

*Gábor BARABÁS:*

## **Heretics, Pirates, and Legates. The Bosnian Heresy, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Popes in the Early 13<sup>th</sup> Century\***

The study examines a special aspect of the relations between the Papacy and the Hungarian Kingdom in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century: the fight against the heretics of Bosnia, or the Bosnian Church. The question of this heresy is not investigated from a dogmatic, or a legal point of view; the analysis focuses on the measures taken by the Papacy and the Hungarian Kingdom. Pontifical legates were entrusted with tasks concerning heresy and piracy in Bosnia and Dalmatia since the very beginning of the century, while the Hungarian rulers and several prelates also took part in the struggle. My presentation starts with the investigation against Ban Kulin of Bosnia led by the papal chaplain John of Casamari, whereas among other topics the problem of the Dalmatian pirates, the Bosnian campaign of Duke Coloman of Slavonia and the integration of the diocese of Bosnia into the Hungarian Church are analysed too.

*Key words:* Bosnia, Dalmatia, Hungary, Papacy, heresy, piracy, legates, Duke Coloman of Slavonia, Bosnian Church



The study focuses on a special aspect of the relations between the Apostolic See and the Hungarian Kingdom in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century: the treatment of the Bosnian heresy. The analysis will not be done from a dogmatic or legal point of view,<sup>1</sup> the investigation concerns the measures

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Othmar HAGENEDER: Das päpstliche Recht der Fürstenabsetzung: seine kanonistische Grundlegung (1150–1250), *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 1 (1963), p. 53–95. (hereafter: HAGENEDER 1963a) here: p. 72–77; Othmar HAGENEDER: Studien zur Dekretale "Vergentis" (X.

taken by the popes<sup>2</sup> and the Hungarian rulers to repel and eliminate the heresy of Bosnia.

The fight against heresy under the pontificates of Innocent III (1198–1216) and his successors occurred not only in Western Europe concerning the Cathars and Albigenses of southern France or the Italian Patarens.<sup>3</sup> The situation in Bosnia and the provisions connected to that are probably less known than the western cases, such as the decretal *Vergentis in senium*<sup>4</sup> or the campaign in southern France in 1209,<sup>5</sup> still, they are no less remarkable. Nevertheless, Pope Innocent III many times turned against the so-called Bogomils (or Patarens, Cathars),<sup>6</sup> and specifically against the 'Bosnian

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V, 7, 10): Ein Beitrag zur Häretikergesetzgebung Innocenz' III. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 49 (1963), p. 138–173. (hereafter: HAGENEDER 1963b) here: p. 143–146; Othmar HAGENEDER: Die Häresie des Ungehorsams und das Entstehen des hierokratischen Papsttums. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 20 (1978), p. 29–47. (hereafter: HAGENEDER 1978) here: p. 33–40; Wilhelm IMKAMP: Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III. (1198 – 1216). Stuttgart. 1983. p. 249–260. (Päpste und Papsttum 22).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Klaus HERBERS: *Geschichte des Papsttums im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt. 2012. (hereafter: HERBERS 2012) p. 172–210.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kenneth PENNINGTON: "Pro Peccatis Patrum Puniri": A Moral and Legal Problem of the Inquisition. *Church History* 47 (1978:2), p. 137–154. (hereafter: PENNINGTON 1978) here: p. 137–139; Ivan MAJNARIĆ: Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji to u Bosni nije bio? [Papal Chaplain Johannes of Casamari and the Oath of Bilino Polje in 1203. The Papal Legate who was not in Bosnia?]. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 50 (2008), p. 1–13. (hereafter: MAJNARIĆ 2008) here: p. 7–8; Othmar HAGENEDER: Der Häresiebegriff bei den Juristen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts. In: *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11–13<sup>th</sup> C.)*. *Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 13–16, 1973*. Ed. W. LOURDAUX – D. VERHELST. Leuven. 1983. (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I. Studia IV) (hereafter: LOURDAUX – VERHELST 1983) p. 42–103. (hereafter: HAGENEDER 1983) here: p. 83, 88–91, 101; Helmuth G. WALTHER: Häresie und päpstliche Politik: Ketzerbegriff und Ketzergesetzgebung in der Übergangsphase von der Dekretistik zur Dekretalistik. In: LOURDAUX – VERHELST 1983. p. 104–143. (hereafter: WALTHER 1983) here: p. 107–109, 122–126, 129–141; John C. MOORE: Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root Up and to Plant. Leiden – Boston. 2003. (hereafter: MOORE 2003) p. 149–168; HAGENEDER 1963b.

<sup>4</sup> *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV. I–II*. Ed. August POTTHAST. Berolini. 1874. (hereafter: POTTHAST) nr. 643. Cf. HAGENEDER 1963b; WALTHER 1983. p. 134–135.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 152–160; *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe. Documents in Translation*. Philadelphia. Ed. Edward PETERS. 1980. p. 194–195; Jean DUVERNOY: L'acception: 'haereticus' (iretge) = 'parfait cathare' en Languedoc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. In: LOURDAUX – VERHELST 1983. p. 198–210, here: p. 202–203, 209–210; Collin MORRIS: *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. Oxford – New York. 1989. p. 442–447; WALTHER 1983. p. 135–136; MOORE 2003. p. 135–168.

<sup>6</sup> The dualistic heresy was formed in the tenth-century Bulgaria as a result of the teachings of Priest Bogomil, based on Manicheism, and later spread also to the territories of Serbia and Dalmatia. Its members rejected, among others, the ecclesiastical and lay hierarchy, and the sacraments (baptism, eucharist, marriage, etc.). See Steven RUNCIMAN: *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*. Cambridge. 1947. (hereafter: RUNCIMAN 1947) p. 63–115; Dimitar ANGELOV: Ursprung und Wesen des Bogumilentums. In: LOURDAUX – VERHELST 1983.

Church'.<sup>7</sup> Beside the authorization of papal delegates of various kinds – among them legates – and the consultation with local potentates, from the papal side the Hungarian kings and princes were supposed to act as the *brachium saeculare* of the Church against the heretics.<sup>8</sup> The rulers of Hungary got in touch with those affairs, however, not only because of the papal agenda, but also because of their own interests. Bosnia (Rama) appeared since the early 12<sup>th</sup> century in the royal title among the ruled territories, and the idea to place Bosnia under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of

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p. 144–156. (hereafter: ANGELOV 1983) here: p. 144–155; Malcolm LAMBERT: *The Cathars*. Oxford. 1998. (hereafter: LAMBERT 1998) p. 297–313; Franjo ŠANJEK: Papa Inocent III. (1198.–1216.) i bosansko-humski krstjani [Pope Innocent III and the Christians of Bosnia and Hum]. In: *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*. Ed. Franjo ŠANJEK. Sarajevo – Zagreb. 2005. hereafter ŠANJEK 2005a) p. 425–439. (hereafter: ŠANJEK 2005b) here: p. 428–433; Slavko SLIŠKOVIĆ: Dominikanci i bosansko-humski krstjani [The Dominicans and the Christians of Bosnia and Hum]. In: ŠANJEK 2005a. p. 479–498. (SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005) here: p. 480–484; Bálint TERNOVÁ CZ: A bogumil eretnység a XI. századi Magyar Királyság déli területein [The Bogomil Heresy in the Southern Parts of the 11<sup>th</sup> Century Hungary]. *Fons* 20 (2013), p. 501–523. (hereafter: TERNOVÁ CZ 2013a) here: p. 502–503; Bálint TERNOVÁ CZ: A bogumil eretnység az Észak-Balkánon a 10–11. században [The Bogomil Heresy in the Northern Balkans in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: *Micae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Ed. Judit GÁL – Bence PÉTERFI – András VADAS – Károly KRANZIERITZ. Budapest. 2013. p. 65–76. (hereafter: TERNOVÁ CZ 2013b) here: p. 67–68, 71–74. For the question of the ecclesiastical hierarchy see HAGENEDER 1978. p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> The nature of the Bosnian heresy is disputed; it seems likely that it was only partially influenced by the dualistic teachings, as the eastern monasticism and the local popular beliefs were the most important components of it. Therefore, the automatic identification of the Bosnian heresy with the Bogomilism is to be avoided, that is why the terms 'Bosnian Church' and 'Bosnian Christian' are used in this paper. See: James Ross SWEENEY: *Papal-Hungarian Relations During the Pontificate of Innocent III, 1198-1216*. Cornell University. 1971. (hereafter: SWEENEY 1971) p. 126–128; Lujo MARGETIĆ: Neka pitanja abjuracije iz 1203. godine [Some Questions regarding the Oath of 1203]. In: ŠANJEK 2005a. p. 27–103. (hereafter: MARGETIĆ 2005) here: p. 85–90; Milko BRKOVIĆ: Bosansko-humski kršćani u križištu papinske i ugarske politike prema bosni i humu [The Christians of Bosnia and Hum on the Crossroad of Papal and Hungarian Politics towards Bosnia and Hum]. In: ŠANJEK 2005a. p. 129–178. (hereafter: BRKOVIĆ 2005) here: p. 131ff; ŠANJEK 2005b. p. 426–431, 438f; SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 480–484; Manuel LORENZ: Bogomilen, Katharer und bosnische "Christen". Der Transfer dualistischer Häresien zwischen Orient und Okzident (11.–13. Jh.). In: *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit; interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*. Ed. Balázs J. NEMES. Göttingen. 2011. p. 87–136. (hereafter: LORENZ 2011) here: p. 107–121; Nedim RABIĆ: Im toten Winkel der Geschichte: Johannes von Wildeshausen als Bischof von Bosnien 1233/34–1237. In: *Die deutschen Dominikaner und Dominikanerinnen im Mittelalter*. Ed. Walter SENNER OP – Thomas EGGENSPERGER OP – Kaspar ELM – Paul Dominikus HELMEIER OP – Ulrich HORST OP – Klaus-Bernward SPRINGER. Berlin – Boston. 2016. p. 53–69. (hereafter: RABIĆ 2016) p. 56–69. Cf. Djuro BASLER: Ungarn und das bosnische Bistum (1181/85–1247). *Ungarn – Jahrbuch* 5 (1973), p. 9–15. (hereafter: BASLER 1973) here: p. 12–13; LAMBERT 1998. p. 297, 300–313; TERNOVÁ CZ 2013b. p. 67–69.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. WALTHER 1983. p. 115–116; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 8–9.

Dubrovnik (Raguza) or Split (Spalato) also emerged.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, one has to deal with a quite complex situation in the late 12<sup>th</sup>, early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries concerning the relations of the Papacy and Hungary with the heretics, whereas later the issue of piracy came to the picture too. Those Dalmatian islanders, who robbed Christians on the sea on a regular basis, were placed on the same level with the heretics of the Balkans according to the canon law, and Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) even entrusted a legate to engage actions against them.

