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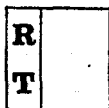
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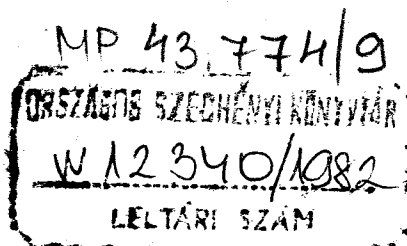
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## ABHANDLUNGEN

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### The Foreign Policy of Béla III of Hungary in the Light of Papal Correspondence

*Ipsi per alium imponi faceret diadema,  
ne regno et Ecclesiae Hungaricae  
gravia possent pericula provenire,  
si dictus Bela celeriter unctionem  
non reciperet et coronam.*

Pope Innocent III

When Manuel Comnenus succeeded to the throne of the Byzantine empire in 1143, he let it be known that he regarded himself as the heir of the territorial and intellectual integrity of old Rome and to the crown of Constantine the Great<sup>1</sup>. As the grandson of Ladislas I the Saint of Hungary (1077-95), — his mother, Pyrisk: Iréne, was the daughter of King Ladislas<sup>2</sup> —, and because he looked upon Hungary as a part of the former Roman province(s) of Pannonia<sup>3</sup>, Manuel had in mind a role for the Hungarian court to play and directed his policies accordingly. He had, for instance, the future Béla III of Hungary educated at the Byzantine court<sup>4</sup>.

It is known from the correspondence of the Emperor and from the reports of the chroniclers, however, that about 1150, when during the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his *Novellae constitutiones*, c. 16 (MPG, 133, col. 773a — »a Deo directus, haeres coronae magni Constantini,“ *ibid.*, col. 774a); Cinnamus, III: 3 (*ibid.*, 133, col. 424a — “non sum ego ille, cui divinitus a Deo collatum est Romanorum imperium,“ *ibid.*, col. 423a), or, for that matter, the writ of the emperor to Stephen III of Hungary (*ibid.*, 133, col. 529d—593ab); on Cinnamus, cf. Krumbacher, 279ff., or Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 180ff.; *idem*, *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 663ff., *idem*, *Bizánci források*, 189ff. Marczali, *Geschichtsquellen*, 130ff.; Gyóni, *Bizánci források*, 113ff. On the background, H. Gelzer in: Krumbacher, 1022ff.; Ostrogorsky, 298ff.; Hóman, I, 387ff.; Elekes, 98ff.; Moravcsik, *Byzantium*, 85ff.; Urbansky, 51ff.; Brand, 14ff.; very important is the article of Bogyay, *REB*, 8 (1950), esp. 123, a study which, according to Deér, 71, n. 186, “bietet die beste Beurteilung der Politik Bélas III.”

<sup>2</sup> See *Chronicle*, c. 156 (SSH, I, 439); Cinnamus, I: 4 (MPG, 133, col. 317b); Decker-Hauff, 95ff.; Gyóni, in: *Századok*, 81 (1947) 212ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hóman-Szekfű, I, 371ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Choniates, II: 7 (MPG, 139, col. 468cd), known to Krumbacher, 281ff., and to Moravcsik, *Bizánci források*, 195ff., as Niketas Akominatos; however, Moravcsik did correct himself: “es war irrig, ihn. wie es früher üblich war, Niketas Akominatos zu nennen,“ cf. his *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 270; Marczali, 134ff.; the *Chronicle*, c. 166, had nothing to record on this, while v. Mügel, c. 53 (SSH, I, 199f.), mentioned military actions mostly; Mügel relied upon Hungarian sources — see Horváth, 279, and Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 311.

campaign against Serbia he found out about the Serbian court's having received Hungarian aid<sup>5</sup>, that Manuel turned against Hungary<sup>6</sup>. In his anti-Hungarian military and diplomatic offensive he relied upon the support of Borics, son of King Coloman the Learned of Hungary (1095—1116) and a perpetual pretender to the Hungarian throne<sup>7</sup>, and of princes Ladislav and Stephen, younger brothers of the ruling Hungarian monarch Géza II (1141-62)<sup>8</sup>. The princes were seeking political asylum at the Byzantine court, and Manuel went so far as to permit Ladislav to marry his niece<sup>9</sup>. The Emperor must have been under the impression that, in accordance with Hungarian custom, it would be Ladislav who upon the death of his brother, King Géza, would inherit the throne, and that Manuel would, through Ladislav, direct Hungarian politics<sup>10</sup>.

Ioannes Cinnamus, imperial notary and chronicler, had as a matter of fact emphasized the point of view held at the Byzantine court that it was Hungarian custom to let the King's younger brother succeed to the crown<sup>11</sup>, — situations that had actually materialized in 1060, when Béla I, and in 1077, when Ladislav I inherited the throne<sup>12</sup>; Ladislav was the grandfather of Manuel.

