

Mišo Petrović

**POPES, PRELATES, PRETENDERS:
THE ROLE OF THE HIGH CLERGY OF CROATIA, DALMATIA
AND SLAVONIA IN THE FIGHT FOR THE HUNGARIAN
THRONE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2015

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(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.

Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Mišo Petrović**, 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.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the intricate connections between the popes, the prelates, and the pretenders while considering the roles they played during the succession crises for the Hungarian throne at the beginning and the end of the fourteenth century. The focus is on two succession crisis periods. The first (1290-1310) was a successful attempt by Charles Robert, backed by the Apostolic See, especially Pope Boniface VIII, to claim the throne. The second crisis (1382-1409) was a failed effort of Boniface IX and King Ladislas of Naples to take the throne from King Sigismund. In both cases it was the high clergy that found themselves confronted between their obedience to the pope, and their fealty to the king. Therefore the primary research focus was on the relationship between the pretenders and ecclesiastical structures, but particularly of the prelates of the dioceses of medieval Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia and their roles, functions and loyalties that have not been thoroughly researched before.

By dividing my work into three chapters I contextualized the connections between the Apostolic See and the various pretenders it supported or confronted, while showing how the development of the election process and the possibilities for papal or royal intervention were used for political purposes, as well as analyzing the position and the role of the prelates within their dioceses.

The thesis has revealed that during both aforementioned periods a crisis of the central government occurred which helped spread the papal influence to inner Hungary. The main weapon of controlling the Church was the appointment of the prelate. This development happened within the Church, where the pope came to influence the election process, and very soon after that used it for political purposes. Yet during the first succession crisis the pope was able to achieve a better control over the prelate and his actions, while during the second crisis

this control shifted in favour of the rulers. One key aspect was the formulation of the legitimacy of the pretender the Apostolic See and the prelates supported. During the first period, the legitimacy was successfully disseminated from a single center, enabled by a coordinated effort from Pope Boniface VIII, Charles Robert and the prelates. Yet during the second one, it mostly rested on the individual actions of the prelates, which proved to be unsuccessful. During the succession wars the prelate's position was weakened because it was shown that to effectively rule his diocese in the times of crises; a prelate had to rely on the help from either the king or the pope. This help mostly arrived with a price.

The appendix contains the archontology of prelates of the researched dioceses and gives their short biographies together with the respective sources.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Katalin Szende, for her patience, interest, and time she invested into my thesis. Her constructive criticism helped me focus my research and write this thesis. I would also like to thank Thomas Rooney for providing me with many useful comments on improving the thesis. Several people also made this thesis possible: Zsuzsa Reed for carefully proofreading it, Igor Razum for giving me many suggestions on how to improve the thesis, Dejan Zadro for obtaining for me most of my bibliography, Ivan Jeličić and Kristian Bertović for obtaining several unobtainable books, and Antun Nekić for helping me with the idea of the topic. Furthermore, I would like to thank my friends from Zagreb for keeping in constant contact with me, maintaining my morale and providing me with material to laugh. For their spiritual guidance special thanks goes to “Malo vijeće”.

But above all, I would like to thank to my mother, my sisters, and my father for the support they provided me all these years. Their unwavering support for me to pursue my dreams has never ceased, and it is because of them that I was able to write this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

- ADE - Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból, Acta extera Andegavensia*, vol 1-3. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1876.
- AkO - Kristó, Gyula et al. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta Res Hungaricas Tempore Regum Andegavensium Illustrantia*, vol. 1-2. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1990.
- CDC - Smičiklas, Tadija, Marko Kostrenčić, Emilij Laszowski, ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1-18. and 2 Supplementa. Zagreb: JAZU; HAZU, 1904.-2002.
- CDH - Fejér, Georgius [György], ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus accivilis*, vol. 8/1; 10/3-4. Budapest: Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1838.
- DRMH – Bak, János M., ed. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 2 (1301-1457). Salt Lake City: Schlacks, 1992.
- Fontes – Registra medievialia Capitulorum Iadre et Spalati and Liber Bullarum. Ed. Ladislav Dobrica. *Fontes, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 20 (2014).
- Fontes (2005) - Registar Artikucija iz Rivignana / Registrum Articutii de Rivignano. Ed. Mladen Ančić. *Fontes. Izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 11 (2005).
- HC - Eubel, Conrad, ed. *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita*, vol 1. Münster: 1913.
- IS - Farlati, Daniele. *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. 3-5. Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1751.
- Izvadci - Rački, Franjo, ed. “Izvadci iz kraljevskoga osrednjega arkiva u Napulju za jugoslovensku povijest” [Charters from the royal archives in Napoli relevant for the Yugoslav history]. *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 8 (1868), 5-71.
- MCV - Barbarić, Josip, Josip Kolanović, Andrija Lukinović and Josip Marković, eds. *Monumenta Croatica Vaticana: Camera apostolica; Obligationes et solutiones; Camerale primo (1299-1560)*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1996.
- MCZ – Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj, ed. *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba prijestolnice Kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske, Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 1-2, Zagreb: K. Albrecht, 1889.
- Memoriale - Paulus de Paulo. *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii Iadrensis (1371-1408)*. Edited by Ferdo Šišić. Zagreb: Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1904. http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/xanfang.php?tabelle=Paulus_de_Paulo_cps8&corpus=8&allow_download=0&lang=0, Accessed October 15, 2014.
- MHEZ - Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj, ed. *Povjesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije* [Historical monuments of Bishopric of Zagreb or Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis]. Vol. 1-3. Zagreb: K. Albrecht, 1874; Lukinović, Andrija, ed. *Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije: 1395 – 1420* [Historical monuments of Bishopric of Zagreb], vol. 5. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1992.

- MVA – Engel, Pál. *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [The secular archontology of Hungary, 1301-1457], vol. 1. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1986.
- RPR - Potthast, August, ed. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1. Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874. Reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957.
- SE - Gams, Pius Bonifacius, ed. *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo* (Regensburg, 1873) supp I: *Hierarchia catholica Pio IX Pontifice Romano* (Munich, 1879), Supp. II: *Series episcoporum quae apparuit 1873 completur et continuatur ab anno circa 1870 ad 20 Febr. 1885* (Regensburg, 1886).
- ŠD - Barbarić, Josip and Josip Kolanović. *Šibenski diplomatarij Diplomatarium Sibenicense: zbornik šibenskih isprava*. Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1986
- Šišić, Nekoliko isprava - Šišić, Ferdo, ed. “Nekoliko isprava s početka 15. stoljeća [Several charters from the beginning of the fifteenth century].” *Starine* 39 (1938): 129-320.
- VMS - Theiner, Augustinus, ed. *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. 1. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863.
- VMH – Theiner, Augustin. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia*, vol. 1-2. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859-1860.
- ZsO - Mályusz, Elemér et al., ed. *Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár I-III (1387–1406)* [Charter Collection from the period of King Sigismund (1387-1406)], vol 1-3. A Magyar Országos Levéltár. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956.

Introduction

In July 1403 a large Angevin fleet, carrying the crème of Neapolitan noble society led by King Ladislav and the papal legate Angelo II, arrived at Zadar and was greeted by the representatives of the kingdom. The trip had been planned for a year already. Ladislav crushed the opposition to his rule in Naples and the Papal States and was ready to reclaim the titles of his father Charles of Durazzo in Hungary. On 5 August 1403 he was crowned in Zadar. But the heretofore favorable circumstances soon changed; his opponent, the Hungarian King Sigismund recovered and started defeating rebels and reclaiming the kingdom. Ladislav's mission failed and he decided to sail back to Naples, never to return. In 1409 Ladislav sold his rights to Dalmatia to Venice, while the war in the south did not end until 1420 when Venice claimed all of Dalmatia, apart from Dubrovnik, from Sigismund.¹

A hundred years earlier, in July of 1300, a much smaller Angevin fleet sailed from the Kingdom of Naples. Only two galleys and one small ship carried the pretender to the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert, 13 years of age, along with 150 horses and less soldiers. This was a culmination of more than 10 years of attempts by the Angevins to claim the throne.² Charles arrived in Split on the invitation of Paul Šubić, overlord of most of Croatia

¹ The political history of this conflict is well covered in both Croatian and Hungarian historiographies. See: Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [History of Croats since the oldest times until end of 19th century], vol. 2. ed. Trpimir Macan (Rijeka: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1972), 223-400; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska)* [On the avalanche of history (The Holy Hungarian Crown and the Holy Bosnian Crown)] (Zagreb: Synopsis, 2006); Franjo Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV i početkom XV stoljeća [The movement on the Slavic south at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century]," *Rad JAZU* 2-4 (1868): 68-160; 65-156; 1-103; Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli in Ungheria* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938); Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao D'Angio-Durazzo*, vol. 1-2 (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1969); Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 195-208; Although the Hungarian historiography usually ends its research on Ladislav in 1403, the struggle over Dalmatia lasted until 1420 when Venice prevailed over Sigismund. See: Mladen Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika: Razvojna putanja Zadra u prvome desetljeću 15. Stoljeća [From the tradition of the 'seven rebellions' to the voluntary Venetian subjects: the development of Zadar in the first decade of the fifteenth century]." *Povijesni prilozi* 37 (2009): 43-96; Klaić. *Povijest Hrvata* II, 355-400.

² For the origins of the Angevin – Arpadian links see: Stanislaw Sroka, "Methods of Construction Angevin Rule in Hungary in the Light of Most Recent Research," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 1 (1996): 77-90; for the conflicts during the 1290s see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 107-111, 128-130; Klaić. *Povijest Hrvata* I, 295-313, II, 14-25; for the role of oligarchs in the conflict see: Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2000); Attila Zsoldos,

and Dalmatia. The invitation provided the opportunity for the Angevin court to send the young pretender. Minor details reveal a lot about the planning procedure and eventual trip. There was a constant lack of money to prepare the fleet and Charles Robert was ill equipped for the trip as he did not have proper horses nor clothes worthy of a king. Only after his grandfather Charles II was informed about this the problem was rectified. Although small details, they do showcase the detachment that a part of the Angevin court had for the fate of Charles Robert. The organization was significantly different than what happened in 1403 when Ladislas undertook his Hungarian conquest. Yet why did Ladislas fail, while Charles Robert succeeded? The reason for it was that the unison between the prelates, popes and the Angevin pretenders proved to be successful in obtaining the throne in one case but failed to do that in the second.³

Historiography approached this problem by researching Charles' and Ladislas' intricate relationship with the nobility, their political conflict with other pretenders, while the support of the Apostolic See was deemed as self-evident already to contemporaries, and therefore unnecessary to be further researched.⁴ The similarities between Charles and Ladislas are significant: (1) both inherited their claims to Hungary from their father and their dynasty; (2) both came from Naples; (3) both were supported and promoted by the Apostolic See. Although backed by the Roman Curia, the Church in Hungary was not unison in their support of the Angevins. As Ban Paul Šubić explained in a letter to Pope Boniface VIII, Hungary will accept the papal choice for the legitimate king of Hungary and that this opinion

"Kings and Oligarchs in Hungary at the Turn of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 211-242; Šandor Szentgyörgyi, *Borba Anžuvina za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko do prve krunidbe Karla Roberta* (Zagreb: C. Albrechta, 1893).

³ During this thesis I will also deal with the role and attempts to gain the throne by Charles Martel, Charles Robert's father, and Charles of Durazzo, father of Ladislas of Naples.

⁴ For literature see previous footnotes; *Chronicon pictum*, the fourteenth-century illuminated chronicle described that Charles Robert gained the throne with the help of the pope from Rome. *Képes Krónika*, ed. Tarján Tamás and Geréb László (Budapest: Magyar Hírlap – Maecenas Kiado, 1993), 112; János Thuróczy, fifteenth-century chronicler described that Ladislas of Naples tried to obtain the throne of Hungary with the strong backing of the Roman Church. János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. János M. Bak (Bloomington: Indiana University 1991), 59.

is shared “by all of Hungary, except the clergy and some others.”⁵ This was also the case later with Ladislav of Naples.

Therefore I would like to place the success and the failure of the Angevin pretenders by observing their connections with and the role of the ecclesiastical structures during the succession crisis by formulating several questions: (1) how did the relationship between the Apostolic See and the pretenders develop and change; (2) what was the role and the function of the high clergy and how did the prelates formed or changed their loyalties to a particular pretender; (3) what were the structural similarities and differences within the Church, how they affected the prospects of the success by the pretenders and how they changed during this period?

This thesis will look at two periods that started and ended the Angevin fourteenth century. Both periods started with a death. The first period began in 1290 with the death of King Ladislav IV and the problem of the succession crisis in Hungary that only ended in 1310 when Charles Robert was crowned king for the third and last time. The second period started in 1382 when King Louis the Great died. This led to a succession crisis that ended in 1409, when Ladislav withdrew to Naples, but the instability remained in Dalmatia until 1420.

The Angevins did not suddenly appear in Hungary. Hailing from Naples their claim to the throne meant that the first regions with which they would come in contact with were the three medieval regions of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. These regions played a vital role during both periods: securing them was viewed by the Angevins and the Apostolic See as the first step in obtaining the throne. More specifically the focus will be on the ecclesiastical dioceses in the south, the metropolitans and their suffragans: the archdioceses of Split (Hvar,

⁵ “... Paulus banus et Comes Breberiensis, Georgius item comes, ad Bonifacium VIII Romanum Pontificem, mittunt nuncios. Regna Dalmatiae et Croatiae eius esse a Zvonimiri Regis temporibus, ac Papa Gregorio VII Hungariae item, ob coronam D. Stephano missam, ac per eum sedi Apostolicae oblatum Regnum. Quare nec alium, horum Regnorum legitimum regem esse posse, nisi qui a Romano Pontifice inauguratur. Nunciant totius Hungariae hunc sensum esse, clero solum excepto, ac quibusdam exiguis.” Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Church of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1994), 114.

Knin, Krbava, Nin, Senj, Skradin, Šibenik and Trogir), and Zadar (Krk, Rab and Osor), as well as the diocese of Zagreb (suffragan of the archdiocese of Kalocsa).⁶ Normally the dioceses have been approached individually by researching every aspect the sources enables. Instead they should be observed as a unit because this enables us to observe the structural changes.

These dioceses showed differences among themselves which both influenced the responses to the pressure from the Angevin pretenders and the Apostolic See and which changed from the first period to the second. Key was that these dioceses operated within two ideological frameworks. One was its subordination to Rome, from which orders were arriving representing the ideal situation as imagined by the center, while the second was the context of Kingdom of Hungary which was spread through the local dioceses. These differences were then manifested in the Church organization which can be shown - with some unavoidable simplifications – by two models. Zagreb, together with inner Hungary, represents the “continental” model of an extensive diocese with a seat consisting of a lay part, Gradec, and a spiritual part, Kaptol, where borders of the diocese included much more than the borders of the bishop’s seat. The prelate was a nobleman who drew his power from land possessions and was in constant communication with both the local nobility and the king. On the opposite side was the “coastal” model of Dalmatia. Dalmatian cities saw the development of the communal government and the borders of the diocese often overlapped with that of the community where the seat was. Even though the prelate had significant land possessions and financial income, he derived his authority from the spiritual role he played in the cities and the power this gave him to intervene in the administration of his city and seat. The territorial extension of power of the prelates of Split and Zadar as archbishops incorporated bigger territories than

⁶ This division can be found in Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita*, vol. 1. (Munster: Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), 543. Additionally, Duvno, Makarska and, somewhat problematic bishop of “Croatia” will only be mentioned, due to the lack of concrete sources for the period that interests this thesis. Also, see map 1.

just their cities as they had to communicate with their suffragans, while Zagreb was on the level of a bishopric whose spiritual superior was the archbishop of Kalocsa.⁷

The prelate operated within two structures of government: ecclesiastical, represented by the Apostolic See, and secular, represented by the ruler. The pope held *auctoritas*, the moral authority, while the secular leader held *potestas*, physical power. The king was the agent of the Church and its protector, while the pope was the supreme judge in the Christian world, mediating in disputes.⁸ This meant that the prelate had a double role – ecclesiastical and secular – as he was valued by the king as a politician, administrator and soldier, yet he owed his allegiance to Rome. Both sides gave the prelate his authority: the prelate had the powers of a priest, and responsibilities as a leader of a community. This thesis will also observe how much this division had changed during the two aforementioned periods.

Until the fourteenth century the Church underwent a series of changes that centralized it into one single center. As the Church in Rome became independent of secular rule it created its own network of relationships between prelates, its own legal system, and its own juridical organization. Around 1300 the Roman Curia was expanding under Boniface VIII. While he was defeated politically in a conflict with a secular leader, the idea of the papal supremacy outlived Boniface VIII. By 1378 the Apostolic See underwent a consolidation of papal bureaucracy where institutional strength seemed impregnable. Yet, conflicts remained that weakened the Apostolic See. Curial corruption, disputes with secular rulers over jurisdictional rights, and the taxation of the clergy seriously damaged the claim for supremacy by the pope. The conflict worsened in 1378 when the Apostolic See became divided into two parts, Avignon and Rome, and the Church was no longer acting united.

⁷ Mladen Ančić, “Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoljeća - prilog poznavanju 'društvenog' znanja,” [Two texts from the middle of the 14th century – a Contribution to understanding “social” knowledge], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 40 (2013), 159-161.

⁸ James Muldoon, “Auctoritas, Potestas and World Order,” in *Plenitude of Power*, ed. Robert Figuiera (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 125-131.

The behavior of the prelate rested on the actions of the “Pope – Pretender coalition”. Careful planning, as well as a power vacuum following the death of Andrew III in 1301 led Charles Robert, fully backed by Pope Boniface VIII, to successfully claim the throne. On the other hand, Boniface IX support of Ladislav of Naples rested more on the papal need for secular protection during the time of the Western Schism, than Boniface’s personal beliefs. Two key figures towered over both periods. In the first it was Boniface VIII, while in the second it was Sigismund. The behavior of Sigismund in these years perfectly mirrored what he would do during the councils in Constance and Basel which aimed at reforming the Church. While he was the strongest lay patron of the councils, his secular interests held greater influence on his behavior than the desire to strengthen the Church. Therefore the two periods closely follow the process of papal supremacy of Pope Boniface VIII being replaced by the growth of monarchical authority of King Sigismund.

Sources dealing with the history of prelates are of a diplomatic and narrative nature.⁹ The eighteenth century work *Illyricum Sacrum* by Daniele Farlati is often the most cited.¹⁰ In it the author published lists of prelates and under each gave sources and an analysis dealing with the ecclesiastical history of the dioceses of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. Most of his sources are published together with others in the great source publication, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, which can be combined with sources for the beginning of the fifteenth century and documents dealing with Hungary.¹¹ Sources dealing specifically with Zagreb and the actions of popes and some of their legates are

⁹ Miha de Barbezaniš Madijev, *Historija* [History], in: *Legende i kronike* [Legends and Chronicles], ed. Hrvoje Morović and Vedran Gligo, 159-183 (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977); Paulus de Paulo, *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii Iadrensis (1371-1408)*, ed. Ferdo Šišić (Zagreb: Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1904).

¹⁰ Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 3-5 (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1769).

¹¹ Tadija Smičiklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1-18 (Zagreb: JAZU; HAZU, 1904.-2002); Ferdo Šišić, ed., “Nekoliko isprava s početka 15. stoljeća” [Several charters from the beginning of the fifteenth century], *Starine* 39 (1938): 129-320; Georgius [György] Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus accivilis*, vol. 8/1; 10/3-4 (Budapest: Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1838) and other later source publications.

covered in a special series.¹² The primary sources are mostly of legal nature: papal and royal charters, papal bulls, account rolls of the Roman Camera, as well as charters by the Apostolic See dealing with appointments, confirmations and nominations which can be compared with the lists of prelates.¹³ Due to the nature of the sources this thesis will both deal with the actions of the prelates as well as the actions of those around the prelates who aimed at controlling and influencing whom the prelates would support for the throne.

From the available sources one immediately evident conclusion is that they are of diverse origins. They have been produced by the Apostolic See, Naples (the Angevin royal court), Buda (the Hungarian royal court) as well as the centers of the dioceses (the cathedral chapters) and other institutions. This necessitates the approach of discerning the position of the center (person publishing the charter) from the events, people and the things that the center is depicting through its charters. By publishing their charters the institution in the center could have implanted their view on the world which was not necessarily shared by both those designated with the charters and by other institutions. Most of the sources, together with bibliographies, dealing with the prelates from the researched dioceses have been moved to the appendix under “The Archontology of the Prelates.”

This thesis will consist of three chapters aimed at observing and comparing the actions of the Apostolic See, the Angevins and prelates at the beginning and the end of the fourteenth century. The first chapter, “The Apostolic See and the Kingdom of Hungary”, will

¹² Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Povjesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije - Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis*, vol. 1-3, (Zagreb: K. Albrecht, 1874); Andrija Lukinović, ed., *Povjesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije: 1395 – 1420* [Historical monuments of Bishopric of Zagreb], vol. 5 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1992); Augustine Theiner, ed, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. 1 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863); *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis. II: Gentilis bibornok magyarországi követségének okiratai. 1307–1311*, Monumenta Vaticana historiam Regni Hungariae, vol. 2, ed. Arnold Ipolyi (Budapest: 1885).

¹³ Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticanani collecta, digesta, edita*. Vol. 1. (Munster: Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913); Pius Bonifacius Gams, ed, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo* (Regensburg, 1873) supp I: *Hierarchia catholica Pio IX Pontifice Romano* (Munich, 1879), Supp. II: *Series episcoporum quae apparuit 1873 completur et continuatur ab anno circa 1870 ad 20 Febr. 1885* (Regensburg, 1886); Josip Barbarić Josip et al, ed, *Monumenta Croatica Vaticana: Camera apostolica; Obligationes et solutiones; Camerale primo (1299-1560)*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996).

focus on how the contacts between the Apostolic See and the pretenders to the throne developed and changed over the course of the succession crisis. The second chapter, “*Electio, Translatio, Postulatio*”, will look at how the Church and the pretenders attempted to influence the process of electing new prelates in their favour and use it for political purposes. The third chapter, “To the Supreme Pontiff, we Owe Obedience. To the Ruler, we Owe Fealty”, will discuss the networks of contacts between the pope, the prelate and the pretender. Both the pope, who aimed to centralize his ecclesiastical power, and the king, who benefited from having a prelate in his service, wanted to control and benefit from the services of the prelate. This leaves a question: what did the prelate receive in return for his support? As this chapter will show it was the authority granted to him by the pope and protection given by the king.

Chapter 1. The Apostolic See and the Kingdom of Hungary

The Apostolic See usually viewed itself as an institution best suited to provide peace between the warring parties in Christendom and the conversion of non-believers. It was always the papal strategy to employ one ruler against the other since the Apostolic See lacked the means of physical coercion. While the pope could excommunicate rulers, he could only directly fight them within Italy, while it was difficult for the popes to lead armies abroad and they had to rely on secular rulers acting against papal enemies. This is why the pope invested Charles I of Anjou with Sicily in 1265. The long-term consequences of gaining rule over this pivotal point of the Mediterranean meant that the Angevin rulers went on promulgating their eastern plans, gaining Byzantium and the Holy Land. It was evident to Charles I that gaining the help of Hungary, or the kingdom itself, would go a long way in fulfilling his dynasty's ambitions.¹⁴

The period of the fourteenth century saw the continuation of the conflict over the nature and authority of spiritual and temporal power embodied in the conflict between two models as outlined by Joseph Canning.¹⁵ According to the first model, "hierocratic," the pope could judge, depose and concede power to secular rulers on the basis of his role as mediator between God and king. The second model, the "dualistic" one, saw spiritual and temporal power as separate. According to this model the dignity of spiritual power is greater, but the spiritual power cannot claim the authority over the secular. In this model the role of the pope was viewed as purely spiritual. Similar to most of the Europe, during the fourteenth century Hungary moved from hierocratic to dualistic model.

¹⁴ David Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London: IB Tauris, 2006), 20-21.

¹⁵ See: Joseph Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages, 1296-1417* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 12-13.

The periods are marked with the rule of two significant popes: Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and Boniface IX (1389-1404), which means that bigger emphasis will be placed on their reigns. This chapter will put the actions of the Apostolic See in an international context in order to show how much and in what way these actions contributed to the attempts by the Angevin pretenders. In order to do this, several questions should be answered. Did the Apostolic See favor the Angevin claim? How active a role did the Apostolic See play in the dynastic politics of the Angevins? What did the support mean for the papacy and what were the popes expecting to gain from it? How did the change in the position of the Apostolic See result in their attitude toward the Angevins?¹⁶

1. Unam sanctam

In 1290 Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292) was caught by surprise at the death of Ladislav IV as he was not informed about it from the country itself.¹⁷ The pope's first reaction was to send a legate in September 1290 to Hungary to enter into direct negotiations with the nobility.¹⁸ The reaction of the Angevin court in Naples was simultaneous with the pope's. They sent three bishops and four barons to take control of Hungary,¹⁹ which proved unsuccessful and in January 1292 Charles Martel was proclaimed as pretender to the throne. Yet his first action to attract support in Dalmatia failed since the Dalmatian cities diplomatically refused to accept him. In April Pope Nicholas died but I would not overstate

¹⁶ The period of 1290-1310 and the role the Apostolic See played in bringing the Angevins to the Hungarian throne was already researched by several historians in both Croatian and Hungarian scholarship. Serđo Dokoza, "Papinska diplomacija i dolazak anđuvinske dinastije na hrvatsko-ugarsko prijestolje" [Papal diplomacy and the arrival of the Angevin dynasty on Croatian-Hungarian Throne], in *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija* [Croatian Medieval Diplomacy], ed. Mladen Andrić and Mirko Valentić (Zagreb: Diplomatska akademija Ministarstva vanjskih poslova Republike Hrvatske, 1999); and Zoltán Kosztolnyik, "Did the Curia Intervene in the Struggle for the Hungarian Throne during the 1290s?," in *Régi és új peregrináció: Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon*, vol. 1., ed. Imre Békési, (Budapest-Szeged: Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson, 1993). Yet similar attempts are missing for the second period of 1382-1409.

¹⁷ VMH I, 366-67, September 7-8 1290.

¹⁸ Information about naming the legate: CDC VII, 1-2, July 23 1290. On his mission: Hóman, *Gli Angioni*, 88.

¹⁹ Hóman, *Gli Angioni*, 81.

the impact of this event on the decision of the Dalmatian cities.²⁰ At this point cities had already accepted Andrew III and would keep supporting him until his death. Even the arrival in Split in 1300 of Charles Robert, Charles Martel's successor, did not change their minds. Yet the Apostolic See would come to play a significant role later on.