### 1. Schismatics and heretics

The first papal envoy of the chosen period, who got in touch with the issue of the Bosnian heresy was John, papal chaplain and Cistercian monk of Casamari.<sup>10</sup> The sources do not reveal many details concerning his first journey to Dalmatia in 1197, it is only certain that he travelled to Dubrovnik, where he handled an affair of the convent of Lokrum, but it is impossible to decide whether he received a general authorization, or he was just sent there because of the case of convent.<sup>11</sup> John<sup>12</sup> made another trip to the region, to Dalmatia and Dioclea (Duklja)<sup>13</sup> in 1199, this time alongside with Simon,

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 102–103; John V. A. FINE: *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor. 1987. (hereafter: FINE 1987) p. 17, 43–44; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 141–144, 155f; LORENZ 2011. 109–110; János B. SZABÓ: *Háborúban Bizánccal. Magyarország és a Balkán a 11–12. században* [In War with the Byzantine Empire. Hungary and the Balkans in the 11–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. Budapest. 2013. p. 108–109, 169–175; Bálint TERNOVÁ CZ: A boszniai latin püspökség története 1344-ig [History of the Latin Bishopric of Bosnia until 1344]. In: *Micae Mediaevales V. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Ed. Laura FÁBIÁN – Judit GÁL – Péter HARASZTI SZABÓ – Dorottya UHRIN. Budapest. 2016. p. 215–228. (hereafter: TERNOVÁ CZ 2016) here: p. 218.

<sup>10</sup> John became a member of the papal chapel under Pope Celestine III (1191–1198), while later he belonged to the *familia* of Innocent III. Werner MALECZEK: *Papst und Kardinalkolleg von 1191 bis 1216*. Wien. 1984. (hereafter: MALECZEK 1984) p. 340; *Die Register Innocenz' III.* I–XI. Ed. Othmar HAGENEDER et al. Graz. 1964–2010 (hereafter: RI) V. nr. 218.

<sup>11</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> The lack of the denomination *Casamaris* in the sources can raise doubts, if this John is identical with the previous papal chaplain, but there is no reason to think it otherwise. See Heinrich ZIMMERMANN: *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Vom Regierungsantritt Innozenz' III. bis zum Tode Gregors IX. (1198–1241)*. Paderborn. 1913. (hereafter: ZIMMERMANN 1913) p. 56; MALECZEK 1984. p. 340; Reinhard ELZE: Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonische Abteilung* 36 (1950), p. 145–204. (hereafter: ELZE 1950), here p. 182. See RI II. nr. 167 (176), 168 (177) and 169 (178); RI V. nr. 218; ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 56–57.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 100; MOORE 2003. p. 74; Judit GÁL: A világi hatalomgyakorlás és az egyház az Adriai-tenger keleti partvidékén a 12–13. században. A magyar, a velencei és a szerb egyházpolitika összehasonlítása [Lay Power and the Church in the Eastern Adriatic in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: *Micae Mediaevales V. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Ed. Laura FÁBIÁN – Judit GÁL – Péter HARASZTI SZABÓ – Dorottya UHRIN. Budapest. 2016. p. 47–67. (hereafter: GÁL 2016) here: p. 50–51.

another papal cleric. Their task was to deliver the pallium to the archbishop of Antivari,<sup>14</sup> but they had jurisdiction over Serbian territories as well.<sup>15</sup> The papal delegates managed to fulfil their mandate<sup>16</sup> and they took part – probably as leaders – in a council as well, which was meant to reform the churches of Serbia and Dioclea.<sup>17</sup> The constitutions of the synod concerned, among others, the prohibition of simony and marriage of clergymen,<sup>18</sup> yet, the problem of heresy<sup>19</sup> did not appear this time.<sup>20</sup>

The papal subdeacons<sup>21</sup> were entrusted primarily with the subjection of an orthodox church under the Papacy's jurisdiction, but the request of the Serbian ruler of Dioclea, Vukan, bounds this mission to the question of the Bosnian Church too, as he accused Ban Kulin of Bosnia (1180–1204) with heresy<sup>22</sup> and requested a campaign against him from the pope.<sup>23</sup> This

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<sup>14</sup> See Jürgen SCHMITT: *Balkanpolitik der Arpaden in den Jahren 1180–1241. Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 17 (1989), p. 25–52. (hereafter: SCHMITT 1989) here: p. 29–30; Judit GÁL: *A dalmáciai egyházzervezet jellemzői és 11–13. századi átalakulása* [The Formation of the Dalmatian Ecclesiastical System in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: *Micae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Ed. GÁL Judit – PÉTERFI Bence – VADAS András – KRANZIERITZ Károly. Budapest. 2013. p. 99–116. (hereafter: Gál 2013a) here: p. 106; GÁL 2016. p. 54–55, 63.

<sup>15</sup> FINE 1987. p. 41–42; MOORE 2003. p. 74; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 157. The papal mandate followed the petition of Vukan, the ruler of Dioclea, who probably wanted to improve his position with the support of the papacy against his brother, Grand Zupan Stephen. See RI I. nr. 525. (527, 528) Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 102; SCHMITT 1989. p. 30; MOORE 2003. p. 74; GÁL 2016. p. 51, 54–55.

<sup>16</sup> *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarum sacram illustrantia*. I–II. Ed. Augustinus THEINER. Romae. 1859–1860. (hereafter: THEINER) I. nr. 16. Cf. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 52; ELZE 1950. p. 181; MALECZEK 1984. p. 340; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> See RI II. nr. 167. (176), 168. (177) and 169. (178) Cf. MOORE 2003. p. 74–75.

<sup>18</sup> RI II. nr. 169. (175).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 100–103.

<sup>20</sup> Simony itself was thought to be a kind of heresy too. WALTHER 1983. p. 119–121; HAGENEDER 1983. p. 45–47, 55–58; Peter CLASSEN: *Die Häresie-Begriff bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg und in seinem Umkreis*. In: *LOURDAUX – VERHELST 1983*. p. 27–41, here: p. 29ff.

<sup>21</sup> John was sent to Constantinople after that to hand over Emperor Alexios III (1195–1203) and the patriarch the invitations for the universal council. Despite the emperor's former promise, the legation was unsuccessful. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 52; ELZE 1950. p. 181–182; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 101. Cf. SCHMITT 1989. p. 30; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 160; Emir O. FILIPOVIĆ: *Bosansko kraljevstvo. Historija srednjovjekovne bosanske države* [The Bosnian Kingdom. History of the Medieval Bosnian State]. Sarajevo. 2016. (hereafter: FILIPOVIĆ 2016) p. 49–65. The Bosnian heresy – as mentioned above – diverged from the Bogomil doctrines in many ways. First of all the influence of the dualistic teachings remained limited, whereas the so-called Bosnian Christians did not disapprove completely the lay hierarchy as the work of Satan, therefore in Bosnia the rulers could cooperate with the local church. See RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 107; SWEENEY 1971. p. 110f; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 85–90; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 131ff; ŠANJEK 2005b. p. 426–431, 438f; LORENZ 2011. p. 109–121; TERNOVÁČZ 2013a. p. 502; TERNOVÁČZ 2013b. p. 69; RABIĆ 2016. p. 56–69.

<sup>23</sup> *“Demum vero paternitatem vestram nolumus latere, quia heresis non modica in terra regis Vngarie videlicet Besfina pullulare videtur in tantum, quod peccatis exigentibus ipse Bacilinus cum uxore sua et cum sorore sua, que fuit defuncti Miroslauimensi, et cum pluribus consanguineis suis seductus plus*

petition seems to be of political nature, especially because it did not specify the type of the heresy, whereas Vukan and Kulin had their personal conflict too, since the Serbian ruler expelled the sister of the ban from Dioclea after the death of her husband. Furthermore, the situation was connected to the Hungarian interest in the region as well.<sup>24</sup> King Emeric was the supporter of Vukan against his brother, Stephen of Serbia and his ally, Tsar Kalojan (Kaloyan) of Bulgaria.<sup>25</sup> It is also remarkable that Innocent III turned directly to the Hungarian king because of the Bosnian situation, not to Prince Andrew who had power over Croatia and part of Dalmatia by this time. The pope probably counted with the prince rather as a potential crusader, at the same time his efforts to influence the churches of Split and Zadar (Zara) were refuted from papal side.<sup>26</sup>

John was found again in the Balkans in 1202, this time because of the papal negotiations with the Bulgarian ruler, who – probably hoping for political benefits – was willing to lead the church of his realm under the supremacy of Rome. He expected in return a coronation and the legitimation.<sup>27</sup> Yet, the affair of the heresy was absent in the sources

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*quam decem milia christianorum in eandem heresim introduxit. Unde rex Vngarie exacerbatus illos ad vestram presentiam compulit venire a vobis examinandos".* RI II. nr. 167. (176). See RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 103; SWEENEY 1971. p. 95–96, 111ff; BASLER 1973. p. 12; LAMBERT 1989. p. 299; MOORE 2003. p. 75; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 28–30, 33–34; LORENZ 2011. p. 109f; TERNOVÁČ 2013b. p. 68.

<sup>24</sup> SWEENEY 1971. p. 106; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 143; LORENZ 2011. p. 109–110; RABIĆ 2016. p. 58. For the previous events concerning the Hungarian expansion, see Ferenc MAKK: *Magyar külpolitika 896–1196* [Hungarian Foreign Policy 896–1196]. Szeged. 1996. p. 212–222. (Szegedi középkortörténeti könyvtár 2.).

<sup>25</sup> See FINE 1987. p. 47–49. It was also suspected that Vukan accused Kulin because King Emeric ordered him to do so. SCHMITT 1989. p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> For the relations between Andrew and Innocent III and for the brotherly conflict see György SZABADOS: Imre és András [Emeric and Andrew]. *Századok* 133 (1999), p. 85–111; Tamás KÖRMENDI: A "varasdi jelenet" kritikája. Megjegyzés Imre király és András herceg trónviszályának történetéhez [Critical notes on the so-called Scene of Varaždin. Remarks on the History of the Struggle between King Emeric and Prince Andrew]. In: *Tiszteletkőr. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*. Ed. Gábor MIKÓ – Bence PÉTERFI – András VADAS. Budapest. 2012. p. 503–513; Gábor BARABÁS: *Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198 – ca. 1241) Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze*. Wien. 2014. (hereafter: BARABÁS 2014) p. 175–182. (Publikationen der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien VI.); Judit Gál: The Roles and Loyalties of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dalmatia (1102–1301). *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014), p. 471–493, here: p. 474–475.

