Family Ties and Written Multilingual Heritage of the Frankapani at the Dawn of the Early Modern Period

In the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century the Frankapani of Krk, Senj, and Modruš were at the peak of their power. This family of Croatian counts was networked through marriage from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea with Italian, Hungarian, Austrian, and German royal and aristocratic families. Their presence at the courts of their next of kin, as well as their in-laws, is therefore not surprising, whether it be the Roman Curia or the Hohenzollern Branderburger Palace in Berlin. In such a wide system of communications, the Frankapani presented themselves to the European public as a multilingual family ready to promulgate not only the written heritage honoured during the Middle Ages in Croatia (Latin and Glagolitic), but also ready to adopt, promote, and disseminate the written heritage of their spouses (Italian, German, Hungarian).*

Key words: the Frankapani of Krk, Senj, and Modruš, the German–Roman Breviary, the anti-Turkish speech Oratio pro Croatia, the translated epistles of Saint Paul Epistolae Pavli lingva Hvngarica donatae, prayer book Hortulus Animae, symbolic communication, (self)promotion, sixteenth century

In late mediaeval and early modern times, not a soul in Western Christendom questioned the legend that Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) was descended from the Frankapani (It. Frangipani, Hung. Frengepáni). The Frankapani of Krk promoted this legend as a key
facet of their identity when presenting themselves to Europe’s secular and ecclesiastical elites, of which they were a part. For instance, the seventeenth century saw the publication of a book on the Frankapani, one which endorsed ideas propounded by such ecclesiastical authorities as Pope Martin V (1417–31) and Pius II (1458–64), who claimed that the Counts of Krk were descended from the Frankapani, a noble family whose most notable scions were Pope Felix III (483–92) and his great-grandson, Gregory the Great.\footnote{The text has been prepared in conjunction with the project „Sources, Manuals and Studies for Croatian History from the Middle Ages to the End of the Long Nineteenth Century” of the Croatian Science Foundation (code: 6547), guided by research advisor Ph.D. Damir Karbič.}

The popes mentioned were in a similar manner represented in a fifteen-volume heraldic collection on Italy’s noble families and dignitaries of the Catholic Church. The collection, which was found in the library of Albert V, Duke of Bavaria, came into being sometime between 1550 and 1555, and was edited by the artist, inventor, and antiquarian Jacopo Strada of Mantua. The first volume, and thereby the entire collection, opens with the coats of arms of Felix III and Gregory the Great.\footnote{Cf. Francesco Zazzera d’Aragonia, Della famiglia Frangipani tratta della seconda parte della nobiltà dell’Italia, Naples 1617, chapter: “Della famiglia Frangipani d’Vngheria di Dalmazia e del Frivle” like such statements: Frangipanibus, de qua fuit Papa Gregorius magnus Eccl. doctor...; Faelix 3. natione Italus ... de nobilissima domo Anicia, quae postea Frangipanum appellata est.; Hi fuerunt Epiiscopi duo, Cenadiensis, & Segniensis; & cum his Stephanus Croatiae Comes ab origine Romanus Frangepania gente, quam sanctissimum olim Pont. Gregorium produxit...}

The following volumes contain the coats of arms of the Frankapani of Rome, Naples, Venice, and, of course,
the Frankapani of Krk3 (Fig. 1). The reputation of the aforemen- tioned Frankapani also rested on their family ties to Gregory the Great, one of the Church Fathers.4

FAMILY TIES

The first among the Frankapani from Croatia whom we will mention is Stephen II Frankapan (Fig. 2). In the year 1446 Count Stephen II, and with him a fine company in exquisite array, came to Venice. Clad in garments embroidered with pearls of great value, he asked the Signoria whether or not he should wed the sister of the Margrave Leonello d’Este of Ferrara, the nuptials having already been agreed upon. The Doge, however, retorted that it seemed to him, for diverse reasons and considerations, unwise that the Count should take the said lady as wife, since many other desirable consorts were to be had. Stephen, having expressed his gratitude to the Signoria, continued merrily with his entourage to Ferrara, where he came on April 22 (Friday), and on Sunday, April 24, married Isotta d’Este, the celebration lasting until May 1 (Sunday) in the Great Hall opposite the Old Castle (Sala Grande de la corte verso lo Castello Vecchio). The master of ceremonies was the Margrave Gianlucido Gonzaga of Mantua, brother-in-law to Leonello d’Este. Over the course of the nuptials, the escort of Isotta’s maid of honor fell dead during the

