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**UPPSALA AND SPALATO
PARALLELS AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO
ARCHBISHOPRICS
ON THE RIMS OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM
IN THE TIME OF POPE ALEXANDER III (1159-1181)***



Abstract

Scholarship frequently applies the terms centre and periphery to different parts of Western Christendom, but there is no consensus on exactly which lands can be characterized by these terms. This paper aims at approaching the centre-periphery problem in Western Christendom through two case studies: the archbishoprics of Uppsala and Spalato, both lying on the rim of the Latin West, were chosen as the objects of the analysis. On the basis of papal letters from the time of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) the intensity and nature of contacts between the Holy See and these “faraway places” were studied. The main question addressed was what perceptions the Roman Curia had of these territories in the second half of the twelfth century.

Key words

correspondence, periphery, Pope Alexander III, Western Christendom, Uppsala, Spalato

The terms centre and periphery, although primarily used for describing economic systems of the early modern and modern ages, frequently appear in scholarship dealing with Medieval Western Christendom. There are no works, however, that elaborate on applying the core-periphery model to Western Christendom as a whole. The following case studies analyzing the nature of relations between the Holy See and two archbishoprics on the rim of the Latin Christian World could also stand as a small contribution to this enormous topic.

Western Christendom, “rite and obedience” in the words of Bartlett,¹ or *Christianitas*, a “quasi-ethnic territorial entity”,² was a complex system always in change. Its nature was twofold: it was unified, first and foremost in the religious

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¹ R. BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, (London: 1994) 243. (hereafter: BARTLETT 1994)

² *Ibid.*, 250-253.

sense, but it was also diverse – politically, economically and socially.³ This variety makes it truly difficult to define the centre and the periphery of this entity. From the late eleventh – early twelfth century until the Reformation the Papal Court can surely be regarded as centre: before and after such a position for the Holy See can be perhaps argued.

Following the tenth century monastic reform movements by the mid-eleventh century the centre of reform shifted to the Holy See. As a result of the curial efforts to strengthen the position of the pope inside the Church (papal primacy) and owing to the development of its own judicial-legislative, financial and bureaucratic systems, by the thirteenth century the Church – leaving behind its “provincial epoch”⁴ – became a centralized institution. It acquired many of the characteristics of a secular state and developed into a “papal monarchy”.⁵ Moreover, since the Christian (Roman) religion, and therefore the Roman Church was the most important unifying factor in the West, the centralization of the Church led to the integration of Western Christendom. Thus from the time of Gregory VII, when this centralization process produced its first results, the curia can surely be regarded as the real center of Western Christendom.

It must be noted, however, that another consequence of the strengthening of the Church was the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire and as its outcome, the political breakup of the *Latinitas*. The origin of this twofold effect lies in the nature of the development. Battista Mondin has already referred to the fusion of the inner (religious) and outer (political) affairs of the Church when he wrote that Gregory VII’s attempts to encourage lay rulers to cooperate with the papacy in order to make politics serve the interests of faith and the Church “led to the ‘intertwining’ of reform and politics”.⁶ Moreover, after achieving ecclesiastical primacy the popes became interested in the issue of secular power: while papacy adopted some features of the secular for itself (and developed into a dangerous rival of the imperial “model” of lay power) it was successful in depriving the secular ruler of his religious character and function, preserving them exclusively for itself. Finally, the papacy achieved its aim as it gained victory over the emperor and secured supremacy for itself. The investiture controversy,

³ R. BARTLETT, ‘Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe’, in: B. P. MCGUIRE, (ed.), *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, (Copenhagen: 1996) 29-45.; M. BORGOLTE, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt 1050-1250*, (Stuttgart: 2002).

⁴ G. TELLENBACH, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge: 1993) 185.

⁵ C. MORRIS, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050-1250*, (Oxford: 1991). (hereafter: MORRIS 1991)

⁶ B. MONDIN, *Pápák enciklopédiája*, [Encyclopaedia of Popes] (Budapest: 2001) 217.

however, led to the splitting up of the lands of Western Christendom into two great camps: the supporters of the pope and those of the emperor.

While in the period in question (1159-1181) it is reasonable to regard the curia the centre of Western Christendom, it is much more difficult to define the peripheries of *Christianitas*. Perhaps the peripheral status can be established in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland in a convincing manner, but it is arguable whether this label can be applied to the British Isles, the Outremer or Russia. Another question is whether a homogeneous periphery can be drawn at all when the larger units of which it consists (e.g. Scandinavia or the Iberian Peninsula) differ so much from each other, moreover, neither do they form a consistent or uniform whole internally. This paper on the intensity and nature of maintaining contacts between the Papal See and the archbishoprics of Uppsala and Spalato covers a minor aspect of this core-periphery problem, but can add some insight to it.

I. Intensity of Correspondence between the Curia and the Lands of Western Christendom

Comparing the data of the *Register of the Gregory VII* (but also Bartlett and Schieffer⁷) and the collection of *Patrologia Latina* CC some conclusions about the correspondence of the Gregorian and Alexandrine curia can be drawn. Nonetheless, the results, especially in the case of Alexander III are rather informative than strictly correct.

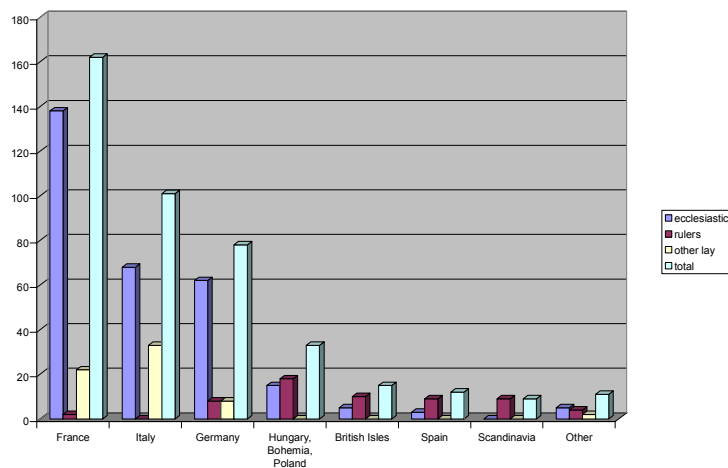


Table 1. The number of letters sent by Pope Gregory VII

⁷ BARTLETT 1994. 247; R. SCHIEFFER, 'Gregor VII. und die Könige Europas', *Studi Gregoriani* 13 (1989): 189-212.

