

Pontifical Diplomas Correlated with the Diploma of the Joannites

The Inheritance of Queen Violant of Aragon and the Land of Severin

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ONE OF the most mysterious and atypical documents in the entire history of the Romanians is the Diploma of the Joannites from 2 June 1247. It was mysterious because it came out of the blue (1247) and it was followed by nothing or almost nothing afterwards (1250), and it was atypical because the legal formulas used within the text were at total variance with functional canon law and the political reality of the time. In fact, some medievalists have often raised the problem of this document having been forged, since many data and circumstances of a diplomatic and juridical nature did not comply with the customs of the time. The forgery problem is out of the question because the text was identified in the original registers of Innocent IV. This is, however, an unsolved problem in the historiographies that are interested in the document. A series of questions arise: Why was an original copy not found in the Hungarian royal chancery, or at least in some of the Hungarian archives? Why does only the pontifical register contain it? At the time when the diploma was issued, the Tatar-Mongol invasion that had destroyed the Hungarian Kingdom and numerous legal documents was no longer at the order of the day, and neither was the question of an under-developed, primitive Hungarian chancery, which had meanwhile passed its first stage of organization.

In this study, we shall attempt to answer these questions too. The first legitimate question is why did the Diploma of the Joannites appear, what led to its issuance? The static and stereotypical answer referring to the defense of the Hungarian Kingdom against the remanent Tatar-Mongol invasions works only for the naïve who do not know how an order of knight-monks dependent on the Holy See functions. The Hospitallers were an armed expression of the hierocratic regime¹ that reached the climax of its theorization during the time of Innocent IV. They were, therefore, present where Rome's political and ecclesiological interests demanded it and where their concrete material interests lay, with a view to accumulating revenues and assets in order to maintain the hierocracy's status as a permanent army. This is the indisputable opinion of the entire Spanish historiography, for instance.²

We are citing the Spanish historiography because this study is based on Iberian and Romanian realities. What could the Hungarian Kingdom offer in this regard? In itself, nothing, but in Rome the Hungarian Kingdom was considered a feudal dependency of the Holy See. Hungarian historians³ either ignore this thesis or invoke various counterarguments in support of a relation of collaboration among equals. Things, however, are very clear. The very issuer of the text of the Diploma of the Joannites, which is preserved in the pontifical register bearing his name, Innocent IV, published in the First Council of Lyon the diplomas issued by Hungarian kings whereby they swore and accepted the special vassalage of the Hungarian Kingdom to the Holy See. We herein provide the official information from the website of the Vatican Secret Archives, in the hope that the most famous and professional archival structure in the world will not be accused of error.⁴ Thus, in the 1245 Council, the Hungarian Kingdom was once again positioned under the immediate suzerainty and dependence of the Holy See, according to the general political evolution at that time. That is why what is surprising in the text of Diploma of the Joannites is the formulation referring to the feudal-vassallic regime imposed upon the Hospitallers, which was a juridical non-sense under the circumstances. It is true that such formulations were not an absolute novelty only in this document, but also in other areas, with the same sense of challenges brought against canon law, which took precedence over civil law.

Let us see why the Hospitallers—of all orders—were involved in this enterprise. According to documents that were released more than two decades ago but are either unknown to or unused by the Romanian and Hungarian historiographies, in 1247 the Hospitallers were playing the role of mediators in the Arpadian Kingdom, in a dispute that had not been settled for more than a decade. Here is where Queen Violant or Yolanda of Aragon comes in. Queen Violant was the sister of Bela IV of Hungary, the daughter of Andrew II,⁵ who had promised her a substantial dowry in view of her marriage to King James I of Aragon, which took place in 1235. The dowry, which was to consist of territories, in addition to the jewelry Violant took with her to Aragon, was late to be leased. It was agreed that the administrators of the dowry that was to be given to Violant would be the Bishop of Pecs and the Hospitaller and Templar Orders.⁶ Most of the Hungarian and Spanish historians claim that soon after the death of Andrew II and after the ascension to the Arpadian throne of Bela IV, Violant's brother, the latter refused to consider granting the dowry that was due to his sister, both because of the kingdom's land and financial situation and in view of the increasingly strong opposition that the lower and middle nobility evinced towards the alienation of territories that belonged to or were claimed by the crown (the case of many areas in Transylvania and the peri-Carpathian spaces, as was, for instance, the Land of Severin). Bela also had to consider the Golden Bull of 1222, which had consecrated a regress in terms of the king's omnipotence over the clan aristocracy in the kingdom. What the Hungarian king had to take into account was the fact that the organization of the powers of the time - this was the period of full hierocracy - was more complicated than we may assess it today, the royal power being dependent on the power of the Church, more precisely, of the Holy See and the Empire. The situation of Andrew II is very well known: he was forced to go on crusade because of the oath his father, Bela III, had sworn, and

