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**TAKING SIDES: CROATIAN AND SLAVONIAN
NOBILITY IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM THE ÁRPÁD
TO THE ANJOU DYNASTY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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(Croatia)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Sanja Fritz**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2011

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CD	<i>Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae</i>
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [Croatian Academy of Science and Art]
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences]

1. Introduction: Choosing Power

“And thus feudal aristocracy came about and was developed in Croatia. In the second part of the thirteenth century those knightly kindreds strengthened on the level that they could influence Hungarian history, and finally, from far south of Italy, could bring a new king and a new dynasty, originally French, the Anjou-s.”¹
Vjekoslav Klaić

In this work I will present the relations between the king and some of the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds during the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century in the Kingdom of Hungary. This topic became the center of my interest a few years ago while I was trying to understand the balance of power between the king and his nobility. A king is traditionally seen as a monarch who holds all the power in his domain and the nobility as his subjects who are beneath him in the hierarchy. Could a nobleman ever be as powerful as a king?

The term “kindred” in medieval studies is applied to the nobility. A kindred is, a group of relatives with patrilineal links that cross-cut generation and holds property in common; in a relatively short period of time one kindred could rise above other kindreds under good circumstances and by using thoughtful political moves. The rise of noble kindreds was mainly conditioned by the amount of landed property they owned and by the offices they held. From a legal point of view, noble kindreds came into the possession of these lands and offices by the donations from the royal authority; however, other ways,

¹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol 2 [History of the Croats from the Oldest Period until the End of the Nineteenth Century] (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada L. Hartmana, 1899), 4; Translation mine.

such as military confrontations with other noble families, were also a means of gaining more landed property. The noble kindreds, by taking the land given to them by the king, were obliged to stand by him. Because of that, the ruling dynasties were confronted with a great loss of royal land. By granting landed properties and titles, royal dynasties gained allies, but they lost direct control over much of their land and because of this they also lost power to the nobility. That was the situation in which the Árpád dynasty found itself during the thirteenth century.

After King Ladislas IV was murdered in 1290, a turbulent period began in the Kingdom of Hungary. The alleged grandson of Andrew II was crowned king as Andrew III; however, the Anjou dynasty of Naples also claimed the throne of Hungary. To gain the throne they needed to find allies among the local noble kindreds and, therefore, they started making contacts with the representatives of Croatian and the Slavonian noble families. In order to draw them to their side, the Anjou dynasty then gave land and titles. These donations were, of course, fictional, because the Anjou dynasty did not own these lands, neither *de facto* nor *de jure*, and they were not authorized to grant the titles to the members of the noble kindreds. However, the Árpád dynasty, afraid of losing the throne, responded to this by giving lands and titles – often the same ones as their opponents – to the nobility.

The primary goal of this research is to compare the actions, attitudes, and behavior of different noble kindreds in this situation. I decided to use the examples of the four most prominent noble kindreds from Slavonia and Croatia. From the area of Slavonia I selected the Babonić and the Kőszegi kindreds and from Croatia the Šubić and

Frankapan kindreds.² I have selected these four kindreds not only because they were the most powerful ones, but also because the sources that deal with these kindreds are the most numerous. My central research question is why some of the noble families inclined to Andrew III and some to the local protagonists of the Anjou family, Charles Martel, and later, Charles Robert, and how they benefited from taking either side. Did they receive lands, titles, trade contracts or protection? My working hypothesis is that geography played an important role in their choices. With this in mind, I will try to investigate whether there were any geographical differences on the basis, that is, did these Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds act similarly or differently in this situation. In addition to the central research question, I will use a series of secondary questions to gain a better view of the relations between the dynasties and the kindreds discussed here. These questions are: Did the individual families have a uniform policy on this issue between the members of one noble kindred? Did kindreds change sides between the dynasties over time? Furthermore, did they communicate with both dynasties at the same time? In addition to these questions that are related to the noble kindreds, I will also compare the behavior of the royal dynasties towards each other. I plan to compare the actions of the dynasties to determine how members of one dynasty reacted to the action of the other one.

The second part of my research includes the period after the death of Andrew III. This part will concentrate on the relations between the noble kindreds in question and Charles Robert after he ascended to the throne of Hungary. The central question of this part of my research is: Did the relations between the noble kindreds and Charles Robert

² In this paper I will use the plurals of the names of the kindreds in Croatian language – Babonići, Kőszegi, Šubići, Frankapani.

change in this period? Furthermore, did Charles Robert apply the same policy toward all the noble kindreds, or did he treat them differently? If he did, why did he do so? The final problem that I plan to address is the summary of all the questions listed above: Which kindred gained the most from its alliance(s) and which gained the least? I hope that this research will offer a better understanding of the relations between the noble kindreds and royal power, and a clearer picture of how royal power influenced the position of the noble kindreds.

The history of the nobility has been quite “popular” among academics and the general public alike. Because of that, the history of the royal dynasties and the nobility is an area on which a great amount of research has been done. This applies to the case of Croatia and especially to the case of Hungary. In Hungary and Croatia, this trend began as early as the end of the nineteenth century and it would not be an overestimate to claim that this was the time when academic engagement with the history of the nobility in these countries began.

As a new tendency for the late nineteenth century, Hungarian and Croatian historians, such as Tadija Smičiklas and Gusztáv Wenzel, started to transcribe sources that were then still unpublished and to write works based on those sources. Since most of these sources were in one way or the other connected with royal dynasties and noble families, it is quite logical that the first scientific historical works were dedicated to those families. This research was also connected with the spirit of that period when the birth of the national idea was already strongly implanted in all the areas of life and the history served as a medium to strengthening national pride. The kings, the noble families, and

their members were considered as national heroes and were regarded as embodiments of the Hungarian and Croatian glorious pasts.

Some of the most distinguished historians of the nineteenth century were the pioneers who dealt with this topic. Iván Nagy compiled a twelve-volume genealogical gazetteer of the Hungarian noble families.³ Then, János Karácsonyi, historian and canon of Oradea (Nagyvárad), wrote a work dealing with the genealogy of the “most ancient” Hungarian clans and kindreds up to the fourteenth century.⁴ Mór Wertner also published several works that are important handbooks of Hungarian genealogy and the history of the Árpád dynasty.⁵ In 1893 Sándor Szentgyörgyi wrote a work that describes in detail how the Anjou dynasty ascended to the throne of Hungary.⁶ Vjekoslav Klaić contributed to the elaboration of this topic by publishing studies that were dedicated to two of the most prominent Croatian noble kindreds, the Šubići⁷ and the Frankapani.⁸ He also wrote a monumental overview series of the Croatian medieval period, a work that in my opinion has still not been surpassed.⁹ The historian Lajos Thallóczy wrote in 1898 “Die Geschichte der Grafen von Blagay” a work that presents the history of the Babonić

³ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* 1–12 [The families of Hungary with coats of arms and the genealogical tables 1–12] (Pest, 1857-1868).

⁴ János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Hungarian kindreds up to the middle of the fourteenth century] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900).

⁵ Mór Wertner, *Genealogie und Geschichte* (Vienna, 1884); Idem, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Hungarian kindreds up to the middle of the fourteenth century] 2 vols. (Temesvár, 1891); Idem, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The family history of the Árpadians] (Nagybecskerek, 1892).

⁶ Sándor Szentgyörgyi, *Borba anžuvinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko do prve krunidbe Karla Roberta* [The struggle of the Anjou Dynasty for Hungarian-Croatian Throne until the First Coronation of Charles Robert] (Zagreb: Knjigotiskarski i litografski zavod C. Albrechta, 1893).

⁷ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347* [The Counts of Bribir: from the Tribe of the Šubić until the Year 1347] (Zagreb: Naklada Matice hrvatske, 1897).

⁸ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani* [The Frankapans, Counts of Krk] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901).

⁹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, 5 vols. [History of the Croats from the Oldest Period until the End of the Nineteenth Century] (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada L. Hartmana, 1899).

kindred, from whom the Blagay family were descended.¹⁰ This was also the period when the first editions of most of the known archival sources were published. In Croatia this was the series *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*,¹¹ edited by Tadija Smičiklas, consisting of eighteen volumes, and in Hungary the series “Diplomataria” in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* with over forty volumes. This made the sources more accessible to historians. However, Croatian historiography after this period turned its interest towards other historical topics and the history of the nobility was neglected for more than half a century.

The next important historian to contribute to this branch of historiography was Nada Klaić, who was active between the 1960s and the 1980s. She wrote a monumental overview of Croatian medieval history that dealt in detail with the development of the Croatian nobility and the history of Croatian noble kindreds.¹² However, most of her research was connected with the development of the towns and not the nobility. Her approach towards the history of the nobility was quite different from the approach of the nineteenth-century historians, since she not only assembled data and genealogies, but analyzed the sources in detail and concluded that a large number of these sources were actually forgeries. In her works the early-twentieth century nationalistic approach is almost negligible since she wrote during the communist period and with the support and acknowledgement of the authorities. However, after the period of Nada Klaić, the history of the nobility was ignored again in Croatia. In this period, the reason for the lack of the literature that deals with the nobility is the ideological bias of the communist authorities,

¹⁰ Lajos Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte der Grafen von Blagay*. (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1898)

¹¹ *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 18 vols., ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904–1990).

¹² Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the High Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1965).

who considered this social stratum a remnant of the old regime and topics such as the history of the nobility was more or less forbidden. In Hungary, this period was quite fruitful, the 1970s and 1980s already brought increased interest in various strata of the nobility, from the courtly aristocracy to the petty noblemen in the countryside. One of the most important historians of Hungarian medieval period, Pál Engel, deals with this topic from the viewpoint of political and social structures.¹³ Another renowned social historian, Erik Fügedi, highlighted, among other things, the importance of castles and their estates as centers of power.¹⁴ János Bak, a historian who worked overseas for several decades, published studies on different topics related to medieval society and rulership as well as customary law and coronations.¹⁵

The situation changed once more in Croatia in contemporary times, when the history of the nobility has become again one of the most researched historical topics. One of the most renowned contributors of this generation to the research of the Croatian nobility is the historian Damir Karbić, who wrote his PhD dissertation on the Šubić kindred.¹⁶ Another young historian, Marija Karbić, dealt with the history of two noble kindreds: the Gut-Keledi¹⁷ and the Kőszegi.¹⁸ The Babonić kindred is in the focus of

¹³ Pál Engel, *Társadalom és politikai struktúra az Anjou-kori Magyarországon* [Society and political structure of the Angevin-era Hungary], (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1988); Idem, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387-1437)* [The relationship of royal power and the aristocracy in the Sigismund period (1387-1437)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977); Idem, "The Political System of the Angevin Kingdom," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* Nr. 90 (1983) 124 – 128.

¹⁴ Erik Fügedi, *Castle and society in medieval Hungary (1000-1437)* (Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986).

¹⁵ Bak, János, *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); see also the recently published volume of his collected studies: *Studying Medieval Rulers and their Subjects. Central Europe and Beyond* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

¹⁶ Damir Karbić, "The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred" (Ph.D. diss., Central European University, 2000).

¹⁷ Marija Karbić, "Joakim Pektar, slavonski ban iz plemićkog roda Gut-Keled" [Joakim Pektar, Slavonian Ban of Gut-Keled Noble Kindred], *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice* (2000): 19–24.

research by the historian Hrvoje Kekez, who has written two articles¹⁹ that are dealing with their history and is currently working on a PhD dissertation that is going to be dedicated exclusively to this kindred. The history of the Frankapan kindred is lacking research, since no one has dealt with this topic since the time of Vjekoslav Klaić and, to my knowledge, nobody is currently working on it, but hopefully this will change in the future. Hungarian historiography has made significant breakthroughs in the area of archontology with the work of Pál Engel²⁰ and Attila Zsoldos.²¹

In addition to the research that deals with individual noble kindreds, recently some significant overviews of Hungarian and Croatian medieval history have been published, as well as works dealing with legal issues of the development of the nobility. Two overviews of medieval Croatia and Hungary that deal with the history of the royal dynasties and the noble kindreds are “The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526”²² by Pál Engel and “Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka”²³ by Neven Budak and Tomislav Raukar. A legal standpoint on the development of the nobility in medieval Hungary and Croatia has been discussed in the book “Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary” by the British expert on medieval Hungarian history,

¹⁸ Marija Karbić, “Gisingovci – ugarsko – hrvatska velikaška obiteljja njemačkog podrijetla” [The Kőszegi–Hungarian-Croatian Noble Family of German Origin], *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice* (1999): 21–26.

¹⁹ Hrvoje Kekez, “Između dva kralja: plemićki rod Babonića u vrijeme promjene na hrvatskom-ugarskom prijestolju, od 1290. do 1309. godine” [Between Two Kings: The Noble Kindred Babonić in the Period of Change on the Hungarian-Croatian Throne, from 1290 until 1309 Year], *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 61 - 89; Hrvoje Kekez, “*Hinc transit fluvium Vrbaz*: kada i kako je slavonski plemićki rod Babonića došao u posjed Vrbasa?” [*Hinc transit fluvium Vrbaz*: When and how did the Slavonian Noble Kinderd Babonić came to posses Vrbas?], *Hrvatska misao* 4 (2007): 76–93.

²⁰ Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [Hungarian secular archontology 1301–1457] (Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1986)

²¹ Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1000-1301* [Hungarian secular archontology 1000–1301] (Budapest : História, 2011)

²² Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895 - 1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.).

²³ Neven Budak and Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka* [Croatian History of the Medieval Period] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga: 2006).

Martyn Rady.²⁴ The development of Croatian nobility is in the main focus of Damir Karbić's research, who has written two articles on this issue.²⁵ I hope that my research will contribute to the exploration of this topic and that it will introduce some of the issues regarding the Croatian and the Slavonian noble kindreds to an Anglophone audience.

²⁴ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London: Palgrave, 2000).

²⁵ Damir Karbić, "Hrvatski plemićki rod i običajno pravo. Pokušaj analize" [Croatian Noble Kindred and Common Law. An Attempt of Analysis], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 16 (1998): 73-117; Damir Karbić, "Plemstvo – definicija, vrste, uloga" [Nobility – Definition, Types, Role], *Povijesni prilozi* 31 (2006): 11–21.