The initial role in obtaining the throne of Hungary was played by Queen Mary. Her husband, Charles II, the king of Naples, spent the first years of his reign in a Catalan prison (1284-1288), and after his release he was occupied in forging peace between numerous parties warring over Sicily and Aragon.²¹ This meant that a more important role in the Kingdom of Naples was played by regents, Robert of Artois and Legate Gerard.²² Yet it seems that at this point Queen Mary, together with her son Charles Martel, gained the bigger role in the politics of Naples. She issued charter referring to herself as *filia Regis Ungariae* and vicar regent of Sicily.²³ As designated heir, Charles Martel soon gained prominence as he led Angevin armies and acted as regent.²⁴ It is possible that the reliance of Charles II on his son and wife as well as Robert of Artois returning to France in October 1291 gave Mary and Charles Martel a bigger say in the situation regarding Hungary, and while the influence of

²⁰ According to Szentgyörgy, since Pope Nicholas IV usually helped the Angevins, following his death the Angevins lost a major supporter and this affected the Dalmatian cities to refuse Charles Martel's claim on the throne. Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvínaca*, 23-24.

²¹ Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 108-9, 173.

²² Gerard was one in a line of legates that popes would nominate to uphold their suzerain rights in Naples, which the popes considered as their fief granted to the secular rulers. Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 103-4.

²³ This raises the question of the role of the queen and how far she could influence the official politics. Their position is often downplayed in historiography, due to the scarcity of sources, and sometimes even depicted as negative, also because of the lack of sources, which provided historians with a scapegoat to explain events they did not understand. On the role of queens see: János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386)," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 13-24. Anne Duggan, ed. *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997); on Mary of Hungary, the queen of Naples, see: Matthew J. Clear, "Maria of Hungary as Queen, Patron and Exemplar," in: *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, ed. Janis Elliot and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 45-60.

²⁴ Mario Gaglione, *Converrà ti que aptengas la flor: Profili di sovrani angioini, da Carlo I a Renato (1266-1442)* (Milano: Lampi di stampa, 2009), 123.

Mary is often obscured since she is not the ruler but his wife, her impact is evident from the charters.²⁵

Further developments for the Angevins were tied with the papal succession crisis. Pressed by the outside influences coming from France, Naples and Roman noble families, it took the College of Cardinals two years to decide.²⁶ The result was the election of Celestin V, who soon succumbed to the Angevin influence. The Angevins needed a lenient candidate to help support their war with Sicily, as well as with their eastern campaigns. Celestin crowned Charles Martel as king of Hungary in Rome in 1294²⁷ but the new king died in 1295. This was a major blow for Angevins since Charles Martel was not only the pretender to the Hungarian throne, but first in line for the throne of Naples which brought about the question of succession of Naples.

At the same time, Celestine V resigned and a new pope was elected. He was Boniface VIII, trusted advisor to Charles II and a big landowner in Naples. Although his first years were problematic, caught in the French-English conflict over the taxation of the clergy,²⁸ and the complaints over his legitimacy, mainly because of the contention with the cardinals of Colonna family,²⁹ Boniface VIII was one of the most energetic medieval popes.³⁰ He assumed an aggressive stance in the internal affairs of Naples where he was irritated by the

²⁵ For comparison see her impact on the Angevin official politics with England through her relationship with English King Edward I in: Attila Bárány, "The English Relations of Charles II of Sicily and Maria of Hungary," in *Le Diplomatie des Etats Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siecles*, ed. István Petrovics and Zoltán Kordé (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2010), 76-77.

²⁶ Donald Logan, *A History of the Church* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 255-56.

²⁷ Blanka Brezovaková, "Politický zápas Anjouovcov o uhorskú korunu [Angevin political struggles for the crown of Hungary]" *Historicky Časopis* 39 (1991): 572.

²⁸ Boniface VIII would publish the bull *Clericis laicos* in 1296 where he threatened to excommunicate any ruler who taxes his clergy for purposes of war. J.H. Denton, "Taxation and the Conflict between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII," *French History* 2, no. 3 (1997): 241-64.

²⁹ He was involved in the resignation of Celestine V and had him imprisoned. Logan, *A History of the Church*, 256-260.

³⁰ Canning stated that Boniface VIII came into unfortunate time, when due to the debate with Philip the Apostolic See lost some of its authority and prestige, and that his rule could have "been remembered for his great positive achievement – the issuing of the Liber sextus of the Corpus iuris canonici." Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 15.

pacifistic stance of Charles II calling for action against Sicily.³¹ This puts into question his stance with the Angevins' Hungarian claim.

It was through negotiations that Boniface VIII and Charles II came to an agreement: Robert, the third son would inherit Naples, which was confirmed by the pope by 1297, while Charles Martel's son Charles Robert would inherit the claim to Hungary. What was behind this decision? I believe it was the result of several factors. Naples was in a state of constant warfare with Sicily, with Charles II being lame and scarred by the war, which meant that in case of his death or incapacity the kingdom needed a capable ruler. Robert, born in 1277, was already a grown man by then. On the other hand, Charles Robert was still a child, born in 1288.³² Although Charles II maintained a friendly relationship with Dalmatian towns and Croatian oligarchs, it does seem that after 1295 he took a back seat as the initiative was taken by three figures: Pope Boniface VIII, Queen Mary, and Paul Šubić.³³

Individual actions of aforementioned persons make sense when put into context. Charles II became disinterested in the prospect of acquiring Hungary and increasingly worried by the war with Sicily.³⁴ Queen Mary's homeland was Hungary and she provided the bulk of diplomatic and financial activities for Charles Robert after 1297, even pawning her jewels to raise money.³⁵ Pope Boniface VIII was Naples' overlord, but also laid claim over the actions of most secular lords across Europe. The opportunity to bring a friendly dynasty to the Hungarian throne made sense. The question remains what the Šubići could have gained

³¹ Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 46, 183.

³² This also raises the question of the relationship towards children in the Middle Ages, even if they were of noble birth, and the relationship between different family members. The argument is not that Charles II did not feel connected to Charles Robert as his grandfather but rather that he could have thought that the possibilities for an Angevin to claim the Hungarian throne are rather slim, and that they should rather focus on building up Naples.

³³ On Paul Šubić, see Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*: 11-19.

³⁴ For example the details regarding the planning procedure and eventual trip of Charles Robert show remarkable disinterest from Charles II (See: Introduction).

³⁵ Throughout the 1290s, Charles II's financial situation was extremely problematic as he depended on papal support and Tuscan-French loans. Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 44, 52; Especially important for the Angevins were the loans from the Florentine banks of Bardi, Acciaiuoli, and Morzi houses. David Abulafia, "The Italian South," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 497.

from the arrival of Charles Robert. The Angevins did not have any land possessions in Croatia so they could only confirm what the Šubići had acquired themselves. The trade with the Angevins became regular while the possible actions of retribution by the central government, i.e. King Andrew III, were limited.

A possible answer can be found in the direct communication between the Šubići and the Holy See and the question of a sense of piety and fealty to the Apostolic See. Ban Paul's brother, Count George, visited Rome on several occasions in 1290 and 1293 and in 1301 Paul took a pilgrimage to Rome.³⁶ These contacts led the pope to establish a new diocese in Šibenik,³⁷ elevating one of the Šubići's important cities into higher level and directly effecting a reform of the Church on territories the Šubići were interested in. In a letter to the pope sent around 1300, Ban Paul Šubić calls Croatia a papal fiefdom since the time of King Zvonimir to whom Pope Gregory VII sent a crown, also stating that nobody can be considered as a legitimate king of Hungary until he is confirmed by the pope and "that is the opinion of entire Hungary, except the clergy and some others."³⁸ Hungary was considered as a papal fiefdom by the pope since King Stephen was crowned with a crown sent to him by Pope Sylvester II. The papal claim was no different than similar instances elsewhere in Europe.³⁹

Pope Boniface VIII soon gained the opportunity to directly intervene into the internal affairs of Hungary when Gregory, archbishop of Esztergom, came first into conflict with his

³⁶ Damir Karbić, "Diplomacy of the Šubići Regarding Relations between Neapolitan Angevins, the Papacy and Venice at the End of the Thirteenth and in the First Decades of the Fourteenth Century," in *Le Diplomatie des Etats Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siecles*, ed. István Petrovics and Zoltán Kordé (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2010), 131.

³⁷ See next chapter on the establishment of the diocese.

³⁸ See n. 4; Also: Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 329.

³⁹ Boniface VIII's actions were continuing the Papal position of *plenitudo potestatis*. He mediated in 1299 between Scotland and England, even going as far as calling Scotland a Papal fief which was rejected by English King and the parliament. In 1298 he excommunicated the king of Denmark for imprisoning the archbishop of Lund, securing the king's submission in 1303. He would try to influence the election of the Holy Roman Emperor, and would come into conflict with the King of France. Boniface also considered Hungary, Croatia, Naples, Portugal, and Poland as papal fiefs. His actions in Hungary should be viewed in this light. Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Harper and Row, 1972), 177.

cathedral chapter and then with the king.⁴⁰ This pushed the prelate to confront the king and find support with the pope and his allies, the Angevins. The archbishop's conflict could have signaled to both the Šubići and the Apostolic See that the time has come to send Charles Robert to Hungary and use the political crisis to take over the throne.⁴¹

Yet the Apostolic See had a limited range of direct legal actions at its disposal. One was to send a legate. Following the death of Andrew III the Apostolic See sent Niccolo Bocassini.⁴² His mission was to support Charles Robert and inform the Holy See about the situation in the country. The legate reports that the situation in the country is "dire for the preservation of the soul, body, and the property.... and churches have been burned down, desecrated and destroyed." Following the legate's report the pope called a meeting in 1303 in Anagni. In May the two parties of pretenders were called in: one embassy to represent the king of Bohemia Wenceslas and his son Ladislav, King of Hungary, and the second representing Mary of Hungary and Charles Robert.⁴³ Charles Robert's embassy was the more impressive one consisting of some of the most important Hungarian prelates.

Boniface VIII was usually very careful in formulating the position of the Apostolic See to limit any potential attack on it.⁴⁴ After a hearing, Charles Robert was proclaimed the legitimate king. It was up to the Hungarian prelates to announce the papal decision across the kingdom. This could have been the direct consequence of the bull *Unam sanctam*,⁴⁵ which he proclaimed during his conflict with the French king, and which clearly shows the way Boniface viewed his rights and obligations in the temporal matters.

⁴⁰ See pages: 42, 49.

⁴¹ As suggested by Renáta Skorka, "With a Little Help from the Cousins: Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," *The Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2 (2013): 243-60.

⁴² CDC VIII, 19, November 8 1301.

⁴³ AkO I, 214.

⁴⁴ A good example is the canonization of Louis IX that was in later times viewed more as mastery in Boniface's subtle criticism of the rule of Philip IV and description of ideal kingship, which Philip lacked, than as an abdication of Boniface to Philip. M. C. Gaposchkin. "Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair, and the Sanctity of Louis IX," *Journal of Medieval History* 29, no. 1 (2003): 1-26.

⁴⁵ Walter Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 261-62.

Although the bull has usually been viewed in the context of the French-Papal conflict,⁴⁶ the bull itself was neither used nor considered significant by its contemporaries. It would only be incorporated into the canon law in the sixteenth century, without invoking any problems, and only later historians attributed more significance to it.⁴⁷ Yet it is important here because of what it meant for Pope Boniface VIII. Any bull proclaimed by the pope also applied to the entire Christendom. His intervention in Hungary perfectly followed the understanding of the world that Boniface VIII outlined in *Unam sanctam*.⁴⁸

Later in 1303, Boniface VIII was attacked in Anagni by mercenaries of the French king, Philip IV, and died shortly after that from consequences of the attack. The College of Cardinals, in opposition to the French king's action, elected Niccolo Bocassini, legate of Boniface VIII and master of the Dominican Order, as Benedict XI. Besides the support of the cardinals, Benedict also had the backing of Charles II, king of Naples, who even hunted down and punished the Italian attackers of Boniface VIII. But Benedict's term was quite short, and after his death the cardinals succumbed to the pressure from France and elected the pro-French Clement V.

Although Charles Robert still had to fight several years to secure his throne, actions of the period between 1301 and 1303 proved crucial. Later on Pope Clement V finished Boniface's work by sending his Legate Gentile to Croatia and Hungary in a complex mission that lasted from 1308 to 1311, during which time Gentile worked on reforming the local churches and secured the legitimacy to the throne for Charles Robert.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Bernhard Schimmelpfening, *The Papacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 196-97; Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Harper and Row, 1972), 179-81.

⁴⁷ On this, see: Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 16-18.

⁴⁸ See also: Jean-Paul Boyer, "Boniface VIII en juge des rois. Une harangue de Barthélemy de Capoue sur la succession de Hongrie," in: *Le Diplomatie des Etats Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siecles*, ed. István Petrovics and Zoltán Kordé, 97-100. Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2010.

⁴⁹ This, however, did not mean the end of fighting in the kingdom: it continued but was no longer fought between pretenders but between the king and the oligarchs.

2. Placetum regium

While Hungary prospered under Charles Robert and his son Louis I, who inherited the throne from his father without any problem, the Apostolic See underwent significant changes. It was shamed into submission by the French King Philip IV and then also had to relocate to Avignon. In 1378 Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome, where he soon died, while in 1382 Louis I died opening the succession crisis. Both the end of the Avignon period of the papacy and the end of the age of prosperity for Hungary came at the same time.

Yet it was not only the death of Louis the Great in 1382 that had devastating consequences for the lands of the Holy Crown but another event. In 1378 the unthinkable happened. Christianity now had two popes. The same College of Cardinals elected two popes thus revealing the main weaknesses of the papal monarchy: the election and deposition of the pope, which unleashed the power crisis bringing decades of battles of ideologies over the papal monarch and the relationship between spiritual and temporal power. In this battle rulers used the schism to take control over both temporal and spiritual matters of their realms. This was done under the pretext that the king should be allowed to correct his clergy, and that prelates are acting by the king's authority. According to this the papal involvement should be kept at minimum and only extend to spiritual matters. This conflict, together with the development of the conciliarist ideas, dominated the decades after 1378.⁵⁰

Both popes received backing from secular lords whose support followed political lines: Castille and France backed Clement VII of Avignon, while Hungary, England, the Holy Roman Empire and most of Italy backed Urban VI of Rome. This also meant that popes and antipopes became dependent on their secular supporters who used this opportunity to try to influence the clergy of their countries. Rome needed all the funding it could receive. Most of

⁵⁰ Howard Kaminski, *The Great Schism*, 674-96; Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*; Brian Tierney, *Foundation of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonist from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); John Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417-1517, Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (Winchester: Allen and Unwin, 1980).

the financial and jurisdictional structures remained present in Avignon, while Rome almost collapsed under the strain of its administration and record-keeping needs.

Yet one decision had long term consequences for many of the countries of Christendom. It was the decision by Joanna I, queen of Naples, to side with Avignon, instead of Rome. She harbored Clement and helped him move to Avignon. This provoked the Roman Pope Urban VI to excommunicate her and offer the throne to another person.

As a daughter of Robert the Wise and great-granddaughter of Charles I, the founder of the dynasty, Joanna I was the legitimate ruler of Naples but also related to the Hungarian and Durazzo Angevins, two other branches from the same line. The Hungarians, commanded by Louis the Great, led several campaigns in the mid-fourteenth century to claim the Neapolitan throne against Joanna.⁵¹ This threat probably influenced her decision to side with Avignon and find support in the French monarchy, by naming as her successor Louis I, duke of Anjou.⁵² But the Roman pope offered the throne to Charles of Durazzo, who was at some point also considered to be the successor to Joanna, but was set aside. With the backing of Pope Urban VI, who crowned him in Rome in 1381, and using the money and armies of the Hungarian King Louis the Great, Charles quickly conquered Naples and had Joanna killed.

Charles still had to fight for several years against Duke Louis, who came with his armies to Italy fighting both Urban and Charles. Although Charles eventually outlived Louis, who died in 1384, he came into conflict with Urban. The initial agreement between them was that Charles would gain the throne, renounce Avignon and provide some lands for Urban's nephew.⁵³ However, Charles backed out of the agreement and Urban had him excommunicated and started an unsuccessful war against Charles. The backing of Hungary for Charles lasted until 1384, and the military support and funds were still coming to his aid.

⁵¹ For the reasons and background see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159-61.

⁵² The brother of King Charles V of France unrelated to the Angevins, who constituted a new dynasty with the same name. George Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt, 1320-1450* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 178. Also, see map 4.

⁵³ Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War*, 34-35.

In 1385 Charles forced Urban to retreat, when an invitation from the rebels in Hungary came for Charles to seize the throne. He did this, but it cost him his life.⁵⁴

The papal punishment also applied to Charles' family, and Urban quickly attacked Charles' son Ladislav, a young boy born in 1377. He was excommunicated, with his rule contested by strong magnates in the Kingdom of Naples, and also soon threatened with a fresh invasion from Duke Louis II, the successor to his father backed by Avignon and France.

The only respite for Ladislav came when Urban died in 1389 and was succeeded by the Neapolitan Boniface IX. Hailing from Naples, the new pope was met with a difficult political situation surrounding his possessions in Italy that would mark his reign and make the alliance with Ladislav his utmost priority. In that regard Boniface's reign was marked with the extensive usage of the incomes of the Apostolic See to accomplish his political goals. From the agreement Ladislav received much-needed legitimacy, while Boniface gained an invaluable ally. Ladislav came to Boniface's aid several times, quelling rebellions in the Papal States thus proving himself invaluable to Rome but also asserting himself in the Papal State, which had dire consequences after Boniface's death.⁵⁵

In 1390 Boniface IX had Ladislav crowned as king by two of his cardinals. One of them was Angelo II Acciaiuoli, who, together with Queen Mother Margaret, assumed the role as regent for the young king and as representative of papal interests in Naples. Following his father's death Ladislav claimed his father's titles and adopted his politics of trying to obtain Hungary which was at first limited to diplomatic means. Yet the papacy should have been aware of the consequences of their actions. Ladislav assumed the title of "King of Hungary, Sicily and Jerusalem" embodying in one person, 13 years of age, the hopes and dreams of his

⁵⁴ Charles of Durazzo decided to go to Hungary upon the encouragement of the Horvati brothers, namely Bishop Paul of Zagreb, while still being in conflict with Pope Urban VI.; István Petrovics, "Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages: Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts of the Arpadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region," *Chronica* 5 (2005), 71-72.

⁵⁵ John Watts, *The Making of Politics: Europe, 1300-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 294; Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 375-76.

father and his dynasty. He was the sole male heir of all the remaining lines of the Angevins, descendants of the Charles I of Anjou.

Cardinal Angelo II assumed the regent position for the king in Naples. Although acting as a second regent, taking a back seat to the more important regent, Ladislás's mother, Margaret, Angelo continued with the papal tradition of considering Naples as papal fiefdom, cosigning documents and participating in the politics. Thus, it was *cum consensu et auctoritate* of the two of them that Ladislás's first attempts to influence the situation in the southern Hungarian provinces were authorized. The Apostolic See was well aware of his policy toward Hungary. As regent, Angelo co-signed the king's decision of granting titles and lands to his supporters,⁵⁶ which meant that the pope was familiar from the start with the fact that his protégé was involved in destabilizing a country with which Boniface IX had a good relationship, accepting Sigismund as king, and also cooperating with him in church matters.

This situation could be sustained only as long as Ladislás and Sigismund did not come into direct conflict and waged proxy wars. Boniface had to take sides and the obvious choice had to be made based on the Roman Curia's heavy reliance on the political and financial support coming from Naples. That conflict came in 1403 when Ladislás landed in Zadar and had himself crowned as king on 5 August. Pope Boniface granted the use of tithes from Neapolitan churches to Ladislás in April 1403.⁵⁷ In June 1403 the pope appointed Angelo Acciaioli as papal *legatus a latere* with a clear task *circa recuperacionem regni Hungarie*,⁵⁸ thus fully committing himself to this aim.

Although Ladislás soon realized his failure in Hungary and left it keeping garrisons in control of Dalmatia and relying on local forces, such as the Matafaris brothers from Zadar

⁵⁶ *Izvadci*, 30-34, July 7-17 1391; This shows that Ladislás was not planning to abandon his claims to Hungary despite the worsening situation in his Kingdom of Naples. Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao D'Angio-Durazzo*, vol 1 (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1969), 135.

⁵⁷ Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*, 250-58, April 23 1403.

⁵⁸ VMH II, 172-174, June 1 1403; See also: Arnold Esch, *Bonifaz IX. und der Kirchenstaat* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1969), 398.

and Hrvoje Vukčić from Bosnia, to maintain his rule there, Sigismund targeted all those who opposed him.⁵⁹ Regarding the clergy he proclaimed royal *Decretum* on 6 of April 1404 in Pressburg outlying royal rights (*placetum regium*).⁶⁰ It was drafted by his close supporters, including both prelates and nobility. Using the complaint by the clergy Sigismund claimed that the pope had overused his authority by imposing unjust “ecclesiastical punishments” of “excommunication, prohibitions, and warnings.” The king reacted by ordering that no prelate in Hungary may receive his benefice or any order from the Apostolic See or its representatives.

A literal reading of this series of events led historians to view it as a conflict between the pope and the king.⁶¹ According to this interpretation the conflict was brewing over substantial and growing revenues of ecclesiastical benefices, which made them increasingly attractive to the upper class leading to conflict between Sigismund and Boniface over papal postulations. This pushed Boniface to side with Ladislas. This opinion probably comes from comparing events in Hungary with the conflict between France and Avignon where the taxes and benefices from which only the pope in Avignon profited were resented by the French. France withdrew its obedience from the papacy in 1396 and called for a general council. However, importantly, this view purports that while the clergy was willing to abandon the pope for more freedom, they were unwilling to just transfer the pope’s privileges onto a secular ruler, in this case the French king, instead calling for a council to reform the Church.⁶²

⁵⁹ Sigismund dealt with the nobility in several stages that ranged from death penalty and confiscation of property from rebels to amnesty and special pardons. For sources see: Imre Bard, *Aristocratic Revolts and the Late Medieval Hungarian State A. D. 1382-1408*, Ph.D. dissertation (Washington: University of Washington, 1978), 15; Following the revolt, the two closest advisors to king, nobleman Herman Cilli and bishop of Zagreb Eberhard Alben drew up a list of enemies of the king which became the basis for taking and returning lands and privileges to the faithful nobility (MHEZ V, 286- 288, June 19 1406). Also, see map 3.

⁶⁰ DRMH II, 29-30.

⁶¹ See Jean Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1994), 166-67.

⁶² See: Watts, *The Making of Politics*, 293-94.

I cannot agree with this interpretation. A careful reading of the sources shows that Sigismund was a master of propaganda. In the 1970s Imre Bárd rejected the idea that the pope overused his powers in Hungary and showed that prior to 1403 the pope enjoyed royal support for everything. After 1403 Sigismund's church policy led to a radical curtailment of papal rights in the Hungarian church, and the corresponding increase of the royal rights. Sigismund would either leave archbishoprics vacant or fill them with people directly loyal to him, while the vacant seats' incomes would be directly transferred to the royal treasury.⁶³

The real conflict is revealed later in *Decretum* of 1404. In the text Sigismund mentions "clerics with papal letters and others empowered by the Apostolic See – which, as we know, has been assiduously attempting to destroy our honor, estate and status, and to transfer our kingdom and crown to someone else, and also otherwise totally to depose us."⁶⁴ Following this Sigismund claimed the title of "the patron and defender of all the churches of the realm" reminiscent of a similar title claimed by the Angevin kings of Hungary as well as comparable to the title the French king assumed several decades earlier as "protector of the [French] church".⁶⁵ This was possibly due to the diminishing strength of the Apostolic See as well as the change of relationship between the pope and ruler. When King Louis the Great attempted to take a similar stance, claiming that "all pontifical posts in the country should be filled only with the king's approval" the pope answered with anger and shock that "not one ruler on the face of the earth would dare to make such an unlawful request."⁶⁶ There was

⁶³ See Imre Bard, "The Break of 1404 between the Hungarian Church and Rome," *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 10 (1979), 59.

⁶⁴ "et regni nostri motionum temporibus per bullatos ac alios auctoritate sedis apostolice, quam ad nostri honoris, status et gradus deiectionem, regni nostri et corone in alium translationem, ac alias ad nostri illatas et irrogatas animo iam ulterius tolerare non valentes patient." DRMH II, 29.

⁶⁵ "[to] complain against the ordinances of the king [of France] for the church is to commit the crime of lese-majeste." Thomson, *Popes and Princes*, 52; For Sigismund's claim: Bárd, "The Break of 1404," 65; ZsO 2/1, doc 4247, November 13 1405: "Volentes de incomoditatibus et dispendiis ecclesiarum regni nostri, quarum verum gerimus patronatum, regia liberalitate providere..."; Fontes, Liber bullarum, 247-248, February 14 1412.

⁶⁶ István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay and Maria Antonietta De Angelis, *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference, 2001), 60.

neither schism to help Louis nor was there tense political conflict with Avignon. Louis needed Avignon as well as Avignon needed Louis, so he had to back down.

For the understanding of the events of 1404 another area has to be researched. Sigismund belonged to the Luxemburg dynasty, which was one of the most powerful in Europe, as his half-brother, Wenceslas, was also the German king. This also meant that three out of four parts of the Roman obedience, Germany, Hungary and Naples,⁶⁷ were ruled by three people, out of which two were related (Wenceslas and Sigismund), and two were scheming to acquire the territories of another (Ladislav against Sigismund, and Sigismund plotting against Wenceslas). Therefore, it is necessary to view the events of 1404 in the context of Luxemburg-Angevin-Papal relationship and consider the international situation in which this relationship functioned.

Even without the schism in the Church most of Europe was going through a very problematic period. France sank in chaos during the struggle for the throne, while in the Holy Roman Empire leagues of cities and nobility organized to oppose the over-taxation of the Luxemburg dynasty, Charles IV and his successor Wenceslas IV. In addition, the electors, who were reacting to an increase in power of the emperor, tried to resist him.⁶⁸ Hungary, where Sigismund reigned, underwent a similar structural process with the growing power of the aristocracy against diminishing royal power that had to rely on the extensive taxation and pledging of its possessions to keep itself in power.

The rule of Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia, and Holy Roman Emperor, was beset with numerous revolts, hostilities between cities, nobility and him, and conspiracies aiming at taking him down. One of them succeeded in 1400 when the electors deposed him, and elected Rupert, Count of Palatine.⁶⁹ Yet Boniface did not accept Rupert until 1403.⁷⁰ Sigismund was

⁶⁷ Fourth is England.

⁶⁸ Watts, *The Making of Politics*, 180-83, 188.

⁶⁹ Watts, *The Making of Politics*, 189-190.

⁷⁰ November 1 1403, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1999), 417.

also hard at work to depose his half-brother during the entire period of the 1390s, together with his relatives, and used Wenceslas' deposition and rebellion against him during 1402 to arrest him.⁷¹ In 1402 during this imprisonment Wenceslas appointed Sigismund as vicar general of the Holy Roman Empire, the title under which Sigismund would appear in his official charters.⁷²

Now a possible conflict with Hungary meant conflict with the Holy Roman Empire, and vice versa, since both were now in the domain over which Sigismund attempted to claim his rule. This is where the reasons may lie for the papal decisions of 1403 to support both Ladislás and Rupert. I believe that the events in Germany and the landing of Ladislás in Zadar put Boniface not in the main role as the initiator of events but rather as its object. Although Watts calls Boniface IX one of the "most powerful popes of the century" he does add "at least in Italian terms."⁷³ Boniface was reacting to the events that were out of his hands which were tied by Ladislás' decision to claim the Hungarian throne and land in Zadar. This resulted in a conflict with Sigismund who was also acting as potential successor to Wenceslas after 1402. Boniface had to take sides in a conflict in which he did not partake openly, the deposition of the German king, and the recognition of Rupert as king in 1403. The same year saw the conflict of Angevin-Papal alliance combating the Luxemburg family across Europe.

