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CARLO IV NELL'ITALIA DEL TRECENTO.
IL "SAVIO SIGNORE" E LA RIFORMULAZIONE DEL POTERE IMPERIALE

a cura di Daniela Rando e Eva Schlotheuber
con la collaborazione di Maria Pia Alberzoni e Miriam Tessera



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INTRODUCTION

How do we assess the role the Roman-German Empire played for Italy in the late Middle Ages and, conversely, what role Italy played for the Roman-German Emperors? For the older research, committed to a national perspective, the answer was quite clear: compared to the conditions of the Early and High Middle Ages, which were remembered by contemporaries and researchers as “scale-building” and “brilliant”, the presence, outreach and impact of the Roman-German emperors in the Late Middle Ages appeared to be a period of decline. This assessment still holds true, especially in German research, both with regard to their factual influence and their reputation as a regulatory authority with hegemonic pretensions¹. Since Henry VII’s court sentences against the Pope’s liegeman, King Robert of Naples and the city of Florence, in 1312 after his coronation the relationship between Pope and the Empire was in open disruption. The Curia saw this as a serious attack on the papal rights, which the Emperor had sworn

¹ P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Könige und Kaiser in Bildern ihrer Zeit. 751-1190*. Neuaufgabe bearb. von Fl. Mütherich, München 1983. See R. PAULER, *La Signoria dell’Imperatore. Pisa e l’Impero al tempo di Carlo IV (1354-1369)*, pres. M. RONZANI, Pisa 1995 (Biblioteca del «Bollettino storico pisano», 39). R. PAULER, *Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Kaiser Karl 4. und den Päpste: Italien als Schachbrett der Diplomatie*, Neuried 1996 (Politik im Mittelalter, 1). E. WIDDER, *Itinerar und Politik: Studien zur Reiseherrschaft Karls 4. südlich der Alpen*, Köln 1993 (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, 10). With the emphasis on piety, the political context of the symbolic acts is often underestimated M. BAUCH, *Divina favente clemencia. Auserwählung, Frömmigkeit und Heilsvermittlung in der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Karls IV.*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2015 (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 36).

to uphold. For the Curia, this was compounded by the fact that the pope could not be present in Rome and the Papal States since the move to Avignon. On the other hand the imperial rights came under serious pressure by the papal claims to secular power. The tensions escalated over twenty years under Louis the Bavarian. Around the middle of the 14th century, the situation was so disrupted that the relationship between the emperor and the pope had to be put on a new footing. The traditional idea of the Empire in the way Frederic II. had understood it now seemed more like a relic of past times that had been dragged along, an unrealistic idea without formative political power². This presupposition led not least to the fact that most studies examining the relationship between Rome and the emperors leave out the late Middle Ages³. The widely accepted master narrative of the decline of modern research historiography is questioned by a recently published anthology with regard to the validity of the imperial idea in late medieval political discourses in Italy⁴. This volume focuses on the reception of the Empire in three influential social groups in Italy, namely the historians, the humanists and poets, and finally the legal scholars and notaries. These studies are able to demonstrate convincingly the enormous significance of the imperial idea in symbolic communication, for the rich tradition of political theory, legal doctrine and humanistic oratory, as well as in vernacular and Latin historiography. The empire appears as a «guarantor of the universal order [...] whose legitimising acts were indispensable for securing and strengthening the rights of weaker political actors [in Italy]»⁵.

But what did the concrete role of the emperors look like in terms of political relations, possibilities of influence and *de facto* power relations? and

² H. HOUBEN, *La componente romana nell'istituzione imperiale da Ottone I a Federico II*, in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX-XIII*, cur. P. ZERBI, Milano 2001, pp. 27-48. See on the stereotype of German "barbarian rule" that has been spreading since the Hohenstaufen period E. VOLTMER, *Deutsche Herrscher in Italien. Kontinuität und Wandel vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, in *Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter. Begegnungen zwischen dem Süden und der Mitte Europas (11.-14. Jahrhundert)*, cur. S. de RACHEWILTZ - J. RIEDMANN, Sigmaringen 1995, pp. 15-26; M. HEIDEMANN, *Heinrich VII. (1308-1313): Kaiseridee im Spannungsfeld von staufischer Universalherrschaft und frühneuzeitlicher Partikularautonomie*, Warendorf 2008.

