Doctoral Dissertation

The Development of the Episcopal Office in Medieval Croatia-Dalmatia: The Cases of Split, Trogir and Zadar (1270-1420)

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List of Abbreviations

ACS	The Archive of the Cathedral Chapter of Split [Arhiv Kaptola katedralne crkve u Splitu]
ASN	The Archive of the Archbishopric of Split [Nadbiskupski arhiv u Splitu]
ASV	The Vatican Secret Archive (Archivio Segreto Vaticano)
AkO	*Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta Res Hungaricas Tempore Regum Andegavensium Illustrantia*, vol. I-L. Eds. by Gyula Kristó, Tibor Almási, László Blazovich, Éva B. Halász, Éva Teiszler, Ferenc Piti. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1990-2020.
CDC	*Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1-18. and Supplementa, Vol. 1-2. Eds. by Tadija Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić, and Emilij Laszowski. Zagreb: JAZU; HAZU, 1904-2002.
CDH	*Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vols I-XI. Ed. by György Fejér. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae universitatis Ungaricae, 1829-1844.
MDE	*Magyar diplomacziai emlekek az Anjou-korból*. Vols I-III. Ed. by Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: MTA, 1874-76.
MVC	*Monumenta Vaticana Croatica: Camera apostolica; Obligationes et solutiones; Camerale primo (1299-1560)*, vol. I-II. Eds. by Josip Barbarić, Josip Kolanović, Andrija Lukinović, Jozo Ivanović, Jasna Marković and Stjepan Razum. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996.
VMS	*Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. 1. Ed. by Augustinus Theiner. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863.
VMH	*Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vols I-II. Ed. by Augustinus Theiner. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859.
ZsO	*Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vols. I-XIV. Ed. by Mályusz Elemér, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth et al. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 1951-2020.

Introduction. Topic, Sources, Literature, Research Questions

In 1426 the General council of Split petitioned the pope to absolve its citizens from the excommunication that had been invoked due to the citizens' attack on two former archbishops of Split, Hugolin (r.1349-88) and Andrew (r.1389-1403), and their dispute with Pisan Pope John XXIII (r.1410-15). The appeal was light in terms of detail and it did not mention the fact that the commune of Split cooperated with both archbishops through the majority of their episcopal careers, with bitter conflicts erupting only towards the end of their time in office. At the height of these clashes, the commune demanded from the pope the removal of the incumbent archbishops and sought the return of control over episcopal elections to the local nobility and cathedral chapter.

However, the appeal did reveal some of the inner dynamics in archiepiscopal-communal relations. Regardless of the excommunication, the commune regularly cooperated with its archbishops whilst also consulting Peter of Pag (r.1411-26), the contemporary archbishop of Split, for guidance as to how to successfully petition the pope. In fact, the same archbishop also mediated in the commune's second request, which was sent to the pope at the same time as the first. The second appeal reveals the most probable reason for the importance the commune placed on its petition to the Apostolic See in that very year. The commune asked the pope to authorize the removal of the old church of Saint Lawrence, located on the main town square of Split, and sanction its transfer to another location. The intention of the commune and the new Venetian authorities remained unstated but it seems likely the goal was the expansion of the ducal palace, the enlargement of which would have been hindered by the old church.

This story epitomizes the focus of my research on medieval bishops. Through this dissertation I will provide a structured overview of the changes in the episcopal personnel and management of the episcopal sees of medieval Croatia-Dalmatia. I will achieve this through the close observance and analysis of the figure of one person in society in particular – the medieval bishop. Therefore, my analysis will investigate this subject through a power-oriented perspective with emphasis on social-power relations, placing the bishop and the episcopal office in Croatia-Dalmatia at the center of my research. Yet I will not provide strict narration on each individual and their time in office, nor will I concentrate on the purely ecclesiastical and religious aspects of the episcopal office. Instead of providing a handbook on medieval archbishops and bishops, the aim of this study is to contribute to the general understanding of the medieval episcopal office

through a close study of developments on a local scale and through the exploration of several telling examples.

Latin Christendom was divided into dioceses, led by archbishops and bishops, who were part of the institutionalized Church with its spiritual authority and temporal administration. These high-ranking prelates operated within local communities, supervised them, and controlled the possessions of their churches within the defined territory of each bishopric. They were located in an area that included both secular and ecclesiastical institutions and this led to the episcopal office being constantly negotiated.[1] This makes the role of a bishop and the episcopal office an important focal point for any research that seeks to understand how the medieval Church operated through a study that utilizes local interpretation.

For this purpose, I have compared developments in the archdioceses of Zadar and Split, as well as the diocese of Trogir, the suffragan of Split, all three comprising much of the territory of medieval Croatia-Dalmatia.[2] In terms of ecclesiastical division into provinces, these bishoprics belonged to the Church province of Dalmatia - an area densely populated with episcopal seats, particularly in comparison with its hinterland. Throughout the work I will use the term Croatia-Dalmatia to refer to the region in which these bishoprics were located. This decision has been made due to the overlapping nature of political, administrative and geographical terminology during the Middle Ages. One cannot make a clear division where Dalmatia ended and Croatia began in the medieval period. The selected prelates controlled larger territories than that which was held within the communal borders and interacted with other bishops and rural lords, as well as other local ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical institutions.[3] These bishoprics were largely selected due to their different ecclesiastical position, prestige enjoyed by their contemporaries and in modern historiography and the quality of the available source material but also in order to reevaluate their modern importance and status in their local communities. All three chosen sees

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[1] The Greek term ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) means a guardian, protector and supervisor. During my work I will use terms "diocese" and "bishopric" to refer to the area governed by a bishop. Although a distinction between the two terms existed in some parts of Latin Christendom, they are often used interchangeably in the literature. Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 276; Bras, *Storia della Chiesa* II, 484-517; Guillemain, "L'exercice du pouvoir épiscopal à la fin du moyen âge," 101-132; Tabacco, *Forme di potere e struttura sociale*, 1-36.

[2] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 543.

[3] On problems of establishing a geographical framework in order to avoid a fluid framework of medieval provinces, see: Bloch, "A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies," 44-81.

were centered in mid-sized cities with advanced social stratification and internal administrative autonomy, with a strong emphasis on trade and crafts in their economic setup.[4]

Since these bishoprics were relatively small and located on the fringes of Latin Christendom, their position offers an opportunity for a more in-depth research of the episcopal office and the person of the bishop. I was, therefore, interested in exploring whether there was any change in the type of person who was selected as bishop over time and how their personal qualities and connections played a role in allowing them to obtain this high episcopal position. Were changes in the episcopal office possible due to reforms conducted by the bishops from within or from outside of the diocese? Since these bishops operated in a policentric medieval environment, was the episcopal authority changed through the interactions that the bishop had with different institutions and groups of people? Furthermore, the episcopal office will be analyzed in this paper through its interaction with ecclesiastical cathedral chapters, local monasteries and political institutions such as the commune, the nobility and the king who often competed or cooperated with the bishop. These interactions reveal the role that was played by kinship, service, institution and hierarchy in promoting individual careers.[5]

An institutional analysis of the late medieval Church will allow me to discern ecclesiastical, social and political changes spanning from the late thirteenth century through to the early fifteenth (1270-1420). This period of around 150 years offers a sufficient timespan that allows for an analysis of changes occurring within both the episcopal office as well the chance to study the importance of the human factor, namely through the individual bishops themselves. This research will focus on a small geographical framework with its own inner consistency as the respective bishoprics were similar in their administrative organization and social formation. Nevertheless, they were also influenced by divergent political and historical circumstances that contributed to the distinctive development of each bishopric.[6]

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[4] Some rough estimates for the later middle ages put the population of Trogir (2000), Split (5000) and Zadar (8000) at modest levels. Ravančić, "Grad u hrvatskom srednjovjekovlju," 103-113; Raukar, "Srednjovjekovni grad na istočnom Jadranu: Prostor i društvo," 19-21.

[5] Lantschner, *Logic of Political Conflict in Medieval Cities*, 6-7; Guenée, *Between Church and State*, 1-36; Vones-Liebenstein, "El método prosopográfico," 351-364; Bulst, "Zum Gegenstand und zur Methode von Prosopographie," 1-16; Bagliani, "Prosopographie et élites ecclésiastiques dans l'Italie médiévale (XIIe-XVe siècles)," 313-334.

[6] Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority*, 1; Bloch, "A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies," 71. Robert Brentano argued that it is difficult to understand the developments of the ecclesiastical institutions by observing geographically close dioceses. Brentano, *Two Churches*, XI.

As stated by the Third Lateran Council in 1179, the major legal requirements for anyone wanting to become a bishop was to be born in a valid marriage, to be at least thirty years old, have major orders, possess the required 'intellectual capacities' and be legally selected.[7] Both the legal and non-legal attributes were influenced by the institution of the Church and the interplay of individual social factors. Papal authority underwent a serious change during the fourteenth century which affected the bishops, who were subsequently defined by their contacts with the Apostolic See to a greater extent. Bishops were also individuals, each with their own personal qualities, set of attributes and backgrounds, all of which contributed to their unique style and further career development. Their family origins, education and connections should all be considered when evaluating their episcopal authority.[8]

Through the period of focus in this paper, a number of (arch)bishops were elected, confirmed or appointed in Split (14), Trogir (9) and Zadar (13) and these bishops will form the focus of this research.[9] At the starting date of my investigation, both Split and Zadar were archbishoprics, however Split was directly subject to the authority of the pope and was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, with Trogir as its suffragan-bishop. Zadar, on the other hand, was elevated to the rank of archbishopric in 1154 as a project of the Republic of Venice to tie the conquered territories more closely to the mainland. The newly created archbishop was the suffragan of the Venetian dominated patriarch of Grado.

The key starting point for research concerning the medieval episcopate of Croatia-Dalmatia is the monumental work *Illyricum sacrum*, written by Daniele Farlati (1690-1773).[10] In accordance with the erudite fashion of the time, Farlati structured his work by listing dioceses, the bishops who occupied them and the available information. He transcribed in full the sources he collected and provides us with a commentary on the texts.[11] In doing so, he followed in the footsteps of Ivan

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[7] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 212.

[8] Benton, "Individualism and Conformity in Medieval Western Europe," 313-26; Aertsen, "Einleitung: Die Entdeckung des Individuums," IX-X; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78-87; *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo italiano* III, 9-25.

[9] For the full list, see the List of arch/bishops of Split, Zadar and Trogir. The list includes both those individuals whose election was contested and rejected, as well as those who were appointed and confirmed.

[10] About Farlati, his work and contribution, see: Lučić, "Daniele Farlati (1690-1773)," 229-41.

[11] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III-V. He did this in a form of chronotaxis (a list or table), sorted in chronological order, of people who held an office. Inspiration was Fedinando Ughelli who wrote about the Italian diocese and bishops in his work *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae*. Ughelli, *Italia sacra* I-X. On the development and the use of chronotaxes, see: Acciarino, "Ecclesiastical Chronotaxes of the Renaissance," 131-154.

Lucić (1604-1679), who, writing a century earlier, had in his works a number of references to the medieval Church through descriptions of the political history of Croatia-Dalmatia.[12]

Farlati's work is the basis for any study of medieval bishops and his authority on the matter could probably explain the lack of interest in research dealing specifically with the leading men of these dioceses. His claims were rarely doubted, and this is certainly apparent through the example of Peter Matafari, the archbishop of Zadar (r.1376-1400). Farlati stated that Peter lacked the proper canonical age but was appointed by the pope as a favour to Duke Charles of Durazzo, a member of the royal family, and that Peter administered his diocese for years without proper consecration. Modern historiography has overlooked a number of sources, probably unavailable to Farlati, published during the nineteenth century in *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*[13] which clearly show that Peter was properly consecrated. This is only one example, and more sources have been discovered and published. Yet it also shows that Farlati's authority on the matter is probably the reason why there has been little work dealing specifically with the bishops of the dioceses of Croatia-Dalmatia.[14]

Another reason for the lack of interest in late medieval bishops is probably derived from the lack of ecclesiastical sources collected in one single place.[15] They are, instead, scattered across various source collections, in the archival fonds, or, in large part, have been continuously published since the nineteenth century.[16] Comprehensive episcopal registers were rare, as various sources

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[12] Besides his methical and examplary historical work, Ivan Lucić also collected and prepared for publication a number of sources which are being kept in the archives of the Scientific library in Zadar (Znanstvena knjižnica u Zadru) and in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti). This source collection will be cited as Lucić, *Collection*, with appropriate volumes and pagination. His seminal works are: Lucić, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*; *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I-II.

[13] Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. I (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863), 311, May 5, 1376.

[14] This work was originally intended as a continuation of my earlier research about the involvement of the bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia in the attempts by two Angevin pretenders – Charles Robert (1288-1342) and Ladislas of Naples (1377-1414) – to seize the throne of the kingdom of Hungary. Petrović, "The Role of the Church in the Two Succession Crises," 77-88. As a contribution to the research done by Farlati, I intended to expand upon my prior work by reviewing the known sources for the fourteenth century (arch)bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia and conducting an archontological (study of historical offices) and prosopographic work (study of common characteristics of a historical group) of the archbishops and their suffragan bishops in Croatia-Dalmatia. Since there were in total 15 dioceses in the fourteenth century, with varying degree of preserved source materials, I decided to limit my research to three selected dioceses.

[15] Such as the episcopal registers which exists in some parts of the Christendom, for instance, in England: Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*.

[16] The source collections are listed in the bibliography, but as an example, a source which is still being published today and which is an essential starting point is: Tadija Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić, and Emilij Laszowski, eds., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1-18. and Supplementa, Vol. 1-2. (Zagreb: JAZU; HAZU, 1904-2002).

were preserved by contracting communal notaries, and most of the researched material has been patched together from sources from various collections.[17] Periods of political instability negatively impacted the preservation of sources, as some materials, such as papal bulls of appointments and reports from tax collectors, as well as local ecclesiastical sources, were lost. Gradual natural decay and fires have also hindered the systematic preservation of sources. For instance, the archiepiscopal palace of Zadar and its archives and chancery were damaged by fires in 1394 and 1419 respectively.[18] Those documents which have been preserved owe their survival to the fact that they were of different origins, for example some were compiled by the Church but were also copied and recorded by local communal notaries or government officials.

Ecclesiastical narrative works are also lacking for this period. The major work covering the period up until the mid-thirteenth century is the chronicle by Thomas, the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter of Split, who narrated ecclesiastical and political events connected with the Church of Split.[19] The historians would combine the analysis of Thomas's narrative with other sources in order to observe the general developments within the local Church up to the thirteenth century.[20] While the fourteenth century is not lacking in chronicles, indeed several of them were published that span the entire century,[21] it lacks narrative works written from the perspective of clerics. While Thomas's writings came from within the institution of the medieval Church, the later chronicles praised the commune and its developments.[22]

In the nineteenth century, historians did write about the period in question but were heavily influenced by the modern requirements of their own age as well as a traditional orientation to political history.[23] The dominant paradigm in the historiography of that time was to try to find a historical basis for regions belonging to either Croatia or Italy. This was particularly evident in the works of Vitaliano Brunelli and Giuseppe Praga, who emphasized the role played by Venice and downplayed the contacts between the cities and their hinterland. This does not mean there was no research dealing with ecclesiastical developments in this period but the bishops were not

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[17] Due to the on-going global pandemic and the uncertainty on how to proceed with research, some of the investigation on the primary sources has been postponed or completely abandoned.

[18] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 20; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 177; Dokoza, "Samostanski i nadbiskupski posjedi," 247; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 17-9.

[19] Archdeacon Thomas, *History of the bishops of Salona and Split*; Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*.

[20] See the works in: *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba*.

[21] Madijev, "Historija," 159-83; *Obsidio Iadrensis*; Cutheis, "Tabula," 185-202; Paulo, *Memoriale*.

[22] Although, Archdeacon Thomas was also a representative of growing communal age. Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 172-7; Vasina, "Medieval Urban Historiography," 317-27.

[23] Ančić, "Kako danas čitati studije Franje Račkog," VII-XXXVIII.

specifically researched.[24] Some valuable works did originate from this period, such as the overview of the history of the archbishopric of Zadar by Carlo Federico Bianchi.[25] The lack of interest in the episcopal office among Croatian scholars could be attributed to the fact that most medieval bishops of the fourteenth century were non-native, instead mostly hailing from nearby Italy.

For most of the twentieth century, historians were oriented towards socio-economic research, treating the local Church and the commune as two fully separated entities.[26] Many historians concentrated on researching the communal age and development of the civic institutions, while excluding the role played by the Church and the episcopate in the development of the commune. Nada Klaić's work examining the Church-commune relations represented an exception.[27] In recent years new works have been published which discuss the medieval bishops. However, they do not primarily deal with ecclesiastical themes but rather leave them in the background. For instance, Zrinka Nikolić wrote about the development of the urban nobility of Zadar and Split and incorporated several archbishops of local origins in to her research.[28] Irena Benyovsky concentrated on the urban development of Dalmatian communes, dealing with the bishopric of Trogir.[29] The historians in general, not just within modern Croatian historiography, focused their attention on religious beliefs, new orders, the cult of saints and devotional practices.[30] An in-depth analysis of a single diocese was mostly commissioned by a religious institution but lacked any comparative work or the juxtaposition of more bishoprics.[31]

The bishops, being members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were usually observed only through their relationship with the popes and within the development of the papal monarchy.[32] This focus on the episcopal-papal relations is understandable if we consider - as Mario Fois has

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[24] Strohal, *Pravna povijest hrvatskih gradova*, 280-323.

[25] Praga, "Testi volgari spalatini," 36-131; *Storia di Dalmazia*; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*.

[26] An example of omitting Church: Raukar, "Komunalna društva," 139-209. Similar approach in: Philip Jones, *Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[27] Janeković Römer, "Grad i građani između kraljeva, velikaša i prelata," 207-28.

[28] Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 104-38.

[29] Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*; "Medieval Square in Trogir," 9-62.

[30] See: Forrest, "Continuity and Change," 185-200. This list is just an overview of works dealing with mentioned topics: *Hagiologija: Kultovi u kontekstu*; Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata*; Maračić, *Hrvatska provincija franjevaca konventualaca*; Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II.

[31] Only for Zadar, as similar approaches are lacking for Split and Trogir. See: *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve*. In addition, this work was finished, but was never officially published, hindering further discussion and research. When dealing with dioceses with less data, historians would observe the diocese through a large span of time, as was the case with Ante Škegro's research of the bishopric of Duvno. Škegro, *Na rubu opstanka: Duvanjska biskupija*.

[32] For a description of the bishop's position in regard to the development of the papal monarchy, see: Benson, *Bishop-Elect*; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 219-226, 527-535; Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*.

noticed - a lack of ecclesiological texts for the period of the fourteenth and fifteenth century concerning the connections and relations between the bishop and his diocese. Medieval theologians concentrated on expanding the canon law and the relations between the spiritual and secular powers while emphasizing the papal supremacy and his primacy over the bishops. Despite its attempt to render the pope and his bishops as equals, not even the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century was able to reverse the gradual decline of the episcopal authority in favour of the papal superiority.[33] In recent years the active research of the Vatican archives resulted in the publishing of a large number of materials which has made it possible to explore the relationship between the Apostolic See and the local prelates.[34] Jadranka Neralić used her extensive research in the Vatican archives to focus on the relationship of various prelates of Croatia-Dalmatia and the Papal Curia during the fifteenth century.[35]

When observing the relationship between the Apostolic See and the local Churches, focus was placed on the entanglement between the ecclesiastical and secular institutions in the later Middle Ages.[36] Since during the Avignon period there existed a negative view of the papal authority, which was interpreted as a period of prolonged crisis, the episcopate was also viewed as being decadent.[37] The traditional historiographical scheme tended to emphasize a contrast between the reformist-episcopate, who intended to deal with the falling spirituality in their dioceses, with the one of a lax and lenient bishop. Any bishop, who would commit himself to governing the diocese and the ecclesiastical structures, moving beyond the simple administration of his diocese and concentrating on educating the clergy, promoting worship and maintaining liturgical service, would be observed as an anomaly in the ecclesiastical hierarchy characterized by absentee bishops and religious decline.[38]

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[33] Fois, "Vescovo e chiesa locale nel pensiero ecclesiologico," 27-9; Tierney, *Origins of papal infallibility*, 131-70; Morrissey, "Cardinal Zabarella on Papal and Episcopal Authority," 39-52.

[34] MVC I; *Priručnik* I-II.

[35] Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*.

[36] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 310-58.

[37] As implied by the title of this book: Quaglioni, *Storia della Chiesa: La crisi del Trecento e il papato avignonese*. For the paradigm of crisis, see: Merlo, "Dal papato avignonese ai grandi scismi," 453-76. On the power crisis during the fourteenth century, see: Canning, *Ideas of Power*.

[38] Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 217-9. An illustrative example of this approach can be shown on how historians positively depicted Nicholas Matafari, the archbishop of Zadar. His time in office was marred by clear cases of nepotism, which did not separate him from the most of his episcopal contemporaries. Yet the historians unquestionably depicted Nicholas in a positive manner, due to Nicholas opposition to Venice and his literary work dealing with clerical behaviour and norms. Grbavac, "Matafar, Nikola," 459-60.

In order to avoid an obsession with details over substance, it is necessary to observe the local developments within the context of comparative and regional study. This can be done by emphasizing the interdependence of various ecclesiastical and secular actors. The bishops shared space with monasteries, chapters and other clerics but also had to consider the interest of the communal government, and the urban and rural nobility, whose interests often collided with those of the bishops.[39] In addition, the Northern Italian bishoprics with their problems, perspectives and research opportunities, provide a comparable experience and material for the bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia. The two sides of the Adriatic shared a number of similarities such as ecclesiastical structures and the bishops who arrived from Italy, strong communal development and the pressure of a rural nobility based in the hinterland. This allows for a comparison between Croatian-Dalmatian dioceses and their Italian counterparts while keeping in mind different political and social circumstances which reveal local peculiarities.[40]

The dissertation is divided into several major parts tracking the episcopal developments over a span of 150 years. It deals with the bishopric itself, the person of the bishop and with general issues connected to the episcopal authority in Croatia-Dalmatia during the period between 1270 and 1420. In the following chapters I consider how the episcopal office was influenced by the personal qualities of the individuals holding the office. What was the role played by the intricate relations between the bishops and various local and regional institutions of the medieval society? These interrelations are closely analyzed within the context of the institution of the Church. While these questions can be applied to Christendom in its entirety, I am primarily interested here in observing the local experiences and changes which may in turn be used in the future to contribute to a broader comparative research of ecclesiastical regions.

Each chapter is preceded by a historical overview which contextualizes the major developments during the observed period by looking at the actions of the popes, rulers and other institutions and individuals in the region. In the first chapter I analyze how the social context in which the dioceses have been established helped to define the late medieval bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia and what the role played by various local and broader-ranging institutions in the selection

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[39] Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham*, 19; On how to avoid falling into antiquarianism while researching local history, see: Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete*.

[40] Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 217-54. In a similar fashion as works comparing Italian and English Churches or selected dioceses in both countries. See: Brentano, *Two Churches*; Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority*.

of bishops was. In the second chapter I seek to identify the most important pillars of episcopal authority and the patterns of the bishops' behavior toward important ecclesiastical institutions in the diocese as well as the changes – if any – introduced by the bishops in their everyday episcopal governance. The third chapter connects the internal changes in the bishoprics with the role played in these developments by lay institutions, primarily the commune, the rural nobility and the rulers, and the gradual centralization of power over the ecclesiastical hierarchy by the pope. For the fourth chapter, I have selected three members of the higher clergy, each from one of the researched bishoprics, in order to analyze the challenges that could be encountered by the fourteenth-century bishops. In this chapter I track three episcopal careers from beginning to end by observing how these individuals obtained their positions, the challenges they faced during their time in office and the consequences of their administration on the general development of their dioceses. The last chapter observes how the ecclesiastical and political turmoil at the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century affected relations between the bishops and their dioceses by concentrating on the contacts between these prelates, the Apostolic See and the secular rulers. These areas of analysis and subsequent opinions are summarized in the conclusion which considers the different features of the person of the bishop and also combines these aspects with the gradual changes in the office and position of the bishop. Since the topic of bishops does not appear often in the works of modern historiography, the dissertation is accompanied by appendices which include a short summary of each of the presented individuals. These descriptions include the bishops' career and family connections as well as basic information about their time in office. The work also includes images, family trees and maps relevant to the period and the bishops themselves.

Chapter I. Setting the Scene: Diocesan Topography

A separate dissertation could be written to provide a detailed account on the development of the episcopal office prior to the late thirteenth century. In order to provide a basic overview and offer a general understanding of political and regional development, the establishment of the bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia, their further development and changes in the leading personnel is only briefly discussed here. It is difficult to strike a balance to satisfy the interest of those well acquainted with the topic, while at the same time providing the necessary background to those unfamiliar with the ecclesiastical history of the region. The following chapter mentions the establishment of the bishoprics but focuses more on the importance of the relations between the bishopric and the commune, while considering the sacred topography of the city and the importance and the position of various ecclesiastical institutions in the medieval community. The chapter is concluded with the analysis of the most decisive period in the episcopal career - the election and the confirmation – which strongly impacted the behaviour of the bishop.

The episcopal centers of the eastern Adriatic were shaped by local conditions, such as cult centers and the tradition of urban life, which led to the creation of relatively small bishoprics with unclear borders. Canon law specified that bishoprics must be established in important urban centers (*civitas*) and developed a hierarchy of settlements which forbid appointment of bishops in smaller communities (*villa*, *oppidum*, *castra*) as that would diminish the prestige of the episcopal office. In the eyes of the Church historians and lawyers the city was the center of the Christian community and as such the episcopal center from which the bishop drew his prestige, his authority and the ability to perform the duties of his office.[41]

During the Middle Ages, between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, the communities invested considerable economic and diplomatic resources to obtain the rank of a bishopric, in order to gain the status of *civitas*. This, of course, went both ways as bishoprics could only be founded in settlements having the rank of *civitas*. The border lines between the history of episcopal seats and the history of cities were thin and the two overlapped. In the period running to the fourteenth

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[41] The twelfth century canon lawyer Gratian wrote in his Decretum: *episcopi non in castellis neque in modicis civitatibus debent constitui*. These words entered into wider use which is evident by their use by the thirteenth century law professor Bartolo da Sassoferrato: *civitas* [...] *illa quae habet episcopum*. Of course, in some places the need for a Church organization outweighted the canon law, meaning that smaller places became episcopal centers as, for instance, in Aquileia. Quaglioni, "Civitas: appunti per una riflessione sull'idea di città," 59-76; Pennington, "Bishops and their Dioceses," 7-17; Dusa, *Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 25-68.

century the organization of the Church became more complex, as the bishops had to compete for ecclesiastical prestige with older Benedictine monasteries and newer mendicant orders. In the Late Middle Ages, the cities started to put limits on the exercising of episcopal authority, but, despite that, the bishop remained an essential representative of a Christian community.[42]

I.1. The Bishopric

The medieval church province of Dalmatia was constructed on the heritage of the late Roman imperial organization. The metropolitan seat was in Salona which was destroyed during the seventh century after which Split tried to inherit its position. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the popes established Dubrovnik and then Zadar as archbishoprics, independent of Split, which further disintegrated the unity of the Church province (*Fig*. 1).[43]

The tradition of the city and the archbishopric of Split dated back to the transfer of the city and episcopal status from Salona to the newly established city, formed on the remains of the palace and mausoleum of Emperor Diocletian (r.284-305).[44] The episcopal origins were connected with Saint Domnius (?-304), whose legend as one of Saint Peter's students was used in 925 by Split to obtain the status of the metropolitan archbishop, while opposing Zadar remained a bishop-suffragan.[45] But soon the pope elevated Dubrovnik and Antibar to the status of archbishoprics, severely limiting the archiepiscopal province of Split. However, the archbishopric was a repository of power, prestige and social memory. Besides earlier legends, Split received and preserved the royal donations from the dynasties of the Croatian Trpimirovići (845-1091) and the Hungarian Árpáds (1092-1301), which ensured a good economic basis for the archbishopric. These donations and ecclesiastical tradition served as a social capital which was actively used by the fourteenth-century archbishops.[46]

The archiepiscopal status of Zadar was a relatively new one. Dating back to the fourth century, Zadar was until the mid-twelfth century a bishopric subordinated to Split. In an attempt by the Venetians to sever the ties of Zadar with Split, a city still controlled by the Kingdom of

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[42] Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 177-82; Pellegrini, *Chiesa e città*, XVII-XXXIX; Ronzani, "Vescovi e città in età comunale," 51-63.
[43] Dusa, *Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 57-8.
[44] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 41-4; Rismondo, "Naselja i naseljavanje na splitskom poluotoku," 329-40.
[45] On the context, see: Majnarić, "Papa i svjetovni vladar na izmaku karolinškog doba," 5-16; Peričić, "Ustanovljenje nadbiskupije i metropolije zadarske," 133-4; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 51-4.
[46] Katić, "Reambulacija dobara splitskoga nadbiskupa," 135-77; Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 144-72.

Hungary-Croatia, the pope elevated Zadar to the rank of an archbishopric. Together with the new status, the archbishop of Zadar also received three bishop-suffragans, but was immediately subordinated to the patriarch of Grado, the Venetian-controled ecclesiastical institution, which caused dissatisfaction among the Zaratin ecclesiastical and communal elites.[47]

Lastly, the bishopric of Trogir was the suffragan of Split, dating its origins to the mid-seventh century. Its territories also included Šibenik, which was lost at the end of the thirteenth century. The loss of Šibenik aggravated the conflicts that the bishop had to wage with the commune, and with the cathedral chapter, while also gradually worsening the relations with the metropolitan archbishop. Therefore, the bishopric of Trogir offers a possibility to observe similar changes to the ones in Split and Zadar, namely the ecclesiastical-secular connections in the functioning of the episcopal office, but on a smaller scale.[48]

The elevation of Zadar to the archiepiscopal status (1154) probably influenced the later ecclesiastical reorganization of the archdiocese of Split. During the 1180s King Béla III (r.1172-96) reclaimed Split from Byzantium and Zadar from Venice, so both Dalmatian archbishoprics were once again part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. The king was also able to install his protégé Peter as the archbishop of Split (r.1180-90). The new political circumstances probably dictated ecclesiastical reform as the archbishop convened the provincial synod of 1185 which specified borders and possessions of all the bishoprics subordinated to Split.[49] The bishoprics were divided into several parishes, governed by an archpriest (*archipresbiter*), confirmed by the (arch)bishop. For instance, while Trogir was a bishopric, Šibenik was its parish whose archpriest was confirmed by the bishop of Trogir, which often caused frictions between the parish and the bishop. The organization of parishes followed the spiritual need to care for the population of the bishopric, but also corresponded with the political, historical and practical developments. Since parishes needed believers, they were grouped tightly around cities, with the bishop acting as the main parish priest within the walls of his city (*infra muros*).[50]

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[47] Strika, "Zadar – novo nadbiskupsko i metropolijsko sjedište Dalmacije," 1-45; Šišić, "Zadar i Venecija," 254-74; "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 156-81.

[48] Ivanišević, "Trogir u povijesnim izvorima," 964-92.

[49] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, I, 202-4; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 213; CDC II, 192-4, May 1, 1185; Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn*, 154-7; Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 90-2.

[50] Ančić, "Srednjovjekovno vladarsko vlastelinstvo Drid," 90-1; "Knin u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku," 77-9. On the system of parishes in general, see: French, *The People of the Parish*, 20-43; Swanson, "Bishoprics and parishes," 19-30.

The archbishopric of Split was divided into seven parishes with most of them around the city itself. Towards Omiš and Makarska, south of the city, the parishes increased in size and here the archbishopric had troubles enforcing its authority. These were the places where the archbishopric unsuccessfully tried to (re)establish bishoprics during the fourteenth century. Trogir was divided into four parishes, but the main ones were the city itself and Šibenik. It seems that Zadar did not have a similar division as Split and Trogir. The archbishopric consisted of many island parishes, while its small territory outside of the city was divided between the archbishopric, the major churches of the city and the various monasteries.[51]

I.2. The Medieval Polity

The medieval communes of Dalmatia had their distinct legal framework, with statutes that defined civic rights and duties, and political autonomy, as they elected their own magistrates, while accepting the mostly-nominal outside rule. The communes were socially stratified and had distinct economic foundations, as their inhabitants dealt with trade or owned land in the district of the city or in the lands which were subordinated to the *ban* of Croatia (*Fig*. 2). Lastly, an important aspect was the religious identity, as these communities were strongly Catholic, having their own bishoprics and city cults.[52] The aim of this subchapter is to outline the communal development, list the important members of the municipal government in order to see who and how interacted with the ecclesiastical world.

Up until the end of the twelfth century, Dalmatian cities were controlled by the Byzantine Empire, with occasional periods of Croatian, Hungarian or Venetian control, but from the thirteenth century the cities were divided between the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia which controlled Split and Trogir, and the Republic of Venice which controlled Zadar. The connections of Split and Trogir to the royal dynasty derived from the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia which was incorporated into the Hungarian Kingdom in the early twelfth century. Zadar also had ties with the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, but was often violently seized by Venice, which generally imposed limitations on Zadar in order to curb the city's development. These restrictions often led to revolts

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[51] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 213; CDC II, 193, May 1, 1185; Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 159-60.

[52] Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte*; "Stari svijet i novo doba," 141-52; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*; Novak, *Povijest Splita*; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*.

and to the creation of the Venetian myth of "nine rebellions" which greatly dictated the relations between Venice and Zadar.[53]

The institutions of the Dalmatian communes gradually formed from the eleventh century and were fully organized by the start of the thirteenth century. By the twelfth century Dalmatia was managed by representatives of the Byzantine government, while communes maintained their autonomy and elected magistrates amongst themselves.[54] From the twelfth century, under outside pressure, each commune had a *comes* (count), whose appointment reflected the political domination by either Venice,[55] Hungary or the local rural nobility. In territories under Venice, the *comes* was a Venetian citizen whose interests were alligned closely with the demands of the *Serenissima*. On the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, the *comes* either came from the local rural nobility, or was sent by the royal court.[56]

Therefore, two major political powers – the Republic of Venice and the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia - came to influence the developments of the communal life by the fourteenth century. During their rule over Dalmatian cities, Venice did not centralize their control in the hands of one person, but its administrators in Dalmatia came under closer scrutiny and control by the central structures of the Venetian bureaucracy. When Venice reclaimed Dalmatia after 1409, the republic instituted an office of governor-general (*provveditore generale*) in charge of the Venetian possesions in Dalmatia.[57] The rulers of Hungary did not change the institutional, legal and social organization of Croatia-Dalmatia, organizing it as a *banatus*, a distinct administrative and territorial unit, with tradition dating back to the early medieval kingdom of Croatia.[58] The highest official was the duke, a member of the royal family, or the *ban*, a royally appointed deputy for

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[53] Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 133-135, 159-162; Krekić, "Developed Autonomy," 185-215; Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 43-96.

[54] On the organization of the local governance in the early middle ages, see: Lučić, "Komunalno uređenje dalmatinskih gradova," 209-35; On the history of the priors, the mayors of Zadar and the representatives of the Byzantine imperial government in Dalmatia, see: Nikolić Jakus, "Madijevci: primjer obitelji dalmatinske gradske elite," 1-24; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar*, 49-114.

[55] In historiography the Venetian representatives are called rectors, but in sources *comites*.

[56] Nominally, the privileges of the Dalmatian communes, confirmed by the subsequent kings of Hungary, allowed for the free election of the *comes*, but this was seldom observed. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 88-9; Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte*, 54-93.

[57] Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 167-72; Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 43-114.

[58] Csukovits, *I. Károly és uralkodása*, 14-5; Zsoldos, "Hrvatska i Slavonija u kraljevstvu Arpadovića," 287-96.

Croatia and Dalmatia, who was usually appointed from loyal court nobility, but when the royal dynasty needed wider support they would grant the title to the local Croatian nobility.[59]

With the advent of the thirteenth century, the Dalmatian communes started to introduce the *podestà* system of government as a response to the internal struggles and the arbitrariness of the *comes*, as the counts tended to convert their nominal authority into a lasting influence. The *podestà* was a paid magistrate, with his own retinue, employed for a specific period of time from nearby friendly communes, usually from Italy. He was tasked to cooperate with the local institutions and enforce law and order.[60] The system of paid foreign officials was never the sole system in place as the *podestà* and the *comes* operated jointly throughout most of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[61] For instance, when the Šubići of Bribir introduced their rule over most of the communes of Dalmatia, they were satisfied with members of their family being granted the title of *comes*, while the cities were managed by *podestà*. While it could be argued that the Šubići kept communal autonomy intact, they were often involved in suggesting and influencing the appointments of their favourites for a *podestà*, keeping the institution in favour of more efficent Šubići dominance.[62] On the other hand, after seizing Croatia-Dalmatia in 1358, King Louis (r.1342-82) suppressed the appointment of *podestà*, on the grounds that these officials were not royal subjects as they came from Italian communes. The *podestà* system enabled a higher degree of local autonomy, while the king wanted to control the local communities by appointing counts from among the royal officials.[63]

The highest office available to the citizens themselves was that of the judge, selected among the members of the city council, while the citizens could be appointed as a *podestà* or a

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[59] The Árpád dynasty introduced changes to the banal system during the thirteenth century. Sometimes, the king would unite Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia under the rule of the ban of all Slavonia (*banus totius Sclavonie*), but Croatia-Dalmatia was mostly kept separate from Slavonia by the appointment of the ban of the maritime region (*banus maritimus*), the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia (*banus Croatie et Dalmatie*) or even as the ban of all Croatia (*banus totius Croatie*). The reign of the bans from the Šubići family between the 1270s and the 1320s, and the fact that Croatia and Dalmatia were mostly controlled by Venice during the period between the 1320s and 1358, helped to define the position of the banate of Croatia and Dalmatia as separate from Slavonia. This distinct status was confirmed by the Angevins who after 1358 appointed separate bans for Slavonia and for Croatia-Dalmatia. Karbić, "Defining the Position of Croatia," 520-21; Zsoldos, "Egész Szlavónia bánja," 269–81; Klaić, "Hrvatski hercezi i bani za Karla Roberta i Ljudevita I," 126-218; Novak, "Hrvatski primorski banovi" 9/6, 148-149, 9/7, 179-181.

[60] Matijević Sokol, "Toma Arhiđakon," 354-60; "Regimen latinorum arhiđakona Tome," 17-32; Novak, "Comes, potestas, prior, consul, rector, capitaneus i miles grada Splita," 227-73; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 167-74; Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 41-4; Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 40-52.

[61] Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 168-70.

[62] Steindorff, "Stari svijet i novo doba," 147; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 281-2.

[63] Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 30-52; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 625-35.

count in a neighbouring commune. The judges had political and administrative functions, but since they often shared power with the *comes* and other officials, they usually only retained judicial authorities. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the communes sometimes appointed various officials to govern the city together with established institutions, such as the consules, captains and rectors, whose duties and time in office were often interchangable or appeared during times of crisis. For instance, after rebelling against Venice in 1357, Split was administered by consules and rectors, which was temporarily suppressed by King Louis. These magistrates later reappeared in periods of weakening of the royal authority.[64]

The legal sources, such as the city statutes, specified the rights and obligations of legal groups, and divided the population of the city and its district into citizens (*cives*), who enjoyed full political rights, inhabitans (*habitatores*), who were allowed to live in the city, and foreigners (*forenses*). By the fourteenth century the commune underwent significant socio-economic changes, which led to further social and legal stratification of its denizens. Those with political and economic power, the nobility (*nobiles*), wanted to further limit the access to the communal institutions between themselves and the rest of the population, namely the commoners (*popolares*).[65] Putting aside that this simplified division does not fully reflect the realities of the medieval communes, as it does not include the marginal groups,[66] more influential families were able to limit the wider population's participation in the municipal structures, separating themselves from the rest of the commune. Inspired by the Venetian *serrata* – the closing of the Great Council (1297/1323) – and following the introduction of the Venetian rule over Dalmatia, the communes reserved their councils for those whose fathers and grandfathers were members. Split was closed in 1334, Trogir in 1340, while no sources were preserved for Zadar, but it is highly unlikely it closed before Venice.[67] The conflicts between influential familes for the control of the communal

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[64] Consules, selected from ruling bodies, were sometimes appointed and their function somewhat competed with that of the *comes*. The captain of popolo sometimes replaced the *podestà*, complemented him, or had military duties. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 89-90; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 451-7; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 283-4. Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića," 52-3.

[65] Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 181-2; "Cives, habitatores, forenses," 139-49.

[66] On marginal groups in Dalmatian communes, see: Karbić, "Marginalne grupe," 43-76; Le Goff, "Les marginaux dans l'Occident Medieval," 19-28; Geremek, "Marginal Man," 347-73.

[67] Raukar, "Consilium generale," 94; *Statute of Split*, 89-90; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 522-7; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 2, f. 8; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 168.

institutions, which led to the closure of the city councils, also caused considerable disturbances during the fourteenth century, often with the participation of the clergy.[68]

I.3. The Bishop and the Commune

The medieval communities were defined by the interplay between the bishop and the commune, who were different, but also closely interconnected as their position of power and authority was horizontaly distributed. Brian Tierney posed an interesting remark about the existence of ecclesiastical and secular structures of government, interlinked but with different goals which resulted in the two entering into conflict and trying to put limits on each other. The bishop's decisive influence over his city diminished over time as the growing communes started to restrict the episcopal rights and extend their jurisdiction over the bishopric.[69]

In Northern Italy, where the bishoprics and the communes had comparable internal organization and similar social cohesion to their Dalmatian counterparts, the communes reacted to the episcopal political control by rejecting that the bishop represents the entire urban community. The commune and the clerical authorities were in semi-permanent war over judicial and boundary problems, which led to the spread of the jurisdiction of the commune at the episcopal expense.[70] Similar conflicts, while missing in Split and Zadar, were visible in Trogir and occurred due to the weakening of spiritual authority and financial power of the bishop, exacerbated by the loss of economically strong Šibenik and specifically because of the bishop's involvement in the intra-communal conflicts.

What was the relation between the Dalmatian communes and its bishops during the long medieval period? Ivan Strohal considered the bishops as the rulers of the cities, who selected more distunguished citizens to serve in the city council from which the communes gradually grew and gained independence.[71] He simply repeated the contemporary historiography regarding the development of the Italian communes by not taking into account that the status of Dalmatian

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[68] Kurelac, "Društvene diferencijacije i pokreti pučana," 237-45; "Pučki ustanci i pobune," 239-47; Benyovsky Latin, "Politički sukobi u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru," 44-51.

[69] Tierney, "Medieval Canon Law," 8; Crumley, "Heterarchy," 1-14.

[70] Ronzani, "Vescovi, capitoli e strategie famigliari," 138-9; For the statement on "semi-permanent war," see: Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 52-6.

[71] Strohal, *Pravna povijest hrvatskih gradova*, 280-323.

bishops differed from their Western European counterparts.[72] These bishops had some aspects of secular authority, but lacked many powers which would make them truly autonomous rulers. Joan Dusa stated that the role of the bishop in medieval Dalmatian communes "defies precise description." The bishops' status differed from their Western and Byzantine counterparts as the bishops never obtained secular authority and privileges connected with it - such as minting money, commanding armies and governing counties - while the basis for the episcopal temporal power came from royal grants and purchases and not from seizing lands.[73]

The bishop's name and position carried considerable social authority as the bishop was the most reputable and distinguished member of the community throughout the medieval period. The official charters of the cities were dated by the name of the bishop occupying the episcopal office, following the name of the temporal ruler and preceding the name of the city officers. For instance, in 1326, when some individuals from Ancona were robbed, their city council addressed the commune of Split for recompensation, placing Archbishop Balian's name first, and only after the consuls, the count and the entire population.[74] An evidence of a well developed commune was the existence of a bishopric which can be observed in the bitter fights that the community of Šibenik led against the bishop of Trogir in the attempt to form a bishopric of its own.

Despite occasional communal limitations on the ecclesiastical privileges,[75] during the later Middle Ages the bishop and the commune stood united toward the outside world, particularly if they shared similar goals. For instance, the commune in Trogir wanted to limit the episcopal exclusive right to collect tithes in the city, but were quick to support the bishop in his conflict with Šibenik due to shared interest on the matter between the two institutions of Trogir.[76] A more evident case of the ecclesiastical-communal intertwining occurred in Zadar during the war between Genova and Venice (1296-1301), when the city was threatened by the Genoese navy. Pope Boniface VIII excommunicated some Zaratin laymen and clergymen from Zadar who took money

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[72] Also, see: Lučić, "Komunalno uređenje dalmatinskih gradova," 209-35. For a newer assessment of the period, on the example of the Italian bishopric of Cremona, see: Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority*, 14-86.

[73] Dusa, *Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 69-83.

[74] CDC IX, 321, c.1326.

[75] Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 32-33.

[76] Before the start of the serious conflicts between Trogir and Šibenik, citizens of Trogir on occassions were selected as the *podestà* of Šibenik which shows that the nobility of Trogir had personal interest, besides the prestige of its bishopric, in supporting the episcopal control. Zelić, "Šibenske crkve," 800. During 1285 the commune and the bishop also settled an issue of the payment of tithe to the bishop, transfering part of the jurisdiction and financial incentive over into the communal hands. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 206-7. The commune also offered to pay for the bishop's trip to the Papal Curia in 1287 to discuss the issue of Šibenik.

from local churches in order to repair the walls, but it seems that it was Archbishop Henry, who allowed this to happen in the first place. In the end, the walls were repaired and the culprits absolved on the petition from the archbishop.[77]

On a long-term scale, the best example of the cooperation between bishop and commune is provided by the involvement of the commune of Split in managing and controlling the ecclesiastical institutions in Split, with the tacit approval of the archbishop. According to the Statute of the city, a notary should make an inventory of the Church goods and the reliquaries in the presence of the rector of the city and members of the cathedral chapter,[78] while the rector, on the advice by the archbishop, appointed procurators for the monasteries in the city.[79] In 1347 the General council decided that no citizen or foreigner can leave immovable properties to the Church, as it turned out that a large part of the property was owned by the Church. Such regulations were passed in many places as the authorities were afraid of the shrinking of the tax base. Even though it took several years for the motion to be recorded in the Statute and the archbishop's stance on the issue is unknown, the lack of conflict could point to the archbishop's acceptance and willingness to share some of his rights with the commune.[80]

Officially, the bishop's obligations towards the commune were limited, mostly connected to the maintenance of the urban infrastructure[81] and help with diplomatic missions, as the bishop was one of the most prestigious inhabitant of the city.[82] It remains unclear how much did the native-born bishops participate directly in the daily political lives of their communes. I am not sure if Dominic Luccari (r.1328-48), the archbishop of Split, and Lawrence Vitturi (r.1319-48), the bishop of Trogir, participated in the sessions of the city councils as native-born sons of their communes.

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[77] Henry reconstructed part of the city walls and placed them under the protection of the patron saint of Zadar, Saint Chrysogonus. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 45, mentions that there is an inscription above the church dedicated to Henry. *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, n.3128, July 3, 1299; CDC VII, 346-7; *Priručnik* I, 358. For the war, see: Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 217-20. Brunelli saw the reason in fortifying Zadar in the destruction caused by the Crusaders when the city was left defenseless, meaning the attack on the city a century before, in 1202. He added that Zadar wanted to protect themselves from the Šubići from the land, and from the Genova from the sea. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 435.

[78] Three written statements should be made: one to be kept by the sacristan, the second in the treasury of the city and one with a person decided by the city council. Similar decision was made for the monasteries of the city. *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 7-9.

[79] *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 10.

[80] It was passed in 1347, but only introduced into the Statute in 1354. *Statute of Split*, Statuta nova, cap. 25.

[81] See earlier regarding the reconstruction of walls in Zadar. According to the *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 13, the local churches needed to assist in building roads, wells and bridges.

[82] Bishop Chrysogonus of Trogir often accompanied the members of the commune on missions, but a short note from 1388 shows how this looked in practice. The city council elected three of its members to ask the bishop to conduct a mission to the Bosnian dukes who were threatening the city. Rački, "Notae," 248, March 4, 1389.

However, their family members did and probably kept their clerical cousins informed about what was going on in the council. That does not mean that the city council was completely closed off to non-native prelates. They had to rely on alliances with local noble families, as was the case with Lawrence of the noble family of Cypriani who attended the sessions of the city council as a canon and the vicar of Archbishop Hugolin of Split.[83] While it was not uncommon for the archbishops of Split and the bishops of Trogir to participate in the diplomatic missions on the behalf of their commune, there are no records of the same for the archbishops of Zadar during the fourteenth century. It is, therefore, intriguing to observe situations in which the bishop participated in diplomatic missions and if these missions were conducted for the benefit of the bishopric or on behalf of the commune.

I.4. Cults and Cathedrals

The seat of the bishop was his cathedral complex which dominated the urban landscape and served as a daily reminder of the episcopal power, but it was also the source of pride and prestige for the medieval community.[84] The cities of Dalmatia inherited most of their basic layout from late antiquity. The centrally located cathedrals were built on places of the early Christian churches (Zadar and Trogir) or served as the direct continuation of the Roman architecture in late antiquity (Split and Zadar).[85] But the sacral topography of medieval cities was not only occupied by the cathedrals, as the bishopric shared its space with other ecclesiastical institutions, such as churches and monasteries. The mendicants – Franciscans and Dominicans – settled in Dalmatia and had little trouble expanding their orders, often finding support from the local episcopate and

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[83] A higher prelate could attend the sessions of the city council. For instance, Madius resigned his post as the bishop of Duvno in 1344, but was allowed by the pope to keep using the episcopal title. As a citizen of Split, Madius attended the session of the city council in 1358 when he was sent as the communal ambassador to the royal barons stationed in Šibenik. CDC XII, 664, August 25, 1358; Mandić, "Duvanjska biskupija," 15. Mentioned as the vicar of the archbishop of Split, Canon Lawrence was sent as a communal envoy to Dubrovnik and to the Hungarian king. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 225, November 25, 1358; 241, June 26, 1359.

[84] The complex usually occupied the center of the city and consisted of the baptistry, episcopal palace, outbuildings and other churches, which were built to serve the cathedral itself. Erlande-Brandenburg, *The cathedral*, 41-5.

[85] In Zadar the Roman forum became the episcopal center. The cathedral in Trogir was erected on top of the former early christian period church. In Split the cathedral was located in the mausoleum of Emperor Diocletian. Raukar, "Srednjovjekovni grad na istočnom Jadranu: Prostor i društvo," 16; Ravančić, "Grad u hrvatskom srednjovjekovlju," 103-13; Benyovsky Latin, "Medieval Square in Trogir," 9-10; Crnčević, "The architecture of cathedral churches on the Eastern Adriatic," 38-54; Gazić, "Razvoj grada od kasne antike prema srednjem vijeku," 169-91.

the clergy.[86] The local Benedictine monasteries, with centuries old tradition, were the ones competing for the spiritual prestige with the bishops.[87] The finances and spirituality of these institutions attracted the local nobility of cities where the Benedictines lived, as noblemen would fill the ranks of the monasteries, or even act as its procurators. During the fourteenth century the secular involvement and diminishing number of monks led to problems within monasteries, which often merited episcopal investigation.[88]

The central point of Christianity in Split was the reused imperial mausoleum which Archbishop John of Ravenna converted into a cathedral in the eighth century. The entire center of the city was covered with religious institutions (*Fig*. 3). The cathedral was dedicated to Saint Domnius[89] and the central element of the medieval life of Split was the Feast of Saint Domnius. The Statute of Split (1312) specified the obligation of celebrating the feast which was also an important market day for the city, while the archbishop would gather the suffragan-bishops for the procession and for the provincal synod. The Benedictine monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines was important for the medieval community and the abbey was integrated within the archbishopric with the abbot often being closely connected to the archbishop.[90] Since the spiritual authority of the archbishopric was inextricably interwined with Saint Domnius, whose cult was of highest importance for the entire community, it can be concluded that the archbishopric had no competitors for authority among other local ecclesiastical institutions.[91]

On the other hand, the cathedral of Zadar, dedicated to Saint Anastasia, underwent serious changes during the later Middle Ages (*Fig*. 4). The cathedral and the entire city of Zadar were seriously damaged during the Venetian-crusader siege of 1202. The exact extent of the damages remains unclear, but the cathedral was in ruins for the rest of the century. In 1285 Archbishop Lawrence of Zadar (c.1245-87) consecrated the new cathedral, in the presence of the archbishop

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[86] Tolić, "Franjevci," 233-61; Benyovsky Latin, "Mendicants and Dalmatian," 47-56; Compare with: Karbić, "Utjecaj velikaškog roda Šubića," 147-66.
[87] There were many Benedictine monasteries in Dalmatia during the Middle Ages, but here I will only list the most important ones and which are also mentioned later within this work. In Zadar that were the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, located in the city, and the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian (also known as the Rogovo monastery), located on the island of Tkon. In Split very important was the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines, while in Trogir there was the monastery of Saint John the Baptist.
[88] Dokoza, "Samostanski i nadbiskupski posjedi," 241-56; Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 39-54; 221-34; 269-74; 319-27.
[89] The reused mausoleum was in fact dedicated the Virgin Mary, while the tower, which construction started in the thirteenth century, was dedicated to Saint Domnius. Vojnović, "Sveti Duje," 177.
[90] Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 319-27.
[91] Madijev, "Historija" 172; *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 1; Janeković Römer, "Sveti Dujam i sveti Vlaho," 123-39.

of Split and the suffragans of both Split and Zadar.[92] The cathedral was finally completed during the reign of Archbishop John Butovan (r.1320-33).[93]

Unlike in Split where Saint Domnius was a matter of pride for both the Church and the commune, the issue of the patron saint of Zadar was a matter of contention. Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries the Venetians tried to install their archbishops into the cathedral of Saint Anastasia. Opposing Venice, the municipal elements of Zaratin society started to strongly favour Saint Chrysogonus, to whom an important Benedictine monastery was dedicated.[94] The reason for this was the image of the warrior-saint Chrysogonus who defended the city, specifically from Venice, while Saint Anastasia became more connected with the Venetian-influenced archbishopric.[95] The struggle for influence between the two institutions was ongoing during the thirteenth century, but completely subsided during the fourteenth, in large part because the archbishops were no longer controlled by Venice. Instead, by the beginning of the fourteenth century the monastery came under closer scrutiny by the archbishop, even though the papal appointments of the abbots somewhat disrupted these connections.[96]

The cathedral of Trogir was dedicated to Saint Lawrence, but due to the importance of the city's patron, Saint John, the bishop of Trogir (c.1062-1111), who was buried there, it was known as the cathedral of Saint John. Between the twelfth and the fifteenth century the cult of Saint John became the most important local cult in Dalmatia, after the cult of Saint Domnius in Split.[97] Although not dedicated to the bishop-saint, but to Saint John the Baptist, the local Benedictine monastery shared its history with the saint and also the space of the central square with the cathedral and episcopal and communal palaces (*Fig*. 5).[98] Its abbots occupied a mediating position

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[92] The episcopal palace was located next to the church of Saint Anastasia. Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*, 125-6.

[93] CDC VI, 528-9, June 2, 1285; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 93; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 90-1; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 301-3; Petricioli, *Katedrala sv. Stošije*; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 256-60.

[94] Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 297-313.

[95] The pope exempted the monastery from the authority of the archbishop of Zadar in 1195, making it subordinated to the Apostolic See, while during the first half of the thirteenth century the monastery, the archbishopric and the Venetian administrators clashed. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 383; Brandt, "Jedna epizoda u borbi oko uvodjenja papinske desetine u Dalmaciji," 143-66; Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 170-85; Dusa, *Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 109; Granić, "O kultu Sv. Krševana," 35-58; Vedriš, *Hagiography as memory*, 236-44. Compare with: Brown, "Civic Religion," 338-356; Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 264-67.

[96] The archbishop had the right to inspect the situation in the monastery, while on some occassions he would also confirm the election or be instrumental in the appointment of a new abbot. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 109, May 5, 1306; CDC VIII, 125-6, August 24, 1306; 365-68, August 24, 1314.

[97] Marinković, *St. John of Trogir*, 10.

[98] Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 14-6, 212-3; According to the legend, Saint John healed a monk of this monastery. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 269.

between the commune and the bishopric, at times representing the city council or the bishopric, participating in the important local events and, on ocassions, even becoming bishops.[99]

What was common for all three cities was the importance and the prestige of the cathedral for the entire community, which in turn raised the prestige of the bishopric. The cathedral was also an important element in the everyday life of the commune. The episcopal palace and communal and royal governmental buildings all gravitated to the cathedral.[100] The peace treaty of 1204/05, by which Zadar once again recognized the authority of Venice, specifically stated that if a doge of Venice visits Zadar, he would be hosted in the archiepiscopal palace, which suggest that at the time this was the most representive and important building in the city.[101] During the second half of the thirteenth century the council of Trogir held sessions in the cathedral, after which they issued an order to construct a communal palace, while the commune in Split decided to move its palace to its own square.[102] On a symbolic level these actions represented a break with the bishopric, even though the cathedral was still not far away. During July 1357, the dissatisfied citizens of Split gathered in the cathedral of Saint Domnius after which they instigated a successful rebellion against Venice. While the sources do not reveal the position of the Spalatin Church regarding the insurrection, it is indicative that the Venetian soldiers were imprisoned in three churches closely associated to the archbishopric.[103] From the 1360s the cathedral of Trogir proudly exhibited on its facade the coat of arms of Bishop Nicholas Kažotić and King Louis the Great.[104] All these examples show the lasting influence and symbolism which the cathedral enjoyed.

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[99] In 1282 when Ban Paul of Croatia demanded soldiers from Trogir, which the commune did not want to give, the bishop and the abbot were both consulted in the city council. Bishop Liberius from Ancona (r.1297-1319) was mentioned as being the abbot of the monastery prior to his episcopal election in Trogir. Abbot Savin represented the bishopric during the provincial synod in Split in 1344. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 205-6, 237; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 320; IV, 375; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 202.

[100] Vežić, "Nadbiskupska palača u Zadru," 17-35; Antoljak, "Vladarski dvor (palača) i kraljevske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Zadru," 55-76.

[101] Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 182.

[102] Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 190; Novak, "Gradski bedemi, javne zgrade i ulice u srednjovjekovnom Splitu," 107-9; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 49-50.

[103] Cutheis, "Tabula," 196-8; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 289-91; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 568-71. All three churches were located near each other and close to the cathedral. Saint Matthew was the mausoleum for some of the archbishops, while Saint John the Baptist served at the time as Arcbishop Hugolin of Split's personal chapel. Saint Thomas was the crypt underneath Saint John. Therefore, all three churches had close connections to the archbishopric. Rismondo, "Registar," 15, December 28, 1361; Petrić, "Sakralna topografija," 274.

[104] The royal coat of arms was in the middle encircled by the coat of arms of the bishop and the count of Trogir. The Angevin coat of arms on the cathedral were destroyed during the later Venetian period. Babić, "Anžuvinski grbovi u Trogiru i Šibeniku," 39-45; Bužančić, "Petar de Cega," 111-2.

The management of the cathedral was shared between the commune and the bishop, with the commune usually suggesting their choices as the procurators (*operarii*) of the cathedral construction efforts (*fabrica*) and the bishop selecting or confirming the viable candidates. All three communes came to these arrangements in different ways: in Trogir through protracted dispute, which was not present in Split, while the archbishop of Zadar quickly and efficently settled any potential dispute with the commune.

In Zadar in 1302 the commune demanded that the archbishop and the clergy respect the canon law regarding the tithe used for the construction of the cathedral, while the archbishop and clergy kept the funds for themselves. On the instigation of the city council, Archbishop James (r.1299-1312) passed a decision dividing the tithe into four parts: to the archbishop, to the cathedral chapter, to the poor and for the building and maintenance of the cathedral. Several options were considered regarding the management of the *fabrica*, but the archbishop was able to limit the interference of the laity in the ecclesiastical governance. The archbishop would appoint a representative from the clergy and from the nobility to oversee the cathedral funds, effectively keeping the oversight in his hands.[105] The archbishop appointed and freely removed procurators, if unsatisfied with their work, while by the beginning of the fifteenth century the archbishop himself would act as the ecclesiastical representative, appointing somebody from the nobility as a representative of the laity.[106] The above agreement was ratified in April 1305 after which the commune, probably in correlation with the previous accord, passed in June a decision about the inalienability of the church property. The law specified that belongings of the archbishopric or of the monasteries cannot be given to somebody else without the approval of the cathedral chapter, the archbishop, or the abbot and abbess of the monastery.[107] Essentially, the archbishop was able to limit the pressure from the commune and turn it to his own benefit.

There were no major conflicts in Split as the archbishops showed willingness to share some of their authority with the city council. The cathedral was exempted from taxes, while the inventory

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[105] CDC VIII, 35-7, October 28, 1302; *Statute of Zadar*, lib. V, cap. 37; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 128-30.

[106] Archbishop James appointed Primicerius John Chusi and Lampredius de Civallelli. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 46. In 1351 Bishop Demetrius Matafari, the archiepiscopal vicar, removed Chrysogonus de Civallelli from the position of the administrator of the cathedral *fabrica*. It is unclear if Lampredius and Chrysogonus were relatives, but it is possible that the archbishopric tended to rely on one family as the administrators. Bianchi, Kršćanski Zadar II, 194; Stipišić, "Inventar," 402. Archbishop Luca (r.1400-20) and Thomas Petrica, acting as the representatives of the commune, signed a contract with a constructor. *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 157.

[107] *Statute of Zadar*, lib. III, cap. 23; Fabijanec, "Trgovci i njihovi odnosi sa zadarskim crkvenim ustanovama," 219-318.

of the churches, their goods and reliquiaries, was carefully counted and a statement was written by the city notary in the presence of the rector of the city and members of the clergy. All the monasteries had procurators appointed by the rector on the advice of the archbishop.[108] During the archiepiscopal vacancy the commune and the cathedral chapter were tasked to compile the inventory of all the properties and incomes of the diocese of Split and guard them until the arrival of the new archbishop.[109] In the constitutions of Archbishop Balian (r.1324-28) it was decided that the tithe would be divided into four parts, between the archbishop, the clergy, the *fabrica* and the poor, and it seems that there was no conflict preceding this decision, as was the case in Trogir and Zadar.[110] In addition, in 1326 Archbishop Balian and the representatives of the city council jointly decided to transfer some silver from the treasury of the cathedral, but the purpose was not specified.[111] In 1342 the treasury was inventoried and an official document was drafted in the presence of the ecclesiastical and municipal leaders. The same charter specified that the city council of Split appointed the custodian of the treasury.[112]

The case of Trogir represents a notable exception to the peaceful solutions regarding the management of the funds of the cathedral presented by Split and Zadar. During the thirteenth century disputes were rare and the funds were managed by one or two procurators, from the ranks of the nobility and the clergy.[113] The division was not always respected, shifting the balance at times from one to the other side, resulting in disagreements.[114] Following the loss of Šibenik in 1298, the financial capabilities and authority of the bishop of Trogir diminished and the clashes with the commune became more frequent. The issue of controlling the funds was raised in 1308 by the representatives of the commune in front of the papal legate, Gentile, who was passing through Dalmatia on his way to Buda to ensure the corronation of Charles Robert as the king of Hungary-Croatia. The legate decided that the commune should select four individuals and submit

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[108] Members of the clergy and an individual selected by the city council would safeguard written statements regarding the possessions of the cathedral and the city's monasteries. *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 7-10.

[109] *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 7-10, 16.

[110] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 420.

[111] CDC IX, 272-3, January 15, 1326.

[112] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 317-8.

[113] Neralić, "L'operaria della cattedrale," 133-46.

[114] For instance, Archdeacon Gervasius was the procurator in 1263. There were two secular procurators in 1271. At the end of the century the procurator was Peter Cega, a member of the influentian city's family. Bužančić, "Petar de Cega," 120. On how the cathedral was funded, see: Benyovsky Latin, "Razvoj srednjovjekovne Operarije," 1-7; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 198-212.

their names to the bishop and the cathedral chapter who would, within three days, select an *operarius*.[115]

The legate's decision did not settle the issue as the disagreements between the bishopric and the commune resurfaced.[116] The selection process found its way into the communal Statute of 1322,[117] but Bishop Lampredius (r.1319-48) excommunicated some of the *operarii* from the 1320s. According to the bishop, several former procurators failed to submit their reports, yet the bishop lost the dispute in front of the papal legate. The probable reason for the dispute can be found in the problematic relations between the communal authorities and the bishop, which remained unsettled since the eruption of the conflicts in the city during the 1310s and which are explored in depth later.[118] Even though the solutions were similar, the road to how the *fabrica* would operate was different in all three presented bishoprics.

I.5. Popes, Bishops and Episcopal Appointments

The episcopal elections attracted considerable attention due to their importance in elevating the episcopal career, as well as the posibility for the researchers to focus on the development of the canon law and to observe the practical aproach to the election in various parts of Christendom.[119] The elections usually resulted in the production of reports or papal bulls of appointments, creating a considerable corpus of source material. The research on appointments usually concentrated on two approaches: normative, by understanding the legal practice and canon law, and political, by concentrating on what external factors influenced the elections.[120] The method of appointment and electors, as well as the outside pressures, on one hand, and social

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[115] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 221-2, June 28, 1308.

[116] Following the privilege granted by Legate Gentile, the Great Council of Trogir gathered in the communal palace and suggested its candidates. The bishop confirmed Gregorius Salinguerre Vitturi as the operarius. Soon it became obvious that the *podestà* and Gregorius started to misuse their powers and misinterpret the legate's decision. On the order of the *podestà*, the new operarius tried to obtain incomes which were part of the bishop's and cathedral chapter's mensa. Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i trogirske crkvene prilike," 67-83; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 1022; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 366; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 184.

[117] *Statute of Trogir*, lib. I, cap. 71.

[118] CDC IX, 516-7, May 24, 1330; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 257-8. The issue reappeared in 1359 when the commune and Bartholomew (r. 1349-61) confirmed the earlier legate's decision under which the city council would select four individuals, out of which the bishop and the cathedral chapter would appoint one operarius. In addition, two treasurers would be selected to guard the cathedral treasury, one by the bishop and the chapter, the other by the city council. CDC XII, 634-5, October 8, 1359; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 278.

[119] Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 56-115; Barraclough, "Making of a Bishop," 275-319.

[120] Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 104-5; Vidili, "Le nomine vescovili in Sardegna," 73-88.

factors, such as origins, family and prior career in ecclesiastical and secular institutions, affected the way in which the bishop would carry out his mandate once in office.[121]

The appointment incorporated various elements such as the type of election, confirmation from the higher institution, consecration and introduction into the position, as well as the development of associated rituals and practices.[122] Although, it would make sense to structure the overview of the episcopal appointments in Croatia-Dalmatia by first analyzing the legal basis and then proceeding to reviewing the changes in practice, the development of the canon law has already been discussed elsewhere.[123] A good example of this approach is presented by the work of Giulio Silano on the appointments of the patriarchs of Aquileia. After outlining the theory of the episcopal election, the author noticed how the actual practice turned out to be somewhat different, due to considerable external pressure.[124]

The development of the episcopal elections during the period covered in this work can be roughly divided into two periods. The thirteenth century was the period when the cathedral chapters freely elected bishops, strengthened by Church councils, while during the fourteenth century the pope subverted the system by reserving the episcopal seats and directly appointing bishops. Historians tended to focus on identifying the exact dates when the popes intervened tracking the changes to the period between Boniface VIII and John XXII.[125] Of course, this is a simplified schematic representation of what happened as during the late medieval period two modes of becoming the bishop - by election or papal provision – were used side by side with one or the other being more prevalent at certain times.

The Church councils, particularly the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) organized by Pope Innocent III (r.1198-1216), promoted the idea of elections freed from secular interference and in the hands of the cathedral chapters (capitular elections). Decisions were disseminated by provincial

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[121] Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 224; Maciejewski, "Which way to Bishopric," 209-10.

[122] Gaudemet, *Les élections dans l'Église latine*, 106-200; Gilchrist, "The office of bishop," 85-101; Maciejewski, "Reserch on the Adventus," 89-100; Joubert, "L'élection épiscopale," 357-78.

[123] Caron, "Les élections épiscopales," 573-85; Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 11-48; Benson, "Election by Community and Chapter," 54-80; Gaudemet, "De l'election à la nomination des évêques," 137-56.

[124] Silano, "Episcopal Elections," 163-94.

[125] Fonseca, "Vescovi, capitoli cattedrali e canoniche regolari," 95; Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 230-5; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 250; Schimmelpfennig, "Papst- und Bischofswahlen," 173-95.

councils to the local clergy[126] and the descriptions of the elections in Split (1244)[127] and Trogir (1282)[128] depicted how the canons closely followed the rules of the Fourth Lateran by electing *per viam scrutinii*.[129] This majority method was regularly used during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the chapters of Split, Trogir and Zadar.[130]

The cases from the thirteenth century for Split and Trogir show that members of the commune still observed the elections, while the lay rulers exerted pressure to have their candidates elected. Archdeacon Thomas (c.1200-1268) emphasized that the archbishops of Split were elected due to their close connection to the Hungarian royal court, underscoring how the entire community would benefit from electing somebody close to the king.[131] The Republic of Venice forced the city of Zadar to sign contracts in 1205 and 1247 specifying the obligations by the clergy of Zadar to elect the archbishop from Venice.[132] The prelate would be confirmed and consecrated by the patriarch of Grado, from whom the archbishop received the primacy over his suffragan-bishops, while also taking an oath of loyalty to the doge and to the patriarch.[133]

The papacy promoted the free capitular elections but was also the one primarily to blame for undermining the system in favour of direct papal appointments. This was ocassionally done in

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[126] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 203, 246-8. For instance, Thomas Archdeacon narrated that Archbishop Bernard of Split (r.1200-1217) attended the Fourth Lateran Council, but since the archbishop was quite old and sick, it was Bishop Treguan of Trogir (r.1206-55) who conveyed the decisions to the local clergy. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 136-7. For the distribution of decisions from the highest papal to the lowest local level, see: Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 533-4.

[127] Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 274-9. Thomas Archdeacon described his own election, showing that there still existed some form of resistance to the change from the unanimity and the election by inspiration to the majority system. Thomas was prevented from becoming the archbishop due to the pressure from the laity who demanded to participate in the election themselves. Compare with: Bras, *Storia della Chiesa* II, 494.

[128] The election was carried out in the presence of the *podestà* and some prominent citizens. CDC VI, 408-9, May 31, 1282; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 359-62.

[129] The chapter would appoint three canons as commissioners who would then inquire every canon about their preferences (*scrutinium*).

[130] *Per formam (viam) scrutinii* was used in the elections of Lampredius Vitturi in Trogir in 1319 (CDC VIII, 552-4, February 15, 1320), John Butovan in Zadar in 1320 (CDC IX, 55-7, March 17, 1322) and Dominic Luccari in Split in 1328 (CDC IX, October 17, 1328).

[131] Mladen Ančić called for the need to scrutinize the mentioned elections in order to understand the context and various interests of those involved in them. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 120-21; Ančić, "Image of Royal Power," 38-40. On the elections of the archbishops of Split, as described by Thomas, see: Kovačić, "Toma Arhiđakon, promicatelj crkvene obnove," 41-75.

[132] For the contracts, see: *Listine* I, 1, c.1204; 69, August 1, 1247. For the background on the conflicts see: Ferdo Šišić, "Zadar i Venecija," 254-74; Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 69-74.

[133] Up until 1245 the archbishops were chosen from Venice, around which time Lawrence Pereander (c.1245-87), a local candidate, was elected during the period of a Hungary-backed rebellion of Zadar. The rebellion was concluded in a peace treaty of 1247, but Lawrence remained the archbishop. Nikolić noted that Lawrence belonged to a family which originated from Venice but moved to Zadar, which would make him a Venetian and a Zaratin, therefore acceptable to everyone. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 109-10.

order to promote papal political agenda, for example during the escalation of conflicts between Pope Innocent IV (r.1243-54) and Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250), when the pope attempted to reserve the episcopal elections in Germany.[134] But the papal meddling in the local affairs was an exception, at least in such cases when the pope did not have direct personal interest. The development of the papal provisions came through gradual evolution of rules regarding the elections and their application through the interaction between the potential candidates to the bishoprics, their backers and the papal administration. The pope reacted to the petitions from ecclesiastical and secular parties which raises the question whether the Apostolic See, when deciding, was influenced by the personal qualities and aspirations of the candidates, or if the petitions impacted the change in the system itself.[135]

Archishops were connected with the pope by the grant of the pallium, a piece of liturgical vestment, which symbolized the archbishops' metropolitan powers over their bishop-suffragans. While the archbishop of Split was directly subordinated to the pope, meaning that the archbishop would petition the pope to inspect the election, issue confirmation and pallium, the archbishop of Zadar was subordinated to the patriarch of Grado. The patriarch would confirm the validity of the election and usually provide the consecration, but the new archbishop still had to seek the pallium from the pope, prolonging the process and engaging the pope in the election. During the period of transition, after being appointed and while waiting to receive the pallium, some archbishops of the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centures occasionally used the title of *electus, confirmatus et consecratus*, to emphasize that they were properly appointed, in order to perform some of their episcopal duties in the diocese.[136]

From the thirteenth century onward, the popes started to involve themselves in the elections by reserving the appointments while the see was vacant or while it was still occupied. The basis

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[134] Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 137-9; Delle Donne, "Il papa e l'anticristo," 17-43; Kempf, "Innocenz III. und der deutsche Thronstreit," 63-92.

[135] Beattie, "Local Reality and Papal Policy," 131-53; Smith, "Development of Papal Provisions," 110-21; Smith, "Papal Executors and the Veracity of Petitions," 662-83.

[136] The title was used by Peter in Split (r.1297-1324), as well as Alexander (r.1312-14) and John Butovan in Zadar (r.1320-1333). CDC VII, 295-7, February 11, 1298; 320, October 17, 1312; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova* XXV, 653, August 4, 1321. There is also a dubious local source from the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar which refered to Archbishop James under this title, which is strange since James received the pallium immediately upon his appointment in 1297. The source named the archbishop John and made some other factual mistakes. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 108, July 18, 1301. Benson mentioned an attempt by archbishops in Germany in the thirteenth century to also create an official title *humilis minister* depicting a prelate who was confirmed by the pope but who still did not receive his pallium. Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 168-89.

for this approach was the gradual expansion of cases which were the exclusive papal domain, such as episcopal transfers,[137] postulations,[138] resignations,[139] suspensions and removals. Historians usually overestimated papal resources by stating that the pope actively sought to control all episcopal elections, but the popes initially needed a reason to intervene, such as a formal complaint to the Curia.[140] The direct papal involvement enabled individuals close to the Curia to suggest their candidates by various informal channels, but which is not always visible in sources. It was not uncommon for the pope to reject the elected candidate and then proced to reappoint him, in order to uphold the proper regulations regarding elections or to establish a precedent, which the pope would continue to use.[141]

The first example of general reservation was introduced by Pope Clement IV (r.1265-68) with the bull *Licet ecclesiarum* (1265), which reserved for the pope the disposal of ecclesiastical positions vacated at the Apostolic See (*apud sedem Apostolicam*).[142] This bull codified a long-standing practice of collating (granting) of clerical benefices vacated at the Apostolic See either with the cleric's death, promotion or resignation.[143] Its problematic phrasing made it possible for the pope to gradually apply the bull to episcopal appointments, which was immediately understood as such by the contemporaries whose protest caused the popes to refrain from using these prerogatives. But the bull was renewed, used and expanded upon by subsequent popes, opening the way for increased papal involvement in episcopal appointments.[144]

So how do these changes reflect on the bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia? During the thirteenth century the elections of the archbishops of Split and Zadar, although subject to the

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[137] The right to translate bishops was formulated during the pontificate of Innocent III, and then enforced and further used by his successor, especially Boniface VIII. Doran, "Innocent III and the Uses of Spiritual Marriage," 101-14; Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 75-100; Ronzani, "Un aspetto della circolazione degli ecclesiastici," 223-30; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 403-409.

[138] A postulation was a petition to an ecclesiastical superior in order to promote to a higher dignity a person who was not eligible due to some canonical impediment. These impediments could range from the illegitimate birth, lack of the necessary age requirement, or stem from the condition of the person, such as a bishop who cannot accept a new dignity without a permission of his ecclesiastical superior. Helmholz, *Spirit of Classic Canon Law*, 55-8.

[139] Caron, *La rinuncia all'Ufficio ecclesiastico*.

[140] Barraclough, "Making of a Bishop," 293-7; Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 4; Smith, "Development of Papal Provisions," 110-21; Beattie, "Local Reality and Papal Policy," 131-53.

[141] Benson narrates a story from 1299 when a commission discovered an irregularity in the election of Robert de Courtenai as the archbishop of Reims. Robert resigned his election, but the pope provided Robert to Reims. Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 349-50. Similar thing happened in Split in 1328 when the election of Dominic Luccari was at first rejected, but the pope still proceeded to appoint him as the archbishop.

[142] Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 134.

[143] Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, 155.

[144] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, I, 10-6; Lux, *Constitutionum Apostolicarum*, 11-22.

pressure from the Hungarian rulers and the Venetians, were canonical and merited less papal involvement. But the opportunity for the pope to intervene existed from the very start. The Hungarians influenced the cathedral chapter and the commune of Split to elect somebody close to the royal court and the new archbishop would require the confirmation from his spiritual superior, the pope. The Venetians, on the other hand, directly demanded that the cathedral chapter elect Venetians as the archbishop. But even in ideal circumstances, the election in Zadar was an arduous procedure which required participation of several ecclesiastical institutions. For example, Domenico Franco was elected by the cathedral chapter during or prior to June 1239. He was then confirmed by the patriarch of Grado by January 1240 while in May the pope granted the pallium to the new archbishop.[145] So almost a year passed for Domenico to have his unproblematic election confirmed.

During the period from the 1290s to the 1310s the popes used weaknesses in the system that they helped to create in order to interfere in the problematic elections in Croatia-Dalmatia.[146] The popes would reject local elections, appoint candidates who were in some way connected to the papal ecclesiastical or secular allies, and use subsequent opportunities to enforce the papal prerogatives. Part of the reason why the papal appointments were accepted could be contributed to the spiritual prestige of the mendicants whom the popes, such as Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII, actively promoted. These individuals and their orders were supporters of the papal primacy, stating that bishops derived all their jurisdiction from the pope. Even papal opponents, who opposed the increased papal involvement in episcopal elections, stated that bishops received their powers from God, but that some part of the episcopal power came from the pope.[147] Popes from Boniface VIII to John XXII expanded the application of cases reserved to the Apostolic See and used the new rules to support decisive papal role in episcopal appointments.

The pontificate of John XXII (r.1316-34) represents a curious entanglement of older rules and expansion of papal prerogatives. When the cathedral chapters elected their candidates, the pope had no problem in confirming their elections, ensuring the loyalty and support from local

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[145] CDC IV, 59, May 8, 1238; 82, June 18, 1239; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 280.

[146] Since 1257 the popes claimed that all disputed elections were *causa major*, to be judged solely by the popes. Since most elections caused some friction, the previous decisions led to a gradual papal appropriation of the episcopal appointments. Barraclough, "Making of a Bishop," 285-7; Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 185-99; Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 46-7.

[147] Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 6-7; Morrissey, "Cardinal Zabarella on Papal and Episcopal Authority," 39-52.

high clergy.[148] This was the case with Lampredius in Trogir, John Butovan in Zadar and Dominic Luccari in Split. Even when the rules allowed for a direct papal involvement, such as in the cases of death at the Curia and a general reservation, the pope appointed highly capable individuals, such as Balian, a foreigner, in Split, and Nicholas Matafari, a native, in Zadar.

But during John's pontificate a clear change occurred in the approach of the Apostolic See toward the local bishoprics. While previously the popes intervened in cases reserved for them or brought in front of the Curia and mostly connected to archbishops, now the Apostolic See sought to control all episcopal appointments, even those where no prior precedent existed. This can be shown on the example of the bishopric of Senj, the suffragan of Split, where in 1333 the pope and the cathedral chapter independently of one another appointed the new bishop. The double election was usually interpreted as a misunderstanding, but this was not the case.[149] Pope John, upon hearing – probably from his local representatives - that the bishopric was vacant, simply appointed his candidate and then later claimed that the diocese was reserved, ignoring the capitular election.

After 1330 the popes freely reserved, removed and appointed bishops, who were often individuals associated with the Papal Curia or the royal Angevin court, as they seem to have better access to the popes. Members of local urban nobility were appointed in Zadar and Trogir but Split remained continuously the seat of papal candidates coming from Italy. By 1363 Pope Urban V (r.1362-70) established a legal basis for papal appointment and translation of all higher prelates, but, as seen, he only codified what was already used for decades.[150]

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[148] It is also possible that the pope wanted capable allies in local Dalmatian dioceses, potentially connected with the papal struggles to regain its possessions in Northern Italy. Jamme, "Des usages de la democratie," 279-342; Pagnoni, "Selezione dei vescovi," 279-89.

[149] The often repeated explanation was that the deceased bishop made some sort of a deal with the pope, according to which the Apostolic See would elect the new bishop, and which was unknown to the local chapter. Bogović, "Moji predšasnici biskupi," 38-9.

[150] Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 123; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 75-6, 89-91; Gamberini, "Chiesa vescovile," 186-7.

Chapter II. Governing a Fourteenth-Century Diocese

The bishopric consisted of the central areas, the city itself with the cathedral, the episcopal palace and the cathedral chapter, while the areas outside of the city were divided into parishes. The bishop was the head of his diocese, with vast spiritual power at his disposal, but he also shared and delegated the administration of the diocese to various individuals and institutions. The following chapter consider the ways in which the bishop administered his diocese and the institutions with which he interacted when governing the bishopric. Because of the increased administrative and bureaucratic needs, the bishop shared considerable powers with the cathedral chapter, but he also employed various staff to help him manage the diocese.

II.1. Episcopal Authority, Jurisdiction and Pastoral Care

Pastoral care, religious doctrine, preaching and administering the sacraments will remain in the background throughout this work. The reason for this is purely the lack of sources, but this does not mean that I will not discuss some types of pastoral activities.[151] In front of the clergy gathered at the provincial synod in Split in 1293, Bishop Gregory of Trogir accused the bishop of Skradin of usurping the episcopal prerogatives that Trogir had in its parish of Šibenik, which was strictly forbidden by the Church councils.[152] The event, however, reveals that some of the most important episcopal spiritual duties were to promote the clergy into higher holy orders and give sacraments of confirmation and other ecclesiastical and episcopal sacraments.[153]

In addition, the metropolitan archbishop held chief jurisdictional authority by convening synods, passing constitutions and authorizing the construction of churches.[154] Besides supervising the formation of the clerics[155] and having the exclusive right to bestow several sacraments, the bishop administered the worship, approved the grants of benefices, or presided in cases when the

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[151] For an interpretation of the position of the bishop in the context of the medieval spirituality, we can turn to the tracing the involvement of the bishops, and other religious institutions, in the life of the medieval Italian communes. See: Thompson, *Cities of God*, 15-51. On the problems of researching pastoral care when faced with the lack of sources, see: Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 238-44.

[152] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 322.

[153] CDC VII, 139-40, May 12, 1293.

[154] Bras, *Storia della Chiesa* II, 486-8. For a discussion regarding the canon law and its practical application on the example of the Hungarian bishoprics, see: Glejtek, "Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov," 79-104.

[155] The bishop had the right of first tonsure, meaning that he could introduce an individual into the order of the clergy. For instance, while presiding in his personal chapel of the church of Saint Mary, Archbishop Dominic Luccari raised into the rank of the clergy Nicholas, the son of magister Jacobi de Padua, the communal doctor. Krekich, "Documenti" II, 159 December 24, 1343; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 32-3.

benefice was disputed. This all shows that at times it was hard to separate the bishop's spiritual jurisdiction from his administrative and judicial duties.

The above-mentioned shows that the bishop was obliged to be constantly present in his own diocese. The issue of absenteeism, that is when the bishop would govern his diocese from some other place, was a common problem for the Church throughout its entire existence.[156] But the bishops of Dalmatia were mostly resident, as the cases of absent bishop were usually the result of a prelate being in exile (Nicholas Matafari, Andrew Benzi), connected with the Apostolic See (Peter Matafari, Bartholomew of Trogir), or because of personal business. After 1320 the popes started to insist on the obligation of visit to the Papal Curia personally or by employing services of a procurator and the frequency of visits in theory depended on the length of the journey.[157] Judging by the sources, the archbishops and bishops did not go personally, but employed the services of procurators.[158]

Due to the nature of the preserved sources it is hard to state if the prolonged absence of the bishop triggered some negative reaction on the part of the diocese, or other interested parties, as such examples are only present during very contentious periods. For instance, during the factional struggles in Trogir during 1316 the commune ordered Bishop Liberius to quickly return to the city, threatening to seize the properties of the bishopric, while using the episcopal absence to seize the collection of the Church tithe.[159] Much more direct was the Venetian reaction to the exile of Archbishop Nicholas Matafari during the 1350s and King Sigismund's to the absence of Archbishop Peter Matafari in the late 1390s. But in both cases the Matafari archbishops of Zadar were viewed as the enemies of the state, so the Republic and the king introduced different measures in order to exploit the archiepiscopal absence. The major obstacle were usually the vicars, who were appointed by the bishops in order to mitigate the negative effects of the episcopal absence. But even the most capable vicars would have troubles administering the diocese if the underlining problems were kept unchecked. Bartholomew of Trogir (r.1349-61) was often absent from his

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[156] Houghton, "When the bishop's away," 56-77.
[157] On the visitation tax, see: Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, I, 91-3; "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy," 287.
[158] Following the papal appointment of Lampredius (Trogir), Balian (Split) and Nicholas (Zadar), the bishop of Trogir and the archbishop of Split were to visit the pope once in two years (*teneatur singulis bienniis curia existente citra Montes Sedem Apostolicam Visitare*), while in the archbishop of Zadar had to visit the Curia once in three years (*pro uno triennio*), while later it was stated once in two years (*pro uno biennio*).
[159] Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 68; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 383.

diocese, during which time the bishopric spiraled out of control leading to bitter disputes between the bishop and the clergy.

Direct examples of pastoral care are represented by the convocation and participation in provincial synods and pastoral visits. While synods are discussed in more detail later, the sources for pastoral visitations are somewhat fragmented, suggesting a lack of interest of the spiritual superior in performing regular visitations, but it should be noted that evidence was usually preserved in the cases of misuse of the institution of visitation. For instance, in 1308 the clergy of Trogir appealed to Cardinal-Legate Gentile against Archbishop Peter of Split.[160] The metropolitan was accused of overusing the prerogatives of pastoral visitations to Trogir, which shows that he often visited this bishopric on official and private business. But half a century later, in 1366, the clergy of Trogir directly accused Archbishop Hugolin of never personally visiting and inspecting their diocese, even though the archbishop had his archiepiscopal house in Trogir, which was used by different Church officials.[161] Putting aside that the spiritual superior could be replaced by a compentent procurator[162] and the specific context in which these accusations occurred, it seems that the institution of pastoral visitations weakened during the fourteenth century. The episcopal lack of interest cannot be solely blamed, as it was the Apostolic See which increasingly reserved the episcopal procurations, namely the money originally intended to financially support the bishops during their visitations.[163]

Contrasting the usual view of the fourteenth century as a period of decay, the archbishops of Dalmatia showed considerable care for the pastoral and spiritual well-being of their diocese. While being in exile, due to the conflict with the Venetian authorities, Archbishop Nicholas Matafari worked on his *Thesaurus pontificum seu manuale personarum ecclesiasticarum Nicolai archiepiscopi Iadrensis* which shows clear worry for the establishment of proper religious

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[160] Archbishop Peter overused his privileges of official visitation of the churches by demanding that he be greeted every time by a celebration from both the clergy and the population of Trogir. The clergy of Trogir successfully complained to the legate who stated that special procession can only be organized when the archbishop is coming as the part of the official visitation of the churches. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 219, CDC VIII, 185-6, June 27, 1308.

[161] CDC XIII, 505, February 21, 1366.

[162] Thomson, *Friars in the cathedral*, 132-6.

[163] The popes appropriated this type of income as it provided them with considerable revenue. The papal actions were viewed as unjust by the high clergy gathered at the Council of Constance, so the procurations were abolished. Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 57.

observance which Nicholas most likely developed and used during his active time in office.[164] The work reflects the spiritual orientation and cultural interest of Nicholas's period, particularly since he studied in Italy and worked for years as the vicar of the bishop of Padua, before becoming the archbishop of Zadar.

Nicholas's work was more an individual effort, which shows the rules that Nicholas followed in his everyday management of the diocese. On the other hand, Archbishop Balian of Split conducted a wider institutional reform with rules affecting the daily ecclesiastical activities. During the provincial synod in Split in 1325/26 a new constitution of the Spalatine Church was enacted with 51 chapters which prescribed the proper discipline, behavior and clothes of the clerics, together with the administration of the diocese.[165] A key individual in Balian's diocesan government was Archdeacon Dominic Luccari, who probably helped pass the new constitution. By 1328 Dominic became the archbishop and for the next 20 years he used these decisions as guidelines in leading the diocese as he inspected monasteries, held provincial synods and corrected irregularities among the clergy.[166]

The level of Dominic's authority stands in stark contrast with his predecessors and successors, namely Peter (r.1297-1324) and Hugolin (r.1349-88), which in large part came down to the respect that was enjoyed by the archbishop. Both Peter and Hugolin had serious problems in enforcing their authority during the disputes with the bishopric of Trogir, something which Dominic never had problems with. These examples show that not only the ascribed authority of the office of the archbishop, but also the individual behaviour of the archbishop greatly influenced how his decisions would be respected.

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[164] Published in Bianchi, *Niccolo de Matafare*. Thesaurus is available in manuscript online, while an edition was made by Bianchi. For the analysis of the *Thesaurus*, see: Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 63-85; Elze, "Der Thesaurus Pontificum," 143-60.

[165] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 412-22. The proper clerical behavior and dress code is among the first proclamations of the synod, which was emphasized as important by the laity. The clerics should not have a beard, should abstain from alcohol, not do secular work, nor frequent inns and gamble, but should wear proper tonsure and crown. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 413-4. Miha Madijev wrote in his chronicle what clerics should wear, while canons should have caps on during funerals and during the mass. Madijev, "Historija," 181. Archbishop Hugolin's proper clerical outfit was praised by his contemporary as being the sign of a good prelate. Cutheis, "Tabula," 194-6.

[166] Ivanišević, "Promišljanje o rodovima Lukari," 12-3.

II.2. Suffragans, Synods, Primates

As archbishops, the chief clerics of Split and Zadar were metropolitans whose main tasks were to maintain discipline, oversee the archdiocese and resolve issues between suffragans or to impose penalties. The key place of contact between the archbishop and the bishop-suffgarans was the inspection and consecration of the election, which gave the archbishop significant influence in episcopal appointments, but the process was gradually seized by the Apostolic See. This is very evident from the relations between the metropolitan of Split and the bishopric of Hvar.[167] During the first half of the fourteenth century, the archbishops of Split used their influence to install their associates as bishops, even overturning elections. The Apostolic See at first appeared as an appeal court to settle electoral disputes, but by the mid-fourteenth century the popes reserved the bishopric and directly appointed bishops.[168]

The official connection between Split and Zadar was severed when the bishopric of Zadar, on the instigation of Venice, was elevated to the status of archbishopric. The pope subordinated Zadar to the patriarch, who confirmed and consecrated the archbishop, but the pallium was still provided by the pope.[169] This arrangement, combined with the Venetian attempts to fully subordinate Zadar to its authority, caused serious ecclesiastical disagreements as a number of twelfth-century archbishops did not seek the confirmation from Grado, although the conflicts mostly subsided later.[170] Following the unsuccesful rebellion of 1311-13, and the return of a more active role by the Hungarian kings in Croatia-Dalmatia during the 1320s, John Butovan, the archbishop of Zadar (r.1320-33) nurtured contacts with King Charles Robert of Hungary (r.1301-42).[171] Judging from a short letter which Pope John XXII sent to King Charles in 1326, Archbishop

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[167] The bishopric included two islands, Brač and Hvar, located to the south of Split and Trogir, and this proximity helps to explain the interest of their prelates in controlling the bishopric.

[168] For instance, after the death of Bishop Domnius (r.1289-1304), the cathedral chapter of Hvar elected Lampredius Vitturi, the primicerius of Trogir. Archbishop Peter of Split rejected Lampredius and attempted to install Lawrence, a canon of Split, as the new bishop. The papal legate settled the dispute by rejecting both candidates. Between 1314 and 1322 the bishop of Hvar was Gregory Madii, a canon from Split who was mentioned in 1311 as the vicar of Archbishop Peter, so it can be surmised that the archbishop helped Gregory to obtain the position. After Gregory's death Peter tried again to influence the elections in Hvar by appointing Primicerius Stephen of Split, but the decision was met with the resistance from the bishop of Trogir, which led to a protracted litigation at the Papal Curia. In 1348 the pope reserved the bishopric and appointed Stephen Cega, a canon from Trogir, as the bishop.

[169] CDC II, 79-80, February 22, 1155; Peričić, "Ustanovljenje nadbiskupije i metropolije zadarske", 143. At the end of the twelve century the patriarch of Grado received real powers of confirmation and consecration that only the pope held or could concede to a specially designated primate. Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 183; Dusa, *Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 61-2.

[170] For the conflicts, see: Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 157-95.

[171] For the contacts between John and the king, see the chapter on the The Apostolic See and the archbishops of Zadar.

John tried to utilize royal help in order to remove the archbishopric from the control of the patriarch of Grado. King Charles wrote to the pope stating that the patriarch is creating some problems for the archbishop, so the king asked the pope to remove Zadar from the jurisdiction of Grado and place it under the pope. During the same year, the king sent *Ban* Mikac of Slavonia to restore the royal rule in Croatia-Dalmatia. While on campaign the *ban* received a warm welcome in Zadar, which could suggest that a certain level of support for the Hungarian rule still existed in the city.[172] In fact, the archbishop's plan would undermine the Venetian authority over the city. Yet the pope rejected the plan claiming that he will try to protect the archbishop, but nothing more is known.[173]

An important place of connection and interaction between the metropolitans and bishops were the synods, organized yearly to discuss important issues pertaining to the Church discipline and need for reform. But the synods slowly became obsolete, due to the activities of the popes, who tried to relegate synods to simply relaying the papal decrees, and the bishops themselves, who would bring their appeals directly to the pope, thus avoiding their spiritual superior.[174]

A series of provincial councils were convened during 1291/92 in order to discuss plans for a new crusade.[175] At least that was the reason why Pope Nicholas IV (r.1288-92) wrote to Archbishop John of Split in August 1291.[176] But at the same time the pope tasked the archbishop of Zadar only to preach the crusade and give absolutions.[177] Was there no order similar to Split issued to the archbishop of Zadar and his sufragan-bishops because they were supposed to attend the synods in Grado and the synods were not convened in Zadar? The archbishop of Zadar attended the provincial synod of 1296 in the episcopal palace of Torcello (Venice) under Patriarch Egidio de Ferrara (r.1295-1310), which discussed the organization and behaviour of the clergy,[178] and another one during 1301 in Grado during which the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus obtained

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[172] Madijev, "Historija," 182; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 594.

[173] *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* X, 83-4, March 14, 1326; *Priručnik* I, n. 3701.

[174] Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 26-37; Strika, "Sinode zadarske crkve," 45-104; Tilatti, "Sinodi diocesane," 273-304; Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn*, 211-24.

[175] Pope asked John to collect opinions from his suffragans regarding the unification or merger of the military orders, but in other councils the issues ranged from the general pacification of Europe as the necessary step in launching the crusade, as well as the election of a single leader to lead the campaign. Schein, *Fideles crucis*, 135-8.

[176] CDC VII, 49, August 26, 1291; Wrong date (1280) in: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 280; and in: Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 97-8.

[177] CDC XX, 213-6, August 1, 1291.

[178] The synod had 33 canons and dealt with the housing and conduct of the clergy, decent behaviour in church, orderly performance of the service and the organization of factories for the construction of churches. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova* XXIV, 1163-72. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 197; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Italia* IX, 76.

some indulgences.[179] During the 1320s, the synods were often held in Grado, but the full account was not preserved due to the sources.[180] The only known example of a synod being organized in Zadar was the provincial synod convened by Archbishop Nicholas Matafari (r.1333-67) in 1334, attended by the bishop-suffragans and the clergy of Zadar.[181] Due to the lack of sources, it is hard to state how frequently were the synods organized. It is probable that a number of routine synods were held, which did not leave any written traces.

A similar claim can be made for Split, although more sources were preserved to assume that synods were held regularly. Many synods were convened in Split during the episcopate of Dominic Luccari (r.1328-48), while none were mentioned during the period of Hugolin (r.1349-88), and synods reappear under Archbishop Andrew (r.1389-1403). While the frequency could be attributed to the irregular preservation of sources or personal qualities of the archbishop in regularly convening synods, it should be noted that the synods' numbers dramatically fell during the second half of the fourteenth century across Christendom.[182] Additionally, a potential reason could be found in the changed function of the synod. In Split, Dominic gathered prelates who then presided in judicial cases against erring clergy, with the bishops passing the sentence of the excommunication. Under Hugolin these cases were no longer adjudicated by the synod but by the selected judges who were members of the provincial clergy.[183]

The above-mentioned claims can be further corroborated by observing the provincial synods held in Split in 1292/93. Per papal mandate the clergy was to gather and discuss the organization of a crusade, but what was discussed was completely different as it is only known from the letter of Archbishop John of Split to Bishop Nicholas of Skradin (c.1292-1303). During the synod of 1292 an order was issued that no bishop-suffragan can intrude into other dioceses,

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[179] The source is very dubious because of wrong names. The archbishop of Zadar is named John, while it was James, and the bishop of Krk was named John, instead of Matthew. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 108, July 18, 1301.

[180] Archbishop John Butovan participated at the synod in Grado in 1321, probably another one in 1326, while his presence at the synod of 1327 is unclear and during the synod of 1330 only Zadar's suffragans participated. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XXV, 653, August 4, 1321; 881, July 15, 1330; Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Italia* IX, 78; *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.27134, November 27, 1326.

[181] Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 103; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 24, Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 94.

[182] The numbers were: 280 (1200-1249), 307 (1250-1299), 286 (1300-1349), and 181 (1350-1399). It should be added that higher numbers correspond with the periods of more intensive organization of Church Councils, which were frequent until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Johannes Helmrath adds that the synod activity in most regions of Europe decreased sharply after around 1330. Helmrath, "Partikularsynoden und Synodalstatuten," 74-5.

[183] Compare with Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 532.

subject to a penalty of 500 libras.[184] A year later, the bishop of Trogir accused Nicholas of violating the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Trogir by performing episcopal duties in the parish of Šibenik, so it is safe to assume that the order fom 1292 refered to Nicholas's actions in Šibenik. What can be concluded is that the archbishop had considerable problems in enforcing his authority over some of his suffragans, that the provincial synod was the place which settled this type of disputes and that the decisions and solutions are mostly known from other sources as the sources dealing primarily with the synods themselves were mostly not preserved.[185] Miha, a Spalatin chronicler, confirmed that the bishop-suffragans of Split would gather annually in Split, during the Feast of Saint Domnius in Split (May 7),[186] so it can be assumed that the archbishop held their yearly synods around this date, keeping in line with the papal requirement.[187]

In his letter the archbishop used the title of the primate, but of very unusual geographical area, that of entire Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia (*tocius Dalmatie, Chroatie, Sclavonieque primas*). This is particularly strange since the archbishops of Split rarely used this title during the later Middle Ages.[188] In 1287 while giving the public apology and condemnation of the new bishopric of Šibenik, John stated that he, by the authority of the Apostolic see, held the title of the primate in Split in the province of Dalmatia.[189] Besides the ecclesiastical uses of the term, there is also a source which sheds light on how the term was perceived in the secular sphere. Miha Madijev, a thirteenth century chronicler and a citizen of Split, wrote that the archbishop of Split called

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[184] The inviolability of the diocesan borders and the prohibition for a bishop to impose himself in the diocese of another bishop was already defined in the canon law. Gratian, *Decretum*, C.IX q.2. For a good new edition, see: http://gratian.org/ [08/02/2019]

[185] For instance, at least two synods were convened by Archbishop Andrew (r.1389-1403), but they are only known from other sources. After the synod of 1389, the archbishop fined the clergy of Senj for not attending. CDC XVII, 236-8, November 29, 1389. It is unclear when exactly did he convene his second synod which is only known from a treaty between the commune and the bishop of Šibenik regarding the payment of tithes to the bishop. The aggrement, enacted at the provincial synod, was lost when an opposing army attacked Šibenik. Since it is unclear when exactly this event took place, the synod could have been held at any time during the reign of Archbishop Andrew. *Šibenski diplomatarij*, 37-9, March 20, 1402; *Priručnik* II, 619, March 1402; *Listine* IV, 451-4.

[186] Madijev, "Historija," 172.

[187] Decision was already present in Gratian's *Decretum* and then reiterated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215: *6. De conciliis provincialibus*, metropolitans should hold provincial councils every year in order to secure observance of the decisions of the general council, as well as to correct or reform clergy. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 287-8; Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 533-4.

[188] Matanić, *De origine tituli "Dalmatiae ac totius Croatiae primas"*. Despite the title, Matanić did not delve into the "specific ecclesiastical, political and social circumstances" of the claim to the title of primate but instead carried out a classical research of the history of the archdiocese. The author also did not explore the origins of the title, instead focusing his research on the use of this title by the seventeenth century archbishop of Split, Markantun de Dominis (r.1602-24). The criticism in Ruzičić, "Review," 449-450. [26 September 2017].

[189] *in provintia Dalmatia per sanctam Romanam ecclesiam archipresulatus nostri primatum teneamus in nostra metropoli Spalatensi*. CDC VI, 581, March 20, 1287.

himself the primate of entire Dalmatia (*tocius Dalmatie*).[190] Circumstances led to the term being use differently. In 1287 John emphasized that his powers came from the papal authority, particularly since he also emphasized that only the pope had the authority to establish new dioceses. Therefore, John's primatial status was limited to Split and came from the authority of the Holy See. On the other hand, in 1293 John's inclusion of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, could mean that he inteded to issue a warning not only on an ecclesiastical level, therefore within the Church province of Dalmatia, but intended to warn the local Croatian oligarchs from infringing in the ecclesiastical issues.[191]

The rare use of the primate's title by the archbishop of Split probably derived from the competition by the patriarch of Grado, who used the title of the primate of Dalmatia (*Dalmacie primas*) throughout the later Middle Ages.[192] The patriarch used the title when proclaiming the decisions of the synods, communicating with the clergy in Dalmatia and conducting official visitations of ecclesiastical institutions in the archbishopric of Zadar.[193]

II.3. The Cathedral Chapter: its Composition and Role

The basic definition of the cathedral chapter states that it was a semi-independent community of clerics, who advised and assisted the bishop in performing the divine service. Canons had their stall in the cathedral and the accompanying prebend to sustain themselves. They usually elected their own members and were presided by a hierarchy of dignitaries. The chapter had an important role in the diocesan administration and have governed the diocese during the episcopal absence.[194] On ocassions, the chapters of Split, Trogir and Zadar tended to elect their own members as (arch)bishops. For instance, from 1243 to 1409 the cathedral chapter of Split attempted to elect five individuals as the archbishops out of which four cathedral canons from families of important local significance.[195]

The organization and power of the cathedral chapters varied from region to region, with some chapters having considerable economic and legal power in comparison with their bishops

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[190] Madijev, "Historija," 172.
[191] Particularly if we take into consideration the different uses of title by various bans of entire Slavonia, or Croatia-Dalmatia, and who on ocassion held the position of count during John's time in office.
[192] The patriarch of Grado continuously used the title until 1451. Dusa, *Dalmatian Episcopal Cities*, 59-62.
[193] Niero, "Patriarcato di Venezia," 63-94.
[194] Bras, *Storia della Chiesa* II, 499-517; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 14-30.
[195] Petrović, "Episcopal Appointments," 203-21.

and communities.[196] The Dalmatian type of cathedral chapter, although small and relatively weak in comparison to their bishops, played important role in the fabric of medieval urban society. Keeping in mind the quantitative and qualitative limits of the prosopographic studies on the canons and the composition of the chapters,[197] it is clear that local urban elites were interested in the entry of their cadet members into these chapters, with occasional inclusion of individuals coming from the wider area of the bishopric or from other parts of Christendom. This means that understanding the role of the chapter in the local society can reveal more about the relations between the bishop, the chapter and the urban community.[198]

From the three observed chapters – Split, Trogir and Zadar – only Trogir did not receive any significant research of its own. Detailed work was done by Ivan Ostojić who concentrated on an in-depth research of the chapter of Split, Federico Bianchi who left some remarks on the functioning and the composition of the chapter of Zadar, and Ante Gulin, who reviewed all three chapters in his work on Dalmatian medieval cathedral chapters.[199] Due to the different level of research and preservation of sources, I have concentrated mostly on researching the chapter of Split, by attempting to reconstruct its composition and influence, but throughout this subchapter I will also refer to developments in Trogir and Zadar.

