

Kristian Bertović

**BETWEEN THE CROSS AND THE SWORD: FRANKAPAN  
PATRONAGE OVER THE ORDER OF ST. PAUL THE FIRST  
HERMIT**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

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by

Kristian Bertović

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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May 2014

I, the undersigned, **Kristian Bertović**, 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, 26 May 2014

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Signature

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# 1.INTRODUCTION

## Introductory Remarks

Growing up in a town that emerged around a Frankapan castle (Ogulin), surrounded by several other medieval Frankapan ruins, determined my interest in the Frankapan family. To write a thesis on some aspect of the family's history was a natural thing for me to do. The other part of the thesis I stumbled upon, literally. While hiking with some friends around Modruš (before I even thought about the possibility of studying history), we heard a story about the ruins somewhere in the forest. We decided to search for them and after some time we stumbled upon the big overgrown ruins of, as we later found out, the Pauline monastery. My topic emerged from this coincidence.

As it is seen from the title, in this thesis I will deal with the relations between the Frankapan family and the Pauline order. In order to analyze those relations I intend to answer several questions. What kind of relations existed between them? What was the role of the Frankapan family in the foundation and life of Pauline houses? Why did the Frankapan family support the Paulines? I also decided to answer some questions regarding the Paulines themselves. Were there any patterns in the landscape surrounding their monasteries? What kind of monastic economy did they prefer? If there was a pattern, how does it correspond with the examples on the wider regional scale? How did the order transform and adopt their initial hermit idea in an altered economic and social environment and how did the Frankapans influence that transformation?

To answer all these questions, I will be focusing on the close reading and the analysis of the surviving charters regarding the relations between them. This will enable me to explore certain patterns regarding the Frankapan patronage, Pauline economy, and the roles of both



parties in contemporary society. The results will be compared and analyzed in a wider regional context as well. Also, charters related to the given monasteries are listed in the appendix, giving the essential information about the date of the issue, main participants of the charters, the content of the charters, and the source or the location where the given charter can be found.

This thesis will contribute to a better understanding of the Pauline order in medieval Croatia. Also, it will offer information regarding the possible patterns and peculiarities of the Pauline economy and their role in the local communities. From the Frankapan perspective, it will offer insights on their ecclesiastical policy and the role of church patronage in their overall policy.

### **Sources and secondary literature**

When trying to establish clear connections (especially the nature of those connections) between two such complex entities as an aristocratic family and a monastic order, one has to take into consideration all available sources. As there are still no systematic archeological surveys of the Pauline monasteries I am dealing with in this thesis, the backbone of my thesis are the written sources, especially grants and donations given by the various members of the Frankapan family to various Pauline monasteries. However, I will not use sources related to the Frankapans exclusively, but also documents connecting the Paulines with other members of the local communities, i.e., the lesser nobility or rich burghers, in order to get a clearer picture of the actual Frankapan influence and role in the life of the Pauline monasteries. Even though the given houses mostly suffered a violent end to their existence (mostly at the hands of the Ottomans) and certain parts of their archives were probably lost, the surviving charters are still quite numerous. Still, the possible number of lost sources can be imagined by comparing this with the situation of

the Pauline house in Rome, St. Srefano Rotondo. Although it was a monastery with a relatively short medieval Pauline history, the number of surviving sources is huge compared to the Hungarian or Croatian monasteries.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the sources are legal documents such as foundation charters, donations, tax exemptions, privileges of toll exemptions, testaments, judicial decisions, and similar items. They were published mostly as a part of the great nineteenth/early twentieth century source publications, such as *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*,<sup>2</sup> *Acta Croatica*,<sup>3</sup> *Hrvatski spomenici*,<sup>4</sup> *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*,<sup>5</sup> and *Levéltári Közlemények*.<sup>6</sup> Beside this, some of the documents are published individually and the paleography has been analyzed in more or less recent publications and papers.<sup>7</sup> Another important source is the *Urbar modruški* (*Urbarium* of Modruš) from 1486.<sup>8</sup> As it contains data regarding the Pauline estates, it offers valuable data on the Pauline economy.

<sup>1</sup> Lorenz Weinrich, *Hungarici monasterii ordinis sancti Pauli primi heremitae de Urbe Roma instrumenta et*

<sup>2</sup> Tadija Smičiklas, ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Sv. II. – XVIII., supplement I. – II. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904-1990). Henceforth *CD*.

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed. *Acta Croatica. Listine Hrvatske*, (Zagreb: Brzotiskom Narodne tiskarnice dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1863), henceforth: *AC*.

<sup>4</sup> Đuro Šurmin, ed. *Hrvatski spomenici: sveska I: od godine 1100-1499* [Croatian monuments] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1898), henceforth: *Hrvatski spomenici*.

<sup>5</sup> Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barábas, ed. *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus - A Frangepán család oklevéltára* [*Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus – The charter collection of the Frankapan family*], (Budapest, Kiadja a Magyar tudományos Akadémia, 1910). Henceforth, *CD comitum de Frangepanibus*.

<sup>6</sup> Elemér Mályusz, “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban” [The charters of the medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the National Archive], *Levéltári közlemények* 3, 6 (1925, 1928), henceforth *Mályusz*.

<sup>7</sup> Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Tomislav Galović, *Privilegia fundationis monasterii sanctae Mariae Czriqueniczae*, (Crikvenica: City of Crikvenica, 2008), henceforth Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia fundationis*; Vjekoslav Štefanić, “Dvije frankopanske glagoljske darovnice pavlinima (g. 1372 i 1452)” [Two Frankopan grants to the Paulines (in the years 1373 and 1452)], *Zbornik historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1954): 137-148, henceforth: Štefanić, “Dvije glagoljske isprave”.

<sup>8</sup> *Urbarium* – register of the properties with list of different dues, rights, and benefits that the holder has over the serfs, peasants, and other members of the community. For the *Urbarium of Modruš* see Radoslav Lopašić, ed. *Urbar modruški od godine 1486*. [Urbarium of Modruš from the year 1486] (Ogulin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 1997), henceforth: *Urbar modruški*.

As most late medieval aristocrats, members of the Frankapan family were multilingual supranational<sup>9</sup> members of society. They used several languages (Croatian, Latin, German, and Italian) and also different scripts (Latin, Glagolitic, and Cyrillic), depending on the situation and person/institution they were communicating with. In this case, the Pauline monks in the Gvozd vicariate were known as the Glagolitic priests<sup>10</sup> (popovi glagoljaši) – users of the Croatian language and Glagolitic<sup>11</sup> script (unlike the Pauline monasteries and monks in other regions which did not inherit such tradition, not even the closest one in medieval Slavonia). It is no wonder then that originally all the charters regarding the Frankapan-Pauline relations were issued in the Croatian language and the Glagolitic script. Nevertheless, many of these charters survive only in the later Latin transcripts. Also, some of the interactions between the Paulines and the burghers of the nearby towns (Senj, for example) were issued originally in Latin.

As a special element of historic tradition one should mention Pauline monks and the historians of the order, active mostly during the sixteenth to eighteenth century. As they worked with the source materials of their own order, often they reveal the existence of sources that were lost in the meantime, and often also quote data from them. Some of the most important authors among them were Gregorius Gyöngyösi,<sup>12</sup> Andrija Eggerer,<sup>13</sup> Nikola Benger,<sup>14</sup> and Franciscus Orosz.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Without entering the debate about the notions of “identity” and “nationality” in the Middle Ages.

<sup>10</sup> This term was not exclusively reserved for them; the Franciscans and the Benedictine monks in this region (especially on the island of Krk) were also known by the same name. Thus, it could be argued that the given area was highly “Glagolitic oriented” and that the newly established monastic orders adapted to the local situation. Still, taking into the consideration source publications like *Acta Croatica* one can see that roughly three quarters of the Glagolitic documents published in it are related to the Paulines.

<sup>11</sup> Slavic scripture created by two monks - Saints Cyril and Methodius – in the ninth century for the missionaries in Great Moravia. From there it spread through most Slavic populations, which developed several different regional versions of the script. For instance, in some parts of Croatia it was used up to the nineteenth century. For more about Glagolitic script see Heinz Miklas, *Glagolitica: zum Ursprung der slavischen Schriftkultur*, (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000); Anica Nazor, *Ja slovo znajući govorim: Knjiga o hrvatskoj glagoljici* [“Ja slovo znajući govorim”: Book about Croatian Glagolitic script] (Zagreb: Erasmus naklada, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Gregorius Gyöngyösi, Pauline monk, prior of the Pauline house in Rome and later the head of the whole order. He was very close to the medieval period (he worked at the beginning of the sixteenth century) and made a systematic

Turning to the secondary literature regarding the Paulines one name stands out among the others – Kamilo Dočkal.<sup>16</sup> As a Pauline historian, in his unpublished work “Građa za povijest pavlinskih samostana u Hrvatskoj” [Archival materials for the history of the Pauline monasteries in Croatia]<sup>17</sup> he extensively covered all Pauline monasteries in Croatia. He tried (and in most cases succeeded) in gathering or at least mentioning in one place all the relevant sources known to him at the time. Even though some of his ideas are outdated, I would argue that his work still remains one of the essential materials to start with when dealing with the Paulines in Croatia. Almost all later Croatian scholars have based their work on this. Beside Dočkal, two other publications should be mentioned regarding the Paulines in medieval Croatia. First is the catalog

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survey of the documents related to the order. Even though his works are very source based, he also shows the tradition of the order. See Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremite*, ed. L. Hervay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988); Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Decalogus de beato Paulo primo heremita comportatus* (Cracow: Florianum Unglerium, 1532); Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Inventarium privilegiorum omnium et singularum domorum ordinis heremitarum sancti Pauli primi heremite*. Manuscript, 1522 Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár Cod. Lat. 115 (*Liber viridis*) f. 1-89; Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Arcok a magyarközépkorból* [Faces from the Middle Ages], ed. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyv Kiadó, 1983); Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *I. Remete Szent Pár Remete Testvéreinek Élete* [The life of the Brothers of Saint Paul the First Hermit], ed. Ferenc Hervay. Varia Paulina III (Pilisszántó: Fráter György Alapítvány, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Andrija Eggerer (around 1600-1672), Pauline monk and the historian of the order. He lived and worked in the monasteries in Remete and Lepoglava as a professor of philosophy. He was the author of several works, among them: *Pharmacopaea coelestis seu Maria Remetensis* (1672), *Anathema Marianum* (1673), and *Fragmen panis corvi protoeremitici seu reliquiae annalium eremi-coenobiticorum* (1663) – annals of the Pauline order from its beginning until year 1663. *Hrvatska enciklopedija 3* [Croatian encyclopedia] s.v. “Eggerer, Andrija” (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2001), 357.

<sup>14</sup> Nikola Bengér (1695-1766), Pauline monk and professor of philosophical and theological studies in Lepoglava. He continued the work of Andrija Eggerer and wrote annals of the Pauline order for the period between 1663 and 1739 (*Annalium eremi-coenobiticorum ordinis Fratrum eremitarum s. Pauli Primi eremite*), most of it published in Bratislava in 1727. He also worked on the history of the Pauline monasteries in the province of Istra-Croatia (*Chronotaxis monasterium ordinis fratrum eremitarum s. Pauli primi eremite in provinciis Istriae et Croatiae*). *Hrvatska enciklopedija 2* [Croatian encyclopedia] s.v. “Benger, Nikola” (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2000), 50.

<sup>15</sup> Franciscus (Franjo) Orosz, Pauline monk and historian, author of several works regarding the Paulines, including *Synopsis Annalium eremi-coenobiticorum Ordinis s. Pauli primi Eremitae* (Sopron, 1747); *Catalogus Patrum Generalium Ordinis s. Pauli primi Eremitae*; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis s. Pauli primi Eremitae in diversis Regnis et Provinciis mundi ab olim existentium*. See Kamilo Dočkal, *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi* [History of the Pauline monastery of Holy Virgin Mary in Lepoglava], (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2014), henceforth *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi*.

<sup>16</sup> Kamilo Dočkal (1879-1963), Canon priest of Zagreb, archdeacon of Vaška and Zagreb, and *praelatus apostolicus*. See Dočkal, *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi*, 16-24.

<sup>17</sup> The manuscript can be found in the archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti - HAZU) under the signature Dočkal XVI 29.

of the 1989 exhibition “Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786,”<sup>18</sup> which covered all aspect of the Pauline presence in Croatia. The second one is the publication of the collected works from the 1986 conference regarding the bishopric of Krbava in the Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> Even though it is not strictly connected to the Paulines, it contains several articles regarding them and the rest of it gives a good overview of the general ecclesiastical situation in the region.

As comparative material I used several works regarding the Paulines in medieval Slavonia and Hungary and some works regarding the monastic patronage in general. One of the important names is surely the Hungarian scholar Beatrix Romhányi. In her works<sup>20</sup> she gives a complete overview of the Pauline order (especially for Hungary and Slavonia), focusing on the monastic economy and the transformation of the order towards the mendicant practice. Several other names should be mentioned. Károly Belényesy’s study on the Pauline friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region<sup>21</sup> also provides good comparative material regarding the main monastic aspects such as the landscape, economy, and local monastic patrons. Elemér Mályusz (1898-1989) was an important source publisher not only for the Croatian houses but for the houses in the whole Hungarian – Croatian Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> Another important name is Gábor Sarbak with his several

<sup>18</sup> Vladimir Maleković, ed, *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244-1786* [Culture of the Paulines in Croatia 1244-1786] (Zagreb: Globus, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989).

<sup>19</sup> Mile Bogović, ed, *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku* [Bishopric of Krbava in the Middle Ages] (Rijeka-Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovna škola u Rijeci, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Beatrix F. Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [The Pauline economy in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010), henceforth Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*; Beatrix Romhányi, “Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)“, in *Die Pauliner. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010), henceforth Romhányi, *Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)*; Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary”, *Periodica Polytechnica* 43, no 2. (2012), 53-56, henceforth Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*.

<sup>21</sup> Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region] (Miskolc: Herman Otto Muzeum, 2004), henceforth Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region*.

<sup>22</sup> Elemér Mályusz, “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban” [The charters of the medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the National Archives].

works on the Hungarian Paulines.<sup>23</sup> He worked together with Beatrix Romhányi on the edition of the *Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Heremitae*.<sup>24</sup> Regarding monastic architecture, Tamás Guzsik's work should be mentioned, as he made the first comprehensive and modern work on all the monasteries in Hungary.<sup>25</sup> Among the Croatian scholars, the works of Tajana Pleše about the monasteries in medieval Slavonia should be mentioned, especially from the archeological aspect as she is currently the leading archeologist dealing with the Paulines in Croatia.<sup>26</sup> For comparative material regarding the monastic patronage, as the main work I used the book of Karen Stöber<sup>27</sup> dealing with the main aspects, reasons, benefits, and obligations of late medieval monastic patronage in England and Wales.

At last, regarding the historiography on the Frankapan family, the monograph of Vjekoslav Klaić from the beginning of the twentieth century still remains the best overview of the family history up to 1480.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, Klaić did not finish the second volume on the family (from 1480 until the death of the last family member in 1671). Thus, for the general

<sup>23</sup> Gábor Sarbak, "Pálosainkíráshelisége a középkorvégén" [Pauline scripts at the end of the Middle Ages] *Vigilia* 66, no. 2 (2001): 112-119; Gábor Sarbak, ed. *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte-Geist-Kultur* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010).

<sup>24</sup> Beatrix Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak, ed. *Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Heremitae* (Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> Tamás Guzsik, *Pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* [Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003).

<sup>26</sup> Tajana Pleše, "Pregled pavlinskih samostana kasnosrednjovjekovne Slavonije" [Overview of the Pauline monasteries in late medieval Slavonia], *Cris: časopis Povijesnog društva Križevci* 12, no. 1 (2011): 202-220, henceforth Pleše, "Pregled pavlinskih samostana"; Tajana Pleše, "Monasterium Omnium Sanctorum de Ztreza ordinis S. Pauli primi eremitae", *Opvscvla Archæologica* 33 (2009): 183-205. Henceforth Pleše, *Monasterium Omnium Sanctorum de Ztreza*; Tajana Pleše, "Monasterium de s. Petri in monte Zlat", *Opvscvla Archæologica* 35 (2011): 319-350, henceforth Pleše *Monasterium de s. Petri in monte Zlat*; Tajana Pleše, "Monasterium B. V. Mariae sub monte seu Promontorio Garigh, alias Garich", *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru* 4 (2011): 101-118, henceforth, *Monasterium B. V. Mariae sub monte seu Promontorio Garigh, alias Garich*.

<sup>27</sup> Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons – England and Wales, c.1300-1540* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), henceforth Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*.

<sup>28</sup> Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani* [The Frankapans – Counts of Krk], (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901), 182, henceforth Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*.

overview after 1480 I used *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (the Croatian Biographical Lexicon)<sup>29</sup> for the later family history. The last item that should be highlighted is the recent Ph.D. dissertation by Ozren Kosanović focusing on the beginning of the fourteenth century (1400-1420) and the organization of the Frankapan government in Senj, Vinodol, and the island of Krk.<sup>30</sup>

### Emergence and characteristics of the Pauline order

During the thirteenth century Europe was a fertile ground for many hermit communities. Medieval Hungary and Croatia were no exceptions. An order that emerged in the second half of the century following hermitic ideas soon became one of the most popular monastic communities in medieval Hungary. They called themselves the Brothers of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The order received papal approval in 1308 and it officially became *Ordo Fratrum Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*.<sup>31</sup> Their first communities emerged in the Mecsek Hills close to Pécs and in the Pilis forest. Soon after Budaszentlőrinc (the St. Lawrence monastery in Buda) rose as the center of the newly approved order.<sup>32</sup>

As one can see from the patron saint they took for the order, the Paulines positioned themselves as a hermit order. As their *regula* they used the rules of St. Augustine (officially approved by Pope John XXII in 1328).<sup>33</sup> As time passed, the order gradually shifted towards a mendicant perspective, creating a specific hermit – monastic – mendicant character. A significant

<sup>29</sup> Trpimir Macan, ed., *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian biographical lexicon] (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1998), S. V. "FRANKAPAN" and also particular family members. Henceforth *HBL*.

<sup>30</sup> Ozren Kosanović, "Državina krčkih knezova – Vinodol, Senj i Krk od početka 14. stoljeća do 1420. godine" [Family estates of the counts of Krk – Vinodol, Senj, and Krk from the beginning of the fourteenth century to 1420], Ph.D. dissertation (Zagreb: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, 2012), henceforth: Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova*.

<sup>31</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 53.

<sup>32</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abauj Hegalja Region*, 88.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

milestone for the order was the *translatio* of the relics of St. Paul the Hermit from Venice to the St. Lawrence monastery in 1381. King Louis I (1342-1382) played a decisive role in this transfer when he purchased these precious relics for the order.<sup>34</sup> This is just one detail that highlights the close connections between the king and the Pauline order. Even their papal recognition as an order was connected with the acknowledgment of Charles Robert of Anjou as king of Hungary. The Pauline monasteries in the Pilis region, founded by the royal family on royal land were further obvious examples and were directly supported by the subsequent rulers. However, the royal family was not the exclusive patron of the Pauline order. Over the years both the lesser nobility and the aristocracy supported the Paulines through various donations such as arable land, mills, fishponds, vineyards, and other properties and goods.

Everything mentioned above influenced the creation, everyday life, and gradual transformation of the Pauline communities. Their initial hermit character influenced the foundation of the monasteries and the selection of appropriate sites for their houses. Donations, toll privileges, and tax exemptions created a discrepancy between hermitic ideals and economic realities, pushing them closer towards active participation in the everyday life and economy of the local community and its broader region. Considering this, it is then not unusual that the Paulines preferred manual work – craftsmanship and art – and did not support the higher education of their members (in contrast to the mendicant orders).

Judging by the popularity of the order, all these aspects worked well together. New communities spread quite fast across the kingdom and into the neighboring regions. By some estimations<sup>35</sup>, around 1500 there were approximately seventy Pauline monasteries in medieval Hungary, and around twenty-five more in Silesia, Poland, Austria, and Germany (mostly

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<sup>34</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abauj Hegalja Region*, 88.

<sup>35</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 54.



Bavaria). They spread beyond this region, even as far as Portugal, but most of the communities emerged in the Central European region. In Hungary; only the Franciscans had more friaries.

From the sixteenth century on, the Paulines faced several situations that influenced their development and transformation. The Ottoman threat wiped out most of the monasteries in medieval Croatia and in other directly affected regions; the Reformation period came later, up to 1786, and the Pauline order (among other monastic communities) in the Habsburg Empire was dissolved by King Joseph II. Nevertheless, the Paulines managed to survive to the present, mostly because of their Polish monasteries that were not under Habsburg authority.

### **The Frankapan family**

The Frankapan family was one of the largest and most important aristocratic families in medieval Croatia. During their existence they owned estates in what are nowadays Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Hungary, Austria, Italy, and Sweden.<sup>36</sup> The family emerged in the late eleventh/early twelfth century on the island of Krk.<sup>37</sup> They rose to prominence on the periphery of the political events in the Croatian lands and over the years they expanded their rule steadily from the island of Krk to the mainland and acquired estates and towns in Vinodol, Senj, Modruš, and nearby areas. Unlike other aristocratic families in medieval Croatia<sup>38</sup> the counts of Krk (they took the name Frankapan only later, in the fifteenth century) nominally became double vassals, both of the king of Croatia-Hungary and Venice. In reality, by balancing between those two forces and at the same time ignoring their duties towards them (especially in the case of Venice)

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<sup>36</sup> *HLB*, S.V. "FRANKAPAN", 388.

<sup>37</sup> The question of the family origin is still open. In the last few years some scholars have proposed the idea (it originates from the early sixteenth century) that they had their "Roman" origins, see Petar Strčić, "Prilog o porijeklu Frankopana/Frankapna" [Contribution to the origins of the Frankopans/Frankapans], *Rijeka* 1 (2001): 49-104. For the thesis about the indigenous Krk origin of the family see Nada Klaić, "Knezovi Frankopani kao krčka vlastela" [The Frankopan Counts as the nobility of Krk], *Krčki zbornik* 1 (1970): 125-180.

<sup>38</sup> I.e., Šubić or Nelipčić. During the fourteenth century they were in almost constant struggles with the king, exhausting their resources and power. Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova*, 1.

they managed to accrue benefits from both sides. This changed only after 1358 and the treaty of Zadar when they gave up even the nominal vassalage to Venice.<sup>39</sup> In 1289 King Ladislaus IV granted them the right of patronage over the bishoprics of Senj and Krbava.<sup>40</sup> In reality they also exercised the same right for the bishopric of Krk, even though the official recognition for that came only in the early fifteenth century. In the second half of the fourteenth century one of the previous two branches of the family died out (the so-called Škinela branch), leaving all the property in the hands of the other branch, headed at that time by Count Bartol VIII (†1361) and his sons, Stjepan I (†1390) and Ivan-Anž V (†1393).<sup>41</sup> During the following years their relations with the king grew stronger. In 1378 the conflict escalated between King Louis I and Venice. Both Stjepan I and Ivan V (equally heads of the family at that time) stood on the king's side. Their help was not just military but also financial, as Stjepan pledged ten thousand golden florins to the king for his current military needs. That resulted in the Venetians storming and burning Senj and Baška, on the island of Krk.<sup>42</sup> The culmination of the family power probably came in the time of Count Nikola IV (†1432), the first family member who was called Frankapan, from 1426 the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia. Even though he supported King Sigismund most of the time, he also had balanced relations with Ladislaus of Naples and later the Habsburgs. He managed to extend the family estates by often taking pledges from King Sigismund. Because of the properties (and the death of Elizabeta Frankapan (†1422), wife of Friedrich II of Cilli) they came into open conflict with the Cilli family that the king resolved in the favor of the Frankapans.<sup>43</sup> In 1430 Pope Martin V issued a bull at the request of Nikola in which he

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<sup>39</sup> *HBL*, S.V. "FRANKAPAN", 390.

<sup>40</sup> Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova*, 94.

<sup>41</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 165.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 172-174.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 211-212.

confirmed to Nikola IV the family's relations with the Roman patrician family Frangipan.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the family officially became the Frankapan family (even though they had used it before the official recognition). Together with the name, the family changed their coat of arms. Problems emerged after Nikola's death. He left behind nine sons – Ivan VI (†1436), Nikola V (†1456), Stjepan II (†1484), Bartol IX (†1458), Žigmund (†1465), Martin IV (†1479), Dujam IV (†1487), Andrija (†1439), and Ivan VII (†1486).<sup>45</sup> They were not able to decide who should be the head of the family or how to govern the family estates together. As the years passed tension rose and in the end brothers decided to divide their patrimony. A family meeting (1449) took place in Modruš. The final decision was to divide the family lands officially among the seven still-living brothers (two brothers had died in the meantime) and their nephew, Juraj I, son of the deceased eldest brother, Ivan VI. They also decided that they would leave Senj and the island of Krk undivided and govern together.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, not all sides were satisfied with this arrangement. The main stumbling block was Modruš, the largest Frankapan town and the first property that the family had acquired in the hinterland, which had been inherited by Count Stjepan II and his only son, Bernardin.<sup>47</sup> Quarrels among the family got worse during the game of thrones fought between Mathias Corvinus and Frederick III, as the different branches of the family saw profit in supporting different options (including Venice). Count Stjepan II Frankapan, as the supporter of now King Matthias Corvinus, emerged as the “winner” among the brothers.<sup>48</sup> He remained loyal to the king until the end of his life, with a few deviations. One of them happened in 1465 when Count Žigmund Frankapan died without an heir. The remaining brothers and other heads of the

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<sup>44</sup> They traced their roots all the way back to ancient Roman patrician families. This became basis for historians in their thesis about the true Roman origins of the Frankapan family.

<sup>45</sup> *HBL*, 392-393.

<sup>46</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 234-236.

<sup>47</sup> For more about Modruš see Milan Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš* [Medieval Modruš] (Ogulin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 2008).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

family gathered in Senj (except for the youngest brother, Ivan VII)<sup>49</sup> to decide how to divide his properties. This meeting was also important for the local Pauline monasteries (see below), as they managed to get confirmation for their properties from all the heads of the family present.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, King Matthias was not eager to hear their decisions and seized Žigmund's lands for himself.<sup>51</sup> The relations between the family and the king worsened after the king's army captured Senj in 1469. Even though the Ottoman threat had already become a serious problem for the Frankapans, different branches managed to put their quarrels aside for a while and start an open rebellion against the king.<sup>52</sup> Still, they were not able to regain Senj. Soon after, following the conflict among Venice, King Matthias, and Ivan VII Frankapan, Venice seized the island of Krk in 1480.<sup>53</sup> After the rebellion Matthias granted amnesty to some members of the family, most notably Count Stjepan II and his son, Bernardin. After that, they remained loyal to the king until their deaths. For that they were properly rewarded and this branch of the family (called also "Ozaljska" for their town Ozalj) was the only one that managed to keep their estates, even to extending them in the following years. However, times soon became hard. A good example of that survives in the *urbarium* of Modruš from 1486.<sup>54</sup> Based on a previous document<sup>55</sup>, it offers good insight into the decrease of the population in Modruš County. In the following years the family struggled, stretched between Venice, the king, and the Ottomans. After the defeat at Krbava, Modruš was sacked in 1493. Soon after Count Bernardin

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<sup>49</sup> He occupied the island of Krk for himself and basically cut connections with the rest of the family.

<sup>50</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 252-255.

<sup>51</sup> *HBL*, S.V. "FRANKAPAN", 394.

<sup>52</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 262-264.

<sup>53</sup> *HBL*, S.V. FRANKAPAN, 395

<sup>54</sup> Lopašić, *Urbar modruški*.

<sup>55</sup> The so-called *kladerna*, a document that preceded the *urbarium*. It did not survive, but the *urbarium* itself often refers to it. From that it is possible to assume that the *kladerna* was mostly consisted of the data related to the regulations of the feudal rent. Thus, on the basis of the *kladerna*, the author of the *urbarium* was able to state both previous obligations and the current situation for the villages and tenant peasants in Modruš County. For more details see Ivan Tironi, "Pet stotina ljeta 'modruškog urbara' (1486-1986.)" [Five hundred years of the *urbarium* of Modruš (1486-1986), 271-275. In *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Mile Bogović, (Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovna škola u Rijeci and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988).

Frankapan (†1530) had to move to his newly founded castle, Ogulin, built as the part of his extensive fortification work.<sup>56</sup> Even though severely short of funds, the family managed to survive and defend parts of their properties. During the early modern period, although weakened, the family managed to preserve some of their importance and influence. Officially, the family died out with the 1671 execution of Fran Krsto Frankapan after the magnate conspiracy against the Habsburgs.<sup>57</sup> Unofficially, even today several families claim their rights and origins from the side branches of the Frankapan family.

The Frankapan family heritage strongly influenced the people living on their lands. They were legislators (the Vinodolski zakonik in 1288), founders and builders, soldiers, maecenas of art, supporters of the Glagolithic script (and through it the Croatian language), patrons of the monastic orders and the church in general.

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<sup>56</sup> Zorislav Horvat, "Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankapana" [Fortification activity of Bernardin Frankapan] *Modruški zbornik* 3, no. 3 (2009): 237-286. Henceforth Horvat, *Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankapana*.

<sup>57</sup> *HBL*, S.V. FRANKAPAN, 397.