³ See A. HUIJBERS, *Introduction*, in *Emperors and Imperial Discourse in Italy, c. 1300-1500. New Perspectives*, cur. HUIJBERS, Rome 2022, pp. 1-10. HUIJBERS, *Res publica restituta? Perceiving emperors in fourteenth century Rome*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge», 132/1 (2020), <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/6684> (accessed June 12, 2021).

⁴ *Emperors and Imperial Discourse in Italy* cit.

⁵ C. MÄRTL, *Das spätmittelalterliche Kaisertum und Italien: Ertrag und Perspektiven*, in HUIJBERS - SCALE, *Emperors and Imperial Discourse* cit., pp. 325-340.

how does these observations relate to the calls and considerations, which were predominantly cultivated in the kingdom of Sicily by the Anjou and discussed at the Papal Curia, that one would be better off without a another new emperor in the interests of peace on the Appenine Peninsula? This anthology attempts to answer these complex questions regarding the relations between Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378) and the various Italian powers. The 14th century rightly remains highly valued as a special time of intellectual and artistic awakening, humanism and the flowering of the arts, but also a time of unusually dense and seemingly insoluble conflicts. Poets such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio or even artists such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti and many others dedicated countless works to these conflicts – the relationship between spiritual and secular power, the questions of political participation or of good and bad rule – which are still remembered today. This perspective has attracted european scholarship, which has been particularly interested in the roots of communal self-government of the Upper Italian communities and their specific cultural space – first and foremost Florence'. As a rule, however, research has been devoted either to poetry and the fine arts or to politics: the Petrarch of love poetry and philological research is far removed from the Petrarch who wrote letters to Charles IV and countless other potentates, some of them highly politically charged⁶. And a second fundamental feature of the research is striking: the events are treated either from the perspective of the Roman-German Empire with a focus on the actions of the kings and emperors (German scholarship) or from the from the point of view of the Italian powers, for whom the irregular rulers could often only claim the status of a disruptive factor (Italian scholarship). Emil Werunsky was the first to comprehensively examine the

⁶ E. FENZI, *Una traccia attraverso la poesia politica da Guittone a Petrarca*, in *Al di là del Repubblicanesimo: modernità politica e origini dello Stato*, cur. G. CAPPELLI - coll. G. DE VITA, Napoli 2020, pp. 57-105: 99-105; *Petrarca politico*, cur. F. FURLAN - S. PITTALUGA, Genova 2016, soprattutto G. CAPPELLI, "Italia est tota plena tyrannis": *Petrarca e l'impero alla luce della teoria giuridico-politica*, pp. 9-32 and E. FENZI, *Petrarca politico e diplomatico tra Genova e Venezia, 1351-1355*, pp. 63-108; C.M. MONTI, *Gli esordi del pensiero politico signorile di Petrarca: i testi per Azzo da Correggio e Luchino Visconti*, in *Tradizioni Petrarchesche dal Veneto all'Europa*. Atti del convegno internazionale, Verona, 3-4 dicembre 2015, cur. G. CASCIO, Messina 2017 «Studi medievali e umanistici», 15 (2017), pp. 43-80; A. DE ROSNY, *L'héritage de l'idée impériale dans la pensée politico-religieuse de Pétrarque*, in *Vie solitaire, vie civile. L'humanisme de Pétrarque à Alberti*. Actes du Colloque international d'Etudes Humanistes, Tours, 28 juin-2 juillet, cur. F. LA BRASCA - CHR. TROTTMANN, Paris 2011, pp. 135-154; J. ŠPIČKA, *Petrarca: homo politicus: politika v životě a díle Franceska Petrarkey* [Petrarca: homo politicus: politics in the life and work of Francesco Petrarca, Praha 2010. Cfr. G.M. VARANINI, *La prima spedizione di Carlo IV (1354-55) e le fonti cronistiche italiane*, in questo volume, pp. 413-436 (nota 5, p. 414).