later he was excommunicated because of his refusal to renounce resorting to Jews in the affairs of the royalty. Let us also not forget that in Rome, the Golden Bull was considered an affront to the ministry of the royalty that functioned within the Church, Rome regarding the Hungarian kings as weaklings.

The great Tatar-Mongolian invasion from the years 1241–1242 “rebooted” the entire functioning of the Arpadian Kingdom and King Bela IV was forced to make fairly large concessions to the requests that would shortly before have been declined. Included in these concessions was the growing attention given to the demands and commands of the Holy See. It is in this context that the Diploma of the Joannites, issued on 2 June 1247, can be placed. This was not Bela IV’s the first attempt to negotiate territorial claims regarding the non-Magyar power structures from the adjacent areas of the Arpadian Kingdom. After 1236, when Pope Gregory IX requested the Cistercian Abbot of Czikádor to urge one of Bela’s brothers, Coloman, to restitute some property he had wrongfully taken from the Templars, in 1240, Bela himself decided—probably also pressed by Emperor Frederick II—to return to the Roman Church, in an atypical manner, the assets and properties taken from the Teutonic Knights, entrusting them to the General Chapter of the Cistercians from Citeaux. Let us not forget that the Holy See did not cease to demand the Arpadian kings that they should give back the Land of Bârsa, considered to be part of the Patrimony of the Apostolic See. Thus, under various pressures, the Arpadian king realized that he would have to give in where he could no longer resist such demands.

Let us return to Violant, the Hungarian-born Queen of Aragon, who was not endowed with a dowry. Ever since the beginning of her involvement, with the consent of her husband, in the political affairs of the Kingdom of Aragon, Violant established a very good collaboration with the Hospitaller Order. Considering the crusade conditions that were functional both in Aragon and in its neighboring areas, as they would also be in Transylvania and Severin in 1247, this order was active at the indications of Rome, on which it depended, in areas where the royalties had to grant military support against the infidels (the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, the Cumans in Transylvania, the Tatars and their incursions, and the schismatics). We should beware, however. The Hospitallers acted in areas that were publicly under the legal cover of the crusade. The Hospitaller establishments, which were exempt anyway (from subordination to temporal authorities), should not be confused with the territories where they carried out military activities; these were canonically located in an area of exception to the ordinary juridical situation and the Holy See issued claims of suzerainty over them. For this reason, Violant’s desire to assist her husband in expanding the Kingdom of Aragon entered in conjunction with the interests of the Hospitaller Order and of Rome.⁷ The Hospitallers, who were—we must insist—in the service of the Apostolic See, entered into close collaboration with King James I and Queen Violant, who entrusted them with a fairly important military role of managing, on both sides of the Pyrenees, the Kingdom of Aragon and its adjacent areas, which extended to the County of Rousillon and Occitania in the northeast, but also to Valencia and the Balearic Islands in the southeast. Not wishing to fall into the error committed by the Central-East European historiographies, for which the political-territorial organization of Christianitas does not appear

to have existed, we should add that Pedro II, the King of Aragon, James's father and Violant's father-in-law, re-enfeoffed his kingdom to Innocent III in 1205, after the latter had crowned him in St. Pancras' Church from Rome in September 1204. This was, therefore, a situation of parity regarding status of fees (it was an atypical fee) pertaining to both the Kingdom of Aragon and the Kingdom of Hungary. We must insist on this in order to reinforce the idea we advanced about 15 years ago regarding the attention the Holy See granted to the two extremities of Christianitas.

