

Judit Gál

**HUNGARIAN HORIZONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN  
DALMATIA:  
THE ROLE OF THE ROYAL GRANTS TO THE CHURCH**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Examiner

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External Reader

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

Budapest, 21 May 2014



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Signature

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**HAZU** – Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts]

**JAZU** – Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti [Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts]

**MTA TTI** – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Történettudományi Intézet [Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History]

**OPZ** – Odsjek za povijesne znanosti [Department for Historical Research]

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis will deal with a special part of the Hungarian-Croatian relationship in the Middle Ages: the role of the royal grants to the Church in Dalmatia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These grants included lands and confirmations of rights, and they were issued from the very beginning of the common history of Croatia and Hungary. While the royal grants to the Church provide a rich material for historical research, the role of these grants has remained a not well-researched territory. Neither Hungarian nor Croatian historians have paid much attention to the complex role of the grants, to the changing royal policy or to the influence of the social development of giving grants. The previous research mostly dealt with the political aspects of the relationship between Hungary and Croatia, and the symbolic, ritual and political role of the aforementioned grants stayed in the background of scholarly interest.

The Hungarian historians has not been paid much attention to the history of Dalmatia, since it was a close, but also a distant region. Dalmatia had different social structures, legal history, and secular administration than the Kingdom of Hungary. In the twentieth century only few historians like Attila Zsoldos, Gyula Kristó, and György Györffy dealt with topics connected to Dalmatia, The focus was on the legal questions, the secular administration of Dalmatia and the royal privileges to Dalmatian cities. The Croatian historiography also focused on the political history of the Árpád age in the twentieth century. Legal questions were popular in the research, like the credibility and characteristics of royal privileges of the Dalmatian cities, the independence of Croatia and Dalmatia, the characteristic of the royal power in the region, the secular administration and so on.

The royal grants or gifts has never been examined in their complexity, they were only mentioned or examined as a part of the political or legal history. The Hungarian

historiography has never been dealt with the background or the characteristics of giving grants to the Church. In the last few years two Croatian scholars examined a specific grant or a group of the royal grants according to new approaches. Ana Marinković examined the royal chapel of the St. Mary monastery in Zadar and the connection of the royal policy of King Coloman and the previous rulers of Croatia.<sup>1</sup> Mladen Ančić put the grants into the context of the symbolical policy and the royal representation<sup>2</sup>

In the present work I will analyze thirty-nine royal grants to Church of the Árpád dynasty of Hungary after Coloman's coronation as a king of Croatia and Dalmatia in 1102 until the end of the dynasty in 1301. The thesis covers a relatively long period which is suitable to examine the changing royal policy, the usage of the royal grants, the transformation of the society and economy and their influence to the grant-giving. This period included fights for Dalmatia between Byzantium, Hungary, and Venice, inner struggle for the Hungarian throne, the Mongol invasion and the weakening of the royal power over the region after the death of Béla IV in 1270. This variety let one have the opportunity to analyze the role of the grants to the Church and the changes of the royal policy in grant-giving.

The thesis will be based on two kinds of sources. I will deal with two narrative sources from the thirteenth century: Thomas the Archdeacon's *Historia Salonitana* and Bishop Treguan's *Vita Beati Johannis Traguriensis*. The second group of the sources will be charters and inscriptions from the examined period. The majority of them is published in source editions and another part of the diplomatic sources can be found the collection of manuscripts of a seventeenth-century historian, Johannes Lucius, which is held in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and arts. This collection contains the manuscript

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<sup>1</sup> Ana Marinković, "Constrvi et erigiivs sitrex Collomanus. The Royal Chapel of King Coloman in the Complex of St. Mary in Zadar," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 37-64.

<sup>2</sup> Mladen Ančić, "From the "Demigod" King to the First Ideas About a "National Kingdom", in *Kolomanov put* [Coloman's path], ed. Mladen Ančić and Jelena Borošak-Marijanović (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesne muzej, 2002), 42-111.

heritage of Lucius and it contains unpublished charters which are only preserved in this work. The examined grants included the known grants to archbishoprics, bishoprics and monasteries of Dalmatia, but do not cover the grants to the military orders, whose legal situation towards the kings of Hungary is still not clear. Moreover, the thesis will concentrate on the relationship between the royal court and the Dalmatian Church organization, and the military orders were not part of this ecclesiastical system.

The thesis will be based on the analysis of the temporal and territorial aspects of the royal grants. I will use a comparative analysis of spatial, social, chronological distribution of data. I will not only examine the royal grants with the approach of political and church history, but I will analyze the grants and the process of giving grants in context of the social history, history of representation, history of symbolic communication and history of rituals. The focus will be on the complexity of the grants: their practical, political and symbolic role both from the aspects of the royal court and the recipients of the grants.

First I will describe the brief historical context of the examined period: from the time when Dalmatia got under Hungarian rule until 1301. Then the focus will be on the analysis of the territorial and temporal distribution of the royal grants. The second main chapter of the thesis will deal with the royal aspects of the grant-giving. I will analyze the personal presence of the kings in the context of royal grants, the political usage of the grants and their symbolic role in the royal policy. The final chapter will concentrate on the receivers' point of view. I will examine the audience of the royal visits and their motivation in grant-giving. The focus will be on the social and economic context of the royal grants: I will analyze how kings and dukes changed their policy, when the communal development transformed the role of the Church in Dalmatia.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Peter III last descendant of the Croatian royal dynasty and died in 1091 without an heir. After his death, the Hungarian king, Ladislas I (1077-95) attempted to acquire the rule over Croatia and Dalmatia during the chaotic period when different groups fought for the throne of Croatia. The Hungarian king had family ties to the late king of Croatia and Dalmatia, Zvonimir, as Ladislas' sister was his wife. Ladislas succeeded to hold a part of Croatia but the Cumans' attack against Hungary hindered his further activities in Croatia and Dalmatia in 1091.<sup>3</sup> That year he inducted Álmos, his nephew, as king of Croatia and Dalmatia, but the rule of Álmos was probably only titular and his title symbolized the Árpáds' aspiration to rule this territory.<sup>4</sup>

The Hungarian kings did not attempt to seize Croatia and Dalmatia in the following few years mostly because Ladislas I died (1095). Furthermore, the first crusade went through Hungary (1096) and King Coloman (1095-1116) had to face internal affairs.<sup>5</sup> The Árpáds' struggle for getting the rule over this region ended with the victory of King Coloman. First he led his army to Croatia, where he defeated Peter, who claimed to be the king of Croatia in 1097. After the victory, Coloman struggled with internal affairs, so he could not confront Venice. The internal and external circumstances let Coloman to restore his power in the region and he was crowned as king of Croatia and Dalmatia in Biograd in 1102.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Pauler, Gyula, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt* [History of the Hungarian nation in the Árpád age]. vol. 1-2. (Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyv terjesztők Egyesülése, 1899), I 201.

<sup>4</sup>Font Márta, "Megjegyzések a horvát-magyar perszonál unió középkori történetéhez"[Notes on the medieval history of the Hungarian-Croatian personal union]. In *Híd a századokfelett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára*. [Bridge over the centuries. Studies in honor of László Katus on his seventieth birthday], ed. Péter. Hanák, (Pécs: University Press, 1997), 12.

<sup>5</sup> Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* [History of the Croats in the High Middle Ages], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), 486-491.

<sup>6</sup> Pauler, *A magyar nemzet*, 214-215.

Coloman seized Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, and the islands in 1105, three years after the coronation.<sup>7</sup> The king of Hungary had to Venice for the coastal lands, and the Italian city state attacked and a year later seized that part of Dalmatia, which was under the rule of Coloman's son, Stephen II (1116–31). The king tried to recapture the coastal territories in 1118, but he had no success, and made peace with Venice for five years.<sup>8</sup> When the five years of the peace elapsed the king of Hungary led an army to Dalmatia in 1124, and seized North and Central Dalmatia, except for Zadar. The success was only temporary, because Venice retook these lands in 1125.<sup>9</sup>

King Béla II (1131–41) was active in Dalmatia, since he seized Central Dalmatia with Split in 1135-1136. Probably he also captured certain Bosnian lands during this military campaign. Significant changes happened in the relationship between Dalmatia and Hungary during the first years of Stephen III's (1162–72) reign. He was constantly at war with Byzantium between 1162 and 1165. Manuel I Comnenos, the Byzantine emperor seized Central Dalmatia and his ally, Venice captured Zadar by 1165.<sup>10</sup> Stephen III tried to restore his rule in 1166-1167, and he could hold Šibenik and Biograd for a short time. The emperor seized this land again in 1167.<sup>11</sup>

When Manuel died in 1180, King Béla III (1172-1196) retrieved the territory. First he took Central Dalmatia in 1181, and a year later Zadar also went under Hungarian rule. Venice tried to seize this city in 1187 and in 1192-1193, but the attacks were unsuccessful. After Béla III's death his son, Emeric followed him on the throne of Hungary. He had to struggle with his brother for the rule. Duke Andrew defeated him in Mački (Slavonia) in 1197, and he

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<sup>7</sup> Makk, Ferenc, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 14.

<sup>8</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 18-20.

<sup>9</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 21.

<sup>10</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 96–98.

<sup>11</sup> Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Sclavoniae et Dalmatiae*. Vol. 1-18. (Zagreb: 1904–1934.), II 115-116. Hereafter CDC.

held Croatia, Dalmatia and a part of Hum between 1197 and 1204.<sup>12</sup> The fight with Venice continued in 1204 when the Italian city seized Zadar during the fourth crusade. King Béla IV (1235-70) attempted to get back the city again in 1242, but he was defeated in 1244, and Zadar stayed under Venetian rule throughout the examined period.<sup>13</sup> After the Béla IV's death the royal power weakened in Hungary and groups of noble men fight against each other for the rule using the young king, Ladislas IV (1272-1289). The kings of Hungary did not pay much attention to Dalmatia, probably after King Béla IV no king visited the coastal territories. The lack of royal power also let the local elites to strengthen their authority, and this period was the time of the emergent of the Šubić noble kindred.

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<sup>12</sup> Szabados, György, "Imre és András" [Imre and Andrew]. *Századok* 133 (1999): 94.

<sup>13</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 122-123.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **Territorial and Temporal Distribution of Royal Grants to Church**

To get a full picture of Hungarian Church policy in Dalmatia during the Árpád age (1102-1301), some features of the royal grants to the Church have to be discussed. Royal grants in this case are defined as grants of the Hungarian kings, dukes of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, and also grants made by the bans of Slavonia between 1241 and 1267, a time when the bans were also dukes of this region. The definition of the grants includes lands which were donated to ecclesiastical institutions, and new or confirmed privileges to the Church in Dalmatia. This chapter, and the whole thesis, deals with those grants whose credibility is accepted both or either by the Hungarian or Croatian historiography. The thesis does not deal with forgeries, like King Géza II's grant concerning Srenine in 1158.<sup>14</sup> The questionable grants belonged to the archbishopric of Split from the twelfth century. In case of these grants I accepted the opinion of the Hungarian and a part of the Croatian historiography, like Mladen Ančić's point of view, who believes that the contents of these charters could be credible.<sup>15</sup>

The focus will be on the temporal and territorial distribution of the royal grants in this chapter. First I will give a detailed description about the royal grants to the Church issued between 1102 and 1301. Thereafter, I will deal with the temporal aspects of giving grants. I will analyze the intensity and the occasions of giving grants. Finally, I will examine the territorial distribution of the royal grants. The focus will be on the recipients and the changes of the royal custom.

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<sup>14</sup> CDC II 86.

<sup>15</sup> See Klaić, *Povijest*, 16.



## 1. The royal grants examined

The royal grants examined here comprise examples from published primary source collections and holdings of the national archives in Croatia. I will analyze here all those grants issued by Hungarian kings or dukes which are known from charters, mentions, inscriptions, and narrative sources from 1102 until 1301 (see Fig 3.). King Coloman (1096-1116) made the first royal grant to a Dalmatian church in 1102.<sup>16</sup> Coloman was crowned king of Croatia and Dalmatia in that year in Biograd and during his intervention in Dalmatia he stayed at the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar, three years before he seized the city. During his stay the king confirmed the previous privileges of the monastery. Three years later he seized Zadar, Trogir, Split, and the islands.<sup>17</sup> At least three royal grants are known from this period. Coloman confirmed the privileges of the bishopric of Trogir<sup>18</sup> the monastery of St. Mary,<sup>19</sup> and he gifted the aforementioned monastery in Zadar with a tower. This grant is exceptional because no charter mentions it, only an inscription in the tower itself testifies to the gift of the Hungarian king.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, from the confirmation of King Béla II (1131-41) from 1138 it is known that Coloman gave the church of Saint Mary to the archbishopric of Split.<sup>21</sup>

This charter of King Béla II also mentions that King Stephen II (1116-31) confirmed Coloman's grant. In my opinion, Coloman's grant could have been issued after 1105 in one of the years when he visited Dalmatia, as was his custom. This custom meant that after he

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<sup>16</sup> CDC II 9.

<sup>17</sup> Györffy, György, "A 12. századi dalmáciai városprivilegiumok kritikája" [Critical notes on the privileges of the Dalmatian towns in the twelfth century], *Történelmi Szemle* 10 (1967): 49.

<sup>18</sup> Vedran Gligo and Hrvoje Morović, *Legende i Kronike* [Legends and chronicles] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1977), 119.

<sup>19</sup> Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, and James Sweeney. *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificium* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), 96. Hereafter *Historia Salonitana*.