3 Cf. coats of arms of the Frankapani of Rome in: München, Alte Hofbibliothek – 129 Bl, under the title Insignia ... III. Insignia nobilium urbis Romae praeceptorum item Viterbiensis. Available through web pages in the same way with the choice of Cod.icon. 268 [Katalog], fol. 59r. For the Frankapani of Naples in München, Alte Hofbibliothek – 172 Bl, under the title Insignia ... XIV. Insignia nobilium Neapolitanorum et Genuesium. The same approach access through Cod.icon. 279 [Katalog], fol. 49r. For the Frankapani of Venice and Krk in München, Alte Hofbibliothek – 194 Bl, under the title Insignia ... VII. Insignia Venetorum nobilium II (A-IP) respectively Cod.icon. 272 [Katalog], fol. 161r. More detail on coats of arms of the Frankapani see in: Ivan Jurković, O grbovima u molitvenicima koje su dali tiskati 1518. u Veneciji Krsto Frankapan sa suprugom Apolonij Lang i 1560. u Padovi Katarina Frankapan, supruga Nikole Zrinskog Sigetskog, Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU, vol. 35, 2017, 61-84.

dance, which was interpreted as a bad omen for the bride’s impending married life. Indeed, after ten years of marriage, she suddenly died. Her tombstone, however, unlike her son Bernardin’s, as well as those of his children and grandchildren, at least remains partially preserved (Fig. 3). On this occasion it is important to emphasize that by marrying Isotta Stephen gained as in-laws powerful Italian rulers – the Aragon of Naples, Gonzaga of Mantua, Malatesta of Rimini, and Montefeltro of Urbino (Fig. 4).


7 For Isotta’s tombstone see: Zorislav Horvat, Sačuvani nadgrobni spomenici nekih Senjana i osoba značajnih za povijest Senja – u Senju i drugdje, Senjski zbornik, sv. 29, 2002, 55-60. Due to the devastation of the graves and memorials of the Frankopani family, there are also different interpretations of the attribution of sarcophagi and tombstones to other individual members of this family, see: Vjekoslav Klaić, op. cit. p. 261, fig. 35; Zorislav Horvat, Pregled sačuvanih nadgrobnih ploča krčkih knezova Frankopana, Senjski zbornik, vol. 32, 2005, 25-56; Predrag Marković, Mramorni reljefi venecijanske radionice Bon u Senju i krčki knezovi Frankopani, Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti, vol. 30, 2006, 9-28 and in literature cited in these works.

8 The second wife of Isotta’s brother Leonello (1441–50) was Mary of Naples, daughter of King Alfonso of Aragon, and the wife of her other brother Ercole I (1471–1505) was Eleanor of Naples, daughter of King Ferrante I of Aragon; Thomas Tuohy, op. cit., p. XXVI.

9 The first wife of Isotta’s brother Leonello was Margherita Gonzaga, who was sister of the Margraves Carlo and Gianlucido of Mantua. Moreover, Isotta’s sister Lucia was also the first wife of the aforementioned Carlo Gonzaga; Thomas Tuohy, ibid.

10 Isotta’s sister Ginevra was the first wife of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini (1432–68); Thomas Tuohy, ibid. About Ginevra’s fate in that marriage more in: Anthony F. D’Elia, Pagan Virtue in a Christian World: Sigismondo Malatesta and the Italian Renaissance, Cambridge 2016, 186-188.

11 Prior to marrying Stephen, Isotta was engaged to Oddantonio da Montefeltro, but he was killed in a conspiracy (1444) before the wedding could take place (see: James Dennistoun, op. cit., 55–57). The Montefeltro family at that time, however, had other matrimonial ties with the Gonzaga family, thus Isotta and Stephen maintained contact with them.
After Isotta’s death, however, Stephen went a step further. He arranged for their son Bernardin to marry Princess Luisa Marzano of Aragon and thereby established new family ties.\(^\text{12}\) Luisa had five sisters, all of them married.\(^\text{13}\) Bernardin could thus count among his brothers-in-law: Antonio Todeschini-Piccolomini (Duke of Amalfi, a nephew of Pope Pius II and brother of Pope Pius III),\(^\text{14}\) Vlatko Kosača (Duke of Herzegovina),\(^\text{15}\) Costanzo I Sforza (Lord of Pesaro and Gradara),\(^\text{16}\) Leonardo III Tocco (Duke of Lefkada and ruler of Epirus),\(^\text{17}\) and Antonio Basso della Rovere (Margrave of Cisterna, a nephew