sources and did groundbreaking work on Charles IV. The work of *Kateřina Kubínová* has become essential for Czech research⁷; the project LuxDynast under the direction of the Principal Investigator Michel Margue, funded by the fonds National de la Recherche Luxembourg 2015 to 2018⁸, was also devoted to the situation in Italy. However, neither the conditions north nor south of the Alps can be understood without knowing the reciprocal perspectives. The two conferences in Pavia and Milan (23-24 May 2019) and in Rome (25-27 September 2019), as well as this anthology that resulted from them, therefore intended to present a synopsis of the various developments north and south of the Alps, the closely interlocked networks of personal relationships, and to make visible the intensive and multilayered connection between the cultural and historical viewpoint.

By the middle of the 14th century, the conflicts between the papacy and the empire that had lasted for almost half a century had in fact challenged the basis for a Roman-German hegemonic dominance in Italy. After the death of Emperor Henry VII, the curia in Avignon had transformed the papal right of approval and the claim to the imperial vicariate into dangerous rights of interference in the constitution of the Roman-German Empire and foremost in the event of sede vacante, in order to prevent any future growth of imperial power in Rome and the Church State⁹. The second half of the 14th c. therefore saw a much different distribution of power. When Charles IV succeeded in obtaining the imperial coronation in Rome in 1355, this represented not only a turning point in the relationship of Rome and the papal curia to the Romano-Germanic Empire, but also in the scope and significance of the imperial claim itself. In contrast to his predecessors, Charles IV was able to draw on his profound knowledge of the papal politics and the complicated situation in Italy because of the many relationships he had forged; moreover, he knew the language perfectly. He therefore acted differently south of the Alps and sought completely new solutions to conflicts in the disputed area of northern Italy, some of which dated back to the Staufer period. So far, research has only partially understood the fact that Charles IV pursued a political project for Italy that represented a clear break with the policy of his predecessors. This meant a

⁷ E. WERUNSKY, *Geschichte Kaiser Karls IV. und seiner Zeit*, II, Innsbruck 1886, p. 575; WERUNSKY, *Der erste Römerzug Kaiser Karl IV. (1354/1355)*, Innsbruck 1878. K. KUBÍNOVÁ, *Imitatio Romae: Karl IV. a Řím*, Prague 2006.

⁸ The project was presented by Michel Margue at the opening of the conference in Pavia.

⁹ See E. SCHLOTHEUBER - A. KISTNER, *Kaiser Karl IV. und der päpstliche Legat Aegidius Albornoz*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», 69/2 (2013), pp. 531-579.

diminution of the imperial power in Rome and the Papal States and therefore a significant transformation of the imperial role in Italy.

In this anthology the complexity of Charles' behaviour and his political programme vis-à-vis the various Italian powers will therefore be taken into account with an innovative approach. While scholarship has so far privileged an "imperial" or "papal" perspective or highlighted the situation of the mighty Italian city states, this volume delves into the point of view of the individual actors at stake vis-à-vis the imperial hegemonic position in Italy and the Roman-German emperor Charles IV: the Italian cities and potentates, the curia and the cardinals, the Kingdom of Naples and the city of Rome. In this way, the different modes of communication and cultural exchange associated with the attempt to find a political solution can be considered and discussed. This is all the more promising avenue of research as the flourishing Humanism and the Italian Renaissance in literature and art greatly enriched this cultural exchange and opened up new political horizons with the rediscovery of the Roman model. Charles IV sought a direct exchange with humanists such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Zanobi da Strada and many other writers, notaries, lawyers, and artists. Their writings had an enormous and lasting impact north of the Alps. For this reason alone, the narrative of the decline and importance of Italy for the Empire and the Empire for Italy must be questioned. The perspective of the Italian protagonists in the conflicting relations north and south of the Alps, the knowledge at the court of Charles IV about the conditions in Italy and the multiple cultural exchanges are thus a key to a new appreciation of the crucial years around the middle of the 14th century, which led to a decisive turning point in the relations between the empire and the papacy.

