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Mendicants and Dalmatian Towns in the Middle Ages

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Mendicant orders, especially Dominicans and Franciscans were urban orders, so location of their churches and friaries indicates the strength of the towns where they settled. The formation of these orders is *the most distinctively and uniquely urban contribution made by the Church in the long history of Christianity.* As their mission was directed to the people of the towns, the distribution of their friaries corresponded to urban expansion in Dalmatia.

Franciscans

Franciscans (*Ordo fratrum minorum*) settled Dalmatian towns whilst St. Francis was still alive. According to medieval tradition¹ some Dalmatian convents were founded by St. Francis himself in 1212; Istrian tradition assigned the foundation to St. Anthony; the town of Šibenik to St. Florian, who was said to be St. Francis' companion on this trip. Trogir's legend asserted that fra Adam founded Šibenik's friary, while passing through Dalmatia in 1221. Written sources do prove that St. Francis was really held up in what was called *Sclavonia*.² A contemporary of St. Francis, Thomas of Celano mentioned in his *First Biography of St. Francis* that in 1212 St. Francis sailed out towards Syria, but rough seas forced the boat to stop somewhere on the Dalmatian coast (...*ventis contrariis flantibus in partibus Sclavoniae cum ceteris navigantibus se invenit...*). However, it is not certain where this accident happened. According to some legends, the Saint founded four friaries while staying in Dalmatia; some sources connect his stay with the friary of Trogir, and its foundation in 1214. There are similar legends concerning the towns of Rijeka, Split and Zadar friary, where according to legend, St. Francis cured a nun from a Benedictine nunnery.³ In Dubrovnik, also according to a legend, St. Francis

¹ Schofield, John - Vince, Alan, *Medieval Towns*, London, 1994, 164.

² Oreb, Marin, "Samostan sv. Frane u Šibeniku" [Friary of St. Francis in Šibenik], u: *Kulturna baština samostana sv. Frane u Šibeniku* [Cultural heritage of the Friary of St. Francis in Šibenik], Zadar, 1968, 10.

³ ...*qui (S. Franciscus) mense octobri anni 1212 Ancona versus Palestina profectus est...ventis contrariis flantibus in partibus Sclavoniae cum ceteris navigantibus se invenit...*; de Celano, Thomas, *Vita prima S. Francisci Assisiensis*, caput 20, 55.

⁴ Jurišić, Karlo, "Dolazak sv. Franje Asiškoga u Hrvatsku" [The Arrival of St. Francis in Croatia], u: *Franjo među Hrvatima* [St. Francis Among the Croats], Zagreb, 1976.

brought a boy from Gruž back to life.⁴

However, it was not until 1219 that St. Francis decided to send groups of friars to Hungary (through Dalmatia). According to Giordano da Giano, a contemporary of St. Francis, Franciscans came to Hungary through Dalmatia, where they had settled earlier. The trip to Hungary failed in 1219, and it was not undertaken successfully until 1228.⁵

In the beginning, all Croatian lands were included in *Provincia Hungariae*; in 1239 only the Dalmatian coast was separated as *Provincia Sclavoniae S. Seraphini* with only eleven friaries, including three in Istria. In the first decade, friars lived mostly in hermitages - individually or in small groups.

In fifty years the number of friaries increased to 24, and by 1398 there were 36. The province was important for the Order because of its geographical position between the East and the West; from here Franciscan influence could spread to the regions of Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria. One of their main duties was to carry out the Inquisition in those areas; St. Francis himself had an ambition to evangelise the East. In 1298, Bonifacius VIII ordered the Franciscans of *Sclavoniae* to sent two friars who would expel the heretics *in dictis partibus et in archiepiscopatus Duracensi, Antibaranesi, Ragusino, Spalatensi et Jadrensi*.⁶ According to some documents, they carried the Inquisition throughout Eastern Europe.⁷ In 1291 the Pope ordered the Franciscans of *provincia Sclavonie* to call people to join the crusade.⁸

In 1393, the Province again changed its name; the name of *S. Seraphini* was assigned to *Provincia Umbria*, and that is why the Dalmatian province appealed for *S. Hieronymi* as a saint-patron. Primarily, Venice did not agree to the choice of a Dalmatian saint, but finally Pope Bonifacius IX gave his permission in 1398:⁹ the name was changed to *Provincia Dalmatiae S. Hieronymi Dostoris*.¹⁰

The first friaries in Dalmatia (*Provincia Sclavoniae S. Seraphini*) were those in Trogir (1226),¹¹ Zadar (1228), Split (1229), Dubrovnik (1227/28) and Pula (1227).¹² Lucas Wadding, one of the most famous Franciscan chroniclers (1588-1657)¹³ mentioned the Dalmatian Province in

⁴ Badurina, Anđelko, *Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja* [The Role of Franciscan Friaries in Urbanisation of Dubrovnik's Region], Zagreb: 1990, 49.

⁵ Fügedi, Eric, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie", in: *Annales E.S.C.*, vol. 4 (1970), 970.

⁶ *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (further: CD), Zagreb, vol. VII, 302.

⁷ *Schematismus seu status localis et personalis Provinciae S. Hieronymi in Dalmatia et Istria*, Rome, 1959, 16; Wadding, Lucas, *Annales Minorum, seu trium ordinum a s. Francisco institutorum*, Quarachi, 1931, 1-14.

⁸ CD, vol. VII, 41.

⁹ Kožul, Stjepan, *Hrvatska provincija franjevačka konventualaca nekad i danas* [Croatian Congregation of Franciscans Conventuals in the Past and Today], u: *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. 23 (1989), 93-95.

¹⁰ For the history of the Franciscans in this region the most important bibliography is: Fabianich, Donato, *Storia dei Fratti Minori dei primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmatia et Bossina*, Zadar, 1863.

¹¹ Document from 1263 mentions Franciscan church in Trogir: *...Gervasius primicerius vicarius episcopi Columbani protestatur de breve pape obtento a fratribus Predicatoribus de ecclesia sancti Francisci posita in burgo Traguriensi, tacita veritate obtento in absentia episcopi*; CD, vol. V, 251. In the year of 1264, Urbanus IV ordered to bishop of Trogir to buy the land for Franciscans; CD, vol. V, 284.

¹² Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata; srednji vijek* [Church, Christianity and Croats; Middle Ages], Zagreb, 1993, 305.

¹³ Maračić, Franjevci, 23.

his work¹⁴ with four *custodias* and their centres in Dubrovnik (including the towns of Ulcinj, Skadar, Bar, Kotor, Dubrovnik, Daksa), Zadar or Split (Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Bribir, Zadar, Pag), Rab (Rab, Senj, Krk, Cres) and Istria (Pula, Poreč, Piran, Kopar, Trieste).¹⁵ In the series of Provinces listed by Bonaventura (1272), twenty two friaries were included in those four custodies.

After St. Francis died in 1226, different interpretations of the Rules appeared inside the Order. There were disagreements about some of the most fundamental aspects and rules. Some wanted the Franciscans to be university trained preachers and theologians, and some wanted them to own property. Interestingly, a small group of friars (Spirituals, sometimes called *fraticelli*) who remained faithful to absolute poverty and simplicity (as St. Francis himself would have probably wanted), were finally hunted by the Inquisition as heretics! As the fundamentalist wing failed, the margins of tolerance grew tighter in the Order. The majority of Franciscans were still Conventuals.

The latter-day Spiritualists made in 1368. The movement of those who followed the Franciscan *Observantia* spread from Brugnano in Italy (the group around Paoluccio Trinci) to France and Spain. Members of this reformed group were called the Observants. In 1415, the *observantes* were given partial autonomy on the Council of Constance; they had their own *vicarus* and *discretus*, instead of *provincialis* and *custos*. However, they were still under the jurisdiction of the ruling body of the Order.

Two Observant friars came to Dalmatia - Jacobus Marcus and John of Capistrano. John of Capistrano was trained in law and served as a judge prior to conversion to the religious life.¹⁶ The Observants were first mentioned in Zadar, whilst still under the jurisdiction of the minister general of *conventuales*. In the beginning, both Conventuals and Observants lived in the same friaries, but later the Observants moved out to live in smaller ones (especially in southern Dalmatia: Daksa, Ugljan, Pašman). All larger Franciscan friaries in the first two centuries of the Order belonged to the *conventuales*; as Lucas Wadding wrote, all friars from 1208 to 1390 *ad Conventuales omnes spectant*.

