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**From Victory to Defeat:  
The Political Career of  
Bishop Paul of Zagreb  
(1379-1394)**

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Review article

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The present study analyzes the appearance of Bishop Paul of Zagreb in various sources, ranging from royal charters and other documents to later medieval chronicles. The purpose is to observe how medieval authors constructed their past and how their writings were used by subsequent historians. The first part surveys Paul's diplomatic activities in advancing the rebellion against the Hungarian royal court within the kingdom and outside of it. The second part investigates how the institutional context of the royal court in which the sources were written shaped the way in which the memory of Paul's participation in the rebellion was formed. As no sources which Paul himself wrote were preserved and the rebellion turned out to be unsuccessful, it was the royal narrative which influenced and defined the later image of Bishop Paul.

## **KEYWORDS**

Bishop Paul, the Horvati family, Lorenzo Monaci, John Thuróczy, memory, narrative

Paul originated from the family of Horvati, whose members obtained important positions during the reign of the Angevin dynasty.<sup>1</sup> He was the provost in the bishopric of Várad before being appointed as the bishop of Csanád in January 1377.<sup>2</sup> The higher clergy of the Angevin period had close contacts with the royal court, and Louis the Great (1342-82) in particular influenced the Apostolic See to have royally preferred candidates appointed as bishops, which led to Paul's appointment as the bishop of Zagreb (1379).<sup>3</sup> This bishopric was a good starting point for the ecclesiastical and political career of a prelate, particularly one with good education, noble origins and connections with the royal court. Under the Angevin dynasty the bishops of Zagreb often advanced to the position of the archbishop of Kalocsa or Esztergom or obtained important positions at the royal court, and thus played an important role in the political community of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> That something similar awaited the bishop of Zagreb is further corroborated with the fact that Louis entrusted Paul to represent the interest of the kingdom in the vital peace treaty ending the War of Chioggia, which happened very soon after Paul became the bishop of Zagreb.<sup>5</sup> King Louis' death brought changes as

<sup>1</sup> The family was part of the kindred of Banča, while their last name was a toponymic surname from the settlement Horvati (near modern day Stari Mikanovci). Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [History of Croats since ancient times until the end of the 19th century], vol. 2., ed. Trpimir Macan (Rijeka: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1972), 220-1. For problems in the historiography in establishing the origins of Paul, see: Ljelja Dobronić, "Biskup Pavao iz Horvata" [Bishop Paul from Horvati], in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* [Bishops and Archbishops of Zagreb], eds. Juraj Batelja and Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 101-4; For his family tree, see: Ferdo Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba* [Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić and his age] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1902), 43. Paul's brothers – John, Ladislav and Stephen – obtained lands and positions in the kingdom, with John occupying the important position of Ban of Macsó.

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum*, Vol. 1. (Munster: Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), 179; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [The secular archontology of Hungary, 1301-1457], vol. 1. (Budapest: MTA, 1996), 67.

<sup>3</sup> For the Angevin policy regarding the Church, see: István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay, and Maria Antonietta De Angelis, *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference, 2001), 57-60; Demetrius, the former bishop of Zagreb, was transferred on the king's request to Esztergom in August 1378. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, I, 538.

<sup>4</sup> *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, 103-39; Lujo Margetić, "Zagrebačka biskupija prema Arpadovićima i Anžuvincima", [The Bishopric of Zagreb and the Arpad and the Angevin dynasties] in *Zagrebačka biskupija i Zagreb: zbornik u čast kardinala Franje Kuharića*, [The Bishopric of Zagreb and the city of Zagreb: proceedings in honor of Cardinal Franjo Kuharić], ed. Antun Škorčević, 153-162 (Zagreb: Nadbiskupija zagrebačka, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> The war was fought between Genoa, Hungary and allies against Venice, and general peace was achieved in August 1381. Paul was nominally one of the two royal ambassadors, the first being Bishop Valentin of Pécs, but small details from the peace negotiations points to the king and the Venetians viewing Paul as the more important of the two negotiators. István Petrovics, "Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages: Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts of the Arpadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region," *Chronica* 5 (2005): 70-1. Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Charters about the relationship between South Slavs and Venetian Republic] (Zagreb: JAZU, 1874), IV, 180-1, December 6, 1381.

Paul decided to associate himself with the interests of those who opposed the rule of Queen Mary (r.1382-95), her advisors and her husband Sigismund of Luxemburg (r.1387-1437) in favor of the Neapolitan branch of the Angevin. Thus, he linked his fate with the success of the Angevin claim on the throne of Hungary-Croatia.<sup>6</sup>

The aim of this paper is to analyze Paul's political activities, but also to explore Paul's appearance in sources, which ranged from royal charters and other documents to later medieval chronicles. Known sources about Paul cannot be observed separately from understanding the reason for preservation of certain types of sources, how events and processes in them were depicted and how these sources came to shape the way we think about the past.<sup>7</sup> First, I will analyze Paul's involvement in the rebellion by observing his communication and interaction with, mostly, the Neapolitan court. Subsequently, since his role was interpreted differently in different sources,<sup>8</sup> these texts themselves require careful consideration of the institutional context in which they were written, as well as understanding of authors' own political goals which dictated the manner in which Paul, his rebellion and the individuals around him were remembered. In Paul's case, the victors dictated the memory, what would be remembered or, more generally, forgotten as these records are accessed and interpreted by future generations.<sup>9</sup>

While working at the Hungarian royal court, John Thuróczy (1435-89)<sup>10</sup> finished his *Chronicle* depicting the history of Hungary.<sup>11</sup> In his narrative about the events of the 1380s and why in 1385 King Charles of Naples (1345-86) decided to claim the crown of Hungary-Croatia, the author assigned

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<sup>6</sup> Queen-Mother Elisabeth and Palatine Nicholas Gorjanski wielded much influence on the reign of underage Queen Mary. For the general overview of the period, see: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 195-208; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 223-70.

