

Zgodovinski časopis

HISTORICAL REVIEW

ZČ | Ljubljana | 75 | 2021 | št. 1-2 (163) | str. 1-301

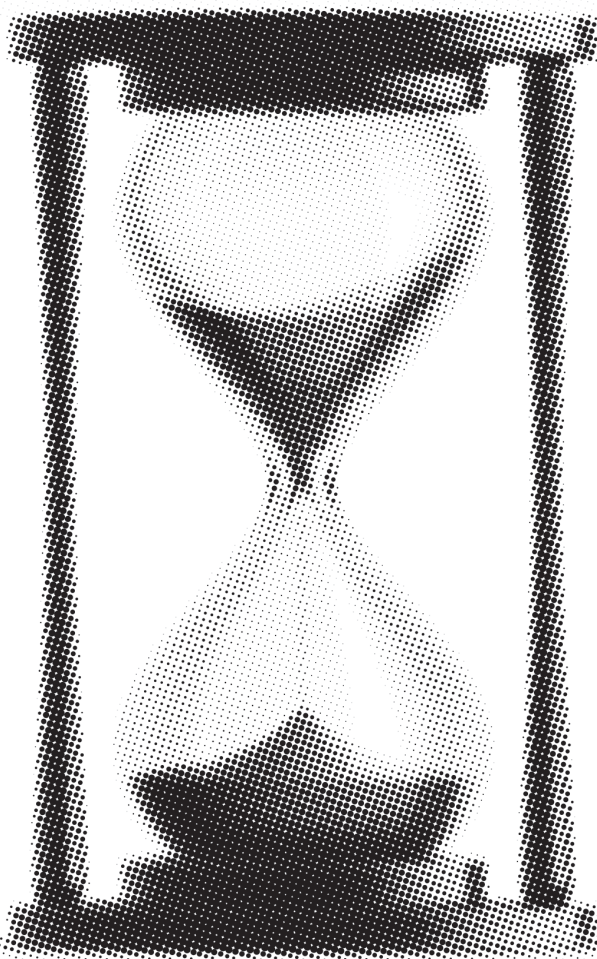


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Ljubljana

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Prevodi: Saša Mlacović (angleščina, nemščina)

Oblikovanje in oprema: Vesna Vidmar

Sedež uredništva in uprave: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani,
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija, tel.: (01) 241-1200,
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Naročnina za tujino znaša za ustanove 45 €, za posameznike 35 €
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Plačuje se na transakcijski račun: SI 56020 1 000 12083935
Zveza Zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana,
Slovenija
Nova Ljubljanska banka, d.d., Trg Republike 2, 1520 Ljubljana LJBASI2X

Sofinancirajo: Publikacija izhaja s finančno pomočjo Javne agencije za raziskovalno
dejavnost RS

Prelom: ABO grafika d.o.o. – zanj Igor Kogelnik

Tisk: ABO grafika d.o.o., Ljubljana, maj 2021

Naklada: 780 izvodov

Zgodovinski časopis je evidentiran v naslednjih mednarodnih podatkovnih
bazah: Scopus, European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH),
Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences,
ABC CLIO, America: History and Life, Bibliography of the History of Art,
Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies.

<http://www.zgodovinskicasopis.si>
info@zgodovinskicasopis.si



ISSN 0350-5774	
UDK	949.712(05)
UDC	

BULLETIN OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SLOVENIA (HAS)

International Editorial Board: Kornelija Ajlec, PhD, (SI), Tina Bahovec, PhD, (SI), Bojan Balkovec, PhD, (SI) (Technical Editor), Rajko Bratož, PhD, (SI), Ernst Bruckmüller, PhD, (AT), Liliana Ferrari, PhD, (IT), Ivo Goldstein, PhD, (HR), Žarko Lazarević, PhD, (SI), Dušan Mlacović, PhD, (SI) (Deputy Editor-in-Charge), Božo Repe, PhD, (SI), Franc Rozman, PhD, (SI), Janez Stergar (SI), Imre Szilágyi, PhD, (H), Peter Štih, PhD, (SI) (Editor-in-Chief), Marta Verginella, PhD, (SI), Peter Vodopivec, PhD, (SI), Marija Wakounig, PhD, (AT)

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The editing of this issue was completed on April 6, 2021.