Dalmatian and Bosnian provinces competed for jurisdiction over several towns on the coast between Zadar and Split. However, Order decided to assign those towns to the Bosnian vicariate, explaining that the friars *deserved it for their missionary work*. Finally, it was decided by the general council of Köln in 1397, to fix the boundaries: Ston and Herceg Novi were ceded to the Bosnian province.

The Franciscan Order passed through many changes in the Dalmatian region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Observants from the friaries of Ugljan and Daksa appealed to Pope Eugenius IV to join them with the Bosnian vicariate, and this had a great impact on the foundation of Observant friaries in Dalmatia. Papal edicts issued by Martin V and Eugenius IV, proclaimed that all the Observants' friaries from the Black Sea to the Adriatic (including Hungary), would be under the jurisdiction of *Custodis domus Bosnensis*, which existed from 1424, and from 1434 as a vicariate. All other Observant vicariates in Croatia and Dalmatia originated from this Bosnian Observant vicariate.¹⁷

¹⁴ He wrote about Franciscan provinces and custodies, and Dalmatian was mentioned on the 29th place.

¹⁵ Badurina, *Uloga*, 44..

¹⁶ Maračić, *Franjevci*, 23; *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. IV, ed.: Joseph R. Strayer, New York, 1989, 205.

¹⁷ Kožul, *Hrvatska*, 95.

In 1447 the Observants' vicary of St. Hieronimus was separated from the Province. The Observants of Dubrovnik then also founded their own autonomous vicary in 1448. Finally, in 1517, the Observants of Dalmatia were separated in the vicaries of Zadar and Dubrovnik. In the same year, the Order was officially divided into the Observants and the Conventuals, and those two vicaries became two different provinces.¹⁸

Many changes were caused by the Venetian occupation of Dalmatia and Albania (1420) and the Turkish penetration into the Balkan peninsula in the sixteenth century. As the number of friaries in the Dalmatian hinterland had fallen, this caused the modification of the province boundaries.¹⁹ The friaries in the Dalmatian hinterland (in the towns of Bribir, Skradin, Ulcinj, Bar and Durrës) were mostly destroyed by the Turks: according to Lucas Wadding, the Dalmatian Province (with its centre in Zadar) had 21 friaries in 1506, and the Province of Dubrovnik only 9! This was the period when the Šibenik friary grew in importance and became one of the most influential in Dalmatia.²⁰ Bosnian friaries had been especially badly destroyed during the fifteenth century, so many Bosnian friars escaped to Dalmatia, and founded new friaries there.

In the sixteenth century (1525), a new branch of the Order was founded in Italy called *Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum*. They came to Dalmatia from Venice, firstly to Split (1691), then Zadar (1732).

Clarisses

The first woman to join the Franciscan brotherhood was Clare Offreduccio, who ran away from her wealthy home at the age of sixteen. Francis adopted Canon law to accept her and her two sisters, and encouraged them to live a life of "chastity, penance and prayer".²¹ Eventually, Clare became the head of a community of nuns, and they accepted Rules of the order in 1224 (very similar to Benedictine ones), which prescribed complete poverty and isolation for the nuns. Urbanus IV confirmed those Rules in 1263,²² and in the same year Franciscans were made responsible for the spiritual conversion of the nuns.²³ In 1291, the Clarisses were exempted from all taxes,²⁴ and from 1297 the convents of St. Clare in Dalmatia and Italy were under the jurisdiction of the general and provincial councils of the Franciscans.²⁵ The following year, the Clarisses were given the same rights and privileges as the Franciscans.²⁶

After this female branch of the Franciscan Order (the Order of St. Clare) had been founded in 1212, Clarisses came to Dalmatian towns as well; in the thirteenth century there were already

¹⁸ Šikić, Marijo, "Franjevačka provincija sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri" [Franciscan province of S. Hieronymi in Dalmatia and Istria], u: *Franjo među Hrvatima*, Zagreb: 1976, 148. Bezina, Petar, "Samostani klarisa u Hrvatskoj" [Convents of St. Clare in Croatia], in: *Kačić*, vol. 26 (1994),

¹⁹ Badurina, *Uloga*, 44-45.

²⁰ Kožul, Hrvatska, 95. Autonomous Province of Dubrovnik included nine friaries, and Bosnian fourty in seven custodies; Wadding, *Annales*, vol. XV, 367.

²¹ Frayling, Christopher, *Strange Landscape: A Journey Through the Middle Ages*, London, 1995, 77.

²² CD, vol. V, 268.

²³ CD, vol. V, 272.

²⁴ CD, vol. VII, 11.

²⁵ CD, vol. VII, 268.

²⁶ CD, vol. VII, 299.

in Zadar (1260). According to sources, Benedictine nuns from St. Nicholas in Zadar, accepted the Rule of St. Francis and therefore became Clarisses;²⁷ their nunnery of St. Clare was accordingly the first of its kind in this part of Europe. Legend connects the foundation of this female convent in Zadar with St. Francis himself. In 1291, Pope Nicholas IV gave indulgences to everyone who gave money for St. Nicholas' convent in Zadar.²⁸ In Dubrovnik, the nuns had been located outside the walls near the church of St. Vid, but in 1290 they moved *infra muros* near the old church of St. Blasius,²⁹ on to land given by patron. By the special wish of the Great Council of Dubrovnik, the Pope ordered the Clarisses to be under the jurisdiction of the Friars Minors.³⁰ As was mostly the case in Benedictine convents, the Clarisses were often women of noble origin.³¹ The convent in Skradin was founded by a rich noblewoman (Stanislava Šubić) and the building was finished in 1290.³² They arrived in Split in 1308,³³ and in Kotor the Clarisses moved to the deserted Benedictine nunnery of St. Cross in 1370³⁴ (they had come to Kotor in 1353).³⁵ In 1391 a group of noblewomen in Šibenik asked Pope Bonifacius IX, to give them permission to build a nunnery devoted to St. Clare. A papal edict *Magnae devotionis* sent to the Hungarian King Sigismund, set idea in notion.³⁶ The convent of St. Clare was under the jurisdiction of the *fratres minores conventuales* until 1515; later they were under the *fratres minores*.³⁷ Clarisses had a great impact on the education of the female population in the towns.

The Third Order

The Franciscan Order had a great impact on the laity; St. Francis himself encouraged many laymen to reform their lives, but not to relinquish their lay status. This led to the formation of the Third Order in 1221 for lay people, who started to organise their own communities. In 1251 there was one community in Zadar, but the first friary of St. John was not built until 1439. By the sixteenth century twelve more friaries had been built in Dalmatia and Istria.³⁸ In 1492, the Constitutions of the *Tertius orde regularis* were confirmed on the island of Galovac near Zadar. The Third Order did not have a unified constitution throughout Europe, but every

²⁷ According to the legend St. Francis himself encouraged them to accept his rule while passing through Zadar.

²⁸ CD, vol. VII, 26.

²⁹ Farlati, Daniel, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. VI, 118.

³⁰ Farlati, VI, vol. 214-217.

³¹ In 1379 the abbess of the nunnery in Dubrovnik wanted to accept a common girl in the Order, Minor Council suggested that this would not be convenient for the purposes of the convent; probably for economic reasons; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* [further: MSHSM], sv. 28 (1895), 189. In 1419 the communal authorities of Kotor decided that all the girls accepted in the nunnery have to bring dowry; Farlati, VI, 456.

³² MSHSM, vol. I, 190.

³³ The first Dominican nunnery in Split was built in the *burgus* in 1308.

³⁴ Wadding, vol. VII, 594; Bezina, *Samostani*, 279.

³⁵ Because of some papal restrictions this nunnery was changed in Franciscan friary in 1573; Farlati, vol. VI, 495; Wadding, *Annales*, vol. XXI, 488.

³⁶ Šanjek, *Crkva*, 311.

³⁷ Bezina, *Samostani*, 276.

³⁸ In the town of Preko 1448, Dugi Otok 1451, near Šibenik 1463, Osor 1465, etc.

regional community prescribed its own rules. The Constitution of the Third order in Dalmatia ordered very strict regulations for members - sinless behaviour and the wearing of habits. Even though these women and men had adopted an ascetic life-style, they lived in their own homes and pursued their lay vocations. These confraternities were in many ways lay associations, and their constitutions were similar to the rules of other confraternities.