The Hospitallers became so close to Queen Violant in their role as representatives of Rome that James I's wife entrusted them with missions that were not only political, but also of a more personal nature, albeit in royal affairs. One of these personal-royal affairs concerned, as we have seen, the obtaining and then recuperating the dowry that her brother, the Hungarian king, refused to grant her in the terms under which it had been negotiated.

There may have been more insistent appeals that Violant addressed her brother Bela and that he did not answer. Under such circumstances, the Queen of Aragon resorted to the Sovereign Pontiff in order to recover the territorial and financial rights that were duly hers. Violant appealed to the Holy See not because it was the last court of appeal that managed the public affairs in Christianitas, but because her marriage itself had been the result of a pontifical arrangement. A possible first moment when there occurred a pontifical intervention in this respect was a reply that Innocent IV addressed to King James I of Aragon on 30 April 1245, two months before the opening of the First Council of Lyon, a point of maximum theorization of the pontifical power. In his letter, the Bishop of Rome assured the Aragonese monarch that he would do his best to recover the money owed to Queen Violant as dowry. What is surprising is that the promise was made at around the time of the First Council of Lyon, which some historians regard as the end of the Middle Ages, while the overwhelming majority of the historians describe as the climax of the struggle between the Holy See and the Empire, the war being won by Rome through the deposing of Emperor Frederick II. James I, the King of Aragon, personally attended the council, as a sign of obedience to the Holy See. The Hungarian King Bela IV was obviously a marginal pawn, of minor importance, in this game, and if Innocent IV promised that Violant's dowry would be recuperated, he kept his word.

One of the major themes of the 1245 Council was the fight against the Tatars and it probably played an essential role in configuring the demands that Innocent IV addressed the Hungarian king. Bela IV insistently urged Rome, as its vassal, to help him in managing the post-invasion situation, the Hungarian Kingdom being the most exposed to the Mongols' incursions of small and medium intensity. Innocent IV deemed that the Hungarian king was in a situation of crisis and that the context was such that he could not turn down the Sovereign Pontiff in the matter of recovering the dowry owed to Violant. As shown in documents annexed, the Hospitallers, together with the Templars, had been entrusted with recuperating Violant's assets but the priority was given to the Hospitallers, because they were much more strongly involved in the affairs of the Aragonese Kingdom than the Templars.

The analysis of the Diploma of the Joannites issued on 2 June 1247 reveals, from the outset, that it is a document full of canonical inadvertencies, representing Bela's attempt

to answer Innocent IV's demand in his own way. As I wrote more than a decade ago, the formulations in the diploma ultimately represented an affront to the Hospitallers as proxies of Rome's interests, and they refused to take possession of the territorial elements and other income that the Arpadian king wished to donate in order to compensate for the amount he owed Violant, because, far from being safe, these were the most uncertain sources of revenue that could be levied in the Arpadian Kingdom and its adjacent areas. The central place in the donation was occupied by the Land of Severin, a territory to which the Arpadian kings simply laid claims without actually possessing it and to which they had drawn near in the footsteps of the Roman Church and the Dominican brothers.

There is a big dilemma for those who have approached this donative diploma. Why did three years go by between the date when the Hungarian king issued the diploma and the date when Innocent IV confirmed it? Why does the diploma appear only in the pontifical register? And there is one more rather unpleasant question: wherefore the irresponsibility of the translators who—in *Documente privind Istoria Românilor*, C. Transilvania, vol I. 1075-1250, and in *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, D. Relații între Țările Române—translated the document without the introductory part that represented the intervention of Innocent IV and the Papal Chancery, given that this is the only text preserved?