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12 Bernardin became engaged to Luisa while he was in Naples as a member of a splendid entourage that King Matthias Corvinus had sent to escort his fiancée and Princess Beatrice of Aragon to Buda. Because they were fourth cousins, however, Luisa and Bernardin had to ask for a papal approval before the wedding. The journey and stay in Naples, as well as the papal dispensation that Bernardin had to obtain, were described in Szabolcs de Vajay, Un ambassadeur bien choisi: Bernardinus de Frangipanus et sa mission à Naples, en 1476, in B. Nagy – M. Sebők (eds.), The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak, Budapest 1999, 550-557.

13 Rinaldo Fulin et al. (eds.), I diarii di Marino Sanuto, vol. 29, Venice 1890, p. 544; Vjekoslav Klaić, op. cit., 267-268. All of them betrayed King Ferrante – conducting the policy of dynastic relations with the families who entered the Anti-Ottoman Alliance. They were the daughters of Ferrante’s sister Eleonor and Duke Marino Marzano. Marino participated in the Conspiracy of the Barons and was in custody until his death – his possessions were confiscated.

14 The first wife of Antonio was Mary, daughter of King Ferrante, with whom he had two daughters. His second wife was the Luisa’s eldest sister, also Mary. With her he had four sons and three daughters; Rinaldo Fulin et al. (eds.), op. cit., p. 544. For the rise of the Piccolomini family in the second half of the fifteenth century see Ilaria Puglia, I Piccolomini d’Aragona duchi di Amalfi (1461-1610). Storia di un patrimonio nobiliare, ser. Ricerche storiche 9, Naples 2005.

15 Margherita, Luisa’s elder sister, was the second wife of Vlatko. For the destiny of the refugee and the generations of the Kosača family that finally moved to Venice, see Rinaldo Fulin et al. (eds.), op. cit., p. 544; Lovorka Čoralić, Ogranak humske velikaške obitelji Kosača u Mlecima: tragom oporučnih spisa (16.-17. stoljeće), Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti HAZU, vol. 35, 2017, 145-155.


of Pope Sixtus IV, and first cousin of Pope Julius II\textsuperscript{18} (Fig. 5). In a political sense, however, Stephen and his son Bernardin actually entered an anti-Turkish alliance formed by Ferrante of Aragon and Pope Sixtus IV, cemented by a series of dynastic marriages\textsuperscript{19} (Fig. 4). The alliance was immortalized in a painting commissioned by Ferrante I and Sixtus IV, painted by the Venetian renaissance artist Lazzaro Bastiani. This painting, originally a gift to the Marian shrine of Basillica della Santa Casa in Loreto, is nowadays kept at the Monastery of St. Francis of Assisi in Zadar, and is therefore relatively unknown\textsuperscript{20} (Fig. 6). Be it as it may, it was these dynastic ties that enabled Bernardin Frankapan to enter the ranks of Europe’s powerful ruling families, and to marry off his daughter Beatrice to John, son of Matthias Corvinus (Fig. 7).\textsuperscript{21}

Thanks to a shrewd dynastic strategy, Bernardin set up an extensive network of political, ecclesiastical and economic ties in all European centres of power. His children formed alliances by marrying members of various noble families from the Kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia, as well as those from the Holy Roman Empire. His eldest son, Matthias, married Sophia, who was the widow of Andrew Henning of Susedgrad, and who hailed from the respectable Hungarian family of Thuz de Lak.\textsuperscript{22} Christopher’s wife Apollonia was the sister of Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, Archbishop of Salzburg and Chancellor to Emperor Maximilian I,\textsuperscript{23} and Mary, Ferenat’s spouse, was daughter of the

\textsuperscript{18} Luisa’s youngest sister, Caterina, was married to Antonio; Rinaldo Fulin et al. (eds.), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 544. However, Antonio died suddenly the following year, so that marriage also remained childless. On the rise of the della Rovere family and their patronage role in the history of art, see Ian F. Verstegen (ed.), \textit{Patronage and Dynasty: the Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy}, ser. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, vol. 77, Kirksville 2007 – genealogy on p. 201.

\textsuperscript{19} A description of the intricate relations of alliance and hostility between the main actors of the anti-Ottoman Alliance, Pope Sixtus IV and King Ferrante, see in Kenneth M. Setton, \textit{op. cit.}, 325-345 and 364-373.