# FRANKAPAN

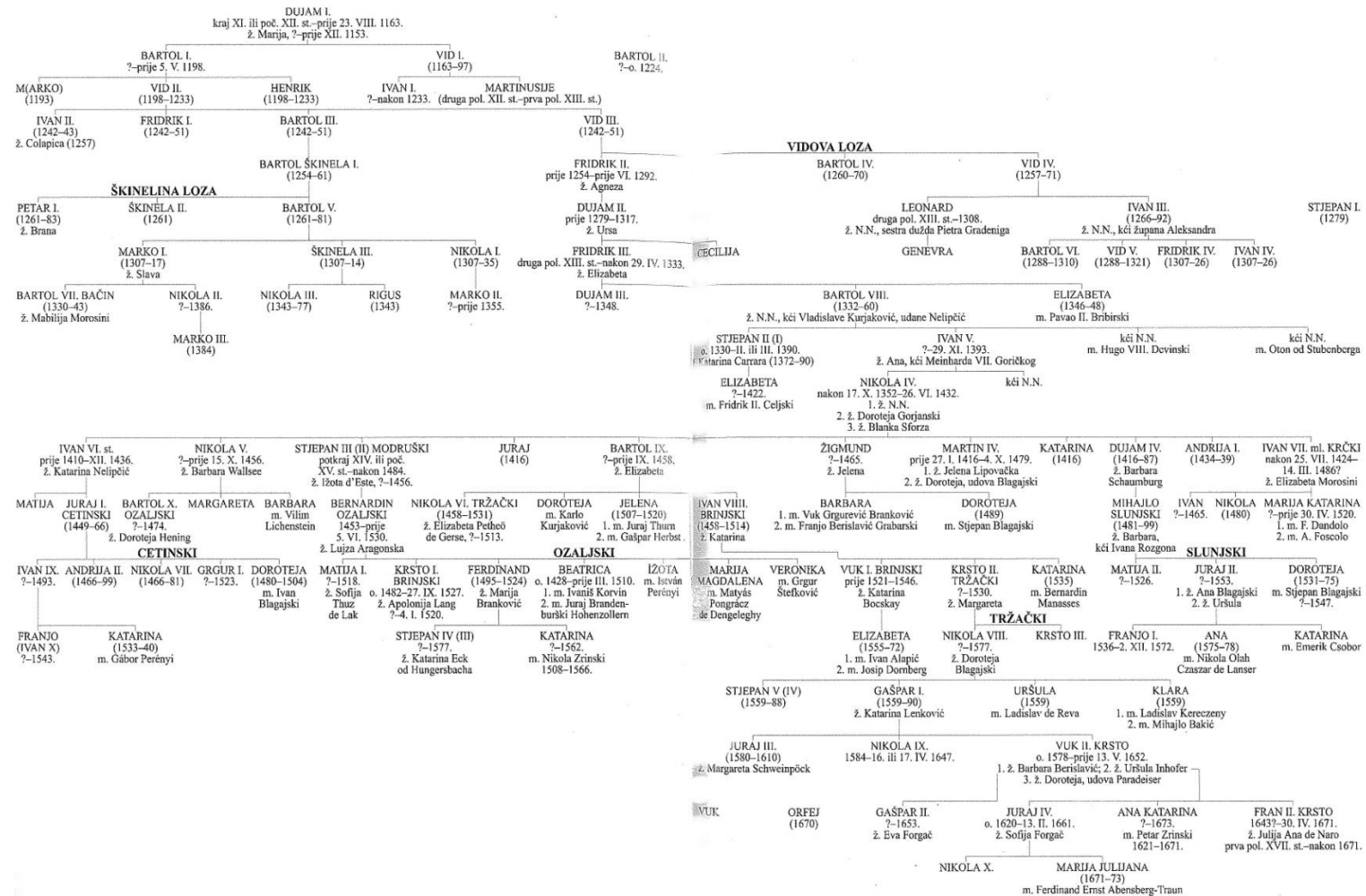


Figure 1. Frankapan family tree

## 2. MONASTERIES

### St. Nicholas Monastery in Gvozd

The monastery of St. Nicholas (Sv. Mikula/Nikola)<sup>58</sup> in Gvozd near Modruš was the central monastery of the vicariate. The monasteries' spatial context was highlighted well with the various names and attributes given to it, such as lat. *nemus* and cro. *gvozd*, both meaning wood, forest. The monastery was erected in the hilly area on the ascent to the mountain Gvozd (today Kapela<sup>59</sup>), surrounded with dense forest and near the only water source in the area. It emerged near one of the biggest towns in the medieval Croatia – Modruš, however, and the main road that led from Slavonia to the Adriatic coast.<sup>60</sup> The dual character of the Pauline order, their hermit origin and tradition on the one hand and their later active interaction (at least to some extent) with the community on the other hand, is well reflected in this location. Taking all this into consideration, one can see that the St. Nicholas monastery followed the “standard” Pauline pattern regarding the spatial context of their monasteries, although with some local geographical peculiarities.<sup>61</sup>

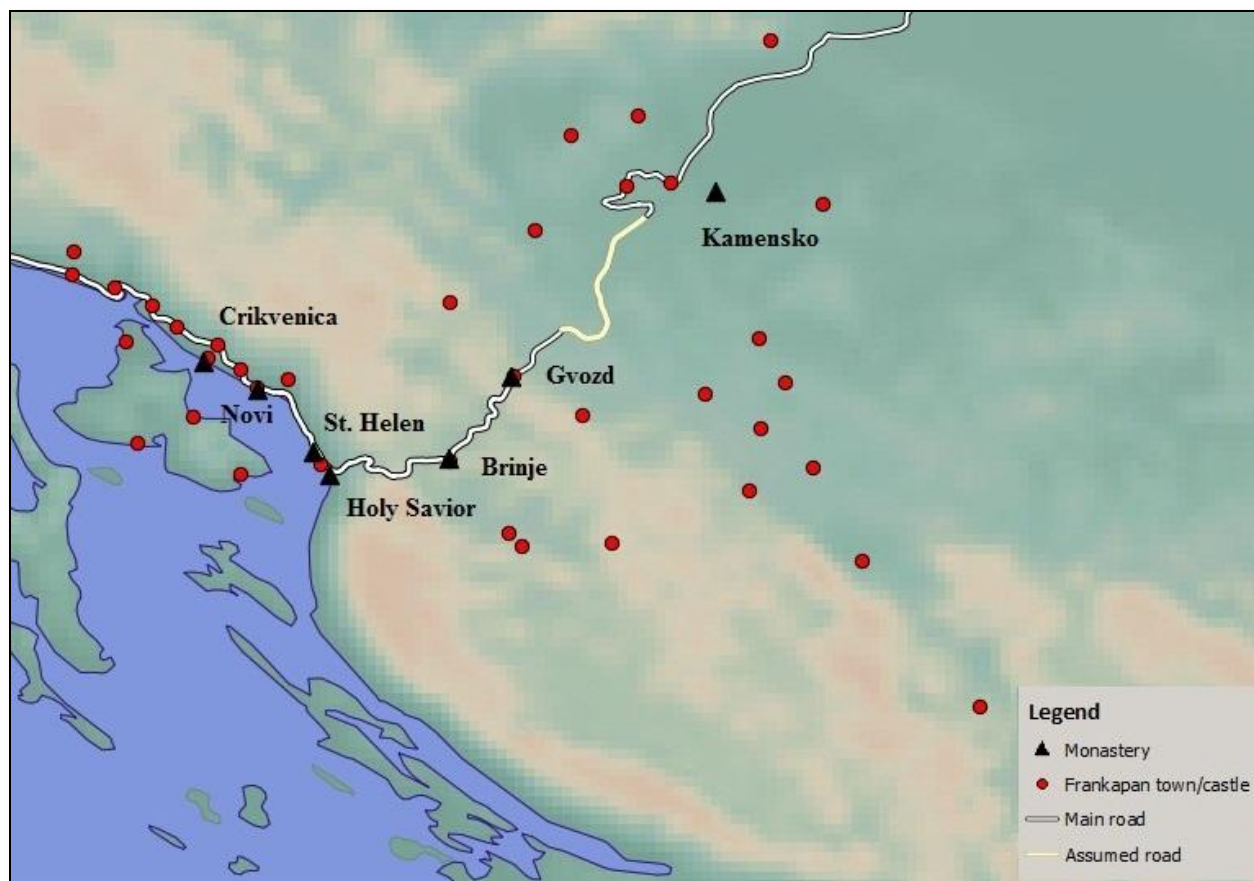
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<sup>58</sup> In sources also known as: “Molstir svetago Mikule z Gvozda”, “Kloštar Sv. Mikule z Gvozda”, “Kloštar Sv. Mikule s Gvozda modruškoga”, “*Monasterium s. Nicolai supra Modrussiam*”, “*Monasterium s. Nicolai in Gwozd supra Modrussiam*”, “*Clastrum s. Nicolai Confessoris in Gwozd prope civitatem Modrussiensem*”, “*Coenobium de Gwozd*”, “*Monasterium s. Nicolai de Eremo Modrussiensi*”, “*Monasterium s. Nicolai de Nemore Modrusse*”, etc. Marinko Ivanković, “Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji” [The Paulines in the bishopric of Krbava], in *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Mile Bogović, (Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovna škola u Rijeci and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), 97. Henceforth Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*; Kamilo Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 1.

<sup>59</sup> Cro. *kapela* means chapel. Some scholars, such as Kamilo Dočkal, thought that the new name originated from the Pauline presence. See Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 1.

<sup>60</sup> Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja – Ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* [Road, travelers, traveling – Roads and paths in the Croatian medieval lands], (Zagreb: AGM, 1997), 114. Henceforth Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja*; Petar Runje, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti* [Tracing the old history of Lika], (Ogulin: Matica hrvatska, 2001), 74. Henceforth *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*; Zorislav Horvat, “Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura na području senjske i modrško – krbavske biskupije” [Pauline medieval architecture in the bishopric of Senj and Modruš - Krbava], *Senjski zbornik* 26, no. 1 (1999), 126-130. Henceforth *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*; Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 96-97.

<sup>61</sup> See Romhányi, *Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)*. Also, compare with the monasteries in Abaúj-Hegyalja region. Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region] (Miskolc: Herman Otto Muzeum, 2004).



**Figure 2. Pauline monasteries and Frankapan towns/castles**

When it comes to the exact dating and context of the foundation of the monastery, the situation is still unclear to some extent. At the first glance, the first mention of the monastery in the sources is in the donation of Ivan (Anž)<sup>62</sup> V from 1330<sup>63</sup>, where he donated the vineyard in Baška (on the island of Krk) and the mill and fulling mill in Švica (near Otočac) to the monastery.<sup>64</sup> The problem with this charter is that the donor – Ivan V – probably was not even

<sup>62</sup> In the sources he can be found as both Ivan and Anž. Also, even though the numbering of the family members (i.e. Ivan V Frankapan) is usually reserved for the royal domain, I will use it with the Frankapan family as it is more “reader friendly” than simply putting the same name for different members of the family. Also, it is the standard way of naming them in the Croatian historiography and genealogy.

<sup>63</sup> This charter was preserved incorporated into the charter of Count Ivan VII Frankapan from 1454 charter, which was then preserved as the later Latin transcript.

<sup>64</sup> Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 96; Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 14.



born in 1330. He ruled the family lands from 1358 to 1393.<sup>65</sup> Previous Croatian scholarship agreed that the charter is authentic, considering its wrong dating as a later transcribing error.<sup>66</sup> Deriving from this, some scholars concluded that the monastery was founded around 1390.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, two other charters help establish the foundation date more precisely. On September 29, 1364, the monastery of St. Nicholas *de nemore Modrusse* gave a house in Senj to Dominik, son of Ivan, in hereditary lease for 4 ducats a year. Besides the fact that the St. Nicholas monastery already existed in 1364, one can also see that it had properties in Senj and that St. Nicholas was in the hierarchy above other monasteries in its vicariate. The prior was called vicar and he had some influence and control over other monasteries in the vicariate of Gvozd.<sup>68</sup> Although this charter was the earliest firm evidence that puts the *terminus ante quem* for the foundation in 1364<sup>69</sup>, one can find one more an earlier indication related to the St. Nicholas monastery. In the confirmation charter from 1461 issued by Stjepan II Frankapan, Count Dujam is mentioned as one of the previous donors.<sup>70</sup> Although the charter does not specify exactly which Dujam was a donor, other data (connections with Senj, being already dead by the time of

<sup>65</sup> He ruled together with his brother, Stjepan I, until his death in 1390, Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 182.

<sup>66</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 6. Dočkal assumed that this charter had been written in 1392, when Ivan/Anž was the owner of Modruš and the *ban* of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (in the charter he was addressed as *Banus Regnorum Sclavoniae, Croatiae et Dalmatiae*).

<sup>67</sup> Ivan V moved to Modruš in 1390, after the death of his brother, Stephen I. Among others, Radoslav Lopašić and Vjekoslav Klaić took this as a possible foundation year of the St. Nicholas monastery. See Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 182-183. Klaić mentions the foundation of the “Croatian Benedictine monastery” of St. Nicholas on Gvozd, but from his critical apparatus (p. 182, footnote 54) one can see that he was actually thinking of the Pauline monastery. See Radoslav Lopašić, *Urbar modruški*, 10.

<sup>68</sup> *Et die vigesimo quinto mensis Octubris, sub dicto millesimo religiosus et honestus frater Gregorius, prior ecclesiae sive monasterii sancti Nicolai de nemore Modrussae ac vicarius dictorum Fratrum, in plathea civitatis Segniae coram suprascriptis testibus et me Michovillo notario confirmavit et approbavit omnia et singular supradicta et in hoc contractu contenta.* CD XIII, 399-401. Although I stated that the transaction happened on 29 November, one can see that in this part of the quoted source the date is 25 of October as that was the date when Prior Gregorius came to Senj to confirm it.

<sup>69</sup> In comparison, the first Pauline monasteries in medieval Slavonia were the Holy Virgin Mary in Remete (1278), the Holy Virgin Mary in Garić (1295), St. Benedict in Bakra (1301), and others. Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 96.

<sup>70</sup> *Item idem pater noster charissimus dedit duas curias in Plazy, videlicet unam, quae fuit alias Georgi Herich, et alteram, quae fuit alias Petri Dyankovich, quam curiam dedit pater noster charissimus pro 12 ducatis, qui recipiebantur de tribute Segniensi praenotato Claustro singulis annis in perpetuum ex donatione Comitis Duymi bonae memoriae cum omnibus utilitatibus etc.* Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 12.

writing this confirmation charter), suggest two possibilities – Dujam II (†1317) and Dujam III (†1348)<sup>71</sup>. Arguments can be made in favor of one or the other,<sup>72</sup> but no firm answer can be given. Nevertheless, this information could push the existence of the St. Nicholas monastery to the first half of the fourteenth century, maybe even earlier. Still, the founder of the monastery remains unknown. Both the Frankapan and Pauline tradition asserted that the Frankapan family was the founder.

As already mentioned, St. Nicholas was the central monastery of the Istra-Vinodol vicariate, also often called the vicariate of Gvozd. It included all the monasteries south of the hill Petrova Gora.<sup>73</sup> The exact time of the establishment of the vicariate is unknown, but one can follow its existence along with the St. Nicholas monastery. Peculiarities of this vicariate were the language, particularly the Glagolitic script that they used.<sup>74</sup> Not only were the Croatian language and the Glagolitic script their preferred way of communication, but also they sometimes struggled with Latin or did not know it at all.<sup>75</sup> This peculiarity was recognized by Pope Julius II, who, in his Papal bull (*bullā apostolica*) addressed the Pauline monks in this vicariate as *fratres sub lingua sclava*.<sup>76</sup> Another thing that strengthens the local, vernacular (Croatian?) provenance of the Pauline monks is the piece of information mentioned by two Pauline scholars; Andrija Eggerer and Nikola Benger. Apparently Stanislav, prior of the St. Nicholas monastery, translated

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<sup>71</sup> See family tree – page 15

<sup>72</sup> i.e., see Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 12-13.

<sup>73</sup> Runje, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*, 74.

<sup>74</sup> A list of the monasteries which used the Glagolitic script: St. Nicholas (Gvozd), Holy Salvation (Sv. Spas in Ljubotina near Senj), St. Helen (Sv. Jelena in Vlaška draga near Senj), Holy Virgin Mary (Bl. Dj. Marija in today's Crikvenica), Holy Virgin Mary (Bl. Dj. Marija in Osap near Novi), Holy Virgin Mary (Bl. Dj. Marija in Brinje), Holy Virgin Mary (Bl. Dj. Marija in Zažično). One can also probably add to this list St. Helen (Sv. Jelena in Turan), but as their archives were lost during the Ottoman raids, no written evidence has survived. Also, the Pauline monasteries in the Istria also used Glagolitic script.

<sup>75</sup> Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 101.

<sup>76</sup> Manoilo Sladović, *Povēsti biskupijah senjske i modruške ili krbavske* [Histories of the bishopric of Senj and Modruš or Krbava] (Trieste: Tiskom Austrijskoga Lloyd, 1856), 217. Henceforth Sladović, *Povēsti biskupijah*.

and transliterated the rule, constitutions, and discussions/sermons of St. Augustine into the Croatian language and Glagolithic script.<sup>77</sup>

All these factors: the proximity of Modruš and the road to the Adriatic Sea, the Frankapan background, and the monastery's role as the center of the vicariate, promoted St. Nicholas into a prosperous and wealthy monastery. No archeological excavations of the monastery have been carried out.<sup>78</sup> Surveys of the ruins characterized the church and the monastery simply as large;<sup>79</sup> however, some general elements are known and recognizable, such as the church, the cloister with outbuildings and with the additional cloister wing, enclosed space for craft production, and a garden.<sup>80</sup> The dimensions of the cloister garth of the cloister beside the church are around 10.5 by 11.5 m, which is identical to the monasteries in Slavonia such as Lepoglava and Kamensko.<sup>81</sup>

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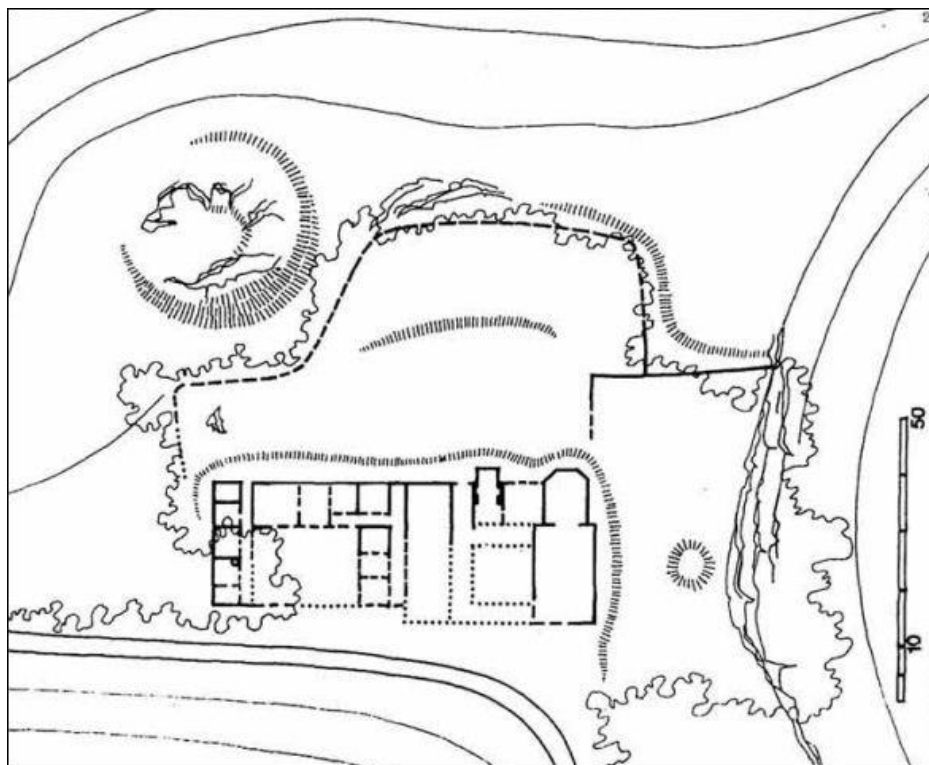
<sup>77</sup> Andrija Eggerer (*Fragmen panis corvi protoeremitici seu reliquiae Annalium eremicoenobiticorum ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Pauli primi eremitaie*): "Stanislaus Polonus, coenobii de Gvozd reparator, Regulae, Constitutionum et Sermonum beati Augustini ad fratres glagolitas interpres." Nikola Benger (*Catalogus authorum ex Religiosis Ordinis S. Pauli I Eremitae*): "P. Stanislaus Polonus prior coenobii de Gvozd in Illyrico floruit anno 1476. Exposuit Regulam, Constitutiones et Sermones S. P. Augustini ad fratres dictos, suis religiosis in eorum lingua Illirica." See Štefanić, "Dvije glagoljske isprave", 145.

<sup>78</sup> That is, no official excavations. Rumors about illegal "Indiana Jones"-like excavations are known both in the local community and among some of the historians and archeologists who are dealing with this monastery.

<sup>79</sup> Runje, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*, 74; Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlina arhitektura*, 128; Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 97.

<sup>80</sup> Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlina arhitektura*, 128-129.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 129.



**Figure 3. Ground plan of the St. Nicholas monastery**

When it comes to the number of monks, most scholars adopt the traditional numbers - up to 80 monks.<sup>82</sup> One can trace these numbers back to the eighteenth century and the local tradition.<sup>83</sup> Although this number should be taken *cum grano salis*, it may be an indicator of the actual numbers and also of the significance of the monastery which survived in the collective memory of the local community. According to Dočkal, some more realistic numbers would be up to 30 monks.<sup>84</sup> Even today, the area around the monastery is known among local people as *kloštar* (monastery).

<sup>82</sup> Runje, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*, 74; Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlina arhitektura*, 127; Ivo Mileusnić, "Posjedi crikveničkih pavlina u Vinodolu" [Properties of the Paulines from Crikvenica in Vinodol], 19, in *Czriquenica 1412 – život i umjetnost u doba Pavlina*, ed. Nina Kudiš, (Crikvenica: Muzej grada Crikvenice, 2012). Henceforth Mileusnić, "Posjedi crikveničkih pavlina u Vinodolu."

<sup>83</sup> According to the eighteenth-century travel log of Abbot Pilip Riceputo, local man Vuk Hogar Seljanin told him that number while he was traveling from Modruš to Zagreb. See Sladović, *Pověsti biskupijah*, 41.

<sup>84</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 3.

Sources regarding the monasteries' general interaction with the upper layers of society (aristocracy, lesser nobility, and wealthier citizens) are partially preserved. Through them one can follow possible focal points in the monastery's economy, preferred locations for the economy and the network of the relationships created with the Frankapan family and also among the Pauline monasteries themselves. Even allowing that the 1330 donation charter mentioned earlier has serious dating problems, one can still assume that the monastery actually owned those possessions, probably from 1392 onwards. This charter mentions two properties on the specific locations to which most of the Pauline monasteries in the area, not just St. Nicholas, aspired. Those were vineyards around Baška (but also generally on the island of Krk) and mills in Švica.<sup>85</sup> Also, one can see that they gained the river crossing incomes. Ivan V Frankapan made this donation together with his son Nikola (Mikula) and his wife Ana and he expected that the Pauline monks would pray for them.<sup>86</sup> The St. Nicholas monastery gained another piece of land in Baška from the donation of the local towns' official,<sup>87</sup> Ivanola Prvošić.<sup>88</sup> While stressing the boundaries of the donated land, the notary reveals that at that time the Pauline order (monastery

<sup>85</sup> ...elegimus eorum Ordinem, ejus Ordinis Fratres, eleemosynarum nostrarum possessores, ex devotione singulari et benevolentia liberali, donavimus, dedimus, et contulimus de nostris possessionibus in Svicza vulgo dictam unam stuppam seu valcham et unum molendinum liberum cum suo vado et aquae ductibus, sine omni censu tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, ac si de facto in manibus nostris esset, ad utendum damus, tradimus, renuntiamus et donamus cum omni jurisdictione et libertate nostra, dicti Ordinis Fratribus Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae ad habendum atque tenendum, nunc et in perpetuum, praesentibus atque futuris. Nec non unam vineam nostram liberam, plantatam in insula Maris Baska vocatam... quam vineam contulimus ab omni exactione censuum liberam, ac si adhuc esset in manibus nostris, ad habendam, tenendaum, perpetuo et irrevocabiliter possidendam, testimonio praesentium mediante. Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 14.

<sup>86</sup> Quod nos consideratis servitiis et laboribus, quibus insudant feliciter Conditori Deo pro nostra et nostrorum fidelium salute Fratres Eremitae Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae Claustri Sancti Nicolai Episcopi et Confessoris commorantes supra Modrussiam in Gvozd Claustro, ubi incessanter pro nobis offerunt Deo hostiam salutarem, ideo nos Modrussiae constituti, una cum charissimo filio Comite Nicolao ejusdem tituli, ac charissima conthorali nostra Comitissa Anna... Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 14.

<sup>87</sup> Sat'nik' – AC – XVI, 47. *Satnik* – municipal official (in this case from Baška).

<sup>88</sup> 1413, April 11; "... e dal' i darov(a)l sat'nik Iv(a)nola, s(i)n P(e)tra Pr'vošića bivšega, s volju op'čini baš'ke g(ospo)d(i)nu Iv(a)nušu vikariju s(veta)go Mikuli z' Gvozda, ki biše v' ti vr(i)me, i nih' crkvi i nih' redu, ki esu i ki budu, 1 lapat' z(e)mle ki e...v' drazi Baš'koi." [Captain Ivanola, son of the late Petar Prvošić, gave and donated to master Ivanuš, who was at that time the vicar of St. Nicholas in Gvozd, and to their church and order, in perpetuity (lit. to those who are and who will be) 1 *lapat* (measuring unit) of land in the Baška cove.] AC – XVI, 47-48.

of St. Nicholas and monastery of St. Salvation [Ljubotina near Senj<sup>89</sup>]) already owned certain vineyards in Baška cove.<sup>90</sup> The size of one of them was the focus of interest of Donat, bishop of Krk. As the monastery was paying the bishopric of Krk an eighth (*ko plaća osmo* - gornica<sup>91</sup>), Donat wanted to determine the exact size of the vineyard. The vineyard was measured under oath according to the memory and of four old men.<sup>92</sup> The last document concerning the estates of the St. Nicholas monastery in Baška cove is a 1482 donation (again to both the St. Nicholas and St. Salvation monasteries) of the land for a garden by the *kancilir krčki* (notary of Krk) Žan Jakov.<sup>93</sup> Although important, the estates on the island of Krk were not the only possessions of the St. Nicholas monastery.

Unlike the estates on the island of Krk, which were a bit farther away from the monastery, Plasi (today's Plaški) was the Frankapan *castrum* with enough arable land and in close proximity to both Modruš and the monastery. It is no wonder that the St. Nicholas monastery gained several properties here. Although none of the original documents are preserved, from the later confirmation<sup>94</sup> of the previous donations one can see that Count Stephen I, for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, granted a *curia* (dvor) in Plasi (today's Plaški) and a *villa* (*selo*) in Vrhrika near Plasi which had two tenant peasants at the

<sup>89</sup> Baška was especially important for the monastery of St. Salvation and one can see a clear tendency to group their estates there. More about this in the chapter about the monastery of St. Salvation.

<sup>90</sup> "...naipr'v(i) kun'fin' e vinograd' s(veta)go Mikuli r(e)čeni' fr(a)tar'... a treti kun'fin e zdola vinogradi s(veta)go Sp(a)sa..." [The first boundary is the vineyard of the previously mentioned monks of St. Nicholas ... the third boundary is the vineyard of the [monastery] of St. Salvation.] AC – XVI, 48. I would suppose that this vineyard is the one given by Ivan V. Frankapan, mentioned above.

<sup>91</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 78.

<sup>92</sup> One side was 36 fathoms (*sežanj*) long, on the bottom and middle side 18, and on the top side 6 fathoms. Eduard Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige* [At the beginning of the Croatian written word] (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1983), 250-254, henceforth Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige*.

<sup>93</sup> "... est dal, rečeni Žan Jakov edan kus z(em)le za edan vrt fra Valentu, ki e reda S(ve)t(og)a Pavla, za nega prošnu, nemu i nih redu, i v čast Svetoga Mikule nih crkve, ka e na Gvozdu, i u čast Svetoga Spasa." [The Previously mentioned Žan Jakov gave one piece of the land for gardening to Father Valent, to him and his order of St. Paul, in honor of St. Nicholas [monastery] and church which is in Gvozd and in the honor of St. Salvation (monastery). AC – CIV, 118-119. Kamilo Dočkal defines the term *kancilir* as *notarius civitatis*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 76.

<sup>94</sup> Confirmed by Count Stjepan II (Stephen II) on March 25, 1461.

time of the donation. By the time of Stephen II that number had increased to eight.<sup>95</sup> Confirmation for this can be found in the Urbarium of Modruš from 1486 where it is stated that monks had their *curia* in Vrhrika (Verchricha, Wricha, Vrh rika).<sup>96</sup> Like his father and uncle before him (Ivan V and Stjepan I), Nikola IV continued the family tradition towards the St. Nicholas monastery. In 1401 he donated one *curia* (dvor) in Wricha (Vrhrika) with four tenant peasants and a piece of land in Plaški. In return he asked for daily masses for himself (except at larger festivities).<sup>97</sup>

Patronage of the Pauline order continued with Stjepan II. His donation and confirmation charter from 1461 is important from several aspects. Not only was he one of the strongest and most influential Frankapans who donated several estates to the St. Nicholas monastery for the salvation of his soul, but he also reconfirmed several donations of his predecessors as well as their own acquisitions. Thus, he strengthened and highlighted the already existing firm connections between the Frankapan family and the Pauline order.<sup>98</sup> Another indication that strengthens this assertion is the way in which Stjepan II addressed the monastery – *claustrum nostrum* (our monastery).<sup>99</sup> Stjepan II gave the monastery one tenant peasant in the village *Mostilcze* and some of the income from vineyards on the Vrhrika estate.<sup>100</sup> He also confirmed

<sup>95</sup> *Item pia memoriae Dominus Stephanus, condam Comes, pro salute animae suae et praedecessorum suorum defunctorum praenotato Claustro dedit unam curiam in Plazy. Item idem Dominus Comes dedit unam villam Verchricha vocatam ex iste parte aquae, in qua tempore donationis solummodo duo iobagiones morabantur, nunc vero dignoscuntur esse octo.* Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 45.