After the unsuccessful trip to Hungary, Ladislás concentrated on dominating the political scene in Italy. He used the death of Boniface IX, his mentor and protector, to assert his claims in the Papal States, trying to influence the activities of popes, first Innocent VII (1404-1406) and then Gregory XII (1406-1417). Ladislás' aggression forced Gregory to flee Rome and later on seek help from Sigismund who influenced him to work on ending the

⁷¹ Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, 197-98; Sigismund's attempts are covered by Jorg Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund, Herrscher und der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368-1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 94-107; Not to mention that Sigismund undermined Wenceslas' attempt to regain the German throne in the elections after Rupert's death in 1410 by gaining the support of electors for himself. Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, 199.

⁷² "Reichsvikar", in Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 108.

⁷³ Watts, *The Making of Politics*, 193.

Western schism. The Apostolic See after the death of Boniface IX accepted Sigismund's rule over Hungary and the Hungarian Church and even tried to negotiate with him over the end of the Great Schism.⁷⁴

3. Conclusion to the First Chapter

As was shown above the Apostolic See favored the Angevins claims on Hungary, but the support and the way it was manifested depended on the person of the incumbent pope as well as international circumstances. The active role of the See would vary depending on what the pope hoped to gain from his support and how much support he could provide. The main differences can be displayed in the behavior of two popes, Boniface VIII and Boniface IX.

Although Pope Boniface VIII fought a losing battle against French King Philip IV, his decision to support and further the gains of the Angevins in Hungary was successful. While it suited Pope Boniface VIII to support a friendly dynasty his intervention also showed his views on the relationship of the temporal and spiritual power. If Charles Robert was successful in Hungary, it would not only mean that Hungary is a kingdom given to the Angevins by the pope, but that the resources of this new kingdom could be used to strengthen the papal position within the Christendom. While Boniface VIII viewed his position as head of both secular and temporal power, he underestimated the opposition from the French king. Philip IV promoted consolidation of the authority of the state which included royal jurisdiction over all the king's subjects, both lay and clerical. This process had not advanced in Hungary during the reign of King Andrew III, which enabled the pope to interfere.

On the other hand the Western schism changed possibilities of the papacy as well as it made the secular support more crucial for the pope to hold Rome and his position as head of Christendom. Pope Boniface IX's position could be considered shaky at best. He had limited revenues coming from fewer and fewer sources, a constant threat of the antipope in Avignon,

⁷⁴ VMH II, 180-181.

and had depended on the military support from Naples. In a financial sense he could gain more from the Angevins controlling Hungary which led him to support Ladislas' claims. The spread of the conflict between the Apostolic See and Sigismund to include Germany arose out of necessity. Both Ladislas in Hungary and Rupert in Germany had viable chances of success which would bring both realms under Boniface's spiritual rule. Unfortunately for Boniface IX, the gambit backfired. Similar to the conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, Boniface IX's conflict with Sigismund was seen as infringement on the authority and rights of the king, who then expanded his control into the realm of the rights of the Church in Hungary. But not only that, it gave Sigismund the opportunity to consolidate the authority of his rule by claiming royal jurisdiction over all his subjects, both lay and clerical.

Although the conflict in both situations was based on political and military actions, it came down to the question of who can better control the prelates in the Kingdom of Hungary. The best way to obtain the support in the first place was to install or have elected a cleric already sympathetic to the cause of particular pretender. This is the question explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Electio, Translatio, Postulatio

In the thirteenth century episcopal elections were complicated proceedings.⁷⁵ In Croatia the procedure was carried out *per clerum et populum* which was the oldest rule of the Church also defined by the *Decretum Gratiani*. The normal way a member of clergy would become a prelate was through election by the local cathedral chapter, with the consent of the people, and consecrated by the metropolitan of the province.

The main driving force behind the election was the cathedral chapter. For their decision to be considered canonical, it had to be unanimous and compliant to the canon laws. The majority, *pars maior*, could not enforce their decision upon the minority, considered as the rational part, *pars sanior*, because the chapter should be “of sound mind and body.”⁷⁶ The unsatisfied party could complain to an external authority. The first person to influence the elections, following the growth of dynastic interests and local rivalries, was the king.⁷⁷

The usual practice of the See was to mediate and prevent the election of a bishop elected against the rules of canon law, as well as to exclude external pressure, both coming from the kings and communal authorities.⁷⁸ In case of medieval Dalmatia and Slavonia this meant that until 1290 the Apostolic See did not intervene too often in the election process.

In the period between 1290 and 1310 the Apostolic See started to increasingly be involved in the election process, often overriding the decisions of the local chapters and installing their own candidates. The gradual take-over of the election process by the papacy can be observed in the context of the centralization of the Church under the rule of the pope.

⁷⁵ Since the literature about it is constantly growing, a good overview is available in: Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops. The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 75-153; Robert Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

⁷⁶ Richard Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 52-55.

⁷⁷ For an overview of the complicated election process on the example of Split in the thirteenth century see: Judit Gál, “The Roles and Loyalties of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dalmatia (1102-1301),” *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 471-93.

⁷⁸ Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, 35, 42-43, 46.

Between 1265, when the bull *Licet ecclesiarum* established the pope's right to appoint all prelates, and 1363, when Pope Urban V was ready to fully implement the bull, the Apostolic See established a legal basis for appointment and translation of prelates by the pope.⁷⁹

With the growth of the royal power under the Angevins, interventions into elections shifted in favor of the rulers.⁸⁰ The opposition to the pope's involvement mainly came from the king, and not from the chapters. Therefore, in the period between 1382 and 1409 the royal power was able to assert itself in the election procedure, installing prelates connected with them and who would then owe their positions thanks to their links with the ruler. This led them into conflict with the pope who came to view the appointment of a prelate as his privilege.⁸¹

The general development of both periods was that the decision to elect the prelate was taken from the cathedral chapter and invested in the hands of either the pope or the ruler. This chapter shows how the election process developed, and how it was used during the succession crises to support various pretenders to the throne. All the sources dealing with the elections can be found under the appendix, together with the short biographies of key prelates.

⁷⁹ Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935), 155-156; Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 123.

⁸⁰ Development in inner Hungary, including Zagreb, during the reigns of Charles Robert and Louis the Great is covered in: *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, 57-60.

⁸¹ Three terms will be used: *electio*, *translatio* and *postulatio*. The *electio* meant that the cathedral chapter elected the prelate. *Postulatio* replaced this by having either the pope or the king appointing the prelate without election. When performed by the pope, this was also known as papal provisions, but I decided to use the term *postulatio* when referring to actions of both the pope and the king. On the development of papal provisions see: Phillip Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414-1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 77-103; Barraclough, *Papal provisions*; *Translatio* was a term used for transferring a prelate from one seat to another. Rufinus, the twelfth-century commentator of Gratian discerned the existence of three types of translation. First is a translation of a person to a place where one ecclesiastical person, even if he is bishop, would be translated to the position of bishop or archbishop. Second was the possibility to translate a place to a person. Third was a translation of a place to a place, where a higher dignity would be bestowed on an institution. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 87.

1. The Period of Papal involvement in Split and Zadar

During the thirteenth century the archdioceses of Zadar and Split, with their suffragans, encompassed much of the territory of medieval Dalmatia and Croatia, but while Split accepted the rule of the Hungarian kings, Zadar was subjected to the Republic of Venice. While both Venice and the Hungarian kings tried to interfere with the archbishop's election, two events opened up the opportunity for the stronger involvement of the papacy. First Archbishop Lawrence of Zadar died in 1288, then Archbishop John of Buzad of Split died in 1294. In both cases the cathedral chapters proceeded with electing a new archbishop, and in both cases we have similar actions being taken by the Apostolic See.

Zadar's cathedral chapter elected Andrew, a canon from Padova. Zadar's superior, the patriarch of Grado, opposed their choice. The opposition probably came because Andrew did not ask for the confirmation from Grado.⁸² Nevertheless, this conflict gave Pope Nicholas IV, a Franciscan pope, a chance to interfere. He sent his legate, John Cholet, cardinal priest of Saint Cecilia, who already proved himself invaluable for the pope in several important missions.⁸³ Advised by John Cholet's report, the pope had Andrew removed in 1291 and elected John II of Anagni, a Franciscan friar.

In 1297 John II was translated by Pope Boniface VIII to Trani. Although it is argued that this was part of an active papal policy to secure the Hungarian throne for the Angevins,⁸⁴ it is important to note that Trani was a Venetian-dominated port within the Kingdom of

⁸² The archbishop of Zadar was elected in Zadar but had to be invested into office by the patriarch of Grado, who was also the Venetian patriarch, which often caused Zadar to resist interference from Grado in their long struggle for wider autonomy under Venice. Several prelates in the twelfth and the thirteenth century even refused to seek investiture from Grado and ruled without an official confirmation. See: Serdo Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti Zadarske nadbiskupije do početka 14. Stoljeća," [Chronological overview of the history of archdiocese of Zadar] in: *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o 1700. obljetnici mučeništva sv. Stošije (Anastazije)*, ed. Livio Marijan (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2004), 157-58; Also, see Archbishop Lawrence Pereander in the appendix.

⁸³ He performed important missions to France, even offering, on behalf of the pope, the French king's son the throne of Aragon. Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 243.

⁸⁴ Dokoza, "Papina diplomacija," 274; Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvina*, 31.

Naples and the Venetians main contact for trade there.⁸⁵ Likewise, Zadar at the time was part of Republic of Venice, and not of Hungary.

Starting from 1291 the papacy took the process of electing the archbishop completely into their hands, a practice that continued until 1420.⁸⁶ These prelates were invested into office by papal representatives, and not by the patriarch of Grado, and were, at least for several decades following 1291 members of the mendicant orders.

Similar things occurred in the dioceses under Zadar. In Osor, a Franciscan friar, Angel, was elected in 1295. He was elected when the choice of the cathedral chapter, Thomas, was rejected as unfit by the Pope. In Krk there was a succession of Franciscan bishops in the period between 1290 and 1311.⁸⁷ In 1290 Pope Nicholas IV installed Lambert, a Franciscan friar, after a conflict within the cathedral chapter between the Dominicans and the Franciscan friars over whose candidate would be elected. Since they could not decide, the pope stepped in and postulated Lambert.

As mentioned above, the other event that opened up the opportunity for the stronger involvement of the papacy was John of Buzad's death in Split. In 1294 the cathedral chapter decided to elect its archdeacon James as their archbishop. It is not known who exactly objected to the election of James, but the pope never recognized him.

The pope sent his representative, Father G.,⁸⁸ to whom James submitted his resignation. The reason for the resignation was that the election was not done according to the rules. This is an unusual situation if we take into consideration that James was a high ranking priest in the archdiocese of Split and surely familiar with the correct protocol regarding the

⁸⁵ Naples put great effort into keeping competing Florentines and Venetians apart. Venetians were situated in Trani, while Florentines were in Barletta. They clashed in Manfredonia and Brindisi. David Abulafia, "Venice and the Kingdom of Naples in the Last Years of Robert the Wise 1332-1343," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980): 194. It was also common for priests in the Republic of Venice to be promoted or translated within the dioceses under the domination of Venice, although at this period this was not as well established as later in the fifteenth century.

⁸⁶ For periods of the fourteenth century that this thesis does not cover see: Joan Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities: Development and Transformation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 56-64.

⁸⁷ Lambert (1290-1299), Matthew (1299-1302), and Thomas (1302-1311).

⁸⁸ *Venerabilis fratris nostri G. episcopi Sabinensis*. CDC VII, 277-278, May 10 1297.

election. James was also chosen by Pope Nicholas IV as the papal legate to settle the problems between Šibenik and Trogir in 1288 (see below), and therefore most likely familiar to the papal court. Father G. was Cardinal Gerard Bianchi, titular bishop of Sabina, and more importantly, the most important papal legate and diplomat since the time of Pope Nicholas III.⁸⁹ He served as a legate in Sicily and Naples, trying to pacify the island, quell the rebellion of the Sicilian Vespers, and help the Angevins control southern Italy following the Vespers and the war with Aragon. Even before the death of Charles I Gerard represented papal interests in Naples, and later, during the captivity of Charles II, he served as regent there together with Mary of Hungary, queen of Naples.⁹⁰ The new archbishop of Split became Peter, Franciscan friar and chaplain of Mary, queen of Naples.

The actions of 1297 can only be understood in the context of geography and power relations. It was often cited that the papacy violated the rule that the cathedral chapter can elect its archbishop,⁹¹ but in fact, the elections of archbishop had been pressured by outside factors on some occasions before. The only novelty was the direct involvement of the papacy which on one hand was enabled by the weakening of central authority, and on the other was connected to the reformation within the Church and the inability of the cathedral chapters to defy papal orders. The territories of the archbishop of Split not only encompassed the territories of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, but also corresponded with the territory of the most powerful oligarchs here, the Šubići, officially subject to Andrew III but in fact the main allies of the Angevins. This meant that many different interests collided on effectively controlling this territory. The new archbishop was installed as a result of actions taken by Queen Mary of Naples and Pope Boniface VIII, through his legate Gerard, and on territories of the Šubići.

⁸⁹ SE, XIII; Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, 223-57.

⁹⁰ Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou. Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1988), 110-12, 141.

⁹¹ See relevant literature in: Dokoza, "Papina diplomacija," 274.

While it was argued that James was a supporter of King Andrew III, this is difficult to prove or disprove due to the lack of sources.⁹² The circumstances in which the election of James took place are worth noting. Pope Nicholas IV died in 1292, and no successor was elected for two years thereafter. The newly elected Celestine V ruled briefly, only to be replaced by the stronger and more energetic Boniface VIII. In Hungary King Andrew III never exerted too much influence south of Zagreb.

The election in Split followed the same pattern of control over the elections by the popes as that existing in Dalmatia from the time of Nicholas IV onwards. Boniface VIII both used intervening in the election process to place his supporters in high ecclesiastical positions, thus strengthening the standings of the Apostolic See with its prelates, and also used this to fight the “pillars of the anti-Angevin rule” and help the Angevins.⁹³ The election of the archbishop of Split was a continuation of active papal politics in appropriating the right to elect their own bishops from cathedral chapters. The only novelty was that it coincided with the interests of the Angevins of Naples, and that the pope used it to help the Angevins.

As outlined in Boniface VIII’s letter *Ausculda fili* to King Philip IV of France, Boniface VIII understood the appointment of the prelature as the sole privilege of the Apostolic See: “(...) the bestowal of churches or dignities, offices, benefices and canonries does not and cannot belong to you, nor can anyone acquire any right in them from your bestowal except by the authority and consent of the Apostolic See.”⁹⁴ While this letter caused problems in Papal-French relationship, they best outline the papal plan for Hungary.

In 1298 the pope had a chance to continue his policy. Šibenik, formerly under the ecclesiastical rule of bishop of Trogir, was elevated to the status of a bishopric. For several

⁹² Szentgyörgyi, *Borba Anžuvina*, 30.

⁹³ Dokoza, “Papina diplomacija,” 273.

⁹⁴ Quoted from: *Pennington, Pope and Bishops*, 115.

decades prior to this there was a constant conflict between Šibenik and the bishop of Trogir.⁹⁵ The conflict escalated and the people of Šibenik decided to elect their own bishop and ask for his consecration from the archbishop of Split. The conflict very much depended on the relation of power between Trogir and Šibenik, as well as the Šubić kindred that often ruled these cities.

In May 1298 the pope gave his permission to establish the new diocese. Two months later, in a ceremony held in the church of Saint James in Šibenik the papal bull was proclaimed. Based on the request from George, count of Dalmatian cities, and Mary, consort of King Charles of Sicily and queen of Hungary,⁹⁶ the pope decided to establish the diocese of Šibenik, which was also elevated to the status of city thereby. Peter, archbishop of Split, elected the first bishop and decided on his revenues, while the archbishop of Zadar, together with the suffragans of both archbishops, Nin, Hvar, Skradin and Korčula, consecrated the new bishop.

The Franciscan Friar Martin was elected as the bishop of Šibenik. Curiously, Martin was not the first bishop. Prior to Martin's episcopacy, from 1288 Leonard Falier of Venice was bishop, however, he never obtained confirmation, except for the endorsement of the archbishop of Split when a conflict broke out between Split and Trogir. Šibenik, unsuccessfully, appealed to Pope Nicholas IV for Leonard's validation.

Not only was the Apostolic See informed about Leonard's problems, but it was also involved in the conflict between Šibenik and its bishop from Trogir. In 1288 Pope Nicholas IV delegated legates to work on solving the problems. One of the legates was Archdeacon James from Split, later on elected as archbishop of Split, which meant that he was familiar to Rome as early as 1288. Their mission was unsuccessful. Unlike the 1288 situation, the three

⁹⁵ For an overview see: Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 335-38; Damir Karbić, "Uloga brijirskih knezova u osnutku Šibenske biskupije" [The Role of Counts of Bribir in establishment of bishopry of Šibenik], in: *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J.Šižgorić," 2001), 53-62.

⁹⁶ "... Marie, consortis carissimi in Christo filii nostri Caroli, illustris regis Sicilie, regine Hungarie illustris, necnon et dilecti filii nobilis viri Georgii, comitis civitatum Dalmatie..."

main factors necessary for the successful establishment of new diocese were all in place ten years later: (1) the presence of an active and informed papacy (2) acting upon the request of the queen of Naples and (3) working in direct favor of the Šubići who were the ruling oligarchs in Croatia at the time. All of the above shows that the papacy was very keen on being kept informed about the situation and that only after that it could directly react.

The pronounced role that the Šubići played in establishment of new diocese of Šibenik also beg the question were they involved in influencing and installing their own prelates. Miha Madijev, a fourteenth century chronicler of Split history accused Paul's successor, Mladen, exactly of this.⁹⁷ Yet, the circumstances and background in which Miha wrote were very different than in the period of Paul. Miha, citizen of Split, used defamation against Mladen with whom Split came into conflict. On the other hand, it seems that Paul Šubić actively worked on reforming the territories under his direct power. The decision of elevating Šibenik directly favored him, while Archbishop Peter of Split obtained a privilege to establish new dioceses. Peter established two, Makarska and Duvno, which, placed on borders of the territories of the Šubići, clearly marked in which direction the Šubići were expanding their rule.⁹⁸

Similarly to Zadar, Split's suffragans also had members of the mendicant orders, mostly Franciscan and Dominicans, for their prelates. The elected prelates were usually clergy from local churches, but if installed by the pope they mostly originated from Italy.⁹⁹

The example of Hvar is interesting regarding the conflict between the archbishop, the cathedral chapter, and the papacy. Following the death of Bishop Domnius (1289-1304), the cathedral chapter decided to elect Lampredius, canon and *primicerius* of the cathedral in

⁹⁷ *Legende i kronike* [Legends and Chronicles], ed. Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović (Split: Splitski književni krug, 1977), 175.

⁹⁸ This does not exclude that the Šubići could influence elections of abbots of local monasteries, but we lack concrete sources to prove their influence over elections of prelates. For Makarska and Duvno see Maps 1 and 2.

⁹⁹ Accounting to the fact that for most prelates of this earlier period we do not have information on their election or where they originated from. Also, usually most of the prelates were appointed after the election within their cathedral chapter and then confirmed by their metropolitan.

Trogir. His metropolitan, Peter, archbishop of Split, had different plans and did not confirm him. Instead, in 1307 he tried to place his “countryman” there, Canon Lawrence, who had been at some point the chaplain of the queen of Naples. This caused both Lampredius and the cathedral chapter of Hvar to complain to the pope, so that Legate Gentile¹⁰⁰ was already familiar with the case when he came to Dalmatia in 1308. After many days, during which Lampredius and the representatives of Lawrence were travelling together with Gentile who was besieged by many others to solve their problems, Gentile decided that he would confirm neither Lampredius nor Lawrence. Instead, the pope took direct control over the election of the bishop of Hvar. Most likely the pope had already decided on the course of action before Gentile arrived to Dalmatia and eventually appointed a monk of unknown order, called Gabriel (1308-1313).

2. The Period of Papal Involvement in Zagreb

Between 1287 and 1303 there are no sources which confirm that the Apostolic See attempted to interfere in the election of the bishop of Zagreb. Yet in cases of elections of Bishops Philip (1248) and especially Timothy (1263), the pope tried to exclude the interference coming from the king in an effort to either allow the cathedral chapter to elect its own prelate or to appoint a papal candidate.¹⁰¹

Part of the problem is in the lack of sources, since for this period we are mostly left in dark regarding the election process. John, archdeacon of Gorica (Ivan, arcidjakon gorički),¹⁰² a mid-fourteenth century canon of Zagreb and chronicler of the history of his diocese, fills in some gaps. Timothy, who died in 1287, was succeeded by Anthony, provost in Székesfehérvár who ruled only 6 months, in the period when the papal seat was vacant. His

¹⁰⁰ On mission from Pope Clement V in Avignon to go to Hungary and solve the succession crises in favor of Charles Robert. Gentile’s mission lasted from 1308 to 1311. On the role Gentile played in Hungary see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 130-31.

¹⁰¹ About the elections of Philip and Timothy see the appendix.

¹⁰² About John see: Ivan Kristitelj Tkalčić, “Ivan, arcidjakon gorički, domaći pisac u XIV. veku” [John, archdeacon of Gorica, native writer in the 14th century]. *Rad JAZU* 79 (1886): 71-134.

successor from 1288, John I, was elected from the position of provost of Zagreb. John I died by the end of 1295, and for the following year the sources name Michael, provost in Sibiu, as the elected bishop of Zagreb. He was confirmed as bishop in 1297. Unlike for Philip and Timothy there is no report that the pope tried to interfere in the election process.

Two bishops (Anthony and Michael) were elected from areas of inner Hungary, while one bishop (John I) was elected by the cathedral chapter. It had been a long-standing tactic of Hungarian kings to fill in ecclesiastical positions south of the Drava with trustworthy people that would come from inner Hungary. Since Michael was a staunch supporter of King Andrew III one could assume that Anthony, who ruled briefly, was also. Yet, the pressure that was present in two previous elections, those of Philip and Timothy, was completely lacking here. Was it possible that the cathedral chapter decided in cases of Anthony and John I freely, with no outside pressure? This was quite possible. From 1284 the authority of King Ladislav IV was rapidly deteriorating,¹⁰³ and the king probably had little interest in controlling bishops. This would only change with more energetic Andrew III who installed Bishop Michael.

Two reasons probably prevented an active papal interference: (1) the elections were done according to the canon law; (2) most of them were done during the papal vacancy or immediately after the pope was elected when it was difficult for the papacy to directly supervise the election and have a decisive vote.

Bishop John during his reign relied on the support of the Slavonian oligarchs, the Babonići.¹⁰⁴ Is it possible that they were able to elect him to that position and John felt that he had to repay this by supporting the rule of the Babonići? I doubt it that the Babonići were ever that strong to influence the election. Most likely the cathedral chapter decided to elect its

¹⁰³ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 109.

¹⁰⁴ See the chapter: "The "continental" model."

own member following the short rule and death of Anthony, and that was either pressured to support the Babonići or he relied on them to combat other opponents to his rule.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, after 1297 Boniface VIII and the Angevins came to the agreement regarding the combined efforts to gain Hungary for the Angevins. Following that the initial steps were first carried out in Split and Šibenik that were much closer to Italy, and in combination with the local oligarchs, the Šubići. From 1297 we can observe an increase, and success, in efforts by both the Apostolic See and the Angevins in the Kingdom of Hungary. By the 1303 the situation changed. The papal candidate was fighting for the throne, while the bishop of Zagreb, Michael, was the most reliable supporter of the papacy. When in 1303 the diocese of Zagreb became vacant, following the translation of Bishop Michael to Esztergom, Pope Benedict XI considered the election of the bishop of Zagreb as reserved for the Apostolic See.¹⁰⁶ He postulated Augustine Kažotić, as a reward for his service and to support the Angevin claim to the throne of Hungary.

Based on the postulation of Augustine, the subsequent popes considered the election of Augustine's successor as their right. But King Charles Robert had other plans. In 1318 Augustine complained to the pope that Charles Robert exerted too much power over the Church in Hungary. This led him into a conflict with the person he supported from 1303 in gaining the throne as Charles Robert forced Augustine to seek shelter with the pope in Avignon. The pope awarded Augustine a different diocese, while he gave Zagreb to the Dominican James. But, the king, not being informed about this, stopped James, and after several years had his choice, Ladislav of Kaboli, appointed.¹⁰⁷ This marked a clear shift in the

¹⁰⁵ We lack concrete evidence to support that the oligarchs influenced the election of prelates. Their influence can mostly be observed on pressuring the prelate once he was elected, and also on lower level, in cases of electing abbots. One contemporary example from Senj, where the counts of Krk ruled, shows that oligarchs could back the cathedral chapter in their opposition to the prelate backed by the pope. See: the appendix on the bishop of Senj, John of Pisa (1333-49).

¹⁰⁶ "... nos provisionem dicte ecclesie Zagrabiensis ea vice dispositioni sedis apostolice reservantes..." CDC VIII, 60, December 9 1303.

¹⁰⁷ Juraj Batelja and Franko Mirošević, *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* [Bishops and Archbishops of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1995), 101-14; *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, 58.

relationship between the papacy, the bishops and the king, especially since bishops were elected increasingly due to their connections with the king.

3. The Height and Downfall of Papal Provisions

The political situation changed by the second half of the fourteenth century. Both Zadar and Split came firmly under the rule of the King of Hungary. With a change in the political focus of the Angevins, Zagreb now found itself being positioned on a favorable road connecting the Angevins with both Italy, and the territories the Angevins wanted to expand to. This meant that the approach to postulation of prelates underwent changes.

As seen before with bishops Augustine and his successor Ladislav of Kaboli, bishops of Zagreb became strongly connected with the king. In 1378 Bishop Demetrius, a strong supporter of King Louis the Great, was promoted to the position of archbishop of Esztergom. Paul Horvati, from the rich baronial family of Horvati, succeeded him. At first at good terms with King Louis' successors, queens Mary and Elizabeth, he soon rebelled against them in favor of Charles of Durazzo.¹⁰⁸ Although already King Charles Robert influenced the election of the bishop of Zagreb, following Paul's rebellion, first Mary and Elizabeth, and then Sigismund would postulate to Zagreb prelates connected with their reign. Every subsequent bishop of Zagreb would be placed there by the king's order and with the approval of the pope.¹⁰⁹

A similar case, resembling Paul's, happened later in Zadar. Peter of Matafaris was long ruling archbishop of Zadar that belonged to the influential and powerful Matafaris family, which at many times dominated the life of Zadar. In 1397 King Sigismund ordered that all property belonging to the Matafaris brothers, Guy (Gvido), Louis and Peter, be

¹⁰⁸ CDH 10/3, 32-34, 1385.

