologiorum Salisburgensis*, p. 372. However, this Wezelin was not a count palatine. Therefore, Heinrich Witte-Hagenau proposed that this *Wecil palatinus* actually refers to Kazelin as there is a Kadaloh who is also mentioned as a palatine count in Weissenburg necrology (date of

Be that as it may, there are other candidates that must be taken into account. Unlike the majority of his peers, Margetić did not see the Wezelin of the pope's letter as either a margrave or relative of Ulrich I, but as a vassal of pope Gregory VII. Moreover, this historian insisted, albeit erroneously, that "Wezelin could not have been simultaneously a vassal of the pope and a vassal of the patriarch".⁴⁵ The letter does not mention the term *vassus* or *vassallus* at all, but *miles*. That the Latin term *miles* should not be automatically equated with a "vassal" – a "conceptual black hole" – has been demonstrated by generations of medievalists.⁴⁶ Moreover, *milites* could very well be in service of multiple lords simultaneously: an Ulrich was at the same time in service to both margrave Ernest and king Henry IV (*communis miles Odalricus*).⁴⁷ Notwithstanding this error in interpretation, Margetić's thesis

death: 24th of December). Witte-Hagenau, *Genealogische Untersuchungen*, p. 389, n. 3; *Kalendarium necrologicum Weissenburgense*, p. 314. This line of thought, however, is problematic. Kazelin of the Aribonids died on 16th of May and this is corroborated by both the Eberndorf necrology and the old Scheyern necrology. Schroll, *Necrologium des ehemaligen*, p. 231; *Fragmenta necrologica Schirensia*, ed. Baumann, p. 135. Also, no Kadaloh of the Aribonids died on the 24th of December. Dopsch, *Die Aribonen*, pp. 70–71. The mystery of both *Wecil* and *Chadaloh comites palatini* remains unsolved to this day. The most recent study on the topic of Bavarian count palatines, penned by Christof Paulus in 2007, does not commit to Witte's thesis. Instead, Paulus argues that Witte erroneously "mixed more persons together [into one]": the count Wezelin from the 1020s and Kazelin of the Aribonids (who he names as "a relative of the patriarch of Aquileia", most certainly referring to the 1070 forgery in which Kazelin is called an *affinis* of patriarch Frederick of Moravia). Paulus, *Das Pfalzgrafenamt*, pp. 231–232, n. 146. However, this same argument could be extended to the original compiler of the aforementioned Salzburg's necrology. Whether Kazelin of the Aribonids functioned as a count palatine or not cannot be ascertained as he is only mentioned with this title in a forged charter. *Urkunden des Klosters Moggio*, no. U 1, ed. Härtel, pp. 77–78. According to Dopsch, Kazelin never officially assumed this title. Dopsch, *Salzburg und Aquileia*, p. 529. However, since he stemmed from a family of count palatines, he could have been referred to as *comes palatinus* simply for that reason; similar is the case with count Engelbert II of Gorizia who was not a count palatine himself, but he was called *comes palatinus* in a *notitia traditionis* of Michaelbeuern monastery simply because he stemmed from the family whose members adorned this title (namely his uncle). Dopsch, *I conti palatini*, p. 72. In any case, that *Wecil* could be a contaminated form of *Chacil* is a plausible thesis; it has recently been proven by Giordano Brunettin in 2002 where he continuously referred to Kazelin of the Aribonids by the name "Wezelin". Brunettin, *Gli istituti benedettini*, pp. 80–81, n. 42, p. 90.

⁴⁵ Margetić, *Bilješke*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ I use the Latin term *miles* as denoting an armed servant of a specific lord. This servant could enjoy a *beneficium* from his lord, thus a retainer (or vassal if the term is used in its narrow sense of "a man who held a benefice from a superior in return for service"), but not necessarily – many *nobiles milites* were in fact paid for their services; he could be unfree, thus a ministerial, but not necessarily – there are many examples from 11th century where *milites* are in fact distinguished noblemen, even counts. Brunner, *Ius*, pp. 175–80, esp. p. 178; Bachrach, *Milites and Warfare*, pp. 298–343, quotation on p. 341. I consciously avoid using the term "vassal" if primary sources do not specifically use this very noun; in its broad sense the term acquired too vast a meaning in historiography, becoming "a conceptual black hole" to use Susan Reynold's wording. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, quotation on p. 34. Finally, the term *miles* in 11th century should also not be automatically translated as "knight", but I have taken the liberty to translate *nobilis miles Wezelinus* as "noble knight Wezelin" simply for the sake of the elegance of narrative. For this I humbly beg forgiveness from my more stilted critical readers.

⁴⁷ D. H. IV, no. 271, ed. Gladiss-Gawlik, pp. 347–348. I do not argue that Wezelin was both patriarch Henry's and the pope's personal *miles*.

is not without merit. He interpreted the “noble knight” as the pope’s vassal in Istria who he then equated with the eponymous advocate of St. Michael’s monastery in Pula.⁴⁸ Indeed, the advocate of abbot Iuvencius of St. Michael’s monastery in Pula is also called Wezelin and he appears in two charters from the 11th century. These documents were published by Kandler and were dated to 1065 and 1069 respectively, but this dating is dubious.⁴⁹ As chronological elements of both charters are solely the years of Henry’s reign and indiction, there is some debate regarding the exact dating. The first charter is dated to the year seventeen of Henry’s reign and third indiction and this coincides with the year 1020 and thus with the age of Henry II.⁵⁰ The second, however, written by the same scribe, issued by the same abbot, witnessed by the same individual and featuring the same advocate Wezelin, is dated to year twelve of Henry’s reign and sixth indiction; by all accounts this can only correspond to 1068 and the Henry in question would be Henry IV.⁵¹ While it is remotely possible that same people witnessed two different charters forty-eight years apart from each other, it is much more likely that the scribe made an error in writing the elements of dating and that they were issued chronologically closer to each other.

Margetić, who edited these charters based on the originals from the Venetian *Marciana* library, proposed a solution according to which both documents could be dated to 1020s: the indiction in the second charter should be read as the twelfth, not the sixth, and the charter would thus stem from 1014.⁵² Such a solution, however, is untenable. Namely, the abbot Iuvencius is mentioned in one more charter, also issued in Pula. That document is likewise dated only with the year of Henry’s reign (the fifth) and indiction (the fourteenth), but it also features the subscription of Istrian margrave Ulrich who “made a sign of the cross with his own hand as he cannot write”.⁵³ The elements of dating and the appearance of margrave Ulrich leave little doubt regarding the charter’s date: it stems from 1061.⁵⁴ Since abbot Iuvencius appears in 1061, it seems much more probable

⁴⁸ Margetić, *Bilješke*, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁹ CDI 1, nos. 104, and 106, ed. Kandler, p. 219, and p. 221.

⁵⁰ The charter is preserved in original and the very Margetić published the best edition of this document. Margetić, *Pet puljskih isprava*, pp. 142–144, no. 3 (facsimile of the original, albeit a very bad one, on p. 144).

⁵¹ This charter is also preserved in original and the best edition is also the one published by Margetić. *Ibid.*, pp. 149–150, no. 5 (facsimile of the original, also a very bad one, on p. 150). Both charters were written by a *Thegenzo tabellius* and both feature a *Petrus filius Vitalis* as a witness.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁵³ *Odalricus marchio Istriensis (SC) Signum manus prefatum marchio qui scribere nesciens signum crucis fecit*. *Ibid.*, p. 147, no. 4.

⁵⁴ In Istria, margrave Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde appears in two private documents: in the aforementioned Megingaud’s donation, and in the donation of Hartwig of Piran who bestowed Kaštel (Ital. Castelvenere) upon the margrave. This second donation is preserved only as a *regestum* in *Thesauri claritas*. TEA, no. 541, ed. Bianchi, pp. 227–228. Both donations are dated only by indiction (14th) and the year of Henry’s reign (5th). Accordingly, both the year 1044 (*rex Henricus* thus being Henry III) and 1061 (*rex Henricus* thus being Henry IV) are possible. However, in public documents the same individual appears for the very first time only in 1058,

and more logical to date the two previously mentioned charters to 1060s as well. In this case, the first charter, dated to 1020 by Margetić, remains problematic. Kandler solved this problem by presupposing a scribal error in the writing of the year of Henry's reign: it should have been *VIII* instead of *XVII*. In that way, the ninth year of Henry IV's reign would coincide with the third indiction and the charter would be dated to 1065.⁵⁵ Another possibility is that the year of Henry's reign was indeed written correctly, but that a scribal error occurred in the writing of the indiction: it should have been *XI* instead of *III*. In that way the elements of dating concur with each other and the document would thus be dated to 1073. Both solutions are equally viable and more probable than the two alternatives – either dating the two charters to 1020 and 1017 respectively, or dating the first to 1020 and the second to 1068.

In any case, a Wezelin was indeed the advocate of St. Michael's monastery in Pula, he had a son by the name of John (*Iohannes*), and he was not a scribe as Kandler would have him, but simply a lay advocate.⁵⁶ Moreover, there are no primary sources whatsoever that would link this Wezelin to either Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde, or to *comes Wecellinus* from 1020s Poreč. Nevertheless, this advocate could be the *nobilis miles Wezelin* the pope wrote to in 1079, but only if both charters are dated to the 1060s/1070s – if he indeed had a son back in the 1020s, he would have been an old man in 1068, let alone in 1079.

There is, however, one primary source, unknown to Margetić, that could speak in favor of advocate Wezelin from the 1060s being the *miles* of the pope's 1079 letter. Namely, a *Wecellinus comes Aquilegensis Ecclesie* is mentioned along with his son Henry in just one document, the confirmation of possessions enjoyed by the Aquileian chapter issued by pope Alexander II in 1174.⁵⁷ Since this source remained unedited until quite recently, it has not been analyzed in context of Gregory VII's Wezelin. The document was known to Pio Paschini who interpreted the *Wecellinus comes* as none other than the Istrian count Wezelin from the 1020s.⁵⁸ This is, however, difficult to substantiate. Namely, the Wezelin from the 1020s was not the count of Aquileia, but the count and advocate of the Carinthian duke. As such he acted against the very Aquileian Church in the dispute between Adalbero

as margrave of Carniola. D. H. IV, no. 43, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 54–55. As margrave of Istria he will be mentioned in public charters for the first time in 1062. *Ibid.*, no. 93, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 121–122. Thus, there are more arguments in support of dating both Megingaud's and Hartwig's donations to 1061 and not to 1044.