The life of the lay followers was well-organised at the beginning of the fifteenth century, so it would seem that some kind of statute existed before 1492. The Constitutions and all liturgy were held in the vernacular language instead of Latin. Written sources therefore mention them as *religiosi ilirici* or the friars *de littera sclava*.³⁹ In 1439, Pope Sixtus IV proclaimed the Third Order in Dalmatia autonomous (no longer under the jurisdiction of the *Fratres Minores*), but from 1602 became part of Italian Congregation.

Dominicans

Dominican friars organised their friaries into provinces at the Second General Council of the Dominican Order (*Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*) in 1221.⁴⁰ Dominican provinces were composed of priories, and they enjoyed considerable autonomy. Paulus Hungarus (also called Paul Dalmatian), who was the professor at Bologna University, was sent with four friars to found the Order in his native land (to preach to *nationes Pannoniae, Transilvaniae, Sclavoniae et Dalmaciae*); he also organised the first communities of friars preachers in Dalmatia.

The Dominicans' primary mission was to study theology and preach. Many religious houses and friaries as well as schools (*studia liberalia*) were founded in almost every Dalmatian town. Dalmatian Dominicans were missionaries to the east as well (called *fratres peregrinantes*).⁴¹ Their theological education made them able to recognise and deal with the heresy. In the year of 1259 they were mentioned as the inquisitors for Dalmatia and Bosnia; Zadar was the main centre of the Inquisition and the general inquisitor was Paul from Zadar (he was killed by heretics in Split in 1255). Such institutions also existed in Kopar (the centre of the Inquisition for Istria) and Dubrovnik.

Clement IV ordered heresy to be rooted out of the regions of Northern Italy and Dubrovnik.⁴² Missionaries from Dubrovnik friary were sent to the east. In 1371, a few Dominicans from Kotor were sent to preach in Romania.⁴³ There was heretical teaching throughout the hinterland of Dalmatia, and especially in Bosnia (cararrhs, patarens, *bogumili*), but there were also traces in the towns of Split, Zadar and Omis.⁴⁴ In 1280, the Hungarian king, persuaded by the papal legate, ordered the persecution of the heretics.⁴⁵ Paulus Hungarus also directed his apostolate towards the Orient, especially the Cumans.

³⁹ The oldest preserved documents written in this script were only from the sixteenth century (codexes); Runje, Petar, "Dvije 500-godišnjice franjevac trećoredaca u Hrvatskoj (1492-1992)" [Two 500-Years Anniversaries of the Third Order in Croatia], in: *Marulić*, vol. 1 (1992), 157.

⁴⁰ Hinnebusch, William, *Dominicanci; kratka povijest reda* [The Dominicans; A Short History], Zagreb, 1997, 22.

⁴¹ Šanjek, *Crkva*, 163.

⁴² CD, vol. V, 433.

⁴³ Šanjek, Franjo, "Dominikanci u našim krajevima" [The Dominicans in Our Regions], u: *Bogoslovska smotra*, vol. 1, 721.

⁴⁴ Farlati, IV, 51.

⁴⁵ "...omnia statuta, constitutiones, leges et iura atque decreta contra hereticos atque hereticam pravitatem..."; CD, vol. VI, 378.

The Inquisition, which mainly consisted of Dominican friars, was at first welcomed by the "heretics", as the punishments were finally legal and official, and usually not very severe (pilgrimages, wearing of the yellow cross as a sign etc.).⁴⁶ Torture, however, became more and more part of the interrogation, and soon the Church's ultimate penalty was to "relinquish heretics to secular judgement", which actually meant permission for the civic authorities to burn them at the stakes. There are such punishments such as these for heretics listed in the statutes of Dalmatian towns as well.⁴⁷

Apart from the mission countries, Dominicans were organised in twelve provinces. Some of them were later divided, as the number of priories increased. At the end of the fourteenth century, a few more provinces were added to the list; one of them was Dalmatian Province.

Dominican friaries were under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Province in Kalosca until 1380, although from 1266 Dalmatia had an autonomous vicar. In 1380, the papal edict *Sedis apostolicae* issued by Urbanus VI on the Council of Carcassone, separated the Dalmatian Province from the Hungarian one, including all friaries from Senj to Durrës (Drač).⁴⁸

There were many medieval legends about the foundation of Dominican churches and friaries in Dalmatian towns. According to one of them, the first founder was St. George from Split who had met St. Dominic in Italy (in 1217), and received a Dominican habit from the founder of the Order himself; the first friars accordingly came to Split in 1217.⁴⁹

According to some sources, the first friary was founded in Dubrovnik in 1228.⁵⁰ The founders were a group of friars, sent by St. Dominic to Palestine. During their trip across the Adriatic sea, they stopped at the port of Dubrovnik, where the Archbishop (Argenerius) and the count of the town (*comes* Nicola Sorrenti) invited them to stay in order to *preach Christian truth* to the people. St. Jacob's church in Dubrovnik was converted into a Dominican friary,⁵¹ it was not completed until 1306 (at the expense of Dubrovnik's Senate, on land given by patrician-donor).⁵² In 1285, the chapel of St. Mary in Brskovo was donated to the friars as well.⁵³

⁴⁶ Frayling, *Strange*, 88.

⁴⁷ ...in civitate Tragurij vel districtu non audeant apparere, et si quis eorum repertus fuerit, dummodo iudicio ecclesie sit denunciatus hereticus, vel per se confessus, aut testibus convictus, sive perfecta evidenciam detectus fuerit hereticus manifestus, flammis tradatur...; *Statuta et Reformationes civitatis Tragurii*, ed.: Vladimir Rismondo, Split, 1988, L. I, c. 2.

⁴⁸ Some Italian friaries (Cividale, del Friuli, Udine) were also included in the new Dalmatian province, but were turned back to their original province (*Lombardia inferior*) in 1392; Krsić, Stjepan, *Dominikanci; Povijest Reda u hrvatskim krajevima* [The Dominicans; History of the Order in Croatian Regions], Zagreb, 1997, 11-12.

⁴⁹ Zaninović, *Pogled*, 263.

⁵⁰ According to Farlati, St. Jacob was converted to Dominican friary in 1225, but according to some other documents, the exact year is 1228; CD, vol. III, 298.

⁵¹ ...Arrengerius Ragusinus archiepiscopus et Nicolaus de Sorrento nobilis civis, penes quem summa dignitas et auctoritas erat, ut rector seu comes ut vocabatur ea tempestate Ragusii... Quale clero, magistratu, universoque plaudente populo exceptis sacellum quoddam ad moenia civitatis domino Jacobo apostolo nuncupatum, quod adhuc extat in editiori civitatis situ, qua in orientem sol vergit, pro oratorio domosque quae circum erant pro conventu destinaverunt multiplicatis vero fratribus (brevis enim viri fere quadraginta) locus primo donatus pro fratrum numero angustus visus est. Unde nobilis civis de Palmota anno domini 1228. ecclesiam virgini in coelos assumptae sacram, domum et hortum tunc extra muros et juxta praefatum Jacobi sacellum perpetua donatione publicis tabulis extrata fratribus concessit...; CD, vol. III, 298.

⁵² Vojnović, Kosta, "Crkva i država u Dubrovačkoj Republici" [Church and State in the Republic of Dubrovnik], in: *Rad JAZU*, vol. 119, 53.

⁵³ ...suam capellam, quam in honorem construerat sancte Marie virginis gloriose fratribus Predicatoribus de communitate Ragusio dederit, donaverit tradederitque...; CD, vol. VI, 538.

Dominicans arrived in Zadar as early as 1228. In 1244 they obtained their *locus*, but the church of St. Plato (or St. Dominic) was not consecrated until 1280. For this occasion, the Venetian patriarch promised indulgence of sins to everyone who would be present at that auspicious event, thus attracting the townfolk to the new friars.⁵⁴ There were soon Dominicans in the town of Nin (1228).

They were also to be found in Split as early as 1243. The exact year of their arrival is not known, but it was probably at the beginning of the century. Farlati gives the opinions of some chronicles about the arrival of Dominicans in Split; allegedly the convent was founded in 1217 by George, the follower of St. Dominic.