The volume opens with an overview of the editions of primary sources related to the empire at the time of Charles IV. *Michael Menzel* and *Marianna Spano* trace the history of the two nineteenth-century undertakings of the MGH, *Constitutiones* (8-13) and *Regesta Imperii* (VIII), highlighting their refoundation and renewal by means of interaction and the use of digital tools, as well as the future goals of these projects.

The following section is devoted to concepts, images, models and forms of thought that, in the wake of recent research on political communication and historical semantics, are essential to understanding the political languages of Charles and his time. *Pietro Silanos* tackles the presuppositions of Charles IV's political action by examining the role of his father, John of Bohemia, in Italy through the years 1330-1333. John of Bohemia's project, his response to the cities' expectations, and the extent of his authority are carefully examined. Silanos investigates also the political vocabulary of the

submissions of Brescia, Bergamo, and other cities to John, and underlines the king's experimental way of ruling over a "system" of cities through the institution of the figure of *sindicus et moderator*, as well as the symbolic language of sovereignty expressed in his own coinage.

Kateřina Kubínová considers the way in which, after 1355, Charles IV resorted to Rome and its symbolic *translatio* to Prague for his "self-presentation" to eyes of his subjects. The Roman relics transferred to the cathedral, the image of Rome coined on the gold seal together with the legend "Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi", brought to Karlštejn Castle as the arms of the city of Rome and the initials SPQR, the evidence of this programme. The author also identifies less direct references to Rome in the frescoes of St Catherine's chapel in the Lesser Tower of Karlštejn, in the Prague Castle, and in the Emmaus Monastery.

The two essays by *Gian Luca Potestà* and *Thomas Frank* can be regarded as fruitfully complementary. G.L. Potestà identifies the writings of the Franciscan Spirituals which, through the hermit friar Angelo, inspired Cola di Rienzo in his journey to Prague and in his appeal to Charles IV as emperor at the end of time. The context in which Cola's political prophecy developed is thrown into a sharp relief by correlating the textual traditions and the specific events related to the Spirituals. Th. Frank, in turn, tackles Cola's political proposals by investigating the forms of political communication – word, gesture and image – the characteristics of the proposed reform discourse which wavers between institutional and individual, the use of the Roman past, the value assigned to legislative power; finally, the feverish search for consensus and the relationship between truth and fiction, which can be interpreted as a step towards the independence of the "political" discourse from theology and its claim to truth attested in the modern times.

Andreas Kistner delves into the well-established research field of the relations between the papacy and the empire to study the connections between the two courts with the aim of examining the interactions between Charles IV and the Cardinals. To do so, he draws on recent scholarly indications of the existence of "consensual power", which sees the empire as a network of princes, and that in interaction with the kingdom of France. He identifies Charles' interlocutors within the Sacred College and explores two specific aspects of this relationship: the cardinals' perspective on the imperial coronation between 1352 and 1355, including the renunciation of the role of coronators by Cardinal Hélié Talleyrand de Périgord and Guy de Boulogne which he relates to the events in the Kingdom of Sicily; and the choice of Charles IV to remain at Urban VI's side at the outbreak of the schism. This choice was influenced by the "Roman" pope's approval of Wenzel as a suc-

cessor to the imperial throne as well as by the promotion of the archbishop of Prague to cardinal shortly before the competing election of Clement VII in 1378.