<sup>20</sup> ANNO INCAR[NATIONIS] . DOMINI . N[OST]ER . IE[S]V . CHR[IST]I . MIL[LESIMO] . C . V. POST VICTORIAM ET PACIS PRAEMIA . IADERAE INTROITUS . A DEO CONCESSA // PROPRIO SVMPTV . HANC TVRRI[M] S[AN]C[T]AE MARIAE . UNGARIAE . D[AL]MAT[IAE] . CHROA[TIAE] . CONTRVUI . ET ERIGI // IVSSIT REX COLLOMANNVS. See Miroslav Marković, "Dva natpisa iz Zadra" [Two inscriptions from Zadar], *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauke* 36 (1953): 101.

<sup>21</sup> CDC II 47.

was crowned in Biograd he went to Dalmatia in every third year and probably they became regular visits. I will show in the next chapter that these visits probably were continued during the reign of his successors. Stephen II's grant was probably given to Split around 1124-1125, when he retook the city from Venice.<sup>22</sup>

During the reign of Géza II (1141-1162) he gave grants to the archbishopric of Split at least three times. He confirmed the rights of the archbishopric over the church of Saint Mary in 1143.<sup>23</sup> In 1158 he gave the church of Saint Bartholomew, the church of Saint Stephen, and the church of Saint Moses to the archbishopric.<sup>24</sup> Three years later Géza II gave a certain property in Solin to the archbishopric.<sup>25</sup> This donation is only known from a short note found in the manuscript heritage of Johannes Lucius from the seventeenth century kept in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.<sup>26</sup>

The same manuscript preserves a note about the confirmation of this grant in Solin by King Stephen III (1162-72) in 1163.<sup>27</sup> The Hungarian king, who had to fight against Venice and Byzantium for Dalmatia, probably also confirmed the privileges of the archbishopric of Split in the same year.<sup>28</sup> It can be stressed that he was also the first Hungarian king to confirm the privileges of monastery of Saint John in Biograd, which he did in 1166.<sup>29</sup> In 1167, Manuel I Comnenos (1143-80), the Byzantine emperor, seized Dalmatia among other southern territories of the Hungarian king. Byzantine rule lasted until the beginning of the 1180s, when King Béla III seized back these territories.<sup>30</sup> He also confirmed his brother's grant to the monastery of Saint John in Biograd in 1188.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 20-21.

<sup>23</sup> CDC II 54.

<sup>24</sup> CDC II 87

<sup>25</sup> Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12

<sup>27</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.

<sup>28</sup> CDC II 97.

<sup>29</sup> CDC II 106.

<sup>30</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 114.

<sup>31</sup> CDC II 225.

The year 1197 was a turning point in the Hungarian royal policy in Dalmatia. King Emeric (1196-1204) and his brother, Duke Andrew (1197-1205) disturbed the peace of Hungary with their fight for the throne. The struggles between the two brothers and groups of the elite reached Dalmatia as well. Duke Andrew succeeded in getting the rule in Dalmatia, Croatia, and later in a part of Hum in 1197-1198, after he had defeated King Emeric in a battle in Slavonia, near Mački. Since Dalmatia belonged to Andrew's territory, the importance of his relations with the Church in this region was unquestionable. One can see that the number of the royal grants started increasing during the hostile relationship between the king and the duke. King Emeric confirmed the privileges both of the archbishopric of Zadar and the archbishopric of Split in 1198.<sup>32</sup> In the same year, Prince Andrew also confirmed some privileges both of the archbishopric of Split<sup>33</sup> and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd.<sup>34</sup> Two years later King Emeric also confirmed the privileges of monastery of Saint John in Biograd,<sup>35</sup> and church of Saint Vital to the bishopric of Trogir.<sup>36</sup> Maybe King Andrew confirmed this grant as king between 1205 and 1210, because Matthew, the vice-ban of the coastal region, mentions in his charter in 1210 that Andrew had issued a royal privilege concerning this church.<sup>37</sup> Both Emeric and Andrew donated the property of Biać and Gradac to the archbishopric of Trogir before 1202<sup>38</sup> and King Emeric gave mills on Jadro River to the archbishopric of Split during his reign.<sup>39</sup>

After the struggle between the brothers, Andrew II (1205-35) became king of Hungary. He confirmed the privileges of the archbishopric of Split in 1207 with special

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<sup>32</sup> CDC II 310., CDC II 310-311.

<sup>33</sup> CDC II 308., CDC II 309.

<sup>34</sup> CDC II 293.

<sup>35</sup> CDC II 358.

<sup>36</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 27-28.

<sup>37</sup> *terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis confirmatum et corroboratum cum privilegio Domini Regis*, see Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28-29.

<sup>38</sup> CDC III. 16.

<sup>39</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 140.

regard for the place of the recently subordinated bishopric of Bosnia.<sup>40</sup> Later, in 1210, he again confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Saint John in Biograd<sup>41</sup> and gave grant to the Church of Trogir<sup>42</sup> and a certain piece of land in Solin to the archbishopric of Split when he led a crusade and stayed in the city in 1217.<sup>43</sup> Before arriving in Split, King Andrew confirmed his previous grant to the bishopric and the community of Trogir.<sup>44</sup>

Coloman (1226-42), duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, gave Drid to the bishopric of Trogir in 1226<sup>45</sup> and Andrew II confirmed it a year later.<sup>46</sup> Coloman, the former king of was the duke of the region from 1226 until 1242, when he died in the battle of Muhi against the Mongols. During his duchy Slavonia and the bishopric of Zagreb was flourishing. He ruled huge a huge territory, because he seized a part of Bosnia also. Coloman tried to transform the ecclesiastical organization of his territories in 1240, when he claimed to unify the rich and prosperous bishopric of Zagreb and the archbishopric of Split. The attempt was unsuccessful, because the archbishop of Kalocsa did not want to lose his authority over Zagreb.<sup>47</sup>

King Béla IV, the former duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, also confirmed this grant in 1242 while he was exiled from Hungary by the Tartars.<sup>48</sup> He also tried to seize back Zadar from Venice, and during that time, also in 1242, confirmed the privileges

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<sup>40</sup> CDC III 70.

<sup>41</sup> CDC III 99.

<sup>42</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28-29.

<sup>43</sup> CDC III 160.

<sup>44</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/13. fol. 29.

<sup>45</sup> CDC III 258.

<sup>46</sup> CDC III 278.

<sup>47</sup> On Coloman's reform and the flourishing of Slavonia and Zagreb see Ivan Basić, "O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. stoljeću," *Pro tempore* 3 (2006): 25-43.; Györffy György, "Szlavónia kialakulásának oklevélkritikai vizsgálata" [Source-critical analysis of the formation of Slavonia], *Levéltári Közlemények* 41 (1970): 234.; Dujmović, Danko and Vjekoslav Jukić, "The „Koloman Renaissance” in North Western Croatia – An Unfinished Project,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 37 (2010): 171-182.; Vladimir P. Goss, "Bishop Stjepan and Herceg Koloman and the Beginning of the Gothic in Croatia," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13 (2007): 51-63.

<sup>48</sup> CDC IV 153.

of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar.<sup>49</sup> Two years later he donated Cetina County to the archbishopric of Split when he supported Archbishop Ugrin's election.<sup>50</sup>

In the second half of the thirteenth century the number of the royal grants decreased. Three of them were given to the bishopric of Nin by King Stephen V and Ban Roland from the Rátót kindred, who was the duke of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia at that time.<sup>51</sup> King Ladislas IV issued the last royal grant when he donated a certain piece of land in Croatia to the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar.<sup>52</sup>

## **2. The temporal distribution of the royal grants**

### **2.1 The distribution of the grants by kings and dukes**

In order to see the complex picture of royal grants to churches it is necessary to examine their temporal distribution. King Coloman made the first grants at the beginning of his rule in Dalmatia. During the next decade he confirmed the privileges and he gave money for a tower to the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar. After King Coloman died, the number of the royal grants started to decrease until the end of the twelfth century. During those decades the Hungarian kings struggled with Venice and Byzantium over Dalmatia. First Venice captured the Dalmatian cities ruled by Stephen II, son of Coloman, in 1116. The Italian city-state held these territories until 1136, except for a short period around 1124-1125. Later, in 1167, Byzantium seized Dalmatia and secured its rule until 1180, when Emperor Manuel I died. During this time the number of the royal grants was low. While at least five grants can be related to King Coloman, the next five Hungarian kings made grants only nine times to the Church in Dalmatia, until the beginning of the fight between King Emeric and Prince Andrew in 1197.

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<sup>49</sup> CDC IV 163.

<sup>50</sup> CDC IV 243.

<sup>51</sup> CDC V 636., 637.

<sup>52</sup> CDC VI 533.

During the conflict between the brothers they issued at least twelve royal grants to the Church from 1198 until the end of 1202. This was more than the number of royal grants, issued after the death of King Coloman (1116) until Andrew became duke. The number of the surviving sources and the disappearance of archives of bishoprics and other churches should be considered during the examined period, but it still can be seen clearly that the struggle between the brothers influenced the royal relations with the Church in Dalmatia. During the thirteenth century Andrew II (1205-35), the former duke, made grants to the Dalmatian ecclesiastical institutions five or six times and King Béla IV (1235-70) did so three times before 1244. After the mid-thirteenth century the number of the grants decreased drastically; only four grants were issued, one of them by Ban and Duke Roland (1261-67).

## **2.2 The temporal distribution of the grants due to their dates and the circumstances of issue**

The dates and occasions of royal grants provide valuable information about the characteristics of the Hungarian kings' church policy in Dalmatia. In my opinion a great majority of these grants were issued when the kings or dukes were personally present in this territory. The Hungarian kings' or other royal persons' presences in Dalmatia were connected to military campaigns, regular visits, and permanent stays. King Coloman led his army to Dalmatia in 1102 and 1105, when he was crowned and later when he seized the most important cities. During these campaigns he made grants to the Church in Zadar, Trogir, and Split. Probably Stephen II gave a grant to the archbishopric of Split around 1124-25 when he attempted to secure his rule over the city against Venice. Stephen III had to face the hostile Byzantium from the beginning of his reign. The years between 1162 and 1165 were critical for him, with Byzantine intervention, territorial losses including Dalmatia, and battles for the throne against his uncles. In 1166 the king of Hungary took advantage of the fact that

Emperor Manuel was focused on Italian issues. Stephen III attempted to occupy Dalmatia and reconquered a part of this region including Biograd and Šibenik by 1167.<sup>53</sup> During this time he gave a grant to the monastery of Saint John in Biograd.<sup>54</sup> Duke Andrew also led a military campaign to Hum in 1198 after acquiring the rule in Dalmatia and Croatia. The duke gave grants to the monastery of Saint Cosmas and Damian in Pašman after his success.<sup>55</sup> King Béla IV attempted to secure his rule over Zadar and warred with Venice after the Tartar invasion until 1244. Probably the confirmation of the privileges of monastery of Saint Chrysogonus was associated with this attempt in 1242.<sup>56</sup>

Occasional visits were the second type of personal presence of Hungarian kings and dukes in Dalmatia. Hungarian kings probably visited Dalmatia in every third year, and this custom evolved during the reign of King Coloman.<sup>57</sup> His undated confirmation of the Saint Mary church may relate to one of these visits. King Andrew stayed for a short time in Trogir and Split when he led a crusade in 1217, and he made grants to both the bishopric of Trogir and the archbishopric of Split. When Duke Coloman visited Dalmatia for the first time after he had received the duchy, he also donated a piece of land to the bishopric of Trogir in 1226. Maybe other royal grants were issued during the visits of the Hungarian kings, but there is no information about the circumstances, especially in case of the charters from the twelfth century.

Permanent stays were the third and rarest type of royal personal presence in Dalmatia. The Hungarian kings usually visited Dalmatia, but did not reside there permanently. The first exception was Duke Andrew, who seized Dalmatia and Croatia in 1197 and resided there for a relatively long period during the fight with his brother, King Emeric. The other example of

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<sup>53</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 96-110.

<sup>54</sup> CDC II 106.

<sup>55</sup> On the fight see: Vjekoslav Klaić, "O hercegu Andriji" [About Prince Andrew], *RAD* 136 (1898): 200-222; Szabados, "Imre," 85-111.

<sup>56</sup> CDC IV 163.

<sup>57</sup> Györffy, "Critical notes", 46-49.

this kind of royal presence is connected to the Mongol invasion, when Béla IV had to escape and stay in Dalmatia for a while after 1242. Both of these periods meant changes in the royal church policy in Dalmatia. The number of the grants to the Church increased and the duke or king influenced ecclesiastical cases more directly.

The time of coronation, receiving the duchy, and election of prelates affected the issue of the royal grants besides the personal presence of the kings or dukes. The Hungarian kings had special relationships with the archbishops of Split. They played an important role in the royal policy in Dalmatia as the archbishops were the most direct permanent representatives of royal authority. These archbishops were either Hungarians or prelates having close relationships with the kings.<sup>58</sup> After the consecration of Archbishop Gaudius (1138) and Archbishop Bernard (cc. 1200) and the election of Ugrin (1244) the church of Split enjoyed the favor of the kings. In some cases kings or dukes issued grants for their coronation or receiving the duchy. These grants were mostly confirmations of previous grants and privileges. Stephen III confirmed the privileges of the archbishopric of Split in 1163. Duke Andrew confirmed privileges of monasteries and the archbishopric of Split in 1198. Finally, Duke Coloman, during the aforementioned visit in Dalmatia, donated a piece of land to the bishopric of Trogir.