The numbers and organization of the cathedral chapters dependend on the needs and resources of the place and the historical development. The chapter was led by three dignitaries: the

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[196] Most notable example of comparision is still presented by Brentano, *Two Churches*, 62-173, who compared the bishoprics and cathedral chapters in Italy with their counterparts in England. Emanuele Curzel compared the Italian and German historiographies regarding the developments and organization of the cathedral chapters: Curzel, *Il Capitolo della cattedrale di Trento*, 1-16. For an overview of cathedral chapters from the Kingdom of Hungary, see: Fedeles, "Die ungarischen Dom- und Kollegiatkapitel," 161-96.
[197] Such work exists for cathedral chapters of other countries. Koszta, "Conclusions drawn from the prosopographic analysis of canons," 13-28; Rodrigues, "Contribution to the study of the Portuguese urban elites," 237-254.
[198] Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 530-1; Gamberini, "Chiesa vescovile," 202-3; Franco, *Family, Church and State*, 50-79.
[199] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 11-119; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 165-70; Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 19-73, 129-69, 239-73.

archdeacon,[200] the archpriest[201] and the primicerius,[202] with a number of accompanying canons.[203] Ideally, the chapter's members were suggested by other canons or the (arch)bishop, elected by canons, confirmed by the (arch)bishop and then introduced into possession.[204] Ivan Ostojić considered that the chapter elected its own members, concluding that the attempts by the archbishops to appoint higher dignitaries would cause serious disputes between the archbishop and the chapter. However, he based his opinion on the mid-thirteenth century writings of Archdeacon Thomas, who was highly critical of the archiepiscopal infringment into the cathedral chapter.[205]

The examples from the fourteenth century show a more complex image than the one depicted by Ostojić. In 1328 Archbishop Dominic of Split successfully petitioned the pope to be granted permission to appoint a person of his choosing to the cathedral chapter.[206] During a dispute in Trogir in 1358/59 the canons accused the bishop of keeping the position of the archdeacon vacant on purpose. According to the Third Lateran Council, which the canons cited, if the bishop would not appoint the new archdeacon within six-month time, the right to appoint would revert back to the cathedral chapter.[207] The bishops were quite influential in appointing canons and higher dignitaries, as long as they came from the urban elites. This is most obvious from the native bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar who were able to introduce family members into the chapter and later install them as archdeacons. However, the attempts by the non-native bishops to place their foreign-born associates as canons were not always successful.[208]

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[200] The *archidiaconus* was leading the chapter, administrating justice and also the properties of the Church during the bishop's absence. Since the archdeacon's autonomy and power led to a competition for control with the bishop, from the twelfth century the archdeacon was gradually pushed out of the diocesan administration by the episcopal vicar. Curzel, *Capitolo della cattedrale di Trento*, 176-9; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 49; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 46-7.

[201] During the episcopal absence, the archpriests would replace the bishop in all his duties in the cathedral. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 61.

[202] A senior dignitary also known in literature as the office of the provost. Difference is that the primicerius was in charge of the education of the lower clergy while the provost controlled the chapter's landed possessions and distributed its incomes. Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 15; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 301-2; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski*, 67-8.

[203] Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 14-6; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 273.

[204] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 17-9.

[205] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 19 quoted an opinion by Daniel Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* III, 239, who, in turn, based his analysis on the writings of Archdeacon Thomas in Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana,* 87.

[206] CDC IX, 429-30, November 21, 1328.

[207] CDC XII, 616, August 31, 1359; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 215.

[208] Vučina Radoiduplić (*Vulcina condam Radoiduplichi*), a priest of probably lower origins was a cathedral sexton (*sacristan*) who entered the chapter of Split in 1361 with the support of Archbishop Hugolin. Very soon Vučina renounced the church he possessed and was no longer mentioned as one of the canons, even though he still remained at the archiepiscopal court. By 1366 Hugolin appointed Vučina as the archbishop's chaplain. When renouncing his prebend church Vučina claimed that he was forced to do it by the hostility of the local population. But the archbishop

According to a later tradition, the chapter of Split consisted of 18 clerics, which is confirmed by the fourteenth-century sources.[209] In Trogir the number was 14, but in 1329 Bishop Lampredius lowered the number to 12, ensuring his control over the chapter by obtaining a promise from the canons that they would not elect new members without the bishop's consent.[210] Since the ownership structure of local churches is uncertain, it is also unclear if people entered the chapter due to the collation by the archbishop or the cathedral chapter, or because they were appointed rectors of churches controlled by secular patrons (*proprietary church*).[211] What is clear is that in Trogir the bishops, Lampredius Vitturi and Nicholas Kažotić, worked on appropriating and integrating churches into the episcopal mensa, which caused frictions with the commune.[212] Therefore, the canon law, subsequent changes in the rules and the episcopal control of benefices, all helped to ensure that the bishop had considerable influence in choosing the new canons.

The situation in Zadar was somewhat different. Historians were confused by what they interpreted as a complete omission of the Zaratin canons between 1288 and 1394.[213] The reason for the silence in sources stems from the composition and organization of the cathedral chapter of Zadar, which was different from the ones in Split or Trogir. This is visible from the analysis of the composition of the clergy which gathered in 1305, to approve the agreement between the

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granted the same church to another associate, Bishop Stephen of Duvno, on whom the archbishop relied upon to manage the archdiocese, so the actual reasons for Vučina's renouncement remains unknown. Rismondo, "Registar," 7-8, December 9-17, 1361; 11-2, December 12, 1361; 49-50. April 4, 1366.

[209] Based on the visitation by Archbishop Marco Antonio de Dominis from 1604. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 115-6. Judging by sources for the fourteenth century, the numbers varied between 11 and 18 members, since not all canons were present during the chapter's gatherings. The highest numbers were recorded, due to the quality of the preserved sources, during the 1360s.

[210] See Lampredius's later chapter for the reasons and the background of his decision.

[211] Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, 70-99.

[212] In an undated charter Lampredius removed Domnius di Silvestri from the rectorship of Saint George in Travarica, even though the church was probably under laic patronage. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 350. No date is given. Lampredius also attempted to appropriate the churches of Saint Vital (1332) and Saint Maurus (before 1334). Following the death of Canon Dobrolus, Lampredius attempted to appropriate the church of Saint Leo near the city gates which was controlled by several families. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol. 343-343', July 23, 1338; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat" 11-2. During 1366 Bishop Nicholas Kažotić seized the church of Saint Nicholas of Miran (in Žestinje). When he was the primicerius in Trogir, Nicholas was also the rector of the said church, which was the lay patronage of the Cernota and the Barbanić families. Since Bishop Mathew of Šibenik was a member of the Cernota familiy, and Nicholas was at the time in a dispute with the bishop of Šibenik, the encroachment could have been the result of the dispute between the two families. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 540, 67-70, June 27-8 – July 26, 1366; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 463; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 292-3; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 1045-7; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 353.

[213] The idea was mentioned by Valerio Ponte and then simply cited by subsequent historians. Ponte, *Historia ecclesiae Iadrensis*, IV/1, 132-3. Federico Bianchi attempted to explain the omission of the canons by stating that the chapter became morally and financially devastated due to (unspecified) tragic political events. The author also stated that this led to the decline in worshiping in the cathedral and a need for a reform. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 168.

archbishop and the commune,[214] and in 1393 when Archbishop Peter Matafari (r.1376-1400) reformed the chapter by setting it up with 12 canons.[215] The two gatherings reveal that Zadar did not have a conventional cathedral chapter. Instead, the chapter consisted of the three dignitaries, the clergy of the cathedral, as well as the rectors and clerics from several major churches of the city. There were 42 clerics in total in 1305 and 36 in 1393.[216] Not much can be concluded about the origins of the canons gathered in 1305 as the clerics were presented only with their title and first name. One would expect that the clergy was mobile between Venice, Zadar and other Venetian territories, but more research is needed.[217] On the other hand, the composition of 1393 was diverse, with the majority of the clergy coming from the urban nobility, and some from the Dalmatian hinterland, Hungary, or the wider Adriatic basin area.

The clergy gathered in 1305 to approve the aggrement from 1302 between the archbishop and the commune. The large time gap could suggest the opposition to the deal and the strength of the chapter, but it could also indicate that the presence of too many clerics in the chapter prevented quick decision making. Archbishop Peter's actions in 1393 could have been motivated by the desire to reform the oversized chapter, but he may have wanted to break the influence that the

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[214] The gathering was usually viewed as a diocesan synod, meaning that it included the entire clergy of the archdiocese of Zadar. CDC VIII, 99-102, April 14, 1305; Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 123; Strika, "Sinode zadarske crkve," 72; *Statute of Zadar*, lib. V, cap. 37.

[215] The chapter was authorized to elect the archbishop, have a seal, while other obligations were also specified. CDC XVII, 555-6, November 17, 1393; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 102-7; Paulo, *Memoriale*, 19, April 11, 1394. The reform was enacted in 1393, but it was publically announced in July 1395. Ponte, "Historia ecclesie jadrensis," IV, 132-3; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 7-8, 102-3; Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 240-2; Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 232; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 349; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 132-3.

[216] During 1305 there were 42 clerics, coming from the cathedral (Saint Anastasia) and five churches (*S. Petri veteri in foro parvo* (Saint Peter the Old), *S. Petri novi in foro maximo* (Saint Peter the New), *S. Mariae Majoris* (Saint Mary), *S. Micha* or *Michaelis* (Saint Michael) and *S. Stephani nunc S. Simeonis Prophetae* (Saint Stephen). During 1393 there were 36 clergymen, but this time from six churches (addition of *S. Salvatoris nunc S. Antonii* (Saint Saviour). The majority of clerics came from the cathedral, although its numbers greatly diminished during the century (from 16 to 9), while the numbers of canons in other churches remained constant. In 1305 the chapter was led by the archdeacon and the primicerius, who were helped by the rectors of the churches of Saint Peter the New and Saint Peter the Old, who were in charge of the temporal goods of the chapter (*oeconomi*) and represented the chapter (*procuratores et sindici*). During the meeting of 1393 all three dignitaries were present (the archdeacon, the archpriest and the primicerius), but only two rectors were present, while other four positions were listed as vacant. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 7, 102-3; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 132-3; Ponte, *Historia ecclesiae Iadrensis*, IV/1, 132-3; IV/2, 192-201.

[217] In mid-thirteenth century a number of clergymen from Venice operated in Zadar as notaries, often with positions in local Zaratin churches. Branka Grbavac assumes that most of them were brought to Zadar by Venetian archbishops who were appointed from Venice. Grbavac, "Notari kao posrednici između Italije i Dalmacije," 508-10. However, it should be noted that the clergy-notaries were integral part of the late medieval Venetian bureaucracy as their activity was directly promoted by the authorities. See: Cossar, *Clerical Households*, 23-6; Cracco, "Un intervento di Eugenio IV contro i preti-notai di Venezia," 179-89; Romano, "Venetian exceptionalism," 231-2.

powerful rectors of major churches had in the everyday life of the archbishopric. At the time, only two out of six rector positions were filled. Important role among the Zaratin clergy was played by the rectors of Saint Mary. Rector Chrysogonus had a leading role in 1308 in leading the clergy to resist Cardinal-Legate Gentile who planned on reforming the churches of Zadar, which would lead to weakening of the position that the rectors of the major churches had in the city. Archbishop Peter's reform in 1393 came mere months after the death of Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary, an individual who occupied the highest positions of power in the archbishopric for 40 years and who could have resisted the reform.

In Italy, the issue of determining the correct number of canons was often under external pressure, from emperors, popes or bishops. The clergy itself would also discuss these issues on local or provincial synods, which is what happened in Ravenna in 1317.[218] In cases of Trogir and Zadar the outside pressure was usually connected with the royal attempts to appoint protégés into the chapter.[219] Therefore, the reasons for the reform of the chapters should be understood as the delicate balance of power between the bishop and its chapter, particularly since in cases in Trogir and Zadar the reform resulted in strengthening of the episcopal authority.

As discussed, while the canons mostly elected their members, they did this under the watchful eye of the bishop.[220] Judging by the behaviour of the episcopate of Split, Trogir and Zadar, the key in controlling the chapter was in exercising control over its leading members, the dignitaries. Upon appointment, the bishops would usually inherit the composition of the dignitaries from the previous ruling prelate, but they would soon try to install their favourites to important positions. Native bishops promoted their family members to the cathedral chapter while non-natives had to rely on individuals coming from influential local families. This was particularly visible in Split where noble families dominated the city council and favoured local clerics to be appointed to prebends.[221]

Most cathedral chapters were balanced, with no family gaining an upper hand. Reason for this was probably because the bishops were increasingly appointed by the popes, which weakened

[218] See the discussion regarding the number of canons in the cathedral of Trent, in: Curzel, *Il Capitolo della cattedrale di Trento*, 182-4.
[219] Noticable later during the reign of King Louis the Great (r.1342-82).
[220] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 17-8.
[221] Which is particularly visible from the Statute of Split (1312) in which it was stated that the Great Council would appoint several of its members to go, together with the *podestà*, to the archbishop to ask him to appoint only those from Split to the Church's prebends. *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 11. Some Italian communes passed similar decisions, such as Treviso. Rando, "Le elezioni vescovili," 118-9. Raukar, "Consilium generale," 87-103.

the control that local families had over the bishopric. Some did attempt to capitalize on their financial and spiritual connections to the bishopric, but only for a short duration. For instance, the families of the Kažotić and the Vitturi gained an upper hand during the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. Members of these two families became high ranking dignitaries of the chapter and were even appointed as bishops.[222] For instance, Nicholas Kažotić actively supported Bishop Columban (r.1255-76), and even participated in the organization of the transfer of Columban's dead body to Trogir. His nephew Kažot was a canon in 1271 and by 1282 also the primicerius of the chapter (c.1263-1299), while Nicholas's grandson, Nicholas Kažotić, became the bishop of Trogir (r.1362-71).[223] Lampredius Vitturi probably immediately succeded Kažot as the primicerius. When Lampredius was appointed as the bishop in 1319, his role as the primicerius was succeded by Nicholas Kažotić, the future bishop. Therefore, the advancement of offsprings of noble families in the cathedral chapter was often the result of favorable links between the bishop, the cathedral chapter and the nobility.

During Lampredius's time in office (r.1319-49), the position of the archdeacon was mostly not mentioned, because Archdeacon Kazarica was living in exile since he participated on the losing side in the civil war in Trogir.[224] Lampredius worked on introducing his nephew James to the cathedral chapter and appointing him as the archdeacon, even resorting to violence, and succeding by 1338. Dominic Luccari had an easier task in Split as he was appointed as the archbishop from the position of the archdeacon in 1328, so he probably worked on appointing as his successor Dessa, the son of Andrew. Dessa came from the family Tartaglia, a close relative of the Luccari.[225] After Dessa's death, Archbishop Dominic installed his cousin Dominic as the archdeacon, even though the younger Dominic was only a canon for a few years.[226] Similarly, in Zadar, Archbishop Nicholas Matafari ensured that his brother Demetrius was appointed as the archdeacon.[227]

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[222] Kažot Kažotić was the primicerius at the end of the thirteenth century, while Lampredius Vitturi was mentioned in the same position between 1304 and 1319, before being elected as the bishop. As the primicerius, he was succeded by Nicholas Kažotić, who also became the bishop in 1361. Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 44.

[223] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 201; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 42-4.

[224] This is suggested by a letter, given to the bishop by the city council, regarding the rectorship of the church of Gospa od Trga, which was made vacant with the death of Archdeacon Kazarica. Kazarica was living in exile, but it is unclear if he was ever given permission to return to the city. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 535, July 23, 1338.

[225] Mentioned in that position from c.1333 until c.1344. Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 21-2, 26-7.

[226] Dominic, the son of Nicholas, was the son of the archbishop's brother Thomas. He entered the cathedral chapter in 1338, while he was appointed as the archdeacon sometime after 1344 and before 1348. ACS, 185, f. 3., 1338. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 56-7.

[227] CDC XI, 28-9, December 26, 1342.

While the native bishops promoted members of their own family in order to enforce their control over the cathedral chapter, non-native bishops relied on creating an alliance with some of the leading families. Since the position of the archdeacon was already occupied prior to his appointment, Archbishop Peter (r.1297-1324) selected Canon Gregory, from the family of Madii, as the archiepiscopal vicar.[228] The archbishop probably also helped Dominic Luccari to quickly rise from the position of a simple canon to the position of the archdeacon by 1324. More direct evidence for this policy is presented by Hugolin (r.1349-88) who may have kept the position of the archdeacon vacant or marginalized, since it was not mentioned in sources between 1359 and 1371, by which time the archbishop appointed Canon Lawrence, his person of trust from the influential family of the Cypriani.[229] This family was mentioned during the 1410s as supporting the activities of the native archbishop of Split in improving the cathedral, so it could be that the Cypriani family became or already was a traditional ally of the archbishopric.[230]

Besides favouring certain canons from influential local families, the non-native bishops also worked on introducing a trusted foreigner into the cathedral chapter. Archbishop Peter appointed Lawrence, a canon of Esztergom and a former chaplain of Queen Mary of Naples, as a canon of Split. The archbishop greatly relied on Lawrence, sending him on important missions and actively working on having him appointed as the bishop of Hvar.[231] Peter's successor, Archbishop Balian relied on George Hominisdei of Cyprus, who accompanied Balian when the archbishop was transfered from Rhodos to Split. The level of confidence can be observed by the fact that Balian entrusted George with funds from the treasury of the cathedral.[232] George was one of the canons who supported Bosolo of Parma in the contested elections of 1328, opposing the election of Dominic Luccari. The disputed election reveals something about the inner relations between the cathedral chapter members. Due to his actions, it can be assumed that George was among those canons who maybe did not like Archdeacon Dominic, or disliked the strong ties that the archdeacon had with the commune, and, instead, wanted to have stronger connections with the Apostolic

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[228] CDC VIII, 275-7, February 25, 1311; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 104; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 40.

[229] Archdeacon Dominic Younger was mentioned as the archdeacon in 1358, while in 1359 he was mentioned in sources, but not as the archdeacon, which could suggest that he resigned his post. CDC XII, 540-1, July 23 - August 1, 1358; Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 72-3, November 30, 1359; CDC XIV, 322-4, April 23, 1371.

[230] Marković, "Anđeo štitonoša s grbom obitelji de Judicibus," 204; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 365-6.

[231] CDC VIII, 57, August 22, 1303; CDC VIII, 133-4; CDC VIII, 179.

[232] He was authorised by the archbishop, the judges and the council to take 100 florins worth of things from the cathedral treasury, but it was unclear for what purpose. Most likely to finance the commune or the archbishopric. CDC IX, 272-3, January 16, 1326. Later, George was mentioned as having a position of canon without incomes in Rhodos (*collosenensi ecclesia*), where Balian was earlier archbishop. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 105.

See.[233] He could have been sidelined for his activities, because he reappeared almost 20 years later, still as a canon, but in the service of the *ban* of Bosnia. The *ban* sent George, named the *ban's* chaplain, as a nuncio to the pope. The *ban* petitioned the pope to award George with one or two benefices (*sine cura*), in the diocese of Split, which were part of the archiepiscopal collation and valued at 60 florins.[234] Since George and Peregrin, the *ban's* candidate for the archbishop of Split in 1348, knew each other, George could have had a decisive role in connecting the *ban* and the cathedral chapter of Split. Lastly, Archbishop Hugolin introduced Buciardo, the son of Jacob,[235] into the chapter. It is unclear what was his connection with the archbishop, but Buciardo appeared in Split during the 1350s and was entrusted with important missions for the archbishopric, prior to being accepted into the cathedral.[236]

The cases of papal collation were rare. The first examples date back to the 1320s and relate to the involvement of Pope John XXII in appointing local archbishops and bishops. Unlike in other parts of Christendom, it was not that common for the pope to appoint non-native clerics to the position of canons in Split[237] and Zadar.[238] The scarcity of these sources could suggest that this practice was not that widespread. It seems that it was more common for the pope, when he had the opportunity, to provide local clerics with promotions. Since Lampredius was appointed as the bishop of Trogir at the papal Curia, the pope reserved the dispensation of Lampredius's benefices and his rank of primicerius in the cathedral chapter. The pope appointed Nicholas Kažotić (the

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[233] CDC IX, 272-3, January 15, 1326; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 105.

[234] It was added that Georgius already held the position of canon in Split with the benefice of church of Saint Nicholas *de portu Spalatensi* worth 20 florins. Listine II, 443-4, April 2, 1347; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 105.

[235] Buciardo/Buçardus/Bochardus/Buzardo Jacopi Fisco/Siericom de Ypra.

[236] Buciardo was tasked to deliver the money collected from tithe to the papal tax collector in Venice in 1354 and, while cathedral canon, in 1359. CDC XII, 242-3, May 15, 1354; CDC XII, 576, June 3, 1359. Before becoming a canon, Buciardo was also one of the witnesses during the distribution of the posessions of Gregory Maubradich, a canon of the chapter. CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356.

[237] Pope John XXII promised to appoint Roger, the son of Anselmo Roger, from Ancona as a canon of Split with the expectation of a prebend. Besides Split, Roger was able to become a canon in Patras in Greece, while he also petitioned to obtain a position in the church of San Venanzio in the diocese of Camerino (Italy). *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, IV, n.22016, April 14, 1325; V, 23638, October 23, 1325; n.25860, July 3, 1326.

[238] Conrad, the son of Peter de Serravalle, received the position of a canon and a prebend in the diocese of Argos in Greece. He already had the position of a canon in San Venanzio in Camerino and Saint Elpidio in Fermo, both in Italy, while he also expected a position of a canon and a prebend in Modon in Greece. He was unable to obtain two benefices which were collated by the archbishop of Zadar and the abbot of the monastery of Saint Savino near Fermo. *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, X, n.54518, August 9, 1331.

future bishop)[239] as the primicerius of the chapter in 1320,[240] also granting him in 1325 the churches of Saint Mary and Saint John the Baptist, which were worth around 113 florins, making Nicholas one of the richest clergymen in Trogir.[241] Several decades later, Nicholas became the bishop of Trogir, and it would seem that the groundwork for his good financial situation, position and prestige in the bishopric, as well as the good relations with the Apostolic See, were already set during the 1320s. A similar case happened in 1328 when Archdeacon Dominic Luccari was promoted at the Curia as the archbishop of Split. It is probable that the pope then asked Dominic to suggest somebody to succeed him as the archdeacon, since Dominic's relative Canon Dessa appeared in that position. Likewise, in Zadar the pope likely appointed several rectors of the church of Saint Matthew. John Butovan was the rector until 1320 when he was elected as the archbishop. While it is unclear if his successor, Stephen de Sloradis, was appointed by the pope,[242] it is clear that after Stephen's death at the Papal Curia in 1334, the pope named as the rector Demetrius Matafari, the brother of Archbishop Nicholas of Zadar.[243] What all these cases show is that the pope would obtain the appointments for himself, but that he would take heed of suggestions from the local clergy and the petitioners.

II.4. Diocesan Structures: Episcopal Staff

Due to the increased administrative duties, an average bishopric needed additional personnel, such as legal experts, officials producing documents and various administrators, which contributed to further bureaucratization. These individuals, often of various origins, were part of

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[239] Son of Donat Kažotić. Famous Augustin Kažotić, the bishop of Zagreb and Lucera, was his uncle. About the Kažotić family, see: Jelaska, "Ugled trogirskog roda Kažotića," 17-46.

[240] CDC VIII, 560, May 12, 1320. His uncle Augustin was present in Avignon in the same month, so it is possible that Augustin was able to help his nephew obtain a position in Trogir. CDC VIII, 561, May 22, 1320.

[241] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, V, n.22337, May 12, 1325. Papal collectors estimated the value of the bishopric of Trogir to around 210 florins, while the revenues of the diocese were leased out during the 1340s for 1600 libri or around 444 ducats. MVC I, 68, April 8, 1320. In the mid-fourteenth century 1 ducat was worth 3.6 libri. Raukar, *Zadar u XV stoljeću*, 299. Nicholas also held a position of canon in the bishopric of Zagreb, probably due to his connections to Bishop Augustine of Zagreb (r.1303-22), his uncle. He also received a quarter of the Church of Saint George de Camposestino in the bishopric of Trogir. CDC IX, 234-6, May 12, 1325. In 1331 Nicholas received the papal provision of a canonry with expectation of a prebend in the bishopric of Pécs, which he later did receive. CDC IX, 234-6, May 12, 1325; 556-8, April 30, 1331; Babić, "Trogirski biskup Nikola Casotti," 222-3.

[242] The exact sources are missing, but since the pope promoted John to the position of the archbishop, the cleric's benefices and positions were automatically reserved for the papal collation.

[243] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, XII, n.63188, May 21, 1334; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 95, September 8, 1334; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 457-8.

the episcopal *familia*, which included both the clergy and the laity.[244] The bishop relied on the cathedral chapter in governing the diocese, but he also attained the services of vicars, scribes, notaries, medics, doctors of law, as well as other servants and clerics. This made the episcopal Curia a center of administrative, cultural and writing activities, but it also meant that, with every subsequent bishop, the composition of the leading personnel of the diocese tended to change as these individuals would leave the episcopal employment. It should be added that the administrative system was not fully developed and varied geographically. The duties and ranks of employed officials were not necessarily clearly demarked and their time in office depended on the required tasks, while some, such as notaries, performed duties beneficial to both the commune and the bishopric.[245] I will concentrate in this subchapter on several most important members of the episcopal *familia*, their roles, composition and relations toward the (arch)bishop.

The key figure in the episcopal administration was the vicar, who limited the role that the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter had in administrating the diocese during the episcopal absence. The vicar oversaw spiritual (*spiritualia*) and secular affairs (*temporalia*)[246] and the bishop would either divide the tasks between two officials or appoint one to do both. These individuals, if foreigners, would often leave the diocese after the death or transfer of the bishop, their employer, and another person would be brought in to manage the diocese.[247] The vicars for *spiritualia* replaced the bishop in his pastoral office, so they were chosen from among the suffragan-bishops, or members of the diocesan clergy, such as rectors of local churches, higher dignitaries of the cathedral chapter or canons. The vicars for *temporalia* could be locals, members of important families, familiar with the situation in the diocese, or non-natives who accompanied the bishop and were usually his relatives. At the beginning of the fourteenth century vicars were mentioned occasionally during the episcopal absence, but over the course of the century they became more visible, even while the (arch)bishop was present in his diocese.

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[244] On the issue of episcopal family, the bishop's retainers and the organization of the episcopal administration, see: Andenna, "Episcopato e strutture diocesane," 321-94; Sambin, "La 'familia' di un vescovo," 237-247; Burgard, *Familia Archiepiscopi*; Cossar, *Clerical Households*; Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, 30-50.

[245] For instance, Archbishop Dominic officiated into the rank of a cleric Nicholas, the son of Jacob from Padua, the communal physician (*medicus physici*). One can assume that the elevation of the son was a reward for the loyal service by his father. Krekich, "Documenti" II, 159 December 24, 1343; Praga, "Testi volgari spalatini," 106.

[246] *Temporalia* reffered to the land possessions of the (arch)bishopric, administration of civil and criminal law, nomination of local officials and money management. Fasoli, "Temporalità vescovili," 757-72.

[247] Gaudemet, *Storia del diritto canonico*, 490-3; Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 228-9; Robert Brentano, "Vescovi e vicari generali," 547-68; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 95-8.

For instance, while archbishops Henry (r.1297-99) and James (r.1299-1311) were absent, the archdiocese of Zadar was administered by their suffragan-bishops, Matthew of Krk (r.1299-1302) for Henry and George of Rab (r.1292-1313) for James.[248] On the other hand, Nicholas Matafari relied less on the suffragan-bishop and more on his relatives, the cathedral dignitaries and the rectors of important churches. While Nicholas was in exile (c.1346-58), the archbishopric was administered by Primicerius Chrysogonus de Cigalis (Zigalis) of the cathedral chapter,[249] and the archbishop's brother, Demetrius Matafari, the bishop of Pićan and later of Nin.[250] But the record breaker was Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary Major of Zadar (*sancte Marie maioris*), who was regularly mentioned as a vicar or a proctor of the archbishop from 1350 until his death, some time before 1393.[251] His longevity in office, as he served under several archbishops, could be explained by his importance in the diocesan hierarchy, as he served as the treasurer during the archiepiscopal vacancy, and his contacts with the Apostolic See, as he was often mentioned as the papal subcollector for Zadar. Only after Gregory's death did other vicars appear. Nicholas's cousin, Peter Matafari (r.1376-1400), relied on a non-native expert, Francesco d'Aristotile, a doctor of law from Sulmona[252] and Abbot Chrysogonus of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus.[253] It seems that the selection of the vicar depended on the personal contacts with the archbishop and on the importance of the holder of the office.

The vicars in Split and Trogir were usually dignitaries or canons of cathedral chapter, and rarely other bishops. The cathedral chapter in Trogir was often able to influence the bishop to select the vicar from among the dignitaries. In 1317 the bishop appointed Archdeacon Kazarica and Primicerius Lampredius, two high-ranking members of the cathedral chapter, to act as the vicars for all the spiritual, criminal and civil questions.[254] When Bartholomew was appointed as the bishop of Trogir in 1349, he tasked Canon Elias of the cathedral chapter as the episcopal vicar, because the canon was most likely present in Avignon when the pope appointed the bishop. In Split it was not unusual for the archbishop to rely on canons coming from the influential communal families, as a way for the archbishop to form an alliance with these families, or from among canons

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[248] CDC VII, 340-1, June 13, 1299; CDC VIII, 191-2, July 29, 1308.
[249] CDC XI, 326, September 18, 1346.
[250] CDC XI, 602, May 21, 1350; and later as the bishop Nin: Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 112, October 28, 1356; CDC XII, 440, December 28, 1357.
[251] CDC XII, 346, May 6, 1356; CDC XII, 582, June 27, 1359; CDC XVII, 502-3, May 10, 1393.
[252] Ponte, *Historia ecclesiae Iadrensis* IV/2, 196-7.
[253] Archbishop Peter Matafari employed the services of Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe.
[254] CDC VIII, 464, November 14, 1317.

and bishops who were dependent on the archbishop. For instance, while Archbishop Peter entrusted the position of the vicar to his associate Canon Lawrence, a foreigner, Archbishop Hugolin relied on another Lawrence, a member of the influential family of Cypriani. In fact, Lawrence Cypriani was mentioned as the vicar for years, even though the archbishop was present in his diocese. The examples from Split and Trogir show the shared interest and division of strength between the (arch)bishop and his chapter. The (arch)bishop wanted to appoint a person of his trust, while the chapter wanted to retain its influence in administering the diocese.

Another important figure in the diocesan government was the notary, met on the sidelines of the events which they were hired to record.[255] These individuals either originated from the diocese itself, or they tended to follow the bishop from his place of origin, often staying in the diocese for years, organizing documents into registers. The most notable register was made by Nicholas from Eugubio who worked at the court of his countryman, Archbishop Hugolin, during the 1360s.[256]

The vicars and notaries were not the only members of the Curia, but the exact extent of the episcopal *familia* is harder to ascertain. While James of Foligno, the archbishop of Zadar (r.1299-1312), was absent, the diocese was managed in 1308 by two vicars, Bishop George of Rab (r.1292-1313) and Paul Philip de Foligno. While George was the bishop-suffragan of Zadar, Paul was probably James's relative or a compatriot. The archbishop was visiting the Franciscan friary in Todi. There he was surrounded by individuals from the nearby places of Foligno and Spello, such as his notary Christophorus Bonaventure from Foligno,[257] Petriolus Transerici, Matthew de Fulgineo and Lapus de Florencia, the retainers of the archbishop.[258] During the visitation of the monasteries in Zadar in 1306 by the patriarch of Grado a charter was written by John Sclurini de Spello,[259] the archiepiscopal notary by imperial authority. Therefore, the archbishop was surrounded by a group of people, whose origins could be mostly traced to the wider area of Foligno. Some of them had titles, but most were only referred to as retainers.

The complexity of the situation and the variety of individuals appearing at the Curia can be best exemplified by taking a closer look at the period of Archbishop Hugolin of Split (r.1349-

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[255] Chittolini, "*Episcopalis curiae notarius*," 221-32.
[256] Rismondo, "Registar," 7-64.
[257] CDC Supp.II, 358-60, August 6, 1308.
[258] CDC VIII, 17-8, August 8, 1301. Petriolus was also a servant of the archbishop. CDC VIII, 24-5, May 3, 1302.
[259] Spello is a city near Foligno. On the institution of the notaries with the imperial authority, see: Granić, "Privilegij cara Sigismunda obitelji Dominis," 57-62.

88), for which more sources were preserved. The archbishop surrounded himself with people from his home province of Umbria, but their exact role in Split is not entirely clear. They supported the archiepiscopal rule by acting as witnesses, retainers, family members or members of ecclasiastical orders, even though their activities in Split did not leave many traces in the source material to speculate.[260] From these retainers, the archbishop would recruit ad-hoc officials, with specified duties and limited role. Andrew from Pergolla, was created and ordained as the archiepiscopal procurator to negotiate with the Mišetić brothers from Šibenik regarding a lease (*ad pastinandum*) of archiepiscopal lands in Šibenik.[261] Baldelus Massucii de Eugubio was entrusted by the archbishop to ensure the payment of papal tithe in 1349, while in 1359 the archbishop sent him to Venice to pay for procurations for the papal legate.[262]

Most of the personnel employed in Hugolin's diocesan administration came from the northern parts of Italy, were themselves canons of the chapter and from Split, or were individuals who arrived to Split from its hinterland. Canons, retainers, citizens and foreigners, all seamlessly moved from the archiepiscopal palace, where they observed ecclesiastical appointments, to communal squares, where they witnessed local business transactions, and on to testify the introductions into canonical possessions. Did these people know each other? Were they friends, relatives, or simply connected because of their service to the archbishop? This complexity can be observed on the example of Rastko, the son of Radoslav, and an archiepiscopal retainer. Rastko originated from Cetina, one of the large parishes in the hinterlands of Split. When he accompanied the archiepiscopal representatives to Venice, the Venetian source stated that Rastko was from Split (*de Spalato*),[263] but in Split he remained from Cetina, or from the hinterlands of the city. In Split he moves from *inter ambos portas*,[264] where trade deals were made, to the archiepiscopal palace

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[260] The following people were mostly found as witnesses at the archiepiscopal palace. Kristofor Augubio or Cristoforo dicto Testa de Eugubio. Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 60-2; Katić, "Selo Kučine," 146, 157-8, July 9, 1350; Berto Branca, the brother of the archbishop. John, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Savin near Fermo, and the vicar for Croatia-Dalmatia for Cardinal-Legate Egidius Albornoz. CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356. Baldello Mafudi de Eugubio and Philippello Satuzi de Eugubio were present in Venice during the payment of the procurations of the papal legate. CDC XII, 576, June 3, 1359. Andrew was the son of Richard from Pergolla, which was a commune in Umbria that gravitated towards Gubbio. Rismondo, "Registar," 17-8, February 7, 1362. Brother Nicholas, the monk of Saint Mary Dalfiolo de Eugubio, and Francisco Berti de Branca de Eugubio. Francisco was the son of Berto Branca and therefore the archbishop's nephew. Rismondo, "Registar," 14-5, December 28, 1361. Brother Nicholas Guataponi de Eugubio, a Benedictine monk, and Pascutio Augustini de Eugubio. Rismondo, "Registar," 15-6, January 12, 1362.

[261] Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 82, November 18, 1362.

[262] *Rationes decimarum*, n. 3744, May 4, 1349; CDC XII, 576, June 3, 1359.

[263] CDC XII, 576, June 3, 1359.

[264] *Ratcho familiare domini archiepiscopi Spalatensis*. Rismondo, *Pomorski Split*, 28, July 8, 1362.

where he would witness the elections of canons to the cathedral chapter or is present when they are introduced into their new possession.[265] Perbeslav, the son of Radoslav from Cetina, probably Rastko's brother, also appears as a witness and a retainer of the archbishop.[266] Although their profession is not mentioned, these brothers could have been one of Hugolin's "Croats,"[267] or the soldiers from the hinterland for which chronicler Cutheis claimed that Hugolin loved to employ their services due to their martial prowess.

The individuals who followed the bishop were empowered through their positions in the episcopal family and, after their patron died, they would sometimes remain in the diocese, but would often end up marginalized, mostly due to their own activities.[268] Romanus, the son of Stephen, de Setia was mentioned as the episcopal notary during the reign of Nicholas de Setia, the archbishop of Zadar (r.1312-20). Romanus was also dispatched to Avignon in order to pay for the archbishop's appointment[269] and it is possible that he was Nicholas's brother. Romanus stayed in the diocese, as member of the diocesan clergy, as he was the one complaining that Nicholas's successor as the archbishop, John Butovan, was ineligible for the position.[270]

Attending the archiepiscopal court, participating in the everyday clerical life of the archbishopric and waiting for a benefice, seems to have been the usual way of entering the professional clerical career. More examples are known from Split, due to the preserved sources, but it is hard to ascertain everyone's success, as those who were unsuccessful disappeared from the sources. The newly appointed Archbishop Hugolin relied upon Guido de Vincenza as the archiepiscopal vicar and a notary in 1350, but Guido was not mentioned before or after that year.[271]

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[265] *Ractcho Radoscaui* attended the election of presbyter *Vulcina Radoiduplichi*. Rismondo, "Registar," 11-2. December 12, 1361. *Ractecho Radosclaui de Cetina, familiare domini archiepiscopi*, attended the election of *nobilem virum* Margaritus Margariti. Rismondo, "Registar," 7-8. December 9-17, 1361. *Ractcho quondam Radosclavi de Zetina*, attended the election of Dominic Christofori de Papalis. Rismondo, "Registar," 47-8. April 2-3, 1366. *Ractheco condam Radosclavi de Cetina* as a witness. Rismondo, "Registar," 50, April 5, 1366.

[266] *Perbesclavo Radosclavi de Cetina, familiare domini archiepiscopi*. Rismondo, "Registar," 20-1, February 27, 1362; 27-8, September 12 – October 9, 1362; 20-1, February 27, 1362; 34-5, June 12-13, 1363.

[267] Others also infrequently appear as witnesses and who could be put into the same category: *Michaelle condam Radouanj* could be the same person as *Michael quondam Radoslavi de Clissio*. Rismondo, "Registar," 31-2, May 16, 1363; 47-8, April 2-3, 1366.

[268] See the examples mentioned earlier regarding Split and George Hominisdei of Cyprus.

[269] MVC I, n.9, July 16, 1317.

[270] If contextualized with what is known about the cathedral chapter of Zadar, which was discussed earlier, since Romanus probably participated in the election of the archbishop, he was among those 30-40 clerics which held positions in the cathedral or one of the major churches of the archbishopric. See more in the later chapter about The Apostolic See and the archbishops of Zadar.

[271] It is not excluded that he became a canon earlier, but he first appears in Hugolin's service in 1350. Katić, "Selo Kučine," 146, 157-8, July 9, 1350; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 82.

Some individuals were for years in the archbishop's service before obtaining higher ranks. Buciardo was mentioned during the 1350s as serving the archbishop for years before being granted access to the cathedral chapter. Some had more luck than others. Cleric Orlandino, the son of Benedict from Reggio Emilia, appeared as a witness at the curia for some time before being granted his own benefice.[272] But he never joined the cathedral chapter, probably because he was a foreigner. On the other hand, Nicholas Pouregeni, a priest from Split, appeared for some time as a witness at the archiepiscopal court before himself being elected as a member of the chapter.[273] Therefore, the presence at the Curia and also the service to the archbishop were the usual way in obtaining higher ecclesiastical positions.

Better known are the fates of episcopal notaries, because after years of service they would usually receive a benefice to sustain themselves or advance to a new position. For instance, Gerard of Piacenza was a notary in Zadar under Archbishop Nicholas Matafari. As a reward for his services, the archbishop probably ensured that Gerard collected fruits of the vacant Saint Michael, one of the major churches of the city.[274] Franciscus, the son of Manfred de Surdis from Piacenza, served Archbishop Hugolin of Split during the 1350s.[275] He seems to have been a professional who moved from one appointment to another, as he started his notary career in Zadar in the service of the commune, before moving to the court of the archbishop of Split,[276] while by 1360 he became the notary of the commune of Split.[277] Hugolin mostly relied on clerics and would reward them for their service with benefices. Stanconus, the son of Radovan of Brač, served as a notary in 1360 and was probably rewarded with prebends to sustain himself.[278] Most notable was the career of Nicholas from Gubbio, the compatriot of the archbishop of Split. He worked in the archiepiscopal

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[272] He received the church of Saint Domnius on Marjan, after the renounciation of Lawrence Cypriani. The act of receiving the benefice was witnessed by Rastko. Rismondo, "Registar," 20-1, February 27; 1362; 22-3, April 13-23, 1362; 34-5, June 12-13, 1363.

[273] Nicolao Pouregeni. Rismondo, "Registar," 7-8, December 9-17, 1361; September 9, 1362. By 1398 Nicholas became the archpriest. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 65.

[274] *Rationes decimarum*, n. 3660, 1338.

[275] *Franciscus ser Manfredi de Surdis de Placencia, imperiali auctoritate notarius et scriba dicti domini archiepiscop*. CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356.

[276] Mentioned in the charter from later period: CDC XIII, 22, May 6, 1360.

[277] Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 75-6, March 3, 1360.

[278] He was a priest, s public notary with the imperial authority and also s scribe of the archiepiscopal curia (*presbiter Stanconus condam Radouani de Bracia, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et nunc cuirie archiepiscopalis iuratus scriba generalis*). CDC XIII, 7-8, February 11, 1360; 11, February 28, 1360; Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 75-6, March 3, 1360. He was probably the same as Priest Stanaconus who died in late 1361 or early 1362, after which his two benefices were given to another cleric. *Presbiter Stanconus, clericus*, held the churches of Saint Michael de Punta Sancti Georgii de Monte and Saint Benedict de Monte. Both churches were given to *presbiter Bognianus condam Stanoe*. Rismondo, "Registar," 20-1, February 27, 1362; 22-3, April 13-23, 1362.

palace for an entire decade, leaving valuable information about the inner workings of the archbishopric and receiving a prebend as a reward for his services.[279]

It should be added that with the re-introduction of royal authority in Croatia-Dalmatia after the 1350s, the local ecclesiastical institutions, the cathedral chapters, were authorized to act as places of authentication of written documents or *loca credibilia*. The cathedral canons would participate in administration of justice, act on royal or private mandates, provide witnesses in cases, draft, transcribe and issue offical documents under appropriate seal, and maintaining an archive.[280] Some of these canons were also authorized as notaries by imperial authority, such as Marin Cutheis and John, the son of George, from Šibenik, which suggests that their further education was connected with the bureaucratization of the cathedral chapters in order to better cope with an increase of work not necessarily connected with chapter's original purpose.

While the episcopal vicar for the *spiritualia* gradually appeared side by side with the bishop, the vicar for the temporal affairs did not became a permanent office as the administration of the episcopal land holdings was not clearly defined. It is unclear if the individual in charge of possessions and incomes was strictly called a vicar, as they were attested in sources for Split as *factor*, *procurator* or *negotiorum gestor*.[281] Salimbene appeared at the court of Archbishop Hugolin as the procurator for archiepiscopal goods and possessions,[282] dealing with the customary incomes given by the communal mills to the archbishopric,[283] and as a witness in several sources pertaining to the possessions, incomes and borders of the archbishopric. I wonder if his duties were similar to the administrators (*economi* or *yconomi*) which appeared in Zadar and which were in charge of administering the Church properties in the archbishopric. Although the limited sources do not clarify who appointed them, each ecclesiastical institution had its own *economi*, including the cathedral chapter.[284] George, the rector of Saint Mary, appeared as the administrator during the archiepiscopal vacancy in Zadar, following the death of Archbishop Nicholas in 1367. This would suggest that he was appointed by the cathedral chapter with a task of managing the properties of

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[279] Rismondo, "Registar," 60.

[280] On the system itself, see: Matijević Sokol, "Srednjovjekovni arhiv," 237-257; Szende, "Uses of Archives," 107-42; Kőfalvi, "Places of Authentication," 27-38.

[281] During the antiquity the term procurator was used for the administrators of the *temporalia* of the archbishopric of Salona (the precursor of Split), Škegro, "Upravitelj dobara Salonitanske crkve," 19-28.

[282] *Salimbone prefati domini archiepiscopi factorem ac negotiorum gestorem*. CDC XII, 452-4, February 11, 1358. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 75-6, March 3, 1360.

[283] *Salimbene, familiaris et procurator*, CDC XII, 276-7, February 20, 1355; Katić, "Solinski mlinovi," 206-7.

[284] They are also called the stewards in the literature. Gilchrist, *The Church and economic activity*, 30; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 7, 102-3; CDC VIII, 99-102, April 14, 1305.

the archbishopric during the vacancy. But he was also mentioned in that position under the new archbishop and in the company of another administrator, Guido Matafari, the nephew of Archbishop Nicholas, which suggest that the two *economi* were appointed some time ago.[285] While the sources do not clarify who appointed administrators, it is possible that the there were usually one cleric and one laic.

During the 1340s the pope appointed Archdeacon Dessa of Split to manage the entire bishopric of Trogir as the vicar. The archdeacon rented out the incomes of the bishopric, but he did not lease the tithes and incomes from the episcopal counties (*županije*). These counties were controlled by the župan (*iupanus*, *cuppanus*), whose presence and jurisdiction were not entirely clear. During the period of the early-medieval Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, the župans were royal officials tasked to administer royal domains. From the thirteenth century the sources note the existence of župans, appointed by the bishop, in order to ensure better administrative and economic management over the episcopal land holdings, which could suggest that the župan was just another name for the vicar for *temporalia* or the administrator of the properties of the bishopric. In 1263 Bishop Columban of Trogir appointed a patrician from Trogir, Valentin, the son of Peter, as the župan during the bishop's absence.[286] Since Gervasius, the primicerius of the cathedral chapter, was mentioned in 1264 as the episcopal vicar, it is possible that Valentine was authorized to be the vicar for the *temporalia*.[287] During 1341 Gregory, the nephew of late Archbishop Peter of Split, was mentioned as being a župan, although it is not entirely clear if Gregory served as a župan under his uncle.[288] The župans existed in other Dalmatian bishoprics, for instance in Hvar where local families competed in acquiring the rank of the župan and securing the collection of tithe, suggesting that the tithe-collection was one of the key functions of the župan.[289] The appointment of Radoslav from Skradin in 1302 as the episcopal župan for the bishopric of Nin reveals that he had to oversee the secular possessions of the bishopric. According to the source, the župan was to be a laic in charge of collecting the incomes of the bishopric and as a reward for his service could

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[285] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 640; CDC XIV, 132, May 18, 1368.

[286] Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 539, 160-161', May 31, 1263; Smiljanić, "O položaju i funkciji župana," 84-7. Ančić, "Od vladarske curtis do gradskoga kotara," 212, 234, May 31, 1263. On the institution of royal župans, see: Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti*, 81-5.

[287] *Monumenta Traguriensia* I/1, 23, January 15, 1264; 66, April 22, 1264.

[288] *Gregori cuppano et nepoti condam archiepiscopi Petri*. Splitski spomenici, 29, November 8, 1341; 105-6, January 24, 1342; Smiljanić, "O položaju i funkciji župana," 73.

[289] Listine III, 242; Smiljanić, "O položaju i funkciji župana," 87.

be promoted to the lower clerical orders.[290] Therefore, it can be surmised that local bishops, including the archbishop of Split and the bishop of Trogir, appointed ad-hoc officials who, acting under different names, were tasked with specific roles. Parallel to these, as a more permanent office, the župan administered the episcopal land holdings in different parishes.

Instead of a conclusion, another example can underscore the diversity and complexity of a Dalmatian episcopal Curia. Under Archbishop Andrew from Gualdo in Italy (r.1389-1403), the citizens of Split, the population from the city's surroundings and the newcomers from Italy continued to intermingle with each other. Magister Dominic from Perugia, which was near Gualdo, handled the daily affairs of the archiepiscopal court.[291] Bishop Matthew, who appeared during Hugolin's period and was probably native to Split, was tasked in 1390 as the vicar for spiritual issues.[292] He remained active at the Curia for the rest of the decade, but from 1396 the archiepiscopal vicar was Canon Duymus Silvestri, whose family was among the leaders of the revolt of 1398 in which the archbishop participated.[293] The cathedral chapter was a place of active notary activity as the *locus credibilis*, with at least two canons being also the notaries by imperial authority, but two clerics, one of them a canon, also served as the scribes at the archiepiscopal curia.[294] Lastly, Buldogna Volchichouich appeared as the župan in charge of the archiepiscopal temporal possessions and his name suggests local origins, from the hinterland of Split.[295] Therefore, the archbishop relied on the established patterns of recruitment by retaining the services of experienced personnel combined with his own trusted associates.

II.5. Episcopal Finances

Since the Church was one of the largest landholders in medieval society, its local leaders, the bishops, exercised considerable temporal power.[296] The core of the temporal holdings held by the archbishopric of Split was gradually accumulated over the centuries from Croatian and

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[290] Smiljanić, "O položaju i funkciji župana," 85.

[291] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 84, July 21, 1393.

[292] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 396.

[293] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 73, 97; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 349.

[294] Cleric Dominic, the son of Dragoslav, Mayconich was a notary with imperial authority and a scribe of the archbishop. Canon Jacob, the son of Peter of Martin. CDC XVII, 530-1, September 6, 1393; XVIII, 108.

[295] *procurator, negatorium gestor et iupanus.* CDC XVII, 418, February 11, 1391.

[296] Lunt, *Papal revenues*; Gilchrist, *The Church and economic activity*, 23-47.

Hungarian kings, who issued a number of donations and confirmations to the archbishops.[297] These properties were then increased by donations through last wills, so much that by the mid-fourteenth century the city council was worried that the Church controls too much and proceeded to implement decisions limiting the grants of imovable properties.[298] Curiously, two centuries earlier, in 1162, the community of Split tried to limit the grants of properties to the Church, which could have been connected to the political struggle between Hungary and Byzantium over Dalmatia, but the papal threats, likely on the instigation of local clergy, probably persuaded the community to revoke the decision.[299] However, the ecclesiastical resistance was missing during the similar attempts made by the commune in mid-fourteenth century.

The archbishopric of Zadar was richer than its Spalatin counterpart, but its ecclesiastical land holdings were smaller and mostly held by the Benedictine monasteries, as well as individual churches. Trogir was somewhere in-between, with the bishops controlling large territories, but also sharing some lands with the cathedral chapter and local monasteries.[300] The decline of the ecclesiastical land holdings was concurrent with the growth of the commune as its members mounted pressure on the properties, incomes and rights of the churches and monasteries.

The episcopal finances can hardly be discussed separately without considering the revenues of the entire bishopric, but it is not always possible to put the various pieces of information into context. For instance, an important source of revenue were tithes, primarily collected in agricultural products.[301] The bishoprics tended to share the jurisdiction in the collection of tithes within the communal border with the city council, what was the case in Trogir in 1285,[302] or lease

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[297] For the royal grants to the various ecclesiastical institutions in Dalmatia prior to the fourteenth century, see: Budak, "Foundations and Donations as a Link between Croatia and the Dalmatian Cities," 483-90.

[298] *Statute of Split*, Statuta nova, cap. 25, August 6, 1347 – 1354.

[299] CDC II, 93, June 9, 1162; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 96-8.

[300] This type of information is scattered across various works. See works by Lovre Katić for the territory of Split, Serđo Dokoza for Zadar and scattered information for Trogir in Lucić and Farlati. Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 107-18.

[301] On the development of tithe in Croatia-Dalmatia, see: Schmid, "Die Grundzüge und Grundlagen der Entwicklung des kirchlichen Zehntrechts," 423-454; Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 97-106. On tithe in general, see: Dodds, "Managing Tithes," 125-140; Ladurie and Goy, *Tithe and agrarian history*; Catherine Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy*, 178-95. The members of the Dalmatian dioceses paid tithes on certain agricultural products, which they themselves wanted to restrict, while the bishops were interested in increasing the number of taxed products. For instance, in 1267 the citizens of Trogir had the bishop of Trogir issue a confirmation that the citizens are not subject to tithe. The bishop demanded tithe on wine, which was, according to his words, "paid to other Dalmatian bishops," and also tithe on gardens and mills. Instead the citizens were required only to pay tithe on grain, lentils and lambs. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 184-9. In 1285 it was settled that the commune would collect fines from non-paymet of tithes. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 206-7. During the provincial synod in Split (1325/26), it was stated that tithe should be paid regularly by cathedral and parochial churches. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 419-20.

[302] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 206-7, December 30, 1285.

out the tithe collection to the commune, as was done in Split throughout later Middle Ages. In fact, the episcopal revenues can be ascertained by comparing the leases on tithe gathering and comparing them with the episcopal financial obligations towards the Apostolic See.

The popes were not only the centre of the ecclesiastical hierarchy but also the head of an ever-growing administration which progressively required more incomes to sustain itself. The *Camera apostolica* dealt with the administration of the papal finances and expanded considerably during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in order to deal with tithes, crusading taxes and other incomes that the popes collected.[303] During the second half of the thirteenth century the popes regularly collected common services (*servitia communia*), paid by higher prelates who received papal appointments and which totalled to around one third of the first year's revenue of the benefices.[304] Since it was expected for the bishops to pay the fee either personally by travelling to the Curia or employing proctors, it is clear that as an effect its enforcement led to tying the episcopate more closely to the Apostolic See.[305] The system was further promoted by Pope Nicholas IV in 1289, who shared half of various papal incomes with the cardinals, including the common services. This meant that the cardinals had direct financial interest in the appointments.[306]

The first sources about the payment of common services coincide with an active papal involvement in appointing the bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia during and after the 1290s. In 1299 the archbishop of Zadar promised to pay 250 fl., while his successor had to pay 400 fl. in 1314.[307] It is safe to assume that the archbishopric did not quickly become richer but that the papal collectors reassessed the archiepiscopal revenues and prescribed a matching payment. During the same period the archbishops of Split were expected to pay 200 fl.[308] As these payments were one third

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[303] Weiß, "The Curia: Camera," 220-38; Ullmann, *Short History of the Papacy*, 160-1; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 154-65; Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 285-94; Partner, "Camera Papae: problems of Papal Finance," 55-68; Weakland, "Administrative and Fiscal Centralization under Pope John XXII," 54/1, 39-54; 54/2, 285-310.

[304] There were two payments: the common services (*servitia communia*) and petty services (*servitia minuta*), which were paid as expenses to the cardinals and the servants of the chancery for the necessary documentation. For the fiscalization of appointments to ecclesiastical offices, see: Lunt, *Papal Revenues* I, 81-107; Ullman, *Short History of the Papacy*, 161; Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 59-60.

[305] There is no literature analysing proctors in Croatia-Dalmatia. Regarding proctors in the bishopric of Zagreb, see: Jerković, "Who were the Proctors of Bishops of Zagreb," 89-110. Compare with: Zutshi, "Proctors acting for English Petitioners," 15-29.

[306] Quaglioni, *Storia della Chiesa: La crisi del Trecento e il papato avignonese*, 186-7. Lunt, *Papal revenues* I, 26-7, 81-91.

[307] MVC I, 57, July 16, 1299; 58, August 19, 1312.

[308] MVC I, 122, June 25, 1349.

of annual incomes, that means that the papal tax collectors evaluated the archbishopric of Zadar to be worth 1200 fl. and the archbishopric of Split to 600 fl.

The situation with the bishopric of Trogir was different. Faced with the mounting pressure on the bishopric from all sides, Bishop Columban (r.1255-76) petitioned the Apostolic See to protect the properties of the bishopric. The pope listed the possessions of the bishop, but without stating how much they were worth.[309] Some of the protected places were lost in 1298 when the parish of Šibenik was elevated to the rank of bishopric.[310] The loss of Šibenik led to the weakening of the episcopal authority as the commune started to increasingly limit and appropriate the episcopal finances, properties and rights. The problems regarding the cathedral *fabrica* was mentioned earlier, but in 1305 the commune forced the bishop to relinquish the control over the harshest crimes in the episcopal lands of Gustirna and Dubravica to the communal court. Although the jurisdiction was still officially in the hands of the bishop, the commune would collect the entire fine and then give the half to the bishop.[311] The next year the commune started to take – sometimes legally, sometimes not - some properties of the bishopric within the city in order to expand the communal square.[312] The financial effects of the loss of Šibenik can be directly observed by looking at the payment of the communal services as the bishop of Šibenik was required to pay 150fl., while the bishop of Trogir only paid 74fl.[313] Therefore, according to the papal tax collectors, the bishopric of Šibenik was twice as rich as the bishopric of Trogir, meaning that the income in Šibenik was estimated to 450fl. and in Trogir to only 222fl. The numbers suggest that the bishop of Trogir was prior to 1298 comparable in finances to the archbishop of Split, which would explain the occasional conflicts between the two prelates during the thirteenth and the fourteenth century.

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[309] Pope Clement IV (r.1265-68) granted protection in 1266 which was confirmed in 1274 by Pope Gregory X (r.1271-76). The popes protected the cathedral, the monasteries of Saints Nicholas and Michael and the parish church of Saint Jacob in Šibenik, with all its incomes, as well as the parishes and tithes in Drid, Gusterna and Dubrovac. In addition, the popes protected the villages with tithes of Nevest, Radošić, Gradac, Ostrog, Špiljan and Saint Peter, and in Zagora. CDC V, 380-81, June 13, 1266; VI, 89, September 11, 1274. Some of these places were later disputed with the bishopric of Šibenik.

[310] The issue is discussed in greater detail later, but in 1298 the bishop lost the income of tithes from Šibenik. With the establishment of the new bishopric of Šibenik, tithes were divided between the bishop and the cathedral chapter, while the commune gave certain properties to maintain the bishop and the clergy.

[311] The harshest crimes included murder, wounding, theft, robbery, defilement, rape, adultery, use of weapons, etc. CDC VIII, 94-5, January 15, 105; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 212-3; Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i trogirske crkvene prilike," 72.

[312] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 365, May 29, 1306; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 52-3.

[313] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 398, 490.

These numbers can be misleading as prior to 1298 the bishop of Trogir was embroiled in protracted dispute over Šibenik, which put a constant drain on the episcopal incomes.

The leases of episcopal revenues to the members of the commune in Split offer a more direct information about the ecclesiastical incomes. Although the main aim of the lease was to provide the bishopric with quick cash, it also motivated the, mostly, richer nobility to be invested with the interests of the bishopric. The tithe within the territory of the city was regularly leased out to the commune and then divided into four parts.[314] Dominic Luccari (r.1328-48) leased out tithe to the commune in 1343,[315] while Hugolin (r.1349-88) did the same twice for five years, first in in 1350 for the price of 110 fl.,[316] and in 1358 for 150 ducats per year.[317] Lastly, in 1398 Archbishop Andrew leased out most of his tithes for 350 ducats per year, for 9 years, while in 1409 Archbishop Domnius received 200 ducats from the commune for the tithe for that year.[318] These sources show that the lease was not uncommon, although the gradual rise in the amount can be attributed to political reasons and inflation. Lastly, it was also quite common for the archbishops to lease out tithe collection of individual villages to its inhabitants.[319]

The commune leased out the tithe in 1358 amidst the war between Venice and Hungary, which caused solvency problems for the commune. The city council appointed one of its members as the designated communal collector of tithe, showing the permanent character of this institution, but until 1362 the commune was often late with payments.[320] Besides leasing out tithe, Archbishop

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[314] The traditional division into four parts - for the archbishop, the clergy, the cathedral and the poor - was repeated and codified during the provincial synod in 1325/26. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 420.

[315] Tithe was collected by two officials - Micha Petri Madii and Micha Madii Miche - and submitted at the communal palace. Krekich, "Documenti" II, 157, November 16, 1343.

[316] The chapter and the archbishop authorized Guido de Vincentia, a canon and the archiepiscopal vicar, to give tithes to the commune for 400 libri per year (c.110 ducats). ASN, 24, f. 98; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 97.

[317] "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 100, 224, November 25, 1358.

[318] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 348, August 3, 1398; 361, December 24, 1409.

[319] During 1390s Archbishop Andrew of Split leased out tithes in one archiepiscopal village to the inhabitants of that place. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 57.

[320] During 1359 the commune appointed four noblemen to count and collect tithe from wine and grain. For the decision to write down the grain tithe: "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 103, 238, May [no day], 1359; for the decision to appoint four council members to collect the tithe for wine and grain: "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 106, September [no day], 1359. In April 1358 the archbishop demanded tithe for 1357 and the city council decided to negotiate with him. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 89, 184, April 22, 1358. The negotiations probably led to prolongations as in December 1358 the commune decided to pay tithe directly from the impoverished communal treasury. 18 against 17. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 101, 230, December [no day], 1358. The commune was required to collect the tithe by the end of the festivities of Saint Luke (October 18), but the money for 1359 was gathered by March 1360. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 75-6, March 3, 1360. With the stabilisation of the political situation, the commune was able to collect tithe on time. In November 1362 the archbishop confirmed that he received 150 ducats from Jacxa Nichole Matthei. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 81, November 14, 1362.

Hugolin also leased out his mills for 150 ducats,[321] which was less than the communal mills,[322] and the revenues of the entire archbishopric for 600 ducats.[323] Everything was leased out to the local nobility, but it is unclear what was included under the revenues (*pro redditibus*) and how the entire lease was shared between the archbishop and the clergy. Therefore, under Archbishop Hugolin, the tithe (150), the mills (150) and other revenues of the archbishopric (600) gave out the total annual income of 900 which was higher that the papal estimate (600). If the archbishop retained the entire income of the mills, the revenue and ¼ of tithes, that made him comparably richer than some municipal officials.[324] It should be added that while the commune had to pay its officials, the archbishop could rely on distributing benefices to attract individuals into his service. It is unclear if the archbishop regularly leased out the collection of his revenues, as was done with the tithe and, to a degree, with the mills. The estimates of the papal tax collectors remained constant during this period, but, due to the political and economic conditions, the revenues of the archbishopric decreased by at the end of the fourteenth century – corroborated by the decreased payment of the papal tithe[325] – while the revenues sharply increased by the mid-fifteenth century.[326]

However, what should be emphasized is that the local urban nobility had personal financial interest in obtaining lucrative contracts with the archbishopric, as the procurement of taxes or land incomes was a frequent form of financial activity in the late Middle Ages as it constituted the basis

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[321] The majority of the mills were located on the river Jadro in the nearby place of Solin. The archbishopric owned some of the mills, while in others collected the sixth part of the income as part of tithe. Katić, "Solinski mlinovi," 201-19; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 147-8.

[322] Mentioned in January 1358 and leased to Duimus Marin from the Petracha family. The mills were in Solin. In comparison, the communal mills were leased out for 1000 libri (lira), which would amout to 278 ducats. Ančić, "Ser Ciprijan Zaninov," 55; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 161, f. 684. Raukar, *Zadar u XV stoljeću*, 299.

[323] The incomes were rented to three noblemen and one archiepiscopal retainer. Thomas, the son of Albert de Madii, Madio, the son of Miche Dobri, John, the son of Pervoslav de Grisogonis, and John Jacob, from the diocese of Florence. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 76, March 3, 1360.

[324] The salary of the *podestà* of the city for 1357 was 500 ducats. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 76, July 16, 1357. The incomes of the commune of Split for 1345-46 were 15055 libri (4182 ducats), but at the same time the expenses were 14933 libri (4148 ducats), meaning that nothing was left in the treasury. Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. Stoljeću," 200. It is counted in the ration 1:3.6. Raukar, *Zadar u XV stoljeću*, 299.

[325] At the beginning of the 1380s the clergy of Split paid 60 ducats per one term. No sources exist for the second half of the 1380s, but the Western Schism and the constant wars in the kingdom resulted that during the 1390s the archbshop paid between 15 and 30 ducats, or not at all. CDC XVI, 360-1, April 27, 1383; XVII, 468-70, October 29, 1392; XVII, 617-9, September 8, 1394; XVIII, 60-1, October 7, 1395; XVIII, 125-6, June 10, 1396.

[326] During the mid-fifteenth century the incomes of the archbishopric were leased out for 1100 (1448-1464), and occassionaly for 1250 ducats (1464). Raukar, "Ser Baptista de Augubio," 294.

of wealth.[327] While the archbishop ensured a regular stream of incomes, the activities of the nobility directly supported the archiepiscopal authority, as the nobility sought favourable relations with the archbishop in order to obtain lucrative contracts.

The leasing out of the incomes of the bishopric of Trogir occurred only once, during the 1340s, which suggests that the method of lease was used only during exceptional times. The bishopric was managed by Archdeacon Dessa of Split, who was appointed as the vicar while the bishop was excommunicated. Dessa rented out the revenue for 1600 libri, or 444 fl., except some tithes and smaller incomes which were kept.[328] Since the bishop was evaluated by the papal tax collectors to 222 fl., it is clear that the bishopric was richer than what was assessed.

The value of the archbishopric of Zadar is harder to ascertain. The archbishopric was a relatively new institution, owning less properties than the city's major monasteries and their collegues in Split.[329] In addition, the local monasteries attracted more donations than the archbishopric. This was particularly the case with Saint Chrysogonus as the monastery was a gathering place of local families, who connected their identity with the existence of this Benedictine institution.[330] Therefore, it is understandable that the *Serenissima* tried to ensure a strong financial position of the archbishopric, since it was originally a Venetian project, with archbishops coming from Venice. The contracts of 1204 and 1247, by which Zadar submitted itself to Venice, stipulated that the commune was required to give the archbishop every year 1500 good marten's fur (*marturina*), and also one third of taxes from foreign ships entering the Zaratin harbor.[331] The actual incomes of the archbishopric in money is harder to assess, besides the information on communal services, according to which the diocese was worth around 1200 fl. In comparison, the Zadar's spiritual superior, the patriarch of Grado, only paid 250 fl., meaning that he was assessed to 750 fl. and which meant that the metropolitan was poorer that his suffragan-archbishops, which is telling of the relative strength and relations of each see.[332]

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[327] While this statement was based on obtaining municipal incomes, it can also be applied to the incomes of the Church. Raukar, "Ser Baptista," 293-4.

[328] Rački, "Notae," 232, May 13, 1343; Lucić, *Collection*, vol 542, 454, May 2, 1345; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 544.

[329] Unlike in Split, the mills in Zadar were exclusively owned by the urban nobility of Zadar. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 149-50; Peričić, "Stare mlinice zadarskog kraja," 143.

[330] The author compares the situation in Zadar with Split where no other ecclesiastical institution developed which could contest the archbishopric as the most important institution in the city. Dokoza, "Samostanski i nadbiskupski posjedi," 241-56.

[331] Beuc, "Statut zadarske komune," 513-4.

[332] For Grado, see: Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 265-6.

The three selected bishoprics can be further compared by shortly analyzing the collection of the papal tithe.[333] The papal tithe was regularly mentioned from the 1290s for special occasions such as crusades, but it is unknown how much money was collected.[334] With the Avignon popes the papal tithe was regularly introduced,[335] but the payment of tithes in Croatia-Dalmatia was preserved for the period 1349-51 and particularly after 1372, while the sources for earlier periods were usually preserved only in exceptional cases.[336] A probable reason for the uneven preservation of sources can be deduced from the comment by Norman Housley, who stated that, as the papal revenues suffered due to conflict between England and France, the Avignon popes proceeded to better tax local Churches in the eastern parts of Christendom.[337]

The tithe was not collected in Zadar during the period 1349-51, as the archbishop did not dare to return to his diocese due to his problems with Venice.[338] Instead, the amount of 200 ducats was collected in 1372 as arrears for previous tithes.[339] It is unclear if the tithe was for the period of 1349 or for some other two- and three-year tithes introduced by other popes. The local clergy submitted 280 florins for Split in 1349, while in 1372 the subcollector received 100 ducats for arrears of the two-year and three-year tithes introduced by popes Innocent VI (1352-62) and Urban V (1362-70).[340] The bishopric of Trogir submitted 193 florins in 1351 for the entire three-year tithe, which collection was probably postponed due to the problems between the bishop and his commune.[341]

As the financial pressure was mounting on these bishoprics by the end of the fourteenth century, their bishops had more problems in making regular payments to the Apostolic See.[342] Part of the problem was due to the papal decision, from the second half of the fourteenth century, which

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[333] On the papal tithe or the income tax, see: Lunt, *Papal Revenues* I, 71-7; Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 321-2.

[334] In 1296 the pope called for collection of a special tithe aimed at liberating the Kingdom of Sicily. The call went to the patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia, archbishops of Zadar and Split, entire Dalmatia and the diocese of Ferrara, but it is unknown how much money was collected. CDC VII, 248-9, August 11, 1296.

[335] Pope Clement V (1305-14) introduced a six-year tithe in order to organize a crusade. Pope John XXII (1316-34) ordered the collection of two-year and three-year tithes, while Pope Clement VI (1342-52) ordered the collection of a three-year tithe.

[336] For instance, two sources were preserved in the case of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, which mentioned the payment of the six-year tithe introduced by Pope Clement V and tithe of Pope John XXII. CDC IX, 128-9, August 8, 1323; CDC IX, 453-4, February 10, 1329.

[337] Lunt, *Papal Revenues* I, 12-5; Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 178-85.

[338] *Rationes decimarum*, n.3663, 1349.

[339] *Rationes decimarum*, n.3668, May 6, 1372.

[340] CDC XIV, 417-8, May 31, 1372.

[341] *Rationes decimarum*, n.3754, March 22, 1351.

[342] For these problems, see Chapter V.

specified that the newly appointed bishops had to pay the backlog on payments from their predecessors. In general, it is not clear if the bishops ever resisted the payments of common services, but some of them were lax, as they would initially promise to pay, make a frist payment and then stop paying at all. Therefore, by observing the bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia on the level of the entire Christendom, it can be concluded that these dioceses were generally poor, and that the financial pressure on them was increasing during this period.[343]

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[343] This can also be observed by comparing the low incomes obtained in Croatia-Dalmatia with the budget and other incomes of the Papal Curia. The incomes of Pope Clement VI were on average 187000 florins per year (Lunt, *Papal Revenues* I, 14). On the other hand, the total papal tithe collected in Dalmatia between 1349 and 1351 amounted to around 735 florins for the entire archbishopric of Split and around 30 florins for the archbishopric of Zadar, although tithe was not collected at all in the diocese of Zadar. Based on: *Rationes decimarum*, 426-73.

Chapter III. Popes, Kings and Oligarchs (c.1270-c.1330)

The eastern Adriatic coastline in the second half of the thirteenth century was home to several smaller bishoprics, embedded into several semi-autonomous communes. Although the dioceses varied in size and population, encompassing a large territory, these bishops first had to consider the interest of the communes in which their cathedral was located. Urban communities took pride in their own particularism, tradition and civic development, as well as being the driving force behind the bishopric, providing priest, donations and services. These cities also interacted with their hinterland and with communes across the sea, fostering constant exchange of people, goods and knowledges. The citizens intermarried with the rural nobility, exhanged with them lands or even entered their service. In turn, these noble familes shared similar internal development with their counterparts in Slavonia and Hungary. The communes shared interchangeable social and economic organization with the Italian cities, with clerks, intellectuals and traders constantly moving across from one side to the other. Therefore, in order to understand the ecclesiastical development, it is necessary to consider the history of interaction between these communes and their bishops as well as the association with the outside powers.

The surrounding powers interested in controlling Croatia-Dalmatia had to consider the local institutions as well as the support or resistance coming from the local rural nobility, cities, clergy and patriciate. Croatia-Dalmatia was in the close proximity to the pope in Rome, which stimulated easier access to the Holy See, both for the Dalmatian bishops, but also for the local communes and the nobility. Powers such as Venice, and to a lesser degree Naples, were interested in controlling the Dalmatian port cities as a means of extending their commercial lines or as a staging ground for further expansion. Most of Croatia-Dalmatia was controlled by the Hungarian kings whose gradual weakening enabled the rise of regional powers.

During the period of c.1270-c.1320 Zadar was controlled by the Republic of Venice, while the rest of Croatia-Dalmatia was under a nominal rule of the Árpád kings of Hungary. The short period of energetic royal activity and reforms undertaken by Béla IV (r.1235-70) were undermined by conflicts during the reigns of his successors Stephen V (r.1270-72) and Ladislas IV (r.1272-90). These problems enabled the aristocratic clan of the Šubići to become the true authority in Croatia-Dalmatia. The alliance between the Šubići and the Neapolitan Angevins during the 1290s advanced the ascension to the throne of Charles Robert (r.1301-42) whose efforts to restore the royal power were effective in Hungary. The royal involvement in Croatia-Dalmatia, combined

with the mounting local opposition, led to the diminishing of the Šubići power. The void did not lead to the restoration of royal authority but resulted in anarchy among the Croatian oligarchs while the Dalmatian cities sought Venetian protection.[344]

During the 1240s the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was seriously exhausted by the Mongol attack. To prevent any further invasions King Béla IV undertook reforms to strengthen the defenses, but which in turn gave more power to the local territorial lords. These oligarchs came to play a major role in resisting the royal authority and carving up the kingdom into their spheres of influence.[345] Part of the problem was due to the tense relations between Béla IV and his son Stephen, the *rex junior* and future king (r.1270-72), as the two competed for power during the 1260s. To strengthen his position Stephen formed a marriage alliance in 1269 with King Charles I of the Neapolitan Angevins, which had long and lasting consequences on the political landscape of Hungary.[346] The alliance also served the interest of King Charles, who in 1266 obtained the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples). The king was involved in an aggressive expansion against the Byzantine Empire and needed allies, particularly since the Apostolic See was not always a staunch supporter of the royal expansion against the Byzantium.[347] Following the succession of Stephen's son Ladislas to the throne in 1272, connected with the court of Naples through marriage, the court of Naples appeared as a party primarily interested in strengthening the royal authority the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.

With the conquest of Naples and the formation of marriage alliance with the Árpád dynasty, the Neapolitan Angevins became interested in promoting trade and cooperation with Dalmatian cities,[348] while establishing local alliances in order to suppress the Adriatic pirate activities.[349]

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[344] Raukar, "La Dalmazia e Venezia," 63-88; Csukovits, *Az Anjouk birodalma*, 10-51; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, II, 9-61; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 107-208; Homan, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, 80-148.

[345] Zsoldos, "Kings and Oligarchs in Hungary," 211-42; Zsoldos, "Province e oligarchi," 23-58; Fügedi, *Castle and Society*, 50-102.

[346] Charles grand-daughter Elizabeth (Isabelle) married Stephen's son Ladislas (future king, r.1272-90), while Charles's son Charles II wed Mary, Stephen's daughter. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 107; Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli*, 29-30. For the conflict between Stephen V and his father Béla IV during 1260s, see: Zsoldos, *Családi ügy: IV. Béla és István ifjabb király*.

[347] Jean Dunbabin presumed that the alliance was signed to give Charles an ally in the Adriatic and give support to the Angevin expansion into Albania by preventing Emperor Michael VIII of Byzantium from seeking a similar alliance with Hungary and expanding the Byzantine sphere of influence. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 90, 94-5, 184; Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, 86-8; Schein, *Fideles crucis*, 52-3, 58-9; Weiler, "*Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom," 1-36.

[348] Peričić, "Zadar u doba prvih veza s Anžuvincima," 251-65.

[349] In 1274 the Angevins formed an alliance with Split and Šibenik in order to fight the pirates coming from Omiš. It seems that during 1275 the Angevins controlled the islands of Hvar and Brač. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 174-9; Karbić,

These activities strengthened the Angevin expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, reinforced the weak reign of King Ladislas by settling the warlike situation in Croatia-Dalmatia during the 1270s and showed what importance influencing or controlling Croatia-Dalmatia would have for the expansion of the Angevins' influence.

Although different noble families competed for power in Croatia and Dalmatia, the Šubići of Bribir, a nobility of local origins, strenghten their rule over the region around the mid-thirteenth century (Fig. 6).[350] They did this by obtaining positions of the elected counts in the coastal cities and receiving Bribir as a hereditary county from King Béla IV in 1251, thus creating their basis of power. The county was located closer to the Venetian-controlled Zadar, than to Trogir or Split, but it was also surrounded by the bishoprics and cities of Šibenik, Skradin, Knin and Nin, which were also - besides Knin – the first places in which the Šubići were able to become counts during the 1260.[351] The family's true rise in power occurred during the reign of Paul Šubić (c.1245-1312). Paul was able to build clientelist relationship with the Dalmatian urban nobility, use the weakening of the royal court between the 1270s and the 1290s by forming alliances with parties struggling to control the royal court and to place his family members in key positions in the Dalmatian cities.[352]

In 1290 King Ladislas died after a reign marked by the weakening of the royal authority and the rise in power of the oligarchs. The king left no heir which meant that several candidates with different local support wanted to claim the throne. The winner was Andrew III (r.1290-1301), who was crowned on the instigation of the highest noble and ecclesiastical elites in the kingdom. But while Andrew claimed the throne and maintained it mostly through the support of the

Šubići of Bribir, 55. In some works, the alliance with local cities was viewed as potentially being used against Trogir. Lučić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 253-4.

[350] On the family, see: Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 27-44; Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi*, 3-21.

[351] Paul's brother George was the count of Šibenik (r.1267-1303), while his uncle James was the count of Nin in 1267. It is unclear when they took Skradin, as there are no direct sources for that. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 42, 52.

[352] Damir Karbić views Paul as a partisan of Joachim of Gutkeled kindred, who, together with Henry Kőszegi, attempted to seize power in the kingdom during the turmoil following the death of King Stephen V in 1272. Their main opponent was the Csák family. Henry was the ban of Slavonia in 1267-70 and 1273-74 and the count of Split in 1270. Joachim Gutkeled was the ban of Slavonia in 1270 and 1272 and the count of Split in 1272. While Paul was the count of Split, Ban Maurice, the deputy to Ban Henry Kőszegi of Slavonia, held the position of the *podestà* of Split, an office lower in rank than that of the city's count, suggesting division of influence between Henry and Paul on the local level. Ban Henry Kőszegi was killed in September 1274, temporarily weakening the Gutkeled-Kőszegi party, while around that time Paul was also deposed as the maritime ban. But this was only temporary as during 1275 King Ladislas appointed two new bans, which reinstated the Crown's shaky connection with the Gutkeled-Kőszegi families. John Kőszegi became the ban of entire Slavonia, while Nicholas Gutkeled became the ban of entire Croatia-Dalmatia. Nicholas was sent in mid-1275 to Croatia-Dalmatia in order to investigate the disputes between the cities. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 438; Zsoldos, "A Henrik-fiak: A Héder nembéli Kőszegiek 'családi története,'" 651-61; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 46-50, 285-97; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 257-8.

Hungarian clergy, his reign was marked by constant rebellions from the powerful oligarchs and the growing threat to the royal rule by the Angevins.[353]

Initially, the Neapolitan Angevins wanted to support their interests in the kingdom by sending bishops and barons to take over the kingdom for the Angevin dynasty and supporting the reign of Ladislas's widow, Queen Elizabeth, herself member of the Angevin dynasty.[354] By January 1292 the Angevin court intended to install Charles Martel (1271-95) who took the title of the king of Hungary. Martel was the son of Charles II (r.1285–1309) and Queen Mary (c.1257-1323), the daughter of Stephen V of Hungary and sister of Ladislas. The pretender's first goal was to send emissaries to Croatia-Dalmatia during 1292 in order to gather support from the local communes and the nobility. Since the communes stalled with their answers and the royal envoys lacked funding, the missions were unsuccessful. Charles Martel reassessed his plans and decided to directly invade the kingdom, as during 1294 he was gathering mercenaries.[355]

Much has been written about overstating or downplaying the papal support for the Angevins' claim to the throne, and the same opposing narratives exist regarding the contacts between the dynasty and the Šubići.[356] It seems that Pope Nicholas IV (r.1288-92) did not support the Angevin claim, but this did not stop Charles Martel from planning to seize the throne, while the dynasty was able to obtain support from Celestine (July-December 1294) and Boniface VIII (r.1294-1303).[357] The Angevins were also trying to establish contacts with various Croatian and Hungarian oligarchs. Most of them seems to have been more interested in using the contacts with the Angevin court as a bargaining chip in their constant power struggle with King Andrew III and were not really interested in an actual change on the royal throne.[358]

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[353] For an overview of various pretenders and Andrew's coronation and reign, see: Kosztolnyik, "Remarks on Andrew III of Hungary," 273-90; Štefánik, "The Morosinis in Hungary under King Andrew III," 3-15; Zsoldos, "III. András," 119-227.

[354] VMH I, 366-67, September 7-8, 1290; CDC VII, 1-2, July 23 1290; Hóman, *Gli Angioni*, 81-8.

[355] Petrović, "Papal Power, Local Communities and Pretenders," 20; Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko*, 21-4.

[356] According to Szentgyörgy, Pope Nicholas IV was a strong supporter of the Angevins. The author claimed that the pope's death in April 1292 meant that the dynasty lost a strong ally and affected the Dalmatian communes to refuse to side with Charles Martel. Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko*, 23-24. Serđo Dokoza, "Papinska diplomacija i dolazak anžuvinske dinastije," 140-58; Mihalache, "The Holy See's Intervention," 155-164.

[357] Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 152-65; Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV*, 129-35; Golinelli, *Celestino V e il suo tempo*, 85-117; Herde, *Bonifaz VIII*, 154-248; Tocco, "Bonifacio VIII e Carlo II D'Angiò," 221-40.

[358] For the Angevin contacts with various oligarchs, see: Petrović, "Papal Power, Local Communities and Pretenders," 21-2; Zsoldos, "Kings and Oligarchs in Hungary," 231-2; Nekić, "The Oligarchs," 1-14.

The contacts between the Angevins and the Šubići, while more successful than with other oligarchs, were gradually built up during the 1290s.[359] Queen Mary wanted to ensure proper religious education for her son, but also to nurture Charles Martel's connections with Hungary, a place from where the queen originated. Mary probably employed Peter, a Franciscan friar from Hungary, as Martel's chaplain. Following the young pretender's death, Peter became Mary's chaplain and was soon appointed as the archbishop of Split.[360] The dynasty employed the services of a number of Franciscans and used contacts with the Papal Curia to reward these Franciscans with bishoprics.[361] Following Martel's death, it seems that Charles II and Pope Boniface VIII were primarily preoccupied with ensuring the stability of the Kingdom of Naples and the return of the island of Sicily, lost in 1282.[362] Queen Mary was among the most important members of the royal court who worked on establishing a strong alliance between the Šubići and the Angevins by using her access to the papal Curia in order to secure the throne of Hungary for her grandson, Martel's son Charles Robert.[363]

When Charles Martel's emissaries came to ask the communes in April 1292 to recognize Martel as the king, the communes were unsure how to respond, fearing the reaction of Paul Šubić. Much has been written about the reason of the communes' hesitation, the connections between the Šubići, the Angevins and the Apostolic See, but this case was not used to explore the nature of the Šubići reign in the Dalmatian communes. While it seems that the Šubići rule in Croatia-Dalmatia was absolute, they simply used the benefits of the communal age by placing their local supporters among the Dalmatian urban nobility to key places, therefore expanding their network of clients,

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[359] The construction of relations between the Angevins, the Šubići and the role played in these contacts by Queen Mary, as well as the role played by the ecclesiastical situation in Dalmatia to connect the Angevins and the Šubići is explored in: Petrović, "Papal Power, Local Communities and Pretenders," 11-31.

[360] *Petrus de Ungaria, Ordinis Minorum Capellanus* of Charles Martel was mentioned in 1294. MDE I, 116.

[361] Three more Franciscans obtained episcopal appointments due to their connections with the Neapolitan court. Toynbee, *St. Louis of Toulouse*, 106.

[362] Kiesewetter, "Bonifacio VIII e gli Angioini," 171-214.

[363] Following the death of her brother Ladislas in 1290, Mary herself claimed the title of the queen of Hungary, which she used regularly. Besides having her chaplain Peter appointed as the archbishop of Split in 1297, during August 1299 Charles II, in the presence of Queen Mary, confirmed the possessions of the Šubići in Croatia and Dalmatia, while the same was done in September for the Babonići family. In September the Neapolitan ships were prepared to carry Elisabeth, the sister of Queen Mary, to Split. I presume she was sent to negotiate with the Šubići, as already in November Count George, the brother of Paul Šubić, obtained safe passage and was on his way to Naples to invite Charles Robert to claim the throne. Furthermore, Queen Mary represented Charles Robert's claim during the papal hearing of 1302-03, while in 1305 the queen even pawned a golden crown with precious jewels in order to fund Charles Robert's campaign. CDC VII, 353-4, August 4, 1299; 356, September 29, 1299; 357, November 19, 1299; MDE I, 136-7, September 7, 1299; MDE I, 174, June 1, 1305; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 110-1; AkO I, n.232-3, June 10, 1302; n.392, May 31, 1303; n.396-7, June 3, 1303; Skorka, "Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," 249-50; Petrović, "Papal Power, Local Communities and Pretenders," 24-5.

while keeping the communal autonomy intact.[364] A contemporary, Miha Madijev, compared the Šubići with the establishment of the *Signoria* system in Italy, which he called a tyranny, but Tomislav Raukar was critical about this view. He pointed out that the Šubići reign never transformed itself into a similar case as with Visconti in Milan or any other place as the family did not initiate changes in communal laws nor directly infringed on the local autonomy. A competent ruler, such as *Ban* Paul, used the available resources to install his family into the position of undisputed power in Croatia and Dalmatia, but his successor, *Ban* Mladen, had a much more difficult time in keeping the communes and the other nobility in check.[365]

The alliance with the Angevins helped the Šubići to access the Apostolic See, while also ensuring that the interests of the family were shared by the archbishopric of Split. This meant that the period between 1290 and 1310, marked by instability and conflicts in Hungary between various contenders for the throne and the oligarchs, was also the period of prolonged tranquility and enduring Šubići reign over the region (*Fig.* 7). Paul Šubić and Archbishop Peter greeted Charles Robert in August 1300 in Split, after which the king was led north to start his campaign for the throne. Despite the support of the Šubići and the Apostolic See, the king still had to fight for two decades to re-establish the royal authority in the kingdom.[366]

The peace in Dalmatia was disrupted by the outbreak of conflicts between Venice and the Apostolic See over the city of Ferrara in 1308. Ferrara was officially subordinated to the pope but was in practice controlled by the family d'Este. After the death of Azzo d'Este, a succession war broke out which Venice used to occupy the city. Pope Clement V responded by excommunicating the Venetians and suspending all Venetian commercial treaties, which had devestating consequences on Venice as it drained its military, economic and diplomatic strength.[367] Using the problematic internal and external situation, in June 1310 a group of rich and influential families, including the Tiepolo and the Querini, organized a revolt against Doge Pietro Gradenico. Although quelled, the rebellion led to repression and institutional reorganization of the Republic.[368]

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[364] Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 49-61; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 279-97; "Familiares of the Šubići," 131-47.

[365] Madijev, "Historija," 173-6; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. Stoljeću," 176-7; Compare with: Green, "The image of tyranny," 335-51; Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 41-8.

[366] Madijev, "Historija," 160; Skorka, "Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," 243-60; Burkhardt, "Ungarn zwischen Árpáden und Anjou (1301–1308)," 153-69.

[367] Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 70-6; Housley, "Pope Clement V," 29-43.

[368] Lane, *Venice*, 114-7; Dibello, "La stabilità delle istituzioni veneziane," 90-1; Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 100-3; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 25.

During the 1270s and 1280s the Šubići and Venice were in prolonged conflict for the control of the territories in Dalmatia which led to a peace treaty in 1290, after which the two powers peacefully coexisted.[369] It was already mentioned that Paul Šubić cultivated favourable relations with more prominent members of the nobility in Zadar but he also maintained contacts with more prominent Venetians, such as Bajamonte Tiepolo who was leading the revolt in Venice in 1310.[370] Since Bajamonte found shelter with the Šubići and that the Venetian authorities were in early 1310 worried about the suspicious movements of the army of *Ban* Paul in the vicinity of the city, it seems that Bajamonte and Paul were conniving together.[371]

The danger came from within and not from outside as in March 1311 the citizens of Zadar rebelled and accepted the rule of the Hungarian king. On the request of the city emissaries, King Charles Robert granted new privileges to the city of Zadar and confirmed the old ones.[372] Paul's son Mladen Šubić was installed as the count of the city which points to the agents of the Šubići as the ones who started the revolt and the city was immediately besiged by Venice.[373] In May 1312 Paul died weakening the Šubići family's authority. Paul's son Mladen became the next *ban* of Croatia-Dalmatia, showcasing the continued strength of the family and the support from King Charles. But by February 1313 the Apostolic See and Venice signed a peace treaty, which meant that Venice could concentrate directly on the situation in Zadar. In September 1313 Zadar recognized the Venetian rule by signing a peace treaty under much better conditions than the ones which were in effect from before, with addition that the city was officially co-ruled by both the king of Hungary and the doge of Venice.[374]

Paul's death weakened the position of the family and Mladen seems to have been overwhelmed by the growing opposition to his rule. The new *ban* was faced with an opposition to his rule from the local nobility, the communes and the king of Hungary. The Dalmatian cities rebelled first; Trogir in 1315 and then Šibenik in 1319. Fearing the retribution of the members of the Šubići family the two cities decided in 1322 to sign pacts of dedication with Venice, meaning

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[369] Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 207-8.

[370] Prior to his rebellion, Bajamonte found employment as the *podestà* in the Šubići's cities: in Šibenik (1301) and in Nin (1303). On the connections between the Šubići and Bajamonte see: Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 54, 71, 292; Praga, "Baiamonte Tiepolo," 5-67. Krekić, *Venezia e l'Adriatico*, 51-85.

[371] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 70-5.

[372] Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, 180-1; CDC 8, 294, October 12, 1311

[373] Mladen carried the title *comes Jadre, princeps Dalmatie et secundus banus bosniensis*. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 25-9; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 437-40; Strgačić, "Zadarsko-mletački rat," 1597–1614; Gruber, "Obsjedanje Zadra po Mlečanih," 530-31, 545-47, 562-64, 578-82; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 73.

[374] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.9007-8, February 17, 1313. *Listine* I, 266-71, September 23, 1313.

the terms of subjugation, while Split followed in 1326.[375] Mladen's reign was irreversibly undermined when Charles Robert decided to back Mladen's opposition which resulted in the *ban*'s fall in 1322. But while the king hoped for the re-establishment of his rule in Croatia-Dalmatia, Mladen's fall led to a protracted period of feudal anarchy among the nobility in Croatia, while the Dalmatian coastal cities called in Venice for protection.

The royal reaction to the Venetian takeover was at first limited to sending letters[376] as the king lacked means to effectively combat the Venetian navy, although over the years, the king made plans and sent his *bans* to directly intervene in Croatia and restore the royal authority. The Dalmatian cities – Split, Trogir and Šibenik – were now in a strange political situation which is reflected in the datation of their charters where the names of the king, the doge, the bishop and the important city officials are all found together. These charters reflect the new political reality where King Charles Robert was still recognized as the ruler, but the actual authority was in the hand of the Venetians, who allowed these communes a high degree of autonomy.[377]

III.1. The Episcopate between Papal Power and Secular Involvement

The rise of the Šubići was in part the result of their appropriation of the ecclesiastical issues in the Church province of Dalmatia. Using the pragmatic behaviour of the archbishop of Split, the family supported and furthered the interests of the clergy of Šibenik for an independent bishopric against their spiritual superior, the bishop of Trogir. The role of the archbishop of Zadar was limited in this conflict, but this diocese was the focus of attention of the Apostolic See, which used the expansion of rights of the episcopal appointments to place papal candidates in Zadar. The change in the papal-episcopal relations, illustrated on the example of Zadar, can help explain how the bishopric of Šibenik was finally established and how the popes used the local Church to help the Neapolitan Angevins obtain the throne of Hungary-Croatia.

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[375] Orlando, "Politica del diritto, amministrazione, giustizia," 15-9.

[376] In August 1322 King Charles sent a letter to Doge Giovanni Soranzo (r.1312-28) thanking the doge for offering support to the royal cities of Dalmatia. *Listine* I, 341-2, August 3, 1322; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 241.

[377] Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 241.

III.1.1. "Non dividendo episcopatu Traguriensi in duos"[378]

In March 1287 on the invitation of Bishop Gregory of Trogir (r.1282-97), the metropolitan archbishop of Split, John Buzad (r.1266-94),[379] publicly anounced the withdrawal of his confirmation of the bishopric of Šibenik in the episcopal palace of Trogir. The retraction came after the death of the illegally elected bishop of Šibenik, Paul (r.1274-87).[380] The archbishop stated that he only recognized Paul due to the secular pressure, but was able to revoke the new diocese through the backing of Bishop Philip of Fermo (r.1273-1300).[381] Since Philip was the papal legate for the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia between 1278 and 1281, it seems that Archbishop John only referred to the legate's role retroactively, following the death of Paul in Šibenik. What other official actions John undertook remains unknown.[382]

John's actions of 1287 contrasted the ones taken immediately following his election, in 1267, when he responded with alacrity upon the request from Bishop Columban of Trogir (r.1255-76). Accompanied by an entourage of high ecclesiastical dignitaries, Archbishop John arrived to Šibenik. The reform-minded and often zelous archbishop[383] inspected the situation in the parish, finding a number of irregularities and disciplining the clergy.[384] This decisive move temporarly

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[378] The plea of the bishop of Trogir to the archbishop of Split. Rački, "Notae," 214, July 10, 1274.

[379] John belonged to the Hahót-Buzád family, which gave several *bans* and bishops during the thirteenth century, and his family connections and background connected him with the royal court. See his entry in List of arch/bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar.

[380] CDC VI, 580-2, March 20, 1287; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 292-3.

[381] In 1279 Pope Nicholas III (r.1277-80), worried about the deteriorating situation in the kingdom, sent Cardinal-Legate Philip to investigate the widespread anarchy and attacks on the ecclesiastical property. Philip convened a synod in Buda where he promoted decisions aimed at limiting the influence of the laymen over the Church and the clergy. He also participated at the general assembly in Teteny in July 1279 where he was able to convince the nobles and prelates to accept the statutes that regulated the position of the Cumans in the kingdom. On his activities, see: Kovács, "Alter ego domini papae Nicolai III. Fülöp fermói püspök," 117-166; Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn*, 188-200.

[382] The actions of the papal legate in Dalmatia are known only from Archbishop John's words. The archbishop stated that the papal legate revoked the confirmation and excommunicated Paul, in the presence of the archbishop and the two bishops, of Knin and Nin.

[383] John was sometimes too zelous in enforcing his archiepiscopal authority. For example, by 1272 he tried to collect tithe (*decima*) in the county of Lika (*provincia Licha/Lica*) revealing that the new archbishop was interested in returning the possessions and reinstating the rights that the archbishopric of Split enjoyed. John's actions were stopped when Bishop Stephen of Nin (c.1272-c.84) provided proofs that Lika belongs to the bishopric of Nin. CDC V, 635, June 17, 1272; 636-7, June 24, 1272; Meaning southern and coastal parts of the modern day Lika. See: Bogović, "Pomicanje sjedišta krbavske biskupije," 46-8.

[384] Archbishop John was followed by the bishop of Trogir, Bishop Dabronja of Hvar, Bartholomew, the former bishop of Skradin, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines in Split. CDC V, 454, 1267; Dujmović, "Postanak i razvitak Šibenik," 92.

quelled problems in Šibenik, which were going on for almost 70 years,[385] confirming that the parish is part of the bishopric of Trogir. But just several years later John's behaviour was completely different, prompting in 1274 Bishop Columban to accuse John of actively working to divide the bishopric of Trogir into two, without papal consent and against the Church councils.[386]

Archbishop John's direct involvement and opinions regarding the separate bishopric of Šibenik (1274) are known only from John's public retraction in 1287, delivered in the episcopal palace of Trogir in front of the leaders of the commune of Trogir, and are often taken at face value. His actions prior to 1274 were usually viewed as opposing the separate bishopric of Šibenik, an opinion which dramatically changed under secular pressure in 1274, which was later corrected with the support of the papal legate. This conclusion points to both the weakness of the archbishopric of Split and the rise in power of the Šubići, the aristocratic family which obtained the highest positions in Croatia-Dalmatia during the 1270s, and the main suspects for being behind this coercion. Yet problems arose on the ecclesiastical level before the attempts to establish a separate bishopric, so John's actions should be contextualized with other known sources which reveal what methods and networks the archbishop used when dealing with his ecclesiastical and secular contacts in order to promote the agenda of the archbishopric. The reasons for the change in the position of Archbishop John regarding the partition of the bishopric of Trogir must be examined through a careful analysis of sources from the 1270s which reveal conflicts between the archbishopric of Split and the bishopric of Trogir as well as serious conflicts between their respective communes regarding border and land disputes. The communal and Church problems were intertwined during this period which is observed by the comment from the thirteenth-century chronicler of the Spalatine history, Archdeacon Thomas, who stated that the people and the clergy of Split considered all people from Trogir as their enemies.[387]

In sources from the second half of 1272 until 1274 we can see the deliberate attempts by the archbishop of Split to limit the influence of the bishopric of Trogir. John's person of confidence was Bishop Saracen of Krbava (c.1240-c.1274), who controlled a large bishopric, suffragan to

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[385] For the situation in Šibenik up to the end of 1260s, see: Dujmović, "Postanak i razvitak Šibenik," 77-96; Karbić, "Uloga bribirskih knezova u osnutku šibenske biskupije" 53-62; Barbarić, "Šibenik, šibenska biskupija, šibenski biskupi," 79-90.
[386] CDC VI, 101-2, mid-1274.
[387] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 250-3; Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 280-1.

Split, and like John was of noble origins.[388] In August 1272 Simon of Trogir, a Dominican friar, was elected as the bishop of Knin with the backing from Trogir and asked the archbishop for confirmation.[389] But in December the archbishop had Bishop Saracen of Krbava confirm Nicholas from Split, the archdeacon of Knin, as the bishop. Several days later, in the presence of the bishop of Krbava and Bishop Dabran of Hvar, the archbishop consecrated Nicholas.[390] The next source cleary shows Bishop Saracen of Krbava as the archbishop's person of trust. Following the rejection of Simon and the appointment of Nicholas to Knin, Archbishop John sent the bishop of Krbava in early December 1272 to inspect the diocese of Trogir, which, judging by the protests and appeals to Rome by Bishop Columban could be viewed as the archbishop putting pressure on the bishopric.[391]

The problematic succession in Šibenik during 1273, following the death of the archpriest, the leader of the parish, provoked a serious rift in the relations between the clergy of Šibenik and the bishop of Trogir, who had the right to confirm the newly elected archpriest.[392] Both sides had their own candidates to the position, but the clergy of Šibenik wanted to avoid the bishop's jurisdiction by successfully appealing to Archbishop John of Split.[393] The archbishop's involvement, combined with the appointment of the bishop of Knin and the official visitation of the bishopric of Trogir reveal the existence of deeper disputes between Split and Trogir.

The ecclesiastical problems were closely followed or even influenced by the secular changes. During the 1260s the Šubići from Bribir expanded their control over a number of Dalmatian communities while during the 1270s the family was able to use the factional fightings

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[388] Saracen was a cousin of Domald (c.1160-c.1243), the count of Šibenik, Split and Cetina, and one of the most powerful noblemen of Croatia-Dalmatia during the first half of the thirteenth century. Throughout his life Domald was often the count of Split, so his influence could explain why Saracen was not elected as the bishop but was directly appointed by Archbishop Guncel of Split (r.1221-42). Bogović, "Pomicanje sjedišta krbavske biskupije" 60; Švob, "Komes Domald," 5-37.

[389] This request was noted by the communal notary of Trogir and Canon Martin of the Trogir's cathedral church was sent to the archbishop. CDC VI, 1, August 15, 1272.

[390] CDC VI, 8, December 18, 1272; 9, December 26, 1272; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 294.

[391] Bishop Columban considered that the archbishop had to personally visit his province once every three year, but this was not the case, as the spiritual superiror had the right to send representatives. *Monumenta Traguriensia* I/1, 446 December 13, 1272; Thomson, *Friars in the cathedral*, 132-6.

[392] This was simply a continuation of earlier problems as the clergy of Šibenik tried to deceive pope in 1254 to raise Archpriest Stanimir to the rank of the bishop. A letter was sent to the papal Curia, explaining to the pope that the diocese was vacant for 20 years and pleading the pope to order the archbishop of Split to confirm the election of Stanimir. The pope did send a letter to Split, but the answer, probably from the confused archbishop, was not preserved. Dujmović, "Postanak i razvitak Šibenika," 91.

[393] Rački, "Notae," 214, May 1-2, 1273.

to increase their hold over Croatia-Dalmatia.[394] In February 1273 Paul Šubić was the *podestà* of Trogir, while by May 1273 he became the count of Split, which is aproximately the time when the archbishop decided to involve himself in the dispute regarding the elected archpriest of Šibenik.[395] Sometime at the end of 1273 or at the beginning of 1274 the fortress of Klis, a vital fort controlling access to Split, was attacked by the "enemies of the king," although it would seem that those were the citizens of Split. The fort received military support from Trogir, but it was conquered by summer 1274.[396] This conflict was connected with the hostilities between the Šubići, the communes of Split and Šibenik against the city of Trogir which can be tracked through a number of royal letters, which were based on complaints to the king by the city council of Trogir and directed to the communes and leading individuals in Croatia-Dalmatia. King Ladislas IV (r.1272-1290) issued letters stating his support to the commune and the bishopric of Trogir and warning Šibenik, Split and Paul Šubić to stop harassing Trogir.[397] It does not seem that the royal letters were particularly effective as they dependend both on the local power structures and the relative power of the parties fighting to control the royal court.

Following the disagreements regarding the election of the archpriest, the clergy of Šibenik proceeded to use the local conflicts to proclaim an independent bishopric. They appointed Paul (r.1274-87) who also received the confirmation from Archbishop John of Split.[398] Not much is known about Paul's origins. Bishop Columban of Trogir described Paul as being the canon of Esztergom while later on the archbishop referred to Paul as being a Hungarian. Both claims indicate connections to the archbishopric of Esztergom, which was undergoing a turmoil during the 1270s as the office was vacant due to power struggles between the royal court and aristocratic

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[394] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* I, 278-84; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 107-8; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 48-9.

[395] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 46-7. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 438; Antoljak, "Ban Pavao," 6.

[396] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* I, 282; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 48.

[397] There is a discrepancy between the dating of the royal letters between the editors of the CDC and Ivan Lucić who transcribed them in his *Povijesna svjedočanstva*. While Lucić dated everything to 1273, the CDC dates some documents to 1273 while the majority to 1274. In short, the letters warned *Ban* Paul Šubić and the communities of Split and Šibenik from attacking Trogir, which was placed under the royal protection. The king also notified Trogir about sending soon a person who would protect them from the attacks. This was Nicholas Gutkeled who was sent during 1275 to investigate the conflict. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 254-6; CDC VI, 42, August 10, 1273; 43, August 12, 1273; 43-4, August 12, 1273; 69, April 24, 1274.

[398] Karbić showed how the older historigraphy thought that Paul was a Venetian citizen, but the local sources clearly place him as a canon of Esztergom and a Hungarian. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 336.

elites.[399] But, more importantly, it suggests further connections between the Šubići and the factions competing for the control of both the royal court and Esztergom.

Bishop Saracen noted during 1274 a complaint by Bishop Columban of Trogir, in which the bishop accused Archbishop John of trying to divide the diocese of Trogir into two, which was against the Church councils and papal orders. The charter reflects the new situation and the support of the archbishopric of Split to the independent bishopric of Šibenik. Besides being the bishop of Krbava, Saracen was also the tithe collector of the bishopric of Šibenik (*exactor episcopatus Sibenicensis*) which shows the attempt by the archbishopric to establish a new institutional framework for Šibenik. This was probably done to support the fledgling bishopric, particularly since it was forbidden for bishops of other dioceses to infringe into the territories of different bishops.[400]

Bishop Columban reacted to the attempts from Šibenik by excommunicating its clergy and the community several times during 1274,[401] and by reaching out to the pope, who confirmed in September that Šibenik officially belongs to the bishopric of Trogir.[402] In August the bishop performed an official excommunication in the cathedral of Saint Lawrence in Trogir targeting the leaders of the community of Šibenik, but not including *comes* George, the brother of Paul Šubić.[403] Officially, the bishop denounced Archbishop John as the main culprit in dividing the diocese, while none of the Šubići were specifically mentioned. The *comes* of Trogir was John Šubić, from a side branch of the family, while Split and Šibenik were controlled by Paul's branch (*Fig*. 8). Is it possible that the bishop wanted to avoid problems in the relations between the two branches of the Šubići family and their relations toward Trogir?

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[399] Both the queen mother and the Kőszegi family promoted their candidates which led to prolonged instability and especially violent conflicts. The queen mother's candidate was Nicolaus, the archpriest of Transylvania, while the Kőszegi tried to promote their family member Peter, the bishop of Veszprém. The chapter instead wanted Benedict, the archpriest of Arad and the royal vicechancellor. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the thirteenth century*, 258-259; Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 263.

[400] CDC VI, 101-2, during 1274; Lucić, *Collection*, 244-45. This was probably done in the mid-1274 as the records of the council of Trogir noted the same plea from the bishop to the archbishop not to divide bishopric of Trogir into two. Rački, "Notae," 214, July 10, 1274.

[401] By July 1274 the bishop of Trogir excommunicated the clergy of Šibenik for disobeying the episcopal orders and attacking the representative of the bishop of Trogir, while the judges and some leaders of the city of Šibenik were excommunicated for witholding the payment of the tithe. This was reported by Archdeacon Gervasius, the representative of Bishop Columban of Trogir, when he went to Salona and notified Bishop Yula of Knin and Ban Paul Šubić (*bano marittimo*). CDC VI, 74-5, July 24, 1274; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 244-5.

[402] Columban obtained the confirmation from Pope Gregory X (r.1271-76) of an earlier papal bull issued by Pope Clement IV (1259-61) which confirmed the possessions of the bishopric of Trogir, including Šibenik. CDC VI, 89, September 11, 1274; 380-2, June 13, 1266. Also, see the chapter on Episcopal finances.

[403] CDC VI, 84-5, August 26, 1274; Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi*, 43.

In August 1273 it was mentioned in the acts of the city council of Trogir that the count of the city, Stephen Šubić, died, and was immediately replaced by John Šubić who arrived in the city.[404] John's brother Radoslav was mentioned as the count of Nin during the 1270s. Both were the first cousins of Paul Šubić.[405] While it is unknown who this Stephen was,[406] it is possible that he was brother or cousin of John and Radoslav. What were the relations between the two branches of the Šubići family? Damir Karbić pointed out that the two families often cooperated and that at the time there was no serious conflict existing between the two branches of the family. But this cooperation came after the conflicts over Trogir were resolved. It is possible that the bishop – as well as the commune – by not naming the Šubići wanted to avoid potential conflict with their count. While the lack of sources prevents us from better understanding the inner dynamics of the Šubići family during the 1270s, it should be pointed out that by 1280/81 James's sons were replaced as counts by Paul's brother George I in Trogir, and a certain Michael in Nin. This means that a certain level of competition between the two branches cannot be excluded, with Paul's branch taking control over most of Croatia-Dalmatia.[407]

Bishop Columban's sentence of excommunication and an appeal to the pope were not very effective. In 1275 King Ladislas appointed Nicholas Gutkeled as the *ban* of entire Croatia-Dalmatia and sent the viceroy to investigate the war in Dalmatia.[408] The *ban* correctly informed the king about the reasons for the conflict, the establishment of the bishopric of Šibenik and the dispute between Trogir and Split regarding some lands granted to Trogir by King Béla IV. But instead of openly expressing that the Šubići were behind the attacks, the *ban* stated that the culprits and main backers of Split and Šibenik were some unnamed nobility of Slavonia (*et potentioribus Sclavonie sociati*). Although the *ban* stated that the commune and the bishopric of Trogir were right in the dispute, he suggested the community to accept the demands of their enemies, while also suggesting to the king to return the properties given to Trogir by Béla IV to the Church of

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[404] Rački, "Notae," 214, August 6, 1273.