Well, these three years were the years of close negotiations between the Hospitallers, the proxies of the Holy See and Violant's advocates, and the Hungarian King Bela IV. As shown in the documents we annex below, the diploma was a compromise that Bela cunningly tried to make in order to escape from the debt to his sister, under the pressure of the Apostolic See. This compromise was based on a history that was burdened in this regard: firstly, there was the file of the Teutonic Knights, which referred to a territory, the Land of Bârsa, donated to the Holy See and clamored by the latter throughout the 13th century, and secondly, the censorship that the tribal aristocracy from the Golden Bull in 1222 had exhibited towards the alienation of lands, which deprived it of the possibility of expanding such possessions and was probably the reason why the diploma was not preserved in the archive of the Hungarian chancery. It was a matter that the Hungarian king did not want to publicize too much. However, the historiographies that have approached the reign of Bela IV as King of the Magyars have shown that he very often did not respect his word, being considered a liar at the time, or a proponent—in today's terms—of what we call *real politik*.⁸ As for the absence of the translation of the initial part in the pontifical document, we see it as a positivist and secular attempt to minimize the critical role that the Holy See played in this negotiation, whose stake was the dowry owed to Violant, the Queen of Aragon.

Although the Templars were also responsible for Violant's dowry, it appears that the Hospitallers were preferred by both Rome and Violant, as well as by the Hungarian king (the Templars would have been much more aggressive as regards the financial and the property aspect). The Hospitallers had several convents in the Arpadian Kingdom, which rendered such a donation apparently benign. Hence, the Arpadian monarch deemed that the Hospitallers would be the best solution. However, unlike in the case of the Joannite establishments from the Hungarian realms or under Hungarian nominal rule, which were small enclaves without much consistency, this time it was a much larger dona-

tion, involving other consequences exactly in the expansion areas desired by the Arpadian Kingdom.

Let us see, though, what the Hungarian king donated to the Hospitallers who administered Violant's dowry. The core of the donation was the Land of Severin, the Knezates of Ioan and Farcaș, and territory of Cumania. What was the status of the Land of Severin at the time when the recovery of the debt to Violant was underway? It was an extreme frontier area for the Hungarian Kingdom, with a rather obvious administrative fluidity, which makes us believe that the Hungarian kings merely laid claims on this territory and did not control it (it had been created in 1231–1232, but these structures became functional in the kingdom many years later). Of course, in terms of its annexation to Christianitas, this area was similar, up to a point, to areas of the Iberian Peninsula where the Hospitallers supported the Kingdom of Aragon, with a distinct religious content from that of the conquerors and an existing political organization that had to disappear, a schismatic buffer between the Arpadian Kingdom subjected to Rome and the Bulgarian Kingdom, which had just relinquished Rome's protection.⁹ Thus, for Violant and the Hospitallers, the conditional rule of the Land of Severin, as the Arpadian monarch understood it, was not only unable to produce the anticipated revenue, but would rather have incurred expenses for the maintenance of a fragile dominion in an area that the Hospitallers were not familiar with and with a lenient and cunning monarchy. What is surprising in the text of the diploma with reference to the Land of Severin is the mention of ecclesiastical structures led by archbishops and bishops. Since there was no substantial hierarchy dependent on the Roman Church in the area, historians have concluded that this was an ecclesiastical structure pertaining to the Eastern Rite. Why did the Hospitallers have to comply with this state of affairs? Well, if we examine the early history of the Hospitaller Order in the Arpadian Kingdom, we will understand why. The arrival of the Hospitallers at this edge of Christianitas was due to Queen Euphrosyne, the daughter of Knez Mstislav I of Kiev, who was married to the Arpadian King Geza II when she was aged 16, in around 1146. She was the mother of Bela III, and the grandmother of Bela IV. Both Euphrosyne and Bela III were, despite their education in the Greek Rite, supporters of the Hospitaller Order. Also forced by her own son, Euphrosyne retreated, when she was old, to the Hospitaller Convent from Jerusalem, while Bela III made a donation to the Hospitaller Convent in Jerusalem. The Hospitallers had, therefore, some possibility of interaction with the local religious factors, given the founding history of their settlements in the Arpadian Kingdom. Moreover, in a papal bull of 1238, the Hospitallers were reprimanded for the relations they had with the clergy of the Oriental Churches.¹⁰