\textsuperscript{21} Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, \textit{Beatrica Frankopan i njezin rod}, Zagreb 1885; Szabolcs de Vajay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 553, no. 25 and p. 557, fig. 2; Ivan Jurković, O grbovima..., 78-83.

\textsuperscript{22} Szabolcs de Vajay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 553, no. 25.

\textsuperscript{23} Johann Sallabarger, \textit{Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468 - 1540)} Salzburg 1997, p. 36; Marija Šercer, Žene Frankopanke, \textit{Modruški zbornik}, vol. 4–5, 2011, 54-60.
Despot John Branković. After the tragic demise of her husband John Corvinus and their two young children, Bernardin's daughter Beatrice married George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, from the House of Hohenzollern. Another daughter, Mary Magdalen, was betrothed to Matthias Pongrácz de Dengeleg, a Hungarian nobleman. However, what became of her remains unclear. Isotta's husbands also were Hungarian aristocrats. Her first husband, Ladislaus, was the son of Ladislaus of Egerváy, the famed Croatian ban/viceroy, her second husband was Stephen Perényi de Nagyida, and the third one was Caspar Serédy. In choosing an Aragon bride for his son, Stephen gained powerful allies in the Italian peninsula. Bernardin followed in his father's footsteps strategy-wise: by marrying off his children to scions of Central European noble families, he found allies willing to help with the ongoing Ottoman wars (Fig. 4).

To summarize, in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century the Frankapani of Krk, Senj, and Modruš were at the peak of their power. This family of Croatian counts was networked through marriage from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea with Italian, Hungarian, Austrian, and German royal and aristocratic families. Their presence in the courts of their next of kin, as well as their in-laws, is therefore not surprising, whether it be the Roman Curia or the Hohenzollern Branderburger Palace in Berlin.

**WRITTEN MULTILINGUAL HERITAGE**

In such an elaborate system of communication, the Frankapani presented themselves to the European public as a multilingual family ready to promulgate not only the written heritage nurtured during the Middle Ages in Croatia (Latin and Glagolitic), but also ready to adopt, promote, and disseminate the written heritage of their spou-

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26 Marija Šercer, Žene Frankopanke..., 45-46.

ses (Italian, German, Hungarian). The following examples attest to this statement:

1. the Roman breviary translated into the German language by Christopher Frankapan and his wife Apollonia Lang printed in 1518 in Venice,
2. the anti-Turkish speech in Latin delivered by Christopher’s father, Bernardin, before the German assembly in Nuremberg and printed in 1522 for the occasion,
3. the translated epistles of Saint Paul, from Latin to Hungarian, donated by Catherine Frankapan married to Gabriel (Gábor) Perényi, printed in Krakow in 1533, and
4. the first Croatian-language breviary written in the Latin script, rather than in the Glagolitic, commissioned by Catherine Frankapan married to Nicholas Zrinski, published in 1560 in Padua.

1) The German-Roman Breviary

The German-Roman Breviary was first printed by Christopher Frankapan and his wife Apollonia Lang of Wellenburg during his incarceration in Venice (1514–19). The couple edited the volume in collaboration with Jacob Wyg, a German monk. Although this year marks the Breviary’s 500th anniversary, and notwithstanding the fact that it was referenced numerous times over the past five centuries, every generation of historians has experienced trouble finding it, all thanks to its title. Namely, earlier manuals, as well as encyclopaedias, register it as the Petbuch die Syben Zeit von Latein in Deutsch gemacht. It was Matija Mesić who in 1870 first pointed

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28 Das deutsch-römisch Brevier..., ed. Gregorius de Gregoriis, Venice 1518.
29 The Breviary was printed at “... letsten tag octobris desß xv. hunderten vnd xvij. iars.” – October 31, 1518; ibid., p. A2v; cf. Ivan Jurković, Njemačko-rimski brevijar 1518. (500. obljetnica), Istarska danica, year 2018, Pazin 2017, 72-75. Students of the Department of Art History under the guidance of Full Prof. Sanja Cvetnić made an exhibition in the auditorium of the Library of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb under the title Deutsch-römisches Brevier: 500 years – 400 copies – 1 anniversary (January 16–28, 2019).
to the existence of Christopher’s breviary.31 Wider audiences came to know of it at the turn of the century, following the publication of Der Ring des Frangipani, a work of historical fiction penned by the German art historian Henry Thode.32 The success of the novel prompted a series of research and newspaper articles on the Breviary.33 Those articles, however, only went so far as to describe the Breviary. Hence, the Breviary has yet to be subjected to critical analysis.