⁵⁵ Although Kandler never explicated his arguments for dating the charter to 1065, this seems the only logical conclusion on how he ended up with this very date. CDI 1, no. 104, ed. Kandler, p. 219.

⁵⁶ Kandler made an error in transcription and edited the line as *Iuencio abas una cum Wecelino notario · Atvocato*. Margetić correctly transcribed the same line as *Iuuencius abas cum Wecelino nostro quidem atvocato*.

⁵⁷ *Henricus filius Wecelini comitis Aquilegensis Ecclesie. Propstei S. Stefano*, no. 8, ed. Thaller, pp. 132–139 (quotation on p. 136).

⁵⁸ Paschini, *Vicende del Friuli*, p. 188. This opinion was also taken over by Thaller. *Propstei S. Stefano*, p. 72.

of Eppenstein and patriarch Poppo.⁵⁹ Thus, it would be bizarre to see in this count Wezelin a *comes Aquilegensis Ecclesie*. Moreover, there is no source mentioning a Henry as the son of the 1020s Wezelin. But where does this “Aquileian Wezelin” fit in chronologically?

The chronology of Friulian counts is in this case helpful: Werihen was followed by his eponymous son, mentioned only once in 1052, and from 1056 the count in Friuli was a Ludwig who was deceased by 1077 when the entire county is bestowed upon patriarch Sighard by Henry IV.⁶⁰ The last *comes Foroiuliensis* was a certain Albert mentioned only once during the years of patriarch Ulrich of Eppenstein (charter dated between 1090 and 1105), but since Friuli was at the time already a secular possession of the Aquileian Church, Albert’s title should be read as *miles* or retainer.⁶¹ Accordingly, it is possible that this “Aquileian Wezelin” was likewise a *nobilis miles* of the Patriarchate. Therefore, he could be the same person as the eponymous “noble knight” from Gregory VII’s letter, but such an identification would not further the knowledge of the socio-genealogical background of this mysterious historical figure much; it would only illuminate that he was indeed in service of the Patriarchate of Aquileia and that he had a son named Henry.

However, a Henry is mentioned as the count of Istria in the first half of the 12th century.⁶² He appears only once in primary sources, in 1145, and in 1158 he was already succeeded by Meinhard of Črničgrad (Ital. Castelnero, Germ. Schwarzenburg), a *consanguineus* of patriarch Ulrich II of Treffen.⁶³ Thus, it is possible that Alexander II’s confirmation refers to this very Henry whose father Wezelin had been the count of Istria during the brief period in which the County had been under the authority of the Aquileian patriarchs. Consequently, this Wezelin could be the advocate Wezelin mentioned in 1068 in Pula, but only if the second charter is dated to 1065 or 1073. In any case, identifying the *Wezelinus comes Aquilegensis Ecclesie* and his son Henry with Wezelin the advocate of St. Michael’s monastery in Pula from the 1060s and Henry the Istrian count from the first half of the 12th century is a better solution than the two alternatives: either that the individual in question refers to the advocate of the Carinthian duke Adalbero mentioned in the 1020s, or that the *Wezelinus comes Aquilegensis Ecclesie* be equated with Werient, the count of Plain (first mentioned in primary sources in 1091, died between 1130

⁵⁹ D. C. II, no. 92, ed. Bresslau, pp. 125–127.

⁶⁰ The only documented mention of Werihen IV is edited in *SS. Ilario e Benedetto*, no. 9, ed. Lanfranchi–Strina, pp. 41–42. Ludwig’s first mention as *comes Foroiuliensis* dates to 1056 and the source is edited in D. H. III, no. 374, ed. Bresslau–Kehr, pp. 514–515. That Ludwig was already dead in 1077 is read from the donation charter issued by Henry IV to patriarch Sighard, edited in D. H. IV, no. 293, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, p. 385. For other mentions of count Ludwig see Štih, “*Villa quae Sclavorum*”, p. 108, n. 399.

⁶¹ *Diplomi patriarcali*, no. 2, ed. Scalon, pp. 23–24. For interpretation see Paschini, *Vicende del Friuli*, pp. 341–342; Czörnig, *Das Land Görz*, p. 481, n. 1. According to Walter Landi, this *Albertus comes* should be equated with count Albert of Ortenburg, the father of the eponymous advocate of the bishops of Trent. Landi, *Die Grafen von Tirol*, p. 123, n. 150.

⁶² CDI 1, no. 136, ed. Kandler, pp. 268–269.

⁶³ *Meinhardus comes de Istria*. MDC 3, no. 973, ed. Jaksch, p. 371. On this Meinhard see De Franceschi, *Mainardo conte d’Istria*, pp. 41–52; Štih, *Goriški grofje*, pp. 86–87.

and 1141).⁶⁴ Even though there are arguments in support of this second alternative thesis, the names Wezelin and Werient/Werihen are not mutually interchangeable.⁶⁵

Finally, one last option should be mentioned. A Werner was a knight of Henry IV's personal household and as such he is described by both Ekkehard of Aura and papal chancellery.⁶⁶ This Werner was promoted to margrave of Ancona by Henry IV and he would also receive the title of duke of Spoleto.⁶⁷ Thus, it is safe to assume that the individual in question was an "important royal servant",⁶⁸ but could he also be the Wezelin of pope's 1079 letter? Possibly. As was previously demonstrated on the examples of Werner the bishop of Magdeburg and Werner of Reichersberg, Wezelin was a common nickname used for this very first name. Moreover, this ministerial Werner fits chronologically; he was elevated to margrave in 1093 and died sometime between 1120 and 1125.⁶⁹ These data point to c. 1060 as the possible year of birth which would in turn explain the hypocoristic "Wezelin" employed by the pope to admonish a c. 20-year-old bellicose knight. The only problem with this candidate is that he was not a *ministerialis* of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, but of Henry IV. In his case, the vow of fealty mentioned by the pope would refer to the events that transpired in Canossa in 1077, which would in turn imply that Werner himself was among the few members of the royal household – the *familiares* mentioned by Berthold of Reichenau – that

⁶⁴ Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, p. 238 (with a list of all the documents in which this individual appears in).

⁶⁵ This Werient was the brother of Starchand II, the Aquileian deputy margrave in Carniola, more precisely in Savinja, the region that was at this point already a secular possession of the Patriarchate of Aquileia. Since Starchand II was in the service of Aquileian Church as the patriarch's deputy in Carniola, it could be that his brother Werient, who was also active in Carniola, was later referred to as "count of the Aquileian Church". Finally, this Werient indeed had a son whose name was Henry: Henry Pris of Pux. Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, p. 238. For Starchand II, mentioned as *Starchand marchio de So(u)ne* in two documents from 1103, see MDC 3, nos. 516 and 517, ed. Jaksch, pp. 207–208; Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, pp. 220–223; idem, *Nastanek*, p. 64; Štih, *The Middle Ages*, p. 265. That Starchand II was the brother of Werigand is read from *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, a narrative account written in the second half of the 12th century: *captus est marchione videlicet et Starchando et fratre eius Werigando*. Archdeacon Henry, *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, c. 7, ed. Wattenbach, p. 67, l. 18. For Henry Pris of Pux see Hauptmann, *Grofovi Višnjegorski*, p. 238 (a list of all the charters mentioning this individual); Ebner, *Das Königsgut 'Uueliza'*, pp. 190–191; Dopsch, *Die Stifterfamilie*, pp. 114, 121 (family tree); Hauptmann, *Nastanek*, pp. 93–94.

⁶⁶ *Inter haec Werinherus, quidam ex ordine ministerialium regis*. Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, a. 1106, ed. Waitz, p. 234, l. 4. *Wernerius Regni Teutonici famulus*. PL 163, no. 168, ed. Migne, p. 179.

⁶⁷ First mentioned as margrave on 12th of May 1093. D. H. IV, no. 461, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 576–577. On this Werner see Ficker, *Forschungen* 2, pp. 246–248; Bosl, *Die Reichsministerialität* 1, pp. 91–92; Leonhard, *Ancona*, p. 295; Zotz, *Die Formierung*, p. 48; Rentschler, *Marken und Markgrafen*, pp. 794–795.

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Henry IV*, p. 357.

⁶⁹ Even though Ficker mentions a primary source of antipapal provenance mentioning margrave Werner in 1120, I was not able to find it following the provided references. To my knowledge, the latest documentary primary source mentioning this Werner dates to 1119. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae* 1, pp. 551–553. Frederick's first appearance as his father's successor – styled as *ego Fridericus, Dei gratia dux et marchio* – dates to 1125. *Annales Camaldulenses* 9, ed. Mittarelli–Castadoni, pp. 21–22.

accompanied the young king to his faithful meeting with the pontiff.⁷⁰ Moreover, this margrave Werner was among the influential petitioners on whose intervention Henry IV re-donated the March of Carniola to the Church of Aquileia.⁷¹ As Werner appears right next to Istrian margrave and former advocate of Aquileian patriarchate Burckhardt II of Moosburg, it could be assumed that he had some connections to the northern-Adriatic region, especially to the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

To sum up this analysis: the noble knight Wezelin from Gregory VII's letter cannot be precisely identified, but there are three strong candidates that fit the profile. All of them, however, have at least one problematic aspect: Kazelin of the Aribonids is the perfect option, but his name is much too different from *Wezelin* written by the pope's chancellery (even though there are arguments that the same individual was indeed called *Wezil* or *Wezelin* by his contemporaries); Wezelin the advocate of St. Michael's monastery in Pula is another good option, but that would mean dating both charters to 1060s (as advocated by Kandler) instead of the 1020s, and he could then be identified with the "Wezelin count of Aquileian Church" mentioned along his son Henry (who would thus be equated with the eponymous count of Istria from the first half of the 12th century); Henry IV's own ministerial Werner, the future margrave of Ancona and duke of Spoleto, presents yet another potential candidate. Besides these "big three" there are the lesser known *militēs* mentioned in various contemporaneous *notitiae traditionum* from the nearby pro-imperial bastions: Wezelin of Jauntal is one such option (if he is not the same person as Kazelin), but virtually nothing more is known about him. He could be the same *nobilis vir Wezelin* mentioned frequently in the nearby bishopric of Bressanone (Germ. Brixen), another pro-Henrician stronghold under the imperial bishop Altwin, and there is an eponymous ministerial, "a servant of St. Rupert", mentioned in the bishopric of Salzburg in the 1070s.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Duo autem episcopi, Neapolitanus et Vercellensis, preter alios familiares eius [Heinrici IV] qui deinceps iurarent, ad sacramentum pro eo faciendum electi sunt.* Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077, ed. Robinson, p. 260, l. 7–9. Henry IV's pledge of fealty to pope Gregory VII in Reg. Greg. VII., no. IV, 12a, ed. Caspar, pp. 314–315.