Translated by: Saša Mlacović (English, German)

Design: Vesna Vidmar

Headquarters and Mailing Address: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, phone: +386 1 241-1200, e-mail: info@zgodovinskiasopis.si; <http://www.zgodovinskiasopis.si>

Annual Subscription Fee (for 2021): non-members and institutions 32 €, HAS members 24 €, retired HAS members 18 €, student HAS members 12 €.

Price: 16 € (VAT included).

Subscription Fee: foreign institutions 45 €, individual subscription 35 €, student subscription 25 €
Transaction Account Number: SI 56020 1 000 12083935
Zveza Zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana,
Nova Ljubljanska banka, d.d., Trg Republike 2,
1520 Ljubljana LJBAS12X

Co-Financed by: Slovenian Research Agency

Printed by: ABO grafika d.o.o., Ljubljana, May 2021

Print Run: 780 copies

Historical Review is included in the following international databases: Scopus, European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH), Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, ABC CLIO, America: History and Life, Bibliography of the History of Art, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies.

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ISSN 0350-5774	
UDK	949.712(05)
UDC	

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Ob petinsedemdesetem letniku Zgodovinskega časopisa

Spoštovane bralke in bralci!

Z zvezkom, ki je pred vami, se začenja 75. letnik Zgodovinskega časopisa. Tri četrto stoletja revije, ki ima med današnjo slovensko zgodovinopisno periodiko najdaljšo zgodovino neprekinjenega izhajanja, je jubilej, ob katerem se velja na kratko ozreti na prehojeno pot.

Prvi zvezek, ki je bil obenem prvi letnik Zgodovinskega časopisa, je nosil letnico 1947, izšel pa je 12. junija 1948. Od takrat je z današnjim vred izšlo 163 samostojnih zvezkov Zgodovinskega časopisa v obsegu okrog 35.000 strani. Na leto izidejo štiri številke, ki so od leta 2002 tiskane v dveh zvezkih (št. 1-2, 3-4). Vsi letniki Zgodovinskega časopisa so v elektronski obliki dostopni tudi na naši spletni strani (<http://www.zgodovinskicasopis.si>). Iz njih je razvidno, da pokriva Zgodovinski časopis celotno slovensko zgodovino v kronološkem, geografskem in tematskem oziru in da kot glasilo Zveze zgodovinskih društev Slovenije načrtno spremlja slovensko zgodovinopisje. Obenem se z objavami v tujih jezikih vedno bolj odpira tudi mednarodni strokovni javnosti.

Ob izidu stotega zvezka Zgodovinskega časopisa leta 1995 je tedanji odgovorni urednik Vasilij Melik za predhodnico naše publikacije označil časopis *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain*, ki je začel izhajati že leta 1846. Za prednika Zgodovinskega časopisa pa je imel slovenski pandan istega časopisa, *Izvestja muzejskega društva za Kranjsko*, ki so začela izhajati leta 1891. Obe glasili sta se leta 1911 združili v, kot so takrat rekli, »poliglotsko« *Carniolo*, ki se je po prevratu leta 1919 preimenovala v *Glasnik muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*. Ta je nato izhajal do leta 1945, nakar ga je nasledil Zgodovinski časopis.

V Zgodovinskem časopisu so objavljali vsi slovenski zgodovinarji in zgodovinarke, ki so zaznamovali slovensko zgodovinopisje od druge svetovne vojne naprej, in to se v njem na svojevrsten način tudi zrcali. O tem smo pred desetletjem pripravili okroglo mizo z naslovom *Slovensko zgodovinopisje po drugi svetovni vojni v zrcalu Zgodovinskega časopisa* (Zgodovinski časopis 67, 2013, 494–512). V historiografskem zrcalu je zaradi pluralizacije zgodovinopisnega periodičnega prostora seveda vedno več podob, namerava pa Zgodovinski časopis tudi vnaprej ohraniti svoje izstopajoče mesto v njem.