Beside the royal custom and these reasons of issuing of grants there is also another important aspect that should be examined: the role of the city and its Church in the process of grant giving. More precisely, it is important to analyze what was the importance of the grants for different Dalmatian cities, and how these cities claimed to receive grants. These questions will be examined in the next chapter of the thesis.

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<sup>58</sup> Judit Gál, "The Changing Role of the Archbishops in Split during the Reign of the Árpád Dynasty," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 20 (2014): (forthcoming, October 2014)



### 3. Territorial distribution of the royal grants

#### 3.1 The recipients of the grants

The territorial distribution of the grantee (arch)bishoprics and monasteries bears examination. Two archbishoprics (Split, Zadar) and two bishoprics (Trogir, Nin) received grants. In addition, four Benedictine monasteries were given grants by the Hungarian kings and dukes: the monasteries of Saint Mary and Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar, the monastery of Saint John in Biograd (Pašman), and the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Pašman.

Both Split and Zadar were archbishopric sees. Split was the main ecclesiastical center in northern and central Dalmatia from the 930s, after the church councils at Split abolished the bishopric of Nin, which had covered the territories of the Croatian dukes previously.<sup>59</sup> Zadar also played an important role in Dalmatian church history, although the church of the city was raised to metropolitan status only in 1154.<sup>60</sup> The geographical position and political importance of Zadar meant that the city had a special place among the bishoprics even before the twelfth century.<sup>61</sup> In 1154 the new metropolitan province of Zadar covered the northern Dalmatian territories which were under Venetian rule.<sup>62</sup>

The bishopric of Trogir was probably established in the tenth century; the first mention of a bishop can be dated to 1000.<sup>63</sup> The fact that this bishopric was among the first ecclesiastical centers which were given grants by King Coloman in 1105 shows the importance of Trogir at the beginning of the twelfth century. The bishopric of Nin was established around 864 and during the ninth century this caused serious changes in the

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<sup>59</sup> Josip Buturac and Antun Ivandija, *Povijest katoličke crkve među Hrvatima* [History of the Roman Catholic Church among the Croats] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko književno društvo Sv. Cirila i Metoda, 1973), 43.

<sup>60</sup> Ferdo Šišić, "Zadar i Venecija od godine 1159. do 1247" [Zadar and Venice from the year of 1159 until 1247], *RAD* 142 (1900): 224–226; Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409] (Split: Sveučilište u Splitu, 1976), 163–165.

<sup>61</sup> Zvezdan Strika, "Kada i gdje se prvi put spominje zadarski biskup?" [When and where was the first bishop of Zadar mentioned], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 46 (2004): 31–64.

<sup>62</sup> Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), 74–91.

<sup>63</sup> Buturac, *Povijest*, 89.

ecclesiastical hierarchy in Dalmatia. During the fight between Fotius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Pope Nicholas I, the Dalmatian bishops, even the archbishop of Split, stood on the side of the Byzantine patriarch, while the Croatian duke stayed loyal to the pope.<sup>64</sup> The fight and schism of the Church led the pope to establish the bishopric of Nin around 864. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the new bishopric covered all the territories which were ruled by the Croatian dukes, while the other Dalmatian bishoprics stayed under the jurisdiction of Split.<sup>65</sup> The unification of the Dalmatian church organization succeeded around 925 and 928 when church councils were held in Split and the bishopric of Nin was abolished.<sup>66</sup> The bishopric was re-established in 1075.<sup>67</sup>

The monasteries played an important role in the life of their cities. The monastery of Saint Chrisogonus was probably re-established in 986 by the city's prior, Madius. The prior belonged to the most powerful family in Zadar, and the monastery was given grants both from the citizens and the Croatian kings.<sup>68</sup> The monastery of Saint Mary of Zadar was founded by Cika, granddaughter of Madius, a relative of King Krešimir IV (1059-74), who granted royal freedom to the monastery.<sup>69</sup> The monastery of Saint John in Biograd was founded in 1059 with the help of King Krešimir, who also gave it royal freedom.<sup>70</sup> The monastery was ruined by the Venetians in 1125, when they that territory. The monastery and

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<sup>64</sup> Eduard Peričić, "Nin u doba hrvatskih narodnih vladara i njegova statutarna autonomija" [Nin in the time of the Croatian national rulers and its legal autonomy], *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 16-17 (1969): 120-121.

<sup>65</sup> Buturac, *Povijest*, 43.

<sup>66</sup> Neven Budak, "Croatia between Franks and Byzantium," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 17-18

<sup>67</sup> Buturac, *Povijest*, 93.

<sup>68</sup> Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictines in Croatia and our other regions]. vol. 2. (Split: Benediktinski priorat – TKON, 1964), 40.

<sup>69</sup> Ana Marinković, "Funkcija, forma, tradicija. Kraljevska kapela Kolomana Učenog u samostanu Sv. Marije u Zadru" [Function, form, and tradition. Royal chapel of Coloman the Learned in the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2005): 45.

<sup>70</sup> Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, 216.

its monks moved to the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Pašman, which also received grants during this time.<sup>71</sup>

### 3.2 The distribution of royal grants and changing royal policy

The lack of sources is a serious hindrance to answering questions about royal grants. The characteristics of the written culture and the number of the surviving sources necessitate drawing conclusions carefully. King Coloman made donations to the bishopric of Trogir, the archbishopric of Split, and monastery of Saint Mary of Zadar twice. Coloman probably aimed to strengthen the relationship with the most important churches in his recently seized territories. After Coloman died the number of the royal grants decreased. Only grants issued to the archbishopric of Split are known; the cause for this change can be found in the political situation in Dalmatia after the death of Coloman. Venice seized Zadar and the city stayed under her rule until 1180, when King Béla III recaptured it.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Zadar was raised to metropolitan status in 1154 and its jurisdiction covered the northern Dalmatian territories which were under Venetian authority. It seems that the Hungarian kings' rule was not really strong in Dalmatia during that period. The archbishopric and city of Split were their most important center and they tried to strengthen their relationship with this city. The strong position of the archbishopric of Split in the Hungarian royal policy in Dalmatia is unquestionable despite the lack of sources from that century. After 1166 Stephen III was probably the first Hungarian king who confirmed the privileges of monastery of Saint John in Biograd and Béla III also confirmed this grant in 1188.

The rule of Duke Andrew in Dalmatia and the struggle between him and King Emeric led to several changes in the territorial distribution of royal grants. Both the duke and the king

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<sup>71</sup> Zvezdan Strika, "Samostan sv. Ivana Evanđelista u Biogradu od utemeljenja do 1125. godine" [The Monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Biograd from its founding until 1125], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 52 (2010): 149-172.

<sup>72</sup> Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar*, 162.

gave grants to the archbishopric of Split, which was their most important ecclesiastical center. They gave grants to recaptured Zadar and its monasteries, and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd also enjoyed the favor of the brothers. Moreover, Duke Andrew donated a piece of land to the church of Trogir when he entered the city solemnly in 1200.<sup>73</sup> It should be emphasized that the duke's and king's grants were often similar or even identical. They confirmed the privileges both of the archbishopric of Split and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd. Both of them gave Biać and Gradac to the church of Split. Probably the ecclesiastical centers and monasteries in question claimed to be neutral during the fight of Emeric and Andrew (see Fig. 1). In my opinion, these churches also tried to secure their grants and privileges by confirmation of both grantors. The king and the duke used these grants to represent their authority in Dalmatia during their fight. Andrew II also gave grants to the church of Split and Trogir, and he confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Saint John in Biograd. During his and Béla IV's reigns Trogir emerged as important since each kings gave more and more grants to the city. It should be also emphasized that while the number of the royal grants decreased after the mid-thirteenth century, the bishopric of Nin received three grants in the six years from 1266 to 1272. The last royal grant was issued by Ladislas IV to the monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar in 1285.

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<sup>73</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS-XX-12/11. fol. 28-29.

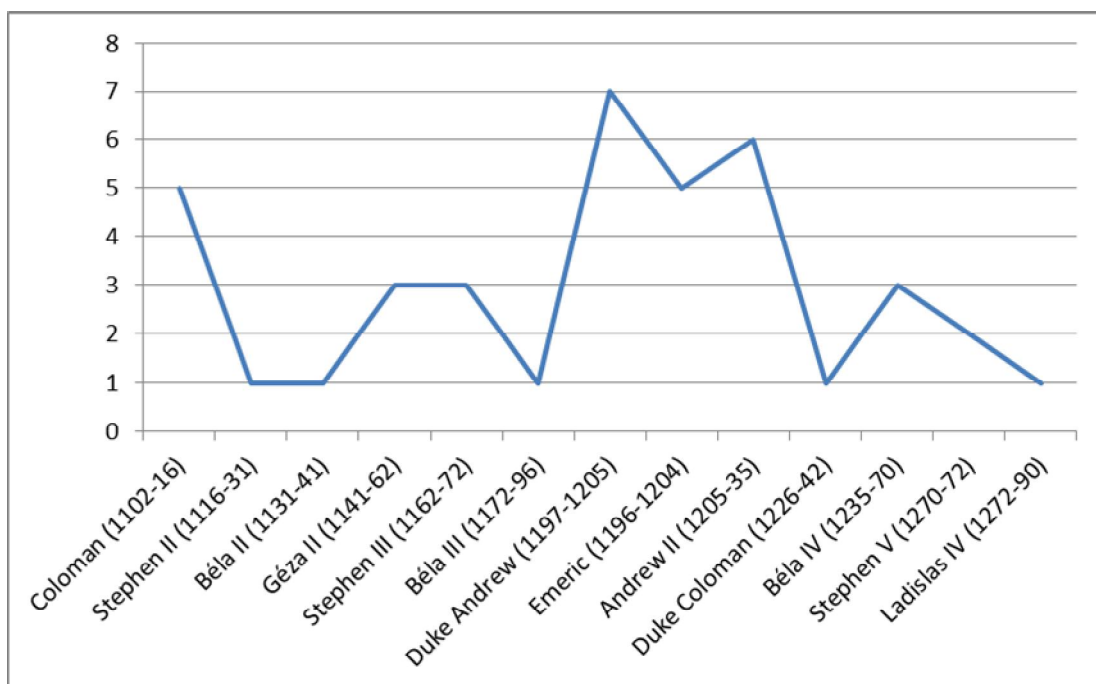
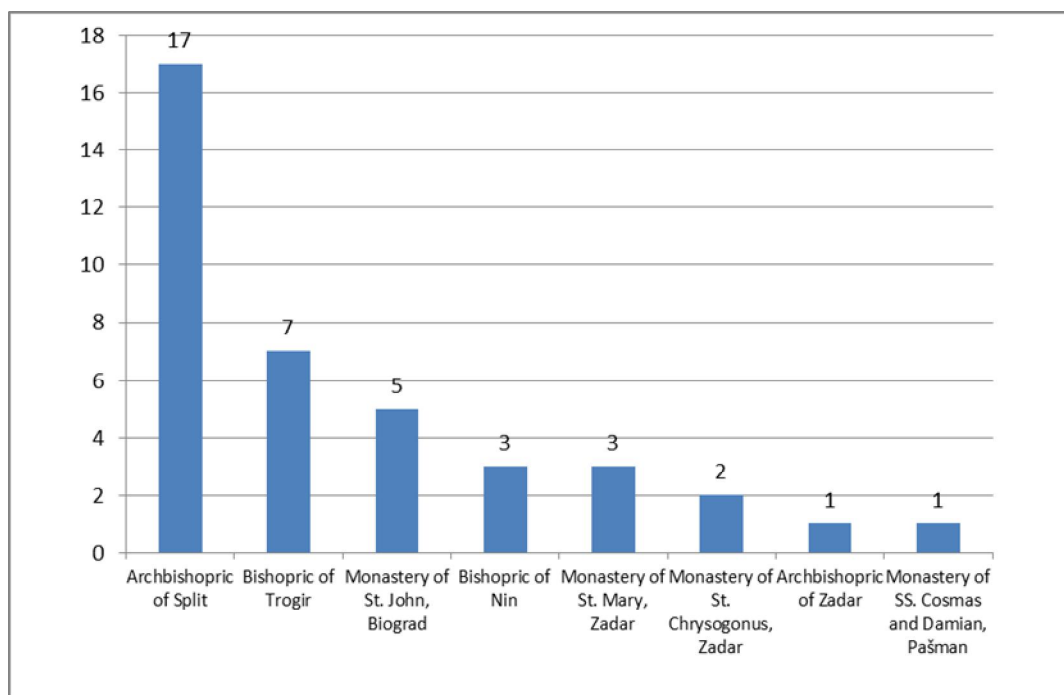


Fig. 2. The Issuers of the Grants (1102-1301)

### 3.3 Territorial distribution of grants in context of the royal policy in Dalmatia

In order to get a broader picture of the royal grants to the Church they should be examined in the geopolitical context of Dalmatia; then I will analyze the role of the bishops or archbishops of the churches which received grants. Concerning the territorial distribution of the grants, the archbishopric of Split received most of them. As can be seen in the bishopric of Trogir and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd also received relatively high number of grants (see Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2. The Recipients of the Royal Grants**

The archbishopric of Split played an important role in the Hungarian kings' policy in Dalmatia. When the city was under the rule of the kings of the Árpád dynasty the archbishopric almost always had a Hungarian archbishop or someone who was closely related to the Hungarian court.<sup>74</sup> The importance of the city and this special connection between the royal court and the archbishopric see probably influenced the issuing of grants. In the case of the church of Trogir it should be emphasized that from the beginning of the thirteenth century the city enjoyed great favor from the kings. Trogir was not only given grants, but the kings and dukes also took the side of the city many times during its struggle with Split.<sup>75</sup>

The bishopric of Nin came to the forefront in the 1260s, but I assume that this process began around 1242, when Béla IV stayed in Dalmatia for several months and a certain Samson from Hungary was elected bishop of Nin.<sup>76</sup> The fact that Béla IV lost Zadar

<sup>74</sup> Judit Gál, "Loyalty and Identity of the Bishops and Archbishops in Dalmatia during the Reign of the Árpád Dynasty," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): (forthcoming, October 2014)

<sup>75</sup> Nada Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku*, (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1985), 127-135.; Ivo Babić, *Prostor između Trogira i Splita* (Trogir: Muzej grad Trogira, 1984), 72-73.