It is understandable, therefore, that in 1162, when the eleven year old Stephan III succeeded his father on the throne and was crowned by Archbishop Lukács of Esztergom<sup>13</sup>, — the Hungarian Primate who "apo-

<sup>5</sup> Cinnamus, III: 7—9; Mügelin, c. 53; Manuel fought a duel with Bacchinos, the Hungarian CO — cf. Choniates, II: 7 (MPG, 139, col. 429a) and Cinnamus, III: 9; Browning, in: *Balkan Studies*, 1961, 173ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cinnamus, III: 10 Choniates, II: 7; he attacked the Hungarian "Water-Bastion" — cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1383.

<sup>7</sup> About Borics, cf. Cinnamus, III: 11 (MPG, 133, col. 448b—449a); *Chronicle*, c. 166, in reference to the Second Crusade; for detail, cf. Deogilo, c. II (MGHSS, XXVI, 62f.), and Freising, *Chronicon*, VII: 34 (*ibid.*, XX, 266).

<sup>8</sup> Prior to this, Choniates (MPG, 139, col. 437c), and Cinnamus, III, 17, mentioned that Andronicus, nephew to Manuel, entered into an alliance with the Hungarians, but that Manuel had him removed from the scene (MPG, 133, col. 464d—465ab—468ab); the *Chronicle*, c. 167, mentioned briefly the brothers of Géza II.

<sup>9</sup> MPG, 139, col. 465a — "paulo post alter quoque frater Bladisthalbus Stephanum imitatus ad Manuelem se contulit" (*ibid.*, col. 466a).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 139, col. 465ab.

<sup>11</sup> Cinnamus, V. 1 (*ibid.*, 133, col. 552a), and an earlier entry (i: 4; col. 317ab — "itaque cum mortuo Iatza alterum fratrem ad regnum iuris ratio evocaret — lex enim est apud Hungaros, ut semper ad fratres superstites diadema transmittatur;" col. 551a); text also in: Jakubovich-Pais, 50, and Marczali. *Enchiridion*, 148f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Keza, cc. 58—59 in 63 (esp. SSH, I, 180, 31—32); *Chronicle*, cc. 92 and 131 (*ibid.*, I, 353, 16—19; 403, 29—30).

<sup>13</sup> See Choniates' angry reaction (MPG, 139, col. 465b); "loco eius coronatur Stephanus, filius eius" (SSH, I, 461, 3); compare with Wright, 73, ii: 7. Lukács was born of the family Bánffy of Alsólendva, "de genere Gutkeled;" cf. Knauz, I, 214, though according to Balics, II, 127, Bánffy became a family name only later, — consequently, one refers to him as Archbishop Lukács.

stolicae auctoritate" anointed the rulers of Hungary<sup>14</sup> —, the majority of the nobles, probably encouraged by Manuel, turned against Stephen III and proclaimed his uncle Ladislas king<sup>15</sup>. Although Archbishop Lukács refused Ladislas II the coronation, he returned home with his Byzantine queen.

There must have been some reason for the refusal of the Archbishop to perform the coronation of Ladislas II. He refused, we may assume, partly on grounds that the country already had a constitutional ruler<sup>16</sup>, and partly because, in his opinion, a prince who had arrived home from the Greek court with a foreign wife, could not be expected to show real interest in the affairs of his country. He would, instead, further the diplomatic and dynastic interests of Byzantium<sup>17</sup>. Because Walter Map, an English school-mate of Lukács during his university student days in Paris, and Heinrich von Mügeln, author of the *Ungarnchronik*, both remarked that Ladislas II was enraged by the Archbishop's behavior, in fact, had him imprisoned<sup>18</sup>, this writer for one assumes that Lukács must have been correct in his hypothesis. The King released the Archbishop only upon the request of Rome, though Lukács had, on the day of his liberation, excommunicated Ladislas, who died a few weeks later<sup>19</sup>.

Upon the death of Ladislas II, the barons maintained the upper hand in politics and selected Stephen, the younger brother of Ladislas II, as their king. The Hungarians again adhered to the cause of a son of Géza, wrote Cinnamus<sup>20</sup>, who reported that Stephen IV was the son of Géza II; only Niketas Choniates recorded the correct family relationship. Choniates added that King Géza had also two sons<sup>21</sup>.

Stephen IV received the crown from the Archbishop of Kalocsa, — the same churchman who performed the anointing of Ladislas II —, without, of course, the authorization of Lukács and without the approval of Rome<sup>22</sup>. The Primate had to excommunicate the insubordinate archbishop. Indeed, it is known from a letter of Pope Alexander III that the two high Hungarian ecclesiastics became enemies after this incident<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Pope Innocent III to John of Esztergom, dated May 15, 1209 (MPL, 216, col. 51a); Kempf, Register, 87ff.