2. The Development of the Nobility in Croatia and Slavonia

2.1 The beginnings of the development of the social stratification in Croatia

This chapter is meant to provide a background to the social historical aspects of the topic, but cannot do justice to the complexity of the development, which is not the main focus of my present research. Because of its position on the crossroads of the Mediterranean and the European continental region, Croatia was exposed to the influences of different social formations. In the seventh century, the Slavs brought their social organization, which was based on the tribal organization and on the free, equal peasant-warriors in Croatia. This type of social organization enabled a fast and efficient adaption of the Roman population that lived in this area.²⁶

Recent historical research has shown that the basis of Croatian society in the early medieval period was the village or village municipalities (*villa*) with free peasants (*villani*). Villages in the early medieval period did not become exclusively territorial municipalities, but formed the basis for social differentiation. With time, two distinct strata emerged in the rural communities; those who became the king's noblemen (*nobiles*), and those who lost their personal freedom and became bound serfs (*servi*). Most of them lived gathered in tribes (*parentela*, *genus*, *generatio*, *natio*) until end of the eleventh century.²⁷ The larger territorial units were the counties (*županije*) headed by the *župans* (*iupani*). Already during the end of the eleventh century, members of certain

²⁶ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 176.

²⁷ Tomislav Raukar, *Seljak i plemić hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* [The Peasant and the Nobleman of the Croatian Medieval Period] (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu 2002), 36.

tribes acquired higher prestige and distinctions because of the large amount of land that they held.²⁸

The Croatian historian, Tomislav Raukar, has critically analyzed the data concerning the Croatian tribes in the Árpáadian period and the processes by which the nobility emerged in the area of medieval Croatia. He came to the conclusion that the data and the processes indicate that two major social strata existed. First, was the emergence of noble kindreds who created their own principalities (the Croatian word is *kneštvo*); the second one was the existence of the Croatian tribes and their members. Therefore, in this period some individuals had risen above the others. They had accumulated landed property, which they turned into their principalities. At the same time, the system of tribes still existed in villages. These social strata served as a basis from which noble kindreds and, later the lower nobility (*nobiles* i *nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatiae*), emerged. Therefore, the broader social stratum of “nobility in medieval Croatia” from the twelfth until the fifteenth century was composed of two social levels. The first level comprised the magnates (*comes*); the second included the lower nobility (*nobiles*) and the “nobility of the twelve tribes of Croatia”²⁹ (*nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatiae*).³⁰

²⁸ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 177.

²⁹ The term the “nobility of the twelve tribes of Croatia” comes from *Pacta Conventa* or *Qualiter* - a treaty made between Hungarian King Coloman and the heads of twelve tribes of Croatia. This treaty was allegedly made in 1102 after incorporation of Croatia into the Hungarian Kingdom. With this treaty, Coloman promised all public and state rights to Croatia and confirmed some privileges to the Croatian nobility. The members who signed the treaty are known in Croatian historiography as “the nobility of the twelve tribes of Croatia” However, the date of this document is questionable; Raukar, *Seljak i plemić*, 22–25.

³⁰ Raukar, *Seljak i plemić*, 37.

2.2 The noble kindred

According to Martyn Rady and Erik Fügedi, the kindred was a cluster of families which shared the same ancestor. It was more than a biological links, because it also had a legal and economic character.³¹ In the early medieval period, the military role was the primary function of all the groups from which nobility later developed. Descent by blood was the prerequisite for belonging to these groups. Their power and wealth were based on their landed property and on their political role. The main residences of these groups were in areas outside towns, that is, the rural areas.³² Damir Karbić argues that in most parts of Europe, noble kindreds developed based on the principles of consorteria (*generationes* or *genera*). This type of noble kindred is characterized by the division of inheritance. Some of the other characteristics are the co-operation of a large number of relatives and the preference of the relatives to stay in connection with each other instead of forming independent families. This model allows for a longer durability of certain kindreds, because a kindred with a large number of members cannot die out so easily.³³ However, this resulted in the relative weakness of their economic foundation. With time the kindred was divided into branches, with the formerly united property also being (re)distributed among them after a few generations. This resulted in the emergence of new kindreds.

In Hungary, the lands of most of these kindreds were confined to one single county and rested in a single line. Only a few kindreds held properties in more than one county, a feature which might be taken as an indication of their longevity. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, members of the most influential kindreds began to

³¹ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service*, 22–23.

³² Damir Karbić, “Plemstvo–definicija, uloga, vrste,” 16–17

³³ Damir Karbić, “Plemstvo – definicija, uloga, vrste,” 20.

refer to themselves as *de genere*, after which followed the name of their putative ancestor.³⁴ Another way of identifying noble kindreds was through the possessions that they owned. For example, the Babonići first called themselves after their premier possession, Gorica. After they acquired the estate of Vodica, they started to refer to themselves as *de Vodiča*.³⁵

This form of organization of the nobility was typical for the areas of Poland, Hungary, and Croatia. In Croatia, this model survived as the dominant form of the formal organization of the nobility until the Ottoman invasion. From the thirteenth until the fifteenth century, this kindred system was gradually replaced with by the system of the territorial principle, which resulted in the emergence of noble municipalities and similar territorial units. Older kindreds decomposed into smaller units (families) which became the basic organizational principle of the nobility in later periods.³⁶

2.3 Slavonia

During the eleventh century Slavonia was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary,³⁷ and at the beginning of the twelfth century Croatia shared the same fate.³⁸ After the incorporation, the Árpáadian kings formed counties in Slavonia modeled on the Hungarian counties.³⁹ Slavonia, in contrast to Croatia, was always closely connected to Hungary and the Hungarian kings due to its proximity. In this area, the royal power of the Árpád and the Anjou dynasties had strong, direct influence on the development of the

³⁴ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service*, 23.

³⁵ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service*, 30.

³⁶ Damir Karbić, "Plemstvo – definicija, uloga, vrste," 20.

³⁷ Some Hungarian historians such as György Györffy and Attila Zsoldos consider that Slavonia was incorporated into Hungarian Kingdom as early as in the tenth century.

³⁸ For a map of Slavonia and Croatia see the page 63.

³⁹ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 184

noble kindreds and the lower nobility.⁴⁰ Already during the twelfth century, kings granted entire counties or parts of them to noblemen or church officials. Due to this, the number of royal estates decreased rapidly.⁴¹

The most influential noble kindreds that developed in Slavonia were the Babonići and the Kőszegi. The Babonići quickly rose from one of the six kindreds of Gorica County to be the leading kindred of that county.⁴² Their first possessions were in the area between the present day towns of Sisak and Karlovac. Already in the twelfth century, they expanded their properties into present day Slovenia. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the large estate of Vodica was granted to the Babonić kindred. After this donation they became one of the most prominent, if not the most prominent noble kindreds in Slavonia.⁴³ The Kőszegi kindred was one of the branches of the Héder kindred that had moved to the area of Hungarian Kingdom from Lower Styria in the middle of the twelfth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Héder kindred divided into three branches: the Köcski, the Kőszegi and the Hédervári kindreds. The lands of the Kőszegi kindred were located in southwestern Hungary, and between the Sava and Drava rivers. At the peak of their power, they owned estates in seventeen counties.⁴⁴

2.4 Croatia

The development of the nobility in Croatia followed a completely different path. South of the Velebit Mountain neither the noble kindreds, nor the lower nobility

⁴⁰ Raukar, *Seljak i plemić*, 6.

⁴¹ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 184.

⁴² Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 64.

⁴³ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 183.

⁴⁴ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovca," 21.

developed under the direct influence or stimulus of the royal authority and no privileges were bestowed upon them by royal authority either. These noble kindreds were primarily the result of the internal development of society. The royal power of the Árpád and the Anjou dynasties could only monitor this process, and pursue different policies as to whether they supported their progress or restricted it.⁴⁵ The advanced concentration of local power in the hands of individual kindreds, but mainly the fact that the control of the Árpáadian kings did not influence Croatia because of its distance, contributed to the rise of certain kindreds which not just large landed properties, but also, which was more characteristic for Croatia, royal rights. This granted them legal power and the power of taxation, which they used to turn free peasants into their subjects.⁴⁶

Two of the most prominent noble kindreds in Croatia were the Šubići and the Frankapani.⁴⁷ The Šubići held the area around the Krka River as their property. It is possible that they had transformed the office of *župan* into a hereditary position as early as the tenth century. However, they received the Bribir County as a royal grant from the King Béla III (1172 – 1196) only after 1180. By this token, they became eligible for the title of counts of Bribir. During the second decade of the thirteenth century, the Šubići began to expand their properties in the hinterland of the Dalmatian cities and imposed themselves as their protectors and counts. The Frankapani connected themselves with Venice through a contract of vassalage which allowed them to maintain the authority over the entire island of Krk. Their power further increased in the time of Béla III, when he granted them the county of Modruš. King Andrew II (1205 – 1235) granted them the

⁴⁵ Raukar, *Seljak i plemić*, 6.

⁴⁶ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 177.

⁴⁷ The Frankapan kindred started to use that name in the fourteenth century< earlier they called themselves the counts of Krk. However, Croatian historiography uses the name Frankapan and I will do the same here.

county of Vinodol in 1225 and with that donation the Frankapans connected their island properties with their landed properties into one large dominion.⁴⁸

These differences in the development of the nobility in these two regions need to be kept in mind when tracing and explaining the further history of their most prominent representatives in the turbulent decades of dynastic change in the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁴⁸ Budak, Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 179.

3. Political Relations among the Árpád and the Anjou Dynasties and the Croatian and the Slavonian Noble Kindreds

3.1 Phase 1 – the Political Relations among the Árpád and the Anjou Dynasties and the Croatian and the Slavonian noble kindreds up to the coronation of Andrew III and Charles Martel (1260 – 1290)

3.1.1 The situation in the Kingdom of Hungary

During the reign of the last Árpáadian kings, namely, Stephen V (1270–1272), Ladislas IV (1272–1290) and Andrew III (1290–1301), the royal authority weakened, and most of the power was in the hands of the noble kindreds. The most powerful magnate families in Croatia were the Šubić family of Bribir, and the Frankapan family, the counts of Krk. The Babonić, Kőszegi and Gut-Keled kindreds ruled Slavonia. The power of the nobility rested upon the size of their estates and the offices that some members of those families held. These families ruled almost like independent oligarchs and because of that, they had contributed greatly to the shift in the dynastic power that had taken place in the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of fourteenth century. These noble kindreds were inclined to support the dynasty that had a greater chance to take the Hungarian throne at a certain point.⁴⁹ This part of the thesis provides a description of the political maneuvers of the Árpád and the Anjou dynasties and the political tactics of the Šubić, Frankapan, Babonić, and Kőszegi kindreds during the end of the thirteenth and in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Because of the weak royal power the last Árpáadian kings did not interfere with the situation in Croatia and Slavonia, which led to a strengthening of the nobility. Andrew III

⁴⁹ Engel, *The Realm*, 107–111; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 61; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 340–342.

began his reign in 1290. Although he is considered the last king of the Árpád dynasty, he was not the son of Ladislav IV, but the grandson of Andrew II (1205–1235)⁵⁰ and his claim to the Hungarian throne was quite weak. The Neapolitan dynasty of Anjou also claimed the right to the Hungarian throne. Their candidate was Charles Martel, son of Mary, the sister of Ladislav IV.⁵¹ My assumption is that the noble kindreds of Croatia and Slavonia started to use different political tactics in communicating with these two dynasties. By examining the conduct of the most prominent members of the Croatian and the Slavonian noble kindreds, the Šubić, Frankapan, Babonić and Kőszegi kindred, I will demonstrate their policy towards the Árpád and Anjou dynasties.

3.1.2 The Slavonian nobility during the 1260s and the 1270s – The Example of the Babonić and Kőszegi Kindreds

Both in Croatia and Slavonia noble kindreds had most of the political and economic power in their hands. The Croatian noble kindreds did not fight amongst themselves and they acquired their lands mostly by purchase. The Slavonian noble kindreds, on the other hand fought amongst themselves and acquired lands in that way. This soon led to a situation that can almost be described as a civil war. The Anjou dynasty made contacts with the Slavonian noble kindreds first and that is why I will discuss only Slavonian noble kindreds in this chapter. Contacts with the Croatian noble kindreds and the Anjou dynasty were established later.

⁵⁰ Andrew III was the son of Andrew II's son Stephen who was the half-brother of King Bela IV (1235–1270)

⁵¹ Budak and Raukar, *Hrvatska povijest*, 176.

During the 1260s and the 1270s, the Babonić kindred⁵² found themselves in conflict with the Slavonian Ban Joakim Pektar from the Gut-Keled kindred⁵³ and his siblings. The causes of this conflict were some forts and some lands which both families claimed to own. The second reason was the political hegemony in Slavonia, which both families wanted for themselves.⁵⁴ In this conflict, Ban Joakim Pektar died at the hands of Count Stephen Babonić. This weakened the Gut-Keled kindred, but their power did not completely disappear. Nicholas Gut-Keled, brother of Joakim, became the leader of the family and continued their fight with the Babonić kindred. The Kőszegi kindred⁵⁵ became their allies.⁵⁶ The reason for the conflict between the Babonić and the Kőszegi kindreds were the lands and the title of ban, which both families claimed for themselves. The historian Nada Klaić assumes that the main battles were fought around Fort Steničnjak, the strongest fortress in the Pokuplje region⁵⁷ and the area around Gvozd Mountain. These conflicts resulted in the devastation of the region. The damage was so severe that even the king became involved and tried to reconcile the warring parties.

⁵² For the genealogical tree of the Babonić kindred see page 64, and for a list of donations given to the Babonić kindred see page 67.

⁵³ Joakim Pektar became the Slavonian ban in 1270 during the reign of Stephen V Árpád. In the summer of 1272 he came into conflict with the king and captured the prince, the future King Ladislav IV. It is possible that Joakim planned the abduction with Queen Elizabeth, whose ally he was. King Stephen V soon died and the young prince was crowned. Instead of young Ladislav, his mother, Elizabeth, and Joakim Pektar, who again became the ban of Slavonia, governed the realm. In 1274 Joakim joined the rebels, who captured the king's younger brother Andrew. It is possible that Joakim did this in agreement with Rudolf I of Habsburg whose daughter was a fiancée of prince Andrew. After that incident Joakim was deprived of all his honours, however, already in 1275 he made peace with the queen and became the master of treasury (1275) and the ban of Slavonia (1276–1277); Marija Karbić, "Joakim Pektar, slavonski ban iz plemićkog roda Gut-Keled" [Joakim Pektar, Slavonian Ban of the Gut-Keled Noble Kindred] *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice* (2000): 22–23; Attila Zsoldos, *archontológiája, 1000-1301*, 317.

⁵³ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 64.

⁵⁴ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 64.

⁵⁵ For the genealogical tree of the Kőszegi kindred see the page 66, and for a list of donations given to the Donations to the Kőszegi kindred see the page 68.

⁵⁶ Marija Karbić, "Joakim Pektar," 23.

⁵⁷ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 347.