<sup>27</sup> James Ross SWEENEY: Innocent III, Hungary and the Bulgarian Coronation: A Study in Medieval Papal Diplomacy. *Church History* 42 (1973), p. 320–334. (hereafter: SWEENEY 1973) here: p. 321–322. During the negotiations it became necessary to send a papal envoy to Bulgaria with a higher authorization that of a nuncio that is why the pope decided for John's authorization, who was already a seasoned papal diplomat by that time. See. RI V. nr. 115 (116) and 117 (118); MOORE 2003. 113; FINE 1987. 54–56; Clifford Ian KYER: *The Papal Legate and the "Solemn" Papal Nuncio 1243–1378: The Changing Pattern of Papal Representation*. Toronto. 1979

concerning this mission, although the Bogomils presented an actual problem in Bulgaria at that time, as the constitutions of the synod of Tarnovo (Trnovo) from 1211 prove it.<sup>28</sup>

Innocent III did not limit the authorization of his legate to Bulgaria in 1202, as a papal mandate<sup>29</sup> given to him and to Archbishop Bernhard of Split clearly attests to it. They were entrusted to investigate with the help of King Emeric, if Ban Kulin and his family were true Christians, or, as suspected, in fact heretics.<sup>30</sup> This happened somewhat surprisingly due to the request of the Bosnia ruler himself,<sup>31</sup> who even asked for a papal legate of the highest rank (*legatus a latere*) to examine the situation.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that Kulin was convinced of his innocence, whereas he probably also intended to protect himself through the papal investigation against the Hungarian and Serbian claims.<sup>33</sup>

John of Casamari in fact travelled to Bosnia, as he informed the pope in April 1203<sup>34</sup> of an oath sworn before him at Bilino Polje (today probably Zenica) by the representatives (*priors*) of the “Christians of Bosnia” concerning their loyalty to Rome and to its liturgy and customs.<sup>35</sup> After the Bosnian, another oath was taken in Hungary, where Kulin was represented

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(PhD Dissertation) (hereafter: KYER 1979) p. 84–85; Werner MALECZEK: Das Frieden stiftende Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. In: *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*. Ed. Johannes FRIED. Sigmaringen. 1996. p. 249–332, here: p. 275–278; Márta FONT: Ungarn, Bulgarien und das Papsttum um die Wende vom 12. – zum 13. Jahrhundert. In: Márta FONT: *Völker – Kultur – Beziehungen. Zur Entstehung der Regionen in der Mitte des mittelalterlichen Europa*. Hamburg. 2013. p. 303–311, here: p. 305–311. John was ordered to deliver the pallium to the archbishop of Tarnovo. RI V. nr. 118 (119). Cf. SCHMITT 1989. p. 32–35; MOORE 2003. p. 126–127; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 54–55.

<sup>28</sup> See RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 95–96; ANGELOV 1983. p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> “*Cum igitur in terra nobilis viri Culini bani quorundam hominum multitudo moretur, qui de dampnata Catharorum heresi sunt vehementer suspecti et graviter infamati, nos carissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico regi Ungarorum illustri apostolica scripta direximus contra illos [...]*”. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae*. I–XVII. Ed. Tadija SMIČIKLAS et alii. Zagrabiae. 1904–1981. (hereafter: SMIČIKLAS III. p. 14; POTTHAST nr. 1768; RI V. nr. 109 (110).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. SWEENEY 1971. p. 119–121; FINE 1987. p. 47; SCHMITT 1989. p. 30–31; ŠANJEK 2005b. p. 433–434.

<sup>31</sup> See RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 104; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 4. Cf. HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 143–144, 147–150; HAGENEDER 1983. p. 99–100; WALTHER 1983. p. 139ff; PENNINGTON 1978. p. 137.

<sup>32</sup> “*ut aliquem virum idoneum de latere nostro in terram suam mittere dignarenur, qui tam ipsum quam homines suos de fide ac conversatione diligenter examinet, evellens et plantans que secundum deum evellanda cognoverit et plantanda*”. SMIČIKLAS III. p. 15; POTTHAST nr. 1768.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. FINE 1987. p. 47; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 11; LORENZ 2011. p. 110–113.

<sup>34</sup> RI VI. nr. 141. See MAJNARIĆ 2008.

<sup>35</sup> RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 104; SWEENEY 1971. p. 120–128; BASLER 1973. p. 12–13; FINE 1987. p. 47; SCHMITT 1989. p. 31; LAMBERT 1998. p. 298; MARGETIĆ 2005; ŠANJEK 2005b. p. 434–436; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 8ff; LORENZ 2011. p. 114–115; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 219.

by his two envoys in front of King Emeric and several prelates.<sup>36</sup> Emeric mentioned this occasion in his letter sent to Innocent III in 1203 too,<sup>37</sup> whereas John informed Innocent about the death of the Bosnian bishop.<sup>38</sup> According to his letter the papal chaplain was present in Hungary by the time the envoys of Kalojan arrived there, he travelled in their company to the court of the tsar, after they had sworn the Hungarian king to secure John's journey.<sup>39</sup>

According to the Croatian historian, Ivan Majnarić, the key to the presented events can be found in the intention of Kulin, who wanted to protect himself against the external threats, mostly from King Emeric and Vukan of Dioclea. The decretal *Ad abolendam* of Pope Lucius III (1181–1185), the constitutions of the Third Lateran Council, the decretal *Vergentis* of Innocent III, and several later papal decisions clearly ordered that the rulers accused of being heretics, supporting them or even tolerating them, should have been punished beside ecclesiastical censures (*excommunicatio*) with the loss of their properties, even their realms.<sup>40</sup> The neighbouring Christian rulers were further obliged to engage in military actions against the heretics: these actions happened many times throughout the history without hesitation, although not always motivated by the pietism of the sovereigns.<sup>41</sup> Innocent III called Emeric's attention to the danger presented by Kulin already in October 1200, since the heretics expelled from Split and

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<sup>36</sup> SMIČIKLAS III. p. 24. For the interpretation of the oaths see SWEENEY 1971. p. 126–132; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 37–51; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 160; LORENZ 2011. p. 107–121.

<sup>37</sup> "*sanctitatis vestre capellanus, Ioannes, ad presentiam nostram accedens, duos principales ex his, qui in terra Culinii Bani, prout ferebatur, damnatam hereticorum sectam fouebant, secum duxisset; nos inspectis orthodoxe fidei articulis, quos ad ipsius Ioannis exhortationem illi, ad quos missus fuerat, iam susceperant, eadem capitula, sub sigillo nostro contenta, domino illius terre, filio scilicet memorati Culin, qui tunc apud nos erat, dedimus, districte precipientes, vt et alia, si qua Romana sedes eis de cetero secundum Deum transmittere decreuerit, ab omnibus in terra sua faciat inuiolabiliter obseruari*". SMIČIKLAS III. p. 37, RA nr. 208, RI VI. nr. 211 (212). Cf. SWEENEY 1973. p. 321–322; MOORE 2003. p. 112–113; LORENZ 2011. p. 114–115.

<sup>38</sup> RI VI. nr. 140. See MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. I–XI. Ed. Georgius FEJÉR. Buda. 1829–1844. (hereafter: FEJÉR) II. p. 409. Cf. SWEENEY 1973. p. 322.

<sup>40</sup> See HAGENEDER 1963a. p. 66–72; HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 152–164; HAGENEDER 1978. p. 41–42; Ivan MAJNARIĆ: Some Cases of Robbing the Papal Representatives along the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Second Half of the Twelfth and during Thirteenth Century. *Acta Histriae* 15 (2007), p. 493–506. (hereafter: MAJNARIĆ 2007) here: p. 495–496; LORENZ 2011. p. 110. According to certain authors the popes could do it even without the suspicion of heresy since the time of Gregory VII. Cf. HAGENEDER 1963a. p. 73–84.

<sup>41</sup> HAGENEDER 1963a. p. 67–77; HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 143–147; 155, 162–167; HAGENEDER 1978. p. 41–42; PENNINGTON 1978. p. 137–139, 145–146; WALTHER 1983. p. 115–116, 135–139; MAJNARIĆ 2007. 495; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 8–9.



Trogir (Trau) found shelter in Bosnia.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the pope warned the Hungarian king to act immediately in this matter,<sup>43</sup> although Emeric chose another destination to his campaign after all: Serbia where he attacked Stephen.<sup>44</sup> Two years later the delegation of John and Archbishop Bernhard reflected a partially changed papal attitude, for instance, Innocent III mentioned only the suspicion and not the sin of heresy.<sup>45</sup> The modified formulation showed probably the intention of a peaceful solution based on Kulin's request, perhaps combined with a hint of pressure. Majnarić stated that John and Bernhard were authorized as judges-delegate, and explained it as the expression of the papal agenda,<sup>46</sup> since the strict nature of the legations occasionally could hinder the solution of delicate matters.<sup>47</sup> The careful papal treatment seemed to be fruitful as oaths were sworn due to the activity of John, but Ban Kulin died in the following year, 1203, while King Emeric in 1204 and it is not known, who filled in the position in Bosnia.<sup>48</sup> The question of heresy vanished from the papal-Hungarian relations until the early 1220s.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. SWEENEY 1971. p. 115–117; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 152, 157; ŠANJEK 2005b. p. 425, 428, 433. For the Bogomils in Dalmatia see LORENZ 2011. p. 110–112; TERNOVÁČZ 2013b. p. 69–70.

<sup>43</sup> "*Patrenos non paucos, de Spalatensi et Traguriensi civitatibus effugasset; nobilis vir Culinus, banus Bossinus iniquitati eorum non solum tutum latibulum, sed et presidium contulit manifestum, et perversitati eorumdem terram suam, et se ipsum exponens, ipsos pro catholicis, imo ultra catholicos honoravit; vocat eos anotonomastice christianos [...] serenitatem regiam rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in domino, in remissionem tibi peccaminum iniungentes, quatenus ad vindicandam tantam Christi et christianorum iniuriam, potenter et regaliter accingaris; et nisi banus predictus universos hereticos de terra sue potestati subiecta, proscripserit*". FEJÉR II. p. 380. See RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 103; HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 152–153.

<sup>44</sup> See SWEENEY 1971. p. 97–102; SCHMITT 1989. p. 32; György SZABADOS: Egy elmaradt kereszties hadjáratról. Magyar-szentszéki kapcsolatok 1198–1204 között [About a Fallen Crusade. Hungarian-Papal Relations between 1196 and 1204]. In: „Magyaroknak eleiről”. Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére. Ed. Ferenc PITI – György SZABADOS. Szeged. 2000. p. 473–492, here: p. 482.

<sup>45</sup> King Emeric did not prepare himself for a campaign probably because of his conflict with Kalojan. MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 9–11.

<sup>46</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 11–13.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. KYER 1979. p. 137–140; Ma Tapio SALMINEN: In the Pope's Clothes: Legatine Representation and Apostolical Insignia in High Medieval Europe. In: *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis: Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*. Ed. Jacqueline HAMESSE – R. James LONG – Timothy B. NOONE. Turnhout. 1998. p. 339–354, here: p. 349–354; Claudia ZEY: Stand und Perspektiven der Erforschung des päpstlichen Legatenwesens im Hochmittelalter. In: *Rom und die Regionen: Studien zur Homogenisierung der lateinischen Kirche im Hochmittelalter*. Ed. Jochen JOHRENDT – Harald MÜLLER. Berlin – Boston. 2012. p. 157–166, here: p. 163–166.

<sup>48</sup> RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 104–105; FINE 1987. p. 47.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. BASLER 1973. p. 13.

