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The Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin. History, Significance, and Efforts to Rediscover Its Location**

The Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin is best remembered as the site where the Croatian nobility and church prelates assembled on January 1st, 1527. This historic event, documented in a solemn decree, marked the election of Ferdinand I of Habsburg as the Croatian king. Despite its significance, the monastery's history and importance have received little attention in Croatian historiography. Therefore, the first aim of this paper is to address this gap by utilizing lesser-known and rarely used historical sources. Additionally, the paper seeks to determine the monastery's location within late medieval Cetin. It examines existing theories about its site, evaluates the validity of these conclusions, and proposes new possibilities for its location based on an analysis of preserved written sources, early modern cartographic data, and field research. The research and considerations presented here indicate that the Franciscan Monastery was most likely founded by Count Stephan III Frankapan in 1463 or 1464, when he brought the Franciscan friars to Cetin and entrusted them with the management of the church of the same name, which had already been a significant pilgrimage site for some time. In the following years, the monastery became extremely important and by the beginning of the 16th century, it served as the center of the Observant Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia Croatia, which later became a

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province after the vicariate was elevated to the rank of a province in 1517. By the mid-16th century, they were no longer realistically the Counts Frankapans able to exercise patronage over the Diocese of Krbava or the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Croatia, as the wars with the Ottomans had noticeably diminished their social and material power. The latest possible timeframe for the departure of the Franciscans from Cetin is suggested to be 1575, as mentioned by Adam Baltazar Krčelić. Furthermore, the considerations presented in this paper, which involve a new analysis of known and unknown medieval and early modern written sources and maps, as well as field reconnaissance, provide a conclusive set of indications that the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was most likely located on the plateau on the eastern slope, east of the current road leading from Cetingrad to Podcetin, at the entrance to the village of Podcetin.

Keywords: Cetin, Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, microtopography, late Middle Ages

Introduction

The Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin is mainly remembered as the place where the assembly of the Croatian nobility and church prelates concluded on January 1, 1527, as evidenced by the solemn document drawn up at the time, and when for the Croatian king was elected Ferdinand I (V) Habsburg.¹ Although this monastery holds considerable historical significance, as evidenced by various late medieval and early modern written sources, its history and importance have not been extensively studied. Similarly, while several theories about its location exist in the literature, preserved written medieval records and early modern maps offer the potential for new interpretations of its location. Therefore, this paper has two main objectives. First, by analyzing lesser-known and rarely used late medieval written sources, it aims to provide an overview of the monastery's history and assess its significance within both local and broader social contexts. Second, it will propose a new interpretation of the location of the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The history of Cetin, its castle and settlement, from the high Middle Ages until the early 16th century, has been predominantly recorded in various diplomatic sources. These include various documents composed by Hungarian-Croatian rulers, individual nobles, church prelates, or institutions. In terms of content, these documents consist of charters testifying deeds of sale, agreements on divisions, or other legal transactions. On the other hand, information from the

¹ Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae = Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. 1: *Od godine 1526. do godine 1536.* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1912), 50-52.

period of the greatest Ottoman threat, specifically the last decades of the 15th and throughout the 16th century, is recorded in various reports from individual military commanders sent from the border with the Ottoman Empire, as well as in pleas and letters addressed by prominent figures of that time, such as Bans or Vice-bans, to rulers and other instances of political and other power. Most of these written sources are preserved in various domestic and foreign archives significant to Croatian history, and many of these documents have been published in collections well-known to historians.²

In contrast, the history of the monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin is documented in significantly fewer written sources, many of which have largely gone unnoticed by most researchers. Some information about the establishment and importance of the Cetin monastery for the Franciscan Order in the work of Friar Francis Glavinić on the history of the Observant Franciscan Province of Bosnia and Croatia (*Origine della Provincia Bosna Croatia*), written in the first half of the 17th century and published in Udine in 1648 in the Italian language.³ However, much more information about the Franciscan monastery in Cetin can be found in the manuscript copies of original archival materials collected by Friar Euzebije Fermežin in the second half of the 19th