Mario Conetti shows how the Constantinian donation, «a constitutive theme for medieval juridical and political languages», was taken up by civilists and canonists after several decades in the early fourteenth century. The variety of interpretations/nuances of their comments on diverse aspects of the donation are highlighted by the author. He notes their substantial innovations compared to traditional readings and interweaves the exegetical efforts of individual jurists with their political commitment or their looser connection to the lords of central and northern Italy as well as the popes.

Alexander Lee looks at another politically engaged intellectual – a man of letters. Regarding the decade 1368-1378, he provides a sophisticated, cogent assessment of Coluccio Salutati's attitude towards Charles IV, detecting the subtle shifts related to the different phases of the humanist's career, to the cultural stimuli and to the political context in which he acted. The research topics range from Salutati's lack of enthusiasm on the eve of the emperor's second trip to Italy, to the silence and dramatic transformation between 1368 and 1369 when, having arrived in Rome, Coluccio Salutati drew close to Petrarch and accepted his positive view of the role of the empire, to April 1369 when, convinced that peace was at hand, he greeted Charles IV as *Redemptor Italie*; finally, he looks at the moment, Salutati became Chancellor of Florence, Charles appeared to him as the feudal lord on whose legal authority all *libertas* depended, and who was thus able to defend Florence in the war against the Pope (the war of the Eight Saints), until the oblivion spread over Charles after his death.

Regarding the cultural context, it is enough to recall that Charles IV's arrival to Italy was accompanied by a lively interest in a variety of cultural forces, as his correspondence with Francesco Petrarch, who also frequented the court in Prague, clearly shows. Other Italian intellectuals, too, were close to the emperor, to the point that he chose them as collaborators at the chancellery. The example of Andrea Painelli from Mantua, whose precious autographed documentation is kept at the State Archive in Mantua, is among the most significant ones. In the second section different insights into cultural exchanges, forms of visual communication, transfers of relics, and literature are thus provided. Art-historical research has so far focused mainly on Charles IV's Bohemian and German commissions and, as far as relations with Italy are concerned, on the call of Italian artists to Prague. Charles IV's travels and artistic connections, as the case of Jan de Strěda attests, produced a network of significant relationships not only for Bo-

hemian art, but also for that of northern Italy, to which the authors draw special attention.

Eva Schlottheuber reconsiders the coronation of 1355 within the broader context of the struggle between empire and papacy, Italy being its primary stage. The author explores perspectives from different actors, highlighting both the role of the “political” Petrarch as well as by Niccolò Acciaiuoli’s published and unpublished letters (with an edition), which shed new light on the plans of the King of Sicily. Importantly, in the conclusion it is shown how the coronation led to a decisive redistribution of power relations in Italy and Europe. It explains in which respect Charles IV’s policy put the emperor’s relationship with the papacy on a new footing. Here we can find the reason for a caesura in political power play in Italy in the middle of the 14th century. This is well reflected, on the one hand, by the Golden Bull (1356) and Charles’ silence regarding the role of the pope, and on the other hand, by the *Constitutiones Aegidianae* (1357), which entailed Charles’ tacit renunciation of any secular power claim on the territory of the Papal States.

Eva Dolezalova starts from an overview of the sources and a distinction between a restricted (*curia minor*) and an enlarged court to investigate the presence of Italians at Charles IV’s court. The first court turns out to overlap with or be related to that of his father John, where, in addition to personalities from Luxembourg and the Rhineland, a long-standing judge such as Giovanni Landolfi is welcomed; only after his election as the king of the Romans and John’s death and his election as the king of the Romans his court became a dynamic and attractive setting for people of various statuses and interests, including some Italians. In the private council, for example, the majority of which consisted of clerics, at least Italian clerics and friars were listed as chaplains. The two journeys to Italy in 1355 and 1368 acted as catalysts with regard to the composition of the court, where men of letters such as Petrarch and other artists, teachers from Italy, some of whom also stayed with Charles’ son Wenzel, were welcomed.