<sup>76</sup> Samson was mentioned in sources from 1242 to 1269, see CDC IV 202; CDC V 505-6.

permanently changed the values of Nin due to its location. In my opinion the geographical position of the city, the struggle between Hungary and Venice, the Hungarian prelate in the bishopric see, and the royal grants were closely related. The monasteries which enjoyed the favor of the kings and dukes belonged to the most influential ecclesiastical centers of their age. The monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd had royal freedom and the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus also played an important role in the life of Zadar.<sup>77</sup>

#### **4. Conclusion**

The analysis of the spatial and temporal analysis of the grants showed that the intensity of grant-giving were the highest during the reign of King Coloman and between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the 1230s. Between these periods the kings of Hungary struggled for the rule over Dalmatia against Byzantium and Venice, which influenced the issuing of the grants. After the mid-thirteenth century, or maybe from the 1230's the number of the grants decreased. The majority of the examined grants were issued during the kings' and dukes' personal presence. Special occasions, like coronations and election of prelates also provided the opportunity for receiving or giving grants.

The analysis of the territorial distribution of the royal grants showed, that the kings and dukes were generous towards the most important archbishoprics and bishoprics during the examined period. They gave grants to ecclesiastical centers which had political importance, and donated lands and confirmed privileges to Benedictine monasteries which were situated in important Dalmatian cities and were founded by the local elites or the previous royal dynasty of Croatia. Split was dominant between the recipients of the grants, and by the thirteenth century Trogir also became dominant.

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<sup>77</sup> Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, 39-55.

| Issuer      | Year                                       | Granted church         | City   | Characteristics of the grant                            | Source                                    |
|-------------|--|------------------------|--------|---|---|
| Coloman     | 1102                                       | Monastery of St. Mary  | Zadar  | Confirmation of privileges                              | CDC II. 9.                                |
| Coloman     | 1105                                       | Monastery of St. Mary  | Zadar  | Confirmation of privileges                              | CDC II. 15.                               |
| Coloman     | 1105                                       | Bishopric of Trogir    | Trogir | Confirmation of privileges                              | Farlati, <i>Illyricum sacrum IV.</i> 314. |
| Coloman     | 1105                                       | Monastery of St. Mary  | Zadar  | A tower   | Marković, “Dva natpisa” 101.              |
| Coloman     | 1105-1116 (1105, 1108, 1111) <sup>78</sup> | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | church of St. Mary                                      | CDC II. 47.                               |
| Stephen II  | 1124-1125 <sup>79</sup> (or 1116)          | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | Confirmation of church of St. Mary                      | CDC II. 47.                               |
| Béla II     | 1138                                       | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | Confirmation of church of St. Mary                      | CDC II. 47.                               |
| Géza II     | 1143                                       | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | Confirmation of church of St. Mary                      | CDC II. 54.                               |
| Géza II     | 1158                                       | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | Churches of St. Bartholomeo, St. Stephen, and St. Moses | CDC II. 87.                               |
| Géza II     | 1161                                       | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | A certain land near to Solin                            | Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.     |
| Stephen III | 1163                                       | Archbishopric of Split | Split  | Confirmation of the grant from                          | Arhiv HAZU,                               |

<sup>78</sup> This grant is undated and only known from the confirmation of Béla II. Coloman probably visited Dalmatia in every third year as he surely did in 1102, 1105, 1108, and 1111. His grants were issued at those times, so it can be stressed that the undated grant was also issued in one of the years after the seizure of Split (1105).

<sup>79</sup> This grant is undated and only known from the confirmation of Béla II. Stephen II (1116-31) lost his Dalmatian territories to Venice in 1116. Later he secured his rule over the region around 1124-1125, but Venice soon seized it back and held it until 1136. In my opinion the undated grant could have been issued either before the first Venetian capture of the city or more likely around 1124-1125, when the Hungarian king seized Split. Later examples also show that the Hungarian kings confirmed privileges of churches after recapturing territories in Dalmatia. The fact that only a few months elapsed between the death of King Coloman in February 1116 and the success of Venice in May 1116 also strengthens the possibility of a later issue. Moreover, Stephen II surely confirmed the privileges of Split in 1124.



|             |                         |                           |                  |   |  |
|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---|--|
|             |                         |                           |                  | 1161  | LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 40.                |
| Stephen III | 1163                    | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II. 97.                              |
| Stephen III | 1166                    | Monastery of St. John     | Biograd (Pašman) | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II.106.                              |
| Béla III    | 1188                    | Monastery of St. John     | Biograd (Pašman) | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II. 225.                             |
| Duke Andrew | 1198                    | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Confirmation of rights over the bishopric of Hvar             | CDC II. 309.                             |
| Emeric      | 1198                    | Archbishopric of Zadar    | Zadar            | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II. 310.                             |
| Emeric      | 1198                    | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Confirmation of rights over the bishoprics of Nin and Skardin | CDC II. 309-310.                         |
| Duke Andrew | 1198                    | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Confirmation of Churches of Saint Stephen and Saint Moses     | CDC II. 308.                             |
| Duke Andrew | 1198                    | St. John monastery        | Biograd (Pašman) | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II. 293.                             |
| Emeric      | 1200-1204 <sup>80</sup> | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Mills next to river Jadro                                     | <i>Historia Salonitana</i> , 140.        |
| Emeric      | 1200                    | St. John monastery        | Biograd (Pašman) | Confirmation of privileges                                    | CDC II. 358.                             |
| Duke Andrew | 1200                    | St. Chrysogonus monastery | Zadar            | Dub   | CDC II. 357.                             |
| Duke Andrew | 1200                    | Bishopric of Trogir       | Trogir           | Confirmation of St. Vital church                              | Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/14. fol. 27-28. |
| Duke Andrew | before December 1202    | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Biać, Gradac  | CDC III. 16.                             |
| Emeric      | before December         | Archbishopric of Split    | Split            | Biać, Gradac  | CDC III. 16.                             |

<sup>80</sup> According to Archdeacon Thomas of Split, this grant was issued by the king because his former tutor, Archbishop Bernard, asked him to do so. Bernard became the archbishop of Split around 1200.

|                  |                    |                            |                  |   |  |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------|---|--|
|                  | 1202 <sup>81</sup> |                            |                  |   |  |
| <i>Andrew II</i> | <i>1205-1210</i>   | <i>Bishopric of Trogir</i> | <i>Trogir</i>    | <i>Confirmation of Saint Vital church</i> <sup>82</sup> | Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28-29. |
| Andrew II        | 1207               | Archbishopric of Split     | Split            | Confirmation of privileges                              | CDC III. 70.                             |
| Andrew II        | 1210               | St. John monastery         | Biograd (Pašman) | Confirmation of privileges                              | CDC III.99.                              |
| Andrew II        | 1217               | Archbishopric of Split     | Split            | A certain land in Solin                                 | CDC III. 160.                            |
| Andrew II        | 1217               | Bishopric of Trogir        | Trogir           | Confirmation of Biać                                    | Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/13. fol. 29.    |
| Duke Coloman     | 1226               | Bishopric of Trogir        | Trogir           | Drid  | CDC III. 258.                            |
| Andrew II        | 1227               | Bishopric of Trogir        | Trogir           | Confirmation of Prince Coloman's grant                  | CDC III. 278.                            |
| Béla IV          | 1242               | Bishopric of Trogir        | Trogir           | Confirmation of Duke Coloman's and King Andrew's grant  | CDC IV. 153.                             |
| Béla IV          | 1242               | St. Chrysogonus monastery  | Zadar            | Confirmation of privileges                              | CDC IV. 163.                             |
| Béla IV          | 1244               | Archbishopric of Split     | Split            | Cetina County   | CDC IV. 243                              |
| Ban Roland       | 1266               | Bishopric of Nin           | Nin              | Četiglavac  | CDC V. 636.                              |
| Stephen V        | 1272               | Bishopric of Nin           | Nin              | Lika County   | CDC V. 637.                              |
| Stephen V        | 1272               | Bishopric of Nin           | Nin              | Confirmation of Ban Roland's grant                      | CDC V. 637.                              |
| Ladislav IV      | 1285               | Monastery of St. Mary      | Zadar            | A land in Croatia                                       | CDC VI. 533.                             |

**Fig. 3. Royal Grants to the Dalmatian Church (1102-1301)**

<sup>81</sup> Both Emeric's and Andrew's grants are lost; they are only known from the confirmation of Pope Innocent III from December 1202.

<sup>82</sup> Maybe Andrew II confirmed his previous grant issued as duke, but it is also possible that the later mention of this grant referred to the one from 1200.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **The Role of the Royal Grants to the Church in Royal Policy**

This chapter deals with the role of royal grants to the Church in the kings' and dukes' policy and their representation in Dalmatia. First I will examine royal visits, kings' and dukes' entries, and the royal entourage in Dalmatia, because the kings' presence itself was the most impressive instrument to express the royal rule. The following parts of the chapter will deal with the practical and symbolic role of the royal grants to Church. The focus will be on the beneficiaries and the kings' reasons to give grants to these monasteries or (arch)bishoprics. Next I will analyze the process and the occasions of giving grants, and finally I will examine the role of new non-confirmative grants in the kings' policy. Concluding the results of this chapter I will highlight the practical and symbolic functions of the grants

Although the documents issued by the kings to the Church many times did not mention the circumstances of the issuing, neither the place nor the witnesses or supplicants of the charters, it can be assumed and seen from the previous examination that the royal grants to the Church were mostly connected to the kings' and dukes' personal presence, and a smaller number were issued by the kings at the royal court (see Fig. 4.) The latter type of the grants could be asked by embassies sent from the Dalmatian cities to the royal court for special occasions. For example, Thomas the Archdeacon's mentions of the frequent absence of the archbishops of Split from their see can be treated as embassies of the city.<sup>83</sup>In addition,

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<sup>83</sup> Judit Gál, , "*Qui erat graciosus apud eum*. A spliti érsek az Árpádok királyságában" [The role of the archbishops of Split in the kingdom of the Árpáds], in *Magister historiae*, ed. Mónika Belucz and Judit Gál (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2014), 54-63.

charters also testify about official visits of the representatives of the Dalmatian cities to Hungary.<sup>84</sup>

## **1. Royal visits to Dalmatia**

The definition of royal representation in the context of this thesis should be given before a further analysis of the role of the grants to the Church in Hungarian royal policy. The definition of the royal representation in the following chapter consists of every act connected to the expression and depiction of the royal power in and over the ruled territories. It includes symbolic acts that took place in the ruled territories, royal grants and gifts, the composition of the royal entourage during visits to the ruled lands, the frequency and characterization of royal and princely visits, and solemn entries into the ruled cities and the following events connected to them. Representation also includes the visual expressions of the royal power materialized in buildings and artifacts. According to the definition used here, the spread of the cult of the dynastic saints was also part of royal representation in Dalmatia.

For understanding of the role of the grants I will briefly analyze the representative functions of the royal and princely presence in Dalmatia together with the royal entries into the cities, which were the peaks of royal visits. Since most of the grants were given during royal and princely visits in the region, it is important to see the circumstances and the context of the issuing of these grants.

The royal presence in Dalmatia was either regular or occasional. The former was part of the royal custom, the latter was usually connected to military events, such as the war between the Kingdom of Hungary and Byzantium, the fight between King Emeric and Duke Andrew or the invasion of the Mongols and the fleeing of King Béla IV. The regular visits of the kings usually happened in every third year according to the custom formed during the

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<sup>84</sup> CDC II 225.

reign of King Coloman, who visited Dalmatia in 1102, 1105, 1108 and 1111.<sup>85</sup> Political circumstances over the centuries kept the kings of Hungary from these regular visits to Dalmatia. The changes of rule over Dalmatia between the Kingdom of Hungary, Byzantium, and Venice, and the strong Hungarian princely rule in these territories did not allow the continuance of the visits.

It can be assumed, however, that this three-year period was the custom of visits among the kings during the period examined here. Beside Coloman's regular presence it is sure that Béla IV also visited Dalmatia in every third year after the Mongol invasion, in 1242, 1245, 1248, and 1251.<sup>86</sup> In my opinion, the kings of Hungary probably visited Dalmatia a few years after their coronations if they had the opportunity and Dalmatia was under their rule. There is no direct source about this custom, but when Thomas Spalatensis recorded the visit of Queen Mary, he mentioned that the purpose of her visit was to introduce the new duke of the region, her son, Béla, and to receive fealty to him.<sup>87</sup> When Duke Coloman received the rule in Dalmatia, he also visited the cities. This kind of first symbolic introduction probably derived from royal custom.

The frequency of these visits can be understood in the context of the itinerant lifestyle of the kings of Hungary and the geographical characteristics of Dalmatia within the Kingdom of Hungary. First, the royal itinerant lifestyle did not mean that the kings visited every part of the country yearly during this period, especially in the twelfth century when custom of the Dalmatian visits was formed. The regular yearly visits concerned only the *Medium regni*, the central part of the country: northeastern Transdanubia with the cities of Székesfehérvár, Óbuda, and Esztergom.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Györffy, "Critical notes", 49.