The fragmented distribution of the donation makes us believe that the Hungarian monarchy had a vague apprehension of the financial possibilities in the donated areas, leaving the Hospitallers to manage how they could the donated territories and to produce somehow the amount owed to Violant. Here the donation flagrantly resembles a donation made by her father, Andrew II, to the Teutonic Knights in 1211, which was actually a donation *in spe*, a donation in hope rather than certainty. In fact, this was the reason, we believe, that led to the disgruntlement of both Violant and the Hospitallers. Once again, Bela IV did not offer certainties, but promises. After 12 years of *sine die*

deferrals, the Queen of Aragon and her proxies, the Hospitallers, were forced to administer territories from which they would have to raise revenue, instead of being granted the sums owed to them directly. 1247 was a difficult year for the Hospitaller Order, as this was the moment when their great fortress of Ashkelon was lost. The fact is that because she was unhappy with the solution, Violant addressed herself once again to the Sovereign Pontiff, sparking an investigation on the Hungarian king, as attested by the annexed documents. The Hospitallers were also discontent, since they faced a new battle front with no funding and no real opportunities for recovering the dowry of the Aragonese Queen.

The terms of the diploma had been negotiated between King Bela IV and Rembald, the great Hospitaller preceptor of the cismarine territories. Well, this Rembald was a key figure in the affair, and we may understand why. Defined by the Hungarian historiography as Rembald of Voczon, he had carried out, by 1247, several offices as a “diplomatic agent” between the Holy See and the Hungarian kings, being used, for instance, to negotiate various matters that involved the Hospitaller Order, including Violant’s marriage to James I. At least, this is what Hunyadi also intimates.¹¹ But other details in Rembald’s biography are also significant. In the period 1237-1238, he served as a delegate judge of the Holy See in the Arpadian Kingdom and had apparently been present in this area prior to 1247, that is exactly when negotiations were underway for Violant’s dowry and when the Diploma of the Joannites was issued (at least this is what the text of the diploma suggests). But what is most important in Rembald’s biography, from our point of view, lies in his territorial extraction. According to Jean Raybaud, Rembald was a native of Provence,¹² specifically of Beauson. This Provençal origin leads us to believe that Rembald was specifically chosen by Violant and her husband, since this was a region where these Iberian monarchs had territories and possessions. Rembald thus met several conditions to serve as the “loan officer” for Violant’s dowry: he was a Hospitaller, a native of Provence and a character who had carried out juridical activities in the Hungarian Kingdom, under the authority of the Holy See. To the natural question why the Grand Master of the Order was not entrusted with this theoretically extensive, but financially insignificant territorial custody, the answer is as follows: Grand Master Guillaume de Chateauneuf (1242-1258) had been in an uncertain captivity situation for a few years, the title of Deputy of the Order being held by Jean de Ronay. The Grand Master was released exactly in 1250, the year when Innocent IV confirmed the Diploma of the Joannites, at the same time as King Louis IX of France and after paying a huge ransom sum, as shown by the historiography of the Hospitaller Order. This is why Rembald had been left to deal with the European affairs of the Order, but he was in no position to provide the Hungarian king with material support and military personnel; it is rather the case that he was forced to recuperate Violant’s dowry and to use it also for assisting the order.

What did Innocent IV say in the two letters published here, which were meant to persuade Bela IV to approve of granting the Hospitallers ownership over the territories promised in the diploma of 2 June 1247? That there was an amount of money, 12,000 silver marks, that Andrew II had promised his daughter, but the Arpadian king had refused to give it to his sister. Consequently, the Sovereign Pontiff demanded Bella to comply