<sup>15</sup> Choniates, IV: 1 (MPG, 139, col. 465b—468a).

<sup>16</sup> Wright, 73.

<sup>17</sup> As it may be concluded from the remark of Choniates, IV: 1.

<sup>18</sup> Wright, 73f.; Mügeln, c. 54 (SSH, II, 200).

<sup>19</sup> Chronicle, c. 170 — to the effect that Prince Ladislas had usurped the throne for half a year and died — in 1172(!); cf. SSH, I, 461, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Cinnamus, III: 19 (MPG, 133, col. 468b) described Stephen as the son of King Géza II; Choniates, IV: 1 (*ibid.*, 139, col. 465a) referred to the princes as the brothers of Géza and added that the King also had two sons.

<sup>21</sup> Choniates, IV: 1.

<sup>22</sup> This is evident from the papal writ published by Holtzmann, UJB. 6 (1926), 397ff., from codex 144, f. 24, of the Tortosa Kapitelbibliothek.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 401f., Third Letter; Rome had to intervene — cf. the letters of Pope Innocent III to the Archbishop of Esztergom and to the Esztergom Chapter, dated Sept. 15, 1204; May 9, and May 15, 1209, respectively (MPL, 215, col. 413ff., 216, col. 50ff.).

Stephen IV had, no doubt with the consent and support of Manuel, attempted to force a military solution upon his nephew, the constitutionally anointed king of the country. Yet, it was he, Stephen IV, who had lost the decisive battle against Stephen III and was captured by the King, who in a noble gesture, restored his uncle to freedom<sup>24</sup>. The Chronicle only recorded that Stephen IV usurped the throne for five months and five days, and died thereafter<sup>25</sup>.

Manuel now suddenly recognized the actual diplomatic situation with Hungary; acknowledged Stephen III as the legitimate ruler and requested that the King allow his brother Béla to go to the Byzantine court in order to marry the Emperor's daughter and to inherit the Byzantine crown<sup>26</sup>. George Palaeologus, Byzantine envoy, who handled the transaction, had taken Béla with him to Byzantium; there, Béla had his name changed to Alexius, received the rank of *despotes* and, together with his fiancé, became the official heir to the throne of the Byzantine empire<sup>27</sup>.

In other words, although he saw the reality of politics with Hungary, Manuel did not surrender his far reaching plans with the court of Stephen III. The Emperor must have acted under the impression that upon the death of the King, it would be Béla who would become Hungarian king because he had been known in his country by the title of *urum* that, according to Cinnamus, was applicable only to the heir of the crown<sup>28</sup>. As Hungarian king and the future emperor of Byzantium, Béla would from such an advantageous position realize the wildest dreams of Manuel and direct the restoration of territories that once belonged to the old Roman empire<sup>29</sup>.

It was characteristic of Manuel's change of policy that he continued the war on the Hungaro-Byzantine frontier regardless of the agreement with Stephen III, who he expected to make further concessions<sup>30</sup>. In fact, the Emperor had ordered Béla to accompany him on one of his field expeditions against Hungary, and had written, from Hungarian soil, a letter to the King telling him to surrender to the Greek court the Dalmatian seacoast<sup>31</sup>, on grounds that it formed Béla's inheritance. It is on the record that Manuel's last war against Hungary ended in Hungarian defeat by 1167, and that the inhabitants, led by the Byzantine

<sup>24</sup> Choniates, IV: 1 (MPG, 139, 468ab); Cinnamus, V: 5 (*ibid.*, 133, col. 561a); Dölger, Regesten, nos. 1440, 1441 and 1442.

<sup>25</sup> The Chronicle, c. 170, mentioned that he occupied the throne for five months and five days (SSH, I, 461).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Dölger, Regesten, no. 1455; MPG, 139, col. 468d; Cinnamus V: 5 (*ibid.*, 133, col. 565ab); George Palaeologus was the Emperor's ambassador.

<sup>27</sup> Béla became Alexius and despotes (*ibid.*, 133, col. 565b — "in primis, mutato nomine, Alexii nomen indidit eumque despotae dignitate donavit," — col. 566b); Dölger, Regesten, no. 1458; Ostrogorsky, in: BZ, 44 (1951), 448ff.; Moravcsik, Byzantium, 89.

<sup>28</sup> MPG, 133, col. 552b.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 133, col. 565c—568b—569ab.

<sup>30</sup> Cinnamus, V: 6—8; Choniates, IV: 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 133, col. 593ab; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1462; Hóman, I, 396ff.

clergy of Sirmium, came out of their city to greet Manuel as their new lord<sup>32</sup>.