<sup>86</sup>Györffy, "Critical notes", 49.

<sup>87</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 366.

<sup>88</sup> See Bernát L. Kumorovitz, "Buda (és Pest) 'fővárossá' alakulásánakkezdetei" [The beginnings of the formation of Buda and Pest as a capital], *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 18 (1971): 7-57.

The medieval conditions of travelling also did not allow the royal court to travel to every part of the country in a year's time.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, Dalmatia was located relatively far from the center of the kingdom, and most of the area is covered by the Dinaric Alps extending from northwest to southeast, making it more difficult to visit the coastal cities. These circumstances support the idea that the Hungarian kings' regular visits to Dalmatia every three years were not rare events. However, a conclusion cannot be more than theoretical for the whole period of this study. After the death of King Béla IV the frequency of visits decreased, and during the last three decades of the thirteenth century royal rule weakened in Hungary, and in Dalmatia too and the local nobility took control over the region. The Šubići were the most powerful family among them.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the lack of sources and information about the circumstances of grants make it impossible to reconstruct the continuity of regular visits between Coloman's and Béla IV's reigns.

Regular and occasional visits had several functions for the kings and dukes of Hungary. The personal presence and related representative acts could have secured and expressed the rule of the kings over the region symbolically.<sup>91</sup> Their solemn presence, supported by the royal army and the entourage including high magnates and prelates from the kingdom, was visual proof of the royal power in Dalmatia. The king was surrounded by bishops and archbishops of his land and secular leaders also were also part of his entourage.<sup>92</sup> When the kings or the dukes of Croatia and Dalmatia visited the coastal territories their entourages not only played a practical role, but also had representative and symbolic

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<sup>89</sup> On the medieval roads of Dalmatia see Lovorka Čoralić, *Put, putnici, putovanja : ceste i putovi u srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim zemljama* [Road, travelers, travelling: roads and travelling in the medieval Croatian lands], (Zagreb: AGM, 1997)

<sup>90</sup> Damir Karbić, "Šubići bribirski do gubitka banske časti (1322)" [The Šubići from Bribir until the loss of the title of ban], *Zbornik OPZ HAZU* 22 (2004): 1-26.

<sup>91</sup> Teofilio F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012)

<sup>92</sup> Mladen Ančić, "Image of Royal Authority in the Work of Thomas Archdeacon," *Povijesni prilozi* 22 (2002): 29-40.

functions. Who followed the kings and dukes during their visits from the kingdom, and who from the local region joined their retinues was meaningful.

Coloman surely visited Dalmatia in 1102, 1105, 1108, and 1111. During his visits several prelates and high officials followed the king to the new territory of the kingdom. In 1102 the bishops of Eger and Zagreb were with the king, at least,<sup>93</sup> three years later, in 1108, several *comes*, the count palatine, and the archbishop of Esztergom accompanied him,<sup>94</sup> in 1111 the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa again, the bishops of Vác, Pécs, Veszprém, Győr, and Várad (Orodea), several counts, the count palatine, and other noblemen and prelates were among Coloman's entourage from the kingdom, more precisely from the territory without the recently seized lands.<sup>95</sup> There is not much information about the officials and prelates who followed the king from Dalmatia during Coloman's reign. In 1105 at least Archbishop Gregory of Zadar and Cesar the *comes* of the city were together with him when he entered and stayed in Zadar.<sup>96</sup>

After Coloman's death, one can assume that Béla II and Géza II also visited Dalmatia; the latter probably did at least once in 1142.<sup>97</sup> The archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa, the bishops of Veszprém, Zagreb, Győr, Pécs, and Csanád were with Béla II in Dalmatia. Stephen III probably also visited this territory, accompanied by the bishops of Nin, Skardin, and Knin, the count of Split, and other secular officials of the region in 1163. During the conflict between King Emeric and Duke Andrew, the latter spent a relatively long time in Dalmatia in 1198 and 1200. Andrew had his own court, including a ban, while the king also appointed his own officials to Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, so the number of office-

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<sup>93</sup> CDC II 9.

<sup>94</sup> CDC II 19.

<sup>95</sup> CDC II 24.

<sup>96</sup> CDC II 15.

<sup>97</sup> CDC II 49-50.

holders doubled between 1197 and 1200.<sup>98</sup> Beside his own court Duke Andrew was accompanied by the prelates and secular leaders of Dalmatia: the archbishop-elect of Zadar, the archbishop of Split, the bishops of Knin and Skradin, the *comes* of Split and Zadar, and other *comes* from Croatia and Dalmatia.<sup>99</sup> When Andrew II led a crusade and visited Dalmatia in 1217 he was with the magnates from Hungary and also by the bishops of Dalmatia. Later, Duke Béla and Duke Coloman were also escorted by Guncel, the archbishop of Split, the bishops of this region, and also by the local secular elite when they visited Dalmatia in 1225 and 1226.<sup>100</sup> The entourages during the period studied here included both the highest elite from Hungary, the Dalmatian archbishops and bishops, together with the secular leaders of the region. The role of the Church was significant during these visits; Hungarian and Dalmatian prelates surrounded the kings and this entourage could have created a sanctified atmosphere around the rulers of the land.

It can be assumed that solemn royal entries into cities were parts of the regular and occasional visits of the kings and also the dukes in Dalmatia.<sup>101</sup> King Coloman made glorious entries into Zadar, Trogir, and Split in 1105, when he took over the rule in North and Central Dalmatia.<sup>102</sup> There is no such information about the exact circumstances of the kings' presence in the region from Coloman's death until the end of the twelfth century, but Stephen II, Béla II, Stephen III, and Béla III surely visited this territory; it can be assumed that Géza II also went to Dalmatia during his reign. Géza II's confirmation of the privileges of Split in 1142 lets one assume that he went to Dalmatia in the second year of his reign. The charter does not contain the place of issue, but because of the form of the charter and the type of the

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<sup>98</sup> Szabados, "Imre", 97.

<sup>99</sup> CDC II 308-309; 309-310.

<sup>100</sup> CDC III 251, 259.

<sup>101</sup> On the definition and types of the royal entries see: Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*. (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2003) 47-65.

<sup>102</sup> CDC II. 15, *Historia Salonitana*, 96; Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum IV*. (Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1769), 314.



confirmation of the prelates and officials at the end of the document, it can be assumed that the oath was personally given by the king and was later written.<sup>103</sup> Duke Andrew spent a relatively long time in Dalmatia compared to other kings. At least once, around 1200, he entered Trogir solemnly.<sup>104</sup> Later, as king, he also entered Split while he leading a crusade in 1217.<sup>105</sup> Béla IV also entered to Split between 1245 and 1251 when he visited Dalmatia.<sup>106</sup>

The royal entries were the most symbolic parts, the peaks, of the royal visits. They were not only political events, but the entries had several cultural and symbolic functions.<sup>107</sup> They expressed the rule of the kings and the hierarchy of the kingdom in the most solemn way. According to Ernst Kantorowicz, the kings entered to the cities like Christ when he walked into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday or appeared like St. John the Baptist, who prepared the way of Christ.<sup>108</sup>

The royal entry was a symbolic form of the installation and welcome of a new regime.<sup>109</sup> When King Coloman entered the cities, his entry was the symbolic recognition of his rule over the land. Later the kings or dukes secured the loyalty of the cities and also to express their rule over them by entering their walls. King Coloman entered cities after taking an oath to the citizens, who also swore to the king. The oath and the confirmation of the privileges were the acknowledgment of the established structure of the Dalmatian cities.<sup>110</sup> At the end of the entry he confirmed privileges and gave grants to the city and the Church.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> CDC II 49-50.

<sup>104</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 27-28.

<sup>105</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 160-162.

<sup>106</sup> According to Thomas it was Béla IV's second visit to the city, since the first time he was fleeing from the Mongols.

<sup>107</sup> Jesse D. Hurlbut. "The Duke's First Entry: Burgundian Inauguration and Gift", in *Moving Subjects. Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 155-156.

<sup>108</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, "The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 207-231.

<sup>109</sup> Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson. "Introduction", in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), xi.

<sup>110</sup> Hurlbut, "The Duke's First Entry," 157-158.

<sup>111</sup> *Historia Salonitana* 96.

Duke Andrew entered Trogir, surrounded by the local prelates, and finished the process with grants to the city.<sup>112</sup> A few years later, as king, he entered Split, which is known from the detailed description by Thomas Spalatensis.<sup>113</sup> He was led into the city by the local bishops and finished his entry by giving grants to the Church and the citizens of Split. One can assume that Béla IV's entry followed the same pattern.<sup>114</sup> Giving grants was important part of the royal visit, and especially the royal entries, since the king's generosity closed the ceremony. This role of the royal grants in the glorious entries was not a special Hungarian-Dalmatian custom, but it can be found in other European royal rituals in the Middle Ages.<sup>115</sup>

## 2. The process of giving grants

As the analysis of the temporal and territorial distribution of the grants has shown the royal grants to Church could be given to the beneficiaries on different occasions, either in Dalmatia during royal visits or at the royal court outside Dalmatia as well. The lack of sources does not allow analyzing each and every grant and the way they were given. In many cases, concluding from the historical circumstances, one can only assume that a grant was issued in Dalmatia or not (see Fig 4). It can be emphasized that the majority of the grants were related to the royal presence in Dalmatia. More precisely, 20 grants surely or probably were given in Dalmatia: certain charters (or narrative sources) include the place of issue,<sup>116</sup> in other cases it is known that the king or duke was in Dalmatia when the grant was given.<sup>117</sup> As I emphasized, the royal presence had a practical role and a representative function in Dalmatia, as it was the visual proof of royal power in the region. The known royal entries

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<sup>112</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11.fol. 27-28.

<sup>113</sup> *Historia Salonitana* 160.

<sup>114</sup> *Historia Salonitana* 364.

<sup>115</sup> Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1986), 42.

<sup>116</sup> CDC II 9-10, 15; 106, 225. etc.

<sup>117</sup> CDC II 308, 309, etc.

of the period examined, the symbolic peaks of the visits, always finished with issuing grants to the cities and the Church.<sup>118</sup>

The grants, which can be understood as a kind of gift, were not only the expression of the royal generosity. The grant assured the obedience and loyalty of the Church, and helped reward the kings and dukes for generosity.<sup>119</sup> The cities and the Church always valued the grants, and during the royal visits these grants also expressed the social hierarchy and the underlying relationship between the kings and their territory, and created obligations on the part of the recipients. Events like coronations or royal entries provided opportunities for the kings of Hungary to represent their rule and generosity in front of a huge crowd.<sup>120</sup> During these events the cities, which were themselves separated from the world by walls, opened their gates. The kings were displayed in their full glory, like *gemina persona*, who were human by nature, but divine by grace.<sup>121</sup> The kings entered the cities surrounded by the bishops of the land and finished their journey with a mass. This process provided a sacrificed atmosphere where giving grants had a special role: the city which opened its gate to the king and became defenseless enjoyed the royal favor and by this generosity recovered its own protected status and the order of the world was reaffirmed. The entries themselves were also liturgical events: the bishops of the land escorted the kings into the city, the audience sang royal praises and hymns, and the process finished with mass.<sup>122</sup>

The circumstances of issuing the royal grants to the Church outside Dalmatia is an even less known field. The sources do not give information about the process of donating in

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<sup>118</sup> *Historia Salonitana* 96., 161.; Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 28-29.

<sup>119</sup> Arnaud Jan Bisjteweld, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: a Comparative Approach", in *Medieval Transformation: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 146.

<sup>120</sup> Ančić, "From the "Demigod", 80.

<sup>121</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 82.

<sup>122</sup> Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body. Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001) 62-63.

most cases. It can be emphasized, that probably the cities asked the kings to confirm the previous privileges or give new lands to the Church. These grants were also suitable to express the royal favor, but it less influenced the audience. The detailed sources testify that the cities sent embassies to the king, or asked him by letters. Since this chapter deals with the royal aspects of giving grants, the importance of the grants issued outside Dalmatia will be discussed in the next chapter, in the context of the urban society and the recipients of the grants.