and issue the amount, for he would otherwise be taken to trial so that justice would be done for Violant. Two bishops were assigned to enforce the sentence: Bishops Conrad of Worms and Zeland of Veszprém. The first letter was addressed to the Hungarian monarch, the second to the two bishops. The nomination of the two pontifical judges in the person of the two bishops is interesting: one was from the Hungarian Kingdom, the other, Conrad, was from the Empire, which was now deprived of its ruler, who had been revoked in 1245, and was controlled by Innocent IV through intermediaries. The sum Bela owed to Violant was considerable. A calculation shows that if the weight under consideration corresponded to the mark of Troyes or the Parisian mark, which was around 244.752 grams at the time (the German mark had about 234 grams, while that of Northern Italy, 238 grams), then 2,937.024 kilograms of silver had to be delivered to the Queen of Aragon, or the equivalent of 183.564 kilograms of gold, if we respect parity of 1/16 between gold and silver, as calculated at that time.¹³ The amount was not at all negligible, Bela being put in great difficulty. This explains why besides the Land of Severin, Bela also gave the Hospitallers other territories, hoping that in addition to obtaining the amount for Violant's dowry, the Hospitallers would also give something to the royalty. However, the Hospitallers were not that inexpert at calculations.

Although in his *prodomo* reading of a letter that Bela IV wrote in November 1247: "quos [fratres] iam partis collocavimus in loco magis suspecto, videlicet in confinio Cumanorum ultra Danubium et Bulgarorum," Zsolt Hunyadi states that the Hospitallers were placed temporarily in the donation area, he wonders why the Hospitallers allegedly "left" the area of Severin after 1250.¹⁴ Even if we agreed that they came to the area, which we are not at all convinced that they did, this is what happened after 1250: Violant fell prey to a fever and died, according to the sources, and Bela IV breathed a sigh of relief that he was no longer forced to yield the revenue to the Hospitallers on account of his sister's dowry. After having paid the ransom for the release of the Grand Master, the Hospitaller Order was not willing to invest military forces and silver marks at the border of Christianitas, within the framework of a legal system that offered it nothing tangible. Here is the enigma that the historiographies concerned have not yet managed to unravel. The fact that Innocent IV confirmed the donation on 20 July 1250, although a renegotiation had been attempted in 1248, was probably due to the desire to enter a property of the Roman Church in the pontifical register, as in a formal act. The Hungarian king had delayed the negotiation and Innocent decided to record the donation in order to implement it, even if it did not meet the desires of the Hospitallers and was financially unpredictable. But the latter no longer complicated themselves and abandoned the donation, since Violant was dead and out of the picture and the amount of the dowry was canceled. The Holy See met its requirements half a century later, when, dealing with the Hungarian Kingdom as his own fiefdom, Boniface VIII imposed Charles Robert of Anjou on the throne of Hungary.

ANNEXES¹⁵

1

Innocentius Episcopus servus servorum Dei carissimo in Christo filio Bele Ungarie Regi illustri salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex parte carissime in Christo filie nostre Yolys Aragonum Regine illustris fuit propositum coram nobis, quod, cum clare memorie Andreas Rex Ungarie pater suus, dum viveret, duodecim milia marcarum argenti sibi pro dote donasset, dilectis filiis commendatoribus militie Templi et Hospitalis Ierhusalemitani in Ungaria quibusdam redditibus suis, qui trecenn[i]um vulgariter nuncupatur, pro huiusmodi pecunia ipsius Regine assignatis tamdiu percipiendis ab ea, donec sibi foret ipsa pecunia plenarie satisfactum, tu, licet dicto Rege sublato de medio donationem huiusmodi ratam habens eam duxeris confirmandam, nichilominus tamen ipsam, quam Apostolica Sedes in sua postmodum protectione recepit, ad mandatum Sedis eiusdem cum carissimo in Christo filio Iacobo Rege Aragonum illustri matrimonium contrahentem, ac propter hoc de Ungarie recedentem partibus predictis redditibus pro tue voluntati libito spoliasti eosque detines in ipsius preiudicium et gravamen.