[405] Stephen Šubić had two sons, James and Stjepko. James's sons were John and Radoslav, while Stjepko's sons were Paul, George and Mladen.

[406] Based on the appearance of Stephen, Damir Karbić presumes that during 1273 Trogir was taken by Paul Šubić and Stephen was installed as the count. The problem is that the notes of the city council of Trogir, where Stephen is mentioned, are incomplete and Stephen was only mentioned as being deceased and then replaced by John. Also, the conflicts over Trogir still persisted until the peace treaty in 1277. Mladen, the brother of Paul, became the *podestà* of Trogir in November 1276, which would suggest that Paul Šubić finally took the city. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 48; Rački, "Notae," 214; Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 539, fol. 256-58, November 29 – 3 December, 1276.

[407] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 52-3, 206.

[408] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 257-8; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 49-50.

Split.[409] If observed in the context of Paul Šubić's contacts with the Hungarian ruling families, blaming the unnamed nobility was probably just an excuse made up by the *ban*, which illuminate the connections of the local conflicts with the wider power struggles in the kingdom. The fightings were still going on by 1276, but by the end of that year, Mladen I, the brother of Paul Šubić, became the *podestà* of the city, showing that the Šubići were able to take control of the city or at least come to some sort of cessation of hostilities.[410]

As an act of protest against the violation of the diocese of Trogir, or perhaps because he was tired of constant conflicts with - and disappointments in - other members of the secular and ecclesiastical elites of Croatia-Dalmatia, Bishop Columban resigned his position before May 1276. As his successor, Pope Innocent V (r.1276) appointed John, the provost of the church of Glogovica in the bishopric of Zagreb and a member of a military order.[411] The appearance of John in Trogir confused historians as the bishop seldom appeared in the local sources[412] yet it does seem that there was some resistance towards accepting John as the next bishop. In fact, John appeared in Trogir in June 1277, in the church of Saint Mary, negotiating, together with Count Peter of the islands of Brač and Hvar, the temporary truce between Trogir and Split. Yet here John was listed as the provost (*prepositus*) of Glogovica and as a noble man (*vir dominus*) and not as the bishop of Trogir.[413] Does this mean that the Church and commune did not recognize John as its bishop? What are the odds that this was a different Provost John of Glogovica, and what was his sudden connection with Trogir? Does his initial appearance point to a temporary rejection in Trogir of his episcopal status, in which the pope had to intervene by repeating his bull of appointment? John was appointed in May 1276 but Pope John XXI had to repeat the appointment in March 1277,

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[409] CDC VI, before August 1275, 118-9; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 259.

[410] CDC VI, 166-7, April 26, 1276; Rački, "Notae," 215, November 2, 1276. In June 1277 Sača, the daughter of Stane de Varicassis, married Count John Šubić. Several influential noblemen of Trogir, including George Šubić, the count of Šibenik, acted as guarantors of the marriage, confirming that John would not leave Sača after the marriage, imposing high financial penalty if he does so. By September, Stane became the captain of Trogir. This marriage suggests that the two branches of the Šubići family settled their disputes. *Monumenta Traguriensia* vol. I/2, 170-1, June 19, 1277; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 165; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 224-5; Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića," 52; Rački, "Notae," 215, September 5, 1277.

[411] … *prepositi ecclesie de Grogorissa Zagrabiensis diocesis et canonici Jerusolimitani*. CDC VI, 168, May 4, 1276. John was a member of canons serving in the church dedicated to Saint Mary in Glogovica. Although Templars had properties in the area, the church was part of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. For Glogovica, see: Dobronić, *Templari i Ivanovci*, 91-2.

[412] Farlati was unsure if he was even the bishop of Trogir. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 202-3. Ivan Lucić stated that Columban "passed his episcopal position to John," which is impossible, but he probably meant that Columban resigned and John was then appointed. The author called John the provost of Gregorissa in the bishopric of Zagreb and a canon of Jerusalem. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 248-9.

[413] CDC VI, 204-5, June 23, 1277.

admonishing the chapter for not accepting the bishop.[414] John's appointment came during the short pontificate of Innocent V, which could help explain the problems that the bishop had with his local community and the need for John XXI to repeat the appointment. Despite Farlati's claim that John was not recognized as the bishop of Trogir, local source mentioned John as the bishop from September 1277,[415] while in November 1279 he even organized the transfer of Columban's body from Italy and the burial of the predecessor in the cathedral of Trogir.[416]

One possible answer is that John still did not assume his office, but instead acted as the representative of King Charles I of Naples. When the commune of Trogir proceeded to confirm the text of the peace, stating that they are ready to sign a similar peace with Šibenik, they cited that they are doing it because of their respect toward King Charles and Count Peter. In addition, conditions of the peace stipulated that if they were broken, an indemnity payment would be made to King Ladislas of Hungary-Croatia. This reveals that King Charles was actively working on calming the conflicts among the cities and stabilizing Ladislas's reign.[417]

Furthermore, the reason for John's omission in Farlati's and Lucić's narrative was probably due to John being often absent from his diocese. In fact, John was listed as a person of high importance and trust by King Charles of Naples.[418] In August 1279 the king gave an order for the transfer of his representatives to Dalmatia, including Bishop John of Trogir (*dilectus consiliarius et familiaris*).[419] In September 1279 Bishop John, now a beloved advisor, retainer and loyal royal

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[414] CDC VI, 188-9, March 11, 1277; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 307.
[415] Rački, "Notae," 215, September 5, 1277; also, see: CDC VI, 292, April 23, 1279.
[416] After his resignation, Columban decided to remain in Italy where he died. Bishop John organized the transfer of Columban's body to Trogir. Rački, "Notae," 216, November 6, 1279; *Monumenta Traguriensia*, vol. I/2, 232-3, November 18, 1279.
[417] For a different opinion, see: Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 278-86. Lucić placed emphasis on the role of Count Peter of the islands of Hvar and Brač, assuming that he was either subordinated to King Charles and leading the allied navy – the one established in September 1274 and intended to fight the pirates of Omiš - that Charles employed to help Split and Šibenik besiege Trogir during the war. Furthermore, Bishop John's role was solely to conclude a peace treaty with Peter, after Charles's navy had helped instilling fear into the citizens of Trogir. Of course, this is all a speculation on the part of Ivan Lucić, but it is worth pointing out that he was not aware that Bishop John of Trogir often served King Charles in diplomatic missions to the Hungarian court. Damir Karbić added that the Neapolitan Angevins established first contacts with the Šubići around 1274, as part of their strategy against Byzantium and in order to ensure safe passage of the Neapolitan navy in the Adriatic sea. Karbić, "Diplomacy of the Šubići," 126-7.
[418] John's rank was reflected in the royal grant of clothes. In order to show their high status and the connections to the Angevin court, King Charles esured that the members of his *familia* receive new clothes every year. CDC VI, 260, November 2, 1278.; MDE I, 60-1; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 190-1.
[419] Other individuals were John (*prepositus Ungarie*) and *magister* Matheus Galardus (*fideles Regis*). Probably the same *Johannes Prepositus Ungarie* mentioned as the representative (*nuntius*) of the Hungarian king back in 1268 and 1269, but now in the service of the Neapolitan king. MDE I, 4, 1268; Peričić, "Zadar u doba prvih veza s Anžuvincima," 254. CDC VI 309, August 7, 1279; 309, August 8, 1279; MDE I, 64-5.

servant (*dilecti consiliarii, familiaris et fidelis nostri*), asked Charles to release two noblemen from the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, which the king granted.[420] Therefore, it can be assumed that John, perhaps native to the diocese of Zagreb or simply obtaining a benefice there, was appointed by the pope due to his close connections to the Angevin Neapolitan court. Charles I seems to have relied on the military orders to maintain ties with Hungary and since John of Glogovica was a member of a military order, he was a natural ally to promote Charles's policies in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia as an extension of the royal eastern policy.[421] Therefore, John did not act as the bishop of Trogir in June 1277, instead subordinating his position in favour of the peace treaty and acting as the representative of King Charles.

In the communal palace in Split in May 1277 a different scene occurred during the appointment of the peace representatives of Split. The entire city council with the members of the ecclesiastical elite gathered, including the archbishop, the archdeacon and the primicerius and the entire cathedral chapter, Abbot George of the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines, and Abbess Stana of the nunnery of Saint Benedict.[422] The gathered assembly agreed to accept the mediation of the count of Šibenik, George I Šubić,[423] and the two citizens of Zadar, Preste (Silvestre) de Cotopagna[424] and Domaldus de Zadulinis,[425] who acted as arbiters and proceeded to conclude the peace treaty between Trogir and Split on 30 June 1277.[426]

The peace treaty[427] revealed the core of the conflict: the division of lands between the two communes and bishoprics. It was stated that the commune of Trogir had to return all the properties belonging to the archbishopric, cathedral chapter, monasteries and churches of Split. These properties were granted to Trogir after the Mongol invasion and who now had to return them to

[420] The king ordered the castellan of Trani to release Nicholas, the son of comes Falcassus, and Stephen, the son of Ban Stephen. CDC VI, 312, September 25, 1279; MDE I, 63.
[421] For the history on the relations between the Angevins and the military orders, see: Carraz, "Pro servitio maiestatis nostre," 28-9; Ricci, "Insediamenti templari sulla costa adriatica," 107-16.
[422] CDC VI, May 20, 1277, 201-3
[423] George Šubić, the brother of Paul and the count of Šibenik (1267-1303) and later of Trogir (1281-1304). Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 178, 180; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 41-5.
[424] He was the *podestà* of Trogir during the wartime (1274-75), and it is difficult to call him a strong Šubići supporter. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 53.
[425] Already then or later at the end of 1280s and during the 1290s one of the main Šubići sympathiser in Zadar. During the 1290s he carried out trade between Zadar and the Neapolitan Kingdom and was often employed as the diplomatic representative of the Šubići to the Neapolitan court. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 50-2, 57; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 57, 60, 70, 288-9.
[426] For the full peace treaty, see: CDC VI, 206-11, June 30, 1277.
[427] Sources were not preserved regarding a separate peace treaty with Šibenik. Lucić presumed that by August 1277 Šibenik and Trogir signed a treaty with the help of mediators from Zadar. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 287-9.

their original owners. All the official acts stating that these properties belong to Trogir were declared void. The private properties of the citizens of Split located within the district of Trogir were given to Trogir, while, as compensation for their loss, the citizens of Split obtained the possessions of the citizens of Trogir found in the district of Split. Since Split had more properties in the district of Trogir than vice versa, the commune of Trogir also had to pay reparations to Split.[428] The only territory received by the commune of Split was the island of Saint Stephen.[429]

As shown, the ultimate winner of the wars during the 1270s was the archbishopric of Split. The clergy appeared united behind Archbishop John during the peace treaty in 1277 showing support of the Church of Split for the actions of returning the rights and properties back to the archbishopric. The possessions of the Church of Split were returned, although the citizens of Split did not fare so well. Likewise, the peace treaty settled any potential reasons why the Church of Split would support the establishment of the independent bishopric of Šibenik. In my opinion the peace treaty also indicated the level of influence that the archbishop had in his local community. He was able to unite his entire clergy and to influence the treaty itself, gaining considerably more than the commune itself.

The other major winners were the Šubići. Besides further increasing their influence in Šibenik, which was tied with the support to the independent bishopric, the Šubići were able to use their military victory to install Mladen I, the brother of Paul, as the *podestà* of Trogir in 1276. Mladen then replaced his brother Paul as the count of Split (r.1277-1301), while another brother, George I, the count of Šibenik, became the count of Trogir (r.1281-1304), probably in order to ensure that both cities were pacified. Therefore, by the end of the 1270s and at the beginning of the 1280s, the Šubići were able to consolidate and impose their rule over most of Croatia-Dalmatia.[430] During the 1280s the Šubići further increased their power in Croatia-Dalmatia, which included being appointed as counts in all important cities, maintaining a network of clients among the local patricians who would retain positions of *podestà* in the cities controlled by the Šubići or serve as envoys for the family. Even the citizens of Zadar, which was under Venice, were often found in the Šubići service.

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[428] By 1280 the sum of 3000 silver marks was paid. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 539, fol. 280-84, August 20 – 10 November 1280; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 287-8.

[429] The decision regarding the church and land of Saint Peter in Klobučić and Bistrica was left to the king to decide, who granted it to the commune and the bishopric of Trogir. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 539, fol. 279-279'; *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 287.

[430] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 51-4.

In the context of the growing Šubići power and with the Church of Split settling its disputes with Trogir, Archbishop John changed his position on the bishopric of Šibenik. The major problem is represented by the lack of sources. What is known comes from John's words in 1287. John used the presence of Bishop Philip of Fermo, the papal legate, who passed Dalmatia[431] on his way to Buda, probably in late 1278 or early 1279[432] to revoke the archiepiscopal confirmation and reinforce the excommunication of illegaly appointed Bishop Paul of Šibenik. Philip's later actions were concentrated on extending his support to the local bishops in limiting the influence of the laymen over the Church and the clergy, not even fearing direct secular attacks, so his help to John should be interpreted in that context.

Could it be that John turned to the papal legate to gain support in his precarious position towards the Šubići? It should be noted that, despite the peace treaty, the conflicts between Split, Šibenik and Trogir did not subside. Disputes arose during 1281-1282 but it seems that the reasons were of secular nature: border disputes between the communes.[433] Other actions that John employed during this period are unknown. At some point during or before 1285 Split even came into conflict with *Ban* Paul Šubić. In April the *ban* ordered the commune of Trogir to send some men to help in fighting against Split. The commune reluctantly accepted after convening a general assembly, attended by the representatives of the Church, including Bishop Gregory, representatives of the cathedral chapter and all the important monasteries.[434] It seems that in the situations which influenced both the ecclesiastical and secular institutions, a need arose to reach a consensus between the members of the commune and the clergy, as was previously the case in Split in 1277 and now in Trogir in 1285.[435]

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[431] *Saders bî dem mer* was mentioned as the port in which Philip disembarked on his way to Hungary in the contemporary *Steirische Reimchronik* (The Styrian Chronicle) and which Lorenzo Lozzi Gallo connects to Zadar. Although, the *Reimchronik* should be used cautiously as the same chronicle then mentions in 1290 a non-existent Archbishop Philip of Zadar as the relative of King Andrew III and a member of the royal council. Gallo, "The City of Zara," 90-2; "Zara e Pola," 19-23.

[432] In September 1278 Pope Nicholas III (r.1277-80) commissioned Philip as the papal legate for Poland, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Lodomeria, Galicia and Cumania. Eubel I, 249. He arrived to Hungary at the end of February 1279. MES II, 75. In summer 1281 Philip was freed from the Cuman captivity and has left the kingdom. For his activities, see: Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 171-183.

[433] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 294-300.

[434] Archdeacon Gervasius, Paul the abbot of the monastery of Saint John of Trogir, Ugrin, the monk of the same monastery, Friar Mauro and Friar Thomas from the Dominican order, Friar Stephen, the guardian of the Franciscans and Friar Luke, also Franciscan order.

[435] CDC VI, 525-6, April 15, 1285.

It seems that Bishop Paul of Šibenik died sometime at the beginning of 1287, which probably raised hopes of the bishop of Trogir to restore his control over the rebellious parish. In March 1287 Bishop Gregory invited Archbishop John to arrive to Trogir and to provide his account of the past events in front of the leading men of the commune of Trogir gathered in the episcopal palace. The archbishop stated that secular pressure forced him to confirm the election of the new bishop of Šibenik, even though this action meant nothing because only the pope could establish a new bishopric. Lastly, John emphasized the status of Šibenik as an *oppidum et castrum*, instead of a *civitas*, and therefore the city's subordination, together with its clergy, to the Church of Trogir.[436]

Archbishop John's insistence on the secular pressure and on confirming the exclusive right of the pope to establish new dioceses, must be put into the context of the bishop of Trogir's planned trip in March 1287 to the Roman Curia.[437] The bishop of Trogir even obtained the financial support from the commune,[438] but several days later the representatives of the count of Trogir and Šibenik and of *Ban* Paul arrived to Trogir and threatened the commune and the bishop regarding the planned trip.[439] Since Pope Honorius (r.1285-1287) died on 3 April, it is most likely that the bishop remained in Trogir. Therefore, the archbishop of Split no longer supported the independent bishopric of Šibenik, even lending his support to the bishop of Trogir. Being in the position of complete control over the secular authority in Trogir and entire Croatia, the Šubići resorted to directly threaten the commune and the bishop.

The almost one-year papal vacancy postponed any discussion, which was reinvigorated during 1288. Following the death of Paul, a new bishop of Šibenik was elected, during 1287 or 1288, by the name of Leonard Faletro, the rector of the church of Saint Angel in Venice.[440] The

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[436] CDC VI, 580-2, March 20, 1287; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 209-10

[437] The idea that the popes had the exclusive right to establish new bishoprics developed during the eleventh century and can be summed by the words of Pope Urban II (r.1088-99) who stated that *solius etenim apostolici est episcopates coniungere, coniunctos disiungere, aut etiam novos construere*. The claim that only the pope can establish, revoke and divide dioceses found its way into the Gratian's *Decretum* and was further reinforced by Pope Innocent III (r.1198-1216) who stated that new bishoprics can be united or divided only with a special dispensation obtained from the pope. Picasso, "Erezione, traslazione, unione di diocesi," 664-5.

[438] *Detur episcopo duana becaria pro itinere contra Sibenicum*. Rački, "Notae," 216, March 12, 1287.

[439] George I Šubić was both the count of Šibenik (r.1267-1303) and of Trogir (r.1281-1304). The commune's response was to elect representatives which were then directed to go to the count and also to Ban Paul Šubić, but also decided to set up watchers to oversee the protection of Trogir. Rački, "Notae," 217, March 24, 1287; CDC VI, 583, March 25, 1287. Granić, "Jadranska politika Šubića," 55-6; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 178.

[440] From April 1287 until February 1288 the Apostolic See was vacant. Therefore, it is curious to find Leonard Faletro in Rome in November 1287. He was tasked by the archbishop of Dubrovnik, Bonaventura de Parma (r.1281-96), to obtain a loan for the archbishop. It is unknown if this situation was connected with Leonard's appointment as the bishop of Šibenik but his contacts and travelling across the Adriatic would help to explain how he came into contacts with the Šubići. CDC VI, 603-4, November 21, 1287.

argument that the Šubići and the clergy of Šibenik were open to any means necessary in obtaining the confirmation of the new bishopric can be corroborated with their actions in 1288. The clergy sent letters to the pope stating that Šibenik had the right to its own bishopric because it was the heir of the destroyed cathedral chapter of Morinje.[441] In this regard, no new diocese would be created, but the bishopric would merely be reestablished. This was a bizzare story as it seems that the clergy of Šibenik wanted to trick the pope into believing that there existed the bishopric of Morinje.[442] Due to an attack, this bishopric moved its center to Šibenik, where Leonard was elected, while the bishop in Trogir attempted to usurp Leonard's title. This was a rather serious claim, as it implied that the clergy of Trogir usurped the position from Šibenik and that the bishop of Trogir lacked legitimacy.

During September 1288 the pope appointed a three-member-committe to investigate, consisting of Bishop Marcel of Nin (c.1284-1291), Archdeacon James of Split and the abbot of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar.[443] Archdeacon James was able to notice that the communal notary of Split, tasked to transcribe the papal charter, deliberately changed parts of it to favour Šibenik, and has ordered the notary to correct his mistake.[444] It is unclear who influenced the notary to make changes, but it should be stressed that the *comes* of Split was Mladen Šubić, whose family actively supported the establishment of the bishopric of Šibenik.

During June 1288 Paul Šubić and his brothers Mladen and George congratulated Nicholas IV for his election as the pope and promised to fight the heresy in Dalmatia.[445] While it is unclear what was meant by "heresy"[446] historians emphasized that the Šubići probably had good contacts with Nicholas, since the pope was previously the Provincial General of the Franciscan order in Slavonia (1272-74), but the problem is that he did not spend any time in his province.[447] It is likely

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[441] According to the clergy of Šibenik, the cathedral chapter of Morinje was located near Šibenik and was destroyed by the "Greek heretics." The rights over this chapter were claimed by both the clergy of Trogir and Šibenik. Most authors considered this story a fabrication, while it is stated that some medieval charters mentioned the existence of the monastery of Morinje. Zelić, "Šibenske crkve," 800; Krnčević, "Novija istraživanja srednjovjekovnih arheoloških lokaliteta šibenskog kraja," 33-4.

[442] This course of action would not be a first time, since in 1254 the clergy of Šibenik already attempted to deceive the pope into believing that Šibenik was a bishopric lacking a bishop. See earlier.

[443] For the charter, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 456-9, September 26, 1288; *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, n.366; CDC VI, 616-7; Dujmović, "Postanak i razvitak Šibenika," 63.

[444] CDC VI, 641-3, March 26 – April 7, 1289; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 315-21.

[445] *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, n.7057, June 16, 1288.

[446] Possible answers were given by Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 348-9.

[447] Žugaj, "Hrvatska biskupija," 97; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 330-1. While Nicholas was probably familiar with the situation in the Franciscan province of Slavonia, he did not have enough time to establish good relations with the

that the letter was sent as means to establish direct contacts between the Šubići and the pope and to impede the threats of appeal to the Curia expressed by the bishop of Trogir and the archbishop of Split in 1287. This is visible from the fact that several months after receiving the letter the pope decided to appoint a separate committee to investigate the case of Morinje. While no additional sources about the situation regarding Morinje exist, suggesting that the story was suppressed, it is clear that the high-ranking clergy of the archbishopric of Split was strongly against the establishment of the new bishopric.

During the provincial synod of 1292 an order was issued that no bishop-suffragan can intrude into other dioceses. Although no bishop was specified during the synod, the same issue was discussed in 1293 when Bishop Gregory of Trogir directly complained to the gathered prelates about the activities of Bishop Nicholas of Skradin (c1292-c1303), from a diocese closest to Šibenik. Nicholas was accused of performing episcopal duties in Šibenik and violating the prerogatives of the bishop of Trogir. Gregory went even further by directly accusing Archbishop John of knowing about this and even authorizing it. Judging by John's letter to Nicholas, the bishop of Skradin and *Ban* Paul visited the archbishop recently, most likely to exert pressure on him, following which the archbishop was accosted by both the clergy and citizens of Split and Trogir. The suffragan-bishops who gathered in Split for the provincial synod in 1293 then urged the archbishop to warn Nicholas not to infringe in the matters of Šibenik.[448]

An additional layer for understanding John's actions, besides being pressured by the Šubići, must be sought in him seeking ecclesiastical support when undertaking important actions. This is evident from the gathering of the entire clergy of Split during the peace talks with Trogir in 1277, the presence of Cardinal-Legate Philip in 1278/79, as well as the archbishop's public speech in 1287. On the other hand, the two synods of 1292 and 1293 occured during the papal vacancy. In April 1292 Pope Nicholas IV died, while the papal conclave was locked in bitter dispute over who to elect. This meant that the archbishop of Split could not turn to the pope for support. Yet the combination of secular and ecclesiastical support could have persuaded the archbishop to take a stronger stand and warn the bishop of Skradin.

Šubići because immediately upon his election as the Provincial General, Nicholas was sent as the papal legate to Constantinople to discuss the Church union with the Byzantine emperor. Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV*, 35-48.
[448] CDC VII, 139-40, May 12, 1293.

As was shown, in their attempts to establish the independent bishopric of Šibenik the Šubići lacked access to the Papal Curia, as well as the support from the local Church. The change in elevating Šibenik as a bishopric was connected to the unstable political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia during the 1290s. The Šubići attempted to overcome the instability by forming an alliance with the Neapolitan Angevins. But the main context for understanding the change can be provided by analyzing the expansion of the papal powers and their application to the dioceses of Croatia-Dalmatia. This is discussed in the next chapter.

III.1.2. Popes, Interventions and Episcopal Appointments in Zadar

Croatian researchers tended to overestimate the role played by the Apostolic See in the succession dispute in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia between Andrew III (r.1290-1301) and the Angevins of Naples.[449] Since the popes were viewed as the key Angevin supporters, so too were the changes in the occupants of the episcopal offices of Split and Zadar understood in the context of the papacy removing and appointing (arch)bishops in order to promote the candidates of Naples. In these discussions, the focus was mostly on appointments in Split and Šibenik, while Zadar was simply glanced over by a simple statement that changes there were probably connected with the struggle for the throne, ignoring the fact that Zadar was part of the Republic of Venice, and not Hungary-Croatia. This view was rightly criticised by Andreas Kissewetter who concentrated on observing the involvement of the popes in the Angevin struggle. He concluded that the Apostolic See could not intervene against Andrew III, as he was legitimately crowned and internationally recognized ruler and proceded to view the papal actions in Split and Šibenik as incidental.[450] During the period from the 1290s until the 1320s there was an unprecedented level of papal involvement in Zadar and its bishopric-suffragans, but very limited involvement in the archbishopric of Split and its suffragans, which goes contrary to the argument that the popes intervened in local episcopal elections in favour of the Angevins. It is therefore necessary to carefully re-evaluate the episcopal appointments in these archbishoprics and observe the papal position and involvement in these elections by taking into consideration the local circumstances and the changing practices in the rules on canonical elections.

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[449] Tkalčić, "Borba naroda hrvatskoga za anžovinsku kuću," 1-34; Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko*, 3-49; Dokoza, "Papinska diplomacija i dolazak anžuvinske dinastije," 271-84.
[450] Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 139-98.

Lawrence was last time mentioned as the archbishop of Zadar in late June 1287.[451] Andrew Gausoni was elected as his successor probably during the second half of 1287 as he is regularly mentioned in the local sources from January 1288 until October 1290.[452] While Andrew was a *magister* and a canon of the cathedral chapter of Padua for decades (since c.1263), he also held the post of rector in the church of Saint Mary and Donat on the island of Murano (c.1265-c.1288), suggesting local ecclesiastical contacts. He was also from an old and distinguished, but not necessarily influential, family from Venice.[453]

In 1268 the ecclesiastical contacts and family position ensured that Andrew was elected as the archbishop of Dubrovnik, another part of the Venetian Stato da Màr. Andrew was elected after the previous archbishop was transferred to another see, but since there was a papal vacancy Andrew had to wait for a confirmation. It seems that despite Andrew turning to local Venetian clergy for support, he was too slow in seeking proper confirmation from the pope, who decided to appoint another person as the archbishop.[454] Since Dubrovnik, same as Zadar, accepted the authority of Venice, the city was forced to sign a contract with the Serenissima (1232), stating that the archbishops had to be elected from the clergy of Venice.[455] Therefore, it can be assumed that in Dubrovnik and in Zadar Andrew owed his election due to his background and ecclesiastical connections, but it is unclear how much familial or political ties played a role.

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[451] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 84; CDC, 593, June 29, 1287.

[452] Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 106, January 12, 1288; *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* I, 49, April 1288; CDC VI, January 1, 1289; CDC VI, 629, January 6, 1289; 631, January 12, 1289; 656, July 19, 1289; 665, July 27, 1289; 687, February 15, 1290; 695, May 14, 1290; CDC VII, 5, October 11, 1290.

[453] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* VI, 111-2; CDC VII, CDC VII, 19, (before) February 10, 1291; Sorelli, "Gli ordini mendicanti" [no pages]; The Gausoni family had a seat in the Venetian Great Council after the Serrata in 1297. Merores, "Der große Rat von Venedig," 33-113.

[454] Following the transfer of Archbishop Aleardus of Dubrovnik to Arboreo in Sardinia in November 1268, Andrew was elected by the cathedral chapter of Dubrovnik. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 101, 411, November 3, 1268. Since there was a papal vacancy, the chapter and Andrew turned to Philip Fontana, the archbishop of Ravenna (r.1251-74). Philip was appointed by Pope Clement IV (r.1265-68) as the papal legate in charge of Northern Italy and also Ragusa, with widespread authority probably in order to organize a coalition against Conrad (r.1254-68), who was trying to reclaim the Kingdom of Sicily (VMS I, 91-2, July 8, 1267; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 415; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 264). Philip granted Andrew the right to administer the Church of Dubrovnik in spiritual and temporal affairs as the vicar. (CDC V, 490, April 30, 1269; 531, April 30, 1270). With the election of Pope Gregory X (r.1271-76), Andrew received in August 1272 a one-month deadline to seek confirmation or renounce his election. In March 1273 he sought support from several high-ranking prelates of Venice, the vicar of the bishop of Castello and several rectors of local churches, who acted as witnesses while Andrew transcribed the papal bull. He probably wanted to strengthen his claim as he planned to send his messenger (*nuntius*) to the Papal Curia (*Priručnik* II, 563, August 28, 1272; CDC VI, 23-4, March 31, 1273). Present was Leonard Faletro, the rector of the Saint Angel, who was appointed as the bishop of Šibenik in 1287. Soon Andrew renounced his position and the pope appointed another candidate. The pope stated that the chapter did not acquire the necessary confirmation from the Apostolic See, as the previous election came after the transfer of Aleardus (VMS I, 93-4, December 9, 1276).

[455] Although, unlike in Zadar, not confirmed by the patriarch of Grado. Krekić, *Unequal Rivals*, 9-12.

Like in Dubrovnik, Andrew was also unsuccessful in Zadar as some members of the cathedral chapter complained to their spiritual superior in Grado against Andrew's election. But the true reasons can be observed in the desire of the Apostolic See to be more involved in episcopal appointments in the local Churches, even when they were not directly subordinated to the papacy, as in case of Zadar. The popes accomplished this by claiming the appointments of the patriarchs of Grado. The patriarchs were usually recruited from the members of esteemed Venetian families and they had to confirm the newly elected archbishop of Zadar, so the weakening of the patriarchs' authority could have weakened the Venetian control over Zadar.

After Patriarch Guido of Grado (r.1278-88) died, the local cathedral chapter elected Boniface, a Dominican friar, but he quickly resigned his post. The voters of Grado then gave Pope Nicholas IV (r.1288-92) the authority to elect and in December 1289 the pope appointed Lawrence de Parma (r.1289-96), another Dominican friar.[456] The uncertainty regarding the vacant patriarchate, during which time the large diocese was managed by a vicar, created problems in confirmations of elections by (arch)bishop-suffragans of Grado. For instance, Bishop-elect Maynardus of Torcello already received the confirmation from the vicar of the patriarch-elect, while Bishop Leonard of Chioggia from the patriarch-elect himself. Both resigned their posts and the pope appointed their successors.[457] The vacancy in Grado better explains the problems in Zadar[458] and its suffragan bishopric of Krk,[459] where disputed elections also occurred and both cases devolved to the Apostolic See. The pope followed the same pattern as in the elections in Grado, Torcello and Chioggia, by having the elected candidates resign. Nicholas IV, himself a

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[456] Lawrence was the chaplain of Cardinal-deacon Benedict Gaetani (r.1284-91), better known under his later name as Pope Boniface VIII. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 10, 266, December 22, 1289; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 356, 362; Ughelli, *Italia sacra* V, 1139, 1214.

[457] In Chioggia the candidate of the chapter Percival did not accept the election, while the patriarch-elect of Grado tried to provide Leonard, the rector of the church of Saint Eustachius of Venice, against which the canons appealed to the Apostolic See. The pope appointed his chaplain Alero to Torcello, and a Franciscan friar Henry to Chioggia. Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 361-2, September 16, 1290; *Bullarium Franciscanum* IV, 175-6.

[458] The pope narrated in his bull that Andrew Gausoni was elected, but some unidentified and unsatisfied members of the chapter complained to the patriarch of Grado, who decided to pass on the case to the pope and his auditor. In the end, Andrew renounced his claim directly into the papal hands.

[459] Following the death of Bishop Marin (c.1271-c.1289) the cathedral chapter was divided in votes between two locals, a Dominican friar Zachary and a Franciscan friar John of Vegla. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 301.

Franciscan friar, then proceeded to appoint John of Anagni in Zadar[460] and Lambert in Krk,[461] both Franciscan friars and connected with the Apostolic See.

The pope was involved in cases which fell under the papal jurisdiction and which were viewed as more important to the Apostolic See. Appointments in the bishoprics of Osor and Rab were left to the metropolitan in Zadar,[462] while the pope appointed the bishop of Krk and the archbishop of Zadar since they fell under the papal prerogatives of episcopal transfer and death at the Curia. After transferring John of Zadar to Trani and Lambert of Krk to Aquino, both in 1297, Pope Boniface VIII appointed Henry from Todi to Zadar, and Matthew in Krk.[463] Both prelates died at the Curia: Henry in 1299 and Matthew in 1302. The pope proceeded to again appoint their successors: James from Foligno in Zadar, and Thomas in Krk.[464]

While it is hard to make decisive conclusions based on the origins of the newly appointed archbishops, Todi and Foligno were close to each other, and James of Foligno later spent some time in the Franciscan friary in Todi. It is possible that James and Henry both originated from the same monastery. Todi was a place closely connected to Pope Boniface VIII, who at one point lived there and during his pontificate was appointed the *podestà* of Todi, so Boniface could have met the two prelates there.[465] It is more likely that James and Henry were suggested to the pope by one

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[460] John's name points to him originating from Anagni, a well-known residence of the popes during the thirteenth century. Federico Bianchi added that John was probably from a Franciscan friary in Zadar and that he and Pope Nicholas were close friends. According to Bianchi John followed the pope during his stay in Dalmatia. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 210; Žugaj, "Hrvatska biskupija," 97; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 330-1. John of Anagni was listed as the Franciscan Minister Provincial of Slavonia between 1288 and 1291. Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevaca konventualaca," 42, 101.

[461] Lambert probably had prior contacts with the Apostolic See, which earned him his appointment. During his episcopate, Lambert had easier access to the papal court obtaining a number of privileges, before receiving additional promotions. Pope Boniface VIII appointed Lambert as the *vicarious urbis*, the papal vicar in spiritual care of the city of Rome, while the same pope transferred Lambert to the richer bishopric of Aquino, which was closer to Rome and directly subordinated to the pope. CDC VI, 691-2, March 8, 1290; *Bullarium Franciscanum* IV, 140-1; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 301-2; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 359; CDC VII, 2, August 23, 1290; CDC VII, 3, September 13, 1290; CDC VII, 78, March 4, 1292; CDC VII, 247, July 21, 1296; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 99, 518.

[462] CDC VII, 209-210, October 2, 1295. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 101; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 197-98, 244.

[463] CDC VII, 283-4, June 18, 1297. There was no mention of papal appointment in the case of Matthew. This is my supposition based on the fact that Lambert was transfered and that in the case of transfers the pope would proceed to appoint the successor. Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 278-9.

[464] CDC VII, 343-4, June 15, 1299, *Bullarium Franciscanum* IV, 487-8; CDC VIII, 31-2, August 13, 1302; *Bullarium Franciscanum* IV, 557-8; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 409-11.

[465] Menestò, "Bonifacio VIII e Todi," 21-58; Quaglioni, *Storia della Chiesa: La crisi del Trecento e il papato avignonese*, 131.

of the cardinals. In the papal bulls of appointment, Boniface used the term *ad/de fratrum nostrorum consilio/um*, which was a term implying mediation from the cardinals.[466]

Immediately after his appointment by Pope Nicholas IV (1291), John was consecrated by the pope and granted the pallium.[467] On the other hand, Pope Boniface VIII appointed Henry and James, but the two archbishops were consecrated in Rome by Matthew of Aquasparta, the cardinal-bishop of Porto-Santa Rufina (1291-1302) and the Minister General of the Franciscans who entered the order at Todi.[468] The cardinal was closely alligned with the pope so it was probably he who suggested Henry and James as the candidates for the archbishopric of Zadar.[469] The Franciscan connection is more noted by the fact that both Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII were inclined toward the order.[470] The Franciscans were viewed as the ideal mediators in local disputes and potential allies in struggle against heretics, while working on expanding papal privilegies.[471] Michael Robson noted an increase in numbers of Franciscans being appointed as bishops across Christendom as in the 1280s there were 23 compared to 36 in the 1290s.[472]

Farlati claimed that after 1291 the cathedral chapter lost the right to appoint archbishops, and that instead from that point onwards the pope appointed archbishops. His view was followed by Bianchi who added that this was done with the mediation of the Republic of Venice.[473] Yet none of this is correct. The chapter did gather on ocassions during the fourteenth century to try to elect archbishops, but popes were the ones who appointed their associates, who had no ties to Venice. According to the contracts between Venice and Zadar, the archbishops had to be Venetians who would be confirmed and consecrated by the patriarch of Grado. After 1291 the archbishops came from the Papal States, were appointed by the pope, consecrated by him or the cardinals and granted pallium from the cardinals. Thus, the papal involvement invalidated the agreements between Venice and Zadar. Andrew's resignation and the papal appointment of the new archbishop

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[466] This term was used since the pontificate of Pope Celestine III (r.1191-98) and came to refer to the papal decisions which were being decided on the suggestion of the cardinals. Robinson, "The institutions of the Church," 427-8.

[467] CDC VII, 20, February 10, 1291; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44.

[468] Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 45; CDC VII, 288-289, October 18, 1297; 343-4, June 15, 1299; 345, July 1, 1299.

[469] Gaudemet, *Storia del diritto canonico*, 388.

[470] Nicholas was the minister general of the Order (r.1274-9), and the first friar to become pope, while Boniface was one of the members of the commission to provide an authoritative commentary on the Franciscan Order's Rule. Robson, *Franciscans*, 98.

[471] Tierney, *Foundation of the Conciliar Theory*, XVI.

[472] Robson, *Franciscans*, 106; On popes favouring Fraciscans as bishops, see: Polonio, "Frati in cattedra," 549-501.

[473] Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* V, 84; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 171.

of Zadar led to a prolonged period of exclusion of the patriarchs of Grado from confirming and consecrating the elected archbishops.

III.1.3. A New Archbishop and a New Bishopric

While the cases from Zadar show the gradual promotion of papal interests in the archbishopric of Zadar, the papal intervention in Split was connected with local ecclesiastical disputes and the Angevin struggle for the throne of Hungary-Croatia. In my opinion, the Neapolitan Angevins lacked influential allies in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, while the Šubići lacked direct access to the Apostolic See in order to have Šibenik elevated to the status of a bishopric. These relations were promoted during the 1290s when the Šubići were able to utilize their contacts with the Angevins and be recognized as valuable papal allies.[474]

As stated earlier, the major obstacle in establishing the bishopric of Šibenik was the opposition of the leading personnel of the archbishopric of Split, namely Archbishop John and Archdeacon James. Since John died during 1294, James succeeded him by September.[475] James was elected during the papal vacancy, following the death of Nicholas IV (April 1292 and July 1294), or during the short but problematic pontificate of Celestine V (July-December 1294) which probably caused problems for James to seek papal confirmation in time. At least that was later claimed by Pope Boniface VIII (r.1294-1303), who stated that the election was not done according to the rules and that James waited too long to ask for a confirmation.[476] While acknowledging the legal basis for James's removal, I believe that the actual reasons for his rejection by the pope can be understood by considering the political context of the period.

By May 1297 James submitted his resignation to Cardinal-Bishop Gerard Bianchi (c.1220-1302), an important cardinal with close contacts to the Neapolitan Angevins.[477] Instead, the pope

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[474] For this opinion, see: Petrović, "Papal Power, Local Communities and Pretenders," 11-31; For a different opinion, see: Karbić, "Uloga bribirskih knezova u osnutku šibenske biskupije," 53-62. The case of Šibenik can be compared with an example from 1288 of the elevation of the city of Sava (Sappa) to the status of bishopric in the *Regnum Albaniae*. The diocese was for a long time vacant as the bishopric was destroyed. New bishop was elected and a confirmation was asked from the metropolitan, the archbishop of Bar, who petitioned the pope. More importantly, the new bishopric had support of Helen of Anjou (c.1236-1314), the queen of Serbia and one of the main papal ally in the region who actively promoted Catholicsm. Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 155.

[475] CDC VII, 184-185, September 1, 1294.

[476] CDC VII, 277-8, May 10, 1297.

[477] Created cardinal in 1278, Gerard served for years as the legate in the Kingdom of Naples (1282-1290 and 1299-1301) and ensured the papal interest in its vasal kingdom. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 10. Dunbabin, *French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 103-4. Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers,* 223-57; Silanos, *Gerardo Bianchi*, 151-332.

appointed as archbishop Peter, a Franciscan friar, likewise with close connections to the Angevin royal court in Naples, as he was the chaplain of Queen Mary of Naples. Since the archbishopric of Split was directly subordinated to the Apostolic See, the archbishop was required to go to Rome to petition the pope for a confirmation and the pallium, while the consecration could be conducted by any other bishop. During the 1290s the archbishops of Zadar were all appointed by the pope in Rome and immediately obtained the consecration and pallium, suggesting direct contacts with the Apostolic See. Archbishop Peter was not in Rome when he was appointed, nor did he go there to receive his consecration and pallium. While this may suggest that it was not the pope's desire to install Peter in Split, the pope did act on the request of the Angevins who thought it expedient to have Peter dispatched to Split as soon as possible, with the new archbishop obtaining consecration on his way, and pallium a year later.[478]

This alacrity is understandable if the connections between the Šubići and the Neapolitan Angevins are taken into consideration. A year after Peter's appointment, Šibenik was elevated to the status of bishopric, on the suggestions of Queen Mary of Naples and Count George, the brother of *Ban* Paul Šubić.[479] In a ceremony on the main square accompanied by a number of suffragans, Archbishops Peter and Henry of Zadar announced the papal decision to elevate Šibenik to the rank of a city and a bishopric.[480] In his bull of confirmation Pope Boniface VIII emphasized that the clergy of Šibenik could directly appeal to the pope in cases of episcopal election, therefore bypassing the metropolitan-archbishop of Split. This shows how the pope was interested in connecting the new bishopric to the Apostolic See.

Although sources do not say definitely, the Šubići were probably interested in elevating Šibenik for spiritual reasons, but also to better control the city and the Church's temporal possessions.[481] With the appointment of a favourable person in the archiepiscopal office of Split,

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[478] The permission was issued only 11 days after the appointment. CDC VII, p. 281, May 21, 1297. The pallium was received only a year later. VMS I, 115-6, May 18, 1298.

[479] CDC VII, May 1, 1298. *Šibenski diplomatarij*, 2-8, papal leter was dated to May 1 and it was read in Šibenik in June 23, 1298, CDC VII, 304-5, June 23, 1298; also, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 458-60; Kolanović, "Šibenska Crkva," 65; Barbarić, "Šibenik, šibenska biskupija, šibenski biskupi," 92 ; *Priručnik* II, 617.

[480] The two archbishops appointed Martin, a Franciscan friar from Rab, as the new bishop. Suffragans of Split (Hvar, Nin, Skradin) and Korčula, the suffragan of Dubrovnik, consecrated the new bishop.

[481] This is not visible in the source materials from Šibenik, but can be supposed based on an example from nearby Nin. There in 1302, under Bishop Mark (c1291-c1307), Radoslav Lubačić from Skradin was appointed as the župan (*oficio quod zupanatum vulgariter appelatur*), tasked to oversee the secular possessions of the bishopric. Radoslav was the son of Ljubavac Bratodružev, the judge of Skradin and a supporter of the Šubići. Smiljanić, "O položaju i funkciji župana," 85.

the Šubići gained a considerable influence over the entire province of Split. Peter represented *Ban* Paul during the gathering in Buda when the clergy testified the coronation of Charles with the *corona nova* which was blessed by Legate Gentile.[482] The archbishop also revived some extinguished dioceses,[483] located in areas of the Šubići expansion, while he probably also helped that the Šubići candidates were appointed as bishops to local dioceses, since it was up to the archbishop to confirm the elections of bishop-suffragans.[484] Therefore, in Zadar the popes proceeded to use the local complaints to the Apostolic See to promote the interest of the papacy, while in Split they also reacted to the local appeals, but keeping in mind the interests of the local interest groups and the Neapolitan Angevins.

III.1.4. The Church and the Arrival of the King

With the appointment in Split and the erection of the bishopric of Šibenik, the pope effectively intervened in local ecclesiastical affairs in order to pave the way for Charles Robert, the Angevin pretender, to claim the throne of Hungary-Croatia. This claim found its supporters in older Croatian historiography,[485] while other researchers usually completely omitted the events from their works or downplayed these events.[486] Andreas Kiesewetter pointed out that the popes did not intervene in any other dioceses other than Šibenik and Split, even though Boniface VIII had a chance in Trogir in 1297.[487] This was not due to the lack of interest, but the lack of opportunity and reasons to intervene in the affairs of the suffragans of the archbishop of Split. In the examples from Zadar and Krk, the popes were involved in cases reserved to the papacy or in the cases when a complaint was submitted to Rome. In Split the Apostolic See already appointed its most important prelate, the archbishop, who could use his prerogatives to inspect the elections of suffragan-bishops and ensure that suitable individuals were promoted as bishops.

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[482] CDH VIII/1, 334, June 15, 1309. *Acta legationis Cardinalis Gentilis*, 352, June 29, 1309.
[483] Karbić, "Osnutak duvanjske biskupije," 125-33.
[484] This is mostly connected with the accusation raised by Miha Madijev who accused Ban Mladen Šubić of appointing bishops, abbots and abbesses. It is hard to prove Miha's claim, but it could serve as an example how the contemporaries viewed the relationship between the clerics and the powerful oligarchs. Madijev, "Historija," 175.
[485] Tkalčić, "Borba naroda hrvatskoga za anžovinsku kuću," 1-34. Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvinaca za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko*, 3-49; Dokoza, "Papinska diplomacija i dolazak anžuvinske dinastije," 271-84.
[486] This approach is probably best exemplified by Zoltan Kosztolnyik's remarks where the author simply glosses over these events in one sentence, stating that they are of no importance. Kosztolnyik, "Did the Curia Intervene in the Struggle for the Hungarian Throne," 146; Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 163-4; Kiss, "VIII. Bonifác é Magyarország," 1353-76; Mihalache, "The Holy See's Intervention," 155-164.
[487] Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 165.

This can be corroborated by shortly observing the ecclesiastical situation in Hungary and its connection with political instability. Although the number of episcopal transfers dramatically increased during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, the pope did not use transfers to remove bishops opposed to the Angevins. Instead, the pope intervened in disputed elections and benefited from cases which came under papal prerogatives, such as episcopal transfers or death at the Curia, while in other cases the pope simply waited for his opponents to die and then reserved the election of successors. In this way, papal interference was not seen as an abuse but as enforcing the papal prerogatives regarding the administration of the Church.[488]

In 1298 Gregory Bicskei, the bishop of Győr, was elected as the archbishop of Esztergom. His election was disputed by part of the cathedral chapter, while Gregory also came into conflict with King Andrew, his former patron. The king replaced the archbishop as the royal vice-chancellor and worked at the Papal Curia to replace Gregory in Esztergom with another bishop. The pope did an unusual thing by neither confirming nor rejecting Gregory but instead appointed him as the procurator of the diocese.[489] Gregory soon became the chief proponent of the Angevins and fierce opponent of Andrew, while the high clergy of Hungary, chief supporters of Andrew, consolidated their ranks around Archbishop John of Kalocsa.[490] Gregory's conflict with Andrew could have signaled to both the Šubići and the Apostolic See that the time had come to send Charles Robert to Hungary and use the political crisis to take over the throne.[491] In fact, it was Gregory, together with the Šubići, who went to Naples in 1300 to bring Charles Robert to Hungary. But this all shows that Pope Boniface VIII was eager to intervene, to a degree, in disputes in Hungary in favour of the Angevins.

Prior to the death of King Andrew III, the Apostolic See was careful not to openly advocate for the Angevins. When Charles Robert landed in August 1300 in Split and Andrew dispatched his agents to the Curia, the cardinals were careful to distance the Apostolic See from Charles's

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[488] For instance, Pennington notes that "no publicist, theologian, or lawyer" at the time questioned the papal right of translations. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 100.

[489] For Gregory's appointment: Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 464, January 28, 1299. Rácz, "The Anjou Dynasty," 53-4.

[490] A good example is the *Decretum* of 5 August 1298 when higher clergy, led by John of Kalocsa, together with lesser nobility firmly acknowledged Andrew's reign against any other pretenders or rebels. Bak, *Laws of the Medieval Kingdom* I, 46-50; 114-7. For an overview of the situation with Gregory, see: Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvinaca*, 31-2, 34-5.; Skorka, "Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," 243-4.

[491] As suggested by Skorka, "Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum," 243-60.

action.[492] The situation changed in January 1301 when Andrew died, Charles Robert tried to seize the throne, but was rejected by the majority of the clergy and oligarchs, who instead had their own candidates for the throne.[493] The coronation of Wenceslaus of Bohemia prolonged the succession crisis for years. Pope Boniface VIII expressed his displeasure with coronation, while Cardinal Niccolo Bocassino of Ostia was sent as the legate to Hungary to investigate the situation throughout the kingdom and gather support for Charles Robert.[494]

With the death of Andrew, the pope could act more freely and aggressively in favour of Charles Robert. Following the death of Archbishop John of Kalocsa, who crowned Wenceslaus in August 1301, Pope Boniface VIII decided to reserve both the archbishoprics of Esztergom and Kalocsa, forbidding the elections by the cathedral chapters.[495] Being unaware of the papal reservation, the cathedral chapter of Kalocsa elected Canon Stephen, who received support of Cardinal-Legate Niccolo Bocassino. With the legate's backing, Stephen successfully petitioned the pope which suggested the he was somebody who would support Charles Robert.[496] Since Boniface VIII supported the Angevins and claimed that the throne of Hungary was subject to papal ruling, the pope convened a meeting in 1302/03 in Anagni to decide in the dispute between the Angevins and Wenceslaus. After deliberation Charles Robert was recognized as the legitimate king.[497] Very soon both Pope Boniface VIII and Archbishop Gregory of Esztergom died as a consequence of the attack by pro-French troops on the Papal Curia in Anagni. Since Gregory died at the Apostolic See, the pope could appoint his successor. The first appointments which Pope Benedict XI (Niccolo Bocassino) made were of those clerics that the pope recruited while on his legatine mission in Hungary, showing the importance of the issue for the new pontiff. Michael of Zagreb (r.1296-1303), previously a close supporter of Andrew III, was transferred to the position of the archbishop of Esztergom, while Augustin Kažotić, a Dominican friar from Trogir, became the bishop of Zagreb.[498]

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[492] Andrew's representative was Petrus de Bonzano, an Italian merchant from Tarvisio, who was Andrew's source of information from the Curia at the end of 1300. Zsoldos, "III. András," 220; Homonnai, "III. András hatalmának stabilitása," 63-74.

[493] Burkhardt, "Ungarn zwischen Árpáden und Anjou (1301–1308)," 153-69.

[494] VMH I, 387, October 17, 1301; VMH I, 385, May 15, 1301; CDC VIII, 19, November 8 1301. For his mission, see: Marek, "Missions of Papal Legates," 7-23.

[495] VMH I, November 8, 1301; AkO I, 87-8.

[496] Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 385, May 1, 1302.

[497] AkO I, 214, June 3, 1303; VMH I, 400-1.

[498] VMH I, 406-7, November 4, 1303; 409-10, December 9, 1303; CDC VIII, 60; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 464, 537.

During 1301 and 1302 the official notary charters in Split as well as in other Dalmatian cities (Nin, Šibenik) dated their charters as the kingdom being vacant.[499] Despite the Šubići backing Charles Robert, the communes were probably hesitant to recognize any ruler due to the problems of the legitimacy of the coronation. Once Pope Boniface VIII passed his Anagni decision in mid-1303, the communes included Charles Robert into their datation, but there was still some opposition. Trogir's loss of Šibenik probably meant that the commune and the bishopric were displeased with the Angevins and the papacy. Archbishop Peter, the local representative of the Angevin-Šubići alliance, pressured the commune of Trogir with the penalty of excommunication to start dating their charters with the king's name.[500] It is important to note that Peter did not operate before receiving the papal mandate of recognition of Charles Robert, which reveals that he was not really in the position to openly agitate for Charles Robert's cause.

III.2. Episcopal Power and Authority: The Bishop and the Local Communities

Due to the conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV of France (1285-1314), as well as the short pontificate of Benedict XI, the Apostolic See was under Clement V (r.1305-14) transferred to Avignon. This meant that the papacy was forced out from their core territories in Italy and that problems in Hungary-Croatia seemed rather distant. But Clement and his successors were adamant in ensuring that the papal authority was upheld by employing the services of a series of legates and tasking them with duties in Italy and Hungary.[501]

III.2.1. The Legate and the Bishopric

In 1307 the pope appointed Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore (1240-1312) as the papal legate in Hungary. The cardinal-legate was tasked to break the local opposition of oligarchs and prelates to the proper coronation of Charles Robert as the king. It should be restated that the legate was the pope's alter-ego and Gentile's legatine's powers and ecclesiastical jurisdiction were extensive in order to ensure the success of his mission.[502] On his way to Buda the legate passed through various

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[499] "regno Ungarie sede vacante," CDC VIII, 5, April 14 1301; *Listine* V, 225, April 14, 1301; CDC XX, 303, June 26, 1301; 304, November 6, 1301; CDC XX, 305, December 31, 1301; 307, August 19, 1302; 309, December 31, 1302. The December charters are identical. CDC XX, 311, August 19, 1303; CDC XX, 308, November 21, 1302.

[500] For the period before: CDC VIII, 41-42, 1302-1303; For the threat: CDC VIII, 57, August 22, 1303.

[501] Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 67-76; Manselli, "Il papato avignonese e gli Italiani del Trecento," 73-86; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 32-44.

[502] *Acta legationis Cardinalis Gentilis*, 1-3, August 8, 1307.

archbishoprics and bishoprics of Dalmatia, meeting local ecclesiastical and secular elites. His visit was used by Paul Šubić to strengthen the family's contacts with the Apostolic See, while the local clergy used this opportunity to settle disputes within their dioceses. Since the legate's activities in Croatia-Dalmatia received considerable attention by the historians,[503] I will shortly discuss here what did the legate's visit reveal regarding the management and the development of the episcopal office on the example of the cardinal's short visit to Zadar.

The legate arrived in Zadar in late June of 1308 where he quickly came into conflict with the clergy. Although there are no sources for the start of the conflict, it seems that Gentile wanted to inspect and reform local churches, while the local clergy opposed Gentile's exercise of his legatine authority in Zadar.[504] The legate freely used his power of excommunication, while the local clergy incited an armed mob and openly resisted the legate's proclamations. Since Archbishop James was visiting Todi in Italy, the diocese was led by Bishop George of Rab as the vicar for the spiritual affairs and Paul of Foligno, the vicar for temporal affairs. But Paul, as well as the commune's *podestà*, do not seem to have been involved in these riots and the actual leaders of the opposition were the powerful rectors of important churches of the city, including the dignitaries of the cathedral chapter, who in 1305 resisted to quickly recognize the archbishop's agreement with the commune. In the complaint to the pope, the name of Chrysogonus, the rector of Saint Mary, was listed before the name of Bishop George of Rab, which would suggest that the rector had more authority in the local church than the bishop appointed as the archbishop's vicar.[505]

Since Gentile was in a hurry to go to Buda to persuade the Hungarian nobility to crown Charles Robert, the results in Zadar were inconclusive. But his visit shows the strength of the local clergy and the level of influence held by the rectors of important local churches.

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[503] Gruber, "Djelovanje kardinala Gentila u Hrvatskoj (1308-1311)," 25-34, 35, 65-82; Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i trogirske crkvene prilike," 67-83; "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," 79-98; "Papinski legat Gentil i crkvene prilike u Zadru," 65-79.

[504] The local clergy viewed Gentile as the legate designated for the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, which meant that he had no jurisdiction in the diocese of Zadar, while recognizing as the legate Cardinal Neapoleone Orsini (Ursinus). He was sent by Pope Clement V to Italy in 1305 to serve as the *legatus a latere* to pacify Italy, following the withdrawal of the Curia toward France. It seems that Neapoleone was also in charge of Venetian Dalmatia as he communicated with the clergy of Zadar and its suffragan-bishoprics, but he was too busy with the conflicts in Italy to ever visit Dalmatia. His mission seems to have been a failure as he was recalled in June 1309. CDC VIII, 134, April 23, 1307; 216-8, August 17, 1308. Veronesi, "La legazione del cardinale Napoleone Orsini," 79-133; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 32, 41, 45.

[505] CDC VIII, 191-2, July 29, 1308.

III.2.2. The Rebellion in Zadar (1311-13)

The Šubići found themselves at the centre of the rebellion in Zadar which occurred in 1311. Not only did they maintain connections with the nobility of Dalmatian cities, both from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and from the Republic of Venice, they also built up contacts with the aristocracy in Venice.[506] The contacts between the clergy of Zadar, especially the archbishops, and the Šubići are somewhat harder to attest, but it seems that the Šubići tried to keep good contacts both with the archbishop and some members of the local clergy. For instance, during the episcopate of Archbishop John (r.1291-97) the counts of Šubići - Paul, George and Mladen - arrived to Zadar to show their devotion to the Apostolic See and have left two silver reliquaries to commemorate their visit.[507]

As a direct consequence of the Venetian takeover of Ferrara in 1308, Pope Clement V excommunicated Venice and sent his nephew Arnaud de Pellegrue as the papal legate to Italy to combat the Venetian troops. According to some older historians, Arnaud spent some time in Split during 1310 to ensure that the excommunication against Venice was enforced, but judging by his preocupation with military activities in Italy, the legate never visited Dalmatia.[508] *Ban* Paul Šubić was excommunicated for trading with Venice, but it is unclear when and how was this excommunication announced. Following the rebellion in Zadar in March 1311 and the Šubići takeover of the city, it seems that by June the archbishop of Zadar and the Šubići cooperated and sent letters to the Apostolic Curia. *Ban* Paul wrote to the pope to ask for help, as the *ban* had no ships to fight the Venetians. Unlike the Venetians who tried to seize Ferrara, the *ban* stated that he was always faithful to the Church and has even protected Zadar from the Venetian molestation.[509] The *ban* also petitioned the pope to grant the next vacant position of a canon with a prebend in the diocese of Foligno to Paul, the son of Philipp Massei de Cavalero from Foligno.[510] The two individuals were from the same place as the archbishop of Zadar. Archbishop James was known to favour his compatriots in his episcopal government, but it is hard to say if the petition in some

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[506] Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 292-3; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 49-56.

[507] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 85; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44-5.

[508] For the claim: Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 122-3. For the events in Zadar: Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 435-42; For the legate's activities: Soranzo, *Guerra fra Venezia e la Santa Sede*, 138–60.

[509] CDC VIII, 283, June 16, 1311; Bianchi, Kršćanski Zadar II, 477-9; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 210. Similar letter was sent by King Charles Robert who supported the Šubići and the rebellion. *Listine* I, 258-9, October 10, 1311.

[510] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.6896, June 15, 1311.

way aimed at rewarding individuals who connected the archbishop and the *ban*. Neverthless, just a week later the pope ordered James to absolve *Ban* Paul from excommunication, so it is, therefore, probable that this occurred due to some prior communication between the archbishop, Paul Šubić and the pope.[511]

On the same day when the petition was made for Paul from Foligno, *Ban* Paul also petitioned the pope to award Alexander, the son of John Piscopi from Zadar, with a position of a canon with prebend in the nearby bishopric of Zagreb.[512] Since Alexander was soon elected as the archbishop of Zadar, it seems that Alexander was a person of Paul's trust and also respected in his hometown of Zadar. When Archbishop James died during October 1311, by March 1312 the cathedral chapter elected Alexander as the next archbishop.[513] Alexander quickly obtained the confirmation of his election from the vicar of the patriarch of Grado,[514] the metropolitan of Zadar, while several Dalmatian bishops consecrated the new archbishop. Having his election and confirmation properly obtained, Alexander appeared at the Apostolic See in order to petition the pope for the pallium. But the pope rejected Alexander's election in July 1312, based on "certain reasons," and instead appointed his own scribe, Nicholas de Setia.[515] The papal decision is not strange if geopolitical situation is taken into consideration. During 1311 the papal troops were still at war with Venice and the pope needed to put as much pressure as possible on the Republic. By September 1311 the papal legate conquered Ferrara and in the changed political circumstances the Apostolic See and Venice were negotiating for peace during 1312. Since Venice was still besieging Zadar, the pope probably did not want to disrupt the peace negotiations, so he assigned the archbishopric to a member of the papal Curia, Nicholas de Setia, who would be viewed as neutral in the conflict.[516]

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[511] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.6895, June 22, 1311.

[512] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.6897, June 15, 1311. Alexander was also a Dominican friar. Zrinka Nikolić wrote that Alexander was related to an important family of Zadulinis from Zadar. His father was John Piscop while his mother was Gruba, sister of Marin Zadulinus Grubcius. The Zadulinis were among the strongest supporters of the Šubići in Zadar. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 110. Also, see: *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* II, 41-2, March 11-15, 1302.

[513] CDC VIII, 295, October 21, 1311; 305, March 19, 1312; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 93. The regesta of the charter in question in: Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 110, March 21, 1312; Karbić, "Crkvena politika Šubića Bribirskih," 143-5.

[514] Patriarch Angelus de Camerino, appointed on 15 October 1311, was dead by the beginning of 1313, and the patriarchate was vacant until March 1314. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 266.

[515] CDC VIII, 316-7, July 31, 1312.

[516] Nicholas was a Dominican friar from Sezze (Setia) which was located in the diocese of Terracina, south of Rome. He appeared at the Curia as the chaplain of Cardinal Berenger Fredoli (c.1250-1323), from 1305 the cardinal of Saints Nereus and Achilleus and from 1309 the cardinal of Frascati. During 1308 Nicholas was mentioned as a papal scribe

Despite the papal appointment, Alexander was regularly mentioned as the archbishop in local sources together with Mladen II Šubić who was the city's count.[517] Although Venice took back Zadar and signed a peace treaty in September 1313, Alexander probably hoped that he would be able to persuade the pope to allow him to remain in Zadar. A trial was held at the Curia between Alexander and Nicholas, but the papal judge decided in Nicholas's favour. The events were narrated in detail by the pope who in February 1314 wrote to the clergy and the commune of Zadar, ordering them to accept Nicholas as the archbishop.[518]

Unlike the previous peace treaties in the thirteenth century, the peace treaty between Zadar and Venice, signed during 1313, did not have any stipulations regarding the obligation for the cathedral chapter to only elect Venetians as the archbishops. After the Venetian takeover a considerable diplomatic activity probably occurred between the Apostolic See, the Republic and the Šubići regarding the fate of Alexander. Although rejected in Zadar, the archbishop was appointed as the archbishop of Crete, which could be interpretend as a promotion and a reward. The popes tended to use the episcopal transfers in order to put to end a local conflict between the bishop and his surroundings which threatened the episcopal office. This was probably due to the reason that Alexander was confirmed and consecrated archbishop, so the pope could not simply diminish his status, but would instead provide the elected (arch)bishops with suitable position or incomes. The episcopal transfer and further events suggests that a deal existed between the Šubići, Venice and the pope. Alexander was regularly mentioned as the archbishop together with the Venetian municipal representatives until April 1314.[519] In March 1314 the pope transferred Alexander to Crete, while by June 1314 Nicholas of Setia was listed as the archbishop of Zadar.[520] Lastly in 1314, *Ban* Mladen II and his brothers became the citizens of Venice.[521]

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and was able to obtain appointments as a canon to a number of bishoprics. *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.3183-4, September 30, 1308; n.4796, July 9, 1309. The fact that the pope personally consecrated Nicholas and granted him the pallium shows how close Nicholas was to the pope. *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n. 8524. August 28, 1312; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 46.

[517] *electus Jadrensis confirmatus et consecrates*. CDC VIII, 320, October 17, 1312; 329-30, February 19, 1313; 333, April 30, 1313. The title was used by archbishops who were properly elected, consecrated and confirmed, but who lacked the pallium, which was granted by the pope. See earlier.

[518] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, 10211, February 8, 1314.

[519] CDC VIII, 346, December 3, 1313; CDC VIII, 349 February 8, 1314; CDC VIII, 352, March 10, 1314; CDC VIII, 356, April 23, 1314.

[520] Eubel I, 215, March 2, 1314; CDC VIII, 361, June 18, 1314. Also: *The Šubići of Bribir*, 337-339.

[521] *Listine* I, 277; Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, 181-2, March 28, 1314.

It is unlikely that the Venetians would tolerate a Šubići partisan in their city, yet due to their poor relations with the Apostolic See, they could not remove Alexander – or were not willing to – by themselves. Secondly, the agreement regarding the transfer of Alexander kept the papal-Šubići relationship intact and followed the usual practice of the popes by which the papal rights of appointment were preserved, but all the involved parties received something in return. Thirdly, and probably most strongly pointing to this conclusion, is that Alexander's transfer was identical to the solution that Pope Boniface VIII had in 1298 during the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik. The illegitimate bishop of Šibenik, Leonard Falieri (r.1288-98), a partisan of the Šubići, was not confirmed as the bishop of Šibenik when the see was established, but was instead appointed as the archbishop of Crete and the titular patriarch of Constantinople. Alexander "inherited" Leonard's position in Crete.[522] In both cases we have connections between the Šubići and the church structures. Lastly, Crete was, similarly to Zadar, the territory of the Republic of Venice.[523] Alexander was in office from 1314 until his resignation in 1333 serving as the archbishop in a rather peculiar diocese. He was a Latin archbishop, obeying orders from the pope and Venice but serving in a major Greek diocese negotiating his way between all the involved powers and the local Greek priests.[524] While in the end the papal interests prevailed, the Šubići's candidates were rewarded with other dioceses, proving that at least from the 1290s the family established a strong relationship with the Apostolic See and could discuss their Church policy with the popes.

The control of the archbishopric probably also meant the control of the clergy of the archdiocese. In August 1314 the archbishop of Zadar,[525] Nicholas, presided over the case between the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus and the monks of the monastery.[526] Abbot Matthew de Qualis, native to Zadar, was appointed in 1312 and confirmed by Archbishop-

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[522] Despite the fact that the patriarch was not in Constantinople, this was politically and financially still influential position. Leonard was appointed in 1302, while with the appointment of Alexander in 1314 the union between Constantinople and Crete was terminated. Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 337-339; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 206, 215.

[523] On the Venetian Crete, see: Maoussacas, "L'isola di Creta sotto il dominio veneziano," 473-514; Tomadakis, "La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta," 783-800.

[524] In May 1328 Pope John XXII assigned him a coadjutor (assistant bishop) due to Alexander being old and ill (*senio et imbecillitate gravato*). Since 1326 Alexander also had a Greek *presul* in charge of ecclesiastical care for the Greek believers. In 1333 Alexander resigned his position to Cardinal-Bishop Bertrand of Ostia. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 215; Coureas, "The Latin and Greek Churches," 156-7.

[525] Appointed in 1312, but he appeared in Zadar in local sources by June 1314. CDC VIII, 361, June 18, 1314.

[526] CDC VIII, 365-8, August 24, 1314.

elect Alexander.[527] Once Alexander was transferred, a dispute arose and the monks, represented by brother Thomas, wanted to remove Matthew as the abbot, which was successful. Matthew continued the dispute by appealing to the patriarch of Grado. In the end the patriarch decided that Matthew would receive 40 Venetian solids from the monastery as compensation. In my opinion, Matthew rose to his position due to support by Archbishop-elect Alexander, but if compared with the recompense which Alexander received, it does not seem that Matthew had such strong supporters in his favour.

The rebellion in Zadar saw the Šubići at the height of their power in Dalmatia as the family utilized their elaborate clientelistic network with the local elites in order to seize the city. An important aspect in this plan were contacts with the clergy which, although less known, were also used to temporarily strengthen the reign of the family over Zadar.

III.2.3. The Intra-Communal Violence in Trogir (c.1312-1322)

Unlike in Zadar, where the city stood unified against a foreign power, in Trogir conflicts erupted from within, with noble families using the strategic institutions and resources of both the commune and the bishoprics in order to rule the city.[528] Important role in the conflict was played by the Šubići family and Venice – the first having its own problematic history with the city, while the second seeking to extend its influence over the commune. Although the aim of this subchapter is to analyze the role played by the bishop and the Church in these conflicts, it is necessary to first say something about the outbreak of violence between the city families.

When depicting the events in Trogir, the historians tended to start and stop at the middle by depicting the attack on the city by *Ban* Mladen Šubić in May 1315, as an answer to an anti-Šubići revolt in the city. The simplified explanation pitted the pro-Venetian families, which favoured naval trade and were led by Matthew Zorić Cega, against the pro-Šubići faction, led by Marin Andreis, which represented noble families that had landed possessions outside the borders of the Trogir and therefore favoured contacts with the *ban*.[529] But the actual reasons for the conflict

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[527] Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana," 98; Jakić-Cestarić, "Osobna imena i porijeklo redovnika," 137.

[528] On factions and conflict within the medieval communes, see: Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 34-110; Lantschner, *Logic of Political Conflict*, 21-88; Green, "Image of tyranny," 335-51. Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 170-97.

[529] For the narrative about the conflict in Trogir, see: Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi*, 108-111; Granić, "Jadranska politika Šubića," 51-61; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 64-74; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 429-439; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 214-28; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 24-6.

were more complex, as the groups surrounding Matthew and Marin lacked clear political orientation but were instead defined through economic and personal relations of the powerful communal families, who struggled with each other for power and tried to enlist the support of either the Šubići or Venice.[530] In order to foster the lasting peace between the warring families, some sources were purged from the city charters during these conflicts, which made the material fragmented and created difficulties in recreating the exact events.[531]

The struggle for power in Trogir intensified as early as 1312 and was connected with the growing power and influence of Matthew Zorić, from the family of Cega. From 1310 Matthew Zorić was one of the consuls of the city, quickly rising in power and by 1313 becoming the person in charge of the city. His quick rise in power was caused by a violent attack on the communal notary and two consuls, perpetrated by Marin Andreis, probably during 1312, and which resulted in the communal council voting special powers to the already existing magistracies in order to overcome the crisis. These powers were then extended in the upcoming years. By the end of 1312 Matthew ruled as the captain of the *popolo*, without consules, while during 1313 he became the perpetual captain of the city.[532]

Although it is unclear what provoked Marin's attack, his activities resemble similar cases from Italy of attempts by an individual or a family to seize power in a city.[533] The result in Trogir was that Marin was exiled, or he escaped, but soon, maybe by 1313, he was back in the city. It should be noted how these events in Trogir - Marin's attack, his exile and Matthew becoming the ruler of the city - coincided with the Šubići's preoccupation in Zadar and the war with Venice, as well as the death of *Ban* Paul and Mladen's succession as the leader of the family. A member of the Šubići, Paul II, was the count of Trogir, but he was probably underaged and uninvolved in the

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[530] Both the Cega and the Andreis families had properties within and outside of the communal borders, which dictated their relations toward the Šubići. Irena Benyovsky Latin, "Politički sukobi u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru," 44-51; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva*, 376-78. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 20-21; Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića," 50-2, 57; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 29; Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure," 3-28; On the families of Trogir, see: Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 5-210.

[531] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 389. Some sources were burned in 1318/19 after Matthew Zorić's exile.

[532] Rački, "Notae," 224-5; *Trogirski spomenici* IV, 111, 1312; CDC VIII, 334, May 8, 1313; 401, June 8, 1315. Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića," 53; Note the similar use of violence in Italian communes which led to the rise in oligarchs and despotic regimes. Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 94-5; Ricciardelli, "Violence and repression," 55-72.

[533] Andreis presumed that the conflict started because Marin and Matthew competed for the honour of the communal judge, but this position was not even mentioned in the sources. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 64. The conflict was not followed by exile and confiscation of the properties of Marin Andreis and his followers, which occurred only after 1315. For similar conflicts in Italy, see: Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 165-69.

conflicts. Since Marin Andreis's family had ties to the Šubići, the relatively mild punishment and Marin's subsequent return could be explained through the mediation by the Šubići.[534]

In May 1313 the commune negotiatiated with Venice in order to obtain better trading concessions. Daniel Vitturi, the brother of Primicerius Lampredius, was sent to negotiate the agreement.[535] Although this was shown as a proof that Matthew Zorić turned to Venice in order to fight the nobility that supported the Šubići, the situation was not that simple, as the trade between Trogir and Venice occurred before and was now affected by the ecclesiastical and political events.[536] The papal excommunication of Venice and the subsequent war between the Šubići and the Venetians over Zadar probably disrupted the trade, so Matthew now tried to revive the diminished commerce and obtain better conditions with Venice.

Another conflict between Matthew Zorić and Marin Andreis occurred at the beginning of 1315, although the sources are scarce. In early May 1315 the commune decided to form a committee in order to investigate a conflict that erupted in the commune, without specifying what happened. Judging by a note in the city records from August, a number of laics and clergy left the city and the communal authorities of Trogir, representing those who remained – the internals - forbade anybody from negotiating with the exiles.[537] Probably persuaded by Marin, *Ban* Mladen Šubić, now not occupied with other pressing matters, reacted by threatening the city with an attack in May. The attack did not occur as Matthew and Mladen were able to reconcile. *Ban* Mladen received payment from the city and ensured that his brother, Paul, was confirmed as the count of the city. Matthew strengthen his regime and confiscated properties of those who escaped the city (the exiles) in order to pay the *ban*. He even temporarily considered asking Venice for help, but the threat of the Šubići attack subsides as Mladen's attention was soon needed elsewhere. During 1316/1317 the *ban* asked the commune for soldiers to help fight the Babonići and the Nelipčići.

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[534] In 1277 the extended Šubići family ended its conflict by celebrating a wedding. The main guarantees were Marin Andreis, his brothers, father and uncle, suggesting that they were trusted by the Šubići. *Monumenta Traguriensia* I/2, 170-1, June 19, 1277. Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića," 57. The Andreis family held properties, donated to them by the kings, on the territory of the *ban* of Croatia. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 64. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 240-42.
[535] CDC VIII, 334, May 8, 1313; Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva I, 368-70.
[536] Nada Klaić noted an investigation in 1310 in Trogir regarding who was trading with the Venetians as this was forbidden due to their excommunication. But the author took this as a proof of existence of a pro-Venetian faction in the city and not as an evidence of a disruption in the trade between Trogir and Venice due to the political and ecclesiastical events. She omitted that even Paul Šubić was excommunicated for his dealing with Venice, before waging war against the Republic. CDC VIII, 266; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 214.
[537] Rački, "Notae," 226; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 224-5.

While the *ban* was busy elsewhere, Marin Andreis and his supporters continued to fight with the help of Šibenik.[538] They were eventually successful as by October 1317 the exiles were able to return to Trogir and seize power, exiling Matthew in the process.[539]

During *Ban* Mladen's threat of attack in May 1315 the city council feared that the *ban* could seize the Franciscan friary situated close to the walls and use it to storm the city. To prevent this the commune sent Bishop Liberius (r.1297-1319) and Daniel Vitturi to negotiate with Mladen, but while they were away the commune proceeded to tear down the monastery.[540] The communal authorities, together with the bishop, soon planned to find a replacement in the city for the Franciscans, although the case dragged on for years, due to civil unrest, resulting in a papal investigation.[541] The top-ranking members of the cathedral chapter were missing during the conversation in June between the city council and Bishop Liberius, regarding the new location of the Franciscan friary. The bishop was surrounded by four canons mostly of foreign origins with one Cega representative.[542] The leading clerics of the chapter - Archdeacon Kazarica, Primicerius Lampredius and Canon Marin Ambalažev - were still in the city in November 1314 when there was a conflict between the cathedral chapter and the bishop of Trogir regarding the division of properties and incomes between the chapter and the bishop. Lampredius and Marin were authorized by the chapter to solve the problems with the bishop.[543]

Based on the sources it is hard to assess if these clergymen joined the exiles from the start or as a consequence of the destruction of the Franciscan friary.[544] The bishop argued against the demolition, and his opinion could have been shared by the higher clergy.[545] Three out of four

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[538] CDC VIII, 388, May 6-27, 1315; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 371-3; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 219-222; CDC VIII, 404, July 8, 1315; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 219-24; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 24-26; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 81-2.

[539] CDC VIII, 462-3, October 30, 1317.

[540] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 370, 373; CDC VIII, 397-99, June 1, 1315; Lucić, *Collection*, 542, 41-44'; CDC VIII, 404, July 8, 1315; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 220-1. Damir Karbić views the destruction of the monastery in Trogir (and later in Šibenik in a similar circumstances) as the attempts of the communal councils to more easily control the Franciscans who had well established contacts with the Šubići. Karbić, "Utjecaj velikaškog roda Šubića," 165-6.

[541] CDC VIII, 397-99, June 1, 1315.

[542] When discussing which location to give to the Franciscans, Bishop Liberius was surrounded by the canons of the cathedral chapter: Pusillo Theodosii, Joanne Cavaluccio, Andriolo Manerii de Ancona and John (Joanne) Stepi Duymi. It seems that the first three canons were foreigners, while John belonged to the Cega family. Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 53.

[543] CDC VIII, 370-3, November 11, 1314.

[544] Nada Klaić surmised that the destruction of the monastery was the reason why the clergy left the city. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 225.

[545] Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 71, f.385.

canons mentioned in June 1315 with the bishop were not mentioned in November 1314, which would suggest that they joined the chapter very recently and were added to fill the ranks of the diminished chapter. But the canon from the Cega family was no longer mentioned in the chapter after the exiles took power in 1317, which points to the fact that he was added to the chapter when the enemies of Matthew Zorić went into exile. As the high-ranking members of the chapter were sons of the influential local noble families, their behaviour seems to have been dictated more through their kinship, than their institutional belonging.

In April 1317 a committee was tasked to seize the goods of Archdeacon Kazarica, Primicerius Lampredius Vitturi, John Castrafocus and Marin Ambalažev Andreis and use them to repair the walls in case they were damaged by an attack by the Šubići.[546] All four were members of the cathedral chapter and had ties with local noble families, which shows that the local Church was deeply involved in the intra-communal violence.

The Andreis family had at least two of its members in the cathedral chapter. Marin Andreis's son Albert was probabaly installed as canon during the pro-Andreis regime in 1319, while more influential was his cousin Marin Ambalažev who, although a canon, appeared to play a key role in leading the chapter.[547] Less clear is why Archdeacon Kazarica joined the Andreis rebellion. He was a member of the Kazarica family, associated to the Andreis through a family connection, but he was also a citizen of Šibenik. In March 1316 an envoy from Šibenik demanded that Kazarica be released from prison and compensated for the injustice, suggesting that Matthew arrested the archdeacon, creating a bitter enemy out of him.[548]

The behaviour of Bishop Liberius during this conflict is hard to ascertain. He disagreed with the demolition of the Franciscan friary, but he probably tried to maintain neutrality in the wider conflict. In June 1316 he was absent from the city and the commune threatened him to quickly return, otherwise his properties would be confiscated.[549] It cannot be stated if his absence was in any way connected with the exiles, but this could be suggested by the brisk communal

[546] Rački, "Notae," 229, April [no day], 1317.

[547] Albert(in) was removed from the chapter during 1320s and was recorded as being a *habitator* of Zadar. Marin was mentioned as the canon between 1313 until his death during or prior to 1348. Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 35.

[548] Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 80-2; CDC VIII, 421-2, March 23, 1316; Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva I, 381-2; Rački, "Notae," 227-8; Andreis, Povijest trogira, 67.

[549] Rački, "Notae," 228: June [no day], 1316; CDC VIII, 429, June [no day], 1316; Lucić, Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 383; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 68.

order. He returned quickly,[550] but soon he was absent again as in October the commune authorized eight individuals, laics and clerics, to accompany the returning bishop and escort him to the cathedral.[551] The commune tried to benefit from the bishop's absence by trying to collect the Church tithes which resulted in violent reaction by the clergy which stopped holding masses and expelled people from the cathedral. This suggests a change in the relationship between the commune and the Church as the laics decided to directly claim the ecclesiastical incomes.[552]

The position of the Vitturi family, to which Primicerius Lampredius belonged to, was determined by family ties, experience and institutional affiliation. As part of the papal investigation into the destruction of the Franciscan friary conducted in 1319, Gregory Salinguere, from a side-branch of the Vitturi family, named the brothers Vitturi, Primicerius Lampredius and Daniel, as among the individuals who supported Marin Andreis and were forced to leave the city.[553] While the primicerius went to exile with the leading members of the cathedral chapter, his brother continuously served the commune during the reign of Matthew Zorić. A potential explanation of different behaviour of the two brothers can be suggested by observing the family ties of the Vitturi brothers. Their mother, Dobra, came from the Cega family, which made the brothers distant cousins of Matthew Zorić.[554] The Andreis and the Cega families were embroiled in a bitter battle to control the communal magistracies, but which boiled down to the conflict for power between the two familes. The Vitturi brothers' allegiances were also defined by their institutional belonging as Lampredius sided with the chapter, where the Andreis family had important influence, and Daniel with the commune, where the Cega ruled.

During 1313 Daniel negotiated with Venice, while in May 1315 he was sent to negotiate with *Ban* Mladen Šubić, both times on the behalf of Matthew Zorić and Trogir. When in February 1317 Mladen requested soldiers from Trogir, Daniel and Matthew Zorić went as envoys to the

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[550] He was mentioned as overseeing an agreement between Archdeacon Paulin of Skradin and the canon of Trogir, Andriol. CDC VIII, 428-9, June 25, 1316.

[551] Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 204-5; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 225.

[552] Rački, "Notae," 228, August 10, 1316.

[553] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 383-7; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 153-4; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 112-8. The members of the pro-Andreis party as part of the cathedral chapter: Archdeacon Kazarica, Primicerius Lampredius (Vitturi), Marin Ambalažev, John Castrafocus, Ceprenja and Albert, the son of Marin Andreis, were all members of the cathedral chapter; citizens: Marin Jurin, Dominik Carli, Šimun kneza Marina, Marin, the son of Andrew, Daniel Vitturi, sons of Dujam Domice, sons of Ambalažev, Ivan Desin, sons of Gauzinja, and others. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 384-5.

[554] Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 50-3. Lampredius's connections to both the Vitturi and the Cega were emphasized at his gravestone. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 260.

ban.[555] But Daniel appeared in the pro-Andreis regime installed in October 1317 as one of the three consules, suggesting that after February he switched sides and helped the exiles take over.[556] While the reasons for Daniel's change of allegiance remains unclear, Matthew did seize his properties. The new regime worked on recompensating the loses of the exiles by seizing the properties of the pro-Zorić supporters, as well as compensating Daniel for his loses.[557]

After claiming the commune, the rebels immediately formalized their power grab by also taking official control over the bishopric. In November 1317 Bishop Liberius appointed Archdeacon Kazarica and Primicerius Lampredius as the general vicars for all spiritual, criminal and civil questions, relinquishing the control over the bishopric into the hands of these two clergymen. This was done with the tacit approval from the commune as the agreement was made in the palace of the bishop and in the presence of the leading city magistrates, its three consules, but also with the presence of Marin Andreis, the leader of the exiles.[558] By April 1319 Liberius died and Lampredius was elected as the bishop of Trogir.[559] According to the canonical rules of scrutiny, three men were appointed in order to ask the canons about their choice and to pronounce the bishop-elect. The three men were Primicerius Lampredius, canons Marin Ambalažev of the house of Andreis, and Ceprenja, the son of Gregory, the three individuals who went to exile in 1315 and only returned to the city in 1317.[560] Thus, the exiles were able to again utilize their recent victory by steering the cathedral chapter and the bishopric. The election of Lampredius closely followed the previous elections of 1282 and 1297 and the consensus building between the communal authorities and the Church of Trogir, particularly because both institutions were mostly managed by the same leading families. The context was different as the election of Lampredius happened during the period of civil war, as one party claimed the city and installed its supporters to the leading positions in the commune and the Church.

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[555] CDC VIII, 446, February 11, 1317.

[556] Symon, the son of Marin, Daniel, the son of Jacob and John, the son of Peter Duymi, were mentioned as consuls in October 1317. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 384-6. They immediately signed a peace treaty with Split. CDC VIII, 462, October 30, 1317.

[557] In April 1318 Daniel testified in the communal palace that he received satisfaction for damages that were done to him – he lost goods and properties – during the regime of Matthew Zorić. CDC VIII, 499-500, April 15, 1318.

[558] CDC VIII, 463-4, November 14, 1317.

[559] Rački, "Notae," 229: April 4, 1319. Liberius was mentioned for the last time in the city's charters in January 1319 so it would seem that Lampredius was elected within three months after the death of the predecessor, so according to the canonical rules.

[560] CDC VIII, 552-4, February 15, 1320; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 490; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 256; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 241-44; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 117-8.

The problems in Trogir did not subside as conflicts erupted again during 1320. Corrado Torre from Fermo, the new *podestà*, was killed in January 1320 (became *podestà* on April 4, 1319). It should be noted that in 1319 Šibenik rebelled against *Ban* Mladen, and Trogir slowly sided with pro-Venetian and anti-Mladen side, as the new commune sought *podestà* in Venice. [561] It is therefore unsurprising to find out that Matthew Zorić was again able to rise to the highest positions in the city, but curiously, in cooperation with current leading men of the commune. In September 1320 Matthew was appointed as one of the consuls, together with Daniel Vitturi. By 1322 the relationship with *Ban* Mladen Šubić deteriorated which pushed the commune to accept the rule of Venice. Daniel Vitturi was one of the three representatives sent to Venice to negotiate the acceptance of the Venetian rule over Trogir.[562] When accepting the Venetian control in 1322 Daniel Vitturi and his family were listed as among the internals,[563] as they were no longer considered as rebels. What role was played by Lampredius as the new bishop or how the former enemies, Daniel and Matthew, reconciled, cannot be stated with certainty. The Andreis family and their supporters were once again exiled, and despite mediation by Venice, some were still mentioned in 1326 and 1328 as being exiled. These included Archdeacon Kazarica, Canon Marin Ambalažev and Canon Albert, the son of Marin Andreis, the same people whose actions enabled Lampredius to become the bishop.[564] While Lampredius did succeed in becoming the bishop of Trogir, in the process he was deprived of his closest allies in the bishopric. The papal confirmation – obtained directly by Lampredius in Avignong – certainly did help to consolidate his episcopal authority and the position of his family with the new communal government.

III.3. Popes, Legates, Communes

The pontificate of John XXII (1316-34) was mostly connected with the rising papal interventions in the episcopal elections.[565] But the pope did not necessarily intervene in the affairs of local dioceses, but instead mostly reacted to requests from petitioners from ecclesiastical and

[561] Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 228; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 70; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 44-49.
[562] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 408, April 17, 1322.
[563] Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 13; Benyovsky Latin, "Politički sukobi u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru," 45.
[564] CDC IX, 412-3, September 19, 1328; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, str. 436-38, 444.; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 78; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat" 16-7.
[565] Silano, "Episcopal Elections," 174-6; Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 132-3; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 146, 182-93, 249-50. Sibilio, "Giovanni XXII e il mezzogiorno," 377-399.

secular circles who would come to Avignon or contact the pope through the Curia.[566] The official policy of John XXII and his predecessor Clement V was to take note of the proper procedure for the episcopal election and to maintain the rights and finances of the chapter, while not introducing changes regarding the relations between the bishop and his chapter.[567] But John XXII was primarily interested in the affairs of Northern Italy where he promoted the papal authority. In order to combat the attempts by Louis IV of Bavaria to pacify Italy and crown himself as the Holy Roman emperor, the pope fought Louis with spiritual weapons, by sending legates and issuing proclamations of reservations.[568] In 1323 the pope reserved several Italian archbishoprics, together with the patriarchate of Grado and its suffragans, which included Zadar. The reservation was repeated every two years until the death of the pope in 1334.[569]

During John's pontificate, five archbishops and bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar were appointed by the pope, out of which four prelates were native to their dioceses. The pope directly appointed two archbishops, while other three high prelates were elected by their cathedral chapters. While those directly appointed by the pope had prior contacts with the Curia, all appointees eventually presented themselves personally in Avignon, in order to ensure their appointments. It would seem that personal contacts and the bishops' persistence was what enabled them to receive their appointments.

In instances of smaller dioceses Pope John XXII started to disregard local rights of appointment and to directly designate bishops, which was followed by his successors in the dioceses of Split, Trogir and Zadar. During the 1330s and the 1340s the popes appointed most bishops and archbishops in Dalmatia, not only in situations such as the death at the Papal curia or the episcopal transfer, but going as far as to make general reservations or invalidating local elections in favour of papal appointments.[570] Therefore, it can be stated that during the Avignon era the episcopate was not elected, but appointed by the popes. The individuals who wanted to become bishops would collect letters of recommendations from secular supporters and were often transferred from one diocese to another. On one hand the petitions by individuals who wanted to

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[566] On the development of the system of petition, see: Smith, "Development of Papal Provisions" 115; Meyer, "Der Weg zur eigenen Pfründe," 159-69; Zutshi, "Presentation of Petitions to the Pope," 393-410.

[567] Fonseca, "Vescovi, capitoli cattedrali e canoniche regolari," 87.

[568] Theseider, *Problemi del papato avignonese*, 114-18; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 52; Zanke, "Politik und Kommunikation im Konflikt," 1-21; "Papal Registers in the Pontificate of John XXII," 457-74; Manselli, "Il papato avignonese e gli Italiani del Trecento," 43-86; Zanke, *Johannes XXII., Avignon und Europa*, 75-103.

[569] Lux, *Constitutionum Apostolicarum*, 29-31.

[570] Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 19-42.

be bishops or obtain some benefice, and on the other hand financial reasons, since every person who obtained papal appointment had to pay his communal services, helped to fuel the growth of the Papal Curia and the system of papal provisions.[571]

III.3.1. Peter, the Excommunicated Archbishop of Split

The mission of Cardinal-Legate Gentile to the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia (1308-1311) exposed Peter of Split's shortfalling as the archbishop and as a person. During 1309 the representatives of the commune and the archbishop disputed in front of the papal legate in Buda. The accusations are unknown, but the result was that by 1311 Gentile excommunicated Peter and left the management of the archbishopric in the hands of the cathedral chapter, which selected canons George and Vukan as vicars in spiritual and temporal affairs.[572]

It was argued that during 1320 or 1321 Peter was absolved, but it seems that he remained excommunicated until the end of his life, that he disputed the validity of the excommunication and continued to perform his episcopal duties.[573] The sources for the period between 1311 until 1320 are scarce and Peter was mentioned as the archbishop in only a few charters. It should be restated that Peter had good contacts with the Šubići and was even credited with re-establishing two dioceses which favoured the military expansion of the family. He was also installed as the archbishop to favour the Angevin claim to the Hungarian throne, so it is not strange that from sources for 1310s in which Peter was listed as the archbishop of Split one was issued by the Šubići and one royal by Charles Robert.[574]

Two charters from Split show that the archbishop's excommunication and the ecclesiastical censure caused a rift in the relationship between Peter and the commune. In January 1315 Archbishop Peter addressed an open letter to the *podestà* and the commune of Split. Peter

[571] Fonseca, "Vescovi, capitoli cattedrali e canoniche regolari," 93; Silano, "Episcopal Elections", 172-76; Ronzani, "Vescovi, capitoli e strategie famigliari," 138; Smith, "Development of Papal Provisions," 110-21; Beattie, "Local Reality and Papal Policy," 131-53.

[572] CDC VII, 247, March 22, 1309; 289-90, August 13, 1311; CDC VIII, 291-2, September 15, 1311; *Acta legationis Cardinalis Gentilis*, 393-4: Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," 89; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 533-34; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 26.

[573] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 306-7.

[574] The only charter from Split is the one in which Peter registered his defense. Šubići charter, CDC VIII, 308-10, June 23, 1312, mentioned Peter as the archbishop of Split. In the royal charter of Charles Robert as one of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the kingdom. CDC VIII, 492, March 12, 1318. Nicholas, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Stephen in Split, was the royal chaplain and retainer, so the king was certainly familiar with Peter's position in the community. It should be noted that it was the abbot, and not the archbishop, who contacted the king on the behalf of the commune regarding a case of Spalatine merchants robbed in Apulia. CDC IX, 69, June 19, 1322.

attempted to justify his actions and dispute the excommunication by Legate Gentile. Peter's defence, although at parts badly preserved, is the best source for the way in which the archbishop led his diocese, the problems he encountered or directly provoked, as well as in what way he overstepped his authority, made dubious financial decisions and had led a life unworthy of his position.[575] In June 1316 the commune had the legate's letter of excommunication copied. While it is not stated for what purpose, it was probably connected with Peter's need to justify his actions.[576] Peter's public call to the commune and his open challenge of the excommunication could suggest that he continued to perform his archiepiscopal duties and that some members of the commune resisted the archbishop by reminding him that he was excommunicated.[577]

Peter's excommunication and the conflict between the commune and the archbishop was probably reflected in the re-edition of the statute of the city from 1312. Since the commune could not directly participate in the episcopal elections and the grants of vacant Church prebends, the Great Council of Split could only task its officials to petition the cathedral chapter to elect a suitable person in the case of episcopal vacancy. Likewise, the representatives of the commune would be sent to the archbishop to ask him not to appoint foreigners to prebends, but only those native to Split.[578] The wording of the next decision left no ambiguity regarding the connection of these decisions and the on-going conflict between the commune and the archbishop. The commune wanted the chapter to elect a "friend of the commune," to manage the Church of Split and to live with the commune in peace.

The election of the bishop of Trogir in 1319/20 was usually taken as a confirmation of Peter's continuing excommunication. After the death of Bishop Liberius of Trogir, by April 1319 Lampredius Vitturi, the primicerius of the cathedral chapter, appeared as the elected bishop in the

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[575] For the Peter's defense, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 304-6; CDC VIII, 378-81, January 8, 1315; Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," 89-92.

[576] CDC VIII, 289-90, June 4, 1316.

[577] Peter claimed that Gentile left Dalmatia and that another legate, Cardinal Arnald de Pellagrua (or Pelagnia), came after Gentile, thus ending Gentile's term as the legate. Later In 1320 Bishop Lampredius of Trogir informed the pope that Gentile's excommunication of Peter was confirmed by Arnald. CDC VIII, 553, February 15, 1320. Farlati thought that Arnald was the legate for Dalmatia most likely in 1311, when he probably visited Split. Farlati III, 305. Arnald was sent to a mission to Italy in January 1309, leading the papal army against Venice, while he returned to the Papal Curia in December 1310. In February 1312 the cardinal participated at the Council of Vienne, while Peter's excommunication was proclaimed in Buda in August 1311, so it is unclear when Arnald had time to confirm Gentile's decision - claimed by Lampredius - unless it was done via a letter and not in person as it was stated by Farlati. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 14, f. 6.

[578] *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 11-12.

city charters.[579] Lampredius made an appeal for confirmation directly to the pope, bypassing the metropolitan from Split. The pope confirmed Lampredius's election by February 1320, repeating Lampredius's words that Archbishop Peter was excommunicated and could not provide confirmation.[580] But already in May 1320 Peter gave the permission to Bishop George of Hvar to permit the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Vis, Stancije (1320-5) to carry the episcopal symbols – mitra and pastoral rod – during a mass.[581] In addition, Bishop Valentine of Makarska stated in 1342 that he was elected by Peter and confirmed by the cathedral chapter of Split sometime before Peter's death in 1324.[582] Therefore, it does seem that since mid-1320 Peter was no longer excommunicated as he granted petitions to his suffragan-bishops and also appointed and confirmed suffragan-bishops. But no papal bull of absolution was preserved. There is very simple reason for this: he deliberately obstructed the excommunication.

The claim can be corroborated by the disputed election in Hvar in 1323.[583] The cathedral chapter of Hvar had two candidates, which were both rejected by Archbishop Peter,[584] who, in turn, appointed Primicerius Stephen of the cathedral chapter in Split. Following Peter's death in 1324, problems occurred in Hvar. One of the rejected candidates, Abbot Luke of the Benedictine monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian, was confirmed and consecrated as the bishop by Bishop Lampredius of Trogir, which was a power that Lampredius did not have according to customs or rights. This is known from a complaint in 1325 by Bishop Stephen to the pope, who appointed the bishops of Korčula, Skradin and Knin to investigate the complaint.[585]

It is hard to say why Lampredius arrogated the archiepiscopal authority by confirming Luke, with which the bishop of Trogir disputed Peter's consecration of Primicerius Stephen of Split as the bishop. The possible answer could be found in a small note from the Papal Curia in which Lampredius was listed as being the administrator of the Church of Split following the death

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[579] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 240, wrote that Liberius died at the end of 1319, or at the beginning of 1320, but in the sources from the city charters, Liberius was still alive in January 1319 and Lampredius was elected by April. Rački, "Notae" 229, April 4, 1319.

[580] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, February 15, 1320; CDC VIII, 174-82, VIII, 552-4. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 117-8. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 115; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 256.

[581] Farlati, *Hvarski biskupi*, 63-4, May 1320.

[582] CDC XI, 2-3, June 25, 1342.

[583] On the dispute, see: Farlati, *Hvarski biskupi*, 65-67; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 251-2. Although the election happened before June 1323, the election details were stated later. *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, VI, n.27187, December 4, 1326; *Priručnik* I, 336, September 22, 1328.

[584] Stephen de Sloradis, the rector of the church of Saint Matthew in Zadar, appeared in the charters in Hvar as the elected and confirmed bishop. CDC IX, 124, June 22, 1323.

[585] CD IX, 249-50, June 24, 1325.

of Peter.[586] Lampredius could have used his position to correct the mishandling of the situation by Peter, but the relations between Lampredius and Peter were probably tense, ever since the archbishop of Split stopped Lampredius from becoming the bishop of Hvar. In 1304 cathedral chapter of Hvar elected Lampredius as the bishop, but Archbishop Peter overruled the decision and tried to install Lawrence, a canon in Split and his personal friend, as the bishop of Hvar. The dispute lasted for years and was only settled by Legate Gentile, who later excommunicated Peter.[587]

The dispute in Hvar during the 1320s was settled by another papal legate. The case ended up in front of Cardinal-Legate Bertrand du Pouget, whom the pope tasked to investigate the case in 1326. Bertrand confirmed that Peter was still excommunicated and therefore unable to confirm the election, making Stephen's appointment illegal.[588] Abbot Luke was granted the bishopric of Hvar, while Stephen received a monastery on the island of Rab in *commenda*,[589] since he was consecrated and required an adequate income to match his dignity.[590]

That Archbishop Peter deliberately ignored the sentence of excommunication and that for this he received tacit approval from his provincial clergy, can be shown on further examples of confirmations of episcopal elections. Since the metropolitan archbishop was excommunicated, the problems should have appeared in several elections of suffragans, but this is not shown in the sources.[591] For instance, Canon Gregory, one of the vicars appointed by the chapter to manage the archbishopric, became the bishop of Hvar in 1313. His election was not confirmed by the Apostolic See, so it means that Peter inspected and confirmed the election of a person who was supposed to replace the excommunicated archbishop in Split.[592] The archbishop's disregard for the

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[586] *Priručnik* II, 748.

[587] Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i Split," 78-9.

[588] Primicerius Stephen from Split *sed minus canonice electum, confirmatum et consecratum, quia electors eum scienter indignum elegerant cum esset tunc excommunicatus, et quond. Petrus archiepiscopus Spalatensis, qui, tunc vivens, ipsum confirmaverat et consecraverat, excommunicatus et a Gentili (…) ab administr. eccl. suae suspensus erat. Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n. 27187, December 4, 1326; n. 42907, September 26, 1328.

[589] Provisional occupation of an ecclesiastical benefice by an ecclesiastical or secular patron. The patron would draw a portion of the incomes of the monastery without fulfilling the duties of the abbot or residing in the monastery. Šanjek, "Komenda," 122; Palladino, "Il contratto di commenda," 753-782.

[590] CDC IX, 308, September 12, 1326; 382-3, March 20, 1328. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 122.

[591] Peter was excommunicated in 1311 so problems should have arisen in several local episcopal elections, which required the confirmation by the archbishop. But no evidence was preserved in local nor in papal sources. These were: Gregory Madijev (r.1314-22) in Hvar; Nicholas (r.1322-25) in Knin; Nicholas III (r.1315-19) and Paulin (r.1319-26) in Skradin. The lack of sources suggest that the elections were submitted to Peter who carried normally with the archiepiscopal confirmations and consecrations.

[592] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 398.

excommunication, which was accepted by the clergy, can be further corroborated with the case of Šibenik. Chrysogonus de Fanfonia was elected and confirmed as the bishop of Šibenik (r.1319-40), but a quarrel erupted around the same time as in Hvar or was maybe influenced by it. Some canons disputed the election and petitioned the pope on the basis that Peter had no right to confirm the election of the bishop. By August 1325, so after Peter's death, the pope ordered Archbishop Balian of Split to investigate the case, but no additional sources exist. Since Chrysogonus remained the bishop, Balian probably re-confirmed him and upheld the metropolitan prerogatives of Split by respecting decisions of his predecessor.[593]

Therefore, most likely supported by the secular powers, Peter deliberately obstructed the sentence of excommunication for which he received tacit approval of the local clergy who dependend on the archbishop for positions and confirmations. In fact, the explicit mention of Peter's excommunication appeared mostly in cases in which Lampredius of Trogir participated. The prior contacts between Peter and Lampredius makes the events seem more like the results of the personal animosities and different personalities. During Peter's time in office the communication with the Apostolic See was limited, and this could help explain why he was able to govern with minimal problems while still excommunicated. The connection with the papal Curia resumed under Peter's successors, in part, due to better contacts with the papal legates.

III.3.2. The Apostolic See, Legate Bertrand and Dalmatia

During the 1320s Pope John XXII sent Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget[594] as the papal legate to hold northern Italy and combat the Visconti of Milan and the Ghibellines of northern Italy who allied themselves to Louis IV the Bavarian (1282-1347).[595] To combat Louis, the legate actively used the control over the episcopal appointments and established links with local elites. Family membership and the participation in the papal offices in Italy close to the legate played a role in who would receive the appointment.[596] Bertrand was mostly centered around Bologna, becoming the *dominus* of the city in 1327, dismantling much of the communal institutions and staying in

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[593] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.22948, August 1, 1325; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 461.

[594] Also written as Poyet or del Pogetto in literature. He was the cardinal priest of Saint Marcello (1316-27) and then cardinal-bishop of Ostia (1327-52). Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 36, 43.

[595] Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 52; Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 76-110.

[596] Gamberini, "Chiesa vescovile," 188-91; Manselli, "Un Papa in un'età di contraddizione: Giovanni XXII," 444-56; Pagnoni, "Selezione dei vescovi," 283-4.

power for years with the help of powerful local families and the support of Johannes Andrea (Giovanni d'Andrea), the jurist from the university of Bologna.[597]

Despite being titled in the sources as the *apostolice sedis legatus ad partes Lombardie et Tussie et nonnullas alias partes Ytalie* from 1321 Bertrand appeared in sources connected to Dalmatia, being a center of appeals for local disputes. He expected from the local Dalmatian clergy to collect the 25th of their income to support his legatine actions. Duymus Theodosii, the vicar of Archbishop Peter, appeared in this role in 1321, when he was collecting the required tithe in the bishopric of Trogir.[598] But the tithe collection and contacts between the archbishop and the papal legate completely disappear from local sources. Was this omission deliberate or due to the preserved sources? The papal bulls in May 1323 were still addressed to Peter as the archbishop of Split, but these were bulls sent en masse to the episcopate, and not to somebody specifically.[599] The contacts between the archbishopric and the papal legate were renewed after the death of Peter, which would suggest prior deliberate poor contacts.

Archbishop Peter died in the second half of 1324 at the Apostolic See, where he probably went in order to receive absolution from the excommunication. Since he died *apud Sedem Apostolicam* the pope claimed a special reservation over the archiepiscopal seat and by September transfered Archbishop Balian of Rhodes (c.1321-24) to Split.[600] According to the papal tax collectors the archiepiscopal income in Split was estimated higher than in Rhodes, which made the transfer beneficial, although a closer inspection of the local sources shows that the archbishop could earn more in Rhodes.[601] But on Rhodes the archbishop had problems with the Hospitaller Order as the two ecclesiastical institutions clashed over the income rights which the Order owed to the archbishop.[602] Balian even went to Avignon to discuss the issue with the pope, but according

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[597] Ciaccio, *Cardinale Bertrando del Poggetto*, 85-196, 456-537; Vasina, "Dal Comune verso la Signoria," 581-651; Benevolo, "Bertrando del Poggetto e la sede papale," 21-35.

[598] CDC IX, 16, July 10, 1321.

[599] All the archbishops and bishops were tasked to publicize the papal bull of the excommunication of the Visconti of Milan, the papal enemies in northern Italy. *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, IV, n.18193, May 18, 1323.

[600] *...per obitum Petri apud Sedem Apostolicam mediante reservation vacantem...* Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 308-9; CDC IX, 205-6, September 26, 1324.

[601] The archbishopric of Rhodes was estimated to 360 and Split to 600 florins. But the archbishop's income at Rhodes was 1230 florins which is known from the agreement between the archbishop and the grand master of the Order on 1 March 1322, while a closer look at the archiepiscopal finances in Split shows that the income of the archbishop was somewhere around 900 florins. Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 101-3; 199-202; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 197, 459. Also, see earlier the chapter on Episcopal Finances.