⁷¹ *Ob interventum fidelium nostrorum videlicet... Burchardi marchionis, Werinheri marchionis...* D. H. IV, no. 432, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, p. 578.

⁷² During the years of bishop of Bressanone Altwin, another staunch supporter of Henry IV and an associate of Ulrich I's, there is a Wezil(in) who is regularly mentioned between c. 1070 and c. 1090 among the Bavarian witnesses to numerous deeds of land transactions. However, Altwin never pledged fealty to Gregory VII, so this *Wezil*, if indeed the one mentioned by Gregory VII, would also have to be linked to Aquileia in some way; perhaps he is the same person as Wezelin the advocate of St. Michael's monastery in Pula? *Die Traditionsbücher des Hochstiftes Brixen*, nos. 289 (= MDC 3, no. 411, ed. Jaksch, p. 163), 292, 328, 350 (*de nobili stirpe procreatus Wezil*), 386, 389 (listed among the noble witnesses), 403 (listed among the noble witnesses), ed. Redlich, pp. 103–104, 104, 115, 121, 132, 133, 139. There is also a *Wezil miles*, perhaps the same individual as the aforementioned nobleman. *Ibid.*, no. 242, ed. Redlich, p. 87. On Altwin and his pro-Henrician position see Albertoni, *Le terre del vescovo*, pp. 219–225. The archbishop of Salzburg Gebhard, on the other hand, switched sides from pro-imperial to pro-papal camp in 1076, so his *militēs* would fit the profile of Gregory VII's Wezelin. There is one in particular, a *Wezil servitor sancti Rudberti* who is active during the 1070s. SUB 1, no. 66, ed. Hauthaler, pp. 285–285. On this Wezelin see Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 36–38.

Even though the exact identity of Gregory VII's Wezelin cannot be precisely determined, this mysterious knight nonetheless presents a better candidate for "the original invader of Merania" than either Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde or the lords of Duino. There are two principal reasons why Wezelin should be the preferred choice: foundation in primary sources and overall political context.

Starting with the first argument, there is simply no contemporary primary source that would attest to either Ulrich I or the lords of Duino being in any way involved in the takeover of Merania, or in any military skirmishes with the Croatian kings for that matter. The only primary source that has traditionally been used is the IC, specifically c. 99. However, as was convincingly argued by Margetić, this passage mentions neither Ulrich I nor the permanent loss of any territory. If c. 99 does not refer to Ulrich I and Merania, what does it describe and how did it end up in the IC to begin with?

Numerous studies on the IC, especially those conducted by Hungarian historians, have demonstrated that the 11th-century data contained in the narrative source is generally trustworthy; the anonymous compiler relied on the 11th- or 12th-century chronicle that has since been lost and was subsequently named by scholars *Ur-Gesta*.⁷³ So how should c. 99 be interpreted? The editors of the most recent and by far the best edition of the IC found an ingenious solution to the problem posited by c. 99: the word *Carantanos* is simply a contamination for the original *Contarini*, as in Domenico Contarini the Venetian doge, or *Karantenos*, as in Nikephoros Karatenos the famed Byzantine general.⁷⁴ Of the two proposed solutions, the Venetian one seems more persuasive. Namely, Domenico Contarini indeed attacked Dalmatia, Zadar to be more precise, in 1062.⁷⁵ Moreover, Venetian chronicles do not fail to mention the involvement of Hungarian king Solomon in this very skirmish.⁷⁶ As the Hungarian king was at the time still a child, he was most definitely joined by his duke Géza I. Such a reading of c. 99 of the IC indeed solves a number of questions, but it still leaves several aspects unsolved: Zvonimir was

⁷³ Bak–Grzesik, *The Text*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ IC, c. 99, ed. Bak–Veszprémy, p. 190, n. 500.

⁷⁵ The editors of the IC cite Pryor–Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon*, p. 99. The authors of this monograph are indeed correct in claiming that "Doge Domenico Contarini was led to recapture Zara and reimpose Venetian authority along the Dalmatian coast in 1062", but they cite a wrong source for this claim. Namely, John the Deacon does not write about this at all – his chronicle ends with the very beginning of the 11th century. The correct source to cite is *Annales Venetici breves* composed in the second half of the 12th century where it is written [*a*]nno Domini millesimo sexagesimo secundo Dominicus Contarenus, qui in illis temporibus erat dux Venecie, ivit Iaderam cum exercitum et cepit eam. *Annales Venetici breves*, a. 1062, ed. Berto, p. 86. This Contarini's expedition is very frequently wrongly dated to 1050 because Andrea Dandolo "corrected" the date in his own chronicle to "the seventh year of his [Contarini's] dogeship" and, due to his immense influence on all the subsequent Venetian chroniclers and historians, this "corrected" date stuck. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 37, ed. Pastorello, p. 211, l. 18–22. That 1062 is the correct dating has been masterfully demonstrated by Lujó Margetić. See Margetić, *Odnosi Hrvata*, pp. 6–15.

⁷⁶ *Hoc tempore Salomon rex Ungarie terrestria loca Dalmacie inquietans, Iaderatinos, qui promissam duci fidelitatem hucusque servaverant, ad rebellionem induxit.* Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, c. 37, ed. Pastorello, p. 211, l. 18–19.

not king in the 1060s and there is still the problem of the mysterious “Dalmatian march” to deal with.

Marchia Dalmacie was translated as “the border regions of Dalmatia” by the editors of the IC and no further note was given in explanation. However, there was a very lively debate in Croatian scholarship regarding this evanescent jurisdictional unit.⁷⁷ Namely, there is another primary source, dated to c. 1100 (or precisely 1105 by Margetić), but referring to the reign of king Zvonimir, that explicitly mentions this “border region”: the Baška tablet.⁷⁸ This epigraphic monument, written in medieval Croatian and Glagolitic script, features the following line: “I, abbot Dobrovit, built this church with nine of my brothers in the days of count Cosmas who ruled over the entire march”.⁷⁹ This “march” in the original language of the monument is written as *krajina*: in its literal meaning it means “a border area”.⁸⁰ The same term was documented in 10th-century Carniola when the imperial scribe

⁷⁷ The Dalmatian march was famously defined by Miho Barada as a centuries-long defensive military region on the very western borders of Croatian kingdom existing in continuity at least from the time of Frankish Annals all the way to the beginning of the 12th century and encompassing the borderland territories to the east of the Učka mountain range – including Vinodol and Senj – as well as the islands Krk, Cres and Lošinj. Barada, *Hrvatski vlasteoski feudalizam*, pp. 13–19. This thesis was successfully challenged by Bogo Grafenauer who demonstrated utter lack of support in primary sources in many of Barada’s arguments. Grafenauer, *Vprašanje hrvatske krajine*, pp. 254–260. Synthesizing both Barada’s and Grafenauer’s arguments, Nada Klaić proposed a new thesis on Dalmatian march: it was a temporary jurisdictional unit established by none other than Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde when he temporarily conquered “large parts of Dalmatia”. Obviously, N. Klaić based her thesis primarily on the IC’s c. 99 and Hauptmann’s “Ulrich thesis”. This Dalmatian march, according to N. Klaić, encompassed the same territories as those proposed by Barada. Klaić, *Da li je*, pp. 125–138. See also Kosanović, *Srednjovjekovna povijest Kvarnera*, pp. 402–405. N. Klaić’s thesis was criticized by Lujo Margetić who completely negated the existence of any such March and equated the “Dalmatian march” of the IC with Dalmatia in general. Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, pp. 56–57. In present-day historiographical discourse, the Dalmatian march is largely ignored. For example, it is not mentioned anywhere in the new voluminous synthesis of Croatian Early Middle Ages, *Nova zrnka* (various chapters cited throughout this paper). Neven Budak, on the other hand, took over the opinion of Nada Klaić. Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁸ The text of the Baška tablet has been edited multiple times. I will cite the following edition, Margetić, *Bašćanska ploča*, pp. 48–49.

⁷⁹ Transliterated from Glagolitic to Latin script, the original line is: *Az opat Dobrovit zdah crek v siju i svoeju bratiju s devetiju v dni kneza Kosm ta obladajučago v šu krajnu*. Ibid., p. 49.

⁸⁰ *Ētimologičeskij slovar'*, s.v. Krajina, ed. Trubačov, pp. 87–88. Margetić fiercely opposed such an interpretation and instead read this *krajina* as “untilled land”. This interpretation was, for obvious reasons, not met with broad approval. Margetić, *Bašćanska ploča*, pp. 34–35. In more recent times, the *krajina* of Baška tablet has once again been equated with the Dalmatian march of the IC. Levak, *Podrijetlo i uloga*, p. 59, n. 114; Ravančić, *Urban Settlements*, pp. 192–193. These two authors have persuasively argued in support of the existence of Krajina not only on the basis of the IC and the Baška tablet, but on historical geography as well. Much like Barada, they see this Krajina or March as a defensive border region on the very west of Croatian kingdom, but they do not read into it the various characteristics ungrounded in primary sources as Barada did (e.g. the supposed direct subordination of Krajina to the Croatian regal throne). Their interpretation can be dubbed “the modified Barada thesis” and I subscribe to this view fully. The thesis is best explicated in Levak, *Podrijetlo i uloga*, pp. 52–64.

noted that *Carniola... vulgo Creina marcha appellatur*.⁸¹ The *Creina marcha* is, as was correctly noted by Peter Štih, a pleonasm as *Creina* (the same word as *krajina* in Baška tablet) means the same thing as *marcha*: a border region.⁸² Hence, if there really was a march in the kingdom of king Zvonimir, and if this march encompassed the island of Krk, as is attested in the Baška tablet, could it not be that the IC refers to that very “border region” and not Zadar, the largest and most prosperous urban center of entire Dalmatia?