<sup>96</sup> Lopašić, *Urbar modruški*, 46.

<sup>97</sup> *...qua mediante Claustro b. Nicolai unam villam cum 4 iobagionibus in Wricha et unam possessionem seu curiam in Plasso Modrussiensi Comitatus adjacentem, inter terrena ejusdem Claustrum situatas, erga obligationem unius Missae, quotidie exceptis sole minoribus Festivitatibus, in perpetuum confert.* Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 20.

<sup>98</sup> Also, for modern scholars it is of enormous value because some of the confirmed donations did not survive in the originals or in any other copy than this. Also, one can use them for comparison as they often brought both data from the original donations and the contemporary 1461 situation (as in the case of the *villa* and tenant peasants in Vrhrika).

<sup>99</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 44.

<sup>100</sup> *...unum iobagionem in Mostilcze situm, et tributum teritorii montis Verchricha vocati, iobagionum Sancti Nicolai de vineis plantatis...* Dočkal, 29a (2), 44. I was not able to identify exact location of the Mostilcze as there were no

several different donations and acquisitions to the monastery. Some of the most important are the one given by his father, Nikola IV, of the *villa* in Vrhrika and the *curia* in Plaški. He also granted them the right to catch fish in their fishpond in Vrhrika between the two mills.<sup>101</sup> Stjepan II himself extended this right to their second fishpond in Vrhrika.<sup>102</sup> He also confirmed another donation of the *villa* in Vrhrika and the *curia* in Plaški, this time by Stjepan I.<sup>103</sup>

The importance of Plaški for the Paulines can be seen in the Urbarium of Modruš from 1486. Under the urbarium entry “tenant peasants of the St. Nicholas monastery in Plasi and Buža,”<sup>104</sup> one can find the list of them along with the numbers showing the size of the plots of land<sup>105</sup> and meadows (pastures)<sup>106</sup> that they occupied and other taxes and services they were required to pay or serve. Combined together, the tenant peasants of the St. Nicholas estate in Vrhrika<sup>107</sup> (donated to the order by Stjepan I – 20 *dni* of arable land, 3 haystacks of meadow, and two mills), and in Plasi had 257 *dni* of the arable land and 29 haystacks of meadow.<sup>108</sup> Adding to that two previously mentioned mills and a third one owned by one of their tenant peasants,<sup>109</sup> vineyards, and fishponds one can see that the monastery of St. Nicholas had notable properties in close proximity to the monastery itself and under protection of the Frankapan family.

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later mentions of this village. Although I would rather assume that it was located somewhere between Modruš and Plaški, its absence from *Urbarium* of Modruš from 1486 could be an indication against it.

<sup>101</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 45. One of the mills they erected by themselves and the other one bought vicar Stanislav.

<sup>102</sup> Eduard Hercigonja, “Modruški urbar u okviru društvenih i gospodarskih odnosa hrvatskoga glagoljaštva” [The urbarium of Modruš within the social and economic relations of the Croatian Glagolitic culture], 98, in Radoslav Lopašić, ed. *Urbar modruški od godine 1486* [Urbarium of Modruš from the year 1486] (Ogulin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 1997).

<sup>103</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 45. At this point I only mention donations related to the Plaški and Vrhrika; the rest of them will be mentioned below.

<sup>104</sup> “To su kmeti Sv. Mikule u Plasih i Bužah,” *Urbar modruški*, 46-47.

<sup>105</sup> Arable land (*zemlja*) was measured in “*dni*”, Lopašić, the editor of the source publication, resolved it as a “*ral*, *Tagbau*.” Both names, “*dni*” and “*Tagbau*”, suggest that the land was measured by the amount of land that could be ploughed in a single day. *Urbar modruški*, 23.

<sup>106</sup> In the case of meadows (*luke*), size was measured by the number of the haystacks one can get from them. *Urbar modruški*, 23.

<sup>107</sup> “Najprvo na vrh rike fratrov dvor, dni zemlje 20, luke stoge 3, malinišće 1, malina 2.”

<sup>108</sup> *Urbar modruški*, 46-47.

<sup>109</sup> “Kirin Stefulinić ima zemlje dni 40, luke stoga 2, jošće malin jedan...” – Kirin Stefulnić has 40 *dni* of land, 2 haystacks of meadow, and one mill. *Urbar modruški*, 46.



Švica near Otočac, an area rich in hydrological resources, was a popular milling area up to the last century.<sup>110</sup> During the time period this thesis is dealing with it was under direct rule of the Frankapan family. As in previous cases, the Frankapans were generous to the Pauline order. The monasteries of St. Helen (Sv. Jelena), St. Salvation (Sv. Spas), and St. Nicholas had their mills and fulling mills in this area. From the previously mentioned donation charter of Ivan V it is visible that the monastery of St. Nicholas gained the fulling mill in Švica at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>111</sup> It was confirmed by Žigmund Frankapan<sup>112</sup> in his charter of June 24, 1444<sup>113</sup> and Ivan VII in 1454<sup>114</sup>. To the previous donation he added one sawmill (Latin *serra*, Croatian *Fpila*) and a fulling mill (Croatian *stupa*).<sup>115</sup> During the mid-fifteenth-century struggles for the Hungarian throne quarrels also started among Žigmund and his brothers.<sup>116</sup> Those quarrels resulted in, among other things, the destruction of the mills in Švica. Žigmund also seized the Pauline properties in Švica from them. Nevertheless, after Matthias Corvinus finally emerged as the only king, Count Žigmund, upon the king's request, returned all properties taken away to their previous owners. He officially confirmed that to the monastery of St. Nicholas on August 9, 1464.<sup>117</sup> King Matthias himself reconfirmed these four properties to the St. Nicholas

<sup>110</sup> Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 143.

<sup>111</sup> Text above in n. 86, Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 14; Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 144.

<sup>112</sup> Žigmunt, Sigismund

<sup>113</sup> Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 144; Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 31.

<sup>114</sup> *Nos Joannes de Frangepanibus, Veglae, Segnae, Modrussiaeque Comes etc. Memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes universis, quibus expedit: quod Venerabilis et Religiosus vir Stanislaus de Polonis, Vicarius Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae in Claustro Sancti Nicolai Episcopi et Confessoris in monte Guozd supra Modrussiam fundati, in nostrum personaliter veniens praesentiam exhibuit et praesentavit nobis quasdam litteras quondam Spectabilis ac Magnifici Domini Johannis de Frangepanibus, avi nostri charissimi...petens nos debita cum instantia, ut easdem de verbo ad verbum transcribere, etiam transsumi...* Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 41.

<sup>115</sup> *Croatian national archive*, HR-HDA-651, no. 2; Josip Barbarić, "Građa za povijest Krbavske biskupije u arhivu Hrvatske," [Archival materials for the history of the bishopric of Krbava in Croatian state archive], 264, in *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Mile Bogović, (Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovna škola u Rijeci and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), hereafter *Građa za povijest*; Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 32.

<sup>116</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 351-352.

<sup>117</sup> "...mesto ed'no na Švici, na kom' e pila prvo bila, ko mesto su bili bratia moia i sinovci moi raz'valili...i dva malina i ed'nu stupu na Švici, a to za prošnju krala Matieša..." – There was a sawmill in Švica but it was destroyed

monastery.<sup>118</sup> It could be argued that Žigmund's brothers and nephews knew the value of the estates in Švica and that that was the reason for destroying it. In the same way, the Paulines, led by Vicar Stanislav, were equally aware of the importance of Švica. That is the reason why they so eagerly tried to "renew" their ownership over it; first in 1444 from Žigmund Frankapan and then even from King Matthias in 1466.

Nevertheless, the Frankapans did not only give benefits to the monastery. From time to time some of them also knew how to benefit from them, in that way showing their real power over the monastery. In 1464 one of Count Žigmund's officials, the knight Karlo, left the monastery 400 golden coins. Žigmund interfered in the testament and took the money for himself. Instead he gave the monastery one tenant peasant in Švica who was obliged to provide them yearly with eight golden coins. Soon after he also took the peasant and gave them instead the selo of Tisovik with one tenant peasant in it, but with the obligation that a mass is held weekly for his sins while he was alive and for his soul after his death.<sup>119</sup>

Some members of the Frankapan family were, in the extreme situations such as conflicts among brothers mentioned above, harsh towards the Pauline estates. However, they were also capable of recognizing situations in which they should support some of the monasteries. One of

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by my brothers and nephews, and also two mills and a fulling mill also in Švica, all this for the wish of king Matthias. AC – LXXVI, 95-96.

<sup>118</sup> Matijaš' Božiom' miošćom' kral' ugr'ski, Dal'macie, Hr'vacie i ostalo...Za to milost', to više rečeno iman'e, dva malina, pilu i stupu na Švici tim' rečenim' fratrom' remetam', kloštru u Gvoz'di modruš'kem daemo, daruemo, slobodimo, potvr'juemo tim' našim' listom'. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, 266.

<sup>119</sup> "Mi knez' Žigmunt' Fran'kapan, krč'ki i modruš'ki i pročaja, damo viditi svim' i svakomu...kako mi spominjući se na testamen't' našeg vernog sluge poš'tenoga viteza g(ospodi)na Karla, ki e ostavil' bil' crikvi sv. Mikule na Gvozdi modruš'kom 400 zlatih', ke pinezi smo mi uzeli za se, a kun'ten'tali smo crikvu rečenu sv. Mikule na Gvozdi, das mo bili odlučili kmeta ednoga na Svoići Grgura Iv'kovića. Ki rečeni kmet' daval' e rečenomu kloštru svetoga Mikule na Gvozdi sako leto zlatih' 8. Po tom toga nikoliko vrime toga rečenoga kmeta mi uzesmo v naše ruke, i k tomu spomenusmo se li devociona našega, ki smo imili vazda istomu svetomu Mikuli, mi dasmo i odlučismo i u mesto rečenoga kmeta rečenomu kloštru sv. Mikule da Gvozdi selo Tisovik', na kom' seli side edan' kmet', po imeni Šimun'. Ko selo rečeno Tisovik' rečenomu Kloštru sv. Mikule na Gvozdi mi dasmo i odlučismo vikuvič'nim zakonom' za svim' prostojan'em' malim i velikim', ča godi pristoi selu, polja, gore i sinokoše, i vode, driva i kamika, kako smo e god i mi držali. A fratri rečenoga kloštra sv. Mikule na Gvozdi da su dužni vikuvič'nim zakonom' svaku nedilju ednu misu za našega života za grihe a po našoi smrti za našu dušu." AC, LXXVI, 95-96.

them was Martin IV Frankapan. He was most probably the greatest patron in the Frankapan family, not just of the Pauline order, but also of the Church in general.<sup>120</sup> Unlike others, who mostly donated land, estates, and tenant peasants, Martin, in a donation from the May 4, 1478, granted the St. Nicholas monasteries several rights and ordered his officials not to interfere with the economic activities of the St. Nicholas monastery<sup>121</sup>. On the contrary, they should defend their rights for the free use of their mills, sawmills, and fulling mills.<sup>122</sup> Clearly, some of the officials saw the Pauline order as direct competitors in the economic enterprises. More importantly, Martin also gave them the right to set their own prices for the work they did on the Švica estates.<sup>123</sup>

The monasteries' orientation to the vineyards was not strictly limited to the island of Krk. Climate conditions in the fifteenth century favored the vine in the area around Modruš.<sup>124</sup> The Paulines knew and took advantage of that. A prime example of that were the vineyards on Kozje brdo (Kosleberdo, Kocle brdo). The confirmation charter<sup>125</sup> of Count Stjepan II reveals how the monastery of St. Nicholas acquired those vineyards. The monastery acquired the first one by donation.<sup>126</sup> They bought the second one for 17 ducats<sup>127</sup> and traded some other land for the third one.<sup>128</sup> Again, Vicar Stanislav was involved in all of these transactions. This shows the Pauline

<sup>120</sup> See Trpimir Macan, ed., *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian biographical lexicon], (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1998), S. V. "FRANKAPAN, Martin IV", 416-418, hereafter *HBL*.

<sup>121</sup> "I da ih naš' niedan' pod' knežin' i oficijal' ni pisar' od toga ostaviti ne more; da pače zapovidamo svim' našim' oficijalom', ki su sada i kip o nih' budu, da ih' u tom' imaju proti svakomu človiu sloboditi i braniti..." Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige*, 101; Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 70.

<sup>122</sup> "...da na nih' maline in a stupu i na pilu svaki človiu' da e volan' i slobodan' kusce voziti i sukno nositi...", Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige*, 101; Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 70.

<sup>123</sup> "...da su volni i slobodn'ni svakomu človiu ki bi u nih' više rečene maline prišal', kusce trti i sukno valati, poč'nim' drago i kako nim drago." Hercigonja, *Nad iskonom hrvatske knjige*, 101; Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 70.

<sup>124</sup> Today there are no vineyards in the Kapela region.

<sup>125</sup> *Litterae confirmatorio – exemptionales*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39-40. One can see that Stjepan II Frankapan not only confirm previous acquisitions of the monastery, but he also freed them from taxes and obligations to him.

<sup>126</sup> "...una, quam frater Nicolaus Storich itidem pro animae suae salute..." Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39.

<sup>127</sup> "...Stephanus sutor sororius ejusdem fratris Nicolai pro 17 ducatis..." Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39.

<sup>128</sup> "...tertia denique, quam Anthonius Benessich et socrus sua Margaretha, reliota Antonii sutoris, titulo cambia Claustro B. Nicolai Confessoris in Gvozd in perpetuum legaverant, ac respective dederant, omnio in Modrussiensis

intention to group their estates to be as productive as possible. Also, it can be argued that they were not only the passive receivers of the grants and donations but also active participants in the local economy, interacting with different levels of social strata, from buying a vineyard from a shoemaker up to asking their *dominus terrestris* for confirmation and tax exemption. Stanislav's (and the monastery itself's) active participation is also seen in their purchase of a fourth vineyard on the same hill.<sup>129</sup> It is interesting to see that the St. Nicholas monastery not only paid with money, but masses for the departed were also used as part of the purchase.

The exact location of this hill (Kozje brdo) is not known. I would argue that it was somewhere in the close proximity of the monastery and Modruš. The first argument for that would be that all of the charters related to Kozje brdo were issued by Count Stjepan II.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, this location was probably somewhere in Modruš County. Furthermore, all the donation charters also included lands and properties in or around Modruš. For example, together with the three vineyards mentioned above, Stjepan also confirmed them the donation of a mill close to Modruš.<sup>131</sup> The same goes for another charter in which Stjepan gave the monastery a *dvor (curia)* in Kozje brdo and one *liberum merissium Modrussiae*.<sup>132</sup> They were again grouped in the single "unit". In return, the Paulines were obligated to serve one mass per month for him. Another donation to the monastery connected to Modruš had a specific donor; the bishop of

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*territorio, monte vero Kosleberdo situates, suisque terminis distinctis, praefato Claustro elargitae.*" Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39.

<sup>129</sup> "Ja Vit'ko Krajač, zet' biv'sega Filipa pastoral, daem' viditi svim' i svakomu, pred' kojih' god obraz' pride ta naš' list, kako ja prodah' vinograd' biv'sega Filipa, moga tasta, ki vinograd' est' u Koteli br'di, ki se uzdr'ži vrhu vinograda s(veto)ga Mikule z' Gvozda. I da ga ja prodah' po zakonu modruš'koga stola ot'cu vikarišu z Gvoz'da s(veto)ga Mikule, po imenu Stanislavu, za svim' pristojan'jem ča godi i pristoi k tomu istomu vinogradu više imenovanom' od mala do velika, za zlatih 8 te da se služe ed'ne mise grgurev'ske za dušu više imenovanoga Filipa, moga tasta." AC, XCVIII, 114.

<sup>130</sup> In the 1449 family division Stjepan gained, among other estates and cities, Modruš as a center of his power. See chapter on Frankapan history.

<sup>131</sup> "...deserti molendini loco in Pothok sub Civitate Modrussiensi existente, quam Anthonius sutor Jurssetich dictus pro anime salute..." Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39.

<sup>132</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 65.

Krbava (*Corbavia*) Mavro donated them a house in Modruš and a mill near Modruš for the salvation of his soul.<sup>133</sup>

The last area that I will mention related to the monastery of St. Nicholas is the one around the Frankapan city of Brinje. This could also be rather specific case if one takes into consideration that the Paulines had a monastery in Brinje (Holy Virgin Mary) from the second part of the fifteenth century on. All of their properties around Brinje were connected with the person of Ivan VIII of Brinje (1458-1514), the owner of Brinje. He either donated them himself or confirmed those acquired through purchase. The main types of estates around Brinje were arable lands and meadows. For example, in 1495 he gave them three villages (*selo*) in Črnica, each of them with one tenant peasant (*kmet*).<sup>134</sup> In return, the Paulines had to pray for him, his family, and his ancestors.<sup>135</sup> A charter from 1498 reveals that the Paulines from the St. Nicholas monastery were even ready to pay Frankapans for some estates. They asked Ivan VIII for help and he decided to sell them village Mokro for 150 golden coins and a weekly mass for him and his family.<sup>136</sup> In the same year they acquired a few more possessions.<sup>137</sup>

Regarding other locations, two houses in Senj acquired at the beginning of the fifteenth century should be mentioned.<sup>138</sup> Senj, a main harbor in Frankapan hands, was surely one the important locations for the Paulines as a possible location for selling and exporting their

<sup>133</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 45.

<sup>134</sup> "...i k blaženomu svetomu Mikuli i k nega molstiru, ki est' u Gvozdi modruš'kom' u nega ime sazidan', učinismo tomu istomu kloštru dati i darovati u našem', gospoctvi i va otačanstvi u ed'nom selu po imenu u Črnici tri kmeti sideći, naiprvo selo, na kom sidi Pac'lak Andrii, drugomu selu, na kom' sidi Karin' Peroić', treće selo, na kom sidi An'ton Tisoić'." AC, CXLV, 157-158.

<sup>135</sup> "A oni za nas i za naših' ostalih' i podšasih'pred' name imajte g(ospod)ina Boga moliti." AC, CXLV, 158.

<sup>136</sup> "...na slavu v' semogućega Boga in a čast' i na pomoć' crik'vi svetoga Mikule sada mi prodasmo i dasmo i darovasmo i daemo dob'rovol'nim' zakonom' na vlaš'tem našem' gospod'stvi plaš'stega našega imin'ja i plemen'stine na vladan'i i va otačan'stvi našem' brinskom' selo, ko se zove Mok'ro, v'se sa v'sim za 150 zlatih', sa vsimi seli ča k' nim' pristoi, is a v'sim' pristojan'jem malim' i velikim'...Toliko imite fratri više rečeni ed'nu misu služiti svetoj Marii, kako e zakon' reda više rečenoga, v crikvi rečenoj, sa ogracijami, ke pristoe, za nas' i naše grihe, a po nas' za dušu i prvih' ostalih' va veki." Dočkal XVI 29 (2), 90.

<sup>137</sup> i.e. Arable land in selo Škinje – AC, CLVIII, 171-172.

<sup>138</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (2), 23-24; 27-28.

products, i.e., wine, or for leasing them. It is no wonder then that two of their monasteries were established near Senj.

After the 1463 and the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, the situation for the Frankapan lands became difficult, the turmoil reaching its peak with the battle at Krbava and the sack of the Modruš suburbs in 1493. The St. Nicholas monastery was not spared. In that light one notices an increase in hereditary loans (*dati na livel*) of the monastery properties. For example, in 1516 monastery gave their house in Novi to *meštar* (artisan, craftsman) Valent in hereditary loan for two ducats.<sup>139</sup> In the same way they gave some land in loan in 1521.<sup>140</sup> I would explain this with the inability of the monastery to properly use all of their possessions any longer due to a possible decrease in the number of monks, the dangers of traveling, and the fact that the Ottoman raids were an everyday reality. 1521 was the last year when the St. Nicholas monastery is mentioned in the sources. One can assume that the monastery had either been sacked or just abandoned because of the Ottoman danger.

Above I have surveyed the main groups of properties that the monastery of St. Nicholas in Gvozd acquired over time. Of course, the donations pointed out above are not the only ones. I did not deal with a few smaller donations mostly from local individuals who wanted to secure the salvation of their souls or material existence for their closest relatives in case of their death. From the sources one can recognize some patterns. They focused on several branches of the economy. As I showed, the Paulines were not only passive recipients of the grants and donations. Not only did they frequently ask for confirmation of their current estates, but they were also ready to invest their funds in new properties. Through selling isolated or too distant properties and firmly holding those which were important to them, they created a number of main groups of

<sup>139</sup> "...pirde pred nas poč'tovani' muž meštar Valenta, proseći, da bismo mu dali hižu, nku e držal meštar Šimun'... na livel podanu plaću, kako e i on plaćal, dva dukata." AC, CCIII, 206.

<sup>140</sup> AC, CCVI, 209.

their estates covering a wide range of economic activities, from mills and fishponds, to sawmills, fulling mills, and vineyards up to the arable lands and meadows. All of them were in close proximity to Frankapan estates.<sup>141</sup> One of the key figures responsible for such progress of the monastery was surely Vicar Stanislav. In more than thirty years spent as a prior of the St. Nicholas and the vicar of the Gvozd vicariate<sup>142</sup> he was able to improve some aspects of monastic life. As a foreigner<sup>143</sup>, his Slavic origin and Latin education helped him in the translation and transliteration of the rule, constitutions, and discussions/sermons of St. Augustine into the Croatian language and Glagolitic script. Also, he was involved in almost every large acquisition of the monastery. Often he was the one mentioned in the charters as initiating certain confirmations, donations, and investments of the monastery. Furthermore, royal charters regarding important issues connected to the monastery, such as the one of King Matthias Corvinus<sup>144</sup>, were transcribed and translated into Croatian by the chapter of Modruš at his request. It is not hard to imagine that in some cases his influence and reputation made a difference when dealing with some of the potential benefactors of the monastery.<sup>145</sup>

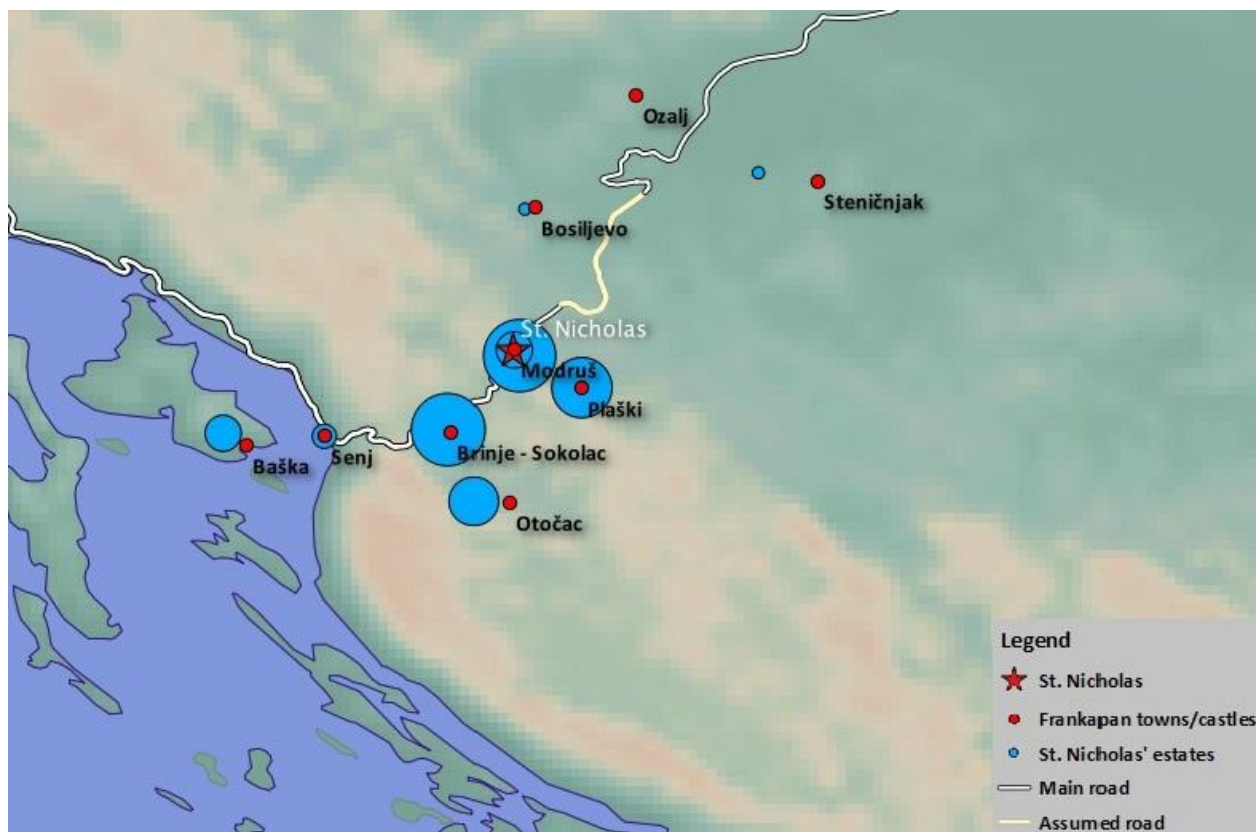
<sup>141</sup> Vineyards and lands in Baška were on the Frankapan “birthplace” – the island of Krk, Plasi – near the Frankapan castrum in Plasi, Švica – near the Frankapan castrum in Otočac, estates in Brinje – near the Frankapan castrum Sokolac in Brinje, vineyards at Kozje brdo and the monastery of St. Nicholas itself was only few km from Modruš.

<sup>142</sup> Sources mention him from 1444 to 1475, Dočkal, 29a (2), 107.

<sup>143</sup> In the sources known as *Stanislaus Polonus*, *Stanislaus de Bohnia*, *Stanislav z Lenije*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 107; Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 145.

<sup>144</sup> “Mi kapitul' crikve modruške va spomenuće priporučamo svim', ki ta list' sliše ili ga vide, kako da pride pred' nas' fratar' Stanislav, vikar sv. Mikule iz Gvoz'da modruškoga, reda sv. Pavla pr'vog remete, u kipi svoem v kipi inih svega kun'venta toga kloštra, prisad'si ored' nas' prinese listi nike svit'loga poglavara Matijaša krala Dal'macie i Hr'vacie i ostalo, zapečaćen' pečatom', udržan'em niže pisanim, proseći nas' dostoinim zakonom', da bismo hotili on' list' od' ova slova pripisati našim' listom' otvorenim više rečenomu fratri Stanislavu.” AC, XCI, 109.

<sup>145</sup> Today there is no work focused on Stanislav. For some fragmentary information see Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*; Dočkal, XVI 29a (2); Runje, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*.



**Figure 4. Map of the St. Nicholas' estates**

### **The Monastery of the Holy Savior in Ljubotina**

The monastery of the Holy Savior<sup>146</sup> is a Pauline monastery erected in the cove of Ljubotina, on the southern side of Senj. Although clearly situated in a different geographical and climatic environment than the monastery of St. Nicholas in Gvozd and monasteries in medieval Slavonia or Hungary, one can still trace some of the Pauline patterns regarding the spatial context of their monasteries. First of all, it was situated on a desolate location on the very coast of the Adriatic Sea. One should be aware of the fact that Senj and its coastline were through the history (and even today) infamous for the *bura*, a very strong and cold wind coming over the Velebit mountains (to the northeast) and often striking the coast with tremendous power. Second,

<sup>146</sup> Croatian Sv. Spas. In sources also mentioned as “molstir svetago Spasa pred Senjem”, “molstir svetoga Spasa na brigu mora v drazi, ka se zove Ljubotina”, *monasterium s. Salvatoris prope Seniam*, *conventus sancti Salvatoris in valle Glubotine prope Segniam*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (3)



the monastery was not far from the main road connecting medieval Slavonia with the sea. Third, although in a deserted place, the monastery was within walking distance (few kilometers) of the city of Senj. As in the case of Modruš, the location near Senj was not chosen randomly. Besides Modruš, Senj was one of the most important possessions of the Frankapan family.<sup>147</sup> It lies below the lowest mountain pass (Vratnik – 698 m) through the Velebit<sup>148</sup>. Therefore it was the closest and the relatively most accessible town and port on the Adriatic Sea seen from medieval Slavonia.<sup>149</sup> The contrast between the Pauline hermit tradition and their later approach to the style of the mendicant orders is nicely pictured in the case of the Holy Savior monastery.

The first mention of the monastery dates back to 1364 and to the very same charter that was also important for the St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd. On September 29, 1364, the monastery of St. Nicholas *de nemore Modrusse* gave a house in Senj to Dominik, son of Ivan, in hereditary lease for 4 ducats a year. Brother Florijan (*Florianus*), prior of the Holy Savior monastery, acted on behalf of the St. Nicholas monastery and with its approval; he was accompanied by Brother Urban (*Vrban*).<sup>150</sup> Although not focused on the Holy Savior monastery, this charter provides valuable information about this establishment. It is apparent that the monastery existed before 1364 and that it had its own prior and monk(s). Also, one can see that

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<sup>147</sup> The importance of it can be seen from the fact that after King Matthias occupied Senj in 1469, the different branches of the family managed to put aside (at least for a while) their quarrels and decided to enter into open conflict with the king, even though they were already engaged in the war with the Ottomans. See Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 262-264.