Carla M. Monti isolates eleven letters within Petrarch’s correspondence with the imperial court, offering their exegesis and enucleating their key ideas. With their frequent biblical and Dantean references, these letters show a different attitude of the poet towards the empire compared to the “new Christian Seneca” of *De remediis* and *De vita solitaria*.

Marco Rossi outlines «suggestions and artistic stimuli» that Charles IV might have received from his first stay in Pavia in 1331 and from his visit to Milan in 1355 on the occasion of his coronation. He considers the complex of Azzone and Giovanni Visconti’s palaces, in particular the “magna sala

gloriosa” with Giotto’s lost frescoes in the archbishop’s palace, and the basilica of Sant’Ambrogio, in order to relate them to Karlštejn’s architectural and figurative elements. Rossi’s mention of the miniatures in the Liber Viaticus leads us to its patron, Charles IV’s chancellor John of Neumarkt, known as a scholar of literature and arts, and as a correspondent of Cola di Rienzo and Francesco Petrarca, a figure who is at the core of *Jiří Špička*’s contribution. Without any bias, the author traces his travels, meetings and commissions, clarifying his not particularly intense relationship with the culture of the Italian peninsula and its protagonists, and drawing especially on his correspondence. J. Špička re-examines the contents of the letters to Cola di Rienzo and Petrarch, considering the exchange of letters with the latter as a proof of mere courtesy, thus downplaying his literary influence. Furthermore he focuses on John’s artistic culture, especially with regard to the Liber Viaticus, and on his literary culture, in considering inter alia the “Italian” authors in his library.

Paolo Cova deals with three works closely related to Bolognese and Emilian art, namely the miniatures of the Latin fragment of the Ps-Dalimil Chronicle and two paintings by Tomaso da Modena kept in Karlštejn. Regarding the first case, he provides a thorough insight into the illuminators, suggesting to identify one of them with the “Master of 1328”; for all three works he investigates the commission and, in relation to it, discusses the dating: regarding the Chronicle, he suggests as commissioner Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, who possibly gave it to John of Bohemia in the years 1331-1333; for the second case, he points to Charles IV’s third wife, Anne of Schweidnitz, who in 1355 stopped in Treviso, the alleged place where the diptych was made. *Stefania Buganza* focuses on relationships between Italian and Bohemian art, dwelling on the courts of Carrara in Padua and Gonzaga in Mantua as well as on the patriarchate of Aquileia under patriarchs Nikolaus von Luxembourg and Markwart von Randeck.

Marco Petoletti takes Petrarch as his starting point. His aim is to reconstruct the “undergrowth” of several men of letters, even minor ones, who «contributed with their writings and their activities to consolidate the fruitful relations established between Italy and Bohemia in previous centuries». Authors, who on both sides of the Alps played different roles, prove to have some connection with Petrarch. M. Petoletti presents their biographies in detail together with their writings, especially those referring to Charles IV, discussing a number of unpublished notes of great value. He also discovers a new commentary on Lucan’s *Bellum civile* by Andrea Painelli, who drafted it in Pisa in 1355, when he was at Charles’ side on his way to Rome. Another notary, perhaps named Francesco, drafted a copy

of the *Bellum civile* in Pisa and described the imperial entry into the city as well as the following insurrection.