Peace between the Babonić and Kőszegi kindreds was concluded on 20 April 1278 in Dubica. It was determined that the Kőszegi kindred must renounce their hostilities. The leader of the Kőszegi kindred, Nicholas Kőszegi, had to give up his claims to Fort Steničnjak, which was probably already in the possession of the Babonić kindred. His brother, John Kőszegi, had to give certain properties to the Babonić kindred, and he had to allow Stephen Babonić the peaceful and unhindered use of the Fort Ozalj.⁵⁸ In addition, John Kőszegi had to give up both of the Pset counties,⁵⁹ Gorica, Gaj, Drežnik and Novigrad counties, and the town of Petrinja. The penalty for the breach of contract was 2000 marks, and as a further guarantee that this contract would be respected, both sides had to surrender hostages. These hostages were surrendered to a captain from Naples, who was an arbiter in the name of Charles II, king of Naples.⁶⁰ Each kindred in the conflict had to surrender one hostage.⁶¹ Primary source evidence does not say who invited Charles II's arbiters, however, the fact that they were present in Slavonia shows that the local noble kindreds respected the authority of the Anjou dynasty.

The peace between the Babonić and Gut-Keled kindreds was concluded on 6 November 1278. The members of the Babonić kindred met in Zagreb with Ban Nicholas, and Paul, and royal judge Stephen Gut-Keled. The Babonić kindred returned the village

⁵⁸ ...*similiter sine precio remitemus preter obsides magistri Nicholai fratris dicti J[foachini] bani et preter castrum suum Stenichnak vocatum...*, ...*vt ad faciem castris Ozol contra nos se nullatenus et iuxta naturam intromittet et neminem adiuuabit...*; CD VI, doc. 207, 240–242; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 64–65.

⁵⁹ There were two of them.

⁶⁰ ... *duos comitatus de Pezeth, item comitatus de Guerce, de Gay, de Dressnik et de Nouo castro ac villam Pet(ri)ne*, ...*ad additrium proborum virorum et honestorum videlicet capitanei et marescalci milicie domini regis Karoli, ac fratris G[irardi]...*, CD. VI, doc. 207, 240–242; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 347.

⁶¹ ...*Insuper ut pax sic ordinata inuiolabiliter in perpetuum perseueret, nos et Farcasius de societate nostra dedimus filios nostros et dictus magister J[ohannes] de parte sua dedit filium suum ad manus dicti capitanei...*, CD VI, doc. 207, 241; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 65; Hrvoje Kekez assumes that Radoslav Babonić was the hostage that the Babonić kindred gave to the captain from Naples.

and estate of Zlat that they had taken from the Gut-Keled kindred during the conflict.⁶² It was also agreed that in case of a violation of the peace, the Babonić kindred and their supporters needed to respond only if the bishop of Zagreb invited them.⁶³ As the fighting continued, Lodomir, bishop of Várad issued a document on 1 April 1279 in which he stated that the Gut-Keled and Babonić kindreds would be excommunicated if they did not agree to keep the peace.⁶⁴

The conflicts between the Babonić and Kőszegi kindreds continued and the peace was only re-established in Ozalj on 30 October 1280. It was decided that the Babonić kindred would be allowed to keep all the possessions that were the royal donations, namely, the estates of Podgorje, Gorica, Drežnik, Gaj with Kladusa, Novigrad, both of the Pset regions, and Petrinja.⁶⁵ Vrbas and Sana remained the property of the Kőszegi family. This presented an obstacle to the extension of the possessions of the Babonić kindred.⁶⁶ Soon after, the Kőszegi kindred entered into a conflict with Timothy, the bishop of Zagreb, and the Babonić kindred was free to consolidate their domination south of the Sava River. As early as 1285, Count Radoslav Babonić had secured the area between Vrbas and Sana as his possession.⁶⁷

⁶² ...*terram et possessionem Zlat vocatam*..., CD. VI, doc. 224, 261–266; Marija Karbić, “Joakim Pektar,” 23.; Zsoldos, *Archontológiája*.

⁶³ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 65.

⁶⁴ CD VI, doc. 252, 302–304.; Marija Karbić, “Joakim Pektar,” 23.

⁶⁵*Promittimus eciam bona fide, quod St[ephanum] banum, R[aduzlaum] comitem et filios Baboneg fratres ipsorum ac comitem G[ardinum] in suis possessionibus et comitatibus secundum relacionem ipsorum ex donacione regia aquisitis, scilicet in Podgoria in Gerce, Dresnik, Gay cum Cladosa, Nouo castro nec non in utoque Pzet et in villa Petrina*..., CD VI, doc. 306, 362–363; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 65–66.

⁶⁶ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 66. Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 349; Lajos Thallóczy, “Historička istraživanja o plemenu goričkih i vodičkih knezova” [Historical Research of the Tribe of the Dukes of Gorica and Vodica] *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 9 (1897), 364.

⁶⁷ ... *Nos Radizlaus comes de Glaas, Vrbaz et Zana*..., CD VI, doc. 461, 544; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 66.

During the 1280s and the 1290s the Babonić and Kőszegi kindreds did not collide with each other or other noble families. Their attention was turning to the Hungarian throne that was being subjected to dynastic shifts.⁶⁸

The policies of the Babonić and Kőszegi kindreds were based the desire to expand their properties. Conflicts between them and with other noble families were the means by which they acquired new lands. These numerous conflicts were fostered by the atmosphere that prevailed in the kingdom of Hungary during this period and because of the weak central government of the last members of the Árpád dynasty.

3.1.3 Conclusion

The Anjou dynasty in its later advance capitalized on the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary during the 1260s and the 1270s. In Croatia, the Šubić and Frankapan noble kindreds held the most of the power in their hands. The nobility of this region was traditionally less dependent on the power of the Hungarian king than in other areas and because of this more likely to become allies of the Anjou dynasty. However, the greater challenge for the Anjou dynasty was to find and/or create allies in Slavonia, where the nobility was traditionally more dependent on the power of the Hungarian king. To gain allies in Slavonia, the Anjou dynasty made contacts with the Babonić and Kőszegi kindred, the most powerful noble kindreds in this region, by sending their legates to act as arbiters during the peace negotiations. By interfering in the peace treaty between these two noble kindreds the Anjou dynasty asserted its power in this region for the first time. They were demonstrating that they had become a relevant political factor in Slavonia.

⁶⁸ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 68.

3.2 Phase 2 – The political relations among the Árpád and the Anjou Dynasties and the Croatian and the Slavonian noble kindreds before Charles Robert's arrival in the Kingdom of Hungary (1290–1301)

3.2.1 The situation in the Kingdom of Hungary

The Cumans suddenly murdered King Ladislas IV, their ally, on 10 July 1290; the nobles had to find a successor because Ladislas died without an heir. The right of inheritance passed to Prince Andrew Árpád, who was supposedly the grandsonson of Andrew II. His father, Prince Stephen, the son of Andrew III, was born to his third wife after Stephen's death. This suspicion weakened Andrew's position as heir to the throne. Prince Andrew was raised in Venice by his mother Tomasina Morosini, although not with clear-cut claims to the throne of Hungary. At first, the legitimacy of Andrew's descent was questioned; but later the majority of the magnates accepted Andrew as the rightful heir and had him crowned on 23 July 1290.⁶⁹

At the same time, the Anjou dynasty also wanted to profit from the death of Ladislas IV to gain the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary. Queen Mary of Naples, sister of Ladislas IV and wife of Charles II of Naples of the Anjou dynasty, had her son, Charles Martel, proclaimed as king of Hungary on 8 September 1290, less than two months after the coronation of Andrew III.⁷⁰ During this period, the political situation oscillated for both the Anjou and the Árpád dynasties. Charles Martel was on 6 January 1292 again proclaimed king of Hungary by his mother Mary, queen of Naples.⁷¹ At the

⁶⁹ Engel, *The Realm*, 110.

⁷⁰ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 72; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, Vol 1, 270; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 12.

⁷¹ CD VI, doc. 59, 67–68; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 71; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 270; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 19.

beginning of 1293 Charles II of Naples was planning to bring Charles Martel to Hungary.⁷² At that time, however, the situation worsened for the Anjou dynasty for several reasons. John, bishop of Zagreb, an ally of the Anjou dynasty, died in April 1292⁷³ and was replaced by Bishop Michael, who was an ally of Andrew III.⁷⁴ Also, the Kingdom of Naples was in the conflict with Sicily⁷⁵ and Pope Nicholas IV, ally of the Anjou dynasty, died.⁷⁶ Another event that shook the Anjou dynasty was the death of Charles Martel, who died of plague in August 1295.⁷⁷ The new Pope, Celestine V, was hostile to the Anjou dynasty but he soon died and was replaced by Boniface VIII, who was an ally of the Anjou dynasty.⁷⁸ He declared Charles Robert, son of late Charles Martel, as the king of Hungary on 25 January 1297.⁷⁹ Boniface VIII helped the Anjou dynasty to increase its strength and influence; he named a Franciscan, Peter, who was a royal chaplain of Queen Mary, as the new archbishop of Split instead of Jacob, an ally of Andrew III who had been elected previously to that office.⁸⁰

During this period, the Anjou dynasty started to draw Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds over to their side by granting them lands and titles. Andrew III started to compete with the Anjou dynasty by granting to Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds the same kinds of assets as the Anjou dynasty did – lands and titles. Although, all the four noble kindreds in question shifted sides during this period and at the end they all became the allies of the Anjou dynasty, but they had quite different reasons for doing that.

⁷² Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 73.

⁷³ CD VII, doc. 190, 211; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 28.

⁷⁴ CD VII, doc. 198, 217–218; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 28.

⁷⁵ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 73; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, Vol 1, 272.

⁷⁶ Richard P. McBrien, *The Pocket Guide to the Popes* (HarperCollins e-books, 2006).

⁷⁷ Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 28.

⁷⁸ Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 26.

⁷⁹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, Vol 1, 308.

⁸⁰ CD VII, doc. 239, 277–278; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, Vol 1, 309; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 30.

3.2.2 The relations among the Árpád and Anjou dynasties and the Croatian and the Slavonian nobility until the death of Andrew III (1290–1301)

A) The Babonić Kindred

During the 1280s, a conflict between the brothers Stephen and Radoslav Babonić broke out. The enmity probably started in the early 1280s. My assumption is based on the fact that although earlier the brothers always acted together, the last time they were mentioned together was during the signing of the peace treaty with the Kőszegi kindred in Dubica in 1280.⁸¹ This conflict ended with the brothers signing a peace treaty between them in Zagreb on 21 August 1294. One can presume that the cause of their discord was the control over some unidentified forts, because this is mentioned in the peace treaty.⁸² Hrvoje Kekez contends that the reason for this conflict were estates near the Vrbas River, near which both brothers had their own estates.⁸³ Another possible cause of the conflict between the brothers was a question of the leadership of the family policy. Both brothers wanted the office of ban for themselves.⁸⁴ This is attested by the fact that in the text of the peace treaty both brothers are called ban.⁸⁵ It was also agreed that the brothers would not occupy each other's towns and would not help their enemies. The third possible cause of the conflict was the brothers' different political commitments. Stephen stood firmly with the Árpád dynasty, whereas Radoslav was an ally of the Anjou dynasty.⁸⁶ After

⁸¹ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 68.

⁸² CD VII, doc. 163, 181–182; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 68, Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 349.

⁸³ Hrvoje Kekez, "Vrbas," 82.

⁸⁴ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 68–69., Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 349.

⁸⁵ *...magnifici viri Stephanus banus ab una parte, et Radozlaus banus frater eiusdem ab altera...*, CD VII, doc. 163, 181; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 68.

⁸⁶ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 69; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 369.

1290, Radoslav Babonić established more contacts with the Anjou dynasty. In 1291, he traveled to Naples, but it is not certain what he did there.⁸⁷

Andrew III donated the estate of Drežnik to Stephen Babonić.⁸⁸ The reason for this was probably the general strengthening of the position of the Anjou dynasty in Slavonia and Andrew's the desire to keep Stephen as an ally against them. From more than one source one can see that the Anjou dynasty relied on Radoslav Babonić for support. On 23 July 1290 Pope Nicholas IV recommended Radoslav Babonić and some other supporters of the Anjou dynasty to his legate who was sent to Bosnia.⁸⁹ In 1292, when Charles II, king of Naples confirmed the possession of a great part of Slavonia to Stephen Vladislav, the son of the Serbian king, Stephen Dragutin, he emphasized that this did not apply to the lands which were property of Radoslav Babonić and his brothers.⁹⁰ In 1293, Radoslav established some contacts with Andrew III as well; he saved a person who was sent to the Dalmatian coast for Andrew III's mother, Tomasina Morosini. Because of this, Andrew III awarded Radoslav with the estate and the town of Želin in Zagreb County.⁹¹ Andrew III donated the estates of Vrbas, Glaž, Petrinja, Vinodol, Želin, Okić, Podgorje, and Samobor to Radoslav Babonić on 27 October 1293.⁹² The reason for this action was probably the situation in which the Anjou dynasty found itself in that

⁸⁷ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 72; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 18.

⁸⁸ ... *terram Dresnek vocatam* ..., CD VII, doc. 64, 74–77.; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 70.; Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte*, 75.

⁸⁹ CD VII, doc. 1, 1–2; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 72.

⁹⁰ ...*quas possedit Radislaus banus cum fratribus suis*... CD VII, doc. 85, 103–104; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 73; Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte*, 75.

⁹¹ ... *ut quandam terram seu possessionem castri seu comitatus Zagradiensis Selyn vocatam*..., CD VII, doc. 128, 146–147; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 72; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 350; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* Vol 1, 268; Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte*, 74.

⁹² ...*possessiones seu terras Vrbas, Galas, Petrina, Vynodol, Selen, Oclich, Podgoria et Zamobor nuncupatas cum castris* ..., CD VII, doc. 133, 151–152; Mladen Ančić, *Putanja klatna: Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV stoljeću* [Trajectory of the Pendulum: The Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and Bosnia in the fourteenth century] (Zadar: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU; Mostar: Ziral, 1997), 84; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 73; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 349.

period – adjusting to repercussions from the death of the Pope Nicholas IV. Andrew III used the situation in which the members of the Anjou dynasty found themselves to try to gain the support of Radoslav Babonić. However, he apparently did not manage to retain Radoslav's support in the long run, because on 1 September 1295 Radoslav's emissaries were in Naples.⁹³ The same year Tomasina Morosini took the Vrbas fort from Radoslav Babonić because he was unfaithful to Andrew III.⁹⁴ The reason for this was probably a continued relationship between Radoslav Babonić and the Anjou dynasty.