² Lajos Thallóczy, Samu Barabás, eds., *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus. A Frangepán család oklevéltára*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910); Lajos Thallóczy, Samu Barabás, eds., *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus. A Frangepán család oklevéltára*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913); Šišić, *Acta comitialia*, vol. 1; Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae = Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. 2: *Od godine 1537. do godine 1556. Dodatak: 1526.-1539.* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1915); Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae = Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. 3: *Od godine 1557. do godine 1577.* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1916); Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae = Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. 4: *Od godine 1578. do godine 1608. Dodatak od 1573.-1605.* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1917); Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae = Hrvatski saborski spisi*, vol. 5: *Od godine 1609. do 1630. godine s dodatkom od god. 1570. do god. 1628.* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1918); Emilij Laszowski, ed., *Monumenta Habsburgica Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae = Habsburški spomenici Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1: *Od godine 1526. do godine 1530.* (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1914); Emilij Laszowski, ed., *Monumenta Habsburgica Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae = Habsburški spomenici Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 2: *Od godine 1531. do godine 1540.* (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1916); Emilij Laszowski, ed., *Monumenta Habsburgica Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae = Habsburški spomenici Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 3: *Od 1544. godine do godine 1554.* (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1917); Radoslav Lopašić, ed., *Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, vol. 1: *Od godine 1479. do 1610.* (Zagreb: na prodaju u Knjižari L. Hartmana (Kugli i Deutsch), 1884); Radoslav Lopašić, ed., *Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, vol. 2: *Od godine 1610. do 1693.* (Zagreb: na prodaju u Knjižari L. Hartmana (Kugli i Deutsch), 1885); Radoslav Lopašić, ed., *Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, vol. 3: *Od godine 1693. do 1780. i u dodatku od g. 1531. do 1730.* (Zagreb: na prodaju u Knjižari L. Hartmana (Kugli i Deutsch), 1889); Radoslav Lopašić, "Prilozi za poviest Hrvatske XVI. i XVII. vieka iz štajerskog zemaljskog arhiva u Gradecu", *Starine JAZU* 19 (1887): 1-80.

³ Francesco Istriano Glaunich, *Origine della Provincia Bosna Croatia* (Vdine: Appresso Nicolò Schiratti con licenza de' superiori, 1648).

century from various archives in Croatia and abroad, relating to the ecclesiastical history of historical Croatian lands in the medieval and early modern period (*Acta Croatiae potissimum ecclesiastica*). These consist mostly of complete copies of medieval and early modern written sources. Only a small portion of these documents was presented by Fermendžin through extended registers, and these copies, housed in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*) in Zagreb, remain unpublished to this day.⁴ In this paper, most of these documents related to the Franciscan monastery in Cetin will be analyzed for the first time, with their contents contextualized to present the history and significance of the monastery.

As it has been said, to date, there have been expressed opinions in Croatian historiography regarding the location of the Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin. The first opinion on this matter was presented back in 1895 by Radoslav Lopašić,⁵ and his view was accepted by Milan Kruhek and Zorislav Horvat after archaeological research was conducted in the early 2000s. In two studies on the history of Cetin, published in 2001 and 2002, they mostly supported Lopašić's opinion.⁶

Therefore, the second aim of this study is to examine the existing opinions on the location of the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin. This will involve assessing the validity of the presented opinion by analyzing both so far known and unknown written medieval and modern sources, as well as early modern cartographic sources. Most of these early modern maps, with detailed depictions of the area, were created by the Habsburg military authorities during the military operations aimed at liberating Cetin in 1790⁷. Some of these maps have been preserved to this day, primarily in the War Archives of the Austrian State Archives (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv*) in Vienna and in the Cartographic Collection of the Croatian State Archives (*Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kartografska zbirka*) in Zagreb. These maps made at the end of Ottoman rule of the area, are highly detailed and contain numerous

⁴ Croatia (hereafter: HR) – Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (hereafter: AHAZU) – Fermendžin, Euzebijije, povjesničar – osobni arhiv (hereafter: 23) – *Acta Croatiae potissimum ecclesiastica* (manuscript) (hereafter: *Acta Croatiae*), vols. I – II.

⁵ Radoslav Lopašić, *Oko Kupe i Korane: mjestopisne i povjestne crtice* (Zagreb: Naklada Matice Hrvatske, 1895), 102.

⁶ Milan Kruhek and Zorislav Horvat, "Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti i fortifikacijskog graditeljstva", *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 26/27 (2000/2001): 227-228. Kruhek revisited the same concept in his slightly extended and reiterated German study, which was published in 2002 (Milan Kruhek, "Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer Geschichte und der Fortifikationsbaukunst", *Povijesni prilozi* 21 (2002), no. 22: 76-82).