<sup>7</sup> Similar questions are analysed in: Shannon McSheffrey, "Detective Fiction in the Archives: Court Records and the Uses of Law in Late Medieval England," *History Workshop Journal* 65 (2008): 65-78.

<sup>8</sup> From romanticizing his role in the nineteenth century to omitting or perceiving his political activities unclearly, with the focus of the research resting on his brother, John Horvati. For criticism of previously mentioned approaches, see: Mladen Ančić, *Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. stoljeću* [Swing of the Pendulum. Ugro-Croatian Kingdom and Bosnia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century] (Mostar: Ziral, 1997), 215-6.

<sup>9</sup> Wojtek Jezierski, "Taking Sides: Some Theoretical Remarks on the (Ab)Use of Historiography," *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 5, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008), 99-111; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 81-157.

<sup>10</sup> On John's origin and career, see: John Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. János M. Bak (Bloomington: Indiana University 1991), 1-20; Engel, *The Realm*, 321-2.

<sup>11</sup> I used two editions: Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1-2. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985-88); John Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, ed. János M. Bak (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1991).

central role to Paul's trip to Naples and his speech - supposedly delivered to the king during a private audience - to Charles. In doing this the author imbued his account with sacral elements. Trying to explain how Paul left Hungary, Thuróczy stated that Paul used the excuse of traveling to the pope in Rome to go to Naples in secrecy. In his speech to the king, Paul stated that Charles had a blood right and that he was the male continuation of saintly royal blood.<sup>12</sup> While Paul's speech was mostly invented by Thuróczy, the voyage to Naples does lay on somewhat believable grounds. Paul's contacts with Rome were scarce, if non-existent. As mentioned, Paul owed his rise to power and in Church ranks not to his ecclesiastical contacts but to his family connection with the king of Hungary-Croatia, while the pope in Rome was hostile to Charles, even going as far as having the entire Neapolitan Angevin branch excommunicated.<sup>13</sup> The Horvati family - as well as other barons of the kingdom - did maintain contacts and were well familiar with Charles.<sup>14</sup> However, the only concurrent source which mentioned Paul's trip to Naples was written by the Venetians, who maintained a network of representatives across the Mediterranean. Their agents at the Neapolitan court expressed concern about Charles' planned trip to Hungary but only mentioned Bishop Paul by name as being present at the Neapolitan court.<sup>15</sup> We do not know if other barons of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia also accompanied Paul, and it is unclear if Paul was simply an emissary of the unsatisfied barons or one of the leaders of the movement.

King Louis was succeeded by his underage daughter, Mary (1371-95), but the real power behind the throne were her mother Queen-Regent Elizabeth Kotromanić (1339-87) and Palatine Nicholas Gorjanski (1325-86).

<sup>12</sup> Thuróczy, *Chronica*, I, cap. 188. This idea was well established during the Middle ages, as the kings ruled by the grace of God, implying almost a direct link to divinity. For a general overview, see: Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), 139-140. For the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, see: Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 395-431.

<sup>13</sup> Due to the split of the papacy into Rome and Avignon during the Western Schism (1378-1417), the Roman pope, Urban VI (1378-89), invited and initially supported Charles' conquest of Naples before the two engaged in a bitter conflict which also affected Ladislav, Charles' heir in Naples. This meant that Bishop Paul was probably also considered to be Urban's enemy. For the Angevin-papal relations, see: Alessandro Cutolo, *Re Ladislao D'Angio-Durazzo*, vol. I (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli Editore, 1969), 35-119.

<sup>14</sup> The Hungarian court and the nobility funded and supported Charles' takeover of the Neapolitan crown. In 1383 an army, which was led by John Horvati, the brother of Bishop Paul, who also fought alongside Charles during the Italian campaign against Venice, and Thomas Paližna, the nephew of the influential prior of Vrana, was sent to Naples to help Charles. Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 228-9.

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas of Gerard writes from Naples about the visit by the bishop of Zagreb and the intention of Charles to leave "ad partes Sclavonie." Listine IV, September 15, 1385, 222-3.

The heavy-handed approach by the queen mother and the palatine caused widespread dissatisfaction among the major barons.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, for a short time the court and the discontented barons were able to reconcile their differences. At a meeting held in Požega in May 1385 the baronial party, calling itself the league (*liga*),<sup>17</sup> which included all the Horvati brothers and other influential prelates and barons, vowed allegiance to the court.<sup>18</sup> Paul's name with his title was listed among the first in the charter of the baronial league, suggesting the significance given to Paul based on his origins, the importance of his family and the prestige of his position as the bishop.