The Breviary contains a number of prints – a calendar adorned with allegorical representations of the months of the year, the coats of arms of the Frankapans and Langs, a series of medallions, each embellished with innumerable initials, and, finally, minuscule woodcut depictions of various symbolical figures. However, what stands out for its extraordinary beauty is a set of ten large prints, the first and last of which are identical and depict „the Coronation of the Virgin”, with Christopher and Apollonia on their knees, praying opposite one another (Fig. 8). The remaining eight prints portray the most significant events of the New Testament, from the „Annunciation” to the „Meeting at the Golden Gate”. Each of these prints is framed by a set of medallions, occurring periodically in different combinations. The texts in the Breviary come in two colors, black and red, with certain, emphasized parts printed in bold letters.

The Breviary was printed in what was then a large number of copies – 400. Until recently, Croatian historians were convinced that only two copies had survived the tumultuous times of conflict between the Holy Roman Empire’s Protestants and Catholics.34 It

32 Henry Thode, Der Ring des Frangipani: ein Erlebniss, Frankfurt am Main 1895. The book was also printed in English (Frangipani’s Ring. An Event in the Life of Henry Thode, London 1900 and 1904) and finally in Croatian: Frankopanov prsten: doživljaj, Zagreb 1944 and 1992.
33 Cf. e.g. Camilla Lucerna, Das Frankopani – Brevier, Der Morgen, Jg. 3, Nr. 687, Zagreb 1925, p. 12; Nikola Žic, Brevir Krsta Frankopana, Obzor 74/224, Zagreb 1933, 2-3.; Marija Šercer, Žene Frankopanke..., 57-60; Milan Kruhek, Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan: mačem i govorom za Hrvatsku, Modruški zbornik, Posebna izdanja, vol. 3, Modruš 2016, 130-133; Ivan Jurković, Njemačko-rimski brevijar..., 72-75.
34 In spite of the fact that in 1925 eight copies of the Breviary were known to exist (in Austria, Germany, Italy, and Hungary; cf. Camilla Lucerna, op. cit., p. 12), contemporary Croatian literature still claimed that only two remained, namely those in Heidelberg and Budapest; cf. Ines Srdoč-Konestra – Saša Potočnjak (eds.), Putovima Frankopana, Rijeka 2018, 328-329 (in the chapter of Saša Potočnjak with bibliographic references to such claims).
has transpired, however, that Christopher and Apollonia’s breviary is to be found, though under different names, worldwide. Namely, numerous reputable libraries (such as those in Australia, Austria, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, the US and the UK, to name but a few) house the Breviary as a key achievement in early translation into German.\footnote{Samples of the Breviary are kept in Australia (Melbourne, State Library Victoria – Sticht Collection, sign. 347[2]), Austria (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, sign. 22E23), Croatia (Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, lok. Zbirka rijetkosti, sign. RIIF-8\(^{\circ}\)-1832), Germany (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, sign. 4 Th Lt K 17; Augsburg, Universitätssbibliothek Augsburg, sign. 02/XIII.10.4.64; Eichstätt – Ingolstadt, Katolische Universität, Universitätssbibliothek, sign. 04/1 AÖ 15; Freising, Dombibliothek Freising, sign. M/086 00224 / M; Munich, Stadtsarchiv München / Historischer Verein von Oberbayern, sign. 01/Ver. Bibl. 1144 / 01 03/Rara Remota Frühdrucke; Munich, Universitätssbibliothek der LMU München, sign. 0014/W 4 Liturg. 204; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: sign. 4 Liturg. 123 a; Res./4 Liturg. 123), Hungary (Budapest, Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, sign. App. H. 131), Italy (Gardone Riviera, Biblioteca della Fondazione Il Vittoriale degli Italiani, sign. ZTN 10; Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, sign. Stamp.Ross.5041; Trento, Biblioteca Diocesana Vigilianum, sign. LO 125), Netherlands (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, sign. KW 233 F 25), UK (London, The British Library in the collection General Reference Collection na dvije lok. C.25.k.3. and C.35.h.3.), and USA (Cambridge, Harvard Library, sign. Houghton Typ. 525 18.262; Chicago, Newberry Library, sign. VALUT Wing ZP 535.C866; New York, New York Public Library, sign. Spencer Coll. Ital. 1518). In Berlin, a sample (sign: 4 „Dq 11356) was kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, but it was „sheltered” at the end of the Second World War to the Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека) in Moscow. The Breviary is available through the website of two libraries: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ221484602) and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10164199_00001.html).