<sup>148</sup> Velebit – the longest and largest (although not the highest) Croatian mountain, 145 km long, orientation northwest – southeast (parallel with the Adriatic Sea), with peaks up to 1757 m. It creates a significant climatic, regional, cultural, and historical barrier.

<sup>149</sup> From the pre-Roman up to the modern times this path was the main commercial and traveling route to the Adriatic Sea. Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja*, 114.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibique religiosus et honestus frater Florianus, prior Conventus sive Monasterii sancti Salvatoris in valle Glubotine prope Seniam asseruit se ad omnia et singularia suprascripta et infrascripta habere plenum mandatum a religioso et honesto fratre Gregorio, priore Monasterii sancti Nicolai de nemore Modrussae, eorum vicario, et promittit se facturum et curaturum omni occasione remota, quod dictus frater Gregorius confirmabit omnia et singularia suprascripta et in hoc contractu contenta ibidem praesente fratre Urbano, tunc fratre dicti Monasterii sancti Salvatoris...* CD XIII – 291, 399.

the hierarchy among the monasteries already existed by that year – Brother Grgur (*Gregorius*), prior of the St. Nicholas monastery, was also Florijan's vicar and superior.

Thus far no one can clearly be connected to the monastery as the founder due to the lack of sources. Previous scholars have mostly left the question of the founder completely open<sup>151</sup> or, as in case of Kamilo Dočkal, tried to infer it based on later donations. Dočkal argued in favor of either the Frankapans or the burghers of Senj as they were later frequent donors to the monastery.<sup>152</sup> Taking into the consideration arguments presented in this chapter, I would cautiously argue that some of the burgher families in Senj was the founder of the monastery.

The first surviving charter related directly to the Holy Savior monastery was issued several years later, in 1371. From it one can see that the monastery acquired a vineyard in Baška draga.<sup>153</sup> Four years later (1375), the monastery bought a piece of land for twelve ducats from Ivan Mikulanić, burgher of Senj, in Baška draga on the island of Krk.<sup>154</sup> From the charter is also clear that at the time of the donation the monastery already possessed the vineyard in Baška draga, as it was one of the borders of the newly acquired land (*poli tr'sovi svetago Spasa*). In the same year the monastery acquired another piece of land at the same place – Baška draga. Again,

<sup>151</sup> i.e., Josip Adamček, "Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi" [The Paulines and their feudal estates], in *Kultura Pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244-1786* [The culture of the Croatian Paulines], ed. Vladimir Maleković (Zagreb: Globus – Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989), 41-66. Henceforth Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, Zorislav Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*, 131-132., Mile Bogović, "Pavlini u Senju" [The Paulines in Senj], *Senjski zbornik* 13 (1988), 110-112. Henceforth Bogović, *Pavlini u Senju*.

<sup>152</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 8.

<sup>153</sup> *Vbi venerat Stanach filius condam Dragunchin et eius vxor Dragosckaua et dederunt se sponte de proprio eorum velle sub ecclesia sancti Spiritus de Lubetingo; et dimisit, dedit et donauit idem Stanach suam, vineam que est in valle Besche...* CD XIV – 231, 314-315. Regarding *sanctus Spiritus* in the charter, I assume that it was an error made while transcribing the charter from the Glagolitic script. From other elements, such as the toponym *Lubetingo* (Ljubotina) and the fact that the donated land was in Baška draga, one can be fairly sure that the Holy Savior monastery is the right one.

<sup>154</sup> "E dal i daroval Ivan Mikulanić s' Sena jednu zemlju, ka e v drazi baškoi poli tr'sovi svetago Spasa i poli tr'sovi svetago Mar'tina i poli puta op'či fratu Jakovu, ki preimaše tu zemlju mesto crkve svetago Spasa i mesto brate... A to za protudar i za rastvoreni rečene zemle rečeni fratar Jakov, priur crkve rečene, e dal' i darloval Ivanu rečenomu 12 dukata." AC, VIII – 42, 43. It is interesting to see that the charter itself is not talking about the sale or purchase, but about giving – donating (dal i daroval). Basically, Ivan Mikulanić gave this piece of land to the monastery and in return, as a counter gift (protudar), he took twelve ducats.

it was a donation for which the monastery paid a “counter gift” and it was donated by Rada, daughter of Krasnelin.<sup>155</sup> Beside the counter gift in money, the monastery also took the responsibility of praying for Rada and deceased members of her family.<sup>156</sup> Where she was from is not specified, but one can assume that she was a citizen of either Senj or Baška. Once more process of defining the boundaries of the plot of land reveals valuable pieces of information. This time, one of the boundaries was the monastery’s land with newly planted vines. Taking all this into consideration, I would argue that the monastery had a clear picture about the types and locations of the properties they wanted to acquire. This trend can be followed continuously through the whole “life span” of the monastery. In the following years, on several occasions, the monastery acquired vineyards or land in and around a specific location within Baška draga – the church of St. Cosmas and Damian. For example, in 1419, Prior Stjepan (Štefan) bought land in Baška draga near the church of St. Cosmas and Damian for seven ducats and eleven solidi.<sup>157</sup> By looking into the borders of this land, one can see that it bordered on properties already owned by the Holy Savior monastery. The same pattern in the acquisition of the new lands and vineyards repeated itself at least four more times.<sup>158</sup> They were not only buying land and vineyards in Baška draga, but also exchanging the lands and organizing them in the way that suited them. Apparently, the focus point of this organization was the church of St. Cosmas and Damian.<sup>159</sup> A good example of this is the charter from 1426 in which the monastery exchanged one piece of

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<sup>155</sup> “...e dala i darovala Rada kći Krasnelina jednu zemlu ka e v drazi baškoj, v inu za se u za svojih ostavah, ka e zgora puta općega. Zgora te iste zemle e tr’sovi svete Lucie, i poli sad, ki se tada načiniše, ki e svetago Spasa...” AC, IX, 43-44.

<sup>156</sup> “... da i za nju i za ne’e mr’tvih G(ospodi)na Boga moliti.” AC, IX, 43.

<sup>157</sup> “... e dar’ i daroval’Juraj Kur’način brat’ g(ospodi)nu fra Š’tefanu, priuru svetago Spasa i fratrom’ i crikvi sevtago Spasa ednu, ka e v’ kuntrati v drazi baškoj blizu crikvi Sv. Mihovila. Z’dola je polana: naipr’vin kun’fin’e zemla svetago Spasa fratr... A fratri više pisani suprotu dau esu dali i darovali Jur’ju više ppisanomu 7 dukat’ na zlato te 11 so(lidi)...” AC, XVIII, 49.

<sup>158</sup> A list of all the charters appears in the appendix. In the main body of the thesis I will not be able to show all of them. Rather, I will highlight selected cases to show certain patterns.

<sup>159</sup> This tendency was also noted by previous scholars, most notably Kamilo Dočkal in his unpublished overview of the Pauline order (XVI 29a [3]) and Vjekoslav Štefanić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*.

land in Baška draga for another one near the church of St. Cosmas and Damian.<sup>160</sup> The same situation occurred again in 1451. This time they exchanged a garden in Baška for land near the church of St. Cosmas and Damian.<sup>161</sup> The interesting thing is that this exchange was approved by several higher Pauline authorities such as the master of the order, the vicar of the monastery in Remete near Zagreb who was at that moment *vižitatur slovinski i hr'vat'ski* (Slavonian and Croatian *visitor*) and the vicar of the monastery of St. Nicholas in Gvozd.<sup>162</sup> The second piece of important information this charter provides is a mention of building some houses<sup>163</sup> around the St. Cosmas and Damian church. The culmination of these efforts occurred in 1466, when, with the approval of his chapter and Count Nikola VII Frankapan as *dominus terrestris* of the island of Krk, Bishop Nikola of Krk granted the church of St. Cosmas and Damian to the Holy Savior monastery. Also, he exempted the church, its possessions and two of the monastery's previously acquired vineyards of all taxes due the bishopric of Krk.<sup>164</sup> It seems that again Vicar Stanislav and the prior of the Holy Salvation monastery, Brother Juraj Modruški (Juraj from Modruš), played crucial roles. First, they managed to get the permission and donation charter for the

<sup>160</sup> "A pr'vd Gr'gur više pisani e dal' menu za menu zemle rečene kus' edne zemle v drazi više pisanoi, blizu crikvi svetoga Kuzmi i Domjana..." AC, XXVI, 54.

<sup>161</sup> "... da e zamenil vr't, ki e bil v Baški svetago Spasa pri nih ložah,... dopustiše i daše postaviti hiže poli crikav svetoga Kuzmi i Domjana. I to daše za menu zemle za vrt ot crikve do hiže..." AC, LIX, 78-79.

<sup>162</sup> "[unreadable] svetago Pavla prvog remete s viden'em i [unreadable] našega poglav'e i naših otac [unreadable] vikariša crikve svete Marie iz Zagreba i vižitatura slovinskoga i hr'vat'skoga, i takoe našega [unreadable] slava vikariša crikve svetago Mikule z Gvozda modruškoga..." AC, LIX, 78. Unfortunately the original charter is apparently unreadable in some places (interestingly enough, only in the cases of the names). Still, one can see that all of them gathered in the monastery of Holy Savior. Even the charter itself was sealed with the seal of the St. Nicholas monastery. Kamilo Dočkal proposed a solution for the missing names in a way that the "missing" master of the order (*poglavar, general reda*) was Stephen II, the vicar of the monastery in Remete was Father Dimitrije, and the vicar of the St. Nicholas monastery was Father Stanislav. Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 55. For this thesis I was unable to check the original charter, thus I am following the published version of the source and the work of previous scholars.

<sup>163</sup> The charter is not precise about the houses. It only mentions that the towns' officials approved their erection. Thus, it is hard to say who built them and whether they were monastic or civic.

<sup>164</sup> "...da bismo se račili dopustiti rečenu crikav pod svetago Kuzmi i Dom'jana, posvećena sa vsimi ne zemlani oranami i neoranami, i zemlami nasaenimi i nenasaeenimi, ke pristoe k rečenoj crikvim do sega vrimene i ke se čekaju za potvrditi k nih više rečenomu kloštru vat u rečenu crikav svetago Kuzmi i Dom'jana, vse i ostale zemke i druga dva vinograda v rečenoj drazi baštanskoi...ot vsakoga bromine i dohodka, od desetini i osmoga, sedmoga, četrtoga dela, vekuvečnih vremen, ka imaju priti, da bi mogli vzdignuti i otvezati i za slobodno održati i čuvati." AC, LXXXI, 99-101.

church and its lands from Ivan VII Frankapan as the church had been erected by his ancestors.<sup>165</sup> With his permissions they went in front of the bishop of Krk, and “after being persistent in their requests”<sup>166</sup>, the bishop granted them the church, lands, and tax exemptions. In return, the Paulines were obliged to give one small *libra* of incense to the bishop of Krk every year on the feast of the Assumption of Mary for as long as they owned the church and its lands.<sup>167</sup> In this way, the St. Cosmas and Damian church officially became the residence and the center for the Paulines in Baška draga. After the dissolution of the Holy Savior monastery in the mid-sixteenth century, some of the monks stayed permanently in this residence. This resulted in its elevation to an independent monastery during the seventeenth century.<sup>168</sup>

Properties in Baška draga on the island of Krk were one of the two main economic assets of the monastery. The second was estates, mostly houses in the city of Senj. The earliest information regarding the monastery’s properties in Senj dates to a charter issued in 1375. Prior Jakov (*Jacobus*), in the name of the monastery, gave a house in Senj to certain Nikola (*Nicolao de Ancona*), citizen of Senj in hereditary lease. In return, he was obliged to pay 5 ducats per year.<sup>169</sup> As in the case of the vineyards in Baška draga, one can follow development of the Pauline economy based on leasing real estate through several surviving charters. Their activity and agility in this “business” can be seen from an example in 1411. One the very same day the

<sup>165</sup> This charter was not preserved, but the bishop Nikola is referring to it in his own charter. “...kako pred nas svojim kipom pristupajući esu navestili presvitloga kneza i vzveličenoga i vzmogućnoga g(ospodin) Ivana Frankapana, krčkoga i otoka g(ospo)d(i)n, i senskoga i modruškoga i pročaja kneza, negovih dobroga vaspomenut’ja, ki su preminuli...ednu crikav, pod ime svetago Kuzmi i Dom’jana posvećenu, v drazi baštanskoi, biskupie naše krčke, postavlenu sa vsimi i ostalimi zemlami...” AC, LXXXI, 100-101.

<sup>166</sup> “neprestano proseći umilnim prošeniem” AC, LXXXI, 100-101.

<sup>167</sup> “...fratri rečenog reda..., ki su sada i ki imaju za nimi priti, znamenavamo kot sazan’ja, das u držani od godišta do godišta na blagdan vznesen’ja preslavne Dive Marie ednu libricu tam’jana v znamen’e poznan’ja rečenoga dopušten’ja biskupu krčkomu, dokle više rečene zemle budu u rečenih fratar oblasti.” AC, LXXXI, 100-101.

<sup>168</sup> This topic is well out of my time scope and I will not deal with it. Thus, for more information about the Pauline residence and monastery in Baška see Dočkal, XVI 29a (8) – Samostan sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Baški.

<sup>169</sup> “...et consentiente omnibus et singulis infrascriptis per se suosque posteros ac succesoras ex nunc in perpetuum dedit, contulit, concessit et affictavit Nicolao condam Massoli de Ancona, civi et habitatori Segniae, pro se ac suis haeredibus posteris ac successoribus praesenti, conducenti et recipient unam domum praetacti monasterii, postiam Segniae... ducatos quinque auri justis ponderis in perpetuum...” CD XV - 104, 141-143.

monastery managed to acquire the house (paying 118 ducats for it)<sup>170</sup> they leased it to Laurencio de Cuane de Terencio.<sup>171</sup> In return, he had to pay a yearly rent of eight ducats.<sup>172</sup> They were even ready to pursue their debtors to the court, if that was necessary to get the *livellum* (term used for rent). That happened to *Lelacije* (*Lelacius*). Even though he pleaded poverty, Prior Stjepan pushed the case all the way to the bishop of Krk,<sup>173</sup> who in the end decided in favor of the monastery and ordered *Lelacije* to pay what he owed (six ducats) and return the house to the Paulines.<sup>174</sup> In at least five more surviving charters the Holy Savior monastery was involved with the donations of, purchasing, and leasing the houses in Senj.<sup>175</sup>

Most of the donations and transactions of the Holy Savior monastery involved citizens of Senj or Baška. Compared with that, the Frankapans did not play such an important role as in the case of the St. Nicholas monastery. The first preserved Frankapan charter (and one of the earliest overall) dates to 1372. Count Ivan (Anž) V Frankapan, upon the request of Prior Jakov, granted the monastery incomes<sup>176</sup> that belonged to him in Baška draga. In return, the monks were required to pray for his health and the salvation of his ancestors' souls.<sup>177</sup> Nine years later, the same Prior Filip went to Modruš and asked the same thing from Ivan's brother, Stjepan I

<sup>170</sup> Mályusz 6, 188-189. DL 34.386.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 189, DL 34.387.

<sup>172</sup> *Arendalea super una magna domo contiguoque monasterii domui Cassali Segniae ad ejusdem monasterium s. Salvatoris pertinentibus erga censum annuae in 8 ducatis auri...* Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 29.

<sup>173</sup> Why they were pleading to the bishop of Krk and not the bishop of Senj is an interesting question. One possible answer may be that at that time the seat of bishop of Senj was empty. However, in this thesis I will not be able to deal with this question.

<sup>174</sup> Mályusz 6, 189-190. DL 34.388, Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 33-34.

<sup>175</sup> For details about all the charters related to the Holy Savior monastery see the appendix.

<sup>176</sup> That is, he freed them from the taxes on their lands in Baška draga.

<sup>177</sup> "Mi knez Anž damo znati vsim pred kih obraz' ta naš list pride, k(a)ko <pride> pred n(a)s f(r)a(t)a(r) Ekov preur s(veta)go Spasa svoju bratju z Lubotine pr[oseč] nas dara milosrdna, a to bismo ih ne brižili v dohodcih...anih ki nam [pri]stoe v Drazi Baščanskoi. A mi vidivše nih podob'nu proš'nu učinis'mo im tu milost, das'mo i darovasmo več'nim zakonom ta naš dohodak fratrom više imenovanim kloš'tra s(veta)go Spasa, a to zato das'mo, oni su dlžni b(og)a moliti za naše zdrave, a za naših mrtvih d(u)š' spasene." Štefančič, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 140. This charter was not published in any of the source editions. Vjekoslav Štefančič found it in the archive of the Franciscan monastery in Ljubljana and published it for the first time in this article. Thus, I am following his transliteration and punctuation.

Frankapan. This time the monastery was released from the taxes on their vineyards in Baška draga. In the same way as with his brother, the Paulines were required to pray forever for his health, soul, and the souls of the deceased members of the Frankapan family.<sup>178</sup> The reason for Prior Jakov and some of his monks to travel all the way to Modruš might have lain in the current political situation. In 1378, the conflict between King Louis I and Venice escalated. Both of the Frankapan brothers, who were at that time equally the head of the family, stood at the king's side. Stephen even pledged ten thousand golden florins to the king for current military needs. As the tide of war turned to the Venetian side, the Venetian fleet stormed and burned Senj and Baška.<sup>179</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the Pauline lands and vineyards were also plundered or burned during the fighting.<sup>180</sup> Unlike the St. Nicholas monastery, the economy of which would not have been severely damaged by destruction of this kind, Holy Savior's economy was almost completely based on their land and vineyards in Baška draga and their estates in Senj. Taking all this into consideration, this tax exemption could be seen as a more than welcome Frankapan boost for the recovery of the Holy Savior's economy.

One of the few "physical" Frankapan donations to the monastery is connected with the Count Žigmund, grandson of Ivan V Frankapan. In 1452 he granted the monastery a piece of land in Švica near Otočac suitable for the construction of a mill.<sup>181</sup> The interesting thing about this charter is the fact that Žigmund moved from the general request of praying for his health and

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<sup>178</sup> "Mi knez' Štifan' damo viditi vsim, pred kih obraz' ta naš' list' pridet', kako pride pred' nas fratar Jakov, preur svetago Spasa s svoju bratiju s Lobotin' bliz' Sena, proseć nas za nike dohotke, ki nas tikahu od nih vinogradov', ke imahu v drazi baštanskoj. ...za naših mrtvih duše, a za naše zdrav'e. A to za to oni se obećaše i prijaše Boga moliti večno za naših mrtvih duše i za naše." AC, XI, 45.

<sup>179</sup> For a more detailed overview of Frankapan role in this conflict see Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 172-174.

<sup>180</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (3), 21.

<sup>181</sup> "...kako to mi' dasmo i darovasmo edno mesto na Švici', kadi e' podobno edan' malin' učiniti s(ve)tomu Spasu..." Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 142-143. N.B. As in the case of the previous Frankapan charter identified by scholar Vjekoslav Štefnačić, this charter also was not published in any of the source publications. It was found in the archives of bishopric in Krk. Thus, I am following exact transliteration and punctuation given by Štefančić.

soul and made precise requirements for the Pauline monks. While he was alive they were obligated to hold three masses monthly for his health and for the absolution of his sins. After his death they were to continue holding those three masses per month for his soul.<sup>182</sup> Also, the charter mentions both Brother Filip, prior of the Holy Savior monastery, and Master Vicar Stanislav from the St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd.<sup>183</sup>

In 1466 the priors of the Holy Savior and St. Helen monasteries (also near Senj) took advantage of a rare occasion, the gathering of all the members and heads of the different branches of the family, except for the youngest, Ivan VII. Krčki (of Krk).<sup>184</sup> The priors managed to get a confirmation charter for some of their estates confirmed and sealed with the seven seals of the heads of the family.<sup>185</sup> Although, at least in the case of the Holy Savior monastery, the charter confirmed only some minor properties,<sup>186</sup> it must have been important as it shows that the Frankapan family as a whole, regardless of the “branch”, was ready to support the Pauline order. The only member of the family who was not on the family gathering in Senj, Ivan VII Frankapan, gave his confirmation for the donation of the St. Cosmas and Damian church to the Holy Savior a year later.

The last Frankapan charter related to the Holy Savior monastery dates from 1495. Ivan VIII Brinjski Frankapan donated, for his sins, the salvation of his soul and souls of his father and

<sup>182</sup> “...obećaše’ pod s(ve)ti posluh i zave’zaše se’ š nih’ dobru volu sebe’ i po nih’ ki koli’ pri tom’ s(ve)tomu domu ostanu, za zdrave’ naše i za naše’ grihe dokle smo živi’ vsaki misec 3 mise pe’ti’, a kadi bi’smo mi pomankali, da za našu dušu viku vičnim’ zakonom’ imaju’ ob’služevati te 3 mise’ vsaki’ misec’ po nih’ veru i po nih’ konšenciju.” Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 143.

<sup>183</sup> “A ti dobri’ ljudi’ g(ospo)d(i)n vikariš’ Stanislav’ od molstira s(veta)go Mikule’ z Gozda i fratar Filip’, priur od s(vetago Spas’a blizu Sena z drage’ ka se’ zove’ Ljubotina’...” Štefančić, *Dvije frankopanske darovnice*, 143. I would like to draw readers’ attention to the different ways in which Stanislav and Filip are mentioned. While Filip was simply called fratar (brother, monk), Stanislav was called gospodin (master, or in the modern English, “sir”). Although this could simply be connected with his rank of vicar, it could also be the indication of his reputation and influence.

<sup>184</sup> For details see the chapter related to the Frankapan family, page 15.

<sup>185</sup> “Mi Š’tefan, Du’jam, Mar’tin, Jurai, Bartol, An’ž, Mikula de Fran’kapani, k’rčki, sen’ski, modruš’ki i pročaja k’nez...” AC, LXXX, 98-99.

<sup>186</sup> “...iošte takoe selo svetoga Spasa v Pod’g’vozdaci, ko se zove Šav’še selo, i ždribi zem’le...” AC, LXXX, 98-99. – selo (*villa*, village) called Šavše and some arable land.



their ancestors, a village called Mali Prokičci with all its incomes, but also all the taxes related to it. The village was part of his own *plemenština*, his own hereditary possessions. In return the Paulines paid 94 golden ducats and had to serve mass for them every week.<sup>187</sup> As Dočkal noted,<sup>188</sup> this donation is different because the Paulines were not the ones who initiated it, as was the case with almost all other Frankapan donations to the Holy Savior monastery. They were ready to pay for it, however, and beside that accepted the obligation to pray and celebrate masses. Another peculiarity of this charter is the precise pinpointing of the monastery. It is clearly stated that the monastery was located on the very coast of the sea in the cove called Ljubotina, on the south side of Senj.<sup>189</sup>

The monastery ceased to exist sometime in the mid-sixteenth century. The exact fate of the monastery thus far remains unknown as there is no data to tell whether it was sacked and burned or the monks just fled from it to the relative safety of Senj, Baška, or some third location. Probably in the end the monastery was destroyed to prevent the Ottomans from using it as a fortification. Later, the remains of the monastery were used as building material for Fort Nehaj in 1558.<sup>190</sup>

The sources presented in this chapter and the appendix reveals two main patterns in the economy of the Holy Savior monastery. The first was the grouping of the vineyards and lands in Baška draga on the island of Krk, especially around the church of St. Cosmas and Damian. The Paulines' active engagement in creating that compact and connected cluster of properties can

<sup>187</sup> “...ed’no das mo držani i zavezani mis’liti i is’kati nami duši našei za naša dobra života tolikoi s’pominajući se za dobroga s’pomanut’ja oca našega i svih’ naših prvih’, od kih’ si samo mnoga dobra ostavljena prijali... sada mi dasmo... vlaštaga našega imin’ia i plemen’štine va v’ladan’i i našem brin’skom’ selo, ko se zove Mali Prokičci, sa v’sim seli i ča k’nim pristoi...sa vsim službami malimi i velikimi, i osudi, pravde pitanjem. ... A fratri više rečeni daše nam 94 zlata dukata broem’... fratri više rečeni služiti v’sake nedile ed’nu misu sveoti Trojici pri crikvi rečenoj za nas’ za naše grihe, a po nas’ za našu dušu i naših’ ostalih’...” AC, CXLVII, 159-160.

<sup>188</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 77.

<sup>189</sup> “...ka crikva čas’t’no szdana est na brgu mora v drazi, ka se zove Ljubotina, na južnoj strain Sena.” AC, CXLVII, 159-160.

<sup>190</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (3), 82.

clearly be seen. Parallel to this process, the Paulines worked on acquiring properties in the city of Senj. As is visible from the sources, they focused on real estate and rentals. They did not hesitate to invest even large amounts of money and one can assume that it was profitable for them. The role and influence of the vicars of the St. Nicholas monastery can also be seen. On several occasions, for example, when the monastery was investing large sums of money or when larger donations were received, the priors of St. Nicholas (especially Prior Stanislav) were the ones who approved them. Some donations, such as the one including a relic (an eye) of St. Andrew, were even received in Gvozd even though they had been donated to the Holy Savior.<sup>191</sup>

The Frankapans' role in the formation and the development of the monastery was less noticeable than in the case of the St. Nicholas monastery. They helped when necessary or when asked, but were not as generous or as eager to earn the grace of the monks as in the case of the St. Nicholas monastery. This could be a sign (and at the same time need not be) that the Frankapan family in general supported the Pauline order when needed, but that at the same time they had "their own" "family" monasteries such as the St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd which were the focus of their patronage. Thus, it could be that the real founder of the Holy Savior monastery was some of the burghers' families of Senj.

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<sup>191</sup> Mályusz 6, 190. DL 34.391. Of course, this does not mean that they actually stayed in St. Nicholas, but one can imagine the prestige question in a donation like this.

## St. Helen monastery in Vlaška draga near Senj

The Holy Savior was not the only Pauline monastery around Senj. Through history, two other Pauline monasteries existed in the close proximity or in the city itself. The younger of the two, St. Nicholas in Senj, was founded in 1634 within the city walls.<sup>192</sup> The St. Helen monastery was older; it was located in the Vlaška draga (cove) on the northern side of Senj. The clear similarities between this and the Holy Savior monastery cannot pass unnoticed. As in the case of Holy Savior, it was erected on a desolate location on the very seacoast. It was also in walking distance from Senj<sup>193</sup> and near the road that led from Senj, following the coast, up to Rijeka and then further on to Istria.<sup>194</sup> One could say that the spatial context of the monastery was an exact copy of Holy Savior. As in the case of St. Nicholas and Holy Savior (and, as a matter of fact, all the monasteries that I am dealing with) there have been no archeological excavations. Zorislav Horvat made a survey of the remaining ruins. He characterized the monastery as a “small one”, measuring its dimensions (only the monastery, without the church) as 21 by 21m. Also, he measured the cloister garth as 6 by 10m long.<sup>195</sup>

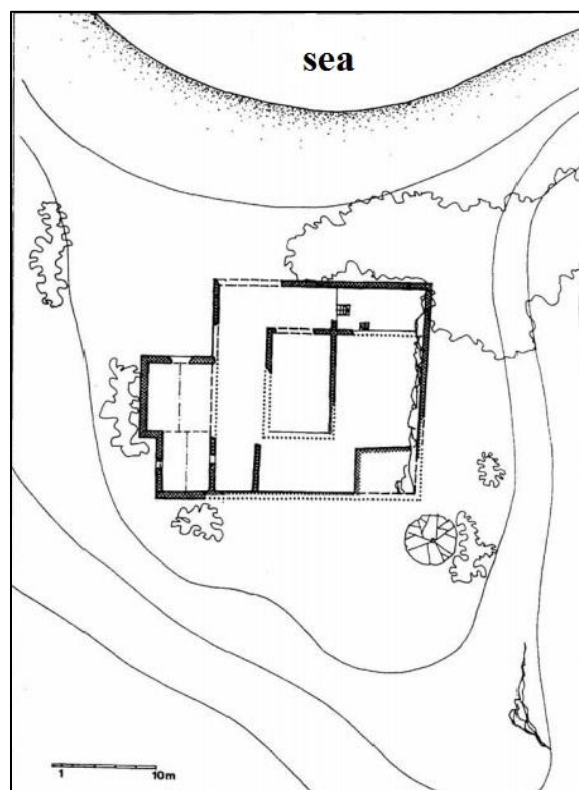
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<sup>192</sup> As it was a rather later foundation, this monastery is out of the time scope of the thesis and I will not be dealing with it here. For more detailed information about it see Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*, 163-167; Bogović, *Pavlini u Senju*, 112-119; Dočkal, XVI 29a (11) – Pavlini samostana sv. Nikole u Senju 1634 [The Paulines' St. Nicholas monastery in Senj 1634].

<sup>193</sup> Rough estimations made with the “Google Earth” measuring tools showed that the both monasteries were around 3 km away from Senj.

<sup>194</sup> See map, page

<sup>195</sup> Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*, 134. See also the ground plan of the monastery, page



**Figure 5. Ground plan of the St. Helen monastery**

Unlike the previous cases, the exact date and the founder of the monastery are known as the foundation charter has survived. The monastery was founded on January 10, 1390 by Archdeacon Radovan, burgher of Senj. It is also clear that the church of St. Helen preceded the monastery itself, namely, that the church itself was given to the Pauline monks, along with the permission to build their monastery in the same location.<sup>196</sup> This was approved by Ivan de Cardinalibus, bishop of Senj, in front of the whole chapter.<sup>197</sup> The church itself was built by Radovan's father (also named Radovan).<sup>198</sup> Still, several questions remain. When the monastery was actually built, who did it, and who endowed it with the first goods and properties?

Some indications of the time of the actual establishment of the monastery can be drawn from the fact that the next surviving charter regarding the St. Helen monastery dates from 1415 –

<sup>196</sup> Mályusz, 181. DL 35.282.

<sup>197</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (5), 4.