There are two other narrative accounts, albeit from much later periods, in support of “Carinthians”, not Contarini, as the attackers of Dalmatia, thus implying the Dalmatian march, not Zadar, as the assailed territory. The first is the *Idiographia sive rerum memorabilium monasterii Sitticensis descriptio* penned by the 18th century monk-scholar of Stična monastery, Pavel Puzel, who wrote under the year 1062 the following line: “Carniolans united with Carinthians attacked Dalmatia with arms, and laden with rich bounty they returned to their homes”.⁸³ The second is the notoriously untrustworthy narrative known as *The Annals of the Priest of Duklja* (Cro. *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*) and recently edited as *Gesta regum Sclavorum* whose original date of composition cannot be ascertained – it was definitely written before the second half of the 15th century.⁸⁴ Moreover, the narrative is preserved in several different manuscript traditions in various languages (Latin, Italian, Croatian) and various accounts differ from one to another according to the redaction. Unreliable as the source is, it does testify to a military skirmish between “the Germans” (*Alamani* in Latin redaction, *Nimci* in Croatian) and a Croatian king *Crepimir*, most probably a contaminated form of Krešimir, as in Peter Krešimir IV, thus implying the 1060s or early 1070s as the date.⁸⁵ However, both of these narratives are highly problematic primary sources for 11th-century Croatia.

First, it is important to note that Puzel relied heavily on Hungarian scholars of the Early Modern Era, among which he himself listed as his sources the chronicles of Antonio Bonfini, the author of *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* who worked on the court of king Mathias Corvinus, and Martin Szentiványi, the author of *Sum-*

⁸¹ D. O. II, no. 47, ed. Sickel, pp. 56–57.

⁸² Štih, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 125, 140. On this charter see also idem, *Diplomatične in paleografske*, pp. 301–311.

⁸³ *Carniolani juncti Carinthis Dalmatiam armis infestis aggrediuntur, et spoliis opimis onusti ad propria revertuntur*. The manuscript is kept in the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia (Arhiv republike Slovenije), in the collection “Zbirka rukopisov” [manuscript collection]. The passage is quoted from Kosi, ...*quae terram nostram*, p. 48, n. 36.

⁸⁴ The best edition is GRS 1, ed. Živković. Volume 2 of the same edition features extensive editor’s commentaries. On the dating of the narrative, besides Živković’s study in *ibid* 2, pp. 340ss (who dates the composition of the final text to 1299–1301), see also Ančič, *Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske*, pp. 521–546 (who dates the composition of the text to a much later period, the first half of the 15th century).

⁸⁵ *Eo tempore venerunt Alamani et ceperunt Istriam coeperuntque intrare Croatiam. Tunc rex Crepimirus congregans fortitudinem validam gentis suae praeparavit eis bellum*. Croatian redaction: *I u to vurime chragliuichij Cepimir jzidosse gliudij jmenom Nimcij izpod zvisde i primisse Istriju i pocesse ulizovaj u Harvacchu zemgliu. I toij cufsj Cepimir chragl schupij mnostvo velicho i izabra izmeu gnih hrabrij gliudij i ucinj voische*. GRS 1, c. 20, ed. Živković, pp. 77–78.

mariem chronologiae Regni Hungariae.⁸⁶ Both of these historians relied heavily on the IC (the latter possibly even on the chronicle of Iohannes de Thurocz, who in turn relied on the IC), so it is very probable that Puzel's notice on "Carniolan" and "Carinthian" attack on Dalmatia stems precisely from c. 99 of the IC.⁸⁷ Even if one dearly wants to interpret Puzel's lines as stemming from an unknown, nowadays lost, but credible chronicle that reported authentic 11th-century facts, the most one could read from *Idiographia* is a simple one-time plundering campaign, not a large-scale military occupation.

The *Gesta regum Sclavorum* is even more problematic; not only is the date of its composition unknown, but the vast majority of the chronicle's account – especially the early medieval part – is demonstrably made up and false.⁸⁸ The same goes for the part relevant to this paper: king "Crepimir" beat the "Germans" with his own forces and the German duke, amazed by the king's valor, decided to marry his daughter to the son of the Croatian monarch.⁸⁹ None of this can be supplemented by any other historical document, and it openly contradicts the IC, a much more reliable primary source. There may be some historical facts behind this story, but it is impossible to ascertain them and, subsequently, impossible to base any arguments solely on this late medieval narrative.

The most that can be taken from all of the presented primary sources – and they are all narrative accounts written centuries after the events they portray – is that there may have been a skirmish between the "Carinthians" – that is the population of the neighboring Duchy of Carinthia belonging to *Regnum Teutonicum* of the Holy Roman Empire – and the subjects of Croatian king in the first half of the 1060s. This coincides perfectly with Wilhelm IV of Weimar-Orlamünde's failed journey

⁸⁶ For the full list of authors mentioned by Puzel as his sources see Milkowicz, *Die Chronik Puzels*, p. 56. On Antonio Bonfini see Rill, *Bonfini, Antonio*, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bonfini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bonfini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [last access: 04. 08. 2019]. On Martin Szentiványi see e.g. Vantuch, *Martin Szentiványi*, pp. 533–552.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bonfini's account: *Dum Salomon ac Geysa mutua se concordia fovent, ecce nova expeditio his offertur. Zolomirus Dalmatie rex, qui Geysae et Ladislai sororem connubio sibi copularat, per legatos ab utroque auxilia sibi dari postulat, cum a Carinthiis, qui magnam Dalmatie partem dudum occuparant, gravissimo se bello infestari diceret. Subveniendum socio censuere fratres; inito consilio expeditionem suscipiunt; comparatis copiis veniunt in Dalmatiam, quam eiectis perbrevis Carinthiis ac Noricis Zolomiro pacatam reddidere*. Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, decas 2, lib. 3, ed. Fögel-Iványi–Juhász, 2, p. 56, l. 96–98. Cf. Szentiványi's account: "[sub anno] 1065: Zolomerus rex Dalmatiae, qui sororem Geysae ac Ladislai ducum in uxorem habebat, ad Salamonem regem, et praedictos duces, legatos mittit, ab utrisque auxilia militaria petens contra Carinthos, qui tunc Marchiam Dalmatiae occupaverant. Rex igitur, et dux Geysa collecto exercitu, ipsi in persona in Dalmatiam expeditionem suscipiunt, et ablatam Marchiam inegre eidem restituunt". Martin Szentiványi, *Summarium chronologiae Regni Hungariae*, a. 1065, ed. Grassalkovich, pp. 89–90. Cf. also Thurocz's account, a near verbatim copy of the IC. Iohannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 74, ed. Galántai–Krisztó, p. 97, l. 8–12. That Puzel relied heavily on Hungarian authors for his "universal chronicle" part was also noted by Milkowicz. Milkowicz, *Die Chronik Puzels*, pp. 58–59.

⁸⁸ GRS 2, pp. 186–192 for the part relative to this study. See also Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 20–21.

⁸⁹ GRS 1, c. 20, ed. Živković, pp. 77–78.

to Hungary that took place precisely in 1062. The famed chronicler Lambert of Hersfeld, an author contemporary to these events, described the excursion with the following words: “Margrave William returned to Thuringia [from Hungary, after a failed military expedition and the lost Battle at Tisza (1060)] and, while he was preparing to return to Hungary and to bring back his bride [Sophie, the daughter of Bela I] with the great pomp of her riches, he was struck down by disease on the second stage of his journey and died”.⁹⁰ Thus, it is possible that his entourage, left leaderless right next to the bordering Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, decided to embark on a pillaging expedition to Dalmatia. This would perfectly explain the words of Pavel Puzel (who dated the plundering precisely to 1062), the putative historical background to the Priest of Duklja’s made up story, and the enemy “Carinthians” of the IC. As the Venetian forces under doge Contarini attacked Dalmatia also in 1062, the Croatian monarch would have experienced two hard blows from two different enemy forces at the same time. Thus, the Croatian expedition of the Hungarian royal duo that took place sometime between 1064 and 1067 – most probably to impose the authority of their relative, Demetrious Zvonimir – was later narratively reconstructed by the authors working on the Hungarian royal court as eager aid to the legitimate Croatian king, the relative of regal house, in his fight against *adversarios suos* and the revindication of occupied territories.

Another potential solution to the problem is that c. 99 of the IC is a patchwork of two different, albeit similar notices. The first piece of information would refer to either “Carinthians” or Contarini attacking Dalmatia, thus referring to the year 1062, and king Solomon with duke Géza I helping their kinsman Zvonimir with “his enemies”. This would also explain why Solomon appears as “the inducer of rebellions” in Venetian chronicles. The second notice would refer to the age of king Zvonimir, the late 1070s and early 1080s: Carinthians invaded the March of Dalmatia and occupied parts of it, thus king Zvonimir, the brother-in-law of Géza I and Ladislav, sought help from his Hungarian relatives. Both notices would have several similarities on the surface: both would feature an enemy force attacking Dalmatia and occupying parts of it, as well as the involvement of Hungarian royal family in some way. These two distinct notices could have been erroneously misread and equated, or simply voluntarily assimilated in order to create a more “fitting”, abridged narrative. Namely, before Zvonimir was crowned king in 1076, Solomon and Géza I had a massive falling out: the royal duo even engaged in open military confrontations against each other, Solomon being helped by his brother-in-law, Henry IV, and, most probably, by Markward IV of Eppenstein, the *de facto* (but

⁹⁰ [Sub anno 1062:] *Willihelmus marchio reversus in Thuringiam, dum redire in Ungariam et sponsam suam cum magna opum suarum ostentatione adducere pararet, inter eundum secunda mansione morbo correptus obit*. Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1062, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 79, l. 8–11 (trans. in Robinson, *The Annals*, p. 80). The same event is reported by Annalista Saxo, *Chronicon*, a. 1062, ed. Nass, p. 405, l. 5–7. On the failed 1060 expedition led by margrave Wilhelm IV see Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1060, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 78, l. 5–27; Annalista Saxo, *Chronicon*, a. 1060, ed. Nass, pp. 403–404; IC, c. 93, ed. Bak–Veszprémy, pp. 178–181; *Annales Altahenses maiores*, a. 1060, ed. Giesebrecht–Oefele, pp. 56–57; Meyer von Knouau, *Jahrbücher* 1, pp. 193–198.

not *de iure*) Carinthian duke.⁹¹ The military skirmishes continued even after Géza I's death in 1077 with king Ladislas fighting against the joint forces of Solomon and Henry IV, the Roman king who even invaded Hungary in 1079.⁹² It is thus safe to assume that even if Zvonimir had asked Géza I for military aid against "Carinthians" in 1076/77, or even Ladislas in 1078/79, Hungarian kings would most likely not intervene as they had to deal with Solomon and Henry IV's troops. The compiler of the IC would have probably wanted to avoid stating explicitly, or even implicitly, how the great Hungarian kings – especially the sainted king Ladislas, the hero of the IC⁹³ – were too busy fighting each other in order to help their relative in need, the crowned king of Dalmatia nonetheless, the region being a shiny pearl of Hungarian kingdom. For these reasons the two distinct notices were abridged and condensed into a single chapter, a politically appropriate narrative that depicts the Hungarian royal family in a more pleasing light, as saviors of Dalmatia and supporters of the legitimate Croatian king – this reworked account became the c. 99 of the IC.