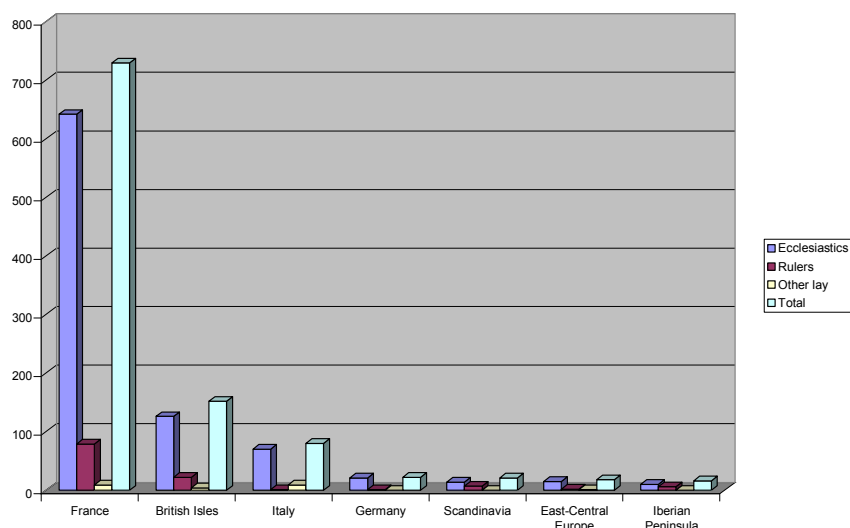


Table 2. The number of letters sent by Pope Alexander III

In the eleventh as well as in the twelfth century France was outstandingly the most important partner of the Holy See (39.4 and 70 per cent), followed by Italy (24.6 per cent) and the German territories (19 per cent) in the time of Gregory, while by the British Isles (15 per cent) under Alexander III, over which under the pontificate of Gregory (3.6 per cent) even the East-Central European territories (5.6 per cent) took precedence. While Scandinavia (2.2 and 2 per cent) and the Iberian Peninsula (2.9 and 1.5 per cent) had similar “positions” in the two periods of time, there was a notable change in the situation of the British Isles and the German territories. Whilst the at first sight surprising overrepresentation of the former can be satisfactorily explained by the exceptional importance of the Becket case, it is difficult to clarify why the latter was so overly under-represented in the Alexandrine correspondence (2 per cent) – even if we know that “regular contacts between Alexander and the Empire took place only between 1177 and 1181”.⁸ The Eastern territories, according to the testimony of the papal correspondence, lost some of their significance (from 5.6 to 1.5 per cent).

⁸ J. SCHWARZ, *Herrscher- und Reichstitel bei Kaisertum und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, (Köln: 2003) 130.

II. Issues of Correspondence

As indicated by these “quantitative” data Scandinavia, the Eastern regions and the Iberian Peninsula were the territories that played a peripheral role in Alexandrine diplomacy – they were represented in the smallest number in the curial correspondence. This view, however, can be modified by a study on the nature of these contacts. In order to get some impression of the “qualitative” character of correspondence two archbishoprics were chosen: Uppsala and Spalato.

II.1. Subjects of Analysis

The situation of Uppsala and Spalato was similar in terms of lying on the edge of Western Christendom; on the other hand, there were significant differences concerning their geographical positions, their political structures, and the levels of their political and ecclesiastical development as well as their cultural surroundings. In 1164 when the archbishopric of Uppsala was set up in a recently converted territory, Spalato had already been an archdiocese for five centuries, with a Christian tradition originating in the third century. Moreover, this trading city situated on the Dalmatian coast did not belong to one particular kingdom as clearly as in the situation of Uppsala in the Swedish realm: Venice, Hungary and Byzantium were all interested in controlling the city. Yet Byzantium was important in another sense as well. While in Uppsala the Roman Church had to face the survival of certain pagan elements, in Dalmatia it was the influence of the Greek Church.⁹ The hair and beard-wearing customs of the priests were the signs of it and, according to Klaić, the practice of the liturgy in the Slavonic language was also the reflection of Byzantine policy that intended to “allow liturgy and scriptures to be expressed in the native vernacular of any suffragan people”.¹⁰ The Slav liturgy was worth noting even for Boso when he described Alexander’s arrival in Zadar:

*Ideoque preparato sibi de Romano more albo caballo, processionaliter deduxerunt eum per mediam civitatem ad beate Anastasie maiorem ecclesiam, in qua ipsa virgo et martyr honorifice tumulata quiescit, cum immensis laudibus et canticis altisone resonantibus in eorum slavica lingua.*¹¹

⁹ For instance T. SMIČIKLAS (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2. *Diplomata saeculi 12. continens (1101-1200)*, (Zagreb 1904) (hereafter: CD II.), 110, no. 104.

¹⁰ J. DUSA, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities. Development and Transformation*, (New York: 1991) 39.

¹¹ BOSO, *Vita Papae Alexandri III*, in: L. DUCHESNE (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, vol. 2., (Paris: 1892) (hereafter: *Liber Pontificalis* II.), 397-446. 437.

II.2. *Similar Features and Common Issues: Geographical Distance and Canonical Election*

One reason why Scandinavia and the Dalmatian coast were so underrepresented in the Alexandrine correspondence was the geographical distance (even in the case of Spalato). Both places were located too far from the curia in the sense that the pope could not visit them in person (*vos non possumus corporali presentia visitare*¹²). The papal chancery applied the term “*longe positus*” on both lands – on Sweden, when the pope confirmed the possessions of Colo¹³ as well as on Spalato, when he recommended papal legates to the prelates of Dalmatia.¹⁴ The use of the expression “*tam vicinos quam longe positos*” in the letters written to Peter, bishop of Saragossa¹⁵ and to Stephan, bishop of Monopoli in South-Italy¹⁶ would suggest a kind of “periphery-perception” of the curia – but the formula (*fratres et coepiscopos nostros, tam vicinos quam longe positos sincero cordis affectu diligere debemus*) also appears in letters sent to “central” places such as Moutiers¹⁷ or Lausanne.¹⁸

Studying the question of how the Holy See could exercise its authority in these territories, further similarities can be revealed. By the analysis of the issue of canonical election, for instance, it becomes clear how these lands were at variance with the standard papal ideas, models and (at least in the centre functioning) institutions. These divergences are the signs of a peripheral status; at the same time, however, the cases below are also good examples of the phenomenon Peter Burke described in the following way:

From the centre, [...] local styles often appeared to be “corruptions” or “provincializations” of the original model, the emphasis falling on what was lost. From the periphery itself, on the other hand, what one sees is a creative process of accommodation, assimilation or “syncretism”.¹⁹

For Alexander III the issue of canonical election was of outstanding importance and the regulations of the Third Lateran Council (1179) concerning the election of the pope and bishops were later incorporated into *Corpus Juris*

¹² CD II 118, no. 112.