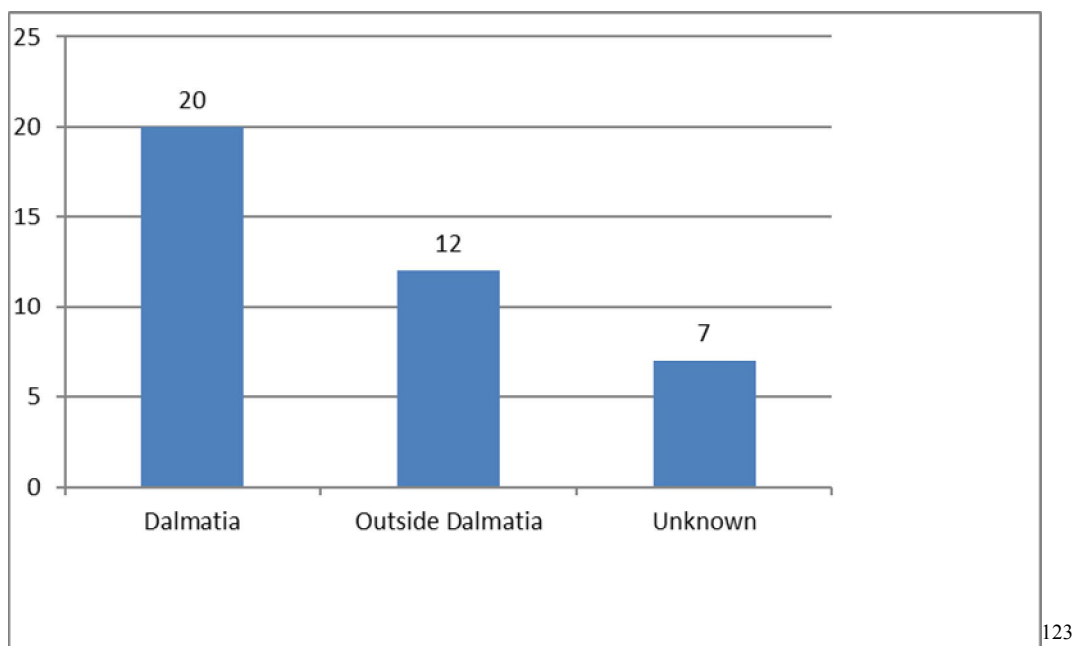


Fig. 4 The (assumed) places of issuing of the grants

### 3. The recipients of the grants: Their background and the kings' choices

The recipients of the grants to the Church can be divided into two groups, as noted in the conclusion of the previous chapter. They were bishoprics and archbishoprics, namely, Trogir, Nin, Split, and Zadar, or Benedictine monasteries. The fact that the Church played an important role in the life of the Dalmatian cities during the period examined helps explain the

<sup>123</sup> Outside Dalmatia the grants which were surely issued in other parts of the kingdom, known from charters or the date of the issue. King Emeric's grants surely were issued outside the region because he was not able to visit Dalmatia since Duke Andrew held that territory during their conflict.

reason for these grants. The archbishops (and bishops) were not only ecclesiastical leaders, but they had an important place in the secular life of the cities and in their foreign affairs as well. Their role was based on the landholdings of the Church, accumulated by donations and purchases.<sup>124</sup>

Split was the ecclesiastical center of North and Central Dalmatia from the beginning of the tenth century. After Zadar fell under Venetian rule, Split became the most important political center of the kings of Hungary during this period. The archbishops of Split were important in the life of their city. They participated in the secular administration and they were the representatives of Split. They were not only the ecclesiastical leaders of the city, but they were also key figures in diplomacy as officials both of the Hungarian kings and Split. The kings of Hungary did not affect the election of the secular leaders of the city directly during the centuries examined, except for a short period under the rule of King Béla IV between 1245 and 1267. However, the Árpáds paid much attention to the Dalmatian Church and its prelates. The archbishops of Split were almost always either Hungarians or closely connected to the Hungarian kings. The Hungarian archbishops of the city were often members of powerful gens from Southwestern Hungary. While the Church had a prominent position in the life of Dalmatia, there was no awareness of the significance and role of the city commune for until the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>125</sup> The archbishops, who were related to the royal court, were the representatives of the kings and helped the Árpáds to secure their rule over the city during this time. The archbishops of Split were the most direct representatives of the royal court in the everyday life of Split; they were among the entourage when the kings and dukes visited Dalmatia and also took part in spreading the cults of the dynastic saints. The significant role of the archbishops of Split showed itself in the royal

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<sup>124</sup> Joan Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities: Development and Transformation*. (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 71-72.

<sup>125</sup> Ančić, "Image", 35-36.

grants. The kings and dukes always emphasized that the grants were given to the archbishopric and its archbishop.<sup>126</sup> One finds no similar example in the history of the written culture in either Hungary or Dalmatia.

Before Zadar went under Venetian suzerainty this city was probably the Hungarian kings' political center, and it can be assumed that they made grants to the bishopric, later the archbishopric, but the archives of this institution from these centuries are lost. Trogir was also an important center of the kings of Hungary, which is revealed in the great number of the grants to the Church during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The grants to the bishopric of Nin were donated in the 1260s and 1270s, and the Church had its first Hungarian bishop, namely, Samson (1242-69), after the Mongol invasion.<sup>127</sup> In my opinion, these facts were related to the struggle for Zadar and its loss in 1244, when the city fell under Venetian suzerainty.<sup>128</sup> The geographical characteristic of Nin was fortunate, since the city is situated around 15 kilometers north of Zadar. The importance of Zadar decreased, and Nin received greater royal attention: Béla IV probably influenced the election of the bishop and the Church later received grants.<sup>129</sup>

The monastery of the Virgin Mary in Zadar and the monastery of Saint John in Biograd emerged as beneficiaries of grants. The nuns from Zadar received altogether four grants: Confirmations of their landholdings and rights, money for a new bell tower, and lands. The monastery of Saint John, which moved to Pašman after Venice destroyed Biograd in 1125, received a grant from the Hungarian king in 1166, when Stephen III confirmed its previous privileges after having seized back Šibenik and Biograd from Byzantium.<sup>130</sup> Béla III, Emeric, Duke Andrew, and later Andrew II also confirmed the rights and landholdings of

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<sup>126</sup> CDC II 47, 54, 87, 97, etc.

<sup>127</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 305.; CDC IV 20., 240; V 390, 426, 505-6.

<sup>128</sup> Šišić, "Zadar", 272.

<sup>129</sup> Peričić, "Nin", 133.

<sup>130</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 100.

the monastery.<sup>131</sup> The monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian received one known grant, but it should be noted that the monks of the St. John monastery moved to this monastery after being expelled from Biograd. The Saint Chrisogonus monastery of Zadar received one known grant.

For understanding the kings' and dukes' choices in making grants to these monasteries, it is important to highlight the social background and history of these institutions. The convent of St. Mary was founded by Cika, a member of the Madii family, the most powerful one in Zadar. She was probably a relative of the ruling dynasty. After the foundation the convent received many grants from the Croatian kings and had an important place in the life of Zadar.<sup>132</sup> The monastery of Saint John was founded by King Krešimir IV (1058-74) around 1060, and received also grants from the Croatian kings in the twelfth century.<sup>133</sup> The Saint Chrisogonus monastery of Zadar was founded by Madius, the prior of Zadar in 986.<sup>134</sup> The Madii, who founded the St. Mary convent and St. Chrisogonus monastery in Zadar, held the most important secular and ecclesiastical posts in the city until the eleventh century and managed to make affinal connections with the Croatian kings.<sup>135</sup>

The monasteries which received grants were politically important institutions; one of them was a royal foundation, two others were founded by the most powerful family of Zadar, and the Saint Cosmas and Damian monastery had a common history with the royal St. John monastery. In my opinion, the choices of the kings and dukes were connected to the history and the importance of these monasteries in the cities. The kings of Hungary gave grants to

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<sup>131</sup> CDC II 106, 225, 293, 358; III 99.

<sup>132</sup> Marinković, "Funkcija", 74.

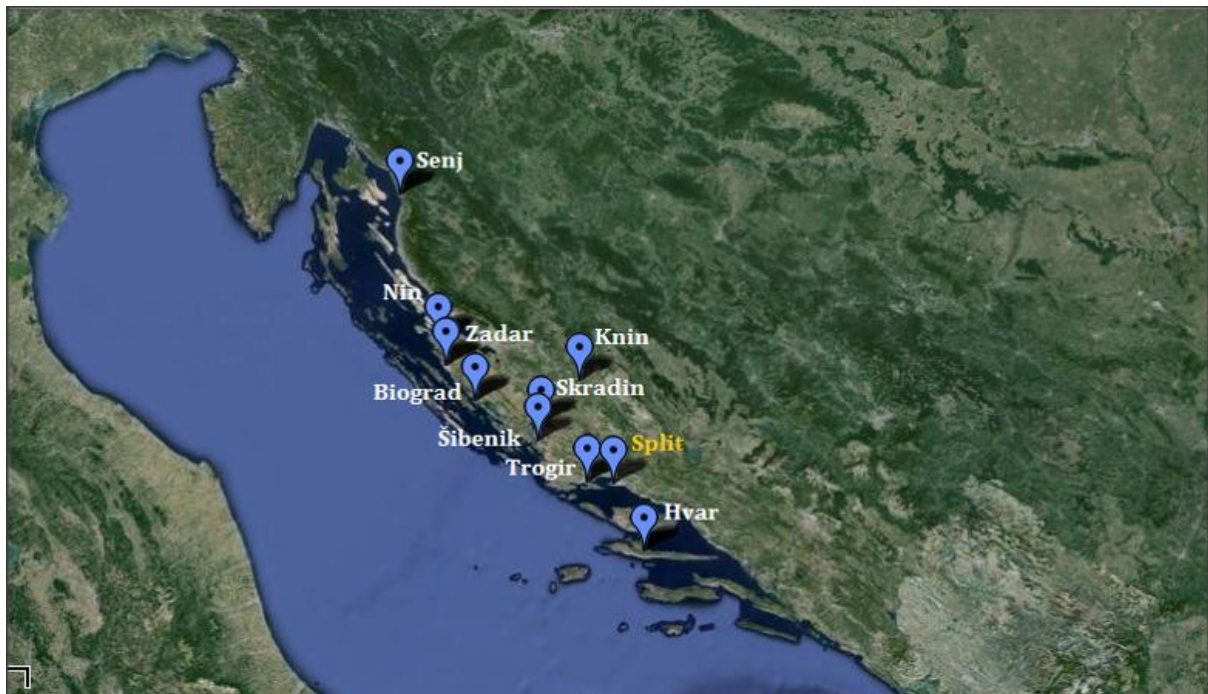
<sup>133</sup> Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, 36.

<sup>134</sup> The monastery was mentioned in 918 for the first time, but it was ruined by the end of the tenth century, when Madius decided to refound it.

<sup>135</sup> Zrinka Nikolić, "Madijevci: primjer obitelji dalmatinske gradske elite u desetomijedanaestom stoljeću" [The Madii: An example of a family of the Dalmatian urban elite in the tenth and eleventh centuries], *Zbornik OPZ HAZU* 23 (2005): 1-24.

institutions which had important positions in the life of their city or those which were connected to the previous rulers of Croatia.

The choice of recipients of grants could be symbolic and also had a practical role in the royal policy in Dalmatia. On the one hand, the kings and dukes gave grants to the archbishoprics and to bishoprics which were in an important city. On the other hand, the preferred monasteries had also strong influences on the life of their cities. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the kings gave grants to the monasteries which had close relationships with the previous royal dynasty. For example, it could be symbolic that the kings of Hungary confirmed the privileges of the St. John monastery, which were related to the Tripimirović dynasty, for the first time after the recapture of the vicinity of Biograd in 1166.<sup>136</sup> Besides the political reasons for making a grant, the new rulers of Dalmatia intended to indicate the continuity with the Croatian rulers by favoring to the same institutions as they did.



5. Fig. Map of Dalmatia

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<sup>136</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds*, 100.



#### 4. New donations and their importance

The kings of Hungary and the dukes of Croatia and Dalmatia gave at least thirty-eight grants to the Church in Dalmatia. The majority of these grants were confirmations of previous grants or privileges of a monastery or (arch)bishopric. Thirteen new grants were made (see Fig 3.). These grants were divided between the archbishopric of Split (8), the St. Mary convent in Zadar (2), the bishopric of Nin (2), and the bishopric of Trogir (1). The prominent place of Split may have been because the city was the kings' political and ecclesiastical center and the archbishops of Split were either Hungarians or prelates with close relationships with the royal court. It can be assumed that the influence of these archbishops would have resulted in a higher number of the new donations, too. The archbishopric of Split received new lands close to Solin and mills on the Jadro River.<sup>137</sup> The St. Stephen and Moses church, given to the archbishopric in 1138, was also in Solin.<sup>138</sup> This church, along with the neighboring St. Mary church, was related to the previous royal dynasty in Croatia. Queen Jelena, the wife of Krešimir II, donated these churches to the archbishopric of Split in the second half of the tenth century. Later, the ownership of the churches probably changed and they belonged to Benedictines for a while. The church of St. Mary was returned to Split, probably during the reign of King Zvonimir. While the church of St. Stephen and Moses was part of the kings' property until 1158,<sup>139</sup> when Géza II donated it to the archbishopric along with the royal church of St. Bartholomew in Knin.<sup>140</sup> Mladen Ančić states that granting these royal churches to the Templars between 1164 and 1168 meant breaking the symbolic continuity of the Tripimirović dynasty and granting the abbey of St.

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<sup>137</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 140.

<sup>138</sup> CDC II 47.

<sup>139</sup> CDC II 16-17.

<sup>140</sup> Radoslav Buzančić, "Srednjovjekovne geminae na Otoku u Solinu" [The medieval double churches at Gospinotok in Solin], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 37 (1998): 59-61.

Gregory in Vrana, also to the Templars, was because of the conflict between Hungary and Byzantium and the need for strong support in Dalmatia.

In my opinion, giving a royal territory like these churches could have had more practical purpose than being merely a symbolic statement about the heritage of the previous dynasty. Having a strong and good relationship with the archbishopric of Split took priority for the kings over preserving the royal lands in Dalmatia, especially after the conflict with Byzantium in the mid-1150s. When Coloman seized Dalmatia the symbolic continuity with the Tripimirović dynasty was more important during the installation of his rule in the cities. By the mid-twelfth century the situation had changed, and Géza II did not have to (re)seize Dalmatia and install his rule in the region. The symbolic relationship with the Tripimirović heritage did not cease, as it could be seen in the case of the privileges of the Saint John monastery in Biograd.

The grants concerning Biać and Gradac, lands between Split and Trogir, were related to the argument over the ownership of these territories between the two cities and their clergy. Drid also belonged to the debated lands between the cities; it was given to Trogir by Duke Coloman in 1226.<sup>141</sup> Béla IV donated Cetina County to Ugrin, the new archbishop elect of the city. Béla supported him strongly during and after his election, and between 1245 and 1248 he was not only an archbishop, but the *comes* of the city as well, appointed by the king. The new grant had a practical role in this case: to win the favor of the city for the elected archbishop and to secure his position in Split.