2) Oratio pro Croatia

The anti-Turkish speech Oratio pro Croatia in Latin delivered before the German assembly in Nuremberg by Christopher’s father, Bernardin, was printed in 1522 for the occasion.\footnote{Bernardinus de Frangepanibus, Oratio pro Croatia. Nürenbergae in Senatu Principum Germaniae habita [Nürnberg: Friedrich Peypus], 1522. This speech is also available through the website of: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; sign: Res/4 Eur. 332.9 (https://books.google.hr/books?id=AktTAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_VIewAPI&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna; sign: 43.S.29 ALT PRUNK (http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ103516402).}

The surviving copies of Bernardin Frankapan’s Oratio pro Croatia are an important testimony of Croatian history. Many Croatian historians were aware of this fact. There is hardly a synthesis or monography on late mediaeval/early modern Croatian history which does not (at least)
mention this speech. However, it was only recently – eight years ago, to be exact – that *Oratio pro Croatia* was first presented to Croatian audiences in its entirety.

The speech was printed in Nuremberg by the printing house of a certain Friedrich Peypus (Fig. 9). It consists of four *Antiturcica* texts. The first one, an epistle addressed to Pope Hadrian VI, serves as an introduction to the remaining three, which are all speeches delivered before the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. Over the course of his politico-diplomatic mission, Bernardin had his speech printed in order to distribute it as a kind of anti-Ottoman pamphlet. Two facts might serve as proof of his doing so: first, the scarcity of visuals in the pamphlet, which allowed for the printing of a greater number of copies, and secondly, the numerous surviving copies of the speech throughout Central and Western Europe.

The text is important not just as a historical and literary artefact, but also as a linguistic testimony. It proves that a Croatian nobleman, hailing from the ever-changing frontier between the (Ottoman) East and the (Christian) West, could master Latin, one of the pillars of contemporary culture, and use it as a means of diplomacy.

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3) Epistolae Pavli lingva Hngarica donatae. Az Zenth Paal leveley magyar nyelven

„Take into your hands Paul, who is not Jewish any more, nor is he Greek, but he is Hungarian” – this statement appears as the first sentence in the preface of Az Zenth Paal leveley magyar nyelven (Epistles of Saint Paul in the Hungarian language), the first book to be printed in Hungarian in its entirety, as Pál Ács first claimed in his text eight years ago. The book was printed in Krakow in 1533, and donated by Catherine Frankapan, widow of Gabriel (Gábor) Perényi (Fig. 10). The epistles of Saint Paul were translated from Latin into Hungarian by Benedek Komjáti. It is important to note that this was an Erasmian translation of Saint Paul’s letters and that the Latin-language dedication to Hungarian readers was written by the printer and publisher Hieronymus Vietor. Vietor was born in Silesia (Lubomierz) and was active in Vienna and Krakow. Famous for the quality and quantity of his prints, he is considered to have been one of the most important early book printers in Poland, as because he was the first to regularly print in Polish. As a humanist, he was open to new ideas, and not afraid to publish works about novelties, including new religious ideas, although he himself was never openly Protestant. Very soon after the printing of Paul’s epistles, in 1536 Vietor came into conflict with the Catholic Church.

Catherine, a countess who originated from Croatia, helped financially to print the first book in Hungarian. But what a book! According to researchers, it was one of the most finely made books of its time. Thus,


43 The title cover with several illustrations and basic bibliographic data about Az Zenth Paal leveley magyar nyelven can be found in Károly Horányi – Edit Krähling (eds.), Calliotheca. Gems from the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2017, p. 277. For more information and content descriptions, see Gedeon Borsa et al. (eds.), Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok, köt. 1, 1473–1600, Budapest 1971, no. 13.

44 Cf. Pál Ács, The reception of Erasmianism in Hungary..., 85-87 and literature cited in this article.


46 Her great-grandfather John was the brother of Stephen II (see fig. 4).
Vietor printed an eulogy to her in Latin at the end of the book saying: „Your court is like a school of piety of all Christianity … Above all, your glory shines bright, especially among Panonians; for you are to them precisely what your family name says – a Frangepanibus. Namely, you are now breaking, giving, and sharing bread to those who are hungry, that bread of life, which comes down from Heaven...”