When a Neapolitan captain was sent to act as an arbiter during the peace negotiations between the Babonić and the Kőszegi kindreds, he took two hostages to Naples, one from each family.⁹⁵ Hrvoje Kekez and I presume that this hostage was probably Radoslav Babonić, who was then of a young age.⁹⁶ This could have affected his later support for the Anjou dynasty. In Naples, he would have been acquainted with the policy of the Anjou dynasty and it is logical that later he became their ally. Based on this presumption, I have developed another presumption about the conflict between Stephen and Radoslav Babonić. There is only one source that speaks about the conflict between these two brothers and that is the peace treaty.⁹⁷ The peace treaty tells only that the brothers would not attack each others' towns. Thus, one can presume that the conflict was not connected with their different policies. During this alleged conflict, Radoslav was traveling to Naples,⁹⁸ so one can presume that in Naples they would know about the conflict. However, when Charles II was confirming lands to the Serbian prince, Stephen

⁹³ ... *Pontius sacerdos et Ladislaus de Ossel nuncii Radislai bani de Sclauonia* ...; CD VII, doc. 167, 186; Ančić, *Putanja*, 84; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 74.

⁹⁴ CD VII, doc. 195, 214–215; Ančić, *Putanja*, 84–85; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 74.

⁹⁵ CD VI, doc. 207, 240 – 242

⁹⁶ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 64 – 65.

⁹⁷ CD VII, doc. 163, 181 – 182; Kekez, "Rod Babonića,".

⁹⁸ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 72.

Vladislas, he said that this did not include the lands owned by Radoslav Babonić and his brothers.⁹⁹ Radoslav and Stephen had one more brother, Otto, who died young, thus, one can conclude that when Charles II said “Radoslav and his brothers” he considered Radoslav and Stephen.

In my opinion, if the conflict was of a political nature, the Anjou dynasty would have given the land just to Radolsav, and not also to Stephen. The Anjous would not give land to someone who stood firmly with Andrew III. I presume that the conflict between the brothers was not very significant. My conclusion is that the brothers may have played a “double game;” one brother stood by one dynasty, and the other brother by other dynasty, because they wanted to preserve the power of the kindred regardless of which of the dynasty took the throne.

Both Stephen and Radoslav died soon after 1295 and a new generation of the Babonić kindred took over the political decisions.¹⁰⁰ These were Stephen, John, Radoslav, and Otto, cousins of the former protagonists of their kindred’s politics, Stephen and John.¹⁰¹ After the death of their cousin Radoslav Babonić, the Babonić brothers came into conflict with Andrew III because he did not want to give them the lands of the late Radoslav Babonić. Andrew III was probably afraid to grant these lands to a kindred that had been disloyal to him in the past. However, in 1299, he did grant them all the lands of the late Radoslav Babonić except for the castles of Susedgrad, Vrbas and Glaž. He also granted to the oldest of the brothers, Stephen, the office of Slavonian ban.¹⁰² His actions

⁹⁹*quas possedit Radislaus banus cum fratribus suis*... CD VII, doc. 85, 103 – 104;

¹⁰⁰ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 74–75.

¹⁰¹ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 76–77.

¹⁰² ... *tria castra nostra Zumzed, Vrbas, et Galas vocata...*, *omnes possessiones Raduzlai condam bani, patruī eorum, castra, villas, terras cum ceteris utilitatibus et attinentiis ...*, *nobiles viri Stephanus nunc banus totius Sclavonie ...*, CD VII, doc. 305, 351–353; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 78.

are probably the result of careful considerations. He granted them lands so that the Babonić brothers would not become allies of the Anjou dynasty, and he retained for himself Susedgrad, Vrbas and Glaž, the estates that bordered on the estates of Count Hrvatin Stjepanić, an ally of the Anjou dynasty.¹⁰³ At the same time, the Anjou dynasty granted the Babonić brothers all the rights and estates that they had possessed before. In a document dated 7 September 1299, the Anjou dynasty confirmed to them “all the possessions and goods that to hold them in the same way that they have done before.”¹⁰⁴ In addition, he granted them the office of Slavonian ban just as Andrew III had.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, on 26 November 1299, the Anjou dynasty confirmed the donation of all the possessions of the late Radoslav Babonić.¹⁰⁶ The Babonić brothers probably expected that the Anjou dynasty to confirm to them the forts of Vrbas, Glaž and Susedgrad, which Andrew III had taken from them, and the Anjou dynasty confirmed them just those estates which they said that were rightfully theirs.¹⁰⁷

B) The Kőszegi kindred

The Kőszegi kindred was weakened in the conflicts with the Babonić kindred but its members kept most of their political influence in the last decades of the thirteenth century. The brothers, Nicholas, John, and Henry Kőszegi, were actively engaged in the dynastic struggles between the Árpád and Anjou dynasties.¹⁰⁸ At first they were allies of Andrew III because they hoped that this would help them to restore the towns that they

¹⁰³ Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 78; Vjekoslav Klaić, “Bribirski knezovi,” 70; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 35–36.

¹⁰⁴ *possessiones et bona, cum iuribus, iurisdictionibus et pertinenciis suis, que tenent et possident, sicut pretenuit et possedit* ..., CD VII, doc. 308, 355–356; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 78.

¹⁰⁵ CD VII, doc. 305, 355–356; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 78.

¹⁰⁶ CD VII, doc. 311, 357–358.

¹⁰⁷ CD VII, doc. 311, 357–358; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 79.

¹⁰⁸ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* vol 1, 268.

had lost during the reign of Ladislas IV. In 1291 there was a war between Ladislas IV and the Austrian Duke Albert I. Albert was defeated and he was forced to return the occupied Hungarian towns. However, these conclusions proved to be highly unfavorable and unacceptable for the Kőszegi kindred because it was determined in the peace treaty that all the castles that did not belong directly to the king should be destroyed. This paragraph refers to castles that belonged to the Kőszegi kindred because they often attacked the duchy of Austria from these locations. Because of this, the dissatisfied Kőszegi kindred turned to the Anjou dynasty and became allies of Naples.¹⁰⁹ The king of Naples, Charles II, and his wife, Mary, gave the Kőszegi kindred the “right of the sword and war” against Andrew III of the Árpád dynasty, that is, they gave them the official right to enter into open conflict with Andrew III.¹¹⁰ In addition, John Kőszegi and his son, George, received Vas and Sopron counties from the Neapolitan court as a fief.¹¹¹ From this example one can see that the donations of the Anjou dynasty were actually fictive. The counties were administrative units and they could not have been given as a fief. That same year the Kőszegi clashed with Andrew III and John Kőszegi even managed to capture him. The Kőszegi kindred did not use any sophisticated tactics in dealing with the Árpád and Anjou dynasties beside brute force; one can conclude this from the capture of Andrew III. Had their policy been focused on “dancing” between the two dynasties, the Kőszegi kindred certainly would not have decided on such a drastic move as capturing the king. Andrew III was released from this captivity only after he paid a large ransom, and given

¹⁰⁹ Marija Karbić, “Rod Gisingovaca,” 24.

¹¹⁰ ... *liberum belli ius et ferri licentiam* ..., CD VII, doc. 58, 66–67; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 70; Marija Karbić, “Rod Gisingovaca,” 24.; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* vol. 1, 270; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 19.

¹¹¹ ...*nobili viro magistro Johanni filio Henrici bani ... in perpetuum in pfeudum nobile de comitatibus Soprunii et Castri ferrei*..., CD VII, doc. 67, 80; Marija Karbić, “Rod Gisingovaca,” 24; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* vol. 1, 270; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 19.

hostages. However, the Kőszegi kindred rebelled against Andrew in 1296 and again in 1298.¹¹² Their conduct was logical, since they realized that they would not benefit from agreeing with Andrew III. It can be concluded that the main reason why that the Kőszegi kindred became allies of the Anjou dynasty was territorial. They wanted to recover the estates that they had lost because of the measures taken by the Árpád dynasty.

C) The Šubić Kindred

In the late thirteenth century, Ban Paul Šubić and his brothers ruled almost the entire Croatian coastline and ports that included Split, Trogir, Šibenik, and Omiš.¹¹³ In August 1292, King Charles II of Naples and Queen Mary are confirmed almost the entire territory of the Croatian Kingdom to the Šubić kindred as a hereditary possession with all the “barons, vassals, cities, forts and villages,” with the exception of the territories that the Frankapan kindred possessed.¹¹⁴ In addition, the Anjou dynasty protected the subjects of the Šubić kindred in the Kingdom of Naples and allowed the export of 200 salms of wheat and 100 salms of oats from Sicily without paying the usual taxes.¹¹⁵ Another similar certificate was issued to the Šubić kindred two days later.¹¹⁶ The Šubić kindred used tactical maneuvers while communicating with the Árpád and Anjou dynasties. In 1293, King Andrew III donated the hereditary office of maritime ban to Paul and his

¹¹² Marija Karbić, “Rod Gisingovaca,” 24.

¹¹³ Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322)” [The Šubići of Bribir until the Loss of the Hereditary Office of Ban (1322)], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22 (2004): 14.

¹¹⁴ ...*tenimento seu territorio, quod Dyesnich vugariter [appel]latur, nec non progeniem seu generationem, que vocatur Suczunuy et Pset, que est iuxta territorium predictum, et ab inde usque ad confinia provincie, que dicitur Bosna...cum omnibus baronibus, vasallis, civitatibus, castris et villis...*, CD VII, doc. 86, 104–105; Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski,” 14; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 417–418; For the genealogical tree of the Šubić kindred see page 65, and for a donation given to the Šubić kindred see page 69.

¹¹⁵ CD VII, doc. 47, 57; Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski,” 14–15; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 417.

¹¹⁶ CD VI, doc. 48, 57; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 70.

brothers.¹¹⁷ The Šubić kindred was an ally of the Anjou family, but they maintained relations with the Árpád dynasty at the same time. In 1298, Pope Boniface VIII was persuaded by Queen Mary of Naples to found a new bishopric in Šibenik, a town that was in possession of the Šubić kindred.¹¹⁸ At the end of August 1299, Charles II of Naples confirmed the grant that he had given to the Šubić kindred in 1292.¹¹⁹ In this period, the contacts between George Šubić and the Anjou dynasty intensified. Charles II confirmed all his possessions again in January 1300.¹²⁰ After that, George traveled to Naples with the goal of bringing Charles Robert to the Kingdom of Hungary. Because of this, Charles II asked the doge of Venice not to interfere in George's actions because he was under Charles' protection.¹²¹ In July 1300, the twelve-year-old Charles Robert arrived in Manfredonia in the company of George Šubić; they went to Split where he was handed over to Paul Šubić, who took him to Zagreb.¹²²

D) The Frankapan kindred

The Frankapan kindred¹²³ was also involved in the dynastic struggle between the Árpád and Anjou dynasties. Pope Nicholas IV, a supporter of the Anjou dynasty, recommended counts John and Leonard Frankapan to his legates on 23 July 1290. In addition, Count Dujam Frankapan visited King Charles II in Naples in June 1291 together

¹¹⁷ ... *Pauli bani maritimi* ..., CD VII, doc 144, 163-164; Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 15; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 75.

¹¹⁸ CD VII, doc. 263, 304-305; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* Vol 1, 309; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 31.

¹¹⁹ CD VII, doc. 271, 313; Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 15.

¹²⁰ CD VII, doc. 314, 361; Damir Karbić: "The Šubići of Bribir," 63.

¹²¹ CD VII, doc. 316, 361-362; Damir Karbić, "The Šubići of Bribir," 63.

¹²² Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 16; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Šubići Bribirski*, 74-75; Szentgyörgyi, *Borba*, 39.

¹²³ For a list of donation to the Frankapan kindred see the page 70. Due to the lack of research dedicated to the Frankapan kindred I was not able to make a geneological tree of the Frnkapan kindred.

with Radoslav Babonić.¹²⁴ In the document mentioned above, issued on 19 August 1292, in which King Charles II confirmed the properties of the Šubić kindred, he lists as exceptions those estates owned by the Babonić kindred and those owned by John and Dujam Frankapan, counts of Krk, Modruš and Vinodol.¹²⁵ After the death of John Frankapan, the heads of the Frankapan family were Dujam and Leonard.¹²⁶ Just before Charles Robert came to Croatia, King Charles II praised Count Dujam for helping his grandson to come to the Hungarian throne¹²⁷ and promised him that if he came to Naples and took his grandson, Charles Robert, to Hungary he would receive confirmation of the properties of Vinodol, Modruš, Gacka and other possessions.¹²⁸ King Charles II also praised Count Leonard because he fought against Andrew III and as a reward, he allowed to export 500 salms of grain.¹²⁹ In addition, he emphasized that Count Leonard “is resisting to Andrew III, an insolent invader of the Hungarian throne, in any way possible.”¹³⁰

3.2.3 Conclusions

The actions of the noble families in Croatia, the Šubić and Frankapan kindreds showed some similarities and some differences when compared with the noble kindreds

¹²⁴ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 116.

¹²⁵ CD VII, doc. 85, 103–104; Kekez, “Rod Babonića,” 73; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 116.

¹²⁶ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 116.

¹²⁷ ... *comitis Duymi de Veglia*..., CD VII, doc. 320, 367; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 385.

¹²⁸ ...*comitatum Medurse (!) et Vinodoli, ac comitatum Gezecge (!), quem tunc tenet, vt dicitur, videlicet terras Odozez, Obriz, Doyanum et Tincz de Lafrazi, ac duas partes Exagonnie, Segiem et potestariam ipsus*..., CD VII, doc. 340, 386–387; Vjekoslav Klaić transcribes the last part as ...*et terram Delazmiziz (de Lastrizi) ac duas partes Stagovine, Segnie et potestariam*... Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 315; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 385

¹²⁹ ...*salmas frumenti quingentas pro munitione castrorum ipsius*..., CD VII, doc. 351, 395; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 385–386; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 117.

¹³⁰ ... *contra Andreacium, regni Ungarie illicitum invasorem, exercere ac expendere satagit quicquid potest resistentie ac rigoris*... Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 117.; Vjekoslav Klaić takes this quote from Radovi Jugoslavenske Akademije vol. 18, 224, which was not available to me.

in Slavonia in their relations with the Árpáds and Anjous. The Anjou dynasty promised lands and the export of a certain amount of wheat without paying taxes if they helped the Neapolitan dynasty. The Šubić family was granted a huge territory as a hereditary possession. The noble kindreds of Croatia were more determined in their support of the Anjou dynasty than their Slavonian counterparts. Like the noble kindreds in Slavonia, the Šubić and Frankapan kindreds connected with the Anjou dynasty in order to gain more property, especially lands. However, the Croatian noble families were also trading with the Anjou dynasty. The possessions of the Šubić and Frankapan kindreds were located closer to the lands of the Anjou dynasty and could trade with them because they owned ports on the Adriatic Sea. In contrast, the Slavonian noble kindreds, the Babonići and the Kőszegi, owned land inland and therefore were not in a position to establish trade relations with the Anjou dynasty. In my opinion, profitable trade was, in addition to land, another reason why the noble families of Croatia were so eager to make an alliance with Anjou dynasty. There was one more reason for close connections between the Croatian noble kindreds and the Anjou dynasty. Venice also influenced their actions because it threatened the power of the Croatian noble kindreds and had the intention to control the whole Dalmatian coast. The Croatian noble kindreds counted on the fact that the stronger the Anjou dynasty was the weaker the Serenissima will be.