<sup>198</sup> Mályusz, 181. DL 35.282.

twenty-five years after the nominal foundation.<sup>199</sup> Interestingly enough, from this document it is visible that the monastery sold a vineyard in Vlaška draga.<sup>200</sup> Beside the fact that this is a proof that the monastery existed and had a prior and monks in 1415, one can also see that the monastery had at least one vineyard in the near vicinity. The reason for the sale, however, remains unknown. It could have been connected with an immediate need for money or with the fact that they did not have opportunity to work on it or they simply decided that the offer was good. Still, this remains only an assumption. The next two surviving charters show the same pattern noted in the case of the Holy Savior monastery. Also in 1415 a merchant from Senj, Iulianus de Lucha, donated his vineyards on the hill Suha Kozica (Suha chosica) to the monastery. The Paulines were obliged to give him half of the income from the vineyards until his death and the death of his wife. Also, if their daughters (apparently, Iulianus and his wife had two) did not marry, the monastery was responsible for financial assistance to them.<sup>201</sup> Kamilo Dočkal identified Suha Kozica as the hill above the sea to the north-west, towards the town of Novi.<sup>202</sup> The second charter reveals that the monastery acquired a house (rather working place or shop – lat. *merrisium*) in Senj. It was donated by Mate Čudinić, citizen of Senj.<sup>203</sup> In return, the Paulines were obliged to give Mate and his wife another house in which they would live for the rest of their lives. The revenues generated by the donated house also belonged to Mate and his wife until their death.<sup>204</sup>

From these charters it can be seen that in the early life of the St. Helen monastery the citizens of Senj were its main benefactors. Nevertheless, from the number, nature, and the

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<sup>199</sup> I am also aware that it could just be coincidence that none of the previous charters survived.

<sup>200</sup> Malyusz 6, 181. DL 35.418.

<sup>201</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (5), 10; Malyusz 182, DL 35.419.419.

<sup>202</sup> Dočkal XVI 29a (5), 11.

<sup>203</sup> Malyusz 6, 182, DL 35.541

<sup>204</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (5), 12.

clauses included in the donations, I would argue that the monastery was smaller, less significant, and less connected with the citizens of Senj than the Holy Savior monastery. An argument for this is the fact that the donation of the house in Senj (in 1433) was the last registered interaction between the monastery and its' founders – the citizens of Senj. All further charters were connected with the interaction between the Frankapan family and the monastery.

The first charter was a donation of Count Žigmund Frankapan in 1444. Upon the request of Prior Karin, in which he stated that the monastery needed help so that the “service of God would not suffer”,<sup>205</sup> Žigmund decided to give them an abandoned piece of land in Švica suitable for construction of mills (malinišće), where he had previously had his own mills.<sup>206</sup> Out of gratitude, the Paulines promised to hold a mass every week during his life for the absolution of his sins and after his death for his soul.<sup>207</sup> In the same year Žigmund's brother, Count Bartol IX granted the monastery part of the estate in Brinje along with the monasteries of Holy Savior and St. Mary (Crikvenica).<sup>208</sup> At the same time, he freed all the tenant peasants on that estate from obligations to him.<sup>209</sup> In return, the monks were obliged to serve one mass per week, shifting this responsibility from one monastery to the other every year.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>205</sup> “... pride pred' nas' poč'tovani otac' fratar' Karin', priur' svete Elene kloš'tra od' Sena proseći nas pomoći, kako bi on'di služ'ba Božija ne poman'kala.” AC, XL, 63.

<sup>206</sup> “... esmo dali i dotali ed'no maliniš'će ko e bilo pus'to na Š'vici, kadi su bila dva malina, ka s'ta bila naša v'laš'sta, da su e vol'ni načiniti fratri više rečene svete Elene i da su e vol'ni držati i uživati vikuvič'nim' zakonom'.” AC, XL, 63. Even though Žigmund gave them the place suitable for mills, he was not the one to build them for the Paulines; that was their own job.

<sup>207</sup> “A fratri nam' obećaše, ki su sada i ki po nih' nas'tanu, da ote s'lužiti v'sake nedile ed'nu misu za naše grihe za našega života, a po naši s'mr'ti za našu dušu vikuvič'nim' zakonom'.” AC XL, 63.

<sup>208</sup> “...eiusdemque ordini ac monasteriis infrascriptis penes mare locatis, scilicet monasterio sancti Salvatoris, sancte Elene ac beate virgins cognomine Cirquenicz curavinus providere de quodam territorio nostro, in confinio bringensi sito, vulgariter nuncupato Maly Proticzcy, ordini ac monasteriis prenotatis donavimus et damus irrevocabiliter iure perpetuo prefatum territorium cum omnibus redditibus, quibus nos utebamus ac aliis uti promissimus cum montibus, silvis, pratis, fenilibus, terris cultis et incultis ac aquarum decursionibus...” CD comitum de Frangepanibus, CCCXXXIII, 342.

<sup>209</sup> “...et ut ipsi villani sunt liberi ab omni servitute nostra seu steura...” CD comitum de Frangepanibus, 342.

<sup>210</sup> “...ut fratres prefati ordinis in supradictis locis debeant et teneantur perpetuis temporibus qualibet ebdomada dicere unam missam anno primo ad sanctum Salvatorem pro peccatis, secundo anno ad sanctam Elenam de omnibus sanctis et anno tertio ad beatam virginem Cirquenicz de beata virgine, et sic consequenter per singulos

A year later (1445), the third brother, Count Dujam IV Frankapan, upon the request of Prior Karin, also made a donation to the monastery. The prior asked for the right to mill their wheat for free in Dujam's mills in Žrnovnica below the Frankapan castle Ledenice. Dujam approved this request and ordered his official to respect and implement this decision.<sup>211</sup> The request and donation like this indicates that the St. Helen monastery had no mills of its own and that they used Frankapan mills, probably regularly (at least in this area). From the 1466 Frankapan confirmation charter<sup>212</sup> is clear that the monastery had two mills in Švica (built on the place given by Žigmund Frankapan) and two mills in Bočaći.<sup>213</sup> All of these mills (and other confirmed estates) were located in the Lika region. As recognized by Romhányi, the mills were one of the main sources of the incomes for the Paulines, both through the renting and working with the grain of the local peasant and landlords. They offered good and relatively stable source of income and were seen as the good long-term investments.<sup>214</sup> As Žrnovnica was located just below the Ledenice castle and the town of Novi, one could imagine that the Pauline wanted to expand their milling business to more than one region.

The monastery also acquired two meadows. The first of them was not mentioned in the 1466 confirmation charter; it was again donated by Count Dujam IV Frankapan.<sup>215</sup> The second

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*annos ad honorem Dei omnipotentis eiusque genitricis virginis gloriose ob spem salutis anime nostre ac pro genitorum nostrorum.*” *CD comitum de Frangepanibus*, 342.

<sup>211</sup> “...pride pred nas’ g(ospo)d(i)n Karin, priur svete Elene, proseći nas’ da bismo mu pustili fratrom’ svete Elene, ča e za kloštar, a vsih’ malinih’, ki su v Žrnovnici pod Ledenicama prez’ ujamka mliti. I za to to mi dopustismo i darovsamo crikvi svete Elene, da mozite mliti prez’ ujemka vekuvičnim’ zakonom’ v’ više rečenih malini. I za to zapovidamo vsim’ našim’ oficijalom’, ki su sada i ki naprid budu, da ih imite v tom’ održati i toga ne presliti vikuvečnim’ zakonom.” AC, XLIII, 65.

<sup>212</sup> This charter has been already mentioned when discussing Holy Savior monastery. For the background information about the Frankapan family meeting in Senj connected to this charter, please see pages 12-13, 41.

<sup>213</sup> AC, LXXX, 98-99. Beside these mills, the Frankapans also confirmed one meadow (sjenokoša) in “Vettni dolac” and some arable land (three “ždrib” of land) in the village of Drštino near Brinje to the monastery.

<sup>214</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 54.

<sup>215</sup> “...kako to mi dasmo svetoi Eleni sinokošu onu, ku e držal stariarhižakan Radovan Lukačić ka se zove Za kamenim na Čudniči...” AC, XLVII, 68. In return he expected that the Paulines would pray for his soul and the souls of the departed members of his family. “...a fratri svete Elene da imaju za nas Boga moliti i za naših umrvših duše.”

one came from Duchess Elizabeta (Elža) Frankapan, widow of Count Bartol IX Frankapan. This charter may be important as Elizabeta mentioned as one of the reason for the donation the “poverty and the great need” of the monastery.<sup>216</sup> Even though I am aware of the possibility that this was just a statement in the narration, thus far I have not encountered a formulation like this and I assume that it had real background. To help the monastery Elizabeta provided it with one meadow. The monks were obliged to pray for her health and the health of her sons Mikula (Nikola VI Frankapan) and Anž (Ivan VIII Frankapan), the forgiveness of their sins, and for the soul of her husband, Bartol.<sup>217</sup> It is interesting to see that in order to help the monastery Elizabeta donated the meadow. It could mean that the meadows were seen as the type of property that were given in the situations like this. The partial analogy for this can be found in the case of the Virgin Mary monastery in Gönc which, after the complainants of the monks, gained half of the income from the certain pasture.<sup>218</sup>

The request of the monastery’s Prior Filip to Count Martin IV Frankapan can also be seen in this light. In this request he asked if Count Martin could grant the St. Helen monastery the land with a house and the garden near their mills in Švica.<sup>219</sup> Martin agreed to grant them the land but in return he expected that they would pray for his sins while he was alive and after his death for his soul and the souls of his ancestors.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>216</sup> “...v kom ‘ mi vidivši ubožastvo i veliku potrebu kloštra svete Elene remet...” AC, LXX, 90.

<sup>217</sup> “...dasmo i darovasmo ednu sinokošu na planinah svete Elene kloštru, fratrom reda remet svetago P’vla prvoga remete, ka se zove Dolac vetrni, ka e pod knežu goricu k Brinam, sa vsimi kumfini i mejami, ča k toi sinokoši pristoi, vekuvečnim zakonom...da ti rečeni fratri vazda Boga mole za nas v misah...za zdrav’e n’ših sini, kneza Anža i kneza Mikule, i za n’še, i za naše grihe i za d’šu n’šega g(ospo)d(i)na kneza Bartula bivšega...” AC, LXX, 90-91.

<sup>218</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abauj Hegalja Region*, 95.

<sup>219</sup> “...pride pred’ nas’ fratar’ Filip’, ki biše v to vreme priur’ u svete Elene, proseći nas, dabi mu dali postaviti ednu hižicu ter edan’ vrt’ pli malin’, ki biše dal’ naš’ brat’ biv’ši knez’ Žigmont’.” AC, XCVII, 113-114.

<sup>220</sup> “A otac’ fra Filip’, priur’ te crekve’, obećаше ot’ strane svetoga Pavla, da imaju za nas’ G(ospo)d(i)na Boga moliti za našega života za naše grehi, a po našem životu za naše duše i za naših pričih; a ki od nih’ to ne v’zdrži, vrhu nih’ duše i nih’ poč’ten’e.” AC, XCVII, 113-114.



In the sequence of charters related to the St. Helen monastery, the following one is somewhat different from the rest. In 1493 the monastery bought the village of Košćice. This is the first surviving charter regarding the St. Helen monastery which indicates that the monastery was engaged in the purchase; the fact that they bought the village from Count Ivan VIII Frankapan is also noteworthy. The village was part of Ivan's "plemenština" (roughly "hereditary land") and the Paulines paid 300 golden ducats for it and took the obligation of serving daily a morning mass in honor of Holy Mary and for the Counts sins and those of his family. After his death they were obliged to continue holding masses for his soul and the souls of his ancestors.<sup>221</sup> The given reason for why the Paulines from St. Helen "came and asked for help" and in the end bought this village is given as "improving the service of God."<sup>222</sup> At first sight, the fact that the Paulines paid 300 ducats for the village could be in contrast to the image of the "monastery in need." Nevertheless, if this transaction was seen as a help to the monastery despite the fact that they paid for it, and the Paulines were ready to serve the morning mass permanently on a daily basis together with paying the money, one can imagine that in the end St. Helen monastery had to profit from the village. Not only the fact that Ivan VIII Frankapan issued two charters related to this transaction, but also that both King Vladislaus II<sup>223</sup> and Pope Alexander VI<sup>224</sup> confirmed it

<sup>221</sup> "...mi dasmo i prodasmo vikuvičnikm' zakonom' našim' dobrovolnim' zakonom' va vlaštem' našem' gospod'stvi vlaštega našega imin'ja plemen'stine na vladan'ji našem' buškom' selo, ko se zove Košćice...A rečeni fratri daše nam tris'ta dukatov' zlatih' broem'. A mi nim' obečasmo veru i dušu, da ih' očemo braniti i s'loboditi proti v'sakomu človiku v' tom' našem'dan'ji i prodan'ji po v'su našu moć'. A fratri rečen crikve svete Elene cesarice sadan'ni i naprvo budući va veki imite služiti misu ranu v'saki dan' svetoj Marii po zakonu redov'skom' za naše grihe i za našu brat'ju sadan'nju i naprvo budući, a nakon nas' za našu dušu i naših' pošadših' va veki sa ograciem', ki pristoi." AC, CXXXIX, 151-152. On the very same day Ivan VIII Frankapan published another charter regarding this issue in which he expanded the original charter, mostly with some background information about the village and its borders.

<sup>222</sup> "...pridoše pred' nas' fratri od' svete Elene reda svetoga Pav'la pr'voga remete, proseći nas za pomoć, kako bi služ'ba Bož'ja na man'e ne priš'la nego na veće v' crikvi rečenoj svete Elene cesarice..." AC, CXXXIX, 151-152.

<sup>223</sup> Mályusz, 184, DL 35.734. Besides the transaction itself, one can see another interesting fact. It is the term used for the Glagolithic script – *littera Ieronimica sive Croatica*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (5). This reflected the common belief of the time that Saint Jerome invented the script. Although this is not the topic of this thesis, it would be an interesting question to see how Glagolithic script (especially its acceptance) was influenced by this belief.

<sup>224</sup> Mályusz 6, 185, DL 35.737.

adds significant value to this village, at least in the eyes of the St. Helen monastery, whose monks took the trouble to get all these confirmations. From the last surviving charter related to the monastery it is clear that the Paulines erected a mill in Košćice.<sup>225</sup>

The St. Helen monastery probably had the same fate as Holy Savior. Although there is no relevant data about the monastery itself after 1501, one can imagine that the constant Ottoman raids made the life impossible, especially for a monastery like this which had most of its estates over the Velebit in Lika. Surely it was abandoned by the mid-sixteenth century when all the monasteries outside the city walls of Senj were destroyed.

The case of the St. Helen monastery casts another shade of color on the Pauline-Frankapan story. As the charters show, it was founded by the citizens of Senj at least thirty years after the monastery of Holy Savior on the other side of the city. Up to some point it followed the same pattern as its “twin monastery”. It acquired vineyards in the close proximity of the monastery, and hous(es) in Senj. While Holy Savior managed to gain significant properties from the citizens, St. Helen was not so successful. I assume that Senj and its citizens were not able to support that many monasteries (the Pauline monasteries were not the only ones in or near the city<sup>226</sup>) on the same level. Also, the abilities of the priors to actively participate and search for patrons could also have been one of the reasons for the somewhat weaker “results” of the monastery. As in the case of Holy Savior, the Frankapans were not actively supporting the monastery. However, when asked, members of the family were ready to help, asking in the return mostly spiritual benefits. This could indicate that after the initial period the monastery was

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<sup>225</sup> Mályusz, 185, DL 35.759.

<sup>226</sup> During the time frame I am dealing with in this thesis (fourteenth to first decades of the sixteenth century) there were six monasteries in Senj or its vicinity – besides the two Pauline monasteries (Holy Savior and St. Helen), two Benedictine monasteries (St. George and Holy Cross), a Franciscan monastery (St. Francis), and Dominican monastery (St. Nicholas – in the seventeenth century their monastery was taken over by the Paulines). For more details about the monastic situation in Senj see Mile Bogović, “Crkvene prilike u Senju u 14. stoljeću i status senjskog kaptola” [Ecclesiastical situation in Senj during the fourteenth century and status of the chapter of Senj], *Senjski zbornik* 13 (1988): 15-28.

consolidated with the help of the Frankapans. They were able to provide the monastery with those type of estates and sources of income, which were also typical for other Pauline monasteries.<sup>227</sup>

Despite the somewhat harder situation than in the case of the monasteries discussed above, one can still see some attempts at grouping estates and playing an active role in the local economy. Estates between the Frankapan towns of Brinje and Otočac could be taken as examples.

### **Holy Virgin Mary Monastery in Crikvenica**

The two Pauline monasteries around Senj were not the only Pauline monasteries on the Adriatic coast. There were two more on the coast north of the St. Helen monastery, near the road that connected the Frankapan towns situated on the coast. The northernmost was the Holy Virgin Mary monastery.<sup>228</sup> As in the previous cases, this monastery followed “standard” patterns related to the spatial context chosen for the construction of the monastery. It was built on the very coast at the estuary of Dubračina Stream.<sup>229</sup> From one of the Pauline chroniclers, Ivan Krištolovec<sup>230</sup>, one can see that the monks had to invest plenty of time and effort to secure the monastery from storms and the waves often damaged the monastery.<sup>231</sup> This desolate location on the coast, however, stood in proximity to several Frankapan towns and castles, most notably Grižane,

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<sup>227</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 54.

<sup>228</sup> Croatian: “samostan blažene djevice Marije”

<sup>229</sup> Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*, 135.

<sup>230</sup> Ivan Krištolovec (1658-1730), Pauline monk, professor of philosophy and theology in Lepoglava, prior of the Pauline monastery in Križevci, provincial of the Hungarian -Croatian Pauline province, vicar general and father general of the order. Among other things, he wrote the history of the Pauline order in Croatia. *Hrvatska enciklopedija* [Croatian encyclopedia], <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=34039> (last accessed May, 13 2014).

<sup>231</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (6), 4.

Bribir, and Kotor. Also, the previously mentioned road<sup>232</sup> that connected all these towns and castles passed nearby. Even though the monastery is known today as the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Crikvenica, the town developed only in the late eighteenth century. Before that Crikvenica was just a small fishing village that took its name from the church that stood on that location prior to the monastery.<sup>233</sup>

The original Glagolitic foundation charter of the monastery did not survive; but an eighteenth-century Latin transcript did. According to it, the monastery was founded in 1412 by Count Nikola IV Frankapan. Even though some previous scholars took and used this charter without any reservation and caution,<sup>234</sup> from the late nineteenth century on the charter was considered by some scholars as a forgery with “historical truth”, that is, realistic content.<sup>235</sup> The latest analysis of the charter made by Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Tomislav Galović characterized it as a forgery with a trustworthy historical core.<sup>236</sup> In favor of this conclusion (related to the trustworthy historical core) is also the fact that the next surviving charter (1419) is preserved in the original and confirms the existence of the monastery.<sup>237</sup> Taking this into consideration, one can assume that at least some of the data given in the charter can be seen as

<sup>232</sup> Basically it was an extension of the road Modruš – Senj to the northeast.

<sup>233</sup> Croatian: “crikva (crkva)” – church.

<sup>234</sup> i.e., Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 205.

<sup>235</sup> That is the reason why this charter did not appear in Smičiklas’ *Codex diplomaticus* series of charters.

<sup>236</sup> Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia fundations*, 3. Some of the reasons for assuming that the charter is a forgery are the fact that Count Nikola IV Frankapan was called “ban” in even though he only became ban in 1426. Moreover, he was called *Nicolaus de Frangepanibus* even though name “Frankapan” in the original charters first appeared in 1426 and was officially recognized and granted to Count Nikola IV by the pope in 1430. For more details and discrepancies in the charters see Dočkal XVI 29a (6), 15-17a.

<sup>237</sup> “...dah’ tr’sē i zem’lju i iošte ča k nemu pristoi svetoj Marii v Cr’kvenici, v ruki fratrom’ reda svetago Pavla prvago remeti, tem patom’, da ja Matei dokle sam’ živ’ i ma žena imave dajati crikvi više rečenoj šes’ti del’ od’ vinograda vina z dropav’, a od zem’le šes’ti del’ žita; in a konac’ mene i moe žene, komu e pustim’ ja ali ma žena s tem više pisanim’ patom’, da od’govara svetoj Marii... I v to vreme beše preur’ svete Marie v Cr’kvenici Vale’nt’, fratar Mar’tin i fratar’ Blaž’.” AC, XIX, 49-50. From the charter it is clear that there was a monastery of Holy Mary in Crikvenica in 1419. Its prior was Valent and besides him two other monks are mentioned, Martin and Blaž. A certain Matej granted the monastery a sixth of his vineyard and arable land (in wine and wheat, not in money).

truthful. One item is surely the location of the monastery.<sup>238</sup> As can be seen from the charter, the Paulines acquired the old church in Crikvenica previously built by the Frankapans. It is also interesting to see that as one of the reasons for the donation (beside the miserable conditions of the church and the transience of life) special devotion toward the Paulines is mentioned. It appears that the forgers<sup>239</sup> wanted to highlight the connection and closeness of the Frankapan family to the Holy Virgin Mary monastery.

The question of the true founder of the monastery still remains open. The foundation charter gives Count Nikola IV Frankapan as the founder of the monastery. Looking at his biography, he can be seen as the possible founder.<sup>240</sup> From the later original charters it transpires that he interacted with the monastery several times after this dubious record. Also the errors regarding the *intitulatio* of Nikola as “ban” and “Frankapan” can be explained as simple later mistakes of the scribe. However, one sentence from one of his later donations to the monastery could show that after all he was not the true founder of the monastery. In the 1428 confirmation charter (its content will be discussed below) Nikola IV stated that his predecessors granted the monastery the right to collect the sea trade tax between Jesenova and Črnina.<sup>241</sup> Going back to

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<sup>238</sup> *Ut sit notum et creditum, qualiter nos videntes nostram devotam antiquam ecclesiam sanctae Mariae Assumptionis penes mare in Vinodol, Czirqueniczae in malo ordine et hoc per negligentiam officiantium eam; ideo considerando nos brevitatem vitae nostrae et vanitatem huius fallacias mundi atque ab specialem devotionem quam nos habemus erga venerabiles religiosos viros ordinis eremitarum sancti Pauli primi eremite professos Regulae beati Augustini episcopi et confessoris, aedificiarimus illis monasterium penes eandem ecclesiam nostram Czriquenitze ita, ut debeant eam administrare, valeantque uti dotibus eiusdem ecclesiae, in eaque Deum exorare pro nobis et nostris praedecessoribus totoque Christianismo perpetuis futuris temporibus.* Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 12.

<sup>239</sup> Whoever they were, I would assume the Paulines themselves.

<sup>240</sup> Arguably the most powerful member of the Frankapan family, he did not have brothers, thus he was the only head of the family, in excellent relations with King Sigismund, from 1426 the ban of Dalmatia and Croatia, first of the family members to be called Frankapan. He also seems to have been a pious person. Together with his wife, Doroteja Gorjanska, he was a member of the Holy Spirit confraternity in Baška on the island of Krk. Also in 1411 (just a year before the possible foundation of the Holy Virgin Mary) he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Dočkal, XVI 29a (6), 9. For more details about Nikola IV Frankapan see *HBL*, S.V. “FRANKAPAN, Nikola IV”, 418-419.

<sup>241</sup> “...kako zvelična naši prvi esu odlučili i dotali crikav svete Marie v Crikvenici u vinodol’skom kotari, za volu reda fratrov svetoga Pavla prvoga remete, trgovinu od Esenove tr do Črn’nina, od toga ča se krca na morju.” AC, XXVIII, 55.

the foundation charter, one can see that one of the donations that accompanied the foundation of the monastery was exactly that.<sup>242</sup> It is hard to imagine that Count Nikola IV Frankapan would have forgotten that he was the one who granted them the right for collecting the sea trade tax. That would mean that the real founder was someone before him, possibly his father, Ivan V, or uncle, Stjepan I, who were already connected with the Pauline order.<sup>243</sup> As one can see, the question of the exact founder of the monastery remains open, but for the further argumentation of the chapter I would strongly argue that the Frankapan family founded the Holy Virgin Mary monastery.

Another issue in the (forged) 1412 charter which one can assume reflects reality are the donations to the monastery. Even though it does not have to mean that the monastery actually acquired all the donations mentioned at the time of the foundation, it is reasonable to assume that at some time in the monastery's history they actually had or aspired to have them (and wanted to strengthen their possession or claim over them with the forgery of the donation by Nikola IV?). The first of the donations was the right to collect sea trade taxes (*trgovina*), on both import and export of goods between Jesenova and Črnina.<sup>244</sup> The authenticity of this donation is confirmed by the confirmation charter in 1428.<sup>245</sup> The exact locations of Jesenova and Črnina are not known today. However, from the 1428 confirmation charter it can be seen that the main reason

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<sup>242</sup> *Pro eorum autem perpetua sustentatione, conservatione, habitatione ac reparatione dictae ecclesiae ac monasterii contulimus eis omnia telonia negociationis portuum et dacia nostra ab omnibus iis quaecunque ad mare onerantur et ad naves deducuntur vel deportantur negociationis vel venditionis causa a minimo ad maximum, incipiendo a Ieszenova usque Chernina metis sic nuncupatis prope mare Strictum /vulgo dictum Teszno/ ad utendum et sancti Pauli primi eremitaie modernis et successoribus eorum iure perpetuo cum nostri pie defuncti praedecessores tenuerunt et possederunt.* Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 12-13.

<sup>243</sup> It would also indicate that the monastery was older than the forgery said. From that the question arises why whoever forged the charter did not "push" the foundation even earlier than 1412. One of the possible answers could be that the forger(s) were not aware of the fact that the monastery was older than the year they used. Also, it could mean that the forgers were not aware, or did not read carefully enough, or simply did not care about the later donation of Count Nikola IV. The third possibility would be that they wanted to pinpoint Count Nikola IV as the founder of the monastery. And it could be none of these as all of these are just speculation.

<sup>244</sup> Already quoted, see footnote 15.

<sup>245</sup> Also already quoted, see footnote 14.

for confirming this right to the Pauline monastery was a dispute between “his (Nikola’s) Pauline monks (*mei fratri s Crikvenice*) and his citizens of Bribir” (*mei Brebirami*) about the sea trade tax. Count Nikola IV decided that the tax would stay and that both the citizens of Bribir and the foreigners would have to pay the tax to the Paulines. He made an exemption for the nobility of Bribir; they were free from the tax on the export of their own products. On everything else they had to pay the same amount as the rest of the people. Goods for which the owner would not pay the tax had to be confiscated and given to the Paulines, while the owner had to pay a fine to Count Nikola IV.<sup>246</sup> Thus, it is clear that the area covered by this tax right stretched at least until the coast below Bribir. I would argue that this right provided significant income for the monastery. Also, this privilege created a significant difference between the Holy Virgin Mary monastery and the Holy Savior and St. Helen monasteries near Senj. Even though the last two were also situated on the very coast, they were more oriented to the inland than to the sea (vineyards, arable lands, mills, houses). This charter shows that the Paulines in Crikvenica gained a substantial part of their income from taxing the sea trade. This difference could be explained by the fact that the burghers of Senj, probable founders of the both Pauline monasteries around Senj, kept the trading and taxing rights for themselves (or gave them to other monastic orders in Senj), or they simply did not have any rights like this in the first place (it is possible that the Frankapans possessed the same rights for Senj as for the rest of “their” coast). The Frankapans, as founders of the monastery in Crikvenica, could afford to grant such a right to

<sup>246</sup> A zda se zgoda parna pred nami mei fratri s Crikvenice s ed’ne, a s druge strane mei Brebirami; na ime ere hotihu Brebirane prosti biti trgovine ondi. A fratri dobiše tu pravdu tim zakonom, kako se zdola udrži...pl’čane brebir’ski esu dlžni ondi trgovinu davati od vsakoga trštva, kako ini gosti ludi; a vlastele brebirski, ki bi od nih ondi ča krcal svoga doma rodnoga blaga, od toga e prost trgovine, da ča bi kupili ali v zajam vzel na prekup tr ondi krcal, od toga e dlžan’ trgovinu dati ondi kako ini gost človik. Ki bi to prestupil, zgub’la ono blago za kuntrabant, i imii dopasti fratrom, a nam’ ostae penu 50 libar. AC, XXVIII, 55.

a monastery.<sup>247</sup> Also, having the Frankapan name behind the unpopular (among those who were taxed) rights like this could be the way to ensure their implementation.

From the foundation charter one can see that they also acquired (or possessed at a certain time in the history of the monastery) Bok Hill, rich in trees, needed as building material and firewood,<sup>248</sup> the arable field called Vela Luka,<sup>249</sup> the whole valley,<sup>250</sup> two more plots of land,<sup>251</sup> two vineyards,<sup>252</sup> one village called Selci with all its possessions,<sup>253</sup> five meadows,<sup>254</sup> two tenant peasants,<sup>255</sup> and part of a third vineyard.<sup>256</sup> All this was donated *iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter*.<sup>257</sup> If this would be the authentic and original charter, it would be a huge donation and a clear sign that Count Nikola IV Frankapan was the patron of the monastery. As this is a forgery, one cannot be certain if the monastery even possessed all of them, not to mention the possibility that they acquired them in a single donation.

<sup>247</sup> I would like to thank my supervisor, Katalin Szende, for pointing out this possibility to me.

<sup>248</sup> *Adhuc illis damus totum magnum collem vulgo Book...usque ad monasterium pro silva et lignatione*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 13.

<sup>249</sup> *Praeterea magnum campum sive vallem vulgo Luka Vella... totum quidquid aratrum arare potest...*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 13.