The reckoning of Manuel to direct Byzantine policies through the Hungarian court proved to be false; his plan to make Béla his successor to the imperial purple failed to materialize. The emperor married again and a son was born to him in 1169. Béla now had to renounce his claim to the imperial throne and break off his engagement to Manuel's daughter. Although, out of sheer diplomatic reckoning, the Emperor gave the hand of his wife's sister in marriage to Béla<sup>33</sup>, the latter returned to Hungary upon the death of his brother in 1172<sup>34</sup>.

Although the majority of the Hungarian nobles accepted Béla as king<sup>35</sup>, and Lukács himself supported the succession<sup>35a</sup>, the archbishop refused to anoint him. The remark made by Walter Map that Lukács "puerumque istum heredem cum omni solemnitate iniunxit," failed to correspond to reality because, according to a letter of Pope Alexander III, Lukács had the new Hungarian monarch accused of simony<sup>36</sup>. "Ungariorum regem elegistis, . . . ei obtentu cuiusdam palli quod nuncio tuo de mera liberalitate donauerat, quantumque districtum a nobis mandatum receperis, coronam imponere noluisti"<sup>37</sup>. Evidently Béla must have given a gift to one of the courtiers of the Hungarian Primate.

Rome did not believe that this accusation was the real cause of the refusal of Lukács (this much is evident from the pontiff's letter<sup>38</sup>), and we may assume that Lukács had some other reason that held him back from crowning Béla III.

The King did not lose courage, nor did he lose patience with the stubborn Archbishop; he did not imprison Lukács, but turned to the Roman See for help<sup>39</sup>. One has no access to the letter written by Béla

<sup>32</sup> MPG, 133, col. 581b; Dölger, Regesten, nos. 1472-75. Byzantine monks occupied the nearby monastery at Sremska Mitrovica (Szávászentdemeter) as late as 1344; cf. Theiner, I, 667f., no. 102, and Györffy, in: *Studia slavica*, 5 (1959), 9ff.

<sup>33</sup> MPG, 139, col. 521a.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 133, col. 661ab; Hóman, I, 400f.

<sup>35</sup> MPG, 133, col. 661a.

<sup>35a</sup> Letter of Pope Alexander III (Holtzmann, 402, 7-12, and the comments by Holtzmann, 422 and n. 1).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 401ff (Letter Three), and 404f., and 401, note f; Innocent III in his letters of Sept. 15, 1204, and of Nov. 22, 1204 (MPL, 215, col. 413ab and c; 215, col. 464bc, respectively; Wright, 74.

<sup>37</sup> Holtzmann, 402, 9-12; Innocent III in his letter to the Esztergom chapter spoke of "grave Strigoniensis ecclesiae praeiudicium" (MPL, 215, col. 464b).

<sup>38</sup> According to Innocent III, his predecessor Alexander III, was not in a position to change the mind of Lukács: "post multas exhortationes.. non posset ad hoc aliquatenus inclinari" (*ibid.*, 215, col. 413c).

<sup>39</sup> This is evident from the manner in which Innocent III mentioned Béla to King Emery of Hungary: Béla accorded "specialis dilectionis sinceritatem" to Rome (*ibid.*, 214, col. 227a), and behaved properly toward the Holy See — "illustris recordationis B. quondam pater tuus Ecclesiae Romanae devotior exstitit" (*ibid.*, 214, col. 227c, — the writ of May 15, 1198).

to Pope Alexander, though may conclude from the answer of the pontiff that Béla III, having assured the Holy See of his loyalty, requested Rome to see to it that either the Primate of Esztergom would perform his coronation, or that the Archbishop of Kalocsa would receive papal authorization to this effect, — without, however, infringing upon the privilege of Esztergom to crown the kings of Hungary in the future<sup>40</sup>.

Béla III's sincere effort of diplomacy proved to be successful. Since Lukács of Esztergom was still unwilling to perform the coronation, it was the Archbishop of Kalocsa who, with the sanction of Rome, anointed him<sup>41</sup>.

There had to be some reason not being mentioned in the chronicles or in the papal correspondence that held Lukács back from performing the coronation. For example, in his letter to Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg, Lukács claimed that it was to his credit that the Hungarian court extended recognition to Pope Alexander III as the legitimate head of the Church<sup>42</sup>.