Verum, quia personam tuam inter [alios] orbis principes sincero corde diligamus et favoris gratia prosequamur speciali, ea, que salutem anime tue tuique honoris incrementa rescipiunt, affectamus illaque agere libenter tibi nostris litteris suademus. Quocirca Celsitudinem Regiam monemus, rogamus et hortamur attente, quatinus, si est ita, eidem regine ob reverentiam ipsius Sedis et nostram de premissa pecunia plenariam satisfactionem impendas vel ei redditus restitui facias supradictos ipsamque permittens eosdem pacifice possidere. Alioquin, quia eidem regine in suo iure deesse non possumus, nec debeamus, qui sumus omnibus in iustitia debitores, venerabilibus fratribus Conrado Warmaciensi et Zelando Vesprimiensi Episcopis nostris litteris iniungimus, ut partibus convocatis audiant causam et appellatione remota usuris cessantibus procurent fine debito terminare facientes, quod decreverint per censuram ecclesiasticam, firmiter observari non obstante constitutione de duabus dietis edita in Concilio Generali, dummodo ultra tertiam vel quartam pars altera extra Regnum Ungarie ad iudicium non trahatur.

Datum Lugduni V Idus Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

2

Innocentius Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus Conrado Wermaciensi et Zelando Vesprimiensi Episcopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex parte carissime in Christo filie nostre Yolys Aragonum regine illustris fuit propositum coram nobis, quod, cum clare memorie Andreas Rex Ungarie pater suus, dum viveret, duodecim milia marcarum argenti sibi pro dote destinasset, dilectis filiis commendatoribus militie Templi et Hospitalis Ierosolemitani in Ungaria quibusdam redditibus suis, qui trecennium vulgariter nuncupatur, pro huiusmodi pecunia ipsius regine nomine assignatis tamdiu percipiendis ab ea, donec sibi foret de ipsa pecunia plenarie satisfactum, carissimus in Christo filius noster Bela Ungarie Rex illustis, licet dicto Rege sublato de medio donationem huiusmodi ratam habens eam duxerit confirmandam, nichilominus tamen ipsam, quam Apostolica Sedes in sua postmodum protectione recepit, ad mandatum Sedis eiusdem cum carissimo in Christo filio nostro Iacopo illustri Regi Aragonum matrimonium contrahentem, ac propter hoc de Ungarie rece-

dentem partibus predictis redditibus pro sue voluntatis libito spoliavit eosque detinens in ipsius preiudicium et gravamen.

Verum, quia personam suam inter alios orbis principes sincero corde diligamus et favoris gratia prosequamur speciali, ea, que salutem anime sue eiusque honoris incrementa respiciunt, affectamus illaque agere libenter sibi nostris litteris suademus. Unde Celsitudinem Regiam monendam et rogandam duximus attente et hortandam, ut, si est ita, eidem regine ob reverentiam Sedis ipsius et nostram de premissa pecunia plenariam satisfactionem impendat vel ei redditus restituat supradictos ipsamque permittat eosdem paccifice possidere. Ideoque, quia eidem regine in suo iure deesse non possimus, nec debeamus, qui sumus omnibus in iustitia debitores, Fraternalitibus Vestrīs per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, si prefatus rex monita et preces nostras neglexerit adimplere, vos partibus convocatis audiatis causam et appellatione remota usuris cessantibus fine debito terminetis facientes, quod decreveritis per censuram ecclesiasticam, firmiter observari proviso, ne in terram dicti Regis excom[m]unicationis vel interdicti sententiam proferatis, nisi super hoc a nobis mandatum receperitis speciale. Testes autem, qui fuerint nominati, si se gratia, odio vel timore substarxerint, censura simili appellatione cessante cogatis veritati testimonium perhibere non obstante constitutione de duabus dietis edita in Concilio Generali, dummodo ultra tertiam vel quartam pars altera extra Regnum Ungarie ad iudicium auctoritate presentium non trahatur.