¹³ J.-P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, vol. CC (Paris: 1855) (hereafter: PL CC.), 1163, no. 1338.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1273, no. 1567.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 868, no. 992.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1268, no. 1418.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 871, no. 994.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1247, no. 1435.

¹⁹ P. BURKE, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries*, (Oxford: 1998) 13.

Canonici. There are two letters in the Alexandrine corpus that deal with the election of the Spalatian archbishop and one with that of a Swedish prelate. The first document related to Spalato,²⁰ dated from 1167, was addressed to the papal legate, Albert of Morra²¹ and concerns his election to the archbishopric of Spalato. As this case has already been considered in another article,²² I shall give here only a brief summary of the subject.

The main point is that although Albert of Morra had been elected canonically to the archbishopric, i.e. by the clergy and people of the city,²³ pope Alexander III refused to confirm him. To give a reason for the pontiff's "strange behavior", several aspects should be taken into consideration. In *Historia Salonitana* Thomas the Archdeacon refers to a disagreement between the Spalatian clergy and the citizens concerning Albert's election.²⁴ If he was right, it is possible to interpret Alexander's answer as a political-diplomatic reaction to the internal conditions in Spalato. The city seems to have been of great importance in the papal policy towards Byzantium, which took control of the city in 1167²⁵ – there is no doubt, in a situation like this it would not have been a wise decision to make somebody an archbishop against the will of the citizens. (Even so

²⁰ PL CC 461, no. 461.

²¹ He was born in Campagna, studied in France and became "canonicus" in the monastery of St. Martin in Laon; Hadrian IV appointed him cardinal, he was chancellor from 1178 and pope (as Gregory VIII) in 1187.

²² M. KONDOR, 'Centralization and Legatine Activity under the Pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181). Case Study on the Archbishopric of Spalato', in: *Specimina Nova pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis III* (2005): 61-81. (hereafter: KONDOR 2005) Here: 75-78.

²³ There are no such expressions as "*electus*" or "*electio*" in the letter, terms which are otherwise frequent in Alexander's correspondence. All we know is that the citizens "wanted to have (*voluerunt assumere*) him as their pastor" and that perhaps the brothers would insist on (*et major pars fratrum nostrorum instaret*) something, which might be their decision made at the election, or their simple will without any "official form".

²⁴ "Factum est autem, ut eo tempore congregaretur clerus spatine ecclesie pro archiepiscopo eligendo. Et tandem premissis tractatu de electione cuiusdam in archiepiscopum, ut moris est, omnium vota in personam eiusdem cardinalis concorditer convenerunt. [...] protinus Johannes comes, coadunata populari multitudine [...] veniunt ad eundem legatum [...] Et tunc concinari incipiunt dicentes, quod alias eum diligenter, et vellent per omnia revereri; sed non consentiunt, ut eorum archiepiscopus efficiatur." Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, F. RAČKI (ed.), (=Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Scriptores 26), (Zagreb: 1894) 67-68.

²⁵ The fact that after Manuel had taken control of the city Alexander did not incorporate the bishoprics of Nin, Senj and Krbava in the church province of Zadar shows that he intended Spalato to play an important role in the curial policy.

archbishop Gerard, who was finally elected, later came into a serious conflict with the citizens and the Dalmatian clergy.²⁶)

Still, this explanation fails to solve the problem, if we accept Ohnsorge's opinion, according to which the expression *clerus et populus* in Alexander's letter refers to the internal conditions of Spalato.²⁷ In that case, there are no traces of the above mentioned disagreement: *super eo quod nobis significasti quod clerus et populus Spalatensis te in pastorem suum voluerunt assumere*. In my opinion, however, *clerus et populus* is rather an expression of papal rhetoric²⁸ and of twelfth-century political thought than a reference to the actual situation. This term appears, for instance, in the letter sent to Colo, in other papal missives dealing with the election of a prelate, in Coloman's Dalmatian privileges²⁹ ("who is elected by the clergy and people I ordain bishop and *comes*") or in Thomas' work. The papal theorists always preferred the bipartite model of Christian society (*rectores ecclesiae – populus*; clergy-laity³⁰); furthermore, people (*populus*) as well as the clergy (cathedral chapter) could have been regarded as *universitates*, corporate bodies,³¹ which – on the basis of the "*quod omnes tangit*" idea – played a role in the election of the bishop/archbishop.

It would be problematic to find the reason for the rejection in the regulations of canon law or in Albert's character. Although the question, to what extent Albert's legatine title was compatible with the position of an archbishop, should be considered, this aspect does not seem to be relevant for this situation. By the 1170s the legatine system was not yet in its final form, and the see of Spalato, i.e. the case of archbishop and papal legate Gerard, is a good example illustrating the complexity of its development.³² What the papal requirements for "bishop-candidates" concerns, these were laid down only after Albert's election, on the

²⁶ PL CC 128, no. 124.; 121, no. 116. Also L. STEINDORFF, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert*, (Köln: 1984) 107.

²⁷ W. OHNSORGE, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159-1169)* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint 1965), 110-116. Here: 120.

²⁸ The idea that a bishop should be elected by clergy and people (*clerus et populus*) of the diocese was present since the late antiquity, and this principle was emphasized in the investiture contest as well.

²⁹ In 1108 Coloman confirmed the privileges of Trogir, Zara and Spalato and acknowledged their right to canonical election. According to the results of recent research, these documents, providing a broad frame of self-government exceptional in South-Eastern Europe at that time, are authentic and came from the same period. The words cited above are from the privilege of Trogir, the entire text of which has survived. L. KATUS, *A délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok története*, [History of Southern Slav-Hungarian Relations] (Pécs: 1998).

³⁰ J. H. BURNS (ed.), *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-1450*, (Cambridge: 1988) 261-266.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 443-444.

³² KONDOR 2005.