¹⁰⁹ John II Smilo Bohemus (1386-1394), John III of Scepus (1395-1397), Eberhard (1397-1407), Andrew Scolari (1407-1410).

confiscated.¹¹⁰ The family had rebelled against Sigismund, and they were forced to go to exile.

Since Peter escaped the city, Zadar was left without its spiritual leader. Newly elected, but not confirmed, Archbishop John V appears in the sources in April 1398. In October 1398 Pope Boniface IX placed an administrator in Zadar, one Anthony de Benedicto of Teramo. John was most likely elected by the cathedral chapter, yet he was not confirmed and it seems that he immediately got into conflict with the clergy and the cathedral chapter of Zadar. In 1399 he was warned by King Sigismund not to interfere with the rights of the cathedral chapter and its canons.¹¹¹ In 1400 the pope appointed Luke of Fermo, doctor of theology, as the archbishop. Following the escape of Peter of Matafaris, Zadar attempted to elect their own archbishop. But the time when this was possible had long past. The principle of postulation completely prevailed over the principle of election, and the pope was not allowing the cathedral chapter of Zadar to elect their own spiritual leader, but instead postulated Luke.

Unlike the position of the archbishop of Zadar which was a possible point of conflict between kings and popes, Zadar's suffragans were mainly left alone until the political conflict spilled into their territories. Since there was no political border, bishops could move freely. Advancement from one episcopal see to another was considered *cursus honorum*.¹¹² Chrysogonus is a good example of this gradual progression through ranks. Working as a canon in Rab he was in 1363 elected as bishop of Rab, and then translated in 1372 to Trogir. Chrysogonus came into prominence in 1403 when the pope translated him to the position of the archbishop of Kalocsa as part of his plans against King Sigismund, but Sigismund prevented Chrysogonus from claiming the archdiocese. His nephew, Simon of Dominis, replaced him in Trogir.

¹¹⁰ Memoriale, 24.

¹¹¹ CDC XVIII, 421-422, February 2 1399.

¹¹² Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 98.

This episode also shows an important characteristic of the powers at play in ecclesiastic structures of this later period. The prelature became a family business where a single family was influential and rich enough to put several members of the family into important positions. In Trogir, this family was the Dominis, while in Zadar it was the Matafaris, both powerful noble families with sufficient income to establish their family members as key prelates in Dalmatian cities.¹¹³ This is easily comparable with the development from inner Hungary where noble families also came to obtain important ecclesiastical positions (e.g. Horvati).

Same as Zadar, the archdiocese of Split was a potential point of conflict. Connections with Pope Urban VI secured an appointment to Split for Andrew of Gualdo, a doctor of law from Perugia. Andrew's election is a rather interesting case of communal conflict and personal links with the papacy. His predecessor had to resign over the conflict with Pope Urban VI. The same pope then postulated Andrew. Prior to his appointment, Andrew was the rector of the church of Saint Leonard in Gualdo, in the diocese of Nocera. Antonio Gualdo, papal scribe is most likely the person that helped him obtain the profitable archdiocese that became available after Hugolino's resignation.

Thus the two most important episcopal seats in Dalmatia, Split and Zadar, at that time under the king of Hungary, were occupied by persons coming from either the Papal States or Naples, both of which had close ties with the pope himself: Andrew of Gualdo in Split and Luke of Fermo in Zadar. Whereas their relations with the pope played a role in their postulation, the opinion of local communities were often overlooked.

¹¹³ De Dominis: Chrysogonus (1372-1403) and Simon (1403-23) in Trogir. John De Dominis was bishop of Senj in the fifteenth century. De Matafaris: Demetrius (1378-87) in Nin and Peter (1376-1400) in Zadar. Different example would be de Pensaurio. There were two of them in Senj: John (1386-92) and Leonard (1392-1402). They did not belong to the local noble families but arrived from Italy. Note that this is only for the researched period. Both de Dominis and de Matafaris gave several other members in the middle of the fourteenth century or in the fifteenth.

Subsequent events further corroborate this principle. After Andrew was ousted from the city the cathedral chapter and the community attempted to elect a new archbishop. The choice was Marin of Cuteis, from a local noble family. The pope, however, refused to confirm him and had postulated Peregrinus of Aragonia, a Franciscan friar who probably accompanied Ladislav to Dalmatia.¹¹⁴ Peregrinus ruled until his death in 1409 when the cathedral chapter tried again to elect an archbishop of their own. The choice was Domnius Giudici de Luccaris, who was archdeacon in Split. However, he did not receive papal confirmation either, and in 1411 the pope elected Peter of Pag, a Franciscan friar and bishop of Faenza in Romagna. Again, the choice of the cathedral chapter was rejected in favor of a person that had connections with the papacy, coming from the Papal States and with enough political connections to secure him the appointment.

One of Split's suffragans, Krbava, became a ground of conflict during Ladislav's attempt to claim the throne. Bishop Nicholas was mentioned for the last time as the bishop of Krbava in February 1401, after which he was translated to the position of bishop of Vác. In Vác he had some problems with Sigismund but kept his post until he died in 1405. Sigismund was in no rush filling the post in Vác since meanwhile he could collect the income of the diocese. The new bishop of Krbava became Stephen of Fermo. Since Krbava came under the control of Bosnia and Naples when Ladislav attempted to claim the throne, King Sigismund did not accept Stephen of Fermo as bishop of Krbava.¹¹⁵ In 1406 Stephen was translated to the position of bishop of Karpathos, suffragan of Crete. He was succeeded by a canon of the cathedral in Zagreb, Stephen Blagajski, from the kindred of Babonići. Even though Stephen paid his fee to Rome,¹¹⁶ he was two years later also transferred to Karpathos after the death of Stephen of Fermo in 1408. Both Stephens probably found themselves ruling a diocese that

¹¹⁴ He was confirmed in April 1403, while Andrew was ousted in 1402.

¹¹⁵ Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 247-251, April 15 1405.

¹¹⁶ MCV I, doc. 550, February 23 1406.

came under the control of Sigismund, who after 1404 did not accept papal provisions in Hungary, so the pope gave them another diocese.

In 1403 Ladislav landed in Zadar, intent on claiming the throne. As we have seen with the attempt to appoint Chrysogonus to Kalocsa the pope tried to help Ladislav. Pope Boniface IX also employed the by now well-established papal tactic of getting undesirable prelates out of the way. Andrew, who clashed with his commune in 1402 and was exiled, found shelter with Sigismund. Therefore the pope decided to translate him to the titular church of Samaria, which was in Palestine, completely inaccessible at the time. Likewise, Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb was immediately recognized as potential problem for Ladislav since Eberhard was a staunch supporter of Sigismund. Boniface tried to exile Eberhard by appointing him to the titular diocese of Selymbria (modern day Silivri near Constantinople), at that time occupied by the Ottomans. Eberhard refused the pope and had retained his seat in Zagreb.

Papal support to Ladislav as well as use of translation to expel Sigismund's supporters provoked a fierce reaction from the king. Following the *Decretum* of 1404 King Sigismund did not recognize most of the bishops he did not politically control in the southern parts of the kingdom. Mirroring Boniface VIII's letter *Ausculda fili* Sigismund proclaimed that: "no clergy with apostolic authority or any other authority except our own be allowed to accept or to obtain ecclesiastical benefices."¹¹⁷ In official documents the dioceses south of the Drava not controlled by the king are mostly listed as vacant.¹¹⁸ He both blocked papal appointees in Hungary as well as appropriated the Church's possessions of the vacant dioceses. This remained so during the entire period of the conflict with Ladislav of Naples, and Sigismund continued to name these dioceses as vacant even when they fell to Venetian hands. Weakened

¹¹⁷ Sigismund's *Decretum* can be found in: DRMH II, 30.

¹¹⁸ Archbishop seat in Zadar is listed vacant, even though there was Luke of Fermo, while Split is listed as occupied by Andrew Gualdo who was exiled from the city in 1402, while Trogir, Skradin, Knin, Nin, Šibenik, Makarska, Hvar and Krkava are listed vacant. Senj was only "vacant" for short time during the conflict between the counts of Krk (the Frankapani) and Sigismund. Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 247-251, April 15 1405; 259-263, November 28 1405; 264-268, April 22 1406; 312-314, November 14 1408; CDH 10/4, 742-746, 1409; CD patrius II, 173-180, January 29 1406; 180-186, March 31 1406; 205-208.

by the schism and opposed by King Sigismund, the pope lost. It gave Sigismund the opportunity to consolidate the authority of his rule by claiming royal jurisdiction over all his subjects, both lay and clerical.

Siding with the king in the conflict of 1403 paid off considerably more for the prelates in inner Hungary. Fügedi noted that the conflict of 1403 led to the establishment of ruling strata out of those who supported Sigismund. These interest groups still maintained a hold over their positions by 1433 controlling the episcopacy and giving prelates in Hungary.¹¹⁹ This is also the case with Slavonia, where in 1420 Eberhard was succeeded by his nephew John of Alben (1420-33). In case of Dalmatia and Croatia the division of prelates between two pretenders, Ladislav and Sigismund, led the prelates to, after 1409, be more susceptible to Venice which overtook the Dalmatian cities. Following the death of Luke of Fermo every archbishop during the fifteenth century came from the Venetian nobility.¹²⁰ Likewise the same happened in other dioceses under Venetian control where after ousting several prelates or waiting for the death of others, Venice was able to, unopposed, install its own prelates.¹²¹

4. Conclusion to the Second Chapter

It seems that it was very easy for both the king and the pope to overcome the resistance of the local communities, both oligarchs and towns, and postulate their candidates as local prelates. The vacant seats were granted to people with good contacts with either the pope or the king, but the use of these actions in the Kingdom of Hungary increased gradually over time as a result of geographical proximity as well as use of it for political purposes.

The papacy started to exert its power over disputed elections, and, by acting as a mediator, would elect a candidate favorable to the Apostolic See. Pope Nicholas IV used his

¹¹⁹ Erik Fügedi, "Hungarian Bishops," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), II, 378.

¹²⁰ Strika, "Catalogus episcoporum," 99-100.

¹²¹ See: Jadranka Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine, Rimska Kurija i Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću*, (A way to the ecclesiastical benefice. Roman Curia and 15th-century Dalmatia) (Split: Književni krug, 2007), 262- 272.

powers in Zadar in 1291 to interfere in election and have his candidate installed. Boniface VIII used this new tactics in Split in 1297. Besides influencing elections in Split, the popes used the succession crisis in Hungary also to invoke that bishopric of Zagreb falls under papal reservation. Even the events of 1299 when Archbishop Gregory Bicskei of Esztergom came into conflict with King Andrew should be looked in the context of the gradual expansion of papal power into Hungary. Although elected by the cathedral chapter, Gregory fell into problems with both the chapter and the king. Yet, this made him more susceptible to Rome.

In this process the mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, played an increasing role. On one hand the papacy needed them to integrate western Christianity into one centralized system, while Franciscans, educated, mobile, and backed by the Curia, were favored by most of the rulers and nobility of Europe.¹²²

Yet, success depended on the reaction from the king. Year 1403 saw the culmination of papal prerogatives established a century earlier. Pope Boniface IX tried to translate a number of prelates that opposed Ladislas of Naples but his actions were met with fierce opposition by King Sigismund. Weakened by the schism and opposed by King Sigismund the pope lost. Following the agreement that overcame the schism and saw the election of Martin V as pope, every subsequent pope had to confirm, through the “Creed of Boniface VIII”, that they would not allow for prelates to be transferred against prelate’s will.¹²³

The situation further changed in the fifteenth century. The standing of the papacy diminished in favor of secular rulers. As demonstrated above, Sigismund lost Dalmatia in

¹²² First were Franciscans, then followed by Dominicans and other orders. C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994), 181-201. A deeper involvement of the papacy and the Franciscans can be seen since the pontificate of Pope Nicholas IV. It can be attributed to both the pope being a Franciscan himself, relying more on his brethren, and the fact that he had been the provincial of the Franciscans in Dalmatia and Croatia, and therefore familiar with the situation in the dioceses. Marijan Žugaj, “Hrvatska biskupija 1352-1578 [Diocese of “Croatia” 1352-1578],” *Croatiana periodica* 10 (1986): 97.

¹²³ Schimmelpfenning, *The Papacy*, 233-234

favor of Venice which was able to, after 1420, directly postulate the archbishop of Zadar and have influence on every other diocese under their control.

This chapter dealt with the actions of those around the prelate that saw him appointed to the diocese. The next chapter will look into the relationship of the prelate with his diocese as well as the actions the prelate took in favor of the pretender.

Chapter 3. “To the Supreme Pontiff, we Owe Obedience. To the Ruler, we Owe Fealty”¹²⁴

In the fourteenth century the prelate was invested for life with “secular and ecclesiastical authority” and ruled as “secular and ecclesiastical prince.”¹²⁵ The prelate was in charge of semi-autonomous units with self-government called diocese.¹²⁶ He was required to reside in his diocese and had influence on both the political and ecclesiastical matters there.¹²⁷

Besides the connection with the diocese two others defined him: his connection to the pope as his spiritual superior; and to the king as his secular leader. While the pope was the head of *corpus ecclesiae*, the king needed capable and educated people to act as his courtiers and representatives. From the pope the prelate required the investiture which gave him the right and the moral basis to lead his diocese. From the king the prelate required protection of the Church’s property and his position within the diocese.

This meant that to control the diocese both the pope and the ruler had to combat for the loyalty of the prelate. Yet this also meant that the prelate was able to position himself in the power struggle between various popes and pretenders. These power struggles led to the emergence of “contested prelates”, where the political conflict between two or more pretenders resulted in two prelates claiming control over the same diocese. The succession crisis also gave prelates the opportunity to contribute to the legitimacy of the rulers.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Imperial Bishop Wazo of Liege to Emperor Henry III in mid-eleventh century. From: Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 3-4.

¹²⁵ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 228-245; Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 4, 15-107; Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*.

¹²⁶ Tierney, *Foundation of the Conciliar Theory*, 90.

¹²⁷ Eric Palazzo, “The Image of the Bishop in the Middle Ages,” in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); CDC XV, 210, May 30 1376.

¹²⁸ On the role of the prelates during the interregnum: Nikolaus Gussone, “Religion in a Crisis of Interregnum: The Role of Religion in Bridging the Gap between Otto III and Henry II,” in *Monotheistic Kingship, The Medieval Variants* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004); Dominik Waßenhoven, “Swaying Bishops and the Succession of Kings,” in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe*, ed. Ludeger Körntgen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the questions: (1) what requirements the prelate had to fulfill to obtain the powers and protections from the pope and the king; (2) how the relationship toward the pope and the king affected his work in the diocese; (3) and how the prelate was able to claim a space of his own within these gravitational pulls that attempted to steer his activities.

1. The Pope and the Prelate

Two main links tied the Apostolic See with its prelates: obtaining the *pallium*, and paying the *servitium commune*. The *pallium*, the vestment that symbolized the prelate's jurisdiction delegated by the Holy See, usually given by papal representatives, was received by archbishops of Split and Zadar as heads of their local archdioceses.¹²⁹ Besides anointing them into higher service it gave them rights to observe elections and consecrate their suffragan bishops, to relay papal orders, to hold yearly synods, and punish by excommunication those who disobeyed their orders. The archbishop of Split was considered as *primas*, the prelate who held the "first seat" of a metropolitan center, while during the thirteenth century the archbishop of Zadar was required to seek the *pallium* from his superior, the patriarch of Grado. Since Grado was both patriarch of Venice and under its political control at the same time, the process of obtaining the *pallium* was influenced by the strife between Venice and Zadar over the local autonomy of Zadar, and archbishops during the thirteenth century would often refuse to seek confirmation from Grado. By installing the archbishop in 1291 the pope solved the problem of election and obtaining the *pallium* in Zadar, and tied the prelate closer with Rome. On the other hand, the bishop of Zagreb, as suffragan of Kalocsa was usually consecrated by his superior. While these examples show links of subordination, they also display links of support. The pope had closer ties with Split

¹²⁹ On *pallium* see: Steven Schoenig, *The Papacy and the Use and Understanding of the Pallium from the Carolingians to the Early Twelfth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 2009).

and Zadar, which made them and their suffragans more susceptible to influences coming from Italy, while Zagreb had closer bonds with inner Hungary and therefore with the king.

The second link was paying the *servitia*, taxes on the first year's revenue of the benefices, as confirmation of the appointment to the position. Prelates would pay this personally by travelling to the Roman Curia or by employing proctors.¹³⁰ The amount paid amounted to one third of yearly incomes and was to be paid during the first year after obtaining the benefice.¹³¹ The amount rarely changed despite constant wars and insecurity. Even Bishop Augustine of Zagreb was able to pay after several years of promising and getting extensions.

Besides the *servitia* the Apostolic See fostered closer ties with its clergy through missions of papal legates. When the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa failed to inform the pope about the death of King Ladislas in 1290 it seemed that the only way for the pope to obtain a concrete and reliable information was to send a legate.¹³² While the mission of Legate Niccolo Boccasini to Hungary (1301-03) did not secure the throne for the papal favorite Charles Robert it gave the pope valuable information about the kingdom and its people. Coordination within the Church made the success of Charles Robert possible. In 1303 Pope Boniface VIII officially backed Charles Robert. The papal order was proclaimed by Hungarian prelates loyal to Rome, some of whom, like Bishop Michael of Zagreb, formerly King Andrew III's close supporter, were probably brought into the Angevin camp by legate Niccolo. For his services Michael was promoted to the position of the archbishop of Esztergom, while a cleric Augustine from Trogir, member of the mission of legate Niccolo, was transferred to the see of Zagreb.

¹³⁰ Marko Jerković, "Who were the Proctors of Bishops of Zagreb in the 14th Century Apostolic Chamber," In *Bertošin zbornik – Zbornik u čast Miroslava Bertoše* [Journal in memory of Miroslav Bertoša], ed. Ivan Jurković (Pula-Pazin: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Državni arhiv u Pazinu, 2013), 89-90; For Croatia, the first known *servitia* was a promise in 1299 by the archbishop of Zadar that he would pay his fee.

¹³¹ In the period from 1300 to 1420 the annual average for dioceses was: Zadar (400fl), Split (200fl), Zagreb (400fl), Knin and Šibenik (150fl), Krk (100fl), Osor and Senj (50fl), Rab, Krbava and Hvar (33 and one third fl).

¹³² Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, 82; RPR II, 23384-23385; VMH I, 366-367.

During the fourteenth century the main changes in the relationship between the pope and prelates occurred within the papal administration. As the pope moved to Avignon and papal bureaucratic organization increased, the needs of the Curia led to a demand for more money. After defeating his opposition, Charles Robert attempted to install his own candidates as prelates. The clergy rebelled and turned to the pope for support, but Avignon remained disinterested and unable to help. Both the distance and the need for funds led the pope to more easily accept the interference of secular rulers as long as the income was arriving on time.

Another major development happened in 1378 when Christendom was divided into two parts by the Western Schism. The popes in Avignon and Rome maintained their own administrations but it seems that, while the entire administration remained in Avignon, the new Roman administration almost collapsed under pressure, and was increasingly demanding more funds from its dioceses to combat the effects of the schism.¹³³

While it seems that in the second period the papal power and the ability to control the prelates was at its highest, the position of Rome was shaken by constant threat of both secular rulers and the antipope in Avignon. The dependence on money seriously weakened the position of popes in Avignon and Rome and made them prone to attacks. Both Avignon and Rome introduced a number of new taxes which provoked fierce reaction by both the laity and prelates and this dissent culminated in Constance in 1409.

The *servitia* underwent changes. It was still paid as a confirmation for installment, but prelates were also required to pay the *servitia minuta*, five minor installments paid to the cardinals. Also, a prelate's successors had to pay the *servitia* for their predecessors who were unable to pay.¹³⁴ This could prove difficult even for those prelates who obtained their office

¹³³ Pope Urban requested from the archdioceses of Aquileia, Grado, Ravenna, Milan, Zadar, Dubrovnik, Split and Bar to pay special contributions for three years following the increase in expenses because of the Western schism. Fontes, 243-244 (Inserted in another charter which is dated to March 6 1383).

¹³⁴ Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 59.

through their connections with either the pope or the king. Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb was one of the rare prelates to be able to pay for himself, and also for his two predecessors, John II and John III.¹³⁵ All three bishops were installed by the rulers of Hungary. On the other hand, Archbishop Luke of Fermo of Zadar, installed by the pope, was only able to pay after six years (1400-1406).¹³⁶ The demand for payments meant that prelates would be more interested in increasing the financial control over their diocese to meet the demands coming from Rome.

The popes favored people loyal to them, and kept rewarding them for their services, but this did not mean that prelates who obtained their prelateship through their connection with the pope would always remain in good relations with Rome. When Archbishop Peter of Split, installed there by a joint Papal-Angevin action in 1297, overstepped his limits and came into conflict with his diocese, Legate Gentile did not hesitate to have him excommunicated. Being a prelate was a service for life and besides translating unwanted prelates, popes had no other way of removing them from office. This was especially the case if the prelate would refuse his translation. Here a major difference between the two periods discussed can be observed. Boniface VIII probably understood what resistance a translation could provoke from the prelate and only proceeded to usurp the prelate's seat by claiming that the election was done uncanonically when the prelate died and a new prelate was elected. On the other hand, Boniface IX only reacted by translating Andrew of Split when he was already ousted by the community, and Eberhard of Zagreb when pretender Ladislas landed in Dalmatia. Both Andrew and Eberhard refused their translations and were backed by King Sigismund.

Close ties with the Apostolic See could bring benefits to a prelate. Lambert of Krk was installed by the pope in 1290, and Pope Nicholas IV would both absolve, due to financial reasons, Lambert from visiting Rome every two years and also protect the prelate from

¹³⁵ Marković, "Plaćanja pristojbi zagrebačkih biskupa," 276; MCV I, doc. 446, November 7 1396.

¹³⁶ Promise of payment: MCV I, doc. 451, August 6 1400; Last payment: doc. 469, September 7 1406.

attacks by Lambert's subordinates. The pope even named him his vicar in Rome, which was a valuable and influential position.¹³⁷ Another example is Augustine of Zagreb who complained about the lack of funds to his fellow Dominican, Pope Benedict XI, and the pope temporarily exempted Augustine from paying the tithe (1303-1312), while the Apostolic See also tolerated Augustine not paying his *servitia* for several years.¹³⁸ When Legate Gentile visited Zadar in 1308 and was opposed by the local clergy the first one to support him was priest John of Butuane. The Apostolic See proved to have a long memory when later on John became the archbishop of Zadar, most likely as a reward for siding with the legate.¹³⁹

It was very difficult for the pope to provide immediate protection for the persecuted prelate because this would lead to an open conflict with the king. It came down to the popes to react individually to this predicament. In 1299 Gregory was elected as the archbishop of Esztergom,¹⁴⁰ but had problems with the part of the cathedral chapter that found his election uncanonical and opposed him. This was used by King Andrew III to appropriate some of the territories belonging to the archbishop. If he strictly followed the canon law applied in 1291 in Zadar and 1297 in Split, Pope Boniface VIII should have removed Gregory and named somebody else. Instead he named him as a procurator of the Archbishopric of Esztergom as a temporary solution, the position he held until his death in 1303.¹⁴¹ The conflict with King Andrew led Gregory to oppose the king and support the claim of the Angevins to the throne. Yet it seems that the pope could be more easily involved in the conflict that the prelate had with his commune. Lambert of Krk, Andrew of Split and Luke of Zadar, all reportedly had problems with their commune in the first two years of being installed. They complained to

¹³⁷ CDC VII, 2, August 23 1290; CDC VII, 78, March 4 1292; CDC VII, 247, July 21 1296. The vicar was an important function at the Roman Curia which required for the person having this function to spend significant time there, and not in his diocese.

¹³⁸ Jasna Marković, "Plaćanja pristojbi zagrebačkih biskupa Apostolskoj komori u 14. i 15. stoljeću," [Paying taxes to the Apostolic Camera by the bishops of Zagreb] *Tkalčić* 3 (1999), 275-76; CDC VIII, 64, December 27 1303; MCV I, doc. 2, January 7 1304; 59, March 28 1305; 60, January 1 1306.

¹³⁹ HC, 281; CDC VIII, 189. August 23 1308.

¹⁴⁰ RPR II, 24890; CDH 6/2, 156-157, December 5 1299.

¹⁴¹ AkO I, 246; HC, 464; also, compare with Skorka, "With a Little Help from the Cousins," 243-44.

the pope and in all three cases the pope's intervention was enough to, at least temporarily, solve the problems. As mentioned before, Peter of Split, installed to his position by the pope was excommunicated by the papal legate. Could it be that it was difficult for the commune to complain directly to the pope, since the Apostolic See was more likely to listen to its prelate than to the prelate's diocese? Yet, as a voice of the pope, it was up to the legate to correct any problems that might occur after the pope decided. When Legate Gentile became fully aware of the situation in the field, he had Peter excommunicated, but Peter was not removed. He stayed as the archbishop until his death.¹⁴²

While prelates in the first period (1290-1310) could hope to obtain certain privileges from the pope in return for their service, it does not seem that the close contact with the pope benefited the prelate in a long run, besides being installed in the first place. This meant that prelates had to support each other. During mass in 1397, when Bishop John III of Zagreb excommunicated a number of his citizens for opposing him over the issue of taxes, Archbishop Andrew of Split was present. At that time Andrew was probably waging his own fight against the members of his diocese. While the prelates were supporting each other in 1397, in subsequent years Andrew and John III found themselves supporting different pretenders to the Hungarian throne: Andrew supported Sigismund, while John III supported Ladislas.

As there was a constant need for manpower so the Apostolic See started to rely on local clergy to act as papal collectors. Prelates installed from Rome were more likely to receive important administrative duties from Rome. These were usually the abbots of the two powerful monasteries Saint Stephen under the Pines in Split and Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar, as well as the archbishops of Split and Zadar, who acted as representatives of some cardinals

¹⁴² For the background see: Serđo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," [Legate Gentile and Split]. *Kulturna baština* 31 (2002): 79-98.

or legates¹⁴³ or even as papal collectors.¹⁴⁴ Although this tied them more closely to Rome and gave them significant powers that covered more than just their diocese, this is known to have led to conflicts between the prelate and collectors. For example when Archbishop Hugolin of Split appropriated funds following the death of John, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines, the pope ordered the community to seize the funds and pass them over to the papal collector. This most likely caused Hugolin to resign shortly thereafter.¹⁴⁵

Besides maintaining a steady income, the interests of the Apostolic See in the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, outside of the succession crises, were limited. The See was interested in gathering funds for a crusade to liberate the Holy Lands which was later replaced with the danger of the spread of supporters of the antipope from Avignon.¹⁴⁶ The spread of heretics from Bosnia was viewed as a threat, but it is difficult to say how much was this a usual *topos* that the pope and the Hungarian king used to excuse the expansion of Hungary into Bosnia.¹⁴⁷

Paying servitia and visiting the Curia were all acts of showing loyalty, or submission, to the pope. The pope upheld his authority by granting *pallium*, meeting prelates and by ensuring that *servitia* is paid. Since papal commands were intended to be obeyed by a specific person or a group of prelates this meant that the links of the prelate and the pope depended on them maintaining regular contacts, and mostly in person.¹⁴⁸ Yet grants of exemptions and sending representatives to Curia meant that the direct connections the prelate had with the

¹⁴³ CDC XVII, 497-499, January 8 1385.