Paul's political and diplomatic activities did not receive adequate attention in the historiography, as his role was usually deemed less important than the military operations.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this certainly rests with the available sources, which is discussed in more detail later, but Paul's contribution to the revolt of the nobility against the rule of Queen Mary and King Sigismund, following the failed talks of May 1385 and short reign of Charles of Durazzo, should be discussed in general lines.<sup>20</sup> The bishop maintained connections with various members of the ecclesiastical and baronial elites of the kingdom, which facilitated his frequent envoys to the Neapolitan court. In February 1387, Paul went personally to Naples to inform the court about the death of Charles. Paul de Paulo, a contemporary chronicler from Zadar, reported that major rebels held a meeting in Zadar. Afterwards Bishop Paul, Thomas Paližna, and a group of noblemen from Zadar led by Paul de Georgiis boarded a ship and left for Naples.<sup>21</sup> The mission consisted of people with connections to Charles<sup>22</sup> and who were therefore familiar with the Neapolitan

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<sup>16</sup> It is possible that some barons were disgruntled for being excluded from steering the policy of the kingdom and obtaining important positions in the royal council. Most of them were included back into the Council following the meeting in Požega in May 1385. See: Šišić, *Vojvoda*, 36-7; Imre Bárd, *Aristocratic Revolts and the Late Medieval Hungarian State A. D. 1382-1408*, (PhD diss., University of Wahsington, 1978), 35-6.

<sup>17</sup> For a short overview of the division of the nobility into "leagues," see: Szilárd Süttő, "Der Dynastiewechsel Anjou-Luxemburg in Ungarn," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Ein Kaiser in Europa*, eds. Michel Pauly and Francois Reinert (Mainz: Philipp van Zabern, 2006), 82-6.

<sup>18</sup> There are two charters, one by each side, dated May 16, 1385. Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 265-6; Tadija Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić, Emilij Laszowski, eds. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 16-18. (Zagreb: HAZU, 1976-1990), XVI, 521-2 (hereinafter: CDC).

<sup>19</sup> For a faithful account of the events during the 1380s and 1390s, but with a typical representation of Paul's role in them, see: Engel, *The Realm*, 197-202.

<sup>20</sup> The text that follows is expanded from my previous work in which I discussed shortly the role of Bishop Paul in the rebellion. Mišo Petrović, "Politicized religion: The 'contested' prelates of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia during the struggle for the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary (1382-1409)," *Papers and Proceedings of the Third Medieval Workshop in Rijeka*, eds. Suzana Milijan and Kosana Jovanović (Rijeka: FFRI, 2018), 38-41.

<sup>21</sup> Paulus de Paulo, *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii Iadrensis (1371-1408)*, ed. Ferdo Šišić (Zagreb: Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1904), 10, February 22, 1387.

<sup>22</sup> As previously mentioned, Thomas was sent in 1383 alongside John Horvati with an army

court. The envoys were greeted personally by King Ladislav, which points to the importance of having a person of high status delivering messages, as a well-connected prelate was trusted more than a simple envoy. Ladislav revealed that a certain amount of different information was available to the court, clouding the court's perception of what had transpired regarding the assassination of Charles, and that Paul's report had clarified the events. The king's words point to the fact that this was Paul's first visit to Naples since 1385 and that the bishop's account was trusted, which would then influence the court's knowledge and its next steps.<sup>23</sup>

Paul's trip by the end of 1388 attracted considerable attention from local powers. When returning from Naples in January 1389 he was caught in a storm and imprisoned by Tomas Sanseverino, leader of the rebellion against Ladislav and Margaret.<sup>24</sup> Sanseverino took a letter from Paul who received it from Margaret, which was then delivered by the Venetians to Buda.<sup>25</sup> Following the news of Paul's capture, the Great Council of Dubrovnik planned to send ambassadors to the rebels in Crotona in Apulia to inform them that Sigismund had promised a reward to anybody who would capture Paul. While the original plan was cancelled in favour of sending another mission directly to Apulia to talk to the rebels against Ladislav this news would point to the fact that Sigismund considered Paul as a great threat.<sup>26</sup> Between January and April Dubrovnik's Council itself invested time, money and men in apprehending Paul, which would suggest that he had escaped, but the effects of their activities are unknown.<sup>27</sup> The Venetians were also actively trying to stop attempts by the Angevins to connect with the rebels in Croatia, as in 1387 when they rescued Mary from her captivity or in 1388 when they persuaded Genoa not to offer Queen Margaret to transfer herself and her

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to help Charles keep Naples, while during the 1370s Charles ruled as the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia from Zadar.

<sup>23</sup> Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*, vol. 3. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1876), 626-7.

<sup>24</sup> The leader of the rebellion against Ladislav and the vicar of the Regno for Duke Louis II, the son of Louis I of Anjou. Cutolo, *Re Ladislao I*, 79.

<sup>25</sup> It was Lorenzo Monaci who delivered the letters. He will be mentioned later. Listine IV, 261-2, February 10, 1389.