Third Lateran Council: [...] *praesenti decreto stauimus, ut nullus in episcopum eligatur, nisi qui iam trigesimum annum aetatis exegerit, et de legitimo marito sit natus, qui etiam vita et scientia commendabilis demonstratur.*³³

No sources or information are known about the personal relationship of Alexander and Albert, and neither is it known to what extent the pope respected and appreciated the efforts and the skills of his legate by that time. But if we consider Albert's later career as papal legate negotiating with Henry II at Caen after the Becket's death,³⁴ as papal chancellor or as pope (although only for 8 weeks, as Gregory VIII in 1187), we have to infer that it was not only the political-diplomatic situation in Dalmatia that forced Alexander to reject the confirmation of a canonically-elected bishop; most probably he had his own plans with the talented cleric (*injunctae tibi legationi prudenter et studiose intendas, ut Ecclesia Romana de diligentia et studio tuo laetum incrementum recipiat*). In this way, the concrete interests of the Holy See (and the pope) triumphed over the theoretical "guidelines" of the reform.

The other letter concerning the election of the Spalatian archbishop is dated from the very end of Alexander's pontificate (1180), and it was addressed to King Béla III of Hungary. It is clear that in the late twelfth century certain secular authorities had the right to influence the election of church officials. This question was a crucial aspect of the secular-spiritual relations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the intensity of this conflict, however, was not the same in different parts of Western Christendom. It raged in the empire, caused problems of varying severity in most of the Christian monarchies, and it was almost negligible in some territories far from Rome, where the Church did not penetrate so deeply into the social-political institutions.

For Spalato and the status of the Spalatian archbishopric, the letter written to Béla III, king of Hungary adds further information. In Hungary the situation was "moderate": the relations of Géza II (1141-1162) or Stephen III (1162-1172) with Alexander can be characterized as a "policy of balance" or a "policy of compromises". Although occasionally interspersed with smaller conflicts, the period between 1172 and 1196, during the reign of Béla III – in spite of his strong connections with Byzantium – was also basically "peaceful" from a papal

³³ Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii IX I.6.7. Although we must not forget what Vauchez quoted from Grosjean in connection with canonization: the law was "what Alexander III believed to be law, possibly unwritten, but still law in force." A. VAUCHEZ, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: 1997) 26. (hereafter: VAUCHEZ 1997)

³⁴ *Liber Pontificalis* II, 425.

point of view.³⁵ One of the last problems of Alexander's pontificate, however, emerged here in 1180.

The see of Spalato became vacant, since Rayner was stoned to death by the Slovenes; Béla III, however, did not permit the people of Spalato to elect their new archbishop.³⁶ The town raised the problem with Alexander III, who warned the king to respect the freedom of the town as well as the Spalatians' right of canonical election, and let the citizens decide over the person of their prelate (*monemus regiam excellenciam [...] de persona idonea ordinari permittas*).³⁷ In general, the Hungarian kings accepted the special rights of the Dalmatian towns including electing bishops, but in this case the conflict dragged on, and the new archbishop, Peter – of Hungarian origin – was established only in 1185.

The papal warning was not effective, and since Alexander died in the next year (1181) it is difficult to decide if it was crucial for Rome to settle the dispute for Spalato's benefit and according to the "guidelines" of the reform ideas. This letter is not of any considerable length, lacks any clear reference to possible sanctions or punishments, and deals with an entirely different topic in its last third – therefore, it can hardly be considered as a reflection of a serious secular-spiritual conflict. (Only the use of the term *regia potestas* at the end of the letter hints at the supremacy theory.) Nonetheless, the see was vacant for five years: either because of the actual "political interests" of the Holy See (contacts with Hungary, Byzantium), or because of its lack of power to solve the situation, or because of a papal policy flexible enough to close its eyes to smaller infractions.

The problem of *electio canonica* emerged at the other end of the Western Christendom in Sweden as well. Letter no. 974³⁸ is a confirmation of the election of Colo, the bishop of Linköping. The first problem is the dating of the letter, as according to the chancery rule if charters did not contain privileges, no year was given; only day, month and place of issue.³⁹ The *Patrologia Latina* dates the letter between 1171 and 1172. Colo was, however, the bishop of Linköping between 1160 and 1195/1196,⁴⁰ which at least raises the possibility that a date of 1171-

³⁵ K. SZOVÁK, 'Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században', [Papal-Hungarian connections in the twelfth century] in: I. ZOMBORI (ed.), *Magyarország és a Szentszéke kapcsolatának ezer éve*, (Budapest: 1996) 31-40.

³⁶ On the process of bishop elect in Hungary see V. FRAKNÓI, *A magyar királyi kegyúri jog Szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig*, [The Right of Patronage of the Hungarian Kings from St. Stephan to Maria Theresia] (Budapest: 1895) 22-23.

³⁷ CD II 175, no. 173.

³⁸ PL CC 849, no. 974.

³⁹ P. RABIKASKAS, 'Die Arbeitsweise der päpstlichen Kanzlei (Ende 12.-Anfang 13. Jahrhundert)', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 41 (1995): 263-271. Here: 267.

⁴⁰ Pius Bonifacius GAMS, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, (Ratisbonae: 1873) 338.

1172 for the confirmation is wrong. Moreover, the letter says that the previous bishop named Stenar, who abdicated, put his pontifical dignity (*pontificalem dignitatem*) in the hands of Eskil, archbishop of Lund. Since the Swedish archbishopric in Uppsala was already established in 1164, the content of this letter seems to support the assumption that Colo had to have been elected before 1164. It must be noted, however, that after Uppsala was raised to the status of an archbishopric Eskil remained the primate of the Swedish church,⁴¹ and it is also possible that the confirmation took place only after the conciliation of Valdemar I and Alexander III in 1170.

The circumstances of Colo's election were a bit unusual: his predecessor, Stenar chose the monastic life instead of the bishop's office. Colo was elected – just as Albert in Spalato – by the *clerus et populus eiusdem loci*, and got the consent of the archbishop as well as that of the king and the magnates of the territory (*assensu archiepiscopi et regis atque ducis terrae*). The fact that Stenar abdicated without the consent of the Roman pontiff (*verum licet ei non licuerit absque auctoritate Romani Pontificis episcopati dignitati abrenuntiare*) was frustrating for the pope, because this break of the regulations might have resulted in debate over the status of the episcopal see. The pope, however, bearing in mind the interest of the church (*necessitas ecclesiae*), confirmed the election and consecration. Alexander, therefore, disregarded the necessity of a clear judicial-administrative situation in order to fill the vacant episcopal see as soon as possible. He was once again willing to reckon with special local circumstances (*necessitas ecclesiae tuae*).