## 2. Pirates and heretics

Innocent III's successor, Honorius III revived the matter of the heresy in 1221, when he sent his chaplain, Acontius of Viterbo to Dalmatia and Hungary.<sup>50</sup> On one hand he had to deal with the Bosnian situation,<sup>51</sup> on the other hand he had to engage in actions against the pirates of the Dalmatian islands,<sup>52</sup> underlined the city of Omiš (Almissa).<sup>53</sup> One of the most important questions concerning the mission of Acontius is the relation between heresy and piracy. The formulation of the papal charters (*hereticus*) does not refer to confessional aberrations in every occasion, its wording could have been used also in cases, when excommunication was neglected, or the Christian community was injured.<sup>54</sup> The conflict between Emperor Frederic II (1220–1250) and Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) is one of the best examples to confirm this statement, since the emperor was accused of heresy many times from papal side.<sup>55</sup>

Recently Ivan Majnarić made it clear that one should not always think of the Bogomils or the Bosnian Church, if the term *hereticus* appears in the sources concerning Dalmatia.<sup>56</sup> The papacy's attitude towards the piracy at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries was affected by the discourse about the

<sup>50</sup> Acontius was entrusted with a task related to Hungary not for the first time, he had to collect the twentieth of the ecclesiastical incomes for the sake of the crusade in 1219. "*quem pro vicesima et aliis ad predictae terre subsidium deputatis transmittimus colligendis*". THEINER I. 28, *Regesti del Pontefice Onorii papae III. Dall' anno 1216 all' anno 1227*. t. I–II. Ed. Petrus PRESSUTTI. Romae. 1888. (hereafter: PRESSUTTI) nr. 3242, 3243, 3252, 3594, 3601, 3846; POTTHAST nr. 6611, 6612, 6618, 6725, 6729, 6802. See. Ivan Majnarić: Papinski poslanik Akoncije u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj 1219–1223. godine [Papal Envoy Acontius in Dalmatia and Croatia in 1219–1223]. In: *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u cast Franje Šanjeka*. Ed. Lovorka ČORALIĆ – Slavko SLIŠKOVIĆ. Zagreb. 2009. (Analecta Croatica Christiana 40) p. 79–98. (hereafter: Majnarić 2009) here: p. 79–80; ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 280. See *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum. Archdeacon Thomas of Split History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Ed. Olga PERIĆ – Damir KARBIĆ – Mirjana MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL – James Ross SWEENEY. Budapest – New York. 2006. (Central European Medieval Texts 4.) (hereafter: Thomae Spalatensis) p. 172–173.

<sup>51</sup> POTTHAST nr. 6612, 6725. Cf. Karl RUESS: *Die rechtliche Stellung der päpstlichen Legaten bis Bonifaz VIII*. Paderborn. 1912. (Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland. Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft 13. Heft) p. 71; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 153. "*misit, inquam, eum pro quibusdam arduis negotiis ad totum Hungarie regnum, dans sibi mandatum, ut ad Dalmatie partes descenderet piratasque Almissanos a latrociniis cohiberet*". Thomae Spalatensis p. 172.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 499–500.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 94; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 80.

<sup>54</sup> See HAGENEDER 1963a. p. 55–65; HAGENEDER 1978. p. 33–38, 43–45; HAGENEDER 1983. p. 45–51, 70, 72–82, 100; WALTHER 1983. p. 127.

<sup>55</sup> HAGENEDER 1963a. p. 71, 84–95; HAGENEDER 1978. p. 29–32; HAGENEDER 1983. p. 72–73, 75–78, 98; HERBERS 2012. p. 180–186; Matthias THUMSER: Kardinal Rainer von Viterbo (†1250) und seine Propaganda gegen Friedrich II. In: *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*. Ed. Jürgen DENDORFER – Ralf LÜTZELSCHWAB. Firenze. 2013. p. 187–199, here: p. 187–192.

<sup>56</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 499–502; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 82.

relation between ecclesiastical and lay power, by synodic canons and former papal decisions too.<sup>57</sup> Robbery, physical violence against Christians and the ignorance of papal admonitions and ecclesiastical censures were connected to the heresy due to the constitutions of the Third and Fourth Lateran councils.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, it has to be emphasized that Honorius III specified the violence against the crusaders as the gravest crime of the pirates.<sup>59</sup>

Piracy appears in several related papal charters as a sin<sup>60</sup> against the crusaders and all Christians,<sup>61</sup> among others Honorius III wrote about the unchristian customs of the people of Omiš in 1222.<sup>62</sup> The linking of piracy and heresy appears in another contemporary source, in the work of Thomas of Split, although the archdeacon did not refer to the Bosnian heretics, or wrote about dogmatic difference: in his view it was a matter of violence.<sup>63</sup> Concerning the information of Thomas it has to be emphasized that according to him Acontius placed the whole town of Split under interdict, because the inhabitants elected a certain Peter of Hulm<sup>64</sup> their new *comes*, who, so Thomas of Split, was not free from the macula of heresy.<sup>65</sup> Yet, it can be assumed that the conflict between Peter and the local clergy was caused by the orthodoxy of the new count,<sup>66</sup> although the role of the Bosnian heresy cannot be excluded completely, e.g. because of the interference of Acontius.

The problem of piracy did not get the attention of the popes only, as the Hungarian rulers, in their capacity as the overlords of a part of Dalmatia,

<sup>57</sup> Cf. MOORE 2003. p. 146–168; WALTHER 1983. p. 104–105, 139–140.

<sup>58</sup> HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 146; HAGENEDER 1978. p. 43–45; HAGENEDER 1983. p. 72–82; MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 496–497; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 84–85.

<sup>59</sup> “ [...] *cruce signatos, transfretantes in terre sancte subsidium, ad obsequium Iesu Christi, et alios Christianos piratica rabie spoliant, capiunt et occidunt*”. FEJÉR III/1. p. 307; POTTHAST nr. 6611.

<sup>60</sup> “*qui piraticam exercentes tam cruce signatos, quam Christianos alios sine delectu spoliant et occidunt*”. FEJÉR III/1. p. 310; POTTHAST nr. 6618.

<sup>61</sup> POTTHAST nr. 6612. See MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 499; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 85–86.

<sup>62</sup> “*sed paganorum more uniuersa vastantes, tanquam eorum sint delicie operari peruersa [...] contra hereticos et Almisienses eosdem dilecto filio Magistro A. subdiacono et capellano nostro, Apostolice Sedis legato, pro uestris libenter uiribus assitentes*”. *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus – Árpád-kori új okmánytár*. I–XII. Ed. Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest. 1860–1873. (hereafter: ÁÚO) XI. p. 167; POTTHAST nr. 6802; PRESSUTTI nr. 3846. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 500–501; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 86–87.

<sup>64</sup> See Thomae Spalatensis p. 188; FINE 1987. p. 142–143.

<sup>65</sup> “*Tunc Spalatenses prefererunt sibi comitem Petrum quendam, qui erat dominus Chulmie. Erat autem idem Petrus uir potens et bellicosus, sed non sine infamia heretice feditatis. [...] Guncellus autem archiepiscopus erat eo tempore in Hungariam profectus. Sed ad ecclesiam suam rediens, non satis discrete absoluit interdictum legati*”. Thomae Spalatensis p. 188. Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106–107; FINE 1987. p. 142–143.

<sup>66</sup> FINE 1987. p. 142–143.

were also involved. Andrew II (1205–1235) ordered the Omišian Malducus, the leader of the Kačići kindred in 1221 (or already in 1222)<sup>67</sup>, to beware of piracy and take actions<sup>68</sup> against those, who act as pirates<sup>69</sup> with the help of the Hungarian royal princes, Béla and Coloman.<sup>70</sup> It can be assumed that this royal measure was connected to Acontius's legation, even if his name was not mentioned in the royal charter.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, Honorius III ordered his chaplain to convince the Hungarian king to act against the pirates in 1221, so it is imaginable that the royal order was influenced by the legate's agenda.<sup>72</sup>

The papal representative himself seems to be triumphant in his fight against the pirates,<sup>73</sup> at least Thomas of Split put it this way. According to him, Acontius managed to organize an attack against Omiš, defeated the pirate there, who were even forced to burn their ships and swore an oath to give up their previous way of life.<sup>74</sup> The validity of the information was not questioned for a long time,<sup>75</sup> yet, it is obscure, if there was at all a suitable force in the region at that time, which could have been interested in an attack and even could manage it.<sup>76</sup> From the Hungarian side the conflicts of King Andrew II around 1222 were, for sure, not favourable in this situation.<sup>77</sup>

The parallel papal and royal actions deserve our attention, as they show that the Hungarian king in fact tried to follow the pope's warnings through his order, but there is still no proof of any military actions. A papal letter of March 1222 sent to the clergy of Dubrovnik gives the additional information

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<sup>67</sup> *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. – Az árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke.* Ed. Imre SZENTPÉTERY – Iván BORSA. Budapest. 1923–1987. (hereafter: RA) nr. 376.

<sup>68</sup> "[...] iubet, quod a latrocinii in insulis duabus maritimis et Zernouzina se abstineat, piratas et patarinos eiciant". SMIČIKLAS III. p. 187–188. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 500–501.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 499–502; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 86.

<sup>70</sup> "[...] aliter (eos) cum robore Regni, et filiis duobus B(ela) et C(olomano) in persona castigabit". SMIČIKLAS III. p. 188.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. SMIČIKLAS III. p. 187. See MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 499–501.

<sup>72</sup> POTTHAST nr. 6618; BARABÁS 2014. p. 243–246.

<sup>73</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 80.

<sup>74</sup> "*Convocavit autem totam Dalmatiam et Chroatiam in adiutorium suum contra hereticos et piratas, faciens indulgentias omnibus, quicumque zelo divino succensi in personis vel expensis ad eorum interitum laborarent. Tunc congregato multo navali exercitu et equestri, cepit eos undique impugnare. In tantum enim Almisanos in mari et terra insequendo contrivit, ut defectis viribus desperarent ulterius se posse resistere. Venerunt ergo et corruentes ad pedes legati pacem et misericordiam humiliter implorabant, promittentes omnem emendationem et obedientiam ad eius beneplacita et mandata. Quos legatus suscipiens, fecit eos omnes piraticas naves exurere, promittentes interposito iuramento, ut a christiana iam infestatione cessarent*". Thomae Spalatensis p. 174–175.

<sup>75</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 500–501; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 80–82.

<sup>76</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 88.