<sup>26</sup> Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Dubrovnik i Ugarska u srednjem veku* [Dubrovnik and Hungary in the Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, 1986), 48.

<sup>27</sup> Mihailo Dinić, ed., *Odluke Veća Dubrovačke Republike*, vol. 2. (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1964), 524, January 14, 1389; 528, April 20, 1389. They first decided to inform Venetians about Paul's capture, but the decision was later abolished. Curiously, the note from Dubrovnik mentioned that Paul, the prior of Vrana and the son of Ban John were captured, which is strange as the Venetians, who directly communicated with Paul's captors, noted that a Zaratine ship was captured with Bishop Paul and two noblemen from Zadar, John de Grisogonis and his brother Cresius. Listine IV, 261-2.



son to Dalmatia.<sup>28</sup> Margaret's and Ladislas' position in Naples was weakening, so it is possible that Margaret was considering to move the royal family to a more secure place in Croatia-Dalmatia where a revolt against the Hungarian royal court in favor of Ladislas was developing. Yet Venice, while weakened by recent wars with Hungary, still controlled the naval traffic in the Adriatic. At least until 1392 Venetians continued to block any attempts by Ladislas to move to Dalmatia, fearing the control of both sides of the Adriatic by a single power which would damage their interests.<sup>29</sup>

Paul's activities during the period between late 1391 and mid-summer of 1394 are less known since we lack sources. He was mentioned for the last time in Naples in October 1391 in a charter by Ladislas. The king's position in Naples dramatically changed as the internal rebellions were suppressed and the pope sent him the crown. Paul advised the king to which important Hungarian nobles to send messages. This shows that at this point Paul no longer delivered messages and that, instead, Ladislas was providing his own men with this task.<sup>30</sup> Yet Paul still served as a royal advisor. Being himself a member of the higher nobility, Paul knew what was the political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, and on which barons Ladislas could rely on. It cannot be discussed if this source points to a change in the relationship between the king and the Horvati brothers in the next years because we lack sources.<sup>31</sup> The last sources mentioned Paul as being, together with the rest of the Horvati family, surrounded by the royal army in Dobor, a small fort in Bosnia. Passing Florentine merchants mentioned the bishop of Zagreb and one of Ban John's sons as conducting negotiations with the Ottomans, seeking their assistance against Sigismund.<sup>32</sup> It seems that at Dobor Paul kept doing what he was best at: supporting his brother and serving in necessary diplomatic missions.

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<sup>28</sup> Listine IV, 250; Cutolo, *Re Ladislao I*, 81-2.

<sup>29</sup> Šišić, *Vojvoda*, 83 quotes from an unpublished charter mentioned in the work: Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, ed., *Geschichte von Ungarn* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1869), 258; Frederic Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 197-8; John Dotson, "Foundations of Venetian Naval Strategy from Pietro II Orseolo to the Battle of Zonchio, 1000-1500," *Viator* 32 (2001): 119.

<sup>30</sup> CDC XVII, 390, October 7, 1391.

<sup>31</sup> The connection in sources between Paul and the Angevins ends after 1391 and it could point to a change in the relationship between the Angevin court and the Horvati brothers, or that we just lack a source. However, this goes beyond the scope of this discussion. For context, see: Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta krana ugarska i sveta krana bosanska)* [On the slide of history (The Holy Hungarian Crown and the Holy Bosnian Crown)] (Zagreb: Synopsis, 2006), 39-75.

<sup>32</sup> Two sources in: Emir Filipović, "Bosna i Turci za vrijeme kralja Stjepana Dabiše: neke nove spoznaje" [Bosnia and the Turks in the time of King Stephen Dabiša], in: *Homage to Tibor Živković*, ed. Irena Cvijanović (Belgrade: Institute of History, 2016), 297-300.

As was shown, Paul conducted a number of missions representing the interests of the rebels and in all the mentioned sources he was primarily referred to as the bishop of Zagreb, even when the accounts were written by his enemies or neutral parties. This is unusual since Pope Urban VI (1378-89), on the instigation of the Hungarian royal court, had Paul removed as the bishop of Zagreb in 1386, due to Paul's involvement in the revolt against the throne.<sup>33</sup> Although we lack sources which would clearly show how Paul viewed himself, it would seem that in the eyes of Paul's contemporaries he and the title of the bishop became intrinsically interconnected.<sup>34</sup>

The major group of sources which shaped the memory of Paul and the events surrounding, which passed on to the next generations, were the royal charters and the chronicles.<sup>35</sup> In charters the narrative part (*narratio*) details successes and merits of the endowed person by depicting events and involvement of the donated person, but it also carries an element of legitimizing propagandistic and political goals of the donor, the ruler, and the endowed person.<sup>36</sup> The way charters have been used to construct the ideal past became evident already in the fourteenth century with the arrival of the Angevins, who inserted certain elements in the story, sanctioning their ascension to the throne.<sup>37</sup> These charters therefore created social knowledge by promoting an officially sanctioned memory, keeping it in one centralized place and helping endowed families to write down their family memory. With the use of charters in official situations, this knowledge was communicated through generations and thus collective memory was preserved.<sup>38</sup> The

<sup>33</sup> No date is given, but Paul's successor to the bishopric, John, was appointed on 4 June, 1386, so it happened some time before that. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, I, 538.