[602] For the dispute, see: Luttrell, *The town of Rhodes*, pp. 101-3; 199-202.

to the contemporary chronicler Miha, Balian was transferred to Split on the request of the Grand Master of the Order.[603]

I presume that Cardinal Bertrand also played a role in Balian's transfer, but evidences are more incidental. Balian remained some time in Avignon[604] and was tasked with assisting in the conflicts in Italy by lifting the excommunication of Boso Ubertini, the apostolic administrator in Arezzo (Tuscany), therefore directly assisting Bertrand in his legatine mission in Italy.[605] The pope also considered Bertrand as a reliable person with a detailed knowledge of the clergy in eastern Mediterranean and tasked the legate to suggest competent clerics for episcopal appointments.[606] Balian could have acquired his transfer to Split through mediation by Bertrand.

Once in Split, the archbishop took care of renewing the connections towards the Papal Curia. In April 1326 Cardinal Bertrand authorized Archbishop Balian to parole those clerics of his province which were excommunicated for not paying the required tithe to the papal legate in the previous years.[607] Also, Balian personally warned the papal legate in April of an infringement on the rights of the Spalatine Church. Namely, in some of his letters Bertrand included bishoprics of Hvar, Nin and Senj under the archbishopric of Zadar. Balian personally explained that these dioceses belonged to Split since the antiquity.[608] During 1326/27 Archbishop Balian made sure that the legate was paid for the previous six year of his legatine tithe.[609] Above examples show how the relations between the archbishopric of Split and the Apostolic See diminished during Balian's predecessor Peter, who avoided the communication with the papal legate and did not pay the required ecclesiastical taxes. Balian was quick to restore the relations with the papacy.

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[603] Madijev, *Historija*, p. 181; Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 101, n. 366.

[604] He may have remained at the Apostolic See in Avignon or in Italy for some time, as he received his pallium in January 1325. *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, V, n.21400, January 18, 1325.

[605] Boso was appointed to combat the influence of a supporter of Louis the Bavarian, Bishop Guido Tarlati (r.1312-25), who excommunicated Boso for his activities. Following the removal of Guido, Boso became the bishop of Arezzo (1325-65). *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, V, n.21382, January 14, 1325; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 104; Beattie, *Angelus Pacis*, 14-15; Licciardello, *Un vescovo contro il papato*.

[606] For instance, in 1330 the pope tasked Bertrand to suggest a competent person as the Latin patriarch of Constantinople. ASV, Reg. Vat. 161, f. 135, ep.682, October 25, 1330.

[607] CDC IX, 285-6, April 9, 1326; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 309-10. Balian revoked the excommunication against Abbot Savinus of the Benedictine monastery of Saint John of Trogir and Canon Dominic Petrosii of chapter in Trogir. CDC IX, 295, May 29, 1326.

[608] CDC IX, 286-7, April 10, 132; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 310-11.

[609] CDC IX, 304, August 13, 1326; 321-2, January 7, 1327; 360-1, September 24, 1327. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 311.

The stronger association with the Apostolic See was probably the reason why after Balian's death in January 1328 a disputed election took place in the cathedral chapter of Split.[610] The canons were divided between two candidates, Archdeacon Dominic and Bosolo of Parma.[611] As a long-time member of the cathedral chapter who originated from the noble family of Luccari, Dominic was very present in the political and everyday life of Split, even before his election as the archbishop. His opponent Bosolo was an important papal chaplain, whose career at the Apostolic See spanned the entire pontificate of Pope John. Bosolo obtained various ecclesiastical positions and as an experienced jurist served for many years as the auditor at the Papal Curia and was often sent on delicate missions for the Apostolic See.

Dominic and Bosolo both petitioned the pope in Avignon and after renouncing their claim the pope reserved the appointment for himself. While Dominic was personally present in Avignon to represent himself, Bosolo was represented by Gregory of Cyprus, who followed the late Archbishop Balian from Rhodos to Split. It is difficult to suggest what connected Bosolo and the cathedral chapter of Split, unless considering the connections that the late archbishop had with the Apostolic See and which were therefore available to his trusted associate Gregory. Cardinal-Legate Bertrand does not appear during this election dispute, but he was in active contacts with the clergy of Dalmatia, so some level of mediation by him can be assumed. By September the pope decided to appoint Dominic as the archbishop and the new archbishop remained at the Curia until at least November, as he was consecrated, granted the pallium and received a number of privileges from the pope.[612] To conclude, some members of the cathedral chapter probably wanted to procure better contacts with the papacy by appointing somebody close to the Papal Curia and who could better represent the interest of the chapter there. They used their contacts with the members of the Apostolic See to elect Bosolo, but the pope probably did not want to dispense with services of a capable prelate, which was reflected by the fact that very quickly Bosolo's career rose with new appointments and obligations for the Apostolic See.

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[610] According to Miha, the contemporary chronicler from Split, Archbishop Balian died on January 28, 1328 and was buried in the cathedral church. If this date is correct the chapter proceeded to the elections within the next three months, before May. Madijev, "Historija," 181; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 311-2.

[611] See the List of arch/bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar in the Appendix for more detail about the two individuals.

[612] He also promised to pay 200 golden florins for his appointment. MVC I, n. 90, September 9, 1328. He was able to pay the communal services very quickly. MVC I, n. 98, December 19, 1329. For the consecration and the pallium: CDC IX, 420-2, October 17, 1328; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 313.

III.3.3. The Apostolic See and the Archbishops of Zadar

As was already shown, the popes did not revoke the right of the cathedral chapter in Zadar in 1291 to elect its own member as arcbishops, but instead the popes appropriated the appointment through various means. A similar situation occurred during the pontificate of Pope John XXII (r.1316-34) during which two native archbishops were appointed, one by election, the other one with direct papal appointment. The popes did not diminish the electoral rights of the local chapter, but through various means did restricte elections and instead appointed their own candidates.

Archbishop Nicholas was mentioned for the last time in August 1320,[613] while already a month later John Butovan, a parish priest of Saint Matthew in Zadar, was mentioned as the archbishop elect. John's election followed the proper and necessary steps: the chapter gathered quickly after Nicholas's death and elected John, who was by February 1321 confirmed and consecrated by the patriarch of Grado, the superior of Zadar.[614] But John's petition to the pope for the pallium stalled, as two members of the cathedral chapter disputed his election. After the validity of the election was inspected by Neapoleo, the cardinal-deacon of Adriani,[615] Romanus de Setia claimed that John and his electors were excommunicated, so he could not have been elected as the archbishop.[616] It is unlikely that Romanus was a member of the pro-Venetian group in Zadar, as in that case the patriarch of Grado, as the metropolitan, would not have confirmed and consecrated John. Romanus maybe wanted to promote himself, as he was the archiepiscopal notary during the episcopate of Nicholas of Sezzi, and the two were probably closely related, maybe even brothers.[617] Judging by the selection of Pierre Le Tessier, the cardinal priest of Saint Stephen in Monte Celio and the vice-chancellor of the Roman Curia, the allegation was taken seriously, but the cardinal demeed the accusation not valid.[618]

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[613] CDC VIII, 567, August 2, 1320; *Iohannis de Butouano plebani sancti Mathei electi in archiepiscopum Jadrensem*, CDC VIII, 568, September 5, 1320; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 46-7.

[614] CDC VIII, 576, November 1, 1320; 577, November 12, 1320; CDC IX, 2, February 9, 1321; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 93-4. All the necessary steps were mentioned later in the papal charter.

[615] Already mentioned in the context of Zadar and the entire diocese in 1307 and 1308 as the legate in charge of Dalmatia (see earlier).

[616] Brunelli suggested that Romanus alluded to the excommunication of John in 1308 when the clergy of Zadar came into conflict with the papal legate Cardinal Gentile, or to the conflict between the Apostolic See and Venice (1308-1311) over Ferrara when the pope excommunicated all the subjects of Venice. He added that Romanus probably had ulterior motives for his accusation: either he wanted the position for himself, or to make sure that a person loyal to the Venetians be appointed as the archbishop. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 444.

[617] *Romanus Stephani de Secia*, CDC VIII, 365-68, August 24, 1314.

[618] The pope tasked the bishops of Senj and Nin to give the pallium to John. CDC IX, 55-7, March 17, 1322. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 444; also: Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 221-2.

Croatian historians presumed that the pope rewarded John for his support of the mission of Cardinal-Legate Gentile to Dalmatia in 1308, when John was only a lesser priest, while his superiors were opposing the legate.[619] The contacts with the Curia certainly helped as by 1320 John obtained the position of the parish priest of Saint Matthew and was tasked to collect the papal tithe in Zadar, introduced by Pope Clement V during the Council of Vienne (1312).[620]

During March 1333 John died and by September Pope John XXII appointed Nicholas, from the influential Zaratin family of the Matafari, as the next archbishop of Zadar.[621] Several days later the pope stated that Nicholas did not mention earlier that he lacked major orders necessary to be consecrated.[622] Nevertheless, a necessary dispensation was issued in four days.[623] What is intriguing in this situation is that the pope appointed as the archbishop somebody who lacked the necessary prerequisites for becoming a bishop, which could suggest that the pope did not know Nicholas personally, but that somebody else suggested him for the position.

A potential candidate for having done this was Charles Robert, the king of Hungary-Croatia, who secured his position in the kingdom by the 1320s and was interested in enforcing his royal rights in Zadar,[624] in part by promoting stronger ties with the archbishopric. Archbishop John Butovan and the king maintained official contacts. In October 1322 the archbishop provided the king with a charter which confirmed the land donation given by King Andrew II in 1219 to the

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[619] Dokoza, "Papinski legat Gentil i crkvene prilike u Zadru," 70; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 110-1; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 220. *clericus ecclesie sancte Marie maioris de Jadra, Johannes de Buctuano*. Rector Chrysogonus of Saint Mary was one of the leaders of the opposition against the legate. CDC VIII, 188, July 23, 1308.

[620] CDC IX, 128-9, August 8, 1323. Brunelli wrote that John was *decretorum doctor*, but that was not mentioned in any source that I am familiar with, nor does he give source for his claim. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 444.

[621] *defuncto vacante Jadrensi archiepiscopatu*. CDC X, 85, March 2, 1333; 88, March 22, 1333; 118, September 10, 1333; VMS I, 188-9.

[622] Later Archbishop Nicholas explained the division of orders in mid-fourteenth century. Starting from the lowest to the highest position, the archbishop explained that the lower orders were cleric (*ordo tonsuratus*), porter (*ostiarius*), lector (*lectoratus*), excorcist (*exorcistatus*) and acolyte (*acolitatus*), while the higher orders were subdeacon (*subdiaconatus*), deacon (*dyaconatus*), priest (*presbyteraturs*) and bishop (*episcopatus*). Bianchi, *Nicolò de Matafari*, 17-8; *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1022, 1090.

[623] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n. 61377, September 13, 1333; VMS I, 189, September 14, 1333. Bishops could ask for the dispensation from their metropolitan, while the archbishops had to ask their superior. The position of the patriarch of Grado was vacant at the time, but Nicholas obtained his position directly from the pope, so he petitioned him directly. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 137-48.

[624] The king was trying to re-establish his rights over Zadar by demanding from the Venetian authorities the payment of 7000 silver marks, which was an obligation dating back to the crusade of King Andrew II. The Venetians refused, stating that King Béla IV recognized in 1244 the Venetian rights over Zadar. But the Republic agreed on bequeathing 2/3 of the tribute of the port of Zadar to the king. It seems that earlier this 2/3 were collected by Ban Paul Šubić as mentioned in a letter by the doge to King Charles Robert in 1311. CDC IX, 96-97; *Priručnik* I, 358, December 13, 1321; CDC VIII, 297-8, November 12, 1311; also: Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 71.

counts of Posedarje (*Posedaria*).[625] Charles Robert backed John Butovan when the archbishop unsuccessfully tried to use the royal influence to have the pope remove Zadar from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Grado. The archbishop was probably not alone in this action as it can be assumed that there were still those in Zadar who previously had contacts with the Šubići and were dissatisfied that Venice controlled Zadar.[626] Limiting the spiritual authority of the patriarch would also diminish the hold that the Republic had over the archbishopric and the city. It is hard to conclude anything more without knowing the nature of the archbishop's grievances against the patriarch, but it is evident that the archbishop maintained contacts with the Hungarian king and was interested in subordinating his archbishopric directly to the pope in order to avoid ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Grado.

In September 1328 Pope John XXII appointed Nicholas Matafari as a canon in Várad (Oradea).[627] Some historians considered this to prove the political nature of Nicholas's appointment, stating that he was appointed on the instigation of Charles Robert and was even fiercely pro-Angevin and anti-Venetian.[628] Due to the nature of the sources, it is not possible to exclude the possibility that Nicholas had connections with the Hungarian ecclesiastical and political elites, but it cannot be excluded either that the position came due to Nicholas connection with the high ranking members of the Apostolic See. It was not uncommon for those connected with the Curia to receive benefices in different parts of the Christendom prior to their appointment in Dalmatia.[629] Clerics from Dalmatia who obtained or were promised a benefice in the Hungarian bishoprics usually had ecclesiastical and political backers.[630] The number of foreigners holding

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[625] CDC IX, 82-4, October 8, 1322.

[626] This can be shown on the example of Bajamonte Tiepolo, an enemy of Venice, who took shelted at the court of the Šubići. Vjekoslav Klaić reports that Bajamonte led an army, consisting of people from Zadar, sent to support George II Šubić in fighting Count John Nelipac in 1324, but the army was defeated. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 55. During 1325 Venice was aware that the citizens of Zadar were helping Bajamonte in becoming the captain of Bologna. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 297. It does not seem that Tiepolo obtained the position as he was imprisoned in Šibenik, from where he was freed (or escaped). Brunelli reports that Tiepolo died in 1326, but he in fact disappeared from sources. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 450; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 94-5.

[627] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.42879, September 20, 1328.

[628] Most recently, this opinion was accentuated, without providing any additional evidence, by Grbavac, "Matafar, Nikola," 459-60. In an interesting twist of fate, Croatian historians repeated the claim made by Giuseppe Praga, who called Nicholas a fierce anti-Venetian archbishop. Praga is generally disliked by Croatian historians and often depicted as an Italian irredentist bent on proving the Italian character of Dalmatia. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 133; Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 35; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 339; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 223.

[629] For instance, Nicholas de Setia, appointed to Zadar, and Bosolo, elected in Split, held various benefices in France and Italy, which they obtained through years of service to the cardinals and at the Apostolic See.

[630] Two cases are known. One was the case of Alexander from Zadar who was backed by Ban Paul Šubić. He was promised a position in the bishopric of Zagreb, but eventually became the archbishop of Zadar. The second was

benefices in Hungary increased significantly during the Avignon popes, starting with Pope John XXII who appointed canons to various cathedral chapters in Hungary. Members of the papal Curia and those connected to the cardinals had an easy access to information about the vacant benefices and the means to obtain them.[631] The appointment in Várad was made by the pope and not by the bishop, since the bishopric was vacant at the time. In fact, the pope sent confirmations of appointment to the archbishop of Kalocsa, lower ranking local ecclesiastical leadears and, significantly, to the bishop of Padua.

The circle of associates of Nicholas, who was not a member of the papal administration, was quite impressive. He was a *decretorum doctor*, who finished studies in Padua or Bologna, as he was connected to both places. During the 1320s, Nicholas served as the vicar for Ildebrandino Conti, the bishop of Padua (r.1319–1352) and the suffragan of the patriarch of Aquileia,[632] who was often absent from his diocese and sent on important missions for the Apostolic See.[633] Nicholas called Johannes Andrea, a canonist from the university of Bologna, as his master. Johannes was teaching in Padua, but from 1312 until his death in 1348 he was living and teaching in Bologna, where he supported the government of Cardinal-Legate Bertrand du Pouget.[634] As mentioned, the legate was sent to pacify northern Italy for the pope, but he was often mentioned in sources dealing with the Dalmatian bishoprics, and also Zadar.[635] Later in his career Nicholas wrote a work titled *Thesaurus pontificum*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Bertrand. The cardinal often cooperated with Nicholas during his time in office in Zadar, and Nicholas probably considered Bertrand as his teacher. Bertrand was probably even more influentian and important legate of Pope John XXII than Bishop Ildebrandino.

Nicholas Kažotić from Trogir, the nephew of the bishop of Zagreb, Augustin Kažotić (r.1303-22) with whose help he probably gained a benefice in Zagreb and was later also promised a position in Pécs.

[631] Fedeles, "Die ungarischen Dom- und Kollegiatkapitel," 161-96; Koszta, "Conclusions drawn from the prosopographic analysis of canons," 26; Mályusz, *Konstanzer Konzil*, 54-74; Neagu, "Considerations Regarding the Beneficial Policy," 60.

[632] Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 27; Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova* I, 340; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 385; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 338; Grmek, "Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi," 348.

[633] Kohl writes that Bishop Ildebrando was so busy with the papal business that he visited his diocese for the first time only in 1332. The author also adds that during the 33-year-long pontificate he employed up to 23 vicars. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara*, 23.

[634] Or Giovanni d'Andrea from Mugello near Florence (1275-1348). Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 27-8; Benevolo, "Bertrando del Poggetto e la sede papale," 21-35; Ciaccio, *Cardinale Bertrando del Poggetto*, 85-196.

[635] During 1332 the cardinal-legate was involved in Zadar in settling a disputed election of the abbess of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Mary. *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n. 58606, October 26, 1332; Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 76.

As mentioned, after 1328 Nicholas was a canon in Várad, but he was in 1330 officiating as a vicar in Padua,[636] while in 1331 he was in Venice, where he served as the vicar of Angelo Delfino (1328-36), the bishop of Castello.[637] Same as with Venetian-dominated Zadar, Castello was also subordinated to the patriarch of Grado. Since Nicholas was not ordained as a priest, his position as a canon was a sinecure, intended to provide the absent cleric with additional funds. The above would suggest that Nicholas's position in Várad was mostly nominal and a result of the influence that the bishop of Padua used at the Apostolic See to ensure that his protégé received additional incomes, as Nicholas was preoccupied with his work in Padua and Venice. I presume that both Ildebrandino and Bertrand were influential in shaping Nicholas ecclesiastical life. He gathered experience while serving under Ildebrandino in Padua, but it was Bertrand who helped the young cleric to obtain his lucrative positions.

In 1330 Pope John XXII ordered Bertrand to find a suitable candidate to fill the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople. The position, like that of the archbishop of Zadar, was politically dominated by Venice, so Bertrand had to find somebody who would be approved by the Venetian authorities.[638] In addition, in 1345 the legate received praise and a yearly pension from Demetrius, the newly appointed bishop of Várad (r.1345-72). The new bishop called Bertrand his protector at the Curia, suggesting that the cardinal-legate nurtured and propelled different ecclesiastical careers.[639] Therefore, influential Cardinal-Legate Bertrand created and maintained network of acquantainces with local clergy in the east and had extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical situation across the Christendom.

Good clerical contacts, familiarity with the structures of the Church as well as Nicholas's education and rich financial background played a role in him obtaining the position of the

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[636] Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova*, 340-1; Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 31.

[637] He was passing a sentence in a case regarding the monastery of Saint Anna in Venice. Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae* IV, 267-8, October 30, 1331; Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova*, 341; Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 31-2, October 30, 1331; The bishop of Olivolo/Castello, officially subordinated to the patriarch of Grado, but sometimes in conflict with him. Romano, "Venetian exceptionalism," 224. On Castello: Marina, "From the Myth to the Margins," 353-429. It is difficult to say if Angelo was related to Balduin Delfino, who served as the count of Zadar on several occasions. Balduin Delfino was mentioned as the captain general of the sea during the siege of Zadar in the war of 1311-13 and he also participated in the signing of the peace treaty in 1313. Balduin served two times as the count of Zadar in 1315-19 and 1326-28. For his experience, he was considered as an expert for the questions pertaining to Zadar. Several doges of Venice would consult with Balduin regarding the situation in Zadar. Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 438, 441, 443.

[638] ASV, Reg. Vat. 161, f. 135 ep. 682, October 25, 1330.

[639] *Priručnik* II, 797; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 515.

archbishop of Zadar.[640] While his contacts with the Hungarian ecclesiastical elites cannot be excluded, they cannot be prioritized over his multiple connections with the ecclesiastical and political elites in Avignon, Padua, Bologna and Venice. These were all the places where Nicholas had protectors and likeminded individuals who could propel his episcopal career.

III.3.4. Lampredius Vitturi, the Bishop of Trogir (r.1319-49)

Lampredius Vitturi, the primicerius of the cathedral chapter, was elected bishop of Trogir at the height of the prolonged period of intra-communal violence. The conflict in the city between various influental families did not subside with his election, but instead had a lasting influence on his time in office and the inner relations between the bishopric and the commune. Although his brother participated in the communal government, the bishop's standing in the community diminished over time. To strengthen his episcopal position and the standing of his family, the bishop enacted different measures, which secured his control over the bishopric, but ultimately brought him in conflict with the commune and various ecclesiastical structures.[641]

Before becoming the bishop, Lampredius held the churches of Saint Maurus on the island of Čiovo (*sancti Mauri de insula Bove*),[642] Saint Mary of Platea (at the square in Trogir) and Saint John the Baptist in Bijać (*de campo Biag antiquitis sancta Marthe*).[643] With his promotion at the Apostolic See the pope claimed the dispensation of these positions, granting Saint Mary and Saint John to Nicholas Kažotić, the new primicerius of the chapter. The situation with the church of Saint Maurus was different. It was vacant for years so in 1328 the pope decided to allow the newly confirmed archbishop of Split, Dominic, to give the church to a person of his choosing.[644] Based on the papal grant Archbishop Dominic installed John Castrafocus, a canon in Trogir, as the rector of Saint Maurus. Lampredius opposed this decision, as he wanted to give the church to his nephew,

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[640] He was also able to pay for his appointment relatively quickly, in two instalments in 1334 and 1335, which suggest sound financial basis. MVC I, 98, May 6, 1334; June 10, 1335.

[641] Due to the lack of sources, Daniele Farlati thought that Lampredius ruled peacefully over his diocese for many years and was unable to explain why the bishop came into various conflicts during his time in office, such as the ones with the archbishop of Split. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 241-61.

[642] Saint Maurus amounted to 8 florins per year. About the church, see: Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 340.

[643] CDC IX, 235, May 12, 1325.

[644] CDC IX, 433-4, November 21, 1328.

James, the son of Peter Vitturi, who then together with his brother Michacius and their father Peter, imprisoned John, seizing the rights and possessions of the church of Saint Maurus (*Fig*. 9).[645]

John, the son of Peter Castrafocus, was previously mentioned together with the leading members of the cathedral chapter who were forced to leave the city during the in-fighting of the late 1310s.[646] This would mean that Lampredius and John went to exile and returned to the bishopric together. John probably participated in Lampredius's election in 1319 and continued serving the bishop as a notary, so the conflict could have been of a personal nature.[647] Maybe John expected to receive a benefice as a reward for his loyalty and faithful service, but after he received nothing,[648] he turned to the archbishop in order to receive a prebend in the bishopric.

In 1329 Bishop Lampredius reformed the cathedral chapter which gave the bishop stricter control over the appointment of its members. Since John Castrafocus was not mentioned among the canons, it could be that one intended goal of the reform was for the bishop to purge the chapter of unwanted members. Following the event, the bishop actively worked on installing his nephew as one of the canons and appointing him as the archdeacon, which happened by 1338.[649]

It is unclear when exactly the dispute between Canon John and Bishop Lampredius erupted – some time between 1328 and 1334 - as these events are known only from the later sources, which

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[645] The full description of the events was provided during a hearing between Bishop Lampredius and Canon John Castrafocus at the curia of Legate Bertrand in Bologna in 1334. CDC X, 146-50, February 10, 1334.

[646] The list of exiles included the leader of the rebellion, Marin Andreis, but also the members of the cathedral chapter who who originated from the noble families of the city: Archdeacon Kazarica, Primicerius Lampredius Vituri, John Castrafocus and Marin Ambalažev Andreis. Rački, "Notae," 229, April [no day], 1317. During 1318/19 when the rebels controlled the commune, some of them received compensation, including Gausigna, son of Peter, Castrafocus, who was John Castrafocus's brother. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 387; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 131. John was a deacon at the time. CDC VIII, 475, April 1318.

[647] John was mentioned as a canon and the *imperiali auctoritate notarius*. CDC VIII, 373, November 11, 1314. Bishop Lampredius tasked John to transcribe a charter of King Béla IV from 1242. CDC IX, 261, October 1, 1325.

[648] During the hearing in Bologna, it was stated that, in addition to Saint Maurus on Čiovo, John Castrafocus held as benefices the churches of Saint Stephen de Trimerudo, Saint Mary de Spilano (Marija od Špiljana) and the half of Saint Mary de Monte (Marija Gospa od Demunta). CDC X, 148; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 353-4; The two churches dedicated to Saint Mary (de Spilano and de Monte) were located in richer and more fertile parts of the bishoprics. Saint Maurus was built on a rocky part of the island of Čiovo, but, according to Tonči Burić, the rector of Saint Maurus also received tithe from a place called Divulje (near the modern day airport of Split) which made the church much richer and worth the bitter struggle which errupted before 1334. Burić, "Ulomci predromaničke skulpture," 234-5.

[649] Archdeacon Kazarica probably died by 1338. He spent years in exile, opposing the regime of Captain Matthew Zorić, but Kazarica retained his office. In 1328 he was still mentioned as being in exile. His name was not included in the list of canons in 1329 when Lampredius reformed the chapter, but one place was kept vacant on purpose in that list. Kazarica was last mentioned during 1338, in the context of his succession. The commune and Bishop Lampredius disputed over the possession of the church of Lady of the Square, made vacant when Kazarica died, while James, the son of Peter, was mentioned in the sources as being the archdeacon. CDC X, 408-9, August 17, 1338; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 438, 535.

suggest that the conflict lasted for several years. The archbishop excommunicated Lampredius and convened the provincial synod to discuss the issue, but Lampredius showed contempt for the archiepiscopal penalties. The case was further discussed at the curia of Legate Bertrand in Bologna, where it was decided that Lampredius would return all which he took from Canon John.[650] It seems that the bishop was prone to the use of violence and disobeying the orders of his spiritual superiors. On several ocassions, the bishop tried to assert his control over various churches in his bishopric, which were mostly under secular control.[651] For instance, in 1332 the commune and the bishop disputed regarding the rectorship over the church of Saint Vital. The dispute was settled by the archbishop of Split, who stated that Lampredius tried to unrightfully appropriate the church and confirmed the patronage rights of the commune.[652]

The conflict with Canon John was only a prelude into a series of problems which Bishop Lampredius had with his commune and which were probably still dictated by the experience from the communal strife of the 1310s. During the conflict Lampredius became the bishop and his brother Daniel participated in the victorious communal government which then greeted the Venetian suzerainty in 1322, but the effects of the struggle were still felt by both.[653] Although sources for the relations between Lampredius and the commune during the 1320s are scarce, they seem to have been cold. As mentioned earlier, Lampredius had problems with the commune regarding the management of the *fabrica*.[654] Most of his allies who helped him get elected were by 1328 still in exile. The members of the Andreis family, who led the revolt, were removed from the cathedral chapter, while the number of the victorius Cega canons gradually increased, which was probably not to the bishop's liking.[655]

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[650] CDC X, 146-50, February 10, 1334; CDC XI, 383-6, April 15, 1337 [year should be 1338].

[651] See chapter: The Cathedral Chapter: its Composition and Role.

[652] Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol. 276-81, March 12, 1332; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 79.

[653] Daniel spent several years demanding full recompensation for the suffered property damages, finally receiving satisfaction from the doge of Venice in 1334. Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 153-4.

[654] CDC IX, 516-7, May 24, 1330. For more, see the chapter on Cults and Cathedrals.

[655] Archdeacon Kazarica and Canon Marin Ambalažev Andreis, the two members of the cathedral chapter who helped Lampredius to become the bishop, were still in exile in 1328. While the Andreis family members were removed from the cathedral chapter, Kazarica's name was not mentioned, but he was not removed. But the bishop still maintained relations with the Kazarica's family as his cousin, Deacon Lawrence, was in 1329 mentioned as being present at the episcopal Curia in the case of the limitation of the number of canons. By 1341 Lawrence became a canon of the chapter. The Cega family members were John, the son of Stephen (Stepi) Duymi, who was a canon since 1315; his nephew Stephen, the son of Michael, Cega, who was a canon since 1335; and Domnius, the son of Mengacij, who was a canon since 1341. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 77-8; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 438; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 48-55, 82.

Damir Karbić suggested that Bishop Lampredius of Trogir maintained close contacts with the Šubići, who nominally ruled the city prior to 1322, as *Ban* Mladen II Šubić provided some limited support to the exiled citizens of Trogir during the intra-communal violence war in Trogir during the 1310s.[656] But the bishop could have been displeased with the new political situation and the Venetian takeover. This can be observed in the datations of the episcopal charters in which the names of the doge and the Venetian representatives in the city are left out, which was not the case in the nearby in Split.[657] Instead, the charters begin with the reigning pope and King Charles Robert, suggesting that Trogir was still part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, and not of the Republic of Venice.[658] During the 1330s the political situation in Croatia-Dalmatia was unstable. Venice controlled the communes, but various noblemen fought to become the regional hegemons, comparable to what the Šubići had decades earlier. The instability led to more friendly terms between the commune of Trogir and Mladen III Šubić. The friendship agreement with Mladen even received sacral confirmation, as it was signed in the cathedral of Trogir, suggesting tacit approval by the bishop.[659]

Both Mladen and Trogir were somewhat threatened by the rise in power of *Ban* Stephen Kotromanić of Bosnia and Count John Nelipac, who both wanted to exploit the fall of the Šubići and become the leading power in the region. Prior to 1338 Count Nelipac worked on establishing an alliance with the local lords and the Dalmatian communes, as well as obtaining the papal support, in order to mount an attack at the *ban* of Bosnia. As a subject of the king of Hungary, *Ban* Stephen appealed for help from his suzerain, King Charles Robert. The war started at the end of 1337 or at the beginning of 1338.[660]

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[656] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 111, 333, 352.

[657] Dominic Luccari dated his charters according to the king of Hungary, the doge of Venice, the archbishop of Split, the Venetian count of Split and the communal judges. Krekich, "Documenti" II, 144-5, March 3, 1342.

[658] CDC IX, 261, October 1, 1325; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 161-3; CDC IX, 490, November 4, 1329. In comparison, the episcopal charters of Lampredius's predecessor, Bishop Liberius, were dated with the pope, the king, and the city's bishop, counts and *podestà*: CDC VIII, 370-1, November 11, 1314; 428, June 25, 1316; 463, November 14, 1317. Although, this argument should be taken with caution. At the same time, the city charters of Trogir were also dated by King Charles, without including the doge, but they did include the Venetian count and other members of the municipal government.

[659] In 1333 several Dalmatian cities concluded an alliance with Mladen III Šubić, but Mladen also concluded a friendship treaty with the commune of Trogir. Katić, *Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz*, 290-1; CDC X, 73-4, February 7, 1333.

[660] In May 1337 Pope Benedict XII sent letters to Croatian lords urging them to support Count Nelipac and combat the "Bosnian heretics." The pope proclaimed Ban Stephen as a heretic. CDC X, 326-7, May 22, 1337. For the political and ecclesiastical situation during the 1330s, see: Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 28-39; Ančić, "Neuspjeh dualističke alternative," 7-17; Karbić, "Nelipčići i Šubići," 137-8.

In summer 1338 a large Bosnian army directly attacked the territories of Count Mladen III and besieged his fortress of Klis.[661] As this was in the near vicinity of the communal borders, the council of Trogir felt threatened so a decision was passed to send gifts to the commanders of the Bosnian army, to appease them and preserve the properties of Trogir from being ransacked. In order to prevent the negotiation with, as he called them, "the Bosnian heretics" and to ensure that Trogir stay aligned with the anti-Bosnian alliance, Bishop Lampredius threatened the commune with spiritual penalties. But in late August 1338 Bishop Lampredius personally wed Jelena, the sister of Mladen, and Count Vladislav, the brother of *Ban* Stephen, which was prerequisite for a peace between the two sides.[662] Besides revealing the bishop as the Šubići backer, these events exposed the existence of serious problems in the relations between Bishop Lampredius and his commune, which were then only aggravated by the conflict over the Bosnian "heretics." Therefore, it is necessary to carefully re-evaluate the sources in order to discern the background of this bitter conflict.[663]

On 15 April 1338 the pope ordered Archdeacon Dessa of Split, Bishop Andrew of Skradin and Canon Stephen, the son of Michael, Cega of Trogir to summon Bishop Lampredius to Avignon to defend himself against several accusations.[664] The two communal representatives who accused the bishop in front of the pope were Gausigna Stoyse Suazich, representing Count Giovanni Morosini of Trogir,[665] and Canon John Castrafocus, the same one who was previously attacked by Lampredius and his family members. Therefore, it is no wonder that in his summons the pope recounted the events prior to 1334, emphasizing Lampredius's crimes and his excommunication by Archbishop Dominic of Split. It is not entirely clear when exactly were the communal representatives dispatched to the pope, but the papal summon clearly shows that the dispute between the bishop and the commune was gradually building-up well before the arrival of the Bosnian army.

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[661] Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 109-10; Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija*, 24-5.

[662] Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol 346-354, August 24, 1338. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 111, 352; Perojević, "Ženidba Vladislava Kotromanića s Jelenom Šubićevom," 21.

[663] Much what is known about the conflict was written down by Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 534-46. This information was then simply rewritten, without any additions, in Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 241-61.

[664] The bishop was accused of squandering the goods of his bishopric, socializing with women of suscpicious morals, for being a follower of the Bosnian heresy, as well as for perjury and symony. VMS 1, 199-201, April 15, 1338; Benedict XII, *Lettres communes* II, n. 6276; *Priručnik* II, 748; CDC X, 383-6, dates it wrongly to 1337.

[665] *Iohannes Mauroceni*, the count of Trogir (r.1335-38). *Venezia, Senato* IV, 514.

Although the pope gave the bishop a deadline of three months to appear in Avignon, on 17 August 1338 the bishop gave a formal answer to the papal summoning by stating that he was too ill to travel and instead named several procurators to represent him.[666] When during the summer of 1338 the Bosnian army appeared near Klis, the communal and ecclesiastical authorities in Dalmatia were concerned and have sent representatives to the Bosnian commanders to negotiate and protect their properties.[667] This was also a concern for the city council of Trogir which planned to send an envoy with gifts. Not so infirm, but instead very active, Bishop Lampredius reacted to these discussions by gathering the cathedral chapter on 15 August and telling them that none can communicate with Bosnians, under the penalty of excommunication, and that they should warn the laity about it. On 19 August the bishop went even further by excommunicating Count Philip Molina, Gausigna Stoyse Suazich and brothers Petrac and Stephen Cega. Ivan Lucić assumed that all excommunicated persons were sent as representatives to the Bosnian army, but Gausigna was earlier mentioned as the communal representative to the pope, while Stephen, a canon of the cathedral chapter, was tasked in the papal letter from April 1338 to summon the bishop to Avignon.[668] Gausigna was tasked by the commune to discuss the excommunication with the bishop on 21 August. The envoy accused the bishop of not listening to his own cathedral chapter, as some canons suggested that the bishop should first consult with the archbishop of Split before passing the sentence of excommunication, and of dealing with the heretics himself, as the bishop went to Klis to wed Jelena and Vladislav, who were cousins, without first asking the pope for the necessary dispensation.[669]

All the above-mentioned shows that events in August were happening in a fast succession and a wedding was nedeed to quickly conclude the peace. The parties involved in the wedding at Klis were aware that papal dispensation was needed, but their experience with the Curia suggested

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[666] The bishop was backed by Archdeacon James, the bishop's nephew, Cosa Saladini from Zadar, Rugerino Pollastri, Puccio magistri Dominci medici de Firmo and Nichola condam Thomasii de Cengulo from Trogir. As his representatives at the Papal Curia, the bishop appointed Ghoium Slauchi, a canon of Trogir, and the official procurators in Avignon, Fatium de Sanbucho, Johannem Angeli and Jacobum de Pistoria. CDC X, 408-9, August 17, 1338.

[667] This was also done by the bishop of Šibenik and the archbishop of Split, as mentioned by the representative of the commune of Trogir, Gausigna Stoyse Suazich, who was sent to the bishop of Trogir. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 536.

[668] Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva I, 536; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 49, 55. Philip Molina was appointed as the count of Trogir in January 1338. *Venezia, Senato* IV, 514; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 251-2; Ančić, "Neuspjeh dualističke alternative," 7-17.

[669] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 536. The representatives of Trogir accused Lampredius at the Papal Curia as being the supporter of the Bosnian heresy (*Bosnensium hereticorum fautor*). The peace between the Šubići and the Kotromanić was signed by 24 August. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol. 346-354; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 111.

that such permission could be obtained later, after the wedding was consummated.[670] More to the point, while Bishop Lampredius claimed infirmity to the pope and threatened the commune with excommunication, he undertook a strenous trip to deal with the "Bosnian heretics" himself, causing a rupture in his relations with both the commune and the papacy.

Soon after the initial excommunication was passed, the city council of Trogir decided to omit the bishop's name from the *datatio* of the city charters.[671] But this exclusion did not mean that the Vitturi family members stopped participating in the communal affairs. Lampredius's brother Daniel James Vitturi was by October sent on a diplomatic mission to conclude, on the behalf of the commune, a trade agreement with *Ban* Stephen of Bosnia.[672] Maybe the resistance of the Vitturi family members being in the city council was the reason why Lampredius's name was reinstated in the charters by April 1340.[673]

Although it was suggested by the communal representative to the bishop that members of the cathedral chapter were against the sentence of excommunication, no names were given. Since the cathedral chapter was led by Archdeacon James, Lampredius's nephew, the chapter stood firmly with its bishop.[674] But the reluctance of the chapter regarding excommunication becomes understandable when taken into consideration that the chapter consisted of several members of the Cega family and that Canon Stephen Cega was also excommunicated. Judging by the earlier papal note and the bishop's sentence, Stephen's antagonism towards Lampredius could have been the result of family competition - as the Cega family was influential in the life of the commune and

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[670] Since the petition had to be sent to Avignon, an answer would only arrive after many months, and the events in August suggested urgency. In 1336 Lampredius asked and received the necessary dispensation to absolve Baron, son of Silvester, and Margareta from Split, from sin, since they were cousins who married. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 252, f. 463. VMS, 191, February 10, 1336. In January 1337, on the request of the bishop of Skradin, Pope Benedict XII (1334-42) gave the necessary dispensation for the marriage between John, son of George, of Bribir and Catherine, the sister of Mladen III. CDC X, 294-5, January 20, 1337. It should be added that Jelena and Vladislav had two sons, Vuk and Tvrtko. Vuk became the *ban* of Bosnia, but his brother outperformed him by becoming the first Bosnian king. On the system of papal dispensation for marriages during this period, see: Neralić, "Papal 14th and 15th century matrimonial dispensations," 38-43.

[671] The bishop' name was ommitted already in October 1338. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 536. *ommisso nomine episcopi causam dantis secundum reformationem communis Tragurii*. CDC X, 487, September 5, 1339.

[672] CDC X, 494-5, October 7, 1339. Although, the person who brokered the deal was only referred to as Daniel, but Lucić presumed that this was Daniel Vitturi. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 539; Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija*, 25.

[673] Rački, "Notae," 232, April 12, 1340.

[674] On the request of Archdeacon James, the members of the cathedral chapter drew up a list of tithes, covering the period from January 6 to December of 1318, which was a period when Lampredius was the vicar of the bishopric. Since the list was ordered by the bishop's nephew James, it would seem that the list was intended to be used in front of the papal court in order to absolve Lampredius of any wrong doings in the year before he became bishop. CDC VIII, 474-86, January 24, 1341.

attempting the same in the bishopric[675] – or of his personal ambition. In September 1339 the city council, in a session closed to the members of the Vitturi family, appointed Stephen to lead the communal efforts to prosecute the bishop in front of the pope.[676] As a cleric and an advocate, Stephen was perfectly suited for the task. Not only that, but Stephen's knowledge, skills and connections he obtained while at the Papal Curia most likely helped him to become the bishop of Hvar.[677]

Two cases were conducted against the bishop, one dealing with the property issues,[678] and the second case regarding the bishop's criminal affairs as Lampredius was accused of murder, heresy, simony and perjury. The second case was presided by Cardinal Hélie de Talleyrand-Périgord (1301-64) who in 1341 found Lampredius guilty and had him excommunicated.[679] The bishopric was from that point on managed by administrators appointed by the Apostolic See, even though Lawrence was still listed as the bishop.[680] Pope Clement VI appointed Dessa, the son of Andrew and the archdeacon of Split, as the administrator in *spiritualia* and *temporalia* of the bishopric of Trogir, repeating the excommunication and attaching the summary of the

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[675] Probably during 1336, Bishop Lampredius excommunicated Petrac, the son of Stephen, Cega and Lucian, the son of Dessa. The decision was revoked by the archbishop of Split. Petrac' brother John and their nephew Stephen were members of the cathedral chapter. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol. 332-33, January 4, 1337; Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva I, 534-5.

[676] Ivan Lucić writes that the Vitturi were excluded from the session because of their family links to Lampredius. The council also confirmed Gausigna and John Castrafocus as the representatives of the commune, who were to assist Stephen. Gausigna, the son of Peter, Castrafocus and brother of Canon John was present during the council session. CDC X, 487-8, September 5, 1339. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 537-9.

[677] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 250; CDC XI, 488-9, October 3, 1348.

[678] The pope appointed the abbot of Saint Nicholas in Šibenik, the primicerius, and Canon Peter Sumsich of Šibenik to investigate the appeal to the pope made by the commune of Trogir. The bishop stated that the commune appropriated certain incomes and possessions which belonged to the bishopric. After multiple warnings, the bishop decided to excommunicate the commune, judges, councilmen and the entire community. The commune rejected bishop's requests as illegal and decided to appeal to the Apostolic See. The bishop demanded certain gate tax (*vratarina*), and the following places: *platea contigua ecclesie Traguriensis, hortus positus in insula Boe* (Brač), *campus sancti Petri de Clobucez, palatium comitatus, pedagium Barchan, et insulae ac scopuli maris*. CDC X, 516-7, January 10, 1340. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 86; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 540-4; Benyovsky Latin, "Medieval Square in Trogir," 28, f. 105; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 205.

[679] The accusations against Lampredius listed in the papal charter from 1338 are listed again, while the charter also narrates about the trial by Cardinal Hélie. The representatives of the commune were Stephen Cega, Canon John and Gausigna, while Jacob de Piscario represented the bishop. Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 542, fol. 427-35, April 26, 1341; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 544. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 257-8.

[680] The historians cited Ivan Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 543-5, who stated that the bishopric was vacant after Lampredius's excommunication. Nada Klaić used the city charter from 1343 in which Lampredius was listed as the bishop of the city as the proof that he was probably found innocent and was restored in bishop's honour. According to her, the administrators were there because Lampredius was ill. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 263-4. This was not the case as Nada Klaić only used those sources that fitted her narrative. As mentioned, Lampredius was included back into the *datatio* of the city charters already in April 1340, well before he was excommunicated. Rački, "Notae," 232, April 12, 1340.

proceedings.[681] After the death of Archdeacon Dessa,[682] the pope appointed Archdeacon Michael Gallutius of Treviso as the administrator in 1347.[683]

During the period of the administrators, in January 1346, the commune passed a decree stating that no landed property – by gifts or last wills - within the city can be left to foreigners.[684] The decision aimed at keeping the properties in the city subordinated to the communal government, but it was also applied regarding the Church. This was visible from the dispute which broke out between Bishop Angelo Cavazza (r.1440-1452) and the commune in 1450.[685] The bishop demanded that the decree be overturned as it violated ecclesiastical freedom. His pressure, combined with the prohibition of receiving sacraments, worked, and the decision was changed. This edict was very similar to the one passed in Split in 1347, in which the city council stated that a large number of properties came into the possession of the Church. In both cases the communal authorities wanted to have exclusive control over the city, limiting the ecclesiastical freedoms in the process. While there are no sources which would tell us the reaction of the clergy to the decision in Split, in Trogir the clergy most likely appealed to the Apostolic See, as in November 1347 the commune received a papal letter regarding the dispute between the clergy and the commune. The city council chose eight people – one of them was Daniel Vitturi, the brother of the bishop - to deal with it but nothing additional is known about the issue.[686] Since Lampredius soon died and his successor did not reach Trogir until 1351, the communal decree was upheld as a century later Bishop Angelo had to argue with the commune over it.

Lampredius's time in office shows that the firm control over the bishopric and the quality of one's lineage did not necessarily make for a good bishop, if the foundations were problematic. Part of the problem rested in the competition for power between the influential noble families of the city and the unsettled problems from the period of earlier civil war. The bishop's character certainly did not help in mediating these conflicts and although he tried to strengthen his control

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[681] VMS I, 204-5, June 30, 1342.

[682] It seems that Archdeacon Dessa of Split took his duty of governing the bishopric seriously or that the problems in the diocese were considerable. When Archbishop Dominic convened the provincial synod in Split in May 1344, the archdeacon could not attend, but had the bishopric of Trogir represented by Abbot Savinus of the monastery of Saint John of Trogir. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 544; CDC XI, 133, May 10, 1344.

[683] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 490, f. 4, November 30, 1347. Michael did arrive to Trogir as he presided over a case regarding the new rector of the church of Saint Barbara in Trogir. CDC XI, 482-3, August 23, 1348. Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva I, 544.

[684] *Statute of Trogir*, book of reformations I, cap. 17, January 22, 1346.

[685] *Statute of Trogir*, book of reformations II, ch. 60-1, February 1 – May 16, 1450.

[686] CDC XI, 426, November 25, 1347.

over the diocese by controlling the cathedral chapter, Lampredius turned the commune against himself. The experience of his episcopal reign stands in stark contrast to his contemporary, Archbishop Dominic of Split, whose noble origins and knowledge helped him to raise the level of pastoral care in his diocese while maintaining strong relations with his commune.

III.3.5. A Native Archbishop of Split - Dominic Luccari (r.1328-48)

Dominic was an ideal candidate for the next archbishop of Split as he was a member of the cathedral chapter since around 1311 and became an archdeacon by 1324.[687] As the archdeacon, he assisted in governing the diocese and was probably instrumental in putting forth reforms for the archbishopric, passed by his predecessor Balian, which Dominic promulgated during his time in office.[688] He certainly impressed Pope John XXII who, upon appointing him as the archbishop, provided Dominic with a number of privileges which preserved and strengthened his affluent archiepiscopal position.[689] His familial ties, as he originated from the distinguished Luccari family, and the economic-social foundation enabled him to exert authority and power in his archbishopric and in the commune. His family members occupied the highest communal offices and maintained dominant position in the cathedral chapter (*Fig*. 10).[690] Dominic personified the archbishopric of Split, the years of prestige and influence accumulated in one person and intertwined with the interest of the commune and its self-identification with the tradition of the archbishopric.

When Split submitted itself to Venice in 1327, the commune tasked Dominic and Nicholas Teodosius, a citizen, to negotiate with Venice and to promote the best interest of the city. The reasons for the submission were of political nature as Split felt threatened by the local Croatian lords, among them the Šubići, and followed the example of Trogir and Šibenik by asking Venice

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[687] CDC IX, 212-3, October 30, 1324.

[688] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 412-22; Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 99-103.

[689] Upon receiving a papal appointment, the previous benefices and positions would become part of the papal collation. It is therefore indicative of Dominic's impression on the pope as the archbishop was allowed to remain in the possession of his previous benefices which gave him up to 100 golden florins, appoint a person of his choosing to the cathedral chapter, grant some vacant benefices in the province and create a last will. CDC IX, 431-5, November 21, 1328; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 313.

[690] His father and brothers served as communal councillors and judges. Dessa, the son of Andrew, succeeded Dominic as the archdeacon. Dessa was a member of the Tartaglia family which was closely related to the Luccari family. Dessa was succeeded by Dominic the Younger, the archbishop's cousin. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 114-5; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 22, 26-7; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 56

for protection.[691] Although weakened by the fall of *Ban* Mladen II (1322), the Šubići were still a formidable power in Croatia-Dalmatia. George II Šubić (r.1322-28) ruled Klis and Omiš, two fortresses which surrounded Split, from where he threatened the commune. The conflicts were violent, but they somewhat diminished by December 1328 with a peace treaty between the Šubići and Split and George's death. Dominic, elected as the archbishop, was in November 1328 still in Avignon, but very soon returned in order to settle in May 1329 the issue of tithe in Omiš.[692] Although it seems that the conflict with the Šubići fully subsided, there were still problems during the reign of George's son, Mladen III (r.1328-48).[693]

With the submission to Venice, the commune of Split did not renounce the king of Hungary-Croatia, as Charles Robert was still listed as the ruler in the city charters, but the doge of Venice wielded the actual power by appointing the city count.[694] The dual nature of authority dictated further relations between Split and the Angevins. When King Charles Robert was passing Croatia-Dalmatia on his way to Naples in order to marry his son Andrew to Joanna of Naples, Archbishop Dominic went with the Spalatin delegation to see the king. A key element of the archbishop's political plan was to benefit from the royal visit by having older royal privileges to Split transcribed and confirmed. The royal voyage had been planned years in advance and there was plenty of time for the news to spread to Split.[695] The delegation from Split was sent in mid-June 1333 and included Archbishop Dominic and two members of the council of Split, Theodosius Albert and Peter Francis. The representatives attempted to obtain confirmation of privileges that the Hungarian kings had given to Split, but Charles Robert refused and provided an explanation, which was not written down.[696]

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[691] Listine I, 368-72, August 18, 1327; Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, 185-7; CDC IX, 363-5, October 3, 1327; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 95-6; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 60-1; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 94-5; Madijev, "Historija," 182.

[692] Since the place was poor, it was concluded that they would only pay 20 small Venetian libri, once per year during the feast of Saint Michael (29 September). The procurators and syndics of Omiš sent to Split were Bergenda and Privosios of Omiš. Count Bergenda was a major retainer of the Šubići, although the identity of Privosios is unclear. Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 82, 97-8. CDC IX, 461-2, May 25, 1329. For the regulation regarding the payment of tithe, which was discussed at the provincial synod under Archbishop Balian, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 419-20.

[693] Listine V, 227-8, December 1, 1328; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 594-5; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 95-9.

[694] The contemporary chronicler Miha emphasized the respect for the king of Hungary and the freedom of Split as the main parts of the agreement with Venice. CDC IX, 363, October 3, 1327; 423, October 23, 1328; Madijev, "Historija," 182.

[695] Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 137-8. Lucherini, "The Journey of Charles," 341–362. Venice was informed in December 1332 that Charles decided to postpone his voyage due to illness. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 65-6.

[696] CDC X, 114, July 16, 1333; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 315-6; Ivanišević, "Promišljanje o rodovima Lukari," 13; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 594.

The archiepiscopal curia of the 1330s was the center of a considerable notary activity. The archbishop gradually transcribed the *montanea*,[697] a collection of charters listing older donations by Croatian and Hungarian kings, as well as the popes, to the archbishopric. This occurred during 1332[698] and 1333,[699] but also in the later years.[700] These old lists were copied and edited by a group of archiepiscopal and communal notaries with imperial authority, and in the presence of important clerics of the province whose attendance strengthened the authority of the rewritten documents. Dominic's activity had a lasting influence on the archbishopric as these empowered documents were then actively used in the subsequent decades and centuries.[701]

A possible justification for listing the properties and privileges during this period can be found in the contemporary political disagreements. During 1333 Split and Trogir were in a dispute regarding their borders,[702] which could explain why King Charles Robert did not confirm some older charters from Split as they could be used in the dispute. During 1338-39, in front of a Venetian judge, the archbishop and the commune of Split disputed with the commune of Trogir regarding the border land of Bosiljina. Although it is unclear what exact charters did the representatives of the archbishop and the commune of Split use, and which the representatives from Trogir called forgeries, Lucić assumed that some edited charters were used where the disputed territories were inserted during copying to strengthen the claim of Split. By October 1339 the doge decreed that the land belongs to Trogir.[703]

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[697] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 536-7. The montanea consisted of old privileges granted by the popes and Croatian and Hungarian kings to the archbishopric of Split and was a "simple list without any elements of a documents, created for the administrative needs of primarily ecclesiastical institutions (dioceses, chapter houses, etc.)." Ančić, "Srednjovjekovni montaneji," 127-48.

[698] In 1332 or 1333 the donation by King Dmitar Zvonimir (r.1076-89) to Archbishop Lawrence of Split from 1076 was transcribed in the presence of the three-suffragan bishops - Archangel of Knin, Andrew of Skradin and Bernard of Senj. Farlati in some places writes 1332 and in others 1333. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 18, 289. Since Bernard was mentioned, the charter was probably confirmed at the end of 1332 or beginning of 1333. As Bernard was elected following the death of his predecessor George (r.1319-32), he was probably at time in Split, seeking confirmation and consecration by the archbishop.

[699] For instance, in May 1333 Archbishop Dominic confirmed parts of the *Montanea* in the presence of Bishop Luke of Hvar, Abbot Matthew of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Stephen and Archdeacon Dessa. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 314-5, May 30, 1333. In June the archbishop had the bull of Pope Honorius III (r.1216-27) from 1220 transcribed, in which the pope confirmed the donations of lands in the territory of the ancient Salona by King Andrew II (r.1205-35). CDC X, 107-9, June 26, 1333.

[700] CDC X, 393-7, July 8, 1338; Ančić, "Srednjovjekovni montaneji," 131.

[701] Most notably, Archbishop Dominic used these transcripts to win a dispute with Bishop Valentine of Makarska in 1347. Later, Archbishop Hugolin used the documents in an attempt to reclaim three deserted villages on the border between Trogir and Split in 1358. Dominic charters were a basis for a reambulation of the archbishopric done by Archbishop Andrew Benzi in 1397.

[702] CDC X, 121-2, October 12, 1333.

[703] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 504-12.

The political situation surrounding the archbishopric of Split around and after 1339 is harder to pinpoint. When *Ban* Stephen of Bosnia attacked Klis in August 1338, the seat of Mladen III – who allied himself with John Nelipac - the archbishop of Split went to the *ban* in order to protect the territory of the archbishopric.[704] Mladen and Stephen soon ceased hostilities, but during summer 1339 the men of John Nelipac and Mladen III attacked the village of Saint George (today Kaštel Sućurac), which was possessed by the archbishop of Split.[705] Nothing is known about the events leading to the attack and its consequences.

As an archdeacon of the cathedral chapter, prior to his appointment as the archbishop, Dominic was able to assist Archbishop Balian in the management of the diocese as well as in passing of Balian's Church constitutions which were reflected in Dominic's management of the archbishopric. Considerable sources were preserved from his period which portray him as a prelate highly engaged in correcting his clegy. He excommunicated erring prelates, held frequent synods and conducted visitations. For instance, problems erupted in the early 1330s regarding how Bishop Lampredius managed his diocese of Trogir and the disputes which the bishop had with his commune and members of the clergy. The archbishop inspected the bishopric and convened the provincial synod, probably in May 1333, which excommunicated Lampredius.[706] A note from the synod of 1336 shows that the archbishop's most common duty was probably to mediate the disputes between his clergy. Lector Silvestar from the Franciscan order from Trogir and Bishop Lampredius debated about the proper burial processions, which was settled on the instigation of the archbishop.[707]

The provincial synod which was held in May 1344 in large part dealt with the problems the archbishop had with the count of Omiš and with the position of the bishop of Makarska, who was at the time located in Omiš.[708] The dispute, which started prior to 1342, dealt with an archiepiscopal village (Srinjine), leased out to George Maldeorigus, the count of Omiš. After the count repeatedly failed to pay for the lease, he was excommunicated and Bishop Valentine of Makarska was tasked to proclaim the decision in Omiš, but the bishop refused, as he found shelter in Omiš after being forced out of Makarska. After a dispute which lasted several years, the bishop's

[704] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 536.
[705] Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 39; Listine II, 46-7; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 111; Karbić, "Nelipčići i Šubići," 138.
[706] CDC X, 146-50, February 10, 1334; VMS I, 200, April 15, 1338.
[707] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 250, May 14, 1336; Also, see: Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 532.
[708] Blažević, *Crkveni partikularni sabori*, 104; CDC XI, 131-5, May 10, 1344; Farlati III, 319-322.

conduct was discussed during the provincial synod of 1344, where Valentine did not appear, but was instead represented by Bishop Madius of Duvno. The bishops who gathered at the synod were tasked to investigate the case and they decreed that Valentine and Count George were excommunicated.[709] During the dispute, Valentine appealed to the pope and his letters reveal that the problems started prior to 1342 and by 1347 the pope assigned Patriarch Bertrand of Aquileia to preside over a hearing which finally settled the issue. The dispute revealed that the bishop's contumacy was not the only problem as Dominic and Valentine also disputed regarding Omiš and both claimed the fort was part of their diocese. Since the archbishop provided written evidence for his claim, he prevailed and reincorporated Omiš back to his archdiocese. But Dominic also decided to show magnanimity toward Valentine by promising to assist the bishop in reclaiming Makarska and providing him with a monastery *in commenda* to finance a life worthy of a bishop.[710] What is important to note here how in this conflict clerics used different resources at their disposal. While the archbishop was trying to enforce his rights over Omiš by using the available institutions of the provincial synod and spiritual punishment, the bishop of Makarska decided to circumvent the archbishop's jurisdiction by appealing to the pope. The archbishop prevailed as he could rely on the documents which he meticulously collected over the years and which were now used to determine the diocesan borders.

A rather interesting case showing the episcopal authority and the issue of multiple obediences of various ecclesiastics, can be observed on the case of the convent of Saint Mary in Nin. The issue was narrated in 1347 so the chronology is not entirely clear at times. The nunnery was located in the bishopric of Nin, but the Benedictine monks and the Dominican friars disputed over the jurisdiction over the monastery. Under the reign of Abbess Martha, a dispute erupted regarding which regula to follow, as the abbess argued for the Benedictine rule, while sisters claimed that they belonged to the Dominican order. The sisters prevented Archbishop Balian of

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[709] Friar Nicholas of Knin, Andrew of Skradin, John of Hvar, Friar Martin of Šibenik. Other bishops were represented by their vicars: Abbot Savinus, vicar for the church in Trogir; Nicholas representing Bishop Radoslav of Krbava; Stancije, representative of Bishop John of Nin; John Bardani representing the bishop of Senj (not named).

[710] Valentine received *in commenda* the monastery of Saint Andrew de Pelago, a Benedictine monastery on the island of Svetac, near Vis. CDC XI, 2-3, July 25, 1342; 160-62, October 1, 1344; 314-7, July 31, 1346; before March 17, 1347, 354-5; 355-58, March 17, 1347; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 321; Rupčić, "Makarska biskupija," 111-13; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 168-9; Korać, "Religijske prilike u humskoj zemlji," 479-81.

Split from inspecting the monastery,[711] while Abbot John,[712] from the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar, was prevented from doing the same by the Dominican friars from Zadar. The unsatisfied sisters appealed to Friar Nicholas of Ancona, the Dominican vicar for Dalmatia,[713] stating that Abbess Martha stole, with a help from a priest from Nin, a papal privilege by which the pope confirmed that the monastery is part of the Dominican order. Bishop John of Nin and then Archbishop Dominic of Split were asked to investigate the matter and the archbishop took the matter seriously. He visited the diocese, gathered clergy and a number of lay people of Nin into the church of Saint Mary and had the priest from Nin publicly confess that he stole the privilege and gave it to Martha who proceeded to destroy it.[714] Although the case was still far from over, dragging on for several decades,[715] the behaviour and the decisiveness of the archbishop of Split is of note here. Dominic took his role as the archbishop seriously and intended to energetically solve the clerical errors in Nin.

As metropolitans, the archbishops of Split were authorized to inspect and confirm the elections of their suffragan-bishops, while also being able to excommunicate those bishops who erred. It is unclear if archbishops Peter (r.1297-1324) or Balian (r.1324-28) ever used censures.[716] Dominic used the sentence of excommunication more, or sources are better preserved for his period, but often in a way to avoid the sentence being challenged. For instance, Lampredius of Trogir and Valentine of Makarska were both excommunicated for their actions, but after a careful

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[711] The constitutions of Archbishop Balian had a chapter *ut moniales sub perpetua maneant clausura* which refered to the constitutions of Pope Boniface VIII which stated that all nuns, no matter of the rule they observed, should remain in perpetual cloister. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 414. For the papal decree *Periculoso* (1298), see: Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women*, 1-8.

[712] John de Ontiaco (Johannes de Onciache), a Frenchman from the bishopric of Lyon and the abbot of the monastery from 1345 until 1377. Banić, "Zadarski gotički vezeni antependij," 86; Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana," 98; Jakić-Cestarić, "Osobna imena i porijeklo redovnika," 137.

[713] CDC XI, 404-8, October 12, 1347.

[714] CDC XI, 408-10, October 12, 1347.

[715] The issue was still discussed in the following months in front of Friar Nicholas, during which time the friar was trying to uncover what was known about the origins of this monastery. CDC XI, 421-4, November 19, 1347; 428-9, November 27, 1347. In 1366 the sisters received a letter of protection from Pope Urban V, which included the convent of Saint Mary under the Dominican order, but in 1368 the vicar of the bishop of Nin demanded an oath from the sisters in which they had to admit that they would never be subordinated to the Dominican order. The case was still far from over in 1391 when Pope Boniface IX ordered the archbishop of Zadar to preside over the dispute between the bishop of Nin and the Dominican order regarding the right of protection (*de iure protectionis*) over the monastery of Saint Mary in Nin. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 112-3.

[716] In April 1326 Balian obtained a permission to absolve clerics who were excommunicated for failing to pay for the 25th part of the tithe to the papal legate, which Balian used already in May. CDC IX, 285-6, April 9, 1326. He absolved Abbot Savinus of the Benedictine monastery of Saint John of Trogir and Canon Dominic Petrosii of chapter in Trogir. CDC IX, 295, May 29, 1326.

investigation and at a provincial synod. This suggest that Dominic was careful to adhere to a proper procedure before invoking one of the strongest spiritual penalities. He was also keen on having the support and approval of other bishops of his province, so the archiepiscopal actions would have the necessary strength and legitimacy.[717] On the other hand, the excommunication of Andrew Masulo, the bishop of Skradin, seems to have been of smaller importance, revolving around some of Andrew's debts, and was settled quickly.[718]

Dominic experienced first-hand how his archiepiscopal authority diminished during this period in favour of the Apostolic See. Instead of inspecting elections, mediating disputes and providing confirmations, the archbishop's decisions were overruled by the Avignon popes who increasingly appointed bishops without considering the local elections or archiepiscopal confirmations.[719] For instance, in 1333 the pope appointed John of Pisa, an Augustinian monk, as the bishop of Senj.[720] At the same time, the cathedral chapter of Senj elected Bernard, an abbot of a nearby Benedictine monastery, who received confirmation from Archbishop Dominic. When John appeared in his diocese, the contested bishop was resisted by both the local ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Namely, Bernard had the support of the counts of Krk, Domnius and Bartol Frankopan, who controlled the city and the bishopric of Senj. John was able to claim his diocese only after several years, probably because Bernard died.[721]

Similar situation occurred regarding Šibenik in 1344. After the capitular election of Martin, the abbot of Saint Cosmas and Damian, Dominic issued a confirmation and consecration.[722] But Pope Clement VI transfered Boniface, the bishop of Trebinje-Mrkanj,[723] to Šibenik, notifying the

[717] On excommunication, see: Hyland, *Excommunication*, 14-16; Vodola, *Excommunication*, 15-6, 119-20.
[718] The bishop was suspended and excommunicated at the end of 1341, while in May 1342 he came to Split to petition the archbishop for absolution. The bishop owed money to Mark de Molino from Venice, which resulted in the bishop's excommunication. *Splitski spomenici*, 64, December 5, 1341; 179-82, May 12, 1342. Vodola, *Excommunication*, 38-43. There are no sources to show how the dispute was settled, but it was probably resolved very soon as Andrew was one of the synodal judges during the provincial synod in 1344. Previously, in 1332/33 he was a witness when Archbishop Dominic transcribed some older charters which suggests that the relations between the two prelates were amicable.
[719] The Avignon popes did not make a general reservation for the province of Split, as was the case for the patriarchate of Grado and the archbishopric of Zadar.
[720] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 450, January 4, 1333.
[721] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 316; Kosanović, *Državina krčkih knezova*, 94-5; Bogović, "Crkveni patronat," 235-243; Sladović, *Povesti biskupijah senjske*, 96.
[722] CDC XI, 181-2, January 12, 1345.
[723] Suffragan of Ragusa, today in modern day Bosnia and Herzegovina. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 495-6.

archbishop about the papal appointment in a letter from March 1344.[724] If the archbishop was aware of Boniface's appointment, it is unclear why he allowed Martin's participation at the provincial synod in May, and even had him appointed as one of the synodal judges.[725] Boniface appealed to the pope claiming that he was resisted in taking the possession of Šibenik by Martin's accomplices. Pope Clement VI was not pleased with the situation and stated that Martin was consecrated despite the papal reservation. The solution was soon found, but it probably excluded the participation by the archbishop as Boniface was confirmed in Šibenik, while Martin was transfered to the bishopric of Osor, a suffragan of Zadar.[726]

Archbishop Dominic learned from and adapted to the papal infringments on the archiepiscopal authority. In early 1348 Dominic wanted to install his relative, Dominic the Younger, as the new bishop of Knin. Realizing that he cannot use his authority to simply appoint the bishop – he was certainly aware of the failed attempts by his predecessor Peter regarding the bishopric of Hvar in 1323 – Dominic instead made a plan to seek support from the Council of Split, the counts of Trogir, Nin and Šibenik and the doge of Venice.[727] Secular backing would be used to strengthen the petition to the Avignon Curia. The archbishop was aware that the papal ruling was more decisive in the appointment than the regular capitular election and the confirmation by the metropolitan. Dominic's action possibly had a political dimension intended to extend the influence of the Venetian-Spalatin authorities and the archbishop over Knin, which was a large diocese in the hinterland of Split and the seat of power of the Hungarian *viceban*.

Archbishop Dominic's death from the plague on March 22, 1348[728] prevented any further actions, while the pope used his death to appoint John of Pisa, the bishop of Senj, as the next archbishop. John spent more time in Avignon and his native Pisa than in Senj, so his connections

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[724] CDC XI, 112-113, February 8, 1344; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I I, 57. The letter mentioned that Boniface was from Piacenza (a place between Pavia and Cremona). The text was damaged so some parts are unreadable. *Splitski spomenici*, 323, March 20, 1344.

[725] *frater Martin permissione divina Sibenicensis episcopus* as one of synodal judges to investigate the behaviour of the Bishop Valentine of Makarska and Count George Mlatković of Omiš. CDC XI, 131-5, May 10, 1344; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 318-9.

[726] The pope tasked the bishop of Rab, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Šibenik and Canon Peter of Šibenik to ensure that Boniface is introduced into the possession of his diocese. The last two were the ones who Pope Benedict XII (r.1334-1342) contacted in 1340 regarding the trial of Bishop Lampredius of Trogir. Now the new pope, Clement VI (r.1342-1352) contacted the same people which would suggest that the Papal Curia had a network of prelates who it could contact and on who it could rely to conduct papal missions on the local levels. CDC XI, 170-1, November 18, 1344; *Priručnik* II, 617; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 66, March 8, 1346.

[727] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 323-4, February 7, 1348; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 537-8; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 120.

[728] Madijev, "Historija," 185-202. p. 193; Lucić, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 386; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 214.

with the Curia played a more important role in obtaining the appointment than his experience in governing a bishopric. John never went to Split, which can be observed from the fact that he was never mentioned in the local sources and that he died before the end of 1348 from plague in his native Pisa, where he most likely went in order to settle some of his affairs.[729]

Keeping up with the theme of direct papal appointments and rejected local elections, shortly after Dominic's death, the cathedral chapter of Split elected Peregrin de Saxonia, the vicar-general of the Franciscan Order in Bosnia, as the archbishop. Peregrin had connections to *Ban* Stephen of Bosnia and was mentioned as the archbishop-elect in sources in Split between April 1348 and January 1349.[730] The archbishop-elect was familiar both to the Papal Curia and to the Venetian authorities as in April 1347 the *ban* asked the Venetians to help Peregrin in his mission to Avignon to obtain various privileges for the Bosnian Franciscan Vicariate.[731]

Peregrin's election in Split shows ambitions which *Ban* Stephen II Kotromanić of Bosnia had in Dalmatia and the contacts he tried to utilize.[732] During the late 1340s *Ban* Stephen was attempting to increase his authority in Croatia-Dalmatia, while establishing favourable contacts with Venice, which aimed at freeing the *ban* from the direct subjugation to the king of Hungary.[733] In the process the *ban* established, or utilized existing contacts, with the local Dalmatian communities. The *ban* had at his court Gregory de Cyprus, a canon of Split, whom the *ban* called his chaplain. Back in 1328 Gregory led a part of the chapter of Split which wanted to elect Bosolo of Parma as the archbishop. After Dominic was confirmed as the archbishop, Gregory was either marginalized or he willingly left Split and gradually entered the *ban's* service.[734] His appearance in Bosnia indicate that contacts existed between the cathedral chapter of Split and the Bosnian *ban*, which were then used to have Peregrin elected as the archbishop.

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[729] CDC XI, 461-2, May 30, 1348; Williman, *Right of Spoil*, 155; VMS I, 222, December 27, 1349; CDC XI, 497-8, December 27, 1348; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 214.

[730] In sources he was listed both as *Pelegrinus* or as *Peregrinus*. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 325. April 14, 1348: *Fratrus Pelegrinus Dei gratia Archielecti*. Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 210, f. 22. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 325, January 25, 1349: ...*fratris Peregrini dei gratia archielecti Spalatensis*. *Listine* III, 126, May 12, 1349.

[731] *Listine* II, 443, April 3, 1347; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 643-44.

[732] The issue is discussed in detail in: Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 210-1; For Peregrin's activities, see: Galamb, "La politique des rois angevins de la Hongrie," 174-5; Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 147-8.

[733] Discussed in detail by: Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 147-54.

[734] He was mentioned in 1347 when the *ban* of Bosnia was petitioning the Venetians to assist Peregrin's mission to Avignon. The *ban* was petitioning the pope to grant some benefices in Split to Gregory. This would suggest that while Dominic was the archbishop, Gregory was prevented from obtaining any new benefices in the archbishopric of Split, so he had to rely on the *ban's* support and the papal collation. *Listine* II, 444-45, April 3, 1347.

Despite what was earlier stated about the relations between the Venetians and the Bosnian *ban*, their actions regarding Split do not seem to have been coordinated. In late April 1348, while Peregrin was mentioned in Split, the Venetians wanted to enlist the support of two important Avignon cardinals in order to appoint a Venetian citizen as the archbishop of Split.[735] It is therefore curious that the pope did not mention any dispute regarding Split when he appointed John as the archbishop in late May as he was certainly informed about the activities of the Bosnian *ban* and the Venetians but decided to ignore both sides.

In the end the *ban*'s gambit was not successful, as Peregrin never received the confirmation. Instead, by the end of 1348, when it was already clear that the pope appointed another person for Split, the Bosnian *ban* asked the Venetians to persuade the pope to appoint Peregrin as the bishop of Bosnia, which was successful.[736] The new bishop remained closely connected and in service of the *ban*, on whose behalf he often travelled to the Papal Curia in Avignon. During these trips the established contacts with Venice were used.[737] These events confirm that the strongest institution in episcopal selection was the one which also approved archbishops. Following John's death, the pope appointed Hugolin de Branca, a Benedictine monk of Saint Peter in Perugia from a noble family from Gubbio in Umbria (the Papal States).

Dominic Luccari is an ideal example of a capable prelate who was needed during the challenging fourteenth century. As an experienced cleric who originated from an important noble family, Dominic became indispensable in the life of the commune and the archbishopric. He made the most of his metropolitan powers, even if diminished by the papal involvement, and showed diligence and care in improving his metropolitan province. The beginning and the end of his time in office also shows the changes in the treatment of the archbishopric by the Apostolic See. While

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[735] *Listine* III, p. 77, April 26, 1348. The cardinals were Gozzio Battaglia and Hugues Roger. Gozzio rose to power during the pontificate of Benedict XII (1334-42), who also appointed Gozzio as the titular patriarch of Constantinople and entrusted him the legation in the papal conflict with the king of Aragon over the island of Sicily. He died sometime before July 1348. Cardella Pagliarini, *Memorie storiche*, pp. 145-6. Hugues was the cardinal of Tulle and the brother of Pope Clement VI (1342-52) and in 1362 elected as the pope but refused due to his advanced age. Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 62, 98-9. He was somebody on whom the Venetians relied to promote the interest of the republic. *Venezia-senato* IV, n. 858-60, October 2, 1348.

[736] *Listine* III, 107, October 18, 1348; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142, January 28, 1349.

[737] Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 160-1, In 1351 Peregrin, already the bishop of Bosnia, was travelling to the Papal Curia via Venice. The Venetians asked him to take and deliver some letters of recommendation to the Roman cardinals and the Venetian procurators in the Curia. *Listine* III, 221, October 4, 1351. Based on this charter Ančić assumed that Peregrin was more inclined towards Venice in previous periods, but this is hard to prove. Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 161. Venetians helped Peregrin on the instigation of the ban of Bosnia, and now Peregrin returned the favour by carrying some letters to the Papal Curia. Peregrin remained as the bishop of Bosnia until his death in 1356.

Pope John XXII considered Dominic's qualities and confirmed him following the double election, the subsequent Avignon popes showed disregard for the interest of the local communities and any potential local candidates. The selected archbishops were not necessarily the best candidates, but those closely aligned with the papal Curia.

Chapter IV. The Return of the Hungarian King: Angevin Croatia-Dalmatia

The papal provisions were fully enacted in Croatia-Dalmatia by the mid-fourteenth century. The popes vigorously expanded and utilized the rules regarding episcopal appointments which led to bishops rarely being selected by the local cathedral chapters but instead were directly appointed by the Apostolic See. Individuals who gradually advanced in ranks through their local cathedral chapters were at a disadvantage in comparison to clerics who could petition the Curia and had backing from secular institutions in a form of letters of support. The system of petitions meant that those with better and closer contacts to the Apostolic See could influence the episcopal appointment in their favour. This was particularly the case with the Republic of Venice and the Angevin kings of Hungary, who would petition the Apostolic See to award bishoprics to loyal clerics. The success of these external forces was limited, due to the political instability of the first half of the fourteenth century, but, also, due to the authority and the prestige of the Apostolic See to have its own candidates accepted. The situation, however, changed when King Louis was able to expand his rule over entire Croatia-Dalmatia.

The fall of *Ban* Mladen II in 1322 led the local lords to carve up the Šubići territory and engage in constant warfare in order to become regional rulers, while the communes of Dalmatia submitted themselves to Venice. The period of Angevin consolidation in Hungary led to the dynasty expanding its gaze on reconquering lost territories.[738] Charles Robert (r.1301-42) had plans to reclaim Croatia and Dalmatia,[739] but it was his successor, Louis the Great (r.1342-82) who made decisive moves to wrestle control over the region from Venice. The powerful Croatian lords wavered in their allegiances towards either Hungary or Venice in order to preserve autonomy. The interlude to the wars between Hungary and Venice in 1345-48 and in 1356-58 were the royal attempts of subduing the territories of Count Nelipac and Mladen III Šubić.[740]

Following the death of Count Nelipac (?-1344), Louis sent *Ban* Nicholas Bánffy to Croatia in 1344 and another army in 1345 in order to seize Nelipac's stronghold of Knin while the king personally oversaw the operations from the nearby Bihać. The conquest of Knin would give the king a strong point for potential further expansion into Croatia. The cities of Dalmatia decided to

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[738] Petrovics, "Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages," 62-73.

[739] Piti, "Hungary and Dalmatia in 1340," 3-10 and Piti, "A Planned Campaign of King Charles," 179-85 are duplicate publications, published only three years apart.

[740] Karbić, "Nelipčići i Šubići," 139-43; Isailović, "Između otpora i lojalnosti," 265; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 600-1.

use the opportunity of the royal visit to send their emissaries to Bihać, but Venice strongly reacted to the decision by the council of Zadar to send its representatives. *La Serenissima* sent ships and troops to besiege Zadar in August 1345 while the citizens asked the king for help. By the end of 1346 Venice defeated Louis and reclaimed the city.[741]

Although unsuccessful, it does seem that Louis's long-term goal was the liberation of Dalmatia from the Venetian control which was forced by hasty Venetian action. This official policy can be observed on the symbolic level by the introduction of the archbishops of Split and Zadar among the list of dignitaries in the royal charters. With the inclusion of these places, the king asserted his claim on the region. The claim was registered in the peace treaty with John Nelipčić, the successor of Count Nelipac, which saw the king strengthening his position in Croatia, while Zadar was in its first months of siege by the Venetians.[742]

Louis was unprepared for his first conflict with Venice during the siege of Zadar as his original focus was to claim the territories of Count Nelipac. His attention was also pulled to Naples where his brother, Andrew, was killed as part of the Neapolitan court conspiracy. Peace with Venice was signed in 1348 for the duration of 8 years, which Louis used to personally oversee military campaigns into Naples in 1347-48 and in 1350-52. Besides Naples, the royal attention was drawn to all sides, to the east, Central Europe and the Balkans (*Fig.* 11).[743]

Combined with the constant wars was the arrival of the fatal pandemic which took the lives of a large part of the European population. Although the Croatian historians have been skeptical about the extent and the consequences of the Black Death, in recent years, they have started to re-evaluate the effects which the pandemic had on Croatia-Dalmatia by carefully analyzing the sources of local provenance. The pandemic, combined with local conflicts, led to considerable losses in various Dalmatian communes.[744] The effects that the Black Death had on the ecclesiastical structures is somewhat harder to discern, but in a quick succession, the plague

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[741] Gruber, *Vojevanje Ljudevita I. u Dalmaciji*; Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 34-71; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 76-99; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 161-2; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 305-15; Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, 314-17; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 456-79.

[742] Dominic of Split and Nicholas of Zadar were listed as the archbishops. CDC XI, 251, November 21, 1345.

[743] Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr*, 29-66; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159-61; Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli*, 317-52. For an overview of the expansion of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, with a good overview of King Louis's campaigns, see: Bárány, "Expansions of the Kingdom of Hungary," 357-66.

[744] Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 114-21; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 159; Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva," 9-11; Herlihy, *Black Death and the Transformation of the West*; Kohn, *Black Death Transformed*.

claimed lives of two archbishops of Split, bringing about changes in the orientation of the archbishopric and affecting its relations with the commune and the local clergy.[745]

The second conflict between King Louis and Venice was caused by the prolonged succession wars following the death of Mladen III Šubić in 1348 during which Venice and Hungary engaged in constant skirmishes and proxy wars with each other, never really breaking the peace treaty of 1348, but which ultimately led to war.[746] Louis relied upon the Kotromanići, the king's allies in Bosnia, while pressing the local Croatian nobility in recognizing the royal authority.[747] Mladen's wife, Jelena Nemanjić, ruled the Šubići lands from Klis and Skradin following the death of her husband, and these forts were sought after by all sides. In 1355 Jelena was hard pressed from the Hungarians so she invited her half-brother, Emperor Stefan Dušan of Serbia (1308-55), to provide troops for her protection. Dušan already fought Louis during the 1350s, so he swiftly responded by sending troops to assist his sister. Dušan's death in December 1355 meant the end of the Serbian support for Jelena, and the remaining Jelena's castles were divided between the Venetians (Skradin) and *Ban* Nicholas of Croatia (Omiš and Klis).[748]

The papal policy of Clement VI (r.1342-52) was to keep Louis away from Naples[749] and limit his activities on expanding the borders of Hungary at the expense of the non-Catholic neighbours in Lithuania and in the Balkans.[750] Nevertheless, the Apostolic See showed inconsistence, as the popes often called King Louis to provide military or financial support for the

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[745] Dominic Luccari and John of Pisa, both the archbishops of Split, died during 1348. See the chapter on Archbishop Dominic Luccari of Split (r.1328-48). Heather Para, "Plague, Papacy and Power," 7-22; Müller, "Managing Crises: Institutional Re-stabilisation of the Religious Orders," 215-19.

[746] The political and military history of this conflict is covered in detail by Gruber, "Borba Ludovika I. s Mlečanima za Dalmaciju," 32-161; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 610-25.

[747] Louis married the daughter of Stephen Kotromanić in 1353, while later the king supported Tvrtko I in ruling over Bosnia. Bárány, "Expansions of the Kingdom of Hungary," 360.

[748] The entire war is covered in greater detail in: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 139-42.

[749] On the papal policy regarding Naples and Queen Joanna I, see: Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 75-7; Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr*, 118-55. The pope mediated a peace treaty between Joanna I of Naples and Louis I of Hungary on 23 March 1352, effectively ending the Hungarian campaign into the southern Italy. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 161. Pope Clement VI granted Louis incomes from a four-year tithe from Hungary, under the condition that the king releases the Neapolitan prisoners. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 195; Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 71.

[750] Louis directed several campaigns into Lithuania between 1340s and 1370s. Pope Clement VI granted Louis the full possession of the lands conquered on the borders of Hungary. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 195. Good example of the consistent papal policy to divert Louis's attention to the east is the legatine mission of Guy of Boulogne (1313-73), the cardinal-priest of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, who was appointed as the legate for Lombardy and Hungary in November 1348. In May 1350 he called upon the king of Hungary, the doge of Venice and the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller to redirect their attention to Serbia and the problems of the Catholics there who were suffering under the rule of Stefan Dušan. *Listine* III, 186, May 25, 1350; Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten" Jahrhundert, 43-4.

papal actions in reclaiming parts of Italy. Under Clement the Apostolic See attempted to combat the rising threat of the Ottomans in Asia Minor and curb their expansion by organizing a crusade.[751] As part of Clement's active Eastern policy, the Apostolic See became more involved in diplomatic contacts with the rulers of Byzantium and Serbia. But these talks were obstructed by mutual conflict between these two Balkan powers, papal insistence on a Church reunion and Orthodox reluctance to do so.[752]

Papal policy toward Serbia ranged between the desire to protect the local Catholics by either sending letters or representatives to the local rulers, calling for a Church union or trying to organize local Catholic neighbors to invade Serbia and establish Catholic religion. Emperor Stefan Dušan expanded his domain to the south, benefiting from the weakening of the Byzantine Empire. During the 1350s Dušan's territories was pressured by its neighbours to which the emperor reacted by attempting to establish new alliances. Due to the pressure by the Ottomans, the emperor was interested - or at least pretended to be - in a Church union with Avignon.[753] Because of the constant border wars with the Hungarians[754] the emperor formed an alliance with Venice and even fought the Hungarians in Croatia-Dalmatia on behalf of his sister, Jelena Nemanjić. Pope Innocent VI entered negotiations with the Serbian emperor in 1354, but by the end of 1355 the negotiations failed.[755] At the same time the papal efforts to recover the Papal States under the command of Cardinal Abornoz stalled[756] and the pope requested Louis and the Hungarian prelates for military

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[751] Clement organized the Latin League of 1344 which seized Smyrna (Izmir). Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 177-85.

[752] The reasons for stalled Avignon-Constantinople talks were of theological and political nature. As main prerequisite for the Church union, the Byzantine emperors required that an ecumenical council be summoned in order to settle theological differences. Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 186; Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 71-3.

[753] The political circumstances dictated that Emperor Dušan be more open to establishing contacts with the Apostolic See, but he first had to consider the opinions of the Orthodox clergy which led the emperor to have harsh attitude toward the organization of the Catholicism in the empire, while allowing operations of foreign catholic merchants from Dalmatia and Italy. On the politics of Dušan regarding the catholicism, which went from official hardline stance to his personal lenience and even patronage, see: Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje*, 47-51.

[754] There is some dissagrement in the literature regarding the Hungarian motivations when dealing with Serbia. Norman Housley claims that Louis plans were „the subjection and dismemberment of Serbia," while Attila Bárány suggest that Louis's aim was to construct a network of local vasal-principalities which would protect the Hungarian southern borders and to focus attention to other sides. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 195-6; Bárány, "Expansions of the Kingdom of Hungary," 360-1. Nevertheless, the troops were often gathered for a war with Serbia. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 184.

[755] The chief papal negotiatior, Peter Thomas, was returning from Serbia to Avignon via Hungary where he suggested to the king to organize a crusade against Serbia. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 196.

[756] In 1353 Cardinal Egidius Albornoz (c.1295-67) became the vicar general for the entire Papal States. On Albornoz' campaign, see: Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 89-93; Schimmelpfennig, *Papacy*, 217-8.

and financial support for the papal activities in Italy, for which the pope granted Louis the permission to start the crusade against Serbia.[757]

In 1356 Louis amassed forces in Zagreb, assuring the Venetians and Pope Innocent VI (r.1352-62) that the army was intended to march against the Serbs. In the meantime, Louis's envoys worked hard in obtaining an alliance with Duke Albert II of Austria and Nicholas II of Luxembourg, the patriarch of Aquileia and the stepbrother of Emperor Charles IV. Despite the papal objections and attempts to divert Louis from attacking Venice,[758] the army was used to assault Venetian mainland domains and force the republic to capitulate. Successful campaign against Venice, combined with the rebellion of the cities of Dalmatia in mid-1357, led to the peace treaty of Zadar, signed on 18 February 1358. The entire Dalmatia, from the Kvarner Bay to the borders of Durazzo (Dürres), was ceded to Louis.[759]

The period of the Angevin rule over Dalmatia under King Louis (until 1382) can be summarized by an attempt to politically, economically and ecclesiastically integrate the newly claimed territories into the rest of Louis's kingdom.[760] From 1358 onward various royal officials were in charge of examining the royal rights, carrying out reforms and restoring the royal power.[761] These commissions used the royal books (*libri regii*)[762] in order to arrange the local statutes and privileges in accordance with the royal wishes,[763] while also dealing with taxes and the local governance.[764] The aim was to introduce similar institutions from Hungary and Slavonia into Croatia-Dalmatia. The cathedral chapters were authorized to act as places of authentication of written documents or *loca credibilia*. In addition, the commissions introduced the Royal chamber

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[757] Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 196. Housley, *Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 72-3.

[758] Louis was granted the three-year tithe in August 1356 to pay for the expenses for helping Albornoz. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 197.

[759] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 142-6; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 162; Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 108-9.

[760] On the evaluation of the Angevin reign in Croatia-Dalmatia, see: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 625-35; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 140; Klaić, "Značenje vladavine Anžuvinaca," 225-31.

[761] For the period between 1358 and 1360 the king appointed Nicholas Csuz, the ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Archbishop Nicholas of Kalocsa, the royal chancellor, Bishop Stephen of Nytra and Bishop Peter of Bosnia. The royal officials were assisted by the members of the local nobility. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 4-5; Karbić, "Defining the Position of Croatia," 524-5. Queen-Mother Elizabeth was sent to Zadar in 1360 to reform the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia and to investigate the royal rights there. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 180-3.

[762] On the issue of the royal books and its usage connected with the restoration of royal power, see: Matijević Sokol, "Srednjovjekovni arhiv," 237-257; Szende, "Uses of Archives," 114-22.

[763] For instance, the royal representatives asked the Venetian council to send them documents relating to Zadar which the council approved. *Listine* IV, 5, August 18, 1358.

[764] About the reforms, see: Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika" 53-5; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 503-31, 593-625; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 73-83; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 124-94; Karbić, "Defining the Position of Croatia," 520-6. Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 328-33.

of salt and thirtieth (*Camera regia salis et tricesime*), monopolyzing the sale of salt and introducing a toll on foreign trade called the thirtieth (*tricesima*), which included both the exported and imported merchandise.[765]

One aim of the royal policy was to keep control over the higher appointments. The *podestà* and the count of the city could not be foreigners, but had to be selected among the royal subjects, which meant that they were mostly chosen from close royal supporters and with royal approval. Those were usually the *ban*s or the royal knights (*milites*), who originated from the local nobility which supported the Angevins.[766] The communes would resist the royal attempts at limiting the city's autonomy, but they had to submit to the royal will.[767]

Likewise, while the royal commissions sent to Dalmatia dealt with various local disputes between the communes and bishoprics the overarching royal ecclesiastical policy was to control the local Church, from the appointments to the higher ecclesiastical positions to the issue of revenues. While Charles Robert (1301-42) tended to pressure chapters to appoint pro-royal candidates which would lead to occasional conflicts with the clergy and the pope,[768] Louis achieved much greater control over the Church due to his closer contacts with the Apostolic See. Both the Apostolic See and the king had certain expectations from each other, and the relations were often strained by inconsistencies. The popes wanted the king to go on a crusade, which Louis always promised but never actually did, while the popes at the same time required from the king to aid the papal forces in Italy with finances and troops. Crusades against the Ottomans were called in 1366 when Pope Urban V ordered that the crusade be preached by the archbishops of Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar, while in 1373 Pope Gregory XI called for another crusade to be preached only in Hungary, Poland and Dalmatia. But in neither of the two instances did the king go on a crusade.[769]

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[765] Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 154. Karbić, "Tridesetnica," 670-1; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 146-7.

[766] On the royal knights in Dalmatia, see: Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 334-5; Grbavac, "Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi," 89-116. Charles Robert was the first to rely on the support of the royal knights to maintain his authority. These knights were at first of foreign origins and only after 1336 Hungarians were included. This was probably the consequence of the resistance of the local Hungarian nobility to Charles's reign. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 146.

[767] Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 30-4.

[768] The historians in Hungary tend to repeat that the conflicts between the king and the pope were rare, due to poor financial situation of the benefices in the bishoprics of Hungary. Yet the problems existed as they included episcopal appointments and ecclesiastical taxes. For the royal interventionism, see: Rácz, "The Anjou Dynasty," 58-60. For a different opinion, see: Maléth, "Les relations de Charles Ier de Hongrie avec la papauté," 77-94.

[769] CDC XIII, 537-42. July 1, 1366; On the background of this crusade, see: Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 285-326; VMH II, 135-9, March 23, 1373; Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 205.

King Louis was called upon to help against the papal enemies in Italy, while in return the king tried to utilize the system of papal provisions to have his favourites appointed to highest ecclesiastical offices and by keeping control over the kingdom's ecclesiastical taxes.[770]

Following the Treaty of Zadar (1358), in order to enable an efficient royal administration of Croatia-Dalmatia, the local cathedral chapters started to operate as places of authentication by receiving seals (*loca credibilia*). The system was introduced into the place where an efficient and developed system of public notaries already existed. The demarcation of its use was both political and experience based. While notaries worked within the communal autonomy, in the city and its district, the chapters operated in the territories outside the district, under the effective royal jurisdiction.[771] This meant that cities, chapters and rural nobility of the littoral and hinterland of Croatian and Dalmatia were being administratively intertwined.

The results, when observed in the economic development of the Dalmatian cities during the fourteenth century, meant that Zadar benefited the most and achieved significant economic development, while the development of Split and Trogir was lesser.[772] The attempts to integrate the Dalmatian trade centers into the Hungarian commercial network did not succeed as the trade between Croatia-Dalmatia and Hungary remained less frequent. The communes of Dalmatia remained tightly connected to the wider Adriatic basin.[773] From 1370 Louis's empire included Poland, Hungary, Croatia and the surrounding vassal states. Louis's main rival in the Adriatic, *La Serenissima*, still controlled much of the trade and wanted to limit competition coming from

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[770] Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 200-1. The king would keep promising to go to a crusade, receiving privileges for it, but he would never go. The issue is somewhat reminiscent of the usage of "going on a crusade" as a legitimazation by the thirteenth century rulers. It was expected from rulers to make this pledge, which would then be used for the purposes of internal legitimation, instead of going on an actual campaign. Björn. "*Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse," 1-36.

[771] The first institution to receive its seal was the cathedral chapter in Split, although it is unclear when exactly. The seals granted to Zadar (1371) and Trogir (1383) were most likely a result of good relations between the royal court and the high prelates of these cities. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 349; CDC XVI, 363-5, May 11, 1383. For the introduction of this system in Croatia-Dalmatia, see: Ančić, "Splitski i zadarski kaptol," 11-61; Matijević Sokol, "Srednjovjekovni arhiv", 237-57.

[772] The economy of the Dalmatian communes in the fourteenth century was analyzed by Tomislav Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 160-6. Before 1358 Trogir and Split were able to fully access and dispose of their incomes, which did not change when these cities recognize the authority of Venice (1322 and 1327). On the other hand, the management of the communal incomes in Zadar was gradually appropriated by Venice. This was the result of various conflicts between Zadar and Venice and dictated by Zadar's military defeats. Prior to 1358 the export and the sale of salt was mostly – at least the profitable parts – monopolized by the commune in most Dalmatian cities (Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir and Zadar). On the organization of the chamber and the results, see: Raukar, "Zadarska trgovina solju," 297-356; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 159-60.

[773] Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 258; Pach "Levantine Trade and Hungary," 5-24; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 153-4.

Dalmatia. Venice pursued a vigorous policy to prevent the king from creating a royal navy by utilizing its widespread network of agents. In the end, the royal navy consisted of the ships of the Dalmatian communes with royal admirals coming from Genoa and Zadar.[774]

Although Louis's last war with Venice (1378-81), which culminated with the peace treaty of Turin, was a success, the last years of king's reign were marked by constant problems as the agressive expansion and the royal splendour came at a price. The royal treasury lacked money and the kingdom suffered from overextension.[775] Louis was worn out by illness which resulted in the faltering of the direct royal involvement in Croatia-Dalmatia.[776] At the same time, the most serious crisis of the ecclesiastical authority occurred with the outbreak of the Western Schism. When Pope Gregory XI (r.1370-78) died, the cardinals elected two popes: Urban VI (r.1378-89) in Rome and Clement VII (r.1378-94) in Avignon. Secular rulers followed soon by declaring themselves for one or the other candidate, which led to further escalation of a serious divide in Christendom, affecting the episcopal authority.[777] All of the above has to be taken into consideration when analyzing the prolonged problems and conflicts which centered in Croatia-Dalmatia in the next three decades. It is, therefore, necessary to analyze how the ecclesiastical government of several high prelates was affected by the changing political and ecclesiastical events.

IV.1. Nicholas Matafari, the Archbishop of Zadar (r.1333-67)

As mentioned earlier, Nicholas Matafari prudently used his prior ecclesiastical connections in order to obtain a papal appointment as the archbishop of Zadar. During Nicholas's episcopate

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[774] Venetian agents reported that the king of Hungary was trying to obtain 10 galleys from Provence for which reason they wrote to Queen Joanna to prevent this action. *Listine* IV, 76-8, January 22-24, 1365. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 203; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 263-8.

[775] When explaining the financial problems at the end of King Louis's reign, Pál Engel left a puzzling remark when he claimed that war costs have hardly played a role since Louis's last years of reign were "practically free from armed conflicts." Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 187. He was correct, to a certain degree, as the royal treasury was so exhausted that the king was unable to finance military campaigns. The treasury could not finance the campaign of Charles of Durazzo to Naples in 1377 and the construction of new galleys for war with Venice in 1381. Instead, money was obtained from leasing out the incomes of the royal chamber of salt and thirteenth. Raukar, "Zadarska trgovina solju," 318. With the peace treaty of Turin, Venice was obliged to pay 7000 ducats per year to the king on behalf of war reparations. But the king asked Venice to re-direct seven-years worth of payments to Francesco da Carrara, the lord of Padua, to whom the king owed 49000 ducats. *Listine* IV, 183-5, January 2-30, 1382.

[776] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 263-71, 445-46.

[777] Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 165-91.

there was an increase in the papal collation of important churches of the archbishopric.[778] It should be noted that positions were mostly given to the members of the local nobility, which suggests some sort of mediation on the part of the archbishop and further shows the established contacts between the clergy of Zadar and the Apostolic See.[779] Just a year after Pope John XXII appointed Nicholas as the archbishop, the same pope appointed Nicholas's brother Demetrius as the rector (*plebanus*) of the church of Saint Matthew in Zadar. The papal decision came after the previous rector, Stephen de Sloradis, died at the Apostolic See. Therefore, the archbishop was probably able to use his contacts at the Curia to ensure that his brother, who was at the time only a cleric, receive a prominent prebend.[780]

Archbishop Nicholas kept guiding his brother's career. Demetrius represented his brother during the mandatory archiepiscopal visitation to the Apostolic See and by 1342 Demetrius was appointed as the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter of Zadar.[781] This made Demetrius one of the leading members of the archbishopric and also quite recognizable in the papal circles, which the young cleric used to further his career. In September 1344 Demetrius was again in Avignon where he asked the pope for an appointment to the first vacant rectorship in Zadar, in order to improve his financial situation.[782] Instead, by February 1345 the pope appointed Demetrius as the bishop of Pićan (Pedena) in Istria. The bishopric was the suffragan of the patriarch of Aquileia and had been vacant for some time. Nicholas already had well established contacts to Ildebrandino, the

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[778] Those who received confirmation to a benefice had to pay for their appointment (annates), which was worth one annual income of the said benefice. Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 60, 77-81; Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 134.

[779] The popes appointed rectors of several major churches of Zadar which were vacated by the death or promotion of their rectors at the Apostolic See, or which occurred during the general reservation. Until the benefices were granted, the pope would demand the collection of the incomes accumulated during vacancies (*fructus medii temporis*). Lunt, I, 99-101. The pope appointed Damianus, the son of John, from Zadar as the rector of Saint Peter the Old (*Veteris*) and Michael de Zadulinus as the rector of Saint Peter the New (*Novi de Platea iadrense*). The pope appointed Chrysogonus de Varicassis, the rector of the church of Saint Michael in Zadar, as the rector of the church of Saint Martin in the bishopric of Castello. Archbishop Nicholas was tasked, as the papal subcollector for Zadar, to collect the required fruits during vacancy of the church of Saint Michael, which lasted several years, until Peter, the son of Bellota from Pag, was appointed as the rector. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 95-6; *Rationes decimarum*, n. 3659-60, 3662.

[780] Demetrius had to pay 20 golden florins for his appointment. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 95, September 8, 1334; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 457-8. While Demetrius was the rector of Saint Matthew, he hired his brother John as his procurator. CDC X, 295-6, 1337. The church of Saint Michael seems to have been an important steping stone for an ocassionally successful ecclesiastical career as its rectors obtained episcopal appointments. John Butovan became the archbishop of Zadar in 1320, while his successor in the church of Saint Michael, Stephen de Sloradis, unsuccessfully attempted to obtain the bishopric of Hvar. Stephen was then succeded by Demetrius.

[781] CDC XI, 28-9, December 26, 1342; Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 249.

[782] At this point Demetrius was the archdeacon, the rector of two chapels (Saint Thomas and Saint Chrysogonus) and had parts of the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian on the island of Pašman, with annual income of 50 florins. CDC XI, 157-8, September 23, 1344.

bishop of Padua, who was also a suffragan of Aquileia, but the archbishop also had some favourable relations with the patriarch, as Nicholas was attested later as working in Aquileia. Again, the connections of the brother with the top-ranking members of the ecclesistical hierarchy can provide an insight into the papal appointment of Demetrius.[783] But, instead in Pićan, Demetrius spent most of his time as an archiepiscopal vicar in Zadar.[784] This was probably dictated by the political circumstances, as Archbishop Nicholas clashed with Venice and was living in exile between 1346 and 1358. Probably to ensure that his brother could effectively replace him in Zadar, Nicholas again used his contacts at the Curia to have Demetrius appointed as the bishop of Nin in 1354. This bishopric, although officially subordinated to the archbishop of Split, was close to Zadar.[785] It was also controlled by the Republic of Venice and the Venetians were working on having one of their citizens installed as the bishop, but Demetrius was able to ensure the appointment for himself.[786]

In addition to Nicholas's brother, his cousins also benefited from the archiepiscopal patronage (*Fig*. 12). Guido, the son of Vučina Matafari, the archbishop's brother, became the administrator of the properties of the archbishopric (*yconomus*), although he was only mentioned

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[783] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 397; Nicholas was listed as the patriarch's vicar general in 1349. De Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis*, 890; Brunettin, *Bertrando di Saint-Geniès*, 807.

[784] About Demetrius's carrer, see: Neralić, "Demetrio Matafari," 131-2.

[785] The archbishop of Split and Zadar probably had some influence in the bishopric of Nin. When in 1360 the pope named the new abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Juraj Koprivski (modern day Obrovac), located in the bishopric of Nin, an order was given to the archbishops of Split and Zadar to introduce the new abbot to his monastery, even though the pope himself stated that the monastery was located in the diocese of Nin. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 104; VMS I, 241; Bianchi, *Niccolo de Matafare*, 5. Supposedly four or five of the bishops of Nin during the fourteenth century came from the Matafari family, which was incorrect as it was based on guessing and errors in the older historiography. Demetrius's predecessor was named John. In the sources for Nin, only Bishop John was mentioned since the beginning of the fourteenth century (c1308-c1354), without any additional information which would help to identify him. The older historians consider him a Matafari, but this cannot be verified. Also, it is hard to say if there was more than one John as the bishop of Nin, since the name is quite common. The lack of sources could corroborate that there was only one bishop named John, as the Venetians were in 1354 trying to persuade the pope to install one of their citizens as the next bisohop. No such diplomatic activity was noted in years prior to 1354. The idea of several Johns came from placing Nicholas Matafari as the bishop of Nin (c.1330-c.1333), which was also not the case. In addition, the older historians considered that Demetrius died in 1375 and was succeded by his nephew Louis (1375-77) and then by another Demetrius (1377-87). The above mentioned would suggest that either four or five bishops of Nin came from the Matafari family. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 201; Bianchi, *Kršćanski Zadar* II, 209–212; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 220-1. Neralić, "Demetrio Matafari," 140. None of this can be backed by sources. Demetrius was mentioned as the bishop until he died in 1387 when the pope appointed his successor. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 370; Begonja, *Uloga gradskoga plemstva*, 163-5. Therefore, during the fourteenth century there was only one Matafari member appointed as the bishop of Nin. The correct list of the bishops would be: John (r.1308-1354), Demetrius Matafari (r.1354-87). For the situation in the bishopric of Nin after 1387, see chapter on The "Contested" bishops.

[786] Bishop John of Nin most likely died at the beginning of 1354, since in February the Venetian authorities decided to write to the pope in favour of their candidate, Giovanni Loredano. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 370, 397; *Listine* III, 263, Feburary 18, 1354.

at the beginning of the episcopate of Nicholas's successor, Dominic Thopia (r.1368-76).[787] His appointment suggest that the Matafari family was able to keep some influence over the archbishopric even under Nicholas's successor. At the beginning of the 1340s, Archbishop Nicholas actively worked on removing Abbot Martin from the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian and installing as the new abbot Michael, the archbishop's nephew.[788] The archbishop probably had supporters for his plan among the monks of the monastery as previously the archbishop entrusted Monk Dominic of the monastery to represent the archbishop during the *ad limina* visits to Avignon.[789]

The events are mostly known from a later papal confirmation of Michael as the abbot, but it seems that Nicholas accused Martin for usurping the position and alienating the estates of the monastery under Nicholas's predecessor Archbishop John Butovan (r.1320-33). The accusation was dubious as Martin had good relations with the late archbishop.[790] But the pressure by Archbishop Nicholas eventually worked[791] as a solution was found in 1344, involving Cardinal-Legate Bertrand du Pouget, a close ally of Archbishop Nicholas, and the archbishop of Split. Martin was elected and consecrated as the bishop of Šibenik, while Michael was appointed as the abbot.[792] It is probable that the Matafari family had a financial interest in the monastery and they wanted to ensure that the family directly controls it.[793]

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[787] CDC XIV, 132, May 18, 1368.

[788] Michael was the son of Daria, Nicholas's sister. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 121.

[789] Monk Dominic of the Benedictine monstery of Saints Cosmas and Damian, the procurator of the archbishop. MVC I, n. 140, April 5, 1340; n. 142, March 18, 1342. *Visita ad limina sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* was a requirement by the pope from the bishops to regularly visit the Apostolic See in order to report about the situation in their diocese. Lunt, Papal Revenues I, 91-3; Bagliani, "Ad limina," 14. See List of payments in the appendices.

[790] The accusation was an exaterationg on the part of the archbishop, intended to besmirch the reputation of Abbot Martin. When in 1329 Abbot Martin and another monk, Francis, were accused of heresy by Friar Fabian, the Franciscan inquisitor in Dalmatia, Archbishop John protected the monks and placed them in his archiepiscopal home. VMS, 174-5, November 22, 1329; Galamb, "La politique des rois angevins de la Hongrie," 174; Jalimam, "Spor dominikanaca i franjevaca," 15.

[791] Later, Abbot Michael cited problems that his predecessor had with the archbishop as an excuse to receive a postponement on the payment of *servitia*, which was approved by Cardinal Imbertus. This is amusing, since problems for Michael's predecessor Martin were caused by Archbishop Nicholas, Michael's relative, who worked on replacing Martin with Michael as the abbot. CDC XI, 360-1, April 9, 1347.

[792] Martin was mentioned as the bishop of Šibenik during the provincial synod in Split in May 1344, even though the pope earlier appointed his candidate. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 461; CDC XI, 112-113, February 8, 1344; 181-2, January 12, 1345; Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 223.

[793] Soon after the appointment of Michael, John Matafari, the archbishop's brother, decided to postpone the deadline for the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian to pay for a certain debt, which the new abbot, Michael, accepted. As mentioned earlier, John served as a procurator for his brother Demetrius, who had a financial interest in the monastery. CDC XI, 211-3, July 7, 1345; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 121-2.

Therefore, Archbishop Nicholas used his personal authority and the resources of his office in order to ensure the appointment of his family members to important positions within the archbishopric. These appointments ensured that the Matafari family would have considerable influence on the further development of the archbishopric, which became evident when Peter Matafari, a nephew of Archbishop Nicholas, was appointed as the archbishop in 1376.

IV.1.1. The Siege of Zadar (1345-46)

In August 1345 a large Venetian navy and army besieged Zadar. The siege, as well as the activities of the citizens and the clergy of Zadar were noted in the contemporary chronicle, *Obsidio Jadrensis*.[794] Although the author remained anonymous,[795] he was somebody who possesed detailed knowledge of the war activities and diplomatic corespondence. Based on the author's erudition and education, as he used the Bible and classical authors, as well as his anti-Venetian attitude, some historians suggested that Archbishop Nicholas was the author of *Obsidio*.[796] Olga Perić analyzed the language of the *Obsidio*, and compared it with the *Thesaurus*, a known work by Archbishop Nicholas, concluding that the archbishop was not the author.[797] Putting the authorship aside, the aim of this chapter is to analyze the role played in the events described by the *Obsidio* by the archbishop, the individuals close to him and the ecclesiastical institutions.[798] Particular attention will be placed on the archbishop's spiritual role in reinforcing the socio-political position of the nobility.