<sup>77</sup> For the conflict of Andrew II and his first-born son, Béla see BARABÁS 2014. p. 183–187.

that Acontius did not take actions against the pirates or the Bosnian heretics by that time.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the obscurity of the relevant sources, one can be quite sure that the power of the Kačići family in Omiš survived Acontius's mission, as a papal charter of 1226 shows it among others.<sup>79</sup> The record concerning the oath by Thomas of Split is not necessary false; it is assumable that the Kačići were indeed pressured by an excommunication and the threat of Andrew II. Their oath must have been formal, however, as later events show it: the efforts of the papal chaplain did not bear fruit,<sup>80</sup> perhaps because of the lack of effective lay support.<sup>81</sup>

Beside the problem of the piracy, Acontius's mission concerned the Bosnian situation as Honorius III's letter of 1221 indicates it.<sup>82</sup> The pope informed the archbishop of Esztergom and his suffragan-bishops about his intentions<sup>83</sup> and the work of Thomas of Split also offers information about this affair. According to him, the legate travelled to the territory of the heretics in 1222, where he departed,<sup>84</sup> although the last statement is to be doubted for sure, a doubt confirmed by later sources. The papal efforts to secure the Hungarian king's support are present concerning this question too,<sup>85</sup> but the involvement of Archbishop Ugrin of Kalocsa (1219–1241) is of greater importance, since it can be assumed that Acontius took part in a campaign led by the Hungarian prelate, who was especially active in Bosnian affairs.<sup>86</sup> It has to be noted though that the campaign itself is doubtful because of the lack of solid evidence.<sup>87</sup>

The lack of sources makes it very difficult to give valid statements concerning the papal chaplain's concrete actions, it only seems sure that in

<sup>78</sup> POTTHAST nr. 6802.

<sup>79</sup> POTTHAST nr. 7587; PRESSUTTI nr. 5988. See MAJNARIĆ 2007. p. 501–502; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 89.

<sup>80</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 90.

<sup>81</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 89–90.

<sup>82</sup> *“Cum itaque, sicut audiimus, in partibus Bosnie, tanquam in cubilibus struthionum heretici receptati, velut lamie nudatis mammis catulos suos lactent, dogmatizando palam sue prauitatis errores, in enorme gregis dominici detrimentam; nos volentes pestilentes huiusmodi, si datum fuerit desuper, effugare: Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, illustri regi Hungarie, nec non universis archiepiscopis et episcopis illius regni, direximus scripta nostra, ut cum a te fuerint requisiti, ad profligandos illos procedant viriliter et potenter”*. FEJÉR III/1. p. 350; POTTHAST nr. 6725; PRESSUTTI nr. 3594.

<sup>83</sup> POTTHAST nr. 6729; PRESSUTTI nr. 3601.

<sup>84</sup> *“Interea legatus Acontius in Bosnam profectus pro exterminandis hereticis multo ibi tempore laboravit. Erat autem corpore imbecilus, sed zelo catholice fidei validus propugnator. Cum ergo forti fuisset languore correptus, ad extrema perveniens totum se domino commendavit. Ibique sue vite cursum feliciter peregit anno millesimo CCXXII”*. Thomae Spalatensis p. 190. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 91.

<sup>85</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 91–92.

<sup>86</sup> POTTHAST nr. 7406; PRESSUTTI nr. 5490; RA nr. 421. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 92.

<sup>87</sup> MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 91.

the first months of 1222 he was still in Dalmatia (Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik).<sup>88</sup> It can be assumed that he travelled after the settlement of the archbishop-election in Split in 1223<sup>89</sup> to Hungary, where he took part in the convocation of the local prelates in 1224, which tried to find a solution in the conflict of King Andrew II and his son, Béla.<sup>90</sup> According to a royal charter, Acontius visited the abbey of Pannonhalma on the king's side.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, there is no proof that the papal chaplain engaged in any actions in Bosnia against the heretics. It is even questionable, if he visited the area at all, although Honorius III pointed out in his letter to Archbishop Ugrin in July 1225 Acontius's role in the prelate's efforts concerning the heresy. The charter gives the *terminus ante quem* of the papal chaplain's death,<sup>92</sup> which might have happened in Hungary.<sup>93</sup> Consequently, it can be assumed that the legate spent quite a lengthy time in Hungary where he contacted the local bishops and maintained a close relationship with the archbishop of Kalocsa, whom he must have thought to be the right person to act in favour of the struggle against the Bosnian heresy. As it turned out, Acontius was right.

### 3. The Archbishop and the Duke

The main figure of the struggle with the heresy was not a legate or a member of the royal family in the late 1220s, but Archbishop Ugrin of Kalocsa.<sup>94</sup> His contribution to the cause is reflected among other things in

<sup>88</sup> See i. e. ÁÚO VI. p. 417, 562, XI. p. 169.

<sup>89</sup> POTTHAST nr. 7064; PRESSUTTI nr. 4455; Thomae Spalatensis p. 168–179. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 92–94; Judit Gál: „Qui erat gratus apud eum” A spliti érsek szerepe az Árpádok királyságában [„Qui erat gratus apud eum” The Role of the Archbishops of Split in the Kingdom of the Árpáds]. In: *Magister historiae. Válogatott tanulmányok a 2012-ben és 2013-ban megrendezett középkorral foglalkozó, mesterszakos hallgatói konferenciák előadásából*. Ed. MÓNKA BELUCZ – JUDIT GÁL – ISTVÁN KÁDAS – ESZTER TARIÁN. Budapest. 2014. p. 52–71, here: p. 65–66.

<sup>90</sup> “*et licet una cum magistro Acontio subdiacono, et capellano sanctitatis vestre legato, qui super hoc negotio, sicut vir honestus et prudens, omnem diligentiam, quam potuit, adhibuit [...]*”. FEJÉR III/1. p. 413–415 Cf. Lothar WALDMÜLLER: *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: Von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)*. Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich. 1987. (hereafter: WALDMÜLLER 1987) p. 173–174; Attila BÁRÁNY: II. András balkáni külpolitikája [The Foreign Policy of Andrew II in the Balkans]. In: *II. András és Székesfehérvár: King Andrew II and Székesfehérvár*. Ed. Terézia KERNY – András SMOHAY. Székesfehérvár. 2012. p. 129–173. (hereafter: BÁRÁNY 2012) here p. 160.

<sup>91</sup> RA nr. 425, FEJÉR III/1. p. 440. See MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 9.

<sup>92</sup> “*ad exhortationem bone memorie magistri Aconci, subdiaconi et capellani nostri, apostolice sedis legati, et aliorum bonorum virorum*”. FEJÉR III/2. p. 33. See MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 94–96. Cf. Thomae Spalatensis p. 190.

<sup>93</sup> SMIČIKLAS III. p. 229, PRESSUTTI nr. 4455; POTTHAST nr. 7064; THEINER I. nr. 55, Albin F. GOMBOS: *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*. I–III. Budapestini. 1937–1938. I. nr. 160. Cf. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 94–95; WALDMÜLLER 1987. p. 175–176; MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 93, 96,

<sup>94</sup> Attila ZSOLDOS: *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1000–1301* [Lay Archontology of Hungary. 1000–1301]. Budapest. 2011. (hereafter: ZSOLDOS 2011) p. 84.

two papal charters of 1225. One can learn from the texts on one hand that Honorius III praised the archbishop because of his deeds in Bosnia, perhaps military actions meant by that.<sup>95</sup> On the other hand, the pope confirmed the previous royal donations given to Ugrin in Bosnia (near the rivers of Bosna and Usora).<sup>96</sup> The prelate was authorized by Honorius III to engage in further actions too, he could even announce a crusade for the sake of his fight.<sup>97</sup> The aspirations of Ugrin are reflected in the fact too that he got in possession of the castle of Požega.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, the archbishop tried to hire a member of the royal family, the nephew of Andrew II, John (Kalojan/Kaloyan) for the sake of the fight, yet he, despite the received payment, did not engage in any actions. That is why Pope Gregory IX had to empower delegates to force John, yet, the outcome of this affair is – unfortunately – not known.<sup>99</sup> Ugrin's plans concerning Bosnia were embodied in the establishment of the new bishopric of Syrmia (Srem) in the vicinity of Bosnia in 1229, which happened thanks to the archbishop's request.<sup>100</sup> The pope made use of his chaplain, Egidius, who was at that time

<sup>95</sup> POTTHAST nr. 7407; PRESSUTTI nr. 5489. The encouragement of Acontius was mentioned too.

<sup>96</sup> "*terras quasdam, videlicet Bosnam, Soy et Wosora, infectas heretica pravitate, tibi purgandas comittens, eas ecclesie tue in perpetuum pia liberalitate donavit*". FEJÉR III/2. p. 32; POTTHAST nr. 7406; PRESSUTTI nr. 5490. Cf. RA nr. 421; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 95; BÁRÁNY 2012. p. 159.

<sup>97</sup> "[...] *ac per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus de gratia nostra confisus et auctoritate suffultus prosequaris ex animo causam Christi, catholice puritatis potenter persequens subuersores, ita quod Deo ad gloriam, nobis ad gaudium, et tibi ad profectum proveniat salutarem. Ut autem iniunctum tibi negotium perfectius exequi valeas in partibus illis; predices verbum crucis, fideles contra infideles efficaciter exhortando*". FEJÉR III/2. p. 33; POTTHAST nr. 7407; PRESSUTTI nr. 5489.

<sup>98</sup> RA nr. 434. "*Quanto propensius ecclesiarum desideramus augmentum, et hereticorum exterminium studiosius procuramus*". FEJÉR III/2. p. 100. Cf. László KOSZTA: *A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása* [The Formation of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa]. Pécs. 2013. (Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi 2) p. 19; POTTHAST nr. 7645; PRESSUTTI nr. 6158.

<sup>99</sup> POTTHAST nr. 7650; Mór WERTNER: *Margit császárné fiai* [The Sons of Empress Margaret]. *Századok* 37 (1903), p. 593–611, here: p. 596–597; RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106. For John (Kalojan) see ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 50, 127, 161, 181, 207; Gordon L. MCDANIEL: *On Hungarian-Serbian Relations in the Thirteenth Century: John Angelos and Queen Jelena*. *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 12 (1982–1983), p. 43–50, here: p. 44–45; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 130; Dániel BÁCSATYAI: *A 13. századi francia–magyar kapcsolatok néhány kérdése* [Some Questions of the Relations of France and Hungary in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century]. *Századok* 151 (2017), p. 237–278. (hereafter: BÁCSATYAI 2017) here: p. 243f, 246–264; Đura HARDI: *Cumans and Mongols in the Region of Srem in 1241–1242: A Discussion on the Extent of Devastation*. *Istraživanja. Journal of Historical Researches* 27 (2016), p. 84–105, here: p. 94–95.