<sup>34</sup> During this period, the authority of the members of the clergy was diminishing due to the Western Schism and political instability. It was common for a bishop who lost his bishopric to cling to the title in the hopes of reclaiming his diocese. This was probably the case with Paul who – most likely – hoped to reclaim the bishopric of Zagreb with the help of the Neapolitan Angevins. Petrović, "Politicized religion," 37-53.

<sup>35</sup> Daniela Dvoráková, "Aspekte der Narrationes der Schenkungsurkunden Sigismunds für ungarische Adelige," in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437): Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, eds. Karel Hruza and Alexandra Kaar (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 235-44.

<sup>36</sup> László Vespremy, "The Birth of a Structured Literacy in Hungary," in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Utrecht: Brepols, 2004), 172; Gabrielle Spiegel, *The past as text: The theory and practice of Medieval historiography* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), XIII.

<sup>37</sup> This is evident from donations made by King Charles I (1301-42) to his supporters in which the king outlined the official story of his arrival, which does not fully match with actual events. Charles minimized the role played by the Neapolitan court and the popes in favor of the nobility whose support Charles needed. Wojciech Kozłowski, *The Thirteenth-Century "International" System and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance*, (PhD diss., Central European University, 2014), 278-80.

<sup>38</sup> Vespremy, "The Birth," 172-4; Andrzej Pleszczyński et al., eds., *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1-12.

medieval chronicles were either composed through eyewitness reports, or by referring to sources, in cases where the author wrote his chronicle long after the events. Elemér Mályusz, the author of a two-volume commentary to the Thuróczy-chronicle, has emphasized the connections between the chronicles and archival material. The writers of the royal charters and the writers of the chronicles often came from the same circles and both inspired and heavily borrowed from each other, which can be shown on the example of Monaci and Thuróczy.<sup>39</sup>

In 1386, Queen Mary was ambushed by the rebels and held in captivity for a year, from which she was liberated by the Venetian fleet.<sup>40</sup> Back in Buda, two months later, she rewarded Nicholas and John Gorjanski for their faithful service. According to the charter she decided to seize the properties of the Horvati brothers following their uprising against her.<sup>41</sup> Since it was only the beginning of the rebellion, only a few events were represented in the narrative part of the charter. Mary first describes Bishop Paul as the source and the sower of all problems,<sup>42</sup> after which she names his two brothers, John and Ladislav, as the ones helping him.<sup>43</sup> Her tone evoked the accusation by Queen-Mother Elizabeth, who in August 1384 claimed that unsatisfied noblemen, principally Paul, were gathering sympathizers to resist the royal.<sup>44</sup> Mary's charter describes the two events of 1386. First, in an ambush near Đakovo - carried out by the brothers John and Ladislav Horvati, and John Paližna - the queens were captured and Nicholas Gorjanski was executed on the spot. Second, it also depicts the subsequent imprisonment of the queens and the death of Queen Elizabeth. Mary always mentions Elizabeth in a positive light, while the words she uses, the accusation for the death of

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<sup>39</sup> Elemér Mályusz, *Királyi kancellária és krónikáírás a középkori Magyarországon* [The royal chancery and the chronicle-writing in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 65-94; Katalin Szende, "The Uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Utrecht: Brepols, 2004), 137.

<sup>40</sup> Liberation and her voyage to Buda were described by: Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, II, 267-9.

<sup>41</sup> CDC XVII, 85-92, September 14, 1387.

<sup>42</sup> "[Paul] contra normam sue dignitatis ymmo regnorum nostrorum et incolarum eorundem fidelium nostre ad grauamen ingens maiestatis ... qui origo et sator notorius extitit cunctarum disceptationum periculorum et iurgiorum intra ambitum ipsorum regnorum nostrorum temporibus noviter retroactis emersorum, consilio et auxilio effectui ingenti cum infidelitate et rigida acerbitate mancipatum."

<sup>43</sup> The fourth brother, Stephen, died in the meantime. His properties, inherited by his children, were not confiscated.

<sup>44</sup> Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, II, 242-3. The unrest intensified after the nobility asked the queens to confirm the Golden Bull, which was done in June 1384, and to convene the general assembly of the kingdom, which the queens promised to do, but failed to keep their promise. Franjo Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV i početkom XV stoljeća [The movement on the Slavic south at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century]," *Rad JAZU* 2 (1868): 112.

her mother and subjugation of the southern parts of the kingdom, are aimed at all the rebels.<sup>45</sup> While the brothers were fighting, they were provided with soldiers by Paul, who is accused of squandering the properties of his diocese in order to raise mercenaries for the rebellion.<sup>46</sup>

Shortly after being liberated from her captivity, Mary met Lorenzo Monaci (1351-1429),<sup>47</sup> who served as the Venetian representative at the Hungarian royal court. Mary asked Lorenzo to write a history of her reign, which he did in 1388 in the form of a poem. The poem had two titles,<sup>48</sup> which depicted the intended audiences in Hungary and Italy, and represented diplomatic<sup>49</sup> and ideological<sup>50</sup> links between Venice and the Hungarian court. His work was later lost, but it was still known to Thuróczy, who rewrote it for his own purposes.<sup>51</sup>