This creative reading of the problematic c. 99 solves all the problems traditionally posited by this passage: the chronological element – the 1060s – refers to Contarini, his invasion and takeover of Zadar; king Solomon's and Géza I's involvement also stems from this period as their journey to Croatia came as a response to Contarini's expedition and had the aim of establishing Zvonimir's authority in the kingdom; king Zvonimir and the Dalmatian march, on the other hand, refer to the second half of the 1070s and the wars waged on the very western borders of Croatian-Dalmatian kingdom – the Dalmatian march or *Krajina* – against the pro-imperial forces led by the noble knight Wezelin.

Even if one is to utterly reject the proposed readings of the IC's c. 99, there is still no place for Hauptmann's interpretation of the passage in question: there was simply no reason for Ulrich I to invade the Croatian kingdom and occupy its borders. Even if the purported attack of the "Carinthians" in 1062 is interpreted not as a one-time raiding party as described by Puzel, but as an episode in a series of continuous skirmishes along the borders of the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, the territory between the Učka mountain range and

⁹¹ This in-fighting is meticulously described in the IC, beginning with c. 110 and extending all the way through to c. 136. The initial conflicts started in the early 1070s and culminated with open conflict in 1074 with the Battle of Kemej and the Battle Mogyoród when Solomon fled to Moson awaiting Henry IV's help. The *Marchrat dux Theutonicorum* mentioned as aiding Solomon in c. 114 must refer to Markward IV of Eppenstein (IC, c. 114, ed. Bak-Veszprémy, p. 212). Solomon held Pressburg and he finally made peace with Ladislas in 1081. However, after allegedly being caught in scheming against king Ladislas, Solomon was imprisoned and held captive in Visegrád until 1083 when he was released. By the majority of accounts, Solomon died in Pula, in Istria. IC, c. 110–136, ed. Bak-Veszprémy, pp. 206–253. See also Pál, *The Realm*, pp. 31–33; Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, pp. 80–86. For Solomon's death see n. 257 in this paper.

⁹² "[Sub anno 1079:] *Rex Ungariae fines invasit. Annales Augustani*, a. 1079, ed. Pertz, p. 129, l. 48. Henry IV invaded Hungary in 1079, but he soon abandoned his brother-in-law Solomon who was thereafter forced to surrender and make peace with his brother Ladislas. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher* 3, p. 207.

⁹³ Bak-Grzesik, *The Text*, pp. 10–11.

the river Rječina – Merania – could not have been annexed to the Empire at this point in time – Henry IV’s donation charter to margrave Ulrich I from 31st of July, 1064, strongly testifies to the Učka mountain range as the borderline between the two polities.⁹⁴ Had Merania been conquered already at this point – and according to Hauptmann’s narrative this conquest could only have taken place before the issuing of this donation charter – why would Henry IV bestow upon his margrave a chain of forts defending the old, pre-conquest borders to the west of Učka? Since complementing the position of their margraves by conferring upon them additional rights and territories in their respective marches had the aim of creating power bases strong enough to deal with any external threats, it would be highly counter-intuitive to foster such a center (*Machtbasis*) of Istrian margraves precisely on the Učka mountain range had the border indeed moved to Rječina.⁹⁵

Moreover, if one wants to believe that Zvonimir had already been a *ban* in the 1060s, why would the Carniolan-Istrian margrave attack his relative, the husband of his wife’s sister? Likewise, why would king Solomon – a monarch who was not only family related to the Holy Roman emperor, but who owed his very crown to Henry IV – attack imperial territory, margrave Ulrich I nonetheless, a distinguished nobleman who prominently enjoyed the favor of the imperial court and crown? Neither Šišić nor Hauptmann cared to explicate the potential *casus belli* for Ulrich’s attack; it was only recently that Ivan Majnarić turned to Archdeacon Thomas for explanation.⁹⁶ Namely, the 13th-century chronicler of Split mentions a certain “foreign cleric” called Wolf who gave his support to the recently banned Slavic liturgy and helped ordain the anti-bishop of Krk, a Ceded.⁹⁷ For Majnarić, this Wolf, the backer of antipope Honorius II, was also the means through which the patriarchs of Aquileia sought to extend their influence in the Croatian kingdom.⁹⁸ Thus, when Ulrich I invaded and occupied Dalmatia, he was actually working in tandem with both Henry IV, antipope Honorius II and the Aquileian patriarch Gotebold († 27th of December, 1063).⁹⁹ This interpretation is untenable. First, there is no

⁹⁴ D. H. IV, no. 135, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 176–177. See map 1 in the appendix of this paper.

⁹⁵ Rentschler, *Marken und Markgrafen*, p. 907. A good comparative example are the Ekkehardines of Meissen who also enjoyed ample jurisdictional autonomy and proprietary rights in the marches entrusted to their administration. Fokt, *Governance*, pp. 176–178; Rupp, *Die Ekkehardiner*, esp. pp. 141–156. See also Reuter, *Germany*, p. 198 who describes such imperial donations as “favours, signs of esteem and approval, the oil which lubricated the political machine.” On donations *iure proprietario*, such as was the one issued to Ulrich I in 1064, see also Leyser, *Communication and Power* 2, pp. 35–49.

⁹⁶ Majnarić, *Karolinško, Otonsko*, p. 527. The author seems to have accepted the interpretation of c. 16 of Thomas’s chronicle as argued by Nada Klaić. Klaić, *Pobjeda reformnog Rima*, pp. 169–174.

⁹⁷ Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum*, c. 16, ed. Perić et al., pp. 72–91. On this episode see also Matijević-Sokol, *Toma Arhidakon*, pp. 145–148.

⁹⁸ Majnarić, *Karolinško, Otonsko*, p. 527.

⁹⁹ [Sub anno 1063:] *Gotobaldus patriarcha obiit, Rabengerus successit. Annales Augustani*, a. 1063, ed. Pertz, p. 127, l. 45. The date of his death, 27th of December, is attested in a calendar from a manuscript kept in Bodleian library, Can. Lit. 319 (19408). Foligno, *Di alcuni codici*, p. 296, n. 1.

primary source that would connect Wolf or Cedula to the Aquileian See, or even one that would depict the patriarch Gotebold as a supporter of antipope Honorius II. Moreover, Anno, the archbishop of Cologne and (following the so-called “Coup of Kaiserswerth” in the spring of 1062) regent to Henry IV, supported Alexander II and not antipope Honorius II.¹⁰⁰ Since this very Anno openly promoted both the nomination of Gotebold on the chair of St. Hermagoras, as well as the growth of Ulrich I’s power in his march, it seems highly improbable that the same patriarch Gotebold and Carniolan-Istrian margrave would be such dedicated supporters of antipope Honorius II.¹⁰¹ Majnarić is absolutely right to point out that the sphere of influence of Ulrich I bordered that of Croatian-Dalmatian king Peter Krešimir IV, but that in itself does not presuppose open military conflict.

These observations lead to the second reason why “the Wezelin thesis” makes for a better solution on the annexation of Merania: historical context. Peter Krešimir IV was not on unfriendly terms with the Holy Roman Empire. Even if one wants to view this Croatian monarch as the staunchest supporter of the reform papacy, neither Henry IV nor the patriarchs of Aquileia were at this time in open conflict with the Holy See.¹⁰² The momentous battle between the pope and the emperor

¹⁰⁰ On the “Coup of Kaiserswerth”: Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, a. 1062, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 79–81; *Annales Altahenses maiores*, a. 1062, ed. Giesebrecht–Oefele, p. 59; Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 43–44. On Anno’s support to Alexander II and reform movement: *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* 3, no. 99, ed. Reindel, pp. 97–100, where Peter Damian addresses Anno with the words: “Your excellence, moreover, has reached out his hand to the priesthood in that you labored to sever the scaly neck of the “beast of Parma” [antipope Honorius II, Cadalus of Parma] with the sword of evangelical rigor and to reinstate the bishop of the Apostolic See on the throne of his dignity” (translation taken from *The Letters of Peter Damian*, trans. Blum, p. 104). See also Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 48–49. These facts were also known to Margetić, but N. Klaić chose to ignore his paper completely. Margetić, *Uzmac Bizanta*, pp. 79–96. Cf. Margetić’s thoughts on this N. Klaić’s thesis, Margetić, *Neka pitanja*, pp. 29–30.

¹⁰¹ Anno’s promotion of Gotebold to the Aquileian See: Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, lib. 3 c. 35, ed. Schmeidler, p. 177, l. 12–22. According to Pier Silverio Leicht, this notice refers to Gotebold. Leicht, *Le elezioni*, p. 9. However, this in *Italia [archiepiscopus] Aquileiensis* could indeed refer to patriarch Raveger, Gotebold’s successor, and this is the opinion of Pio Paschini. Paschini, *Storia del Friuli*, p. 232. Anno’s promotion of Ulrich I’s power: D. H. IV, no. 135, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 176–177, with the following *formula interventionis*: *ob interventum fidelium nostrorum, dilecti scilicet magistri nostri Annonis Coloniensis archiepiscopi*.