The siege of Zadar lasted between August 1345 and December 1346. At the beginning of the siege, the Venetian captain received the emissary from Zadar, Nicholas from Krk from the Dominican order. Nicholas asked and the captain allowed that the council of Zadar can send three representatives to the doge of Venice. Chosen were Archbishop Nicholas, Martinusius Butovan

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[794] *Obsidio Iadrensis*. For a lexical analysis of this source, see: Butić, "O leksiku djela Obsidio Iadrensis," 439-46.

[795] The only indication about the author is given at the beginning of the work where the author, who describes himself as being born in a noble family, decided to write this work on the instigation of another person who is also from Zadar with whom the author was in a constant correspondence. *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 17-8; 118-9.

[796] Budak, "*Obsidio Jadrensis* kao povijesno i književno djelo," 353-8; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 338-44; Kolumbić, "Zadarski humanistički krug," 144-6.

[797] Perić, "O autorstvu dijela Obsidio iadrensis," 291-7; *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 12-5.

[798] For an overview of the role of the ecclesiastical personnel as described by Obsidio, see: Ladić, "O nekim aspektima uloge Crkve," 277-90. The author did not go beyond the work *Obsidio iadrensis* in order to establish the archbishop's role during the siege nor did he researched the connections between the archbishop's spiritual role and his function in strengthening the ruling class, to which Nicholas personally belonged to.

and Thomas James de Petrizo.[799] It is unclear if the embassy was sent as the Venetian captain ordered the Venetians to leave the city that very day. The king of Hungary got immediately involved and he started to communicate with the population of Zadar. During the fall the royal letter of support for Zadar was read publicly and it provoked a celebration in the city.[800] Friar Marin from the Franciscan order was sent to the king as the emissary of the city.[801]

The *Obsidio* showcases the important spiritual role played by the archbishop, but also the intertwining of the ecclesiastical authority and the municipal power by using rituals in promotion of the new political ideology of the city and the strengthening of the ruling elite.[802] On 25 November 1345, on the day of the martyrdom of Saint Chrysogonus,[803] Archbishop Nicholas tried to raise the spirits of the defenders by holding a mass in the cathedral where, according to the author, all the clergy and the citizens gathered. Nicholas blessed the banner (*vexillum*) sent to Zadar by King Louis and then, with the entire clergy and followed by the population (*nobiles* and *plebeii*), led a procession to the main square, where he blessed the entire population, and where the banner was set up.[804] Not only was the patron saint commemorated, but in this changed circumstances even the king was commemorated through the appearance and the consecration of the royal banner. This symbolism signified the sacred consecration of the transfer of Zadar from Venice to the protection of the king. In March 1346 the city council received letters from King Louis encouraging the citizens to resist Venice and to expect his imminent arrival to Dalmatia. On the suggestion of some members of the nobility, the archbishop ordered daily prayers to be directed to the king, under the threat of excommunication.[805] Therefore the sacramental ceremony shows how the power of the commune was intertwined with the spiritual authority of the archbishop. The commune did not attempt to displace the archbishop's sacred authority, but instead wanted to benefit from it. Through a ceremony which included the celebration of the patron saint and the acceptance of the flag – the symbol of royal authority – the commune received the much-needed

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[799] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 140-1.
[800] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 152-5.
[801] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 154-7.
[802] On the role of the ritual in medieval Dalmatian communes, on the example of Dubrovnik, see: Janeković Römer, *Okvir slobode*, 291-3.
[803] On the importance of the cult of Saint Chrysogonus, see: Granić, "O kultu Sv. Krševana," 35-58; Vedriš, *Hagiography as memory*, 167-260.
[804] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 170-1.
[805] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 204-9.

sacral authorization for the change in its political realignment. The episcopal cooperation is not strange since in this case the archbishop came from one of the Zadar's influential families.[806]

In June 1346 the patriarch of Aquileia, Bertram of St. Genesius (r.1334-50), arrived in Zadar accompanying the Hungarian army and was greeted by the citizens with gifts.[807] The patriarch hoped to use the rebellion of Zadar for his attack on the territories of Venice in Istria[808] and also to forge a closer alliance with the king of Hungary. Bertram tried to influence the pope to make an action against the Venetians, and in 1347 he also tried to mediate between Venice and Hungary which the Venetians refused.[809] The Patriarchate of Aquileia was allied with the Holy Roman Empire, controlled by the Luxembourg family, the same one with whom King Louis established good contacts during the 1340s. The patriarchs had a vital role for the emperors in controlling the Alpine passes, serving as the connection between the Empire and the Italian states, as well as having interest in the situation in the Adriatic region.[810] It is worth mentioning that Aquileia was the metropolitan of Padua. Shortly before the start of the war over Zadar Nicholas was recorded as the vicar of the bishop of Padua,[811] which meant that he was still nurturing good connections with Ildebrandino Conti, the bishop of Padua (r.1319–1352). In addition, Nicholas's brother Demetrius was the bishop of Pićan, a suffragan of Aquileia. Therefore, the patriarch's visit to Zadar can be interpreted by his connection to King Louis, but also by patriarch's contacts with the clerical elites of Zadar, primarily to the Matafari family.

King Louis also arrived near Zadar in June 1346. The city council sent Archbishop Nicholas and several citizens as representatives to submit Zadar to the royal authority.[812] But the royal presence was short lived. The combined royal-Zaratin army was soon defeated and in July the king withdrew to Bihać. For most of the *Obsidio* the author elevates the king above everybody else, but after the failed battle and the withdrawal of the royal army, the author is disillusioned

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[806] For the similar use of the cult of saints by medieval communes, but with different context, see: Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 78-92; Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 215-78; Franco, "Episcopal Power and the Late Medieval State," 255-69; Ronzani, "Chiesa del comune nelle cittá," 500.

[807] *Obsidio Jadrensis*, 234-5.

[808] *Listine* II, 347-50, May 20, 1346; *Listine* II, 352-3, May 22-23, 1346.

[809] *Listine* II, 382-3, September 4, 1346; 447-8, April 18, 1347.

[810] Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 168-9; Paschini, *Storia del Friuli*, 83-114; Zacchigna, "Il patriarcato di Aquileia," 91-113; Schmidinger, "Il patriarcato di Aquileja," 141-75.

[811] Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova*, II, 24.

[812] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 230-1. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 104-5 adds that the archbishop led a procession consisting of both the citizens and the nobility who sang religious songs and approached the king to thank him for coming to their rescue. The king also received a gift of two horses covered with gold and silver.

with the king and the actions of his barons. The author stated that the old prayer, which was erased from the Church books, should be reintroduced to Dalmatia and which stated: *Ab ira Ungarorum libera nos, o domine*! (O Lord, free us from the wrath of the Hungarians!).[813] The Venetians tried to use the situation to buy Dalmatia and Zadar but the king refused and had to temporarily postpone his conquest of Dalmatia.

In the following months the city suffered from famine and the attempts by the parts of the population to negotiate with the Venetians. One of the cases involved Michael de Carnaruto, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian, and the archbishop's nephew. Michael's behaviour was very unusual as it seems that he sent letters to the Venetian commander in September 1346 expressing his and his brother Marin's loyalty to the Venetian side, while sending Friar Gregory as the abbot's representative to Venice. The two brothers were discovered but, according to the author of *Obsidio*, due to the intervention of some noblemen they were only imprisoned for the duration of the hostilities.[814]

Pressed by the rebellious elements in the city itself and the hardships of the siege, the city council deliberated in the late October about surrendering the city. During the negotiation with the Venetian commanders, the nobility of Zadar provided two hostages to Venice and the author of the Obsidio narrates that Archbishop Nicholas performed a ceremony during the handover of the hostages.[815] By mid-December the city surrendered and signed a peace treaty with Venice, while the Venetian army entered the city. The Venetian representatives entered the cathedral, occupied the pulpit and informed the citizens that Venice forgives them for their treachery. After this the flag of King Louis was taken down from the main square and the flag of La Serenissima was raised.[816] The event is in complete contrast to the earlier events when both the commune and the ecclesiastical leaders accepted the royal authority in a ceremony which was imbued with the sacral legitimacy by the participation of Archbishop Nicholas.

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[813] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 238-43.
[814] Besides his personal loyalty to Venice, Michael's behaviour could be explained by the fact that Venice occupied and used the monastery as a fort. *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 270-3.
[815] *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 280-3.
[816] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 109.

IV.1.2. Archbishop in Exile, Vicars at Home

Following the conquest by Venice, Archbishop Nicholas Matafari went into exile. He spent most of hs time either in Padua or in Aquileia serving both the bishop and the patriarch as an experienced vicar.[817] But the Venetian documents noted that immediately following the siege, the archbishop went to "the lands of the king."[818] The Venetian authorities probably put pressure on the archbishop's cousins to persuade the archbishop to leave Hungary and come to Venice. The behaviour toward the archbishop was not unique, as the Venetian authorities treated the majority of the Zaratin noble families as potential rebels, confining many noblemen in Venice or requiring some to remain in exile and away from Zadar.[819] The siege of Zadar in 1345-46 and the Venetian conquest caused a considerable rip in the political, social and ecclesiastical fabric of the Zaratin society, as individuals or entire male members of noble families were taken into captivity to Venice or perished during the Black plague which affected the city in 1348-49. The decline of some families led to the rise in the importance of some others.[820]

The Venetians questioned the archbishop's loyalty, as he worked against them during the siege, so the authorities unsuccessfully petitioned the pope to transfer Nicholas somewhere else and to confer the archbishopric to a Venetian citizen.[821] This is reminiscent of the earlier Venetian requests, but now La Serenissima could not influence the capitular election through the patriarch of Grado and force the appointment of favourable candidates as the archbishops were directly appointed by the pope, who provided the see to those with contacts with the Curia.

Instead, the best Venice could do was to try and control the archbishopric. In the absence of the archbishop, the diocese was managed by vicars while the local Church was closely watched by the Venetians. In September 1348 the count of Zadar was authorized to dismiss and remove from Zadar the archiepiscopal vicar or any other suspicious person.[822] It is unclear if this permission was ever used, but three vicars were mentioned during the period of siege of Zadar and Nicholas's exile. Primicerius Chrysogonus de Cigalis (Zigalis) of the cathedral chapter was mentioned during the siege of Zadar, so it could be that the decision was aimed against his work

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[817] Dall'Orologio, *Dissertazioni sopra l'istoria ecclesiastica di Padova*, 198-99; VMS I, 231-2, June 8, 1354.

[818] *Listine* II, 445-6; *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 685; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 74.

[819] Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva," 11-2.

[820] For a complete overview of the losses of the Zaratin nobility, see: Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva," 9-35.

[821] *Listine* II, 445-6, April 5, 1347.

[822] *Listine* III, 104, September 14, 1348.

as he was still mentioned as the vicar during 1349.[823] The most suspicious person was probably the bishop of Pićan, Demetrius Matafaris, the brother of the archbishop of Zadar and the archiepiscopal vicar general in *temporalia* and *spiritualia*. Demetrius maintained contacts with his brother during 1347/48, who was in Aquileia, at the court of the patriarch.[824] In 1350 Demetrius was absent from the city and present in Venice, although the sources do not say what was the reason.[825] In 1352 he came into conflict with the Venetian count of Zadar which reveals that Demetrius dealt with the transportation of grain. During the dispute Demetrius stated that he could not have smuggled grain to Pag as he was away for several months from Zadar and that he was in Venice during that time.[826] Again, it is unclear was he in Venice on the invitation of the government, for some private purposes, or passing through, maybe to Aquileia as the patriarch was still his spiritual superior. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that, while the activities of the vicars were viewed with distrust, Demetrius remained as the vicar general in temporal and spiritual affairs of the archbishopric throughout the 1350s.[827] As he was probably often absent from Zadar, others were employed to help manage the Church of Zadar. In 1350 Demetrius was substituted by two proctors, Archdeacon Chrysogonus of Zadar and Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary Major of Zadar (*sancte Marie maioris*). Gregory was regularly attested as the archiepiscopal vicar from 1356 until his death in 1393, or as a papal subcollector.[828] Since he was mentioned as the vicar for decades, under various archbishops, either shows his skills and qualities, or suggests that as a rector of an important church in the city he enjoyed a position of considerable power in the

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[823] Chrysogonus was the vicar while Nicholas was probably still in the city. CDC XI, 326, September 18, 1346.; Chrysogonus was the primicerius of the cathedral chapter in Zadar from (at least) 1338 to 1349, CDC X, 376, April 8, 1338; Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 249.

[824] For Demetrius's contacts with his brother and the patriarch in 1347/48, see: Brunettin, *Bertrando di Saint-Geniès*, 805, 815.

[825] The sources say that Demetrius was *existens Venetiis et sic absens a civitate*. CDC XI, 602, May 21, 1350.

[826] Jadranka Neralić suggests that Demetrius was also viewed with distruss by the Venetians. For this claim, she uses a case in Zadar on the main square where the Venetian count and captain Giustiniani accused Demetrius for exporting grain from Olib to Pag, which was prohibited. She herself adds that these charges were false and concludes by stating that Nicholas and Demetrius were "... notorius supporters of King Louis of Hungary's politics, the Matafari brothers were considered dangerous by the Venetian administration in Zadar!" Neralić, "Demetrio Matafari," 136; CDC XII, 130, October 19, 1352.

[827] The vicar as the bishop of Pićan: CDC XI, 602, May 21, 1350, Bianchi, *Kršćanski Zadar* II, 194, March 10, 1351; as the bishop Nin: Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 112, October 28, 1356; CDC XII, 440, December 28, 1357.

[828] He appeared as a witness, the vicar of the archbishop, the papal sub-collector of the *decime triennalis* and the papal collector of spoils for several church provinces. CDC XII, 346, May 6, 1356; 582, June 27, 1359; 22-3, May 8, 1360; 308-9, November 1, 1363; 323-6, December 18, 1363; 430, April 3, 1365; 463, August 28, 1365; 503, February 6, 1366; 522-3, April 22, 1366; CDC XIII, November 1, 1363; 413, December 27, 1364; 430, April 3, 1365; 173-4, January 25, 1376; CDC XIV, 517-8, April 25, 1373; CDC XV, 7-8, January 28, 1374; 313, August 25, 1377; 344, January 31, 1378.

archbishopric. It is not entirely clear if the archbishop appointed vicars or he shared the right with the cathedral chapter, which could have been particularly important during Nicholas's exile as the archbishopric had to be managed by the vicars. Despite fully controlling Zadar, the Venetian authorities were unable to fully control the archbishopric. Probable reason can be found in favourable contacts that the Matafari brothers had with the Apostolic See. For instance, in 1354 the pope ignored the Venetian candidate for the bishopric of Nin and instead transferred Demetrius Matafari, moving him from Pićan to Nin.

Not all ecclesiastical institutions in Zadar had the same treatment as some favoured the Venetian rule while other conflicted with it. For instance, the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian from Čokovac on the island of Pašman was used as a Venetian fortress during the siege of Zadar. On the decision of the Venetian Great Council the fort was demolished in 1347, but the monastery was preserved and its properties protected, at least for the most part.[829] The monastery prospered during the Venetian period, in great part thanks to the alignment of its abbots with the Venetians during the siege of Zadar. For instance, in 1360 Archbishop Hugolin of Split noted that the income of the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian was higher than then incomes of the monasteries of Saint Chrysogonus and Saint Mary in Zadar, which were far more important monasteries, but which often conflicted with the Venetians.[830]

As mentioned, Archbishop Nicholas de Matafari used his episcopal power to dismiss the abbot of the monastery in order to install his nephew, Michael de Carnaruto, who turned out to support Venice during the siege of Zadar. Following the siege, the Carnaruto family was favoured by the new regime.[831] On the other hand, Michael remained the abbot of the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian until his death in 1349 when the new abbot, Gregory, was mentioned in Avignon.[832] It is probable that this Gregory was the same friar who was sent by Michael to Venice to represent the abbot's interests, suggesting that the monastery had continuous Venetian support.

The monastery probably prospered during the Venetian rule, but by mid-1357 Abbot Gregory sought papal protection from the Venetian authorities which seized his monastery, razed

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[829] It was preserved with an overwhelming majority: 49 in favour, with only one council member abstaining and one opposing. *Listine* II, 439, March 8, 1347; III, 165-6, November 9, 1349.

[830] CDC XIII, 7-8, February 11, 1360.

[831] Michael's brother Marin was tasked with a number of municipal duties and was one of the envoys of the commune when dealing with Venice. Following the peace of Zadar in 1358 Marin lived in exile as the king prohibited his return to Zadar. Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva," 15-6.

[832] Abbot Gregory was present in the Avignon Curia in 1349. *Priručnik* I, 358, March 3 for appointment; 359, May 4 for being sent to his monastery; 352, May 25 for the payment of *servitia*. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 223.

some houses and even imprisoned the abbot when he protested.[833] It should be mentioned that 1356-57 was rather problematic period for Venice, which was faced with the war with Genoa, growing tensions with Hungary which resulted in a devastating war, and embroiled in serious crisis which resulted in the quick succession of several doges.[834] The island of Pašman, on which the monastery was located, was on a valuable strategic point, used during the revolt of Zadar to enforce the Venetian rule over Dalmatia, so the destruction of the houses of the monastery could have had military reasons. Also, in September 1358 Abbot Gregory had to seek papal protection again, now from unknown attackers. While it has been suggested that the abbot sought the protection from the Venetian pressure,[835] no persons were named, and the papal order came months after the peace treaty between Louis and Venice was signed. The pope ordered the bishop of Nin, the abbot of Saint John the Baptist in Trogir and the abbot of the Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar to protect the lands of the monastery from any ecclesiastical or non-ecclesiastical people who could usurp the mentioned lands.[836] It could be that those who were pillaging the lands of the monastery were those who tried to profit from the Venetian defeat.

On the other side of the spectrum was the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, among the most important ecclesiastical institutions of the city which suffered during this period. Abbot John de Ontiaco (r.1345-77) was excommunicated in 1359 by the papal legate, Cardinal Egidius Albornoz (*Fig*. 13),[837] for not paying ecclesiastical taxes. The abbot stated that he had to spend four years outside of Zadar due to the Venetian tyranny, as well as that the monastery was not able to collect any incomes from their properties for 13 years as those possessions were consumed by fire (*fuit combusta*) during the Venetian reconquest of Zadar.[838] While it could seem that the abbot used the Venetian hostility as explanation for not paying taxes to the papal legate, it should be mentioned that the monastery had problems with the Venetian authorities and had to borrow

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[833] It was also stated that the abbot went to the pope in the previous year, so during 1356, when he also sought protection from the pope. *Listine* III, 347-8, 347-9, July 30, 1357. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 223-4; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 225-6; Jelić, "Povjesno-topografske crtice biogradskom primorju," 59.

[834] Lane, *Venice*, 183-4; Dibello, "La stabilità delle istituzioni veneziane," 85-129.

[835] Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 223-4; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 225-6.

[836] CDC XII, 508-10, September 1, 1358.

[837] Cardinal Albornoz was charged as the papal legate for the patriarchates of Aquileia and Grado, as well as the archbishoprics of Ravenna, Milano, Genova, Pisa, Split, Dubrovnik, Antibar and Zadar. Werunsky, *Excerpta ex registris*, 133, September 18, 1358.

[838] CDC XII, 582-4, June 27, 1359. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 113-4. In addition, the abbot came from France, so it cannot be said that he had some personal bias against the Venetian authorities. About Abbot John, see: Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana," 98-101; Jakić-Cestarić, "Osobna imena i porijeklo redovnika," 137.

heavily during te 1350s to be able to cover its operations and ecclesiastical taxes.[839] In addition, it was probably the abbot of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus who helped the German mercenaries employed by King Louis to enter the city over night and conquer the city without casualties.[840] In 1360 the archbishop of Split stated that the income of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus was lower than that of Saint Cosmas and Damian, even though Saint Chrysogonus was one of the most important monasteries of Zadar.

Archbishop Nicholas returned to Zadar from his exile sometime after 1358. His remaining years in the diocese were uneventful and in March 1367 the archbishop died and was buried in the cathedral.[841] Since Nicholas was a person who was closely connected to his family, it is not strange to see that his nephew, Louis Matafari, erected in 1386 a gravestone to commemorate his uncle (*Fig*. 14).[842] While it is unusual that the family waited almost twenty years for this, the archbishopric was again governed by a member of the Matafari family, Peter, who was also Louis's brother.[843] The brothers surely wanted to emphasize their connection to a distinguished predecessor, which raised the prestige of the family, and they also wanted to define how the family remembered one of their most important members. The headstone depicted the archbishop sitting in the position of a teacher, surrounded by priests. So even in death, the archbishop was still teaching those around him.

IV.2. Competent Diplomat, but Poor Bishop - Bartholomew of Trogir (r.1349-61)

Most (arch)bishops mentioned so far, either locally appointed or promoted by the pope, spent most of their time in their diocese, unless physically prevented to do so. The following bishop is an example of a person who felt more comfortable at the courts of the popes and kings than in personally administering his own diocese. It could even be argued that he systematically avoided

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[839] The count of Zadar seized some wine and salt from the abbot of Saint Chyrsogonus. Listine III, 268, November 20, 1354.

[840] Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 321. There were other monasteries which were "suspected" of helping the Hungarian forces take Zadar, but only the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus was adjencent to the city walls to enable such action. Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije", 227.

[841] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281.

[842] Louis was the son of Vucinna Matafari, the brother of Archbishop Nicholas and Bishop Demetrius. Louis hired Mengelo, a Venetian artist, who provided drawings and Paul Vanunci from Sermona, a sculptol, who crafted the gravestone. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 517-8. Only parts of the tombstone were preserved. Petricioli, "Još o Pavlu iz Sulmone," 116-7.

[843] It should be added that Demetrius, the bishop of Nin and the brother of Nicholas, was living in Zadar until his death during 1387. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 370; Begonja, *Uloga gradskoga plemstva*, 163-5.

his episcopal obbligations. Bartholomew was a career clergyman with close ties to the Papal Curia. The pope appointed him in January 1349,[844] but the new bishop did not arrive to his diocese until 1352, as he was not mentioned in the local sources from Trogir.[845] Instead, the diocese was listed as vacant, while Bartholomew appointed a local canon as his vicar. This was most unfortunate since his diocese was affected by problematic relations among the clergy and the noble families, which dated back to the intra-communal conflicts during the 1310s and was further aggravated by the discordant reign of Bishop Lampredius.

IV.2.1. At the Courts of Emperors, Kings and Popes

In the papal bull of appointment of the bishop of Trogir, Bartholomew was described as being a canon in Constantinople and the bishop of Kotor. Soon after his appointment, in 1351, the pope tasked Bartholomew, together with the archbishops of Durazzo and Dubrovnik, to go on a legatine mission to Albania and Serbia. The selection is rather unusual. Durazzo and Dubrovnik were close to the lands in question, so the appointment of these prelates makes sense as they were directly affected by what was occurring in Albania and Serbia. On the other hand, Trogir was quite far away from these lands and the inclusion of Bartholomew can only be explained if we consider his origins, connections to Byzantium as well as the papal policy regarding the Catholic bishoprics on the borders between the Catholic and Orthodox world.

I suggest that Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir was Bartholomew of Rome – also called *de Urbe* (the city of Rome) - who was mentioned in the Latin Greece and at the court of the Byzantine emperor. He was the canon of Negroponte[846] and the vicar of the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Henry d'Asti (r.1339–45). Bartholomew was present in Constantinople in February 1347 when John Kantakouzenos entered the city and claimed the empire.[847] The canon sent a positive report on Kantakouzenos to the Apostolic See in Avignon and remained in the city until October, discussing with the new emperor the potential Church union between Avignon and Constantinople.

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[844] CDC XI, 499-500, January 30, 1349.

[845] In the city charters *episcopatu vacante* and *ecclesia vacante* was listed for the period from February 1349 until November 1351. Bartholomeus was only mentioned from 1352. Rački, "Notae," 233.

[846] Negroponte was the medieval Italian name for the modern-day city of Chalcis and also for the entire island of Euboea. On the Venetian Negroponte, see: Tsougarakis, "The Latins in Greece," 2-6.

[847] John VI Kantakouzenos (1292-1383) seized Constantinople in 1347 and while keeping control over the entire empire in his hand, he proclaimed himself to rule as the co-emperor to John V Palaiologos (1332-92). Nicol, *Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 185-250;

Bartholomew was also sent as part of the Byzantine delegation to the Curia in March 1348 to present the emperor's requests. Kantakouzenos wanted to convene a synod to discuss the ecclesiastical differences, join forces with the Christian armada which was at the time fighting for Smyrna,[848] but also wanted diplomatic and military help against Emperor Stefan Dušan, who expanded his Serbian Empire by snatching Byzantine lands. The members of the delegation, including Bartholomew, received funds from the Apostolic See in April 1348 to return to Constantinople.[849] There is no more mention of Bartholomew of Rome as being part of negotiations in Constantinople.[850]

Farlati wrote that Bartholomew, the son of Salomon, came from Valmontone,[851] and was in 1341 the vicar of Bishop Ildebrandino Conti of Padua and the archpriest of the church of Saint Justine in Monselice in the bishopric of Padua. It seems that Farlati conflated two Bartholomews together which Paolo Sambin considered to be separate. Sambin reports that Bartolomew, the son of Salomon, was the vicar of the bishop of Padua for thirteen years (1335-1348). A different Bartholomew, the son of Jacob, was the magister in arts and medicine and from 1322 the archpriest of Monselice, which was one of the three most important parishes in the bishopric of Padua.[852] Archpriest Bartholomew came from Valomonte, which was a place south of Rome and part of its bishopric.[853] During Bartholomew's appointment as the bishop of Kotor, in July 1348, the pope stated that Bartholomew was a canon in Constantinople. After only six months, in January 1349, he was transferred to Trogir.[854] Bartholomew also appeared in the local sources in Padua in 1351, where he stated that the pope allowed him to keep the parish church in Monselice, despite

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[848] In the begininning of 1346 Humbert of Viennois was preparing in Negroponte for his campaign into Smyrna which was approved and financed by the Apostolic See but turned out to be a complete disappointment. For more, see: Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 177-87.

[849] Setton, The Papacy and Levant I, 212-5; Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate*, 186.

[850] There was another Bartholomew operating in 1347. Bartolommeo de Tomari, the canon of Smyrna, was an envoy who served as a link between the pope and the commander of the crusaders in Smyrna. Setton confirms that he was definetly separate person from Bartholomew of Rome. Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 205-9, 212-9. In October 1349, Bartholomeus de Tomariis was the nuncio of the pope sent to Venice to negotiate about assistance for the Smyrna campaign, so he cannot have been Bishop Bartholomew. *Venezia-senato* IX, 273, October 30, 1349.

[851] According to Giuseppe Billanovich, Bartolomeo di Iacovo da Valmontone, a notary from Italy, was the author behind the Cronica dell'Anonimo Romano, depicting the life of Cola di Renzo. Billanovich, *Come nacque un capolavoro*, 195-211. This information was introduced into Croatian historiography by Babić, "Trogirski biskup Nikola Casotti," 221, f. 14. Billanovich's claim was criticised and discarded. Campanelli, "Preface of the Anonimo Romano's Cronica," 85, f. 12. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 262.

[852] Sambin, "La 'familia' di un vescovo," 240-42.

[853] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 262.

[854] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 177, July 14, 1348; 490, January 30, 1349; CDC XI, 478-9, July 14, 1348; *Priručnik* I, 218.

becoming the bishop of Trogir.[855] Therefore, Bartholomew, the son of Jacob and the archpriest in Monselice, was a different person from Bartholomew, the son of Salomon and the vicar of the bishop of Padua.

Both Bartholomew of Rome and Bishop Bartholomew came from the bishopric of Rome. In adition, in 1314 the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, which was a titular position, was united with the diocese of Negroponte, which means that canons of Negroponte were in fact canons of Constantinople.[856] Bartholomew's appointment as the bishop of Kotor came only months after Bartholomew of Rome was supposed to leave Avignon and return to Constantinople. I presume that the pope appointed him to Kotor in order to serve as a potential papal agent in the region, since the local bishops served as the best source of information for the Curia. But once the bishopric of Trogir was vacant, the pope transferred Bartholomew there, since Trogir was a richer and more prestigious bishopric.

During the discussion between the pope and Byzantium in 1347/48 Emperor John Kantakouzenos stated that he required papal assistance against Emperor Stefan Dušan of Serbia as a prerequisite for the union, which was reported to Avignon by Bartholomew of Rome.[857] Also during 1347 the pope contacted the Serbian court based on a curious report by Mark, the bishop of Skadar, who reported that Emperor Dušan was interested in solving the schism and conducting the Church union.[858] It is probable that Dušan was familiar with the Avignon-Constantinople talks and that, by unofficially offering the union to the pope, the emperor wanted to lessen any potential deal which would strengthen the position of Byzantium against which Dušan was waging war. But the timing of his offer is curious.

Taking into consideration the slowness of the papal foreign diplomacy regarding the Balkans, Bartholomew was sent on a mission to *Regnis Rassie, Albanie et Sclavonie*[859] in September 1351, almost a year and a half after his appointment to Trogir. This suggests that the pope wanted Bartholomew to serve as a link with the local rulers in Albania and Serbia. Also sent

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[855] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 262-3.

[856] In 1314 Pope Clement V united the bishopric of Negroponte, the suffragan of the Archbishop of Athens, to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, in order to give a residence to the patriarchs who were in exile since 1261. The diocese of Negroponte, as well as the patriarchate, was controlled and dominated by Venice. Loenertz, "Cardinale Morosini et Paul Paléologue Tagaris, 226-7; *Companion to Latin Greece*, 427.

[857] Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 213.

[858] The pope wrote to the Protovestiarios Nicholas Buche to influence the emperor to accept Catholicism. Miodrag Purković was surprised with Dušan's behaviour as the emperor was at the height of his power at that time and did not need the help from the pope. Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje*, 49; VMH I, 734-5, March 6, 1347.

[859] The pope here referred to the Land of the Slavs in general.

were Archbishop Elias Saraca of Dubrovnik (r.1341-61) and Bishop Antonius of Durazzo (r.1349-63).[860] The mission of these bishops was to fight schism and heresy, correct religious practices and revert errors commited by those who went to the region falsely calling themselves representatives of the Apostolic See. As I mentioned, the inclusion of the bishop of Trogir in correcting the local errors in lands very far away from his diocese was unusual. If the supposition that the Bartholomew was the mentioned Bartholomew of Rome, it could be suggested that the intention of the mission was two-fold: to approach the Serbian court, whose emperor was waging war with Byzantium, in order to establish diplomatic relations between Avignon and Serbia,[861] as well as to correct errors of local religious practice. The success of the mission was debated.[862] It should be added that in July 1351 Bartholomew was in Avignon where he appointed a vicar for his prebend of Saint Justine at Monselice near Padua.[863] In April 1352 Bartholomew was in Monselice taking care of the appointment of the new abbess of the monastery of Saint Mary de Supramonte in Monselice.[864] After this he appeared in Trogir and started his legatine activities.

Judging by some circumstantial evidence, Bishop Bartholomew did contact the Serbian emperor and enlisted support from a number of local prelates during three-year long legatine mission.[865] In a charter from early 1354 the bishop titled himself the apostolic legate (*apostolice sedis legatus*), but not mentioning the area where he worked. In the charter the bishop granted Andrew de Seregna, his colleague from Padua, with the rectorship of a church in Trogir, to thank Andrew for his loyalty and help in the time of need.[866] When in the changed political circumstances

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[860] Antonius was an experienced Franciscan friar from Alexandria. Antonius's appointment shows that the pope wanted to place bishops with experience in the multi-religious environments in the border regions of the Catholic rule. Antonius was appointed as the archbishop of Hierapolis (r.1346-49), a diocese located in south-western Anatolia. The appointment was probably made to follow the initially successful papal crusading efforts in expanding to Asia Minor by taking Smyrna. Since the conquest was short-lived, Antonius was transferred to Durazzo. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 275, July 31, 1346; 232, May 25, 1349.

[861] According to Bishop Mark of Skadar, the emperor was interested in Church union with Avignon in 1347, but besides sending letters, it is unclear what did the pope do. Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje*, 49.

[862] CDC XII, 33-5, September 1, 1351; VMH I, 802-3. For the evaluation of this mission, see: Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje*, 51-2; Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 120-4.

[863] Bartholomew appointed Luchesius, the chaplain of the church of Saint Peter in Padua and the vicar of the bishop of Padua. The bishop also held archpresbitery of the said church for which he appointed Luchesius. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 262-3, July 6, 1351.

[864] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 263.

[865] Cleric John Bovini stated that he worked in this legation for three years with the bishop of Trogir (*qui in ista legatione tum tomino Traguriensis episcopo a principio usque ad sivem continuando per annos tres fideliter et tum magnis laboribus laboravit*). This fits with the approximate start of Bartholomew's mission in 1352. Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 127-8.

[866] Andrew de Seregna was the archdeacon of *Pedismontis et de Ultra Brenta* (diocese of Padua) and a canon in Dubrovnik. Bishop Bartholomew awarded Andrew with the church of Saint Michael the Archangel of the bishopric

of the 1350s Dušan directly asked the Papal Curia for help, the emperor's representatives, with the support from Venice, went to Avignon in mid-1354 to ask for help to fight the Ottomans and to promise the Church union in return.[867] Bishop Bartholomew most likely accompanied them as he also submitted supplications for various clerics, asking for rewards for those clerics who helped Bartholomew in his legatine mission of 1352-1354.[868] Judging by their names, the bishop of Trogir cooperated with clerics who came from local bishoprics, mostly in Albania and Epirus, areas connected with the Angevin *Regnum Albaniae*, but also from the neighbouring dioceses of Antibar and Kotor.

Only two days later the pope wrote a letter to Emperor Dušan, listing problems which threaten Catholics in Serbia. In another letter in December the pope noted the emperor's request to be appointed as the Captain General of the Church to combat the Ottomans. The request was formulated by Bishop Bartholomew (*in partibus illis apostolice sedis nuncii*),[869] and he was praised by the emperor for his work in spreading Roman Catholicism in Serbia.[870]

In the letter the pope also informed the emperor about sending Bishop Bartholomew and Peter de Thomas (1305-66), the bishop of Patti (Sicily), to Serbia to discuss the Church union. This papal account of the situation to his two nuncii[871] is identical to the description provided by

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of Trogir (*ecclesiam et rectoriam sancti archangeli Michaelis nostre dyocesis vacantis*). CDC XII, 225, February 15, 1354; Latin Benyovsky, "Trogirsko prigrađe," 50. Andrew (*presbiter Andreas de Veregna de Ragusio*) submitted a suplication to the Curia several months earlier to receive a prebend and a position of canon in Dubrovnik, which was being vacant due to the promotion of Elias Saraca as the archbishop at the Papal Curia. Bossányi, *Regesta supplicationum* II, 276, October 2, 1353. The source suggest that Andrew either came from Dubrovnik or Padua, receiving positions in both dioceses, while meeting Bartholomew in Padua. It is probable that Andrew provided information to Bartholomew about the ecclesiastical situation in Dubrovnik, while the priest also tried to benefit from his participation in the mission by obtaining a benefice in Dubrovnik.

[867] The imperial representatives arrived to Venice by mid-June where they received recommendations from the Venetian Senate. *Listine* III, 264 June 16, 1354; VMH II, 8-9, December 27, 1354; Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje*, 59-61.

[868] Etleva Lala connects these supplications with the new mission to Emperor Dušan after December 1354, but it is strange that these clergymen would ask for rewards for a mission that was still being planned. Instead, they refer to things which has happened, namely their activities in the mission of Bishop Bartholomew in months and years prior to August 1354. The individuals who submitted supplications were: Bishop Jacobus of Butrint, a friar of the Dominican order, Vinciguerra Andronici, a presbyter of Durazzo, Lector Theodoricus Theutunicus de Campo sancte Marie, Cleric John Bovini de Astulso and Johannes de Vico Antibarensis diocesis. Additional supplications dealt with the bishop of Kotor, Franciscan Friar Duymus (1352-68), and Abbot Andrew of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Alexander in the diocese of Albania. Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 127-8.

[869] The pope called the bishop as the apostolic nuncio, while Bartholomew in one charter from early 1354 styles himself as the papal legate. On the differences between the papal legate and the nuncio, see Kyer, *The Papal Legate and the 'Solemn' Papal Nuncio*, 37-66.

[870] VMH II, 8-9, August 29, 1354; 11, December 24, 1354.

[871] The position of the nuncio was of lower category of the papal ambassadors and who were mostly executors of the papal orders according to precisely defined mandates. Maleczek, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 41-2; Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation*, 67-72; Schmutz, "Medieval Papal Representatives," 441–63.

Clement VI to the prelates sent in 1351.[872] The general order was followed by additional letters with instructions regarding what exactly they were allowed to do on their mission. These letters dealt with permissions on how to solve the various problems listed in the general order and which related to correcting local religious practices.[873] In addition, to ensure the success of the mission, Pope Innocent VI provided the nuncii with letters of safe passage for the rulers of Venice and Hungary,[874] and informed the local Serbian ecclesiastical and political elites about the mission of the papal representatives.[875] After receiving provisions,[876] the nuncii finally set off to their mission in February 1355, discussing papal-imperial relations with Charles IV in Italy, after which they proceeded to Serbia, where they most likely arrived in March.

Not much is known about the mission once the bishops left Avignon. Descriptions were preserved later in a narrative source about the life of Bishop Peter, which was written by his friend and associate, Philippe de Mézières. The events described were intended as a piece of medieval propaganda which encouraged Catholics to participate in the crusade. Philippe idealizes Peter's diplomatic activities and emphasizes episodes in which the nuncio shows defiance to the schismatic Serbian emperor.[877] But more interesting is what is not mentioned. The bishop of Trogir is completely omitted from the entire narrative and the center stage is taken by Peter. Also, the nuncii remained at the imperial court through the entire 1355 and only left it after the emperor died in late December.[878] One has to wonder what exactly was being discussed while the papal representatives were present at the imperial court and the proselytizing happening behind the scene set by Philipp's narrative.

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[872] Compare instructions given to the papal representatives in 1351: CDC XII, 33-5, September 1, 1351; VMH I, 802-3; with those in 1354: VMH II, 16-7.

[873] The additional sources were product of the research of Etleva Lala. The papal repereseneatives were further instructed to give indulgences worth 100 days present at the preaching of the nuncii's, to absolve those who, without knowing, married relatives in fourth degree of consanguinity or less, to absolve those with *defectus natalium*, to absolve priests who gave sacraments to those who were married for the second time and to those who have fallen into excommunication. Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 125-6.

[874] VMH II, 11, December 10, 1354.

[875] VMH II, 11-6, January 8-9, 1355.

[876] Allowance of four gold florins a day and 300 gold florins. ASV, Reg. Vat. 230v, 237, f. 69r. For the financing of missions of papal representatives in general, see: Kalous, "Financing a Legation," 205-221.

[877] According to Philippe, Peter visited Emperor Charles IV, escaped Turkish pirates in the Adriatic sea and finally arrived at the court of Emperor Stefan Dušan. There, brave Peter refused to kiss the leg of the emperor (thus showing homage) and despite imperial ban, held a mass for, mostly, Catholic German mercenaries at the court, inspiring them to resist the ban. After the mission failed – which is not really discussed – Peter tried to encourage King Louis of Hungary to invade Serbia and restore Catholicism. Mézières and Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 64-72, 193-4. For the relations between Philippe and Peter, see: Atiya, *Crusades in the Later Middle Ages*, 128-54.

[878] Mézières and Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 193-4.

Bishop Bartholomew left the imperial court sometime in November 1355 to discuss the political situation in Croatia-Dalmatia with King Louis of Hungary. The king stated that he wanted to preserve peace with Venice. The two nuncii left the Serbian court after Stefan Dušan died. Bartholomew went to Trogir, while Peter de Thomas went to King Louis. On his way to Avignon, Peter informed the Venetians about his discussions with the king in March 1356, stating the peaceful royal intentions.[879] In May 1356 the pope invited Bartholomew to come to Avignon to report about his mission to Serbia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, stating that the bishop of Patti was already there.[880] It is probable that the pope wanted information about the negotiations with the Serbian emperor, as well as an update on the conflict between Hungary and Venice. Likewise, after arriving to Avignon, the pope may have sent Bartholomew to Hungary in 1357 to again discuss the issue of peace with the king.[881]

To recapitualate, Bishop Bartholomew was to work on bringing together the Apostolic See and the Serbian court. This was started with Emperor Dušan's inclinations to the Church union in 1347, while Bartholomew was in Avignon, then continued with Bartholomew's appointment to two bishoprics in proximity to the region in question and then continued with the mission which started in 1351. Other prelates, from dioceses in neighbouring Albania and Serbia, were to assist but they rarely appear in the sources. In the mission of 1354/55 the spotlight was taken by Bishop Peter de Thomas, primarily due to the preserved narrative sources.

IV.2.2. The (dis)Advantages of an Absentee Bishop

As seen above, Bartholomew spent most of his time in episcopal office outside of his diocese on various missions for the pope and in contact with various ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical elites in Hungary, Italy and other places. On top of that he also took care of his additional duties, ecclesiastical incomes and possessions. Although Bartholomew was appointed

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[879] During November 1355 the Venetian Senate deliberated whether to send ambassadors to King Louis to discuss the peace treaty. The Senate received a report sent by count of Trogir who was in contact with Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir. The bishop stated that the king told him that he wants to preserve peace with Venice. *Listine* III, 283, November 21, 1355. In March 1356, based on the report by the bishop of Patti, Peter de Thomas. *Listine* III, 312, March 25, 1356.

[880] VMS I, 234, May 1, 1356; CDC XII, 345.

[881] This can be inferred from the bishop's words during the excommunication of one of the canons of Trogir. The text is damaged but it mentiones the legatine mission of Abbot Andruin of Cluny in Italy (February (or May) 1357 until December 1358) and during the bishop's apostolic legation to the Kingdom of Hungary and [damaged text]. CDC XII, 531, December 13, 1358.

as bishop in January 1349, the local sources listed the diocese as vacant until November 1351, while Bartholomew only appeared as the bishop from 1352, which would suggest that the bishop was absent from his diocese until 1352, giving the chapter free rein.[882]

In the second half of the 1340s the cathedral chapter wanted to petition the pope to appoint a new bishop even though Lampredius was still alive. But it does not seem that the chapter has turned on its bishop. It was still led by the bishop's nephew, James Vitturi, while another leading member was Nicholas Kažotić, the primicerius, who inherited his position and benefices from Lampredius. As the bishop was old, infirm and excommunicated, he probably decided to go to Avignon and seek absolution or to offer his resignation. Since the bishopric was led by the papal administrators and not, as it was customary, by the cathedral chapter, the canons probably wanted to restore some of their influence by sending Canon Elias Luche to Avignon. His mission is not entirely clear. According to the promise of help that he received in Venice, Elias wanted to petition the pope to install him as the bishop.[883] His origins and background are unknown. He seems to have been a recent addition to the chapter, so it is unclear why he was sent as the chapter's candidate. He was probably present in Avignon when the pope appointed Bartholomew as the bishop of Trogir, since Elias was appointed as the episcopal vicar for the spiritual issues, in which position he remained until the bishop's arrival.[884]

Since Elias was made the vicar and the chapter was led by James Vitturi, the canons used the oportunity of the episcopal absence and the archiepiscopal vacancy in Split, in order to persecute their old enemy. During 1349, the chapter had Canon John Castrafocus stripped of his rank and benefices. During the 1330s, John led the communal efforts at the Papal Curia which led to the excommunication of Bishop Lampredius. Therefore, the behaviour of the cathedral chapter, led by the late bishop's nephew, can be interpreted as an act of revenge. John appealed to Hugolin, the recently appointed archbishop of Split.[885] The sources for the trial are missing, so it cannot be stated with certainty what happened,[886] but it is possible that the issue was delegated to Bishop

[882] In the city charters the *episcopatu vacante* and *ecclesia vacante* was listed for the period from February 1349 until November 1351. Bartholomew was only mentioned from 1352. Rački, "Notae," 233.

[883] Listine II, 443, April 2, 1347; *Venezia-Senato* XI, n. 879, October 25, 1348; Listine III, 107.

[884] His name appears at the end of the list of canons in CDC XII, 117-8, August 14, 1352. Mentioned as the vicar in CDC XI, 576, Feburary 16, 1350.

[885] The cathedral chapter of Trogir gathered in February 1350 and appointed its representatives for the case in front of the archbishop. CDC XI, 576-8, February 16, 1350.

[886] In 1358 Bishop Bartholomew excommunicated Canon John. When explaining his decision, the bishop also narrated about an event when Archbishop Hugolin, as the apostolic legate, questioned the canon based on the ninth constitution

Bartholomew, who was by August 1352, back in his diocese. The cathedral chapter, led by Archdeacon James and Primicerius Nicholas, stood united against Canon John Castrafocus, and both sides chose Bishop Bartholomew to mediate as an arbitrator (*arbiter*).[887]

There are no further sources refering to this case, and the bishop's frequent absence for official papal business could suggest that the case dragged on for years due to the bishop's other obligations. But a short note from the pope suggests that the bishop did not make any kind of moves against the ostracized canon and, instead, used his services in governing the bishopric. In March 1355 Pope Innocent VI issued an order to the chapter of Trogir to protect Andrew Saregni, a well-known associate of Bishop Bartholomew, who was attacked on the island of Lastovo near Dubrovnik.[888] The pope did not name the archdeacon and the primicerius of Trogir,[889] but only mentioned Canon John Castrafocus by name, which suggests that the order was issued on the petition by the bishop of Trogir, who specified which persons have his trust and the necessary authority to carry out the papal mandate.

This would suggest that John Castrafocus and the bishop came to a certain understanding and cooperation, which was not liked by the cathedral chapter. The bishop's prolonged absence was used by his vicars in temporal and spiritual affairs – Archdeacon James Vitturi and Canon Elias – who in August 1355 held a trial against Canon John Castrafocus. The canon was sentenced to an exile for five years for commiting "great scandals."[890] The sentence offers a unique insight into how different individuals and institutions remembered and interpreted past events and also used them in official situations. Since Canon John took part in the communal appeal against Bishop Lampredius in the late 1330s, his opinions certainly influenced how the commune would structure their case in front of the pope and what accusations against the bishop would be emphasized. Now, the chapter accused Canon John of causing bloodshed between the citizens of Trogir and the Church, provoking a dispute between Count John Morosini and Bishop Lampredius, which led to the citizens taking up arms, for falsely accusing Lampredius for various crimes and even for plotting against Bartholomew, the current bishop.

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of the Church of Split, which excommunicated those clerics who were disobedient toward their bishops. But it is unclear when exactly this event happened. CDC XII, 532-3; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 414.

[887] The chapter consisted of ten canons: *Jacobus Petri archidiaconus, Nicolaus Donati primicerius, Goyscauus Sclauchi, Tomasius Matiche, Vitus Johannis, Micael Martini, Johannes Mathei, Juanus Sclischi, Helie Luche and Grupso*. CDC XII, 117-8, August 14, 1352.

[888] CDC XII, 285-7, March 31, 1355.

[889] James Vitturi was the archdeacon and Nicholas Kažotić was the primicerius.

[890] CDC XII, 299-302, August 17, 1355.

Therefore, it seems that Archdeacon James Vitturi used his position of power and the episcopal absence in order to exact revenge on a long-time enemy. The irony of the situation was missed by the contemporaries and the later historians. During the late 1320s Lampredius tasked his nephew James Peter to seize a church from Canon John Castrafocus, who previously served as the episcopal notary. This snatch, with episcopal sanction, pushed John to help the commune with their dispute with the bishop in the late 1330s and which culminated in Lampredius's excommunication. But after the sentence in 1355, Canon John did not leave the city and instead he turned to the Venetian authorities, while petitioning the pope for protection.[891]

The problems within the bishopric of Trogir were further exacerbated when King Louis of Hungary started a new war against Venice in the late 1350s. The king's army attacked the Venetians directly on their mainland which gave the Dalmatian cities an opportunity to rebel and overthrow their Venetian counts and garrisons. Rebellions in Split and Trogir happened simultaneously during summer 1357. The leading role in the rebellion in Trogir was taken by Joseph, the son of Stephen Cega, while the commune appointed him *podestà* and the captain of *popolo*. But in early December 1357 members of the nobility and the commoners of Trogir rebelled and targeted the properties of the family of Cega, with the specific aim to kill Joseph Cega. This second rebellion received a more detailed description as the events were noted by a chronicle and by reports from the royally mandated investigations.[892]

Cutheis, a contemporary chronicler, writes that the citizens of Trogir rebelled against the Cega family, forcing its members to escape to Split, while Trogir was seized by their opponents.[893] Since the Dalmatian cities were from February 1358 fully controlled by the Hungarians, the issue was investigated between March and August 1358 by John Csuz, the *ban* of entire Dalmatia and Croatia, who acted as a mediator between the warring parties.[894] The investigation revealed that in December 1357 members of the nobility and commoners attacked the Cega family. The main culprit was Archdeacon James Vitturi who, followed by his supporters, called for an attack on the

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[891] Canon John was called by the Venetian authorities as "a faithful subject of Venice," while his relative(s) (*consanguineus*) petitioned the Venetian count of Trogir for help. Listine III, 287-88, December 7, 1355.

[892] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 577-81, 596-607; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 292-304; Kurelac, "Društvene diferencijacije i pokreti pučana," 238-40; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 173; Benyovsky Latin, "Politički sukobi u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru," 44-51; Kurelac, "Pučki ustanci i pobune," 239-47.

[893] Cutheis, "Tabula," 198-9.

[894] Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 23; CDC XII, 506-7, August 23, 1358; 517-18, October 30, 1358; full description in Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 540, fol. 36-40; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva I*, 596-607; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 28.

properties of Joseph Cega and his family and supporters. Stephen, the son[895] of the late Bishop Lampredius Vitturi was instructed by the archdeacon to attack the bishop of Hvar, Stephen Cega.[896] The brothers Andreis - Nicholas Marin and Gausinius Marin - were instructed by the archdeacon to publicly announce that anybody who kills Joseph Cega would receive the best part of his properties. The archdeacon was accused of being the main instigator of the rebellion, while he was helped by his nephews (Peter and Nicholas), the sons of Kažot (Donat and Augustin) and Nicholas, the son of Jacob, who were backed by a number of inhabitants of the city.[897] This means that the main instigators of the rebellion were members of the families of Andreis, Kažotić and Vitturi.

The conflict was usually interpreted as a continuation of the factional strife between the pro-Venetian and pro-Hungarian families,[898] but the reasons for the conflict were of local-political and of a family nature. These large and influential families[899] wanted to use the political vacuum created by the conflict between Venice and Hungary and the expulsion of the Venetian government from the city, in order to take control over the city and better position themselves for the expected arrival of the Hungarian rule. The city magistrates who were appointed after the first revolt were then tasked to investigate the second revolt and report to the royal officials.

The three families which instigated the revolt had connections to the earlier intra-communal violence, namely the Andreis who were defeated by the Cega, and to the cathedral chapter, as the Vitturi and the Kažotići members were also canons. It seems that the archdeacon was able to use the past grievances, his institutional position and the influence over the commoners

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[895] Stephen's familial connections were revealed by the subsequent investigation by the rectors of Trogir and their report to the ban of Croatia, as well as in a separate investigation by Bishop Bartholomew. Probably to protect the legacy of his predecessor, Bishop Bartholomew refered to Stephen as a cousin (*consobrinus*) of Archdeacon James, while the rectors had no problems in calling Stephen the son (*filium naturalem*) of Bishop Lampredius. CDC XII, 517; Lucić, Povijesna svjedočanstva, 597; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 28;

[896] On the bishop of Hvar, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 252-3.

[897] The later investigation listed 76 names which were fined for their participation in the revolt, which reveals how widespread was the rebellion. Benyovsky Latin, "Uloga bratovštine Sv. Duha u Trogiru," 31.

[898] For the various opinions about the revolt, its nature and causes, ses: Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 580-1; Kurelac, "Pučki ustanci i pobune," 239-47; Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 45-9; Benyovsky Latin, "Uloga bratovštine Sv. Duha u Trogiru," 50; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 295-304; Neralić, "La documentazione curiale relativa alla Croazia," 516.

[899] According to a later source from 1395, the largest families in the city council were Cega with 14 members and Vitturi with 7, while everybody else had between 1 and 4 members. This sources should be taken with consideration as its use for 1350s do not take into account the political changes and conflicts which arrisen in the city in the 1380s and 1390s. But it is indicative that the largest families in the city – the Cega and the Vitturi – were for the most of the century on the opposing sides. CDC XVIII, 4-5; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 48-9; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 32.

in order to direct the course of the revolt. But his actions were also influenced by personal reasons. The bishop of Hvar was not only attacked because he was Cega but because he, as a canon of the cathedral, led in the late 1330s the communal delegation to the pope which resulted in the trial and excommunication of Bishop Lampredius, the archdeacon's uncle.

Therefore, following the death of bishop Lampredius, Archdeacon James Vitturi used the resources and the authority of his office and his family connections in order to exact revenge on the two representatives involved in the case against his uncle. He organized a trial intended to banish John Castrafocus from the city, while during the turmoil in December 1357 he ordered an attack that nearly killed Bishop Stephen Cega. So, the desire for revenge eventually brought the entire city in conflict and resulted in killings, pillaging and the exile of the archdeacon. Following the rebellion in December 1357, the archdeacon was imprisoned in Šibenik, from where he escaped, probably with local help and his later fate remains unknown.[900] Putting aside the economic and political connections between the rebelling nobility and the inhabitans, it is interesting to observe the influence that Archdeacon James and the Church in general wielded in the city as the archdeacon was able to – according to the list of the rebels by the royal officials – mobilize a considerable part of the commune, namely the commoners, to participate in the rebellion against the Cega family, and later to influence and mobilize the inhabitants of Šibenik.

The negative experiences of the conflict probably led the city council to disband the lay confraternities during the 1360s in order to limit the threats posed by the commoners to the nobility.[901] The lay confraternities had important social, political and religious functions in the medieval commune, as they initially provided the inhabitants of the city - artisans and merchants – with an opportunity to participate in the religious life of their community.[902] The move against them could be considered as an attempt by the leading noble families to eliminate the possibility

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[900] The ostracized archdeacon also organized a rebellion of commoners in Šibenik in June 1358, or was accused of organizing it. The rebellion was only refered to later and the details of it are unknown. CDC XII, 452-4; Dujmović, "Postanak i razvitak Šibenika," 112-13. In the same month, the count of Klis accused the commune of Split of hiding the archdeacon on the territory of the commune. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 27, June 8, 1358.

[901] *Statute of Trogir*, ref. 1, cap. 49. Only one, the confraternity of Holy Ghost, could operate and it is assumed that it had widespread clerical and noble support. Benyovsky Latin, "Uloga bratovštine Sv. Duha u Trogiru," 32; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 305. Joseph Cega participated in the work of the committe but he was also joined by other families, including the members of the Andreis and Kažotić families, even those who participated in the earlier revolt. Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 30, 174.

[902] About confraternities, see: Wojciechowska, "The Development of Confraternities," 65-87; Henderson, *Piety and Charity in late medieval Florence*, 33-103; Terpstra, *Lay confraternities and civic religion*, 14-37.

of some patricians to use them in order to control the religious cult and the commune, or to limit the organizational capabilities of the commoners.

Bishop Bartholomew was absent from the bishopric during the turmoil in the commune. Upon his return the bishop had Archdeacon James excommunicated and removed from the cathedral chapter.[903] Less than two months later, Bartholomew also excommunicated Canon John Castrafocus for the disobediance.[904] John's activities during the turmoil in Trogir were unclear. The bishop accused him of having worked against the previous bishops, Liberius and Lampredius, but also for misinforming the papal legate in Italy, Andruin de Roche,[905] about the bishop of Trogir. The disputes with previous bishops were only used as a pretext, as it is possible that the bishop decided to punish Canon John for indirectly depicting the bishop in a negative way and diminishing his episcopal prestige at the Apostolic See. But the ostracized canon did not dissapear into the obscurity of sources as he shortly returned to assist the bishop in new struggles with the cathedral chapter of Trogir.

Although the sources about Bishop Barthlomew's time in office are mostly silent, which is understandable as he spent most of his time on various legatine missions, the disputes that the bishop had with the cathedral chapter in the late 1350s reveal the bishop's autocratic tendencies in managing his diocese. The disputes escalated over payments for the legatine mission of Cardinal Egidius Albornoz to Northern Italy.[906] The cathedral chapter, always diligent in paying their ecclesiastical taxes,[907] was during 1357 in conflict with the legate's representatives for not paying in time. The chapter complained at the legate's curia that they gave the required money to Bishop Bartholomew, who failed to pay the legate.[908]

But this was only a part of the problems between the bishop and the cathedral chapter. Following the excommunication and the removal of Archdeacon James Vitturi, the bishop had six

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[903] CDC XII, October 30, 1358, 517-9; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 603-5; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 28; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 298; Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 49.

[904] CDC XII, 530-3, December 13, 1358.

[905] Andruin, the abbot of Benedictine monastery of Cluny (r.1351-61) was assigned by Pope Innocent VI to replace Cardinal Albornoz during the mission to reclaim the Papal States. His mission lasted from February (or May) 1357 until December 1358, so the letters by Canon John should be dated to that period. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, 137-40; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 92.

[906] Abbot John of the monastery of Saint Savin near Fermo and Vicar-Cardinal Egidius Albornoz decided the amount (25th part of the income) that the diocese of Trogir should pay to finance the legate's expenses during his legation in Dalmatia. CDC XII, 336-9, April [no day], 1356.

[907] In March 1351 Primicerius Nicholas and Canon Elias, the vicar of the bishop, paid 194 golden florins to Raimund, the collector and the abbot of the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Šibenik. CDC XII, 7-8, March 21, 1351.

[908] CDC XII, 385-7, January 3, 1357; 393-6, March 10, 1357.

months in order to fill in the vacant position. Since the bishop failed to nominate anybody, the chapter proceeded to appoint a new archdeacon, Jacob, the son of Duymus, while dividing James's benefices among the canons. This probably happened during summer 1359, because by August the bishop responded with anger and instead attempted to install his own candidate, a certain Magister Martin from Šibenik, while seizing the benefices in question and keeping them for the episcopal *mensa* or giving them to loyal clerics. The canons sent a complaint to the pope, in which they stated that the bishop was witholding certain rights that belonged to the chapter for eight years – so, since Bartholomew's arrival to the diocese – and that the bishop on occassions physically attacked and imprisoned canons who disagreed with him.[909]

Following the Hungarian takeover of Dalmatia, the bishop was able to use his connections to the royal court in order to enforce his episcopal authority over the cathedral chapter and regarding the jurisdictional borders of his diocese. These contacts were used to benefit Bartholomew in a dispute he had with the bishop and the commune of Šibenik,[910] but the bishop also asked King Louis in September 1358 for the confirmation of the land called Drid (or Bosiljina).[911] This was probably done in order to wrestle control over the parts of Drid controlled by the cathedral chapter, since the bishop was previously accused of seizing some rights of the chapter. When the canons, most likely impoverished due to a prolonged conflict with the bishop, decided to lease out their incomes in Bosiljina for an amount of 122 ducats, the bishop sent his procurator to demand from the chapter to revoke their decision regarding Bosiljina.[912]

At the beginning of October 1359, the canons of the cathedral chapter gathered and wanted to approach the bishop, but they were prevented by Canon John Castrafocus, who was appointed by the bishop as the vicar in spiritual issues. So less than a year after excommunicating John, the bishop reverted on his decision, restored John as a canon and even used him in order to force the

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[909] CDC XII, 615-7, August 31, 1359; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 276-7; CDC XII, 626-7, September 29 – October 28, 1359.

[910] With the arrival of the Angevins, the commune of Šibenik received some villages from the ban in the area called Dubravica (Nevest (*Nevest*), Koprno (*Coparno*), Partemišić (*Bartemiscih*) and Unešić (*Unescichi*)). Bishop Matthew Cernota of Šibenik (r.1357-88) tried to extend the ecclesiastical borders of his diocese by collecting tithe in these villages, but Bishop Bartholomew appealed to the royal commission. In August 1359 the royal officials, led by Bishop Stephen of Nitra confirmed the possession of these villages by the commune of Šibenik, but stated that the ecclesiastical rights belonged to the bishop of Trogir. CDC XII, 607-8, August 22, 1359; farlati, 275; Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 55.

[911] Drid was granted to the bishopric by the Árpád kings in the thirteenth century. CDC XII, 511-3, September 3, 1358.

[912] The dignitaries of the cathedral chapter only stated that they leased out the incomes on the order of the papal legate – likely Cardinal-Legate Egidius Albornoz - so they could pay for his procurations. CDC XIII, 27-8, May 28, 1360. The procurator of the bishop was Peter, the son of Marin. CDC XIII, 34-5, June 22, 1360.

cathedral chapter into compliance. The canons wanted to discuss the bishop's failure to give the legate the chapter's money and the ensuing excommunication which caused the bishopric to lose around 1000 florins.

The prolonged dispute in the diocese also revealed how misconduct, corruption and the autocratic style characterized Bartholomew's episcopal administration. The bishop was accused of repeatedly failing to pay for the legate's procurations, while squandering books and goods of the cathedral.[913] Based on the order of the papal legate in late 1359, the cathedral chapter proceeded to excommunicate Bishop Bartholomew, which was obstructed by the bishop's vicar, Canon John.[914] The bishop had no moral objections to even use his connections to royal offficals against the chapter. In late October Nicholas Széchy, the *ban* of Croatia and Dalmatia, prevented the representatives of the cathedral chapter to leave the city and go visit the pope, but the *ban* was persuaded to rescind his opposition on the joint appeal from the cathedral chapter and the count of Trogir, Francis de Georgiis. According to them, the bishop's vicar, John Castrafocus, was sent to the *ban* to supply him with deceitful informations.[915] The entire cathedral chapter stood unified against its bishop. The case dragged on for several months at the curia of Cardinal-Legate Albornoz in Ancona.[916] The bishop lost his dispute and, being broke, had to rely on his ecclesiastical contacts for payment. Bishop Stephen of Nitra in December 1360 decided to lend Bartholomew 128 gold ducats receiving some incomes of the bishopric as a collateral.[917] Only Bartholomew's death in 1361 prevented any further disputes between him and his clergy.

The conflicts between the clergy and the bishop of Trogir subsided under Bartholomew's successor. In December 1361 Primicerius Nicholas was appointed as the bishop of Trogir by Pope Innocent VI.[918] A direct comparison between Bartholomew and Nicholas can provide a more meaningful insight on how both bishops approached to govern their bishopric. Nicholas had a considerable ecclesiastical and communal capital coming from a prestigous family of the Kažotić,[919] while his uncle, Augustin, was himself a bishop who left a considerable mark on his

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[913] CDC XII, 635-7, October 9, 1359; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 278-80.

[914] Canon John Castrafocus prevented the sacristan of the cathedral to ring the bells, thus officially announcing to the entire bishopric and the commune that the bishop was excommunicated. The archdeacon conscripted a local notary to draft an official statement to be use in the chapter's appeal to the Apostolic See. CDC XII, 639-42, October 19-20, 1359; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 280-2.

[915] *cum mutlis mendaciis et pravis informacionibus suplicando instanter*. CDC XII, 642-4, October 25, 1359.

[916] CDC XIII, 50-2. September 4-11, 1360.

[917] CDC XIII, 71-2, December 1, 1360.

[918] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 490.

[919] Jelaska, "Ugled trogirskog roda Kažotića," 17-46; Andreis, "Trogirski patricijat," 42-7.

contemporaries.[920] Since his predecessor was unable to pay for his own appointment, Nicholas promised to pay for both, but even he was unable to fully pay for his appointment, which could also suggest the mounting financial pressure in becoming a bishop.[921] As a former primicerius, Nicholas worked together with his cathedral chapter, which the canons returned by backing the bishop in several disputes that the bishopric had during the 1360s with the bishop of Šibenik and the archbishop of Split. His position in the rebellions of 1357 remains unclear, but he held benefices which spanned from the territories of Trogir to the lands of the king, being a canon in Zagreb and the archdeacon of Tolna in the diocese of Pécs.[922] However, unlike Bartholomew, Bishop Nicholas lacked direct access to the papal and royal courts and he had to contend by himself in protecting the rights of the bishopric against the archbishop of Split and the bishop of Šibenik. Nicholas was adamant in rejecting royal suggestions for benefices in Trogir, which probably would not have been the case, if he was close to the king.[923] But the loyalty to the ruling dynasty was emphasized in visual respect as Nicholas added the royal coat of arms on the city's cathedral (*Fig*. 15).[924] However, Bishop Nicholas remained concentrated on local issues.

IV.3. The Local Dioceses and Royal Administrative Centralization

With the treaty of Zadar in 1358 Croatia-Dalmatia was once again ruled by the kings of Hungary-Croatia. The Angevin dynasty took a different approach in governing their realms by establishing a strong royal authority which was reflected in concentrating the secular and ecclesiastical issues in the royal hands. But how much is this royal approach visible in the source materials and was there any difference in the royal behavior toward different dioceses?

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[920] Bishop Augustin's contemporary, Miha from Split, mentioned Augustine in his work among many popes and secular rulers and even honoured him by stating that following Augustine's death his body exhibited many miracles. Madijev, "Historija," 182.

[921] MVC I, n. 287, August 20, 1362. His successor had to promiss to pay for both Nicholas's and Bartholomew's debts. MVC I, n. 302, May 19, 1373.

[922] Nicholas was appointed as the archdeacon of Tolna in the bishopric of Pecs, which was *cum cura*. In 1344 Pope Clement wanted Nicholas to renounce the position of primicerius in Trogir which was *sine cura*, but Nicholas successfully petitioned the pope to keep both positions. In 1363 the archdeaconry of Tolna, vacant due to Nicholas promotion as the bishop, was granted to Albert from Modruš. CDC XI, 146-7, July 27, 1344; Bossányi, *Regesta supplicationum* II, 424, March 3,1363.

[923] See more in the next chapter.

[924] Babić, "Anžuvinski grbovi u Trogiru i Šibeniku" 39-41; "Trogirski biskup Nikola Casotti," 222; Jelaska, "Ugled trogirskog roda Kažotića," 35-6.

With the Venetian defeat the archbishop of Zadar, Nicholas Matafari, was able to return from his exile. He governed until his death, sometime before May 1367.[925] His successor Dominic only appeared in local sources after a year in May 1368, while the papal appointment came only in September, which suggest that there were some issues surrounding the episcopal succession in the archbishopric.[926] These issues related to the direct royal involvement overcoming any local resistance and ensuring that Dominic was appointed as the archbishop.

After Archbishop Nicholas died, a royal knight[927] called Stephen, the son of Francis from Zadar, appeared in the city with royal orders.[928] The king instructed Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary the Great and the administrator of the properties of the archbishopric (*yconomus*), to give the incomes of the archdiocese to whomever Stephen Francis appoints. The incomes were given to Dominic, which suggests that the king wanted Dominic to control the archbishopric well before obtaining the papal appointment.[929] The explanation for this royal grab of the diocese in order to ensure the appointment of court favorite can be observed in the official policy of the Angevin dynasty but also in Louis's and Dominic's prior experiences.

Dominic came from the family of Thopia, a noble kindred from the Kingdom of Albania, which was created as part of the Neapolitan Angevins expansion into the Balkan Peninsula where

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[925] The see was listed as vacant in the local sources; CDC XIV, 36, May 22, 1367; CDC XIV, 53, July 4, 1367; 95, October 25, 1367. Konrad Eubel wrote that Nicholas died on 25 March 1367. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281.

[926] CDC XIV, 129, May 5, 1368. Matheus Symonis, the archiepiscopal procurator, promised to pay for Dominic' appointment. MVC I, n. 294, 320, June 9, 1368. Matheus also paid the first installment. He was a canon of the cathedral chapter of Zagreb, which could suggest that he was a royal representative sent to deliver the king's letters to the Papal Curia. MVC I, n. 331, June 15, 1368. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281, September 27, 1368. Bianchi stated that some Giacomo de Candis, from a local noble family, was consecrated in Rome, where he also received pallium. According to the author, Giacomo died on 2 March 1368. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 49. Judging by the date when the pope appointed Dominic, there is enough time for the existence of another archbishop, potentially locally elected, especially since the pope was in Rome between 1367 and 1370. The problem is that Giacomo was not mentioned in any contemporary local or papal sources. MVC I, 174-6; *Priručnik* I, 368-9; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 97. In addition, according to the research by Nikolić Jakus, the Candis family died out shortly after the siege of Zadar and the appearance of the Black Death. Nikolić Jakus, "Vrijeme rata, kuge, zatočeništva," 17-8.

[927] The knights were the representatives of the king who would often deliver the royal orders to provinces, in written and oral form, and were also sent on diplomatic missions. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 146.

[928] In Croatian historiography Stephen Francis is listed as Stjepan Franjin, Stjepan Đorđić, vitez Stjepan iz Zadra. Stephen was the son of Francis de Nosdrogna, a nobleman from Zadar with contacts with the Croatian hinterland. He seems to have joined the royal court around 1345 and gave the king valuable information about the situation in Croatia-Dalmatia. Stephen was the royal representative in the cities of Dalmatia in 1358, tasked to pressure the cities in accepting royal candidates for the counts, after which he was appointed as the count of Omiš. He was soon replaced by his brother Philip. Stephen probably continued his work at the royal court as in 1367 the king sent him to Rome as one of the royal representative to greet the pope who came to Rome for the first time in decades. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 38; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 191; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 248-9, 416-7; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 32-4; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 217-8.

[929] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 640.

they attempted to suppress the Byzantine rule.[930] In 1336 King Robert of Naples (r.1309-43) appointed Dominic from the Dominican order as the royal chaplain, counselor and retainer.[931] This was probably a part of the official Angevin policy of ingratiating themselves with the local Albanian families, as the Thopia family was received into royal service as knights in 1329.[932] It is unclear at what point Dominic switched from serving one Angevin branch for the other, but it is probable that this happened during King Louis's war with Naples (1348-52). Around that time Dominic became the bishop of Ston and Korčula (*Stagnensis et Curzolensis*) (c.1350-1368),[933] which was subordinated to the archbishop of Dubrovnik.

Dominic maintained connections to the local Ragusan nobility as well as participated in the diplomatic missions in parts of Albania, either on the behalf of Dubrovnik or King Louis.[934] The most likely explanation is that Dominic was the main connection between Charles Thopia of Albania (r.1358-88), Dominic's nephew, and King Louis. The two shared similar political orientation as Charles coveted Durazzo, controlled by the Neapolitan Angevins, the enemies of King Louis at the time.[935] As mentioned, with the treaty of Zadar, King Louis considerably expanded his kingdom going all the way to the borders of Durazzo.

That Dominic was a partisan of King Louis, and not of Dubrovnik, can be observed in the distrust and refusal by the commune to even consider Dominic as the archbishop of Dubrovnik. Following the death of Archbishop Elias Saraca (r.1341-60), Dominic tried to forcefully install himself as the archbishop of Dubrovnik with the help of King Louis, but the attempt met strong resistance from the communal authorities. They appealead to both the pope and the king depicting Dominic as prone to simony and deceitfulness, while also working on preventing appointment at the Curia of any Dalmatian, Albanian, Venetian or Ragusan cleric as the archbishop.[936] This shows

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[930] Abulafia, "Aragonese Kingdom of Albania," 1-13.

[931] *in capellanum, consiliarium, familiarem nostrum*. Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae*, n.802, June 12, 1336.

[932] Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae* I, n.736, May 28, 1329. On the Thopia family, see: Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 45-6; Šufflay, *Srbi i Arbanasi*, 116-8.

[933] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 462-3. He was noted in the sources of the Republic of Dubrovnik as the bishop of Korčula and Ston. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* VI, November 8, 1350.

[934] In 1359 he was supposed to represent Givo Desena, the citizen of Dubrovnik, in some local dispute, but Dominic was indisposed due to a mission in Albania. *Monumenta Ragusina* II, 274, May 27, 1359; Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 43-4.

[935] Lala, *Regnum Albaniae*, 27-8, 45-6; Šufflay, *Srbi i Arbanasi*, 103.

[936] The commune kept working on preventing Dominic's further activities and making sure that Dominic leaves the territory of Dubrovnik. Curiously, they sent two envoys to the king, one via Senj, the other via Bosnia. It could be that the commune was afraid that their letters would be intercepted on the way to the court.
Monumenta Ragusina II, 290-1, May 3-6, 1360; 297, December 16, 1360; III, 32-3. Prlender, *Crkva i država*, 287-8.

that the commune saw the archbishop as an important figure in the city and wanted to avoid him allying with any powers which could diminish the autonomy of the city. Dominic's attempt was unsuccessful as by December 1361 the pope transferred to Dubrovnik Hugo de Scuria, a Franciscan Friar and the bishop of Rhodos (r.1351-61).[937] The actions of Dominic and Louis in the attempt to seize Dubrovnik puts the actions in Zadar after the death of Nicholas Matafari in a different light. Namely, following the death of Nicholas, the king wanted to avoid any resistanace to his decisions by the local community. The king sent an envoy to seize the temporalia of the archbishopric and suceeded in installing Dominic, even before the conclusion of the negotiations with the pope.

After eight years, Dominic Thopia was transferred to Bosnia, to a lesser position and a substantial downgrade in personal prestige of the cleric. Not only was Bosnia in hierarchical sense lesser diocese (bishopric) than Zadar (archbishopric), but it was poorer, since the bishops of Bosnia paid 200 florins for their appointment, versus 400 which was paid by the archbishops of Zadar.[938] This ran contrary to the idea of *cursus honorum* which stated that an individual should always advance in the eclesiastical ranks.[939] Dominic's transfer was probably influenced by the dissatisfaction of the local community with him. The two representatives of the commune, Damianus de Nassis and Jacobus de Raducis,[940] were instructed in April 1374 to go to the king and the queen-mother and ask them to have Dominic transfered somewhere else. The reasons are not specified and Farlati only adds that there were disputes between the citizens and the archbishop.[941] Since Dominic was transferred, it is safe to say that the king respected the Zaratin wishes, while still retaining the services of his trusted and loyal prelate. Despite the ecclesiastical downgrade, Dominic died a rich man, leaving 12,000 florins which was claimed by the Apostolic Camera, but which were previously lent to the king.[942] Putting the numbers into context, Dominic was the archbishop of Zadar for 8 years and the estimated income of the archbishops by the papal collectors amounted to around 1200 florins, which means that at the time of his death, Dominic

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[937] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 197, 411; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* VI, 135, 333.

[938] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142, 280.

[939] Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 98; Dunn, "Clerical cursus honorum," 120-33; Torres, "Las elecciones episcopales," 273-88.

[940] Both individuals were wealthy and influential in the everyday life of Zadar, but also had favourable contacts with the royal court so they were selected in order to ensure that the king would accept the petition more easily. About Damianus and Jacobus, see: Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 50; Dokoza, "Damjan Bivaldov," 93-144.

[941] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 99.

[942] CDC XVI, 249, January 1, 1382; VMS I, 337-8; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142.

had more money than the archbishops of Zadar could hope to officially raise from their diocese in 10 years.

There were not many cases when the king had to resort to direct pressure in enforcing his will in local ecclesiastical affairs. By 1372 the king's attempt to appoint Marin of Split, a chaplain of Queen Elizabeth, as a canon in Trogir was met with resistance. The king previously ordered that Marin be appointed as a canon of the cathedral chapter and granted some benefices. Bishop Nicholas Kažotić instead granted these prebends to others. Following the bishop's death and in the context of royal visit to Dalmatia, the king demanded from the bishopric and the commune to ensure that Marin is awarded the said privileges.[943]

On the other hand, the clergy and the commune of Split recognized the opportunity in petitioning the king in order to appoint somebody who would suit the royal and local interests. They petitioned the king in 1380 to approve Nicholas, the son of Mark, as the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines. The king approved the petition, started the process of obtaining the papal confirmation - which was done by Pope Urban VI in 1382 - and had in the meantime allowed the new abbot to manage his new abbey.[944] The reality was that the local ecclesiastical appointments were rarely in local hands as the appointments were a complex and entangled web of various influences, practices and negotiations. What the king was interested in was having his supporters or at least his subjects appointed. He also had the means and quick access to the papal curia to have his wishes adhered to.

The most contentious parts of the communication between the kings and the Apostolic See were discussions on the ecclesiastical appointments and the collection of various Church taxes accrued in the kingdom. During the rule of the Angevin dynasty the tax collectors often operated in Hungary, with rulers being interested in obtaining parts of what was collected.[945] During the reign of King Louis, the papal tithes were more frequent, and the collected funds were often used as a potential reward for the king to support the papal politics, as, for instance, in 1352 when the king received the incomes from tithe for four years. But frequent were also the cases of papal-royal disagreements. In June 1363 Pope Urban V informed the king about the introduction of a new three-year tithe in Hungary, but in February 1364 the king was asked to allow the collectors to do

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[943] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 653; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 108.

[944] CDC XVI, 139, December 8, 1380; 266-7, February 3, 1382; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 241-3.

[945] For instance, Charles Robert consented to the collection of the papal tithe in 1332 after the king was promised to receive one third of the tax. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 143.

their work in the kingdom suggesting that they met opposition, probably with the tacit royal approval.[946] The popes usually stated that the money was intended for the recovery of the lands of the Church (*pro recuperacione terrarum dicte ecclesie*).[947] This was the explanation of Pope Gregory XI (r.1370-78) in 1377 to the collectors tasked to gather the two-year tithe in Croatia and Dalmatia, which was also collected in the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland.[948] But when at the beginning of Gregory's pontificate, in 1371, King Louis complained that the clergy of Dalmatia and Croatia are contributing too much for the procurations for the legates of Italy, the pope feigned ignorance claiming that he should check the books and promised to decrease taxes.[949]

Episcopal transfers were reserved exclusively to the Apostolic See, but during 1376 there was a large reshufling of bishops in the kingdom which indicate that they were done on specific royal request.[950] Even when the king and the pope conflicted over episcopal appointments, the king would resist and the unwanted candidate would eventually be transferred to another, less important, bishopric.[951] While this topic requires much more thorough investigation into the nature of the appointments of Hungarian bishops, the occasional misunderstanding between the pope and the king did not undermine the general trend regarding the episcopal appointments during this period. Clerics obtained their appointments primarily due to their connections with the king, if appointed to more important bishoprics, or because of their contacts with the Apostolic See, but then they risked royal opposition.

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[946] Particularly since some local prelates, tasked by the Apostolic See as *bonorum et iurium collectori*, met opposition in the kingdom. VMH II, 54, May 10, 1363; 56-7, June 27, 1363; 60, February 28, 1364. Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 195.

[947] CDC XV, 304, July 18, 1377.

[948] CDC XV, 307, August 1, 1377.

[949] VMH II, 113, November 11, 1371; Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary," 203.

[950] On 23 January 1376 Pope Gregory XI transferred Demetrius of Alba Iulia (Transylvania) to Zagreb, Johannes de Surdis from Győr to the archbishopric of Esztergom, Peter from Bosnia to Győr. On 5 May the pope appointed Gobelinus, the rector of the church of *Insulae Christi* (Cristian / Kereszténysziget) in Transylvania, to Alba Iulia and Peter Matafari to Zadar. In addition, Peter, the rector of the church of Saint Nicholas de Bistrita (Tranylvania), was appointed to Vac, since the diocese was vacant since its bishop Johannes de Surdis was first transfered to Győr and then immediately to Esztergom, indicating that it was kept vacant for years until a suitable candidate was found. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281-2, 465, 492, 537, January 23, 1376; VMS I, 303-5; 309-13, May 5, 1376.

[951] This was the case with Emeric Czudar who was in 1375 appointed by the pope as the bishop of Várad (Oradea Mare). Emeric was moved to Eger in another reshuffle of bishops which happened on 2 October 1377. Since Eger was worth 800 florins and Várad 2000, this was a downgrade, leaving the richer diocese to the royal candidate. Peter, previously transferred from poorer Bosnia to richer Győr, was now transferred to Veszprém, which was valued more than Győr. The bishop of Veszprém, Ladislaus de Vaya, received a big promotion by being transferred to Várad. Unlike Emeric, both Peter and Ladislaus were valued highly by the king. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 78, 282, 515, 523, October 2, 1377; Rácz, "The Anjou Dynasty," 60.

The examples show that the Angevin kings often exerted pressure on the Church and were able to influence the episcopal appointments, particularly of greater importance, due to the direct contact with the Apostolic See. The high degree of royal influence could have only been achieved with the tacit approval of the Apostolic See. The decades of papal centralization and decisions led to the diminishing of local elections in favour of the papal appointments, which in turn led to favouring the royal power. On the local level in Dalmatia the royal threats and pressure were not always effective as the local communities resisted the royal mandates. But the communes began to view the court as the relevant place where the communities could petition for royal support to remove unwanted prelates or appoint distinguished local candidates.

IV.4. The Long reign of Archbishop Hugolin of Split (r.1349-88)

Hugolin was a Benedictine monk and a nobleman from Branca in Gubbio, in the Papal States. His connections to the Apostolic See ensured his appointment as the archbishop of Split in 1349, but his conflict with his community led to the commune petitioning the king to ask the pope to remove Hugolin in 1388. Due to this event, his time in office was often described by historians as divisive and problematic. According to them, Hugolin clashed with the citizens of Split, with conflicts often leading to violence.[952] But this interpretation is inadequate, mostly circumstantial and lacking in detail. What was often omitted was the fact that Hugolin was a rather complex individual whose time in office spanned to almost 40 years. The relations between the archbishop and the commune seem to have been mostly cordial, due to the shared interest in controlling the resources of the archbishopric. The relations detoriated sharply during the 1380s and under completely different circumstances. Even Hugolin's contemporary, known only as Cutheis, offered a positive overview of Hugolin. According to the author the archbishop protected his clergy, his commune and even reclaimed the privileges of the Church. The negative characteristics were the archbishop's short temper, reliance on spies and vengeful personality.[953]

Hugolin envisioned his grand entrance to his archbishopric to emphasize his noble rank in the society and the newly obtained archiepiscopal prestige. Cutheis described the archbishop's arrival as a splendid affair which served to leave a mark on the local population but also to

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[952] Katić, Lovre. "Ban Emerik," 2; Brandt, *Wyclifova hereza i socijalni pokreti u Splitu*, 213; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 539; Rismondo, "Registar," 60; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 305-6.
[953] Cutheis, "Tabula," 194-6.

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counterpoise the tragic situation in which Split found itself as Black death claimed lives of many citizens, including two previous archbishops. The author himself left a vivid description of turmoil and horrors brought about by the plague, immediately succeeded with the opulent archiepiscopal *adventus*, as to contrast death with new beginnings.[954]

Archbishop Hugolin first landed near the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines, the most important Benedictine monastery in Split, and which was located a mile from the cathedral. The archbishop was escorted by a large number of chaplains, retainers and the noblemen from the Duchy of Spoleto, who brought horses and "many riches." The following day the bell of the cathedral announced the call for the mass as Hugolin was entering Split, wearing episcopal insignia and escorted by the members of his house, wearing shields and signs of the coat of arms of the Branca family, armed footmen, cavalry, as well as the members of the cathedral chapter and other clergy of the diocese who were singing *Te Deum*. The procession was greeted by the *podestà* and the entire city after which a mass was held in the cathedral. The chronicler then finished his narrative on the procession by describing that after the mass everybody went together to the archbishop's palace. The description points out to careful planning in preparing and organizing a procession of this magnitude.

It is hard to say if the ritual of the bishop's entry or the episcopal *adventus* as described by Cutheis for Hugolin followed the established practice of the ritual entries of the archbishops into Split as we lack sources for a meaningful comparison.[955] The ceremony of the episcopal first entry into the city (*adventus*) was combined with the taking possession of the diocese (*possesso*). While observing the well documented episcopal entries of the bishops of Florence, Maureen Miller noted

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[954] Cutheis, "Tabula," 191-94. The author dated the archbishop's arrival to 14 January 1349. Farlati rejected the date as Archbishop-elect Peregrin was still mentioned in local sources in Split. Hugolin's early arrival before he was consecrated meant that he would not have the right to hold the type of procession that he did. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 326. Mladen Ančić suggested that the problem arose during the transcribing of the Cutheis's work and that the day is correct but the month is different, dating the event to 14 May or later, as Peregrin was mentioned in the local sources for the last time on 12 May. Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 212.

[955] Thomas Archdeacon (c.1200-1268) described entrances of two archbishops into the city of Split, but those descriptions were marred by the author's opinion regarding the selected archbishop. In case of Hugrin (r.1245-48), Thomas wrote that Hugrin arrived to the city accompanied by many cavalrymen and clients (*cum magna familia equitum et clientum*) and entered the archiepiscopal palace to live there, while in the case of Rogerius (r.1249-66), Thomas added that the new archbishop arrived accompanied by 20 cavalrymen, chaplains and servants, and decided to enter the city on Sunday during the Lent (20 February 1250) and was greeted by rejoicing clergy and people. Thomas mostly concentrated on showing his distaste and disaproval over the person of Hugrin and his election as the archbishop was backed by the king and Thomas's opponents in the city. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 296-7. Rogerius was described more favourable by Thomas, in no small matter due to being appointed by the pope. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 304-5. Thomas's bias was noted by Raukar, "Splitsko društvo u Salonitanskoj povijesti," 221.

that these entries were the "local adaptation of papal rituals." The procession was carefully planned and would last for two days as the bishops would stop at various sacred sites in the city.[956] The *adventus* was not dictated by the canon law, but it developed from the Biblical, papal, and royal influence, and the ceremony had local variations which reflected local peculiarities.[957] The reason for the development of the episcopal *adventus* can be traced in the changing patterns of the episcopal appointments. The bishops were no longer elected by the cathedral chapters but were appointed by the pope and consecrated at the Papal Curia. Following the papal provision the bishop was required to go to his see and take possession of it.[958] Mass participation was a necessary prerequisite for the episcopal entry and the anonymous chronicler from Split adds that Archbishop Hugolin was greeted by the political elite of the city as well as its citizens.[959] It should be added that for the citizens and the clergy of Split this was the first time that they could see their archbishop. The ceremony was intended to leave a lasting impression upon the inhabitans of his archbishopric, to which Cutheis narrative of Hugolin's sumptuous entrance testifies. The extravagance could have also served to contrast the presence of the Black Death, but which even the archbishop's arrival was not able to stop.

The limited sources available for the 1350s show that there were no significant problems between the archbishop and the commune. When the city rebelled against Venice[960] the cathedral and churches connected to it were used as staging grounds for the rebellion. Immediately following the ejection of the Venetian troops the city council held its first session in the cathedral.[961] One later source narrates how following the rebellion Archbishop Hugolin, with three important noblemen, was quickly dispatched to the royal court to ask for the confirmation of city's privileges

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[956] The bishops of Florence tended to stay overnight at an important local monastery and would proceed from the city gate to the episcopal palace. Until 1508 the bishops would stay at the monastery of San Pier Maggiore, while from 1532 the bishops stayed at the monastery of San Barolomeo di Moteoliveto, favoured by the local Medici, which connected this custom with the favortism with the local ruling elites. Miller, "The Florentine Bishop's Ritual Entry," 5-7, 15.
[957] Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 59-60.
[958] Miller, "The Florentine Bishop's Ritual Entry," 16-8, 24-6.
[959] Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England*, 60-1.
[960] The exact reasons for the rebellion are unclear but it seems that the Venetian government became more oppressing during the war in order to stay in power. One of the first decisions of the city council was to exempt from punishment all those citizens and inhabitants who were sentenced to losing their hands or beheading. Those who received money fines were also exempted, even though this decision was debated, probably because of the commune's poor financial situation in those days. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 75-6, 137, July 1357.
[961] The usual gathering place was the communal palace. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 25; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 224-5, 231.

and to surrender the city to the king.[962] Even if incorrect, the source would suggest that the archbishop was viewed as somebody who favoured the rebellion and the return of the city under the royal control. Since the communal treasury diminished during the war, forcing the commune to borrow money, a part of help came from the Church.[963] As mentioned earlier, the archbishop leased part of his incomes to the commune and was lenient in obtaining the money back. It does not seem that Hugolin had objected when the commune took some objects from the cathedral treasury in order to pay for delegations to the king. [964]

The imminent period after the revolt was rather unstable, since in April 1359 there was some unspecified commotion against the archbishop, while in July an entire rebellion against the commune was prevented. The city council decided that those who would insult the archbishop would be treated as those who insulted *podestà* by being fined 10 libri.[965] Even the fine itself suggest that the transgressors were more fined for badmouthing the archbishop than for physically attacking him. On the other hand, the dissidents from July were arrested and tortured, which meant that this event was considered as highly important, even though it is unclear what was the true reason for this dissent.[966] It should be emphasized that the city council immediately stood in support of the archbishop. The quarrel involving the archbishop resonates more with the description of the personal qualities of the archbishop provided by Cutheis who emphasized Hugolin's resentful disposition.[967]

A good place of shared interest and frequent contact between the archbishop and the commune was the cathedral chapter, mostly filled by the members of the communal nobility, but with the archbishop in control of promoting and rewarding his favourites and limiting advancement of those he disliked. Therefore, the available sources offer a glimpse into the composition of people

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[962] Lucić doesn't date the source nor does he names its author, simply stating that it was written later (*iz malo kasnijeg vremena*). Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 569-71.

[963] The issue of the lack of money was appearing regularly at the sessions of the city council. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 183-4, April 22, 1358; 103, 240, June 9, 1359; Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV. stoljeću," 200.

[964] "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 77, August 30, 1357.

[965] CDC XII, 36, April 5, 1359; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 329; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, I, 251-2. *Statute of Split*, lib. IV, cap. 77.

[966] It is unclear if this disturbance was connected with the problems with the collection of tithe or with the general problems that Split was having. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 104-5, July 12, 1359. Gruber suggested that this „rebellion" was connected with the dissatisfaction with the royal reforms. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 36-7. Not much detail was given, but it is also possible that this was not a revolt against the king, but some smaller squabble between the nobility and the commoners.

[967] Cutheis added that the archbishop liked to listen to the reports of spies and those who spread distrust among friends, and he held grudges and took revenge when the time became appropriate. Cutheis, "Tabula," 195.

appearing at the archiepiscopal palace and shows how the archiepiscopal curia was intertwinned with the fabric of the medieval society of Split. For instance, the three cathedral dignitaries, appointed prior to Hugolin's arival to the diocese, were members of the local elites. But while Archpriest Andrew, the son of Andrew,[968] and Primicerius Francis, the son of Peter,[969] amassed benefices and were frequently present at the archiepiscopal curia, Archdeacon Dominic Luccari seems to have been sidelined. Nominally of the highest rank after the archbishop, Dominic was also a relative of the late Archbishop Dominic, Hugolin's predecessor, and through this connection Dominic Younger quickly rose in ranks.[970]

Dominic was among the ambassadors selected in August 1358 to discuss the position of the commune with King Louis, following the king's victory over Venice.[971] Afterwards, he was no longer mentioned as the archdeacon, but in November 1359 Dominic appealed to the *ban* of Croatia-Dalmatia against the royal grant of villages Kučine (Chelch), Križ (Crisi) and Gorica (Gorice) to the commune of Split.[972] The three villages, located at the borders of Klis and Split, were often disputed by the two communities.[973] Although the position of Archbishop Hugolin in this matter was not mentioned, it should be added that tithes of these three villages were quite a

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[968] Archpriest Andrew, the son of Andrew, presents a bit of a mystery and a paradox. His origins are unknown as he is rarely mentioned outside of his title and his first name. Mostly as *Andree archipresbiteri*, while in 1377 he is written as Andrew, the son of Andrew (Andrea Andree). Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 51, December 1, 1377. He also had an illegitimate child, something seemingly incompatible with his high position in the local Church. Ludwig Schmugge pointed out that the clergy in higher orders suffered little consequences from keeping a concubine and having children with them. Schmugge, *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren*, 17-33. Andrew held quite an influential and important rank of the archpriest for more than thirty years (c.1344-77), which is amusing since, besides liturgical duty, his main responsability included the education of other priests. Besides his longetivity and personal preferences, his importance can be detected in him frequently obtaining better benefices, while renouncing poorer ones. At one point he even received five churches, which was against the constitutions of the Church of Split. Rismondo, "Registar," 17-8, February 7, 1362; 23-4, August 26, 1362; 23-4, August 27-December 1, 1362; 48-52, April 2-6, 1366.

[969] Francis, the son of Peter, from the noble family de Papalis, appeared as a canon during the 1340s and soon he became the primicerius. CDC XI, 576-8, February 16, 1350. He is called *Franciscus Petri primicerius* in the sources, but Francisco Petri Papalis, who was a canon, appeared in 1341, so it is safe to say that they are the same persons. *Splitski spomenici*, 81-2, December 20, 1341. His brothers were most likely Balcius and Creste (Krestol), the sons of Peter de Papalis, who served during the 1350s as communal judges. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 93, f. 388; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 68. Francis was succeded as canon by Dominicus Xristofori de Papali, so another member of the Papalis family. Rismondo, "Registar," 45-7, February 1, 1366; 47-8, April 2-3, 1366; 49-50, 51-2. April 4-6, 1366; 50-1, April 6, 1366; 52-3, April 24, 1366; 54-5, May 24, 1366.

[970] Dominic, the son of Nicholas Luccari. He entered the chapter in 1338 and became the archdeacon by 1348. Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 26-7.

[971] CDC XII, 540-1, July 23 - August 1, 1358; "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 203-4.

[972] Castellan Ladislas of Klis appears as the vicecomes of Split, presiding over the council sessions, and it is clear that he was carrying out the royal mandate. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 72-3, November 30, 1359.

[973] About these villages, see: Kovačić, "Žrnovnica od davnine," 189-96; Katić, "Selo Kučine," 141-69.

rich source of income for the archbishopric.[974] The archbishop would certainly benefit more if these villages were controlled by his own commune, with which he shared common interests, than by some other, potentially hostile, community. It should be stressed that Hugolin's contemporary Cutheis stated that the archbishop built his curia and a fort on the road to Klis where he would prevent the people of Klis from doing any harm to the citizens of Split.[975] While it is unclear what was Dominic's personal interest in all of this, it seems that he positioned himself against the interest of both the commune and the archbishopric and afterwards he completely disappeared from the sources which would suggest that he either resigned from his post as the archdeacon, that he was marginalized in the archbishopric or that he soon died.

Dominic owed his success to his connections to the Luccari family as his relative was the archbishop of Split prior to Hugolin and as such was intended to rise high in the ecclesiastical ranks. For his ambition and connections, Dominic could have been viewed with distrust by Hugolin. It cannot be a coincidence that Archdeacon Dominic became marginalized at the time when Hugolin relied heavily on the support of archiepiscopal vicar, which became a permanent office, appearing even while the archbishop was present in his diocese.

As mentioned, most archbishops of Split usually aligned themselves with a certain powerful local family and Hugolin was no exception. He particularly favoured the connection with the family of Cypriani. But the archbishop also had his own favourites who would receive highest positions. This was the case with Lawrence, the son of Zanin, from the native Cypriani family and Buciardo, the son of Jacob, a foreigner. Analyzing these two canons together is not coincidental as they may have seen each other as competitors and their advancement in the cathedral chapter reveal a great deal about the archbishop's administration of the diocese and relations with various institutions.

While it is unclear when Lawrence entered the cathedral chapter, by 1358 he was already the archiepiscopal vicar, despite being only a canon, suggesting the level of trust that he held with the archbishop.[976] As a member of the influential family of the Cypriani, which often held

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[974] For instance, when Archbishop Andrew Benzi leased out tithes of the archbishopric to the commune of Split in 1398, the archbishop did not include the villages of Kučine, Križ and Gorica, which would suggest that these villages were a rich source of income for the archbishopric. Katić, "Selo Kučine," 146.

[975] Cutheis, "Tabula," 195.

[976] He was rarely accompanied by other vicars and in several occassions he was listed as being the *vicarius in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalis*. CDC XII, 452-4, February 11, 1358; XIII, 11, February 28, 1360. During 1360s he was mentioned as *vicarius in spirtualibus generali*, in several charters where most of the canons were present, or simply as *vicarius*, in communal sources. Rismondo, *Pomorski Split*, 65, July 1, 1369.

important positions in the commune, Lawrence participated in the city council sessions. There, he was simply known as the vicar, denoting his connections to the archbishop, even though Lawrence was occasionally sent on diplomatic missions on behalf of the commune.[977] It is unclear if Lawrence would intervene during the council sessions on the behalf of the archbishopric, but his presence surely gave the archbishop a strong link to the communal government. In the coming years the archbishop praised Lawrence's skills and pampered him with new positions and benefices which shows the level of fondness that the archbishop had for Lawrence, or how much he came to rely upon him.[978] Very early he held four churches, while the archbishop even suspended one of the diocesan constitutions, which stated that no canon can have more than four benefices, specifically so Lawrence could receive his fifth church.[979]

While Lawrence represented a scion of local noble families, Buciardo Jacopi was a foreigner who probably accompanied Hugolin to Split, yet, strangely, his career closely followed that of Lawrence. Buciardo appeared in Split during the 1350s, conducting important tasks on the behalf of the archbishop, obtaining the rank of the canon by 1359 as a reward.[980] By January 1362 Buciardo held two churches, when he could not or decided not to introduce Lawrence into the possession of a new church.[981] Maybe this reluctance was the result of dissatisfaction with the privileged position that Lawrence had at the archiepiscopal palace, or a result of his own slow pace of advancement. Several weeks after this incident, the archbishop rewarded Buciardo with a new church and the promotion to the rank of deacon (*diaconatus*), which was then followed by another church just a month later.[982] This meant that he also held four churches. When the archbishop officially abolished the decision forbidding more than four benefices per a member of the chapter,

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[977] *nuncium, sindicum et procuratorem*. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 218, October 21; 225, November 25; 229-30, December [no day], 1358; 241, June 28, 1358. For instance, his father and brother served as the communal judges. Raukar, "Consilium generale," 97; Ančić, "Ser Ciprijan Zaninov," 39-40.

[978] Rismondo, "Registar," 12-3, December 9, 1361; 15-6, January 12, 1362.

[979] This decision, which is clearly stated in the charter, is regularly cited in the historiography, while the historians overlooked the fact that the archbishop eaarlier awarded Archpriest Andrew with his fifth church. Several months later Andrew renounced two churches in order to receive one new church, which suggest that the mistake was discovered and corrected. This raises the question of how aware the high clergy was of its own constitutions, or how well respected the archpriest was since nobody raised objections during his appointment. Rismondo, "Registar," 36-7, May 24, 1364.

[980] About Buciardo, see chapter II.

[981] Several days later the archbishop had him replaced, stating that Buciardo *non poterat nec volebat* to perfom his mandate. Rismondo, "Registar," 16-7, January 23, 1362.

[982] Rismondo, "Registar," 18-9, February 7, 1362; 21-2, March 13, 1362.

benefiting Lawrence Cypriani, less than a month later Buciardo also received his fifth benefice.[983] This was rather uncommon and could point to some sort of competition between the two for prestige and influence in the cathedral chapter, as well as the archbishop attempt to reward his two most trusted allies.

When, following the death of Primicerius Francis Peter in 1366, Lawrence succeded him as the primicerius of the cathedral chapter, Buciardo quickly obtained the benefice of the deceased primicerius.[984] Also, when Lawrence was promoted to the position of the archdeacon, Buciardo was most likely very quickly installed as the next primicerius.[985] With the death of Lawrence and Archpriest Andrew (during 1377), Buciardo likely led the cathedral chapter, as its most senior member, while also becoming the archiepiscopal vicar for the spiritual affairs. This meant that he held the majority of positions previously occupied by Lawrence.[986]

Due to fragmentary sources, it is unclear when Lawrence was appointed as the archdeacon, since he was last mentioned as the primicerius in July 1369, while by April 1371 he was the archdeacon of the cathedral chapter.[987] Two things are of note here. Firstly, there was an unspecified dispute in the communal palace in Split in early 1371 which led to the banishment from the city of the members of the Cypriani family. These were Lawrence's brothers Cyprian and Dominic, as well as their uncle George de Cypriani. Since their father Janin de Cypriani had some contacts with the royal court, by April the king pardoned the Cypriani family members and ordered the commune to take them in.[988] Secondly, during Archbishop Hugolin's time in office, the position of the archdeacon was attested only twice, first by Archdeacon Dominic until 1358, and then only by Lawrence between 1372 and 1374, after which the position of the archdeacon was not mentioned until the end of the century. Since the role of the archdeacon was to lead the chapter,

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[983] For the abolishment of the decision: Rismondo, "Registar," 36-7. May 24, 1364; for the grant to Buciardo: 40-1, June 18, 1364.

[984] Francis died on 23 January 1366, while Lawrence was elected as the primicerius on 1 February. Rismondo, "Registar," 45-7, February 1, 1366. Three months later Buciardo renounced the church of Saint Anastasia de Monte and on the same day he received the church of Saint Jacob, vacated by Francis's death. Rismondo, "Registar," 52-3, April 24, 1366.

[985] Buciardo appears in sources as the primicerius from 1373, but the appointment probably came soon after Lawrence was promoted to the rank of archdeacon, which occured sometime after 1369 and before 1371, although the exact sources confirming this are lacking. CDC XIV, 499-500, March 10, 1373.

[986] The list of canons from 1378 list Primicerius Buciardo in first place, while the archdeacon and the archpriest are not mentioned. Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 73-4, October 12, 1378; CDC XVI, 379-80, July 7, 1383.

[987] Rismondo, *Pomorski Split*, 65, July 1, 1369; CDC XIV, 322-4, April 23, 1371.

[988] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 652; Ančić, "Ser Ciprijan Zaninov," 51-52; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 91-2; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 265-6.

administer the properties of the Church and replace the bishop in leading the diocese,[989] it is possible that Hugolin kept the position vacant on purpose. Instead, the archbishop relied on vicars, particularly on pampering Lawrence with new possessions and privileges. Lawrence was not only from the right family but, when promoting him as the primicerius, the archbishop stated that Lawrence was an expert in canon law (*in iure canonico multipliciter imbutum*). Therefore, it cannot be a coincidence that Lawrence was mentioned in sources for the first time as the archdeacon during months when his relatives were banished from the city. Cyprian, exiled to Zadar, appeared accompanying his brother, Archbishop Hugolin and Bishop Stephen of Duvno during a case dealing with the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, when Lawrence issued an official protest on the behalf of the archbishopric.[990]

The Cypriani family therefore had ties with the royal court, through contacts made by the head of the family, Janin, and Lawrence was a key figure in intertwining the interests of his family and the archbishopric. Although Lawrence died in July 1372, another family member was introduced into the cathedral chapter a canon.[991] The Cypriani family's connections to the archbishopric and the royal court could help to explain the curious and short-lived bishopric of Narenta (Narona), established during the 1360s in order to expand the influence of the archbishopric to the territories south of Split and which followed the economic interests of the Spalatine elite and royal court. In addition, this bishopric could have been intended to settle problems which Archbishop Hugolin had in this region with the bishop of Makarska.

IV.4.1. The Old and New Suffragans

The bishopric of Makarska, and connected with it, the bishopric of Duvno, were two suffragans of Split, whose origins were somewhat obscured. Historians were mostly divided in trying to pinpoint the exact years when these bishoprics were established in the fourteenth century. Less contested were the reasons for their creation, since they expanded the influence of the archbishopric and the family of Šubići to the east and south of Split. With the weakening of the Šubići, the bishops of Duvno and Makarska often had problems with their secular neighbours, who

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[989] Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 49.
[990] *Ser Chibriano, cive et fratre dicti domini archidiaconi Spalatensis*. CDC XIV, 322-4, April 23, 1371.
[991] He died on 1 July 1372 and was buried in the cathedral. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 57.

wanted to expand their territories to the detriment of these bishops, and with the metropolitan in Split, who wanted to enforce his control over these bishoprics.[992]

The Apostolic See had to approve the erection of new bishoprics, but the sources remain silent on the matter. This is because the three bishoprics of Duvno, Makarska and later Narona, which appeared in the second half of the fourteenth century, existed already since the Late Antiquity and were now restored.[993] This point is most notable in the charter of Pope Clement VI (r.1342-52) from 1342, written on the petition of Bishop Valentine of Makarska, regarding the bishop's conflict with his metropolitan, Archbishop Dominic of Split. According to the pope, the archbishops of Split had the right to choose, appoint and confirm bishops of deserted bishoprics, which was used by Archbishop Peter (r.1297-1324) in rebuilding the bishopric of Makarska.[994] What is unclear here is if the privilege was given to Peter, or to some former archbishop of Split.

More information was given in November 1365 when the cathedral chapter gathered to elect Ladislas of Sana as the bishop of Narenta. The canons cited the privileges given to the archbishopric by popes Celestine, Pascal and Innocent (not written which ones) to appoint the bishop-suffragans of Split. The archbishop confirmed the election, but immediately stated that he cannot consecrate Ladislas *iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie* because he does not have power to do so.[995] Hugolin's statement was interpreted by some historians as the archbishop's opposition, or reluctance, to those attempts which could lead to carving out of the territory of the archbishopric into many smaller bishoprics.[996] It should be noted that Hugolin did not refuse to consecrate Ladislas, but that the archbishop stated that he did not have the power to do so. The answer lies in the changes in the nature of the metropolitan power of confirming suffragan-bishops which was

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[992] There is no unified opinion regarding the re-establishment of Duvno and Makarska. Various authors suggested its creation at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as late as 1322/23 and the defeat of Ban Mladen Šubić, or even around 1330. Kovačić, "Makarska biskupija," 115-16; Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata*, 67; Škegro, *Na rubu opstanka: Duvanjska biskupija*, 122-32; Mandić, "Duvanjska biskupija," 5-7; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 340; Karbić, "Osnutak duvanjske biskupije," 125-33; Karbić, "Uloga bribirskih knezova u osnutku šibenske biskupije," 57.