The Dominican friary in Trogir was founded by friars from Split. In 1265 Clement IV asked the bishop of Trogir (Columbano) to permit the donation of a chapel to the Dominicans for building of a friary.⁵⁵ Later patricians donated their possessions to the Order as well.⁵⁶ Dominicans settled in other regions as well; Pag (1250), Kotor (1266),⁵⁷ Šibenik (1346), Čiovo (1432), etc. It may be assumed that the friars arrived several decades before their churches and friaries were built, as was the case in Dubrovnik. Also, Archbishop Guncel of Split mentioned the presence of *duobus fratribus predicatoribus* as early as 1229.⁵⁸ A source from the fourteenth century concerning Dominicans in Zadar, proves their existence in 1228. In 1244 Innocentius IV ordered Benedictine monks of St. Damian's in Zadar to permit the use of their church for Dominican sermons.⁵⁹

A brief decline in the mendicants in Europe was caused by the appearance of the Black Death in 1348, and the Hundred-Years War (1380-1399): the friars did not keep to their strict vows of poverty and simplicity. Thus, at the end of the fourteenth century, the governing authority of the Dominican Order, decided to found at least one convent in each province, which would strictly follow the original rules of St. Dominic in order to rebuilt the friars influence.

Dominicans were divided between *fratres conventuales* and *fratres reformati*; the course of disagreement inside the Order was similar to that in the Franciscan order. The Conventuals lived a more comfortable life (*fratres vitae communis*), and even kept servants.⁶⁰ The first reformed friary was founded in Colmar (near Basel) in 1389.

The reformed *Congregatio Ragusinae* was established as a part of Dalmatian Province in 1486⁶¹ (and existed until 1835),⁶² but as early as 1397, the Senate of Dubrovnik asked the governing body of the Order to send several reformed friars to that region.⁶³ The convent of St. Cross was founded in 1432 on the island of Čiovo near Trogir by the *fratres observantes*.⁶⁴ Congregations

⁵⁴ CD, vol. VI, 333.

⁵⁵ CD, vol. V, 341 (the year of 1274).

⁵⁶ CD, vol. VI, 89.

⁵⁷ CD, vol. V, 377.

⁵⁸ CD, vol. III, 228-229.

⁵⁹ CD, vol. IV, 260.

⁶⁰ Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 21.

⁶¹ Zaninović, Antonin, *Pogled na apostolsko-znanstveni rad Dominikanaca u hrvatskim zemljama*, [Overview of Apostolical and Scientific Work of the Dominicans in Croatia], in: *Bogoslovska smotra*, 1 (1917).

⁶² Šanjek, *Crkva*, 281.

⁶³ Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 24.

⁶⁴ Krasić, Stjepan, "Dominikanski samostan sv. Križa na Čiovu (1432-1852)" [Dominican friary of St. Cross on the island of Čiovo], in: *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, vol. 31 (1991), 79-95.

or vicariates, governed by a vicar, were common from the fourteenth century onwards. They resembled provinces, but some did not have a fixed territory; in comparison to provinces, the vicariates had more restricted rights and privileges.

Not all the Dominican friaries survived the changes in later centuries; some of them were abandoned during the threat from the Turks, as was the case with the Franciscans. In 1517, the Turks destroyed five Dominican friaries (in Ulcinj, Korčula, Hvar, Starigrad and Nin); in 1573 only eight⁶⁵ Dominican convents in the Dalmatian province survived.⁶⁶ The province of Dubrovnik, however, was spared from destruction; moreover, the fifteenth century was a time of growth for the friaries there.

Dominican nunneries

Like St. Francis, St. Dominic attracted women to join the Order. The first nunnery was founded in Prouille in 1207. The observance prescribed for the nuns was purely monastic, involving strict enclosure. According to some documents, the first nuns came to Dalmatia in 1241 from the town of Vézsprem in Hungary, while escaping from the Tartars. They found shelter in the towns of Nin and Zadar, where they established their first nunneries in the very same year.

Sources also mention Friar Jacob, who was sent by St. Dominic himself in 1228, to found a friary in Zadar, and thus encouraged several women to follow the Rules.⁶⁷ In the fourteenth century, their community also existed in Split (1372),⁶⁸ Šibenik, Kotor, as well as in Dubrovnik. Nicola Gučetić founded the first Dominican convent of St. Mary in Dubrovnik in 1399, and the nuns moved in the nunnery in 1402.⁶⁹ Nuns of Dalmatian towns lived strictly according to the spirit of the Order, wore its habits and followed its constitution.

The first community of the Third Order of St. Dominic in Dalmatia was organised in Dubrovnik in 1324, and soon in Split. In 1450, there were already three communities in Šibenik.⁷⁰ The Third order of Dominican nuns was specially active in Dalmatian towns, and we can trace their communities from the thirteenth century. Various confraternities were established in the friaries; it was their custom to sing evensong, compline and the *Salve Regina* antiphon that drew the faithful to their churches.⁷¹ In the mid-thirteenth century their Marian and flagellant confraternities appeared in European towns; they were to be found in some Dalmatian towns as well (Dubrovnik, Zadar).

⁶⁵ Friaries of Trogir, Čiovo, Split, Šibenik, Zadar, Pag, Bol and Kotor.

⁶⁶ Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 31.

⁶⁷ Farlati, *Illyricum*, vol. V, 72.

⁶⁸ CD, vol. III, 446-447.

⁶⁹ Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 127.

⁷⁰ Šanjek, *Crkva*, 284.

⁷¹ Dictionary, 251.

Dominican schools

One of basic rules of the Dominicans, introduced to the Constitution in 1220, forbade the founding of a priory unless there was at least one lector or teacher of theology (*lector regens* and *baccalaureus*). Accordingly, every friary had also to be a school, the place *ubi viget studium*.

Dominicans organised their schools in many Dalmatian towns (Dubrovnik, Zadar, Nin, Split, Kotor, Hvar,⁷² Šibenik, Trogir etc.).

After the Dalmatian Dominican Province was founded in 1380, the Dominican school in Zadar became *Studia solemnia* in 1396, and *Studia generalia* in 1495, which included the *artes liberales*⁷³ and theology, and it was open to lay students as well as for friars (*pro novitiis et saecularibus*). In Dubrovnik, the first mention of a grammar school dates from 1489, but the lector is mentioned already in 1408.⁷⁴ There was already a lector in Trogir friary in 1385.

Although the friars needed their theological knowledge primarily for preaching and missionary work, many of them became prominent scholars. One of the most famous Dalmatian theologians was Martin of Zadar who was especially known for his philosophical and theological treatises. The Dominican code of studies was drawn up by five masters of theology: Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise (later Pope Innocent V), Florence of Hesdin and Bonhomme of Brittany.

Ivan Stojković de Raguse (1390-1443), who studied in Paris and Padova, founded the *studium generale* in Dubrovnik, after he had appealed to the citizens of the town, promising that the lectures would be given in both, *modo vulgari* and *modo litterali* (vernacular and Latin).

In 1236, at the General Council of the Order in Paris, all friars were ordered to learn the vernacular language of the community where they preached. One of the oldest literal sources in Croatian (*Red i zachon*) was written at the Dominican nunnery in Zadar in 1345. The scholastic movement of mendicants presented the Church with a great social and intellectual challenge.

The role of the Mendicants in the urban development of Dalmatian towns

In a text written by Bonaventura in 1270, a question was posed concerning Franciscan settlement in towns: *Cur Fratres frequentius maneant in civitatibus et oppidis*. It was answered by three explanations: a pastoral desire (*propter aedificationem hominum*), material necessity (*propter indigentiam victualium*) and the need for security (*propter tuitionem*). Dominicans defined the reason of their living inside towns in *De eruditione Predicatorum* written by Humbert de Romans: *Item apostoli et discipuli frequentius predicabant in civitatibus quam in aliis locis...*⁷⁵ The population of towns was numerous and *ibi sunt plura peccata* and thus better for their preaching ministry. The role of the friars in urban development of Dalmatia, and the placing of their friaries inside or outside the city walls, resulted in considerable urban change. At the first they settled mostly in the *burgus* of Dalmatian towns, where the land was cheaper (which corresponded to

⁷² Dominican school existed probably from the end of the fourteenth century; Novak, Grga, *Hvar*, Beograd, 1924, 150.

⁷³ *Artes liberales* included grammar, logic and philosophy.

⁷⁴ Krsić, *Domonikanci*, 67.