It was quite a challenge, also for a medieval ruler, to survey the complex and multifaceted political map of Italy and to correctly assess the different intentions and backgrounds for possible allies and enemies. Charles IV therefore needed to prepare his Rome campaign at length and thoroughly diplomatically. Apparently above all he wanted to avoid an outbreak of war that would have forced him to take sides. This policy may have been a lesson learned from the experience of his grandfather Heinrich VII and his 'bloody campaign' in Rome, an aspect to which the study of *Solal Abélès* is devoted. He highlights a basic observation that the other contributions in this section confirm, namely the importance of the royal vicariate, which Charles IV used intensively to orchestrate a network of power relations that was linked to him as much as possible. *Alma Poloni* confirms that Charles' political intentions, unlike those of his grandfather, remained hidden to the contemporaries in order to enable his preferred role of authority over the parties. The author outlines the new developments in the second half of the 14th century based on the changing social mobility and economic situation of the Italian cities and emphasises that Charles played a full role as a political force in this changed context. Peacemaking was an important part of the imperial authority Charles tried to establish. *Uwe Ludwig* highlights that the conflict 1354/1355 between Venetian Republic, which was in league with King Peter IV of Aragon, and its rival Genoa supported by the Visconti was not limited to Italy, but covered large parts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In a slightly longer view the conflict therefore exceeded his possibilities. *Gian Maria Varanini* gives a comprehensive overview of the appreciation of the Italian historiographical sources of the Emperor's first 'Romfahrt' 1354/1355 mostly from Veneto, Lombardy and Tuscany. Their perspective was generally limited to the viewpoint their own city which mostly took not a very favourable attitude towards Charles IV.

The contributions of Daniela Rando, Christina Antenhofer, and Andreas Rehberg are devoted to the other most important players of Charles IV on the political tableau south of the Alps (regrettably, Berardo Pio's contribution, *Linee incidenti: Lussemburgo e Angiò nell'Europa del Trecento*, was not delivered for publication). As imperial vicars and lords of Milan and Pavia, where the future emperors had to win the iron crown, the Visconti held a key position. *Daniela Rando* explores the fundamentals of the Visconti's "imperial agenda" and their stable, albeit conflicting, relationships with the Emperor. This agenda, it is demonstrated, relies on a network of Visconti's personal advisers and learned officials whom Charles pulled clo-

se appointing them palatine counts or gave the title of *familiaris* and *secretarius*. The emperor probably took advantage of their expertise – as well as that of the envoys of other Italian *signori* – by promoting the dissemination of legal knowledge in his chancellery. The Gonzaga, on the other hand, were important and reliable comrades-in-arms, whom Charles used as a counterweight to the Visconti and thus strengthened their fragile position. In doing so, as *Christina Antenhofer* convincingly argues, he promoted two important developments, namely the formation of the territory of the Gonzaga in a crucial moment and the formation of the Gonzaga as a dynasty. Little is known about the balance of power in Rome, because the loss of almost all records in the political and administrative archives of the municipal government of Rome. In 14th century Rome remained a difficult terrain for the emperors. In a prosopographic survey by *Andreas Rehberg* the privileges granted by the emperor are presented such as the status of count palatine in order to qualify the relationships between the empire and Rome and to summarise their significance. The paper of *Zoe Opačić* is devoted to an often neglected region, Charles IV. relationship to Dalmatia. The author highlights the multilayered role of the Slavonic language and the Emmaus monastery in Prague for the mythologising of the Slavonic past as an important part of the self-understanding of the kingdom of Bohemia within an universal concept of history.

The conference was held in three cities related to Charles IV, i.e. Pavia, the ancient capital of the *Regnum Italiae*, Milan, the Viscontean center of power, and Rome, where the emperor was crowned. The organization of the meeting is the result of the collaboration between the chairs of medieval history at the Catholic University of Milan (Professor Maria Pia Alberzoni), the University of Düsseldorf (Professor Eva Schlotheuber) and the University of Pavia (Professor Daniela Rando), as well as the international cooperation with colleagues from Czech universities, the LuxDynast project, the MGH-Constitutiones, and the Regesta Imperii. The editors wish to express their gratitude to the Almo Collegio Borromeo of Pavia, the Catholic University of Milan, the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo and the Deutsches Historisches Institut of Rome for generously hosting the conference, as well as to Professor Maria Pia Alberzoni and Dr Miriam Rita Tessera for their scientific assistance during the editing the proceedings.