<sup>250</sup> *Insuper illis damus totam vallem in nostro Kokus... quae terra et vallis antea a nostris praedecessoribus pie defunctis pro dote fuit data eidem supradictae ecclesiae sanctae Mariae Czriquenicensi...*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 13.

<sup>251</sup> *adhuc damus illis unam terram in Tupali in certa valle vulgo Vu dolu penes viam communem totam usque fluvium et viginti quercus in ea. Insuper in eadem valle unam Tupale, ubi sunt pulchrae quercus nostrae a magno via publica totum usque ad fluvium cum omnibus quercubus*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 13-14.

<sup>252</sup> *Adhuc unam vineam nostram vulgo Pod pechami loco sic dicto, ubi sunt parvae vites... Adhuc donavimus illis unam vineam prope nostrum castellum Dreveniak...*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 14.

<sup>253</sup> *Item unam sessionem penes mare vulgo dictam Szelcza in Zagorie nostro prope Liubuich locis sic vulgo dictis, ubi nostrum allodium fuit et cum omnibus pertinentiis et domibus ad dictam possessionem spectantibus, videlicet silvis, terris et pascuis pro conservatione pecorum suprafactorum venerabilium religiosorum virorum dicti monasterii*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 14.

<sup>254</sup> *Adhuc dedimus illis quinque frustra foenilium in campo nostro prope ecclesiam sanctae Mariae dictae vulgo Na Mej Sub Zebrami /monte...*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 14.

<sup>255</sup> *Dedimus item et donavimus eidem ecclesiae sanctae Mariae in Czriquenica et eidem supradictis venerabilibus religiosus viris pro maiori augmento et adiutorio duos nostros colonos Markovichios in Kolavrat /loco sic vulgo dicto/ sub Drenia sic vulgo dicto colle et monte cum omni eo servitio sive famulatio parvo, et magno, quod illi nobis praestare tenebantur et robotizare ac cum omnibus proventibus sive censibus parvis et magnis, quos iidem nobis debeant dare hactenus a dicta session*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 14.

<sup>256</sup> *Item unum frustrum vineae nostrae in Valliculis vulgo Vu Drasiczach...*, Matijević Sokol, Galović, *Privilegia foundations*, 14.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.



Two more charters issued by Count Nikola IV Frankapan regarding the Holy Virgin Mary monastery survived. In 1428 he granted them the right to build a sawmill near Crikvenica, at the location where the Paulines already had their mills. This could be related to the fact that the monastery possessed the hill rich with the wood. The sawmill would have been a welcome asset in order to make use of the resources on that hill. He did it in honor of the Virgin Mary for his health and the salvation of his soul.<sup>258</sup> Neither did he ask nor did the Paulines offer anything in return. Two years later, the sawmill was clearly done as Count Nikola gave the Paulines permission (or those to whom the Paulines lease it) for it to start work. Besides, he granted them the area surrounding the sawmill, including hills, meadows, water sources, and paths.<sup>259</sup> Again he did not ask for anything in return.

One of the few “non-Frankapan” donations to the monastery in this period reveals the existence of the confraternity of Saint Paul the first hermit. Out of the gratitude for accepting him and his children into the confraternity,<sup>260</sup> Stjepan Doškin<sup>261</sup> donated a piece of land to the Paulines.<sup>262</sup> As this types of the confraternities were common among the mendicants and urban burghers it could be seen as the another aspects of the Pauline life in which they reduced the gap between themselves and the mendicant orders.

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<sup>258</sup> “...kako da mi na čast svetoj Bogorodici Devi Marie za zdrave našega tela i za spasen’e naše duše učinismo milost fratrom crikveničkim u Vinodoli, da oni mozite učiniti jednu pilju u crikveničkoj Drazi, ondi kdi su nih malini...” AC, XXVII, 54-55.

<sup>259</sup> “I da oni fratri ili oni, kim’ bi ju oni dali v’ najam držati, mozite i k toi pile les’ voziti, ki k noi pris’toi i takoi: gori, pašu, vode, put, ča e godi zakon pile, da mozite imiti prez vsakoga ban’tovan’ja.” AC, XXIX, 56.

<sup>260</sup> “...za bratar’stvo našega reda vas’ primlema, da budete del’nici v vseh molitvah i dobrih delih, da este delnici ver’no i s’pasitel’no v Hriste v molitvah svetih.” AC, XLVI, 67-68.

<sup>261</sup> The charter only mentions that he is from Bribir. One can assume that he was either a wealthier burgher or a member of the local nobility.

<sup>262</sup> “...da ja Š’tifan više pisani, vidiv’to milosrdie od fratr, dah moe zemle v Zagori svetoj Mar’i na Crkvenicu za moih mrtvih i za moe grehi.” Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, 96.

In 1432 Count Nikola IV Frankapan died. He left behind nine sons.<sup>263</sup> If the Holy Virgin Mary monastery was a family endowment, it would be expected that his sons would continue to support the monastery. From the later charters one can see that that was exactly that what happened. First in 1440 his youngest son, Ivan VII Frankapan, at the request of Prior Stjepan, donated the land below Soplje. In return he asked the Paulines to pray for his father, his mother, his brothers, and himself – that is to pray for the family.<sup>264</sup>

In the following years one person emerged as the main benefactor and patron of the Holy Virgin Mary monastery, Nikolas' son, Martin IV Frankapan. Over a period of thirty-five years he made at least six donations or confirmations to the Pauline monastery in Crikvenica alone.<sup>265</sup> The first of them, dating from 1447, was a mass endowment. He granted the monastery land in Selce (not far south of Crikvenica). In return he expected that the monks will celebrate two masses per month. One of them had to be served the first Saturday in every month in the honor of St. Mary; the second one was for the deceased members of the family and the prior could choose when he wanted to serve it. There was also a clause with the warning that the land could be taken away from the monastery if they did not keep these obligations.<sup>266</sup> The confirmation for the one of the donations related to the 1412 donations happened in 1450. The Paulines complained to Count Martin IV Frankapan that some of their tenant peasants (the Markovići) were not fulfilling their

<sup>263</sup> Ivan VI, Nikola V, Stjepan II, Bartol IX, Žigmund, Martin IV, Dujam IV, Andrija, and Ivan VII. HBL, 392-393.

<sup>264</sup> "...pridoše pred nas fratri svete Marie a Crkvenice, navlastito priur Stipan...proseći nas' zemle nike, ka zemla e pod Soplem'... A mi to učinismo da su oni dlžni večnim zakonom Boga moliti za našega oca, kneza i bana Mikule, i našu matr, gospoju Dorotiju i naše bratie i nas' Boga moliti." AC, XXXVIII, 62.

<sup>265</sup> Besides this monastery, he also supported other monasteries, including the Paulines, such as St. Nicholas in Gvozd and St. Helen near Senj. He also founded two monasteries – the Pauline monastery of St. Mary in Novi and the Franciscan friary in Trsat. It is no wonder that he was known as Martin "the Pious" Frankapan. One of the reasons for his devotion towards the monastic orders could lie in the fact that he had no children. Also, he was the one who inherited Okić, Starigrad on the sea, Novi, Bribir, Kotor, Bakar, and Trsat after the division of the family properties in 1449. Thus, his towns and properties were around the Pauline monastery in Crikvenica. Dočkal, XVI 29a (6), 39.

<sup>266</sup> "...učinismo dati crikvi svete Marie na Crikvenici zemlu, ka spade na nas na Selcih...To mi dasmo crikvi svete Marie na Crikvenici tim zakonom, da vsaki misec imi se služiti dve misi, jedna misa prvu subotu miesca svetoj Marii, a ogracii za nas živih i mrtvih, a druga misa za mrtvih naših niki dan, ki hoće priur s fratri, li hoćemo da bude. I mi to daemo, da vsaki priur, ki e sada i ki bude postle, da imii to obsluževati s svoimi fratri; kadi li bi ne obsluževali ti dve misi na vsaki misec da smo volni opet vzeti tu zemlu i dati komu nam drago." AC, XLIX, 70.

obligations. As one can see, these were the same peasants (or maybe their descendents) as those mentioned in the 1412 charter.<sup>267</sup> Martin ordered his officials that these peasants had to meet their obligations. If not, the officials had the right to fine or imprison them.<sup>268</sup> As one can see, Martin was the one whom the Paulines addressed when their tenant peasants did not want to carry out their duties. The reason could simply be that he was the *dominus terrestris* of the given land, but one can also imagine that the monks complained to him as he was the patron and protector of the monastery. The creation of the 1412 forgery could be connected with this situation as well as the monks wanted to clearly define obligations of the given peasants towards the monastery and to strengthen their position before pleading to Count Martin IV.

In 1455, Martin IV Frankapan issued an important charter for the Holy Virgin Mary monastery. The Paulines from Crikvenica came before him with all of the donation and confirmation charters issued by his predecessors. He decided to confirm them all. Even though he stated that he was confirming all the charters issued by his family, among them he emphasized only his father Nikola (Mikula) IV Frankapan.<sup>269</sup> As I previously mentioned, three charters issued by Nikola IV survived (not taking into the consideration the one from 1412). Was that enough to earn a special mention or did the Paulines have more than three charters issued by Nikola IV Frankapan? Did they maybe present the charter related to the foundation of the monastery that connected Nikola with it (a real one or maybe the 1412 forgery)? Or did Martin

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<sup>267</sup> This even may have been a possible occasion for the Paulines to forge the 1412 charter in order to support their demands.

<sup>268</sup> "...kako su k nam prišli fratri svete Marie s Crikvenice tužeći se na Markoviće da ne te služiti crikvi rečenoj, kako služe drugi kmeti te crikve vožnju i poklonom i da vinograda ne teže crikvenoga po zakonu. Za to hoćemo, da službu čine vsu i plnu, kako i drugi kmeti crkveni, i za to tvrdo zapovidamo vsmi našim oficijalom, ako bi ka tužba kada pred vas prišla ot tih rečenih fratr ot nih kmet, da bi služili ne hotili ili dohodak ne davali, da im zadovolnu pomoć, rekuć ljudi date, i da e kaštigaju rečeni fratri po tom zakoni osudom i uzu." AC, LVI, 76-77.

<sup>269</sup> "...kako mi slišasmo i razumismo liste, ke su dali vzveličeni naši prvi, a navlastito vzveličeni i pokoini otac naš knez Mikula Frankapan', krčki senski i modruški, ki biše ban' Dalmacie i Hrvat', sveoti Marii v Crikvenici v Vinodoli, v kih' listih' esu slobodi i dote crkvene." AC, LXIII, 82. The exact charters or even their number is not known as Count Martin IV just generally stated that he confirmed charter issued by his predecessors.

just want to pay homage to his father by highlighting his piety and his donations to the monastery? Whatever the reason, this could indicate that the 1412 foundation charter should be considered more carefully than as a simple forgery. Also, this could be one of the possible occasions when the this forgery could have been created.

In 1460 Martin IV Frankapan created another mass endowment. This time he granted the monastery two vineyards, one in Selce, other in Jesenovi. In return he obliged the Paulines to serve one mass every Saturday in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. During the the mass they were to add a second prayer (ogracija)<sup>270</sup> to the Holy Cross and a third one for the absolution of his sins. They should also continue to hold the mass even after his death with the same prayers, but for the salvation of his soul.<sup>271</sup> In his last two donations Martin granted to the monastery in Crikvenica his personal tenant peasant named Nikola, who was a Vlach,<sup>272</sup> and the village (selo) Črmanj kal with everything that belonged to it for the absolution of his sins and for his ancestors' sins.<sup>273</sup>

Martin IV Frankapan died in 1479. In the meantime the Frankapans lost, among other towns, Senj (taken over by the king's army in 1469) and the island of Krk (after the conflict among Venice, King Matthias, and Ivan VII Frankapan, Venice managed to seize the island in 1480). After the death of Martin IV Frankapan, King Matthias also acquired his possessions in

<sup>270</sup> Dočkal is interpreting this as the *oratio* or the *collecta*. Dočkal, XVI 29a (6), 48.

<sup>271</sup> "...kako mi daruemo crekve svete Marie v Crikvenici edan' vinograd', ki e n Sel'cih'...I ošte jim' daruemo drugi vinograd', ki e v Jesenovi...da imaju služiti za naše grih' i ednu misu vsaku sobotu od' nina naprid' vikuvičnim' zakono'm na čast blaženoj Divi Marii misu svete Mariem prikladajuć' drugu ograciju svetago Križa, a tretu ograciju za naše grihe. I tu misu i s timi ogracijami da imite služiti, dok' im' smo mi živi, a konac' naših' dni' da imite služiti misu za mrtvih' za našu dušu sa ogracijami onimi, ke pristoe. AC, LXVIII, 88-89.

<sup>272</sup> "...mi darovasmo crikvi svete Marie na Crikvenici Vlaha po imenu Mikulu, ki Vlah' buduć' va to vrimē naš' osobni..." AC, LXXXIII, 102. Vlach (Croatian: Vlah) – often considered remnants of the Roman population that with the time assimilated with the Slavic (in this case Croatian) population. Still, as is seen from this example, sources are clearly making a distinction between Vlachs and the rest of the population. They were often connected with the higher mountain regions and animal husbandry. During early modern times Vlachs were settled (especially by the Frankapan family) on devastated and empty family lands. They were mostly Orthodox Christians.

<sup>273</sup> "...kako mi da'smo i darovas'mo lub'veno edno naše selo, ko se zove Črman' Kal', kloš'tru i cr'kvi svete Marie na C'rikvenici za grihe naše i za naših' pričih' vekoveč'nim zakonom' sa v'sim' pristojan'em, ča pris'toi k rečenomu selu Črman' kalu..." AC, XCIX, 114-115.

Vinodol.<sup>274</sup> With this, the Paulines found themselves in an unexpected situation. However, as it is seen from the surviving charters, they were able to adapt to the new situation. For example, in 1490 they acquired a vineyard from the new governor of Bribir, Nikola Žunjević, whose brother, Maroja, promised to leave it to them after his death. In return he obliged them to serve one mass every Saturday in honor of the Virgin Mary for the absolution of his sins and the health of his family. Furthermore, on every Monday they had to serve one mass for the salvation of the souls of his parents, his brothers, and after his death, for his own soul.<sup>275</sup>

Unlike the St. Nicholas monastery or the monasteries around Senj, the Holy Virgin Mary survived until the order was abolished in 1786.<sup>276</sup> There have been no archeological excavations of the monastery or its surroundings. Even though the monastery itself survived, almost none of the medieval features did due to several reconstructions and renovations.<sup>277</sup> In 1987 the monastery was reconstructed and rebuilt into a hotel, which it still is today.

The Pauline monastery in Crikvenica was the family endowment of the Frankapans. Even though it is still not certain who was the real founder, I would argue that it was one of the Frankapans (Nikola IV or his father or maybe his uncle), as the members of the family

<sup>274</sup> HBL, S.V. FRANKAPAN, 395. That is, Martin IV Frankapan decided to divide his properties among King Matthias and his brothers Stjepan II and Ivan VII. Nevertheless, the king was the one who seized almost all the estates.

<sup>275</sup> “Mi g(ospo)d(i)n’ Mikula...z Dubrovnika, g(ospo)d(i)n Bribira, podan’i s’vitloga gdna kraal Matijaša...kako po odlučē’ju pokoinoga našega brata Maroja pridoše pred nas’ fratri reda svetago Pavla, prvoga remete k’loštra svete Marie s’ Crikvenice, s’pominajući naš, da naš brat pokoini više imenovani es’t obećal’ više imenovanoi c’rik’vi vinograd...a fratri da imiite s’lužiti v’saku sobotu ed’nu misu na čast’ s’veoti Marii za naše grihe i z’drav’e naše obitelji; drugu misu vsaki p2on’dilak’ za duše naših’ roditel’ i naše brat’e i za nas’, kada nas Bog sudi vikom’.” AC, CXXVI, 138. It is interesting to see that this charter was also issued in Glagolitic script. It would be interesting to see the language and script in which Nikola (he was originally from Dubrovnik, as seen from the charter), the new governor of Bribir, issued other documents. Also, it would be useful to see general tendencies of the “new government” in Vinodol regarding the language and the script of their documents. If it published the rest of their documents in Latin and maintained their “communication” with the Paulines in Croatian using the Glagolitic script it could be an argument for this thesis that the Paulines in the vicariate of Gvozd did not know Latin as well/fluently as Croatian.

<sup>276</sup> For the later history of the monastery see Dočkal, XVI 29a (6); Vladimir Uremović, *Pavlini u Crikvenici* [The Paulines in Crikvenica], (Rijeka – Crikvenica: Adamić, 2002).

<sup>277</sup> Horvat, *Srednjovjekovna pavlinska arhitektura*, 140-141.

continuously supported and protected the monastery until the death of Count Martin IV Frankapan and the loss of Vinodol. This could clearly be seen from the numbers of the charters issued by Frankapans and all the rest to the monastery in Crikvenica in that period.<sup>278</sup> The 1412 forgery, assuming that it was forged by the Paulines, can be seen as a more than just the simple way of confirming their rights and properties. Connecting themselves with the figure like Count Nikola IV Frankapan, arguably the strongest and most influential member in the family history, and emphasizing their special relationship, strengthen their claims in the situations such as the disputes about the sea trade tax collection or the problems with their tenant peasants.

It interesting, though, to see that after the king handed over Vinodol to Count Stjepan II's branch of the family (1481), the Frankapans no longer interacted with the Paulines (or at least there are no preserved charters about it). This could be explained by the rapidly changing situation. Except for Count Stjepan II and his son, Bernardin, the rest of the family was on bad terms with the king, and fighting against the Ottomans was an everyday reality. The family was stretched between internal struggles, quarrels (and from time to time open disobedience) against the king, balancing between being "friends" and "foes" with Venice, and constant struggles to keep and defend their castles, towns, and lands from the Ottomans (and the king and Venice). Thus, I would argue that in a situation like this their income (which decreased over the years, as seen from the number of empty villages in 1486 Urbarium of Modruš) were surely spent on different priorities than before, i.e., strengthening defense capabilities. The Paulines could have been one of the subjects that lost in the new situation. The strong fortification construction activity of Bernardin Frankapan supports this.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> See the appendix for the Holy Virgin Mary monastery.

<sup>279</sup> See Horvat, *Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankapana*.

The monastery, however, managed to use this situation and develop a stable monastic community. Their economy was based on the “standard” economic activities already seen in the cases of the previous monasteries – vineyards, mills, sawmills, and arable lands. The estates were mostly in the area surrounding the monastery. The main difference and a step up compared to the other littoral Pauline monasteries lay in their right to collect taxes from the sea trade. Also the combination of having this right (also meaning that they did not have to pay it themselves) together with owning the forest and sawmill may have been business enterprises for the export of wood. In this light, it would be interesting to see how did the Paulines directly benefited from and interacted with the sea.<sup>280</sup>

### **The Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Novi**

The Paulines clearly favored the climate, spatial, and social context of Senj and Vinodol. The Holy Virgin Mary in Novi (today’s Novi Vinodolski) was the last monastery established by the Paulines<sup>281</sup>, in a spatial context was more or less identical to others. The monastery was erected near the sea on the location of a previously existing church. Both the main road that led parallel with the sea and the Frankapan town of Novi were nearby.

The foundation charter of the monastery did not survive; thus, the exact year of the foundation remains unclear. The seventeenth-century Pauline historians Nikola Eggerer and Franjo Orosz claimed that the monastery was founded in 1453.<sup>282</sup> It is not clear what they used to support this claim, but one can imagine the possibility that they had some charter that was lost in

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<sup>280</sup> Did they use it for transport and did they have any kind of docks near the monasteries for their personal use?

<sup>281</sup> That is, last in the time scope I am dealing with. As previously mentioned, at least two more Pauline monasteries emerged during the seventeenth century; St. Nicholas in Senj and St. Cosmas and Damian in Baška, on the island of Krk.

<sup>282</sup> Andrija Eggerer, Martin de Frangepanibus founded the *monasterium sub Castro Novi honori Mariano anno 1453*. Franjo Orosz, *Monasterium B. Mariae Virginis sub Castro Novi juxta mare Adriaticum anno 1453. Ab illustrissimo Domino Comite Martino de Frangepanibus fundatum*, Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 7.

the meantime. Manojlo Sladović, a Croatian scholar from the mid-nineteenth century, claimed that the monastery was also founded by Martin IV Frankapan, but he dated the foundation to 1462. Furthermore, he listed the donated properties. Even though he did not quote the source for this, at one place he says that they were mentioned in the charter.<sup>283</sup> By checking the surviving charters related to the monastery, it can be seen that there really is a charter dated to 1462. But, according to Mályusz, it is not related to the foundation itself but to a later donation. After Martin IV Frankapan founded the monastery and granted it lands, vineyards, and tenant peasants, he decided (or the monks complained to him) that those possessions were not enough for the monks to have a decent life. Thus, he pleaded with Nikola of Kotor (*Chataro*), bishop of Modruš, to incorporate to the monastery *archipresbiteratus* of Bužane.<sup>284</sup> With the confirmation of the pope, Bishop Nikola accepted this plea.<sup>285</sup> This charter confirms that Count Martin IV Frankapan was the founder of the monastery and may also indicate that it was founded before 1462.

Regardless of when it was founded, the thing that everyone agrees on was that the Paulines acquired an already existing church, built by the Frankapan family. The confirmation that the church was older than the monastery can be found in the charter from 1446, in which

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<sup>283</sup> “Povelja napominje...” [The charter mentions...]. He stated that the monastery acquired from the founder (zakladnik), Martin IV Frankapan, the church of Holy Virgin Mary, one estate with arable lands, vineyards, forests, and one mill. Also according to him the monastery acquired the village (selo) Belgrad, the hill “Osep” (Osp), and another village (selište) near Novi with all that belonged to it. Sladović, *Pověsti biskupijah*, 223.

<sup>284</sup> Mályusz 3, 188, DL 34.490.

<sup>285</sup> From 1185 the bishops of Krbava had their seat in Krbava. However, Count Stjepan II Frankapan, while he was at the council in Mantua (1459) as the king’s representative, asked Pope Pius II to shift the seat of the bishopric to Modruš. The pope granted him that right and in 1460 the bishop’s seat was shifted to Modruš with the excuse of the Ottoman danger in Krbava. The new name of the bishopric was the bishopric of Modruš-Krbava. The Counts of Krbava, the Kurjaković family, did not look at this sympathetically. They imprisoned Bishop Nikola and did not let him go until the pope and Venice intervened. This charter is considered one among the first published by Bishop Nikola from Kotor after his release and shifting to Modruš. For more details see Mile Bogović, “Pomicanje sjedišta Krbavske biskupije od Mateja Marute do Šimuna Kozračića Benje [Shifting of the bishopric of Krbava from Matej Maruta to Šimun Kozračić Benja] in *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Mile Bogović (Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovna škola u Rijeci and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), 41-91. It is interesting to see that even though at that moment the brothers Martin IV and Stjepan II were not on good relations Martin pleaded to the bishop in Modruš as soon as it was possible.



Count Martin IV Frankapan confirmed the testament of his “sluga” (servant, official) “župan” (ispán, count) Mihovil. In his testament, Mihovil left part of his estate to the St. Mary church in Novi.<sup>286</sup> Probably the Paulines acquired the possessions of this church after Martin IV granted it to them.

The next news about the monastery is from the 1466 confirmation charter issued in Senj during a Frankapan family meeting (mentioned above) in the context of other Pauline monasteries. Regarding the Paulines in Novi, the Frankapans confirmed their possession over the village Belgrad and everything that belonged to it, namely, fields, hills, meadows, water sources, and forests.<sup>287</sup> Count Martin IV made two more donations to the monastery. In 1470 he complemented his previous “large charter” (veliki list). Thus, the monastery acquired half of the income from the mill in Vrtina. In order to acquire the other half of the same mill, the monastery gave their vineyard “na Krmini” to Filip Sokolović, the owner of the mill. They also exchanged their vineyard “na Glbokoj” for another one called “Liean” in Pregrada. I would assume that this exchange was advantageous for the monastery; otherwise it would make no sense to do it in the first place, nor to bother Count Martin IV to help them arranging the exchange. Furthermore, Martin IV took one tenant peasant from them and gave them another one, with all his services. They also acquired a house in Novi, a piece of arable land “va Ogradi” near the town (Novi), and

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<sup>286</sup> “Mi knez Martin Frankapan, krčki, modruški i pročaja...kako nas prosi župan Mihovil, naš sluga, da bismo vidili nego teštament, vidiviši tr ga potvrdili...i razumivši ta negov teštament duševan i dobar, i da ostavlja to više imenovano blago i to iminje crkvi svete Marie v Novom...” AC, XLV, 67. Even though this charter is not directly connected to the Pauline monastery in Novi, I will add it to the list of the charters related to it as it is important for my argument.

<sup>287</sup> “Mi Štefan, Du’jam, Mar’tin, Jurai, Bartol, Anž, Mikula de Frankapani, krčki, sen’ski, modruš’ki i pročaja k’nez... jošte takoe ed’no selo v Vinodoli, ko e svete Marie na Ospi pod Novim ko se zove Belgrad, sa v’sim prostojan’em malim i velikim, ča koli pristoi k rečenim više selom, pola i gore, i senokoše, i vode, driva i kamika, kako koli su naši prvi držali.” AC, LXXX, 98-99.

in the end one Vlach as tenant peasant (kmet) and shepherd, with all that went with his house. Martin IV did all this in honor of God and the Virgin Mary.<sup>288</sup>

The last of his donations to the monastery was made several months before his death in 1479. With it Martin IV granted the Pauline monastery in Novi the estate of Dubovica: *in districtu nostro de Gaczka*.<sup>289</sup> This charter highlights well the deep internal relations within the Frankapan family, and also the role of King Matthias in all of it. As is clear from this charter, Count Martin IV Frankapan owned Gacka County, but it is important to understand how he acquired it. After Count Žigmund Frankapan died without male heirs (1465)<sup>290</sup>, the rest of the family held a meeting in Senj to discuss how they would divide his estates among themselves. Despite their meeting, King Matthias seized the lands for the crown. They stayed in the king's hands until the other brother Count Martin IV Frankapan (who was also without heirs) decided to leave some of his estates to the crown after his death.<sup>291</sup> In return, King Matthias granted him all the estates of his deceased brother, Count Žigmund Frankapan, until his own death.<sup>292</sup> This story reveals the level of disagreements and mistrust among the different branches in the family.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>288</sup> "...kako mi ošće naš živi dar, ki e načast Bogu...slavnoi Divi Roditelici ego Marii, hoteći ga pokripiti i popraviti ono, ča mankaše v našem velikom' listu, od niv, od hiž, od vinogradov, od kmet, malini: i za to ovo naiprie oznanujući darujemo i potvrđujemo i hoćemo, da malin, koga biše učinil Filip Sokolić na negovi zemli, ka se zove Vrtina paištubi, s tim patom da nam ima davati polovicu, ku mi tu istu polovicu daemo fratrom svete Marie na Ospi reda remet svetoga Pavla prvoga remete; a paki drugu polovicu toga malina ta isti rečeni Filip promini tim istim rečenim fratrom za eden vinograd, ki se zove Na Krmini...tako da osta ta vas cel malin fratrom rečenim. Iošte tako Jurai Repalić da i promini edan svoj vinograd, ki se di Liean,e pod Pregradu poli vinograda, ki se di Žaramunski, za edan drugi nih vinogradm ki e na Glbokoi. Iošte vzesmo im kmeta, koga im bihomo dali, i dasmo im drugoga kmeta...sa vsu službu, ka na nega pristoi. Iošte tako dasmo hižu, ka e bila Jurja plovana bivšega v Novom...Iošte tako daemo ednu nivu nim, ka nas spada, ka e va Ogradi za gradom. Iošte im dasmo ednoga Vlaha... za kmeta nim i za pastira sa vsu plnu i celu službu, ka prisoti od nega kuće." AC, LXXXVI, 104-105.

<sup>289</sup> Mályusz 3, 189, DL 34.520; Dočkal XVI 29a (7), 33.

<sup>290</sup> Who acquired the county of Gacka with the towns of Otočac, Prozor, Vrhovine, and Dabar in the 1449 division of the Frankapan lands, Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 235.

<sup>291</sup> He held Vinodol with the towns of Starigrad na moru, Novi, Bribir, Bakar, Trsat, Kotor, and Okić. Ibid, 235.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, 272.