4) Hortulus Animae (Raj duše)

Up until recently, it was believed that the book kept at the Franciscan monastery in Trsat was the only remaining copy of Catherine’s prayer book, Hortulus Animae (Raj duše), which once belonged to the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is precisely for this reason that a facsimile, accompanied by an introduction and edited by Franjo E. Hoško, Milan Moguš, and Josip Vončina, was published. In describing the Hortulus Animae, Moguš and Vončina singled out the prayers addressed to St. Augustine, for they rightly observed that in those prayers Catherine beseeched health. They therefore concluded that Catherine was, at the time, „fatally ill” and „awaiting the fast-approaching hour of her death”, which prompted her to compile this prayer book with her confessor Nicholas Dešić.

The language of the prayer book is Croatian, but what sets it apart from other such writings is the fact that it was printed in the Latin script (whereas its predecessors had been printed in the Glagolitic script). The book was printed in Padua by the Croatian printer Gratiosus Perchacinus (Fig. 11). It is important to mention the fact that the Hortulus Animae contains two prayers composed by Gregory the
Great. Those prayers can be found preceding the last chapter, which contains the „Holy Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary” in Latin. The title of the prayers is located in the header of the page, written in simple, red letters: „Mollitua S. Gargura”, which translates to „The Prayer of St. Gregory”. The Hortulus Animae ends in St. Gregory’s prayers, and in Croatian at that, which signals the wish of its editors, Catherine Frankap-an and Nicholas Dešić, to „situate” it in an appropriate and memorable place within the book.⁵² And why not? Was Catherine not descended from the same family as Gregory the Great?

To summarize...

Owing to familial ties, as well the heritage of the land the Frankapani hailed from, they, together with their spouses, promulgated every-thing encompassed by the term „diversity”, i.e. one can infer that they did not focus exclusively on their local identity. This diversity, itself a reflection of the unity of sixteenth century Northern-Adriatic cultures, can be observed in the fact that the aforementioned books were, in the case of Christopher:

- commissioned by a Croat and his German wife,
- printed in Venice by an Italian publisher, and
- translated from Latin into German;

in the case of Bernardin:

- commissioned by a Croat,
- printed in Nuremberg by a German publisher, and
- written in Latin;

in the case of Catherine:

- commissioned by a Croatian lady,
- printed in Krakow by a Polish publisher, and
- translated from Latin into Hungarian;

in the case of Catherine:

- commissioned by a Croatian lady,

⁵² Ivan Jurković, Grgur Veliki..., 141-143 and 153.
• printed in Padua by a Croatian publisher, and
• printed in the Latin, rather than in the Glagolitic, script.

Their worldview, identity, mentality, spirituality and, above all, love thus remained bound within the covers of the German-Roman Breviary, Oratio pro Croatia, Az Zenth Paal leveley magyar nyelven, and Hortulus Animae (Raj duše). What more can we ask of in this Year of European culture, as proclaimed by the European Parliament?

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Fig. 1. The Frankapani coats of arms
a) Pope Felix III (BSB, Cod.icon. 266 [Katalog], fol. 1r)
b) Pope Gregory I (BSB, Cod.icon. 266 [Katalog], fol. 2r)
c) the Frankapani of Rome (BSB, Cod.icon. 268 [Katalog], fol. 59r)
d) the Frankapani of Naples (BSB, Cod.icon. 279 [Katalog], fol. 49r)
e) the Frankapani of Krk, Senj, and Modruš (BSB, Cod.icon. 272 [Katalog], fol. 161r)
f) the Frankapani of Venice (BSB, Cod.icon. 272 [Katalog], fol. 161r)
The FRANKAPANI of KRK, SENJ, and MODRUŠ

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**Fig. 2. The Frankapani genealogy**

Nicholas IV had eight sons – here are the descendants of two of his sons mentioned in the article.
Fig. 3. The upper part of Isotta’s tombstone
(image taken from: Vjekoslav Klaić, Krčki knezovi Frankapani..., p. 242; copied and the coats of arms reconstructed by Iva Jurković)
Fig. 4. The Frankapani of Modruš and Ozalj network of family/kin ties
Fig. 5. Mariano’s children and their marriages arranged by King Ferrante I
Fig. 6. Our Lady of Mercy – Lazzaro Bastiani (?) in Monastery of St. Francis of Assisi in Zadar
Fig. 7. Dynastic ties of the Frankapani family
(Cf. Szabolcs de Vajay, „Un ambassadeur bien choisi...,” p. 557, fig. 1 and 2)