⁷⁵ Le Goff, *Ordres*, 929.

their rules of poverty). This extramural siting of friaries was normal but not universal. As the *burgus* was still being formed and was the architecturally undefined area of the town, the strong influence of a church and friary became the initiator for the further organisation of the surrounding urban areas. The friaries influenced the layout of the streets, often of the whole quarter as well (as they occupied the area of one *insula*, sometimes even more). In this way, they created a geometric or an (rarely) organic plan for the *burgus*, which depended on their own development.⁷⁶ Although they were located on private land, they occupied some communal areas, and especially reduced green areas of the town (gardens). Each friary was also entrusted with a territory defined for evangelisation.

Bonaventura posed another question - *cur Fratres habeant magnas hominum et latas domos et oratoria sumptuosa et areas latas*. He explained that the site of a mendicant friary was to be large enough to receive many people, but the land had to be the cheapest. The convent was to be composed of a church, friary, official buildings and a garden for the friars to rest in.⁷⁷

The suburbs of Dalmatian towns were mainly inhabited by newcomers and people of common origin during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; they were people the mendicants sought and who needed the friars most. St. Francis ordered the friars to preach *in via, tamquam peregrini et advenae, vadant per mundum*; their main duty was to preach to the poor and homeless, those *in via*, who mostly lived in the suburbs of the town.

Some scholars believe that the choice of location was a missionary strategy, part of a plan to evangelise the newly arrived and socially deprived population in the suburbs of the towns.⁷⁸ However, they could settle only where their patrons offered them land; furthermore, in the densely populated areas of the thirteenth-century towns, vacant property was probably hard to find and expensive. One further factor why the mendicants settled outside the established boundary of *civitas vetus* might have been the hostility of the secular clergy, although they were encouraged by the Pope to welcome the friars. Dominicans needed preparatory phases for the foundation of their friary and initiative by the provincial prior and the general chapter. The *locus* was then regarded as definitive (*recipere locum*).

In the later period, friaries often moved *infra muros*; sometimes a new wall system encircled their complex (together with the suburbs). This shows how their influence and importance increased and their typical urban mission moved them closer to townspeople. Moreover, the security of the town walls led them to move inside, especially in the time of hostile invasions. In 1420, when Dalmatian towns came under Venetian rule, new fortifications began to be built; some friaries which leaned against or were close to the old walls had to be pulled down. This happened with the nunnery of St. Clare in Split; the communal authorities bought them new houses in 1424 inside the walls of *civitas Spalati*,⁷⁹ and in 1269 their *locus* was enlarged⁸⁰ (which was confirmed by the Pope in 1272).⁸¹

⁷⁶ Badurina, *Uloga*, 42.

⁷⁷ Le Goff, *Ordres*, 929.

⁷⁸ Clifford, Lawrence, *The Friars*, London, 1996, 107.

⁷⁹ Marasović, Jerko, *Samostan sv. Klare u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu* [Nunnery of St. Clare in Diocletian Palace in Split], in: Kačić, 26 (1993), 350.

⁸⁰ *...de horto suo archiepiscopali iuxta locum ipsorum predicatorum versus mare situm prope viam publicam usque ad cot...suarum sancti Elie, tam ex parte civitatis, quam ex parte maris secundum latitudinem horti ipsorum prius...;* CD, vol. V, 493.

⁸¹ CD, vol. V, 638.

Documents which mention the foundations of mendicant churches or friaries, locate them very often near the town gates and the inhabitants of this part of the town sometimes had special duties such as guarding the gate and the walls. The location of friaries can be seen on maps of the towns (Koper, Piran, Poreč, Krk, Rab, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Dubrovnik): often there was Franciscan friary near one gate and Dominican one near the other (Dubrovnik, Šibenik, Zadar). The land where the friary was founded was usually the property of a nobleman-donor. St. Dominic in Trogir, for instance, was built on land belonging to the nobleman Nicolo Albertini; one chapel remained under the *juspatronatum* of this nobleman, until he also donated it to the prior of the friary.⁸²

The situation in Dubrovnik was ideal for the friars as they lived within the security of the town's defences: Franciscans on the north-western, and Dominicans on the north-eastern edge of the town. This distance was not accidental - Pope Clementus IV ordered in the papal edict of 1268 that there should be a distance of about 500 metres between the mendicant convents in any town.⁸³ In 1427, the prescribed distance was around 300 metres.⁸⁴

It could be dangerous for mendicants to stay outside the city walls; moreover, their buildings could be used in hostile attacks if enemies encamped around the town; this was one of the reasons why the friaries were built inside the walls in later centuries. A typical case was in Šibenik: the first Franciscan friary had been built outside the city walls in 1221, but it was pulled down,⁸⁵ as the town authorities were afraid that their enemies could occupy the friary and attack the town from this proximity (the Croatian Ban Mladen Šubić besieged the towns of Šibenik and Trogir in 1315).⁸⁶ The new friary was built inside the walls of Šibenik in 1321, and its new complex became a part of the city fortifications.⁸⁷

There was a very similar situation in Trogir, in 1315. The Franciscan church and the whole complex,⁸⁸ which had been located near the gate and the bridge on the coast,⁸⁹ was destroyed by the citizens themselves, for the same reason as the friary was destroyed in Šibenik. It was, however, difficult for the Franciscans to find a new *locus*, and they moved from one Benedictine convent to another over a long period.

⁸² Andreis, Pavao, *Povijest grada Trogira* [History of Trogir], (Split, 1978, 336-337.

⁸³ Schofield, *Medieval*, 169; ...*inhibendum quod nulli liceret ex tunc de fratrum Predicatorum penitencie Jesu Christi beate Marie de Monte Carmeli heremitarum sancti Augustini, sancte Clare aliisque ordinibus in paupertate fundatis nullique mulierum de predictis seu quolibet aliis quorundibus aliquod monasterium, ecclesiam vel oratorium edificare seu construere, nulli quoque seculari seu religioso cuiuscumque professionisecclesiam vel monasterium seu oratorium iam edificatum in aliquem transferre de ordinibus memorantis intra spacium trecentarum cannarum quo vestris ecclesiis mesurandarum, per aria eciam ubi alias recte non permetteret loci dispcio mensurari...*; CD, vol. V, 467.

⁸⁴ Le Goff, *Ordres*, 931.

⁸⁵ It was completely destroyed, but documents mentions its *dominibus, claustro, refectorio, dormitorio ac universis officinis et oratoriis...*; Codex Diphnicianus, 101.

⁸⁶ CD, 101.

⁸⁷ Oreb, *Samostan*, 7.

⁸⁸ *Illiricum sacrum*, IV, 370.

⁸⁹ ...*Dominus Columbanus venerabilis episcopus Traguriensis, post missarum solemniam ab eo solemniter celebrata in burgo civitatis Tragurii, ad honorem dei omnipotentis et beate Marie virginis causa aedificandi ibi in burgo ecclesiam et locum fratribus Minoribus de Tragurio, ad quem locum dicti fratres se transferre propununt, in quondam loco burgi, ubi est ecclesia aedificandi, immittit et immitti fecit primos lapides quator. rogante me notario...*; CD, vol. V, 344. Franciscans in Trogir were mentioned in a document of 1263 when requested for their location. The sources mention that they gained their *locus* in the suburb of Trogir in 1265; CD, vol. V, 251.

The first Franciscan friary in Dubrovnik was built *extra muros* in 1235. However, during the war between Dubrovnik and the King of Serbia (Uroš), the friary was destroyed to prevent it being used by the enemies in 1317. The following year the pope permitted to the friars to settle *infra moenia civitatis*.⁹⁰ Franciscans moved inside the walls in 1319, and this was confirmed by the Great Council.

The Dominican friary in Dubrovnik, for example, had to serve for the defence and protection at the town on its weakest point. Dubrovnik's government decided to help the building of the friary financially in 1301. The inhabitants of the whole quarter were also ordered to participate in the construction, *for the defence and security of the whole town*. That is why the church and the friary were interpolated into town's fortification system.⁹¹ In 1266, Pope Clementus IV promised indulgence of sins to everyone who would participate in the building of the Dominican church (St. Plato) in Zadar.⁹² This was carried out by the Archbishop of Zadar in 1267.⁹³ It was quite typical for medieval towns to use mendicants and their convents in the town defences, especially for controlling the town gates.⁹⁴

The mendicants sited outside the walls later came under threat from the Turks. Split is a typical example; the friary had been built outside the walls, on the eastern side.⁹⁵ In 1537, Turks came very close to the town (having already conquered the fortress of Klis), and this forced the communal authorities to destroy the Dominican friary (and a part of the *burgus*). In 1458, the Franciscan friary in Zadar was siezed for security reasons as it was located *extra muros*. Mendicants had preaching in mind when they built their churches, and in Dalmatian towns they had typical spacious and wide naves to accommodate a large number of people. This limited the choice of the location for the whole complex and influenced on the church architecture. The Dominican church in Trogir is the best example of mendicant church which preserved its original Gothic shape. Appart from the width of the naves, mendicants did not develop a distinctive style of architecture for their churches or friaries.