King Coloman's famous grant of the bell tower to the St. Mary convent in Zadar had both practical and symbolic functions after he seized Zadar. First, the king supported that female convent, which had strong political influence in the city by enjoying the favor of the Croatian kings and the most powerful citizens. Coloman wanted to establish a good

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<sup>141</sup> Klaić, *Trogir*, 127-135.

relationship with this convent and his policy of making grants was similar to that of the Tripimirović dynasty. Moreover, the tower also represented the king's rule and graciousness in the city. In case of Nin, the changing political circumstances served the city. The new grants were probably signs of the growing favor of the royal court.

## 5. Conclusion

Concluding the results of the analysis, grants had a practical role in the royal policy in Dalmatia. The kings and dukes used grants to Church to win its and the cities' support. The grants examined here testify that the kings and dukes gave grants to the ecclesiastical centers which were at the top of the hierarchy and/or had great political influence and an important position. Split was the center of the Church in North and Central Dalmatia. Zadar was the political center of the region and also became an archbishopric. Trogir was a politically important center of the kings and the importance of Nin emerged after 1244, when Venice captured Zadar. Monasteries also had great influence on their cities since not only the previous Croatian rulers but the local urban elites stood behind them.

Neven Budak has demonstrated that the Tripimirović dynasty used grants to Church to establish political relations with the Dalmatian towns.<sup>142</sup> The kings of Hungary also used their grants for the same purpose. They supported the most important cities and showed their favor towards the influential monasteries of the region. The kings and dukes used grants to win the support of the Church during both internal struggles and in the case of external threats. The role of the Church in the Dalmatian cities was strong in the study period and the rulers wanted to influence them by giving grants and electing prelates.

The grants also had a symbolic role. When the kings and dukes visited Dalmatia giving grants was part of the royal custom. The kings' visits were the visual proof of their

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<sup>142</sup> Neven Budak, "Foundations and Donations as a Link between Croatia and the Dalmatian Cities in the Early Middle Ages (9th-11th c.)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas* 55 (2007): 489.

rule over the region. They were surrounded by the bishops of the land and the secular leaders of Dalmatia, while a huge number of Hungarian magnates and prelates followed them. These visits and entries provided the opportunity to connect with the ruled territories and their elites. When the rulers showed their generosity during their personal presence they not only made gestures towards the cities, but also expressed their power over them. The grants marked a dominant-subdominant relationship between the receiver and the issuer of the grants. The grants also shaped social and political relationships; generosity could earn respect and regard for the giver. The receiver had to be obedient and had to return the favor of the giver somehow: by loyalty and support.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Social Context of the Royal Grants to the Church**

This chapter will discuss the urban and social context of the royal grants to Church from the point of view of the Dalmatian cities. So far I have analyzed the role of the grants from the perspective of the royal court, but the visits, entries, and grants, on both levels of communication, were not unilateral events. Not only did kings express their rule over the cities, but the cities and their citizens also took an active part in the royal events. First, I will deal with the audience and their role during royal visits and grant giving. I will discuss their behavior towards the king and also their motivation to be present during the kings' presence. Then I will discuss the social context of the royal grants. The focus will be on communal development and the changing role of the Church in the cities and how these processes influenced the royal policy. My aim is to show how the kings accommodated themselves to communal transformation during the thirteenth century.

#### **1. The audience of the royal visits and the reception of royal grants**

Royal visits to Dalmatia were not spontaneous events, neither were the royal entries which many times went hand in hand with a royal presence in the region. The subject inhabitants of this ruled land had to participate during these events and the cities and the ruler worked together to organize the rituals and spectacles. The royal presence laid charges on the citizens because while the kings expressed their supremacy over the ruled lands, the dependents had to acknowledge the ruler's power over themselves.<sup>143</sup> This recognition occurred on both levels of the communication between the kings and the citizens. They

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<sup>143</sup> Jacoba van Leeuwen. "Introduction", in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Jacoba van Leeuwen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), xiv-xv.

expressed their loyalty to the king in words and in ritual actions.<sup>144</sup> They welcomed the king with honor and solemn acts when admitting him inside the walls of their city. Thomas Archdeacon wrote a detailed description about Andrew II's entry to Split in 1217, where he depicts the symbolic reception of the king:

All the citizens and foreigners and the whole crowd of his army marched out in procession to meet the lord king, loudly sounding his praises. Then all the clergy robed in silk vestments over their surplices proceeded with crosses and censers as far as the Pistura Square, chanting together in a manner worthy of the king's majesty.<sup>145</sup>

A charter, which was issued after Duke Andrew's entry of Trogir around 1200 depicted the following events: "We went to the coasts of Dalmatia and entered to the city of Trogir, where on the one hand, the clergy, on the other hand, the people of Trogir accepted us with honor and joy, and we received solemn praises."<sup>146</sup>

According to my sources, royal praises were part of the reception of the kings and dukes during the Árpáadian age. These praises were the symbolic, public recognition of the royal power by the citizens and the clergy.<sup>147</sup> From the examined period, only one item of royal praise was preserved in Zadar from around 1114. This royal praise first lauded the pope, then King Coloman, his son, Prince Stephen, Archbishop Gregory of Zadar, and Ban Cledin.<sup>148</sup> The detailed reception of the kings was laid down in various orders, which have

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<sup>144</sup>Dušan Zupka, "Communication in a Town: Urban Rituals and Literacy in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary," in *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014) 341-342.

<sup>145</sup> Translation: *Historia Salonitana*, 161.

<sup>146</sup> *ad maritimas Dalmaciae partes accessissemus Traguriensem civitatem intravimus. Ubi [ab] una [parte] a clero, et universo populo cum honore et gaudio recepti, laudes ymnidicas honor abiliter recepimus* (My translation). See Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11, fol. 28-29.

<sup>147</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations of Medieval Rulers* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), 147-157; Dušan Zupka, "Power of Rituals, and Rituals of Power: Religious and Secular Rituals in the Political Culture of Medieval Kingdom of Hungary", in *Historiography in Motion*, ed. Roman Holec and Rastislav Kožiak (Bratislava: Institute of History of Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2010), 34-37.

<sup>148</sup> Georgius Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et actae ad historiam Hungariae pertinentiam (ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196)*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 400.

been transmitted from the Carolingian period in Europe.<sup>149</sup> The use of Church liturgy was not an unusual tool for the rulers to secure their power over the ruled territories.<sup>150</sup> At least until the mid-thirteenth century the kings of Hungary used the influence of the Church to secure the loyalty of the Dalmatian cities. The archbishops of Split were supposed to represent the interest of the royal court.<sup>151</sup> The kings wanted to take advantage of the political influence of the Church in the cities by engaging them with grants and gifts.

A royal visit was not only an event to recognize the kings' rule, but it also gave the opportunity for self-representation of the cities. The social hierarchy and the internal political relations of the cities were also apparent during the royal presence. Visits and entries provided a place and time for the local elites to earn the favor of the king. Both the Church and the secular elite of the cities received grants in the presence of the ruler, who rewarded his dependents and to received statements of the loyalty of the Dalmatian cities.

I emphasized that the royal grants were tools the kings used to express their relation towards the cities: the hierarchy of the realm and the generosity of the quasi semi-god king. Beside grants which were given in their personal presence, the kings also confirmed privileges from far away. These long-distance confirmations, as Georg Vogeler showed in his recent study, were not only legal documents, but they were visual proof of the royal favor for the Church and the city. These documents were part of the communication between the ruler and the ruled city.<sup>152</sup> The royal grants to Church were not only issued when the kings felt the need to give a grant, but the citizens and the clergy also applied for them, both in Dalmatia and in other parts of the kingdom. First, they could ask the king personally during a royal

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<sup>149</sup> Kantorowitz, "The "King's Advent" 208-209.

<sup>150</sup> Andrew Brown, "Ritual and State-building: Ceremonies in Late Medieval Bruges", in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Jacoba van Leeuwen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006) 4-5.

<sup>151</sup> Gál, "*Qui erat*", 54-63.

<sup>152</sup> Georg Vogeler. "The Distant Emperor. Communication between European and Mediterranean Towns and Frederic II of Hohenstaufen", in *Towns and Communication. Communication between Towns II*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 134-135.

visit. Second, they could apply for grants and confirmation in letters, like in 1142, after King Géza II's coronation, when the citizens of Split asked the king to confirm their privileges. Third, the magistrates and the clergy visited the royal court, where they asked for the favor of the king, as in 1188, when an embassy from Zadar visited Béla III.<sup>153</sup>

The Church and the city could use the kings' the grants to further their political goals. The example of a struggle between Split and Trogir from the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1245 shows how the royal grants to Church were used for such purposes. The cities struggled for the jurisdiction over certain lands between Split and Trogir, over territories whose ownership was also disputed between the bishopric of Trogir and the archbishopric of Split.<sup>154</sup> The result was that both the Church and the cities were involved in these fights. First, Archbishop Bernard achieved the acquisition of the villages of Biać and Gradac as a grant from King Emeric and Duke Andrew around 1202.<sup>155</sup> However, Andrew was more generous towards the bishopric of Trogir during his duchy. After his coronation he gave grants and confirmations that served the interests of the archbishopric of Split. King Andrew II confirmed land which had previously belonged to the bishopric of Trogir to the archbishopric of Split in 1207. Domald, the comes of Split, probably played an important role in this change of Andrew's policy, since he held huge territories in Central Dalmatia, and enjoyed the king's favor. Domald's political power could have assuaged the bad personal relationship between the king and Archbishop Bernard.<sup>156</sup> The struggle for the land continued, in 1210, when Matthew, the vice-ban of the coastal region adjudicated between Split and Trogir in the case of the ownership of the land of St. Vital for the good of Trogir.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>CDC II 225

<sup>154</sup>Klaić, *Trogir*, 77.

<sup>155</sup>CDC III 16

<sup>156</sup>Klaić, *Trogir*, 78

<sup>157</sup>Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11.,fol. 27-28.



Duke Coloman gave Drid to the city and the Church of Trogir in 1226 when he visited Dalmatia for the first time,<sup>158</sup> and King Andrew confirmed his grant in 1227.<sup>159</sup> This territory also belonged to the disputed lands. King Béla IV's presence during the Mongol invasion fanned the argument between Split and Trogir. He favored the latter city, and confirmed Drid to the Church of Trogir in 1242.<sup>160</sup> War broke out in 1242 over the village of Ostrog and peace was made in 1245 for the good of Trogir, which was supported by the king.<sup>161</sup>

## 2. The urban context of the royal grants to the Church

The examination of the communal development and its influence on the distribution of grants will be confined to the examples of Split and Trogir. Although Zadar was also an important city in Dalmatia it did not belong to the Kingdom of Hungary for most of the examined period, especially after the mid-thirteenth century, when the number of royal grants to Church decreased radically. Split and Trogir received most of the grants and these cities provide enough sources to examine their development. The self-organization of the citizens of the Dalmatian cities began in the eleventh century. Great assemblies were organized both in Split and Trogir, and probably other Dalmatian cities had similar institutions. Urban society was divided into *maiores* and *minores*, nobles and non-nobles, but the assemblies included all the citizens. The general or great assemblies were not standing institutions; whenever the city needed to decide important questions or the presence of the assembly was important, the citizens were called together by the *comes*.<sup>162</sup> These assemblies decided about the important questions of the cities; they took oaths to foreign rulers, regulated the life the citizens, elected the *comes* of the city, and later made peace in the name of the city.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> CDC III 258.

<sup>159</sup> CDC III 278.

<sup>160</sup> CDC IV 153.

<sup>161</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 123-124.

<sup>162</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 276.

<sup>163</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 275-278.

The communal development and organization of the commune, which began around the twelfth century,<sup>164</sup> became more intensive around the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>165</sup> Returning to the two examples, that was the time when the first statute of Split was put down in writing under the rule of *podesta* Gargano de Arscindis in 1239.<sup>166</sup> Two years later, for the first time in the history of Split, the general assembly made peace in the name of the city with Count Andrew of Zahumlje.<sup>167</sup>

The formation of a commune included a separation of the ecclesiastical and secular powers. While for most of the period examined the Church was dominant in the life of cities,<sup>168</sup> in the second half of the thirteenth century the two powers started to separate. The election of the (arch)bishops was not only the right of the Church, but the citizens and the canons elected the ecclesiastical leader of their city together. Participation in the election of the ecclesiastical leaders of the city was important because besides the role of a bishop played, the bishops and archbishops held their offices for life and the *comes* only received the rule for a year.<sup>169</sup> While the laity influenced the election, the archbishops also took part in secular cases and in the life of the city. In Trogir, the ecclesiastical and secular powers began to take part in each other's world during the twelfth century.<sup>170</sup> In Split, the archbishops were closely connected to the royal court, and besides their secular and ecclesiastical rule in the city they also were the kings' most direct representatives in Split.<sup>171</sup> The secular influence of the archbishops of Split reached its peak during Hugrin's tenure of office, when he was not

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<sup>164</sup> Steindorff, *Die Städte*, 157-159.

<sup>165</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 279.; Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo* [The Medieval Trogir. Space and Society]. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), 41.

<sup>166</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 279.

<sup>167</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 277.

<sup>168</sup> Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* [Legal history of the Dalmatian cities], (Zagreb: Dioničkatiskara, 1913), 305-310.

<sup>169</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

<sup>170</sup> Klaić, *Trogir*, 74.