While the Croatian noble kindreds, the Šubići and the Frankapani, both had the same reasons for becoming allies of the Anjou dynasty, the reasons why the Slavonian noble kindreds took sides with the Anjou party were different. The Kőszegi kindred allied with the Anjou dynasty for territorial reasons; they wanted to regain the lands that they had lost because of Andrew III. The Babonić kindred was a special case because there

was no unique family policy concerning the choice between the two competing dynasties at the beginning. The political tactics of the Árpád and the Anjou dynasties are most visible on the example of Babonić kindred. The reason why the Babonić kindred chose the Anjou side at the end is almost surely because the Anjou side was winning. The different political stances of Stephen and Radoslav Babonić could have been the result of their individual opinions, but they could have also been the result of political moves that were planned in detail. One may also speculate that the Babonić brothers chose both sides so that the kindred would keep their power no matter which side won the battle for throne.

3.3.3 Phase 3 – The period before the conflict between Charles Robert and the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds (1301 – 1322)

3.3.1 The situation in the Hungarian Kingdom

A change of the dynasties in Hungarian Kingdom happened in a period in which royal power was in deep crisis. During the reign of the last Árpáadian kings, central power was very weak and certain noble kindreds came into possession of vast areas where they formed semi-independent territories. Most noble kindreds nominally accepted Andrew III as a king; after his death central power practically ceased to exist. It was even a realistic threat that the Hungarian Kingdom would be divided into several independent provinces.¹³¹

When Charles Robert arrived to the Hungarian Kingdom, in addition to the problem of semi-independent noble kindreds, he was confronted with another threat – the

¹³¹ Engel, *The Realm*, 128.

other candidates for the Hungarian throne. Coronation of a king of Hungary is valid only if the king was crowned in the church of the Holly Virgin collegiate chapter in Székesfehérvár with the Holy Crown.¹³² Since in 1301 Charles Robert was crowned in Esztergom and the Holy Crown was not used, a great number of noblemen did not accept him as a king. Some of them insisted that a new king whom they would have selected should fill the vacant throne. They suggested Václav (Wenceslas), son and heir of the Bohemian King Václav II, who was a descendant of Anna, the daughter of Béla IV and a fiancé of Andrew III's daughter. Václav was crowned under the name of Ladislav with the Holy Crown in Székesfehérvár. Soon a war between Charles Robert and Václav began. The Kőszegi kindred, who had supported Charles Robert before 1301, now changed sides and started to support Václav. In addition, they conquered almost the entire Transdanubia. Matthew Csák, an oligarch from the northwestern counties, convinced Václav to give him Trenčín and Nitra counties as permanent possessions, and soon afterwards Matthew also conquered Hont, Bars and Komárno counties. Charles, with the help of the pope, bishops, and his uncles Albert and Rudolf Habsburg, gained dominance in this war and by the beginning of 1304 a great number of noblemen stood on his side. Václav abandoned his claims for the Hungarian throne.¹³³ These rights were then conceded to his cousin, Otto, Duke of Bavaria. On Otto's side stood the Kőszegi noble kindred and the Transilvanian Saxons. In the spring of 1307 the nobleman Ladislav Kán arrested Otto, returned him to Bavaria and took possession of the Holy Crown.¹³⁴ After these events, Charles Robert could dedicate himself to crushing the power of those

¹³² Engel, *The Realm*, 128.

¹³³ Engel, *The Realm*, 128–129, Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* Vol 2, 8–10.

¹³⁴ Engel, *The Realm*, 129 – 130.

noblemen who did not accept him as a lawful ruler. As early as 1306, Charles Robert conquered Esztergom, and a year later, he captured Buda. At a diet in 1307, magnates Amdeus Aba, Jacob Borsa and Ugrin Csák accepted Charles Robert as their lawful king and the next year the Kőszegi kindred and Matthew Csák with the help of the papal legates, followed suit. Charles Robert was crowned (for the third time) as Charles I on 27 August 1310.¹³⁵

After Charles Robert came to the Kingdom of Hungary, a great number of magnates rebelled against him and they started to support other candidates for the throne. In this period the Hungarian noble kindreds were in the same situation as their Croatian and Slavonian counterparts had been a decade before, that is, they found themselves between more than one candidate for the Hungarian throne. A decade earlier the Anjou dynasty had been in contact with the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds, but not that much with the Hungarian ones. In my opinion one of the reasons for this was the great distances between the estates of the Anjou dynasty and those of the Hungarian nobility. Inland Hungary always gravitated geographically towards the Árpád dynasty. After 1301, when new candidates for the Hungarian throne emerged, Václav and Otto of Bavaria, Hungarian noblemen gained new allies whose estates were located in their vicinity. Like the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds a decade earlier, they chose sides depending on their personal profit. Charles Robert, Charles Robert, with calculated political maneuvers and military confrontations, managed to defeat other candidates for the Hungarian throne and gain the support of most Hungarian noble kindreds.

¹³⁵ Engels, *The Realm*, 130; the second coronation of Charles Robert took place in 1309 in Buda with a crown consecrated by some cardinals, however, this coronation was not legal because the Holy Crown was not used.

3.2.2. Weak communication with Charles Robert

During the first decade of the fourteenth century, when Charles Robert was fighting for the throne and trying to deal with the rebellious Hungarian nobility, the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds, except for the Kőszegi kindred, which had an extensive properties in other parts of the Kingdom as well, had almost no communication with Charles Robert. It seems to me that the reason for this was that these conflicts took place far from the estates of Slavonian and Croatian noble kindreds. Charles Robert did not need their service or help at that particular time.¹³⁶

Nada Klaić has argued that the Babonić kindred was dissatisfied with the politics of Charles Robert because he did not leave the office of ban in their hands. She demonstrates this with a document issued in Naples on 6 July 1306 in which free passage is given to Count Dujam of Krk and Radoslav Babonić.¹³⁷ However, I think that this document was dated incorrectly when it was published in *CD* 8. A document dated 6 July 1291, which mentions the same situation and the same persons is published in *CD* 6.¹³⁸ Historian Hrvoje Kekez and I propose that the compilers of the *CD* made a mistake and that the original document is the one dated to 1291 because it is not logical that Dujam of Krk and Radoslav Babonić would have been traveling to Naples in 1306 because at that time Charles Robert was already in Kingdom of Hungary and not in Naples.¹³⁹ In that time, Count Dujam was quite old and Radoslav Babonić had already died. Disappointed by Charles Robert's lack of interest in them, some of Croatian and Slavonian noble

¹³⁶ In addition, according to an old law Croatian and Slavonian nobility had to help the king by sending him military forces at their own expense but only if a military forces were needed in Croatia and Slavonia. If the military forces were needed north of the Drava River, the nobility was still required to send an army, but in that case all the expenses were to be paid by the king

¹³⁷ *CD* 8, doc. 109, 123; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 352.

¹³⁸ *CD* 6, doc. 28, 34.

¹³⁹ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 81.

kindreds kindreds, the Frankapan and Babonić kindreds, were trying to find new allies. They started turning to their western neighbors, the powerful Habsburgs.

3.3.3 Alliance with the Habsburgs

The absence of communication with Charles Robert forced the Frankapan and Babonić kindreds to seek out for new powerful allies. However, these two families had different reasons for searching for new protectors. The Frankapan kindred was constantly endangered by the Republic of Venice. They were obliged to pay taxes and tolls to them, and the Serenissima even forced them to go to Venice to swear them an oath of fidelity.¹⁴⁰ Without Charles Robert on their side, who was in conflict with other candidates for Hungarian throne at the time, they felt unprotected. Because of this, they decided to find protectors powerful enough to defend them from the Venetian threat.

According to Nada Klaić, the Babonić kindred decided to make an alliance with the Habsburgs because they felt betrayed by Charles Robert who did not give them the office of Ban of Slavonia. The connection between the Babonić kindred and the Habsburgs was also backed by marital connections. These can be traced back to Meinhard IV, count of Gorica and Tirol, who gained in 1278 the Duchy of Carinthia, and Carniola with the Windic March in lease from Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg.¹⁴¹ In that way the counts of Gorica and Tyrol became neighbors of some Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds and it is logical that they developed direct

¹⁴⁰ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 118–119.

¹⁴¹ Kekez, “Rod Babonića”, 82; Meinhard IV, the founder of the Meinhard branch of the counts of Gorica and the Tyrol received these estates as a sign of gratitude because he helped Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg in his battles with Otto II, the Bohemian king

connections with them.¹⁴² They created marital bonds with the Babonić kindred. John Babonić married Clara Eufemia, sister of Henry II, count of Gorica.¹⁴³ Direct connections between him and the Habsburgs were created when Frederick I of Habsburg (Frederick the Fair) needed to find allies from the area of the eastern Alps.¹⁴⁴

Frederick entered into alliance with the Count Henry II of Gorica, on 5 March 1308 and after that he proceeded to Maribor, where he met with his new allies, brothers Stephen, John and Radoslav Babonić and Dujam Frankapan.¹⁴⁵ This event is confirmed in Ottokar's Styrian Rhyming Chronicle.¹⁴⁶ The document was issued in Maribor on 6 March 1308 and it testifies that the Babonić brothers gave Frederick II a loan of 300 Viennese silver marks in exchange for which he handed them over a tower in Gradčan, one half of the taxes from Kostanjevica and the whole amount from Žumberak, the village of Oberleitenberg, the market incomes from Krmavo and the unfree knights in Orehovica.¹⁴⁷ It is also stated that this loan will be returned to the Babonić brothers after

¹⁴² Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 82.

¹⁴³ Milko Kos, "Odnosaji među goričkim grofovima i hrvatskim plemstvom u srednjem vijeku," [Relations between Counts of Gorica and Croatian Nobility in Medieval Period] *Vjesnik zemaljskog arhiva* 19 (1917): 4; Peter Štih, "Goriški grofovje in Devinski gospodje," [The Counts of Gorica and the Lords of Devin] *Zgodovinski časopis* 3 (1992): 312.

¹⁴⁴ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 82.

¹⁴⁵ Milko Kos, "Odnosaji," 4 - 5

¹⁴⁶ ... mit im der furste univertzeit
gegen Marchpurge reit.
dar kom ouch ze im
der herzog von Agrim
und sîn bruoder grâf I Radizlâ,
die Wabanic nant man si dâ;
mit den kom ouch in daz lant
der grâve Doym genant...

See in: "Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik," vol. 2, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores. VIII. : Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Joseph Seemüller (Hannover, 1893), 1213–1214, lines 93473–93480 (<http://www.dmggh.de/>) (last accessed 25 November 2010.)

¹⁴⁷ ... turrin in Grezchin, mediam vrboram in Landstrost, vrboram integram in Sicherberg, villam in Oberleitenberg, forum in Cromau, et nobiles seu clientes in Orchiniz..., CD VIII, doc. 141, 153; Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 83.

Frederick II returns the debt of 300 Viennese silver marks.¹⁴⁸ A few days later, on 15 March 1308, Frederick again confirmed the same document, probably wanting to confirm that he will pay back the money given to him.¹⁴⁹ In addition to financial support, the Babonić kindred gave also military support to the Habsburgs. In the same year, they were fighting on Frederick's side for the crown and they conquered the town Slovenj-Gradec for him.¹⁵⁰

3.3.4 Charles Robert's confrontations with the Hungarian nobility

Charles Robert did acquire the throne of the Árpád kings, but he did not want to inherit their way of ruling. Therefore, he decided to change the balance of power in the Hungarian Kingdom. He made efforts to suppress the power of the noble kindreds and in so doing to increase the power of the king. After the confrontations with other candidates for the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert tried to govern the kingdom with the cooperation of the magnates of the realm. He gave them offices and titles, but from the beginning of his reign he was determined to use his royal rights. He insisted that all the estates and revenues that had been illegally expropriated from royal estates and the Church have to be returned to their former state. His actions led to a long war against the Hungarian nobility that lasted until 1322.¹⁵¹

Charles Robert first came conflict with Matthew Csák, who early on accepted his authority nominally, however, later he refused to perform his orders. In 1311 Charles

¹⁴⁸ CD VIII, doc. 141, 153; in this document the Babonić brothers Stephen, John and Ladislav are mentioned (*Nos Stephanus, Johannes et Ladislaus...*) One can presume that the scribe mistakenly wrote Ladislav instead of Radoslav. Ottokar's Styrian Chronicle mentions the brothers Stephen, John and Radoslav.

¹⁴⁹ Kos, "Odnosaji," 5.

¹⁵⁰ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 83–84; Kos, "Odnosaji," 5–6.

¹⁵¹ Engel, *The Realm*, 130–131.

Robert took the office of *magister tavernicorum* away from him, ordered that he should be excommunicated, and then Charles started a military conflict. Magnate Amadeus Aba who in the past did not accept Charles Robert as his lawful ruler, died in the same year. Charles Robert wanted to use this moment to take Aba's lands; however, the sons of Amadeus Aba united their armies with that of Matthew Csák and fought a decisive battle against the king in 1312 at the village of Rozhanovce (Rozgony), where Charles Robert defeated their troops. Charles Robert realized that he could not gain sufficient support from the nobility for his plan of reducing the power of the magnates so he intended to surround the estates of his enemies with those of his allies. Charles Robert renewed his alliance with Frederick I of Habsburg and with the new Bohemian king John of Luxemburg. At a regional diet in 1314, the magnates directly rejected support for Charles Robert. Because of that, he declared them rebels and removed them from the offices that he had given them earlier. In addition, he created a new government whose members were his personal retainers. Almost all the magnates united against Charles Robert, the only areas that he held were Srem, part of Slavonija, Bačka, and the estates of his only supporter, the late Ugrinus Csák, who died in 1311 and left underage son. Fortunately for the king, the rebelling magnates did not unite their armies, Charles Robert fought against one army at the time, and because of that he managed to defeat them in a series of battles that lasted until 1322.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Engel, *The Realm*, 131.