In order to appreciate this, one is to understand that at the 1160 Synod of Pavia the Anti-Pope, Victor IV, publicised to have Hungarian support and dispatched Daniel of Prague to Géza II. Archbishop Daniel accomplished, however, nothing at the court of Géza, the German chroniclers reported, because of the attitude of Lukács<sup>43</sup>, and, at the Synod of Toulouse, 1160, Hungary declared for Pope Alexander III<sup>44</sup>. In fact, King Géza stated in his letters to Louis VII of France and to Eberhard of Salzburg that the Hungarian court offered to both its services that they cooperate against the overbearing attitude of the German emperor<sup>45</sup>. One is to understand also that in his writ of May 29, 1163, Pope Alexander III admonished Eberhard of Salzburg that he stand by his colleague, Lukács of Esztergom, during the forthcoming visit of the emperor to Hungary. "Imperator in Ungariam pro discordia illa, que ibidem emergerit, transire disposuit," — and to encourage Lukács to resist the activities of the emperor in the country<sup>46</sup>. Perhaps it is here that one may find the answer to the behaviour of Lukács toward Béla III.

In the controversy between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, the German emperor based his claim of supremacy over the Roman See upon Roman law, Otto of Freising reported, because it supported the emperor's predominant role over other institutions<sup>47</sup>. Barba-

<sup>40</sup> Innocent III to John of Esztergom (*ibid.*, 216, col. 50c).

<sup>41</sup> To the Esztergom Chapter (*ibid.*, 216, col. 51c).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the writ of Lukács to Eberhard of Salzburg, dated 1161 (Fejér, Codex, II, 161); Pauler, I, 295ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 378; MGHSS, IX, 161, and XVII, 679, 25—28.

<sup>44</sup> Géza II to Louis VII of France (Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 95; Fejér, II, 163; Bouquet, XVI, 27, n. 89; Seppelt, III, 240ff., on the Synod of Toulouse; Jedin, III-2, 77ff., on Pavia.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 96.

<sup>46</sup> Jaffé, Regesta, no. 10869.

<sup>47</sup> Otto of Freising, Gesta, IV: 7 (MGHSS, XX, 447f.).

rossa looked upon his authority: *imperium*, as being founded through election by the princes of the empire upon the grace of God. "Cumque per electionem principum a solo Deo regnum et imperium nostrum sit"<sup>48</sup>, and it was he who had, by referring "praesertim intantis ecclesiae periculis," to the examples set by Constantine the Great, Theodosius and Justinian, summoned the Synod of Pavia in order to recognize the Anti-Pope, Victor IV<sup>49</sup>.

The views held by the emperor were, of course, firmly challenged by the Holy See. Pope Innocent III had in his writ *Sicut universitatis conditor* compared papal and imperial authority to that of the sun and the moon stressing the fact that the Pope being the sun, "luna lumen a sole sortitur"<sup>50</sup>. The Englishman John of Salisbury, contemporary to both Otto of Freising and Lukács of Esztergom, also expressed doubts concerning the validity of the German point of view. According to him, the earthly administration of justice did remain under divine law<sup>51</sup>.

Lukács by having persuaded the Hungarian king to recognize the legitimate pope, — "ut Alexander papa in toto regno sit agnitus et receptus"<sup>52</sup> —, actually forced the King to take up a position in the controversy between Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III *in favor* of the Holy See and against the demands of the German court, — as if to support the argument of Salisbury: "ex omni inventio est et donum dei, . . . secundum quam decet vivere omnes in politicae rei universitate versantur"<sup>53</sup>.

Considering the fact that in political matters Emperor Manuel did share the point of view of Frederick Barbarossa, Lukács looked but askance upon the Byzantine emperor when the emperor's protégée, Béla, educated for a decade at the Greek court and its heir apparent, inherited from his deceased brother the Hungarian throne<sup>54</sup>. His decision not to crown Béla must have rested with the decision made by Manuel who, before his departure from his court, had forced Béla to take an oath of loyalty to — Byzantium<sup>55</sup>. As Lukács viewed the situation, Manuel by forcing Béla to take the oath had weakened the sovereignty of the future Hungarian monarch; only after Béla had taken the oath of loyalty had Manuel permitted his investiture as king of Hungary<sup>56</sup>. Choniates stated

<sup>48</sup> MGHLL, IV, const. I, 231.

<sup>49</sup> MGHSS, XX, 479 (IV: 64); "der Kaiser leistete ihm, als dem rechtmäßigen Papst die übliche Huldigung." Cf. Hahn, I, 276.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. MPL, 214, col. 377.

<sup>51</sup> See his writ to Ralph of Sarre (Millor, 208, no. 124).

<sup>52</sup> Fejér, II, 161; Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 95.

<sup>53</sup> Policraticus, IV: 2 (MPL, 199, col. 514d—515a).

<sup>54</sup> MPG, 139, col. 513cd; "postea regnavit Bela frater eius" (SSH, I, 462).