The space in front of a church could also be used for gatherings, and probably did serve as a preaching yard during fine weather; the area in front of the church was usually wide, and the streets leading towards were funnel-shaped.⁹⁶ Mendicants preached in the mornings and evenings on Sundays, daily during Advent and Lent, on feast days, and on special occasions,

⁹⁰ *...cives civitatis ipsius merito formidantes, ne civitas ipsa per locum vestrum moenibus civitatis praedictae vicinum posset facilius per dictum exercitum expugnari, pro eo quod locum ipsum tute custodire non poterant, ad evitandum tyrannidem dicti regis locum ipsum funditus diuerunt; sed postmodum dicti cives futurum etiam formidantes periculum, cum nollent permittere vos denuo locum readificare praedictum, volentes vestris necessitatibus providere, quemdam fundum cum quibusdam domibus tunc ad ipsos cives spectantem, existentem infra moenia civitatis eiusdem...;* CD, vol. VIII, 512.

⁹¹ Fisković, Cvito, *Dominkanski samostan Dubrovnik* [Dominican friary in Dubrovnik], in: *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti Dalmacije*, 31 (1975), 9.

⁹² CD, vol. V, 371.

⁹³ CD, vol. V, 1267.

⁹⁴ Le Goff, Jacques, "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale", in: *Annales*, vol. 4 (1970), 928.

⁹⁵ Oreb, Franko, *Crkva i samostan sv. Dominika u Splitu* [Church and Friary of St. Dominic in Split], in: *Prilozi povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 30, (1990), 197.

⁹⁶ In the thirteenth-century notarial documents from Trogir, many contracts were located in front of St. Dominic: *...actum ante ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum traguriensium...;* *Monumenta*, I/2, 317, 327.

such as provincial and general chapters.⁹⁷ Thus, the mendicant convents in Dalmatian towns became new areas of concentration, and the space around them served their functions and purposes.

Mendicant friary was divided into areas intended for everyone to use, an area for friars only, and one for individuals. The cloisters of the friaries were semi-public spaces in the towns, used not only by friars but also by other inhabitants of the town. In this way, they became a new type of city square: it differed from others in its shape and trafficflow - with only one entrance which was also the exit, and movement there was circular and slow.⁹⁸

Such squares were outside communal jurisdiction and control, so they became places where new intellectual, artistic or social movements were born. According to Franciscan Rules, the cloister was to be used for communication and friendship between the friars.⁹⁹ The cloisters were also used for some economic activities, such as signing of contracts and testaments. Most of the cloisters in Dalmatia date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. One of the most beautiful Dominican cloisters is in Dubrovnik, built in Gothic style. Throughout the whole Dubrovnik area a special "cloister-type" friary developed, and also the *loggia* which was specially positioned for better control of the area, and probably served defence purposes. The Observants usually built very beautiful and large cloisters - for them it was especially important as they lived more isolated lives than *conventuales*. Their rules demanded *cimiteria et claustra magna*. However, as they were more isolated and oriented towards contemplation, the Observans settled non-urban regions as well (*patrum nostrum debremus extra habitationem hominum, vicini tamen villis, nunc non solum in suburbium medietullis civitatum ubi est major frequentia popularum*).¹⁰⁰ Thus their contribution to urbanisation was not so important (at least not until the fifteenth century, when they moved into towns as well).

Relation to Benedictines

After mendicants appeared in Dalmatia, not a single Benedictine monastery was built in the towns. Mendicant schools, especially Dominican, replaced the Benedictine ones. The number of the Benedictines decreased (in some places only a few persons lived in a monastery). In the cases mentioned, when mendicant friaries were pulled down for security reasons, the friars moved into Benedictine monasteries or houses. Also, when Dominicans came to Zadar in 1244, before they built their own friary, they lived in a Benedictine nunnery (on the island of Pašman near the town), and the nuns moved elsewhere (there were only a few of them, and they were very poor).¹⁰¹

It is also interesting how many of Benedictine nuns were converted to the Clarisses. It is possible that they were under the influence of the Franciscans; also, patrons who were ready to donate a nunnery, were attracted more to the new mendicant order of St. Clare. As the Rules of

⁹⁷ Dictionary, 250.

⁹⁸ Badurina, *Uloga*, 13.

⁹⁹ Fugošić, Vinko, *Franjevački klaustri na hrvatskoj obali* [Franciscan Cloisters on Croatian Coast], Zagreb, 1995.

¹⁰⁰ Le Goff, *Ordres*, 942.

¹⁰¹ Ostojić, Ivan, *Susreti između benediktinskog i dominikanskog reda u Hrvatskoj* [Benedictines and Dominicans in Croatia] in: *Bogoslovska smotra* 1 (1965), 704.

Benedictine and mendicant nuns were not so different, there were some misunderstandings even between the nuns themselves: in the middle of the fourteenth century, there was a debate between nuns of St. Mary's, to which of two orders they belonged: the abbess and two of the nuns claimed that the nunnery was Benedictine, and the rest of them (17) that it was a female convent of St. Dominic.¹⁰² Possibly the Benedictine nunnery had accepted the Rules of St. Dominic, but had never denied their old (Benedictine) ones.

In some cases Dominicans (mostly as bishops), obtained jurisdiction over some Benedictine abbeys: in 1373 for example, Petar Calix, the archbishop of Dubrovnik, ruled the abbey of St. Mary on the island of Mljet. Relations between the Mendicants and Benedictines were mostly good. In the Dominican friary of Dubrovnik, for instance, two rooms were reserved for Benedictines who would come for some purpose in Town.¹⁰³

The social and political role of the mendicant orders in the towns

In the thirteenth century (1250), mendicant churches were already equal with canonical ones (*collegiate*), as proclaimed in the papal edict *Cum tamquam veri* by Inocentius IV. In 1256. The pope recommended Franciscans to all lay and religious authorities.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, the dead were allowed to be buried inside mendicant convents (church or graveyard), and this was the cause of certain misunderstandings between friars and the clergy. The mendicants (as well as the papacy), expected co-operation with the secular clergy. Although many bishops had welcomed Franciscans and Dominicans, animosity soon arose toward the friars who took on some of their role in the towns: they had a well organised preaching ministry and influential schools in their friaries. The mendicants were regarded as an intrusion into the area of spiritual jurisdiction of a parish church or cathedral. In 1276, Pope John XXI, ordered the Bishop of Zadar to protect Dominicans from some secular clerics.¹⁰⁵ According to sources, Dominican sermons attracted most of townspeople in Dalmatia.¹⁰⁶ In 1288, Nicholas IV threatened Bishop of Kotor for being "unjust" to the Dominicans.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, mendicants had some privileges in towns given by the lay authorities (for guarding the city gates in Dubrovnik, for instance), although secular clergy were against it. The Church was obviously in a period of crisis, as its institutions had not reacted creatively to the development of society, especially urban society. Eventhough the Church had tried to renew and reform its institutions, there were many signs of fragmentation and disorder. In this turbulent period, new friars returned to the purity and simplicity of the early Church, but (unlike heretics) never faltered in their loyalty to the Roman Church. Moreover, mendicants offered more to satisfy the curiosity and new demands of the urban laity. They even obtained the privilege of granting indulgences to those who listened to their preaching and absolving them from sins (for instance in St. Plato of Zadar in 1302).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² CD, vol. XI, 404-410, 421-424, 428-429.

¹⁰³ Ostojić, *Susreti*, 709.

¹⁰⁴ CD, vol V, 19.

¹⁰⁵ CD, vol. VI, 175.

¹⁰⁶ *Illyricum Sacrum*, III, 253.

¹⁰⁷ CD, vol. VI, 614.

¹⁰⁸ CD, vol. VIII, 29.