¹⁰² Contemporary Croatian scholarship tends to view Peter Krešimir IV as a resolute supporter of reform papacy. Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, p. 61; Vedriš, *Crkva*, pp. 220–221; Majnarić, *Papinstvo*, pp. 542–543; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 231–232. Giuseppe Praga, on the other hand, views the same monarch as the staunchest anti-reformer. Praga, *History of Dalmatia*, pp. 76–77 (featuring very broad freedom of interpretation, one could even say downright inventing of historical events). The judgment hinges on the interpretation of Amico’s invasion in 1075: if Amico II had indeed been sent by the pope, then Peter Krešimir IV could not have been such a champion of reform movement. See n. 131 in this paper. The same conclusion must be reached if the letter of pope Gregory VII to Danish king indeed refers to Dalmatia. Reg. Greg. VII., no. II, 51, ed. Caspar, pp. 192–194. In any case, there are primary sources attesting to Peter Krešimir’s cooperation with Alexander II, so the most that can be said, if one decides to lean towards Praga’s interpretation, is that his support to the reform movement was limited. For Krešimir IV’s cooperation with Alexander II, CD 1, no. 67, ed. Kostrenčić et al., pp. 94–96; Foretić, *Korčulanski kodeks*, pp. 30–31.

fully ensued only with the election of Gregory VII, open military conflicts beginning following the election of anti-king Rudolph of Rheinfelden in March 1077.¹⁰³ At this point, that is between 1077 and 1079, there was a perfect *cassus belli* for imperial forces to attack Zvonimir's Croatia, the pillar of pro-Gregorian faction in the Eastern Adriatic, a region bordering the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, Zvonimir's brother-in-law, Ladislav audaciously proclaimed his support to the anti-Henrician camp by providing refuge to Henry IV's sworn opponent, count Eckbert I of Formbach, by marrying Adelaide, the daughter of the very anti-king Rudolph, and by promising troops to Rudolph's army when the anti-king was stationed in Goslar, right before the Battle of Mellrichstadt.¹⁰⁴ Thus, it is very possible that Wezelin's invasion of Zvonimir's kingdom was a reaction to Henry IV's invasion of Hungary that took place precisely in 1079.¹⁰⁵ In any case, it is safe to conclude that both Zvonimir and Ladislav belonged to the anti-Henrician camp and that both presented a serious threat on the very southeastern borders of the Holy Roman Empire. This is the historical context that engendered "the noble knight Wezelin" to invade the Dalmatian march. A similar context for Ulrich I's putative attacks is utterly lacking.

At this point it must be mentioned that the majority of primary sources, especially the narrative accounts penned by Hungarian chroniclers, attest to king Solomon ending his life in Pula "in complete poverty".¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, a lid of a

¹⁰³ On the election of anti-king Rudolph in Forchheim in March 1077, see Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077, ed. Robinson, pp. 267–268; Bruno of Merseburg, *Saxonicum bellum*, c. 91, ed. Lohmann, pp. 85–86; Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 167–168. Even though pope Gregory VII did not openly support Rudolph immediately following the anti-king's election and coronation, papal legates in Germany, namely cardinal deacon Bernard, were ardent backers of Rudolph from the 1077 onwards. Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077, ed. Robinson, pp. 302–303; Robinson, *Henry IV*, p. 172. First military skirmishes between pro-Henrician and pro-Rudolphian forces commenced in late spring, summer 1077, culminating in the Battle of Mellrichstadt on 7th of August, 1078. Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077–1078, ed. Robinson, pp. 277–278, 288–303, 313–315, 324–338; Bruno of Merseburg, *Saxonicum bellum*, c. 94–102, ed. Lohmann, pp. 87–92; Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 172–182.

¹⁰⁴ Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, a. 1077 and 1078, ed. Robinson, pp. 301–302, 331, l. 18–22. On Ladislav's marriage to Adelheid, Bernold of St. Blasien, *Chronicon*, a. 1090, ed. Robinson, p. 481, l. 1–3, n. 409; Meyer von Konau, *Jahrbücher* 3, pp. 133–134, n. 53; Hlawitschka, *Zur Herkunft*, p. 180, n. 20.

¹⁰⁵ See n. 92.

¹⁰⁶ [S]ucessit [rex Solomon] inde versus mare Adriaticum, ubi in civitate vocata Pola usque mortem in summa paupertate in penuria finiens vitam suam, in qua et iacet tumulatus. Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, c. 61, ed. Veszprémy–Schaer, pp. 136 (Latin original), 137 (English translation). Cf. the wording of the IC: *Migravit autem [Solomon] ex hoc seculo ad Dominum et sepultus est Pole, in civitate Istri<e>*. IC, c. 136, ed. Bak–Veszprémy, pp. 252–253, n. 656. On the other hand, Bernold of St. Blasien wrote that Solomon died fighting with the Pechenegs against the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus. Bernold of St. Blasien, *Chronicon*, a. 1087, ed. Robinson, p. 465, l. 23–24, p. 466, l. 1–2. That Solomon indeed went to fight against the Byzantine emperor in the 1080s is also attested by Anna Comnena who wrote that "At the approach of spring Tzelgu (the supreme commander of the Scythian army) crossed the passes above the Danube with a mixed army of about eighty thousand, composed of Sauromatians, Scythians, and a number from the Dacian army (over whom the man called Solomon was leader), and plundered

tombstone was found in Pula, precisely in St. Michael's monastery, inscribed with the epitaph: *Hic requiescit illustrissimus Salamon rex Panoniae* (see image 1).¹⁰⁷ The fact that Solomon, the enemy of papal supporters Ladislav and Zvonimir and the ally of Henry IV, is explicitly mentioned in the same place and in the same ecclesiastical institution where a Wezelin governed *in temporalibus* strongly supports the thesis, originally proposed by Margetić, that the "noble knight Wezelin" of the pope's 1079 letter indeed refers to the eponymous advocate of St. Michael's monastery in Pula. That Wezelin, however, cannot be "a papal vassal" as Margetić unsuccessfully argued, but he could be the "count of Aquileian Church" and the father of Henry, the future count in Istria.¹⁰⁸

Finally, the "Wezelin thesis" offers a much-needed explanation for Coloman's assault on Istria at the beginning of the 12th century. This (counter)attack is noted by Ekkehard of Aura under the year 1108 with the following words: "Coloman invaded our borderlands, that is the maritime territories".¹⁰⁹ These *fines Regni nostri* can only refer to Istria and, possibly, the occupied territory of Merania that Coloman aimed to reclaim. This passage was known to Margetić, but he did not interpret it in the context of Merania; on the contrary, he saw the putative attack led by the lords of Duino in 1116 as a military response to this Coloman's assault.¹¹⁰ Even though this counterattack must primarily be interpreted as a consequence of Henry V's military campaigns in Hungary, the choice to invade precisely Istria was by no means accidental.¹¹¹ According to the "Wezelin thesis", Coloman did not launch an attack precisely on Istria on a whim or randomly; instead, the triumphant Hungarian monarch aimed to restore to his Dalmatian-Croatian kingdom those territories that were lost in previous decades, namely Merania.

Concluding Remarks

Solving the "Meranian mystery" is a task that will always require a certain amount of interpretative freedom from the historian bold enough to attempt to tackle it; there are simply not enough contemporary historical accounts that would

the towns round about Chariopolis." Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, lib. 7, c. 1, ed. Leib, 2, p. 87 (English translation taken from Dawes, *The Alexiad*, p. 168). However, Anna Comnena never writes that Solomon was among the ones who died either in battle or afterwards, when trying to escape from the Byzantine forces. Thus, it is very possible that Solomon survived the battle and escaped to Pula. See also Rokay, *Salamon és Póla*, pp. 55–99.

¹⁰⁷ The lid of the tomb was discovered in 1851 on St. Michael's hill, the very place where St. Michael's monastery once stood. Kandler, *Sepolcro*, p. 101. The lid is kept in Pula, in Arheološki muzej Istre [Archaeological Museum of Istria] under inventory number AMI-S-55. According to Rokay, who analyzed the monument in most detail, the lid is indeed authentic. Rokay, *Salamon és Póla*, pp. 119–157.

¹⁰⁸ See n. 57 and n. 62 in this paper.

¹⁰⁹ [Sub anno 1108:] *Colomanus fines regni nostri, scilicet in locis maritimis, invaserit*. Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, a. 1108, ed. Waitz, p. 242, l. 39.

¹¹⁰ Margetić, *Rijeka i područje*, p. 61.

¹¹¹ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, lib. 7, c. 13, ed. Hofmeister, p. 325, l. 4–11; Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, pp. 96–97; Dendorfer, *Heinrich V.*, p. 132.

allow for a straightforward solution fully grounded in primary sources. The thesis outlined in this paper is no exception – it proposes a very creative reading of a chapter from a 14th-century chronicle and the main protagonist of the pivotal process is a mysterious noble knight. Yet, despite all its interpretative jumps, the newly proposed “Wezelin thesis” represents a marked improvement over the three existing solutions. Benussi had absolutely no primary sources to back his claims and his reading of *De administrando imperio* – the basis of his argument – was highly partial, strongly impacted by nationalistic bias and it has since been consensually rejected by scholarship. Hauptmann based his thesis on dubious laws of inheritance, highly uncertain genealogies and a very creative reading of c. 99 of the IC as well: he read it so that nothing of it remained unaltered. Finally, Margetić, while successful in demonstrating the untenability of the previous theses, ultimately proposed a solution completely ungrounded in primary sources. The “Wezelin thesis” is based on firmer ground and supported by stronger evidence: there are contemporary primary sources attesting to the attack on Croatian-Dalmatian kingdom (the pope’s letter to Wezelin), there is a perfect *cassus belli* for the invasion (missing in Hauptmann’s thesis), the invasion fits the historical context, and the takeover is echoed in subsequent events (Coloman’s counterattack).

These observations and conclusions, in turn, lead to a somewhat different interpretation of both the modality of Meranian annexation and the interpretation of “Dalmatian march” than traditionally argued. Both Hauptmann and Margetić saw the loss of Merania as a result of a relatively short, compact process: the military campaigns of Ulrich I being a reflex of Henry IV’s Hungarian expedition of 1063; the attacks of lords of Duino happening only in 1116/17. According to the “Wezelin thesis”, the takeover of Merania was a longer process and it took place over several years, if not decades. Zvonimir could, and by all accounts did fight back against the invaders in the latter half of 1070s – the formation of Dalmatian march or *Krajina* testifying to the organization of his defensive system. Therefore, the Dalmatian march cannot be the creation of Ulrich I as was originally claimed by Nada Klaić, but of king Zvonimir.¹¹² However, following the death of Zvonimir’s successor, Stephen III in 1090/91, Croatian kingdom was plunged into crisis with in-fighting over royal succession; thus, it was certainly not in a position to organize effective defense, let alone to launch counterattacks on the Istrian march and the Patriarchate of Aquileia.¹¹³ The first Croatian monarch powerful enough to

¹¹² If Puzel’s and Priest of Duklja’s accounts are taken as authentic and trustworthy, case could be made that *Krajina* was originally Peter Krešimir IV’s organization. However, this March or *Krajina* is mentioned only in two primary sources and both link it to king Zvonimir, thus it is far more likely that it was this particular monarch who organized the defensive border region.