Being unable to say much about Mary's successes and therefore to write a history of the queen's reign, as Mary originally intended, Lorenzo composed his poem by contrasting Mary with Charles. The queen thus is an example of a perfect Hungarian ruler, while Charles is depicted as the example of all that is bad.<sup>52</sup> Monaci's aim was not only to describe the political situation in Hungary but also to depict the political ideology of Venice: ideal relationship between Hungary and Venice represented in the role of a

<sup>45</sup> "et tandem antefatam dive memorie illustrem dominam Elizabeth reginam matrem nostram in dicto castro Wywar [Ujvar/Novigrad] vocato inopinabili austere necis interitu ferientes nobis cernentibus inmaniter *iugularunt* et dicta regna nostra Dalmacie, Croacie et Sclavonie ac comitatum de Posaga, banatos Machioviensem et Zeuriniensem simul cum castris in eisdem habitis omnino eorum dictionis et regimini *subiugarunt*."

<sup>46</sup> "Qui quidem Paulus episcopus bona ipsius ecclesie Zagrebiensis fabricam eiusdem rite et salubriter concernentia dilapidando et stipendiariis laute distribuendo prefatos Iohannem et Ladislaum, fratres suos carnales, de insula Iwanych cum eisdem *stipendiariis* laute distribuendo [to his brothers]..."

<sup>47</sup> On Lorenzo's origin and career, see: Šerban Marin, "A Venetian chronicler in Crete: the case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and his possible Byzantine sources," in *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border: 1204-1669*, eds. Iulian Mihai Damian et al., 237-40. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2012); Engel, *The Realm*, 214.

<sup>48</sup> Showing at which audiences the poem was aimed: "Laurentii de Monacis Veneti carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae" and "Pia Descriptio miserabilis casus illustrium reginarum Hungariae." I have used: Lorenzo Monaci, "Veneti carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae," in *Analecta Monumentorum Historicum Litterariorum*, ed. Franciscus Toldy, vol. 1. (Budapest: Acad. Hung. Typographus, 1862). Lines given in the citations are used for verses.

<sup>49</sup> He would negotiate the alliance between Venice and Hungary, relate to the court in Buda the various information coming from Venetian spies. He was the one informing the court about Paul's shipwreck in 1389.

<sup>50</sup> Monique O'Connell, "Legitimizing Venetian Expansion: Patricians and Secretaries in the Fifteenth Century," in *Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance*, ed. Michael Knapton (Florence: Florence University Press, 2014), 75.

<sup>51</sup> It was reedited in the eighteenth century. Mario Poppi, "Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere cretese," *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1967): 170.

<sup>52</sup> Ilona Edit Ferenczi, *Poetry of Politics: Lorenzo Monaci's Carmen (1387): The daughter of Louis I, Queen Mary of Hungary in Venetian Eyes* (Stuttgart: VDM Verlag, 2009), 33-8.

benevolent ruler who would not threaten Venice in any way.<sup>53</sup> Monaci's poem favors thematic structuring rather than a chronological one.<sup>54</sup> The author also wrote about the people involved in the rebellion. The poem states that King Louis bestowed the four Horvati brothers with high honors, yet they employed their skills for the benefit of the king of Naples.<sup>55</sup> Among the brothers, only Bishop Paul receives more attention in the form of contempt from the author.<sup>56</sup> Paul exceeds his brothers in cruelty and he is the leader and - evoking Mary's words - the instigator of all evil that had befallen the kingdom.<sup>57</sup> Monaci also depicts Paul's mission to Naples and the success he had in persuading Charles to claim the throne of Hungary. The author probably knew this information from official Venetian documents, and this knowledge was later passed onto Thuróczy, who constructed an entire narrative around Paul's voyage to Naples.

One thing to note here is that Monaci does not provide much information on the actual actions of the Horvati brothers, actions which would then require verification in other sources, but instead provides us with the opinion of the author on Bishop Paul and his brother. I believe that here we do not read solely about Lorenzo's "concern with Italian public,"<sup>58</sup> but it is more probable that Queen Mary's and her inner circle's opinions influenced Monaci's depiction of the rebels. In both the royal charter and in the Venetian poem the bishop of Zagreb becomes the key enemy of Mary's reign who was viewed as the main architect of the rebellion. All the Horvati brothers are mentioned but usually in the context of their relationship with Paul. The strange aspect is the fact that Mary herself did not emphasize in the royal charter that Ban John Horvati killed her mother, an element which is present in later chronicles and in modern historiography, but instead portrays Paul as the main villain in the rebellion. Mary's approach can be discerned through details she offers in her own charter: her desire was to leave a full account of what had transpired for future generations.<sup>59</sup> While the verses deal with

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<sup>53</sup> Ferenczi, *Poetry*, 5; Marianne Sághy, "Aspects of Female Rulership in Late Medieval Literature: The Queens' Reign in Angevin Hungary," *East Central Europe* 20/23 (1993-1996): 78.

<sup>54</sup> Ferenczi, *Poetry*, 9.