3.3.5 The relations between Charles Robert and the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds

A) The Babonić kindred

After 1309, Charles Robert renewed his contacts with the Babonić kindred. The former ban Henry Kőszegi, who did not accept Charles as a king died that same year. Charles feared that the sons of Henry Kőszegi, Peter and John, would also be unfaithful to him and therefore he decided to give the office of ban to the oldest of the Babonić brothers, Stephen. He probably selected Stephen Babonić for this position because of his wealth and his large estates but also because of the connections that the Babonić kindred had with the Habsburgs. By taking them into his favor, Charles Robert weakened the connections of the Babonić kindred with their western neighbors.¹⁵³ He did not give important missions to Stephen Babonić. However, Babonić Kindred remained in contact with the Habsburgs. A document dated to 18 February 1316 declares that Frederick I of Habsburg release some kind of debt to Babonić kindred because of the favors that they did for him.¹⁵⁴ Charles Robert later transferred the office of ban to John Babonić, the brother of Stephen. John fought against the rebellious Hungarian magnates including the Kőszegi Kindred. After John defeated the Kőszegi kindred, he asked Charles Robert for the castles of Moslavina, Bršljanovo with Upper and Lower Garešnica, the castle and estate Položnica and the castle and estate of Međurječje, which Charles Robert then granted to him.¹⁵⁵ One can see that the king entrusted John with more important missions

¹⁵³ Kekez, "Rod Babonića," 85–86.

¹⁵⁴ CD VIII, doc. 342, 418.

¹⁵⁵ ... *primo videlicet portionem possessionum Petri de Monozlou cum castrum similiter vocato, castrum Borsonouch cum possessionibus et pertinentiis suis et cum villis Superiori et Inferiori Gersunche; item possessiones Polosnycha vocatas cum castro similiter vocato, in comitatu de Garyg existentes; item possessiones Megeryuchye vocatas cum castro similiter vocato ...*, CD VIII, doc. 361, 439–440; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 354.

than the ones that he entrusted to Stephen Babonić. The reason for this is probably that Stephen held the office of ban when Charles was engaged in war against those Hungarian magnates whose estates were far away from the estates of the Babonić kindred. When John held the office, Charles Robert was fighting with magnates whose estates were closer to the estates of Babonić kindred which accounts for John's stronger engagement.

B) The Kőszegi kindred

The Kőszegi Kindred was the one of the rebellious families. When Charles Robert started to put his plan to reduce the power of the magnates into action he started with noble kindreds in Hungary. Kőszegi kindred was one of them because they owned lands also in Hungary. He sent Ban John Babonić to confront them.¹⁵⁶ He conquered Baranya, Somogy and Tolna counties. Further inroads into their lands were stopped because of the rebellion of other magnate kindreds and because the Serbian king, Uroš II Milutin, attacked Srem. The Kőszegi kindred continued with resistance towards Charles Robert until a temporary peace was made in 1321.¹⁵⁷

C) The Frankapan kindred

The Frankapan kindred, as mentioned above, were great supporters of the Anjou dynasty in general and Charles Robert in particular. However, in the first decade of the fourteenth century they did not have any contacts with Charles Robert. Because of this, they started making contacts with the Habsburgs. This is confirmed in a document that says that Count Dujam, together with the Babonić brothers met Frederick I of Habsburg.

¹⁵⁶ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 354.

¹⁵⁷ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovaca," 25.

It is not sure that they have made any kind of alliance, but Charles Robert, probably scared of this alliance, donated Požega County to Count Dujam. In doing this, he probably wanted to weaken the connections between the Frankapan kindred and the Habsburgs.¹⁵⁸ In addition, in 1316 he again confirmed Gacka County, the estates of Doljani and Lazinčići, the castle of Otočac and the estate of Obriž to the Frankapan kindred.¹⁵⁹

D) The Šubić kindred

Šubić kindred, led by Count Paul, helped Charles Robert to gain the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary however, but in the first decade of the fourteenth century he was not in contact with them. During this period the politics of the Šubić kindred had two goals: to dominate Bosnia and to take the city of Zadar from Venice. Count Paul conquered Bosnia, and in 1308 Charles Robert confirmed him in the office of Bosnian ban as a hereditary position.¹⁶⁰ In 1311, the Šubić kindred achieved their second goal; Paul's son, Mladen II, became the count of Zadar.¹⁶¹ However, just two years later, Zadar was again under Venetian rule. Count Paul died the following year and Mladen II succeeded him. In the 1320s a rebellion started in the towns of Trogir and Šibenik, which were under rule of Mladen II. He stopped these rebellions very violently. The rebellions were resumed during the winter of 1321/1322 with the support of the Republic of Venice. Mladen II stopped the rebellions again but this time even more violently. That motivated

¹⁵⁸ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 386.

¹⁵⁹ *db donacionem nostram de comitatu Gekhke, (terra Dolano, item) de terra Laznychich, castro Othochacio ac terra Obriz uocata ...*, CD VIII, doc. 355, 432–433; The document is heavily damaged, but Charles Robert confirmed his donation again in 1323 (CD IX, doc 122, 142–143); Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 386; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 130.

¹⁶⁰ Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 17.

¹⁶¹ CD VIII, doc. 95, 105–106; Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 18.

some Croatian noble families, the Nelipčić family, the Mihovilović family, and the Kurjaković family, and Paul II, Mladen II's brother, to turn against Mladen II.¹⁶²

3.3.6 Conclusions

At the beginning of this period, Charles Robert did not communicate with the noble kindreds of Slavonia and Croatia because he was occupied with confrontations with other candidates for the throne of Hungary. This lack of communications clearly bothered the Frankapan and Babonić kindreds since they started to communicate with the Habsburgs. The fact that the Frankapans turned to the Habsburgs is quite logical because they needed the protection against Venice. However, the reason why the Babonić kindred turned to the Habsburgs is not known. It is possible that they wanted to secure themselves if Charles Robert did not win in the confrontation between the candidates for the Hungarian throne. Charles Robert starts to put his plan for reducing the power into action. The first noblemen that he attacked were the ones who owned lands in Hungary. The Kőszegi Kindred owned land both in Hungary and in Slavonia and they were affected by Charles's plan of regaining power since they have lost their lands in Hungary. This period was quite fruitful for the Šubić kindred, whose power had significantly grown during this period. They were becoming too powerful and because of that Charles Robert started to implement his plan in Croatia and Slavonia.

¹⁶² Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski," 21–23.

3.4. Phase 4 – Period of confrontation among Charles Robert and the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds (1322 – 1342)

3.4.1 The situation in the Kingdom of Hungary

In first decade of the thirteenth century Charles Robert fought against the other candidates for the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary. After he had secured the throne, Charles Robert began to implement his plan of reducing the power of the noble kindreds. In the second decade of the thirteenth century, he confronted with the powerful noble kindreds in Hungary, north of the Sava River. After he had succeeded in implementing his plan on the Hungarian noble kindreds, Charles Robert wanted to achieve the same results in Slavonia and Croatia.

In Slavonia his main obstacles were the Babonić kindred, until then his most loyal allies in Slavonia, and the Kőszegi kindred, which had already lost their possessions in Hungary in the second part of the thirteenth century. In Croatia, the main goal for Charles Robert was to crush the power of the more and more powerful Šubić kindred. The Frankapans also represented a danger for Charles Robert, but he did not go against them for the reasons that I will list later. Although it would have been more logical geographically to attack the Slavonian noble kindreds first, Charles Robert decided to confront with the Šubić kindred first, probably due to their immense power.

3.4.2 The relations between Charles Robert and the Croatian and Slavonian noble kindreds until the end of his reign (1322 – 1342)

A) The Šubić kindred

After having consolidated his rule over most of Hungary, Charles Robert continued with his plan of reducing the power of the noble kindreds. After he stabilized the situation with Hungarian noble kindreds, Charles Robert intended to set limits on the power of the Croatian the noble kindreds. His primary goal was to reduce the power of the Šubić-s. The Šubić kindred had become more and more powerful with time. Its members became the lords of Bosnia and the counts of Zadar. Mladen II Šubić found himself in a difficult situation when the Nelipčić, Mihovilović, and Kurjaković kindreds and his brother Paul II turned against him because of the violently suppressed rebellions in the towns of Šibenik and Trogir mentioned above. Charles Robert intended to turn Mladen's situation into his own benefit and by doing this suppress the power of the Šubić kindred and improve his position in Croatia and Dalmatia.¹⁶³ According to Vjekoslav Klaić, Ban John Babonić confronted Mladen II in 1316, sent by the order of the king Charles Robert.¹⁶⁴ Charles Robert sent Ban John Babonić to confront Mladen II in 1322. The army of Ban John Babonić joined with the armies of the Nelipčić, Mihovilović, and Kurjaković kindreds and with the militia of the towns of Šibenik and Trogir. These united troops confronted the army of Mladen II in the battle at Bliska near the town of Knin in the summer of 1322. The army of Charles Robert and his allies won the battle and

¹⁶³ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 355.

¹⁶⁴ Klaić does not quote the primary source from which he extracted this information; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Hrvatski hercezi i bani za Karla Roberta I Ljudevita I. : (1301-1382)* [Croatian princes and bans in the time of Charles Robert and Louis I] (Zagreb: Naklada Matice hrvatske, 1900), 165.

Mladen II was imprisoned and taken to Hungary, where he soon died under unknown circumstances.¹⁶⁵

After Mladen II Šubić was defeated, the situation in Croatia, to quote Damir Karbić “went from bad to worse.” Almost all of the Croatian noble kindreds, except the Frankapans, rebelled against Charles Robert. Parts of the Šubić’s former dominion entered a period of disintegration and internal struggles as other noble families seized some of the counties.¹⁶⁶ Because of the defeat of Mladen II, the Šubić kindred lost the legal foundation on which they had achieved their reign in Croatia and this led to a significant weakening of their power and the reduction of their properties.

Although the Šubić kindred was considerably weakened by these events and their members were no longer bans of Croatia, they remained the most significant noble kindred in Croatia, especially under George II (1322–1328) and his son Mladen III (1329–1348).¹⁶⁷ Charles Robert achieved his goal of suppressing the power of the Šubićs. He did not want to annihilate the Šubić kindred totally, but to subject them to his rule.

B) The Babonić Kindred

In a document issued in 16 October 1322, Charles Robert called John Babonić, who was already ban of Slavonia, a ban of all Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. One can presume that this title was given to John Babonić after Mladen II Šubić was removed from power.¹⁶⁸ It is possible that John got this title because he helped the king in the battle against the Šubić kindred. The Croatian noble kindreds did not accept John

¹⁶⁵ Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski,” 24.

¹⁶⁶ Damir Karbić, “The Šubić kindred,” 92.

¹⁶⁷ Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski,” 25.

¹⁶⁸ ...*Johannem banum tocius Sclavonie, Croacie et Dalmacie* ..., CD IX, doc. 76, 90; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Hercezi i bani*, 166.

Babonić as ban and they rebelled against him and the king. After these events, Charles Robert removed John Babonić from the office of ban of Slavonia, and Croatia and Dalmatia.¹⁶⁹

Nada Klaić suggests that the Croatian noble kindreds did not want to accept John because he was a “foreigner” in Croatia, because he did not own any lands in Croatia. In addition, she considers that John’s advanced age was also one of the reasons for removing him from the office of ban. Nada Klaić claims that support in favor of her theory is Charles Robert’s confirmation of all the Babonić possessions to Nicholas and Dujam, the nephews of John Babonić, sons of his brother Radoslav, on 27 January 1322. She claims that the confirmation happened because of the assistance that John Babonić gave the king.¹⁷⁰ In addition, one day later, Charles Robert confirmed the castles of Samobor and Želin to John Babonić, the nephew of the former ban John Babonić, son of his brother Stephen.¹⁷¹ Nada Klaić also states that the reason for removing John Babonić from the office of ban was the fact that he was disturbing Charles Robert in the implementation of his future plans.¹⁷²

In my opinion, Nada Klaić gave contradictory reasons for removing John Babonić from the office of ban. One of her main arguments is Charles Robert’s confirmation of the possessions to the younger generation of the Babonić kindred. However, these possessions were confirmed in January, before the fall of Mladen II Šubić in summer of 1322. I presume that Charles Robert confirmed these possessions not because he was grateful to John Babonić, but because the situation in Croatia was still not resolved; the

¹⁶⁹ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 355.

¹⁷⁰ CD IX., doc. 38, 48–49; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 355–356.

¹⁷¹ ... *possessiones et castra, Zamabur et Selyn vocata* ..., CD IX, doc. 39, 49–50; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 356.

¹⁷² Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 514.

Croatian noble kindreds were rebelling against Charles Robert and the fall of Mladen II Šubić was not yet certain. My presumption is that Charles Robert wanted to keep the Babonić-s on his side until he deals with the rebellion of the Croatian noble kindreds and with the Šubić-s. This assumption can be supported by examining the events that happened soon after the fall of Mladen II Šubić, when Charles Robert turned against the Babonić kindred itself. In addition, Nada Klaić claims that John was removed from the office of ban because he was too old; however, John Babonić lived until 1334.¹⁷³ In addition, he was later granted estates in northeastern Hungary, namely, the estate of Sárospatak and the castle of Újhely.¹⁷⁴

Charles Robert ordered the new ban, Nicholas Gut-Keled, to defeat the rebelling Croatian noble kindreds. However, as Ban Nicholas was entering Croatia, he was attacked by the former ban John Babonić and his nephews, whom he defeated.¹⁷⁵ The Babonić-s were defeated in this battle, but there were no repercussions for them. Ban Nicholas could not defeat the rebelling Croatian noble kindreds and therefore Charles Robert appointed a new ban, Mikcs Ákos. Charles Robert had sent Ban Mikcs to confront the rebelling Croatian nobility, but he was also defeated. The king then changed his strategy. He probably realized that he could not defeat Croatian nobility until he reduced the power of the Slavonian noble kindreds. He decided to confront the Babonići.¹⁷⁶

In 1327 the Babonić kindred joined forces with the Kőszegi kindred and together they fought the army led by Ban Mikcs.¹⁷⁷ The king's army won in that conflict and Ban

¹⁷³ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 356.

¹⁷⁴ .Anjou-kori oklevéltár: *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore Regum Andegavensium illustrantia* vol. 3, ed. Kristó Gyula, (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1990), 92.

¹⁷⁵ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Hercezi i bani*, 168; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 514–515.

¹⁷⁶ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 517.

¹⁷⁷ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovaca," 25.

Mikcs took the main fort of the Babonić kindred, Steničnjak, on 16 September 1327. According to Nada Klaić, other noble kindreds suggested to Ban Mikcs that he donate the estate of Moslavina to George, John, Dionysius, and Paul Babonić, sons of Stephen Babonić, to replace the lost fort Steničnjak. The Babonić brothers still had many estates in their possession that Ban Mikcs confirmed to them in the name of the king. These were the Lipovec castle with all its belongings, Dvorjan, Belčić, Slavetić, Reka, Krško, Debroveč, the lands that formerly belonged to the castle and the warriors in Podgorje, Gradec on the Kupa River, as well as Brezovica and Petrovina in Turopolje.¹⁷⁸ The next year Charles Robert confirmed the document from 16 September 1327 and emphasized that his enemies had persuaded the Babonić kindred to be unfaithful to him.¹⁷⁹ By enemies, Charles Robert probably meant the Kőszegi kindred.