<sup>100</sup> "*Quocirca discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, si in ecclesia illa sit episcopus, et sub ecclesie Romane obedientia esse voluerit eum sine preiudicio iuris alieni recipere non postponas quod si non sit episcopus in eadem, vel si existat ibidem et noluerit Sedi Apostolice obedire predicto novo episcopatu, auctoritate nostra suffultus, adiicias ecclesiam memoratam*". THEINER I. nr. 159; POTTHAST nr. 8318. *Les registres de Grégoire IX. Recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées et analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican par Lucien AUVRAY*. I–IV. Paris. 1890–1955. (hereafter: RGIX) nr. 260. Cf. Vilmos FRAKNÓI: *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékekkel*

present in Hungary as a judge-delegate and whose task was to examine the possibilities concerning the planned new diocese. The important role Margaret, Andrew II's sister, John's mother in Syrmia is also mentioned in the charter.<sup>101</sup>

Beside Archbishop Ugrin there was another important actor concerning the Bosnian situation in the 1220s and 1230s, Andrew II's son, Coloman, the duke of Slavonia.<sup>102</sup> His name already showed up in the mentioned charter of his father in 1221,<sup>103</sup> before he was placed on the top of the Southern territories (Dalmatia and Croatia). There is no record of any concrete activity of his in the early 1220s, it seems rather unrealistic to think of Coloman's contribution to the fight against the pirates at the age of 13. Nevertheless, as duke he could not avoid the task, he had to handle the situation caused by the pirates and the heresy of Bosnia. His charter issued in 1229 is the first sign of his activity: he ordered the count and the people of Split to come to his aid with their ships in the fight against Domald, former count (*comes*) of Split, Zadar and Šibenik,<sup>104</sup> who – according to the text of the ducal order –

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[Ecclesiastical and Political Relations between Hungary and the Roman Holy See]. I. Budapest. 1901. (hereafter: FRANKÓI 1901) p. 51–52; Gergey Kiss: A püspökség határai [Borders of the Diocese]. In: *A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543)*. Ed. Tamás FEDELES – Gábor SARBAK – József SÜMEGI. Pécs. 2009. p. 43–56. (hereafter: KISS 2009) here: p. 49–51; Bálint TERNOVÁZ: A szerémi latin püspökség alapításának és korai történetének vitás kérdései [Disputed Questions of the Foundation and Early History of the Latin Bishopric of Syrmia]. *Századok* 147 (2013), p. 457–470. (hereafter: TERNOVÁZ 2013c) here: p. 460–461; Bálint TERNOVÁZ: A szerémi püspökök életrajza, valamint a kőí, illetve a szenternyei székeskáptalan archontológiája a 14. század közepéig [Biographies of the Bishops of Syrmia and the Archontology of the Chapters of Kőí and Szenternye until the Mid-14<sup>th</sup> Century]. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 23 (2011), p. 33–47, here: p. 34.

<sup>101</sup> “[...] *quod dilecta in Christo filia, nobilis mulier soror illustris regis Ungarie, aquisiuit quamdam terram, que appellatur ulterior Sirmia, ratione cuiusdam partis Hungarie, que citerior Sirmia nuncupatur, ac ad nutum et dispositionem prefate sororis regitur terra predicta, adeo quod quidam de clericis, archiepiscopo ipsi subiectis, per eam in maiori ecclesia, quam terre illius homines episcopalem appellant, provisor est deputatus ad tempus, donec de ipsa, que Grecorum ritum tenet, et nondum sedi apostolice obedivit, prout disponendum fuerit, disponamus. [...] Quocirca discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, si in ecclesia illa sit episcopus, et sub ecclesie Romane obedientia esse voluerit eum sine preiudicio iuris alieni recipere non postponas quod si non sit episcopus in eadem, vel si existat ibidem et noluerit sedi apostolice obedire predicto novo episcopatu, auctoritate nostra suffultus, adiicias ecclesiam memoratam”.* THEINER I. nr. 159. Cf. FRANKÓI 1901. p. 51–52; KISS 2009. 49–51; TERNOVÁZ 2013c. p. 460–461; Gábor BARABÁS: Papal Chaplain and Subdeacon Egidius. Judge-delegate and Legate in Hungary at the Same Time? *Istraživanja, Journal of Historical Researches* 28 (2017) (forthcoming).

<sup>102</sup> Márta FONT – Gábor BARABÁS: *Kálmán (1208–1241). Halics királya – Szlavónia hercege* [Coloman (1208–1241). King of Galicia – Duke of Slavonia]. Budapest – Pécs. 2017.

<sup>103</sup> RA nr. 376.

<sup>104</sup> See RA nr 256, 341, 402; Thomaes Spalatensis p. 169; FINE 1987. p. 149–150; Judit GÁL: The Social Context of Hungarian Royal Grants to the Church in Dalmatia (1102–1301). *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 21 (2015), p. 47–63, here: p. 55.



was the enemy of the king.<sup>105</sup> The mandate did not specify the reason behind the conflict, but probably it can be found in the threat of piracy, at least the tendencies of the recent past, especially the papal and royal actions in the early 1220s, allow us to come to this conclusion.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, there is no sign of any military action from this period, so the impact of the ducal mandate is obscure.

Coloman got in touch with the Bosnian situation as a result of a mandate of Pope Gregory IX a few years later.<sup>107</sup> The reason of the question's revival was the endeavour of the new Bosnian ban, Matej Ninoslav,<sup>108</sup> who convinced the pope that he was willing to expel the heresy from his territory and to lead the Bosnian Church back to Rome's fidelity. Gregory IX took him under the protection of the Apostolic See<sup>109</sup> and turned to the duke of Slavonia<sup>110</sup> and the Bosnian Dominicans<sup>111</sup> to secure the disposition.

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<sup>105</sup> Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. – *Regesta ducum, ducissarum stirpis Arpadianae necnon reginarum Hungariae critico-diplomatica*. Ed. Attila ZSOLDOS. Budapest. 2008. nr. 6; National Archives of Hungary. Collection Antemohacsiana (before 1526). Department of Original Charters: DL 36154.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. FINE 1987. p. 143–144, 149–150; Nataša PROCHÁZKOVÁ: Postavenie haličského kráľa a slavonskeho kniežata Kolomana z rodu Arpádovcov v uhorskej vnútornej a zahraničnej politike v prvej polovici 13. storočia [The Position of the Galician King and Duke of Slavonia, Coloman of the Árpadian Dynasty in Hungarian Domestic and Foreign Affairs in the First Half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century]. *Medea* 2 (1998), p. 64–75. (hereafter: PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998), here: p. 72. According to other scholars, Domald was the leader of the party of Croatian noblemen, who opposed Coloman. See Ivan BASIĆ: O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. stoljeću [Attempt for Unification of the Churches of Zagreb and Split in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century]. *Pro tempore* 3 (2006), p. 5–43. (hereafter: BASIĆ 2006) here: p. 34.

<sup>107</sup> October 1233: “*Quocirca serenitatem tuam rogamus monemus, et hortamur in Domino, quatenus consuetudinem ipsam, sicut est antiquis temporibus approbata, in favorem fidei, et pravitatis heretice detrimentum, facias firmiter observari*”. THEINER I. nr. 201; POTTHAST nr. 9305; RGIX nr. 1522. Cf. BASIĆ 2006. p. 34; Karol HOLLY: Princess Salomea and Hungarian – Polish Relations in the Period 1214–1241. *Historický Časopis* 55, Supplement (2007), p. 5–32. (hereafter: HOLLY 2007) here p. 26.

<sup>108</sup> POTTHAST nr. 9304; RGIX nr. 1521. Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106; HAGENEDER 1963b. p. 169–171; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 144; FILIPOVIĆ 2016. 66–82.

<sup>109</sup> “*Te igitur sincere caritatis brachiis amplexantes, personam et terram tuam de Bosna, cum omnibus bonis, que in presentiarum rationabiliter possides, sub B. Petri, et nostra protectione suscipimus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus, districtius inhibentes, ne quis te, in fide catholica permanentem, super eadem terra, quam, sicut asseris, progenitores tui, qui fuerunt vitio heretice pravitatis infecti, ab antiquo pacifice possederunt, presumat indebite molestare, iure carissimi in Christo filii nostri illustris regis Ungarie, semper salvo [...]*”. THEINER I. nr. 200. Cf. FINE 1987. p. 143–145.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Johannes FRIED: *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*. Heidelberg. 1980. (hereafter: FRIED 1980) p. 288; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 98–99; SLIŠKOVIC 2005. p. 486f.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. László KOSZTA: Egy francia származású főpap Magyarországon. Bertalan pécsi püspök (1219–1251) [A French Prelate in Hungary. Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs (1219–1251)]. In: László KOSZTA: *Írásbeliség és egyházszervezet. Fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből*. Szeged. 2007. (Capitulum III.) p. 23–44. (hereafter: KOSZTA 2007) here p. 33–34; RABIĆ 2016. p.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that it was the duke of Slavonia himself who brought up the accusation of the heresy because of his plans concerning the territory and the pope only reacted later on the accusation with the crusader rhetoric.<sup>112</sup>

Gregory started to organize a campaign against the Bosnian ruler because of the change in Ninoslav's behaviour already in 1234. In Gregory IX's opinion Coloman was supposed to lead that campaign,<sup>113</sup> the duke was even taken under papal protection for the time of the planned campaign.<sup>114</sup> A legate was also authorized to help the cause,<sup>115</sup> although neither his name nor his actions have been preserved.

The pope confirmed a former donation of Andrew II given to his second son in 1235, which contained several rights concerning Bosnia and probably was meant to help Coloman in his future fight.<sup>116</sup> The Hungarian king supported therefore the endeavour, whereas the Dominicans of the area and the bishops of Bosnia, Pécs and Zagreb played important roles in the struggle as well.<sup>117</sup> Yet, the desired campaign probably could not be

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59–60; Kornél SZOVÁK: A kun misszió helye és szerepe a magyarországi domonkosok korai történeti hagyományában [The Place and Role of the Cuman Mission in the Early Historical Tradition of the Dominicans in Hungary]. In: *A Szent Domonkos rend és a kunok*. Ed. Ágnes DEME – Gábor BARNÁ. Szeged. 2016. p. 115–126, here: p. 118–119.

<sup>112</sup> RABIĆ 2016. p. 61–63, 68.

<sup>113</sup> *"Sic que fiat, quod dum virtutis tue studio, favente Deo, numerus Dei filiorum augebitur, ita honor tue celsitudinis amplietur, quod et favorem Apostolice Sedis obtineas, et tandem in beatorum collegio conquiescas"*. ÁÚO I. p. 319; POTTHAST nr. 9726; RGIX nr. 2128.

<sup>114</sup> October 1234: "[...] *sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, et presentis scripti patrocinio conformamus, districtius inhibentes, ut dum pro reverentia redemptoris contra hereticos perstiteris debellandos, nullus super bonis eiusdem te presumat indebite molestare"*. ÁÚO I. p. 322; POTTHAST nr. 9735; RGIX nr. 2123. The bishop of Zagreb was informed about this matter too. POTTHAST nr. 9736; RGIX nr. 2124. Cf. POTTHAST nr. 9733; RGIX nr. 2121; POTTHAST nr. 9734, RGIX nr. 2122; POTTHAST nr. 9738; RGIX nr. 2129; PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 73. According to certain scholars Coloman led his army against Bosnia and defeated Ninoslav already in 1233. RABIĆ 2016. p. 61. For the temporal privileges of the crusaders see James L. BRUNDAGE: *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusaders*. Madison – Milwaukee – London. 1969. p. 159–190.