[993] For the earlier periods, see: Mandić, "Duvanjska biskupija," 1-3; Škegro, *Na rubu opstanka: Duvanjska biskupija*, 15-114; Škegro, "Naronitanska biskupija," 7-34. Duvno, Makarska and Narona were mentioned as parts of the archbishopric of Split in the confirmation of Peter as the archbishop by Pope Celestine III (r.1191-98). CDC II, 251-2, March 13, 1192. For the debate about the validity of the charter itself, see: Škegro, *Na rubu opstanka: Duvanjska biskupija*, 105-6; Marinković, "Celestine III and Dalmatia," 179-88. These bishoprics were not mentioned during the Church synod in Split in 1185, suggesting that they were only included in the title, but not actually occupied by bishops. CDC II, 192-4, May 1, 1185; Lucić, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 238.

[994] *a sede apostolica* [potestatem] *eligendi seu creandi et confirmandi episcopos in civitatibus seu locis desolates seu provincie episcopos habere consuetis.* CDC XI, 2-3, June 25, 1342; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 23. Two years later Bishop Valentine added that all of this happened some 20 years ago. CDC XI, 160-1, October 1, 1344.

[995] Rismondo, "Registar," 44-5, November 22, 1365.

[996] Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 172; Škegro, "Domaće crkvene prilike," 86.

by mid-fourteenth century completely usurped by the Apostolic See. Although the chapter of Split still had the old right to elect suffragan-bishops, especially since extinguished bishoprics lacked functional cathedral chapters, the metropolitan's authority to confirm these bishops was reduced by the papacy. For instance, Bishop Valentine of Makarska was elected around 1320 by the cathedral chapter of Split and confirmed by the metropolitan archbishop, but his successor John, elected by the same chapter in 1367, was confirmed by the pope and not by the archbishop.[997]

When King Louis I (r.1342-82) claimed most of Croatia and Dalmatia in 1358, the entire region gradually came under royal control. This push further south made it possible to reorganize Makarska and Duvno, while also paving way to form a new bishopric on the territory of a trade emporium of the merchants called Narenta.[998] The story about these three southeastern suffragan-bishops from 1358 until the end of the fourteenth century is fragmented and unclear, which stands in contrast to the fact that the entire area south of Split was under the control of King Louis the Great (*Fig*. 11).[999] While the bishoprics of Makarska and Duvno were organized at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the weakening of their protectors the Šubići and the takeover of these bishoprics by the Bosnian rulers, led these bishops to relocate to other parts of the archbishopric of Split (*Fig*. 1). Their moves led to frictions with the archbishops over the diocesan rights and borders. This quarrelling led to the resignation of Bishop Madius of Duvno (1344) and a series of disputes during the 1340s between Archbishop Dominic of Split and Bishop Valentine of Makarska. The two came to an agreement by 1347 by which Valentine had to recognize the archbishop's claims, while Dominic promised to financially provide for the bishop and to do everything he can to help Valentine reobtain his occupied diocese.[1000] Dominic soon died and by late 1351 Valentine was able to use his contacts at the Papal Curia in order to receive the Benedictine monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines in Split as a *commenda*. This grant was immediately disputed by Archbishop Hugolin, who seized the incomes of the monastery,[1001] as this ecclesiastical institution was of great significance for both the archbishopric and the

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[997] CDC XIV, 533-4, July 18, 1373; VMS, 287; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 319

[998] In sources *Forum Narenti*, while historians call it Drijeva, which is modern day Gabela.

[999] The king obtained the land of Hum by 1356 from Ban Tvrtko of Bosnia and Dalmatia by 1358. Duvno was in the border area between Bosnia and the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, while Makarska and Narenta mostly occupied the land of Hum.

[1000] See the chapter Archbishop Dominic Luccari of Split (r.1328-48). Also, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 321; CDC XI, 354-8, March 17, 1347; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 642-3.

[1001] MCV I, 124, August 13, 1351; Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 322. CDC XII, 134-6, November 4, 1352.

commune.[1002] During the war with Venice, the archbishop and the commune decided to closely supervise the monastery due to the potential mismanagement of it, but it is unclear if this was due to any actions done by *Commendator* Valentine or because of the war.[1003]

Acording to the contemporary chronicler, Cutheis, Hugolin was described as an ideal bishop. He wore a proper clerical outfit[1004] and was the Church reformer who would punish his suffragans and clerics if they did something wrong. He also reclaimed the properties and the privileges of his Church.[1005] During Hugolin's time in office the archbishopric was a place of active work on reviving several abandoned bishoprics, which could be explained by the archbishop's reforming zeal, or with his contenious nature. Hugolin himself was a Benedictine monk with strong inclinations toward the order and its monks which could explain the archbishop's bitter conflict with Bishop Valentine over the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines. An inscription from the monastery, dated to 1355, mentioned Bishop Stephen of Duvno, which would suggest that this bishop was a former monk of the monastery[1006] and that the archbishop had support among the monks. I wonder if the archbishop used or strengthen the support with the monks by reviving the bishopric of Duvno in order to wrestle the control over the monastery from Bishop Valentine? Stephen could have been a monk in the monastery and rewarded for his loyalty to the archbishop with the title of the bishop of Duvno. By 1359 Valentine lost his commenda and Archbishop Hugolin probably ensured the appointment of Abbot Damian, who assisted Hugolin in later disputes with some other bishop-suffragans, suggesting alignment with the archbishop.[1007]

Since King Louis secured the possession of Dalmatia and Hum by 1358, it would be expected that Valentine returned to his see of Makarska. Instead, the bishop appeared several years later in Trogir, where he sought the protection of its bishop from Archbishop Hugolin. Nothing is known about Valentine's imminent activities after 1359, when he lost the monastery in Split, but it is possible that he never returned to Makarska, as the bishopric completely lacked any ecclesiastical foundation to support the episcopal administration because its bishop was away for

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[1002] The need to take care of the incomes and possessions of the city's monasteries, with special emphasis on the monastery of Saint Stephen, was stated by the *Statute of Split*, lib. I, cap. 10.

[1003] "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 165, December 18, 1357.

[1004] This was already defined by the Fourth Council of Constantinople (869-870), which states that monks who become bishops should keep their monastic habit. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 186.

[1005] Cutheis, "Tabula," 196.

[1006] At least this was the opinion of Mandić based on this inscription. Mandić, "Duvanjska biskupija," 18.

[1007] *Priručnik* II, 671, April 3, 1359; MVC I, 132, May 11, 1359.

more that 30 years.[1008] Duvno was, likewise, also a titular position since in December 1361 Bishop Stephen received a prebend in Split from the archbishop, with the explanation that he was without his own bishoprics and needed to sustain himself.[1009] The above-mentioned suggests that the unfavourable situation in these bishoprics, and not necessarily the hostility of the archbishop, prevented the return of these bishops.

Archbishop Hugolin seems to have been persecuting Bishop Valentine until his death in 1367, with the conflict escalating by 1365 when the archbishop was trying to apprehend the bishop.[1010] Since the cathedral chapter of Split gathered in 1365 to elect the new bishop of Narenta, the dispute with Valentine could suggest that the establishment of the bishopric of Narenta was maybe intended to sideline unruly Valentine. An archbishop could not replace one of his suffragan-bishops, as such power was only held by the pope. In addition, the territory of the new bishopric would seriously diminish the territorial integrity of Makarska. But in 1367 Valentine died and the chapter of Split proceeded to elect a new bishop of Makarska while Narenta was not mentioned for ten years.

In 1377 another bishop of Narenta appeared. This was John, the son of George, of Šibenik, a canon of Split and elected and postulated bishop of Narenta.[1011] Even though he was a canon of the chapter, he was postulated to the Apostolic See, meaning that he needed to receive the papal approval.[1012] It is unclear what impediment John had, or, which was more likely, this became the norm in the episcopal elections. Judging by his position in the chapter – at the end of the list – he seems to have been a recent addition and could have been quite young. Does this imply some disinterest from the archbishop to elect somebody better suited for the position? Unfortunatelly, nothing can be said from the available sources. It is not a question here if Hugolin wanted or not to establish a new bishopric, as this can never be fully determined, but how possible was it for the archbishopric of Split to expand its influence on the south and east of the city of Split. All the well-established suffragan-bishops of Split were located to its north, while to the southeast the archbishopric entered a contested ecclesiastical and political territory as it shared its borders with

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[1008] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, IV, 187 was unaware of what happened to Bishop Valentine after his conflicts with the archbishop of Split during the 1340s. Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 169. The pope stated in 1367 that Makarska lacked a cathedral chapter, so the elections of its bishops were carried out by the metropolitan chapter in Split. VMS I, 287.

[1009] Rismondo, "Registar," 14-5, December 28, 1361.

[1010] See later in the text about the conflict with Valentine.

[1011] *don Iohanne de Sibenico, canonico Spaltensi electo et postulato episcopo Naretensi*. Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 51, December 1, 1377.

[1012] On postulations, see the chapter on Popes, Bishops and Episcopal Appointments.

Bosnia and the archbishopric of Dubrovnik (*Fig*. 16). Therefore, the starting point must be to try to understand the political, ecclesiastical and social dimensions of the territories which included Narenta, but also Duvno and Makarska.

IV.4.2. An Attempt to Reorganize the System of Bishoprics

Narenta (*Forum Narentii* or Drijeva) was a trading center on the river Neretva which connected the Bosnian traders with the Adriatic Sea, particularly with Dubrovnik and Split. Even though Narenta and the entire region of Hum were between 1358 and 1382 controlled by the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, the lack of sources makes an adequate explanation for the establishment of the new bishopric unattainable.[1013] Not much is known about the organization of Narenta itself. After King Louis expanded his rule over the land of Hum, Narenta was ruled by the local officals of the *ban* of Croatia, while the city council of Dubrovnik concentrated on increasing its trading presence. During the 1360s and 1370s the market town was often under pressure by local Serbian noblemen or *Ban* Tvrtko of Bosnia, who wanted to control the trade in the city.[1014] In 1362 John Nelipčić, the count of Cetina, exchanged his lands with the king for the county of Hum, where John was recorded as the count until 1372. Did his move in any way affect the attempts by the clergy of Split to elect the bishop of Narenta? The count was ocassionally hostile towards the merchants from Dubrovnik, while he had favourable relations with Split, as in 1360 he appeared as a creditor of the commune and later, during the 1370s, married a noblewoman, whose family was connected to the royal court.[1015] The count's connection to the archbishopric of Split is unknown. During the election of Ladislas as the bishop of Narenta in 1365, the gathered canons stated that the new bishop has contacts with the nobility and the royal court. Did they also mean Count John? Unfortunatelly, the count's activities in Hum mostly remain unknown, so it is hard to say if he supported the new bishopric.

After 1365 there is no news about the bishopric of Narenta for more than a decade. Between April 1375 and December 1377 John, the son of George from Šibenik appeared as one of canons in the cathedral chapter of Split, postulated as the bishop of Narenta. From 1378 he was again only a canon, and while not much is known about John himself, he seems to have only recently join the

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[1013] About Hum and Narenta, see: Tošić, *Trg Drijeva*, 43-120; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 170-72.
[1014] Tošić, *Trg Drijeva*, 50-3, 244.
[1015] The marriage happened in 1375. The bride's father was John Marin de Cindris, who was also one of the royal knights. Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 86-8; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 32; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 160.

cathedral chapter.[1016] I wonder if the attack on the Bosnian traders, which occurred during 1377 and directly affected the trade that Split had with Bosnia through Narenta, was in any way connected to the appointment of John as the bishop. The vicecastellans of Sinj, the castellan of Čačvina and the castellan of Bistrica (Livno), the subjects of the count of Cetina and of the *ban* of Croatia, robbed traders who were leaving Split with salt and other goods and returning over Narenta back to Bosnia. Even the king got involved by proclaiming reassurances to the Bosnian traders and ordering an official investigation.[1017] The appeal to the king was made by the officials of the royal chamber for salt and thirteeth which was leased out in 1377 to the Cypriani family, who were assisted by the Papali family. The person in charge of the chamber was Cyprian de Cypriani, but the official complaint was issued by his father Janini, while the representative of the chamber sent to investigate the robbery was Matthew Cristoli de Papali.[1018]

The families of the Cypriani and the Papali had connections to the archbishopric through the presence of their cadet members in the cathedral chapter. During his time in office, Archbishop Hugolin relied on the support of the Cypriani family, which was represented through the work of Lawrence de Cypriani, who was the brother of Cyprian, the controller of the chamber. Although Lawrence died in 1372, the association between the archbishop and the Cypriani certanly continued, particularly since another Cypriani, Nichola, the first cousin of Cyprian, appeared in the cathedral chapter during 1377.[1019] In addition, Matthew de Papali's uncle was most likely deceased Primicerius Francis (died in 1366), while Matthew's brother was a canon in the cathedral chapter, which serves to further emphasize the connections that the officials of the royal chamber had with the archbishopric of Split. It is possible that the bishopric of Narenta was a joint project of the archbishopric and some members of the elites of the commune of Split who wished to expand the commercial and ecclesiastical interest of Split to the areas south of the city. But the meager sources do not provide adequate answers to these issues.

The territory to the south-east of Split, where the bishopric of Narenta was located, was a jurisdictionally problematic area. Here passed the border between the archbishopric of Split and the archbishopric of Dubrovnik while the river Neretva divided the kingdom of Hungary-Croatia

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[1016] CDC XV, 117-8, April 12, 1375. Fontes 2014, 51, December 1, 1377; 73-4, October 12, 1378. His earliest mention is from April 1375, while in October 1378 he was mentioned at the end of the list of canons, which would imply that he was still among the most recent additions to the chapter.
[1017] Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 49-54, May 19, 1377.
[1018] Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 53-4, November 15, 1377.
[1019] Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 51, December 1, 1377.

and the Banate of Bosnia. The area was frequented by traders from Dubrovnik and Bosnia, while the members of the Orthodox and Bosnian Churches operated in the region. But Narenta itself during the 1390s had a chaplain which was subordinated to the archbishop of Dubrovnik,[1020] which could suggest that the archbishopric of Split lacked local ecclesiastical potential to facilitate a successful establishment of a new bishopric.

The Franciscans were another important ecclesiastical institution that operated in the wider area, and who could hamper the establishment of Narenta and the revival of the bishoprics in Duvno and Makarska. These bishoprics were located in the border territory between the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the Banate of Bosnia. The Bosnian rulers preferred to support the work of the Franciscans, who constructed their first monasteries on rulers' lands and whose work gave Bosnia a degree of independence. At the same time, these rulers prevented the establishment of the episcopal hierarchy on the territory under their rule, as they were the ones who occupied Duvno and Makarska in the first place, forcing these bishops into exile.[1021] The Franciscans established the Bosnian Vicariate which spread to the territories of the archbishopric of Split, such as Cetina, Duvno and Hum, where the order oversaw the spiritual development of the land.[1022] During the later Middle Ages, the Franciscans tried to limit certain episcopal rights, such as the collection of tithes, either from the bishop of Bosnia or that the archbishop of Split had in Hum.[1023] The dubious relations between the official episcopal hierarchy and the Bosnian Franciscans can be showed on the behaviour of the Franciscan custodian of Duvno, Friar Philip from Venice. In 1376 he sent five new recruits to Trogir to be consecrated by the bishop of Trogir, well known for being ready to disobey his metropolitan archbishop, even though the bishop of Duvno was living in Split.[1024]

[1020] *Don Georgio de Derivasto, capellano del merchado de Narenta*. CDC XVIII, 22, March 20, 1395.

[1021] For more about the relations between the Franciscans and the Bosnian rulers, see: Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 105-38; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 207-42.

[1022] On the organization of the Bosnian Franciscans and their monasteries on the territory of the archbishopric of Split, see: Botica, "Franjevački samostan i crkva Sv. Marije u podgrađu Cetini,", 9-18; Korać, "Franjevci i njihovi samostani u Humu," 17-33.

[1023] From the bishop of Bosnia: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 641-2. Prior to 1419 the archbishop of Split accused the Bosnian Franciscans that they were appropriating the archiepiscopal tithes in Hum (*Chlmia*). Čremošnik, "Ostaci arhiva," 26-9, July 3, 1419.

[1024] Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 260, March 2, 1376; Rupčić, "Značenje 'Dubia' fra Bartola," 68. For a different interpretation of this charter, see: Škegro, *Na rubu opstanka: Duvanjska biskupija*, 168. The author uses this example to support his claim that Duvno did not even have a bishop during this period. Stephen of Duvno was mentioned in 1371 for the last time. He was succeeded by Matthew (r.1375-99) who was also the *possessor ac collector* at the monastery of Saint Andrew de Pellago. He was attested regularly in Split, which would suggest that he was unable to claim Duvno, so he remained in the service of the archbishop of Split. CDC XIV, 324, April 23, 1371; 106, March 5, 1375; Praga, "Testi volgari spalatini," 63, f.3.

The inability of the archbishopric of Split to restore the suffragan bishoprics in the southeastern parts of its metropolitan area can be indirectly assumed from the lack of sources regarding the three southeastern bishoprics. Bishop-elect George and the bishopric of Narenta were no longer mentioned after 1377, while Duvno and Makarska were seemingly controlled by one person. Friar Matthew, who appeared as the bishop of Duvno since 1375, was on ocassions mentioned as the bishop of Duvno and Makarska.[1025] It can only be speculated if the archbishop tried to manage these bishoprics by uniting them under the control of one person, or if, which is more likely, these bishoprics remained titular sees.

However, the archbishop of Split cannot be solely responsible for the failure of these bishoprics. Altough the evidence suggesting pressure from the local nobility and the opposition from the Franciscans is mostly circumstantial, the entire region was politically and ecclesiastically problematic with various local institutions which could resist the installation of these bishops. The bishoprics in the rest of Dalmatia enjoyed long tradition, were supported by their local communes, and had the institutions in place which would support the bishop's work, such as the cathedral chapter. All of this lacked in the cases of Duvno, Makarska and Narenta.

IV.4.3. The Relations with Trogir

Hugolin's major conflict during his time in office was probably the one with the bishopric of Trogir as the two dioceses - Split and Trogir - bordered with each other and conflicts often erupted over properties, tithes and ecclesiastical superiority. The archbishop used the political changes and the reputation that Split enjoyed following the successful rebellion against the Venetian rule to receive a temporal control over three deserted villages – Ostrog, Bijać and Radošić – located on the border with Trogir.[1026] This move was unsuccessful as the citizens of Trogir turned to the king for support.[1027] But, curiously, these villages were given to the archbishopric by the nephew of John, the royal count of Klis, on the royal mandate. This Count John died shortly after and was succeeded by Ladislas, who ruled Klis as castellanus and appeared in Split as *vicecomes*

[1025] As bishop of Makarska: Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 118, 1385. *Mattheo episcopo Mucurensi et Dalminianensi, vicario archiepiscopi*. Farlati IV, 396, 1390.

[1026] Ančić, "Od vladarske curtis do gradskoga kotara," 195-7; CDC, XII., 452.-453, February 9, 1358, confirmed in March 27, 1358; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 305-6; Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika," 50-1; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 240-41.

[1027] Rački, "Notae," 234, September 10, 1358; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 30; Nada Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 628.

for several years.[1028] His reign marked the beginning of mostly cordinal relations between the archbishopric and the commune on one side and Klis on the other side, which lasted until 1380s, despite some ocassional border disputes.[1029]

Lastly, to justify the grant the archbishop tried to use the donation of these villages by King Dmitar Zvonimir of Croatia in 1078. Historians tended to repeat Ivan Lucić's undeniable analysis of these sources as forgery, but the use of these sources should be understood in the institutional context of the Church. The archbishopric of Split was the repository of social knowledge whose vast collection of sources meant that it had a long memory. Regardless of their origins, once they became the archbishops of Split, these prelates worked dilegently on preserving and upholding the rights of their Church. Cutheis stated that Hugolin was working on reclaiming the properties and privileges of the Church, but this statement could be applied on most, if not all, fourteenth-century archbishops of Split. While one native prelate – Dominic Luccari – collected and systemized these old sources, another, non-native, used them in claiming the disputed border villages.

While the dispute over three border villages with the commune of Trogir subsided, Archbishop Hugolin was embroiled in a series of disputes with the bishopric of Trogir. These conflicts reveal that sometimes personal grudges and deep-seated resentment played bigger role in the relationship between the ecclesiastical leaders than the interests of their local Churches. The conflict between the bishop of Trogir and the archbishop is known from a series of sources issued during 1365[1030] and 1366,[1031] when the two episcopal leaders communicated through a series of

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[1028] From May 1359 Ladislas appeared as the vicar of Split, while from November he was the vicecomes of the city. "Zapisnici Velikog vijeća," 236, May 11, 1359; Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 72-3, November 30, 1359. The commune probably wanted to give Ladislas an official position since they were at the time in a dispute with the king regarding the comes of the city. While the commune wanted to freely appoint its own candidate, the king wanted to appoint Nicholas Széchy, the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia. The sources from Split mention Ladislas as either comes or castellanus of Klis in which positions he was still in October 1362, while he was also the vicecomes of Split in February 1363. How long did he remained in these two positions cannot be said due to the sources. Krekich, "Documenti" III-IV, 80-1, October 25, 1362; 86, February 27, 1363.

[1029] Ladislas's origins were never explained, but if he was the son of the previous count of Klis called John, Ladislas could have also been the castellan mentioned in Klis in 1382 (*Ladislauo filio Iohannis castellano Clissie*). Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 110, July 8, 1382. King Louis mentioned that during 1367 some minor hostilities erupted between Split on one side and Klis and Omiš on the other, CDC XIV, 59-60, July 18, 1367. Katić, *Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz*, 293-303. Katić, "Granice između Klisa i Splita," 187-210.

[1030] Lawrence Cypriani, the vicar general of the archbishop, issued a protest in the bishop's palace in Trogir in September 1365. Rismondo, "Registar," 42-4, September 5, 1365.

[1031] At the beginning of 1366 the archbishop summoned the bishop of Trogir to Split regarding an unspecified case, but, instead, the clergy of Trogir authorized several of its members to go to Split and directly question the archbishop's jurisdiction in the matter. CDC XIII, 503-10, February 21-22, 1366; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 289-92. CDC XIII, 506-9, February 21-22, 1366; 514-8, March 27-8, 1366.

representatives. Since these sources track years of communication between the two ecclesiastical centers and are at time hard to follow, what follows is a short summary.

In 1362 Nicholas Kažotić was appointed as the bishop of Trogir, receiving in the process a special papal privilege to be consecrated by any bishop and at a place of his choice. Archbishop Hugolin tried to prevent the consecration by sending summons and posting them on the cathedral in Trogir. Since this event was only narrated later by a canon from Trogir, it is hard to ascertain why was Hugolin so fiercely opposed to Nicholas's consecration, as such papal privileges were not uncommon.[1032] Nicholas probably wanted to avoid being consecrated by Hugolin, his spiritual superior, which would also include the oath of loyalty.[1033] Another likely reason could have been that one of the bishops consecrating Nicholas was Valentine, the bishop of Makarska, who was for years in conflict with Hugolin. This conclusion can only be inferred from the sources from 1365/66 when the archbishop's representatives were demanding that the bishop of Trogir hands over Valentine, who was in Trogir working against the archbishop.

It is hard to make out the exact chronology of the relations between Split and Trogir immediately following Nicholas's consecration. On the basis of the sources from 1365/66 the two prelates worked against each other, sending letters to the papal legates in Italy, as well as supporting dissidents from each others diocese. It is probable that these defectors were then actively working on gathering evidence in order to prosecute either Nicholas[1034] or Hugolin.[1035] The worsening of the relations between Split and Trogir can be corroborated by the events from the beginning of 1365 when the clergy of Šibenik appealed to Archbishop Hugolin regarding a

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[1032] VMS I, 243, March 9, 1362. Compare with similar events. Pope Clement VI appointed John, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Augustin in the diocese of Bourges as the bishop of Skradin. The bishop-elect was granted permission to be consecrated by two or three bishops of his choosing. CDC XI, 553-4, November 3, 1349/1350; VMS I, 225-6; Neralić, Priručnik II, 596. Bishop Paul of Knin, who was the provost of Sibiu before the appointment, received permission to be consecrated by two or three bishops. VMS I, 288, August 8, 1373.

[1033] Thomas Archdeacon mentioned in mid-thirteenth century how Bishop Columban of Trogir, who was appointed and consecrated by the pope, offered oath of loyalty to the archbishop. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 316-7.

[1034] In 1366 the representatives of Trogir specifically accused John, the son of Peter, Castrafocus of Trogir on promoting a case against Bishop Nicholas, accusing John of being a well known conspirator and an excommunicated enemy of the bishopric. John was frequently mentioned throughout this work in the context of the bishopric of Trogir. He appears at the archbishop's palace during April 1366, but judging by the accusations from the representatives from Trogir, John worked for the archbishop for some time. Rismondo, "Registar," 47-8, April 2-3, 1366; 49-50, April 4, 1366; 52-3, April 24, 1366.

[1035] In late 1365 Archbishop Hugolin's representative demanded that the bishop of Trogir surrender Stephen, the son of Francis, Sterbini whom the archbishop stripped off his rank and took away his prebends in April-May 1363. Stephen was in prison for some time, after which he escaped and took shelter at the episcopal curia in Trogir where during 1365 was involved in finding witnesses to prove certain misconducts of the archbishop. Similarly, during 1365 Valentine was working on an appeal to Cardinal Andruin, the papal legate in Italy, against Hugolin. Rismondo, "Registar," 29-30. April 16, 1363; 32-3. May 16, 1363; 42-4. September 5, 1365.

border dispute with Trogir.[1036] The result of the case is not known, but the immediate reaction of the bishop and the chapter of Trogir was to challenge the archbishop's jurisdiction in the case by appealing of a higher ecclesiastical authority.[1037]

By the end of 1365 Cardinal Andruin, the papal legate in Italy, tasked Archbishop Hugolin to investigate a case against Bishop Nicholas of Trogir. The archbishop selected Abbot Damian of the monastery of Saint Stephen under the Pines and Canon Lawrence, the archiepiscopal vicar, as delegated judges. Nicholas was prosecuted according to the canon *if anyone, having been persuaded by the devil*,[1038] which refers to instances when an assault occured upon an ecclesiastic. The text explaining the event was damaged, but it was in some way connected to the Benedictine monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Trogir. The use of canon *Si quis*, which called for an immediate excommunication for an assault on a member of the clergy, would suggest that there was an attack by the bishopric – ordered by Bishop Nicholas - on the abbey of Saint John, or at least on its representatives.

Was the archbishop deliberately working on diminishing the prestige and financial power of Trogir, while exacting revenge against Bishop Nicholas for not taking his consecration in Split, for which the archbishop was accused by the clergy from Trogir? When reviewing the available sources a more nuanced image is formed regarding the relationship between the episcopal office and the person of the bishop. It shows how quickly the relations between Split and Trogir deteriorated in the period between 1362 and 1366 and that the two prelates were even accepting each other's exiled clergymen who then proceeded to work on bringing down their former superiors. Most of the accusations against Hugolin are known from the appeals by the clergy of Trogir, which they sent at the beginning of 1366. They disputed the archbishop's jurisdiction, accusing him of being biased towards the bishop of Trogir, holding grudges and stating that the archbishop was excommunicated two times, which diminished his authority and dismissed his jurisdiction over the case. Although the claim about excommunication is correct and Hugolin

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[1036] Regarding the tithe in the villages of Dubravica: Nevest, Koprno, Partemišić and Unešić (*decimis de Dobravis et specialiter super decima villarum Nevest, Coparno, Bartemiscih et Unescichi*). Previously, the royal representatives - Bishop Stephen of Nitra, Ban Nicholas Széchy and John de Bradeseth – reviewed the case and decided in favour of Trogir ordering eternal silence (*perpetuum silentium*) to the bishopric of Šibenik regarding this question. CDC XII, 607-8, August 22, 1359; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 275.

[1037] CDC XIII, 418-20, January 12, 1365.

[1038] *Si quis suadente diabolo huius sacrilegii uicium incurrerit, quod in clericum uel monachum violentas manus iniecerit, anathematis uinculo subiaceat, et nullus episcoporum illum presumat absoluere, nisi morte urgentis periculo, donec apostolico conspectui presentetur, et eius mandatu suscipiat*. About this part of the canon law, see: Helmholz, "Si quis suadente," 426-38.

probably quickly sought or received absolution,[1039] it should be noted that it was not hard to become excommunicated during the fourteenth century, as the papal representatives would quickly excommunicate those who failed to pay ecclesiastical taxes or place entire communities under an interdict.[1040] The representatives of Trogir stated that the archbishop was excommunicated by Legate Andruin and on the instigation by the bishops of Trogir and Makarska. This occured sometime during 1365 and it is curious that the same legate then, by the end of the year, ordered the archbishop to investigate a case in Trogir, regarding the bishopric, and another one in Zadar. These orders suggest that Hugolin was able to quickly obtain absolution, while the legate, probably used to excommunicating clerics, quickly retained the services of an important prelate in Dalmatia. In addition, the knowledge about Hugolin's excommunication was preserved and actively used as an accusation against the archbishop by the clergy of Trogir, specifically intended to depreciate the archbishop's authority.

Furthermore, the representative of Trogir accused the archbishop of bias against Trogir, of unjustly extending the archbishop's jurisdiction over Trogir and of never performing any visitation of the bishopric. Unfortunately, it is hard to ascertain if the archbishop performed or not his visitations to Trogir. Maybe he did not perform those visitations himself, but instead sent others as the archbishop certainly had a house in Trogir which was also used by papal representatives.[1041] But the accusation has a certain merit. No sources were preserved which show if Hugolin ever held any provincial synods during his time in office which stands in stark contrast to his predecessor Dominic for which a number of direct and indirect source materials are preserved, showing that he held regular synods.

The determination with which the archbishop pursued the dispute with Bishop Valentine of Makarska and the bishop of Trogir could be attributed to personal reasons. Although the archbishop approached the mandates by papal legates responsibly, he did have certain favourites, while delegating or avoiding minor cases. He usually subdelegated duties issued to him by the

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[1039] CDC XIII, 470, October 12, 1365.
[1040] For instance, in December 1378 Bishop Chrysogonus of Trogir was automatically excommunicated for failling to pay the papal tithe on time. He was absolved as soon as he paid it. CDC XV, 417-9, December 18, 1378.
[1041] *in domo predicti archiepiscopi Spalatensis*. CDC XII, 337, April 4, 1356.

papal representatives,[1042] unless tasks involved Benedictine monasteries.[1043] As a Benedictine monk himself, the archbishop seems to have especially valued the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar.[1044] When the donation of the village Suhovare to the convent was questioned in 1371,[1045] the defense was lead by Paulus de Paulo, a nobleman from Zadar, and Archdeacon Lawrence Cypriani, the archiepiscopal vicar. Although in the past the archbishop would leave these types of cases in the hands of his competent advisor, this time he accompanied the vicar, together with some important members of the commune of Split and the high-ranking representatives of the Church of Split which shows the importance of the event.[1046]

The position of the archbishop of Split with his suffragans, as seen on the example of Trogir, worsened due to the personal aversion between the high-ranking prelates of the province as well as due to the involvement of the Apostolic See. The papal involvement diminished the archiepiscopal jurisdiction as it placed additional limitations to situations when the archbishop could exert his authority. Now, in order to perform his traditional archiepiscopal duties of inspecting and correcting his suffragans, the archbishop had to receive a madate from a papal legate. But, the archbishop's subordinates could constantly use a threat of an appeal to the Apostolic See as means of diminishing the archiepiscopal authority and jurisdiction.

[1042] Rollettus, a cleric from Lausanne, was sent alone to Trogir to collect procurations for Cardinal-Legate Egidius Albornoz, even though Hugolin was also representative of the legate. CDC XII, 385-7, January 3, 1357. When certain Cleric Paul Crisani from Zagreb brought some papal letters in his favours asking for the archbishop's support, Hugolin stated that he was too busy and instead appointed the abbots of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar and Saint Stephen under the Pines in Split as his procurators. CDC XIII, February 28, 1360. It is not entirely clear what the mandate was since the papal letter was not included in the appointment, but it was probably connected to Paul's supplication to the pope for a benefice in the archbishopric of Zadar from 1359. Bossányi, *Regesta supplicationum* II, 358, May 18, 1359.

[1043] When Legate Albornoz tasked the archbishop to assess the incomes of the three Benedictine monasteries in the archdiocese of Zadar, the archbishop personally went to Zadar. His task was to assess the monasteries of Saint Chrysogonus, Saint Mary and Saint Cosmas and Damian so they can pay the 25th part of their incomes for the legate's procurations. CDC XIII, 7-9, February 11, 1360.

[1044] In October 1365 Cardinal-Legate Andruin gave an order to the archbishop of Split to investigate a complaint by the abbot of the monastery of Saint Chryogonus in Zadar regarding a dispute with Archbishop Nicholas Matafari. CDC XIII, 470, October 12, 1365.

[1045] The monastery of Saint Chrysogonus was introduced into the possession of Suhovare in 1358, in a same fashion in which the archbishop of Split received some villages on the border with Trogir. The abbot was invested by Archpriest Stantius of Nin and Ladislas, the son of Percy de Lapcich, who represented the king. CDC XII, September 8, 1358.

[1046] The envoy included Lawrence's brother Cyprianus and Theodosius, the important citizens of Split, as well as Francisco de Labrancha, the nephew of the archbishop, and Bishop Stephen of Duvno, another trusted assistant of the archbishop. CDC XIV, 322-4, April 23, 1371.

IV.4.4. The Archbishop and the Commune: Resignation

The air of instability brought about by the Western Schism and the problematic last years of King Louis's reign, as well as the king's death, were felt in Split. During 1383 the papal subcollectors for Rome operated in Dalmatia and encountered problems in Split.[1047] While the subcollectors received the first installment in April,[1048] when they reappeared in July for another, the clergy of Split asked for a postponement for the payment of the tithes, which was approved. The clergy citied war damages, famine, spread of diseases and the heretical activities of Walter from England, which prevented the regular collection of tithes.[1049] Not much is known about his activities so, instead, Miroslav Brandt attempted to recreate the social movements and the religious context of fourteenth-century Europe, without going into much detail about the situation in Split, as the author lacked local sources.[1050]

But some additional information, presented here in the appendices, should be pointed out. The unpaid tithe from July refered to the unpaid taxes from the period of Pope Gregory XI (r.1371-78).[1051] That the chapter was in arrears is corroborated by the fact that at the beginning of September 1383 the canons paid another 60 ducats, the same as in April, while at the end of September the chapter appointed one of its members to discuss the issue of tithes with the subcollectors, probably with the aim of another postponement.[1052] The sources do not provide additional information about the heretical activities and natural occurences, but the war damages are more easily deduced. They appear to relate to the war between a group of allies and Venice, which resulted in the peace of Chioggia (1378-81). Although they lost the war, the Venetian navy proved its naval superiority and inflicted damages to the coastal communes of Dalmatia.[1053] Additionaly, Roman Pope Urban VI (r.1378-89) introduced a new tithe to combat the increasing expenditures created by the schism. But he also demanded the collection of any missing tithe from the previous periods, as the pope was keen on extracting as much money as possible from all the

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[1047] Vivian appointed Thomas as the subcollector for Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Antibar. CDC XVI, 327-9, December 1, 1382; 346-9, February 24, 1383.

[1048] CDC XVI, 360-1, April 27, 1383.

[1049] The amount requested was 60 ducats. CDC XVI, 379-80, July 7, 1383; Listine V, 347-8, July 7, 1383.

[1050] Brandt, *Wyclifova hereza i socijalni pokreti u Splitu*, 217-31.

[1051] CDC XVI, 386-7, September 2, 1383.

[1052] CDC XVI, 393-5, September 22, 1383.

[1053] Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 317-23; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 266-71; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 501-4.

dioceses in his obedience, so the apology of the canons of Split could relate to their reluctance to pay the past papal taxes, rather than to their inability to do so.[1054]

The financial problems for the archbishopric occurred more frequently during and after 1384, when the archbishopric had problems in collecting its tithes in Klis and Livno, as the two counts of these forts were preventing the archbishop from collecting tithe. Were their actions connected in any way with the activities of Walter from England or did the archbishop act more aggressively in collecting the payments in order to pay the papal subcollectors? Nothing of the sort can be suggested, but these castellans were royally appointed so their actions could be connected to the growing weakness in the effective royal control. The two queens, who inherited King Louis's realm – his underage daughter Mary, and her mother Elizabeth as the regent –, were faced with growing dissent from the nobility of the kingdom. For instance, the archbishop issued a complaint to Queen-regent Elizabeth, who responded in January 1385 with an order to the *ban* of Croatia-Dalmatia to force the two counts to pay tithes.[1055] Since the *bans* – the symbol of royal authority on the local level – were at the time changing every several months[1056] it is unclear how successful was the royal mandate.

What is evident is that the archbishop tried to rely on the support of the central government in the issues of conflicts with local lay authorities. Besides turning to the queen for help, the archbishop also used spiritual punishments. A month earlier, in December 1384, the archbishop excommunicated the two castellans of Bistrica, who were accused of obstructing the collection of tithe in the area of Livno.[1057] The castellan of Klis was not mentioned, so it is unclear if he was also excommunicated. Maybe he was removed in the meantime or the source was not preserved. Maybe the archbishop did not want to escalate the problems by excommunicating the castellan. But a conflict soon erupted between Klis and Split.

[1054] CDC XVI, 280-3, May 1, 1382; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 243-4, [no date]. Vivian, the papal subcollector issued an order to the bishops of Dalmatia to prepare the required money. Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola,", 244-6, May 6, 1383.

[1055] CDC 16, 491-2, December 7, 1384; Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 265, January 10, 1385.

[1056] The royal order was issued in January 1385. The ban for that month was Thomas Szentgyorgy (May 1384 – January 1385), but just several weeks later, the ban was Stephen Lacković of Čakovec (February – March 1385), after which a new ban, John Kaplai, was mentioned for several months (March – October 1385), before being replaced by Nicholas Gorjanski, who was more pressed with the task of running the kingdom, than in administering his banate. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 24.

[1057] Hugolin ordered the primicerius and the canons to excommunicate the two castellans, Ladislas Martin and John Popi. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 330-1, December 7, 1354; CDC XVI, 491-2.

At the beginning of 1385 Hranko, the archpriest of the parish of Klis, was mentioned in sources as also being a canon of Split. Very little is known about the personnel of the rural parishes of Split to suggest if it was usual for the canons to also serve as parochial archpriests, or to have the local archpriests appointed to the cathedral chapter. Maybe his appointment suggests an action from the part of the archbishopric to better connect the parish with the center in Split.

Hranko was mentioned among witnesses in the investigation regarding an attack from February 1385 when four leaders of the community of Klis gathered supporters and attacked the villages of Kuk (Colch) and Križ (Crix).[1058] These villages, located on the borders between Split and Klis were in 1359 granted to Split by royal mandate. The attack directly affected the archbishopric, since these villages were among the important ones where the archbishops collected considerable tithe.[1059] This supposition can be backed by the appearance of the ecclesiastical personnel from Split in Klis during the investigation. Canon John, the son of George, was there on official business, tasked by Peter, the son of Crestol de Papali, the rector of Split, in the official duty of the cathedral chapter as a place of authentication. Present were also Hranko, the archpriest of Klis, and Bishop Matthew who appears as the person of trust at the archiepiscopal curia. The appearances of Hranko and Matthew underlines the importance that the attack from Klis had for the archbishop, but also shows the changes that Hugolin introduced in managing his diocese.

All these events caused considerable problems for the archbishopric since in July 1385 the clergy of Split received another postponement of payment of the papal tithe,[1060] after which no sources are available regarding tithe until the 1390s. In the meantime, the entire province of Dalmatia was embroiled in the rebellion against the royal court, whch was further worsened by the invasion of King Tvrtko of Bosnia, who attempted to seize the cities of Dalmatia between 1387 and his death in 1391. The tithe was probably not collected since during 1390s the subcollectors gathered the arrears from the 1380s as well as the new tithe. The preserved sources reveal that tithe was again collected after Tvrtko's death but that the amount paid by Split was meager. At one point the subcollector gave up and decided to forgive the payment, citing that the entire

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[1058] On 3 February *Iuan filius Ligmani, Dobrin voeuoda populi Clissiensis et Milgost Radinich bandifer cum multis de populo Clissie da mandato et speciali commissione Nicole olim filii Volchxe Slaucich iudicis Clissie.* Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 118-9, March 18, 1385.
[1059] Katić, "Selo Kučine," 146.
[1060] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 27, July 1, 1385.

archbishopric suffered considerably due to the wars in Dalmatia fought between the supporters and opponents of the royal court in Buda.[1061]

In mid-1387 King Tvrtko I of Bosnia started his military operations in order to conquer Croatia-Dalmatia. One of the first places which surrendered to the Bosnian army was Klis, in July 1387.[1062] It seems reasonable to assume that the cause of this was the detoriated relations that Klis had with the archbishopric and the commune of Split. With the fall of Klis, Split was endangered, which also meant that most, if not practically all, revenue sources of the archbishopric were in danger. This is the context in which the ensuing conflict between the commune and Archbishop Hugolin should be observed and which culminated in Hugolin's resignation by June 1388.[1063]

The dispute is only known in fragments. The commune sent its representatives in January 1388 to King Sigismund, to ask for help against the Bosnian army, to seek privileges, but also to ask for royal mediation with Pope Urban VI. The pope was asked to transfer the archbishop to some place outside of the kingdom and appoint a new archbishop who would "live in peace and without quarrel with the commune."[1064] The request was repeated in June 1388 by another communal envoy, who informed the king about the political situation in Dalmatia, while petitioning the king to influence the pope to promote Hugolin somewhere else.[1065]

It is unlikely that Hugolin sided with the Bosnian king against his commune.[1066] In 1387 the cathedral chapter prepared authorized copies of the grants made to the archbishopric of Split by the old Croatian and Hungarian kings.[1067] The copies were probably intended to be used to protect the properties and the privileges of the archbishopric from outside attacks, maybe from the Bosnian king or from the commune. Instead, the reasons for a quarrel shoud be looked for in the economical impoverishment which led to Hugolin's more dubious behaviour which can be showed in some very revealing sources.[1068] In one of his letters to various institutions in Split in 1390,

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[1061] In previous periods the archbishopric of Split paid around 60 ducats or even 120 ducats per year, but during the 1390s the sums varied between 10 and 30 per year. Fifteen ducats were collected in 1392. CDC XVII, 468-70, October 29, 1392. In 1394 the total sum was 30 ducats while the rest was forgiven by the papal subcollectors because of the war with Bosnian rulers. CDC XVII, 617-9, September 8, 1394. During 1395 the collectors received 20 ducats compared to only 10 ducats in 1396. Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 29, October 7, 1395; 29, June 10, 1396.
[1062] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 276.
[1063] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459.
[1064] CDC XVII, 124-27, January 19, 1388; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 278-80.
[1065] CDC 152-4, June 10, 1388; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 746-747
[1066] This possibility was suggested by Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 186.
[1067] ASN (S), 20, f 26, 51. Ostojić, Metropolitanski, 112.
[1068] The impoverishment of the clergy of Split can be observed on the example of Cleric Thomas, the son of Peter, who, pressured by poverty and hunger, went to Venice. For leaving his diocese without the permission from his

Roman Pope Boniface IX stated that Hugolin had valid reasons for resignation without specifying the reasons for it.[1069] The pope ordered the new abbot of Saint Stephen under the Pines to investigate the alienation of properties which occured during the reign of the Archbishop Hugolin, while the commune was asked to assist the new archbishop in maintaining a steady income from tithes.[1070] While it cannot be stated who seized the properties of the Church, it is probable that the pope meant the archbishop's encroachment on the monastery itself. Sometime during 1387, following the death of Abbot John the archbishop seized some properties of the late abbot which were estimated to 1000 ducats. The monastery's significance for the commune and the cathedral chapter was already shown earlier, so the archbishop's move provoked negative reaction from the commune.

The popes were keen in collecting the spoils, that is the movable property left after the death of a cleric, a collection that was highly unpopular.[1071] Money-starved papacies of the schism were especially attentive not to leave any sum, no matter how large or small, go to waste.[1072] Therefore, the decision of the pope to the commune to seize the funds of the Benedictine monastery and pass it over to a papal subcollector is understandable, but it seems that the commune understood the order as a papal permission to attack the archbishop.[1073] A later note by Pope Martin V (r.1417-37) points to the conclusion that a violent conflict erupted between the commune and the archbishop. In 1426 the commune petitioned the pope to absolve its citizens from excommunication for capturing Archbishop Hugolin and which occurred some 40 years ago, so around the year 1386.[1074] Around the time when the archbishop resigned, Canon Duymus was

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spiritual superior, the cleric was excommunicated by Archbishop Andrew, Hugolin's successor. Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 187, August 25 [no year].

[1069] Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 140.

[1070] Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 37, 37a, 37b, Confirmation on May 1, 1390, while the papal letters are from February 11 (to the abbot) and March 1 (to the commune). Also: CDC XVIII, 265-6, March 1, 1390.

[1071] Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 57-8; Favier, *Les finances pontificales*.

[1072] See for instance a situation when the pope issued an order to the commune of Trogir to give 300 ducats, left after the death of Bishop Ulia (or Dessa) of Trebinje-Mrkanj, to the papal collector Vivian. CDC XVII, 12, March 29, 1386. Earlier, the former archbishop of Zadar, Dominic Thopia left 12000 which the Apostolic Camera collected. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142.

[1073] CDC XVII, 82-83, August 10 1387; VMS I, 338-9.

[1074] It seems that the petition related to a series of conflicts, all resulting in excommunications, that the commune had with Hugolin, his successor Andrew and then Pisan Pope John XXIII. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 369, January 6, 1426. Some citizens arrested Hugolin and transferred him under the control of the cardinal of San Ciriaco. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459. The name of Angelo given in the source is incorrect, because the cardinal of San Ciriaco was Niccolò Caracciolo Moschino, who was mentioned during 1386 as the papal legate for Hungary, Poland, Dalmatia and Croatia. CDC XVII, 38, October 26, 1386.

authorized to submit some unspecified money to the papal subcollector. This could have been the money disputed between the commune, the pope and the archbishop.[1075]

It should be added that in 1388 Archbishop Hugolin was probably at least 70 years old,[1076] so he was an old man who spent his last years seeing his diocese embroiled in internal crisis which seriously diminished his archiepiscopal authority and revenues. Hugolin's episcopal carreer, which started with pomp and splendour depicted in his adventus to his diocese, ended in conflict with the commune which forced him to submit his resignation to the pope. He seems to have provoked contrary opinions – being accused of corrupt behaviour by the clerics from Trogir and being extolled as an ideal archbishop by an anonymous contemporary writer from Split. But these opinions should be observed within the context of disputes between Trogir and Split, and the feeling of pride that the citizens of Split had for their archbishopric. Hugolin's style of archiepiscopal government reflected his origins and past experiences. It seems that he administered his diocese more as a nobleman and a Benedictine monk, than as a cleric. He was vain and vindicative, but also shrewd politican, capable of establishing good contacts with the influential members of the local urban and royal nobility. His time in office certainly had its ups and downs, as the archbishop seems to have been much more interested in keeping strict control over his own archdiocese of Split than in administering his entire metropolitan area.

[1075] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 331-2, 1388.

[1076] According to the canon law, a cleric had to be at least 30 years of age for episcopal appointment to be valid. Hugolin was appointed in early 1349, so in 1388 he was at least 69 or 70 years of age.

Chapter V. Ecclesiastical and Political Instability (c.1380-c.1420)

The period between the early 1380s and the late 1410s saw the division of Christendom into two obediences following the problematic papal election of 1378. The cardinals, gathered in Rome, elected Urban VI (r.1378-89) as the new pope. But, through the scheming of the French and Neapolitan royal courts, the French-oriented cardinals left the Papal States and instead elected Clement VII (r.1378-94), who settled in Avignon. With the election of the two popes by the same electoral body the Church entered a protracted period of a crisis of authority which was felt from the top to the bottom.[1077]

The fracture within the Catholic Church greately diminished the authority and power of the bishops, who depended on the papal Curia for authority, promotion and support. As was shown earlier, already by the end of the Avignon papal period, the local communities in Croatia-Dalmatia started to resist bishops installed from outside, while the local rulers, particularly the kings of Hungary-Croatia wanted to directly influence the episcopal appointments. At the same time, Venice underwent major reforms in order to better control the office of the bishop. With the schism, the authority and incomes of the popes were severely diminished, leaving the Apostolic See unable to resist mounting pressure from secular powers, particularly in regard to providing episcopal appointments to those individuals with strong secular backing.

In order to understand changes in the office of the bishop, it is necessary to consider the ramifications of the papal rupture of 1378. The political leaders, motivated by a combination of legal, practical, personal, or spiritual reasons, soon aggravated the situation by declaring for either of the candidates. Due to the political and spiritual orientation of King Louis, the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia backed the Roman candidate.[1078] Part of the reason was the decision by Queen Joanna I of Naples to back the Avignon pope, which Louis used as a reason to revive the old plans

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[1077] The literature about the Schism is extensive and it is difficult to list all the important works. Selected works deal with various aspects such as the outbreak of the Schism, validity of papal elections and its consequences on the papal and episcopal authority. Brandmüller, "Zur Frage nach der Gültigkeit der Wahl," 3-41; Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 165-91; Blumenfeld-Kosinsi, *Poets, Saints and Visionaries*, 31-59; Lange, "Urban VI. und Clemens VII.," 31-74; Rollo-Koster, "Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism," 9-65; Ullmann, *Origins of the Great Schism*, 29-147; Williman, "Schism within the Curia," 29-47.

[1078] The king's piety, his connections to Emperor Charles IV and the dispute with Naples all played a role in the decision. Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 173. For why different polities opted to choose either Avignon or Rome, see: Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 367-75; Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism*, 9-49; Millet, *L'Eglise du Grand Schisma*; Hledíková, "Papacy of the High and Late Middle Ages," 101-13.

to have his cousin, Charles of Durazzo, take the Neapolitan throne. The former duke of Croatia and Dalmatia was able to seize Naples with the backing of Roman Pope Urban VI.[1079]

But the sudden death of King Louis in 1382, the succession of his daughters – Mary in Hungary and Jadwiga in Poland –, and often arbitrary reign of Queen-mother Elizabeth (1339-87) and Palatine Nicholas Gorjanski (1325-86), resulted in dissatisfaction from the parts of the nobility and prelates. Those with prior contacts with Duke Charles started to openly support his claim to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and by the end of 1385 were able to temporarily install him as the next king. But Charles's reign was short lived as the new king lost his life in a plot carried out by the supporters of the queen-mother and the palatine. Their success was also temporary as they in turn were ambushed while en route to Dalmatia by Charles's supporters. The palatine and the queen-mother lost their lives while Mary was held captive and the kingdom was in the grips of an all-out rebellion against the throne. Mary's captivity enabled her fiancé, Sigismund of Luxembourg (r.1387-1437), previously sidelined by the queen-mother, to seize the throne, liberate Mary with the help of the Venetian fleet and lead the fight against the rebels.[1080]

The participants in this power struggle to control the kingdom were, despite occasional shifts in allegiances, set for the period between 1386/87 and 1408/09. The period started with an open rebellion against the royal court and Sigismund's coronation as the new king, while it has subsided with Sigismund's military successes in quelling the remaining opposition, only to see the loss of a part of his kingdom, namely Dalmatia, through a back-door scheming.

Sigismund's opponents were local prelates and the nobility, focusing on the southern parts of the kingdom, who had ties with the Neapolitan Angevin branch of the family. The major rebels were the Horvati brothers led by Bishop Paul of Zagreb (r.1379-86). But the rebels were openly aided by the nearby Bosnian rulers and nobility, who in turn also sought to expand their own domains. For instance, King Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia (1339-91) officially supported the rebels but was also able to gain important fortresses in Croatia and to pressure most of the Dalmatian cities in recognizing him as the king.[1081]

[1079] Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr*, 196-248; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 1-59.

[1080] For more details about these events, see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 195-202; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 225-70; Sághy, "Aspects of Female Rulership," 69-86; Petrovics, "A Horváti-lázadás és Pécs," 285-91; Süttő, "Der Dynastiewechsel Anjou-Luxemburg," 82-6; Fügedi, *Könyörül, bánom, könyörülj*, 34-138; Bárd, *Aristocratic Revolts*, 1-61; Petrović, "Political Career of Bishop Paul of Zagreb," 22-39; Engel, *Szent István birodalma*, 167-78.

[1081] Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 41-3; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 324-35; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 504-8; Petrovics, "A Horváti-lázadás és Pécs," 285-91.

After Charles's demise, the rebels supported his underage son, Ladislas of Naples (1377-1414), as the next king. The boy-king was met with opposition on all sides in Naples, which meant that he was unable to adequately focus on helping his supporters in Hungary and Croatia. The king was opposed by Roman Pope Urban VI, who schemed on seizing Naples for himself. The pope initially supported Charles of Durazzo but then excommunicated the king and his entire family. But the opposition of the Roman pope did not mean that Charles or Ladislas sided with Avignon, since Clement VII already had an Anjou candidate of his own to the throne. The fight between two fathers - Charles and Louis I of Anjou (1339-84) - and two sons - Ladislas and Louis II (1377-1417) - marked the history of Naples for the upcoming decades.[1082]

Ladislas's position greatly improved following the death of Pope Urban VI and with the election of Pietro Tomacelli, a cardinal from Naples, as Pope Boniface IX (r.1389-1404). The new pope quickly assessed the situation in which Louis II was working on expanding the influence of the rival Avignon papacy, while the Roman Curia depended on the financial and military support of its traditional vassal of Naples.[1083] Parts of the kingdom were already controlled by Louis II and his partisans, so the pope fully backed Ladislas and authorized Cardinal Angelo Acciaouli to crown him as the king of Naples in May 1390. The problems in Naples as well as the dominant presence of King Stephen Tvrtko meant that Ladislas had very limited involvement in the rebellion in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Despite the frequent trips by the rebel nobility and prelates to the king to inform him about the situation in the kingdom, Ladislas was kept on the sidelines. This changed around the time of the royal coronation and the death of King Tvrtko in February 1391. Afterwards Ladislas became more involved by confirming two Hrvatinić brothers, Vuk Vukčić and Hrvoje Vukčić, as the *bans* of Croatia and Dalmatia.[1084]

When it came to Hungary-Croatia, Pope Boniface IX was probably in a very difficult position, having to balance between two opposing rulers. From Rome, the pope oversaw a diminished Christendom which included parts of Italy, parts of the Holy Roman Empire as well as the kingdoms of Naples, Poland and Hungary-Croatia. Most of the papal administration remained in Avignon, while the attempts by the Roman popes to reorganize its chancery were met with

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[1082] Tuchman, *Distant Mirror*, 398-415; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 35-148; Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 370-79.
[1083] Masson, "Les princes Valois d'Anjou et le Grand Schisme d'Occident," 71-81; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 10-11, 40; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 61-148; Baddeley, *Charles III*, 1-18; Petrović, "Politicized Religion," 41-2.
[1084] Barone, "Notizie raccolte dai registri" VII, 509, 1391; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 67; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 53-4; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 82-3.

setbacks, as constant political instability hindered the preservation of papal registers, so some source materials for Croatia-Dalmatia for this period, such as bull of episcopal appointments or tax records, are missing. The core territories of the Roman popes, despite being larger that the ones owned by Avignon, proved to be a substantial drain on the papal finances and the popes were actively reforming their reign in these provinces and organizing them as vicariates.[1085] This meant that the Roman Curia needed every bit of support it could muster in order to fight the Avignon papal pretender. Boniface needed Ladislas's finances and troops, but he had to consider the interest of Sigismund and his Luxembourg family. Sigismund was the king of Hungary-Croatia, while his half-brother Wenceslas was the king of Bohemia and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Combined, the brothers controlled large territories within the Roman obedience. They also used the favourable contacts with Pope Urban VI in order to install another member of the family, John of Moravia, as the patriarch of Aquileia (r.1387-92). Aquileia had a strong geopolitical position, which gave the Holy Roman Empire easy access to Italy and to Rome. Although, it should be added that relations between Sigismund and Wenceslas were fickle, ranging from brothers trying to undermine each other's rule to sometimes providing support in case of rebellions.[1086]

The uneasy position in which the Roman Curia found itself, between the courts of Hungary and Naples, could be detected in the inactivity of Cardinal Angelo who became, together with Ladislas's mother Margaret, a co-regent for Ladislas. The young king granted lands to his supporters in Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, therefore to those also subordinated to Sigismund, and these grants were confirmed by co-regents. But the cardinal was either mentioned as absent (*hinc absentis*), or completely omitted, suggesting that he was never present during the deciding and grant writing process, preserving the neutral position of the pope.[1087]

The relations between Boniface and Sigismund must have been uneasy, but this is not reflected in sources which show, to a degree, the papal policy of appeasement to the king. Most of the time when the king wanted to remove a bishop and appoint his own candidate, the pope would approve the request. In addition, during the 1390s the king complained to the pope about the attacks

[1085] Favier, *Les finances pontificales*, 624-88; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 453-565; Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 378-83; Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy*, 239-86; Zutshi, "Continuity and discontinuity," 285-92.

[1086] Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 250-1; Schmidt, *John of Moravia*, 1-12; Zacchigna, "Il patriarcato di Aquileia," 91-113; Paschini, *Storia del Friuli*; 115-34; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 354-98; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 64-118.

[1087] CDC XVII, 364, June 15, 1391; 373, July 17, 1391; 374, July 17, 1391;376, July 17, 1391; Same sources in Rački, "Izvadci," 29-35; Also: CDC XVII, 456-8, October 10, 1392; 460-2, October 15, 1392; 462-5, October 19, 1392; 466-7, October 28, 1392; Rački, "Izvadci," 37-41, October 19, 1392; 41-2, October 28, 1392; Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," II, 117-9.

of the Ottomans and the rising heresy and Manichaeism in Bosnia. The king wanted to receive spiritual sanction, masked as a crusade, for his military activities against the pro-Neapolitan Bosnian nobility, to which the pope consented. Similary dubious was the papal gathering of crusaders in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in order to fight Louis of Anjou and the Avignon popes while those areas were still partly rebelling against Sigismund. But the pope supported the royal campaign against the Ottomans, which resulted in the defeat at Nicopolis, by issuing a call to gather crusaders for the upcoming crusade from the territories subordinated to the archbishopric of Salzburg, Treviso and the patriarchate of Grado, including Venice.[1088]

King Sigismund was a capable ruler, matching his thirst for power with his ability to mobilize a variety of resources. What characterised Sigismund's politics toward the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was his often ambivalent approach. As a member of the family of Luxembourg, whose father was the Holy Roman emperor, Sigismund was more interested in the European great power politics, trying to gain foothold in Germany.[1089] He did recognize the seriousness of the Ottoman advance, and planned accordingly, but instead of defending his border territories, he spent most of his resources on trying to gain influence in Bohemia. However, the king did recognize that his major opponent to the south was the Bosnian nobility, which prevented attempts to intervene in Croatia and Dalmatia and which cooperated with Ladislas of Naples. The death of King Stephen Tvrtko and Sigismund's constant attacks led to the weakening of the Bosnian rulers who were often just figureheads controlled by powerful barons. Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, a Bosnian nobleman, often changed sides between Ladislas, Sigismund and the Bosnian kings in order to expand and strengthen his position, becoming one of the key local players during this period. His importance and role are the most glaring examples of the troubled relations between the Bosnian nobility and the Hungarian court. The story was always similar: the king would stage several attacks on Bosnia, the nobility would submit to the king's demands, but soon the king would leave and the opposition to Hungarian claims in Bosnia would rise.[1090]

[1088] CDC XVII, 409-10, December 18, 1391; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 69; CDC XVII, 594-6, June 3, 1394; ZsO I, n. 3489; Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu" II, 146-9; Bárány, "Sigismund of Luxemburg and the preparations," 153-78; Engel, "Ungarn und die Türkengefahr," 55-72; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 55-64; ZsO I, n. 3662-4, October 15, 1394; n. 3681, October 30, 1394; Malyusz, Sigismund in Ungarn, 131-2; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 343.

[1089] Incze, "Pledge Policy of King Sigismund," 87-110; Malyusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn*, 49-59; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 64-118.

[1090] Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo*, 133-90; Isailović, "Living by the Border," 105-17; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 76-118; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 202-33; Engel, "Zsigmond bárói," 420-1; Engel, "Neki problemi bosansko-ugarskih odnosa," 57-72.

By the end of the 1390s the royal power in the kingdom was weakened by the defeat at Nicopolis, new extraordinary taxes and the continuous royal absence from the kingdom. The dissatisfied nobility also worked on undermining Sigismund position by conspiring with Ladislas of Naples. Around 1400 the Dalmatian cities became the battleground between the supporters of Sigismund and Ladislas. The center of the anti-Sigismund policy was Zadar where the nobility became dissatisfied with his reign and what they perceived as royal injustice against them.[1091]

Between 1401 and 1403 the king was even imprisoned in Visegrád and Siklós and then released, while the kingdom was ruled by the prelates and noblemen who formed the royal council. The rebels invited Ladislas of Naples, who was by 1399 able to defeat his opponents in Naples, to take the crown. Ladislas landed in Zadar in 1403 where he was crowned king, but his local allies were all defeated by Sigismund's supporters or accepted royal pardons. Being unable to fully defeat each other, Sigismund controlled Hungary and Slavonia, while Ladislas, together with his Bosnian allies, was contained in Dalmatia. This meant that the border areas between the two rulers, Croatia and Slavonia, were constant battlegrounds.[1092]

The conflict was both local and European. Roman Pope Boniface IX officially committed to Ladislas's attempt to claim Hungary-Croatia by assigning the king the collection of ecclesiastical tithes of the Neapolitan churches. Cardinal Angelo Acciaioli was appointed as the *legatus a latere* with the task to help Ladislas recover the kingdom of Hungary (*circa recuperacionem regni Hungarie*).[1093] The pope also recognized the title of Rupert of the Palatinate (1352-1410), who was elected as the King of Germany. This was done in order to widen the conflict against Sigismund, whose half-brother Wenceslaus, the king of Bohemia and Germany, was previously deposed by the German electors.[1094] Sigismund responded by breaking all contacts with the Roman Curia.[1095]

[1091] Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 43-96; Dokoza, "Tragom jedne Brunellijeve priče," 97-115.

[1092] Burkhardt, "Ein Königreich im Wandel," 407-37; Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 71-7; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 209-28.

[1093] Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 250-58, April 23, 1403; VMH II, 172-74, June 1, 1403. The popes of the Schism regularly used the ecclesiastical tithes in order to aid lay rulers or to buy their support. Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 58-9; Esch, *Bonifaz IX.*, 398.

[1094] Rupert, Count of Palatine, was elected in 1400 after the electors dethroned Wenceslas IV. Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone*, II, 447-76; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 94-114.

[1095] The king ceased all contacts with the Roman Curia in Bohemia and Hungary on 9 August 1403. Göller, *König Sigismunds Kirchenpolitik*, 5.

With the death of Pope Boniface IX, King Ladislas's relations toward the Roman papacy changed. Instead of cooperating with the popes, Ladislas wanted to dominate the Curia. King Sigismund used the oportunity to reconnect with the Apostolic See and worked on obtaining the support of Roman Pope Gregory XII (r.1406-15) to call the planned campaign against Bosnia in 1408 a crusade. Similar was the situation with the Pisan popes. The Council of Pisa (1409), convened to settle the Schism, produced another contender to the papal see. Pisan Pope John XXIII (r.1410-15) was also pressured by Ladislas's expansion so he hoped for Sigismund's military support. But the pope often turned a blind eye to Sigismund's demands regarding the ongoing conflict with Venice and the need to heal the Western Schism.[1096]

Sigismund defeated the Bosnian forces in 1408, resulting in the quick erosion of Ladislas's position in Dalmatia. The Neapolitan king responded to the changed political situation by selling his remaining cities and forts, concentrated around Zadar, to Venice in 1409. The period between 1409 and 1420 was marked by hostilities between Venice and Sigismund, but the king's attention was constantly drawn to other important issues. Prior to 1409 the king attempted to obtain the Republic's support in order to persuade Roman Pope Gregory XII, to whose obedience both Hungary and Venice belonged to, to discuss the solving of the Western Schism. While the Venetians were fortifying their newly acquired position in Dalmatia, the king was working on becoming the Holy Roman Emperor, in which he succeeded by 1411. Besides Dalmatia, the two powers clashed in Friuli, the home of the patriarch of Aquileia, which served as a border region between the Holy Roman Empire and Venice. The Senate of Venice tried to block the appointment of hostile patriarchs in Aquileia and aimed at fostering favourable relations with the Church and the cities of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, all in the name of securing safe trade routes through Friuli. Sigismund was able to use his imperial position and reactivate the system of imperial vicars in Northern Italy as well as prior contacts with the local lords, with interest in controlling the Aquileia, in order to install a favurable new patriarch.[1097]

By 1413 Venice was able to conquer Šibenik, while Sigismund's army prevailed in Friuli. The stalemate led to the five-year peace treaty. Sigismund wanted to concentrate on strengthening his reign and convening a council, intended to settle the Western Schism, while the Venetians used

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[1096] Petrovics, "Bishops William of Coppenbach and Valentine of Alsán," 303-11; Erdö, "Papacy and the Hungarian Kingdom," 63-8.
[1097] Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, I, 78, 280-308; Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul*, 47-124; Paschini, *Storia del Friuli*, 275-308; Kondor, "Absente rege," 122-3.

this period to consolidate their positions in Dalmatia for the inevitable new conflict. The new war broke out in 1418 and by 1420 the Venetian forces were able to overrun the royal armies and claim all of Aquileia, Split and Trogir. Even though the hostilities with Sigismund continued, the entire Dalmatia, apart from Dubrovnik, was now controlled by Venice and permanently lost for the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.[1098] The ecclesiastical issues only helped to aggravate the already problematic political situation. During this period both the lay rulers and the popes attempted to control the episcopal office. But the Western Schism had considerable influence on the relations between the bishop and his community, which is explored in more detail in the next chapters.

V.1. Reforms, Rebellions and Curial Work – Peter Matafari of Zadar (r.1376-1400)

On 5 May 1376 Pope Gregory XI responded to what was probably a series of petitions by King Louis the Great to have the royal candidates installed to various bishoprics in the kingdom. One such position was the appointment of Peter Matafari, the parish priest of Saint Stephen, as the archbishop of Zadar.[1099] After his appointment, Peter went to Avignon where it was established that he lacked some lesser clerical orders, for which a dispensation was granted.[1100] His lack of lesser orders led to the development of an idea, recently repeated in the newest edition of the *Croatian Lexicon*,[1101] that Peter was too young to be appointed archbishop and that he reigned for eight years without being consecrated. The entire narrative is based on Daniele Farlati's interpretation of the available sources at his time.[1102] Farlati was such an authority on the subject

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[1098] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* III, 53-117; Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, 47-65; Kovács, *Zsigmond király és Velence*, 143-96.

[1099] VMS I, 311, May 5, 1376; CDC XV, 205-6; *Priručnik* I, 368.

[1100] VMS I, 317-8, August 29, 1376.

[1101] Grbavac, "Matafar, Petar," 461; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 110-1.

[1102] Daniele Farlati suggested that Peter was too young to administer his church, instead being consecrated as the priest and the bishop in 1383-84. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 99-101. He based his claim on the interpretation of on an event recorded by Paulus de Paulo. Paul noted that on 15 March 1384 the archbishop left for Rome. On 25 February 1385 the archbishop returned to Zadar. On 9 April the archbishop decided to celebrate a new or young mass (*missa novella*) in the cathedral of Saint Anastasia. Paulo, *Memoriale*, 8-9. This *young mass* was taken to mean that Peter was only consecrated in 1384 and that he oversaw the Church of Zadar without consecration. This was supported by Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli who claimed that the appointment of Peter was a political act of the Angevins and that the pope broke ecclesiastical rules for the dynasty's sake. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 362. Even if Peter was too young, which is not clearly expressed anywhere in the sources, the pope had the right of postulation meaning that those who are not of required age or are members of the religious orders could obtain the papal approval to become archbishops. On the other hand, Brunelli was against this interpretation, claiming that Peter was already a parish priest so he held the young mass before, and that Paul note probably meant that he celebrated *silver mass* (for 25 years of being a priest). (Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 490-1). But, if he was a priest, why was it necessary to ordain him in lesser orders?

that the modern authors tended to ignore sources unavailable to Farlati but which were published since the second half of the nineteenth century. Namely, Peter's representative, Primicerius Bartholomew of Zadar successfully petitioned the pope for the pallium, the symbol of the archiepiscopal authority, which was granted to the archbishop, together with the consecration, by his bishop-suffragans of Krk and Osor.[1103]

The other major claim by Farlati, that Peter was appointed on the instigation of Charles of Durazzo, who was at the time the duke of Croatia-Dalmatia (c.1371-c.76),[1104] can only be reinforced. No direct sources exist to confirm Farlati's claim, but it should be stated that Peter's appointment came through royal intervention. His uncle Nicholas Matafari was also the archbishop and the family supported King Louis's actions in claiming Dalmatia from Venice back in the 1350s.[1105] Peter also actively worked on behalf of the king. In 1380 the king sent the archbishop of Zadar and magister Serene as his representatives to Šibenik, with the task of organizing the supplies for the army during the war with Venice.[1106]

Peter had good contacts with the royal court, but the connections which he gradually built with the Roman Apostolic See came to play a more important role in his episcopal career. Shortly after becoming the archbishop, Peter quickly made an agreement with Bishop Bernard, the papal collector, regarding the collection of the papal tithe in the archbishopric of Zadar. This deal was then approved by the pope.[1107] Curiously enough, despite his rich family background, he was reluctant to fully pay for his appointment, but it does not seem that this issue in any way deteriorated the contacts between Peter and the Apostolic See.[1108]

The reason for the papal lenience toward Peter was probably in some way the result of the Schism. Following the Western Schism and the split between Avignon and Rome, the working papal administration remained in Avignon, so the Roman popes had to build up the system almost from scratch.[1109] Between March 1384 and February 1385 the archbishop was absent from his

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[1103] VMS I, 323, March 21, 1377; 325, April 20, 1377.

[1104] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 99; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája* I, 18, 23-4, 84.

[1105] Peter's brother Guido was a royal knight. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, 633; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 58.

[1106] *Šibenski diplomatarij*, 146, February 26, 1390.

[1107] CDC XV, 306-8, August 1, 1377; VMS I, 326-7. The clergy would pay it in August and February for the first year, and on the same dates for the second year (*in augusti primum et in februarii Kalendis mensium secundum terminum esse volumus primi anni, et similiter in anno secundo similibus terminis observatis*).

[1108] He promised to pay 400 florins for his *servitia* in May 1376, and in March 1377 he paid 100 florins. MVC I, 203, May 14, 1376, 201, March 23, 1377.

[1109] Favier, *Les finances pontificales*, 141; Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 373.

diocese as he went to the Papal Curia in Rome.[1110] While it is certain that he did not go there to receive a consecration, no sources exist to explain what Peter was doing there. More sources are preserved for Peter's second visit to the Curia between 1396 and 1400. Pope Boniface IX appointed Peter as a vice-rector in the March of Ancona.[1111] There he was tasked to help Andrew Tomacelli, the brother of the pope, who was assigned to govern the Vicariate of Ancona, one of the biggest provinces of the Papal States.[1112] It is probable that Peter's first visit to the Curia was in some way connected to the need of the Roman popes to fill in its administrative gaps, which became acutely vacant after the outbreak of the Schism. Peter then benefited from connections that he established earlier and received an important position. He remained in papal service as he was barred from returning to his diocese by King Sigismund.

The royal dissatisfaction manifested itself in 1397. While the king was returning from the disastrous battle of Nicopolis (1396), he stopped in Knin in the beginning of 1397. There he ordered to ten Zaratin noblemen to appear in front of the king and explain their involvement in the previous rebellion (1386-94) and the death of Queen-mother Elizabeth (1387).[1113] It is unclear why the king decided to investigate the older events. Maybe while he was in Croatia and Dalmatia, he received some new information, or he used these events in order to settle disputes with the local nobility which at the time appeared disloyal to the king. Anyhow, the king soon issued an arrest warrant for the archbishop, his brothers Guido and Louis and their supporters, suggesting that they did not appear or that they were viewed as guilty.[1114] While Peter was not present in Zadar at the time, but was for several months already in the Papal States, the brothers had to escape Zadar. Curiously, they did not go to Naples or Venice but to other cities of Italy: Guido went to Padua where he had nurtured friendship with Bolognese jurist Bartolomeo da Saliceto, while Louis went to Bologna where he was appointed as a *podestà*.[1115] The king even went further by ordering the general council of Zadar not to mention the archbishop in the public charters, which resulted in

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[1110] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 8-9, March 15, 1384 - February 25, 1385.

[1111] Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 167, 530. Peter served in this position from 18 July 1396 until 3 August 1398. *vicerector generalis in temporalibus and reformator in spiritualibus*, July 18, 1396; *reformator in spiritualibus*, August 3, 1398; Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 149.

[1112] Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 376.

[1113] Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 115-6.

[1114] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 24, February 3, 1397. Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 234-5; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 108; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 515-6.

[1115] Praga wrote Jacopo. Since there was no such person, he probably meant Louis. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, 149.

only the king's and the count's name being mentioned.[1116] The king's accusation justifies a closer look at the archbishop's activities in the past decades.

Following the death of King Louis, the Dalmatian cities were obliged to pledge allegiance to the new ruling queens, Mary and her mother Elizabeth. The city council of Zadar did this in October 1382, while Archbishop Peter was sent, together with two other noblemen, as an envoy to the royal court to express the allegiance of Zadar to the queens.[1117] With the outbreak of the revolt in 1386 the city council of Zadar officially supported Queen Mary and then King Sigismund, but a number of citizens nurtured connections with the Bosnian nobility and the Angevins of Naples. Zadar was the capital of Charles of Durazzo during his period as the duke of Croatia-Dalmatia so he probably maintained a strong network of supporters among the local elites. In February 1387 the city of Zadar became a major gathering place of the nobility which opposed Queen Mary and King Sigismund. After the meeting, a group of Zaratin nobility and Bishop Paul of Zagreb were dispatched to Naples to inform Ladislas, the son and the successor to his father Charles of Durazzo, about the situation in the kingdom.[1118] The sources are silent about the position of Archbishop Peter towards the rebels and his relations with Bishop Paul, who was one of the main instigators of the rebellion. However, it is unlikely that the two important prelates did not meet and discuss the situation in the kingdom, but nothing more can be said.

While King Tvrtko was expanding his power by seizing the Dalmatian cities, Zadar was hard pressed to accept his rule, which provoked disagreements among those members of the nobility which supported either Tvrtko or Sigismund. These disputes are reflected in a number of allegiance pledges which were undertaken in the city council between 1390 and 1391, often in the presence of the ecclesiastical leaders. The nobility would forgive each other for unspecified offenses and injuries and would swear allegiance to King Sigismund and Queen Mary. This suggests that the nobility fought against each other, either in favour of King Sigismund or in favor of his Neapolitan and Bosnian opponents.[1119] Particularly interesting is the event from 1391, which was overseen by the spiritual authorities, namely Archbishop Peter Matafari, Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe of Saint Chrysogonus and Abbot Damian Fridrich Georgi of Saints Cosmas and Damian.

[1116] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 24, September 24, 1397.

[1117] CDC XVI, 322, October 10, 1382; Paulo, *Memoriale*, 5; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 504; Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," I, 100.

[1118] Petrović, "Political Career of Bishop Paul of Zagreb," 22-39; Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 169-70.

[1119] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 12, December 23, 1388; 14-5, May 24, 1390; 15, January 19, 1391; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 362-5; Dokoza, "Damjan Bivaldov," 115.

The council members vowed on the relics of Saint Chrysogonus, the most important patron saint of Zadar, to keep the peace, unity and fidelity toward the king and the queen of Hungary.[1120]

In the middle of the political and ecclesiastical problems, the archbishop carried out major reforms in his archbishopric. He reformed the collegiate church on the nearby island of Pag by establishing a chapter of priest which was led by an archpriest. The reasons for the reform were probably to satisfy the growing discontent of the clergy on Pag, who wanted larger autonomy. This was reflected in an event from 1392 when the archpriest and the chapter of Pag consecrated the church of Saint Lucia, without asking the archbishop for a permission.[1121] The dispute, which lasted for years, fuelled the growing dissatisfaction of the community of Pag with their subordination to the commune of Zadar. The commune installed its own magistrates in Pag, while the Zaratin nobility exploited the saltworks on the island of Pag. The combination of ecclesiastical, economic and political reasons led to a rebellion on Pag during March 1394.

The dissatisfaction was growing for years, but now a new request was added, namely to proclaim Pag its own bishopric.[1122] The response from Zadar was fierce and its brutality in suppressing the rebellion was noted by the contemporary, Paulus de Paulo.[1123] The clerics were given to the archbishop of Zadar, since they were under his jurisdiction, while the laymen were either executed or tortured. King Sigismund ordered in 1395 that the goods of the churches of Pag, taken to Zadar, be returned and the imprisoned priests be released from the archbishop's prison, which meant that they spent over a year in prison.[1124]

Since King Sigismund was able to overcome the rebellion in the kingdom by mid-1394, he set upon to stabilize the situation in the kingdom by dispatching representatives to settle local disputes. A council of Croatia-Dalmatia was convened in Nin in 1396 during which it was decided

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[1120] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 15, January 19, 1391; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 102; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 359. For the use of relics in the political and symbolic purposes, see: Vedriš, *Hagiography as memory*, 223-4. Also, see earlier the chapter on Cults and Cathedrals.

[1121] Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 233; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 359-62; "Isprave u Arhivu," I, n. 1102. D-VIIa-55; CDC XVII, 567-71, January 18, 1394.

[1122] Throughout the fourteenth century, the community of Pag often sided with the Venetian authorities against Zadar, which led the Venetian Senate to separate Pag from Zadar. When King Louis claimed Dalmatia, he subordinated Pag back to the commune of Zadar, but the nobility of Zadar harassed the citizens of Pag. Their actions caused the king to take Pag away from Zadar for 11 years (1361-72). Granić, "Paško-zadarski odnosi," 287-98; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 293-6.

[1123] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 19, March 20, 1394. Paul's writings are the main source for these events. Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, 252-3; Klaić and Petricioli, Zadar, 370-1; Granić, "Paško-zadarski odnosi," 295. About Paulus, see: Jakić-Cestarić, "Obiteljska pripadnost zadarskog kroničara," 267-85.

[1124] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 20, June 15-6, 1395; Granić, "Paško-zadarski odnosi,", 295-6.

that Pag would become an independent commune. But Sigismund always needed money, so a year later the king tried to entice Zadar to buy back Pag. The royal offer resulted in a swift action between the nobility and the clergy in Zadar, as every nobleman and all churches were collecting money to meet the royal demands. In the end, nothing came out of it, but even with the absent archbishop, who was in Ancona, there was a considerable coordination between the ecclesiastical and communal authorities.[1125]

The second major change was the archbishop's reform of the cathedral chapter of Zadar enacted between November 1393 and July 1395.[1126] It is unclear why the chapter was not reformed earlier by some of the previous archbishops. In the reform of the chapter in Trogir in 1329, it was stated that the reason for the reform was so the canons could sustain themselves from their benefices, but the unstated reason was to give the bishop a stronger control over the chapter. Was this the case in Zadar? The evidence for such a claim is circumstantial. The archbishop stated that the church was neglected over the years and devoid of canons and prebends, so now he wanted to reform it by instituting a cathedral chapter with twelve canons. Earlier in 1305 the cathedral had 16 clerics, while now in 1393 it was down to 9, which shows that the numbers of clergymen were diminishing, but not that the church was completely abandoned as the archbishop suggested. During the meeting of the clergy in 1393 four out of six major churches lacked rectors – in comparison, during the meeting in 1305 all six rectors were accounted for -, which raises the question if Archbishop Peter withheld the appointment and confirmation of rectors in order to have less opposition when reforming the chapter? In the past the opposition of the clergy prolonged the decision-making process in the diocese, which was shown on the example of the negotiations prior to 1305. The powerful rectors were also inciting the population against Cardinal-Legate Gentile, when he tried to reform the archbishopric in 1308.[1127] Presumably, by establishing a cathedral chapter, with fixed numbers and obligations, the archbishop wanted to limit the influence of these rectors and their clergy in the issues of the archbishopric. In their place the archbishop would have a direct control over and support of a smaller chapter. But this question cannot be answered directly.

[1125] Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 515-6.
[1126] Ponte, *Historia ecclesiae Iadrensis* IV/2, 192-9; CDC XVII, 555-6, November 17, 1393; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 7-8, 102-3.
[1127] See earlier chapter on The legate and the bishopric.

The reform came mere months after the conflict between Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary the Great and the archiepiscopal vicar, and Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. Accompanied with his retainers, the abbot entered the rector's church and verbally and physically attacked him. Gregory excommunicated Chrysogonus who had to petition Roman Pope Boniface IX for absolution.[1128] Since 1350 Gregory was the rector of one of the major churches of Zadar and for many years held the office of the archiepiscopal vicar and papal subcollector for Zadar and Dalmatia. He served under three archbishops of Zadar and had considerable influence over the archbishopric. For instance, during the episcopal vacancy in 1367 he was the treasurer of the archbishopric. Unfortunately, it is unclear if his status came because of his efficacy or due to his position within the clergy of Zadar - or maybe both -, but for forty years he held some of the most important positions in the archiepiscopal administration. Gregory was not mentioned in November 1393, during the reform of the chapter, which would suggest that he died shortly before.

While the sources do not allow a precise insight into the everyday workings of the archdiocese, during the 1370s the local nobility exerted pressure on the important ecclesiastical institutions of the archbishopric in order to ensure the ecclesiastical appointments of the members of the local elites. The Zaratin nobility pressured Archbishop Dominic Thopia to be transferred to Bosnia, while a member of the local nobility, Peter Matafari, became the archbishop. Some circumstantial evidence suggests that Peter used his new position in order to place the members of the Zaratin nobility, connected to the Matafari family, to important ecclesiastical positions in the diocese.[1129] For instance, in 1377 Abbot John, a Frenchman, was forced to resign, and Thomas Rosa was appointed as the abbot of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. After his death in 1391 Chrysogonus de Soppe was appointed as the abbot. In that way the major ecclesiastical positions in the archbishopric were held by the noble families of Matafari, Rosa and Soppe.[1130] Chrysogonus himself was a former monk of the monastery, who in 1377 intruded into the monastery of Saint

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[1128] CDC XVII, 502-3, May 10, 1393.

[1129] Pope Urban VI authorized Demetrius, the administrator of the archbishopric of Esztergom and the cardinal-priest of *Santi Quattro Coronati*, to find a suitable person for the position of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian near Zadar. Prior to issuing this order, the pope stated that Frederic Georgis from Zadar was willing to leave the Franciscan and join the Benedictine order. He should be appointed as the abbot, if no suitable candidate was found, which soon happened. CDC XVI, 291-2, June 23, 1382; 331-3, December 16, 1382. As the Matafari, the Georgis family also came to support the claim of the Neapolitan Angevins to the throne of Hungary-Croatia. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 58-9, 135.

[1130] About the Rosa family, see: Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 345, 382, 417, 437-8, 443-5; Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 143-4.

Chrysogonus, which led to the resignation of Abbot John.[1131] Since nothing happened to Chrysogonus back then and mere 14 years later he obtained the papal appointment as the abbot clearly shows that he had backers in places of power. One of them was Archbishop Peter who probably protected Chrysogonus in 1377, influenced his appointment in 1391 and absolution by the pope in 1393. Abbot Chrysogonus was a quarelsome prelate, prone to violent outbursts, relying on the support of his family and willing to break the established norms.[1132] His personal traits and loyalty to the archbishop explain why Chrysogonus was willing to act as the archiepiscopal vicar during the episcopal power vacum between 1397 and 1400, when Peter Matafari attracted the royal ire and was prohibited from returning to Zadar.

As mentioned, Archbishop Peter was active in Ancona on behalf of the pope. It is unclear what actions Sigismund undertook to have Peter removed. During September 1397 the king ordered the city council to omit the archbishop from the city charters.[1133] By April 1398 a new archbishop, John Farcasti, was mentioned in Zadar.[1134] Later in October he was mentioned during the gathering of the cathedral chapter, the clergy and the rectors of Zadar as the archbishop-elect.[1135] It was suggested in the historiography that John was appointed on the instigation of King Sigismund. Unfortunately, this claim cannot be verified.[1136] If John was Sigismund's candidate, why did the king side with the cathedral chapter in their dispute with the archbishop-elect in February 1399, even reprimanding the archbishop for an attempt to diminish the liberties of the chapter?[1137] John was also not mentioned in Sigismund's royal charters. If Sigismund did pressure the local chapter to elect John, that would mean that this was among the first examples of the royal policy which was pursued later. During the dispute between King Sigismund and the Roman Curia

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[1131] VMS I, 333-4, November 21, 1377. It seems there was a similar event earlier in the century. An undated decree by Pope John XXII (r.1316-34) ordered Andrea Grisogono Soppe to give back the goods he violently claimed from the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 130, [no date].

[1132] For instance, John Gregory de Soppe, the brother of the abbot, was mentioned as the procurator of the monastery in September 1398. Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 139, September 17, 1398; CDC XVIII, 369-70, September 25, 1398. This ran contrary to the decision of the archbishop of Zadar and the patriarch of Grado from 1306 which stated that family members of the abbot or canons cannot act as procurators of the monastery.

[1133] Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 527, f.4, September 14, 1397.

[1134] CDC XVIII, 331, April 6, 1398.

[1135] CDC XVIII, 373, October 6, 1398.

[1136] Valerio Ponte wrote that John was illegitimately elected by Sigismund and never sought an approval of the Apostolic See, knowing that he cannot obtain it. Farlati commented upon Ponte's opinion adding that John's family and background are unknown. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 109; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 51.

[1137] CDC XVIII, 421-422, February 2, 1399.

in 1404, the king appointed bishops to the sees vacated by Sigismund's opponents, but then he would mention them in his charters as elected bishops, which was not the case with John.[1138]

The ecclesiastical situation in Zadar during 1398 and 1399 was highly problematic. The new archbishop-elect never obtained a papal confirmation as the pope still considered Peter as the archbishop. It would seem that Peter not only found shelter and service at the Papal Curia but that he exerted some sort of influence on the pope, who was willing to go against King Sigismund's wishes. In October 1398 the pope appointed Anthony de Benedicto, a *decretorum doctor* and a papal chaplain, as the administrator of the archbishopric of Zadar. In the bull of appointment, the pope stated that Peter was busy with his service at the Papal Curia in order to adequately perform his archiepiscopal duties.[1139] But it is unclear if Anthony ever appeared in Zadar. Instead, Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe appeared in the sources between October 1398 and January 1399 as the vicar of Archbishop Peter in cases dealing with marriage, heresy and confirmation of the decisions by suffragan-bishops.[1140] Maybe Abbot Chrysogonus was selected due to his loyalty to the archbishop, but his impulsive nature and willingness to resist royal orders and agents certainly played a role.

Following the defeat of the crusader army at Nicopolis (1396), King Sigismund convened a diet at Timișoara (Temesvár), with the aim of reforming the military capabilities of the kingdom. Although the king promised to hold a special diet for the Kingdoms of Croatia and Dalmatia, it is unclear if such a diet was held. The royal agents soon appeared in Dalmatia demanding the payment of a newly introduced ecclesiastical tax, which amounted to half of the yearly income of the ecclesiastical institutions.[1141] The new tax was intended for rebuilding the kingdom (*pro reparatione regiminis*),[1142] while Paulus in his diary named it as the tax to rebuild the royal army (*pro subsidio exercitus regii*).[1143] Probably in order to ensure the collection of the taxes, Sigismund

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[1138] Hunyadi, "Western Schism and Hungary," 52.

[1139] VMS I, 343, October 15, 1398.

[1140] "Isprave u Arhivu," I, n.1191-2, October 4-5, 1398; n.1203, January 22, 1399; Abbot Chrysogonus *Reverendissimi in Christo patris et dominum Petri de Mattafaris, Dei et Sancte Sedis Apostolice archiepiscopi Iadrensi vicarius generalis*. I would like to thank Suzana Miljan for her help in consulting these sources.

[1141] About the ecclesiastical tax, see: Dokoza, "Sigismundov porez na Crkvu," 133-42.

[1142] CDC XVIII, 357, August 29, 1398; 502-4, November 19, 1399. Sigismund have notified the archbishops of Dubrovnik, Split, Zadar (*archielect*), and bishops of Korčula, Hvar, Trogir, Šibenik, Skradin, Nin, Rab, Krk, Osor, Krbava and Senj that he had appointed Zoell Zannini de Gallis (Zoellus Zanniny de Gallis de Iadra) as the royal collector of the half of the income of Church benefices in Croatia and Dalmatia.

[1143] Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 235; CDC XVIII, 357, August 29, 1398; 502-4, November 19, 1399; Paulo, *Memoriale*, 24, March 9, 1398.

entrusted it to the local elites.[1144] In Zadar the tax was met with resistance, primarily by Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe who used violence and was imprisoned. Due to previously mentioned Chrysogonus's allegiance to Archbishop Peter, who was exiled by King Sigismund, I wonder if the abbot's new position and his connections with the banished archbishop played a role in Chrysogonus's violent confrontation with the royal agents, or if the abbot's violent nature got the better of him. Once he promised to pay the tax, Chrysogonus was released.[1145]

Lastly, the archbishop was probably able to influence the appointments of the local suffragan-bishops of Zadar. In May 1399 the pope appointed Maurus de Rasolis of Zadar as the bishop of Osor.[1146] Maurus was both the rector of the church of Saint Peter de Platta and a member of the cathedral chapter, but also a person whom the archbishop trusted. In 1391 Archbishop Peter entrusted the administraton of all the *temporalia* of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus to Maurus, which led to Chrysogonus de Soppe being appointed as the abbot.[1147]

Peter remained in papal service until his death, on 20 March 1400, after which Roman Pope Boniface IX appointed Luca Vagnocci, an Augustinian friar, as the next archbishop.[1148] Luca was from Fermo, and while it is unlikely that Peter was involved in any way, Luca came from the March of Ancona where Peter was employed in the service of the pope.[1149] It would seem that he was met with some resistance once he arrived to the city. The pope gave permission to Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe to excommunicate anybody who would stop Luca in performing his episcopal duties, showing the level of confidence and trust that the pope had in the abbot.[1150] More importantly, the pope ignored the Archbishop-elect John and instead appointed his own candidate. Therefore, the episcopate of Peter represents a curious entanglement of the interests of the local nobility and the control of the ecclesiastical appointments. Due to Zadar's commitment to the royal

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[1144] For instance, the city council of Dubrovnik discussed the royal request in March 1398. Gelcich and Thallóczy, *Diplomatarium relationum*, 720, March 2, 1398; CDC XVIII, 502-4, November 19, 1399.
[1145] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 24, March 9, 1398; CDC XVIII, 357, August 29, 1398; 367, September 17, 1398; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 516.
[1146] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 67, May 17, 1399.
[1147] CDC XVII, 336-8, March 29, 1391.
[1148] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 108; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 362; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 587; ASV, Reg. Lat. 75, ff. 34r- 35v, July 28, 1400; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281.
[1149] Neralić, "Judicial Cases," 273 considers that Luca was a Venetian. But in a charter from 1402 the archbishop was described as *domini fratris Luce de Firmo in sacra theologia doctoris*. Antoljak, *Miscellanea* I, 26, November 9, 1402; Čoralić and Karbić, "Prilog životopisu," 71-81.
[1150] Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 135, January 8, 1401.

dynasty and the relative strength of its nobility, the highest positions in the ecclesiastical government of Zadar were for decades held by the members of the local elites.

V.2. "Presul noster benignius" – Andrew Benzi of Split (r.1389-1403)

The pressure by the local nobility on the ecclesiastical structures of the archbishopric was also felt in Split, albeit to a lesser degree than in Zadar, and can be observed from the resignation by Archbishop Hugolin (r.1349-88). The potential reasons for the dissatisfaction were discussed in the previous chapters, but the commune asked the king to support the petition to the pope to have Hugolin removed. Hugolin submitted his resignation to Cardinal-Bishop Francesco Moricotti Prignani of Palestrina (r.1380-94), the vice-chancellor of the Apostolic Chancery (r.1385-94), and Magister Antonio de Gualdo, a papal scribe. The cardinal and the scribe were then instrumental in providing Andrew with the appointment.[1151]

Andrew Benzi became the archbishop of Split sometime before May 1389. That is when he was obliged to pay for his appointment, which he never fully settled, mostly because his diocese was embroiled in war.[1152] He was the son of Pietro Gionte from Gualdo and the rector of the church of Saint Leonard in the diocese of Nocera. This meant that his family gravitated towards the nearby commune of Perugia. It should be added that at the end of 1387 and probably during 1388 Pope Urban VI was stationed in Perugia, as the pope aimed at conquering Naples.[1153] Andrew's career attracted a considerable attention in scholarship, due to its longetivity and versatility.[1154] He changed offices of several important dioceses, participated in the Council of Constance (1414-18), and for decades served King Sigismund of Hungary-Croatia, who protected and supported Andrew's career. Therefore, I will revisit here mostly known sources in order to analyze different strategies used by Andrew in managing his diocese.

By November 1389 Andrew was already in Split where he convened a provincial synod, on which the clergy of Senj did not appear, so Andrew fined them.[1155] The charter does not say

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[1151] This conclusion can be inferred from the sources. Ančić, "Splitski i zadarski kaptol," 139; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 333; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 14-5. Hugolin came from Gubbio in Umbria, which was not that far away from Gualdo, and before becoming the archbishop Hugolin was a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Saint Peter in Peruggia. So a very small geographical area gave two consequtive archbishops of Split.

[1152] MVC I, n.392, May 30, 1389.

[1153] Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," II, 86. September 23, 1387; Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 374.

[1154] Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 497-512; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 13-52; Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 185-201.

[1155] CDC XVII, 236-8, November 29, 1389.

why Bishop John of Pensaurio (r.1386-92) failed to arrive, but he most likely decided not to come since he was the vicar for Croatia-Dalmatia of King Sigismund,[1156] who was at war with King Tvrtko of Bosnia. Since 1387 Split was surrounded by the Bosnian troops and the increased Bosnian pressure resulted in the city submitting itself to the Bosnian king by May 1390. Because of the war, the archiepiscopal incomes from the diocese probably diminished or were not even collected. In order to ensure the safety of the rights and incomes of his archdiocese, in August Archbishop Andrew personally went to Sutjeska, the seat of King Stephen Tvrtko in order to obtain the confirmation of privileges for his diocese.[1157] While the archbishop wanted to protect his rights, the Bosnian king wanted to expand his rule over Croatia and Dalmatia by having good relations with the most influential and permeable local institution. That is why the king addressed Andrew of Gualdo as a "faithful advisor and spiritual chaplain" (*fidelis consiliarius et capellanus noster spiritualis*). This was simple courtesy, but probably also how Tvrtko viewed the future relations between the crown and the archbishop of the largest diocese in Dalmatia.

How diminished were the incomes and rights of the archbishopric can be observed from Andrew's interaction with the Roman pope and the papal agents. The problems for Andrew did not only come from the Bosnian attacks, but from within his own commune. The tithe paid by the clergy of Split to the papal subcollectors dropped from 120 ducats at the beginning of the 1380s to somewhere between 10 and 30 during the 1390s, while in some years the tithe was not even collected.[1158] When Michael de Sancto Arcangelo, a canon of Rimini, appeared in the archbishopric in the summer of 1394, the collector forgave the clergy its debt citing damages caused by wars with the Bosnian army.[1159] In May 1390 the archbishop transcribed several papal letters addressed to the commune of Split and to the abbot of Saint Stephen under the Pines.[1160] The pope tasked the abbot to assess which properties were alienated during the reign of the previous archbishop, while the commune was asked to help Andrew to maintain a steady income from tithes. While the papal requests could suggest a seriously corrupt behavior of the previous

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[1156] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 122; Paulo, *Memoriale*, 13, August 28, 1389.

[1157] CDC XVII, 312-313, August 30, 1390; Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave," 375-6; Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," II, 104-5; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 76-7.

[1158] See List of payments in the appendices. CDC XVII, 468-70, October 29, 1392; CDC XVII, 617-9, September 8, 1394; ZsO I, n. 3617; Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 29, October 7, 1395; CDC XVIII, 60-1; Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 29, June 10, 1396; CDC XVIII, 125-6.

[1159] CDC XVII, 617-9, September 8, 1394; ZsO I, n. 3617.

[1160] Ančić, "Splitski i zadarski kaptol," Confirmation on 1 May 1390, while the papal letters are from February 11 (to the abbot) and March 1 (to the commune). Also: CD XVIII, 265-266, March 1, 1390.

archbishop, it is not entirely clear what did the pope refer to. He also could have meant the damages and the consequences of the war, as the Bosnian troops controlled for years the areas outside of the city walls. The papal mandate could also suggest that some members of the commune used the archiepiscopal weakness to alienate some archiepiscopal properties, like the ones close to the city itself and located in Dilat and in Prosik where the archbishopric had its richest properties.[1161] This can be discerned by the later decision during an agreement between the archbishop and the commune in August 1398 when it was decided that the lands in Dilat and Prosik should be strictly under the jurisdiction of the archbishop.[1162] But these requests do reveal that Andrew could have seen his appointment and these orders as a papal mandate to improve and repair the rights of the Spalatine Church.

Following the death of King Tvrtko in 1391 the commune of Split recognized King Stephen Dabiša of Bosnia as its ruler, while a Bosnian nobleman, Vuk Vukčić, ruled as the *ban* of Croatia-Dalmatia for King Ladislas of Naples. Following the same pattern of secular protection as before with Tvrtko, the archbishop asked the *ban* to put the Church of Split under his protection and ensure the stable collection of tithes.[1163] The protection went both ways as the *ban* concentrated his rule around the forts of Klis, Omiš, Bistrica and Knin. Except for Knin, the archbishopric had direct interest in collecting taxes from the areas of Vuk's other three fortresses. Therefore, the archbishop provided the *ban* with sacral sanction to rule these lands, while the *ban* protected the archiepiscopal incomes. But the relations between the ecclesiastical and temporal powers were still shaky at best. When Andrew wanted to build a fort in Kaštel Sućurac (Lučac) near Split in 1392, *Ban* Vuk at first thought that the new fort was intended to fight Vuk's Bosnian allies, but after the archbishop's reassurance, the *ban* allowed the construction.[1164]

The official reason for the construction of the fort was to stop robbers and protect the archbishop's servants and properties, which can be directly observed in the unrest caused by war and the growing pressure on the archbishopric from local lay lords. The *ban*'s letter of protection was transcribed during 1393[1165] probably in response to an attack on the archbishop's saltwork

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[1161] The archiepiscopal curia built by Hugolin during 1350s was located in Prosik and intended to control and protect the archiepiscopal lands.

[1162] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 308; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 348.

[1163] CDC XVII, 397-398, November 8 1391; Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave," 378-9; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 70; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 292-7.

[1164] Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 188-89; Katić, "Reambulacija dobara splitskoga nadbiskupa," 154; CDC XVII, 458-460, October 10, 1392.

[1165] ASN (S), 20, f. 37, June 21, 1393.

located ad *aquam sancti Dompni*. The attack was organized by Count Stephen Dubravčić, who governed Cetina on behalf of Count John Nelipčić.[1166] The Nelipčić family controlled large territories within the archdiocese of Split and their relations with the archbishops in the past were not always peaceful.[1167] Vjekoslav Klaić noticed that the attacks on the archbishop's possessions were occuring when the royal power of Sigismund was weakest. The problems persisted throughout the 1390s and centered around the payment of tithes, but they did correspond to the relative strength and the involvement of the king in the local affairs.[1168]

Since Sigismund defeated the rebels in the summer of 1394 and worked on restoring the royal authority in Croatia-Dalmatia, Archbishop Andrew turned to the king for support by travelling to the royal court at the beginning of 1395 and petitioning the king directly. The king ordered that all the possessions and churches unlawfully taken in the diocese of Split in Croatia and Dalmatia be returned to the Church. The archbishop had problems with the inhabitants of Poljice and Omiš, who were not paying for their tithes, as well as with Count John Nelipčić.[1169] Despite the royal help, both cases dragged on for years. In October 1395 the archbishop threatened to seek the arbitration of the archbishop of Esztergom, after which the count promised to pay the required tithe of 200 ducats.[1170] But the deal did not hold as several months after Sigismund's disaster at Nicopolis the count and Archbishop Andrew were still disputing, as they again involved the archbishop of Esztergom in their disagreements.[1171] While staying at the royal court in the first half of 1397, Andrew asked again for royal support as by April 1397 the king proclaimed that the count has to pay the required 200 ducats.[1172] The king stated that the required sum refered to the

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[1166] CDC XVII, 530-1, September 6, 1393.
[1167] For instance, in 1339 the village of Saint George, which is today Kaštel Sućurac, was attacked by the men loyal to John Nelipčić and Mladen III Šubić. Listine II, 46-7, July 23, 1339; Karbić, "Nelipčići i Šubići," 138; Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 39. The Nelipčić family controlled Cetina and had vasals in other parishes subordinated to the archbishop. Kužić, "Plemići s područja župe Zmina," 8.
[1168] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 310; Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 98.
[1169] ASN (S), fol. 15r-17r, January 8, 1395; CDC XVIII, 38-9, June 6, 1395; 71, November 19, 1395; Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 190.
[1170] CDC XVIII, 62-3, October 11, 1395; Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 98-9; Botica, *Krbavski knezovi*, 161-2; Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 192; ASN (S), 19, fol 48r-52r.
[1171] In December 1396 George Dragančić of Šibenik gave a letter to Andrew asking him to make a copy and return the original to George. The letter was from the archbishop of Esztergom, but Andrew refused to give back the original. George was described as the *servitor magnifici regii militis domini Johannis nati famose memorie comitis Iuanis Nelypcic, Cetine comitis.* ZsO I, n. 4577, December 30, 1396; CDC XVIII, 167-8, December 30, 1396.
[1172] The count had to pay tithe by June 1398 for the properties of Cetina, Posušje, Porizg and Ogorje. Lopašić, "Spomenici Tržačkih Frankopana," 321; Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 99.

year before, so it seems that the count ocassionally paid the tithe, but he was often late or was refusing the payment.

The involvement of the archbishop of Esztergom becomes clearer if his official position and influence in the kingdom is considered. Archbishop John Kanizsai held the position of power in the kingdom and the barons surrounding the archbishop ended up dictating the conditions for Sigismund's coronation in 1387. He was also the royal chancellor in charge of drafting and publishing royal charters and therefore able to dictate the royal policy.[1173] So John's involvement was probably the result of his position in the kingdom and in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. During February 1397 both the archbishop of Esztergom and Archbishop Andrew of Split, with some other prelates and lay persons, were present in the cathedral church in Zagreb when the bishop of Zagreb performed a ritual of excommunication of 153 citizens of Gradec. By gathering there, the higher prelates gave their sanction to the bishop's actions, but the situation in the kingdom was probably also discussed.[1174] It is probable that Andrew used this opportunity to attempt to obtain support of the archbishop of Esztergom in the conflict that Andrew had with Count John Nelipčić, and which probably resulted in the royal proclamation from April 1397.

Sigismund found his way to Dalmatia following the catastrophe at Nicopolis. In the beginning of January 1397 he was in Split from where he left to Knin where the king tried to enforce the royal authority in Dalmatia.[1175] While Andrew was in Zagreb, the king was still either in Knin or on his way to the north, which suggest that Andrew did not follow the king, but instead went ahead in order to meet the archbishop of Esztergom and other prelates of the kingdom.[1176] But Andrew did ask the king in February to task Bishop Ladislas of Knin (r.1397-1406) to determine the borders of the archbishopric of Split, which was then repeated by the cathedral chapter of Knin. [1177] During April Sigismund ordered *Ban* Nicholas Gorjanski to protect the

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[1173] Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 64-118; Malyusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn*, 29-35; Fedeles, "Az uralkodó, a Szentszék és a magyar főpapok," 83; Engel, "Zsigmond bárói," 424-7.

[1174] Tkalčić, *Povjestni spomenici* I, 388-9, February 11, 1397; Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskupi," 198; Lukinović, "Ivan Šipuški," 159.

[1175] Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 50-1.

[1176] Engel and Tóth, *Itineraria regum et reginarum*, 72.; Nazor, "Granica između Splita i Poljica," 59.

[1177] CDC XVIII, 181-7, February 23, 1397. Ladislas stated that some charters were still kept by Archbishop Andrew, who probably took them when he went *in partibus Hungarie*. These were probably the same charters which Andrew gave to the cathedral chapter of Knin, tasking the chapter to transcribe several older privileges about the properties of the archbishopric of Split. CDC XVIII, 231-2, June 29, 1397; 225-6, May 29, 1397; 230-1, June 28, 1397; 251-66, August 20, 1397.

arcbishop's properties in Klis and Omiš.[1178] Nicholas tasked the *viceban* of the kingdom to force the people of Livno, Omiš and Poljice to obey the archbishop.[1179] So the reambulation and the royal commands show that by 1397 the archbishop had problems with various lay lords who alienated the properties and the incomes of the archbishopric. Count John Nelipčić was mentioned earlier, but one of the local lords who used the power vacum in the kingdom was Count John Chemer of Omiš. After the inspection by the cathedral chapter of Knin, the count of Omiš was ordered to return the properties of the archbishopric.[1180]

The problems over tithes and possessions led Andrew to work on determining the properties and incomes of the archbishopric, as well as the episcopal rights in the diocese of his suffragans. In July 1395, the chapter of Nin sent a report, while in 1396 the bishop of Krbava created a list of all those who were paying tithe and how.[1181] The archbishop also had a number of charters rewritten and confirmed. In October 1396 this was done by the cathedral chapter of Esztergom, while the chapter in Buda in November 1396 issued some documents regarding the tithes.[1182] The question of tithes remained important as there were some other documents that the archbishop had rewritten during 1397 regarding the tithes.[1183]

So far, the recurring topics of Andrew's time in office were the reliance on the temporal authority of the king or the royal agents, determining the properties and the borders of the archbishopric and the maintenance of contacts with other prelates of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Andrew constantly employed all the above methods in order to strengthen his archiepiscopal authority and his position in Croatia-Dalmatia. Since the position of the archbishop of Split was as strong as the support that he could muster from the lay rulers, the archiepiscopal authority was contested with every major political change.