¹⁴⁴ Like Dubrovnik and Bar, CDC XVI, 327-329; 346-349; 192-194; 235-236; CDC XVII, 468-470.

¹⁴⁵ CDC XVII, 82-83, August 10 1387.

¹⁴⁶ Franciscans were to preach the new crusade, CDC VI, 41-44, August 1 1291; The archbishop of Split was to gather funding to liberate the Holy Land, CDC VI, 49, August 26 1291; CDC XVII, 594-596, June 3 1394.

¹⁴⁷ Since 1252, when Bosnia was put under the authority of the archbishop of Kalocsa, both Franciscans and the archbishop of Kalocsa were usually mandated to fight the heresy in Bosnia. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church – A New Interpretation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 145-148; Franciscans were to suppress heresy in Serbia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia and Istria, CDC VII, 261, 302-303; The archbishop of Kalocsa was to hunt down heretic in Bosnia, AkO I, 212. Bosnians that were attacking Hungary from 1387 were automatically considered as heretics by the Hungarian commanders. CDC XVII, 105-106, November 25 1387.

¹⁴⁸ See for instance the visit by the Hungarian prelates to Anagni in 1303.

pope had weaken since it is doubtful if some prelates ever visited the Curia. This increased the prelate's relationship with the ruler who was closer to him.¹⁴⁹

2. Southern Prelates in the Service of the Pretenders

In 1290 Neapolitan Queen Mary of Hungary attempted to rule Hungary by sending three bishops and four noblemen to rule instead of her. This embassy did not succeed but it did show that rulers could delegated important duties to prelates loyal to them. Queen Mary succeeded in appointing her chaplain, Peter, as archbishop of Split, while in 1303 Charles Robert relied on Bishop Nicholas of Senj to act as his ambassador to Duke Rudolf of Austria and Emperor Albert Habsburg.¹⁵⁰

Sigismund also relied on prelates he directly placed on the episcopal seat to uphold his judicial authority in the south: sources testify that John of Pensaurio, bishop of Senj (1386-1392) was vicar for Croatia and Dalmatia,¹⁵¹ and in 1396, in Nin, John III of Zagreb (1394-1397) was resolving conflicts between the Dalmatian communes. In 1397 Ladislav of Knin (1397-1406) was demarcating the borders between the cities of Split, Klis and Omiš. However, it should be stressed that prelates usually did not act alone but were often accompanying a baron.

It seems that the geographical proximity or distance played a more vital role in the relationship between the prelate and the king than their actual power. Zagreb was closer to Buda than other southern dioceses and rulers from Buda could exert military control over it. Yet here rulers used the division of Zagreb into a secular part, Gradec, and a spiritual part, Kaptol, in their favor, relying on help from Gradec. In 1384 following the rebellion of Bishop

¹⁴⁹ Liber Extra defined that the prelate has to appear at least once per year in Rome. I doubt it that this was enforced in practice. Case of Lambert proves that for some prelates who were not well financially-endowed this was quite difficult. Also, as it was mentioned before, prelates often used proctors to represent their interests in Rome, instead of going there personally. „Apostolorum limina singulis annis aut per me aut per certum nuncium meum visitabo, nisi eorum absolvar licentia.” Aemilius Friedberg, ed. *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Liber Extra, X 2.24.4.

¹⁵⁰ Skorka, “With a Little Help from the Cousins,” 251.

¹⁵¹ As a vicar he represented the royal power in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Paul, Queen Elizabeth ordered Gradec to attack Kaptol, where the bishop was residing. In 1387 Ban Ladislav of Lossonich had citizens of Gradec destroy wooden palisades protecting Kaptol to prevent it being used as a rebel stronghold.¹⁵² Following the deposition of Paul in 1386, the two queens, and later King Sigismund, tried to directly influence who became bishop of Zagreb, often naming their closest advisors. The queens, Mary and her mother Elisabeth named John II Smilo Bohemus (1387-1393) while Sigismund relied on John III of Scepus (1394-1397), and Eberhard (1397-1406).

Removed prelates proved to be useful to both popes and various pretenders. The emergence of contested prelates, which was an entirely new development in the second period (1382-1409), was an opportunity for the ruler to capitalize on his use of military force to place his own candidate on the prelate's seat after ousting the previous occupant. Bishop Paul of Zagreb was ousted because he sided with Charles of Durazzo against the queens, Elizabeth and Mary. Although removed, Paul continued to work for Charles' successor Ladislav, and was serving as the king's advisor and diplomat for the king under the title of bishop of Zagreb.

The Bosnian King Stephen Tvrtko I (1353-1391) also tried to directly control his newly conquered territories through the control of the Church. This was usually done by granting to the Church the protection of property. In 1390 Andrew of Gualdo was named as "faithful advisor and spiritual chaplain" by Bosnian King Stephen Tvrtko when the Bosnians claimed large parts of Andrew's diocese and the city of Split itself. Since Tvrtko established his rule over a number of cities in Andrew's diocese forging closer links with the Church was viewed as beneficial in providing security and support for Tvrtko's expansion. Yet the relationship was based on Andrew recognizing the power of Tvrtko by visiting him in

¹⁵² MCZ I, 304, August 14 1384; 307-308, March 1 1387; CDC XVII, 55-56, March 1 1387.

Sutjeska. Following Tvrtko's death it was Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić who took the Church of Split into his protection, thus assuming a role similar to that of the king of Bosnia.

Michael of Dubrovnik is mentioned from 1390 as unconfirmed bishop of Knin, following the conquest of Knin by Bosnian forces that were besieging most of the Dalmatian coastline. Michael was Tvrtko's advisor and chancellor and in this function he was sent by the king to determine borders of the archdiocese of Split. But, the pope did not confirm him as the bishop. Instead, he was only appointed as the administrator of the diocese. Michael's fate is not known, but it was most likely connected with the successes of Bosnians in Dalmatia. Yet, in royal charters only one bishop, the incumbent Paul (1373-1395), was mentioned as the legitimate bishop during this entire time, until his death. He was probably ousted by Tvrtko, but then returned after Knin was taken by Sigismund. Later on, Bishop Ladislav, installed there by Sigismund, was removed before 1406 by the combined forces of the Bosnians and Neapolitans, who controlled nearby Split. Sigismund could install a prelate during times of peace but during a time of war it was difficult for Sigismund to provide any military support to protect a bishop so far in the south.

In 1397 John III of Zagreb was forced by King Sigismund to resign, yet he was soon installed by the pope as the archbishop of Kalocsa. He then sided with King Ladislav of Naples, and, by papal order, was transferred to the position of the bishop of Zagreb, in an attempt to oust Bishop Eberhard of Alben, the strongest supporter of King Sigismund. While Ladislav lost and John was forced to abandon both of his dioceses, the king did not abandon him and even helped him to become the archbishop of Naples, while John also performed important services for Ladislav, even shortly administering the diocese of Nin following the death of the previous bishop. It seems that Ladislav was in no way abandoning his loyal supporters, even when they lost their initial value, but instead kept supporting, rewarding and relying on them.

An even bigger conflict led to the ousting of Andrew of Gualdo from Split and the election of a new archbishop. Unlike the cases of the two Pauls, from Zagreb and Knin, Andrew was dismissed by the dissatisfied population of Split with whom Andrew was in conflict from the start of his reign. Yet, he found shelter in the court of King Sigismund who both supported his claim to Split and also assigned to him important functions in the kingdom. Andrew was mentioned in letters of Pope Gregory XII to King Sigismund. Since the letters are directed towards Sigismund, the pope refers to Andrew as the archbishop of Split, while Ladislav of Naples is referred to as the King of Sicily,¹⁵³ even though the pope, at the same time, recognized another person as the archbishop. Of course, this can be explained in a number of ways: from the pope and Ladislav being at that time in conflict, to the papacy leading a prudent diplomacy since it had to rely more on the secular support, but the main reason was the return of the papacy to its previous cautious policy when dealing with secular leaders, the policy which was briefly disrupted when Pope Boniface IX chose to support Ladislav over Sigismund in 1403.

Bishop Eberhard Alben of Zagreb became, through his backing of Sigismund, one of the powerful people in the kingdom. As a strong supporter of Sigismund he was recognized by Sigismund's opponents as a threat very early on. Already in 1397 the Hungarian nobility demanded that the king get rid of "foreigners and newcomers" to the kingdom, but Sigismund was able to protect him.¹⁵⁴ Sigismund's protection of "foreigners" in his service would pay off soon. These prelates¹⁵⁵ elevated by King Sigismund sided with him in the rebellions of 1402-03 while the rest were exiled or removed from office and their dioceses were given to secular governors.¹⁵⁶ I agree with Bard's explanation that foreign bishops were more

¹⁵³ VMH II, 179-182, 1407-1408.

¹⁵⁴ Other persons are named as threat, but Sigismund was able to protect all the valuable "foreigners" in his service: Voivode Stibor, Eberhard, bishop of Zagreb, and Maternus, bishop of Transylvania. DRMH II, 24.

¹⁵⁵ Some of them played important role before 1402: Maternus was the bishop of Transylvania (1395-1399), Nicholas of Transylvania (1399-1401), and Peter of Nitra (1399-1404), HC, 368, 492-493.

¹⁵⁶ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 211-213.

dependent on the king's support, than that of the papacy or local nobility.¹⁵⁷ Their connections with the king gave the prelates not only security but also opportunities of doing valuable services for the king. Sigismund's decisions also show his heavy reliance on the support of the key clergymen to enhance his rule in key areas. This came true during the period of 1402/03 when, despite having the entire kingdom rebelling against him, key individuals, strategically well placed, supported Sigismund and helped him crush the rebellion. Some of them were prelates. This was somewhat similar to the plan of Pope Boniface VIII: key prelates placed in the period of 1297-1303 were part of the pope's plan to bring Angevins to the throne. Yet now, instead of the pope, this tactics were used by King Sigismund.

As key prelate in Sigismund's service, Eberhard acted as a firm protector of the king's interest in southern parts of Kingdom of Hungary. In 1402 he was serving as ban of Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia, together with Emeric Bubek, who was also prior of Vrana.¹⁵⁸ He also waged war with his bishop's army as well as acted as royal chancellor from 1403. After the revolt, Eberhard, together with Herman of Cilli, created a list of enemies of the king which became the basis for taking and returning lands and privileges to the faithful nobility.¹⁵⁹

In 1403 Eberhard was mentioned in an order from the pope to Legate Angelo in which the pope gave specific orders to his legate to remove Eberhard from the position of the bishop of Zagreb and to remove him to any free titular diocese. Eberhard was, however, not naïve, and refused the papal order, only to be excommunicated forthwith. The legate's attempt was unsuccessful and Eberhard remained the bishop. Following the events of 1404 and the widening of the conflict in the country Sigismund placed Eberhard to govern, besides Zagreb, the diocese of Várad. In 1408 Eberhard became bishop of Várad, while in Zagreb his position was taken by Andrea Scolari, from the rich and influential Scolari family that

¹⁵⁷ Bard, *Aristocratic Revolts*, 87.

¹⁵⁸ MHEZ V, 151-152, March 20 1402.

¹⁵⁹ MHEZ V, 286-288, June 19 1406.

Sigismund elevated to an important position within the kingdom. The pope reprimanded Eberhard only in 1410. A somewhat similar occurrence happened with the archbishop of Split. In the conflict between Split and Trogir the archbishop's territories were pillaged. King Sigismund took the archbishop of Split, Andrew, under his protection. This was one of the rare talents of Sigismund: to recognize capable individuals and gave them key functions in the kingdom. Of course, his support for them depended on the political situation, but he was not one to forget his supporters. Both Ladislav and Sigismund had no scruples to get rid of entire titles or confiscate lands when it became necessary, but they shared the loyalty to those who were faithful to them.

When Zadar was considering a revolt against Sigismund in 1397 Sigismund had ordered that all the property belonging to the Matafaris brothers, Guido, Louis and Peter, the archbishop of Zadar, be confiscated.¹⁶⁰ The Matafaris, together with several other families, had a substantial power in the politics of Zadar and also had significant influence in other Dalmatian cities. Yet Sigismund was not strong enough to assert his will to Zadar, but instead supported the pope when he elected a papal candidate for the archbishop, Luke of Fermo, over the choice of the cathedral chapter. It was Luke who greeted Ladislav's regent in Dalmatia, Admiral Aloysius Aldemarisco, who came to Zadar in 1402 to obtain its allegiance to King Ladislav, and Luke led a procession of taking the oath of allegiance by the nobility of Zadar to the new king. A year later Luke was in the procession that greeted the king and also celebrated a mass in honor of his arrival.¹⁶¹

It was the support or the opposition to Sigismund, as well as his disinterest or inability to help Dalmatia and Croatia, which decided the fate of prelates as well as pushed the region into the hands of Ladislav and Duke Hrvoje. Zadar was delivered to Ladislav by the Matafaris

¹⁶⁰ *Memoriale*, 24. In his diary he notes the date of February 3 1397 when King proclaimed his order.

¹⁶¹ *Memoriale*, 34; Lovorka Čoralić and Damir Karbić, „Prilog životopisu zadarskog nadbiskupa Luke iz Ferma (1400.1420.)” [A contribution to the biography of Luca from Fermo, archbishop of Zadar (1400-1420)], *Povijesni prilozi* 34 (2008), 73.

brothers, who regained power in 1401. Archbishop Luke was at first on good terms with the new authorities,¹⁶² yet in 1408 he was imprisoned for stirring up a revolt against Ladislav. Following the interdict against the city and the dissatisfaction of the population he was released.¹⁶³ While Zadar was at its political and military height during the rule of Ladislav, marking victory after victory,¹⁶⁴ it does seem that the new government favored only certain factions of the nobility while instability infiltrated into the city. This was marked by the constant pillaging of church property, especially of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, due to the unstable political situation and lack of protection during that period. This could have alienated members of the clergy, particularly Archbishop Luke, from Ladislav.¹⁶⁵

The chaos of that period is best observed in Trogir. When Bishop Chrysogonus of Trogir was in 1403 unsuccessfully promoted to archbishop of Kalocsa, he was replaced in Trogir by Simon of Dominis. Following Ladislav's departure in 1409, Simon relied on Sigismund to fight Venice. Yet in 1420 Venice conquered the city, and the bishop of Trogir was exiled.¹⁶⁶

The pope and the king therefore gave the prelate moral authority, power and security, yet the key area where this was tested lay in the prelate's diocese. The ability to support or oppose a pretender stemmed from the position of the prelate within his diocese, which will be explored in the next section.

¹⁶² At the Assembly of Temesvár (1397) Sigismund introduced a special tax on the church that amounted to half of the Church's income. This was done in the atmosphere of the earlier defeat at Nicopolis and the need to organize a defence against the Ottomans. There are several surviving sources dealing with Zadar. This could explain the relative ease with which the Mataris brothers claimed Zadar and the support that the Church gave Ladislav in his first years of reign over Zadar. See: Serdo Dokoza, "Sigismundov porez na Crkvu," [Sigismund's Church tax], *Povijesni prilozi* 41 (2011): 133-142.

¹⁶³ Čoralić and Karbić, „Prilog životopisu zadarskog nadbiskupa Luke iz Ferma,” 74; *Memoriale*, 42.

¹⁶⁴ See: Ančić, „Od tradicije “sedam pobuna” do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika,” 43-96.

¹⁶⁵ Miroslav Granić, “Kronološki pregled povijesti Zadarske nadbiskupije od početka 14. stoljeća” [Chronological overview of the history of archdiocese of Zadar] in: *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o 1700. obljetnici mučeništva sv. Stošije (Anastazije)*, ed. Livio Marijan (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2004), 238-239; Čoralić and Karbić commented that after 1409 Archbishop Luke never again took any political action in the city (meaning that he was not dissatisfied with Ladislav leaving).

¹⁶⁶ Daniele Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi* [Bishops of Trogir] (Split: Književni krug, 2010), 306-310.

3. Spiritual Leader and Secular Prince

To support a pretender, the prelate first had to claim a position of his own within the diocese. To accomplish this he had two options: secular warfare or spiritual excommunication.

Since the synod of Buda in 1279, bishops in Hungary were forbidden to wage wars and were allowed to fight only to defend their realms.¹⁶⁷ Bishops of Zagreb could mount military force of their own. Bishop Michael (1295-1303) was described as *qui cum armis defendebat in quantum poterat ecclesiam suam*,¹⁶⁸ while later Bishop Eberhard even personally fought in battles against the Ottomans. In contrast, Dalmatian prelates did not have military resources but relied on the support from the community. So when Archbishop Andrew of Split (1389-1402) decided to build himself a castle in Lučac (near Split) in 1392 it caused confusion and worry for the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Vuk Vukčić, who first thought that Andrew is building a castle to fight Vuk's Bosnians.¹⁶⁹ Although Andrew explained that he built it only to protect his men from robbers, it was later on razed by the people of Split and it seems that Andrew had indeed been using it in his conflicts with the citizens.

In all, prelates lacked the strongest secular weapon of brute force. Instead their strongest weapon was the prelate's word, which rested on his moral authority. The main punishment the prelate could threaten the population with was excommunication. It was an act of excluding a person from all contacts with other Christians, issuing a ban that closed all churches in the affected area and prohibited liturgy, sacraments and burial.¹⁷⁰ If overused,

¹⁶⁷ Zoltan Kosztoľnyik, "In the European Mainstream - Hungarian Churchmen and Thirteenth-Century Synods," *The Catholic Historical Review* 3 (1993): 424.

¹⁶⁸ According to John, archdeacon of Gorica. MHEZ II, 6.

¹⁶⁹ King Ladislav of Naples named brothers Vukčić Hrvatinić, Vuk and Hrvoje, as his bans in Croatia and Dalmatia. CDC XVII, 375-376, July 17 1391; Compare with: Ferdo Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić* (Zagreb: Naklada "Matice hrvatske"), 83.

¹⁷⁰ Jean Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 164.

however, excommunication could have a counter effect where prelates would be penalized according to canon law, while those who were excommunicated could challenge the decision.¹⁷¹

As outlined in the introductory chapter, I will use the concept of two diocese models, continental and coastal, to look at the usual conflicts within the diocese and how they both affected the prelates' ability to support or oppose a pretender, and how prelates benefited from supporting certain pretender and the pope.

3. 1. The "Continental" model

The position of the bishop of Zagreb included significant land possessions which gave him a powerful position in Slavonia, but also attracted pressure from other landowners. In the course of the fourteenth century, with the help from the ruler, the bishop of Zagreb overcame these landowners and claimed the diocese for himself.

The biggest threat to John I (1288-1295) came from the kindred of the Babonići. Since John received his prelateship through election by his cathedral chapter, and not his connections with the king, his position was rather insecure. John I came into agreement with the Babonići, who exerted certain influence on him. It is most likely that John, as newly elected bishop, decided very soon to rely on the support of for protection in times of unrest and in controlling his diocese. While it is possible that the Babonići forced John to cooperate with them, it is more likely that John relied on their support against other enemies.¹⁷² All pretensions the kindred had on ecclesiastical properties were solved by the bishop peacefully

¹⁷¹ Clarence Gallagher, *Canon Law and the Christian Community: The Role of Law in the Church According to the Summa Aurea of Cardinal Hostiensis* (Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, 1978), 148-49.

¹⁷² Possible enemies could be the Kőszegis who were at that time chief rivals of the Babonići in Slavonia. Yet another possibility is that this was a consequence of internal conflicts within the Babonići where two brothers, Radoslav and Stephen, were confronting each other. The brothers concluded a peace treaty in 1294 in front of the cathedral chapter in Zagreb. Could it be that John mediated between the brothers and had them sign the peace treaty? CDC VII, 181-182; Compare with: Hrvoje Kekez, "Između dva kralja: plemićki rod Babonića u vrijeme promjene na ugarsko-hrvatskom prijestolju, od 1290. do 1309. godine [Between two kings: the noble Babonići kindred in the period of change on the Hungarian-Croatian throne, from 1290 until 1309]," *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008), 68-75; Also, see the next footnote.

and in their favor. By 1292 the Babonići gained the bishop's key castles of Medvedgrad and Blaguša, as well as the county of Hrastovica.¹⁷³

On the other hand, John's successor Michael (1296-1303) was closely connected with King Andrew III and served as chancellor of the king's uncle, Alberto Morosini, duke of Slavonia. Michael came into conflict with the Babonići over the castle of Medvedgrad.¹⁷⁴ Yet, the Babonići refused to return the castle to the bishop. In 1300 the bishop and the Babonići formed a bond of peace and friendship.

The Babonići were looking for the bishop's protection against any hostile army, most likely oligarchs of King Andrew III, but the bishop stated that he would not help them in case of King Andrew III's direct involvement.¹⁷⁵ The relationship with Michael mirrored the relationship of Michael's lord, King Andrew. While John was raised to the position of bishop as one of the canons of the cathedral chapter of Kaptol, Michael came from the king's territories and closely supported the king and his allies. Here the conflict between the Babonići and Michael should be positioned. For most of Andrew III's rule the Babonići were in conflict with the king and they were even at some point titled as *infidels*. Yet when in 1299 Andrew granted Stephen Babonić the title of ban of *totius Sclavonie*,¹⁷⁶ a pledge of friendship with the bishop soon followed.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Following charters are addressed to Radoslav Babonić and Gardun. Gardun is named as Radoslav's representative in the negotiations over Hrastovica which could indicate that he was Radoslav's close supporter. CDC VI, 652-653, May 23 1289; 693, March 29 1290; King Andrew gave the Babonići Medvedgrad and Kalnik: CDC VII, 35-36, June 29 1291; CDC VII, 106-109, August 13 1292. Medvedgrad is on the strategic position overlooking both Gradec and Kaptol, while Blaguša and Kalnik are further to the north of Zagreb.

¹⁷⁴ CDC VII, 325, 1298; 359-360, March 12 1299.

¹⁷⁵ CDC VII, 389-391, May 26 1300; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [The History of Croats in High Middle ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), 351-352.

¹⁷⁶ CDC VII, 351-353, August 1 1299; Kekez, "Između dva kralja," 78.

¹⁷⁷ Keeping in mind that a signing of an agreement was just a final act of a long process of negotiations and concessions, King Andrew signed the agreement with the Babonići in August 1299, while Bishop Michael followed in May 1300. Following the death of Radoslav Babonić, King Andrew gave Stephen Babonić the title of ban of Slavonia and some lands belonging to Radoslav. On the other hand, Michael promised the kindred that he would protect them in case they are attacked by „king's barons.” Kekez claims that the Babonići feared a reprisal from Andrew for their simultaneous dealings with the Angevins and that Michael would provide them with money but would not help them if they are attacked by the king. Now why would Michael do this? Michael would only sign this agreement if the same was already done by the king. Andrew helped Michael gain his position in Zagreb, while Michael also served as chancellor of Andrew's uncle, Albert Morosini, the duke of

The weakness of the position of the bishop of Zagreb and his inability to rely on either papal or royal support during the succession crisis is best observed with Michael's successor Augustine (1303-1324). In the conflict with the Babonići over Medvedgrad Augustine complained to Legate Gentile, the bishops of Hungary and the pope, with no success.¹⁷⁸ The conflict was resolved in 1313: Augustine remained in control of the castle, but the Babonići remained its castellans.¹⁷⁹ Medvedgrad eventually returned to the control of the bishop, when the oligarchs were crushed by Charles Robert.

Archdeacon John noted that during the reign of John I the Church, especially its Kaptol, suffered the most.¹⁸⁰ In 1293 King Andrew III gave the cathedral chapter the privilege of collecting all market taxes in the city. Prior to that the chapter collected two thirds, while the last third went to the king.¹⁸¹ John I was elected as a member of the chapter house and he ruled continuously until his death without mention of any major conflict with the king. While Andrew's decision was often interpreted as the king's attempt to make the cathedral chapter side with him and against the town's bishop, the decision benefited both.¹⁸² The chapter received its own incomes while the bishop also had significant power over the cathedral chapter since he had the right to appoint clerics to the position of canons in the diocese.¹⁸³ Conflicts between the chapter and the bishop were rare even at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the late fourteenth century the chapter would even staunchly support the bishops' policies even when they rebelled against rulers.

Slavonia. Possible answer could be given by looking at who would gain the most from the Babonići's defeat. They are the Kőszegi who often confronted the Babonići in the past, and who would gain the most from the renewed conflict with the Babonići. During the period 1298-1300, the Kőszegi also signed a treaty with the king, meaning that they were now secured from a potential attack by the king. John Kőszegi even obtained the title of palatine. See: Kekez, "Između dva kralja," 80; Zsoldos, "Kings and Oligarchs in Hungary," 230-33.

¹⁷⁸ CDC VIII, 224, 250-251.

¹⁷⁹ CDC VIII, 337-339, June 10 1313.

¹⁸⁰ "et fuit per hoc ecclesia in persecucionibus posita maxime quantum ad capitulum." MHEZ II, 6.

¹⁸¹ MCZ I, LXXXII; 69-70, June 26 1292; 72, May 22 1293; CDC VII, 140-141, May 22 1293. This was already an unusually generous arrangement.

¹⁸² Klaić believed that bishop John I (1288-1295) was one of the most dedicated Angevin supporters in the kingdom but there is no concrete evidence to support this. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* I, 301.

¹⁸³ MCZ I, CXIV.

This meant that Bishop Eberhard, having the nobility pay their tithes under the threat of excommunication, was able to fully control his diocese without any problems.¹⁸⁴ When Eberhard decided to donate Medvedgrad to his relative Rudolph Alben, thus damaging the income of the diocese, the cathedral chapter was unable to efficiently oppose his decision.¹⁸⁵

As oligarchs were defeated and Kaptol and its bishop came into a cohabitation, the major conflicts in the diocese were mostly between the secular and the religious parts of the city, Gradec and Kaptol respectively, over the tithe issue. The worst conflicts broke out during the rule of John II Smilo Bohemus (1387-1394) and John III de Scepus (1395-1397). The courses of these conflicts were similar and can be summarized as (1) intensive and violent conflict between Gradec and Kaptol which led to excommunication of the rebels from Gradec by the bishop, as well as numerous casualties and people left unburied because of the excommunication; (2) conflict over the sixteenth of the tithe that belonged to Gradec but the chapter wanted to appropriate; (3) intervention of King Sigismund in favour of Gradec.¹⁸⁶ As a result of the hostilities, both bishops failed and John III was even forced to resign. The reign of the bishop of Zagreb, Ladislav of Kaboli (1326-1343), follows almost identically stages one and two mentioned above, with the major difference that King Charles Robert sided with the bishop who won.¹⁸⁷

Although a simplified scheme, since Ladislav fought against the lower nobility of his diocese while both John II and John III fought against citizens of Gradec, it can be seen how all three bishops followed the same pattern of gaining additional income, which in turn provoked rebellion, violence and excommunication. Additionally, all three bishops were installed there by direct royal action, and were supposed to have full royal support. However,

¹⁸⁴ MHEZ V, 103-104, August 18 1399; 105-106, September 29 1399.