<sup>293</sup> Especially between Martin IV Frankapan and the strongest among the heads of the different branches of the family – Stjepan II Frankapan. Dočkal thinks that all this engagement in religious affairs – foundations and patronage over the monasteries, shifting the bishop's seat, building a pilgrimage church in Oštarije near Modruš by Stjepan II, which became the largest gothic building ever built in medieval Croatia, can be seen as prestige

By knowing this one can understand why Count Martin IV decided to get papal protection for his donations to the Paulines and Franciscans. In this charter, Pope Paul II protects those monasteries, donations and the rights given to them, and ensures the implementation of Martin's last will, in which he decided to leave some of his possessions for the repair and enlargement of the two monasteries. Those who would try to deny it, especially Martin's heirs and successors – that is, the members of his family – the pope threatened with excommunication.<sup>294</sup> The Paulines and the Franciscans were contextualized in the same way. Count Martin IV honored both orders because of the “fruits” given by their exemplary life and their preaching among the people. This may be just a standard phrase used in situations like this, but it also could mean that the Paulines over the years reduced the difference between orders and shifted towards the mendicants.<sup>295</sup> The same process was observed in the case of the Paulines in Hungary.<sup>296</sup>

It seems that in the last years of his life Martin IV Frankapan tried to reconcile with some of his brothers and nephews. He decided to leave the towns of Novi, Trsat, and maybe Hreljin

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competition between Count Martin IV Frankapan and Stjepan II Frankapan. Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 12-13. This idea is interesting and worthwhile researching, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>294</sup> ...Sane pro parte tua nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod tu qui de Minorum observantia nuncupatos et sancti Pauli primi Eremitae sub regula sancti Augustini Ordinum Fratres, propter fructos uberes, quos eorum exemplari vita et admonitionibus circa salutem animarum Christi fidelibus afferunt, specialem geris devotionis affectum, in eo quod concedere proponis de bonis tuis in tua ultima voluntate testamento dictis Fratribus pro ampliatione et fabrica suarum domorum, sanctae Mariae extra Tarsath prope Flumen et ejusdem sanctae Mariae sub Novi Oppido Modrussiensis Dioecesis, et ad alios licitos eorundem Fratrum usus ; nec non aliis Ecclesiis et piis locis ac aliis ad pias causas, et pro remuneratione tibi fideliter servientum, quedam pie legare, ac alias disponere et ordinare pro divini cultus augmento et tuae ac progenitorum tuorum animarum salute proponis: vereris tamen, ne haeredes et successores uti quae pie disposueris seu hactenus disposuisti, exequi malitiose seu negligenter omittant, aut alii et ipsi tuum laudabile propositum hujusmodi, quod Dei et gloriosae Virginis praefatae laudem animarumque salutem concernit, effectum sortiri, sine rationabili causa, propria eorum temeritate de facto impediunt. Quare pro parte tua nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut talia praesumere tenantibus resistere, et ne id faciant, sub poena excommunicationis ipso facto incurrenda inhibere, aliasque in praemissis opportune providere tibi de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. This charter was originally published by Gašpar Malečić in his work *Quadripartitum Regularium* (Vienna, 1708). I was not able to examine this book, but Kamilo Dočkal quotes the whole charter in his manuscript, thus I took this excerpt from his work. For the whole charter see Dočkal XVI 29a (7), 17-18.

<sup>295</sup> Checking how the papal curia addressed other monasteries and monastic orders in this period could give some of the answers.

<sup>296</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 55-56.

and Drivenik to his brother, Count Stjepan II Frankapan and his son, Bernardin.<sup>297</sup> In return, they confirmed Martin's donations of Kotor and Belgrad to the Franciscan monastery in Trsat and to the Pauline monastery in Novi.<sup>298</sup> After his death, Count Martin IV Frankapan was buried in the Franciscan monastery in Trsat. This may indicate that the Franciscan monastery was his main personal endowment, followed by the Pauline monastery in Novi.

From the charters not related to the Frankapans, the most interesting concerns the purchase of a house in Novi in 1472. Not just that it reveals how the monastery invested its incomes, but it also offers good insight on the size of the monastery. Together with the prior, there were five monks at the monastery – Prior Filip, Fra Anton, Fra Matija, Fra Šimun, and Franko.<sup>299</sup>

This papal charter was not the only one issued for the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Novi; the popes interacted with the monastery in a few further instances as well. In 1481, Pope Sixtus IV, at the request of the monks, took the monastery under his protection and confirmed its rights and possessions.<sup>300</sup> According to Andrija Eggerer, Pope Innocent VIII did the same in 1491.<sup>301</sup>

<sup>297</sup> Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 71. Nevertheless, the king was the one who acquired most of Martin's possessions in the end. He handed them over to Count Stjepan II Frankapan and his son, Bernardin, as Stjepan II was always (except for the "rebellion" when the king seized Senj) King Matthias' supporter.

<sup>298</sup> *Nos Stephanus de Frangepanibus et Bernardinus filius eius...Quia spectabilis et magnificus dominus Martinus de eadem Frangepanibus, similiter Segnie, Veglie, et Modrussie comes, frater noster carnalis ob honorem intemerate et gloriosissime Dei genetricis virginis Marie et ob spem salutis anime sue et progenitorum nostrorum, quasdam possessiones suas, videlicet Kothor et Belgrad vocatas, in districtu Vinodol existentes et habitas, cum universis et singulis earundem pertinentiis, proventibus, utilitatibus, metisque et confinibus, ad easdem possessiones ab antiquo et de iure spectantibus, monasteriis ecclesiarum beate Marie Virginis in Tersat et Sub Nouigrad fundatis in perpetuum elemosinam inscripsit et donavit. Quare et nos ipsum pium et saluberimum opus considerantes eidem inscriptioni et donationi nostro benevolum prebuimus consensum, imo prebemus pariter et assensum, promittentes bona fide nostra christiana, quod nos nullo unquam tempore dicta monasteria in ipsis possessionibus vel ipsarum pertinentiis proventibus, confinibus et metis impediemus et neque heredes nostri impediant; sed pro posse nostro contra ipsorum impetitores defendemus.* Eusebius Fermendžin, ed. *Acta Bosnae – Potissimum ecclesiastica* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1892), MCLIX, 287-288. Henceforth AB.

<sup>299</sup> "...prodasmo hižu Fab'janovu crik'vi svete Marie pod Novim na Os'pe i fratrom priuru Filipu, i fra An'tonu, fra Matiju, fra Šimunu, Fran'ku, ki bihu va to vrime pri tom kloš'tri više pisanom." AC, XCIII, 111.

<sup>300</sup> *Sixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Dilectis filiis Priori et Fratribus domus beatae Mariae Virgins in portu maris sub castro Novi Ordinis beati Pauli primi eremitae Modrusiensis Dioecesis... Eapropter dilecti in Domino*

The papal bull from 1504 addressed to the several Pauline monasteries in the vicariate offers an insight into the somewhat chaotic situation in the area. With it, Pope Julius II tried to protect the monasteries from robberies, which were apparently frequent at that time. Interestingly, Christians, not the Ottoman Turks were the ones who committed those crimes.<sup>302</sup> As in the case of other Pauline monasteries in the region, the turn of the fifteenth century brought harsh days for the monastery. Besides the plundering of the monasteries and the Ottoman threat, the plague struck the town in 1496.<sup>303</sup> Also, the town was severely damaged three times during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century – by the Ottomans in 1527 and by Venice in 1598 and 1615.<sup>304</sup> Probably, the Pauline monastery was also destroyed in that last attack and abandoned.<sup>305</sup> During the eighteenth century the monastery was restored, but was not able to regain its previous importance.<sup>306</sup>

As in the case with the monastery in Crikvenica, it is clear that the Holy Virgin Mary in Novi was a family monastery; more precisely, Count Martin IV Frankapan's monastery. Even though Count Martin was a benefactor of both the monasteries in Crikvenica and Novi, there was one significant difference. While the grants to "his" monastery in Novi asked in return general things such as general prayers (or not even that, as in the case of a 1470 donation), the Paulines

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*filiis, vestris iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, personas vestras, et locum, in quo divino estis obsequio mancipati cum omnibus bonis, quae in praesentiarum rationabiliter possidetis, aut in futurum praestante Domino poteritis adipisci, sub beati Petri protectione suscipimus atque nostra. Omnes quoque libertates, et immunitates a Praedecessoribus nostris Romanis Pontificibus, sive per privilegia vel alia indulta vobis et Domui vestrae concessas; nec non libertates et exemptiones saecularium exactionum a Regibus et Principibus ac aliis Christi fidelibus vobis et eidem Domui vestrae rationabiliter indultas; specialiter autem decimas, primitias, census, fructus, redditus, proventus, terras, possessiones, vineas, hortos, agros, aliaque mobilia et immobilia bona ad dictam domum legitime spectantia, sicut ea omnia iuste et pacifice possidetis: vobis et per vos eidem domui auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communis. Salva in praedictis decimis moderatione Concilii Generalis.* Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 33.

<sup>301</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 38.

<sup>302</sup> Sladović, *Povēsti biskupijah*, 217-218.

<sup>303</sup> Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 41.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>305</sup> Ivanković, *Pavlini u Krbavskoj biskupiji*, 99.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, 99. For more about the monastery in the later years see Dočkal, XVI 29a (7).

from Crikevica had strict obligations that they had to carry out in order to keep their donated rights and properties. The time and effort spent to ensure that the given rights and donations would stay in the hands of the monasteries (a letter to the pope, an agreement with his brothers) indicate the importance of these monasteries to him. Thus, I argue that the Pauline monastery in Novi was more his own personal endowment than a family establishment. Regarding the economic aspect of the monastery, the same pattern appears; the monastery owned arable lands with tenant peasants (including meadows and shepherds), vineyards, mills, and houses in Novi. All the properties, except Dubovica, were in the proximity of the monastery. Again the economy had no maritime aspects.

### **The Paulines in medieval Slavonia**

On the following pages I will give brief overview of a few aspects of the Pauline monasteries in medieval Slavonia. Features such as the location of the monastery, the time scope of the foundation, their founders and patrons, and the economic life of the given monasteries will be briefly summarized and compared with the situation in the Abaúj Hegyalja region and medieval Croatia.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> This overview of the Paulines monasteries in Slavonia is based on several general works. First of them is the book and the article by Beatrix Romhányi which offers overview and detailed information about the Pauline monasteries both in Hungary and the medieval Slavonia. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban; Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)*. Second one is the review article, written by currently most prominent Croatian scholar regarding the Paulines – Tajana Pleše. In it she summarized well previous scholarly work on the topic, adding to it current archeological knowledge. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*. The last one is an article from another prominent Croatian scholar – Josip Adamček. He also brought overview of the Pauline monasteries but with the focus on the economic aspect of their existence. Josip Adamček, *Adamček, Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*. In order to avoid over referencing of the chapter, when dealing with the pure data and facts I decided to give secondary literature reference (mostly consisted of the mentioned articles) at the end of discussion about the given monastery. However, when quoting or paraphrasing ideas, conclusions, or when stating the exact numbers I will give the exact reference.

Traditionally, the first Pauline monks arrived in medieval Slavonia in the first half of the thirteenth century. Their expansion has been connected with the emergence of the Bosnian church (Crkva bosanska, *Ecclesia bosniensis*).<sup>308</sup> On the papal request (Pope Gregory IX) for a help in their suppression, Bartol, bishop of Pécs responded with sending the monks to southernmost part of the bishopric, namely Dominicans, Templars, and some members of the newly gathered heremitic communities - later Paulines.<sup>309</sup>

During the next two centuries ten Pauline monasteries were established in medieval Slavonia; Dubica – 1244(?), Garić – 1257, Remete – second half 13<sup>th</sup> century, Bakva – 1301, Zlat – 1303/1304, Streza – 1374, Šenkovec – 1376, Lepoglava – 1400, Kamensko 1404, Donja Vrijeska, 1412.<sup>310</sup>

Traditionally, first of the Pauline monasteries in medieval Slavonia was the Holy Virgin Mary in Dubica. It was allegedly founded in 1244 by order of Count (herceg) Coloman. Today, the exact location of the monastery is not known. From the foundation up to 1354 there was no information about it.<sup>311</sup> Comparing it to the later monasteries in Slavonia, the Dubica monastery did not own as much as the other monasteries. They had few benefactors and they were mostly locals, for example burghers of Dubica. Beside them, monastery also gained some incomes from

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<sup>308</sup> This issue remains problematic considering the fact that at that time loosely organized hermits, still not recognized by the pope, and even having the problems with their local bishop, would have been sent to fight against heretics.

<sup>309</sup> Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 202.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid, 203-214.

<sup>311</sup> The question of the Dubica monastery is in the direct connection with the problems about the arrival of the Pauline in medieval Slavonia. First of all, Coloman died in 1242; two years before the alleged foundation of the monastery. Furthermore, the fact that the monastery was allegedly founded by Coloman but afterwards supported only by the locals raises new questions. Finally, the fact that there was no information about the monastery until 1354 indicates that to the question about the foundation should be taken with the great care. According to B. Romhányi it was probably some kind of the early hermetic community, not necessarily connected with the Paulines. Gregorius Gyöngyösi mentions the father Isquirinus and the year around 1270 as the possible date of the foundation. As one can see, several questions regarding the early history of the Slavonian houses can be asked. However, those questions predate the Frankapan influence and connections with the Pauline order. Thus, it is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss them in details. This analysis will be focused on the fourteenth and fifteenth century as the sources were more reliable and the comparison with the Frankapans can be made.

the Hospitaller Knights (which gained their possessions in the area after the abolition of the Templars). Their properties consisted of the estate Otok, vineyard Vini potok, and the house(s) in Dubica. Also, they were exempted from some taxes. The life of the monastery was interrupted by the Ottoman raids sometime between 1435 and 1450. In that period the monks deserted the monastery. For a short period of time it was resettled again, just to be finally abandoned in 1465.<sup>312</sup>

The monastery of Holy Virgin Mary in Garić (also known as Bela crkva – white church) was founded in 1257. The founder remains unknown. The monastery was founded on the hills Moslovačka gora. The benefactors of the monastery mostly came from the lower nobility such as the counts (grof) Ivan from Bršljanovac and Turbelt de Prata from Bršljanovac, nobles Herman and Dešen of Garešnica, but it also included persons such as the Slavonian ban Pavao Peć or župans Petar Kastelan and Pavao Čupor of Moslavina.<sup>313</sup> During the years the monastery gained numerous estates and rights and became serious landowner. Their economy was mostly based on the estates and arable lands,<sup>314</sup> but they also owned eight vineyards, three mills and a fishpond. It seems that at first the monasteries gained only the smaller parcels of land – thus they were fragmented. Only in the second half of the fifteenth century, during the Prior Matija, can be seen signs of the enlargement of their properties.<sup>315</sup> From the early fifteenth century activities regarding the mills can be noticed. For example, from the charter from 1414 it can be seen that the monastery already possessed a mill and they were building the new one.<sup>316</sup> Beside the estates and properties, monastery also gained different privileges. For example they were freed from all

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<sup>312</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 42; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 202-203.

<sup>313</sup> For the complete list of donors and estates see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 203-204, footnote 14.

<sup>314</sup> The estates that the monastery owned were Stupna, Mihaljevac, Podgorje, Bršljanovac, Remete-Lonka, Dimičkovina, Lukačevac, Gornji and Donji Kosovac, Marijaševac, Završje, Sredna, and some smaller estates around Kutina, villages (kmetska selišta) and curias in Palaćina, Beketinac and Kosovac, etc.

<sup>315</sup> Romhányi, *Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauline im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)*, 134.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 159.



the tributes towards the Kingdom (given by Queen Barbara of Cilli in 1412), and King Matthias Corvinus gave them incomes from some of his royal taxes. The monastery also acted as a *locus credibilis*. It was deserted sometime between 1520 and 1544.<sup>317</sup>

Few years after the foundation of the monastery in Garić, the Holy Virgin Mary monastery in Remete (location of the monastery earned its' name from the monastery; Croatian remeta – hermit monk, almost the same in Hungarian [remete]). The exact date of the foundation is still debatable<sup>318</sup> but the founder had been identified as the Paulines themselves. Later on they acknowledged the chapter of Zagreb as their founder and protector.<sup>319</sup> Regarding the benefactors and the patrons of the monastery, the situation was somewhat different than in the case of the Garić monastery. Royal, high ecclesiastic and the aristocratic donations made the most of the monastery's properties. For example, in 1387 King Sigismund granted them the estate Petruševac with the meadow Grdovščaka and the forest Rakitovac. Beside that the monastery also owned numerous other estates,<sup>320</sup> vineyards in Prisavština and Bukovac, and a mill on the Medveščak. Other benefactors included Kings Charles Robert and Matthias Corvinus, the chapter of Zagreb, the bishops,<sup>321</sup> the counts (grof) Ulrich of Cilli and Pavao (Paul) Zrinski (Zrinyi), widow of herceg Stephen duchess Margareta (Margaret), and many other members of the lower nobility.<sup>322</sup> As in the case of the monastery in Garić, monastery also owned several

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<sup>317</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 43-44; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 203-204; Pleše, *Monasterium B. V. Mariae sub monte seu Promontorio Garigh, alias Garich*, 101-107.

<sup>318</sup> For the brief overview and the main scholars included in it see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 204, footnote 18.

<sup>319</sup> Taking this into consideration, it is possible that the previously existing group of hermits (not connected with the Paulines) lived there and were later acknowledged by the Zagreb bishopric and incorporated into the Pauline order. I would like to thank professor József Laszlovsky for pointing me this.

<sup>320</sup> Kratki Dol, Lonka, Tupal, Obrova, Prisavština near Gračani, Donja Blizna (confirmed by Ulrich of Cilli – owner of the castle Medvedgrad at that time), Grdovščak, Banja Selo, Luka, Ograda, Donji Novaki, Mala Mlaka, Remetinec, Marinec, arable lands below Medvedgrad, and several other properties in the nowadays Zagreb, including the tower on Grič. For the detailed list of the estates see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 205, footnote 24.

<sup>321</sup> Ivan III Alben, Benedikt de Zolio, and Osvald Thus.

<sup>322</sup> Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 204, footnote 24.

rights, such as the right of giving indulgence on the four Marian feasts, and the monastery also acted as a *locus credibilis*. Despite three Ottoman sackings in 1483/1484, 1557, and 1591, it was never abandoned, probably due to the strong economic background and the powerful patrons.<sup>323</sup>

St. Benedict's monastery was founded in 1301 as the votive monastery of the local noble Salamon after he survived a bear's attack while hunting. Apparently, the monastery was erected on the exact place of the attack, in the northern part of the Bilogora hills (*clauastro sancti Benedicti in valle Bakowa*). The exact location is not known today. As in the cases of the previous monasteries, its economy was estate and land based.<sup>324</sup> Beside that the monastery owned one vineyard. Even though the list of benefactors mostly consisted of the local nobility and priests,<sup>325</sup> the aristocrats, such as Nicholas of Ilok (cro. Nikola Iločki, hun. Újlaki Miklós), were also the benefactors of the monastery. This monastery also acted as the *locus credibilis*. The monastery was destroyed somewhere between 1491 and 1494. It was restored in 1494 and it lasted until mid-sixteenth century after which it was deserted and fled to the monastery in Lepoglava.<sup>326</sup>

Another monastery founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century was the St. Peter monastery in Zlat, on the top of the Petrova Gora hill. It was founded in 1303/1304 by father Gerdas. Even though this monastery was also erected by the Paulines on a deserted place, it did not follow typical spatial context (*Paulus amat valles*)<sup>327</sup> but was erected on the top of the hill (512m). Another difference compared to the other monasteries was that they purchased most of

<sup>323</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 42-43; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 204-206.

<sup>324</sup> Some of the monastery's properties included Krasnicanoga, Petretinec, Obrežje, Remetinac, Oslatinac, Pušćanec, Gerec, Ivelovec, Kramarica Selo, Drežanovac, and some lands around Virovitica. For details about the monastery's estates see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 207, footnote 35.

<sup>325</sup> i.e. Ugrin from Orahovica, Nikola and Grgur from Orahovica, Nikola Fanča from Grđevac, Blaž, parish priest from of the St. Cosmas and Damian church in Virovitica, etc. For the full list see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 207, footnote 35.

<sup>326</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 44; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 206-207.

<sup>327</sup> Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 208.

their properties<sup>328</sup> and did not have any noble benefactors. The monastery was destroyed two times – first in 1393/1394 and the second time in 1445/1448. After the second destruction, the monks fled to the Kamensko monastery. In 1451 monks asked for and gained the permission from the Pope Nicholas V to join the properties of the monastery in Zlat with the one in Kamensko. At the end of the fifteenth century monks tried to reestablish the monastic community in Zlat but they were again forced to flee around 1545. The monastery itself was destroyed in 1558. Thus far this is the only completely excavated Pauline monastery in medieval Slavonia.<sup>329</sup>

In the second half of the fourteenth century, during the reign of the King Louis I, two Pauline monasteries were established. First of them, founded in 1374, was the All Saints monastery in Streza near Bjelovar by the castellan of Bijela Stijena, Ivan Bisen (*Iohannes de Bissenus*, Besseney). The monastery was founded in the valley bordered by two streams. Over the years it became one of the richest Pauline monasteries. Their benefactor came mostly from the lower nobility.<sup>330</sup> As in the previous cases, the monastic economy was mostly based on the estates and arable lands,<sup>331</sup> but the income was as well earned from the three mills, two vineyards, forest, and a meadow. It had trading fair rights and the indulgence right for the forty days per year. The monastery is well known because of its Urbarium from 1447, which clearly stated, among other things, rights and duties of their tenant peasants. Existence of the urbarium clearly indicates monastery's focus on the land and it can show that Streza can be seen not just as

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<sup>328</sup> They purchased estates Dol, Strmec, and few other minor properties.

<sup>329</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 46; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 207-208; Pleše, "Monasterium de. S. Petri in monte Zlat", 319-350.

<sup>330</sup> Beside the founder Ivan Biseg, the monastery had also local nobles as benefactors such as Tomo from Konjska, Jelena Horvat, Stjepan Plavnički, castellan of Topolovec Breko, castellan of Greda Ivan, parish priest from Streza Mate Dezem, etc. For a complete list of the benefactors see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 209, footnote 50.

<sup>331</sup> Estates Streza, Klokočevac, Hedrihovac, Horvatovščina, Ilinac, Jakopovec, 310 acres of the arable land, and numerous villages. For details see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 209, footnote 50.

the monastery but also as the big landlord unit. Last mentioning of the monastery dates from 1538. After that the monks abandoned it and moved to Lepoglava.<sup>332</sup>

The second monastery founded in the second half of the fourteenth century, precisely in 1376, was the Holy Virgin Mary and the All Saints monastery in Šenkovec near Čakovec.<sup>333</sup> It was founded in the valley by the Transylvanian Voivode Stephen II Lackfi (Stjepan Lacković) master Stephen, Master of the Horse of Hungary. The same pattern appears regarding the monastic economy. Beside the estates and villages,<sup>334</sup> the monastery also owned two vineyards, a mill and a fishpond. Also they owned right to freely use Lacković's forests. Besides the founders, the monastery was also favored by King Matthias Corvinus, Herman II of Cilli (mass endowment) and some other smaller nobles.<sup>335</sup> The monastery survived until the abolition of the order in 1786.<sup>336</sup>

Surely the most important Pauline monastery of medieval Slavonia in the late Middle Ages was the monastery of Holy Virgin Mary in Lepoglava. It was founded in 1400 by Herman II of Cilli after the Cilli family gained estates in Zagorje County from King Sigismund. Judging by the donation, the fact that the three generations of the Cilli family patronized the monastery (Herman II, Frederik, and Ulrich), and the way in which they called the monastery (*claustrum nostrum, ecclesia claustris nostri*)<sup>337</sup> I would argue that the Lepoglava monastery was their family endowment. Beside the Cilli family, the Corvinus family (John Corvinus – buried in Lepoglava, his mother Barbara, John's widow Beatrica (Beatrix) Frankapan, son Christopher) as well gave

<sup>332</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 44-45, 48-50; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 209; Pleše, "Monasterium Omnium Sanctorum de Ztreza", 183-205.

<sup>333</sup> Nowadays the monastery is also known as St. Helen monastery (i.e. Adamček is using that titular). That originates from the early modern period when the titular was changed to St. Helen (Sv. Jelena). For details see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 210, footnote 57.

<sup>334</sup> Estates Vrhelj, Šenkovec, Mačkovec, three other villages.

<sup>335</sup> Fridrik Lamberger, Kristofor Fadan Turanski, and Doroteja Mesar. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 210.

<sup>336</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 45; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 209-211.

<sup>337</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 45.

donations to the monastery. Few other smaller nobles supported the monastery.<sup>338</sup> Adamček is considering it as the wealthiest Pauline monastery in Croatia.<sup>339</sup> According to him, monastery had more than eighty tenant peasants in three villages – Lepoglava, Sesturnac, and Očura,<sup>340</sup> and vineyards.<sup>341</sup> The monastery was damaged 1479 (or 1481) in Ottoman raids. It was repaired by the patronage of herceg John Corvinus by the 1491. In 1576 monastery became the seat of the Pauline general.<sup>342</sup>

The next founded Pauline monastery was Holy Virgin Mary of the Snows (Blažena Djevica Marija Snježna) in Kamensko. It was founded in 1404 by Katarina Krčka (Frankapan), widow of Count Stjepan I of Krk (Frankapan). It was erected on the terrain slightly above the river Kupa. Even though the monastery was founded by a member of the Frankapan family, beside the additional donation of peasant plot, they were not the patrons of the monastery. That task was taken over by the local noble families.<sup>343</sup> Some of the main monastery's estates were Kamensko, Zlatinjak, Šenkovec (Fratrovci), Kučar, Sajavec, etc.<sup>344</sup> Also, in the 1451 they gained the properties of the St. Peter monastery in Zlat. Ottomans raided the monastery twice, first in 1484 and the second time between 1570 and 1576.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> For details see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 211, footnote 67.

<sup>339</sup> I assume that he thought this in the modern-state borders, thus including all Pauline monasteries in Croatia, not just those from the medieval Slavonia.

<sup>340</sup> Pleše also mentions estates and properties in Purga, Bušinec, Greda, Gregurovec, Kuzminec, Velika, Bratilovec, Dvorec, Zareberje, Brezovec, Kamenica, Hostiće, Šarovnica, Ločilnica, Klenovnik, Vadol, Borianec, Herihovec, Draganovec, Dedenci, Viletinec, Črnkovci, and Benkovac. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 211, footnote 67.

<sup>341</sup> Adamček stated that the monastery had 180 (!) vineyards on nine hills (gorica) – Travnik, Lepoglava, Dolovec, Podgorje, Prigorje, Krepičevac, Oretarovec, Dvarc, and Krasetinec. I am not sure how he managed to get that number (his footnotes are leading to the sources in Croatian national archive, thus I am not able to check it). At the same time Pleše explicitly mentioned only one, and Romhányi stated that there were not enough data to make the conclusion regarding vineyards. Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 46; *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 211; Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 63.

<sup>342</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 45-46; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 211-212.

<sup>343</sup> Ivan Vardug from Švarča, Blaž Vestarić of Korana, Petar Tomašić, and knight Mavro Noling. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 213, footnote 77.

<sup>344</sup> For details see Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 213, footnote 77.

<sup>345</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 46; Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 212-213.

The last Pauline monastery in medieval Slavonia was the St. Anna monastery near *castrum* Dobra Kuća. It was founded in 1412 by count Benedikt Nelipić. Other benefactors also came from the highest social strata – King Matthias Corvinus, ban Matko Talovac, count Ivan de Prata, Nikola and David Nelipić, and some other nobles.<sup>346</sup> From them the monastery gained several estates,<sup>347</sup> two vineyards, and two meadows. It also acted as a *locus credibilis*. It suffered the fate of many other Pauline monasteries – it was destroyed by the Ottomans between 1537 and 1542.<sup>348</sup>

Putting all this together offers the possibility to detect certain patterns in the monastic space, economy, and life of the Paulines. Regarding spatial context, Pleše made several points. She argues that the Paulines chose locations with the settlement continuity but at the same time at some distance from them. Also, the valleys or slightly elevated plateaus over the rivers and streams were their preferred location (with the exception of the monastery in Zlat which was on the top of the hill).<sup>349</sup> Comparing this with the situation in the Abaúji-hegyalja region<sup>350</sup> the same pattern can be noticed. Those monasteries were also located on the borderlands of the populated areas, outside the urban settlements but at the same time in walking distance from them (usually not more than two kilometers). Thus, even though they were not part of the urban communities, they were integrated into the wider network of the local roads and settlements.<sup>351</sup>

The motto *Paulus amat valles* stood for them also as they were founded either in the fields

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<sup>346</sup> Klara Nelipić-Anthosy, Henrik de Zeyanahrazthya (of the green oak) and his wife Katarina (they were buried in the monastery's church), Elizabeta Galfy, Ivan from Mali Topolovec, Stjepan Mihaljević from Draškovci, and Matej, clergyman from Čazma. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 214, footnote 85.

<sup>347</sup> Matejovac, Ferenčak, Petrijanec, Brežanec, Pričretje, Doselenec, Graberje, Lužanec, Pogana, and some other villages. Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 214, footnote 85.

<sup>348</sup> Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 213-214. For more details about the monastery see Berislav Schejbal, "Medieval topography of the Daruvar area", MA thesis (Budapest: CEU, 1999).

<sup>349</sup> Pleše, *Monasterium Omnium Sanctorum de Ztreza*, 184-186.

<sup>350</sup> The Pauline monasteries in this region were St. Philip and Jacob in Regéc (before 1307), St. Catherine in Göncruszka (1338), Virgin Mary in Gönc (before 1371), and the Holy Trinity monastery.

<sup>351</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region*, 101, 103.

(Regéc) or slightly elevated on the slopes of the hills (Göncruszka, Gönc, possibly Holy Trinity).<sup>352</sup> Proximity of the water sources such as streams was also one of the aspects that determined the spatial context of the monasteries.

Similar pattern was shown in the case of the given monasteries in medieval Croatia. They were all located on remote places outside the urban communities but at the same time in the close proximity to them.<sup>353</sup> The main road that led from medieval Slavonia to Senj and then from Senj following the coast to the North-West passed near all of the mentioned monasteries.<sup>354</sup> As the geographical context was different than in the case of the Slavonian or Hungarian monasteries (sea, mountains), it is logical to expect certain differences. Thus, four littoral monasteries were located on or very close to the sea (but again on remote location but close to the road and in walking distance from the Frankapan towns). St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd can be also seen in the given context as it was located on the mountain slope on the beginning of the ascent to the Kapela Mountain, near the water source and close to Modruš and the road that led to Senj.

When it comes to the Slavonian monasteries, two main distinctions can be made regarding their benefactors. First, those monasteries mostly supported by the rich burghers and the local lesser nobility (Dubica, Garić, St. Benedict, Kamensko, Streza). Second, the monasteries significantly supported by the highest social strata such as the king, and the aristocracy (Remete, Lepoglava, Dobra Kuća, Šenkovec)<sup>355</sup>. Again, monastery in Zlat was the

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid, Regéc – 93, Göncruszka – 94, Gönc – 96, Holy Trinity – 100.