<sup>115</sup> *"Ut autem nihil omnino desit, ad tam sanctum negocium prosequendum, universis catholicis, qui ab eodem priore commoniti crucis assumpto caractere, ad hereticorum exterminium se accinxerint, illam indulgentiam, illudque privilegium elargimur, que accedentibus in Terre Sacre subsidium conceduntur"*. FEJÉR III/2. p. 381; POTTHAST nr. 9402; RGIX nr. 1782.

<sup>116</sup> "[...] *concessionem de terra Bosna a prefato rege, patre tuo, liberaliter factam, sicut legitime ac provide facta esse dignoscitur, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communitimus"*. THEINER I. nr. 229; POTTHAST nr. 9986; RGIX nr. 2726. Cf. PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 73; SLÍŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 489; BASIĆ 2006. p. 34.

<sup>117</sup> POTTHAST nr. 9737; RGIX nr. 2127; POTTHAST nr. 9738; RGIX nr. 2129; POTTHAST nr. 9733; RGIX nr. 2121; POTTHAST nr. 9734; RGIX nr. 2122; POTTHAST nr. 10019; RGIX nr. 2769. Cf. RABIĆ 2016. p. 65.

realized before 1236, when Gregory IX proclaimed another papal protection.<sup>118</sup> This time Sibislav,<sup>119</sup> the son of the former ban needed the support of the Apostolic See, who was attacked in his territory by Ban Ninoslav.<sup>120</sup> The pope entrusted several Hungarian ecclesiastical protectors,<sup>121</sup> while Coloman according to later papal praises finally began the campaign against Ninoslav in Bosnia and Hulm (Herzegovina).<sup>122</sup> The Slavonian duke was supported by his brother, King Béla IV too, who confirmed all of Coloman's possessions.<sup>123</sup> The details of the campaign are unfortunately obscure,<sup>124</sup> but it is assumed that the Hungarian prince could occupy a relevant part of Bosnia.<sup>125</sup>

The pope kept on encouraging the duke for further actions even in late 1238.<sup>126</sup> A new legate was also entrusted in order to support the mission

<sup>118</sup> It is imaginable that Coloman led even more than one campaigns to Bosnian territory, the first as early as 1235. See SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 487–489; LORENZ 2011. p. 116; RABIĆ 2016. p. 61.

<sup>119</sup> *“Te, qui, sicut letantes accepimus, inter principes Bosnensis diocesis, infectos macula heretice pravitatis, existis quasi lilium inter spinas, prosequendo sollicitè bene coepta, per quem valeat augmentum christiani nominis, auctore Domino, provenire, sincere caritatis brachiis amplectentes, personam et terras tuas cum omnibus bonis, que in presentiarum rationabiliter possides sub Beati Petri protectionem recipimus”*. THEINER I. nr. 258; POTTHAST nr. 10223; RGIX nr. 3272; POTTHAST nr. 10224; RGIX nr. 3274. Cf. FRIED 1980. p. 288.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 100–101; RABIĆ 2016. p. 65.

<sup>121</sup> *“Cum dilectum filium nobilem virum Zibisclaum kenesium de Woscora, natum quondam Stephani bari de Bosna, qui sicut letantes accepimus, inter principes Bosnenses diocesis infectos macula heretice pravitatis existit quasi lilium inter spinas, prosequendo sollicitè per quod valeat augmentum christiani nominis auctore Domino provenire, sincere caritatis brachiis amplexantes, personam et terram eius cum bonis omnibus, que impresentiarum rationabiliter possidet, sub Beati Petri protectione suscepimus atque nostra, districtius inhibentes, ne quis ipsum etc, mandamus, quatenus non permittatis ipsum contra protectionis et inhibitionis nostre tenorem ab aliquibus indebite molestari”*. AŪO II. p. 50; POTTHAST nr. 10225; RGIX nr. 3273; POTTHAST nr. 10226; RGIX nr. 3275. Cf. KOŠTJA 2007. p. 34.

<sup>122</sup> The fact of the campaign was called into question lately. See BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 163–164.

<sup>123</sup> RA nr. 634. Cf. RA nr. 787. “[...] ad petitionem ipsius eo tempore cum assumpto signo crucis contra Paterinos in Boznam et in terram Rame pro nomine Christi proficisceretur, confirmassemus terras omnes specialiter et per singulas in litteris nostris secrecioris sigilli nostri munimine auree uidelicet bulle nostre exprimentes [...]”. SMIČKLAŠ IV. p. 252–253.

<sup>124</sup> RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106. Cf. FINE 1987. p. 144; LAMBERT 1998. p. 299. Mladen ANČIĆ: Bosanska banovina i njezino okruženje u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća [The Bosnian Banate and its Environment in the First Half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century]. In: ŠANJEK 2005a. p. 11–25, here: p. 23. According to certain scholars, the Hungarian rulers and the church had political motivation behind the expansion. BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 153.

<sup>125</sup> FINE 1987. p. 144–145; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 144–145, 163; BÁRÁNY 2012. p. 158–159; PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 74.

<sup>126</sup> December 1238: “[...] te ad ipsius imaginem, ac similitudinem esse conditum, et eiusdem sanguine pretioso redemptum, sibi retribuere vigilas, ut, de Bosne partibus deletis pravitatis heretice maculis [...] ut ipsius nomen tuo ministerio reddatur in predictis partibus gloriosum, ad hoc sicut olim, sic et in posterum fervens habearis et sedulus”. THEINER I. nr. 301; POTTHAST nr. 10688; RGIX nr. 4692. Cf. PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 73; HOLLY 2007. p. 32.

among the heretics, the newly appointed Bosnian Bishop,<sup>127</sup> the Dominican Ponsa, who received the full office of legation for his diocese.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, the papal influence in Bosnia did not start with this authorization, the activity of Legate Jacob of Pecorara in 1232–1234 was the first important step in this direction.<sup>129</sup> The cardinal-bishop was informed by Pope Gregory IX of the problems<sup>130</sup> in the diocese, and he intended to solve the situation through the assignment of a new bishop, the Dominican Johannes Wildeshausen (Teutonicus).<sup>131</sup> It can be assumed that the friar did not spend much time in the bishopric,<sup>132</sup> yet, it was also thought that he inherited the office of legation from Jacob of Pecorara, and after his resignation, his successor, Ponsa received it too.<sup>133</sup> There is no source, however, which could doubtless confirm this theory. Yet, the operation of the new bishop and the appointed legates can be detected in many fields: for instance he raised money with papal help<sup>134</sup> for a new cathedral.<sup>135</sup> Gregory IX even took him under the protection of the Apostolic See.<sup>136</sup> The duke of Slavonia was also supporting the cause: it was of great importance that he donated the settlement of Đakovo (Diakóvár). Although located in the diocese of Pécs,

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<sup>127</sup> Klaus GANZER: *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen in der Zeit von Gregor IX. bis Bonifaz VIII. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Reservationen*. Köln – Graz. 1968. (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 9.) p. 132–133; RABIĆ 2016. p. 65–67.

<sup>128</sup> Regarding Ponsa's legation see POTTHAST nr. 10689–10691, 10693; RGIX nr. 4691, 4695–4697. Cf. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 139; LAMBERT 1998. p. 299; BASIĆ 2006. p. 34; KISS 2009. p. 50.

<sup>129</sup> See Tibor ALMÁSI: Egy ciszterci bíboros a pápai világhatalom szolgálatában. Pecorari Jakab magyarországi legációja [A Cistercian Cardinal in the Service of the Papal World Power. The Hungarian Legation of Jacob of Pecorara]. *Magyar egyháztörténeti vázlatok* 5 (1993) p. 129–141, here: p. 133–139. Cf. BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 161ff; SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 488.

<sup>130</sup> “[...] *episcopus tamen de Bosna, prout inquisitionis tue processu diligenter examinato, didicimus, qui dux aliorum esse debuerat, damnabiliter prevaricans legem Christi [...]*”. THEINER I. nr. 192; POTTHAST nr. 9211; RGIX nr. 1375.

<sup>131</sup> About Johannes see LORENZ 2011. p. 115f; RABIĆ 2016. p. 53–69. The new bishop received soon afterwards a papal task concerning the heretics POTTHAST nr. 9737; RGIX nr. 2127. Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 107–108; KISS 2009. p. 49; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 218–220.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 133, 153, 168; RABIĆ 2016. p. 61–67; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 219–220.

<sup>133</sup> “[...] *tibi super ipso illam, quam dilectus filius frater Iohannes predecessor tuus ab Apostolica Sede habuisse dignoscitur, concedimus potestatem, presentibus post triennium minime valituris*”. FEJÉR IV/1. p. 127; POTTHAST nr. 10693; RGIX nr. 4691. ZIMMERMANN 1913. p. 139. Furthermore, it is assumed that the reason of Johannes's resignation was his disapproval of Coloman's aspiration regarding Bosnia (RABIĆ 2016. p. 65–66.), while others suspect that he was motivated by the lack of any trace of real heresy in the area (BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 133–134, 164.), or perhaps the damages caused by the Hungarian campaign for the Dominican mission also had their share in the resignation (SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 489–491.).

<sup>134</sup> POTTHAST nr. 10688–10693, 10832; RGIX nr. 4691–4697.

<sup>135</sup> POTTHAST nr. 10832. Cf. BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 164–165; SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 491f.

<sup>136</sup> POTTHAST nr. 10824; RGIX nr. 4991. Cf. LAMBERT 1998. p. 299; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 220.

it became the new seat of the Bosnian bishopric later on.<sup>137</sup> It is interesting that Ninoslav, who in the meantime changed strategy again, gave donations for Bishop Ponsa too, where (Brdo) the building of the new cathedral was planned.<sup>138</sup> The newly-found submission and enthusiasm for the Dominican mission<sup>139</sup> did not last long, however, Ninoslav made use of the new situation after the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242, which caused among others the death of Coloman, so the Bosnian ban despite the earlier campaign regained full independence.<sup>140</sup>

#### 4. After the Mongol invasion

For the first time Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254)<sup>141</sup> got in touch with the issue in Bosnia concerning the local bishopric led by the Dominican mission in 1243. On one hand he regulated the way of the bishop election, on the other hand he warned the friars to preach among the heretics.<sup>142</sup> The pope intended to support the mission in the heretic and schismatic territories, so he favoured the Dominican and Franciscan friars of those regions.<sup>143</sup> Yet, it was of greater importance that Innocent IV appointed a new legate in July 1243, Stephen Bánca, bishop of Vác, postulated archbishop of Esztergom, who was authorized for the territories of Dalmatia and Croatia to take actions there against the heretics, and for this purpose he could make use of lay power too according to the papal mandate. The concrete measures of the later cardinal are obscure, it is even doubtful, if he was able to do anything at all.<sup>144</sup>

Ninoslav mobilized himself in 1244 and attacked Trogir alongside with his allies from Split. The Hungarian king led his army in return against the ban, so Ninoslav was forced to make peace and to recognize the rights of

<sup>137</sup> Cf. BASLER 1973. p. 14; FINE 1987. p. 144–145; KISS 2009. p. 50; BASIĆ 2006. p. 34; Herwig WEIGL: Ein bosnischer Bischof auf Arbeitssuche: Frater Ruger, sein Wirken als Passauer Weihbischof und sein Grab in Zwettl (1305). *Unsere Heimat. Zeitschrift für Landeskunde* 73 (2002), p. 168–194, here: p. 175–180; Andrija ŠULJAK: Bosansko-humski krstjani i prijenos rezidencije bosanskih biskupa u Đakovo [The Christians of Bosnia and Hum and the Transfer of the Bosnian Bishopric's Seat to Đakovo]. In: ŠANJEK 2005a. p. 441–454. (hereafter: ŠULJAK 2005); SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 492; GÁL 2013a. p. 108–109; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 220ff. For Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs see KOSZTA 2007. p. 34; KISS 2009. p. 49–50.