¹⁸⁵ MHEZ V, 106-107, October 16 1399.

¹⁸⁶ CDC XVII, 433-437, May 12 1392; Andrija Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskupi Ivan Smilo i Ivan Šipuški 1388-1397 [Bishops of Zagreb John Smilo and John Scepus]," *CCP* 14 (1991): 191-96.

¹⁸⁷ The conflict is followed in: Lujó Margetić, "Pravne osnove crkvene desetine," [Legal Basis for the Church Tithe], in: *Hrvatska i Crkva u srednjem vijeku* [Croatia and the Church in the Middle Ages] (Rijeka: Pravni fakultet u Rijeci, 2000): 33-38; *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, 104-8.

the differences are significant. Ladislav asked for tithe he was legally entitled to, whereas John II and John III were trying to enforce the payment of a sixteenth which had dubious legal backing. This sixteenth belonged to the cathedral chapter, which explains why they fully supported the bishops.¹⁸⁸ A major role here was played by the king. While Ladislav had Charles' support, Sigismund sided with Gradec against its bishop.

The conflict revolved around money. Both John II and John III had enormous difficulties to pay their *servitia* as bishops of Zagreb to the Roman Curia, which did not change or adapt to the difficult economic circumstances bishops could find themselves in. Those with high *servitia debita* were very reluctant to relinquish their hold of any income.¹⁸⁹

Sigismund's defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 gave John III the opportunity to engage with Gradec without pressure from the king. John was temporarily successful, but in 1397 the king returned and forced the bishop to back down. As reason for John's resignation it was often cited that John III sided with Stephen Lackfi de Csáktornya (Čakovec) when he rebelled against Sigismund. While it cannot be completely rejected, there is no evidence to suggest that John III supported Lackfi.¹⁹⁰ Even more, several years later he was named as the archbishop of Kalocsa, the second most important ecclesiastical seat in Hungary, which would hardly have happened if he had been conspiring against Sigismund, since the king was a person who did not forget easily. I believe that the resignation was forced by Sigismund since he relied more on the support of Gradec than on the bishop. Sigismund kept supporting Gradec: in 1404 he forbade his tax collectors to take additional taxes from the merchants of Gradec, so as not to provoke them.¹⁹¹ As seen in Zagreb in the period 1394-97, bishops failed in their attempts since they lacked royal support. Yet Bishop Eberhard, who was

¹⁸⁸ Margetić, "Pravne osnove crkvene desetine," 33.

¹⁸⁹ Everett Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the „Mensa Episcopalis,”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 20.

¹⁹⁰ For this see: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 325-333; Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskupi Ivan Smilo i Ivan Šipuški," 198.

¹⁹¹ MCZ II, 7-8, April 24 1404.

excommunicated in 1403 by papal legate Angelo, and then again fell into conflict with the pope in 1410, had no problems in maintaining his role as a bishop, since he had the backing of the king.

This made Bishop Eberhard cautious when interacting with his diocese, which may explain why there is no mention of any conflicts with Gradec, and conflicts with Kaptol were solved quickly and in the prelate's favour. He took the tithe of Kaptol to support Sigismund when he was imprisoned, but returned it as soon as possible.¹⁹² Always in search for money, Sigismund even pledged Gradec to Eberhard in 1405, yet Eberhard did not overuse his prerogatives.¹⁹³ The stronger role the bishop could exert over his diocese was a result of the downfall of the oligarchs and the consolidation of the bishop's property.

3. 2. The "Coastal" Model

While still powerful during the thirteenth century, having significant influence over the city magistrate, in the fourteenth century prelate's privileges came under attack by both the cathedral chapter and the communal authorities.¹⁹⁴ The community feared that the power of the Church in the city was growing excessively, so it forbade people to leave their estates in the city to the institutions of the Church,¹⁹⁵ while privileges of the clergy were slowly reduced during the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁶

Regardless of obvious differences in the development of cities, two things can be generalized: (1) the community infringed on the bishop's rights of judicial jurisdiction over the bishop's subjects; and (2) there was a conflict between the community, the cathedral chapter and the prelate over the division and use of the Church's income. The prelates'

¹⁹² MHEZ V, 260-261, October 5 1405; 262-263, October 28 1405.

¹⁹³ MCZ II, 8-9, June 14 1405.

¹⁹⁴ Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 82-83, 104.

¹⁹⁵ Granić, "Kronološki pregled," 213; Irena Benyovski Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne operarije: institucije za izgradnju katedrale u Trogiru," [Development of the medieval Operaria: Institution for the Construction of the Cathedral in Trogir], *CCP* 65 (2010): 11.

¹⁹⁶ William James Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 32-33.

approach to their relationship with their diocese affected their ability to support or oppose various pretenders.

Although the papal actions were aimed at obtaining the throne of Hungary for their protégés, the popes were not always successful on the local level. The archbishop of Zadar had significant influence over his commune, solving conflicts in which the commune wanted to limit his powers in his favor.¹⁹⁷ Yet when in 1308 Legate Gentile visited Zadar, a conflict broke out in the city. The clergy played a vital role in controlling the population and incensing them against the legate, while the role of the Venetian authorities was minimal. In return Gentile excommunicated the entire clergy of Zadar. They were disobeying his orders and not accepting his authority as a legate. Eventually Gentile was able to force part of the clergy to recognize his authority.¹⁹⁸ This showed that the archbishop had significant influence over the commune, but also its clergy.

A joint Papal-Angevin-Šubići action of 1298 established diocese of Šibenik. The consequences were that it stopped a violent and bloody conflict between Trogir and Šibenik, which was supported by Split, but it also significantly weakened Trogir. The bishop of Trogir lost half of his income as well as his moral authority which opened him to attacks by his clergy and the community of Trogir. The bishop of Trogir was soon contested by the commune that wanted and got part of the jurisdiction over inhabitants of bishop's lands,¹⁹⁹ while cathedral chapter wanted better division of Church's lands and incomes. The commune was also able to impinge on the bishop's control of funds for building the cathedral, the

¹⁹⁷ CDC VIII, 35-37, October 28 1302; and it took two years for the cathedral chapter to confirm this agreement: 99-112, June 14 1305.

¹⁹⁸ CDC VIII, 188, June 23 1308; See also: Serđo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i crkvene prilike u Zadru," [Legate Gentile and the state of the Church in Zadar], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 40 (1998): 65-79.

¹⁹⁹ CDC VIII, 94-92, May 15 1305.

problem which was not solved even by Legate Gentile and had caused the bishop of Trogir to excommunicate the city's representatives.²⁰⁰

Archbishop Peter of Split, installed there by Papal-Angevin action was excommunicated by Gentile in 1311. He was excommunicated for overusing his authority: attempting to install his friends as bishops, misappropriating the incomes of the diocese, as well as overstepping his authorities when he required the citizens of Trogir to always lavishly greet him whenever he visited Trogir.²⁰¹ Yet his position as the archbishop was very difficult. He controlled a huge and diverse archdiocese with cities that were often at conflict with each other. At first Peter proved to be reliable to the Apostolic See. When in 1303 Pope Boniface VIII proclaimed Charles Robert as legitimate king representative of Peter, Lawrence, visited the cathedral church of Trogir where he threatened the community with excommunication unless they start dating their charters with the king's name.²⁰² The same thing may have occurred in Split, because they did not accept Charles Robert immediately after the death of King Andrew in 1301 either.²⁰³ In this case, the papal order persuaded the citizens more effectively than the threats from the prelate. Yet the sheer size of the archdiocese of Split meant that a reckless prelate could find himself in conflict with both his city and the diocese and that prelate usually needed significant backing to succeed in his plans. Most of Archbishop Peter's plan backfired and caused him to be excommunicated.

Later when both the archbishops, Luke of Zadar and Andrew of Split, were met with problems during their first years of their rule, it was the pope who came to their support.²⁰⁴ Sources do not say who opposed these prelates. After ousting Andrew in 1402, the

²⁰⁰ Benyovski Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne operarije," 2; Granić, "Kronološki pregled," 215; Daniele Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi* [Bishops of Trogir] (Split: Književni krug, 2010), 220-227; CDC VIII, 227-229, November 2 1308; Serdo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i trogirске crkvene prilike," [Legate Gentile and the state of the Church in Trogir], *Vartal* 1-2 (1998): 67-83.

²⁰¹ Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 219; CDC VIII, 185-186, June 27 1308; 378-381, January 8 1315.

²⁰² For period before: CDC VIII, 41-42, 1302-1303; For the threat and the result, see: CDC VIII, 57, August 22 1303.

²⁰³ "regno Ungarie sede vacante," CDC VIII, 5, April 14 1301.

²⁰⁴ For Andrew: Fontes, 138-139, February 11 1390; For Luke: Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 135-136; ZsO 2/1, 94, January 8 1401.

community of Split demanded in a treaty with Bosnian King Ostoja that they not be forced to accept another foreigner as their archbishop. I suggest that this decision was not aimed at “foreigners.” In the treaty citizens demand that they have a say in choosing their prelate and that this decision would not be forced upon them. From 1291 in Zadar and 1297 in Split archbishops were installed by the pope. It is possible that the opposition to both Luke and Andrew came as opposition to prelates installed from outside. The violence was committed by groups that were excluded from the process of the election of the prelate and were using episcopal vacancies and period of unfamiliarity of the new prelate to oppose him.²⁰⁵ While, due to lack of sources, this is not a perfect explanation, it does point to a different understanding of violence against the prelates in their first years of reign.

4. Defining the Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the ruler was rarely defined through the voices of prelates in question. This could primarily be attributed to the lack of sources, yet some sources remain that provide a glimpse into how prelates viewed the struggle by pretenders for the throne and how they defined the legitimacy of the pretenders. The two cases to be discussed here are those of two bishops of Zagreb: Augustine Kažotić (Gazotti) (1303-1324) and Paul Horvati (1379-1387) who both discussed the legitimacy of the two Angevin pretenders, Charles Robert and Charles of Durazzo, and by that indirectly also Ladislav of Naples as the son of Charles of Durazzo.

Bishop Augustine Kažotić, Dominican friar and a graduate of Paris, from a patrician family from Trogir, served together with Legate Niccolo Bocassini during his mission to Hungary prior to Niccolo being elected as Pope Benedict XI. These connections got him to the important position of bishop of Zagreb, but probably also defined his position towards the

²⁰⁵ See: Joelle Rollo Koster. “Episcopal and Papal Vacancies: A Long History of Violence,” in *Ecclesia & Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages*, ed. Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 54-71.

succession crises. The second was Bishop Paul, from the noble and influential family Horvati that gave several distinguished barons to royal service. Paul also served as chief diplomat for King Louis I in a series of missions. After the death of Louis he was among the chief proponents of Charles of Durazzo's claim for the Hungarian throne. Yet, when considering their speeches, many things should be taken into account for getting a proper context: the historical circumstances, their audiences and the personal background of each prelate.

Augustine²⁰⁶ gave a speech on the Rákos Field in 1307 where he addressed the nobility of Hungary in favor of siding with Charles Robert. His goal was to promote Charles Robert as the candidate of the Apostolic See and make him acceptable to the Hungarian nobility. He spoke of the right of the Holy See to postulate the ruler of Hungary but emphasized that the pope acted on the request of the nobility of Hungary and that he did not wish to force his candidate upon Hungary. Instead, Augustine says, it was the Hungarian nobility who asked the pope to give them a candidate. The nobles who requested the pope's intervention were in fact the Šubići who invited and escorted Charles Robert to Croatia in 1300.²⁰⁷ Augustine's speech then continues with emphasizing Charles Robert's blood right. But here he makes a mistake: he says that Mary, the grandmother, is Charles Robert's mother, the uncle, Saint Louis of Toulouse is his brother, and he, as son of Charles II, was supposed to inherit Naples but instead, on the order of the pope, decided to claim the Hungarian throne and stop the bleeding of the country. It is justifiable to suggest that Augustine is deliberately merging Charles Martel, the father, and Charles Robert, the son, for the purposes of the topic and audience.²⁰⁸ While at first glance this may seem to diminish the

²⁰⁶ When quoted about Augustine's speech it is from: Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Church of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1994), 130-35; For the Latin original: Baltazar Adam Kerchelich, *Historiarum Cathedralis ecclesiae Zagradiensis*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: 1770), 111-14.

²⁰⁷ For the role that the Šubići played see chapter: "The Apostolic See and the Kingdom of Hungary."

²⁰⁸ This was also done in a way by Dante who manipulated his characters to promote his political aspirations by tarnishing the names of his political rivals, the Pope Boniface VIII and the King Robert of Naples, for future generations. Dante sent both of them to hell in his "Divine Comedy", because of the conflict between the two Guelf parties. It was through the words of Robert's brother Charles Martell that "he usurped a throne rightfully

authenticity of the speech and makes it sound like a later interpolation by Krčelić, the speech should be placed into a different context: the audience consists of the Hungarian nobility and it is their sense of privilege and importance that Augustine is boosting with his speech while at the same time accomplishing his goal of showing that Charles Robert was sent to Hungary by the pope upon the request from the nobility.

A similar thing happened with Charles' uncle, Robert, who took the throne that Charles laid claim on. Robert was in Naples accepted by barons as the heir and referred to him as *primogenitus*, first born, which he obviously was not.²⁰⁹ While it was not necessary for the heir to be first born to inherit, in practice this was considered very important. According to Augustine then, Charles Robert is therefore firstborn to Charles II, not his grandson, and there are no others to claim the throne of Sicily with a more legitimate right, but it is by the grace of Charles Robert and the decision of the pope that Charles arrived to help Hungary.

On the other hand, in 1385 Paul Horváti used the pretext of pilgrimage to Rome to visit Charles of Durazzo in Naples. The political situation was now completely different. Rebellion and dissatisfaction with the rule of Mary and Elizabeth, the queens of Hungary, was beginning to show, and Paul was the leading person in a plot to bring another Angevin claimant on the Hungarian throne.

Paul's speech to Charles is much shorter and built on a different premise.²¹⁰ It is supposed to have been delivered to a private audience of Charles and Paul, where Paul directly addressed the king, and not a group of people. Paul's main goal was to persuade Charles to claim the throne of Hungary. According to Paul, Charles is the legitimate ruler and it is his blood right to succeed to the throne. The main difference here is the role of the

belonging to... Charles Martell's own young son." Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon, Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1.

²⁰⁹ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 277.

²¹⁰ For Paul's speech see: Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke*, 166-167; For Latin original: Kerchelich, *Historiarum Cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis*, 140.

Apostolic See. For Paul it has a negative connotation. Charles would never be able to exclude the negative interference of the pope into Naples. He explains that it is in the power of the pope and he can only keep it by the grace of the pope: they only look at their own gain. He considers Italians as tricksters who cannot be trusted and the rule of women as not according to the customs. Instead, for him Charles of Durazzo is the male continuation of the saintly royal blood. According to fifteenth-century Hungarian chronicler, Thuróczy, the bishop was able to persuade the king who was unwilling to go to Hungary remembering the promise he made to King Louis the Great that he would not interfere in Hungarian affairs.²¹¹ This is therefore depicted as an invitation, and the Roman Curia is actually at this time in conflict with Charles.

In the eyes of the bishops of Zagreb the rule over Naples is always of secondary importance. Charles Robert had Naples by right but had abandoned it to help Hungary. Similarly Charles of Durazzo had more right to Hungary but was able to gain the throne of Naples. It seems that both bishops viewed the position of holding on to two thrones unattainable and believed that one has to be sacrificed for another. The audience and context are different but in both cases the speeches stress the need for a strong ruler to guard the kingdom from the foreign invasions. Both these rulers are viewed as natives of the kingdom, even though they originate in or come from another kingdom, and their opponents are viewed as foreign rulers.

Due to their position of benefiting from the royal power but at the same time also maintaining a degree of autonomy, the bishops were at the forefront of defining the ruling ideology. The idea of dynastic holiness, also known as *beata stirps*, which Augustine Kažotić applied to Charles Robert, and more famously the papal legate Gentile, was appropriated and

²¹¹ Clair Baddeley, *Charles III of Naples and Urban VI* (London: William Heinemann, 1894), 65.

widely used by the Angevins throughout the fourteenth century.²¹² This “sacral legitimation” was also repeated by Paul when he referred to Charles of Durazzo as “continuing the line of our divine kings” thus creating a direct sacred link within the Angevin dynasty.²¹³ Paul, as Augustine before him, formulated the already familiar idea: the king rules by the grace of God and he almost takes “the direct link with divinity.”²¹⁴ Although, this idea was still held back in Augustine’s speech, it gains its full meaning with Paul’s speech.

5. Conclusion to the Third Chapter

Succession crises opened up the weakness of the central authority which was acutely felt by the Church. The Church claimed power of mediation in the conflicts based on its position of moral superiority in the community, but its land and financial possibilities attracted the attention of secular forces in their dioceses that tried to control both the clergy and Church’s resources. Thus, to secure the property of the Church it was necessary for the clergy to promote a strong and capable ruler.

The strongest weapon a prelate had was his voice which he could exercise in the form of punishment by excommunication. While it is difficult to say whether excommunication ever lost its spiritual component of inflicting dread in the population, its real power rested in the authority of the prelate to be obeyed and accepted by others.²¹⁵ Although the personal standing of the prelate with the community could result in the population accepting his decision, the prelate usually had to rely on the backing of higher authority for his excommunication orders to be successful.

²¹² See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-2, 295-331.

²¹³ “Te alto Regum Hungariae de Sanguine ducere originem” ... “Es Nostrorum Virilis divorum propago Regum.”

²¹⁴ Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), 139-140.

²¹⁵ See the overview of the literature in: Richard Helmholz, *Canon Law and the Law of England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), 102-3.

The higher authority that could support the prelate could come from either the pope or the ruler. Yet their support rested on both the relationship they had with the prelate as much on geographical proximity. Although prelates in Dalmatia would obtain their diocese through established links with the pope, once they were in their diocese and they have paid their fees to the Apostolic See, they would find themselves in a diocese where it took them several years to build their own support. By being too far away from the center in Buda, prelates of Dalmatia and Croatia had marginal participation in the courtly life of the kingdom. In comparison, links and contacts with Italy were well established.

On the other hand prelates from a diocese with links to inner Hungary were situated on the road leading from Buda to Italy, and thus to the pope in either Rome or Avignon. These prelates could benefit from it, by gaining responsibilities in exercising royal authority in the southern parts of his kingdom, and also being more strongly influenced by the ruler.

The comparison of the coastal and continental models in this chapter suggests that there were marked differences between episcopal power and support. Both the distance and disinterest played a role in where the authority would come from. The bishop of Zagreb could quickly rise and secure his authority over the diocese with the help of the king, but also quickly fall in the event of losing that support. In Dalmatia, relying on the king's mediation was rarely possible or successful since the ruler was too far away, disinterested or unable to interfere. This meant that the prelate often had to seek support for his authority from the pope or, more typically, the papal legate. Yet this support often depended on the changing political or financial needs of the Roman Curia.

Conclusion

Both Charles Robert and Ladislás of Naples died at the height of their power and were buried in splendor. Charles Robert successfully claimed Hungary, while Ladislás's lack of success left him without Hungary, but firmly in possession of Naples. Both started their reigns opposed by numerous pretenders and oligarchs that they defeated over time. Both enjoyed the full support and backing of the Apostolic See. Charles was backed by the actions of popes Boniface VIII, Benedict XI and Clement V, who all translated and installed prelates to support him. Once firmly in power Charles started to install prelates by himself which provoked a rebellion of the clergy that complained to the Apostolic See but to no avail. Ladislás was backed by Boniface IX, but following the death of his mentor, the pope, he seized much of the Papal States' lands. The consequences of the both succession crises left similar effects in as much as Zagreb was firmly under the rule of the king of Hungary, while Dalmatia fell under Venice.

This thesis set out to understand the successes or failures of the pretenders' efforts not through the pretenders' interaction with the nobility but by comparing their attempts with the development of the ecclesiastical structures. To do this I discussed (1) the role and the actions taken by the Apostolic See; (2) loyalties and support from the prelates; (3) the development and changes within the ecclesiastical structures that could help or hinder the pretenders.

Chapter one showed that the Apostolic See favored the Angevins' claim to Hungary but that this support was positioned within an international context. The actions of Boniface VIII stemmed from his understanding of the relationship between spiritual and secular power where the pope had authority over both. This brought him success in Hungary but failure in France. Boniface IX operated within the Western schism when Christendom was split in half. The need to back the Angevins came not out of his understanding of his power, but his own need for support.

Chapter two dealt with how the election process of the prelate developed and how it was used by the Apostolic See and the pretenders to accomplish their political goals. In the first period the Apostolic See used these tactics with care, not to provoke opposition, and it enabled the Papal Curia to spread its influence to inner Hungary during the succession crisis. In the second period these tactics were openly used in favor of the Angevin pretender and led to resistance due to consolidation of the royal power during the fourteenth century.

Chapter three analyzed changing loyalties and actions taken by the prelates during the succession crises and showed how much this was connected with actions taken by the Church or the pretenders. The prelates were the main agents on behalf of the Church in the succession crisis proclaiming papal decisions in favor of pretenders and persuading the population to support the pretender. A prelate was expected to work in his diocese in favor of a certain pretender which caused different reactions: from support to exile.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this research:(1) Both succession crises revealed the weakness of the central government. This helped spread papal influence to inner Hungary. A gradual increase in the power of the pope saw him appointing prelates in Split (1297), establishing the diocese of Šibenik (1298), only to fully increase the papal influence in 1303 by installing the archbishop of Esztergom and the bishop of Zagreb. While it seems that the papal authority diminished in favor of stronger secular power it in fact brought about a balance between the secular and spiritual powers. Yet, while the papal power of the first period was strong and united, the effects of the Western Schism caused division within Christendom. Although the crises of the second period brought about the weakening of the central authority the papacy was too weak itself to effectively use this power vacuum. Instead the popes mostly relied on the backing of a strong secular power.

(2) The main weapon of controlling the Church was the appointment of the prelate. The vacant seats were granted to persons with good contacts with either the pope or the king,

and it was possible for prelates opposing their spiritual or temporal superiors to be removed from office by translation (the pope) or resignation and ousting (the king). Both the geography and the differences in the development of the dioceses saw diverse success by the pope and the king. During the crisis the pope was more influential in postulating prelates in the Dalmatian communes, while the king's authority over the Church was felt in areas where the prelate himself was reigning as a nobleman and where his interaction with the local nobility required for him to rely more on the royal support.

This also meant that there were patterns in “popularity” of installing prelates from certain groups. During the first period the mendicant orders spread as part of the conscious planning done by the Apostolic See. These orders were preferred by the royal courts in Europe and the oligarchs while the Apostolic See viewed their role as one of helping the papacy in uniting Christendom under the control of the pope. This aspect was lost in the second period as prelates are rarely named from the mendicant orders. Instead, prelates were of different origins and were increasingly named due to their connections with the Papal Curia or the royal court.

(3) Based on the two speeches of bishops of Zagreb, Augustine and Paul Horvati, I showed that the legitimacy of the Angevins was disseminated by the high clergy. Yet in the first period the legitimacy was formulated in the center, Rome, and with planned actions of replacing the prelates it was spread to Hungary only to be formulated effectively later by Legate Gentile and Bishop Augustine. On the other hand the ruling ideology of the second period was formed earlier and it was not disseminated from a single center but rested on the individual actions of the prelates.

(4) While the prelates belonged to a common organization, their intricate relationship with the pope and the pretenders resulted in different personal responses during the succession crisis. For both periods we can observe the appearance of prelates who were

placed in their position with a purpose to actively support the pretender or change their initial opposition. The main difference was that in the first period these prelates were appointed by the pope, while in the second period they were installed by the king. Also, the individual loyalties of the prelates changed as the prelate could be pushed by one pretender, or the pope, to support another claimant.

(5) The reliance on the king or the pope also meant that the prelate relied on their support to rule over his diocese. A prelate's strongest weapon in his diocese was his voice, and especially the punishment of excommunication. Yet, when in 1303 Archbishop Peter threatened Trogir with excommunication if they did not accept Charles Robert as the king, his decision had to be backed by a papal order. Likewise, in their conflicts with the community of their diocese, the bishops of Zagreb had to rely on the support from the king. While the punishment of excommunication was often used it mostly had to be backed by a higher authority, either coming from the pope or the king.

Although Charles Robert crushed oligarchs, and the Angevins introduced centralized government, the royal authority and the relationship between the ruler and the nobility did not fundamentally change during the fourteenth century. The role of the nobility remained permanently present during the succession crisis. What did change and what this thesis revealed was the relationship between the ruler and the prelate, which mainly underwent changes due to the diminishing power of the Apostolic See. The end of the succession crisis in 1409 also saw the exclusion of the role of the pope in appointing and controlling prelates. Secular powers, Hungary and Venice, were both keen on using the prelates in their struggle. Instead of the popes backing pretenders the role of the Apostolic See was limited to confirming the prelates appointed and, mostly, controlled by the secular rulers.

This thesis has revealed and explained a number of processes, but it also left space for further research. During the wars of Hungarian succession the control of the prelate was

deemed crucial and important. Yet, this also meant that the prelate could sometimes chose and “switch” his loyalty from one pretender to another. By expanding the research to include the period in between the two crises - i.e. the entire fourteenth century - one could better analyze the development of the ecclesiastical structures of a diocese as well as changes in the election process, relationship between the diocese and the prelate, and the connections between the prelate and the pope or the king. This approach would promote a better understanding of processes of long-term changes by focusing on the development of characteristics and tendencies in the dioceses of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia.