⁷ For information about the circumstances and course of the military operations aimed at liberating Cetin in 1790, including references to sources, see: Radoslav Lopašić, *Cetin. Mjestopis i poviest grada* (Zagreb: Tiskom Dragutina Albrechta, 1867), 17-19.

place names, providing a visual representation of the region during the Ottoman rule. To a certain extent, they allow us to discern the basic contours of the area's appearance in the late Middle Ages. Additionally, the study will explore other potential archaeological sites in the area of present-day Podcetin, based on the results of recent field reconnaissance. By combining the analysis of archaeological and potential archaeological sites with data from early modern maps, we aim to strengthen the case for the monastery's location.

The Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin in Historical Context

The oldest known mention of the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin dates back to a document issued by Pope Paul III on June 11th, 1469.⁸ This document lists numerous monasteries of the Franciscan Observant Vicariate of Bosnia in the Croatian historical territories that were not yet under Ottoman rule at that time. The local friars send to Rome their valuable possessions, various church books, chalices, and other church utensils, as well as documents regarding different privileges. The mentioned monasteries were in the dioceses of Split, Knin, Nin, Krbava, and Zagreb. Among them were the monasteries in Jajce, Jezero, Greben, Vrhlika, Knin, Visovac, Karin, Krbava, Bihać, Otok, Trsat, Stjeničnjak, and finally Cetin.⁹ Therefore, it is unquestionable that the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin already existed by 1469, marking the *terminus ante quem* of its establishment.

Unfortunately, the foundational document, or the document regarding the establishment of the monastery in Cetin, has not been preserved, nor any other document that would testify to when the monastery was founded. However, it should be noted that in his work on the history of the Franciscan Observant Province of Bosnia and Croatia, Friar Francis Glavinić provided some information about the founding of the Franciscan monastery in Cetin. He recorded that in 1514, when the previously unified Franciscan Observant Bosnian Vicariate was formally divided into two vicariates – the Bosnia Argentina Vicariate and the Bosnia Croatia Vicariate – the Cetin monastery became the main monastery of the latter.¹⁰ Furthermore, he added that the Cetin monastery was founded by

⁸ Euzebius Fermendžin, ed., *Acta Bosnae potissum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752* (Zagrabiae: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1892), 279.

⁹ ...conventus: Jajza, Jezero, Greben, Varchoric (Vartchica), Tinimi (Tinini), Vissbuacz (Visovac), Carini, Corbavie, Bihigy, Othoc, Cethyn Tersati, Stiniznach (Stiničnjak) ... in Spalaten. Tinen. Nonen. Corbavien. et Zagrabiens. diocesibus consistentes..., Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae potissum ecclesiastica*, 279.

¹⁰ Franjo Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije Bosne Hrvatske", in: *Povijest Trsata. Postanak Provincije Bosne Hrvatske*, ed. Emanuel Hoško (Rijeka: Svetište Majke Božje Trsatske; Naklada Kvarner, 2014),

“Stephan Cetinić, the Croatian Ban” and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Merciful Lady, and he also mentioned that a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine was built nearby, where the Ban was buried.¹¹

Although it is a short reference that originated over a century and a half later, specifically in a narrative work, a chronicle, it should be noted that Glavinić most likely had access to documents in the provincial archive and/or oral traditions among the Franciscans of his time, when writing his work.¹² Therefore, it is necessary to further consider the information he provides about the founding of the Franciscan monastery in Cetin. The phrase, namely, the mentioned “Stephan Cetinić, the Croatian Ban”, most likely refers to Stephan III Frankapan of Modruš, the son of Nicholas IV Frankapan of Modruš, who inherited Modruš in the well-known division of Frankapan possessions held in Modruš in 1449 among the sons and nephews of the powerful Count Nicholas IV after his death.¹³ In the mid-15th century, Count Stephan III became the leader of the entire noble family, which was contested by his nephews, Counts George II of Cetin, Bartholomew X of Ozalj, John VIII of Brinje, and Nicholas VI of Tržac, the sons of his late brothers.¹⁴ Despite the problems with his nephews, Count Stephan III enjoyed the trust of the young king Matthias Corvinus, whom, for example, he accompanied to Mantua in 1459 as a member of the king’s embassy when the planned discussion was about a new campaign against the Ottomans.¹⁵ Shortly thereafter, Count Stephan III Frankapan was reinstated as the Croatian-Dalmatian Ban and held that position from 1463 to 1464, during the Ottoman conquest of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia.¹⁶ Therefore, it is indeed possible that Glavinić’s statement that the Franciscan monastery in Cetin was founded by “Stephan Cetinić, the Croatian Ban” refers to Count Stephan III Frankapan, who at that time was the leader of the powerful noble family of Frankapan, the Counts of Krk. Therefore, it is not surprising that Friar Francis Glavinić described him as the lord of Cetin, that is the attribution mentioned by Glavinić, “Cetinić”, or “of Cetin”, could pre-

95.