The conflict with the secular clergy made the friars even stronger; their increasing independence gave the mendicants efficiency and mobility. Finally, they succeeded in gaining direct dependence on the Holy See, total Episcopal independence of their internal affairs, the right to erect churches and public oratories and the privilege of burying the faithful in their cemeteries. They also obtained the right to teach and the privilege of absolving cases reserved for the bishop.¹⁰⁹ The mendicants were elected as bishops as early as in the thirteenth century; Nicholas III, for instance, ordered a Franciscan to be Bishop of Dubrovnik in 1276,¹¹⁰ and Bonifacius VIII made a Franciscan Bishop of Osor,¹¹¹ and another Archbishop of Split (in 1297).¹¹²

The greatest mendicant' influence on the social life of the towns was through the fraternities of the Third order. The brotherhoods and sisterhoods of penance, became regarded as a Third order distinct from the friars and nuns who constituted the First and the Second orders. Many townsfolk congregated in those communities; mostly they were people of common origin and were excluded from membership of the Communal Council (which was reserved only for patricians). Through the fraternities, mendicants had a great influence on public opinion, but also on the economic life of the town (especially dealing with the problem of loyalty and competition).¹¹³

As has already been mentioned, both Franciscans and Dominicans, organised schools in Dalmatian towns. Dominicans had an especially great impact on townspeople through their schools. Mendicants also taught in secular schools in Dalmatian towns. In Zadar, a Dominican from Venice was *magister scholarum*, and his work was permitted by the communal authorities.¹¹⁴ Even though every Dominican friary was supposed to have a school, friaries in Dalmatian towns could carry out this duty only if they had the economic basis for it; smaller friaries could only accommodate students for a few years, before they moved to another friary. Although, money for students (clothes and books for the whole year) was provided from the Province budget, there was also financial support from the communal authorities. Dominican John of Dubrovnik, who founded the *studium generale* in Dubrovnik, was able to study in Paris due to financial help from the Republic of Dubrovnik. Similar examples may be found in many Dalmatian towns. The commune of Trogir financially helped some of its citizens to study at Italian Dominican universities (Dominican Nicola Milinov was donated fifty *libbras* by the Commune to go to Venice in 1432).

This support was insufficient, and the number of students declined. That was probably the reason why the Master General of the Order Franco Romeo de Castiglione, suggested to the Dominican Council of 1546 that schools in the Dalmatian Province should be improved; especially those in Zadar (*studia generalia*) and in Trogir (the friary of St. Cross on the island of

¹⁰⁹ Dictionary, 252.

¹¹⁰ CD, vol. VI, 314.

¹¹¹ CD, vol. VII, 209.

¹¹² CD, vol. VII, 277.

¹¹³ Kosta Vojnović, *Bratovštine i obrtne korporacije u Dubrovačkoj Republici* [Fraternities and Artisans' Corporations in Republic of Dubrovnik], (Zagreb: JAZU, 1900).

¹¹⁴ Ljubić, Šime, *Listine i odnositajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, vol. IX, Zagreb, 1890, 355.

Čiovo).¹¹⁵ The highest Dominican Council concluded in 1608 that the Dalmatian province would have eight magisters and six professors (*baccalaureus* of theology).¹¹⁶ Both orders always found it difficult provide teachers competent to lecture in theology.

Every Dominican library had to obtain basic works of *artes liberales* and theology; one of the oldest and the richest Dominican libraries in Dalmatia is certainly the one in Dubrovnik, which dates from the thirteenth century (with significant financial aid given by the Republic's authorities, the Dominicans of Dubrovnik built a new library in the period between 1494 and 1520. St. Dominic in Trogir already had its own scribes in the thirteenth century, although the friary was not yet built. In a notarial document of 1272 a contract was made between the Dominicans of Split and two scribes from Trogir, who were ordered to make a transcript of a missal.¹¹⁷

Mendicants participated in the social life of the commune by organising a hospital, pharmacy and hospicium and through these institutions they improved the public health of the towns. Friaries often had highly developed plumbing systems. Mendicants often took care of the sick; they lived in the quarantine hospitals, such as members of the Third Order of St. Francis in Dubrovnik, and worked with lepers (Franciscans *conventuales* on the island of Čiovo near Trogir). Settling on the island of Čiovo was forbidden by the statute because of the lepers; Franciscans were the only ones who had permission to live among them in 1417.¹¹⁸ The members of the Franciscan Third Order in Rab took care of the sick during the plague of 1476. The friaries on the island of Galevac and Sustipan were several times turned into hospitals.¹¹⁹ In the fifteenth century, a hospital was opened near the church in Danče, where there was a community of the Third Order of St. Clare.¹²⁰

Although communal lay authorities had stimulated the foundation of mendicant friaries, they restricted the spreading of their estates and lands. The mendicants were forbidden by their Rules to own property, but they had difficulty in maintaining pure poverty. The Dominican statutes ordered that "the brethren were to have modest and humble houses", and they prescribed a maximum height of twelve feet for their dwellings and thirty feet for their churches.¹²¹ Dominicans, in comparison to the Franciscans, allowed for compromise in their poverty; they begged for alms, but the ownership of their (modest) churches and friaries was not in dispute.

Franciscans embraced more absolute poverty: in the third chapter of the Franciscan Code. It

¹¹⁵ ...ordinamus et inviolabiliter observandum statuimus, quod ultra conventum Jadrensem, in conventu Sanctae crucis aut in aliquo commodiori...debeant statim adunari reliqui juvenes seu novitii sut professori sub certo lectore sufficiente in grammaticalibus, qui habeat illis legere et pro capacitate et necessitate uniuscuiusque scriptum accomodare...; Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 69.

¹¹⁶ *Acta Capitulum generalium*, MOPH XI/112: *Augemus numerum graduatorum, nempe magistrorum ad octonarium, baccalaureorum ad senarium*, (Rome, 1608).

¹¹⁷ ...in cartis ipsorum fratrum, bona litera continuendo a principio usque ad finem, pro viginti duabus libris et quinque solidis venetorum parvulorum...; *Monumenta Traguriensia; Notae seu abbreviature cancellarie comunis Tragurii*, ed.: Barada, Miho, vol. I/1, (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948), 56.

¹¹⁸ Andreis, *Povijest*, 343.

¹¹⁹ Tandarić, Leonardo, "Provincija sv. Franje samostanskih trećoredaca", u: *Franjo*, 174.

¹²⁰ Tandarić, *Provincija*, 177.

¹²¹ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 108 (Constitutiones Antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum).

started that the friars could not receive or store money or valuables (with the exception of books). As for the building of their churches and friaries, superfluity had to be avoided, whether in length, width or height: churches were to be simple structures without arcades and towers, with no paintings, windows or columns.

In the beginning, both Franciscans and Dominicans kept to their Rules, buying the cheapest land *extra muros* etc. But seeking security, they accepted a more comfortable way of life. Also, the success of their ministry made their early buildings inadequate. A typical example of how the Franciscan rules about modest appearance of their churches were not followed, is the lower basilica at Assisi, which is covered from floor to ceiling with superb frescoes.¹²²

However, the fact that the friars were forbidden to own property, attracted nobles and rich townspeople, who wanted to associate with the friars through donations. Their "holy lives" of simplicity and poverty were admired by late medieval society. Freewill donations and alms from wealthy patricians provided them properties and lands. Priors accepted properties through a third party who agreed to provide them with goods in return. In Trogir, for example, faithful dead were buried inside the church (noblemen) or in the church graveyard; in testaments money and properties were left to friars so they would pray for the donators' souls.¹²³ There are many such examples in other Dalmatian towns.¹²⁴

Also, individual friars were given property, mostly books or clothing. One of the most famous Dominican friars from Dalmatia (born in Trogir), was Augustin Kažotić, the Bishop of Zagreb. In 1286, his aunt from Trogir left him in her will 50 *libbras* for books. The papal privilege *Quo elongati* authorised Friars Minor to make use of "spiritual friends", to receive funds on their behalf for building churches and for other necessities.¹²⁵ In 1267 Pope Clementus IV, for instance, permitted the Dominican friars in Dubrovnik to sell a donated house.¹²⁶

Communal statutes, which appeared in Dalmatian towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, forbade the spreading of their property that could "limit the economic strength of a commune". This regulation appeared for the first time in the statute of Dubrovnik (1272): it was forbidden to leave any property to the mendicants.¹²⁷ Soon we can find similar regulations in the statutes of Zadar (1305), Split (1346), Trogir (1347) and Šibenik (1380-1405). Those regulations appeared in the period when the process of the expansion of mendicant estates culminated. Moreover, statute regulations ordered communal officials (*procuratores*) to look over mendicant properties. In the statute of Šibenik, several statute regulations tried to limit the economic strength of the mendicants. However, already in 1378, according to a document, the friary of St. Francis in Šibenik was given (in a will) eight salt-pits near the town. The property

¹²² Lawrence, *The Friars*, 53.