The lack of lay support could have persuaded Andrew to take the matters in his own hands and contribute to the rebellion which broke out in Split during the summer of 1398. The underlying reason for the rebellion was the unequal position between the nobility in the city council. The revolt was led by those noble families which were barred from obtaining the position of the judge,

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[1178] CDC XVIII, 209, April 16, 1397; 210, April 19, 1397; 212-3, April 24, 1397.
[1179] Katić, "Reambulacija dobara splitskoga nadbiskupa," 151.
[1180] CDC XVIII, 235-6, July 16, 1397.
[1181] Kolanović, "Zbornik ninskih isprava," 501, 523-5, July 31, 1395; CDC XVIII, 81-83, January 15, 1396, Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 98-9, Botica, *Krbavski knezovi*, 162-4. Andrew probably asked other dioceses to create their own lists, but sources were not preserved.
[1182] Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 192.
[1183] Three documents about tithes, 1-2 June 1397, in: Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca,", 192.

the highest duty in the communal government. This office itself was controlled by several families whose fathers and grandfathers also held this position. The rebelling nobility found support among the commoners who were themselves barred from entering the city council.[1184] So far, the historiography has been divided between those who viewed Andrew as the main instigator of the rebellion and those who noticed that the nobility decided to use the banished archbishop as the scapegoat on whom to put the entire blame for what has happened.[1185] It cannot be proved if the archbishop was one of the main instigators of the rebellion, but he was somebody very closely aligned with the rebels' cause. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the methods used by the archbishop in order to benefit from the rebellion and the effects the uprising had on the archiepiscopal authority.

The contemporary chronicler Paulus de Paulo, a nobleman from Zadar, wrote in his diary that the rebellion in Split started on 26 June 1398, while two days later the archbishop's men also joined the rebels.[1186] Since the exiled noblemen were probably the main source of news for Paulus, he was very well informed about the outbreak of the conflicts. Barely a month later, on 3 August, the new communal government and Archbishop Andrew signed an agreement defining the relationship between the commune and the archbishopric. The twelve-point agreement retracted the decisions of the previous communal authorities which severely restricted the power of the Church.[1187] Most notable points and their consequences should be addressed. It was decided that the Church could receive imovable properties stipulated in the last wills, which the commune restricted in 1347, on the basis of preventing from more land passing into ecclesiastical hands.[1188] Connected with this was also the archbishop's exemption from paying communal taxes and customs from his properties, which was, again, quite important as the major archiepiscopal lands were located within the borders of the commune. The archbishop also received the communal backing for the return of the alienated lands in Dilat and Prosik, where some of the richest lands of the archbishopric were located. It is unclear who threatened the archiepiscopal lands, but the perpetrators were probably the citizens of Split, as the archbishop could then petition the commune

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[1184] Historiography about the rebellion: Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 807-30; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 299-326; Kurelac, "Društvene diferencijacije i pokreti pučana," 240-41; Antoljak, *Bune pučana*, 24-8.

[1185] For an overview of opinions on this topic, see: Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 193.

[1186] *quidam familiares domini archiepiscopi*, Paulo, *Memoriale*, 25-6, June 26-28, 1398.

[1187] For the 12 points of the contract, see: Lucić, *Collection*, vol. 538, fol. 275, August 3, 1398; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 348; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 308-9.

[1188] *Statute of Split*, Statuta nova, cap. 25.

for support. This cooperation can be directly observed from an event which occurred in 1399, in another part of the archbishopric. On the petition by the archbishop, the judges of Split ordered Ianchus Biloevich of Split to pay for the lease which he had on the archiepiscopal village of Srinjina in Poljice, which Ianchus failed to pay on time.[1189] Next, the archbishop was able to uphold his exclusive judicial rights, particularly regarding usury and over his own subjects in civil and criminal cases, which was in other bishoprics increasingly shared or taken over by the commune.[1190] Lastly, the commune allowed the authentication of *montanea*, or the list of the properties of the archbishopric, and their use as official documents. These documents had considerable value for the Church, as they tracked donations to the archbishopric by the kings of Croatia and Hungary, but were regularly refused as evidence by the communal courts in the cases involving ecclesiastical institutions and lay people as they lacked necessary details, such as who donated the land and when.[1191] Therefore, the archbishop was able to reinstate the episcopal exemption from communal taxes, reinforce his judicial rights, ensure that alienated ecclesiastical properties were returned and to secure the continuing communal support. In return the archbishop rented out most of his tithes to the commune for 350 ducats per year, except tithes of several important and affluent villages.[1192]

It could be that the rebels needed legitimation and support from the archbishop, but the archbishop's swift reaction to the outbreak of the rebellion and the speed with which the two sides defined their mutual obligations shows how the archbishop adapted to the newfound political situation and used it to enforce his authority with the explicit backing of the commune. The leader of the rebellion, Markulin Slovenić, was appointed as the city rector in September while at least 48 commoners were allowed entrance into the city council.[1193] The archbishop had other connections to the rebels. From at least 1396 until around 1400 Doymus Silvestri, a member of the

[1189] CDC XVIII, 470-72, July 21, 1399.

[1190] This was particularly the case in Trogir earlier in the fourteenth century. Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 204. For Italy, see: Ronzani, "Vescovo e città nell'Italia comunale," 17-8; Rossi, "Vescovi nel basso medioevo," 225-6; Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 52-6.

[1191] Ančić, "Srednjovjekovni montaneji," 130-31.

[1192] The important villages were Saint Michael in Dilat (Kaštel Kambelovac), Smoljevac, Kuk (Colch), Križ i Gorica. Lovre Katić added that the archbishop kept his jurisdiction over the possessions in Putalj, Sućurac and Prosik, and the taxes of salt mines. Katić, "Selo Kučine," 146; Katić, "Reambulacija dobara splitskoga nadbiskupa," 163; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 30; Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 192-3.

[1193] Paulus de Paulo calls him the *principalis auctor* of the rebellion and whom the rebels elected as their general captain. Paulo, *Memoriale*, 25, June 27, 1398. Paulus also named the commoners. Paulo, *Memoriale*, 26, June 28, 1398; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 302.

cathedral chapter, was the archiepiscopal vicar. His brother Francis Silvestri was one of the principal rebels and served in the city council as one of the judges in 1399 and 1402.[1194] This shows that the contacts between the rebel leaders and the archbishop existed even before the outbreak of the rebellion.

It is possible that Andrew's personal history made him more inclined toward the interest of the rebels, mostly the commoners. His family gravitated towards Perugia, attempting to become its citizens, which occured later with the help of Sigismund. In 1415 the emperor asked the bishop of Perugia, Perugino Antonio, to successfully petition the commune of Perugia to grant the citizenship to Andrew and his three brothers: Bartholomew, Pietro Paolo and Simone, as well as the sons of Simone.[1195] Several family members and compatriots from Gualdo followed Andrew during his career and were later in Andrew's carrer attested in different ecclesiastical positions.[1196] During the conflicts in Split, the archbishop's brother Bartholomew appeared as the *podesta* for a year.[1197] Afterwards, the commune was led by rectors, who were elected every month and three judges elected every three months.[1198] It is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions out of little evidence. The appointment of the archbishop's brother as the new *podestà* could suggest the level of control that the archbishop had over the commune. But that would also suggest that by electing rectors every month the commune wanted to resist the control of a single person or it would suggest that certain disagreements existed between the archbishop and the commune.

Yet the commune and the archbishop still cooperated against the exiled nobility. The exiles received help from the commune of Trogir, Count John Nelipčić of Cetina and Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić,[1199] who had different interests in mind for joining the conflict. The behaviour of Duke Hrvoje can be explained by the constant unsuccessful military operations which King Sigismund was at the time conducting against the duke. Since the commune and Andrew sided with Sigismund, Duke Hrvoje waged war against Split, but the commune often had an upper hand, such as during 1401 when the commune seized Omiš, thus weakening Hrvoje's hold over the

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[1194] Paulo, *Memoriale*, 26, June 28, 1398; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 106; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 301, 319.

[1195] *...dominus Andreas, et Bartolomeus et dominus Petrus Paulus, filii olim magistri Petri Gionte de Bentiis de Gualdo, fratres carnales dicti domini Andree*. Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 504, April 13, 1415; 510.

[1196] These individuals, connected to Andrew, would then appear in various ecclesiastical positions while he was in the bishopric of Sion during the 1420s and the 1430s. Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 507-8.

[1197] "Serie dei reggitori," 108-9, November 26, 1398 and July 21, 1399. Still mentioned as the *podestà* of the city in CDC XVIII, 470-2, July 21, 1399.

[1198] "Serie dei reggitori," 108-9.

[1199] Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 349.

area.[1200] On the other hand, it is hard to say when exactly Count John decided to support Duke Hrvoje,[1201] but as was shown earlier, throughout the 1390s the count was in conflict with Archbishop Andrew, which could have persuaded the count to attack the archbishopric and Split. By the end of 1401 Count John seized Klis, mounting pressure on Split.[1202] Helped by the two noblemen and the commune of Trogir, the exiled Spalatine nobility targeted the properties of the Church such as the village of Kruševica, the island of Vranjic and the lands of the monastery of Saint Stephen and the nunnery of Saint Lawrence.[1203]

Maintaining contacts with other prelates and noblemen of the kingdom was probably even more important for Andrew after the outbreak of the rebellion. Just two weeks after the start of the rebellion, the archbishop led a gathering of prelates in Knin, during which a number of churches from across the kingdom received different ecclesiastical benefits.[1204] Although it is unclear what else was discussed during the gathering which was attended by the majority of the bishop-suffragans of Split, the meeting was attended by Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb (r.1397-1406;1409-20), one of the more influential prelates in the kingdom and a staunch supporter of King Sigismund.[1205] In fact, the king and his royal subordinates quickly accepted the situation in Split and the new leadership of the commune cleverly decided to select Nicholas and John Gorjanski as the counts of Split.[1206] The family Gorjanski were among the most loyal supporters of King Sigismund and his favourites. It should be added that Andrew had been working for years in establishing good connections with the royal court and other prelates of the kingdom, so the suggestion of and contacts with Gorjanski could have come from the archbishop.

This means that the commune and the archbishop quickly utilized their contacts with the royal court. The king took Archbishop Andrew into his protection in the conflict with Trogir,[1207] while the local royal representatives even sacked the fields of Trogir in an attempt to force start the peace negotiations.[1208] The peace treaty was signed in mid-February 1401 and it reflects the victory of the archbishop. The peace treaty was signed in the archiepiscopal palace in Split and

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[1200] Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 142; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 88-92; Isailović, "Омиш под влашћу Хрвоја," 133.
[1201] John and Hrvoje formed a marriage alliance by which Hrvoje married John's sister Jelena. On the contacts between John and Hrvoje, see: Birin, *Knez Nelipac*, 100-3.
[1202] Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 99.
[1203] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 808-9; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* I, 132-3.
[1204] ZsO I n.5407, July 15, 1398.
[1205] Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskup Eberhard," 1-13.
[1206] CDC XVIII, 352, August 18, 1398.
[1207] Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 139-40, February 9, 1401.
[1208] Klaić, *Povijest Trogira*, 351.

both sides were officially led by their leading prelates, Archbishop Andrew for Split and Bishop Chrysogonus for Trogir, together with the representatives of the commune.[1209] The authorities in Trogir had 20 days to expel all the Spalatine exiles from the city of Trogir.

But the peace treaty failed, in large part due to the instability in the kingdom, the imprisonment of Sigismund and the widespread discontent in the kingdom. The constant wars did not shake the unity of the commune and the archbishop, who were able to hold their own against their many enemies, nor their loyalty to King Sigismund. During April 1402 the royal representatives Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb and Emeric Bubek, the prior of Vrana, received pledges of allegiance from the city councils of Dubrovnik and Split.[1210] But the situation dramatically changed when King Ladislas, in mid-1402, decided to claim the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. In June Admiral Aloysius Aldemariscus was sent with the Neapolitan navy to seize Dalmatia. The admiral first arrived to Zadar, but by the end of the year he took oaths of fealty from all Dalmatian communes.[1211]

The change in Split, by which Archbishop Andrew was ousted and King Ladislas of Naples recognized as the king, occured during December 1402, when the city had to contend with the strong presence of Admiral Aldemarisco on sea and his confederate, Duke Hrvoje, on land. During December the archbishop and the commune clashed. The archiepiscopal fort in Lučac (Kaštel Sućurac) was seriously damaged on the order of the rebel leaders. According to a later note, the noblemen of the city also pursued the archbishop with sticks on the square in front of the cathedral, forcing him out of the city, and incurring the penalty of excommunication.[1212]

It is likely that the rebels and exiles, in order to reconcile, placed the blame on the archbishop. Especially since Andrew was absent from the city as he went earlier in 1402 to

[1209] Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 139-45, February 9-13, 1401. For Split: Archbishop Andrew, John, the son of Marin, and Dessa, the son of Jacob. Dessa was one of the principal organisers of the rebellion in 1398. Paulo, *Memoriale*, 28. For Trogir: Bishop Chrysogonus, Jacob Cega, Paul, the son of Marin, Mirsa, the son of Mauro and Nicholas, the son of Peter Mikacij. Bishop Anthony of Šibenik, Abbot Lawrence of Saint Lawrence in Krk, and some others were listed as witnesses.
[1210] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 347-8; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 252-65; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 364-5; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 314-17.
[1211] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 351; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 100-2.
[1212] The fort that burned down was mentioned in the unratified contract with King Ostoja of Bosnia. Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave," 380-4, December 15, 1402. That the archbishop was pursued was mentioned in an appeal to the Apostolic See from 1426. The commune of Split petitioned the pope to absolve them from several excommunications incurred due to clashes with Archbishop Andrew, his predecessor Hugolin and then with Pisan Pope John XXIII. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 369, January 6, 1426. Also, see: Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 355-6; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 28; Kovačić, "Utemeljitelj Kaštela Sućurca," 193-4.

Hungary to seek help for Split. In April the archbishop was in Senj, where he probably confined with Leonardo de Pensauro, the bishop of Senj, who had contacts with the archbishop of Esztergom and King Sigismund.[1213] By September Andrew was in Bratislava where the royal diet was in session. On 14 September King Sigismund appointed Albert IV, the duke of Austria, as the successor to the throne of Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, while the royal decision was accepted by the gathered prelates and the nobility of the kingdom on 21 September.[1214] Therefore, while the archbishop was absent for months, seeking help, he was also unable to prevent negotiations between the rebels and exiles and to react to Admiral Aldemarisco's arrival.

The change which happened in the commune during December was recorded in two sources. Firstly, Andrew was still listed as the archbishop of the city at the beginning of the month, but by the end of the month Marin Cutheis was listed as the archbishop-elect.[1215] Marin was one of the well-educated and hard-working canons of the cathedral chapter of Split, originating from a distinguished and old family of the Cutheis.[1216] His appointment was a result of peace negotiations between the Spalatin exiles and the rebels in order to resolve their differences. That this was the case is confirmed from the unratified peace treaty between the reconciled nobility which was overseen by King Ostoja of Bosnia in mid-December.[1217] The king, acting as an ally of King Ladislas of Naples, attempted to expand his authority over Split and Dalmatia. He promised that the citizens would not have to pay any tithes from 1402 and he revoked all the contracts signed between the archbishop and the commune. Most notably, the citizens refused that any foreigner be installed as the archbishop, instead claiming the right of episcopal election for the commune and the cathedral chapter of Split. Based on the petition by the commune, Admiral Aldemarisco issued an order in January 1403 to the cathedral chapter of Trogir to write to the pope regarding the archbishop.[1218] It is unknown what was written in the letter, but it is probable that the citizens used the opportunity to familiarize the pope with the official narrative regarding the past events in Split, over which the rebels and the exiles agreed upon.

[1213] Prior to becoming the bishop of Senj, Leonardo was a canon and the vicar for spiritual affairs of the archbishop of Esztergom. As the bishop of Senj he also carried diplomatic missions for King Sigismund. Ivančan, "Iz crkvene povijesti," 106-7; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 263, Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 354; IV, 124.

[1214] Malyusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn*, 63-5; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 109-12.

[1215] "Serie dei reggitori," 143-4, December 6, 1402; December 24, 1402.

[1216] *Marinus Nicole de Chuteys* was mentioned as a canon at the end of the 1380s. He was authorized as the notary by imperial authority. CDC XVII, 172, November 18, 1388; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 138, May 1, 1390; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 109-10.

[1217] Brković, "Srednjovjekovne isprave," 380-4, December 15, 1402; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 253-4.

[1218] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II, 839-40.

Andrew did not renounce his claim to the position of the archbishop, but, instead, the Roman pope transferred Andrew to another diocese.[1219] But neither Andrew nor his protector Sigismund accepted the papal decision, as the king tried to have Andrew reinstated. On the other hand, neither did the pope nor King Ladislas accept the attempts by the commune of Split to increase their autonomy in ecclesiastical and political affairs. Ladislas proclaimed Hrvoje Vukčić as the duke of Split and granted him control over large areas of Croatia and Dalmatia,[1220] while the pope appointed Ladislas's candidate Peregrin of Aragonia (r.1403-09) as the archbishop.[1221] These appointments were, in turn, beneficial to the archbishopric. Due to Hrvoje's complete control over the city and the wider area of Split, the archbishop was able to quickly solve all the problems regarding the disputed jurisdiction, usurped lands and unpaid tithes which had accumulated in the previous decades.[1222] The position of undisputed power in Split and the support from the archbishop certainly helped Duke Hrvoje to quickly conclude the peace negotiations between the nobility of Split, the commune, and Count John Nelipčić of Cetina.[1223] As a comparison, Venice took over Split in 1420, but in 1423 the archbishop of Split complained to the pope that he was unable to collect the tithe from the territories located in the hinterland of the archbishopric which were still controlled by the Croatian and Bosnian nobility.[1224]

Andrew was a capable prelate, administrator and politician who was quick in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of his archbishopric. At first, he relied on the papal authority, but he promptly established contacts with the local clergy and came to rely on the effective royal support. While the contacts with the pope did not play as important role in Split, as they did in nearby Zadar, Andrew did maintain and expand the contacts with his suffragan-bishops and fellow higher-prelates from across the kingdom. But not satisfied to depend on the fickle lay authority, which

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[1219] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 355-6; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 25; Andrew was transfered to Samaria, which was a titular see in Muslim controlled Palestine, so innaccessible to Catholic bishops. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459; Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," III, 72-3.

[1220] Lovrenović, "Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i splitska komuna," 37-45.

[1221] Ivan Lucić presumed that he was from Naples, and therefore elected by the pope on suggestion from King Ladislas whose troops seized Split in 1403 (Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočnstva o Trogiru* II, 840), but the local sources listed the archbishop as *Fra Peregrinus d'Aragona*. "Serie dei reggitori," 189.

[1222] Archbishop Peregrin was probably able to quickly come to an agreement with Duke Hrvoje, mostly because the archbishop and the duke had contacts to King Ladislas. During the corronation of Ladislas in Zadar in summer 1403 the duke was depicted as a good friend of the archbishop. Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 207-8, July 11, 1403. On Hrvoje's reign in Split between 1403 and 1413, see: Isailović, "О фамилијарима Хрвоја Вукчића," 125-46; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i splitska komuna," 37-45.

[1223] Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 224-5, November 4, 1403; *Listine* V, 58, June 15, 1405.

[1224] Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija*, 187.

was constantly changing during the 1390s, the archbishop used all the powers at his disposal to increase the archiepiscopal authority. He even tested the borders of how far the archbishop could interfere in the inner-communal relations. The intertwining of the noble families of the city, which had their representatives in the commune and the cathedral chapter, was used by the archbishop to extend his authority over the commune by supporting the rebellion and installing his brother as the rector of the city. The continuing archiepiscopal preocupation was the economic well-being of his own archdiocese and the entire province, as he actively tried to ascertain and maximize the current incomes. Andrew was almost successful in reversing the gradual decline of the archiepiscopal authority and its economic position, but his success, while formidable on its own, was only as good as the royal backing which the archbishop received. He was removed from Split, but the papal arbitrariness, combined with the clashes between the papal and secular powers during the Western Schism, resulted in Andrew, and his backer the king, contesting the papal orders.

V.3. The "Contested" Bishops

The double papal election of 1378 and the death of King Louis in 1382 resulted in the period of protracted ecclesiastical and political instability in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. The popes, contenders to the throne, their backers and the local communes all attempted to more closely control the local Dalmatian dioceses. The rulers relied on the bishops to provide financial and military aid, while the local communities wanted to appropriate the ecclesiastical rights and incomes, while dictating the appointment of local noblemen to important ecclesiastical positions, particularly the episcopal one.

Since King Louis recognized the claim of the Roman papacy, the popes in Rome were the ones appointing and confirming bishops, as well as collecting local ecclesiastical taxes owed to the Apostolic See. The Avignon popes could hardly infringe on the obedience of the Roman pope in Croatia-Dalmatia, so it is strange to encounter the attempts by Pope Clement VII (r.1378-94) to

appoint the bishops of Senj (1383),[1225] Knin (1386) [1226] and Nin (1387).[1227] While more research is needed, since these individuals are unknown, it remains unclear why the Avignon pope attempted to instal bishops of lesser bishoprics in Croatia-Dalmatia, and not the more important archbishops of Split and Zadar.

The unstable position in which the Roman Curia found itself, made the pope more susceptible to accept the rulers' suggestions. Bishops whose loyalty was questioned were replaced by more compliant prelates, particularly if these bishops were appointed during the reign of previous kings. The most famous examples were the removal of Emeric Czudar, the bishop of Eger, in 1384 and Paul Horvat, the bishop of Zagreb, in 1386. Although Emeric owed his appointment to strong contacts with the Apostolic See, he came into conflict with Queen-mother Elizabeth, who asked the pope to have the bishop removed.[1228] The bishop of Zagreb owed his speedy advance in ecclesiastical ranks to the direct patronage of King Louis. Since he schemed against Queen Mary, Roman Pope Urban VI had the bishop strip from his position.[1229] Sigismund in particular utilized his contacts with the Roman Curia in order to appoint court favourites in the bishoprics of Senj[1230] and Zagreb.[1231] These bishops maintained an important position in Sigismund's designs to control Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia.[1232] These appointments were simply a continuation of the previously well-established papal-royal relations, instituted during the

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[1225] The pope appointed Joannes Schrezenberger. CDC XVI, 53, November 9, 1379; 89, May 7, 1380; 164, March 19, 1381; 218, October 2, 1381; 258; *Bullarium Franciscanum* VII, n.635; Žugaj, "Franjevci konventualci biskupi," 47. At the same time, the local and royal sources only listed Thomas as the bishop. Sladović, *Povesti biskupijah senjske*, 168, April 4, 1383; CDC XVI, 457-9, April 4, 1384.

[1226] The pope appointed Petrus de Marnhaco, a Franciscan friar, even though the incumbent bishop Paul was mentioned in the diocese since 1373. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 486.

[1227] The pope appointed Antonius Chernota, the rector of the church of Saint Mary, even though Bishop John (r. 1387-1402) was mentioned in royal sources. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 371; CDC XVII, 95, October 28, 1387; 226, October 3, 1389. The family of Chernota (Crnota, Cernota) was an influential noble family from Rab. Several of its members became bishops of various Dalmatian bishoprics, but Antonius is othervise unknown. Radauš, "Crnota."

[1228] The pope transferred Emeric to Imola, but it is unclear if the appointment ever manifested itself. Pór, "Ifjabb Erzsébet királyné," 915; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 68; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 78, 284, 515. His removal enabled John of Kanisza to rise in ranks. He was the bishop of Eger between 1384 before being appointed in 1388 as the archbishop of Esztergom, the highest ranking position a prelate could occupy in the kingdom.

[1229] Due to his involvement in bringing Charles of Durazzo to the throne of Hungary-Croatia in late 1385, the queen asked the pope to have Paul removed from Zagreb and to instead appoint a candidate favourable to the royal court. Petrović, "Political Career of Bishop Paul of Zagreb," 22-39.

[1230] Bishop Thomas of Senj was removed from Senj in order to ensure the appointment of a court favourite, John de Pensaurio (r.1386-92), who served as the royal vicar for the Kingdoms of Croatia and Dalmatia. CDC XVII, 166, September 20, 1388. John was followed by his nephew, Leonardo de Pensaurio (r.1392-1402), who also maintained close contacts with the royal court. Ivančan, "Iz crkvene povijesti," 104-8.

[1231] The Roman popes appointed royal candidates: John II Smilo (r.1386-94), John III Scepus (r.1395-97) and Eberhard Alben (r.1397-1408;1410-21). Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskupi," 191-2; Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskup Eberhard," 1.

[1232] Petrović, "Politicized Religion," 37-53.

reign of the Angevin kings. But the above-mentioned examples cleary show the limited extent of the royal power. Sigismund was never able to fully influence the appointments of the archbishops of Split and Zadar.

The period of the diminishing papal authority, interlocked with the political instability, resulted in the increased opposition to the papal mandates and legally appointed bishops. For instance, Paul Horvat kept using his title of the bishop of Zagreb for years, despite papal decision. When King Stephen Tvrtko seized Knin in 1387/88, the Bosnian king installed Michael, a priest from Ragusa and a trusted royal advisor, as the bishop of Knin.[1233] For some reason, the king hoped that the pope would remove the incumbent bishop Paul and instead appoint Michael, which did not happen.[1234] Pope Boniface IX's candidate as the bishop of Senj in 1402 was rejected by the local lord, Nicholas of Krk, who himself wanted to influence the local elections.[1235] Since a year later the pope openly sided with King Ladislas's attempt to claim the throne of Hungary-Croatia, the rejected bishop was present in Zadar when King Ladislas arrived in July 1403.[1236] Therefore, the lay nobility and bishops refused the papal mandates, if they were seen as openly supporting a particular political option. But the same lay noblemen hoped to persuade the pope to appoint approved individuals as bishops. The prelates who were exiled from or prevented from obtaining their diocese kept using their titles and served at the court of their protectors in the hope of regaining their lost bishopric. The papal or royal service was a refuge for clerics who were prevented from occupying their own dioceses.[1237] All of these examples were then exacerbated with the events of 1403/04.

The open papal support for King Ladislas's claim to the throne of Hungary-Croatia resulted in the break between the Roman Apostolic See and King Sigismund and this cessation of relations had a lasting influence on the episcopate of Croatia-Dalmatia. The pope authorized Cardinal Angelo to crown Ladislas in Zadar,[1238] but also to remove bishops opposing Ladislas and to appoint those who supported the king's attempts to seize the throne. Since several higher prelates,

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[1233] Michael had an important title of the court chancellor for Croatia and Dalmatia, which shows how the king wanted to rule his newly claimed territories. Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 56-7.

[1234] Paul was able to return only after the Bosnians had been defeated. CDC XVIII, 56-58, September 20, 1395.

[1235] *Bullae Bonifacii IX*, 481-4, 1402.

[1236] *Bullae Bonifacii IX*, 614, July 24, 1403.

[1237] For instance, the above-mentioned bishop of Senj, Nicholas, served as the apostolic treasurer in the March of Ancona in 1405. VMS I, 345, September 5, 1405; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 451; *Priručnik* II, 637.

[1238] Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 62-3; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, 359-60; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 366; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 263.

including the archbishop of Esztergom, supported Ladislas at the time, the cardinal concentrated on ousting the bishop of Zagreb. Bishop Eberhard Alben was one of the foreigners disliked by the Hungarian nobility but also one of the staunchest supporters of Sigismund. The cardinal-legate had Eberhard removed and, in his stead, appointed John Scepus, the archbishop of Kalocsa.[1239] Bishop Chrysogonus of Trogir was transferred to Kalocsa, while his nephew Simon de Dominis became the bishop of Trogir (r. 1403-23). [1240] But these appointments were only as good if they were followed by military victories of Ladislas's supporters over Sigismund's. John Scepus ended up becoming the archbishop of Naples, while Chrysogonus remained in Trogir where he received the monastery of Saint John the Baptist *in commenda*.[1241]

After containing Ladislas's supporters to Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia, King Sigismund decided to change the relations between the kingdom and the Roman papacy. While in Bratislava in April 1404 the king issued the *Decretum*, also know as *Placitum regium*, which stated the invalidity of papal bulls in Hungary, unless they were issued with the consent by the king.[1242] King Sigismund also directly accused the pope of trying to dethrone him in favour of Ladislas of Naples and proceeded to claim the title of "the patron and defender of all the churches of the realm."[1243] Sigismund understood his role as both the ruler and the protector of the Church, considering the bishoprics of all the rebel bishops as vacant and claiming the Church's patronage rights in the kingdom.[1244] A decade earlier, when the cities of Dalmatia were occupied by the Bosnian rulers, Sigismund's royal charters still included the bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia as dignitaries of the kingdom, since these bishoprics were viewed as being occupied. However, the only exception was Trogir whose bishopric was listed as vacant during 1387/88, despite having a bishop, since the

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[1239] As the bishop of Zagreb, John was a close associate of King Sigismund, before the two parted ways. The Roman pope removed John from Zagreb, but soon appointed him as the archbishop of Kalocsa. Labanc, "Die Agnen und Vewandten des Zagreber Bischofs," 246-258.

[1240] Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 206, June 2, 1403.

[1241] MVC I, n. 507, April 4, 1407.

[1242] Bak, *Laws of the Medieval Kingdom* II, 29-30; Göller, *König Sigismunds Kirchenpolitik*, 6; Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul*, 59-61; Tóth, "A főpapi székek betöltésének," 107-8; Mályusz, *Konstanzer Konzil*, 71-80; Bárd, "Break of 1404," 59-65; Fedeles, "Die ungarischen Dom- und Kollegiatkapitel," 79-80; Fedeles, "Az uralkodó, a Szentszék és a magyar főpapok," 87.

[1243] ZsO II/1, doc. 4247, November 13, 1405.

[1244] Canning, *Ideas of Power*, 170. The dioceses of Zadar, Trogir, Skradin, Knin, Nin, Šibenik, Makarska, Hvar and Krbava were listed as vacant, even though they had bishops. Andrew Benzi was still listed as the archbishop of Split, even though the pope removed Andrew. Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava," 250, April 15, 1405; 262, November 28, 1405; 267, April 22, 1406; 314, November 14, 1408. Compare with: Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 84-7.

king considered the commune as rebels, indicating the early stage of later official royal stance toward communes and bishoprics which the king viewed as rebellious.[1245]

Following the break with Rome, Sigismund did appoint or help elect several bishops, but he always referred to them as only elected, since they lacked confirmation by the pope.[1246] In contrast to the French withdrawal of obedience to Avignon in 1398,[1247] Sigismund's break with Rome always referred to temporal and never to spiritual reasons as the Roman pope – and later the Pisan pretender – was still recognized as the spiritual head of the kingdom. In practice, the king would keep the bishoprics of his opponents vacant and instead appoint royal administrators, while the incomes of these dioceses would fill the royal coffers.[1248] Out of the most notable examples, Bishop Eberhard became the governor of Varad and Count Herman II of Celje (c.1360-1435) was appointed as the governor of the bishopric of Zagreb,[1249] while Archbishop Andrew of Split was appointed as the administrator of the diocese of Eger.[1250] The consequences of the papal-royal conflict in 1403/04 resulted in the establishment of a clerical elite loyal to Sigismund which held the important episcopal positions, influenced the episcopal elections in the kingdom and firmly supported the king.[1251] Although the king reestablished contacts with the Roman Curia and, following his election as the King of Germany in 1411, worked tirelessly on healing the papal schism, Sigismund used his influence at the Council of Constance to have the gathered cardinals confirm the royal prerogative of ecclesiastical patronage.[1252]

While the break between Sigismund and Rome was only provisional, the consequences were not. The political events and necessity dictated the gradual evolution of how the king viewed

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[1245] CDC XVII, 476-7, October 11, 1392; 479, October 11, 1392; 484, December 8, 1392; CDH X/3, 133, February 6, 1393. CDC XVII, 96, October 28, 1387; 130, February 11, 1388; 143, May 7, 1388.

[1246] Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul*, 61; Hunyadi, "Western Schism and Hungary," 51-2.

[1247] Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism*, 97-112; Kaminsky, "Politics of France's Subtraction of Obedience," 336-97. The French court mounted a series of diplomatic activities to the courts of England and the Holy Roman Empire to persuade those rulers to also withdraw their obedience to Rome and to call for a general council, which resulted in the counter activities of the Roman papal court.

[1248] Tóth, "A főpapi székek betöltésének," 102-8.

[1249] Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu," III, 89; CDH, X/4, 518, 555; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája* I, 79; Lukinović, "Zagrebački biskup Eberhard," 7-8.

[1250] Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 41; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 103.

[1251] Fügedi, "Hungarian Bishops," II, 378; Engel, "Zsigmond bárói," 410-5.

[1252] Mályusz, *Konstanzer Konzil*, 8-9; Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, 425; Frenken, "Der König und sein Konzil," 177-241; Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul*, 62-3; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 146-7; Brandmüller, *Papst und Konzil im Großen Schisma*, 71-84; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao* I, 267; Partner, *Lands of Saint Peter*, 386. For the role played in these events by Archbishop Andrew Benzi of Split, see: Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 56-62.

the position of the clergy in the kingdom and the royal role in protecting and controlling the Church. This new approach was soon felt across the kingdom and even in Split.

V.4. One See, Three Archbishops

Archbishop Peregrin of Split died shortly before seeing his patron, King Ladislas, selling parts of Neapolitan-controlled Dalmatia. Due to its specific status, Split was since 1408 under the nominal control of King Sigismund. With the battle of Dobor (1408), the king subjugated the Bosnian nobility and their territories, which also included Duke Hrvoje Vukčić who ruled over Split. Peregrin died sometime before May 1409, while several months later Domnius Judicibus, from the cathedral chapter, appeared as the archbishop-elect.[1253] Since large parts of Christendom accepted the authority of the Pisan popes, a petition to recognize Domnius was successfuly submitted to Pope John XXIII (r.1410-15) by August 1410.[1254] But a year later, the pope reverted on his decision, revoked his confirmation od Domnius and instead transfered Peter of Pag, the bishop of Faenza in Romagna (r.1406-11).[1255] For its backing of Domnius and the resistance to Peter, Pope John excommunicated the commune.[1256]

Curiously, on the same day when Domnius was first confirmed, the pope decided to transfer Andrew Benzi, the exiled archbishop of Split who was backed by King Sigismund, to the archbishopric of Thebes.[1257] John XXIII was aware of Sigismund's opposition, and while it was suggested that the annulment of Domnius's appointment was the result of royal displeasure,[1258] the pope sidelined the royal candidate and instead appointed his own. I wonder if the understanding for the change lies in the dynamic of the relations between King Sigismund and the Pisan pope, and the pope hoped that by installing Peter in Split the papacy would extend its influence over Dalmatia. In February 1412 King Sigismund decided to take a direct approach by issuing an order to the commune to reinstate Andrew. The king invoked his right of patronage over the Church in

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[1253] "Serie dei reggitori," 44-5, May 8, 1409; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 43, December 24, 1409; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 107-8.

[1254] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 460, August 11, 1410.

[1255] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 460, October 19, 1411.

[1256] The excommunication was mentioned in a later charter from 1426, when the commune sent its representatives to the Apostolic See to ask for absolution. According to the petition, the nobility was excommunicated several times for their conflicts with Archbishops Hugolin and Andrew, as well as for resisting the orders of Pisan Pope John XXIII. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 369, January 6, 1426.

[1257] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I I, 460; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas,* 44, August 11, 1410.

[1258] As suggested by Neralić, "Udio Hrvata u papinskoj diplomaciji," 95.

the kingdom and demanded from the community to renounce both Peter and Domnius.[1259] Since Split was still controlled by Duke Hrvoje, Sigismund's threat of military intervention was not only aimed against the commune but its ruler. Although Sigismund defeated the opposing Bosnian army in 1408, the royal reign in Dalmatia was only nominal and Duke Hrvoje was an unreliable ally.[1260]

Although Domnius built his career through the cathedral chapter, which resulted in his election as the archbishop, he enjoyed support of Duke Hrvoje. The archbishop served on several missions as Hrvoje's envoy to Venice.[1261] But it cannot be stated with certainty that Domnius was elected due to the open backing of Duke Hrvoje, since Domnius was a member of the nobility in Split and as such had the backing of the cathedral chapter and the leading social strata of the commune. The chapter appointed Domnius as the vicar and administrator of the archbishopric, providing him with the authority and power necessary to lead the archbishopric, while Domnius only had the powers of an elected archbishop.[1262] Domnius did not appear in the city charters, which had the office of the archbishop vacant from March 1409 until January 1416, after which Domnius appeared regularly as the archbishop.[1263] This could suggest that he lacked the support from the commune, but the most likely reason was the opposition from King Sigismund and Pisan Pope John XXIII. The papal candidate, Peter of Pag, kept using his archiepiscopal title, but was prevented from obtaining his diocese so he remained in papal service throughout this period.[1264] As mentioned, Domnius used his title when serving on diplomatic missions for Duke Hrvoje in 1410 and 1411, while in September 1413 Archbishop Domnius led the Spalatine mission to King Sigismund.[1265] When Venice took over the city in 1420, the communal leadership asked the

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[1259] Ančić, "Liber Bullarum," 247-248, February 14, 1412; Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 501-2; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 45.
[1260] For the relations between Sigismund and Hrvoje at the time, see: Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 170-2; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 204-37; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 332-42.
[1261] In 1410 the archbishop and associates (*archiepiscopo Spalatensi et sociis*) were sent as Hrvoje's envoys to Venice to discuss recent Hrvoje's territorial expansions and privileges. *Listine* VI, 78-82 April 8, 1410. In January 1411 the archbishop was granted the *salvus conductus* from Venice for one year, but it was not stated what the mission involved. *Listine* VI, 135, January 22, 1411.
[1262] *Dominus Duymus electus Spalatensis et Vicarius per Capitulum dictae ecclesiae deputatus, et Gubernator Ecclesiae supradictae et ipsum Capitulum Spalatense*. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 361. For the limits on the powers of the archbishop-elect, see: Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 167-200.
[1263] "Serie dei reggitori," 44-5, May 8, 1409; 127-8, January 28, 1416.
[1264] Peter served the pope as *cubicularius Summi Pontificis et registrator signatarum*. Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 269; Neralić, "Udio Hrvata u papinskoj diplomaciji," 95. At the beginning of 1413 Peter received the *salvus conductus* from Pisan Pope John XXIII to visit the Papal Curia in Tuscany. VMS I, 354, January 4, 1413.
[1265] Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 229-30; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* III, 85-6; CDH X/5, 426-7.

Venetian doge to keep Domnius as the archbishop,[1266] which shows that Domnius had full backing of his commune.

Realizing his weak position in Dalmatia and that the royal threats issued to Split in early 1412 failed, the king took a different approach by the end of the year. During August Domnius appeared as the archbishop of Split in the Hungarian royal charters,[1267] which suggests that some sort of agreement occurred which involved the king, the duke and the archbishop. Around the same time the king successfully petitioned Pisan Pope John XXIII to appoint Andrew as the archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács,[1268] the second most important archbishopric in the kingdom.

The relations between King Sigismund and Duke Hrvoje were always of dubious nature. In late June 1413 King Sigismund proclaimed that Duke Hrvoje was an outlaw and called the council of Split to remove Hrvoje from the city.[1269] The king was at the time in Furlania, where he was waging war against Venice. The citizens of Split carried out the royal mandate in the first days of July.[1270] Not much is known about these actions, but Archbishop Domnius was in September 1413 in Chur where Sigismund sojourned at the time. From there the archbishop reported to his commune that Duke Hrvoje tried to appeal to the king, but Sigismund relied on the representatives from Split when formulating the answers to the duke.[1271] The fact that in such a short time the archbishop obtained a high degree of trust from the king suggest that Domnius and the king established good contacts during 1412 and that the archbishop played some diplomatic role in the quick overthrowing of Hrvoje. When Venice took Split in 1420, Sigismund protected Domnius and continued to support the archbishop's claim to Split. In Hungarian royal charters Domnius was listed as the archbishop from 1412 until 1435.[1272]

While Domnius had the support of the members of his own social class, the elites of Split, his position as the archbishop of Split was secure, despite the opposition by the pope and the king. The cathedral chapter authorized Domnius to lead the archbishopric as the vicar, while his position enabled him to represent the interest of his commune during diplomatic missions.

[1266] *Listine* VIII, 24-9, July 9, 1420.

[1267] Following the fall of Split to Venice in 1420, Archbishop Domnius found shelter at the royal court and King Sigismund supported Domnius as the archbishop until his death 1435, showing that the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia still considered Split as one of its cities. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 84.

[1268] HC I, 197, January 4, 1413; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 84.

[1269] Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 226; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 339-40.

[1270] Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* III, 81-2; *Listine* VII, 123-4.

[1271] Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 229-30; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* III, 85-6; CDH X/5, 426-7.

[1272] Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 84.

V.5. The Church of Croatia-Dalmatia and La Serenissima

Starting with the acquisition of Zadar in 1409, the Republic of Venice concluded its conquest of the entire Dalmatia by 1420. *La Serenissima* found itself ruling over a number of semi-autonomous communes, with whom the new authorities had to define their administrative, economic and political relations. Since the local ecclesiastical structures were embedded into the medieval Dalmatian communes, equally important for Venice was to establish control over the local Churches. But the conclusion that almost all Dalmatian bishops of the fifteenth century were appointed on the direct instigation of the Republic of Venice was criticized by Jadranka Neralić, who called it an "old premise of the Croatian historiography." The author, instead, emphasized the role of the Apostolic See, stating that these bishops owed their appointments primarily due to their connections to the popes, and less because they were of Venetian ancestry.[1273] Her conclusions for Venetian Dalmatia were similar to the ones by Giuseppe del Torre who observed corresponding trends in the Venetian Terraferma, the territories of the Venetian mainland, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[1274] Both authors accentuated the direct connections between the appointed bishops and the Apostolic See, while adding that the Venetians were regularly appointed to the richer and more important dioceses. In addition, Torre concluded that out of all the bishops appointed in the Venetian Terraferma, 74% were of Venetian origin,[1275] while Neralić stated that the numbers in Dalmatia were 65%.[1276]

But these conclusions alone cannot explain how successful Venetian citizens were in obtaining the bishoprics of Dalmatia during the fifteenth century, which stands in stark contrast to the Venetian government's efforts in filling the vacant episcopal positions in the previous centuries. It is, therefore, necessary to more closely consider the Venetian prior attempts to control the Dalmatian bishoprics, the administrative-ecclesiastical changes which were occurring within Venice itself and their connection with the evolution of the papal-episcopal relations. Lastly, the conflicts between Venice, Rome and the local bishoprics occurring at the beginning of the fifteenth century should be considered.

[1273] Neralić, "Svi papini ljudi," 53-82.

[1274] Torre, "Stato regionale e benefici ecclesiastici," 1171-1236.

[1275] Between 1405 and 1550 in 12 bishoprics of Terraferma there were 84 of 113 bishops of Venetian origin. Torre, "Stato," 1181.

[1276] Between 1417 until 1492 in 9 bishoprics of Dalmatia there were 70 bishops out of which 46 were of Venetian origin, 7 coming from the Papal States and 17 from Dalmatia. Neralić, "Svi papini ljudi," 80.

During the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries the Venetian involvement in the ecclesiastical sphere in Dalmatia was equally – if not more – contested as the Venetian political rule. During the thirteenth century Venice twice forced Zadar to sign pacts of dedication, defining the terms of subjugation of Zadar to Venice.[1277] In these pacts the Venetian Senate specified that the archbishops of Zadar must be elected from among the Venetian citizens. Since archbishops were predominantly elected by the cathedral chapter, the electors were more susceptible to pressure from local communities and Venetian authorities.[1278]

These appointments, mediated by the patriarch of Grado as the metropolitan for Dalmatia, worked as long as the local communities, namely its cathedral chapters, had the ability to elect their own bishops. By the fourteenth century the papal interventions diminished the role of chapters in the episcopal elections, as the popes tended to reserve bishoprics, forgo local elections or directly appoint papal candidates.[1279] This meant that direct access to the Apostolic See was more effective way of suggesting a potential bishop than by pressuring the local clergy. But during the Venetian rule over Dalmatia (c.1322-1358) not a single Venetian was appointed bishop, even though the Senate campaigned at the Papal Curia and employed the help of several cardinals. Appointed bishops came from either Dalmatia or from the circles close to the Apostolic See. While it could seem that Venice met strong papal opposition on the matter, the popes were cautious to provide clerics acceptable to the Venetian Senate with positions within the republic' borders.[1280] Based on the individual cases from Dalmatia, Venice lacked stronger presence at the Curia. The Avignon popes of the mid-fourteenth century reached an unprecedented power in influencing most episcopal appointments, which meant that the popes could eschew the Venetian influence.

The relation between the Venetian authorities and its Church was often ambiguous as officially the authorities did not intervene in the ecclesiastical matters. In practice the Senate constantly involved itself in the matters of the Church, both on the level of episcopal appointments of local parish priests. The Venetian authorities saw the bishops as the extension of the administration of the Venetian Republic.[1281] This was reflected in the institutional changes which

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[1277] Orlando, "Politica del diritto, amministrazione, giustizia," 15-9; Miller, *Venice in the East Adriatic*, 261; Šišić, "Zadar i Venecija," 254-74; Krekić, "Venezia e l'Adriatico," 51-85.

[1278] Gaudemet, "De l'election à la nomination des évêques," 137-56; Caron, "Les élections épiscopales," 573-85.

[1279] Barraclough, "The Making of a Bishop," 275-319; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 9-91.

[1280] ASV, Reg. Vat. 161, f. 135 ep. 682, October 25, 1330.

[1281] Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, I, 81; Cristellon and Menchi, „Religious life," 379-420; Ippolito, "Ecclesiastici veneti, tra Venezia e Roma," 209-34; Prodi, "Strutture e organizzazione della Chiesa di Venezia," 1-30; Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* II, 577.

occurred during the second half of the fourteenth century, as the Senate institutionalized the episcopal elections carried out within the territories of the Venetian Republic through the procedure of *probae*.[1282] This meant that in the case of an episcopal vacancy, an administrative procedure would be commenced in order to fill the position. Those interested in gaining a bishopric could apply personally or be suggested by relatives or acquaintances. The Senate would vote, and the winner would be promoted by the Venetian agents at the Papal Curia. The *probae* were first applied for the bishops at the Venetian core and other oversee territories and this procedure was then gradually expanded. The goal was to centralize the episcopal appointments firmly in Venetian hands, but that does not mean that petitions were automatically successful, because the popes tended to reject candidates suggested by the Senate.[1283]

At the time, Venice was seriously weakened by constant fighting with its neighbors and the unfavorable peace treaty with Genoa and the Kingdom of Hungary (1381), but the Republic quickly consolidated its ranks. The acquisition of Treviso (1386) marks a new prevailing ideology in Venice, one no longer focused exclusively on the expansion of maritime trade but interested in consolidating the Venetian territories. Whenever an opening arose for Venice to expand its Terraferma or Stato da Mar, the Republic seized the opportunity.[1284] Due to considerable problems which affected Northern Italy and which were interconnected with the papal schism, the Venetians entered into conflict with bordering powers who threatened the Republic. Venice intervened in the conflict between the Carrara of Padua and the Visconti of Milan which led to the conquest of Padua and Verona (1405).[1285]

The noble families (*Signoria*) dominated the cities of Northern Italy for decades and expanded their reign over ecclesiastical structures by creating a client-based system of control of local benefices.[1286] These oligarchs were also successful in installing their supporters as bishops. For instance, when the Visconti of Milan ousted the regime of the Scaligeri from Verona, Gian Galeazzo Visconti installed Jacopo Rossi as the bishop (r.1388-1406). Likewise, in Padua the bishopric was administered by Stefano Carrara (r.1402-06), the son of the ruler of the city,

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[1282] Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 315-432.
[1283] Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, I, 104-6.
[1284] Girgensohn, "Venedig im späteren Mittelalter," 488.
[1285] Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara*, 315-36; Kohl, "Renaissance Padua as Kunstwerk," 188-9.
[1286] For Verona and Milan, see: Gamberini, *Lo Stato Visconteo*, 69-136; Varanini, "Signoria cittadina, vescovi e diocesi," 875-921. For Padua, see: Gaffuri and Gallo, "Signoria ed episcopato a Padova," 923-56.

Francesco Carrara. Since these bishops were installed by previous regimes, The Venetian Senate sought at replacing them with more amiable prelates.

The explanation for the prior appointments of these bishops and why Venetian Senate thought they should be removed can be summarized by looking at the development of the relations between the popes and the lay rulers. As mentioned, the papal centralization of the episcopal appointments ran parallel with the development of the system of petitions. The popes were susceptible to the requests of the lay rulers, as long as the two shared certain diplomatic interest.[1287] But the weakening of the Apostolic See during the Western schism also led to the revival of the elections by cathedral chapters, temporarily suppressed by the papal centralization, although the elected bishop had to be confirmed by the Apostolic See. The lay rulers could promote their candidates either through the cathedral chapter or directly by petitioning the pope.

The Venetian approach to newly conquered bishoprics varied, depending on the relative power of the Republic in these newly obtained places.[1288] Giuseppe del Torre noted that Venetian citizens were installed as bishops on the newly obtained territories gradually and slowly, as their appointments were subordinated to the procedures established by canon law. The Venetian authorities would negotiate with the Apostolic Curia for years in order to persuade the pope to replace unsympathetic bishops and to appoint Venetian candidates.[1289] Once Padua and Verona were seized, the Venetians undertook complex negotiations with the Apostolic See in order to replace the bishops of these cities. The process stalled despite the diplomatic campaign of the Senate and the fact that from November 1406 a Venetian patrician was Roman Pope Gregory XII (r.1406-15). Although the pope confirmed the Venetian candidate in Verona, he also decided to install somebody close to the Apostolic See in Padua. In both cases the selected bishops were Venetian citizens, which was agreeable to the Senate.[1290]

In 1409 Zadar became part of Venice, which resulted in war between King Sigismund of Hungary and Venice which was fought in Dalmatia, but also in Friuli, where Sigismund used

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[1287] Smith, "Development of Papal Provisions," 110-21.

[1288] The politics of replacing bishops varied. In some places the Venetians demanded that the bishops be removed immediately following the conquest (Padua and Verona), while in some it took them several years of cohabitating with the bishops before demanding the same (Vicenza and Bergamo), while in some examples the Venetians would allow the bishop to remain until death, before being succeeded by a Venetian candidate. Torre, "Stato regionale e benefici ecclesiastici," 1177-9.

[1289] Torre, "Stato," 1181. This was also the case when Florence conquered Pisa in 1405. Ronzani, "Chiesa pisana dopo il 1406," 137-150.

[1290] Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 352-3, July 31, 1405; 354, March 4, 1406; Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, I, 111-2; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 386, 523.

contacts with the family of Carrara, who wanted to reobtain Padua, and the patriarch of Aquileia, who controlled Friuli. From 1411 both sides involved Pisan Pope John XXIII as a mediator, whose mediation failed as it was defined by the papal-imperial relations, particularly since Sigismund was determined on convening a general council and solving the Schism. Venice was much more successful in Dalmatia, obtaining Šibenik after a prolonged siege. Both sides, exhausted by the war decided to sign an armistice (14 April 1413) which ended conflicts between Venice and Sigismund with his allies in Dalmatia and Northern Italy.[1291]

The Venetians did not introduce major changes in Dalmatia as they respected the pre-existing social structures in the communities, nor did they make any major changes in the structure of the municipal government. This was all done in order to ensure the loyalty of the local ruling elites. For Venice it was more important to make sure that Venetians were always appointed to leading positions, that commercial life was aligned with the interests of Venice, and the maritime ports and shipping was secured.[1292] The approach of limited non-interference was then extended to the ecclesiastical structures.

Venice used the end of military operations with Sigismund to reinforce its rule in Dalmatia. On 31 August 1413 a decision was passed forbidding the granting of ecclesiastical benefices to foreigners, which meant that only the citizens of local communes could receive benefices in Dalmatia. But the Republic also reserved for Venetian citizens the bishoprics Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso and Ceneda, all suffragans of Aquileia, and recently conquered by Venice. The same was decided for the archbishopric of Zadar, but not for Šibenik.[1293] The Venetian behavior depended on their historical experience, showing more strictness and direct control over Zadar, than the rest of Dalmatia. The decision with benefices was done in order to indulge the local elites whose members previously occupied these benefices, while keeping the more important bishoprics controlled by Venetian members.[1294]

[1291] Wakounig, *Dalmatien und Friaul*, 70; *Listine* VI, 142-3; Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, 52-3; *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 29-36.

[1292] For the organization of the Venetian authority in Dalmatia, see: *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 36-72; Pederin, "Die venezianische Verwaltung Dalmatiens," 99-163; Pederin, "Die wichtigsten Ämter der venezianischen Verwaltung in Dalmatien," 305-55; Girgensohn, "Venedig im späteren Mittelalter," 494-504; Raukar, "La Dalmazia e Venezia," 63-76; Orlando, "Politica del diritto, amministrazione, giustizia," 19-23; Girgensohn, "Venedig im späteren Mittelalter," 486-7; Krekić, "Venezia e l'Adriatico," 51-85; Raukar, *Zadar u XV stoljeću*, 30-51; *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, 29-96; Schmitt, "Das venezianische Sudosteuropa als Kommunikationsraum," 83-90.

[1293] *Listine* VII, 129-30, August 31, 1413.

[1294] Torre, "Stato regionale e benefici ecclesiastici," 1176-7.

Archbishop Luca of Zadar (r.1400-20)[1295] and Bishop Bogdan of Šibenik (r.1402-36),[1296] appointed during the period before Venice, cooperated with the new Venetian authorities and kept their positions. But with their deaths, the Senate enacted the procedure of *probae* and gradually introduced this system as bishoprics became vacant. The system was first used in the episcopal election in Rab in 1414, where the Senate rejected a candidate elected by the cathedral chapter in favour of an individual viewed as loyal to the Republic.[1297] Of course, the lenient Venetian conduct was not extended to all clerics. Abbot Chrysogonus de Soppe from Zadar was distrusted by the Venetian authorities.[1298] The abbot was already distrusted by the previous Neapolitan government of Zadar. The Venetians had Chrysogonus exiled in 1409, while in 1419 the abbot had to offer his resignation. Although, the Venetians probably wanted to extend their control over the monastery, they tended to leave the control over important monasteries in hands of local nobility, which proved its loyalty to the Republic. After Chrysogonus resigned his position, the Venetians allowed the appointment of a Zaratin nobleman, Peter, as the next abbot. In 1421, the Senate selected the next abbot of Saints Cosmas and Damian, which was another important local monastery. The most votes went for Louis, the nephew of Guido Matafari, who was an important and trusted local nobleman.[1299]

The situation with Split was somewhat different as after another war with Sigismund the Venetians now claimed the city and the rest of Dalmatia. The commune of Split petitioned Venice by July 1420 and asked for several privileges concerning internal affairs, but some of the questions were also related to the ecclesiastical sphere. The commune asked the doge and the Senate of

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[1295] Čoralić and Karbić, "Prilog životopisu," 71-81.

[1296] Unlike the archbishop of Split and the bishop of Trogir, it seems that Bogdan did not seek support from King Sigismund during the clash between his city and Venice nor did he oppose the Venetian takeover, even though Šibenik was besieged by Venice between 1409 and 1412. This is corroborated by the fact that the Hungarian royal charters listed the diocese of Šibenik as vacant from 1405 to 1454. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 86. For examples of cooperation between the bishop and Venice, immediately following the conquest of Šibenik, see: Grubišić, "Šibenik i Venecija," 128.

[1297] Archdeacon Anthony de Cadavanzo was elected by his cathedral chapter, but the Senate, instead, elected Cleric Marin Cernota, a nephew of Andrew de Dominis, and therefore cousin of Bishop Simon of Trogir. Andrew was an important local supporter of King Ladislas, so in order to control Rab and surrounding areas Venice probably also wanted to maintain good relations with the Dominis family. Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 364, January 30, 1414; Radauš, "Crnota."

[1298] Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana," 104, f. 157, December 2, 1406; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 238.

[1299] Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, 49; Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana," 104; Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 371-2, June [no day], 1421. Due to his support for Ladislas of Naples, Guido Matafari became one of the most important noblemen in Zadar. He supported the Venetian takeover in 1409 and was rewarded for his loyalty by the new government. Ančić, "Od tradicije 'sedam pobuna' do dragovoljnih mletačkih podanika," 43-96.

Venice to allow Archbishop Domnius, who originated from the Spalatin nobility, to keep his position. The chapter of Split also asked the Senate to allow that the future archbishops be elected by the clergy and the nobility of Split.[1300] In the changing relations between the secular and spiritual powers of the late medieval period, this was not something that the local communities could ask for, nor something that Venice could grant, as it was the pope who in the end approved episcopal candidates. But the question is interesting from the aspect of understanding of the episcopal position in the late medieval community. The nobility wanted to reserve this position for its own members, particularly since the cathedral chapter was filled with the sons of the local noblemen.[1301] Since Domnius cooperated in the past with King Sigismund, the archbishop was viewed as an enemy of Venice, who cannot be allowed to stay in Split.

Due to scheming by Pisan Pope John XXIII, who wanted to exert his influence over Split, the pope rejected Domnius and appointed Peter of Pag as the archbishop of Split. The Venetians responded positively to the petition by the chapter, permitting that the episcopal election be left to the local elites. It was established that the final decision regarding the archbishop would be left to the pope, but by mid-1420 the Venetian authorities allowed Peter, described as being faithful to the Serenissima, to take his archiepiscopal position in Split.[1302] The decision to leave the archiepiscopal elections to the local elites in Split is curious, particularly since in other places, on the occasion of the acceptance of Venetian rule, the Senate did not negotiate the episcopal appointments with subordinate communes.[1303] Due to its geopolitical position of allowing further expansion to the Dalmatian hinterland, Venice probably wanted to reinforce its control over Split. Sigismund's troops were routed, but the war was still ongoing.

The example of Domnius and Peter of Pag shows how the Venetians avoided embroiling themselves in situation which would lead to a prolonged conflict regarding the archbishopric. Instead, they were willing to accept already appointed bishops, as long as these prelates were loyal to the Republic. But as soon as these bishops died or were transferred, Venice would insist on installing Venetian citizens as bishops. The most important and richest dioceses attracted the most attention from the Venetians. During the *probae* for Rab in 1414, only two candidates were

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[1300] *per clerum et nobiles dicte civitatis*. *Listine* VIII, 24-9, July 9, 1420; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 350-6.
[1301] See also the previously mentioned peace treaty between warring nobility of Split from 1402 in which they demanded that only local sons be selected as archbishops of Split.
[1302] *Listine* VIII, 24-9, July 9, 1420; 62, 64, December 30, 1420; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 350-6.
[1303] Torre, "Stato regionale e benefici ecclesiastici," 1075-76. For instance, in Šibenik. *Listine* VI, 288-93, October 30, 1412.

considered, while for Zadar in 1420 the Senate received eight nominations. The most votes for the archbishop of Zadar were cast for Blasius Molino (r.1420-28), who was also backed by the local nobility, and less than a month later he was able to secure an episcopal transfer by the pope.[1304] This prelate came from an influential patrician family and already had a distinguished career as the bishop of Pula, becoming later the patriarch of Grado and even Jerusalem.[1305] He was just one in the line of several archbishops of Zadar who belonged to the rank of the Venetian patriciate, whose members were also filling the ranks of the Venetian state apparatus. Therefore, the archbishops, while having distinguished ecclesiastical careers and connections to the Apostolic See, belonged to a homogeneous ruling elite that held the monopoly on the Venetian government and carried out its politics. Their relatives sat on councils and participated in the government, so it is quite understandable how the Senate's insistence on having Venetians appointed as bishops also meant that these clerics had obligations and duties toward the Church and toward the Republic. Above all, they were required to be loyal to *La Serenissima*.[1306]

Most Dalmatian archbishoprics and bishoprics – except for Zadar – were rather poor and probably uninteresting to Venetians in comparison with their counterparts in the Terraferma. This helps to explain why it took several years for Venice to officially demand that subordinated Dalmatian cities have Venetian bishops. The decision was facilitated by the conflict with the bishop of Trogir, Simon de Dominis (r.1403-23), who participated in the defense of Trogir against Venice and cooperated with King Sigismund. Bishop Simon took part in the Council of Constance as one of the members of the German nation.[1307] After the bishop returned to Trogir, he was among the leaders of the resistance to the Venetians. For his actions he was exiled and his properties were confiscated.[1308] Most of those opposing Venice were granted amnesty, but not the bishop, who was forbidden from returning. Simon and his family found shelter and service at the court of King Sigismund.[1309] The Venetians proceeded to seize the incomes of the bishopric and prevent the

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[1304] *requisitus per nobiles et communitatem Iadrem*. Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 369-70, February 8, 1420; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281, March 4, 1420.

[1305] His brother Francesco served in the highest offices of the Republic. Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, II, 893-9.

[1306] Torre, "Stato regionale e benefici ecclesiastici," 1217-8; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 262-3. For the concept of loyalty to Venice, see: O'Connell, "Legitimating Venetian Expansion," 73-4.

[1307] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 307-8.

[1308] *Listine* VIII, 33-4, August 1, 1420; Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 365; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* II 871-96, 907-65; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 151-9; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 35; Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, 64.-65; Perojević, *Dva borca za slobodu*, [no pages].

[1309] Simon's brother John became the bishop of Senj (r.1432-44). Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 87.

bishop from granting benefices in the bishopric.[1310] By the end of 1421 the Venetian authorities were informed that Simon intended to go to Rome to resign his position and to work on having his cousin, Marin Cernota, the bishop of Rab, transferred to Trogir. Simon's actions succeeded, since the pope transferred Marin to Trogir in May 1423.[1311] However, the Venetian authorities petitioned the pope to remove Marin, stop appointing Dalmatians to the bishoprics of Dalmatia, and to instead provide only Venetian citizens with these appointments.[1312]

The Senate also passed the resolution of 1423, which was linked to the one from 1413. It was decided that "for the security of the land of Dalmatia" only Venetians could be appointed as the bishops.[1313] Through the system of *probae*, the Senate chose Fantinus Valaresso, the bishop of Poreč (r.1415-26), a bishopric in Istria, situated between Dalmatia and Venice. The bishop received backing from the cathedral chapter of Trogir, but envoys sent to persuade the pope were somewhat successful.[1314] The pope transferred Marin to Trieste, which was outside of Venetian dominion, but instead of Fantinus, the pope appointed Thomas, a Dominican friar from Venice, as the next bishop of Trogir.[1315] With this action the pope accomplished two goals: (1) the Venetians were satisfied with the appointment of a friendly Venetian prelate, while (2) the pope upheld his right to freely appoint bishops based on the system of papal provisions.

The process of installing Venetians to the bishoprics of subordinated territories was gradual, followed the rules of the canon law and greatly depended on the will of the pontiff. But even if the popes did not approve of the Venetian intrusion into the episcopal elections, the popes tended to provide these bishoprics with Venetians, who were interested in obtaining richer and more important sees. The Venetian approach to controlling episcopal appointments was nothing innovative, as other Italian polities followed similar approach, but they lacked the longevity of the Venetian Republic and persistence. Venetian patrician families supplied the Church with an

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[1310] *Listine* VIII, 29-31, July 29, 1420; 33-4, August 1, 1420; 105-9, August 2, 1421; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 309-11; Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 31-2.

[1311] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 490, May 7, 1423.

[1312] *Listine* VIII, 67, January 14, 1421; 107, August 2, 1421; 231-2, June 17, 1423; Pederin, *Mletačka uprava*, 32; Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir*, 208; Farlati, *Illyricum Sanctum* IV, 397-9.

[1313] Venice also demanded that the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar be a Venetian citizen. *Listine* VIII, 231-2, June 17, 1423.

[1314] *Fantinus Valaresso, episcopus Parentinus, decretorum doctor et electus ad dictum episcopatum Traguriensem per canonicos et capitulum episcopatus Traguriensis*. There were seven candidates to consider. Cenci, "Senato veneto: *Probae*," 373-4, June 18, 1423; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 390; *Listine* VIII, 271, April 26, 1424.

[1315] Thomas (Paruta or Thomasini) was often transferred from one bishopric to another and mostly within the Venetian dominion. He was the bishop of Novigrad (r.1409-20), then Pula (r.1420-23) and then Urbino (r.1423-24), prior to being appointed as the bishop of Trogir. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 74, 404, 490, 509.

abundance of clerics who built their successful careers through contacts with the Curia. Although appointed by the pope, these prelates were connected to their family members in Venice, the holders of central power, so it is unlikely that their episcopal activities would go contrary to the interests of the Venetian Republic. By controlling the episcopal elections, the Venetian Senate wanted to reinforce its reign, but had to take into consideration the interests of the local communities, whose voices were less important, and the Apostolic See, which in the end decided.

Conclusion

The way history remembers individuals and their contribution often depends more on the interpretations of historians than on the available sources themselves. For instance, two archbishops, Nicholas Matafari of Zadar and Hugolin Branca of Split, both led their dioceses in a similar way, with reforms and nepotism playing a large part in their careers throughout their time in office. Nicholas was a well-educated priest, with numerous friends and acquaintances ready and able to help propel his career. Hugolin, on the other hand, embodied older ideas of the devout warrior priest, being a Benedictine monk ready to take up arms. Both left a lasting impact on their contemporaries and also created and maintained a network of personal contacts, including friends and clients, whose careers they helped to elevate.

Although both prelates enacted reforms in their dioceses, only Nicholas was remembered as a great reformer, unjustly treated by a foreign power. In contrast, Hugolin was vilified by historians and depicted as a quarrelsome prelate, constantly at odds with his parishioners. However, these divergent interpretations stemmed from the changing paradigm, from romantic notions of opposition to foreign invaders during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and to the hostility towards the clergy, characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century. Until recently, historians mostly omitted or downplayed the role played by the Apostolic See. The archbishops and bishops of fourteenth-century Croatia-Dalmatia tried to lead their dioceses in a similar fashion to their predecessors. However, the growing papal power and reforms fundamentally changed the authority of the archbishops and bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia and uncovered multifaceted ways in which these dioceses could be governed. Throughout this work I have concentrated on analyzing the local developments whilst keeping them within the framework of a comparative regional study and keeping in mind developments within Latin Christianity in a broader sense.

The bishop's high charismatic authority and the use of informal power enabled him to maintain his status in the community. This authority was transformed by the growing multidimensionality of the political space of the city and increasing papal centralization. The bishop's origins and background, as well as his personal qualities, education and connections helped him to govern his diocese. The ideal bishop of the fourteenth century, was a well-educated and experienced cleric of high social status with a keen eye for balancing the pastoral needs of his community with the administrative responsibilities of his diocese. At the same time, he had to be

an astute politician, able to craft and maintain contact with the members of the local elite, the popes and the royal court. These characteristics could enable the bishop to uphold his episcopal authority and rights but also to adequately interact and negotiate with his community, other ecclesiastical institutions, as well as the royal court and the nobility. Yet a single person could hardly possess all of these traits. The bishop's firm control over the bishopric and the quality of his lineage did not necessarily translate to him having the qualities to be a good bishop. As some of the built connections diminished, so too did the bishop's authority and his hold over the episcopal office.

Alongside the analysis of the person of the bishop, my research focused on the episcopal office, which necessitated research on the formal hierarchy of the Church. This also meant that the role of the bishops within the institution of the medieval Church was understood through the interaction that the bishops had with various individuals, groups and organizations. Three bishoprics were initially selected for research due to their slightly different position within the hierarchy of the medieval Church. They also offered the potential for an in-depth analysis that could reveal similarities and differences in the episcopal office through concentration on key events, processes and individuals that enabled consideration of local changes and social influences. These bishoprics were embedded in the distinct social and political conditions of the medieval Dalmatian communes, which had their own defined laws, autonomy, social stratification and strong Catholic identity. By the thirteenth century, their bishops no longer held any public authority within the walls of the city, yet they were still counted among the most prestigious and exemplary members of the community. The local authorities turned to their bishops as representatives of the commune to the outside world, to award local sons with important positions within the Church and to make legal and favourable financial deals with the nobility. Furthermore, the episcopal authority was intertwined with the commune, as bishops and local elites shared land and influence, meaning that the prelates had to carefully navigate within local customs and power relations. Since most appointed bishops were of Italian or Dalmatian origin, they were already well acquainted with the intricacies of communal life.

More precisely, the archbishopric of Split seems to depict an image of gradual decay of the episcopal authority. The commune introduced minor limitations on episcopal power. The archbishops allowed the participation of the local nobility, enabling their use of the resources of the archbishopric. The nobility mostly participated by providing members of the cathedral chapter, which meant that the archbishop would obtain the nobility's support and reinforce his

archiepiscopal administration. However, this approach also had its weaknesses as the constant political changes meant that some archbishops had to concentrate on reclaiming and upholding their properties and jurisdictional rights from both the members of the urban and the rural nobility.

On the other hand, the bishopric of Trogir was under constant pressure from the local authorities as the bishopric was deeply embedded into the fabric of the medieval community. The commune wanted to extend its jurisdiction over the episcopal office and influence appointments, as well as force the bishops to relinquish more of their authority in favour of the civic community. The loss of Šibenik and the decades of struggles between the noble families for the control over the communal and ecclesiastical institutions in Trogir, gradually diminished the authority of the episcopal office, making it more subservient to the interest of the commune.

None of the above-mentioned conclusions seem to be valid for Zadar as the already powerful status of the archbishops was further increased during the fourteenth century. The archbishops were able to limit the involvement of the commune in the everyday functioning of the archbishopric, as shown by the example of the cathedral *fabrica*, and also lessened the resistance coming from the clergy by reforming the cathedral chapter. The strengthening of the archiepiscopal office was the result of the internal cohesion and the informal power of the archbishops and this enabled the occupants of the office, regardless of their different origins, to successfully use their authority. However, the stronger position of the archbishops of Zadar was also an unintended consequence of the expansion of papal involvement in ecclesiastical appointments in the region. This eventually resulted in the selection of a number of competent native archbishops whose local origins meant that they were truly familiar with the problems and requirements of their diocese.

The observed period, from 1270 until 1420, saw numerous political changes on the local level which were intertwined with dynastic changes on the Hungarian throne and, at first, the decline of the Venetian authority in Dalmatia and its subsequent triumphant return in the fifteenth century. While the rise and fall of dynasties certainly played an important role in local development, I have analyzed the evolution of the Dalmatian bishoprics by closely observing the role played by the Apostolic See and its interaction with secular powers and local communities.

During the thirteenth century, the pressure from Hungarian kings and Venice was still strong enough to influence the local communities to elect individuals connected to these two powers as bishops. These prelates were then expected to enforce the authority of Hungary and

Venice in Croatia-Dalmatia. At the end of the thirteenth century, a shift in the official papal policy occurred, which thus saw the popes become more assertive in reacting to local complaints in order to extend their traditional powers and expand their sphere of influence. Through their actions, the popes undermined what was nominally the free capitular election of bishops. Since the local elections were subject to considerable divisive factors and outside pressures, the popes were able to use the ensuing local disputes and the expansion of papal powers to install a series of archbishops of Zadar. As was shown, these prelates were selected due to their close connections to the reigning popes or their cardinals at the Apostolic See. A similar papal involvement in Split at first seems to have resulted in the continuation of established papal-royal relations, inherited from the thirteenth century, by which the pope would install as the archbishop somebody connected to the royal court. During the first half of the fourteenth century, the system of papal provisions resulted in a succession of native archbishops in Zadar. At the same time, in Split, the popes kept a balance between restraining local influences and benefiting from the weakened royal authority in the region in order to appoint non-natives with ties to the Curia as archbishops.

By the mid-fourteenth century, the papal reforms diminished the authority of local communities and directly increased papal influence and power. The reforms also paved the way for a system in which secular rulers were once again able to impose their own candidates. The system of direct papal involvement meant that various parties interested in obtaining the episcopal office could directly petition the pope, instead of putting pressure on the electorate. These individuals were usually backed by powerful patrons or institutions to which they belonged to, such as a city-state or the royal court. This in turn led to the weakening of the interconnected relationship between the various members of the episcopal hierarchy and also to the waning of the importance of capitular elections. The cathedral chapters still gathered for elections but ultimately their right to choose was superseded by the Apostolic See. Likewise, the papal involvement led to a prolonged period of exclusion of the patriarchs of Grado in confirming and consecrating the archbishops of Zadar. A similar concentration of power in papal hands occurred only gradually in the metropolitan province of Split. The bishops of Trogir were appointed, confirmed and consecrated directly at the Apostolic See which weakened the connections that this suffragan-bishop had with his cathedral chapter and the metropolitan-archbishop in Split.

During this period of around 150 years (1270-1420), most of the archbishops and bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar were not of native origin, meaning that they did not originate from these

bishoprics. If those who were only elected are also accounted for, in Split, three individuals were native to the city while eight were not. These differences were less pronounced in the case of Trogir with 6 non-native and 3 native bishops[1316] and in Zadar where 5 individuals originated from the diocese while 8 did not.[1317] However the numbers are somewhat more nuanced if the actual time in office is considered.

Archbishops native to Zadar, though less in numbers, governed for 88 out of 150 years, meaning that their combined time in office was longer than that of those who did not originate from the diocese. In comparison, that was almost three times higher than the numbers for Split. The confirmed archbishops (Dominic Luccari and Domnius Judicibus) governed for 31 years but if James, who was rejected as archbishop, is also considered, then that number goes up to 34 years.

It seems that Trogir was somewhere in-between as native bishops (Gregory Machinatura, Lampredius Vitturi and Nicholas Kažotić) only account for 55 years. Yet this number somewhat obscures the fact that three bishops came from Rab, an island-bishopric subordinated to Zadar that shared a similar socio-economic system with the rest of Dalmatia. These bishops governed Trogir for 57 years which meant that bishops native to Dalmatia governed for around 112 out of 150 years. However, during this period it was almost unheard of for prelates originating from other places in Dalmatia to be elected or appointed as the archbishops of Split or Zadar.[1318]

Diocese	Native	Years in office	Non-native	Years in office
Split	3	31 (34)	8	116
Trogir	3	55 (112)	6	93
Zadar	5	88	7	62

Table 1. Years in office of arch/bishops of Trogir, Split and Zadar (.c1270-c.1420). In brackets for Split if non-confirmed are considered, while for Trogir if bishops coming from Rab are counted as native.

The above-mentioned numbers imply relative disinterest from outside forces in controlling the appointments of the bishop of Trogir. The outside interference in episcopal appointments in Split and Zadar was considerably higher though differences can still be noted here. The internal and external pressures on the elections in Split were particularly intense as various institutions within the city, the rural nobility, the royal family and the Apostolic See, tried to influence

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[1316] I have not counted John from 1297 as the bishop. See under Liberius in Short Biographies of the Bishops of Trogir.
[1317] Archbishop-elect John (r.1397-1400) was counted as a non-native, but he could have also originated from Zadar.
[1318] The only exception was Peter of Pag, appointed as the archbishop of Split by the Pisan pope. Peter was only able to take possession of the diocese in 1420, therefore in the last year covered by this research.

appointments. It seems that the clergy of Zadar had stronger connections to its commune and the Apostolic See which allowed them to resist the outside interferences, namely coming from Venice, and also allowed them to benefit from the gradual appropriation of episcopal elections by the popes. This is evident by the fact that four native archbishops were confirmed in Zadar in comparison to only two in Split.

The best example is provided by the Matafari family whose good connections with the Apostolic See and the royal court combined with the family's ability to ingratiate itself with other families of the city, ensured that the Matafari prelates controlled the archiepiscopal position for almost 58 years. The Matafari archbishops used personal networks to improve their own and careers of their relatives, ensuring the decisive influence of the Matafari on the archbishopric for decades. Native families in other cities also tried to ensure that their members continued to control their local churches, but these families (Luccari in Split and Vitturi in Trogir) lacked sufficient contacts with the papal curia or internal harmony between the various members of the urban nobility within the commune to do the same.

The competition in Trogir between various noble families for the control of the commune and the bishopric, the two most powerful institutions of the city, resulted in the Vitturi and Kažotić families taking possession of the bishopric. The rule of Lampredius Vitturi and Nicholas Kažotić during the fourteenth century was a continuation of a strong involvement of the cadet members of the two families in the cathedral chapter of Trogir dating back to the mid-thirteenth century. The control of these families over the bishopric was strengthened by the reforms of the cathedral chapter which gave the bishop a decisive role in choosing canons. The authority was further fortified by the papal confirmations of Lampredius and Nicholas as bishops, which excluded the metropolitan-archbishop of Split from the election process of his suffragan-bishop. In the same way that the pope strengthened the control of native families over the bishopric, the pope could also introduce somebody from the outside. This is how the Dominis family from Rab governed the bishopric of Trogir for around 51 years.

In Split, the reign of native Archbishop Dominic Luccari reveals similarities to his counterparts in Trogir and Zadar but also shows how the archbishops of Split controlled their archdiocese by controlling the cathedral chapter. While Dominic worked on installing and promoting his family members, his non-native predecessors and successors had to craft alliances with important noble families whose cadet members would enter the cathedral chapter. These

clerics would receive positions, honours and promotions from their spiritual superior and, in return, their families would support the archbishop.

Although the archbishops of Split and Zadar, as well as the bishop of Trogir, were powerful prelates, it seems that almost every facet of the episcopal authority was in some way mediated and shared with the community of the diocese. During this period the communes started to symbolically distance themselves from the Church, as was shown by the moving of the communal buildings to their separate squares. In reality, the communal authorities wanted to increase their control over the local Churches. Communal procurators were appointed to oversee local monasteries, churches, cathedral *fabrica* and treasuries, showing that inspection and control was shared between the Church and the local community. It should be noted that these individuals almost exclusively came from the ranks of the urban nobility and this shows that the local elites were politically capable and financially interested in cooperating with the bishops to manage the diocese. The members of the nobility controlled and guided the political, social and economic development of their communities and they wanted to do the same in the matters of the bishopric.

While at first it could seem that the issue of native and non-native bishops started to play a significant role in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the local communities began to resist the appointments of non-native bishops, this was not necessarily the case. What the communal nobility wanted was control over finances and the most important positions in the bishopric. This was shown with the example of the archbishopric of Zadar during the second half of the fourteenth century, when the members of the important noble families of the city were able to obtain the position of archbishop and abbot in the city's various monasteries. The previous occupants of non-native origins were forced to resign or be transferred. Nevertheless, foreign-born archbishops appointed afterwards by the pope were equally respected.

One way by which the above-mentioned situation in Zadar occurred was through the contacts that the nobility of Zadar established with the Apostolic See and the royal court. Curiously, the bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar were able to limit, to a degree, the intrusion of the commune in the episcopal administration by actively seeking support and the approval of that same community, namely the nobility. Likewise, these prelates were able to limit the autonomy of various ecclesiastical institutions in their dioceses, from cathedral chapters to monasteries, in order to increase and strengthen the episcopal authority and control. Due to the specific position of Croatia-Dalmatia, the importance of medieval bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia outside of their

regional context was somewhat limited, subject to to the individual prestige of the prelate or the relations between the prelates, popes and rulers. Even the important archbishops of Split and Zadar sometimes lacked access to the royal court of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the accompanying positions and benefits which would elevate their archiepiscopal rank. Instead, they had to organize their administration in the context of the growing papal centralization and the expanding urban commune. These prelates rarely ever served as royal emissaries and it was more common that, when on some diplomatic mission, the bishop would represent himself or his commune. The bishops of Croatia-Dalmatia mostly served as an extension of the papal or royal rule in the region, intended to act as local representatives on behalf of the power which was instrumental in any given episcopal appointment.

The situation somewhat changed regarding the Apostolic See during the Western Schism but due to the political instability, relations with the king improved. For instance, Domnius of Split and Simon of Trogir both established favourable contacts with King Sigismund and served as local royal allies. Once Venice took over Split and Trogir, these prelates were forced into exile. Due to the Schism, the popes in Rome needed qualified clergymen to fill in the diminished ranks of the Curia, and some archbishops obtained positions in the Papal States. But these contacts were only temporary, due to the crisis of papal and royal authority. It is, therefore, interesting to notice that despite the desire of the king, the pope and the local communities to control the local episcopate, it was the Venetian Republic whose bureaucratic approach in controlling the episcopal appointments prevailed. The popes did officially confirm the bishops but in all the important dioceses, the selected individuals were almost exclusively Venetians and usually chosen by an application for the office at the Venetian Senate.

The case studies of the bishoprics in Croatia-Dalmatia provided an ideal context to research higher prelates and the episcopal office by taking local ecclesiastical examples and providing reflections on the general developments within medieval Christendom. Croatia-Dalmatia was a land of developing medieval communes with emphasis on mobility of people from the Eastern Adriatic coast to the Dalmatian hinterland with a Church and commune that was intertwined in a stable system and complemented each other. It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to strictly delineate separate religious and political spheres, with the bishop providing spiritual authority and diplomatic credence to the commune, while the urban nobility's participation in the ecclesiastical government steadily increased over the course of the fourteenth century. If episcopal incomes are

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considered, the three researched archbishoprics and bishoprics were quite poor in comparison with their counterparts in other parts of Christendom. The political framework in which these bishops operated, while being of regional significance, influenced their personal standings and the importance and finances of their dioceses. The character of the individual's episcopal career was influenced by the importance of the incumbent's family, his relationship with the city and also by the method of election and forces which facilitated the appointment.

An area I was not able to offer greater focus to in my research was an in-depth analysis of the importance of local pastoral activities and the development of the episcopal office prior to the thirteenth century. The sources dealing with the origins of the dioceses, the gradual changes in their territorial extent, origins of their incomes and rights, as well as their position and role in the development of the medieval commune should come under closer scrutiny. Further research should group together the analysis of the incomes and properties of the bishoprics, together with the spiritual development of the lower level. Another area that is similarly understudied is the formation and organization of the parish system and its importance in the development of the bishopric, as well as the division of local churches between the secular patrons and those which directly belonged to the episcopal or cathedral *mensa*. While some of these issues remain clouded by the lack of sources, bringing in interdisciplinary research will contribute to a better understanding of the role of the bishoprics in the medieval society. For instance, a closer analysis of the spatial topography, such as location and arrangement and the development of the episcopal palaces and cathedrals, will better position the presence of the Church in the medieval fabric of the city.

The fragmentary nature of sources, particularly regarding the spiritual practices, leaves a lasting impression of the fourteenth century as a period of continuing crisis and decline in the authority of the bishop. Nevertheless, the century was also a time of on-going reform, continuing reorganization and spiritual activity, affected as much by the personalities of the individual bishops as by the changing ecclesiastical and political situation. Although small in size, a regional research on the episcopal office and the bishops of the bishoprics of Croatia-Dalmatia can contribute to a better understanding of Latin Christianity in the Late Middle Ages.

Appendices

List of Arch/bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar

This part includes short biographies of the archbishops of Split and Zadar, as well as the bishops of Trogir during the researched period. Their time in office is not consider, as this is analysed in the main part of the dissertation. Instead, these accounts concentrate on origins, elections and appointments regarding the discussed dioceses as well as the ends of these prelates' period in office.

Apostolic See	Split	Trogir	Zadar
Innocent IV (1243-54)			Lawrence Pereander (c.1245-87)
Alexander IV (1254-61)		Columban (1255-76)	
Clement IV (1265-68)	John de Buzad (1266-94)		
Innocent V (1276) John XXI (1276-77)		John (1276-82)	
Martin IV (1281-85)		Gregory Machinatura (1282-97)	
Nicholas IV (1288-92)			Andrew Gausoni (1287-91), rejected John (1291-97)
Boniface VIII (1294-1303)	James (1294-97), rejected Peter (1297-1324)	Liberius (1297-1319)	Henry (1297-99) James (1299-1312)

Clement V (1305-14)			Alexander (1312-14), rejected Nicholas (1312-20)
John XXII (1316-1334)	Balian (1324-28) Bosolo (1328), rejected Dominic Luccari (1328-48)	Lampredius Vitturi (1319-1349)	John Butovan (1320-33) Nicholas Matafari (1333-67)
Clement VI (1342-52)	Peregrin (1348-1349), rejected John (1348) Hugolin (1349-1388)	Bartholomew (1349-1361)	
Innocent VI (1352-62)		Nicholas Kažotić (1361-1371)	
Urban V (1362-70)			Dominic Thopia (1368-76)
Gregory XI (1370-78)		Chrysogonus de Dominis (1372-1403)	Peter Matafari (1376-1400)
Urban VI (1378-1389), Rome	Andrew Benzi (1389-1403/1412)		
Boniface IX (1389-1404), Rome	Marin Cutheis (1402), rejected Peregrin from Aragon (1403-1409)	Simon de Dominis (1403-23)	John IV (1397-1400) Luca of Fermo (1400-20)

John XXIII (1410-1415), Pisa	Domnius Judicibus (1409-20) Peter of Pag (1411-26)		
Martin V (1417-31)			Blasius Molinus (1420-28)

Table 2. List of arch/bishops of Split, Trogir and Zadar, their times in office and the names of rulling popes at the time of appointment

Short Biographies of the Archbishops of Split

John de Buzad (1266-1294), a Hungarian nobleman and a Dominican friar

Archbishop Roger (r.1249-66) died on 14 April 1266 and by November John appeared as the archbishop. The sources confirming the election by the cathedral chapter and the confirmation by Pope Clement IV (r.1265-68) were not preserved.[1319] Archdeacon Thomas, John's contemporary, did not mention the election because Thomas stopped his narrative two years before his own death with a comment about the death of Roger, John's predecessor.

King Stephen V mentioned that John belonged to the Hahót-Buzád *gens*, although the exact connection is unclear, but this family was quite influential as several of its members became *ban*s and bishops during the thirteenth century.[1320] Judging by his family connections and background, John was closely connected to the royal court and he appeared as the archbishop during the reign of King Béla IV and Roland, the *ban* of entire Slavonia (*totius Sclavoniae*) (r.1261-67) and the count of Split (r.1265-67). John was most likely identical to the same named Dominican friar *de natione Hungarum* and the bishop of Skradin (r.1248-65), who appeared as the archbishop-elect of Split in 1248/49, and by 1265 disappeared from the sources.[1321] By April 1249 Pope Innocent IV (r.1243-54) rejected John and provided Roger with the appointment, while Archdeacon Thomas described circumstances surrounding the election.[1322] He stated that, following John's unsuccessful election and the appointment of Roger, Béla IV was furious. The king reprimanded the people of Split, stating that they should elect only with royal assent, which suggest that the king was strongly displeased that John was rejected.[1323]

It is disputed to which mendicant order did John belong to.[1324] Besides what was written above about him being the bishop of Skradin, during his time in Split, John showed inclination

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[1319] CDC V, 384, June 22, 1266; 399, November 12, 1266; Kovačić, "Toma Arhiđakon, promicatelj crkvene obnove," 55; Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 46; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459.

[1320] *fratre Johanne de generacione Buzad Spalatensi archiepiscopis*. CDC V, 635-7, June 17-24, 1272. About the family, see: Wertner, "A Buzád-Hahót nemzetség," 19-33, 59-65.

[1321] Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 299-303; CDC IV, 389, April 30, 1249; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 14-5; Kovačić, "Toma Arhiđakon, promicatelj crkvene obnove," 55; Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 46.

[1322] Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 213, April 30, 1248. Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 299-303; CDC IV, 389, April 30, 1249; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* IV, 14-5; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 438.

[1323] Toma Arhiđakon, *Historia Salonitana*, 299-303, 308-9; Ančić, "Image of Royal Power," 38-40.

[1324] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 280; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459.

toward the Dominican order, granting them a part of the archbishop's garden, while there are no sources regarding his contacts with the local Franciscans.[1325]

No records exist for the time of his death, but it was probably around mid-1294.

James (1294-1297), rejected, archdeacon and a nobleman from Split

Mario Nepo Kuzmanić suggested that Archdeacon James originated from the "Dušica" family and that James's distant cousin was Thomas Archdeacon (c.1200-1268).[1326] During his time as the archdeacon, James was mentioned in the three-member-committee, appointed by the pope, to settle during 1287-88 a conflict between Šibenik and its superior, the bishop of Trogir.[1327] He appeared as the archbishop-elect sometime before September 1294. In order to allow him to administer the archdiocese, the chapter appointed James as the procurator of the archbishopric and the vicar of the cathedral chapter.[1328] He was mentioned for the last time as the archdeacon in 1311, when he received and inspected the letter of Cardinal-Legate Gentile. The cardinal had excommunicated Archbishop Peter, so James and the cathedral chapter selected two of its members to administer the archbishopric.[1329]

Peter (1297-1324), the chaplain in Naples, a Franciscan friar from Hungary

Peter originated from Hungary and was a teacher (*professor*) in the Franciscan Order, while in Naples he first served as the chaplain of Charles Martel in 1294 and then of Queen Mary in 1297.[1330] In May 1297 Pope Boniface VIII appointed Peter as the archbishop of Split.[1331]

It seems that the new archbishop did not go to Rome to receive his confirmation, but instead immediately proceeded to his new see. This can be corroborated by the fact that he was consecrated by the bishop of Naples, while the pallium was issued a year later, in May 1298. The archbishop-elect sent Canon Gregory to take hold of the pallium from the Apostolic See, while the bishops of

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[1325] CDC V, 493-4, June 20, 1269; 638-9, July 19, 1272; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 29.

[1326] Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 52.

[1327] The other two members were Bishop Marcel of Nin and Abbot John of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. CDC VI, 616, 628, 1287-1289; 642-643, April 7, 1289; Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli*, 32-3, Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 55.

[1328] CDC VII, 184-185, September 1, 1294.

[1329] CDC VIII, 291-2, September 15, 1311.

[1330] *Petrus de Ungaria, Ordinis Minorum Capellanus* of Charles Martel. MDE I, 116, 1294; CDC VII, 277-8, May 10, 1297.

[1331] CDC VII, 277-8, May 10, 1297; CDC XX, 271-2, May 10, 1297; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 392.

Hvar and Trogir were tasked to officially grant Peter with the liturgical vestment.[1332] Before receiving the pallium, Peter titled himsef in the sources as elected, confirmed and consecrated by the Apostolic See.[1333]

The local sources in Split still mentioned Peter as the arcbhishop in September 1324, when the pope appointed Peter's successor. This is because Peter, at the time of his death, was not in Split, but in Avignon, where he died and the pope reserved the archbishopric.[1334]

Balian (1324-1328), the archbishop of Rhodes, from Baruh in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

At the end of September 1324, Pope John XXII transfered Balian from Rhodes to Split.[1335] The local sources in Split listed the archbishopric vacant during October, because Balian remained for some time in Avignon, in order to settle his affairs. At the end of November, the archbishop promised to pay for his appointment, while he received the pallium in January 1325.[1336]

Balian was in sources mentioned as the archbishop *Colocensis*, which created problems for some authors who made erroneous claims regarding his original archbishopric. Grga Novak placed Balian as the bishop of Kolosa (*Colossarum*) in Phyrgia (modern day central Turkey),[1337] while he editors of Codex thought that Balian was a former archbishop of Kalocsa.[1338]

Most information about Balian was provided by a contemporary chronicler, Miha Madijev, who stated that the archbishop was born in Baruh, a city near Acre (Akko) in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Balian was the archbishop of Rhodes, held by the Hospitaller Order. Due to an unspecified dispute between the order and the archbishop, the grand master petitioned the pope to remove Balian.[1339] The true reason can probably be found in the protracted disputes with the Hospitaller order regarding the ecclesiastical incomes of the island.[1340] Lastly, Madijev stated that Balian died on January 28, 1328 and was buried in the cathedral church.

[1332] CDC VII, 281, May 21, 1297; 305-306, May 18, 1298; 506, May 18, 1298; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459; VMS I, 115-6.; Potthast, *Regesta*, II, n. 24677-78. *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, n.2584-5, May 18, 1298.

[1333] *Frater Petrus per sedem apostolica electus, confirmatus et consecratus.* CDC VII, 295-7, February 11, 1298.

[1334] *...per obitum Petri apud Sedem Apostolicam mediante reservation vacantem...* Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 308-9; CDC IX, 205-6, September 26, 1324.

[1335] CDC IX, 205-6, September 26, 1324.

[1336] CDC IX, 212, October 30, 1324; MVC I, n. 39, November 29, 1324; *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.21400, January 18, 1325.

[1337] Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 536.

[1338] CDC IX, 205-206; CDH VIII/2, 592, September 26, 1324, Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 24.

[1339] Madijev, "Historija," 181.

[1340] Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 101-3.

Dominic Luccari (1328-1348), archdeacon and a nobleman from Split

Dominic originated from a noble family of the Luccari, which was very active in the communal government of Split. He was mentioned as early as 1311 as a junior member of the cathedral chapter in the rank of a deacon.[1341] Sometime before 1324 he became the archdeacon and assisted in the episcopal administration of Archbishop Balian, whom the young dignitary of the chapter hoped to succeed.[1342] The Luccari family maintained important positions in the city's government. Archbishop Dominic had two brothers: Thomas and Andrew. Thomas's son Nicholas had two sons: Thomas and Dominic. Dominic Younger became an archdeacon and Archbishop Dominic tried to install him as the bishop of Knin.[1343]

The date of the election of Balian's successor remains unclear, but, as per rules, it was probably held within three months after the archbishop's death, so by the end of April 1328. It was a disputed election, as part of the chapter elected Dominic, while some canons supported Bosolo of Parma. The dispute was settled in Avignon, in front of the pope, who had both candidates renounce their claim. After a hearing and consultations with the cardinals, the pope appointed Dominic as the archbishop by mid-October.[1344] Dominic was consecrated by Gauscelin de Jean, the cardinal-bishop of Albano and the papal relative, while Napoleone Orsini, the cardinal-deacon of Sant'Adriano, provided the new archbishop with the pallium.[1345]

But it seems that the papal decision was already known during September, since then Dominic promised to pay for his appointment.[1346] Dominic appeared as the confirmed archbishop in local sources in Split, only several days after the official papal decision, suggesting that the news already spread earlier.[1347] By the end of November, Dominic personally received various privileges from the pope and which improved the archbishop's status.[1348] This would suggest that

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[1341] The members of the cathedral chapter were mentioned during the consecration of the newly built monastery of Saint Clare, done by the archbishop of Split. It was also the last time that Archdeacon James, the unsuccessful candidate to the episcopate of Split, was mentioned. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 301-2.

[1342] Ivanišević, "Promišljanje o rodovima Lukari," 12-3, Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 114-5; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 24, 55-6; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 205.

[1343] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 323; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići,* 26-7.

[1344] CDC IX, 420-2, October 17, 1328; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 313; *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n. 43142.

[1345] Gauscelin was the papal grand penitentiary. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 11, 15; Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 193.

[1346] MVC I, n. 41, September 9, 1328.

[1347] The archbishopric was listed as vacant in June. CDC IX, 399, June 21, 1328. …*electi et confirmati, ut dicitur, archiepiscopi Spalatensis*… CDC IX, 423-5, October 23, 1328.

[1348] CDC IX, 429-35, October 21, 1328 - November 21, 1328.

Dominic spent months in Avignon, first, participating in the hearing over the disputed election, then waiting for the official papal appointment, and lastly in order to receive additional privileges.

A contemporary chronicler Cutheis wrote that Dominic died during the arrival of the plague to Split, while Lucić added that the archbishop died on 22 March 1348.[1349]

Bosolo (1328), rejected, a canon in Tournai and a chaplain from Parma

Bosolo served at the Apostolic See throughout the entire pontificate of John XXII. Over the years he was mentioned as the auditor *sacri palatii*, the archdeacon of Aquileia and canon of cathedral and collegiate chapters in Beauvais, Verona, Bologna, Parma, also holding other minor benefices. But it seems that throughout John's pontificate, Bosolo held the position of a canon of Tournai and served at the Apostolic See as a papal chaplain, suggesting close ties to Pope John.[1350]

Bosolo's supporter in Split was George Hominisdei of Cyprus, a canon of the chapter and a person of trust by Archbishop Balian. When the archbishop was transferred from Rhodes to Split, George accompanied him. During the disputed election, George supported and represented Bosolo at the Apostolic See in Avignon.[1351]

John (1348), an Augustinian friar from Pisa and the bishop of Senj (r.1333-48)

He was an Augustinian friar from Pisa, appointed as the bishop of Senj in 1333 by Pope John XXII.[1352] The clergy of Senj had their own candidate for the bishop, backed by the local lay nobility. Although John obtained a confirmation from the archbishop of Split, he still had to struggle for years, petitioning the pope and the surrounding local bishops for help, before being able to take possession of his diocese.[1353]

At the end of May 1348 and just two months after Dominic's death, Pope Clement VI appointed John as the archbishop of Split.[1354] The new high priest of Split was not mentioned in the local sources, which shows that he never took possession of his archbishopric.[1355] In August,

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[1349] Cutheis, "Tabula," 193; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 214; Lucić, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 386; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 323-5.
[1350] See selected charters: Fayen, *Lettres de Jean XXII*, n.1671, December 12, 1325; *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.64252, October 6, 1316; n.64146, October 13, 1334; Krämer, *Dämonen, Prälaten und gottlose Menschen*, 370-1.
[1351] CDC IX, 420-2, October 17, 1328.
[1352] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 450, January 4, 1333.
[1353] The events are narrated in detail in: Bogović, "Moji predšasnici biskupi," 38-9.
[1354] CDC XI, 461-2, May 30, 1348.
[1355] He was not mentioned by Farlati or in local communal charters.

John was in Avignon where he promised to pay the communal service of 200 florins, but by December he was back in Pisa where he died, probably because of the plague.[1356]

Peregrin (1348-1349), rejected, from Saxony, the Franciscan vicar-general in Bosnia

While the papally appointed John of Pisa was not mentioned in Split, the communal charters recorded the existence of Peregrin, who was mentioned as the *archielectus* between April 1348 and January 1349.[1357]

He was Peregrin *de Saxonia*, the vicar-general of the Franciscans in Bosnia. His protector, Stephen II Kotromanić, dispatched Peregrin to Avignon in 1347 to obtain some privileges for Bosnia, while in April 1348 the *ban* tried to make the most out of his contacts with various institutions in Split in order to appoint Peregrin as the archbishop.[1358] Since Peregrin appeared as the archbishop-elect, it is probable that the *ban* used his contacts with the cathedral chapter in Split. One such person was the *ban*'s chaplain and a canon of Split, Gregory de Cyprus. He arrived to Split from the east with Archbishop Balian and attempted to elect Bosolo from Parma as the archbishop for which Gregory was probably marginalized by Archbishop Dominic. During Peregrin's mission to Avignon in 1347, the *ban* also petitioned the pope to provide Gregory with two benefices in Split. This would suggest that while Dominic was the archbishop, Gregory was prevented from obtaining any new benefices in the archbishopric of Split, so he had to rely on the *ban*'s support and the papal collation.[1359]

After the attempt to install Peregrin in Split turned ineffective, the *ban* successfully petitioned Pope Clement VI to provide Peregrin with the bishopric of Bosnia, which occured during January 1349.[1360]

Hugolin (1349-1388), a Benedictine monk, a nobleman from Gubbio

Hugolin's bull of appointment was not preserved, but he was probably elected during April, because by the end of that month, the new archbishop petitioned the pope to be granted pallium

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[1356] MCV I, d 161, p 119, August 11, 1348; Williman, *Right of Spoil*, 155, December 27, 1348; CDC XI, 497-8; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 214; VMS I, 222.
[1357] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 325, April 14, 1348 – January 25, 1349.
[1358] *Listine* II, 443, April 3, 1347; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 209-14; Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 160-1.
[1359] *Listine* II, 444-45, April 3, 1347.
[1360] *Listine* III, 107, October 18, 1348; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142, January 28, 1349.

and be allowed to leave.[1361] This was probably done so that Hugolin could send one of his associates to Split, to ensure the collection of the papal tithe[1362] as the archbishop still remained in Avignon, as by the end of June Hugolin promised to pay for his appointment.[1363]

Cutheis wrote that Hugolin was a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Saint Peter in Perugia. The author also added that Hugolin originated from the noble family of the Branca from Gubbio, which was located in the Duchy of Spoleto.[1364] He was accompanied in Split by his relatives, his brother Berto Branca and his son Francisco Berti de Brancha de Eugubio.[1365]

Hugolin's arrival to the diocese was described by a contemporary chronicler, Cutheis.[1366] But the author dated the archbishop's arrival to 14 January 1349, which was rejected by Farlati, based on the fact that Archbishop-elect Peregrin was still mentioned in local sources in Split. Hugolin's early arrival before he was consecrated meant that he would not have the right to hold the type of procession that he did. Mladen Ančić suggested that the problem arose during the transcribing of the Cutheis's work and that the day is correct but the month is different, dating the event to 14 May or later, as Peregrin was mentioned in the local sources for the last time on 12 May.[1367] It is probable that Hugolin spent several months in his home province, preparing for his arrival, and that Cutheis wrote the correct day and month. The year should, instead, be 1350, since the archbishop was regularly mentioned in his diocese from February 1350.

After a conflict with the commune, Hugolin authorized Anthony from Gualdo, a papal scribe to submit the archbishop's resignation to Francesco Moricotti Prignani, the cardinal-bishop of Palestrina and the vice-chancellor of the Apostolic Chancery. This information is known from a later papal bull, but it occured at the end of 1388 or at the beginning of the 1389.[1368] Hugolin's fate afterwards is unknown.

[1361] Gaillard de La Mothe, the cardinal-deacon of Santa Lucia in Silice (r.1316-1356) and Bernard de la Tour, the cardinal-deacon of Sant'Eustachio (r.1342–1361) were tasked to provide Hugolin with the pallium. CDC XI, 526-7, April 30, 1349; Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 193-4.
[1362] *Rationes decimarum*, n. 3744, May 5, 1349.
[1363] MVC I, n. 168, June 25, 1349; n. 223.
[1364] Cutheis, "Tabula," 194-5.
[1365] CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356; Rismondo, "Registar," 39. May 27, 1364.
[1366] Cutheis, "Tabula," 194.
[1367] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 326; Ančić, *Na rubu zapada*, 212.
[1368] CDC XVII, 265, March 1, 1390.

Andrew Benzi (1389-1403/12), a doctor of law from Gualdo Tadino in Umbria

The bull of appointment of Andrew Benzi from Gualdo as the archbishop is missing, but he was most likely appointed during May 1389, since he promised then to pay for his communal services.[1369] By November 1389 the archbishop organized his first synod, which suggest that he proceeded to his diocese with haste.[1370] More information about the archbishop is known from a papal letter, in which the pope wrote that Andrew was previously the rector of the church of Saint Leonard in the diocese of Nocera, while Andrew styled himself as the doctor of law (*legum doctor*), while transcribing the papal letter.[1371] Andrew's brothers were Bartolomew, Petrus Paulus and Amorus, while father was Peter de Benzi.[1372]

Due to the conflict between the archbishop and some members of his community, as well as due to the effects of the Western Schism, Andrew was forced to leave Split. Pope Boniface IX transferred Andrew to the bishopric of Samaria, which was a titular church in Palestine, and appointed another person instead.[1373] But Andrew resisted the decision and found shelter at the court of King Sigismund who, until 1412, was trying to reinstate Andrew in Split.[1374] Next year, Pope John XXIII appointed Andrew as the archbishop of Kalocsa, officially ending Andrew's career in Split.[1375] Andrew died as the bishop of Sion in 1437.[1376]

Marin Cutheis (1402-1403), rejected, a canon, a notary and nobleman from Split

Marin belonged to the noble family of Cutheis of Split. Since at least 1388, he was a notary by imperial authority and a canon, with the rank of deacon, of the cathedral chapter of Split.[1377] Farlati presumed that Marin became the archdeacon, but this is not corroborated in sources and by 1406 another person was listed in sources as the archdeacon, which would suggest that either Marin

[1369] MVC I, n. 392, May 30, 1389; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 333.
[1370] CDC XVII, 236-8, November 29, 1389.
[1371] In the source Andrew was *rector ecclesie sancti Leonardi Nucerensis diocesis*, while Guerrieri wrote that this was the church of Saint Leopardo, which was located in a small place near Gualdo, called *Le Piaggie*. Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 497; CDC XVII, 265, March 1, 1390; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 137, May 1, 1390.
[1372] Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 507-10.
[1373] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459.
[1374] Ančić, "Liber Bullarum," 247-248, February 16, 1412; Guerrieri, "Andrea di Pietro di Gionta," 501-2; Bellwald, *Erzbischof Andreas*, 45.
[1375] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 197, January 4, 1413.
[1376] Lapaire, "Le tombeau de l'évêque André," 56-65.
[1377] Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 110; CDC XVII, November 18, 1388; Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," 138, May 1, 1390.

was not the archdeacon or that he was demoted after his failed election.[1378] During December 1402, Marin appeared as the archbishop-elect of Split, while his predecessor Andrew was expelled from the city.[1379] As part of the peace treaty, intended to bring peace between the warring factions of the Spalatin nobility, both sides decided to jointly support Marin's election and to petition for support King Ladislas of Naples, the new ruler of Split, and the pope in Rome.[1380] But in the end, Marin's bid was rejected by the pope.