To sum up our view, *electio canonica* was a major point of the Alexandrine curial policy; the fact that the question of election was the topic of letters sent both to Sweden and to Dalmatia proves its importance. The letters reflect the idea of canonical election and emphasize the papal demand for its enforcement. The papacy, however, did not put its ideas automatically and universally in practice; it was forced to and capable of adapting itself to local circumstances. Alexander himself wrote to his legate in Spalato: *statum terrae et qualitates et mores hominum plenius cognoscere studeas*.⁴²

The election of Albert was definitely canonical (by the *clerus et populus*, moreover, by the majority of brothers / *major pars fratrum nostrorum*/); in spite of this, he did not become an archbishop – because of the political-diplomatic or bureaucratic interests of the Holy See. On the contrary, Colo, despite the doubtful legality of his election, became a prelate, as it was essential for the Papal Court

⁴¹ E. HOFFMANN, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und skandinavischen Völkern*, (Neumünster: 1975) 199.

⁴² PL CC 632, no. 669.

to fill the vacant see as soon as possible. At last Béla III put his candidate in the archbishops' see of Spalato. This affair, however, reflects the nature of papal-Hungarian relations. Canonical election was a *de facto* working custom under the rule of Coloman's successors, regardless of whether they confirmed this privilege of the Dalmatian towns or not. Then, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Holy See was successful in making the royal powers acknowledge the privileges of the Church (Golden Bull, 1222). Before and after, however, the secular powers tried to prevent canonical election from becoming an ecclesiastical right of general validity. Béla III's attitude is an example of this reaction, as is that of Sigismund two hundred years later.⁴³

II.3. From Jurisdiction to Christian Morals: "Addressee-specific" Topics

The issue of canonical election was treated in a similar way in the two areas: the idea was present and emphasized, but in practice the interests of the curia and "local circumstances" influenced its enforcement considerably. The other main topics of correspondence illustrate that in the curial perception these lands had their own special character.

Jurisdiction was an important means of exercising curial authority in Western Christendom. To the Swedish territories, however, no letter with such content was sent, while three letters to Spalato deal with cases belonging to the judicial authority of the archbishop, or, more precisely, of an archbishop-legate.⁴⁴

In two cases the law-breakers came from Šibenik: at the end of the 1160s some men (*homines de Sevenico*) deprived Gottfrid, the son of Bonumir from Siponto, of his property,⁴⁵ while ten years later pirates attacked and robbed the papal legate Raymund of Capella on his way back from William, the king of Sicily.⁴⁶ In both cases Alexander III ordered archbishop Gerard (and in the second case Michael, bishop of Trogir, too) to warn the criminals to give everything back to the victims. In case they refused to do that, they should be excommunicated. Moreover, as the ship of the pirates belonged to Šibenik, the crime had consequences for the town as well: if the pirates hesitated to obey the instruction, the citizens were prohibited from taking the sacraments (except baptism of infants and penitence). The third case Gerard had to deal with

⁴³ F. ECKHART, *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet*, [The History of the Hungarian Constitution and Law] (Budapest: 2000) 138.

⁴⁴ Archbishop Gerard (1167-1175) and archbishop Rayner (1175-1180) bore the legate title as well.

⁴⁵ PL. CC 524, no. 533.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1129, no. 1303.

concerned the monastery of Vrana.⁴⁷ Since at the time of Gregory VII Demetrius (perhaps Zvonimir), *Dalmatiae Croatiaeque dux* donated the monastery *cum omnibus mobilibus suis et immobilibus* to the Roman Church, a debate emerged between Lampridius, the bishop of Scardona (*L. Scardonensis episcopus*) and the Templars (*dilecti filii militiae Templi*) over whether it fell under the bishop's authority or not. Alexander ordered Gerard to defend the interests of the Templars, as the transcript of this legal act was found in Pope Eugen's register. On the other hand, the archbishop of Spalato was not always as judge present at the court: in 1177 his diocese got involved in a quarrel with the archbishopric of Zara about the status of the bishopric of Fara/Lesina. At first papal legate Raymund de Capella,⁴⁸ then Theobald got the task to handle the litigation. The decision was taken only four years later, when Theobald decided for Spalato.⁴⁹

While these cases suggest that in Spalato the papacy could enforce its judicial authority to a considerable extent, in Sweden the lack of missives referring to judicial cases is evidence of the absence of a functioning ecclesiastical judicial system. The only Scandinavian letter⁵⁰ dealing with a judicial conflict emerged from the fact that a noblewoman named Margareta seized *per violentiam* some lands (*terram de Culsne*) from a monastery and the ornaments of their church (*ornamenta sua in ecclesia de Weng*) was addressed to King Valdemar of Denmark.

While the judicial issue was a characteristic of the Spalatian correspondence, the issue of the (non-)payment of tithe is that of the Swedish correspondence.⁵¹ This topic could have been connected to the issue of finance as well, but in the case of Uppsala it is rather in connection with the state of the Church and Christian faith. It is even more so, since financial issues did not appear as topic for these correspondences. Besides the tithe no mention of other papal revenues (Peter's Pence, *census*, *subsidia*, *elemosyna*, *subventio* or visitation tax) was found.

The curia considered Sweden as being in the middle of an ecclesiastical organization process. Numerous complaints about the non-respected status of priests and the lack of obedience towards them,⁵² about the "unusual" form of

⁴⁷ Ibid., 633, no. 671.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1143, no.1317.

⁴⁹ CD II 178, no.176. For details about the case see: KONDOR 2005. 74-75.

⁵⁰ PL CC 651, no. 693.

⁵¹ "Decimas autem lex tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti sacerdotibus aliisque ecclesiarum ministris docet reddendas." PL CC coll. 1260, no. 1447.

⁵² "Eum [Stephanum archiepiscopum Upsalensem] tanquam archiepiscopum vestrum benigne recipiatis et honeste tractetis, et eidem in his quae Dei sunt, sicut metropolitano vestro, omnimodam reverentiam impendatis; et sibi curetis humiliter per omnia obedire, ut de virtute obedientiae possitis commendabiles apparere." (PL CC coll. 303, no. 261); "Universitati vestrae per apostolicam scriptam mandamus [...] venerabili fratri nostro Stephano archiepiscopo vestro, quem

presenting the Eucharist,⁵³ about the lack of the institution of ecclesiastical marriage,⁵⁴ problems concerning the involvement of secular judicial authorities in spiritual matters,⁵⁵ and the non-payment of tithes reflect Rome's view of the conditions of the Swedish church. Not one of these problems (except some papal warnings directed to the faithful to obey the archbishop) is a theme of any letters written to Spalato.