<sup>353</sup> St. Nicholas in Gvozd – Modruš; Holy Savior – Senj; St. Helen – Senj; Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica – Kotor, Bribir, and Grižane; Holy Virgin Mary in Osp – Novi.

<sup>354</sup> Plus the Holy Virgin Monastery in Brinje which I was not able to handle in this thesis but it followed the same patterns. For more information about it see Dočkal, XVI 29a (9).

<sup>355</sup> This is just my own rough estimation based on the given secondary literature. It does not mean that some of the monastery listed in the “first group” did not receive occasional higher strata donations or were even founded by the aristocracy but later “forgotten” (as in the case of Kamensko), or that the monasteries from the “second group” did not receive donations from the local nobility and rich burghers.

exception as it did not have any noble supporters. The monasteries in the Abaúj-hegyalja region were on the other hand supported mostly by the lower and the middle nobility. The exemptions to that were the royal grants and donations granted in some way to all monasteries except for the Holy Trinity monastery (and this could be due to the lack of data).<sup>356</sup> In the case of medieval Croatia and the given monasteries, it is obvious that the Frankapan family was either main patron of the monasteries (St. Nicholas, St. Helen, Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica, and Holy Virgin Mary near Novi) or had at least a significant role in the life of the monastery (Holy Savior). The King's role had been significantly reduced, staying present only in the few confirmation charters. One of the examples is the case when king Matthias reconfirmed St. Nicholas estates in Švica upon the request of the monks as their properties were seized by the Frankapans at that moment.<sup>357</sup> Obviously the King's power varied from one king to the other and in some cases they exercised their power indirectly, through the loyal aristocratic families. In the Abaúj Hegyalja region main benefactor was the lower nobility together backed by the King and his grants and donations. In the Slavonian case the number of the aristocratic grants increased and the King's role slightly decreased, even though from case to case they (the Kings) still played the significant role in the patronage over the monasteries. The King still had enough properties in the region to be able to grant them to the monastery. Beside him strong aristocratic families, such as the Cillis, emerged as the patrons of the order. They were capable of founding and supporting their own family monasteries, as in the case of Lepoglava. Going further to the medieval Croatia, one can see that the King's role was completely taken over by the aristocratic families, in this case the Frankapans. I would argue that in the late Middle Ages the King simply did not possess

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<sup>356</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region*, 106-108.

<sup>357</sup> For details see the chapter "St. Nicholas monastery in Gvozd", page 16-33.



enough properties in the area to support the monastic orders. Thus, he left that role (or it was simply taken over) to the aristocratic families.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Some scholars argue that the king's deliberate support and patronage of the "domicile" order led to possible aristocratic emulation. Through patronage, Pleše notes the possibility for the king's indirect control over the local aristocratic politics.<sup>358</sup> In the case of the Frankapan family I would argue that this idea makes sense to some extent, especially with the earlier members (earlier from the mid-fifteenth century point of view) of the family, such as Counts Ivan V Frankapan, Stjepan I Frankapan, and Nikola IV Frankapan who were always strong supporters of the king. However, I would argue that this relationship evolved over time in two possible directions, losing along the way a strict correlation with the king. The first divergence was the evolution of something closer to prestige representation among the aristocratic families. At first, aristocratic patronage probably meant the way in which the individual or the aristocratic family actually emulated king's policy, that is, followed his policy and through that "gained membership" in the highest possible social strata. Emulating the king's Pauline policy meant following the king in general, which in the end could mean gaining more influence and wealth. Thus, those who founded and supported the Pauline monasteries were considered rich and powerful. Over time, this strict connection with the king loosened but at the same time the idea of patronage of the Paulines as something prestigious survived. An example of this is Count Martin IV Frankapan, who was one of the greatest patrons of the Paulines among the Frankapans, but at the same time a firm opponent of King Matthias for most of his life. The second direction of development was that through patronage of the Paulines, members of the

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<sup>358</sup> Pleše, *Pregled pavlinskih samostana*, 203.

Frankapan family wanted to emphasize the family tradition and the links with their predecessors who had developed special connections with the Paulines. Possible analogies for this can be found in the cases of the Šubić and Kurjaković families/kindreds and their relations with the Franciscans.<sup>359</sup> Karen Stöber, in her overview of monastic patronage in England and Wales, arrived at somewhat similar conclusions.<sup>360</sup> She stated that: “For those people (the patrons) the issues of fashion and convenience, as well as family tradition and, of course, prestige and status, were important, and mattered no less than spiritual efficacy when choosing their devotional focus.”<sup>361</sup> She did not focus on loyalty to the king as one of the possible factors for patronage, thus, introducing this aspect was helpful for my case study.

From these cases one can see that the Frankapan family was by far the largest patron of the Paulines in the region. Their patronage can be classified in two categories; First, they included the monasteries founded as their personal or family endowments. They constantly supported them through donating properties and different rights. In almost all cases this patronage extended over several generations of the family, which continued to support these monasteries, both through granting them new estates and rights and through reconfirming the donations of their predecessors. The monasteries of St. Nicholas in Gvozd, Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica, and Holy Virgin Mary in Novi belonged to this category. The second category includes monasteries not founded by the Frankapans but rather by local rich burghers. This category includes the monasteries near Senj – Holy Savior and St. Helen. In both cases the Frankapans again played an important role. With the Holy Savior the family played a rather

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<sup>359</sup> For this MA thesis I was not able to enter the comparison between those families. However, I think that in the future this level of comparison will be necessary and fruitful. Also, the analysis of the Frankapan family in the way that Damir Karbić dealt with the Šubić kindred and Ivan Botica with the Kurjaković family is necessity. See Damir Karbić, “The Šubići of Bribir. An Example of the Croatian Noble Kindred”, PhD dissertation, (Budapest, CEU, 2000); Ivan Botica, “Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku” [Counts of the Corbavia in the Middle Ages], PhD dissertation, (Zagreb: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2011).

<sup>360</sup> Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid, 207,

supplementary supportive role, helping them to develop their main economic aspects even further, such as the vineyards on the island of Krk, through tax exemptions or helping them consolidate their estate in Baška draga. In case of St. Helen, the Frankapans played a decisive role in stabilizing the monastery through donations of estates that the monastery needed after the time when their founders, the burghers of Senj, were for some reason unable or unwilling to support it any longer. In return, the Frankapans expected spiritual benefits from the Paulines. Requests for prayers for the ancestors, health, absolution of sins, and salvation of the soul were the standard requests in almost all charters, and some of them even stipulated endowments for masses. Still, at the same time, the Frankapans patronized the Franciscan order. In addition, the Frankapans were buried in the Franciscan friaries of Modruš, Trsat, and Senj. Thus, my opinion is that the Franciscans were the family's "first choice" and that the Paulines came second to emulate the king's patronage. Furthermore, the Franciscan friaries located in the urban settlements offered better possibilities for prestige display while the ascetic communities like the Paulines offered more in the way of spiritual support for salvation. With some exceptions, the Paulines did not develop a strong tradition regarding the burials of the aristocratic families due to their somewhat later development and the site selection. Still, to confirm everything mentioned, a study similar to this one should be made on the Franciscan order under the Frankapans.<sup>362</sup>

I would argue that the Frankapan family played a decisive role in stabilizing the Pauline presence as an order in medieval Croatia. Even though whether the foundation of the earliest Pauline monastery in medieval Croatia is connected with the Frankapans cannot be proven, it may be assumed that the Frankapans played a certain role in the emergence of the Pauline order in medieval Croatia. One of the indicators is the foundation of the St. Nicholas monastery,

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<sup>362</sup> Also, the same type of the research should be made for the remaining Pauline monasteries in the vicariate of Gvozd – Holy Virgin Mary in Turan near Udbina, Holy Virgin Mary in Zažično, Holy Virgin Mary in Brinje, and the monasteries in Istria.

which, as shown, can be roughly dated to the time when the family started to come closer to the king. Thus, I would argue that it was connected with the idea about emulating the royal power and entering the “high politics” of the kingdom. This remains on an assumption now, but it may open some new research possibilities in the future, both in the cases of Pauline history and Frankapan family history.

Another conclusion that emerged from the thesis is the fact that the Paulines were not only passive recipients of the grants and donations, starting from the foundation of the monasteries on. One can really follow a pattern regarding the location of the monasteries in solitary locations, on/near the sea (in the case of the littoral monasteries), but at the same time close to the main road and the Frankapan cities, often in the same place as an already existing church. The question arises to whom can this pattern be attributed? Were the Paulines able to negotiate the locations of the monasteries with the future benefactors or was it just the will of the founders? It is hard to give an unequivocal answer, as the foundation charters have not survived and with them possible written information about the circumstances of the foundations were lost. But in the lack of explicit written evidence, topography can also be regarded and “read” as a source. Taking into the consideration the fact that all these monasteries followed this pattern (even though they had different founders – members of the Frankapan family, burghers of Senj), I would assume that they were able to negotiate the location of the monasteries with their benefactors and choose the ones that best suited their needs and the monastic *habitus*. Active Pauline agency in the formation of the monastic economy and life can also be seen through the role of the priors. They were not only ready to frequently ask for the confirmation of certain rights, but also to invest significant amounts of money in acquiring needed estates; it appears that they may even have been ready to forge charters to strengthen their ownership over certain

possession or rights or to emphasize their right over the possession they wanted to acquire. The best example for a pro-active attitude is the prior of the St. Nicholas monastery – Father Stanislav. In the decades of his priorate (14

40s to 1470s), he actively worked on consolidating the monastery's estates in a number of clusters; he focused on acquiring the most profitable estates (such as mills, sawmills, fulling mills), and in general he was involved in all aspects of monastic life. Furthermore, his activity was not limited only to the St. Nicholas, but as the vicar of the Gvozd vicariate his role can be attested in the cases of the other monasteries in the vicariate as well. The case of the Prior Stanislav could also open new research possibilities. As he came from Poland, it would be interesting to compare the St. Nicholas monastery with cases of the Polish Paulines and to search for analogies and possible patterns that Father Stanislav brought with him from the Polish monasteries. Also, the fact that all the monasteries presented here were located close to the main roads could indicate a possible role of the Pauline houses as travel lodges.

The third conclusion that can be made refers to the monastic economy of the Paulines. Comparing the available/analysed data with the situation in medieval Slavonia and Hungary, certain patterns characteristic of the Paulines appear. The Slavonian monasteries based their economy on estates and arable lands. They were significant landowners. In addition, vineyards also played an important role. The ownership of mills was also attested, confirming that the monasteries aspired towards owning several different sources of income. Their properties were mostly located in the broader area around the monasteries. Also, some of the rights owned by the monasteries, such as the right of giving indulgence, acting as *loca credibilia*, and even the rights to collect fair revenues surely benefited the monastic economies. All this was in discrepancy with their nominal hermit *habitus*. Adamček states that the Paulines were a hermit order only by

the word “hermit” in their name.<sup>363</sup> Even though he is right to some extent, I would argue that the Pauline hermit tradition and *habitus* can nevertheless be seen in the monastic landscape and the conscious choice of the sites of their monastic houses.

Comparing this with the situation in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region it seems that the same type of the properties appeared, but in somewhat different proportions. Instead of estates and arable lands, for which there is hardly any data,<sup>364</sup> the Paulines focused on owning vineyards, mills, and related fishponds. Still, differences can be seen with monasteries like Regéc, which was “satisfied with the balanced, non- or little profiting economy,” and Göncruszka with a “profit-oriented economic system” with a high number of mills.<sup>365</sup> The same patterns were attested on the wider scale by Beatrix Romhányi.<sup>366</sup> According to her, fairly large land estates indicate a transitional period in the Pauline existence. They abandoned their strict hermit tradition and started gaining support from the nobility. With the nobility came the land estates. In the next phase, the Paulines came closer to the mendicants, earning a significant part of their income through the direct sources and benefits, such as mills, fishponds, urban houses, and other investments.<sup>367</sup> In the case of the monasteries in medieval Croatia analyzed here, I have shown that the monastic economy generally followed the same patterns, but with some local peculiarities. The littoral monasteries were focused on several parallel aspects of monastic economy, such as the vineyards, mills, and sawmills. They also owned a certain amount of arable lands and meadows. Also, all of them worked on acquiring one or more houses in the neighboring towns in order to profit through leasing (Holy Savior is good example of this) or maybe to more easily place their products. Romhányi stresses the same thing on the level of the

<sup>363</sup> Adamček, *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, 42.

<sup>364</sup> Belényesy, *Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region*, 109.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>366</sup> Romhányi, *Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary*, 54.

<sup>367</sup> For details see Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*.

Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>368</sup> The properties were mostly situated in the relative proximity of the monastery (including the island of Krk), except for some of the Frankapan donations, mostly in Lika. Interestingly, thus far there is no evidence that they were focused on any kind of maritime economy, with the exception of the Holy Virgin Mary and its right to collect the sea trade tax. Still, it is hard to imagine that they did not interact with the sea at all, especially regarding fishing (no fishponds were owned by the mentioned monastery – but with the sea they were unnecessary). The St. Nicholas monastic economy was also based on several branches, covering most of the monastery's needs. I identified several clusters with different types of properties. Arable lands, meadows, vineyards, mills, sawmills, fulling mills, fishponds, and the houses in Senj show the versatility in the monastic economy and also their active role in local communities. All of them were near the Frankapan estates. Thus, the discrepancy between the Pauline hermit *habitus* and their active role in the local communities can be attested in the cases of the houses in medieval Croatia. In the same way, their identical contextualization with the Franciscans by their contemporaries (such as the Count Martin IV Frankapan or even the papal curia), establishing fraternities, and an active role in society, could be seen as a gradual transformation of the order towards the mendicants.

This thesis highlights the relations between two important but at the same time unresearched entities in medieval Croatia. It reveals the economic situation of a sample of Pauline monasteries and puts them into a wider regional context. Through this, it can be seen that the houses in medieval Croatia followed some general patterns attributed to the Pauline order on a wider scale. Also, the appendix offers a list of charters which can be used as the basis for future research. From the Frankapan perspective, it offers a possible explanation for why the Frankapan family patronized the Pauline order. Thus, it is a contribution not just to the family's

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 54.

ecclesiastical policy, but also to evaluating their overall place, influence, and policy in the wider scale of the kingdom.



## 4. APPENDIX

### St. Nicholas

Date	Donor/seller/person of interest	Item	Source
1392? (1330)	Ivan V Frankapan	donation of the mill and the fulling mill in Švica and the vineyard in Baška (island of Krk)	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 13, 41
1393	Nikola of Blagaj	release of the certain taxes	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 17
1401	Nikola IV Frankapan	donation of the <i>villa</i> with the four tenant peasants in Vrhrika	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 20
1406, January 12	Grgur Dragovanja from Modruš, burgher of Senj	donation of the house in Senj	DL 34.385
1413, April 11	satnik Ivanola Prvošić	donation of the land in Baška draga	AC - XVI
141, August 20	Nikola IV Frankapan	donation of the lands and estates in Plaški	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 26
1420	Nikola IV Frankapan	donation of the house (half) in Senj	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 27
1425, September 8	King Sigismund	charter on the capability of the Pauline monasteries to receive donations	DL 34.390
1444, June 24	Žigmund Frankapan	confirmation of the previous Ivan's V Frankapan donation (mill and the sawmill) and the donation of another mill and the fulling mill in Švica	DL 34.397
1444, December 6	Stjepan II Frankapan and Ivan Suslović, parish priest in Ozalj	Stjepan II confirmed the donation released from some taxes (Ivan Suslović) the curia in Jačkovec donate by Ivan Suslović	DL 34.396
1450, April 20	<i>magister Franjo (Franciscus) de Fulgieno</i>	return of the house in Senj	DL 34.400
1450	Stjepan II Frankapan	confirmation of the previous donations (mill - Potok; three vineyards - Kozje brdo)	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 39
1454, December 15	King Ladislaus V	confirmation of the previous rights and donations	DL 34.390

1454	Ivan VII Frankapan	confirmation of the charter of the Ivan V Frankapan	Dočkal, XVI 29 (2), 41
1460	Nikola VI Frankapan and Žigmund Frankapan	donation of the tenant peasant and some lands (Nikola VI), confirmation (Žigmund)	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 43
1461, March 25	Stjepan II Frankapan	donation of the tenant peasant and the confirmation of the several previous donations	
1461, June 5	Matko Grebčič, parish priest in Gomirje	donation of the village in Hrsinsko polje	AC - LXXI
1463, August 4	Apaj Liković and chapter of Modruš	donation of the estate with one tenant peasant on Kozje Brdo	AC - LXXII
1464, June 14	King Matthias Corvinus	confirmation of the previous rights and donations	DL 34.390
1464, August 9	Žigmund Frankapan and knight Karlo	donation of the village Tisovik with the tenant peasant, and return of the taken estates in Švica	AC - LXXVI
1466	King Matthias Corvinus	confirmation of the donations in Švica (two mills, sawmill, and a fulling mill)	Hrvatski spomenici - 167
1471, June 10	King Matthias Corvinus	confirmation of the estates in Švica - two mills, sawmill, fulling mill	AC - XCI
1474	Stjepan II Frankapan	donation of the dvor ( <i>curia</i> ) on Kozje brdo and the house (shop?) in Modruš	Dočkal, XVI, 29a (2), 64
1475, April 1	Vitko Krajač	purchase of the vineyard on Kozje Brdo	AC - XCVIII
1478, May 4	Martin IV Frankapan	rights regarding the mills in Švica	AC - CI
1478	Ivan VIII Frankapan	donation of the estate Zaselje	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 72
1480	King Matthias Corvinus	charter related to the estates in Švica	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 73
1482, August 9	Žan Jakov, official from Baška	part of the land in Baška draga	AC - CIV
1490, September 8	Donat, bishop of Krk	measuring of the vineyard in order to pay the certain tax to the bishop	AC - CXXVIII
1495, June 6	King Vladislaus II	confirmation of the previous rights and donations	DL 34.390
1495, January 25	Ivan VIII Frankapan	donation of the three villages (selo) in Črnica	AC - CXLV
1496, April 1	Ivan VIII Frankapan	purchase of the estate Morko	AC - CL

1498, December 1	Ivan VIII Frankapan, Juraj and Pavao Tomković	Ivan VIII confirms the donation of Juraj and Pavao Tomković - half of the land in village Škinje	AC - CLVIII
1498	Ivan VIII Frankapan	confirmation of the several donations	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 87
1499, January 15	Juraj Tomković	purchase of the half of the land in village Škinje	Hrvatski spomenici - 272
1511	ban Andrija Both of Bojna	tax exemption for the good imported to Senj	Dočkal, XVI 29a (2), 90
1516, March 24	master Valent	lease of the house	AC - CCIII
1521	Barić Pavizić	lease of the land	AC - CCVIII

## Holy Savior

Date	Donor/seller/person of interest	Item	Source
1364, Septmeber 29	/	First mentioning of the monastery	CD XIII - 291
1371, March 23	Stanac	vineyard in Baška draga, island of Krk	CD XIV - 231
1372, August 5	Ivan (Anž) V Frankapan	tax exemption (incomes) from their lands in Baška draga, island of Krk	Štefančić, <i>Dvije frankopanske darovnice</i>
1375, August 11	Ivan Mikulanić, citizen of Senj	purchase of the land in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - VIII
1375, September 22	Nicoalo de Ancona, citizen of Senj	hereditary lease of the house in Senj	CD XV - 104
1375, September 23	Rada, daughter of Krasnelin, citizen	purchase of the land in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - IX
1381, March 19	Lucija, daughter of Mate and widow of Juriša from Doljani ( <i>Doglano</i> )	donation of the house in Senj	DL 34.379
1381, August 9	Stjepan I Frankapan	tax exemption (incomes) from their vineyards in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XI
1388, December 29	Bartol, son of Bordarije, citizen of Senj	purchase the unused vineyard in Ljubotina near Senj	DL 34.380
1394, December 21	Debricija, widow of Dominik Šempeiz ( <i>Dimynacchus Sempeiz</i> )	donation of the land in Ljubotina near Senj	DL 34.381
1399, October 14	Massoli (Massolus), citizen of Senj	donation of the altair in the church of Holy Savior	DL 34.382
1405, February 8	Mate Orlović, citizen of Senj	testament donation of the house in Senj and two vineyards Oblinica ( <i>Vblinica</i> ) near Senj	DL 34.384
1411, April 15	Martin Filipov, citizen of Senj	purchase of the house in Senj	DL 34.386
1411, April 15	Laurencio de Cuane de Terencio, citizen of Senj	leasing of the house in Senj	DL 34.387
1414	Zela, wife of Kablović	purchase of the land in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XVII
1417, May 12	Lelacije (Lelacius)	dispute over the rent for house in Senj	DL 34.388
1419, July 17	Juraj Kurnaćin	purchase of the land in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XVIII
1420, May 1	Ivan Kušević, parish priest in Baška	purchase of theland in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XX

1421, May 19	Katarina, citizen of Senj	purchase of the house in Senj	DL 34.389
1423, February 9	Dragula	purchase of the land in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XXIV
1426, November 17	Grgur Kilčić	exchange of the lands in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - XXVI
1444, December 20	Bartol IX Frankapan	donation of the part of the estate (alongside with two other Pauline monasteries)	CD comitum de Frangepanibus, CCCXXXIII; DL 35.582
1449, August 15	župan Ladislav de Rosyno (comes Ladislaus de Rosyno)	various donations to the monastery - money, arable land, chalice, and cross with the relics of St. Andrew	DL 34.391.
1449, November 24	Baltazar Raduchis	purchase of the house in Senj	DL 34.398
1450, February 16	Mirša Majšićević	purchase of the vineyard in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - LIII
1451, September 2		exchange of the lands in Baška draga, island of Krk	AC - LIX
1452, May 8	Žigmund Frankapan	personal endowment, donated the land suitable for the erection of mill in Švica near Otočac	Štefančić, <i>Dvije frankopanske darovnice</i>
1453, April 14	Tomaš, judge in Senj	purchase of the house in Senj	DL 34.401
1466, March 5	s Stjepan II, Dujam IV, Martin IV, Juraj, Bartol X, Ivan (Anž) VIII, Nikola VI	confirmation of the <i>selo</i> ( <i>villa</i> , village) Šavše and some arable land	AC - LXXX
1466, April 14	Ivan VII Frankapan and Nikola, bishop of Krk	donation of the St. Cosmas and Domian's church and related lands	AC - LXXXI
1468, May 1	Ursula ( <i>Ursa</i> ), widow of the judge Šimun ( <i>Simonis</i> )	donation of the estate ( <i>universus possessio</i> )	DL 34.408
1490	Ivan Kosinjski	borrowing the money from the monastery	AC, CXXX
1490, June 1	parish priest Andrija Japrica (Andreas Jampricza) and his relatives	donation of the seven sessio ( <i>selište</i> ) in Štitari/Šćitari (Schytary)	DL 34.411
1495, June 5	Ivan VIII Frankapan	donation of the village called Mali Prokičci with all incomes and expenses	AC - CXLVII
1503	Juraj Bisernjaković/Bisernjaković ( <i>Bisernachouich</i> ), citizen of Senj	donation of the house in Senj	DL 34.413

1504, May	Pope Julius II	Bull about the robberies of the Pauline monastery	Sladović, <i>Pověsti biskupijah,</i> 217-218
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## St. Helen

Date	Donor/seller/person of interest	Item	Source
1390, January 10	archdeacon Radovan	donation of the church and the premission to establish the monastery	DL 35.282
1415, July 28	Andrija Semenaci	selling of the vineyard in Baška draga	DL 35.418
1415, December 6	Iulianus de Lucha, merchant from Senj	donation of the vineyards in Suha Kozica (Suha chosica)	DL 35.419
1433, April 29	Mate Čudinić, citizen of Senj	donation of the house (merrisium) in Senj	DL 35.541
1444, August 11	Žigmund Frankapan	donation of the land suitable for the construction of the mills	AC - XL
1444, December 20	Bartol IX Frankapan	donation of the part of the estate (alongside with two other Pauline monasteries)	CD comitum de Frangepanibus, CCCXXXIII; DL 35.582
1445, November 8	Dujam IV Frankapan	giving the right for free milling the wheat in Žrnovnica	AC - XLIII
1447, April 17	Dujam IV Frankapan	donation of the meadow	AC - XLVII
1461, March 26	Elizabeta Frankapan	donation of the meadow	AC - LXX
1466, March 5	Stjepan II, Dujam IV, Martin IV, Juraj, Bartol X, Ivan (Anž) VIII, Nikola VI	confirmation of the monastery's estates - mills, arable lands, and meadow	AC - LXXX
1475, March 15	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the land with the house and the garden in Švica	AC - XCVII
1493, June 4	Ivan VIII Frankapan	purchase of the village Košćice in Bužane area	AC - CXXXIX
1493, June 4	Ivan VIII Frankapan	expansion of the previous charter regarding the village's borders	AC - CXL
1493, November 26	Žigmund Frankapan	confirmation of the charter related to the purchase of the village Košćice	DL 35.734
1495, March 23	Pope Alexander VI	confirmation of the charter related to the purchase of the village Košćice	DL 35.737
1501, October 29	Nikola Jurinić	agreement about the mills	DL 35.759.

1504, May	Pope Julius II	Bull about the robberies of the Pauline monastery	Sladović, <i>Pověsti biskupijah</i> , 217- 218
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## Holy Virgin Mary in Crikvenica

Date	Donor/seller/person of interest	Item	Source
1412, August 14 (!Forgery)	Nikola IV Frankapan	foundational charter of the monastery	Matijević Sokol, Galović - <i>Privilegia foundations</i>
1419, August 27	Matej, son of Bierso	donation of the sixth part of the crop from his vineyard and arable land	AC - XIX
1422, November	Ivan (Žan) Bucifal	exchange of the vineyards	AC - XXII
1428, January 4	Nikola IV Frankapan	donation of the right to build the sawmill	AC - XXVII
1428, January 12	Nikola IV Frankapan	confirmation of the right to collect taxes for the sea trade	AC - XXVIII
1430, June 16	Nikola IV Frankapan	premission that the sawmill can start working and the donation of the surrounding area	AC - XIX
1440, March 5	Ivan VII Frankapan	donation of the land below Soplje	AC - XXXVIII
1447, March 7	Stjepan Dokšin and his children	acceptance into the confraternity of St. Paul the first hermit	AC - XLVI
1447, March	Stjepan Dokšin	donation of the land "v Zagori"	Šurmin, Hrvatski spomenici, 96.
1447, December, 4	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the land in Selci	AC - XLIX
1450, October 26	Martin IV Frankapan	dispute between the Paulines and their tenant peasants	AC - LVI
1455, October 28	Martin IV Frankapan	confirmation of the previous family donations	AC - LXIII
1460, June 25	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the two vineyards, in Selce and Jesenovi	AC - LXVIII
1468, April 11	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the tenant peasant vlah Nikola	AC - LXXXIII
1475, September 15	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the village Črmanj kal	AC - XCIX
1485, February 10	Ivan Vlaj and Jurko Banić	medation between the Paulines and Jurko Banić	AC - CIX

1490, March 20	Nikola Žunjević, governor of Bribir	donation of the vineyard left to the monastery by his brother Maroje	AC - CXXVI
1504, March 14	Ivan Banić	donation of the land "Kagoničeva i Srdelova" and everything on it (vineyard)	AC - CLXXIII
1504, May	Pope Julius II	Bull about the robberies of the Pauline monastery	Sladović, <i>Pověsti biskupijah</i> , 217-218
1524, September 28	Antun Bošnjak	donation of the properties in Istria and island of Krk	DL 34.629

## Holy Virgin Mary near Novi

Date	Donor/seller/person of interest	Item	Source
1446, December 10	Župan Mihovil, Martin IV Frankapan	donation and confirmation of the part of the estate to the St. Mary church in Novi	AC - XLV
1462, May 14	Martin IV Frankapan, bishop Nikola of Kotor	incorporation of <i>archipresbiteratus</i> of Bužane	DL 34.490
1466, March 5	Stjepan II, Dujam IV, Martin IV, Juraj, Bartol X, Ivan (Anž) VIII, Nikola VI	confirmation of the monastery's village Belgrad with all of its belongings	AC - LXXX
1467, June 19	Pope Paul II, Martin IV Frankapan	protection of the Martin's last will and previous donations	Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 17-18
1470, January 7	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the mill, tenant peasants, vineyard, and arable lands	AC - LXXXVI
1470, December 13	Jakov and Juriša Mikulotić from Bribir	donation of the land in Dubravica	AC - LXXXVIII
1472, May 18	Fabijan Čehović	purchase of the house in Novi	AC - XCIII
1472	Juraj, parish priest of Novi	handing over of the previously purchased house	AC - XCIV
1475, July 20	Stjepan II and Bernardin Frankapan	confirmation of the donation of Count Martin IV Frankapan regarding Belgrad and Kotor	AB - MCLIX
1479, May 1	Martin IV Frankapan	donation of the estate Dubovica in the Gacka county	DL 34.520
1481, April 2	Pope Sixtus IV	appointment of the judges in the dispute between the Paulines and parish priest in Novi	DL 34.523
1486, November 4	court officials Gašpar Bodo and Ivan from Korotna	confirmation of the previous donations	DL 34.531
1481, March 23	Pope Sixtus IV	taking the monastery under the papal protection and confirmations of its rights and possessions	Dočkal, XVI 29a (7), 33
1503, August 5	Pope Alexander VI	dispute between the Paulines and parish priest Martin about the <i>archipresbiteratus</i> of Bužane	DL 34.563
1504, May 14	Pope Julius II	further discussion related to the mentioned dispute.	DL 34.571

1504, May	Pope Julius II	Bull about the robberies of the Pauline monastery	Sladović, <i>Pověsti biskupijah</i> , 217- 218
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