Fig. 8. „The coronation of the Virgin”
with Christopher and Apollonia on their knees
in Das deutsch-römisch Brevier, Venice: Gregorio de Gregoriis, October 31, 1518.
Fig. 9. Bernardini de Frangepanibus (...) Oratio pro Croatia
Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1522.
Fig. 10. Epistolae Pavli lingva Hungarica donatae. Az Zenth Paal leuele magyar nyeluen. Krakow: Hieronymus Vietor, 1533.
Fig. 11. Hortulus Animae [Stoye Rechi Ray Dusse]...
Padua: Gratiosus Perchacinus, 1560.
SUMMARY

Family Ties and Written Multilingual Heritage of the Frankapani at the Dawn of the Early Modern Period

In the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century the Frankapani of Krk, Senj, and Modruš were at the peak of their power. This family of Croatian counts was networked through marriage from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea with Italian, Hungarian, Austrian, and German royal and aristocratic families. Their presence in the courts of their next of kin, as well as their in-laws, is therefore not surprising, whether it be the Roman Curia or the Hohenzollern Branderburger Palace in Berlin. In such a wide system of communications, the Frankapani presented themselves to the European public as a multilingual family ready to promulgate not only the written heritage nurtured during the Middle Ages in Croatia (Latin and Glagolitic), but also ready to adopt, promote, and disseminate the written heritage of their spouses (Italian, German, Hungarian). The following examples attest to this statement: the Roman breviary translated into the German language by Christopher Frankapan and his wife Apollonia Lang printed in 1518 in Venice, the anti-Turkish speech in Latin delivered by Christopher's father, Bernardin, before the German assembly in Nuremberg and printed in 1522 for the occasion, the translated epistles of Saint Paul, from Latin to Hungarian, donated by Catherine Frankapan married to Gabriel (Gábor) Perényi, printed in Krakow in 1533, and the first Croatian-language breviary written in the Latin script, rather than in the Glagolitic, commissioned by Catherine Frankapan married to Nicholas Zrinski, published in 1560 in Padua.
SAŽETAK

Obiteljske veze i pisana višjezična baština Frankapana u osvit ranoga novog vijeka

Druga je polovica 15. i prva polovica 16. stoljeća razdoblje vrhunca moći Frankapana Krčkih, Senjskih i Modruških. Ta je hrvatska grofovska obitelj bračnim vezama bila umrežena od Jadrana do Baltika s talijanskim, ugarskim, austrijskim i njemačkim vladarskim i velikaškim obiteljima. Ne čudi stoga njihova nazočnost na dvorovima moćnika koji su im bili u prvom koljenu srodstva, ali isto tako i na dvorovima zajedničke im svojte, počevši od Rimске kurije pa do dvora Hohenzollerna Brandenburških u Berlinu. U takvom se širokom sustavu veza Frankapani predstavljaju europskoj javnosti kao multilingvalna obitelj spremna na širenje ne samo pisane baštine njegovane tijekom srednjeg vijeka u Hrvatskoj (latinske i glagoljaške), već i na usvajanje, promoviranje i širenje pisane baštine svojih supružnika (talijanske, njemačke, mađarske). Tomu svjedoče primjerice Rimski brevijar preveden na njemački jezik Krste Frankapana i supruge mu Apolonije Lang otisnut 1518. god. u Veneciji, protuturski govor na latinskom jeziku Kristina oca Bernardina pred njemačkim staležima otisnut 1522. god. u Nürnbergu, doniranja prijevoda s latinskoga na mađarski jezik poslanica sv. Pavla Katarine Frankapan udane za Gabrijela (Gáborna) Perényija, koji je i tiskan u Krakovu 1533. god. te prvi časoslov otisnut latiničkim, a ne glagoljskim slovima na hrvatskom jeziku Katarine Frankapan udane za Nikolu Zrinskih, objavljen 1560. god. u Padovi.

Ključne riječi: Frankapani Krčki, Senjski i Modruški, Rimski brevijar, protuturski govor Oratio pro Croatia, prijevod poslanica sv. Pavla Epistolae Pavli lingva Hvngarica donatae, molitvenik Hortulus Animae, simbolička komunikacija, (samo)promocij, šesnaesto stoljeće