Another sensitive issue for the papacy in the territories belonging to its authority was "its views on social life, which meant mainly the laws and morality of marriage."⁵⁶ It was an even more serious question because Alexander III

nos ob salutem et profectum vestrum ad partes illas direximus, sicut Patri et pastori vestro debitam in omnibus obedientiam et reverentiam humiliter exhibeatis." (PL CC coll. 609-610, no. 634); "Caeterum, quia sine obedientiae virtute nemo Deo perfecte potest placere aut acceptum servitium reddere, per apostolica vobis scripta praecipiendo mandamus et mandando praecipimus, quatenus venerabili fratri nostro C[olone] episcopo vestro [...] omnimodam obedientiam et reverentiam impendatis." PL CC coll. 863, no. 984.

⁵³ "Praeterea non sine cordis amaritudine quosdam sacerdotes contra apostolicas institutiones cum sicca faece vini vel cum micis panis vino intinctis missam celebrare audivimus. [...] Cum enim Magister veritatis, discipulis suis sacramentum commendaret nostrae salutis, non siccam faecem vini, non micas panis vino intinctas accepit, sed panem et calicem et benedicens dedit discipulis suis. Quia igitur secus agere evangelicae et apostolicae doctrinae contrarium et consuetudini ecclesiae penitus est adversum." PL CC coll. 851, no. 975.

⁵⁴ Because the ritual of marriage often did not follow the rules of the Latin Church, the validity and legitimate character of matrimonial relations could later be doubted, bearing the potential danger of divorce. "Praeterea non sine cordis amaritudine [...] audivimus fideles laicos non Christiano more, absque sacerdotali benedictione et missa, matrimonium contrahere. Unde saepe illicita contingit fieri coniugia, et inter legitimas personas divortium intervenire. [...] Caeterum clandestina absque sacerdotali benedictione non debere contrahi coniugia [...]" PL CC coll. 851, no. 975.

⁵⁵ "Accedit ad haec quod clerici sive ipsi adversus laicos, sive laici adversus eos litigantes experiri voluerint laicorum judicia subir et secundum ipsorum instituta sive leges agere vel defendere se coguntur." PL CC coll. 855, no. 979. Furthermore, a considerable part of an extremely long letter (PL CC coll. 854-860, no. 979) is dedicated to the question of simony, emphasizing the importance of the clear separation of lay and spiritual.

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

⁵⁶ M. DE REU, 'The Missionaries: the First Contact between Paganism and Christianity', in: L. MILIS (ed.), *The Pagan Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge: 1998) 13-29. Here: 14.

played a considerable role in the formation of the theory of Christian marriage.⁵⁷ The long letters to the archbishop of Uppsala⁵⁸ and to a Swedish ruler⁵⁹ contain serious critiques and condemnation of certain customs related to marriage and family life, clear evidence of the contradiction between the idea of Christian marriage and some traditional and still existing features of pagan matrimonial relations. “Institutions” such as concubinage (*plures uxores simul habere*⁶⁰), fornication and adultery,⁶¹ incest,⁶² exposure and murder of children⁶³ can be mentioned here. From a papal point of view the (probable) existence of these customs gave the impression of a “primitive” Christian society with an undeveloped

⁵⁷ J. A. BRUNDAGE, ‘Marriage and Sexuality in the Decretals of Pope Alexander III’, in: F. LIOTTA (ed.), *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, (Siena: 1986) 57-83; Ch. DONAHUE Jr., ‘The Policy of Alexander the Third’s Consent Theory of Marriage’, in: S. KUTTNER (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Toronto, 21-25 August 1972*, (Città del Vaticano: 1976) 251-281.

⁵⁸ PL CC 849-852, no. 975.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1259-1261, no. 1447. The letter was written to *K. rex* of Sweden. Contrary to Kuttner, who identifies the addressee as Knut Eriksson (S. KUTTNER, ‘La réserve papale du droit de canonisation’, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 18 (1938): 172-228), recent scholarship (R. FOREVILLE, ‘Alexandre et la canonisation des Saints’, in: F. LIOTTA (ed.), *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, (Siena: 1986) 217-236, here: 234; VAUCHEZ 1997. 25.) accepts his rival, Kol of Sweden as its recipient. See also E. HOFFMANN, ‘Politische Heilige in Skandinavien und die Entwicklung der drei nordischen Völker’, (hereafter: HOFFMANN 1994) in: J. PETERSOHN (ed.), *Politik und Heiligengerehrung*, (Sigmaringen: 1994) 277-324.

⁶⁰ “Quod latius doctrina apostolica docet et manifestius representat, quae virum plures uxores simul aut mulierem plures viros habere nulla ratione permittit”. (PL CC coll. 1260, no. 1447.)

⁶¹ “Propterea, charissimi filii, fugite fornicationem, quia fornicatores et adulteri testante Apostolo regnum Dei non possidebunt”. PL CC coll. 1260, no. 1447.

⁶² “Et defuncto viro nullum de consanguinitate defuncti superstes mulier in virum suscipiat, quia ex hoc sine dubio crimen incestus committitur, ubi nulla dispensatio adhiberi”. (PL CC coll. 1260, no. 1447.); “Inde est quod vehementi cor nostrum doloris pulsatur stimulo, audito quod in partibus vestris in tantum libido crudelis et turpis excreverit, ut [...] alii incestuosa conjunctione, plerique cum jumentis abominanda se pollutione commaculent”. (PL CC coll. 850, no. 975.); “aut cum matre, filia, consobrina vel nepte agentes [...] arctiori poenitentiae jugo curetis compescere”. (PL CC coll. 851, no. 975.); “Non debere contrahi coniugia aut nisi inter legitimas personas, quae infra septimum gradum nulla consanguinitatis linea conjugantur”. (PL CC coll. 851, no. 975).