<sup>171</sup> Gál, "*Qui erat*", 62-63.

only the ecclesiastical, but also the secular leader of the city, as *comes* between 1245 and 1248.

Communal development not only resulted in the statute of Split in 1239, but the separation of the archbishops from secular life of the city also began that time. After Ugrin's death, the next bishop, a certain Friar John, was elected only by the suffragans of Split without the participation of the citizens, in 1248. Although John was never consecrated, the next archbishop, Roger of Apulia, was appointed by the pope, also without asking the opinion of the laity.<sup>172</sup> Roger kept away from the secular administration and dealt with mostly ecclesiastical manners, according to Thomas Spalatensis.<sup>173</sup> His absence from the political life of the city was probably a sign of a change among the secular and ecclesiastical powers of Split. By the end of the century, the election of the archbishops was only the right of the canons, and the citizens did not influence the process at all.<sup>174</sup>

In Trogir, the Church participated in the secular life of the city; its influence was not confined only to the ecclesiastical life of Trogir. The Church was dominant in communication with the royal court and competed with the secular power in the city. The bishopric of Trogir enjoyed the kings' and dukes' favor, which was materialized in grants. As the separation of the secular and ecclesiastical powers became more and more significant, and the bishops were expelled from the secular administration of the city by the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>175</sup> although the separation of the two powers did not happen without conflicts between the Church and the commune. First, the social topography of Trogir expressed the changing position of the Church. In the second half of the thirteenth century the commune started transforming the main square of the city, which had been dominated by ecclesiastical

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<sup>172</sup> Mirko Sardelić, *Carmen miserabile: Rogerije iz Apulije* [*Carmen miserabile*. Roger from Apulia]. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2010), 106.

<sup>173</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, 362.

<sup>174</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

<sup>175</sup> Benyovsky, *Trogir*, 198.

buildings until that time. The city demolished the church of St. Stephen in 1272 to have a place for building a new communal palace. A new loggia was built on the place of the church of St. Martin and the communal administration also rented the building of the monastery of St. John the Baptist for its purposes.<sup>176</sup>

The economic and social changes of the thirteenth century influenced the number of citizens' grants. After the mid-thirteenth century one can hardly find grants where citizens donated land to the Church. Neither (arch)bishoprics nor Benedictine monasteries received new donations of land in the last decades of the century. The local elites invested in commerce and the salt trade, and owning land became more and more important.<sup>177</sup> Land donated to the Church was removed from economic circulation, since it was a perpetual religious gift.<sup>178</sup> Moreover, citizens of Split and Trogir had to pay city taxes to the commune on land plots that were outside of the border of the city.<sup>179</sup> Ecclesiastical institutions were excused; they had to pay only papal and episcopal taxes.<sup>180</sup>

The development of the communes and the new concept of communal property resulted in changes in giving grants. The first signs appeared when the great congregation of Split forbade giving lands to the Church around 1160.<sup>181</sup> After the mid-thirteenth century, in line with the upswing in communal development, the citizens hardly gave any land to the Church. After examining the sources, I assume that the local elites stopped giving grants around the 1240s, and only few new donations were issued at the end of the century in territories where the communes were less developed, like in Senj.<sup>182</sup> The halting of further

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<sup>176</sup> Irena Benyovsky, "Trogirski trg u razvijenom srednjem vijeku" [The square of Trogir in the High Middle Ages], *Povijesni prilozi* 16 (1997): 12-14.

<sup>177</sup> Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 116.

<sup>178</sup> Ilona F. Silber, "Gift-giving in the Great Traditions. The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West", *Archives européennes de sociologie* 36 (1995): 209-243.

<sup>179</sup> Lujo Margetić, "Dioba općinskog zemljišta u nekim srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim komunama" [Division of communal land in some Dalmatian communes], *Starine* 56 (1975): 5-36.

<sup>180</sup> Dusa, *Episcopal Cities*, 116.

<sup>181</sup> CDC II 93.

<sup>182</sup> CDC VII 81., 187. etc.

donations generated more income for the communes, and in parallel with this they started supplanting the Church from the secular administration of the cities.<sup>183</sup> There were no further donations, moreover the Church and the commune struggled over ecclesiastical landholdings. For example, an argument between city and the bishopric of Trogir began in the mid-thirteenth century over the building of the St. Lawrence cathedral. The city and its bishops struggled for Drid and the land of St. Vital for decades, during Treguan's and Columban's tenures of office.<sup>184</sup>

Examining the temporal distribution of royal grants to Church shows that the number of the grants decreased drastically after the mid-thirteenth century. The last royal grant was given to the bishopric of Trogir in 1242 and the last royal grant to the archbishopric of Split in 1244. Moreover, giving grants to the Church after the 1220s became rarer and neither Andrew II, in the last decade of his rule, nor Béla IV, in the first years of his reign, gave grants to Dalmatian bishoprics or monasteries. In contrast, King Andrew II, Béla IV, Stephen V and Ladislav IV were generous towards the local secular elites and the cities through the whole century. For example, King Béla gave a piece of land to Marin Blasii for his service in 1243 after he stayed in Trogir, during the Tatar invasion.<sup>185</sup> This Marina member of the Andreis family, which was among the most powerful families of the city.<sup>186</sup> The king also gave a piece of land to Trogir in 1251.<sup>187</sup> King Stephen V confirmed his father's grant to Marin<sup>188</sup> and his son Ladislav IV issued two grants to Trogir in 1278.<sup>189</sup>

The kings and dukes of Hungary used grants to Church for political and representative purposes. They expressed their rule, made political connections, tried to earn the loyalty of

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<sup>183</sup> Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 373.

<sup>184</sup> Benyovsky, *Trogir*, 200-203.

<sup>185</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 89-90

<sup>186</sup> Mladen Andreis, *Trogirski patricijat u srednjem vijeku* [The patricians of Trogir in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: HAZU, 2002), 202.

<sup>187</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/11. fol. 92-93.

<sup>188</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/12. fol. 51-54.

<sup>189</sup> Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/12. fol. 85-86.; 86-88.

the Church, and to thereby influence the cities. When communal development and economic changes led to fewer citizens' grants to the Church, the royal policy changed in the same way. After the Church started losing from its influence in the city the kings aimed to secure the loyalty of the secular elite and the magistrates with grants.

Who influence whom? Surveying the social characteristics of the Dalmatian cities, one can see that the general social processes of the period examined led to the formation of communes. The importance and the value of landholdings emerged during the economic changes of this period, which caused conflicts between the Church and the commune. The citizens no longer gave land to ecclesiastical institutions and they argued over the ownership of certain territories. Moreover, the secular and ecclesiastical powers separated from each other; the Church lost its influence on the administration of the cities by the end of the thirteenth century.

The Hungarian kings did not influence this social transformation in the cities, since they visited only occasionally and the coastal cities enjoyed great autonomy. In my opinion, the kings needed to secure the loyalty of the cities with favors and generosity since they stayed in Dalmatia only for short periods. The kings of Hungary did not influence the life of the cities greatly; they accommodated themselves to the political and social changes of the region. First, they gave grants to the Church, when the prelates had great influence in the cities and they could help the court to secure its rule. Later, when the role of the Church changed in the cities because of the development of communes, the kings adapted to the political circumstances.

### **3. Conclusion**

Concluding the results of the previous chapters I emphasize that number of the royal grants to Church decreased because of the changing social circumstances in Dalmatia. The

kings could not oppose the behavior of the communes of Dalmatia, since they needed the loyalty of the local elites. When the society's custom changed in the thirteenth century, the royal policy followed its patterns. They gave grants to the secular elite, gave privileges to the cities, but the ecclesiastical institutions hardly enjoyed the kings' generosity. The only exemption was the bishopric of Nin, after the Mongol invasion. I emphasized in the previous chapter, that the fall of Zadar emerged the importance of this city and explained the kings' changed policy. The social characteristics and communal development of Nin varied from the examples of Trogir, Split or Zadar. The formation of commune began later in the cities which belonged to the territory of the previous Croatian dynasty, like Nin and Šibenik.<sup>190</sup> The communal development was slower, and the influence of the Church was very strong after mid-thirteenth century, so the kings of Hungary used that policy what their ancestors practiced at a certain point of the communal development of Trogir and Split.

Kings of Hungary accommodated their policy to the social, cultural and economic changes of Dalmatia. For the comparison, the other great power of the region, Venice had a different policy. The Italian state ordered the ecclesiastical organization of the seized lands under the patriarch of Grado's jurisdiction. Venice also made these (arch)bishoprics to elect a prelate from Venice. The kings of Hungary claimed to earn the loyalty of the Church by giving grant and influencing the election of the archbishops of Split and some other bishops, and through them they could influence the cities. They changed their policy when it was necessarily. Venice had never used grants for the same purposes, and their church policy

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<sup>190</sup> Ludwig Steindorff, "Stari svijet i nova doba. O formiranju komune na istočnoj obali Jadrana" [Old world and new age. About the formation of communes on the eastern Adriatic], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 16 (1986): 149-150.

made the Church and the society of Dalmatia to accommodate themselves to their ruler's ecclesiastical structures.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Robert Lee Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople (1204-1261)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 234-235.



## CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis was the analysis of the royal grants to the Church in Dalmatia. I examined thirty-nine royal grants from the Árpád age, which are all known grants so far. I examined three aspects of the grants to the Church: firstly, the focus was on the temporal and territorial distribution. Secondly, I dealt with the royal aspects of the grant-giving: the practical and symbolic usage of the grant-giving. Thirdly, I analyzed the audience's point of view: how the cities received the kings' visits and their favor, and how the communal development transformed the custom of giving grants.

The temporal and territorial analysis showed, that the royal grants to the Church were issued from the very beginnings of the Hungarian rule in Dalmatia. After the mid-thirteenth century the number of grants decreased drastically. The number of the grants was the highest when kings or dukes were personally present in Dalmatia, when they visited the region for military reasons, regular visits or spent relatively long time there. The number of the grants also increased when Andrew, the later king Andrew II, became the duke of Dalmatia and fought for the throne of the kingdom against his brother, Emeric. After the Mongol invasion the kings and dukes of Hungary donated only few lands to the Church. The territorial distribution of the grants showed that the kings and dukes paid special attention to those (arch)bishopric sees and Benedictine monasteries which were founded by the Trpimirović dynasty and the local elites.

The grants had practical, political and symbolic roles in the royal policy towards Dalmatia. The kings and dukes used grants to the Church to win the clergy's and the cities' support. Kings and dukes gave grants to the ecclesiastical centers which had great political influence and an important position in the region and in their cities. The kings of Hungary and the dukes of Croatia and Dalmatia used grants to secure the support of the Church during both internal struggles and in the case of external threats. The role of the Church in the

Dalmatian cities was strong at the beginnings of the communal development, at least until the mid-thirteenth century, and the rulers wanted to influence the cities by giving grants and electing prelates.

The grants also had a symbolic role when kings and dukes who visited their lands showed generosity through their which also expressed their power over the citizens. The grants marked the relationship between the receiver and the issuer, moreover these donations and confirmations shaped social and political relationships. The royal generosity earned respect, and the receiver had to be obedient and loyal. However, the recipients were not passive participants of the grant-giving. They were able to represent themselves, and they had the opportunity to increase their social importance and place by the kings' favor.

The number of the grants started decreasing around the 1230s and by the second half of the thirteenth century they almost disappeared. The reason for this change was that the kings and dukes accommodated themselves to the social and economic transformation of the cities. The kings of Hungary issued grants to Church to earn its support in the cities. When the secular and ecclesiastical power started being separated and the Church had lost its previous influence, the rulers had to change their policy. Since the economic changes led to the increase/rise of the value of lands, the communes started forbidding the donation of lands to the Church, since they were removed from the economic circulation as perpetual gifts and tax-free territories. The kings turned to the secular elite of Dalmatia, and gave grants to the cities too in order to maintain their loyalty and obedience towards the royal court. The political utility of the grants could explain the changes in their temporal distribution during the examined period. The number of grants aiming directly at the Church decreased when the royal court had to secure its influence through the urban, secular elites and the Church lost its previous overwhelming impact over the city. The rulers spent relatively short time in

Dalmatia, and they could not influence the social changes of the cities, but they needed to accommodate their policy to the changing society of the Dalmatian towns.

This thesis contributes to the research of the common Hungarian-Croatian history with new approaches and results. The complex analysis of the royal grants showed that the kings of Hungary did not influence the social processes in Dalmatia during the examined period, but they wanted to assure the loyalty of the coastal lands. The thesis provide a new approach, since I put the grants into the social, ecclesiastical, economic, and symbolic context of the twelfth and thirteenth century. The analysis showed how the royal policy changed, and what motivated the kings of Hungary and the cities. The thesis highlighted the complex relationship between the royal court and Dalmatia, which was based on reciprocity. The Dalmatian cities had great autonomy, and the king did not try to convince them with military power, unlike Venice did. The kings' policy was adaptive and they were seeking for reconciliation with the cities, and the royal grants to the Church were important parts of this policy.

The future research will be able to give a more complex picture of the relationship between Dalmatia and Hungary. It would be important to research and reinterpret the results of the often politically influenced historiography of both countries by going beyond the approach of the political history. The relationship between the Papacy and Hungary over Dalmatia, the role of the Dalmatian bishops and archbishops, the transformation of the ecclesiastical organization, royal privileges to towns, comparative analysis of the policy of the different powers in Dalmatia, and many other topics could provide the opportunity to understand the complexity of the relationship between the Eastern Adriatic coast and Hungary. This thesis was a small contribution to this research.

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