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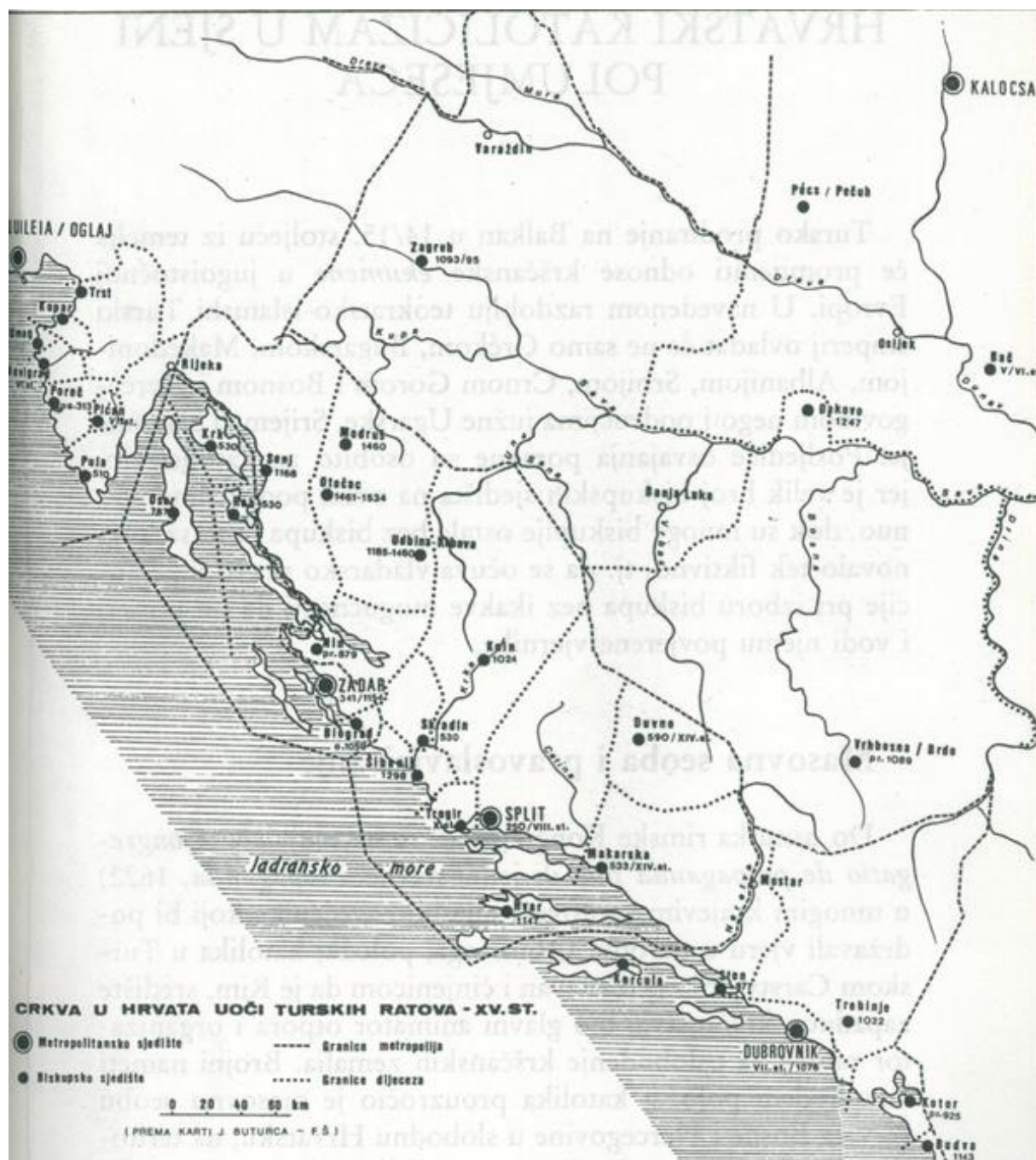
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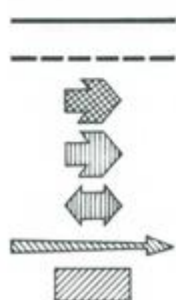
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Appendix 1 – Maps



Map 1. Dioceses in Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru*, [Christianity on the Territory of Croatia] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1991), 275.



- The Borders of the Croatian Kingdom
- Approximate Borders of the Šubići Rule
- The Expansion of the Serbian Rulers towards Dubrovnik
- The Expansion of the Šubići towards Bosnia and Dalmatia
- Integration Process between the Dalmatian Communes
- Pressure of Venice on the Dalmatian Communes
- Venetian Possessions

Map 2. Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia during the succession crisis of 1290-1310.²¹⁷

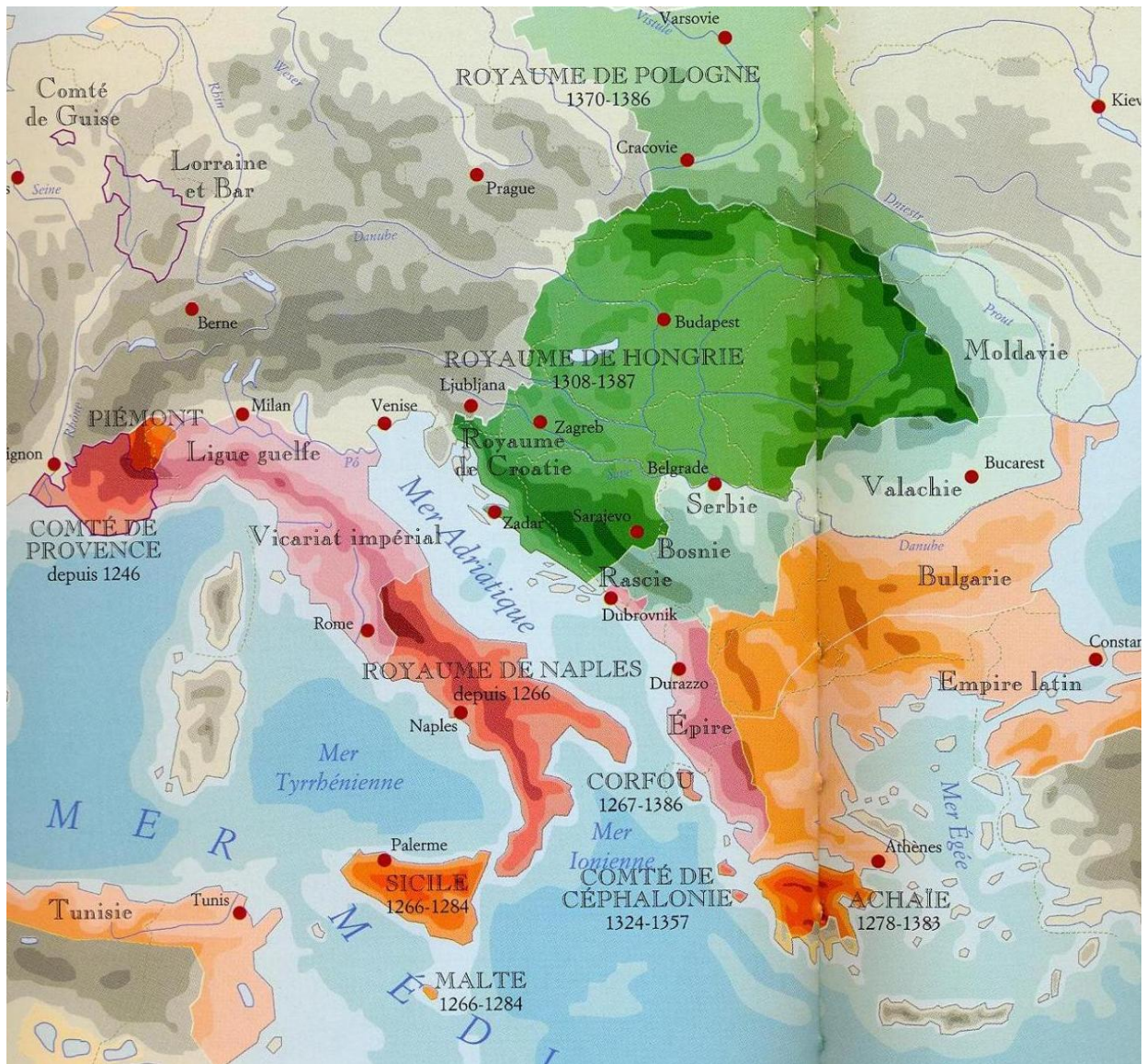
²¹⁷ Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje*, [Croatian Middle Ages. The Space, the People, the Ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 122.



- The Borders between Croatian Kingdom and Dubrovnik
- The Borders of Bosnia in the time of Stephen Tvrtko I (1390)
- The Territories under the rule of Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić
- Venetian Possessions in Istria
- Directions of the Expansion of Stephen Tvrtko
- The Lines of the Adriatic Communication
- Trade Connections between Dubrovnik and its hinterland

Map 3. Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia during the succession crisis of 1382-1409.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje*, [Croatian Middle Ages. The Space, the People, the Ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 125.



Map 4. Territories of the Neapolitan and Hungarian Angevins, together with their territorial claims in the fourteenth century.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Guy Massin Le Goff, ed., *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe Siècle* (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 18-19.

Appendix 2 – The Archontology of the Prelates

What follows is the archontology of prelates from the dioceses in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia mostly covering the two periods of the thesis as specified in introduction. The prelates are listed according to the ecclesiastical superiority: the archbishop of Split as primas of Dalmatia with his suffragans, the archbishop of Zadar with his suffragans and the bishop of Zagreb. Suffragans are listed in alphabetical order. The archontology consists of the list of prelates, their succession of office holding, years in office, how did their office end, were they confirmed by the Apostolic See, what was their education and affiliation, as well as their origins (or approximately from where they came from). Note that, due to lack of sources, information for some smaller dioceses is lacking.

Abbreviations

Ob – died

Rej – rejected

Res – resigned

Am – removed

Y/N – yes/no, confirmed or not confirmed by the pope

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Archbishops of Split (*Archidioecesis Spalatensis*), metropolitan²²⁰

John of Buzad ²²¹	1266-94	Ob	Y	Dominican	Split
James ²²²	1294-97	Rej	N	Archdeacon in Split	Split
Peter ²²³ Petrus	1297-1324	Ob	Y	Chaplain of Queen Mary	Naples
Balianus ²²⁴	1324-28	Ob	Y	Archbishop of Rhodos	Baruh near Acre
Hugolinus of Malabranca ²²⁵	1349-88	Res	Y	Benedictine	?
Andrew of Gualdo ²²⁶	1389-1402	Am	Y	Doctor of law, priest of church in	Perugia

²²⁰ HC, 459-460; SE, 420-421; IS III, 294-367.

²²¹ Joannes de Buzad.

²²² Iacobus. In 1288 appointed by the pope to be his papal legate in solving a conflict between Šibenik and its bishop from Trogir (CDC VI, 628, 1288-1289; CDC VI, 642-643, April 7 1289); First mentioned as archbishop-elect: CDC VII, 184-185, September 1 1294.

²²³ Appointed in 1297 (CDC VII, 277-278, May 10 1297); The pope allowed him to be consecrated by the bishop of Naples, then by any available bishop, and then he ordered the bishops of Trogir and Hvar to do the consecration (CDC VII, 281, May 21 1297; 305-306, May 18 1298; 506, May 18 1298); Peter obtained the papal permission to establish a new diocese on his territory. He established Duvno and Makarska, both situated at the edges of the rule of the Šubići and both favoring their expansion (Karbić, The Šubići of Bribir, 340); The papal legate Gentile excommunicated him in 1311 (CDC VIII, 289-290) but he nevertheless remained the archbishop until his death; Even by 1320 the archbishop was still excommunicated and could not perform his duties, but was still listed as the archbishop (CDC VIII, 552, February 15 1320); For the list of accusations against Peter that got him excommunicated, see: Serdo Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," [Legate Gentile and Split], *Kulturna baština* 31 (2002): 79-98.

²²⁴ Balianus was the archbishop of Rhodes before he moved to Split. Since he was "Venerabili fratri Baliano olim archiepiscopo Colosensi" it made editors of the CDC think that he was the archbishop of Kalocsa. But, it was Rhodes whose episcopal seat has a similar Latin name (CDC IX, 205-206; CDH 8/2, 592, September 26 1324). A contemporary chronicler, Miha Madijev from Split, mentions him, saying that Balianus was from a small place near Akon (Acre), a famous city in Kingdom of Jerusalem, and that Balianus served as the archbishop of Rhodes before coming to Split (*Legende i kronike*, 181).

²²⁵ Although serving on several occasions as papal collector, therefore his services and value were known to the Apostolic See, Hugolino had to resign. The reasons for his resignation are unknown, but Pope Boniface IX in 1390 sent a letter to the community of Split explaining that Hugolino had valid reasons for resignation without specifying them (Fontes, 140); The most likely reason was Hugolino's conflict with the pope. It seems that Hugolino unjustly appropriated some funds following the death of John, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines. The pope ordered the community to seize the funds and pass them over to papal collector Benedict (CDC XVII, 82-83, August 10 1387).

²²⁶ Andreas Benzis de Goalda. Following the resignation of Hugolino, Andrew had certain problems with the citizens of Split over the tithe, and this required an intervention by Pope Boniface IX (Fontes 140; same as: CDC XVII, 265-266, March 1 1390); In 1390, when the Bosnians claimed large parts of Andrew's diocese and the city of Split itself, King Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia addressed Andrew of Gualdo as "faithful advisor and spiritual chaplain" (CDC XVII, 312-313, August 30 1390); Following Tvrtko's death it was the Bosnian Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić who took the Church of Split into his protection, thus assuming a role similar to that of the king of Bosnia (CDC XVII, 397-398, November 8 1391); In 1392 Andrew decided to build himself a castle in Lučac (near Split). This caused confusion and worry from the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Vuk Vukčić Hrvatinić, who at first thought that Andrew was building a castle to fight Vuk's Bosnian allies. Andrew explained that he built it only to protect his men from robbers (CDC XVII, 458-460, October 10 1392); Andrew was exiled in 1402 and the castle had been razed beforehand. It seems that Andrew had after all been using the castle in his conflicts with the citizens. In an unratified treaty with the Bosnian King Ostojja the citizens of Split required that the castle in Lučac never be rebuilt and that they could not be forced to take another „foreign” archbishop, meaning not that they were against foreigners but that they wanted to have a say in who gets appointed as the archbishop (the treaty is published in: Milko Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave bosansko-humskih vladara Splitu" [Medieval Charters that rulers of Bosnia and Hum gave to Split], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 36 (2009): 380-384, dated December 15 1402); In 1402 the pope officially translated Andrew to the titular church of Samaria, in Palestine, which was inaccessible at the time. The pope in fact exiled Andrew.

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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				Gualdo	
Marin of Cutheis ²²⁷	1402	Rej	N	Nobility	Split
Peregrinus of Aragonia ²²⁸	1403-09	Ob	Y	Franciscan	Aragon or Naples
Domnius Giudici ²²⁹	1410-11	Am	Y	Archdeacon of Split	Luccara
Peter of Pag ²³⁰	1411-15	Am	Y	Nobility, Franciscan, Bishop of Faenza, Doctor of Theology	Pag
Domnius Giudici de Luccaris	1415-20	Am	Y	Archdeacon in Split	Split
Peter of Pag	1420-26	Ob	Y	Franciscan, Bishop of Faenza in Romagna	Pag

Bishops of Hvar (*Pharensis*), suffr. of Split²³¹

Domnius (Duimus)	1289-1304	Ob	Y		
Lampredius ²³²	1304-08	Rej	N	Canon and primicerius of the cathedral in Trogir	Trogir
Lawrence ²³³	1307-08	Rej	N	Canon in Split and Esztergom	Naples?
Gabriel ²³⁴	1308-13		Y	Dominican	?

Andrew found shelter with King Sigismund who still considered him as the archbishop of Split. After 1409 King Sigismund tried, unsuccessfully, to have Andrew reinstated. In 1412 the king was ordering Split that, based on the royal right of patronage over the Church, Andrew Gualdo be reinstated as archbishop of Split, but with no success (Fontes, 247-248); Under the reign of Sigismund Andrew was also governor of the diocese of Eger, while its bishop, Thomas Ludany, was in exile, due to his support of King Ladislav of Naples. Following that, in 1408 he was named the archbishop of Thebe, then in 1413 was placed as the archbishop of Kalocsa, the second most important ecclesiastical seat in the Kingdom, vacant during that time, meaning that by 1413 the king claimed its funds directly. He also represented King Sigismund during the Council of Constance (1414-18), and in 1420 Andrew was named the bishop of Sion (Switzerland) where he died in 1437 (CDH 10/4, 428-434, 1405; HC, 197; VMH II, 354). Until August 1412 Andrew was listed in the royal charters of Hungary as the archbishop of Split, despite his other functions, meaning that until August 1412 Sigismund attempted to reinstate him. Once this failed, Sigismund turned to other options (MVA I, 84).

²²⁷ Elected by the cathedral chapter and by the community. Marin was mentioned already in 1390 as a cleric and a notary in Split, so he was familiar to both the citizens and most likely the pope (Fontes, 137).

²²⁸ Ivan Lucić presumed that he was from Naples, and therefore installed by the pope on the suggestion of King Ladislav whose troops seized Split in 1403 (Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočstva o Trogiru* II, 840).

²²⁹ In Hungarian royal charters Domnius was listed as the archbishop from 1412 until 1435 (MVA I, 84).

²³⁰ Petrus de Pago. It seems that first Domnius was elected but then removed by Pope John XXIII (Pisa) who installed Peter. From August 1412 in Hungarian royal charters Domnius is listed as the archbishop of Split. King Sigismund, after he saw that it would be difficult to have Andrew reinstated, decided to support Domnius. Domnius was able to claim Split in 1415. Yet in 1420 Venice occupied Split ousting Domnius who, as Sigismund's supporter, had to escape the city. Only then was Peter finally able to claim his diocese, while Domnius found shelter with Sigismund who kept supporting him (Neralić, "Udio Hrvata u papinskoj diplomaciji," 95).

²³¹ HC, 398; SE, 52-53; Daniele Farlati, *Hvarski biskupi*, [Bishops of Hvar] (Split: Književni krug, 2004).

²³² During the visit of Legate Gentile to Dalmatia in 1308 Lampredius, together with numerous other members of clergy from Dalmatia, was travelling with Gentile solving questions related to his diocese. He is addressed in the charter as the "elected bishop of Hvar and *primicerius* of the church in Trogir" (CDC VIII, 174-182, June 17 – August 23 1308).

²³³ Friend and supporter of Archbishop Peter of Split. Lawrence was at some point chaplain of the Neapolitan Queen Mary of Hungary, and canon in Esztergom. In 1303, acting as vicar of Archbishop Peter and following the papal decision in favor of Charles Robert, he threatened Trogir with excommunication, so that the city would put the name of Charles Robert on their official charters. Peter tried to install him as the bishop of Hvar (CDC VIII, 133-134, February 24, 1307; also, see: Farlati, "Hvarski biskupi," 141).

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Benvenutus	1385-1412	Ob	Y	?	?
Gregory ²³⁵	1412-20	Tr	Y	Franciscan, bishop of Duvno	?

Bishops of Knin (*Tininiensis*), suffr. of Split²³⁶

Peter Boncher ²³⁷	1290-1300	Ob	Y	Dominican	Galia
Leonard of Spalato	1300-15	Ob	Y	-	Split
	1315-25	Ob	Y	Benedictine	
Paul ²³⁸	1373-1395	Ob	Y	Provost of Sibiu	
Michael of Ragusa ²³⁹	1390-?	Am	N	Chancellor of Bosnian King	Dubrovnik
Ladislas	1397-1406	Am	Y	Bishop of Varna	-
Nicholas V	1406-1428	Ob	Y	Lector, Franciscan	Krbava

Bishops of Krbava (*Corbaviensis*), suffr. of Split²⁴⁰

Miroslauus ²⁴¹	-1300?	?	?	?	?
Felix Elias ²⁴²	1301-1315	Ob	?		
Peter ²⁴³	1316-1332?	Ob	Y		
Nicholas ²⁴⁴	1386-1401	Tr	Y	?	?

²³⁴ Gentile decided that he would confirm neither Lampredius nor Lawrence. Instead, the pope took direct control over the election of the bishop of Hvar (also, see: Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," 92-93); The first mention of Gabriel: CDC VIII, 306-307, April 18 1312.

²³⁵ Translated in 1420 to the position of bishop of Skradin (Farlati, "Hvarski biskupi," 100.)

²³⁶ HC, 485; SE, 423; IS IV, 288-289; Josip Barbarić, "Kninski biskupi i njihova biskupija (o.1050-1490) u svjetlu novijih arhivskih istraživanja," [Bishops of Knin and their diocese], in: *Kninski zbornik*, ed. Stjepan Antoljak (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1993): 68-95; Josip Barbarić, "Kninski biskupi i njihova biskupija" [Bishops of Knin and their diocese], in: *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J.Šižgorić," 2001): 165-184.

²³⁷ Petrus Boncherius.

²³⁸ HC mention Peter of Marnhaco (1386-90). He is only mentioned in one registry of the Roman Camera, and was unknown to IS. Most likely somebody in the Camera made a mistake because Paul is continuously present in the sources from 1373 until 1395. Last time Paul was mentioned as bishop: CDC XVIII, 56-58, September 20 1395.

²³⁹ Named bishop by King Stephen Tvrtko, although he did not receive confirmation by the pope: "... per manus predicti discreti viri domini Michaelis de Ragusio electi episcopi Tniniensis et in hac parte cancellarii nostri sub nostro sigillo pendent." Michael was Tvrtko's advisor and chancellor and in this function he was sent by the king to determine the borders of the archdiocese of Split. His rule seems to be connected with the successes of Bosnians in Dalmatia." (Charter was published in: Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave," 372-373.

²⁴⁰ HC, 208; SE, 399; IS IV, 95-100.

²⁴¹ "Miroslauus dei gracia episcopus Corbauensis," CDC VIII, 394, August 11 1300.

²⁴² He is unknown to HC, SE and IS. See: Marijan Žugaj, "Franjevci konventualci biskupi u senjskoj, krbavskoj ili modruškoj biskupiji," [Conventual Franciscans – bishops in Senj, Krbava and Modruš], CCP 20 (1996): 60-61.

²⁴³ Petrus. Žugaj, "Franjevci konventualci," 61-63.

²⁴⁴ Translated to the diocese of Vác (Šišić, Nekoliko isprava, 145-153, February 12 1401; HC, 511); Even though he was translated by the pope to a diocese in a more central part of the Kingdom of Hungary, official documents written following the break of Hungary with Rome in 1404 still list him as the bishop of the new diocese, meaning that Sigismund did not see his translation to the central Hungary as part of papal policy aimed against him (Šišić, Nekoliko isprava, 247-251, April 15 1405); He probably died that year, since he is no longer mentioned as bishop. Yet, after his death it seems that Sigismund was in no rush to elect a new bishop, since this enabled him to control the resources of the diocese for himself. From 1405 until 1408 the seat is vacant, until

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Stephen Fermo ²⁴⁵	1401-06	Tr	Y	Augustinian	Fermo
Stephen Blagaj ²⁴⁶	1406-08	Tr	Y	Canon in Zagreb, Kindred Babonici	Slavonia
Geminianus ²⁴⁷	1408-1418	Ob	Y	Bishop of Osor	Volterra

Bishops Nin (*Nonensis*), suffr. of Split²⁴⁸

Mark Marcus	1291-1307 (1313?)	Ob	Y	?	?
Demetrius	1354-1375	Ob	Y	Bishop in Pićan, before that archdeacon in Zadar	Zadar
Chrysogonus of Dominis	1370	-	-	Administrator, at the time Bishop of Rab	-
Louis (Ludovic) ²⁴⁹	1375-1377	Ob	Y	Canon in Zadar, nephew of previous bishop, Demetrius	Zadar
Demetrius Matafaris	1378-87	Ob	Y	Nobility	Zadar
John V ²⁵⁰	1387-1402	Ob	Y	Augustinian	?
Francis Peter of Pensauero ²⁵¹	1402-09	Ob	Y	?	Pesaro?
John of Scepes ²⁵² Joannes	1409-1410	-	-	Administrator, Archbishop of Naples	Scepus (Spiš, Szepesség)

1409 when successor, Phillip, is listed as the bishop, even though he was appointed by the pope in 1407 (HC, 512).

²⁴⁵ Papal permission that Stephen could get anointed by any available bishop: Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 175-176, July 25 1401; Not accepted by Sigismund, Stephen was translated to the position of bishop of Karpathos, suffragan of Crete.

²⁴⁶ Papal bull on naming Stephen Blagajski as bishop in: MHEZ 5, doc 209, pp 265-266, February 1 1406; Similar to his predecessor, Stephen Fermo, Blagaj was not accepted by Sigismund, so the pope translated him to Karpathos as well.

²⁴⁷ Prior to that he was the bishop of Osor. He is mentioned as the bishop of Krbava: ZsO 2/2, doc. 6369, October 15 1408. Yet IS mentioned that he was appointed by the pope in 1410.

²⁴⁸ HC, 370-71; SE, 411; IS IV, 219-222; Zvezdan Strika, "Catalogus episcoporum ecclesiae Nonensis" zadarskog kanonika Ivana A. Gurata [of canon of Zadar Ivan A. Gurat], "Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 49 (2007): 59-150.

²⁴⁹ Served King Louis the Great as ambassador to France (Strika, "Catalogus Nonensis," 128).

²⁵⁰ HC and SE mentions Anthony of Chernota as bishop from 1387 to 1394 although there is no trace of him in sources and neither in IS. From 1387 only John V is mentioned (in a royal charter: CDC XVII, 95, October 28 1387; in a charter from Nin: CDC XVII, 226, October 3 1389; and in later charters); See also him paying the *servitia* in 1393-94 (MCV, doc. 404, 513); John of Nin was solving problems in the community of Nin in 1391 (Fontes (2005), 175-185, December 18 1391)

²⁵¹ Franciscus Petri de Pensauero. Rolls of the Roman Camera list at the same time in different charters different people: Peter and Francis. It is possible that they are the same person (Francis: MCV, 258, June 18 1403; 304, September 11 1403; Peter: 283, September 15 1402; 535, September 15 1402. and September 11); There were either three bishops, first Peter and then Francis, while later on Francis of Pensauero appeared (Strika, "Catalogus Nonensis," 131), or one bishop Francis Peter (HC, 370). Although more research is needed to solve this problem, I think that there was only one bishop called Peter Francis of Pensauero. Pensauero either connects him with the bishops of Senj, Pensaurio, or with the city of Pesaro in Italy.

²⁵² Former bishop of Zagreb, and archbishop of Kalocsa (MCV I, 274, October 21 1409); Strika misread HC and brought some strange arguments regarding John. He connects Ladislav of Naples with Benedict XIII of Avignon and how this pope named John as administrator in Nin to support Ladislav who came into conflict with the Roman pope, Gregory XII. Yet, in HC it is Gregory XII who named John as the archbishop of Naples in 1407 and the Pisan pope, Alexander V, named John the administrator of Nin in 1409. Additionally, although at this time Ladislav came into conflict with the popes in Rome, Avignon and Ladislav were in constant conflict since Avignon supported another branch of French Angevins for the Neapolitan throne. HC, 360, 370.

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Nicholas Trevisano ²⁵³	1410-1424	Tr	Y	Franciscan, Archbishop of Thebes	Treviso
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Bishop of Senj (*Signensis*), suffr. of Split²⁵⁴

Martin	1280-?	?	Y		
Nicholas ²⁵⁵	1292-1312	Ob	Y	Franciscan	
Leonard	1312-?	?	?		
George	?-1333	Ob	Y		
Bernard	1333	Rej	N	Benedictine	Senj
John of Pisa ²⁵⁶	1333-49	Tr	Y	Augustinian	Pisa
John of Pensaurio ²⁵⁷	1386-92	Ob	Y	Decretum doctor, collector of papal tithe in Zagreb, lector and canon in Zagreb	Pesaro
Leonard of Pensaurio ²⁵⁸	1392-1402	Ob	Y	Decretum doctor, archdeacon in Zagreb, canon and vicar in Esztergom	Pesaro
Nicholas II ²⁵⁹	1402-10	Am	Y		

²⁵³ Nicolaus Trevisanus. Postulated by Venice when they took the city. Transferred to Termopylae (in Greece).

²⁵⁴ HC, 450-451; SE, 389; IS IV, 120-125; Mile Bogović, "Crkvene prilike u Senju u 14. Stoljeću i statut senjskog kaptola," [The Church in Senj in 14th century and the Statute of the cathedral chapter of Senj], *Senjski Zbornik* 13 (1988), 15-28.