Nada Klaić presumes that Ban Mikcs confronted with the Babonić kindred without the king's knowledge because the ban states that the confrontation with the Babonić kindred was a reaction to Babonić's outbursts against the king and that the ban needed to retaliate that. She also states that the document issued on 16 September 1327 does not indicate that Ban Mikcs was operating on Charles Robert's orders. Her opinion is that if the Babonići had truly rebelled against the king, the ban would have had the authority to take all of their estates, which he did not do.¹⁸⁰ In my opinion, Ban Mikcs did not operate without the king's order. Similarly to the situation with the Šubić kindred, the king did not want to fully destroy the power of the Babonić kindred, but just to reduce it

¹⁷⁸ ... *castrum Lypowch cum tenutis, possessionibus et pertinentiis suis universis specialiter Duorian, Belchych, Sclauetiz, Reka, Gurcham, Debrouch, videlicet castrensibus de comitatu Podkoria eisdem relinquimus, que ad ipsum castrum primitus pertinebat; insuper possessionem Grech vocatam iuxta Culpam existentem ... nec non possessiones – Brezouicha et sancti Petri in campo Zagradiensi...*, CD IX, doc. 296., 358–360; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 517–518.

¹⁷⁹ CD IX, doc. 318, 386–388; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 518.

¹⁸⁰ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 517–518.

and that was the reason why he took their main fort from them and not all their properties. Another point that supports this is the donation of the estates in northeastern Hungary mentioned above, to the former ban, John Babonić.¹⁸¹

Unsatisfied with the politics of Charles Robert, the Babonić.s once again turned to the Habsburgs. On 7 January 1336 the sons of Stephen Babonić, George, Dionysius, and Paul, entered into the service of the Austrian dukes Albert and Otto of Habsburg. They stated that they would not make contracts or peace treaties with Charles Robert or his successors and allies or with the opponents of the Habsburgs without the knowledge, orders or approval of their masters i.e., the Habsburgs. However, the sons of Radoslav Babonić, Nicholas and Dujam, stayed on Charles Robert's side. He confirmed all their previous titles to properties and estates and allowed them to buy the estate of Dobrenica and the castle of Ostrožac. In addition, he confirmed to them the possession of the castle of Ostrožac with some of the king's villages and boroughs: Omeršal, Vrhovina, Ružindol, Vratak, Medvedje, Sveti Juraj, Podbabja, Brekovica, Starošán, Menić, Verhimorić, Mehostrah, Stina, and Jamovec with all the services and taxes that they had previously given the king.¹⁸² Nicholas and Dujam stayed in the service of Charles Robert until his death and later joined the service of his son.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Anjou-kori Okmánytár 3, 92

¹⁸² ... *terram Dobrenica et locum castri Ostrosecz vocatum circa quod certas nostras regales generationes et villas Omersal videlicet et Werchoina, Rusindol, Wrutak, Meduegiazentgurg, Podbabya, Brekouicza, Ztharowsam, Menich, Werchimorich, Mehoztrah, Zthina impopulosa et Yamowech vocatas cum earum cunctis utilitatibus et pertinentiis, serviitiisque et obventionibus, quibus nostre maiestati hjactenus servire tenebantur ...*, CD IX, doc. 435, 534–536; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 519.

¹⁸³ Members of this branch of the Babonić kindred later got the name Blagay by the town of Blagaj; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 519.

C) The Kőszegi Kindred

Charles Robert confronted the Kőszegi kindred during his campaign against the Hungarian noble kindreds when he took over the estates of the Kőszegis that were located in Hungary. As already mentioned, in 1327 the Kőszegi kindred united their forces with those of the Babonić kindred and confronted Ban Mikcs.¹⁸⁴ After they were defeated in this confrontation, the Kőszegis lost the towns and estates of Koprivnica, Sárvár, Kőszeg and probably the estates Belec, Lóbor, Vinica and Lepoglava.¹⁸⁵ They rebelled again in 1336, this time with the support of the Austrian dukes Albert and Otto of Habsburg, and the rebellion lasted until 1339. They were again defeated by Ban Mikcs and this confrontation led to the final break in the power and independence of the Kőszegi kindred. Charles Robert took away their castles on the border of the Austrian lands so that the Kőszegi kindred would not be able to have any connections with the Habsburgs.¹⁸⁶ These were the castles of Lockenhaus, Bernstein, Kostel, Krapina, Osterc, and Vrbovec.¹⁸⁷ In exchange, they received lands in Baranya, Bodrog, and Tolna counties. After these events, the Kőszegi kindred did not play a major role in the political life of the Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁸⁸

The Kőszegi kindred offers perhaps the most spectacular example of how Charles Robert implemented his plan to reduce the power of the noble kindreds. First he restored his royal power by defeating the noble kindreds in Hungary and then in Slavonia. The Kőszegi kindred tried, like the Babonić kindred, to preserve its power by allying with the powerful Habsburgs, but failed because of the military skills of Ban Mikcs.

¹⁸⁴ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovaca," 25.

¹⁸⁵ Pál Engel, "The Güssinger im Kampf gegen die ungarische Krone," in *Die Güssinger*, ed. Heide Dienst (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1989) 101–103.

¹⁸⁶ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovaca," 25.

¹⁸⁷ Pál Engel, "The Güssinger," 100–102.

¹⁸⁸ Marija Karbić, "Rod Gisingovaca," 25.

D) The Frankapan Kindred

The Frankapan kindred was the only noble kindred in Croatia that did not rebel against Charles Robert. Count Frederick III of Krk, who at the time of the fall of Mladen II Šubić was the head of the Frankapan kindred, stayed by Charles Robert's side. He had asked Charles Robert for the confirmation of his estates after Mladen II Šubić was defeated; Charles Robert granted the confirmation to him on 8 October 1322. In addition, Count Frederick sent his son, Dujam, to the king to request the Drežnik County, which Charles Robert subsequently granted him, together with the estate of Slunj. The following year, on 6 November 1323, Charles Robert again confirmed the counties of Vinodol, Gacka, and Drežnik and the estate of Slunj to Count Frederick.¹⁸⁹ Every time that Charles Robert sent his armies against the rebelling Croatian noble kindreds, Count Frederick, and later his successor John IV, joined the king with their troops.¹⁹⁰ Miha Madijev, a contemporary chronicler, claims that the Frankapans helped Ban Mikcs defeat the Babonići and that they also sided with the royal forces in the battles with the Croatian noble kindreds of Kurjaković and Nelipić.¹⁹¹ The Frankapan kindred remained loyal to the Anjou dynasty even after Charles Robert died in 1342, when his son Louis came to the throne.¹⁹²

The main question here is why Charles Robert did not want to reduce the power of the Frankapan kindred as he had done with almost all the other powerful noble kindreds in Hungary, Slavonia, and Croatia. The Frankapans were undoubtedly strong, but they were not as strong as the Šubići. The Frankapans did not present such a big

¹⁸⁹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 132.

¹⁹⁰ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 134.

¹⁹¹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 134; Vjekoslav Klaić quotes Miha Madijev and his work *De gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificatum*, which was unavailable to me.

¹⁹² Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Frankapani*, 136.

threat as the Šubići did. In addition, all of the Croatian noble kindreds, except for the Frankapan kindred, rebelled against Charles Robert. The king needed at least one relatively strong noble kindred in Croatia on his side; in my opinion that was the main reason why Charles Robert did not attack the Frankapan kindred. The Frankapan kindred, on the other hand needed protection from the Republic of Venice. The Serenissima wanted to achieve the domination over the entire Dalmatian coast and to subject the noble kindreds that owned the land on the coast to their power so that those kindreds would become their vassals and pay taxes and tolls to Venice. In my opinion that was the main reason why the Frankapans did not join forces with the rebelling Croatian noble kindreds.

3.4.3 Conclusion

After he defeated the Hungarian noble kindreds, Charles Robert intended to do the same in the areas south of the Drava River, in Croatia and Slavonia. It would have been more logical from a geographic standpoint if he had first attacked the Slavonian noble kindreds and then the Croatian ones. However, in all of Croatia and Slavonia the Šubić kindred presented the most dangerous threat because of their great power. In addition, Charles Robert needed allies to fight against the Šubić kindred and because of that the Babonić kindred was not attacked until later. He used certain noble kindreds to fight other noble kindreds. He used the Babonići to fight against the Kőszegis when he was confronting the Hungarian nobility, and then he used Babonići against the Šubići. In the end he turned against the Babonić kindred. I believe that Charles Robert, whose ambition was to restore power to the crown, planned most of these events in advance. The Frankapan kindred stands as an exception. They did not turn against the king nor did

the king turn against them. The reason why the Frankapani did not turn against Charles Robert was most definitely their fear of the power of Venice. The Frankapan kindred would have probably have experienced the same fate as the other of the noble families, but the rebellion of the Croatian noble kindreds proved to be almost unbeatable and Charles Robert had to keep at least one powerful noble kindred in Croatia to serve him as an ally.

4. Conclusion

After having discussed the details in four periods, it is time to give a continuous account of the whole story. At the end of the thirteenth century, the Slavonian and the Croatian noble kindreds, because of the weak royal authority, accumulated a great amount of power. In the period after the death of Ladislas IV, when the new candidates for the Hungarian throne appeared, the nobility wanted to retain as much power as possible at any cost. Because of this, different noble families used different tactical maneuvers to gain as much as possible from the situation in which they found themselves.

The Croatian noble kindreds, whose landed property was located closer to the possessions of the Anjou dynasty and whose lands had an exit to the sea sided with the Anjou dynasty earlier than the Slavonian noble kindreds did and their loyalty to this dynasty was stronger. The Frankapan kindred started communicating with the Anjou dynasty later than the Šubići. The Frankapani were granted land properties and trade contracts from the Anjou dynasty. In addition, there is no source that confirms that they were in contact with Andrew III. This is because Andrew III probably concentrated on gaining the loyalty of the Šubić kindred, the more powerful of the two. The Šubići were granted land properties, the title of ban, and trade contracts from the Anjou dynasty. However, they also maintained contacts with the Árpád dynasty, which confirmed all the donations that the Anjou dynasty had made. In my opinion, the Šubići, although in contact with both of the dynasties, did not use tactical maneuvers such as changing sides often. It was the dynasties that used tactical maneuvers. Every time when the Anjou

dynasty granted something to the Šubić kindred, Andrew III soon did the same. Although all the grants from the Anjou dynasty were actually fictitious, one can conclude from the actions of Andrew III that he considered the Anjou dynasty a powerful and dangerous opponent. The biggest “battle of donations” between the dynasties was fought for the Šubić kindred. This demonstrates that the Šubić kindred had immense power in this period, both the Anjous and Andrew III knew it, and because of this they needed the Šubić kindred as their ally.

Both of the Croatian noble kindreds in question had one powerful reason why to support the Anjou dynasty; this was the fear of Venice, the Serenissima. The Kingdom of Naples could have used their power in Italy to protect the Croatian families against the ambitions of Venice, which wanted to secure its domination on the Dalmatian coast and to subject the Croatian noble kindreds to its rule. From the example of the Šubići and the Frankapani one can see that the Anjou dynasty was able to offer them something that they could not offer to the Slavonian noble kindreds. These were the trading contracts with Naples that was in the possession of Sicily, “the granary of Europe”. The Croatian noble kindreds therefore enjoyed direct benefits from siding with the Anjou dynasty.

The Slavonian noble kindreds, which geographically gravitated towards the Árpád dynasty, used the “double policy” more often than their Croatian counterparts did. Although the Anjou dynasty granted them lands, it could not grant them trading contracts because the Slavonian noble kindreds did not own land on the coast. However, both of the Slavonian noble kindreds in question, the Babonići and the Kőszegi, later chose to stand by the Anjou party. The Kőszegi kindred did not communicate with the Árpád dynasty either, like the Frankapani. The reason for this was probably their disappointment with

Andrew III, because of whom they lost a large number of estates. This is clearly the reason why they “changed sides” and decided to support the Anjou dynasty. Their loyalty to the Anjous cannot be questioned because they even kidnaped Andrew III. The reason why Andrew III did not communicate with the Kőszegi kindred was probably because he was concentrating on gaining the support of the Babonić kindred. While the Kőszegi turned to the Anjou dynasty because they had a reason for this, the political moves of the Babonić kindred were more complicated. This became most evident around the end of the thirteenth century, when one of the Babonić brothers, Stephen, supported Andrew III, while the other brother, Radoslav, aligned himself with the Anjou dynasty. While Stephen Babonić had no contacts with the Anjous, Radoslav Babonić was communicating with both of the dynasties. The Anjou dynasty probably assumed that by securing the support of one of the members of the Babonići, they had secured the support of the entire kindred. Andrew III was clearly aware that the brothers had different political standpoints and he tried to lure Radoslav to his side by granting him land. Radoslav is also the only example among the members of the kindreds in question where Andrew III directly punished an individual for siding with the Anjou dynasty. He did this by taking back some land properties from Radoslav which he had previously granted to him. The political moves of the Babonić brothers could have been synchronized. There is a possibility that their behavior towards the dynasties was a tactical maneuver with which they wanted to preserve more power in the hands of their kindred, regardless which side won the throne of Hungary.

After he came to Hungary, Charles Robert and his advisors were aware that they could not implement his plan of reducing the power of all the noble kindreds at once.

Therefore, he used certain noble kindreds to help him fight the others. The Babonići helped him to fight the Šubići and the Kőszegi. The Frankapani, on the other hand, helped him fight the Šubići, the Babonići and the rest of the Croatian noble kindreds. The only noble kindred that Charles Robert did not confront were the Frankapani. In my opinion, the reason for this was the rebellion of the other Croatian noble kindreds, which proved to be almost unbreakable. The Frankapani were left in power only because Charles Robert needed them to help him fight against the rebellious Croatian noble kindreds. I presume that if the rebellion of the Croatian nobility had been crushed, Charles Robert would have confronted the Frankapan kindred as well. In the end, the Frankapani were the kindred that benefited the most from this situation, and the Šubić the kindred lost the most.

In my opinion, these results fit perfectly into Charles Robert's plan of reducing the power of the noble kindreds, because those who had the most lost the most. Although, the relations that developed in this period between the royal dynasties and the noble kindreds of Croatia and Slavonia seem complicated, they are only the result of the balance of power between the kindreds which participated in the battle for the throne.

My research presented here gives an inside look into the ways how noble kindreds functioned in relation to the rulers and regarding the internal connections between their members during the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Kingdom of Hungary. The relations inside the medieval kindred are quite difficult to understand and I believe that the method that was used in this research, which is based on the analysis of the chronology and distribution of the donation charters, is a good example of how these relations can be better understood. This research summarizes the

relations between just four noble kindreds and two dynasties in one period of the history of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, I believe that this kind of approach is applicable to other periods and other regions as well. In addition, this approach not only applies to the relations between the king and the noble kindreds, it can also be used for, example, the relations between magnates and the lower nobility. I hope that this research will complement the previous works on the history of the nobility and that it will contribute to further research of that branch of history.