⁶³ “Inde est quod vehementi cor nostrum doloris pulsatur stimulo, audito quod in partibus vestris in tantum libido crudelis et turpis excreverit, ut quaedam mulieres prolis suae procurent interitum, earumque corruptores tam horrendo et detestabili facinori non solum consentire, verum etiam persuadere praesumant”. (PL CC coll. 850, no. 975); “Praedictos propriae prolis necatores, et tam ipsum facinus persuadentes et consentientes, seu quoslibet parricidas [...] arctiori poenitentiae jugo curetis compescere”. (PL CC coll. 851, no. 975); “Si enim qui jactato in terram semine prolem nolebat ex uxore suscipere, percussus a Domino Testamenti Veteris serie dignoscitur, qua poena feriendus esse monstratur qui natum proprium non abhorret occidere, et mavult interire quam vivere?” (PL CC coll. 850, no. 975).

ecclesiastical system. In the case of the letters addressed to Spalato or Hungary, apart from a mention of bigamy,⁶⁴ there is no reference to such disrespect of ecclesiastical rules.

Probably this “impression of disrespect” lies behind the different use of excommunication as a means of sanction against laymen. While in Spalato its exercise was common, this term is mentioned only once in connection with the northern region, moreover, only in a theoretical form, without exercising it in practice.⁶⁵ Most likely in an area converted not long before the consequence of expelling a “sinner” from the Christian community (preventing him from taking part in sacramental and liturgical life) did not have the “social isolation” effect as in territories where Christianity was more strongly rooted.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, Sweden fit well into the plans of Rome. Attempts to enlarge Roman Catholic territories and spread Christian faith were always crucial issues at the Papal Court, and this task fell heavily, if not exclusively, on territories far from Rome.⁶⁷ Therefore, missionary activity and expanding the authority of the Holy See to the surrounding peoples could have been an evident topic of the correspondence. This was, in fact, in the case with Uppsala, more precisely with the Northern region.

The “papal program” encouraging missionary activity, started by Pope Gregory I, kept its primary importance throughout the centuries. Two letters sent to the prelates of Norway and to the faithful in Denmark mention a monk named Fulco, who was entrusted with the conversion of the Estonians.⁶⁸ His job was to convert the pagans – although with the help of true Christians and some support of the lay power – merely by preaching.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 627, no. 661.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 856, no. 979.

⁶⁶ I. S. ROBINSON, *The Papacy, 1073-1198. Continuity and Innovation*, (Cambridge: 1993) 271.

⁶⁷ In his book covering the period 1050 to 1250, Morris distinguishes four methods of spreading the faith: preaching, foundation of new settlements as the result of rising population and migration, foundation of Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys and warfare. (MORRIS 1991. 263-268) The foundation of settlements was less characteristic in the studied regions – such settlements were found in Palestine, the frontier zones of Spain and Sicily, in the Slavonic East, and some German cities on the Baltic (Rostock, Lübeck). Talking about the monasteries, thirteen Cistercian foundations took place in Denmark between 1144 and 1194 (I. NYBERG, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200*, (Aldershot, Hants, England: 2000) 248.), and by 1200 several monasteries existed not only in Denmark, but also in Sweden, Norway and on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea.

⁶⁸ PL CC 852, no. 977 and 863, no. 983.

⁶⁹ “Inde est, quod prudentiam vestram rogamus et attentius monemus ut venerabili fratri nostro Fulconi Estonum episcopo, qui ad convertendam gentem illam divina gratia inspiratus, ministerium praedicationis et laborem proponit assumere, Nicolaum monachum, qui de gente illa,

Yet the missionaries like Fulco were often unable to reach their aim alone, so the Church turned to another means. It used military skills the lay authorities possessed and which the ecclesiastical lacked to *force* pagan people to accept the Christian religion.⁷⁰ Although compulsory conversion was never accepted as official papal policy, from time to time the idea of “conversion by conquest” was put into practice. In the north this happened first in 1147, at the time of the Wendish Crusade, which was sponsored by Bernard of Clairvaux and authorized by Pope Eugene III. In 1168-1169, when the temple of Arkona was destroyed as a result of the Danish expedition, this “procedure” was already common.⁷¹ In a letter written to rulers of the North the pope encouraged the nobles to continue the fight against the Estonians by guaranteeing spiritual benefits, usual for taking part in a crusade, in exchange.⁷² (Due to the very nature of the help, such letters were often, but not exclusively, addressed to secular rulers.) This means of converting people was applied in the case of the Finns⁷³ and the Slavs on the island of Rügen⁷⁴ as well.

sicut accepimus, est oriundus, virum religiosum, atque discretum, in socium concedatis”. (PL CC coll. 852, no. 977); “Credimus sane universitati vestrae innotuisse qualiter venerabilis frater noster Fulco Estonum episcopus inopia et paupertate prematur et ad convertendam gentem illam sui episcopatus, quae Christianae fidei ignara est, totis viribus elaborat [...] devotionem vestram monemus [...] ei manum auxilii porrigatis [...]”. PL CC coll. 863, no. 983.

⁷⁰ “[...] sed Christianae fidei documenta cogantur tenere firmiter et servare”. PL CC coll. 852, no. 976.

⁷¹ MORRIS 1991: 263-268; 277; I. SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, ‘Wendenzüge – Kreuzzüge’, in: M. MÜLLER-WILLE (ed.), *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*, (Mainz: 1995) 279-290. (hereafter: MÜLLER-WILLE 1995).

⁷² “Nos enim eis qui adversus saepe dictos paganos potenter et magnanimiter decertaverint, de peccatis suis de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint remissionem unius anni confisi de misericordia Dei a meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli concedimus sicut his qui sepulcrum Dominicum visitant concedere consuevimus. Illis autem, qui in conflictu illo decesserint omnium suorum, si poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem indulgemus peccatorum.” PL CC coll. 861, no. 980. Similar benefits were guaranteed by the twenty-seventh canon of the Lateran Council (1179) to those fighting against heretics: “Nos etiam de misericordia Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, fidelibus christianis, qui contra eos [haereses] arma susceperint et ad episcoporum seu aliorum praelatorum consilium ad eos certaverint expugnandos, biennium de poenitentia iniuncta relaxamus.” J. WOLMUTH (ed.), *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien, Vol. II: Konzilien des Mittelalters*, (Paderborn: 2000) 225.