<sup>55</sup> MPG, 133, col. 661b — "cum iureiurando prius eum obstrinxisset, quae imperatori et Romanis profutura essent, per omnes se vitam servaturum;" *ibid.*, col. 662b. Dölger, Regesten, no. 1465; Hunger, 103ff.; Geanakoplos, 55ff.

<sup>56</sup> MPG, 133, col. 661b (VI: 11) — "Imperator itaque Bela in principatu constituto..." — col. 662b.



in fact that Manuel dispatched, *ablegat*, Béla to take over the Hungarian kingdom<sup>57</sup>.

Interestingly, all of this had taken place about fourteen years after the German emperor had, upon authority derived from Roman law and his own and without ecclesiastical sanction, elevated *his* protégée, the Prince of Bohemia, to the dignity of Czech kingship. "Ab imperatore ac imperii primis ex duce rex creatur," wrote Rahevin, the continuator of Otto of Freising, because "in capite orbis Deus per imperium exaltavit ecclesiam, in capite orbis ecclesia, non per Deum, ut credimus, nunc demolitur imperium"<sup>58</sup>. Although Frederick Barbarossa could not afford war with the Hungarian court at a time when he asked for and received from it military aid against Milan, it is probable that he and Emperor Manuel had discussed the Hungarian question as the background of the then prevalent political picture and legal problems resulting from it<sup>59</sup>. As Karl Hampe, the noted German mediavalist, said, "Friedrichs ungarische Politik war . . . weitgehend durch sein Verhältnis zu Byzanz bestimmt"<sup>60</sup>.

Archbishop Lukács was simply not in favor of crowning Hungarian king a prince, in whose king-making the ruler of a foreign country played any role.

The previous circumstance that it was Lukács who forced the brother and predecessor of Béla, Stephen III, to renounce all of the ecclesiastical landholdings he had unlawfully taken away from the Church, "re sua deficiente possessiones ecclesiasticas dilapidare non horruit"<sup>61</sup>, presents the Archbishop very much on the defensive and proves his concern about the well being of the Church in the country. Although the King had in his 1169 Ecclesiastical Constitution partially submitted to Rome and renounced some of his privileges to the Holy See, he did not surrender in total submission to Rome in ecclesiastical matters<sup>62</sup>. In fact, W. Holtzmann, following the annotations of Gerhoch

<sup>57</sup> Choniates, V: 8 (MPG, 139, col. 516ab, — Manuel, upon the birth of his son, "paulo post filiam ab Alexio (i. e. Béla) seiungit, eique uxoris suae sororem, recens cum Balduino fratre Antiochia profectam, despondet. Ut autem sub id tempus Ungariae rex obiit, Manuel eius mortem peropportunam ratus Alexium (i. e. Belam) statim cum splendido comitatu et maximo apparatu regio ad Paeoniae (i. e. Hungariae) dominatum ablegat," — col. 514d—515a).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Gesta, III: 13 and 16 (MGHSS, XX, 424 and 426, 47—49); Hampe, 148 and 161; Lhotsky, *Europäisches Mittelalter*, 49ff., and 64ff.; on the role of a twelfth century historian, see Dempf, 251ff.

<sup>59</sup> MGHSS, XX, 424, (III: 12); Hóman-Szekfű, I, 375.

<sup>60</sup> Hampe, 148, n. 2 — in reference to Gesta Friderici, III: 6 and 20 (MGHSS, XX, 419 and 428).

<sup>61</sup> Wright, 74.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Péterffy, I, 63; Mansi, XXI, col. 35; Knauz, I, 120. Stephen III's *Constitutio ecclesiastica*, 1169, in: Marczali, *Enchiridion*, 122ff., — in the introductory paragraph. both King and high clergy promised improvement. Evidently, Alexander III did appreciate the wisdom and scholarship of Lukács: "...non sicut viro mediocri aut sacras scripturas ignoranti, sed tam divinis quam humanis scripturis plenius erudito et ecclesiae doctori" — the Pope addressed his letter; cf. Holtzmann, in: *Századok*, 93 (1959), 409; or, Bónis, 21f.

of Reichersberg, — a contemporary of Lukács<sup>63</sup> —, called attention to the fact that the Church in Hungary did not possess political privileges during the midtwelfth century. Without the written permission of the ruling monarch, no appeals could be made to Rome, nor could papal legates enter the realm<sup>64</sup>.

Lukács of Esztergom must have been reticent about recognizing the kingship of Stephan's successor before he had provided proof of guaranteeing the privileges of the Church, its canon law and property rights, in the kingdom<sup>65</sup>.

Probably, the envoy of the Archbishop sent to Béla en route to Hungary in 1172, had been dispatched to seek clarification of the future king's position in ecclesiastical matters; perhaps, Béla was not willing to commit himself in those matters before his actual arrival at the Hungarian court. Yet, to appease the Hungarian Primate, he gave his envoy a cloak (pallium!) instead<sup>66</sup>. It was this gift of Béla to the envoy of Lukács that raised the ire of the Archbishop.