²⁵⁵ Nicholas's background is unknown but Bogović suggests that he was a Franciscan friar since he helped to construct a Franciscan church in Senj (CDC VII, 81, April 12 1292; Bogović, "Crkvene prilike u Senju," 16; Also, compare with: Žugaj, "Franjevci konventualci," 45-46.).

²⁵⁶ In 1333 Pope John XXII reserved the seat of Senj and had appointed John of Pisa as the bishop. At the same time the cathedral chapter elected Bernard, a Benedictine monk from one of the monasteries around Senj. This episode shows that the process of appropriation of episcopal elections by the papacy was a long process which did not go the same everywhere. On the other hand, Mile Bogović believes that there was an agreement between the pope and Bishop George in which George allowed that the pope elect George's successor. If observed in the context of the second chapter of this thesis this event clearly points at gradual appropriation of episcopal elections by the papacy. Additional factor here were the actions of the counts of Krk, the Frankopani, who tried to control the bishop of Senj. They blocked the elected Bishop John, while supported the actions of the clergy that tried to elect Bernard, who even received confirmation from the archbishop of Split (Ozren Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova – Vinodol, Senj i Krk od početka 14. Stoljeća do 1420. godine* [The lands of counts of Krk – Vinodol, Senj and Krk from the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1420], Ph.D. dissertation (Zagreb: FFZG, 2012), 94-5). While this example shows that oligarchs could block postulated prelate, it also shows that they could not circumvent the pope and elect their own supporter as prelate. John eventually prevailed and arrived to Senj where he was accepted as the bishop from the clergy. Example also shows that the actions of oligarchs who tried to influence the election process of the bishop were at this stage unsuccessful. They had more success on the lower levels by influencing elections of abbots. Curiously, Bernard was a monk from a nearby monastery, and counts of Krk had patron rights over the Church on their territories according to which they could install an abbot of monasteries. See: Ivan Mihovil Bogović, "Crkveni patronat na području Senjsko-modruške biskupije," *Senjski zbornik* 5 (1973), 235-243.

²⁵⁷ Joanness de Cardinali de Pensaurio. Uncle of Leonard. John was vicar for Croatia and Dalmatia, meaning that he represented the royal power of Sigismund in Croatia and Dalmatia (CDC XVII, 166, September 20 1388).

²⁵⁸ Leonardus de Cardinali de Pensaurio. Nephew of John.

²⁵⁹ The fate of Nicholas was tied with the fate of the counts of Krk, the Frankopani. In 1405 his seat was listed as vacant in Sigismund's royal charters. Yet in 1406 the episcopal seat in Senj was again occupied by Nicholas. Following the attempt by Ladislav of Naples in 1403 King Sigismund did not recognize prelates that he did not politically control. Not listing Nicholas showcases how long Sigismund was in conflict with the counts of Krk who, at first, supported Ladislav (Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 247-251, April 15 1405; 264-268, April 22 1406).

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Thomas II Winter	1411-1419	Ob	Y		
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Bishops of Skradin (*Scardonensis*), suffr. of Split²⁶⁰

Nicholas II	1293-1303	Ob	Y		
Damianus	1303-1309	Ob	Y		
Peter I	1309-11	Ob	Y		
Nicholas III	1315-19	Ob	Y	Franciscan	
Michael III	1360-89	Ob	Y		
Francis	1389-1408	Ob	Y	Bishop of Ston	
Peter II Petramustus	1410-17	Ob	Y		
Nicholas IV	1417	Ob	Y	Franciscan Bishop of Seret (Wallachia)	Split
Peter III ²⁶¹	1418-1420	Tr	Y	Augustinian	
George	1420-1426	Ob	Y	Franciscan, bishop of Hvar	

Bishops of Šibenik (*Sibenicensis*), suffr. of Split²⁶²

Leonard Falier ²⁶³	1288-1298	Rej	N		Venice
Martin	1298-1319	Ob	Y	Franciscan, monastery near Šibenik	Rab
Chrysogonus	1319-40	Ob	Y	Canon of the cathedral chapter in Šibenik, patrician from Zadar	Zadar
Mathew I Chernota	1358-88	Ob	Y	Town nobility	Rab
Anthony I Barbadicus	1389-95	Ob	Y		Venice
Anthony II of Ponte ²⁶⁴	1391-1402	Tr	Y	Canon in Aquileia, doctor of canon law, held positions at Roman Curia	Venice
Bogdanus Pulise ²⁶⁵	1402-1436	Ob	Y	Primicerius of cathedral chapter in Šibenik	Šibenik

Bishops of Trogir (*Traguriensis*), suffr. of Split²⁶⁶

Gregory	1282-97	Ob	Y	Franciscan	Ancona
Liberius ²⁶⁷	1297-1319	Ob	Y	Benedictine	Ancona

²⁶⁰ HC, 438; SE, 397; IS IV, 15-22; Josip Barbarić, "Skradin, skradinska biskupija, skradinski biskupi," [Skradin, its diocese and its bishops], in: *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J.Šižgorić," 2001): 185-207.

²⁶¹ Petrussanctus. Translated to Castro.

²⁶² On establishment of the diocese: ŠD, 2- 8, June 23 1298; HC, 449; SE, 419; IS IV, 449-468; Josip Barbarić, "Šibenik, šibenska biskupija i šibenski biskupi," [Šibenik, its diocese and its bishops], in: *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J.Šižgorić," 2001): 79-164.

²⁶³ On his election: CDC VI, 616-17; 628; Although not confirmed as the bishop of Šibenik he was appointed as the Latin patriarch of Constantinople in 1302. See: Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 337-339.

²⁶⁴ Due to the conflict with his community over the tithe the pope translated him to Concordia.

²⁶⁵ He solved problems with the community over the tithe, and was able to pay his *servitia* in less than a year from being appointed.

²⁶⁶ HC, 490; SE, 424; Daniele Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi* [Bishops of Trogir] (Split: Književni krug, 2010).

²⁶⁷ Lucić wrote that Liberius was from Ancona while Farlati pointed out that he was more likely from Trogir since he was the abbot of a Benedictine monastery, which remained unnamed, but Farlati believed it was in Trogir (Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 346; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 211); Lucić found in a source from

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Lampredius ²⁶⁸	1320-1349	Ob	Y	Canon and <i>primicerius</i> , Patrician nobility	Trogir
Chrysogonus Dominis ²⁶⁹	1372-1403	Tr	Y	Bishop of Rab	Rab
Simon of Dominis ²⁷⁰	1403-23	Ob	Y	doctor of canon law	Rab
Marinus Carnota de Arbe	1423-24	Ob	Y	Bishop of Rab	Rab
Thomas Paruta	1424-35	Ob	Y	Dominican, Polish bishop	Venice

Archbishops of Zadar (*Archidioecesis Iadrensis*), metropolitan²⁷¹

Lawrence Pereander ²⁷²	1245-87	Ob	Y	Nobility	Zadar
Andrew Capsoni ²⁷³	1287-91	Rej	N	Canon	Padova
John II of Anagnia ²⁷⁴	1291-97	Tr	Y	Franciscan	Anagni
Henry of Tuderto ²⁷⁵	1297-99	Ob	Y	Franciscan	Todi
James of Fulgineo ²⁷⁶	1299-1312	Ob	Y	Dominican	Foligno
Alexander of Elpidio ²⁷⁷	1312-14	Rej	N	Dominican	Sant'Elpidio a Mare
Nicholas of Setia ²⁷⁸	1314-20	Ob	Y	Dominican	Sezze
Peter of Matafaris ²⁷⁹	1376-1400	Ob	Y	Nobility	Zadar

1297 that one John was elected bishop. A month later John was no longer mentioned but instead the source names Liberius. John either died or more likely was not confirmed (Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru I*, 346).

²⁶⁸ For short time was also bishop-elect of Hvar (1304-08).

²⁶⁹ In HC he is "de Dominis", while in some sources "de Dmino" (Fontes, 227); The pope translated him from the position of the bishop of Rab to Trogir (CDC XIII, 288-289). He was a person of confidence and recognition within the Apostolic See. The pope named Chrysogonus as the administrator of diocese of Nin in 1370. Chrysogonus also served as the bishop of Rab before becoming the bishop of Trogir. There he acted as diplomat for his city negotiating with other cities or even rulers. During King Tvrtko's attacks on Trogir, Bishop Chrysogonus was negotiating with Tvrtko (Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 299); He represented Trogir in a war that broke out between Split and Trogir at the end of the fourteenth century (Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 140-145, February 13 1401). This conflict only ended under outside pressure of Duke Hrvoje Vukčić who took care that the refugees return to the city of Split and Hrvoje co-signed a peace treaty between both cities in the bishop's palace (Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru II*, 839); Pope Boniface IX probably relied on his experience or wanted to reward him by giving him the position of the bishop of Kalocsa in 1403 yet this failed due to Ladislav's defeat against Sigismund. After that Chrysogonus never again held any position, but he probably soon died since he was quite old at this point.

²⁷⁰ Relying on Sigismund, Simon opposed Venetian claims to Trogir after 1409. In 1420 Venice succeeded and conquered the city. They promoted peace with the citizens, except with the bishop of Trogir who was forced to escape the city (Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 306-310); Simon was nephew of Bishop Chrysogonus, and also brother of the later bishop of Senj, John (1432-44) (Neralić, "Udio Hrvata u papinskoj diplomaciji," 96).

²⁷¹ HC, 280-281; SE, 426; IS V, 77-113; Zvezdan Strika, "Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jadertinae" arhidakona Valerija Pontea [of Archdeacon V. Ponte], "Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 48 (2006): 81-185.

²⁷² Laurentius I Pereander. Confirmed as archbishop in 1250.

²⁷³ Andreas Gaysonius / Gussonius / Capsoni.

²⁷⁴ Joannes II de Anagnia. Postulated in 1291 (CDC VII, 19-20, February 10 1291), received *pallium* from papal representatives (CDC VII, 20, February 10 1291) and then was translated by Pope Boniface VIII to Trani in 1297 (VMS I, 113-114).

²⁷⁵ Henricus de Tuderto. Received the *pallium*: CDC VII, 288-289, October 18 1297.

²⁷⁶ Jacobus de Fulgineo. Received the *pallium*: CDC VII, 343-344, June 06 1299.

²⁷⁷ Alexander de Elpidio. Rejected and given diocese on Crete.

²⁷⁸ Nicolaus de Setia.

²⁷⁹ Petrus III de Matafaris. King Sigismund issued an arrest warrant for the archbishop, his brothers and supporters on February 3 1397 (Memoriale, 24). Yet the royal chancery and the city of Zadar still kept referring

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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John IV ²⁸⁰	1398-1400	Rej	N	?	Most likely from Zadar
Anthony of Benedict ²⁸¹	1398-1400	-	-	Administrator	-
Luke I of Fermo ²⁸²	1400-20	Y	Y	Augustinian, doctor of theology	Fermo

Bishops of Krk (*Veglensis*), suffr. of Zadar²⁸³

Zachary	1290	Rej	N	Dominican	Krk
John of Vegla	1290	Rej	N	Franciscan	Krk
Lambert ²⁸⁴	1290-99	Tr	Y	Franciscan	Italy?
Mathew	1299-1302	Ob	Y	Franciscan	Italy?
Thomas ²⁸⁵	1302-11	Ob	Y	Franciscan	Italy?
John	1360-1389			Archdeacon	
Thomasius	1389-1421				

Bishops of Osor (*Absorensis*), suffr. of Zadar²⁸⁶

Michael	-1290	Ob	Y	Franciscan	?
James Jacobus	1290-95	Ob	Y	?	?
Thomas ²⁸⁷	1295	Rej	N	Franciscan, provost of the cathedral chapter	?
Angel ²⁸⁸ Angelus	1295-1315	Ob	Y	Franciscan	?
Thomas, Pactius	1390-1400?	?	?	?	?
Maurus Rassolis ²⁸⁹	1399-1400	Tr	Y	(probably cleric from Zadar)	Zadar

to Peter as the archbishop for some time (see: CDC XVIII, 237-238, July 24 1397 for Zadar; 195-206, March 4 1397; 327-330, March 26 1398; 362-364, September 9 1398 for royal charters); HC list him until 1400.

²⁸⁰ „Joannis archielectus.” The best illustration of how chaotic the situation with electing and postulating an archbishop could get is the example of John V. John's subordinate, the archpresbyter, referred to John in one charter as the archbishop (CDC XVIII, 331, April 6 1398); Yet a later charter published by the cathedral chapter names him as elected archbishop (CDC XVIII, 373, October 6 1398); Sigismund's royal charters after September 1398 and before February 1399 do not list the archbishop of Zadar, even though they mention archbishops of Split and Dubrovnik (CDC XVIII, 381, October 14 1398; 418, January 27 1399). This corresponds with the mission of Pope Boniface's administrator of the diocese of Zadar; When Sigismund warned John not to fight his cathedral chapter, Sigismund referred to him as the archbishop-elect (CDC XVIII, 421-422); John was never confirmed.

²⁸¹ Antonio de Benedicto. Pope Boniface IX appointed him as the administrator of the diocese following the exile of Archbishop Peter (VMS I, 343, October 15 1398).

²⁸² Lucas de Firmo / Lucas Vagnocii. Luke was postulated in July 1400 but it took him several years to pay his *servitia* to the Papal Camera (MCV, doc. 451, August 6 1400; doc. 462, April 4 1404; doc. 46, July 3 1405; doc. 469, September 7 1406); On his background see: Lovorka Čoralić and Damir Karbić, „Prilog životopisu zadarskog nadbiskupa Luke iz Ferma (1400.1420.)” [A contribution to the biography of Luca from Fermo, archbishop of Zadar (1400-1420)], *Povijesni prilozi* 34 (2008): 71-81.

²⁸³ HC, 518; SE, 424-425; IS V, 301-303.

²⁸⁴ Pope Nicholas IV installed Lambert, a Franciscan friar, after the conflict in the cathedral chapter between Dominican and Franciscan friars. Both orders proposed their candidates, Zachary and John, that were rejected by the pope (CDC VI, 691-692, March 8 1290).

²⁸⁵ Appointed: CDC VIII, 31-32, August 13 1302.

²⁸⁶ HC, 66-67; SE, 391; IS V, 197-199.

²⁸⁷ Elected by the cathedral chapter. Thomas was the provost of the cathedral chapter, which meant that he was the first in rank after the bishop, and also an assistant to the bishop.

²⁸⁸ The pope authorized the archbishop of Zadar to confirm Angel (CDC VII, 209-210, October 2 1295).

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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Geminianus ²⁹⁰ De s. Geminiano	1400-1408	Tr	Y	cleric of the Diocese of Volterra	Volterra, Tuscany
Isidorus	1408-1412	Ob	Y	Abbot of local monastery of Saint Peter	Osor

Bishops of Rab (*Arbensis*), suffr. of Zadar²⁹¹

George of Costica ²⁹²	1261-92	Ob	Y		Rab
George of Hermolao ²⁹³	1292-1313?	Ob?	Y		Rab
Chrysogonus of Dominis ²⁹⁴	1363-1372	Tr	Y	Canon in the cathedral chapter of Rab	Rab
Zudenichus	1372-1414	Ob	Y	Archdeacon in the cathedral chapter of Rab	Rab
Marinus Carnota ²⁹⁵	1414-23	Tr	Y	Archdeacon of Split	Rab

Bishops of Zagreb (*Zagrabiensis*), suffr. of Kalocsa (*Archidioecesis Colocensis*)²⁹⁶

Philip ²⁹⁷	1248-62	Tr	Y	Queen's chancellor	?
Stephen	1263	Rej	N	Provost of Zagreb	Pozsony
Farkas ²⁹⁸	1263	Rej	N	Provost, King's vice-chancellor	Alba Julia (Transylvania)
Timothy ²⁹⁹ Timotheus	1263-87	Ob	Y	Papal sub-deacon, chaplain, archdeacon, canon	Veszprém and Zagreb
Anthony ³⁰⁰	1287	Ob	Y	Provost	Székesfehérvár

²⁸⁹ Pope Boniface IX translated him to the titular bishopric of Stephaniakon (in modern day Albania, near the city Lezhë) (ZsO 1/2, doc 481; HC, 463).

²⁹⁰ Following the translation of Maurus, Pope Boniface IX appointed him as the bishop of Osor: ZsO 1/2, doc 481. He was later translated by the pope to Krbava.

²⁹¹ HC, 101; SE, 394-395; IS V, 243.

²⁹² HC and SE mentions Matthew and place him in 1291-92. Problem is that there is no record of him in other sources. Matthew (Matheus de Harmolao) is mentioned as judge in Rab in the last charter in which Bishop George was mentioned; Bishop George was first mentioned as bishop-elect: CDC V, 190-191, February 23 1261; and the last time as bishop: CDC VII, 32, May 13 1291; HC and IS mention that George of Costica also belonged to Hermolao family which makes him related to Judge Matthew; Bishop George of Costica had good relationship with the Franciscans of Rab as in 1287 he gave them land and rights (CDC VI, 589, May 27 1287).

²⁹³ Hermolao / Ermolai / Harmolao (CDC VII, 312, July 20 1298); All three persons, George of Costica, Judge Mathew, and George of Hermolao were members of a local nobility that gave important members of their family as city magistrates and prelates which would mean that de Hermolao family held considerable power in the community of Rab.

²⁹⁴ From the family de Dominis. Translated to Trogir.

²⁹⁵ Translated to Trogir.

²⁹⁶ HC, 537-538; SE, 387-388; IS V, 370-461; MHEZ II, 6.

²⁹⁷ In 1248, Philip, the chancellor of the Hungarian queen, was elected as bishop of Zagreb by the cathedral chapter, and confirmed by Archbishop Benedict of Kalocsa, despite some members of the clergy complaining directly to the pope. Innocent IV (1243-1254) ordered the bishops of Csanád and Syrmia to investigate this situation, but the outcome of their investigation is unknown. Philip remained as the bishop (MCZ I, 22-23, January 1 1248); In 1262 Philip was translated to the position of archbishop of Esztergom.

²⁹⁸ King Béla IV listed Farkas as the bishop-elect of Zagreb in several charters: „... magistri Farcasii Zagrabiensis ecclesie electi, aule nostre vicecancellarii ...” (See: CDC V, 261-266).

²⁹⁹ The cathedral chapter of Zagreb elected Stephen, the provost of Pozsony, while King Béla IV promoted his vice-chancellor, Farkas, provost of Alba Julia (Transylvania). Yet, despite the king's pressure the pope was able to install Timothy (1263-1287), former papal sub-deacon and chaplain, archdeacon in the diocese of Veszprém and canon in Zagreb. Key person in appointing Timothy was Cardinal Stephen of Bácsa, former archbishop of Esztergom (*A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, 48); On the election of Timothy and the conflict within the Zagreb cathedral chapter: CDC V, 256-257.

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
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John I ³⁰¹	1288-95	Ob	Y	Canon / provost	Zagreb
Michael ³⁰²	1296-1303	Tr	Y	Provost	Sibiu (Transylvania)
Augustine Kažotić ³⁰³	1303-22	Tr	Y	Dominican, canon doctor	Trogir
James of Corvo ³⁰⁴	1322-26	Tr	Y	Provost	Ecc. Titulensis in Kalocsa
Ladislav of Kaboli ³⁰⁵	1326-43	Tr	Y		
Paul Horvat ³⁰⁶	1379-86	Am	Y	Nobility	Slavonia
John II Smilo Bohemus ³⁰⁷	1386-94	Ob	Y	Bishop of Csanad	Moravia
John III of Scepus ³⁰⁸	1395-97	Res	Y	Nobility, doctor of law	Scepus (Spiš,

³⁰⁰ “Huic successit dominus Anthonius per electionem de prepositura Albensi [Székesfehérvár], qui modico tempore vixit, quia sex mensibus.” MHEZ II, 6.

³⁰¹ Klaić believed that bishop John I (1288-1295) was one of the most dedicated Angevin supporters in the Kingdom. However, there is no concrete evidence to support this claim (Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* I, 301); Archdeacon John noted that the cathedral chapter suffered during Bishop John's reign: “Huic successit dominus Johannes per electionem de preposito Zagrabiensi, cuius tempore fuit castrum Medue ab ecclesia alienatum et fuit per hoc ecclesia in persecucionibus posita maxime quantum ad capitulum” (MHEZ II, 6); Notice of John's death: CDC VII, 211, October 11 1295; In 1291 John I was elected as the count of Rab, based on an „ancient tradition” (CDC supplementa, vol. 2., 210-211). I am bringing it up here as a comparison with John III who was also elected as the count of Rab in 1403; During his reign John relied on the support from the Babonići, as he gave them several key castles (including aforementioned Medvedgrad). See chapter: The “Continental” model.

³⁰² “Mychaele Preposito Electo Zagrebiensi” from the church of Saint Michael Archangel in Transylvania (AUO V, 154-155, 1296); The first charter issued as bishop: CDC VII, 163, January 20 1297; He was “comes de Garich, Alberti Slavoniae ducis cancellarius, una et episcopus Zagrebiensis, anno 1297 legitur” (CDC VIII, 285-287, September 1 1297); After the death of King Andrew III he sided with Pope Boniface VIII and worked in favor of the Angevins. He was one of the prelates representing Charles Robert in Anagni in 1303 when the pope decided to officially back Charles Robert. It was up to Michael, together with some other prelates, to announce this decision in the kingdom. For his services he was rewarded by the pope with translation to the position of the archbishop of Esztergom.

³⁰³ Bishop Augustine Kažotić, from a patrician family from Trogir, was a Dominican friar and a graduate from Paris. He served together with Legate Niccolo Bocassini during the legate's mission to Hungary prior to Niccolo being elected as Pope Benedict XI (Ante Gulin, “Augustin Kažotić u povijesnim vrelima” [Augustine Kažotić in Historical Sources], *Croatia Christiana Periodica* 26 (2002): 47-48). Pope Benedict XI considered the election of the bishop of Zagreb as reserved for the Apostolic See. He postulated Augustine Kažotić, as a reward for his service and to support the Angevin claim to the throne of Hungary (“... nos provisionem dicte ecclesie Zagrabiensis ea vice dispositione sedis apostolice reservantes...” CDC VIII, 60, December 9 1303.)

³⁰⁴ He was the confessor of Queen Clementia of Hungary, wife of Louis X, King of France. When he was not accepted by King Charles Robert the pope transferred him to Quimper (France).

³⁰⁵ Ladislaus de Kobal / Kabol. Probably from village Kobol / Kabol in eastern parts of Kingdom of Hungary.

³⁰⁶ Paulus de Horvathy / Pal Horvati / Pavao Horvat. Nearby the modern day village of Mikanovci (near Đakovo). He was from the noble and influential kindred the Horvati. He served as chief diplomat for King Louis I in a series of missions, including the signing of the peace treaty with Venice in 1381 (István Petrovics, “Bishops William of Coppenbach and Valentine of Alsán as diplomats,” in *Le Diplomatie des Etats Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siecles*, ed. István Petrovics and Zoltán Kordé (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2010), 308). Paul was still serving as Ladislav's advisor under the title of bishop of Zagreb as late as 1391 (CDC XVII, 390, October 7 1391). He probably kept this title until his death, most likely after 1394.

³⁰⁷ Johannem Mrawm [Moravum] (MVA, 79); Close supporter of the queens Elizabeth and Mary. In 1382 they sent him to negotiate with the Polish nobility. John had two conflicts with his clergy which came down to land possessions and finances. The cathedral chapter sued John II over ownership of land in front of the papal and the royal court, and the judge ruled in the favor of the chapter. The attempt to claim some new taxation from the Monastery of Mother Mary was stopped by King Sigismund. For the conflicts see: CDC XVII, 387-389; 398-401; 407-408; 419-420; 425-430. Also, see: Lukinović, “Zagrebački biskupi Ivan Smilo i Ivan Šipuški,” 191-192.

³⁰⁸ Iohannes de Scepus / Janos Szepesi. He became *secretaries cancellarius* to Sigismund, and in 1396 was in Nin acting as *vicarius et iudex*, representing the king, together with ban of Slavonia, in court cases between

Name	Years	End	Confirmed	Education and affiliation	Origins or where he came from
Eberhard Alben ³⁰⁹ Eberhardus de Alben	1397-1406	Tr	Y	Nobility, provost in Sibiu	Szepesség) Germany
Andrea Scolari ³¹⁰	1408-10	Tr	Y	Nobility	Florence
Eberhard Alben	1410-21	Ob	Y	Nobility, bishop of Varad	Germany

various cities (CDC XVIII, 129-131; 132-139; Memoriale, 21); After resigning in 1397 his fate was tied with that of Pope Boniface IX and Ladislas of Naples. John Scepus was installed by the pope as the archbishop of Kalocsa (Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 154-155, March 28 1401). He remained in Kalocsa until 1403 when he was, by order of Legate Angelo, again named as the bishop of Zagreb in an attempt to oust the strongest supporter of King Sigismund, Bishop Eberhard Alben (Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 209-211, June 24 1403). That attempt failed but he was soon named as count of Rab (Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 215-216, September 6 1403; also compare with Bishop John I of Zagreb) after which he settled as the archbishop of Naples (1407-1415). He is also mentioned as archbishop of Naples in 1410 by the pope (MHEZ V, 348-349, July 19 1410). In 1409-10 he served as the administrator of the diocese of Nin that had become vacant. (HC, 197, 360, 538). On his background see: Peter Labanc, "Die Agnen und Vewandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes von der Zips (1394-97)," in *Slovakia and Croatia, Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)* (Bratislava-Zagreb: Department of Slovak History, Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, Bratislava, 2013), 246-258.

³⁰⁹ Eberhard hailed from Germany, and was connected with the German family of Alben, but his actual origins are still debated (see: Andrija Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskup Eberhard," [Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb], *CCP* 15/28 (1991), 1); In 1403 Pope Boniface IX unsuccessfully attempted to exile him by translating him to another diocese. The choice fell on the titular diocese of Selymbria (modern day Silivri near Constantinople), at that time occupied by the Ottomans (MHEZ V, 197-199; Šišić, *Nekoliko isprava*, 206-207, June 2 1403); Eberhard refused and kept fighting resulting in his excommunication by Legate Angelo, while the pope only reprimanded him in 1410 (MHEZ V, 348-349, July 19 1410); After 1404 Sigismund relied on Eberhard for control of the Hungarian Church. Together with Baron Herman Cilli Eberhard drew up a list of enemies of the king which became the basis for taking and returning lands and privileges to the faithful nobility (MHEZ V, 286- 288, June 19 1406); Eberhard was at first the bishop of Zagreb and the *gubernator* of the dioceses of Várad, until 1408 when he became bishop of Várad. In 1410 he was reinstated as the bishop of Zagreb where he remained until his death in 1420.

³¹⁰ The diocese of Zagreb was controlled by several *gubernators* in the period between 1406 and 1408 (MVA, 79); Andrea was connected with the circles of Filippo Scolari, most trusted advisor to King Sigismund. See: Krisztina Arany, *Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 57-58.