Datum Lugduni V Idus Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

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Translated into English by CARMEN-VERONICA BORBELT

Notes

1. This point of view is rarely adopted by modern and contemporary academic historiography, which limits itself to an exclusively positivist historiography. See the recently published *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert and Helen J. Nicholson (Ashgate Aldershot, 2007), passim.
2. Alejandro Rodríguez de la Peña Manuel, "La Orden de Santa María de España y la Orden Teutónica: Apuntes en torno a un modelo de relación entre las Órdenes Militares y las monarquías europeas en el siglo XIII," in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, Antiquité - Moyen-Age, 32-1 (1996), 241.
3. The most recent and diligent researcher of the Hospitallers' evolution in the Arpadian and Angevin Hungarian Kingdom is Zsolt Hunyadi, the author of a monograph which took the form of a doctoral thesis presented in 2004 and entitled *Hospitallers in Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150-1387*. Very well documented and thoroughly argued, this monograph avoids the hierocratic and canonical aspects, pertaining to the provincial tradition of Hungarian historiography. http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/100/1/hunyadi_phd_diss.pdf
4. "Transunto approvato dal i concilio di Lione, Lione 13 Luglio 1245." Pergamena, mm. 622x610 (plica mm 52); bolla di piombo appesa al centro della plica, dalla quale pendono altri 40 sigilli di cera di altrettanti Padri conciliari. Esso conserva il testo fedele di tre lettere del re Andrea II d'Ungheria inviate fra il 1214 e il 1232 ai pontefici Innocenzo III, Onorio III e Gregorio IX, nelle quali il sovrano promette obbedienza e fedeltà al romano pontefice. <http://www.archiviosegreto.vaticano.va/>

5. She was born in Esztergom in 1216, as the fruit of the marriage union between Andrew II and Yolanda de Courtenay, the daughter of Pierre de Courtenay, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople. She seems to have become Queen of Aragon as a result of a matrimonial arrangement the Holy See had demanded for consolidating the Kingdom of Aragon with several territories that belonged to the Hungarian crown and that were to serve as Violant's dowry.
6. Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia, 1216-1352*, vol. I (Rome, 1859), 133.
7. For a methodological perspective relative to the problem of frontiers in the Iberian Peninsula, involving the orders of knight-monks, see Alejandro Rodriguez de la Peña Manuel, ed., *Hacedores de Frontera. Estudios sobre el contexto social de la Frontera en la España medieval* (Madrid-CEU Ediciones, 2009).
8. Such an episode concerned the lack of the aid he had promised to Knez Daniel of Halych, within the same time span, despite the fact that the Galician prince had helped the king in his conflicts from Austria and Bohemia. Catherine Durand-Cheyne, *Alessandro Nevski o il Sole della Russia* (Rome, 1987), 380.
9. Viorel Achim, *Politica sud-estică a regatului ungar sub ultimii Angevini* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2009), 132, 135.
10. Ernle Bradford, *Storia dei cavalieri di Malta* (Milano: Mursia, 2003), 39.
11. Hunyadi, *Hospitallers*, 55.
12. Jean Raybaud. *Histoire des Grands Prieurs et du Prieuré de Saint-Gilles*, 3 vol. (Nîmes: Clavel et Chastanier, 1904-1906), 156, apud Hunyadi, *Hospitallers*, 80.
13. In the Arpadian Kingdom, the marks used were those of Cologne, weighing 233.8 grams, and of Regensburg, which was approximately equal to that of Troyes and weighed 245.5 grams.
14. Hunyadi, *Hospitallers*, 42.
15. Augusto Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV* (Rome, 1987), 488-490.

Abstract

Pontifical Diplomas Correlated with the Diploma of the Joannites: The Inheritance of Queen Violant of Aragon and the Land of Severin

This study addresses the Diploma of the Knights of St. John from the perspective of certain pontifical documents issued by Innocent IV in favor of Queen Violant of Aragon. In light of the role the Hospitallers played in administering the dowry of Violant, the daughter of Andrew II of Hungary, which was owed to her by the Hungarian King Bela IV, and in expanding the Kingdom of Aragon towards border areas, such as the Land of Severin in the Romanian space, we consider that the Diploma of the Joannites was a formula for covering the Hungarian debt to Aragon. Only from this perspective can the fact that after Queen Violant's death in 1251 no other document mentioned the Hospitallers in the Land of Severin be explained, a sign that the problem had disappeared with the queen.

Keywords

Hospitaller Order, Hungarian Kingdom, Land of Severin, Holy See, Queen Violant of Aragon