The letters of Pope Alexander III reveal some hostility between Esztergom and Kalocsa. Still, Rome must have been impressed with Archbishop Andrew of Kalocsa and had him emancipated from the charges brought against him by the Primate of Esztergom<sup>67</sup>. A few decades later, it was Pope Innocent III who revealed in his writ to Leo, a papal legate to Hungary, that his great predecessor, Alexander III, permitted Kalocsa to crown Béla king only because he hoped, by the coronation of Béla, to preserve religious and political unity in the realm established by King Stephen I the Saint<sup>68</sup>.

In his writ of May 15, 1209, to Archbishop John of Esztergom, the Pope reiterated his point of view. "*Strigoniensi ecclesiae praeiudicium fieret quominus Hungarici reges ab archiepiscopis eiusdem ecclesiae*

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Classen, 137ff., who made the remark that Gerhoch visited Hungary and Kiev — compare with Gerhoch's own remarks (MGH Libelli de lite, III, 493, 15—24), and expressed the opinion that establishing closer ties with Hungary must have been the purpose of Gerhoch's visit (Classen, 140).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. MGH Libelli de lite, III, 385; the text of *De investigatione antichristi* published in MPL, 194, col. 1445-80, is restricted to its portion dealing with investiture only; Dempf, 252, spoke highly of Gerhoch: "der Ruhm, den Otto von Freising besitzt, gebührt eigentlich seinem Zeitgenossen und Landsmann Gerhoch von Reichersberg."

<sup>65</sup> See the letter of Stephen III to the archbishops of Esztergom, Kalocsa and the other bishops, in which he confirmed the promise made by Géza II to Pope Alexander III, namely, that he, Stephen III, would not appoint or transfer bishops in the realm without the approval of Rome; cf. Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 118 (a. 1171); Fejér, II, 180 (1169), and compare with the writ of Géza II to Louis VII of France (Szentpétery, Regesta, no 95).

<sup>66</sup> "...quod nuncio tuo de mera liberalitate donauerat;" Holtzmann, 402, 10—11.

<sup>67</sup> Alexander III must have had a high opinion of Andrew of Kalocsa (Holtzmann, 401, 5—9), and declared the accusation of his enemies null and void.

<sup>68</sup> Innocent III to the papal legate Leo (MPL, 215, 413c); Kempf, Papsttum und Kaisertum, 280ff.

semper debeant coronari," — with the understanding, of course, that the right to crown kings oriented with the Holy See, "salva semper apostolicae sedis auctoritate, a qua Hungarici regni corona processit"<sup>69</sup>.

Béla III displayed no hostility toward Lukács; the records show that already in 1181, the Primate was among the King's closest advisors and associates<sup>70</sup>. Béla III maintained cordial relations with Rome, too. By following the example set by his great predecessor, King Stephen the Saint (ob. 1038), the King made sound relations with the Holy See into the cornerstone of his foreign policy<sup>71</sup>. "Ea semper ecclesiae Romanae regnum Ungariae devotio convivit, illa semper dilectionis sinceritas ecclesiam eidem regno coniunxit, ut apostolica sedes regno ipsi tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporibus paternae sollicitudinis affectum ciraverit," — commented Pope Innocent III about the foreign policy of King Béla III<sup>72</sup>.

During the second half of the 1170's, Béla III had little to fear of the politics of Frederick Barbarossa<sup>73</sup> or of the court of Manuel Comnenus<sup>74</sup>. In fact, in accordance with the oath he had taken to the Byzantine emperor, Béla had the opportunity to interfere directly with Byzantine politics upon the death of Manuel<sup>75</sup>. Though he reached a peaceful understanding with Isaak Angelus, the new Greek emperor after 1185, and agreed to the marriage of his daughter to Isaak<sup>76</sup>. Choniates informed us that war broke out and continued over the Hungaro-Byzantine border<sup>77</sup>. Béla continued a peace-oriented policy in order to assure himself of the undivided support of the Church.

Rome supported him<sup>78</sup>. It is evident from a letter of Pope Alexander III that Bela confirmed the previous agreements that had been reached by his predecessors and the Holy See<sup>79</sup>, though it is evident from the same letter that King Béla was angry at Andrew of Kalocsa who, at that time, was in Rome attending the Third Lateran Synod<sup>80</sup>. Finally, the

<sup>69</sup> MPL, 216, col. 51a; 216, col. 50c, 50a and d.

<sup>70</sup> Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 131 (a. 1181); in document no. 126 (aa. 1174-78), Lukács was mentioned by name, though Szentpétery added a question-mark.