<sup>55</sup> Ladislaus, Paulus, Stephanus, banusque Johannes; Ad proceres medio quos Rex de sanguine fratres; extulit, et celsis donavit honoribus altis; committunt a patre datas in pignora vires; Pro rege Apuliae. Monaci, 97-101.

<sup>56</sup> The only other member of the rebellion mentioned by name was the Prior of Vrana, John Paližna. He is depicted in negative terms as being raised from his wooden hut to the rank of prior. Hi sceleri adiciunt quem Rex Ludovicus agresti; de tuguro; partem vulgi, tenebrisque iacentem; sustulit; et magno aurane praeficit honori. Monaci, 105-7.

<sup>57</sup> Superat crudelia fratrum; Arma trium immani Paulus feritate togatus; Zagrabiae praesul, caput inceptorque malorum; Tantorum, ad facinus quodcemque paratior ipsis. Monaci, 101-4.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted from Sághy, *The Queens*, 78.

<sup>59</sup> Her words were recollected by Monaci in his *Dedication* to Mary. Mary talked with him and

creating the opposition between Mary and Charles, it does leave a feeling that Mary's personal opinions are being interwoven into Monaci's poem.<sup>60</sup>

The attention given to Paul is curious if compared with his depiction in Sigismund's royal charters and by Thuróczy, in which Ban John Horvati became the symbol of the rebellion and the focus was shifted to battles and the exercise of royal power by Sigismund. Once established as the ruler, Sigismund started confirming Mary's older grants or publishing his own, which depicted the described events. These charters show Sigismund's appropriation of Mary's role and her gradual marginalization from official state business, but also the incorporation of the story of the capture of the queens in Sigismund's charters. Sigismund's charters focus on the military aspects of the rebellion; while Paul is omitted, John Horvati and John Paližna act prominently in these sources.

For the period from 1382 to 1386, Thuróczy borrowed heavily from Monaci, a fact which Thuróczy openly states in his introduction.<sup>61</sup> Thuróczy knew about Paul's voyage to Naples from Monaci, as contemporary Hungarian charters do not mention the trip, and gave it a central position in his narrative, thus creating a place of memory in which Paul's speech became the key in explaining the arrival of Charles of Durazzo to take the throne.<sup>62</sup> As a notary of the royal court, Thuróczy's social milieu favored remembrance based on reading the royal charters which were preserved in the archive to which he had access. His narrative after 1386 was structured around and heavily relied on the available royal charters<sup>63</sup> into which he inserted stories which he appropriated from other chroniclers.<sup>64</sup> This meant that he did not strive for

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asked that her story be preserved for posterity as "old age destroys everything; no thing has such greatness that should not decay [even] in one's youth, unless it is taken under the protection of the written word." Ferenczi, *Poetry*, 58. There are similarities in these phrases to a certain type of arengas, also referring to *oblivio/memoria*.

<sup>60</sup> Although, unlike in Mary's charter, Queen Elizabeth and Palatine Gorjanski are depicted negatively in Monaci's account, which somewhat weakens this claim. *Prima palatinus labes et causa malorum*. Monaci, 54; *Ad libitum exercens extorta licentia sceptrum; in grandem invidiam atque odium crudele Garesem; Elisabethque iacit; proceresque tyrannidis ambos; Dum culpant, parere negant, fiuntque tyranni*. 64-7.

<sup>61</sup> Thuróczy, *Chronica*, I, cap. 186., 189.

<sup>62</sup> Thuróczy, *Chronica*, I, cap. 188., 191-3.

<sup>63</sup> For the first decade of Sigismund's reign, Thuróczy structured his chronology and topics around the royal charters issued by King Sigismund, closely following the narrative of the charters. There were several similar ones but the best example is the charter in which Sigismund rewarded Archbishop John Kanisai. CDC XVIII, 195-205, March 4, 1397. Later charters by Sigismund simply repeated the claims from 1397.

<sup>64</sup> To take one very notable example is the story of King Sigismund's capture and execution of 32 pro-Angevin noblemen. The editors of the Thuróczy, *Chronicle*, 49-52, stated that this story was part of the oral lore which Thuróczy wrote down, but the story was known around Europe before he wrote it down. Thuróczy could have found out about this story from a Polish chronicler, Jan Długosz, *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, translated by Maurice Michael (Chichester: IM Publications, 1997), 349; or from the work by Pope Pius II (1405-64), who

chronological consistency, but instead aimed for a more dramatic narrative.<sup>65</sup>