Figure 1. Map of Slavonia and Croatia from the eleventh until the fourteenth centuries. The map is taken from György Györffy, "Die Nordwestgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung des 'ducatus Sclavoniae'" ¹⁹³

¹⁹³ György Györffy, "Die Nordwestgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im XI. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung des 'ducatus Sclavoniae'," in *Mélanges Szabolcs de Vajay*, ed. Pierre Brière et al (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1971).

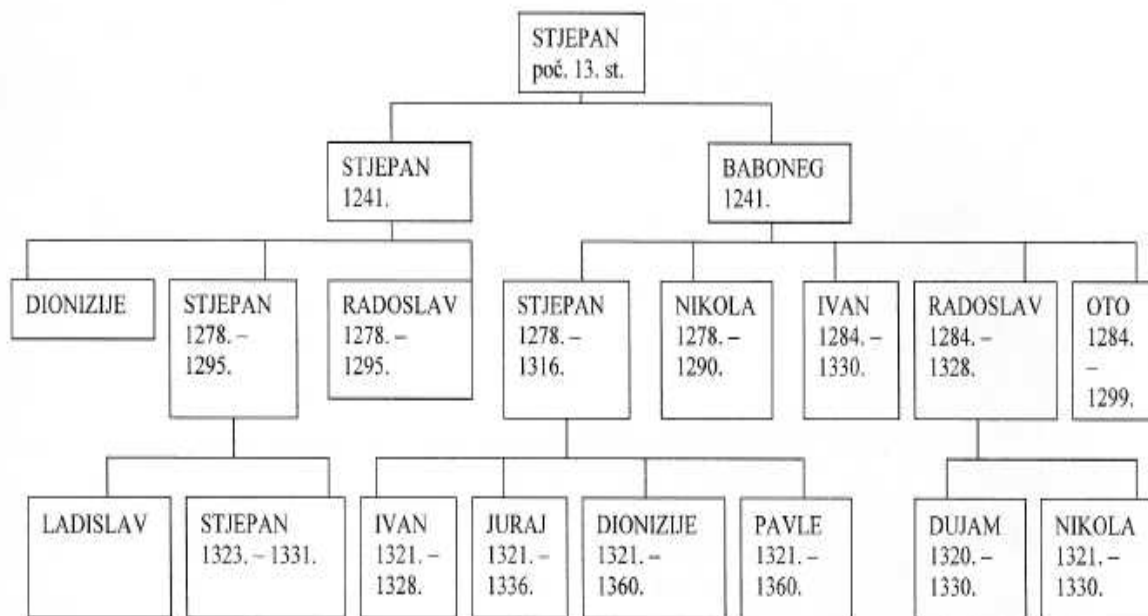


Figure 2. Genealogical tree of the Babonić kindred¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ The genealogical tree is composed on the basis of an article “Između dva kralja: plemićki rod Babonića u vrijeme promjene na ugarsko-hrvatskom prijestolju, od 1290. do 1309. godine“ by Hrvoje Kekez

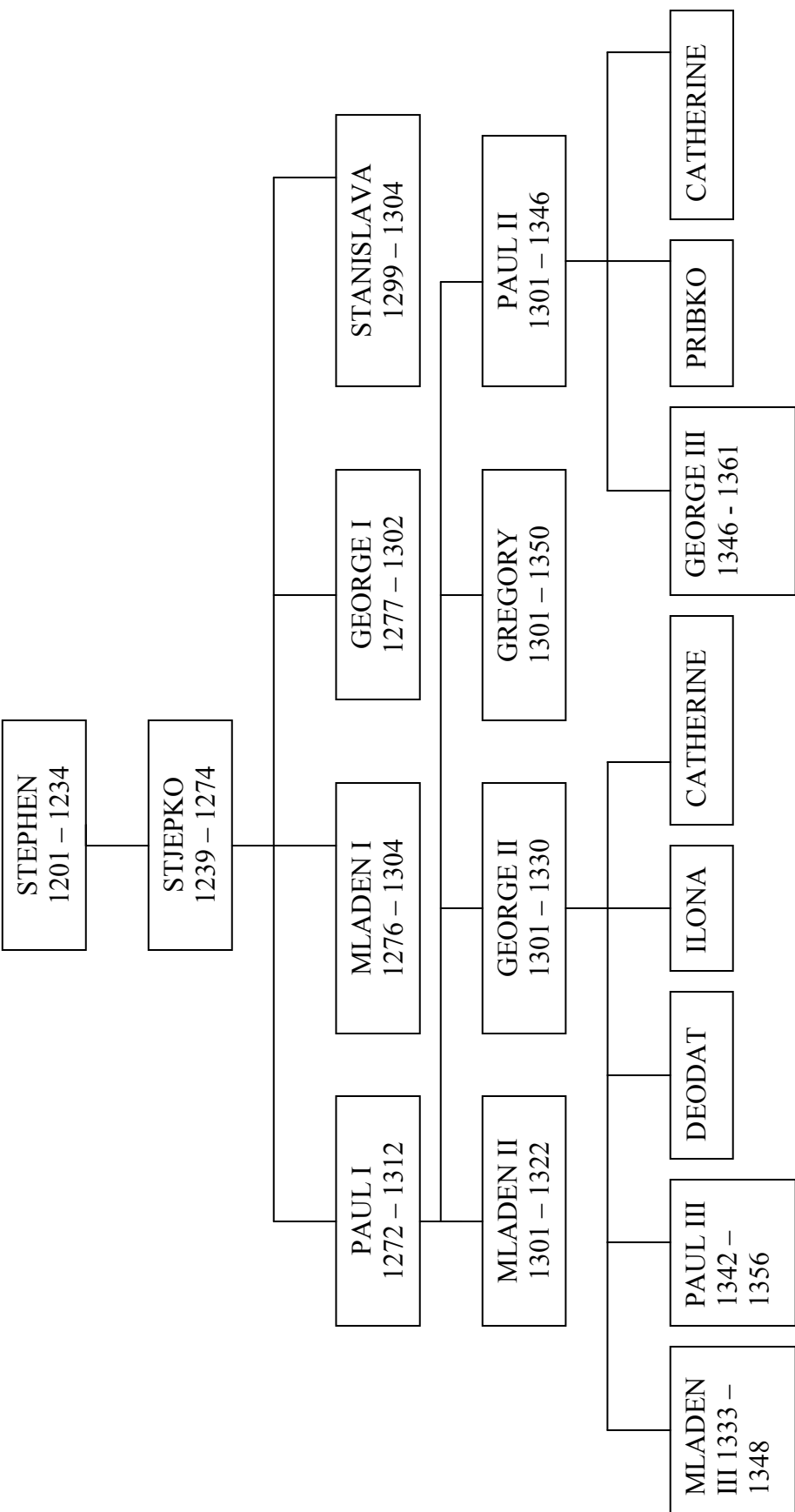


Figure 3. Genealogical tree of the Šubić kindred.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ The genealogical tree is composed on the basis of Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár CD-ROM* [Hungarian medieval repository] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001).

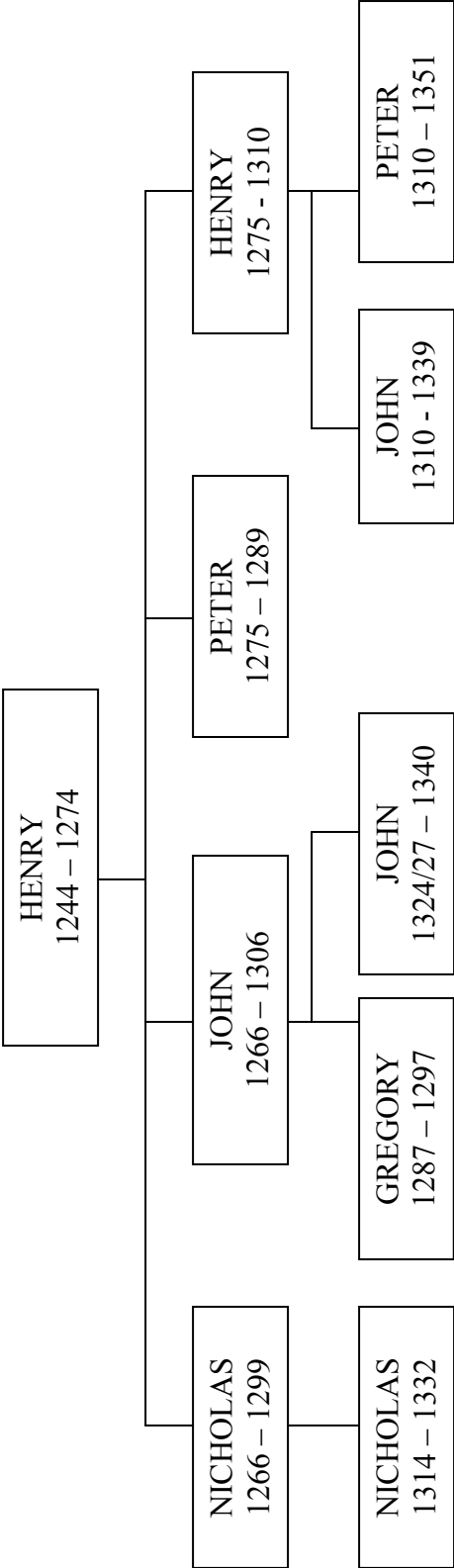


Figure 4. Genealogical tree of the Kőszegi kindred¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ The genealogical tree composed on the basis of Pál Engel, “The Güssinger im Kampf gegen die ungarische Krone,” in *Die Güssinger*, ed. Heide Dienst (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1989), 113.

Date	Issued by	The land/title given	The recipient	Source
27 February 1293	The Árpád dynasty – Andrew III	Estate of Drežnik	Stjepan	CD VII, doc. 64, 74 – 77
11 July 1293	The Árpád dynasty – Andrew III	Estate of Želin	Radoslav	CD VII, doc. 128, 146 – 147
27 September 1293	The Árpád dynasty – Andrew III	Estates of Vrbas, Glaž, Petrinja, Vinodol, Selen, Oklič, Podgorica and Samobor	Radoslav	CD VII, doc. 133, 151 – 152
1 August 1299	The Árpád dynasty – Andrew III	Confirmation of the land of late Radoslav Babonić, except estates Susedgrad, Vrbas and Glaž Office of ban of Slavonia	Stephen, John, Radoslav and Otto	CD VII, doc. 305, 351 – 353
7 September 1299	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Confirmation of all the possessions of late Radoslav Office of ban of Slavonia	Stephen, John, Radoslav and Otto	CD VII, doc. 308, 355 – 356
26 November 1299	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Confirmation of all the possessions of late Radoslav	Stephen, Radoslav, and John	CD VII, doc. 311, 357 – 358
14 May 1300	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Confirmation of the part of Slavonia	John, Stephen, Radoslav, and Otto	CD VII, doc. 342, 388 – 389
20 December 1316	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Castles of Moslavina, Bršljanovo with Upper and Lower Garešnica, the castle and estate	John	CD VII, doc. 361, 439 – 440

		Položnica and the castle and estate of Međurječje		
27 January 1322	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Confirmation of all the estates	Nicholas and Dujam	CD IX, doc. 38, 48 – 49
28 January 1322	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Forts of Samobor and Želin	John	CD IX, doc. 39, 49 – 50
16 September 1327	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Estate of Moslavina	George, John, Dionysius, Paul	CD IX, doc. 296, 358 – 360
28 March 1328	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Confirmation of the grant from 16 September 1327	George, John, Dionysius, Paul	CD IX, doc. 318, 386 – 388
9 December 1300	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Castle of Ostrožac with some of the king's villages and boroughs	Nicholas and Radoslav	CD IX, doc. 435, 534 – 536

Figure 5. The list of the donations to the Babonić kindred

Date	Issued by	The land/title given	The recipient	Source
5 January 1292	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	„Right of sword and war“	John	CD VII, doc. 58, 66 – 67
12 April 1292	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Vas and Sopron counties	John and his son George	CD VII, doc. 67, 80

Figure 6. The list of the donation to the Kőszegi kindred

Date	Issued by	The land/title given	The recipient	Source
28 November 1292	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Export of 200 salms of grain and 100 salms of wheat without payin tolls	Count Paul	CD VII, doc. 47, 57
30 November 1292	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Export of 200 salms of grain and 100 salms of wheat without paying tolls	Count George	CD VII, doc. 47, 57
19 August 1292	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Almost the entire territory of the Croatian Kingdom	Count Paul	CD VII, doc. 86, 104 - 105
1293	The Árpád dynasty Andrew III	Hereditary office of maritime ban	Count Paul	CD VII, doc. 144, 163 – 164
17 January 1295	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Lifetime office of ban	Count Paul	CD VII, doc. 184, 205 – 206
14 August 1298	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Confirmation of the grant from 19 August 1292	Count Paul	CD VII, doc. 271, 313
11 January 1300	The Anjou dynasty Charles II	Confirmation of all estates	Count George	CD VII, doc. 314, 361
1308	The Anjou dynasty Charles Robert	Office of the ban of Bosnia	Count Paul	Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski,” 17.

Figure 7. The list of the donations to the Šubić kindred

Date	Issued by	The land/title given	The recipient	Source
8 May 1300	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Counties of Modruš, Vinodol and Gacka	Count Dujam	CD VII, doc. 340, 386 – 387
26 August 1300 (and 5 September)	The Anjou dynasty – Charles II	Export of 500 salms of grain without paying tolls	Count Leonard	CD VII, doc. 351, 395
20 September 1316	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Confirmation of the lands that the kindred already had in their possession	Count Dujam	CD VIII, doc. 355, 432 – 433
Beginning of 1320s	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Požega County	Count Dujam	Nada Klaić, Povijest Hrvata, 386.
2 May 1323	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	County of Drežnik and estate of Slunj	Count Dujam	Vjekoslav Klaić, Knezovi Frankapani, 132
31. October 1323	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Confirmation of the lands that the kindred already had in their possession	Count Frederick	CD IX, doc. 122, 142 – 143
6 November 1323	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Counties of Modruš, Vinodol, Gazka and Drežnik and the estate of Slunj	Count Frederick	Vjekoslav Klaić, <i>Knezovi Frankapani</i> , 132
8 October 1322	The Anjou dynasty – Charles Robert	Confirmation of the lands that the kindred already had in their possession	Count Frederick	Vjekoslav Klaić, <i>Knezovi Frankapani</i> , 132

Figure 8. The list of the donations to the Frankapan Kindred.

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