¹¹³ Archdeacon Thomas describes this period of crisis with the following words: “And so there came to be great conflict among all the nobles of the kingdom. And as first this one, then that one, with ambitions to be king separately claimed lordship of the land, there arose countless acts of pillage, robbery and murder, and the breeding grounds of every crime. Day after day people attacked, hunted down and murdered each other without respite” (*Cepit itaque inter omnes regni proceres magna discordia suboriri. Et cum divisim modo hic modo ille regnandi ambitione sibi terre dominium vendicaret, innumerabiles rapine, predationes, cedet et omnium*

attempt the *reconquista* was Coloman I and he indeed launched the counterattack, delayed as it was.

Interestingly, both Jurković and Majnarić were on this track when they intuitively argued that “eastern Istria came under the jurisdiction of Istrian margraves only in the period following the death of the last Croatian king from the Trpimirović dynasty, Stephen II [*recte* III]”,¹¹⁴ and that Wezelin was “at first unsuccessful, but by the end of the century, due to the crisis of jurisdiction in the Croatian kingdom, ultimately successful” in his attack on Zvonimir’s dominion.¹¹⁵ Neither of the two historians explicated their reasoning in any greater detail – the former being an encyclopedia entry, the latter a chapter in a synthesis of Croatian early medieval history – but their intuition-based conclusions fit the “Wezelin thesis” perfectly.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the territory between Lovran, “the last maritime town of Aquileian land”, and Bakar, “the first of the lands of Croatia that take the name of Dalmatia”, is not mentioned by Al-Idrisi. Therefore, it is possible that this patch of land that included the territories of Veprinac, Kastav and Rijeka remained disputed well into the 12th century. The first primary source explicitly attesting to Rijeka’s position stems from 1300 and mentions the lords of Duino as the town’s rulers.¹¹⁶ Moreover, following Al-Idrisi’s account, the oldest document attesting the river Rječina as the boundary between the two polities is the donation charter purportedly from 1260, issued by the Hungarian king Bela IV to the counts of Krk, bestowing upon the brothers Bartholomew and Frederick the town Vinodol “whose northern boundary is the river and town Rijeka”; the charter, however, is a forgery (re)written in a much later period.¹¹⁷

facinorum seminaria emerunt. Alter enim alterum insequi, invadere, trucidare cotidie non cessabat). Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum*, c. 17, ed. Perić et al., pp. 92–93; Margetić, *Regnum Croatiae*, pp. 16–19; Birin, *Pregled političke povijesti*, pp. 65–66; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, pp. 284–287; idem, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, pp. 115–122.

¹¹⁴ “Ist. Istra je pod upravu istar. markgrofa došla tek u razdoblju nakon smrti posljednjega hrv. kralja iz dinastije Trpimirovića Stjepana II. (1091) i dolaska Kolomana Arpadovića na hrv. prijestolje (1102), najvjerojatnije u vrijeme markgrofovstva Ulrikova sina Popona (1090–1101).” Jurković, *Istarska markgrofovija*, <http://istra.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=1203> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

¹¹⁵ “Štoviše, čini se da je Luitold aktivnije nastupio i prema susjedima Carstva te podržao Vecelina u njegovu – čini se tada neuspješnom, no u konačnici do kraja tog stoljeća za krize vlasti u Hrvatskoj Kraljevini uspješnom – napadu.” Majnarić, *Karolinško, Otonsko*, pp. 528–529. There are no sources attesting to Liutold’s activity in Wezelin’s campaigns, but his involvement is highly probable. Moreover, the Priest of Duklja mentions that the German duke that “Crepimir” fought against was a *consobrinus imperatoris*. Since the Eppensteins were indeed related to Henry IV – Hermann II of Swabia being the great-grandfather of Henry IV and the grandfather of Markward IV – and the Holy Roman emperor referred to them as *nostri consanguinei*, it is possible that the historical nucleus of this highly contaminated narrative was indeed the wars waged between Liutold of Eppenstein and king Zvonimir. D. H. IV, no. 432, ed. Gladiss–Gawlik, pp. 577–578 (Ulrich of Eppenstein called *noster fidelis et dilectissimus consanguineus*); Gänser, *Die Mark (I. Teil)*, p. 107. In any case, Mogorović Crljenko’s argument that this German duke who was the relative of the emperor refers to Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde is untenable: Ulrich I was neither duke nor any relative of Henry IV’s. Mogorović Crljenko, *Istarski markgrofovi*, p. 86, n. 23.

¹¹⁶ Kos, *Jedan urbar*, p. 3, n. 3.

¹¹⁷ CD 5, no. 685, ed. Smičiklas, pp. 179–180.

Since Merania, at least up to Lovran, was definitely annexed by the 1150s but still fought over in 1108, it is possible that the new border between the Holy Roman Empire and the Dalmatian-Croatian kingdom had been stabilized (perhaps even on the river Rječina) in 1116/17 as a result of Ordelafo Falier's military expedition. Whether the imperial troops actually helped the Venetians or not cannot be ascertained, but it seems very plausible that following the loss of Dalmatian cities the Hungarian kings gave up on recuperating Merania and simply focused their resources elsewhere. Thus, the "Wezelin thesis" is not in complete disharmony with Margetić's argumentation. There is, however, no justifiable reason to assume that the lords of Duino played any role in this enterprise.

In conclusion to this debate it remains to be demonstrated how the newly proposed "Wezelin thesis" impacts some of the main historiographical dilemmas regarding the Duchy of Merania. According to the proposed solution, Merania could not have passed on to Conrad II of Dachau via inheritance. Consequently, the bestowing of the Duchy of Merania upon Berthold IV and the comital house of Andechs would also not be grounded in inheritance. Instead, just as was so convincingly argued by Andrej Komac, the title of Meranian dukes was given to Berthold IV for political reasons, as part of the process of reorganization of the Empire's southeastern frontiers and the elevation of Otto II of Wittelsbach as duke of Bavaria.¹¹⁸ If there were no hereditary rights involved in Berthold IV's elevation to Meranian duke, then no such rights were required for Conrad II thirty years before. Therefore, according to the "Wezelin thesis" Conrad II of Dachau was, same as Berthold IV after him, given the Duchy of Merania for political reasons: as part of a process of reorganization of Bavarian social hierarchy taking place between 1152 and 1156 on the one hand, and on the other, as an audacious proclamation of hostility towards the Hungarian crown whose sovereignty over Dalmatia and Croatia was challenged by the creation of the new ducal title.¹¹⁹

This explains why the original imperial title of "the dukes of Dalmatia and Croatia" started giving way to the "less offensive" one – the dukes of Merania – in the 1180s and 1190s, the period when the Holy Roman Empire did not foster enmity with the Hungarian throne; the original title was dropped for the *dux Meranie* in the second half of the 1190s, when Andrew II, the brother of Hungarian king Emeric, married Gertrude, the daughter of Berthold IV of Andechs. From this period onwards, especially following Andrew II's official assumption of the Hungarian title "duke of Croatia and Dalmatia" in 1197, the original "offensive" imperial title had to completely give way to the new, "less offensive" one – the dukes of Merania.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Komac, *Utrditev grofov Andeških*, pp. 283–294; idem, *Od mejne grofije*, pp. 55–63.

¹¹⁹ D. F. I, no. 14, ed. Appelt, pp. 26–27 and esp. Dendorfer, *Von den Liutpoldingern*, p. 352.

¹²⁰ This argument was put forward already by Hormayr and it remains the most convincing solution to the question of why the original ducal title changed from *dux Dalmatie et Croatie* to *dux Meranie*. Hormayr, *Sämtliche Werke* 3, p. 209. On Andrew II, his alliance with Leopold VI of Babenberg and their wars with king Emeric, especially the battle of 1197 after which, following the victory of Andrew II and duke Leopold VI, king Emeric had to bequeath to his younger brother the title of the duke of Dalmatia and Croatia, the primary sources are: *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, a. 1199, ed. Waitz, p. 168; *Continuatio Admuntensis*, a. 1197, ed. Wattenbach,

This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that Merania was, exactly as was claimed by Hormayr and Oefele over a century ago, exclusively a titular duchy. This also means that the *Ducatus Meranie* mentioned in two documents from 1221 refers to, just as Oefele claimed, the totality of jurisdictional dominium of house Andechs; this opinion was accepted by both Margetić, Komac and Kosi.

Finally, these conclusions shed new light on the relation between the ducal title and the Kvarner region. Namely, the traditional interpretation among the supporters of both Hauptmann's and Margetić's theses is that the area between the Učka mountain range and the river Rječina was originally called *Meran(ia)*; the name of this microregion was then taken over by the titular dukes of Dalmatia and Croatia who started styling themselves the "dukes of Meran(ia)". However, the title *dux Meranus* appears already in the second half of the 12th century, but the oldest known usage of the word *Meran* to designate the territory between the Učka mountain range and the river Rječina stems from 1366.¹²¹ Therefore, the exact opposite can be argued too: that the term *Meran(ia)* was originally used to refer to the imperial titular Duchy of Dalmatia and Croatia, and only later – one would assume following the marriage between Gertrude of Andechs and Andrew II – did it begin connoting a distinct microregion, a patch of land between the Učka mountain range and the river Rječina, the only part of the historical *Regnum Croatiae* that was at this point both *de iure* and *de facto* under the jurisdiction of the Empire, its ecclesiastical nobility more precisely – the patriarchs of Aquileia. The fact that Gertrude's brother was Berthold V, the future patriarch of Aquileia (1218–1251) and thus the secular lord of the Kvarner microregion, further strengthens this argument.