¹²³ ...*pro anima mea fratribus minoribus de Tragurio quinquaginta libras venetorum parulorum*.; Barada, *Monumenta*, I/1, 48, 215, 305, 375. In Split, the nunnery of St. Clare was built by donation of a rich family; CD, vol. VIII, 182, 276, Farlati, *Illyricum*, 500.

¹²⁴ Dominicans in Zadar were donated a garden by a testament of 1256; CD, vol. V, 4.

¹²⁵ The friars, 112.

¹²⁶ CD, vol. V, 427.

¹²⁷ *Statut grada Dubrovnika 1272* [Statute of Dubrovnik, 1272], ed.: Kapović, Mato, Dubrovnik: Historijski Arhiv Dubrovnik, 1990, L. VIII, c. XCVI.

of all five mendicant friaries and nunneries in Šibenik included many houses inside the town and land, vineyards and salt-pits in surrounding area.¹²⁸

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Senate of Dubrovnik decided that land could not be donated or left in testaments to friars (Observants); it was however permitted to leave them money. In such way, the Republic of Dubrovnik avoided the concentration of land in the hands of just one owner, especially a religious group (Conventuals had the rights to receive various donations, but the Province in the region of Dubrovnik belonged to the Observantes).¹²⁹ The Senate of Dubrovnik decided in 1528 that the guardian of the Friars Minors may be only a Franciscan with noble origins. In this way the fidelity of the friary toward the Republic was assured.¹³⁰

The Venetian Doge, however, encouraged the foundation of mendicant convents in 1245; the *comes* of Zadar, for instance, was ordered by the doge to find a location for the Dominicans *infra muros*,¹³¹ which he did in 1248, when the Dominicans were housed in the convent of St. Plato.¹³² In 1454, Francesco Foscari mediated in disagreements between the Archbishop of Zadar and the Franciscans, when he protected the friars (although St. Francis friary in Zadar was controlled by two *procuratores*, one patrician and one friar).¹³³

Venice generally controlled the Church in Dalmatia, but the Doge Francesco Foscari permitted Dominicans of Zadar to receive donations given in testaments. The same doge, however, expelled all friars who came from Hungary, Croatia and Bosnia from the friaries; the guardian of the Franciscan friary in Bribir (St. Mary) had serious problems when he wanted to visit Zadar in 1449.¹³⁴

The geographical position of Dalmatia determined the special role of the mendicants. They were active as inquisitors (in the case of heretics - especially the patarens in Bosnia and Dalmatia) or missionaries to the East. Specific circumstances such as danger of outer occupation of the towns, forced mendicants to integrate conventional buildings with the mural fortifications, and to serve communal interests in this way.

However, the distribution of the mendicant friaries in Dalmatian towns corresponded in general to the pattern of their urban expansion in late medieval Europe. The friars gave a new form to the monastic life and made religion more accessible to everyone; their urban, social, political and religious impact was very significant.

¹²⁸ Inheritance left to Franciscan friary in 1378, for example, were 8 salt-pans in the village of Morinje; Kolanović, Josip, *Šibenik u kasnom srednjem vijeku* [Šibenik in the Late Middle Ages], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 80.

¹²⁹ Badurina, *Uloga*, 51.

¹³⁰ Badurina, Anđelko, "Sakralna arhitektura" [Sacral Architecture], u: *Zlatno doba Dubrovnika*, Zagreb, 1987, 109.

¹³¹ CD, vol. IV, 267.

¹³² CD, vol. IV, 347.

¹³³ Pederin, Ivan, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409-1797)*, Dubrovnik: Časopis Dubrovnik, 1990, 35.

¹³⁴ Pederin, *Mletačka*, 1990, 34-35.

Sažetak

Prosjački redovi i dalmatinski gradovi u srednjem vijeku

Prosjački redovi, franjevci i dominikanci, utjecali su na mnoge urbanističke i društvene promjene u gradovima gdje su se naseljavali od 13. stoljeća. Na istočnu obalu Jadrana dolaze vrlo rano, još za života sv. Franje i sv. Dominika. Franjevci se spominju već 20-ih godina 13. stoljeća, organizirani u 4 kustodije. Nakon razdvajanja reda na konventualce i observante, i u Dalmaciji se osnivaju observantski samostani koji dobivaju samostalni vikarijat. Zbog turskih prodora dolazi do mnogih promjena tokom 16. stoljeća, kada je mnogo opatija u zaleđu napušteno ili uništeno. Dalmatinska i Bosanska franjevačka provincija, borile su se za jurisdikciju nad nekoliko opatija na obali. Klarise se pojavljuju u Dalmaciji 1260. godine, te često zamjenjuju aktivnost benediktinki; u 16. stoljeću dolaze iz Venecije pripadnici nove grane franjevačkog reda, kapucini. Franjevci su velik utjecaj na svjetovno pučanstvo imali kroz osnivanje tzv. trećeg reda, koji je usmjeravao laike na život u skladu sa kršćanskim zakonima. Prve Konstitucije trećeg reda objavljene su u Zadru 1492. godine na hrvatskom jeziku, a određivale su strogo ponašanje i nošenje habita.

Dominikanci također dolaze u Dalmaciju 30-tih godina 13. stoljeća. Njihova je zadaća bila mnogostruka: djelovali su kao učitelji, misionari i inkvizitori. Zbog blizine heretičke Bosne, dalmatinski su gradovi bili uporišta odakle su dominikanci djelovali prema istoku. Dominikanci su se također razdvojili na konventualce i observante, nakon čega se dubrovački reformirani samostani osamostaljuju od Dalmatinske provincije 1486. godine. Prve dominikanke dolaze u Nin i Zadar već 1241. Kao i franjevački, dominikanski su samostani u zaleđu ili predgrađima gradova bili napušteni zbog osmanske opasnosti, te se njihov broj (osim u Dubrovačkoj provinciji) znatno smanjio. Dominikanci su također osnivali treće redove, te utjecali na osnivanje mnogih bratovština. Jedno od osnovnih dominikanskih pravila određivalo je da samostan mora biti ujedno i škola, te se u mnogim gradovima javljaju njihova učilišta. Najjača škola bila je *Studia solemnita* U Zadru, osnovana 1396. godine, a važne su bile i one u Dubrovniku i Trogiru. Među dalmatinskim se dominikancima našlo nekoliko značajnih teologa i znanstvenika tog vremena.

Uloga prosjačkih redova na urbanistički razvoj gradova bila je velika: na početku su samostanski kompleksi zauzimali uglavnom predgrađa, gdje su svojim volumenom određivali daljnji razvoj gradskog prostora; njihovi klaustri postaju novi gradski trgovi specifičnih karakteristika. U kasnijem razdoblju, samostani se često nalaze unutar gradskih zidina: ili se preseljavaju zbog opasnosti od neprijatelja, ili su zbog širenja gradova ušli unutar novih zidina. Često zauzimaju opustjele benediktinske opatije, budući da je broj benediktinaca nakon njihova dolaska naglo opao.

Iako je službena Crkva pomagala dolazak prosjačkih redova u gradove, svjetovno svećenstvo ponekad im se suprostavljalo: njihove su crkve bile izjednačene sa kanonskim, te je bilo dopušteno pokapanje mrtvih unutar njihovih groblja. Zbog svojih popularnih propovjedi, ovi su redovi stekli naklonost građana koji su ih bogato nagrađivali u svojim oporukama (iako su redovnici oba reda morali strogo slijediti ideal siromaštva). Svjetovne vlasti pokušale su djelovanje ovih redova usmjeriti u korist komune, ali su statutima ipak sprečavale njihovo pretjerano ekonomsko širenje. Uloga prosjačkih redova u dalmatinskim je gradovima višestruka, a osim nekoliko specifičnosti uvjetovanih geografsko-političkim prilikama, slaže se sa njihovom velikom ulogom u srednjovjekovnoj Evropi.