Thuróczy's contribution to later understanding of the events of the last two decades of the fourteenth century was significant as he became the reference point when discussing these events. Later authors used his work as their primary source, rarely adding anything new and usually reiterating Thuróczy's words, even if they did not refer to his work directly. This claim can be corroborated by observing later depictions of the revolt, the use of the example of the defeat of the Horvati brothers in Dobor in 1394 and their imprisonment by King Sigismund. Knowing from the royal charters that the rebels were defeated and imprisoned, and from other sources that John was executed,<sup>66</sup> Thuróczy was unaware of Paul's fate, writing only that he was unable to regain his bishopric. Most of this story was repeated by Thuróczy's contemporary, Antonio Bonfini (1434-1503), in his work *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*.<sup>67</sup> Although Bonfini extensively used Thuróczy's work, the *Rerum* soon became a seminal work for the history of the kingdom due to its literary qualities, pushing Thuróczy into the background.<sup>68</sup> Both Bonfini and Thuróczy became the main sources for later chroniclers, for instance, Henry Spondano (1568-1643), who repeated what was previously written about the revolt.<sup>69</sup> The eighteenth century canon of Zagreb, Baltazar Adam Krčelić, referred in his work to both Spondano and Thuróczy, but also explored other potential sources.<sup>70</sup> Thuróczy's uncertainty and unfamiliarity with other sources and Krčelić's general lack of sources led him to consider two possible ideas about Paul's fate. Based on the diary of the fourteenth century nobleman of Zadar, Paul de Paulo, Krčelić presumed that Paul left for Naples in 1387 and did not return, or, based on his reading of Thuróczy, that Paul died in 1394. These opinions were, through the uncritical reading of Krčelić, transmitted to

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wrote his annals before becoming the pope, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*, trans. Robert Brown (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 53. Also, see: Engel, *The Realm*, 202.

<sup>65</sup> Thuróczy, *Chronicle*, 16-7.

<sup>66</sup> Possible source could have been the early fifteenth century Padovan chronicle by Andrea Gatarì (c.1370s-1454), "Chronicon Patavinum," in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, vol. 17, ed. Ludovicus Muratori (Milan: ex typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1730), 596.

<sup>67</sup> Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum ungaricarum decades*, vol. 3. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976).

<sup>68</sup> Norbert Kersken, "High and Late Medieval National Historiography," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 211, 214.

<sup>69</sup> Henry Spondano (1568-1643), the bishop of Pamiers in France, continued the work on Cardinal Baronius on *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Closer look at the text reveals that Spondano used as his sources the chronicles by both Bonfini and Thuróczy. Even when he is not referring to them specifically, Spondano appropriated their work into his narrative. Henry Spondano, *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum eminentiss. Cardinalis Caesaris Baronii Continuatio*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Sumptibus Fratrum Anissoniorum, 1678), 630, 654.

<sup>70</sup> On how Krčelić created his narrative in general, see: Ljiljana Marks, "Baltazar Adam Krčelić: Chronicler of Everyday Life," *Narodna umjetnost* 38 (2001): 135-52.

modern historiography.<sup>71</sup> This line of inquiry is only one way of observing how the chroniclers influenced each other and modern historiography, as other chroniclers wrote about these events too.<sup>72</sup>

During my attempt to reconstruct the role that Bishop Paul played in the revolt, I came across a different set of questions, namely how medieval sources have constructed their past and how they were subsequently used by historians. Thuróczy condensed the memory and established a model that influenced future historians. The charters bear the official memory of the rulers and the personal memory of the family that participated in the described events. The question of what Paul was doing is intrinsically interconnected with the way in which Paul's actions were remembered and how this memory was written and passed down to our time. Paul did not leave us any sources written by himself, and very few came from the circles close to him. Instead, we are left with sources coming from power centers of various geographical origins whose authors had different relationships towards Paul, usually considering him an enemy, which in turn influenced how Paul's actions were described. A similar case is the situation with Hungarian royal charters, which reflect the changed political alignments in the court and of the royal agenda. These charters had a profound influence on the creation of later chronicles, which, in turn, influenced later historians who would fully incorporate the narrative from the chronicles, while rarely questioning it. When all the sources and opinions are gathered together, we are left with Paul Horvati, a member of the nobility, who rose to power thanks to royal support. Paul's eloquence and qualities persuaded Charles to take the throne, the nobility to support the rebellion, and also to maintain communication between the rebel barons and the Neapolitan Angevins. He put his knowledge and skills into the service of his family, the royal dynasty

<sup>71</sup> Krčelić, *Povijest*, 168. This narrative was then fully adopted, without further inquiry, in Dobronić, "Biskup Pavao," 146.

<sup>72</sup> For instance, the previously mentioned Andrea Gatari, the fifteenth century chronicler from Padua, left his own account of the events during the revolt against Queen Mary and King Sigismund. According to Gatari, Mary had a considerable role in suppressing the revolt, even riding into battle against Ban John Horvati, defeating him and having him executed as revenge for her mother's murder, while Sigismund was not informed about it and was unhappy with the execution. The story is in some instances similar to Thuróczy's version, which raises interesting questions about the connections between Gatari's and Thuróczy's accounts. Gatari, "Chronicon Patavinum," 594-6. Also, another concurrent chronicle, *Chronicon Siculum*, dating to late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, left an account in which Bishop Paul was depicted as a rather ruthless individual. According to this chronicle Paul sent severed heads of Gorjanski and his partisans to Naples. This view was accepted by the older historiography. Antal Pór, "Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei," *Századok* (1896): 147; quotes Giuseppe Blasiis, ed., *Chronicon Siculum Incerti Authoris* (Naples: Giannini, 1887); for instance, Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli in Ungheria* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938), 471, and Šišić, *Vojvoda*, 51, uses the information without discussing its credibility.



he favored for the throne, and the rebellion. The memory of Paul was sealed by the fact that he and his family ended up on the losing side. This in return influenced the sources which were preserved and the interpretation of Paul's activities.

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