<sup>138</sup> LAMBERT 1998. p. 299; ŠULJAK 2005. p. 442–444; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 220ff.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. RABIĆ 2016. p. 65–69.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. LAMBERT 1998. p. 300; BRKOVIĆ 2005. p. 145.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. HERBERS 2012. p. 185.

<sup>142</sup> POTTHAST nr. 11226. and 11245.

<sup>143</sup> I. e. POTTHAST nr. 11607, 11613, 11878, 11881, 11993, 11994, 11998, 12007, 12039, 12075, 12160, 12176, 12189.

<sup>144</sup> POTTHAST nr. 11095. See Gergely KISS: *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig. Bánca nembeli István (1205 k. – 1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája* [From Southern Hungary to Italy. The Course of Life of Stephen Bánca (ca. 1205–1270), Bishop of Vác, Archbishop of Esztergom]. Pécs. 2015. p. 31.

Béla IV over himself.<sup>145</sup> The Hungarian ruler confirmed the possessions of the Bosnian bishopric after the settlement of the conflict, among them the former donations of Duke Coloman and Ninoslav.<sup>146</sup>

The idea to place the Bosnian diocese, which was previously a direct subject of the Apostolic See, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Kalocsa emerged in 1246, with the aim to support the fight against the heresy. The originator were Bishop Ponsa and Archbishop Benedict, but Béla IV also approved the plan. For the realization and for the sake of the struggle in Bosnia a legate was appointed as well, Archbishop Benedict received the office and the right for those territories, which would be conquered in the future.<sup>147</sup> The change in the ecclesiastical structure came true in the following year,<sup>148</sup> but there is no detail known concerning Benedict's legatine activity. Furthermore, he was entrusted as papal delegate together with the bishops of Transylvania and Csanád to investigate the desperate situations of the Bishopric of Syrmia.<sup>149</sup>

Beside the prelates, the Hungarian king took part in the continuous struggle. The sources are hard to interpret, yet, it seems doubtless that he led a campaign against Ninoslav, but the date of this action is unclear.<sup>150</sup> Pope Innocent IV asked Béla IV for taking actions already in 1247,<sup>151</sup> whereas two royal charters also mention the fact of the campaign,<sup>152</sup> even

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<sup>145</sup> József UDVARDY: *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)* [Biographies of the Archbishops of Kalocsa (1000–1526)]. Köln. 1991. (Dissertationes Hungaricae ex historia Ecclesiae XI) (hereafter: Udvardy 1991) p. 137; Jenő SZÜCS: *Az utolsó Árpádok [The Last Árpáds]*. Budapest. 1993. (hereafter: SZÜCS 1993) p. 76f; BRKOVIC 2005. p. 165f; ŠULJAK 2005. p. 445.

<sup>146</sup> RA nr. 771. Cf. BASLER 1973. p. 14; SZÜCS 1993. p. 77; BRKOVIC 2005. p. 145,

<sup>147</sup> "*Fratrī (Benedicto) archiepiscopo Colocensi, Apostolice sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem [...] cupias contra hereticos de terra Bosnensi assumere signum crucis*". FEJÉR IV/1. p. 400–401; POTTHAST nr. 12246–12247. Cf. POTTHAST nr. 12233. and 12664; UDVARDY 1991. p. 138.

<sup>148</sup> "*Dioecesis Bosnensis, que ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinet, totaliter lapsa sit, peccatis exigentibus, in perfidiam heretice pravitatis*". FEJÉR IV/1. p. 467; POTTHAST nr. 12664. Cf. BRKOVIC 2005. p. 162; ŠULJAK 2005. p. 448; SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 493; KISS 2009. p. 50; GÁL 2013a. p. 108–109; TERNOVÁČZ 2016. p. 221–223.

<sup>149</sup> "*Ex parte venerabilis fratris nostri, episcopi, et dilecti filii prepositi et capituli ecclesie de Keu, fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum, ut cum ipsi destructis penitus partibus illis per Tartaros, non habeant locum, ubi necessitatis tempore valeant se tueri*". FEJÉR IV/1. p. 475–476; POTTHAST nr. 12691. Cf. Toru SENGÁ: IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett „tatár-levele” [The Foreign Policy of Béla IV and his so-called „Tatar-letter” to Innocent IV]. *Századok* 121 (1987), p. 584–612. (hereafter: SENGÁ 1987) here: p. 607; UDVARDY 1991. p. 135; MARGETIĆ 2005. p. 99; BRKOVIC 2005. p. 167; TERNOVÁČZ 2013c. p. 466–467.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. RABIĆ 2016. p. 68.

<sup>151</sup> "*Quum igitur regis eterni feruore succensus ad Bosnenses hereses confutandas te accinxeris*". FEJÉR IV/1. p. 461; POTTHAST nr. 12407. Cf. SZÜCS 1993. p. 78.

<sup>152</sup> "*Bulgarorum et Bosnensium hereticorum a parte meridiei, contra quos ad presens etiam per nostrum exercitum dimicauimus*". FEJÉR V/2. p. 219; RA nr. 933a. Cf. RA nr. 881. and 904. See SZÜCS 1993. p. 78–80.

though the details are obscure.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that the attack was connected to the case of the Bosnian diocese, which was placed under the jurisdiction of Kalocsa also in 1247.

There were no long-lasting results of the last campaign. Ninoslav continued to make new promises to the pope to avoid the occupation of his territory<sup>154</sup> that is why Innocent IV forbade Archbishop Benedict to engage in further actions in 1248.<sup>155</sup> The period of the active fight and the Hungarian participation came to an end without any solid results apart from the consolidation of the Bosnian diocese.<sup>156</sup>

## 5. Epilogue

The death of Ninoslav changed the situation completely around 1250, yet, the topic was missing from the papal-Hungarian relations of the following decades. The Bosnian Christians lost their patron and supporter due to the ban's death, who previously many times managed to resist the Hungarian threat with the help of the Apostolic See. The succession after Ninoslav caused a desperate situation in Bosnia, one can almost speak of a civil war, so there was no power, which could have stopped the Hungarian expansion. This time Béla IV acted on his own, independently of the papacy, and occupied the whole territory, which was divided into two parts. This division was connected to the policy of the reformed kingdom (*regnum reformatum*). The Northern part of Bosnia henceforward belonged to the king's daughter, Anna and her husband, Rostislav, whose rule was very strict, and the influence of the Hungarian kingdom and the Apostolic See was secured.<sup>157</sup>

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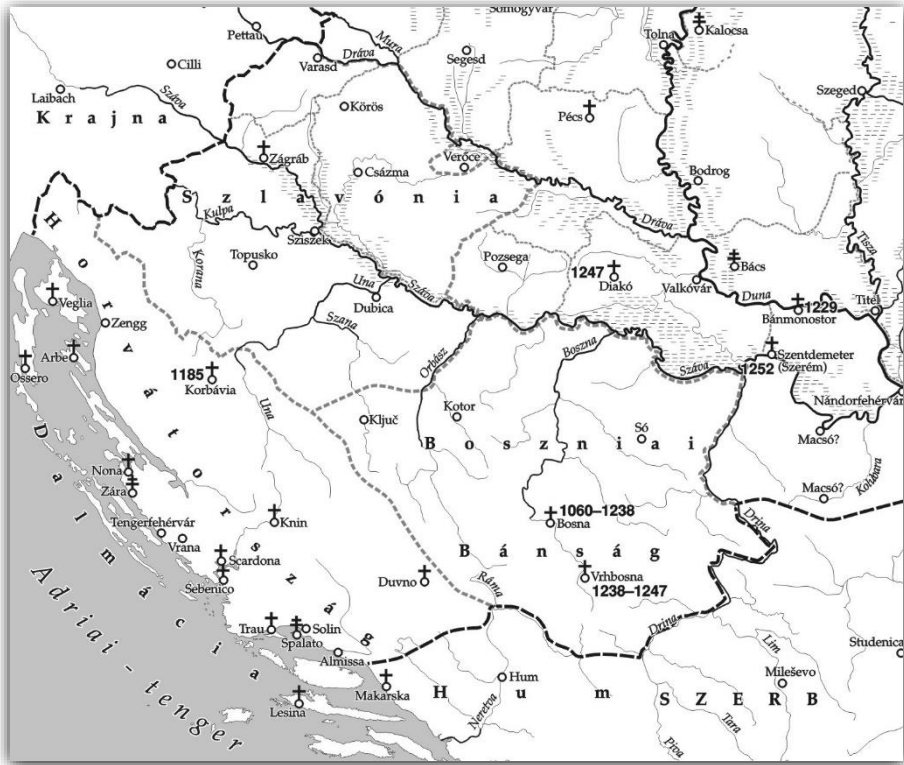
<sup>153</sup> See SENGÁ 1987. p. 605–607; UDVARDY 1991. p. 138.

<sup>154</sup> Judit Gál: IV. Béla és I. Uroš szerb király kapcsolata [Relations between Béla IV and King Uroš I of Serbia]. *Századok* 147 (2013), p. 471–500, here: p. 474; LAMBERT 1998. p. 299–300; RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 106–107.

<sup>155</sup> POTTHAST nr. 12876. Cf. BRKOVIC 2005. p. 168.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. SENGÁ 1987. p. 607; UDVARDY 1991. p. 139.

<sup>157</sup> FILIPOVIC 2016. p. 82. The southern part was led by Radoslav, who pledged alliance to Béla IV. See SZÚCS 1993. p. 75, 79–81; Cf. RUNCIMAN 1947. p. 109; Márta Font: Rosztizslav herceg IV. Béla udvarában [Prince Rostislav in the Court of Béla IV]. In: *Hercegek és hercegségek a középkori Magyarországon*. Ed. Attila ZSOLDOS. Székesfehérvár. 2016. p. 59–79, here: p. 74–75; BÁCSATYAI 2017. p. 256–257; Bálint TERNOVÁCZ: A macsói és barancsi területek története 1319-ig [The Territories of Macsó and Barancs until 1319]. In: *Micae Mediaevales VI. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Ed. Laura FÁBIÁN – Dorottya UHRIN – Csaba FARKAS – András RIBI. Budapest. 2017. p. 227–240, here: p. 234–236.



Bosnia and its Environment in the First Half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century  
(Map created by Béla Nagy)  
BARABÁS 2017. p. 25.