<sup>71</sup> MPL, 215, col. 413ab; Bogyay, Stephanus Rex, 29ff.

<sup>72</sup> MPL, 214, col. 227c; compare to 215, col. 412c.

<sup>73</sup> Hampe, 193ff., depicted the last twelve years of Barbarossa as the busiest period of his reign; Gebhardt, 1, 316ff., referred to the same period as a time of troubles.

<sup>74</sup> Choniates, Alexius Comnenus, c. 17 (MPG, 139, col. 617ff).

<sup>75</sup> Moravcsik, Byzantium, 91f., made the point that Béla could have intervened in Byzantine politics because he had taken an oath to Manuel; idem, Századok, 67 (1933), 513ff.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Choniates, Emperor Isaac, I: 4 (MPG, 139, col. 729bc); Moravcsik in: EPhK, 47 (1923), 79ff.; about the actual intervention of Béla III, see Choniates, Andronicus Comnenus, I: 1 (MPG, 139, col. 629cd); Moravcsik, Bizánci források, 190f.; Hóman, 1, 432f.

<sup>77</sup> MPG, 139, col. 801c.

<sup>78</sup> MPL, 216, col. 61cd; Magnus of Reichersberg, a. 1176 (MGHSS, XVII, 501f.).

<sup>79</sup> See letter of Alexander III published by Holtzmann, 403.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.; MGHSS, XXII, 217.

King displayed a civil attitude toward the Archbishop<sup>81</sup> who protested in vain that he was innocent of the charges brought against him<sup>82</sup>.

The Chronicle of Magnus of Reichersberg informed us that during the Third Crusade Béla III attempted to negotiate between the parties of the east and of the west<sup>83</sup>; according to the eyewitness account of John of Priscina the King did, as a matter of fact, let the army of Barbarossa — turned crusader, “*assumpto crucis signaculo*,” — pass through the country<sup>84</sup>.

On the domestic front, the King did build up his country and improved upon its economic and intellectual potential<sup>85</sup>. He invited religious orders from abroad and had foreign scholars settled in the realm; he established permanent economic contacts with the outside world and raised educational standards now that his country enjoyed domestic tranquillity and peace abroad<sup>86</sup>. Thomas von Bogyay made the valuable observation that Béla III had the Byzantine example in mind when he established his royal headquarters at Esztergom; evidently, it was the King's intention to maintain at the same place the ecclesiastical and secular administrations of the realm<sup>87</sup>.

Although the record preserved in the Chronicle that said that the King persecuted thieves and criminals, and that he had, by following the examples of the Roman curia and of the imperial court, introduced the custom of presenting public petitions to the royal court<sup>88</sup> may easily be a misplaced statement applicable only to the age of King Béla IV 1235—72<sup>89</sup>, the fact remains that in 1181 Béla III had issued two documents in which he ordered to record the minutes of any discussion held in his presence<sup>90</sup>, and to assure, “*regia auctoritate formare et privilegiis perpetuare*,” the donations of land made to the Church by the King or by his subjects<sup>91</sup>. If the record of the Chronicle does not, then the documents of 1181 do prove the point that, as far as matters of administration were concerned, the King had established the keeping of public records in the country.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 133 (a. 1181).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Jaffé, Bibliotheca, 5. 465, no. 280.

<sup>83</sup> MGHSS, XVII, 509f., a. 1189.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 339; Moravcsik, in: American Slavic Review, nos. 18—19, (1947), 134ff.

<sup>85</sup> Arnold of Lübeck's report on conditions in Hungary during the Third Crusade (MGHSS, XXI, 171ff., IV: 809); on Arnold, see Marczali, Geschichtsquellen, 149f.; Hóman, 1, 403ff.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Thallóczy, in: Forster, 57ff.; Moravcsik, in: SB der Deutschen Akademie zu Berlin, 1955, No. 4.

<sup>87</sup> Bogyay, in: Revue des Études Byzantines, 8 (1950), 85ff.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Chronicle, c. 171 (SSH, I, 462, 14—16), and compare with Keza, c. 69 (*ibid.*, I, 183, 23—26).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Erdélyi, 165; Györffy, in: Memoria saeculorum Hungariae, 1, 333f.

<sup>90</sup> Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 130; text in: Fejér, 2, 198, or Fejérpatak, 29.

<sup>91</sup> Szentpétery, Regesta, no. 131; text in: Wenczel, 11, 45.

The role played by Archbishop Lukács in maintaining firm relations between Rome and the Hungarian court, and the wise, patient and understanding attitude of the King toward the Primate of Esztergom, — and matters of public concern —, contributed much to the stabilization of conditions in the realm of Béla III.

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