⁷³ “[...] Phinni semper imminente sibi exercitu inimicorum fidem servare Christianam promittunt, et praedicatores et eruditores Christianae legis desideranter requirunt: et recedente exercitu fidem abnegant, praedicatores contemnunt et graviter persequuntur.” PL CC coll. 852, no. 976. The Finns were the last Scandinavian people who converted to Christianity, largely due to Swedish activity in the area. The very first attempts were those of St. Olaf in 1007 and Anundi, the son of a Swedish king, around 1050. In the period which can be called “early Christian” (ca. 1050-1150) the southwestern parts paid taxes to Sweden from time to time, and Christian burials became

The theme of converting people by force also got social support, since the idea of a “just war” corresponded with the ideal of the ruling elite, inasmuch as defending the faith and the weak belonged to the primary knightly values. Henry II’s atonement for Becket’s murder in Boso’s *Vita* also illustrates the popularity of the crusader idea:

*Pro quo reatu, quia causam necis eius dedisse videor, ducentos milites sub expensis meis ad defensionem christianitatis absque dilatione Hierosolymam destinabo per annum ibidem mansuros, vel tantum eis persolvam unde totidem milites ibidem per annum valeant retinere. Signum quoque dominice crucia usque ad triennium accipiam, et in propria persona illuc proficiscar, nisi remaneam de licentia Romani pontificis.*⁷⁵

In Spalato, however, although also located in the neighborhood of people not belonging under the authority of the pope, there are no traces of this “encouraging crusade” attitude. There are at least two possible reasons for that. Firstly, these cities lacked the necessary military potential to take part in (or organize) a crusade. Secondly, Alexander III and Manuel, who controlled the neighboring territories of Spalato, were allied against Frederick. In this way they

common in the territory of Varsinais-Suomi and Häme. At the same time, in the eleventh century the influence of Novgorod and the Eastern Church was tangible as far as eastern Häme. Although the “first crusade” of Erik, the king of Sweden, and Henrik, the archbishop of Uppsala, failed to subjugate Finland, large-scale missionary work and the establishment of the first parishes started. In the twelfth century missionary activity, and perhaps the crusades as well, continued in Finland, leading to the harassment of Novgorod and paganism. The formal conversion can be linked to the election of the first Finnish bishop, Magnus, in 1291. (Until then the bishops were Swedes.) J. VAHTOLA, ‘Die Christianisierung und kirchliche Entwicklung Finnlands im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert’, in: MÜLLER-WILLE 1995 359-371.

⁷⁴ “Ex litteris [...] comperimus quod quaedam insula, Ro nomine, dicta juxta regnum suum posita tantae idolatriae ac superstitioni a primitivis catholicae fidei fuisset temporibus dedita ut circumjacentem regionem sibi efficeret censualem et eidem regno et universis Christianis circumpositis damna multa et crebra pericula incessanter inferret. Quod idem rex coelesti flamine inspiratus et armis Christi munitus, scuto fidei armatus considerans, divino munere protectus eam brachio forti et extento, duritiam hominum illius insulae expugnatur et exprobratiorem immanitatem illorum ad fidem et legem Christi tam potenter ac valide magnanimiter revocavit et suae quoque subiecit dominationi.” PL CC coll. 607, no. 632. An island in the Baltic Sea in the coastal zone of the Danes and Slavs, Rügen was an important center of pagan cults. Between 1159 and 1168, Valdemar I, with the help of Henry the Lion, invaded the island and destroyed the temple of Arkona. The people were converted, and Rügen became a part of the bishopric of Roskilde. When the letter was written, Rügen was already subject to Valdemar and the pope ordered it to belong to the bishopric of Roskilde, under the authority of Bishop Absalon.

⁷⁵ *Liber Pontificalis* II, 425.

were interested in maintaining, if not friendly at least peaceful, connections with each other. Therefore, they tried to avoid threatening the sphere of interest of the other power.⁷⁶

III. Conclusion: Uppsala and Spalato in Western Christendom

The picture this paper provided about the situation in Uppsala and Spalato is, no doubt, highly heterogeneous. Nonetheless, two general conclusions can be drawn. Concerning their position in the “system” of Western Christendom, *in curial perception* both archdioceses were to some extent subordinated to central territories such as France and northern Italy (and England, in the time of Alexander). At the same time, comparing them with each other, significant differences become evident in their status. The very general conclusion of this difference is that Spalato in the time of Alexander III was a more integrated part of Western Christendom than Uppsala – in spite of the fact that they shared the same borderland/frontier position.

Referring to the problem of centre and periphery, on the basis of this papal (central) understanding of the Western Christendom, it seems reasonable to apply the label semi-periphery to Spalato and periphery to Uppsala – although this position of Spalato means that geographically no periphery of Western Christendom surrounded its semi-periphery along the Adriatic. (This definitely draws the attention to the role of the Balkans.) The reasons lying behind this difference are certainly a subject for another study – the two most important factors, however, must be referred to here as well. First, the historical development prior to the twelfth century: the influence of the Roman and Frankish Empires very much determined the formation and the later structure of Western Christendom. Second, lying on the border of two rival cultural-political worlds, i.e. Byzantium and the Latin West, Spalato’s geopolitical position provided it with a role different from that of Uppsala. In the actual political situation this special position was emphasized and Spalato proved to be politically more important for the papal court.

Anyhow, the peripheral status did not equate with passivity or inutility. A land on the periphery (or semi-periphery) could also be innovative for the centre: the venerated drunken saint of the Swedes,⁷⁷ a peripheral case of a far-away region

⁷⁶ *Liber Pontificalis* II, 415, 419-420.

⁷⁷ PL CC 1259-1261, no. 1447. The letter mentions the veneration of a “certain man.” According to Dick Harrison, there is no information as to who is this would-be saint is or whether he “had anything to do with Sweden at all.” (D. HARRISON, *Quod magno nobis fuit horrore* [...] *Horror, Power and Holiness within the Context of Canonisation*. A paper presented on “Raoul Wallenberg Seminar” on Medieval Canonization Trials: Legal and Religious Aspects, 8 February-10 February 2001,

slowly integrating into Western Christendom became a cornerstone of a central canonical rule.⁷⁸



Collegium Budapest, Hungary) André Vauchez, however, seems to be more certain: the man who died in a drunken state is St. Eric of Sweden. (VAUCHEZ 1997. 25.) Erich Hoffmann suggests Knut Magnusson or Sverker for this saint as the most probable identifications, but he also takes Harald Gilli and Saint Eric into consideration. (HOFFMANN 1994. 316.)

⁷⁸ A part of the letter was incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* by Gregory IX. (*Corpus Iuris Canonici Decretales Gregorii IX*, III.45.1.)