Peregrin (1403-1409), a Franciscan friar from Aragon

Based on the suggestion by King Ladislas of Naples, who seized entire Dalmatia at the time, Pope Boniface IX appointed on 18 April 1403 Friar Peregrin from Aragon as the next archbishop of Split.[1381] His origins and background are unknown, except that he originated from Spain, but was in the royal service in Naples.[1382] Peregrin died before 8 May 1409 after which the position of the archbishop of Split was listed as vacant in the city charters.[1383]

Domnius Judicibus (1409-1420), a canon and a nobleman from Split

Domnius's family background is unclear. His mother, Francisca, died in 1429.[1384] Farlati assumed that he was a member of the Luccari family, which this historian based on Domnius's high status, the assumed position as the archdeacon and the election as the archbishop of Split. Based on his anthroponymy of the Spalatin nobility, Kuzmanić was critical of Farlati's opinion and suggested that Domnius was a member of the Cypriani family and identical to Domnius, the son of Dominic, who appeared as the archdeacon in 1401 and 1411.[1385] Problem is that Domnius Judicibus was never mentioned as the archdeacon in Split, that his name was one of the most common names in a city dedicated to Saint Domnius, that the list of archdeacons of Split at the

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[1378] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 58; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 357.
[1379] "Serie dei reggitori," XII, 143-4, December 6, 1402; December 24, 1402.
[1380] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 358.
[1381] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 459; Wadding, *Annales minorum* IX, 260; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočnstva o Trogiru* II, 840.
[1382] In the city charters of Split, he was named *Fra Peregrinus d'Aragona*, while his vicar's name was John de Yspania. Both names clearly show from where they originated and suggest their mutual connections. "Serie dei reggitori," XII, 189; Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 58.
[1383] "Serie dei reggitori," XIII, 44-5, May 8, 1409.
[1384] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 367, April 25, 1429.
[1385] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 361; Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići*, 108.

beginning of the fifteenth century is unclear and that in 1411 Domnius was already the archbishop-elect.[1386] However, he was somebody of high status and well respected in the commune of Split.

Following the death of Peregrin sometime during or before May 1409, the archbishopric of Split was listed as vacant in the city charters until January 1416.[1387] Very soon Domnius Judicibus was elected, but he only appeared in December as the archbishop-elect, the vicar of the cathedral chapter and the governor of the Church of Split.[1388] His confirmation by the pope was probably prolonged and made more difficult due to the international events aimed at settling the Western Schism. Between March and July 1409 the high clergy of Christendom gathered in Pisa where the gathered cardinals elected Peter of Candia as Pope Alexander V. However, the new pope had to spend his short pontificate in an attempt to extend the obedience of his Pisan papacy. During May 1410 Baldassarre Cossa became Pope John XXIII.

In August 1410 the Pisan pope confirmed Domnius's election as the archbishop of Split, but the pope reverted on his decision by October 1411 when Domnius was rejected and the pope, instead, provided the archbishopric of Split to Peter of Pag.[1389] Due to Domnius's contacts with King Sigismund of Hungary and the king's election as the king of Germany, Domnius was accepted as the archbishop by the cardinals at the Council of Constance. During December 1415 Domnius paid for his appointment, while from January 1416 he was finally listed as the archbishop in the city charters of Split.[1390] Due to his support of King Sigismund, Domnius was forced to seek shelter at the royal court when Venice took over Split. In Hungarian royal charters Domnius was listed as the archbishop from 1412, when King Sigismund started to support Domnius election in Split, until 1435, the year when Domnius probably died.[1391]

Peter (1411-1426), doctor of theology and a Franciscan friar from Pag

Peter originated from Pag and between 1406 and 1411 he was the bishop of Faenza in Romagna.[1392] As the bishop, he participated at the Council of Pisa (1409), where he was probably

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[1386] Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol*, 50-51.
[1387] "Serie dei reggitori," XIII, 44-5, May 8, 1409; 127-8, January 28, 1416.
[1388] *Dominus Duymus electus Spalatensis et Vicarius per Capitulum dictae ecclesiae deputatus, et Gubernator Ecclesiae supradictae et ipsum Capitulum Spalatense*. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 361**,** December 24, 1409.
[1389] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 460, October 19, 1411.
[1390] MVC I, n. 494, December 11, 1415; "Serie dei reggitori," XIII, 44-5, May 8, 1409; 127-8, January 28, 1416.
[1391] Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 84.
[1392] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 246.

introduced to Pope John XXIII.[1393] The pope decided to transfer Peter to Split on 19 October 1411, revoking the previous confirmation given to Domnius.[1394] Since Peter was barred from entering Split, he remained in papal service, at least during the pontificate of Pope John XXIII.[1395] It is unclear what Peter did after John was forced to abdicate, but by 1420 Peter reappeared in sources connected to Split. In February he was the procurator at the Apostolic See for the abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen in Split, John, while by December the Venetian authority welcomed Peter, described as a faithful of Venice, to take control of his archbishopric.[1396] During 1426 the archbishop mediated in two appeals to the Apostolic See by the commune of Split. The nobilty asked the pope to revoke excommunications that the commune incurred for attacking former archbishops, Hugolin and Andrew, as well as resisting mandates from Pisan Pope John XXIII. Next, the commune asked the pope to demolish the church dedicated to Saint Lawrence and erect a new church on some other place. The church was located on the square, named after it, which was important political center of the city and where the commune soon expanded the ducal palace.[1397] Peter died on 30 December 1426.[1398]

[1393] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 368.
[1394] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 460, October 19, 1411.
[1395] Pope John soon named Peter as the *cubicularius Summi Pontificis et registrator signatarum*, while in January 1413 Peter received *salvus conductus* in order to visit the pope in Tuscany. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 460, f. 13, April 9, 1412; VMS I, 354, January 4, 1413.
[1396] MVC I, 289-90, February 28, 1420; *Listine* VIII, 62, 64, December 30, 1420.
[1397] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 370-1; Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine*, 289, 364; Buzančić, "Bonino Jakovljev Milanac," 14-5.
[1398] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 371.

Short Biographies of the Bishops of Trogir

Columban (1255-76), a Franciscan friar and a papal penitentiary

The cathedral chapter of Trogir petitioned Pope Alexander IV to appoint a worthy person as the bishop of Trogir. The pope appointed Columban, a papal penitentiary and a Franciscan friar, who was consecrated in Rome and vowed allegiance to the archbishop in Split.[1399] Faced with the mounting pressure from the local rural nobility, the archbishop Split and the unruly clergy of Šibenik, Columban submitted his resignation to pope in May 1276.[1400]

Farlati wrote that Columban originated from the island of Rab,[1401] but the bishop did not return to his native island and instead remained in Italy. He died during November 1279, because then his successor John organized the return of Columban's body via Apulia to Trogir, where the deceased bishop was buried in the cathedral.[1402]

John (1276-1282), the provost of the church of Glogovica

In the charter in which Pope Innocent V narrated how Columban resigned his post, the pope proceeded to appoint John. Maybe due to Innocent's short pontificate of only several months, or because of the opposition from Trogir to the new bishop, Pope John XXI repeated the same charter as his successor Pope Innocent, confirmed John as the bishop, stating that Cardinal-Bishop Bertrand de Saint-Martin of Sabina had consecrated the new bishop.[1403] Nothing is known about John's background, except that he was a member of the canons serving in the church dedicated to Saint Mary in Glogovica, which was a part of the Military Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and not of the Templars.[1404]

Based on the absence of John in the local sources, Farlati presumed that John was never accepted as the bishop in Trogir.[1405] The bishop's absence was connected to his activities as a diplomat in the service of King Charles of Naples, but John was regularly mentioned as the bishop

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[1399] CDC IV, 601-2, July 4, 1255; Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumsbesetzungen*, 245; Potthast, *Regesta* I, n.15909; VMS I, 85; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 172.
[1400] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 248-49; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 200-1.
[1401] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 172.
[1402] Rački, "Notae," 216, November 6, 1279; *Monumenta Traguriensia*, vol. I/2, 232-3, November 18, 1279.
[1403] CDC VI, 168, May 4, 1276.
[1404] *prepositi ecclesie de Grogorissa Zagrabiensis diocesis et canonici Jerusolimitani*. Dobronić, *Templari i Ivanovci*, 91-2.
[1405] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 202-3.

of Trogir in the communal charters. John appeared during September 1277, after the peace treaty between Trogir and Split was signed, while the bishop died before or during May 1382, when the bishopric was listed as vacant.[1406]

Gregory Machinatura (1282-1297), a Franciscan friar from Trogir

The election of John's successor in May 1282 was preserved. Through scrutiny, the chapter elected Gregory, the son of Ma(r)chus from Trogir and a Franciscan friar. Lucić added that the new bishop originated from a noble family of Machinatura, which died out around that time.[1407] Gregory died around August 1297, after which he was no longer mentioned in the local sources.[1408]

Liberius (1297-1319),[1409] from Ancona, the abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint John in Trogir

Liberius was mentioned as the elected bishop during October 1297 in the city charters of Trogir, where it was also written that he was from Ancona.[1410] Many individuals coming from Ancona occupied the positions of power in the commune during the 1290s, which could point to the conclusion that the commune helped the cathedral chapter to find a suitable person as the next bishop in Ancona. But Farlati noted that Pope John XXII mentioned in a letter regarding the destruction of the Franciscan friary in Trogir that Liberius was prior to his election the abbot of the monastery of Saint John of Trogir.[1411]

The bishop died between January and April 1319.[1412]

Lampredius Vitturi (1319-1348), the primicerius, a nobleman of Trogir

Lampredius was buried in the cathedral of Trogir and on his burial inscription it was stated that he was in his sixties when he died. Since Lampredius died in the late 1348, he was most likely born in the late 1280s or in the early 1290s. But since he was elected as the bishop of Hvar in 1304,

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[1406] Rački, "Notae," 215, September 5, 1277 – May 31, 1282.
[1407] *fratrem Gregorium filium Ma[r]chii de Tragurio de ordine minorum*. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 204-5; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 289-304.
[1408] Rački, "Notae," 220, August 6, 1297.
[1409] Lucić noted that during September 1297 a certain John appeared as the elected bishop of Trogir in the communal charters, but he was not mentioned in any other sources and he soon disappeared. If he truly existed, he probably died shortly after being elected. Rački, "Notae," 220, September 28, 1297.
[1410] Rački, "Notae," 220, October 23, 1297.
[1411] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 211, 235-7.
[1412] Rački, "Notae," 229, April 4, 1319.

while being the primicerius of the cathedral chapter of Trogir, that would mean that his high appointments came while Lampredius was of very young age.[1413]

Lampredius was elected as the bishop of Trogir by April 1319, when he was mentioned in the city charters, while he directly petitioned the Apostolic See for the papal confirmation, which was granted by February 1320.[1414] The bishop also died at the Papal Curia in Avignon, sometime before January 1349, as this information was mentioned by the pope while appointing Lampredius's successor in Trogir.[1415]

Bartholomew (1349-60), the bishop of Kotor from Valomonte

Although Lampredius's successor was appointed by Pope Clement VI in January 1349, the city charters of Trogir listed the bishopric as vacant in the period from February 1349 until November 1351, which is a clear indication that during that time the bishop did not take possession of his diocese.[1416] Bartholomew was the son of Jacob, originated from Valomonte, a small place near Rome, and he became the magister in arts and medicine. A career prelate, he was a canon in Constantinople, the bishop of Kotor and the archpriest of the church of Saint Justine in Monselice in the bishopric of Padua.[1417] Bartholomew was still alive by May 1361, but he died within a few months.[1418]

Nicholas Kažotić (1361-71), primicerius, a nobleman from Trogir

In December 1361 Pope Innocent VI appointed Nicholas, the son of Donat Kažotić and the primicerius of the cathedral chapter, as the bishop of Trogir.[1419] By March 1362 he received the papal permission to be consecrated by any two or three bishops, while by August Nicholas promised to pay for his own appointment and also for his predecessor Bartholomew.[1420] Yet neither was Nicholas able to pay his own debts to the Curia. He probably died several days before 26 December 1371, when his last will was opened and read.[1421]

[1413] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 529-30.
[1414] Rački, "Notae," 229, April 4, 1319; CDC VIII, 552-4, February 15, 1320.
[1415] CDC XI, 499-500, January 30, 1349.
[1416] VMS I, 222, January 30, 1349; Rački, "Notae," 233, February 22, 1349 - November 29, 1352.
[1417] Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 262-3; Sambin, "La 'familia' di un vescovo," 240-42; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 177, July 14, 1348; 490, January 30, 1349; CDC XI, 478-9, July 14, 1348; *Priručnik* I, 218.
[1418] CDC XIII, 138, May 1, 1361.
[1419] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, December 17, 1361.
[1420] VMS I 243, March 9, 1362; MVC I, n.287, August 20, 1362.
[1421] Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva* I, 653, 673.

Chrysogonus de Dominis (1372-1403), bishop of Rab

He was appointed as the bishop of Rab in 1363 while by July 1372 Pope Gregory XI transferred Chrysogonus to Trogir.[1422] It is unclear why the pope decided to inform the archbishop of Zadar and the bishop of Šibenik with an order to receive Chrysogonus, instead of sending this order to the archbishop of Split, the spiritual superior of Trogir.[1423] During May 1372, Chrysogonus was in Avignon, where he obliged himself to pay for his own appointment and for the missed payments of his predecessors, Nicholas and Bartholomew.[1424] The city charters noted that the bishop was back in Trogir by July.[1425] It is unlikely that this was his first visit to his diocese as the sources were probably not preserved.

To support the quest by King Ladislas of Naples to seize the throne of Hungary-Croatia, Pope Boniface IX transferred Chrysogonus to Kalocsa in 1403, but he was never able to take the possession of his archdiocese. Instead, he remained in Trogir, holding the title of the archbishop of Kalocsa, but in order to sustain himself, Chrysogonus was granted the Benedictine monastery of Saint John the Baptist *in commenda*.[1426] He probably died during 1412, after which another person was appointed in Kalocsa.[1427]

Bishop Chrysogonus was the son of Stephen de Dominis de Arbo, while the bishop's brothers were John (*frater carnalis*) and Andrew, whose son was Simon de Dominis.[1428]

Simon de Dominis (1403-1423), the nephew of the previous bishop

He was the nephew of the previous bishop of Trogir, Chrysogonus, but his actual position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy remains unclear. When his uncle was transferred to Kalocsa, Simon was appointed as the bishop of Trogir.[1429] His father Andrew de Dominis was an important local ally of King Ladislas of Naples and later a supporter of Venice. However, due to Simon's opposition to Venice, the bishop was forced into exile in 1420, while he died by 1423.[1430]

[1422] CDC XIII, 288-289, June 7, 1363; VMS I, 247; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 490, July 14, 1372.
[1423] VMS I, 276, July 13, 1372.
[1424] MVC I, n. 302, May 19, 1373.
[1425] Rački, "Notae," 242, July 21, 1373.
[1426] "Registar Trottis-Prandino," 55-7, October 6, 1405; MVC I, 286-7, April 4, 1407.
[1427] This was Andrew Benzi, the former archbishop of Split. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 197, January 4, 1413.
[1428] Ančić, "Liber Bullarum," June-July, 227-30.
[1429] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, July-August 1403.
[1430] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, May 7, 1423.

Short Biographies of the Archbishops of Zadar

Lawrence Pereander (1245-1287), a magister from Zadar

Domenico Franco, the Venetian archbishop of Zadar, was mentioned as deceased in January 1245.[1431] By April 1246 Pope Innocent IV mentioned Lawrence Pereander as the archbishop-elect in Zadar, but it is unclear how quickly was he elected following the death of Domenico.[1432] There were two additional difficulties. One was that Emperor Frederic II (1194-1250) forced Pope Innocent IV (r.1243-54) out of Rome and into exile to France, where the pope was busy in organizing the First Council of Lyon. Next, between 1242 and 1247 the community of Zadar was rebelling against Venice.[1433] Although Lawrence remained as the archbishop even after the peace treaty was signed, in the local sources he was still listed as elected up until September 1250.[1434] While it is possible that there was a dispute between the archbishop and the Venetian-controlled patriarch of Grado, it is possible that the conflict between the Apostolic See and the Empire prolonged Lawrence's confirmation.

Not much is known about Lawrence. He was most likely born in Zadar to a Venetian family which settled into the city, which would make him acceptable to both the commune of Zadar and to the Venetian authorities which demanded that only their citizens be elected as archbishops.[1435] Lawrence was also well educated as he was mentioned as a *magister*.[1436] He was mentioned as the archbishop for the last time in June 1287.[1437]

Andrew Gausoni (1287-1291), rejected, a canon of Padua from Venice

Andrew originated from a Venetian family of Gausoni (or Capsoni). He was a member of the cathedral chapter of Padua since 1263 and the rector of the church of Saints Mary and Donat

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[1431] CDC IV, 267, January 1245.

[1432] The pope, who was in Lyon, issued an order to Lawrence to lift the sentence of excommunication from some monastery in Zadar. CDC IV, 290, April 4, 1246.

[1433] Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 189-92.

[1434] Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 102, February 9, 1247; CDC IV, 336, February 1, 1248; 347, April 8, 1248; 417, February 20, 1250; 425, September 9, 1250.

[1435] Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 109-110; Other opinions ranged from Lawrence being from Zadar or Split, that he was a cleric from some church on the territory of Grado or that he was directly appointed by the pope. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 77; Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 406; Dokoza, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 198; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 43.

[1436] CDC V, 69, July 17, 1257.

[1437] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 84; CDC, 593, June 29, 1287.

in Murano between 1265 and 1288. In 1269 he was elected as the archbishop of Dubrovnik, another Venetian-dominated Adriatic port, but various problems prevented him from being confirmed. First, the papal vacancy resulted in Andrew only becoming the administrator of the archbishopric, while his later tardiness resulted in the pope rejecting Andrew's bid.[1438]

Therefore, Andrew's prior experience in getting elected and in administering an archbishopric should have enabled him to be more successful the second time. He was elected as the archbishop of Zadar by the cathedral chapter some time during the second half of 1287. But his first appearance in the local sources dates to January 1288, after which he was regularly mentioned until October 1290.[1439] The subsequent papal charter from February 1291 depicted the events surrounding Andrew's election.[1440] He was elected by the chapter, but an unsatisfied group of canons complained to the patriarch of Grado, who at the time had problems of his own, so an appeal was directed to the Apostolic See. Either due to the pressure from the pope or for his own personal reasons, Andrew decided to withdraw his bid.

John of Anagnia (1291-1297), a Franciscan friar from Anagni

At the beginning of February 1291, Pope Nicholas IV directly appointed and immediately consecreated John as the archbishop of Zadar. The pope also authorized cardinals Matthew of Saint Mary in Porticu, James of Saint Mary in Vialata and Peter of Saint Eustachius to provide John with the *pallium*, which shows the importance of the event and suggests that everything was done in a quick succession.[1441] Judging by his name, John originated from Anagni, a well-known residence of the popes during the thirteenth century. Like the pope, John was a Franciscan friar and between 1288 and 1291 he appeared as the Franciscan Minister Provincial of Slavonia, showing that he was a person both familiar to the pope and familiar with the situation in Zadar.[1442]

[1438] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 411; CDC V, 531, April 30, 1270; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* VI, 111; *Priručnik* II, 563, August 28, 1272; CDC VI, 23-4, March 31, 1273; VMS I, 93-4, December 9, 1276.

[1439] Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 106, January 12, 1288; *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* I, 49, April 1288; CDC VI, January 1, 1289; CDC VI, 629, January 6, 1289; 631, January 12, 1289; 656, July 19, 1289; 665, July 27, 1289; 687, February 15, 1290; 695, May 14, 1290; CDC VII, 5, October 11, 1290.

[1440] CDC VII, 19-20, February 10, 1291.

[1441] CDC VII, 19-20, February 10, 1291; VMS I, 109; *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, I, n.4077-4082; Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44.

[1442] Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 44; Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 210; Žugaj, "Hrvatska biskupija," 97; Karbić, *Šubići of Bribir*, 330-1; Žugaj, "Hrvatska provincija franjevaca konventualaca," 42, 101.

During June 1297 Pope Boniface VIII transferred John to the archbishopric of Trani, where the new bishop died during 1299.[1443]

Henry of Tuderto (1297-1299), a Franciscan friar from Todi

In June 1297, Pope Boniface VIII appointed Henry from Todi, a teacher (*professor*) in the Franciscan Order. Henry's consecration was done in Rome by Matteo da Acquasparta, the cardinal-Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina (r.1291-1302) and the former general of the Franciscan order, while the pallium was granted in October by Cardinal Matthew Rubeus Ursinus of Saint Mary in Portico (r.1262-1302).[1444] The archbishop died at the Papal Curia before mid-June 1299.

James of Fulgineo (1299-1312), a Franciscan friar from Foligno

In mid-June 1299, the pope decided to appoint James, a teacher (*professor*) in the Franciscan Order, who came from Foligno, a place not that far away from Todi. Cardinal Matteo da Acquasparta again consecrated the new archbishop. Two weeks later James received the pallium from four cardinals of the Curia: Matthew Rubeus Ursinus, Neapoleon Ursinus Romanus of Saint Hadrian (r.1288-1342), Peter Valerianus Duraguerra of Saint Mary Nova (r.1295-1302) and Riccardo Petroni of Sant'Eustachio (r.1298-1314).[1445]

Just two weeks after the pope appointed the new archbishop, James petitioned the pope to absolve some clergy and citizens of Zadar from excommunication.[1446] This would suggest that either the archbishop familiarized himself with his archbishopric in just two weeks, in order to be able and willing to submit the necessary petition, or, which was more likely, that he was already familiar with the event. James probably knew Henry from before and had possibly even accompanied him to the archbishopric of Zadar. This can be assumed by providing another example. During August 1308 Archbishop James was in Todi in the local Franciscan friary. There he was in the company of Neapoleon, the cardinal-legate for Italy and the Venetian Dalmatia, and Anthony, the Franciscan Minister Provincial of Slavonia.[1447] The ecclesiastical circles connected to James suggest that he and his predecessor Henry were probably selected by the pope, on the

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[1443] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 491.
[1444] Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 45; CDC VII, 283-4, June 18, 1297; 288-289, October 18, 1297.
[1445] CDC VII, 343-4, June 15, 1299; 345, July 1, 1299.
[1446] Potthast, *Regesta* II, n.24860, July 3, 1299.
[1447] CDC Supp.II, 358-60, August 6, 1308.

instigation of the powerful Cardinal Matteo da Acquasparta, from the same Franciscan friary in Todi. The two archbishops already had good contacts with the rest of the Franciscans of the province of Slavonia or were able to quickly expand their network.

During March 1311 there was a rebellion in Zadar against Venice which resulted in the Šubići taking hold of the city. During October Archbishop James was listed as alive in the city charters, while by March 1312 the charters listed the archbishopric as vacant.[1448]

Alexander (1312-1314), rejected, a Dominican friar and a nobleman from Zadar

During the period of Zadar's rebellion against Venice (1311-13) two archbishops appeared, one elected in Zadar, the other appointed by the pope. During March 1312 the cathedral chapter of Zadar elected Alexander, a Dominican friar.[1449] A year before, *Ban* Paul Šubić petitioned the pope to appoint Alexander as a canon of Zagreb, which clearly shows that the young monk was closely connected to the Šubići. After James died, the plans changed and the Šubići worked on installing Alexander as the archbishop. The petition to the pope also mentioned that Alexander was the son of John Piscop and Gruba, the sister of Marin Zadulinus Grubcius. The Zadulinus family was strong supporter of the Šubići in Zadar.[1450] In addition, the new archbishop could have been identical with Alexander who served as the vicar for the Dominican order in 1304.[1451]

In July 1312, Pope Clement V rejected Alexander's election on unspecified grounds and, instead, appointed another person to Zadar.[1452] Although Venice took back the city by September 1313, Alexander was still listed as elected, consecrated and confirmed archbishop (*electus Jadrensis confirmatus et consecratus*) by April 1314, showing that the papal decision was not respected in Zadar due to the rebellion against Venice.[1453]

On 8 February 1314 Pope Clement V wrote to the clergy and the commune of Zadar and ordered them to respect the papally appointed archbishop. The pope narrated the entire chronology of contacts with Alexander. After his election in Zadar, Alexander received the confirmation from

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[1448] CDC VIII, 295, October 21, 1311; CDC VIII, 305, March 19, 1312.

[1449] CDC VIII, 305, March 19, 1312; Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 93; Ljubić, "Dva popisa listina," 110, March 21, 1312.

[1450] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.6897, June 15, 1311. Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 110. Also, see: *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* II, 41-2, March 11-15, 1302.

[1451] CDC VIII, 85, July 13, 1304.

[1452] CDC VIII, 316-7, July 31, 1312.

[1453] CDC VIII, 320, October 17, 1312; 346, December 3, 1313; 349 February 8, 1314; 352, March 10, 1314; 356, April 23, 1314

Francis, the vicar of the cathedral chapter of Grado, since Patriarch Angelo was deceased. Bishops Liberius of Trogir, Martin of Šibenik and Peter of Skradin provided the new archbishop with consecration. But the pope rejected Alexander, for reasons that the pope did not want to state, and instead appointed Nicholas de Setia. Since Nicholas was prevented from taking possession of his diocese and Alexander governed in Zadar, a hearing was convened at the Papal Curia between the two candidates. It was presided by Cardinal Bérenger Fredoli who, predictably, chose Nicholas.[1454] Since Alexander was consecrated as a bishop, the pope wanted to ensure that he receives an appointment worthy of his rank. By March 1314 Alexander was appointed as the archbishop of Crete, while Nicholas of Setia appeared in the city charters of Zadar as the archbishop by June.[1455] Alexander resigned his position in Crete in 1333.[1456]

Nicholas of Setia (1312-20), a magister and a papal scribe from Sezze

After rejecting the election of Alexander, Pope Clement V appointed and consecrated Nicholas of Setia as the archbishop. The new archbishop received the pallium a month later by the two cardinal-deacons, Landolfo Brancaccio of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria (r.1294-1312) and Guglielmo Longhi of San Nicola in Carcere (r.1295-1319).[1457] As described in detail under Alexander, it took two years for Nicholas to be able to occupy his diocese. He probably died during August 1320,[1458] as his successor appeared already a month later.

Nicholas originated from Sezze, which is a place in the diocese of Terracina in Italy. He was a magister and he worked as the papal scribe at the Papal Curia since at least 1308, although he probably entered the papal service as the chaplain of Bérenger Fredoli (c.1250-1323), cardinal of Saints Nereus and Achilleus and later of Frascati (Tusculum). Bérenger presided in a case between Alexander and Nicholas regarding who should be granted the archbishopric of Zadar deciding, as expected, in favor of Nicholas. In order to sustain himself while working at the Curia, Nicholas accumulated over the years various positions and benefices, mostly in France, but also one in his native diocese of Terracina.[1459]

[1454] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.10211, February 8, 1314.
[1455] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 215, March 2, 1314; 10255, *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.10255, March 2, 1314; CDC VIII, 361, June 18, 1314.
[1456] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 215.
[1457] VMS I, 131-2, July 31, 1312; 132, August 28, 1312.
[1458] CDC VIII, 567, August 2, 1320.
[1459] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, n.3183-4 September 30, 1308; n.4796, July 9, 1309.

John Butovan (1320-1333), a church rector and a nobleman from Zadar

In the beginning of September 1320, John Butovan, the rector of the church of Saint Matthew, was mentioned as being elected in the city charters in Zadar.[1460] By November the charters listed John as elected and confirmed, while by February 1321 he was also consecrated as the archbishop, which would suggest that everything was going according to the plan and that even the patriarch of Grado consented to the election.[1461] But the problem arose when John asked the pope for the pallium.

Cardinal-deacon Neapoleon of Adriani approved John's election, but priest Romanus de Setia from the diocese of Terracina complained, stating that John was excommunicated, so he could not have been elected as the archbishop. Judging by the name, Romanus was a relative of the deceased archbishop, but his interest in the matter is unclear. The case was investigated by Peter, he cardinal of Stephen in Celio Monte and the vice-chancellor of the Curia, who dismissed the accusation.[1462] By March 1322 John's election was proclaimed valid and the pope authorized the bishops of Senj and Nin to grant the new archbishop the pallium.[1463]

John died on 11 March 1333. He was mentioned alive in the city charters of Zadar at the beginning of March, while at the end of the month it was written that John died.[1464]

Nicholas Matafari (1333-67), a canon in Várad, an episcopal vicar, a *decretorum doctor* and a nobleman of Zadar

Nicholas studied in either Padua or Bologna, and in 1320 he was a *decretorum doctor*, meaning that he finished his studies, and the vicar of the bishop of Padua.[1465] In 1328 Nicholas received a position of a canon with expectancy of a prebend in the bishopric of Várad (Oradea).[1466] Therefore, in 1330 Nicholas used his knowledge of a *decretorum doctor* while working as the episcopal vicar in Padua, while enjoying the incomes from his position in Várad.[1467] During 1331

[1460] *Iohannis de Butouano plebani sancti Mathei electi in archiepiscopum Jadrensem*, CDC VIII, 568, September 5, 1320.
[1461] CDC VIII, 576, November 1, 1320; 577, November 12, 1320; CDC IX, 2, February 9, 1321.
[1462] Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara*, 444; Granić, "Kronološki pregled povijesti zadarske nadbiskupije," 221-2.
[1463] CDC IX, 55-8, March 17, 1322.
[1464] CDC X, 85, March 2, 1333; 88, March 22, 1333.
[1465] Ugo Inchiostri assumed that Nicholas was at the time at least 24 years old as that age was prescribed by canonical requirements and that he probably started his studies in 1312 or 1313. Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 27; Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova*, 340.
[1466] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.42879, September 20, 1328.
[1467] Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 31; Gloria, *Monumenti della Universitá di Padova*, 340-1.

Nicholas also served as the vicar for Angelo Dolfino, the bishop of Castello (r.1328-36).[1468] On the basis of a general reservation of the entire province of Grado, Pope John XXII appointed Nicholas as the archbishop of Zadar in September 1333. In the bull of appointment, Nicholas was styled as a canon in Várad and a *decretorum doctor*.[1469] The position of the archbishop was listed in the city charters of Zadar as vacant between March 1333 and February 1334.[1470] This means that either Nicholas took possession of his diocese by mid-February or that he sent his representatives, especially since the archbishop was back in Avignon in May in order to personally promise to pay for his appointment.[1471]

Nicholas originated from the noble family of the Matafari of Zadar, whose members became rectors of Zadar and bishops during the fourteenth century. Nicholas's father was Guido, while his brothers were Vucinna, John and Demetrius. His branch of the family was quite active in the ecclesiastical life of medieval Zadar. During his time in office, Nicholas was highly supportive of his brother Demetrius, guiding him in obtaining various ecclesiastical positions, including the positions of the bishop of Pićan and then of Nin. Vucinna's son, Peter, also became the archbishop of Zadar.[1472]

Nicholas died at the end of March 1367.[1473]

Dominic Thopia (1368-1376), a Dominican friar and a nobleman from Albania, the bishop of Korčula-Ston

In 1329 King Robert of Naples took the noble family of Thopia from the Angevin Kingdom of Albania into the royal service. In 1336 the king appointed Dominic Thopia, a Dominican friar, as the royal chaplain, counselor and retainer.[1474] However, Dominic's career prior to Zadar remains somewhat unclear. At some point he became the bishop of Ston and Korčula (c.1350-68), while in 1360 he unsuccessfully tried to become the archbishop of Dubrovnik.[1475]

[1468] Inchiostri, "Di Nicolò Matafari," 31-2, October 30, 1331.
[1469] CDC X, 118, September 10, 1333; VMS I, 188-9; Lux, *Constitutionum Apostolicarum*, 29-31.
[1470] CDC X, 88, March 22, 1333; 89, 92, 96, 100 (before Nicholas's appointment). CDC X, 122, October 20, 1333; 125, 129, 131, 141, 142, 145; last time mentioned as vacant in: CDC X, 150, February 17, 1334, while three days later Nicholas was mentioned: CDC X, 152, February 20, 1334.
[1471] MCV I, 98, May 6, 1334.
[1472] Nikolić Jakus, *Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility*, 57-8.
[1473] CDC XIV, 11, March 18, 1367; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281, March 25, 1367.
[1474] Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae*, n.736., May 28, 1329; n.802., June 12, 1336.
[1475] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 462-3.

Through the support of King Louis of Hungary, Dominic was appointed as the archbishop of Zadar. The king pressured the local Church officials to release the control over the temporal possession of the archbishopric to a person which the king chose. Dominic Thopia was mentioned as the archbishop in the local charters of Zadar already in May 1368, while Pope Urban V issued his confirmation of the transfer of Dominic from Korčula-Ston in September.[1476] The local sources of Zadar listed Dominic as coming from Albania.[1477]

In a series of episcopal transfers, all happening on the same day in 1376, Peter was transferred from Bosnia to Győr, while Dominic was then transferred to Bosnia.[1478]

Peter Matafari (1376-1400), the rector of Saint Stephen in Zadar

Just several months after Dominic's transfer to Bosnia, at the beginning of May, Peter was appointed as the archbishop of Zadar.[1479] By middle of the month he promised to pay the communal services.[1480] But by late August it was established that Peter lacked some lesser clerical orders, for which a necessary dispensation was granted. The pope then allowed Peter to be consecrated by any two or three bishops, but it was not preserved who these bishops were.[1481]

The pope mentioned that Peter was the rector of the church of Saint Stephen, which was one of the major churches in Zadar. He was also a member of the noble family of the Matafari, whose members were royal knights, while Archbishop Nicholas was Peter's uncle. While it is unclear when Peter became the rector of Saint Stephen, it can be assumed that his familial and ecclesiastical connections, besides contacts with the king, ensured his quick rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Peter died in March 1400 in Ascoli, where he was buried in the cathedral.[1482]

John IV (1397-1400?), rejected

Since Peter was forbidden by the king from returning to Zadar, another person was mentioned as the archbishop during Peter's absence. A charter from Pag from April 1398

[1476] CDC XIV, 129, May 5, 1368; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281, September 27, 1368.
[1477] CDC XIV, 323, April 23, 1371.
[1478] Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 142, 281, January 23, 1376; *Priručnik* I, 368, February 13, 1376.
[1479] VMS I, 311-2, May 5, 1376; CDC XV, 205-6; *Priručnik* I, 368.
[1480] MVC I, n. 360, May 14, 1376.
[1481] VMS I, 317-8, August 29, 1376.
[1482] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 108; Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 362; Esch, *Bonifaz IX*, 587, March 20, 1400.

mentioned the archpriest of Pag who acted as the procurator of Archbishop John Farcasti.[1483] John was mentioned for the last time in February 1399 when King Sigismund warned him not to diminish the liberties of the cathedral chapter of Zadar.[1484] Nothing else is known about him.

Luca Vagnocii (1400-1420), an Augustinian friar and a doctor of theology from Fermo

In June 1400 Pope Boniface IX appointed Luca as the archbishop of Zadar.[1485] He was a friar and a doctor of theology from Fermo.[1486] Luca died between 13 January 1420, the day when he wrote his last will, and 4 March, when his successor Blasius was appointed.[1487]

[1483] CDC XVIII, 331, April 6, 1398.
[1484] CDC XVIII, 421-422, February 2, 1399.
[1485] ASV, Reg. Lat. 75, ff. 34r- 35v, July 28, 1400; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281.
[1486] Antoljak, *Miscellanea* I, 26, November 9, 1402.
[1487] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* V, 113; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* I, 281, March 4, 1420.

Figures, Family Trees and Maps

CEU eTD Collection
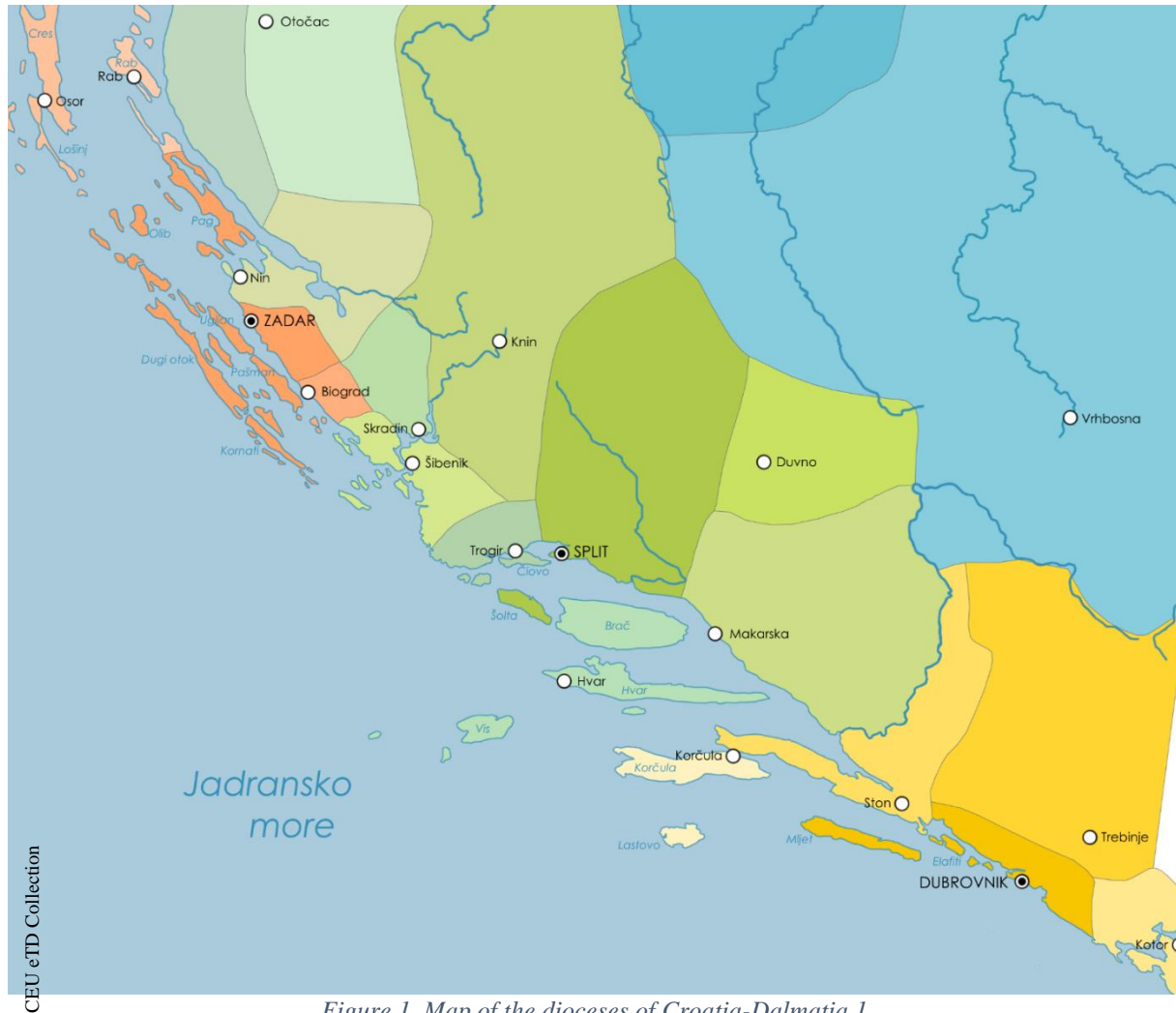
Figure 1. Map of the dioceses of Croatia-Dalmatia 1.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Catholic_Dioceses_Bosnia_Dalmatia_15_century.png [accessed 01/08/2020]

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Figure 2. Map of the dioceses of Croatia-Dalmatia within the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.
Barabás, "Heretics, Pirates, and Legates, 58.

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Figure 3. Map of Split.
Based on Statute of Split, 1083 and Regan and Nadilo, "Stare crkve," 635.
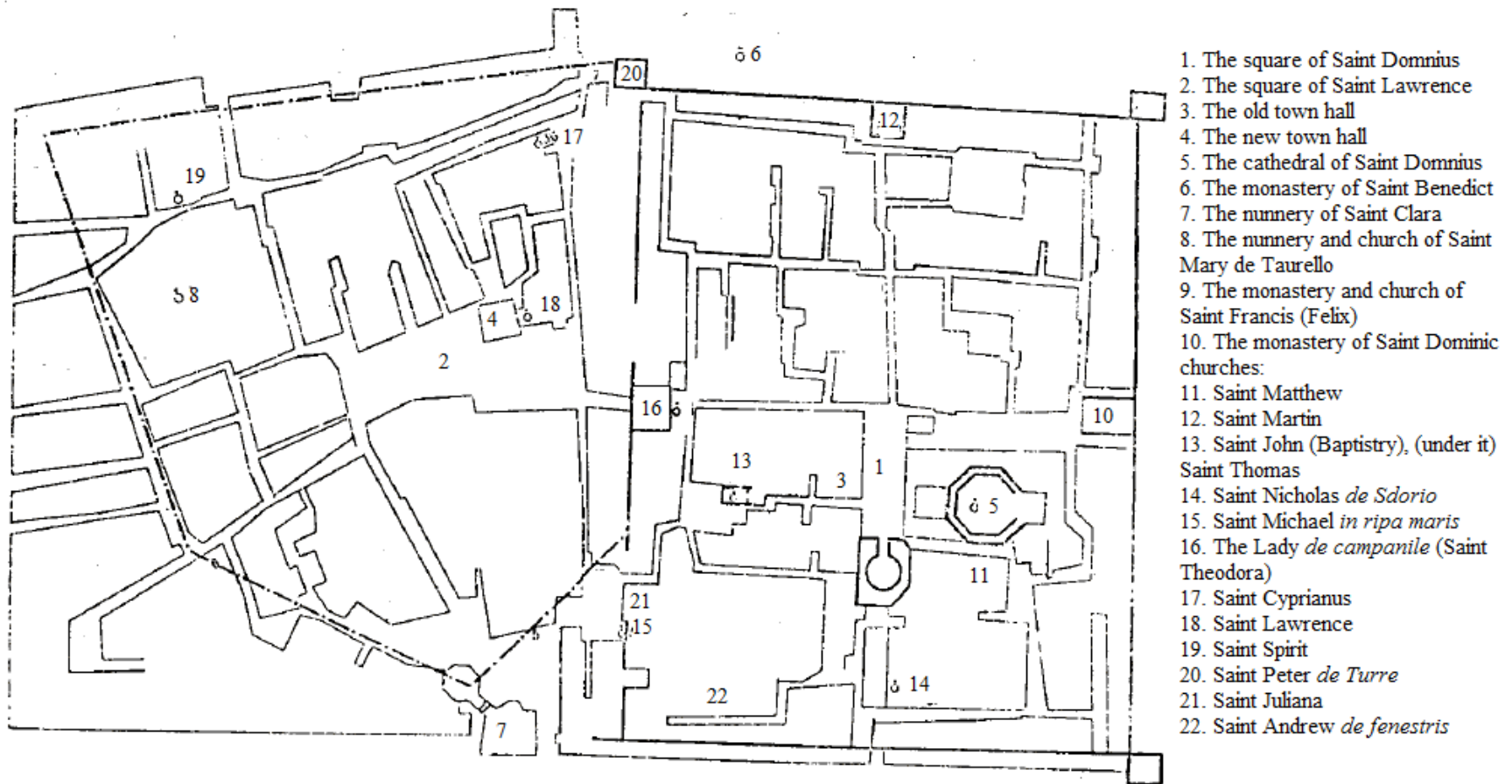
1. The square of Saint Domnius
2. The square of Saint Lawrence
3. The old town hall
4. The new town hall
5. The cathedral of Saint Domnius
6. The monastery of Saint Benedict
7. The nunnery of Saint Clara
8. The nunnery and church of Saint Mary de Taurello
9. The monastery and church of Saint Francis (Felix)
10. The monastery of Saint Dominic churches:
11. Saint Matthew
12. Saint Martin
13. Saint John (Baptistry), (under it) Saint Thomas
14. Saint Nicholas *de Sdorio*
15. Saint Michael *in ripa maris*
16. The Lady *de campanile* (Saint Theodora)
17. Saint Cyprianus
18. Saint Lawrence
19. Saint Spirit
20. Saint Peter *de Turre*
21. Saint Juliana
22. Saint Andrew *de fenestris*

Zadar at the end of the thirteenth century
1. The cathedral of Saint Anastasia
2. The archiepiscopal palace
3. Saint Trinity
4. Saint Elijah
5. Saint George
6. Saint Francis
7. Saint Nicholas
8. The Benedictine nunnery of Saint Mary
9. Saint Vid
10. The church of Forty Martyrs
11. Saint Thomas
12. Saint Demetrius
13. Saint Chrysogonus
14. Saint Saviour
15. Saint Peter the Old
16. Saint Mary the Great
17. Saint Lawrence
18. Saint Peter the New
19. The communal palace
20. Saint Michael
21. Saint Stephen
22. Saint Mary "de bon gaudio"
23. Saint Plato (or Dominic)
24. Saint Silvester
25. Saint John (Nediljica)
26. Saint Mary "de Pusterla"

Figure 4. Map of Zadar.
Klaić and Petricioli, Zadar u srednjem vijeku, 285.

1. The Cathedral of Saint Lawrence
churches:
2. Saint Martin
3. Saint Sebastian
4. Saint Mary de platea
5. Saint John the Baptist
6. Saint Nicholas
7. Saint Leo
8. Saint Peter
9. Saint Spirit
10 Saint Mary de burgo
11. All Saints
12. Dominican church
13 Saint Michael
14. Saint Stephen
other buildings:
15. The communal palace
16. The episcopal palace
17. The Vitturi tower

STARA
KOPNENA VRATA

KULA
MALIPIERA

POLOŽAJ
Sv.BARBARE

15 Komunalna palača

CIVITAS

KULA
Sv.IVANA

10

Lođa 3 4
2

14

5

KULA
Sv.MARKA

BURGUS

8

Biskupska palača

16

VRATA
OD NEČISTI

11

KULA
BISKUPIJE

9

17 KULA
VITTURI

6

13

12

KULA
ANDREIS

KULA
LUCIĆ

KULA
Sv.NIKOLE

VRATA
Sv.ROKA

VRATA Sv.DUHA

JUŽNA
GRADSKA VRATA

0   500m

KAŠTEL
KAMERLENGO
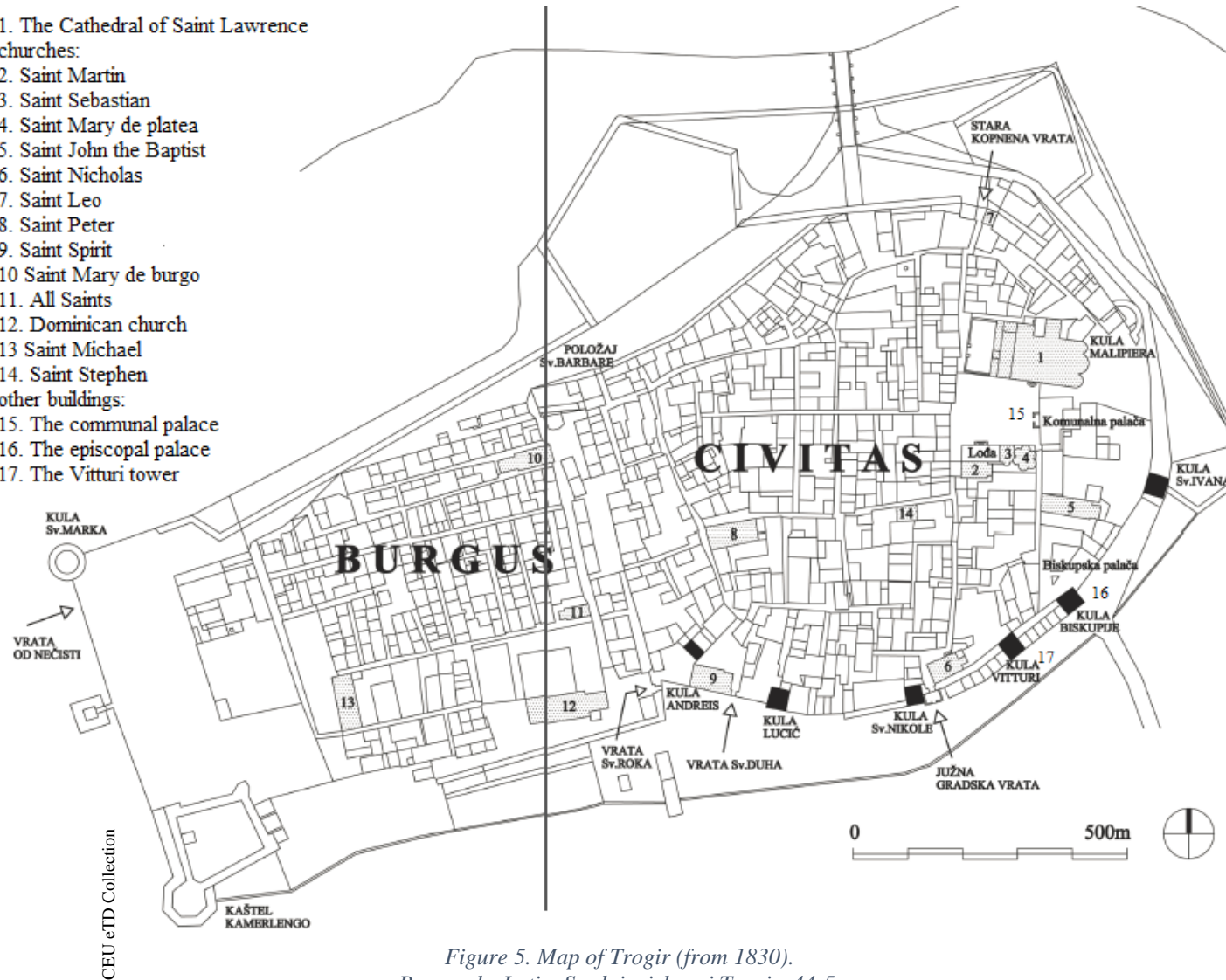
Figure 5. Map of Trogir (from 1830).
Benyovsky Latin, Srednjovjekovni Trogir, 44-5.
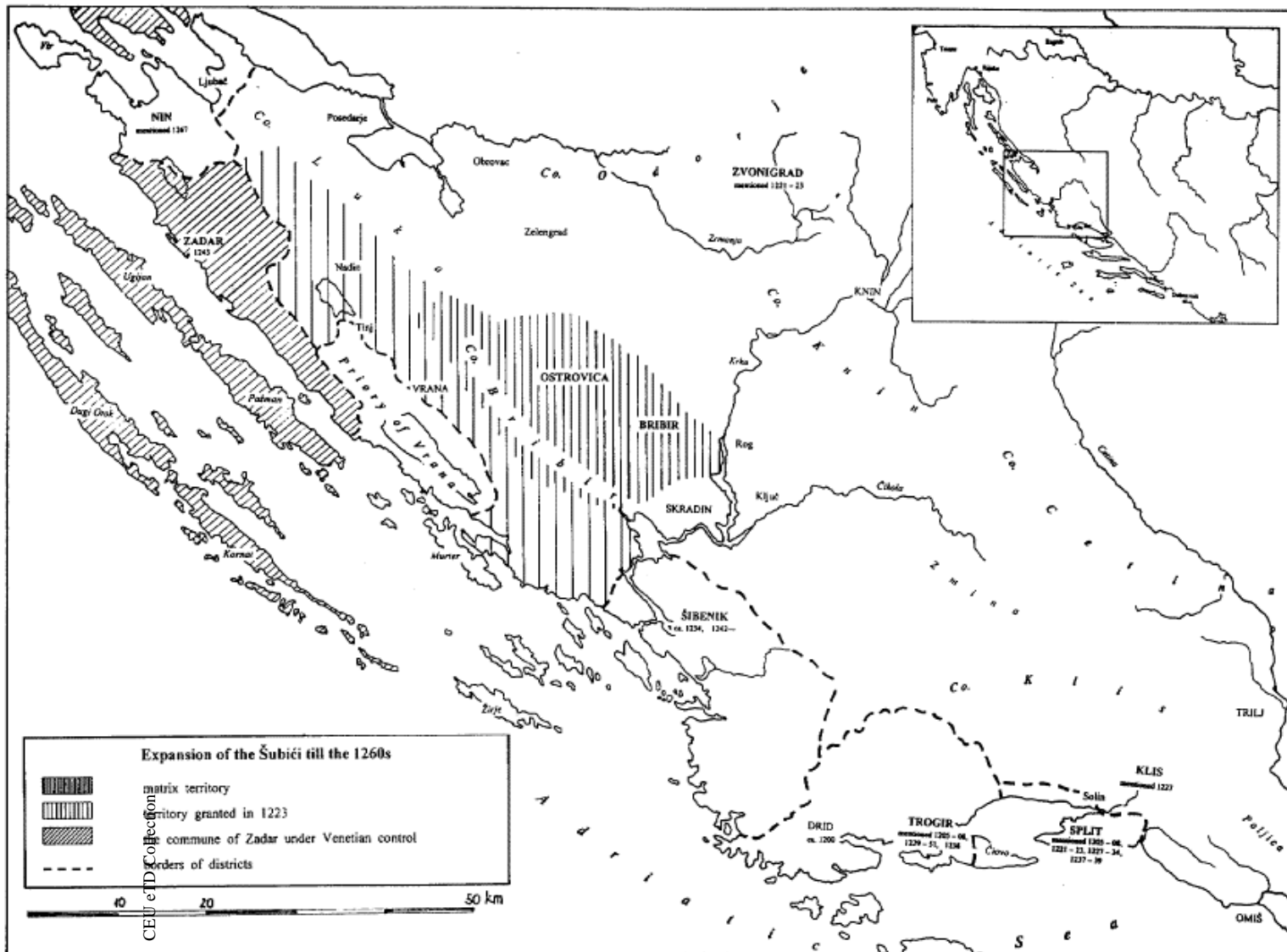
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Karbić, Šubići of Bribir, 45.

Figure 7. The Šubići family at the height of its power.
Karbić, Šubići of Bribir, 91.
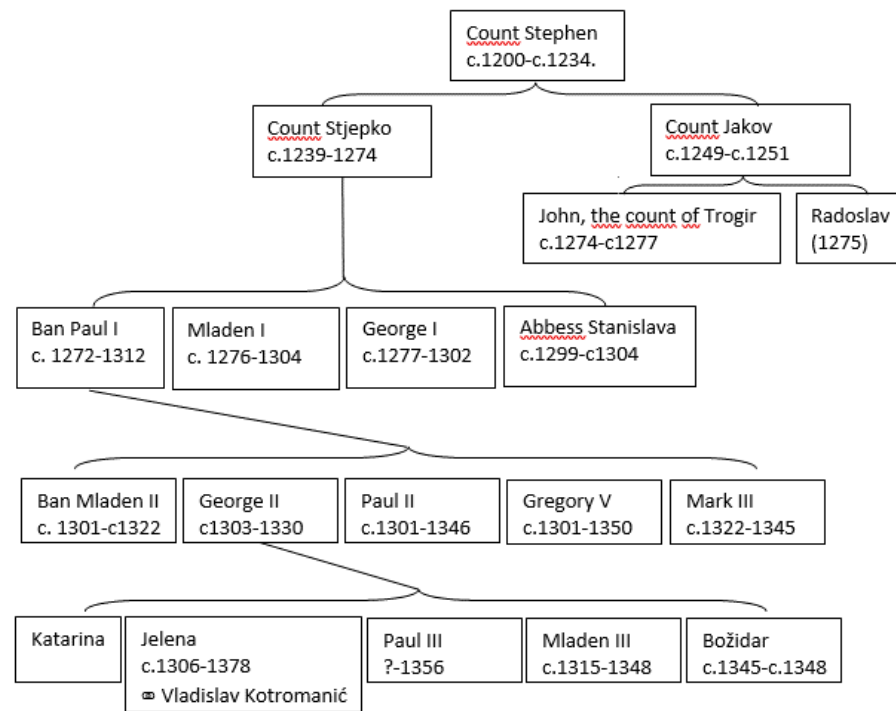
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Based on Klaić, Bribirski knezovi, 178-9.

Figure 9. The Vitturi family tree, Bishop Lampredius of Trogir.
Benyovsky Latin, Srednjovjekovni Trogir, 152.
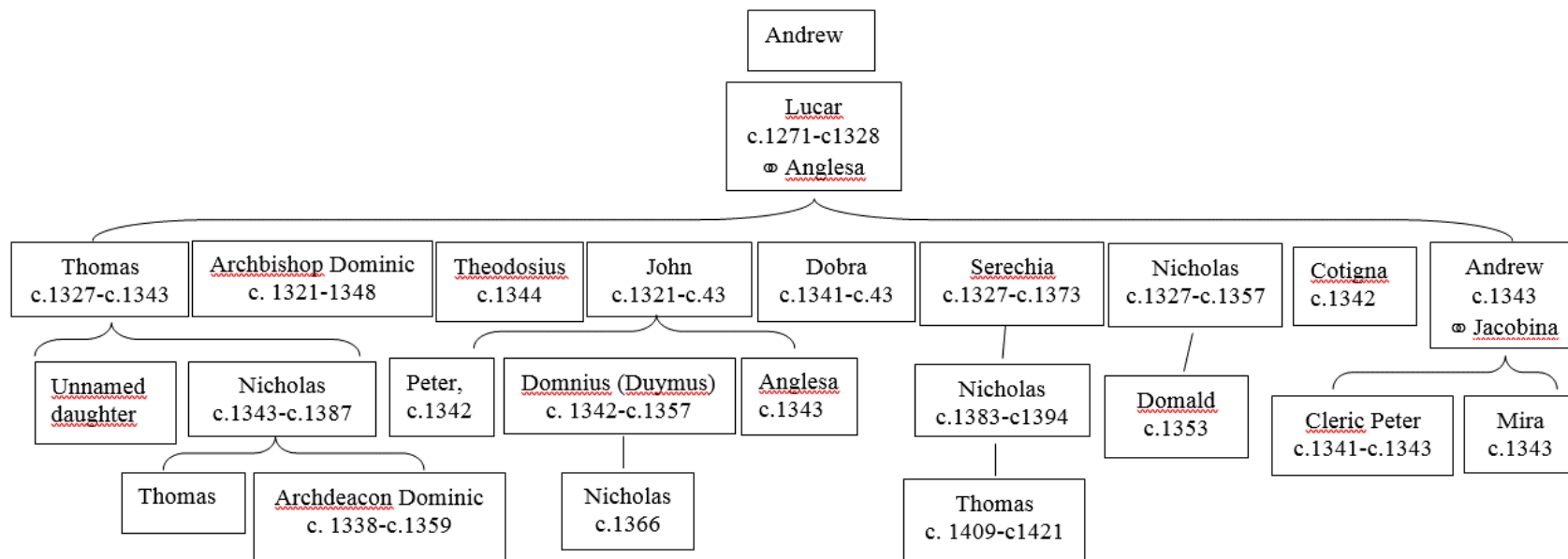
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Based on Ivanišević, "Promišljanje o rodovima Lukari," 11-7.

Figure 11. The political situation between the 1330s and the 1350s.
Rácz, "The Anjou Dynasty," 59.

The de Matafaris (knightly and episcopal branch)

Guido
fl. 1296-1318

Peter
fl. 1298

Daria
= N.
de Carnaruto

Femia
nun in
St. Demetrius
fl. 1341-47

Demetrius
bishop of
Nin
fl. 1337-87

Vučina
rector
fl. 1342-59
d. bef. 1366
= Honesta
de Saladinis
fl. 1366

Nicholas
archbishop
of Zadar
fl. 1333-67

John
fl. 1341-59

Michael
abbot of SS.
Cosmas et Damian

Guido
royal knight
rector
fl. 1368-1408

Louis
rector
fl. 1386-1401

Peter
archbishop
of Zadar
fl. 1376-1400

Francisca
fl. 1371
= Michael
de Pechiaro
d. bef. 1398

Peter
fl. 1371-72
d. bef. 1380

= 1. Fumia
de Xabetis
d. 1381

= 2. Michelina
de Botono
fl. 1392

Catherine
d. bef. 1381

Clare
= Thomas
Venier

Simon
fl. 1398

John
fl. 1398

Lawrence
fl. 1398

Clare
fl. 1398
= Philip
de Georgiis

Figure 12. The Matafari family tree, Archbishops Nicholas and Peter of Zadar.
Nikolić Jakus, Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility, 249.
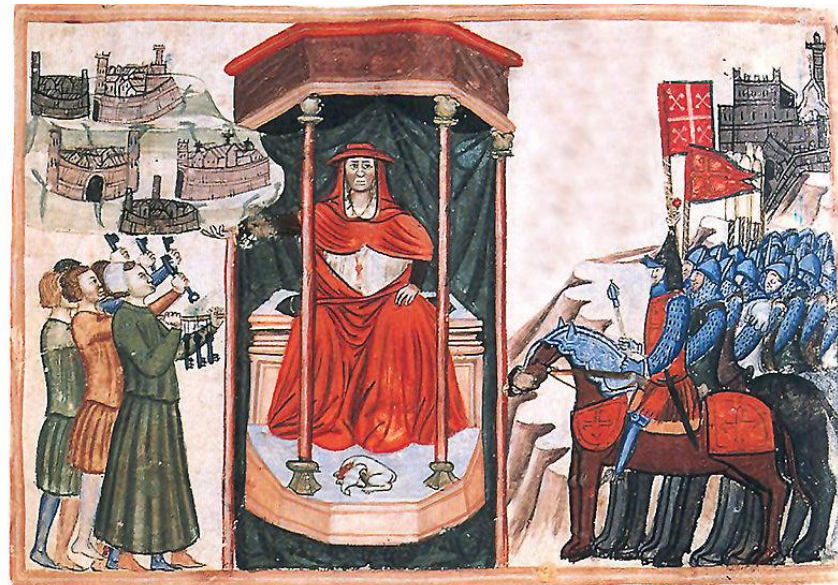
Figure 13. A fourteenth-century miniature of Cardinal Egidius Albornoz receiving keys of subject cities.
https://nobility.org/2015/08/20/alvarez-carillo-gil-de-albornoz/ [accessed 17/15/2021]

6. Pavao iz Sulmone, nadgrobna ploča nadbiskupa Nikole Matafara iz katedrale, Zadar, Narodni muzej (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Paolo da Sulmona, pietra sepolcrale dell'arcivescovo Nicolò Matafarri dalla cattedrale, Zara, Museo Nazionale

Figure 14. The tombstone of Archbishop Nicholas Matafari.
Petricioli, "Još o Pavlu iz Sulmone," 116.

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Figure 15. The coat of arms of Bishop Nicholas Kažotić in Trogir.
Babić, "Trogirski biskup Nikola Casotti," 222.

Figure 16. Map of the dioceses of Croatia-Dalmatia 2.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Catholic_Dioceses_in_Bosnia_and_Dalmatia_XV_century.png [accessed 01/08/2020]

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List of Ecclesiastical Payments from the Clergy of Split, Trogir and Zadar to the Apostolic See (c.1270-c.1420)

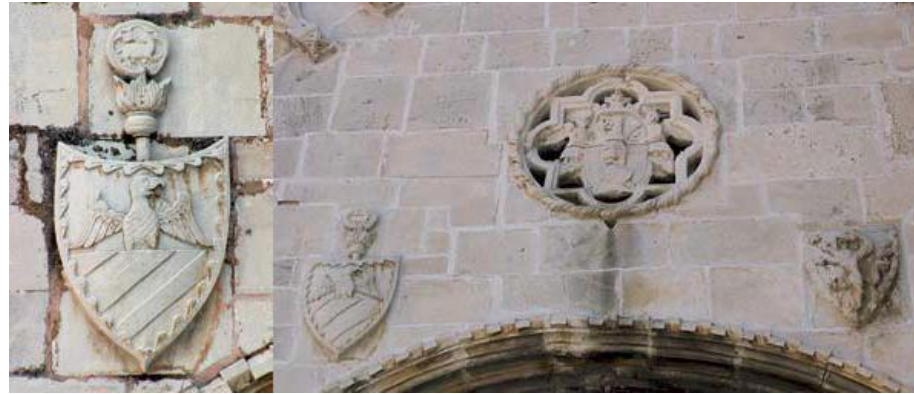The following is a list of payments done by the bishops for themselves or for their diocese. These also include payments of communal services, papal tithe, procurations for papal legates, as well as *ad limina* visitations.

General calls for the introduction of the papal tithe or procurations for legates

Year	Pope	Legate / collector	Order
1295[1488]	Boniface VIII (1294-1303)		The pope issued an order to collect tithe for the return of Sicily. The tithe would be collected in Split, Zadar and the entire Dalmatia.
1296[1489]	Boniface VIII		Received tithes which was prescribed by the Second council of Lyon, for the return of Sicily and for a crusade
1296[1490]	Boniface VIII	Bishop Bartholomew of Castellano	The collection of three year tithe, intended for the conquest of Sicily, from Aquileia, Split and Zadar
1297[1491]			Collecting tithe throughout Italy and Dalmatia for King Charles II of Naples
Before 1321[1492]	John XXII (1316-34)	Cardinal Bertrand of Saint Marcel, the legate for Lombardy and Toscana	The pope ordered the collection of the 24th in the province of Split for the procurations for the legate
1326[1493]		Cardinal-Legate Bertrand	Based on the request by Archbishop Balian, the legate authorized the archbishop to absolve from excommunication those who failed to pay procurations but have paid in the meantime
1326[1494]			Archbishop Hugolin absolved from excommunication Abbot Savinus and Canon Dominic Petrosi of Trogir[1495]
1333[1496]	John XXII		Collection of tithe *Negotio Terrae Sanctae*, among other places, also in Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar

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[1488] *Les registres de Boniface* I, n.497, October 28, 1295.

[1489] *Les registres de Boniface* I, n.1305, August 10, 1296.

[1490] *Les registres de Boniface* I, n.1578-9, March 29, 1296; IV, n. 5460, July 12, 1296; n. 5464, November 22, 1296.

[1491] *Les registres de Boniface* I, n.1495, January 5, 1297.

[1492] CDC IX, 16, July 10, 1321.

[1493] In Parma. CDC IX, 287-8, April 9, 1326.

[1494] In Split. CDC IX, 295, May 29, 1326.

[1495] Abbot Savinus of the Benedictine monastery of Saint John in Trogir and Canon Dominic Petrosii of the cathedral chapter in Trogir.

[1496] *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, n.61234, 61241, 61247, July 26, 1333.

1353[1497]	Innocent VI (1352-62)	Cardinal-Legate Albornoz	Albornoz appointed Abbot Raymond as the collector of procurations in partibus Sclavonie
1356[1498]		Cardinal-Legate Albornoz	Legate in Italy and Slavonia, namely in the archbishoprics of Split, Dubrovnik, Antibar and Zadar
1356[1499]		Abbot John from Fermo[1500]	The assessment of the 25th part of the incomes of the local ecclesiastical institutions for payment of procurations
90 duc.[1501] 1376	Gregory XI (1370-78)	Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary in Zadar, the subcollector	Submitted money collected in Slavonia (Dalmatia)
400 duc.[1502] 1374		Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary in Zadar, the subcollector	Submitted money collected in Slavonia (Dalmatia)
53 duc.[1503] 1374		Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary in Zadar, the subcollector	Submitted money collected in Slavonia (Dalmatia)
63 duc.[1504] 1375		Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary in Zadar, the subcollector	Submitted money collected in Slavonia (Dalmatia)
1377[1505]	Gregory XI	Bishop Bernard of Bologna	Legatine mission to Hungary. Clergy of Hungary, Poland and Dalmatia should support his activities with 8 ducats per day[1506]

[1497] CDC XII, 214, December 2, 1353.

[1498] CDC XII, 337.

[1499] Abbot John was in Trogir in April, while in May in Split. CDC XII, 336-9, April 4, 1356; CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356.

[1500] The abbot of Benedictine monastery of Saint Savini near Fermo, and the vicar of Cardinal Albornoz.

[1501] Rationes decimarum, n. 3670, April 29, 1373.

[1502] Rationes decimarum, n. 3671, June 27, 1374.

[1503] Rationes decimarum, 3672, November 23, 1374.

[1504] Rationes decimarum, n. 3676, June 26, 1375.

[1505] Fontes (2014), 237-9, March 20, 1377.

[1506] Bishop Bernard demanded incomes from the archbishops of Split and Zadar, as well as from the bishops of Knin and Krbava. Bernard demanded: 75 ducats from Zadar, 85 ducats from Split, 22 ducats from Knin and 10 ducats from Krbava. Fontes (2014), 239-41.

1377[1507]	Gregory XI	Bishop Bernard of Bologna, subcollectors[1508]	Two year tithe in Croatia and Dalmatia, for the recovery of the lands of the Church
1380[1509]	Urban VI (1378-89)	Vivian de Sancto Severino[1510]	Appointment of the papal collector
1382[1511]	Urban VI	Vivian de Sancto Severino (appointed subcollector[1512])	To collect the arrears of previous tithes
1383[1513]	Urban VI	Vivian de Sancto Severino	To collect the special three-year tax introduced to combat the increased expenditures created by the schism
1383[1514]		Abbot Thomas of Zadar, subcollector[1515]	Informed the archbishops of Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Bar, as well as their suffragans, about the collection of tithe
1386[1516]	Urban VI	Vivian	collector decime in the provinces of Aquileia, Grado, Milan, Ravena, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Antibar
1387[1517]		Bishop Angelo of Castello (Venice)	Appointed Thomas de Rosa, the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar, as the subcollector for Zadar
1389[1518]		Bishop Angelo of Castello	Appointed Thomas de Rosa as the papal subcollector for Zadar and Split
1393[1519]	Boniface IX (1389-1404)		Introduced the three-year tithe in the provinces Grado, Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik, Aquileia and Ravena

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[1507] CDC XV, 304, July 18, 1377.

[1508] Abbot John of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus and Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary Majoris in Zadar who appeared before. In addition, Bishop Michael of Skradin and Bernard, the apostolic nuncio from the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Venetian litoral, were also named. CDC XV, 304-6, July 18, 1377.

[1509] CDC XVI, 109-11, July 4, 1380.

[1510] the apostolic nuncio and the prior of the monastery of Saint Mary in Venice, as the official collector in large parts of the Roman obedience: Aquileia, Grado, Milan, Ravena, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, Antibar and the parts of the Byzantium and the island of Crete.

[1511] CDC XVI, 280-3, May 1, 1382. (1379-1382?)

[1512] Vivian appointed Abbot Thomas of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. CDC XVI, 327-9, December 1, 1382. The abbot notified the clergy of Dalmatia that he would come to collect the. CDC XVI, 346-9, February 24, 1383.

[1513] Fontes (2014), 243-4, [no date]. Vivian ordered the archbishops and bishops of the church province of Dalmatia to register his request. Fontes (2014), 244-6, May 6, 1383.

[1514] CDC XVI, 346-8. February 24, 1383.

[1515] The abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar and the subcollector for Vivian.

[1516] Neralić, Priručnik II, n. 7867, February 10, 1386.

[1517] CDC XVII, 84-5, September 13, 1387.

[1518] CDC XVII, 192-3, April 5, 1389.

[1519] Neralić, Priručnik II, n. 7867, May 15, 1393.

50 duc.[1520] 1396		Abbot Frederic of the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian[1521]	Submitted the money gathered in Zadar and Split to the papal subcollector
1397[1522]	Boniface IX	Michael di Sancto Arcangelo[1523]	The subcollector for the clergy of Zadar, Dubrovnik, Split and Antibar

Split

Amount Year	Collector and subcollectors	Paid by	Paid for
60 fl.[1524] 1326	Directly to the legate	Manelus Quideti, a merchant from Florence	Procurations for six years from the archbishop and some (pro aliquibus) sufragans; total debt was 124 florins
165 fl.[1525] 1327	To the legate's chamberlain, Armandus de Fogiis	Canon Lucan Bertani	Legate's procurations for first, second, third, fourth and seventh years; from the archbishop and his suffragans
61 fl.[1526] 1327	Directly to the legate	Bertinus Duchi, the archiepiscopal nuncio and a merchant from Bosnia	From the archbishop and his suffragans; for the rest of the previous six years of procurations
150 fl[1527] 1349	Not written	Canons Francis, Damian and Gregory	Decima trienalis
90 fl[1528] 1349		Primicerius Francis	Decima trienalis
30 fl[1529] 1349		Baldelus Massucii de Eugubio	Decima trienalis

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[1520] CDC XVIII, 140-1 June 27, 1396.

[1521] The subcollector in Split and Zadar for Michael de Sancto Arcangelo, the canon of Rimini and the subcollector for John Manchi, the papal collector for the provinces of Zadar, Dubrovnik, Split and Antibar.

[1522] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 30, July 27, 1397.

[1523] A canon of Rimini.

[1524] 60 florins and 7 small solids of Bologna (*florenos LX et solidos VII bononensium paruorum*). In Bologna. CDC IX, 304, August 13, 1326.

[1525] 165 florins and three solidi and ten *denarios bagationorum*. In Parma. CDC IX, 321-2, January 7, 1327.

[1526] 61 florins, 2 solids and 6 denars of Bologna. CDC IX, 360-1, September 24, 1327.

[1527] Rationes decimarum, n. 3742, February 4, 1349.

[1528] Rationes decimarum, n. 3743, April 24, 1349.

[1529] Rationes decimarum, n. 3744, May 5, 1349.

~ 735 fl. 1349-51	[Total amount]		Total tihe collected for the province of Split[1530]
50 fl[1531] 1354	Abbot Raymond from Venice[1532]	Buciardus de Ypra	Legate's procurations
80 fl[1533] 1356	Unnamed treasurer of Albornoz received it	Canon Duymus	Two years of procurations
47 duc.[1534] 1359	Abbot Geralt from Venice[1535]	Canon Buciardus de Ypra	Pro parte primi et secundi terminorum primi anni decime trienalis introduced by Pope Innocent VI (1352-62)
100 duc.[1536] 1372	Symeon Mauroceno[1537]	Archdeacon Lawrence	pro restis decimarum biennialium et triennalium of popes Innocent VI and Urban V (1362-70)
40 duc.[1538] 1373	Gregory[1539]	Primicerius Buciardus de Ypra	Pro secundo anno provisionis

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[1530] 728 flor 16 sol. bag. for the entire province, but when the amount per dioceses is counted, the number is 737 florins, 32 sol. bag., 18 grochen. The difference is probably due to expenses. Split: 280 florins; Skradin: 52 florins i 18 grochen; Senj: 45 fl; Nin: 42 fl; Knin and Krbava unknown; Šibenik: 124 fl, 32 sol. bag.; Trogir: 194 fl.

[1531] In Venice. CDC XII, 242-3, May 15, 1354.

[1532] *Apostolice sedis nuntius et collector ac procurator et nuntius specialis*. The abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Nicholas in Venetian litoral. Appointed as the collector of procurations *in partibus Sclavonie* by Cardinal-Legate Albornoz. CDC XII, 214, December 2, 1353.

[1533] In Ancona. CDC XII, 362, July 10, 1356.

[1534] ducentas quatuor libras et quatuordecim solidos et sex denarios bagatinorum which was exchanged by Buciardus into 47 florins. The exchange rate was one ducat for three libri, 11 solids and 10 denari.

[1535] Abbot Geralt of the Benedictine monastery of Saint George Major in the diocesis of Castello. He was *sedis nuntius et collector fructuum, redituum, proventuum, censuum, decimarum et aliorum quorumcumque apostolice camere debitorum in Lombardia nec non Aquilegensi et Gradensi patriarchatibus, et Spalatensi, nonnullisque allis provintiis, civitatibus et diocesesibus*.

[1536] In the Dominican monastery of Saint Dominic outside of the city walls of Split. CDC XIV, 417-8, May 31, 1372.

[1537] *canonicus, castellanus domini nostri pape, capelanus camere apostolice, officialis et subcollector in partibus Dalmatie et Sclavonie*.

[1538] In Zadar, the Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. CDC XIV, 499-500, March 10, 1373.

[1539] *plebanus sancte Marie Majoris de Iadra, subcolector in partibus Dalmatie et Croatie*; for Raymond, *apostolice sedis gratia abbatem sancti Nicolay in litore Venetiarum Castelane diocesis, camere apostolice collectorem in Lombardie ac Romanie partibus et Sclavonie*.

140 duc.[1540] 1374	Benedict de Venetiis[1541]	Primicerius Buciardus, canons Duymus Damiani, Jacob Andree, Nicholas Pouergeno	Procurations for a legate, pro duobus annis et pro duobus terminis anualis decime domini nostre Pope Gregory XI (1370-78)
60 duc.[1542] 1375	Benedict de Venetiis	Primicerius Buciardus, canons Duymus Peter, Jacob Nicholas, Duymus Nicolas, Nicholas	pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni ipsius decime bienalis
60 fl.[1543] 1377	Bishop Elias of Catania[1544]	Canon Duymus Nicholas	del primo e secondo anno della decima biennale
60 duc.[1545] 1377	Abbot John from Zadar and Gregory from Zadar[1546]	Canon Duymus Damian and the primicerius of Hvar	primi anni decime biennalis
60 duc.[1547] 1378	Primicerius Michael of Trogir[1548]	Canon Nicholas Longin	secunde anni
60 duc.[1549] 1380		Canon Duymus Nicholas Matthew	
60 duc.[1550] 1383	Abbot Thomas from Zadar[1551]	Canon Johannes Ciucti	primi anni decime triennalis
- 1383	Abbot Thomas from Zadar, Benedict de Venetiis[1552]	Primicerius Buciardo, vicar in spiritual affairs	Postponement until August for tithe of 60 ducats for the arrears since Urban VI (1370-78)

[1540] In Split, in the monastery of Saint Dominic. CDC XV, 76-7, November 10, 1374.

[1541] *ordinis beate Marie, camere apostolice in partibus Sclavonie, in Jadrensi, Spalatensi, Ragusina et Antibarensi provintiis*; subcollector za Raymonda, who was in the meantime awarded for his work with an appointment as the bishop of Padua.

[1542] In Split, in the monastery of Saint Dominic. CDC XV, 133-4, June 15, 1375.

[1543] In Rome. Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 23-4, February 21, 1377; CDC XV, 261-2.

[1544] The vicetresurer of the pope.

[1545] In Zadar. CDC XV, 303-4, August 25, 1377.

[1546] John, the abbot of monastery of Sain Chyrsogonus, and Gregory, the rector of Saint Mary Majoris in Zadar, for Bishop Bernard of Bologna.

[1547] In Trogir. CDC XV, 358-9, April 21, 1378.

[1548] For Bernard, the abbot of Saint Nicholas in litoral Venice.

[1549] ACS 669, membrana 130, 1380; Ostojić, Metropolitanski, 108.

[1550] CDC XVI, 360-1, April 27, 1383.

[1551] Vivian appointed Thomas as the subcollector for Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Antibar. CDC XVI, 327-9, December 1, 1382; 346-9, February 24, 1383.

[1552] Probably the same Benedict as before. He was now the rector of the church of Saint Stephen in Treviso.

60 duc.[1553] 1383	Abbot Thomas from Zadar, Benedict de Venetiis	Canon Duymus, Primicerius Buciardo, vicar in spiritual affairs	prima decima trienali
_[1554] 1383		Canon Duymus Nicholas	Appointed to discuss the payment of tithe with the papal subcollectors
_[1555] 1385	Friar John and Friar Peter Rainaldi de Cornieto[1556]		Postponement of the payment (of tithe?)
16 fl.[1557] 1385	Friar Peter Rainaldi	Canon Duymus Nicholas	For two years of procurations
_[1558] 1388	Abbot Thomas of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar	Canon Duymus	Received some unspecified money from Archbishop Hugolin for the papal subcollector[1559]
15 duc.[1560] 1392	Archbishop Andrew of Split, Abbot Lawrence from Krk[1561]	Canon Nicholas Pouerseni	pro solutione tercii anni decime triennalis of Pope Urban VI (1378-89)
30 duc.[1562] 1394	Michael de Sancto Arcangelo[1563]	Canon Doimus Silvestri	pro duobus terminis primi anni decime trienalis et primo termino secundi anni dicte decime trienalis of Boniface IX (1389-1404); the rest of debt forgiven due to wars

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[1553] CDC XVI, 386-7, September 2, 1383.

[1554] CDC XVI, 393-5, September 22, 1383.

[1555] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 27, July 1, 1385.

[1556] I am not sure who was Friar John, but Friar Peter was the treasurer of the Roman pope and the subcollector of Cardinal Pileus.

[1557] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 28, November 19, 1385; ACS 669, membrana 198. Pileus de Prata, the archbishop of Ravenna, was promoted as the cardinal in 1378. Pileus was sent to Hungary in 1385 on a legatine mission, while in 1387 he defected to Avignon. He returned under the Roman obedience in 1391. Eubel I, 23, 415.

[1558] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* III, 331, [no day or month], 1338.

[1559] Most likely the money left after the death of the abbot of Saint Stephen under the Pines in Split that was disputed between Pope Urban VI and the archbishop. CDC XVII, 82-83, August 10, 1387; VMS I, 338-9.

[1560] CDC XVII, 468-70, October 29, 1392.

[1561] Abbot Lawrence of the Benedictine monastery on Krk.

[1562] CDC XVII, 617-9, September 8, 1394; Mályusz, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I, n. 3617.

[1563] A canon of Rimini and the vicar of the papal collector of papal tithe, John Manchi (or Marchi), a canon of Naples.

20 duc.[1564] 1395	Abbot Frederic de Georgiis from Zadar[1565]	Canon Lawrence Dragosii	Half pro secundo secundi and half pro primo tertii anni decime trienalis
10 duc.[1566] 1396	Michael de Sancto Arcangelo	Canon Doimus Silvestri, the archiepiscopal vicar	secondo termine della triennale decima del papa
10 duc.[1567] 1403	Michael de Sancto Arcangelo[1568]	Archbishop Peregrin	del secondo termine del terzo anno della decima papale

Zadar

Amount Year	Collector and subcollectors	Paid by	Paid for
400 fl.[1569] 1323	Marin, the rector of Saint Stephen of Zadar, and John, the rector of Saint Matthew of Zadar[1570]	Monk Michael, the vicar of the monastery, and Abbot Lawrence[1571]	Money collected for the six-year tithe introduced by Clement V (1305-14) during the council of Vienne and intended for the crusade; money was stored for the safekeeping on 1 October 1317
-[1572] 1328	Bertrand Rotundi, the canon of Weimar[1573]		The collector excommunicated the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Zadar, the order of Saint Clara; after a complaint he retracted the excommunication; it seems he was unaware that the monastery was exempt

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[1564] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 29, October 7, 1395; CDC XVIII, 60-1.

[1565] The abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian of Zadar. The subcollector for Zadar and Split for John Manchi, a canon of Naples and the papal collector for Dalmatia.

[1566] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 29, June 10, 1396; CDC XVIII, 125-6.

[1567] Carrara, *Archivio capitolare*, 31, July 28, 1403.

[1568] The vicar of the apostolic collector John Marchi.

[1569] CDC IX, 128-9, August 8, 1323.

[1570] Marin was now collector for Zadar, but he mentioned that he collected tithe together with John, who was then the rector of Saint Matthew. This is John Butovan who became the archbishop of Zadar in 1320.

[1571] The Benedictine monastery of Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar.

[1572] In Cividale del Friuli. CDC IX, 390-1, April 20, 1328.

[1573] *collector decimarum et fructuum in patriarchatibus Aquilegensi et Gradensi*.

420 lib.[1574] 1329	Canon Bertrand Rotundi	Henry Theotonico de Colonia, a retainer of Abbot John of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus[1575]	decime sexenalis et trienalis of Pope John XXII (1316-34)
_[1576] 1349		Archbishop Nicholas of Zadar	Not collected since the archbishop did not dare to enter his diocese
270 duc.[1577] 1355	Abbot Raymond Maurelli from Venice[1578]	Abbot John of Saint Chrysogonus	Return of a loan (Raymond loaned money to John, probably in order to pay procurations or tithes)
_[1579] 1357	Bishop Demetrius of Nin, the vicar of Archbishop Nicholas of Zadar	Monk Richard, the vicar of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar	Asking for a posponment for the procurations for Cardinal-Legate Albornoz
_[1580] 1358		Archbishop Nicholas Matafari	Letter to the archbishop of Zadar regarding the payment of the three-year tithe
_[1581] 1358	Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary in Zadar[1582]	Abbot John of the moanstery of Saint Chryosogonus[1583]	Cardinal-Legate excommunicated the abbot for failing to pay on time the fourth year of procurations for the legate
56 fl.[1584] 1358	Archbishop Nicholas Matafari	Zoilo de Botono, the procurator of Abbot John of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus	For two years of procuration for the papal legate; papal tithe was not paid[1585]
28 fl.[1586] 1358	Cardinal-Legate Albornoz	Walter (Gualterius), the retainer of the abbot of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus	in contributione procurationis ... primi anni nostre secunde legationis

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[1574] *quadrigentas et viginti libras denariorum paruorum*. CDC IX, 453-4, February 10, 1329.

[1575] Previously, the abbot was excommunicated for failing to pay tithe. Now, he was absolved. CDC IX, 455, February 10, 1329.

[1576] Rationes decimarum, n. 3663, 1349.

[1577] CDC II, 308-9, October 18, 1355.

[1578] Raymundus Maurelli abbas sancti Nicholai in lictore Veneciarum ordinis Benedicti Castellanensis diocesis, apostolice sedis nuncius et collector fructuum, reddituum, proventuum, censum, decimarum et aliorum quorumcumque debitorum in Aquilegensi, Gradensi, Jadrensi, Ragusinensi, Spalatensi, Romanie et Cretensi, Mediolanensi, Ravenensi.

[1579] In Zadar. CDC XII, December 28, 1357.

[1580] Instrumenta Miscellanea, 2111, January 8, 1358.

[1581] CDC XII, 582-4, June 27, 1359.

[1582] The vicar of Archbishop Nicholas Matafari of Zadar.

[1583] The abbot complained that he was forced to spend four years out of Zadar due to the Venetian tyranny, during which time the properties of the monastery suffered.

[1584] In Zadar. CDC XII, 644-5, November 1, 1359.

[1585] The archbishop asked for the papal tithe, while the procurator said that the money was with John Utino, the canon of Brescia and the nuncio of the papal legate.

[1586] In Ancona. CDC XII, 645-6, November 9, 1359.

200 duc.[1587] 1372	Symeon Mauroceno	Archbishop Dominic Thopia	Pro restis decimarum apostolicarum debitis per Archbishop Nicholas
224 duc.[1588] 1372		Archbishop Dominic Thopia	for restis decimarum et pro parte solutionis primi anni procurationum, imposed by Pope Gregory XI (1370-78)
4 duc.[1589] 1375	[1590]	Abbess Missa of the monastery of Saint Margarita of Pag	Super decima annuali, ac primo et secundo terminis decime biennalis of Gregory XI
47 duc.[1591] 1375		Abbot Peter of the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian (Rogovo)	Pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni decime biennalis
31 duc.[1592] 1375		Marin, rector of the church of Saint Peter the Old in Zadar, for himself and the cathedral chapter	Supra decima annali, ac primo et secundo terminis decime biennalis
60 duc.[1593] 1375		Archbishop Dominic Thopia	Pro decima annuali
15 duc.[1594] 1375		Chapter of Pag[1595]	Pro decima annali
20 duc.[1596] 1375		The abbess of the monastery of Saint Mary of Zadar	Pro decima annali ac primo et secundo terminis primi anni decime biennalis
5 duc.[1597] 1375		Abbot Gregory of the monastery of Saint Michael in Zadar	Pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni decime biennalis

[1587] Rationes decimarum, n. 3668, May 6, 1372.
[1588] Rationes decimarum, n. 3669, June 6, 1372.
[1589] Rationes decimarum, n. 3673, June 25, 1375.
[1590] Everything in 1375 was collected by Gregory, the rector of the church of Saint Mary of Zadar and the subcollector *in partibus Sclavonie*. Probably also in 1376.
[1591] duc. 47, sol. 32. Rationes decimarum, n. 3674, June 25, 1375.
[1592] Rationes decimarum, n. 3675, June 25, 1375.
[1593] Rationes decimarum, n. 3677, June 27, 1375.
[1594] Rationes decimarum, n. 3678, June 27, 1375.
[1595] For the incomes of the chapter of Pag, see: Bianchi, Kršćanski Zadar II, 23-4.
[1596] Rationes decimarum, n. 3679, June 28, 1375.
[1597] Rationes decimarum, n. 3680, June 28, 1375.

20 duc.[1598] 1375		The procurators of the cathedral fabrica[1599]	Pro dictis terminis
50 duc.[1600] 1376		Abbot John of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus of Zadar	Super decima annali et bienali of Pope Gregory XI
70 duc.[1601] 1376		Archbishop Peter Matafari	Pro decima biennali of Gregory XI, imposed during the fourth year of his pontificate (end of 1374)
18 duc.[1602] 1376		The abbess of the monastery of Saint Mary of Zadar	Pro primo et secundo terminis secundi anni decime biennalis
30 duc.[1603] 1376		The cathedral chapter of Zadar	Pro primo et secundo terminis secundi anni decime biennalis
5 duc.[1604] 1376		Abbot Gregory of the monastery of Saint Michael de Monte in Zadar	Pro duobus ultimis terminis decime biennalis
20 duc.[1605] 1376		Cleric Thomas from Pag for the chapter of Pag and the monastery of Saint Margarita of Pag	Pro primo et secundo terminis secundi anni decime biennalis
20 duc.[1606] 1376		The procurators of the cathedral fabrica	Pro dictis terminis decime biennalis
32 duc.[1607]	Benedict de Venetiis[1608]	Abbot Frederic of the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian	Pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni tercie decime trienalis of Urban VI

[1598] Rationes decimarum, n. 3681, June 28, 1375.
[1599] Michael, the rector of the church of Saint Michael of Zadar, and Jacob Cedolino of Zadar.
[1600] Rationes decimarum, n. 3682, August 12, 1376.
[1601] Rationes decimarum, n. 3683, August 14, 1376.
[1602] Rationes decimarum, n. 3684, August 16, 1376.
[1603] Rationes decimarum, n. 3685, August 18, 1376.
[1604] Rationes decimarum, n. 3686, August 18, 1376.
[1605] Rationes decimarum, n. 3687, August 18, 1376.
[1606] Rationes decimarum, n. 3688, August 19, 1376.
[1607] CDC XVII, 59-60, March 23, 1387.
[1608] The abbot of the monastery of Saint Mary de Caneto in he diocese of Pula and the subcollector for Vivian de Sancto Severino.

1387			
72 lib.[1609] 1387	Benedict	Abbot Thomas of saint Chrysogonus	Pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni tercie decime triennalis
9 duc.[1610] 1394	Michael de Sancto Arcangello	Abbot Frederic of Sainst Cosmas and Damian	Pro parte solutionis omnium decimarum
17 duc.[1611] 1396	Michael de Sancto Arcangelo	Iohannes de Viticchor from Zadar, procurator of Abbot Chrysogonus[1612]	Pro parte solucionis omniu decimarum et terminorum earundum

Trogir

Amount Year	Collector and subcollectors	Paid by	Paid for
28 sol.[1613] 1321	Duymus, the son of Theodosius, from Split[1614]	Canon Staniccha (Staniša), representative of Bishop Lampredius	paid for 24th part for the procurations for the papal legate, Bertrand in Lombardy
193 fl.[1615] 1351	Abbot Raymond[1616]	Primicerius Nicholas and Canon Elias	pro sex terminis de ipsa decima trienali, paid at once
_[1617] 1356	Abbot John from Fermo	Canon Jacob Vitturi, the archiepiscopal vicar	Estimated that the bishopric of Trogir should pay 37 florins per year for the procurations for Cardinal-Legate Albornoz; money should be paid for two previous years and for the current year[1618]

[1609] *libras septuaginta duas parvorum monete Ungare*. CDC XVII, 61-2, March 23, 1387.

[1610] CDC XVII, 623, October 9, 1394.

[1611] CDC XVIII, 141-2, June 28, 1396.

[1612] The monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar.

[1613] 28 solidi with half of the Venetian silver groschen (viginti octo soldi cum dimidio venetorum grossorum de argento)

[1614] The vicar of Archbishop Peter and the collector in the province of Split.

[1615] In Venice. Rationes decimarum, n. 3754, March 21-2, 1351; CDC XII, 7-8.

[1616] In the CDC it is written that he was the abbot of the monastery of Saint Nicholas of Šibenik. The part with Šibenik was damaged, so the editors added the city in the brackets. Since tithe was paid in Venice and Abbot Raymond of the monastery of Saint Nicholas in litoral Venice was mentioned throughout the 1350s, it is safe to assume that this the same person.

[1617] Abbot John was in Trogir in April, while in May in Split. CDC XII, 336-9, April 4, 1356; CDC XI, 352-3, May 11, 1356.

[1618] In total 38 fl., but 7 fl. was then mentioned as the amount paid: 12 fl. by the bishop, 4 fl. by the canons, 2 fl. by the cathedral fabrica, 4. fl by [damaged text], 6 fl. by the monastery of Saint John, 4 fl. by the monastery of Saint Nicholas and 6 fl. by the monastery of Saint Peter.

_[1619] 1357	Rollettus, the son of Budetti, the canon of Lausanne and the envoy of Archbishop Hugolin of Split[1620]	Abbot Dominic of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist, Primicerius Nicholas Donat and the cathedral chapter of Trogir	Excommunication of the bishopric of Trogir for not paying the required 25th for procurations for Cardinal-Legate Albornoz[1621]
75 fl.[1622] 1357	Cardinal-Legate Albornoz	Canon John, the son of Matthew, for the cathedral chapter of Trogir[1623]	Stated that 75 florins have been given to Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir for the legate, but the bishop kept the money
122 duc.[1624] 1360		Archdeacon Jacob and Primicerius Nicholas Donat	The lease of the incomes of the cathedral chapter in Bosiljina on the mandate of the papal legate (not named) so they could pay for his procurations
135 duc.[1625] 1374-75	Benedict, the subcollector[1626]		
134 duc.[1627] 1374		From the clergy of the city and the diocese of Trogir, excluding the bishop	Pro parte solutionis terminorum trium annorum subsidii procurationum et duorum terminum decime annalis
36 duc.[1628] 1375	Benedictus de Veneciis, the subcollector[1629]	Bishop Chrysogonus for himself, his mensa, the cathedral chapter and the monasteries of Saint Nicholas and Saint Peter	Pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni decime biennalis of pope Gregory XI
36 duc.[1630] 1376		Bishop Chrysogonus and his clergy	Pro primo et secundo terminis decime biennalis

[1619] CDC XII, 385-7, January 3, 1357.

[1620] The archbishop was the delegated judge of Cardinal-Legate Albornoz.

[1621] Rollettus came to Trogir and wanted to immediately excommunicate the bishop, cathedral chapter and the entire bishopric, but was stopped by a complaint from the canons who offered proof that they gave the required money to Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir. According to the archbishop's mandate, Rollettus was to be paid 1 ducat per day for two days that he was in Trogir, which was to be paid by Thomas, the son of Matiche, the procurator of the bishop. Yet Rollettus demanded 6 ducats from the cathedral chapter, which they refused to give, so he excommunicated them.

[1622] In Venice. CDC XII, 393-6, March 10, 1357.

[1623] Canons Thomas, the son of Mathias, and Michael, the son of Martin, were selected to collect the required 25th for the procuration.

[1624] CDC XIII, 27-8, May 28, 1360.

[1625] Rationes decimarum, n. 3755-56, 3758, November 11, 1374 – June 18, 1375. When collecting the sum of 50 ducats in 1375 the papal subcollector submitted 34 ducats. He wrote that 14 ducats were used for his expenses and salary, so additional 2 ducats were probably used for other expenses.

[1626] Probably Benedict de Venetiis mentioned in Split.

[1627] Rationes decimarum, n. 3760, November 11, 1374.

[1628] Rationes decimarum, n. 3761, June 18, 1375; CDC XV, 134-5.

[1629] *generalis vicarius subcollector et locum tenens* for Bishop Raymond of Padua.

[1630] Rationes decimarum, n. 3762, July 18, 1376.

20 duc.[1631] 1397	Michael de Sancto Archangelo[1632]	Bishop Chrysogonus and his clergy	Decimis preteris

Services[1633] and Ad limina visits[1634] to the Apostolic See (fl – florins; sol – solidus; den – denarius (T/A/R/V[1635]))

Year	Arch/bishop	Purpose	Per manus	Common services	Petty services	Card.[1636]
1316-1334[1637]		Taxes of the bishoprics in Slavonia		200 fl. by Split 74 fl. by Trogir		

Zadar

1299[1638]	James of Fulgineo (1299-1312)[1639]	Promise		250 fl		28
1312[1640]	Nicholas de Setia (1312-20)	Promise		400 fl	five customary services	19
1317[1641]	Nicholas	Payment	Magister Petrus Assibellis, literarum domini pape scriptoris, and	200 fl.	8 fl., 4 sol., and 10 T. den.	23

[1631] CDC XVIII, 238-9, August 1, 1397.

[1632] He is usually accompanied by Abbot Lawrence of the monastery of Saint Lawrence on Krk.

[1633] Common services (*servitia communia*) were paid by higher clergy, such as bishops and abbots, for their appointment or confirmation by the pope in the consistory. It was divided between the pope and the cardinals. The petty services (*servitia minuta*) were smaller payments which were given to the officials and retainers of the Curia and the cardinal's college, namely four were give to the papal officials and one to the staff of the cardinals. Lunt, Papal Revenues I, 81-2. For Croatia-Dalmatia, see: Soldo, Takse servitium commune kod nas kroz XIV i polovicom XV stoljeća.

[1634] Requirement by the pope from the bishops to regularly visit the Apostolic See in order to report about the situation in their diocese (*visita ad limina sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*). The bishops could come by themselves or employ a procurator, but the visit depended on the distance. Italian bishops had to come once every year. Those living across the sea – every two years. This was the case for the archbishops of Split, but the archbishops of Zadar had obligation to come once every three years. Lunt, Papal Revenues I, 91-3; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Ad limina," in *Dizionario enciclopedico del Medioevo*, vol. I, edited by André Vauchez and Claudio Leonardi (Rome: Città Nuova, 1998), 14.

[1635] Turon - *denariorum Turonensium parvorum*; Roman – *monete Romane*; Vienne – *vienensibus*.

[1636] The number of cardinals present when the bishop would promise to pay for his appointment. This would be used to count the petty services. MCV I, p. 16.

[1637] CDC VIII, 442-3, 1316-1334.

[1638] MVC I, n. 1, July 16, 1299.

[1639] Appointed 15 June 1299, Potthast II, n 24843

[1640] MVC I, n. 5, August 19, 1312.

[1641] MVC I, n. 9, July 16, 1317.

			Romanus Stephen de Secia, the procurator of the archbishop			
1333[1642]	Nicholas Matafari (1333-67)	Promise		400 fl.	five customary services	22
1334[1643]	Nicholas	Payment		100 fl.	18 fl., 2 sol. and 5 den. for four services	
1335[1644]	Nicholas	Payment	Peter de Valdercario, domicellus (servant?)	100 fl	18 fl, 2 solidis and 5 denars for four services	
1337[1645]	Nicholas	Visit, once in three years	Demetrius de Mathafaris, procurator			
1340[1646]	Nicholas	Visit, once in three years	Monk Dominic, procurator[1647]			
1342[1648]	Nicholas	Visit, once in three years	Monk Dominic, procurator[1649]			
1357[1650]	Nicholas	Visit, once in two years	Nicholas de Auxinio			
1368[1651]	Dominic Thopia (1368-76)	Promise	Matheus Symonis, procurator[1652]	400 fl	five customary services	18
1368[1653]	Dominic	Payment	Matheus Symonis, the canon of Zagreb	126 fl.	28 fl. for four services	

[1642] MVC I, n. 46, October 2, 1333; n. 108 (same, except the year is 1334); n. 122 (same but different date, August 18, 1335).

[1643] MVC I, n. 101, May 6, 1334; n. 116 (same).

[1644] MVC I, n. 102, June 15, 1335; n. 117 (same); n. 132 (same).

[1645] MVC I, n. 136, February 10, 1337.

[1646] MVC I, n. 140, April 5, 1340.

[1647] From the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the diocese of Zadar.

[1648] MVC I, n. 142, March 18, 1342.

[1649] From the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the diocese of Zadar.

[1650] MVC I, n. 258, June 22, 1357.

[1651] MVC I, n. 294, June 9, 1368; n. 320 (same, except adds Matheus Symonis, procurator of the archbishop).

[1652] The canon of Zagreb.

[1653] MVC I, n. 331, June 15, 1368.

1368[1654]	Dominic	Payment	Bishop Michael of Skradin	74 fl.	16 fl., 5 sol., 4 den.	
1376[1655]	Peter Matafari (1376-1400)	Promise		400 fl.	five customary services	25
1377[1656]	Peter	Payment		100 fl.		
1400[1657]	Luca of Fermo (1400-20)	Promise	Archdeacon Bartholomew of Benevento and Brother Augustin de Montegranario, procurators	400 fl.	five customary services	
		Promise to pay for predecessor Peter		110 fl	five customary services	
1404[1658]	Luca	Payment		36 fl., 5 sol., 6 R.den	5 fl., 27 sol., 11 den. and obolus	
1404[1659]	Luca	Payment	Bishop Bartholomew of Rimini	36 fl., 5 sol., 6 R.den	5 fl., 27 sol., 11 den. and obolus	
1405[1660]	Luca	Payment		18 fl., 2 sol., 11 R.den. and obolus	2 fl., 38 sol., 10 R.den., and obolus	
1406[1661]	Luca	Payment		18 fl., 2 sol., 11 R.den	2 fl., 38 sol., 11 R.den. and obolus	

Split

1324[1662]	Balian (1324-28)	Promise		200 fl.		20

[1654] MVC I, n. 331, June 15, 1368.
[1655] MVC I, n. 360, May 14, 1376.
[1656] MVC I, n. 353, March 23, 1377.
[1657] MVC I, n. 451, August 6, 1400.
[1658] MVC I, n. 462, June 4, 1404.
[1659] MVC I, n. 546, July 4, 1404. It could be the same as n. 462, just wrong month.
[1660] MVC I, n. 465, July 3, 1405; n. 549 (same).
[1661] MVC I, n. 469, September 7, 1406.
[1662] MVC I, n. 39, November 29, 1324; n. 86 (same).

1325[1663]	Balian	Payment	Magister Angelus de Reate, the papal scribe	100 fl.	20 fl.	
1326[1664]	Balian	Payment	Magister Angelus de Reate, the papal scribe	100 fl.	20 fl.	
1326[1665]	Balian	Visit, once every two years	Magister Stephen de Anagni, procurator			
1328[1666]	Dominic Lucari (1328-48)	Promise		200 fl.	five customary services	24
1329[1667]	Dominic	Payment	Magister Michael, archdeacon of Treviso	50 fl.	11 V.sol.	
1329[1668]	Dominic	Payment	Magister Michael, archdeacon of Treviso	50 fl.	8 fl. and 11 V.sol.	
1348[1669]	John (1348)	Promise		200 fl.	five customary services	19
1349[1670]	Hugolin de Branca (1349-88)	Promise		200 fl.	five customary services	
1350[1671]	Hugolin	Payment	Neapolionus de Ponterol de Fornillo, procurator	50 fl.	11 fl, 18 sol and 4 denarios of Avignon	
1351[1672]	Hugolin	Payment	Johannus Jacobi de Podiobourg de Florencia	50 fl.	11 fl, 18 sol and 4 den Avignon	
1389[1673]	Andrew Benzi (1389-1403)	Promise		200 fl.		14
1389[1674]	Andrew	Payment		15 fl.		

[1663] MVC I, n. 17, December 23, 1325; n. 66 (same).

[1664] MVC I, n. 76, January 27, 1326.

[1665] MVC I, n. 83, July 27, 1326.

[1666] MVC I, n. 41, September 9, 1328; n. 90 (same).

[1667] MVC I, n. 69, July 17, 1329; n. 91 (same).

[1668] MVC I, n. 71, December 19, 1329; n. 93 (same); n. 98 (same)

[1669] MVC I, n. 161, August 11, 1348.

[1670] MVC I, n. 168, June 25, 1349; n. 223 (same).

[1671] MVC I, n. 209, March 27, 1350; n. 214 (same).

[1672] MVC I, n. 216, August 26, 1351; n. 235 (same); also, see: n. 205, December 22, 1351.

[1673] MVC I, n. 392, May 30, 1389.

[1674] MVC I, n. 371, May 30, 1389.

1403[1675]	Pelegrinus (1403-09)	Promise	Iohannes de Atzaiolis, procurator	200 fl.	five customary services	14
		Promise to pay for predecessor Andrew		185 fl.	five customary services	
1404[1676]	Pelegrinus	Payment	Ieremia de Spalato	95 fl.		
1415[1677]	Domnius (1409-20)	Promise	Dominicus de Ragusio, procurator[1678]	200 fl.	five customary services	
1419[1679]	Domnius	Payment	Antonius Barini, a citizen of Split, procurator	50 fl.		

Trogir

1320[1680]	Lampredius Vitturi (1319-49)	Promise		70 fl.	five customary services	29
1322[1681]	Lampredius	Visit, once every two years	Galfredus de Realibus de Pisterio, procurator			
1323[1682]	Lampredius	Payment	Avezutus de Padua, procurator	35 fl.	1 fl., 8 sol., 10 T.den.	
1323[1683]	Lampredius	Payment	Aduezuti de Padua, advocate at the Curia	35 fl.	6 fl., 3 sol., 8 V.den.	
1349[1684]	Bartholomew (1349-61)	Promise		74 fl.	five customary services	17
1362[1685]	Nicholas Kažotić (1361-70)	Promise		74 fl.	five customary services	19

[1675] MVC I, n. 502, May 7, 1403.
[1676] MVC I, n. 460, January 20, 1404; n. 545 (same).
[1677] MVC I, n. 494, December 11, 1415.
[1678] A canon of Split and a doctor of law.
[1679] MVC I, n. 575, August 11, 1419; n. 1025, August 16, 1419.
[1680] MVC I, n. 27, April 8, 1320; n. 35 (same; wrong date by editors).
[1681] MVC I, n. 62, April 18, 1322.
[1682] MVC I, n. 13, July 27, 1323.
[1683] MVC I, n. 63, July 27, 1323.
[1684] MVC I, n. 166, March 14, 1349; n. 197 (same).
[1685] MVC I, n. 287, August 20, 1362.

				24 fl., 12 sol.	2 fl., 4 sol., 3 den. for one service	
		Promise to pay for predecessor Bartholomew				
1373[1686]	Chrysogonus (1372-1403)	Promise		74 fl.	five customary services	26
		Promise to pay for predecessor Nicholas		74 fl.	five customary services	
		Promise to pay for predecessor Bartholomew		24 fl., 12 sol.	2 fl., 4 sol., 3 den. for one service	
1387[1687]						

[1686] MVC I, n. 302, May 19, 1373.
[1687] *Laurentius, episcopus Traguriensis, per dominum Antonium de Novaria, procuratorem suum*, promised to pay 84 fl. and five services. MVC I, n. 382, August 23, 1387. This entry was probably a mistake.

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