In the end absolutely nothing remains of Hauptmann's original thesis. The author of this paper sincerely hopes that any future scholarly debate on these topics will no longer relegate the critics of Hauptmann's thesis to mere single mentions in footnotes, "hiding" their arguments and designating their theses as potential alternative, but unlikely scenarios; instead, any revindication of the old "Ulrich thesis" should decisively tackle the argumentation explicated in this study.

p. 588, l. 27–28; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae* 2, ed. Fejér, pp. 313–314 (first letter of pope Innocent III to duke Andrew II) and pp. 315–316 (the second letter of pope Innocent III to duke Andrew II). See also Klaić, *O hercegu Andriji*, pp. 200–222, esp. pp. 204–209; Šišić, *Poviest Hrvata* 1, pp. 157–189; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 368. The literature on Gertrude of Andechs is substantial as her murder occupied the attention of numerous historians, but this topic falls outside the scope of this paper. On Gertrude's marriage with Andrew II see e.g. Lyon, *Princely Brothers*, pp. 157–158.

¹²¹ The *regestum* (see n. 32 in this paper) also mentions a document from 1256 issued by the Aquileian patriarch Gregory of Montelongo and written by notary public Conrad of Cividale, purportedly demonstrating that the lords of Duino hold the lands in question – among which those *in Meran sive in Croatia* – from the Aquileian Church. This document has thus far neither been edited, nor – at least to my knowledge – found. Since a large part of notarial acts written by this Conrad of Cividale is still unpublished, it is possible that the 1256 document will be found once the entire corpus of Conrad's documents has been investigated and edited. On this public notary Conrad see Blancato, *Corrado da Martignacco*, <http://www.dizionariobiograficodeifrulani.it/corrado-da-martignacco-1302/> [last access: 04. 08. 2019].

While future research is very much welcome in the context of the “Wezelin thesis”, especially in order to pinpoint more accurately the mysterious noble knight of the pope’s letter, the solution outlined in this paper and written in *lingua franca* of modern-day scholarly discourse aims to garner the attention of as broad a circle of historians as possible. Since medieval Istria belongs to both Italian, German, Austrian, Slovenian and Croatian national history, the “Wezelin thesis” should be analyzed, deconstructed, criticized and, ultimately, improved upon by a number of historians dealing with medieval Europe during the momentous Investiture Controversy. As critical reviews and erudite academic discussions are desperately lacking in contemporary Istrian medieval studies, the author heartily hopes to engender some debate with this comprehensive contribution.

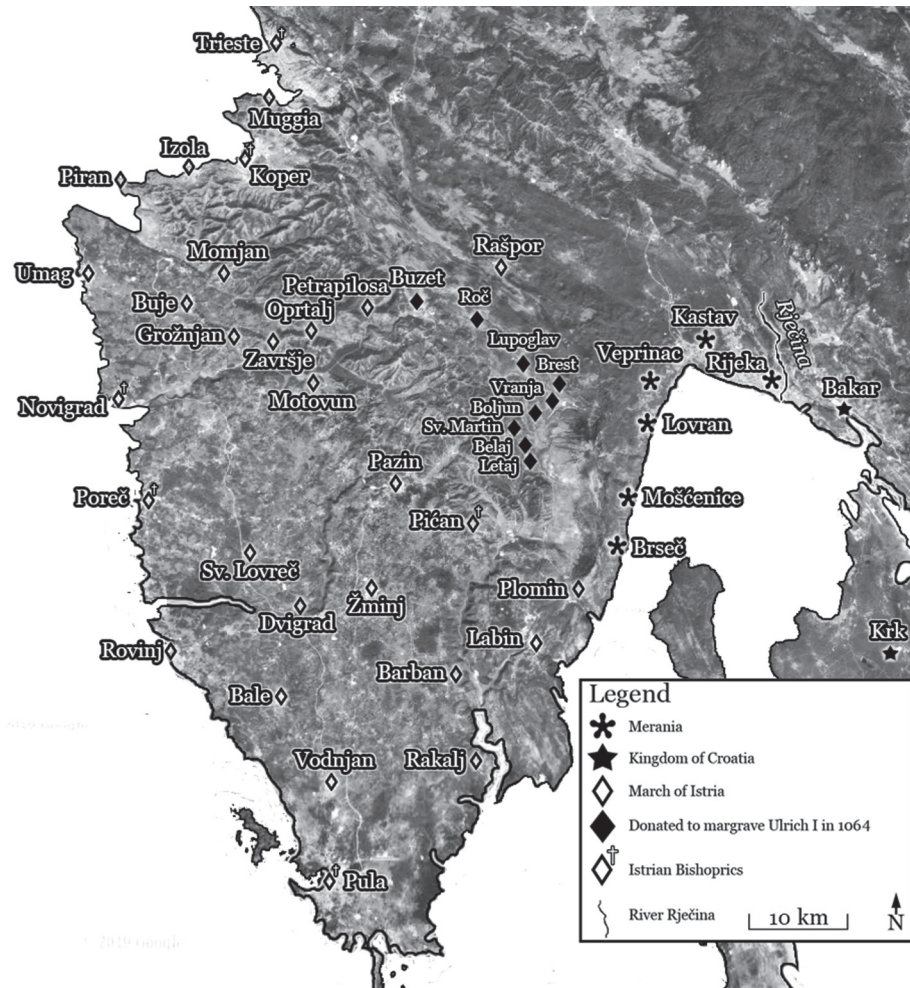
Appendix

Image



The lid of Solomon’s tomb found in St. Michael’s monastery in Pula in 1851. The inscription reads: HIC REQUIESCIT ILLVUSTRISSIMVS SALOMON / REX PANNONIAE. The lid, made from limestone, is currently kept in Pula, in Arheološki muzej Istre [Archaeological Museum of Istria] under inventory number AMI-S-55. The dimensions are: height = 48 cm; length = 173 cm; width = 23 cm.

Map



Map 1. March of Istria and Merania

The old border between the March of Istria and the Kingdom of Croatia, the Učka mountain range, is highlighted by the places in which the twenty royal *mansi* were donated to margrave Ulrich I of Weimar-Orlamünde by king Henry IV in 1064. The toponyms mentioned in the donation are (from north to south): *Puviendi* (most probably a contamination of *Pinvendi*) = Buzet (Ital. Pinguente), *Ruz* = Roč (Ital. Rozzo), *Lompaga* = Lupoglav (Ital. Lupogliano), *Winstrum* = Brest pod Učkom (Ital. Olmeto di Bogliuno), *Rana* = Vranja (Ital. Vragna), *Bangul* = Boljun (Ital. Bogliuno), *Villa que vocatur ad Sanctum Martinum* = Sveti Martin (Ital. San Martino), *Curtalla* = Belaj (Ital. Bellai) and *Lahenewit* = Letaj (Ital. Lettai).

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POVZETEK

Skrivnost Meranije: Nove rešitve starih problemov (Sveto rimsko cesarstvo ter Kraljevina Hrvaška-Dalmacija v času investiturnega boja)

Josip Banić

Avtor najprej analizira različne zgodovinske interpretacije, povezane s spremembo jurisdikcije nad Meranijo, mikroregije med goro Učko in reko Riječino na skrajnem vzhodu istrskega polotoka, ki je bila del Kraljevine Hrvaške. Zaplata zemlje, ki je obsegala Brseč, Mošćenice, Lovran, Veprinac, Kastav in Reko, je bila priključena Svetemu rimskemu cesarstvu nekje med poznim 10. in zgodnjim 12. stoletjem. Prispevek vsebuje analizo in kritiko treh prevladujočih zgodovinskih narativov, ki so v članku poimenovani »kraljevska teza« (Bernardo Benussi), »Ulrikova teza« (Ljudmil Hauptmann) ter »devinska teza« (Lujko Margetić), in opozarja na pomanjkanje primarnih virov, na katerih temeljijo ključni argumenti, in/ali na neskladne interpretativne preskoke. Avtor predlaga novo rešitev tega starodavnega zgodovinskega problema, tj. »Vecelinovo tezo«. Po tej interpretaciji je Meranio zasedel »plemeniti vitez Vecelin« v drugi polovici 70. let 11. stoletja, v času hrvaško-dalmatinskega kralja Dimitrija Zvonimirja (1076–1089). Ker se je ta hrvaški kralj zaobljubil reformističnemu papeštvu in postal neomajen podpornik papeža Gregorja VII. med investiturnim bojem, je ogrožal mogočne sovražnike v sosednjih markah Istri in Kranjski, ki so ju obvladovali močni prohenrikovski braniki, kot npr. oglejski patriarhat in grofovska rodbina Eppensteinci. Ravno v tem kontekstu so se začeli prvi spopadi med procesarskimi in Zvonimirjevimi silami, izpričani v pismu papeža Gregorja VII. Vecelinu leta 1079, ki so se nadaljevali tudi v letih, ki so sledila. Čeprav ta *nobilis miles Wezelin* ostaja skrivnostna figura, avtor predlaga tri potencialne kandidate za njegovo identiteto: grof Kacelin iz rodbine Aribonidov, Vecelin, odvetnik samostana Sv. Mihaela v Pulju, in Verner, ministerial Henrika IV., bodočega mejnega grofa Ancone. Priključitev Meranije je bila najverjetneje zaključena po smrti Zvonimirjevega naslednika kralja Štefana III. (1090/91) in začetku krize kraljevske oblasti v hrvaško-dalmatinskem kraljestvu ter medsebojnih bojev različnih pretendentov na hrvaški prestol. Po neuspelem poskusu kralja Kolomana leta 1108, s katerim je zahteval vrnitev tega obmorskega ozemlja, se je meja med Svetim rimskim cesarstvom in Kraljevino Dalmacijo-Hrvaško dokončno ustalila, morda na Rječini, v drugem desetletju 12. stoletja. Na podlagi analiz gre ureditev Krajine oz. Dalmatinske marke, te militarizirane obrambne regije na skrajnih zahodnih mejah hrvaškega kraljestva, pripisati kralju Zvonimirju in datirati v obdobje intenzivnega vojskovanja. Poleg tega lahko Meranijo, ki je bila podeljena Konradu II. Dachauskemu leta 1152 in Bertoldu IV. Andeškemu leta 1080, koncipiramo izključno kot titularno vojvodino (*Titularherzogtum*), zapuščeno tem pomembnim plemičem cesarstva izključno iz političnih razlogov.