Peter Štih, odgovorni urednik Zgodovinskega časopisa

Razprave

Josip Banić

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

Banić, Josip, PhD student, Central European University, Medieval Studies Department, HU-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9, Hungary, jb@hstria-historica.eu

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

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

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

Banić, Josip, doktorand, Srednjeevropska univerza, Oddelek za medievistiko, HU-1051 Budimpešta, Nádor u. 9, Mađarska, jb@hstria-historica.eu

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

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

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

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

Solution 4: The “Wezelin Thesis”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ Margetić, *Bilješke*, p. 19.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁸ Margetić, *Bilješke*, pp. 19–20.

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

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

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

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Henry IV*, p. 357.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷³ Bak-Grzesik, *The Text*, p. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵ See n. 92.

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

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

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

Concluding Remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁶ Kos, *Jedan urbar*, p. 3, n. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

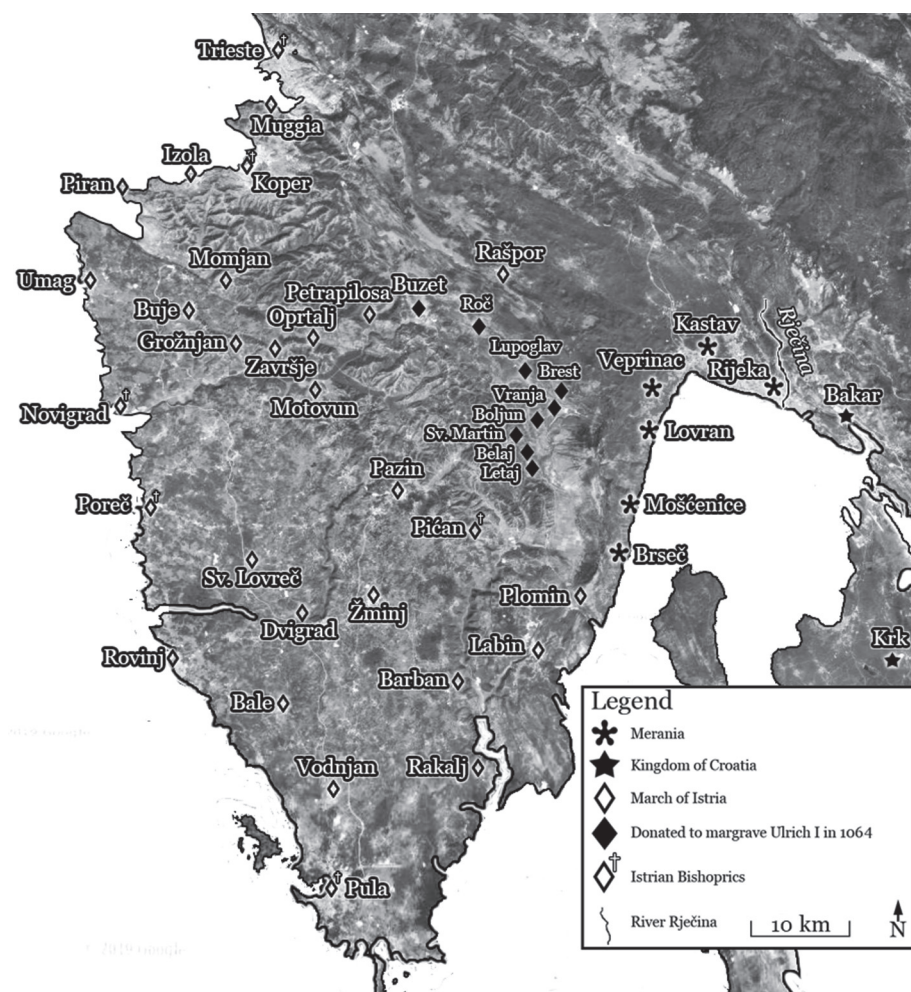
Appendix

Image



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

Map



Map 1. March of Istria and Merania

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

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POVZETEK

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

Josip Banić

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

ISSN 0350-5774



ZČ | Ljubljana | 75 | 2021 | št. 1-2 (163) | str. 1-301