¹¹ Glavinić, “Postanak Provincije”, 95.

¹² For more information about Friar Francis Glavinić, see: Krešimir Filić, “Franjo Glavinić, hrvatski kulturni pregalac XVII. stoljeća”, *Bogoslovska smotra* 43 (1973), no. 4: 432-447.

¹³ Milan Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš. Grad knezova Krčkih-Frankopana i biskupa Krbavsko-modrške biskupije* (Ogulin: Matica hrvatska Ogranak Ogulin, 2008), 37-39.

¹⁴ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani. Knjiga prva. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka (od god. 1118. do god. 1480.)* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901), 244, 254-255.

¹⁵ Borislav Grgin, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002), 157-158; Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*. (Leiden;Boston: Brill, 2018), 188-208.

¹⁶ Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 84. For more information about the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia, see: Emir O. Filipović, *Bosansko Kraljevstvo i Osmansko Carstvo (1386-1463)* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2019), 403-476.

cisely refer to Count Stephan III, although according to the aforementioned division of cities and properties among the Frankapan brothers in Modruš in 1449, he did not inherit Cetin but rather the castle and property went to his nephew George II.¹⁷ Since Count Stephan III was most likely the founder of the monastery, at least according to Glavinić's writings, it is evident that among the Franciscans, the oral tradition was preserved that the lord of the city and property, which at that time included Cetin, was the one who established the monastery. As Count Stephan III was in control of all the Frankapan's properties, including Cetin, which his nephews contested, he remained remembered among the Cetin Franciscans and their successors in the Bosnia-Croatia Province as "Ban Stephan Cetinić", or Ban Stephan of Cetin.

However, it should be noted that Count Stephan III Frankapan had previously served as the Croatian-Dalmatian Ban, specifically as the Vice-ban to his brother John VI Frankapan of Cetin, from 1432 to 1437.¹⁸ However, the establishment of the Franciscan monastery in Cetin should not be placed in that period for two reasons. First, it is unlikely that Count Stephan III would have founded a monastery in the city of his brother John VI during his lifetime, as he did not exercise authority there as he most likely did more than two decades later. Moreover, it should be mentioned that a document regarding a canonical visitation in Cetin in April 1446 mentions the local church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁹ This is a report on a canonical visitation compiled in Rome, which was discovered by Friar Eusebius Fermendžin in the late 19th century in the archive of the Franciscan monastery of the Assumption of Mary on the island of Badija near Korčula. The document states that in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary existed in 1446 and even earlier.²⁰ Therefore, this document testifies that even before the mid-15th century, there was a church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin, a kind of sanctuary, and that is the reason why a canonical visitation was conducted there in 1446.

It is interesting to note that since the beginning of the 15th century, there has been a trend among the Croatian and Slavonian nobility to establish pilgrimage sanctuaries dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary on their land estates, especially in settlements near their main seats. For example, while attending the Council of Constance, Count Ladislav of Blagaj requested Pope Martin V to issue a papal bull declaring that all pilgrims who visit Blagaj on the feast day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (December 8th) would receive

¹⁷ Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 37-39.

¹⁸ Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 161.

¹⁹ ...in ecclesia visitationis beate Marie semper virginis in Cetin Zagrebien. diocesis..., HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. I, 369.

²⁰ HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. I, 369.

a plenary indulgence, and the pope granted this request on May 10th, 1418, by proclaiming a decree that bestowed this privilege upon the mentioned church in Blagaj.²¹ A similar request was made to Pope Martin V by Count Peter I of Zrin, and in 1426, the pope elevated the Zrin church of the Blessed Virgin Mary to the status of a sanctuary, allowing pilgrimage to it on the feast day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 8th) and granting plenary indulgence to all pilgrims on that day.²² Furthermore, it can be noted that in the first half of the 15th century, a considerable number of pilgrim churches were constructed within the Zagreb Diocese. This development was spurred, in part, by the promotion and sale of pilgrim indulgences.²³

Moreover, the same practice can be observed in the territories of the Frankapan estates in the mid-15th century. During that time, Count Stephan III Frankapan sought to establish a Marian pilgrimage sanctuary near his main residence, the city of Modruš, and he aimed to obtain official confirmation of the sanctuary's status from the pope. Indeed, a document from Pope Pius II dated March 30th, 1459, has been preserved, in which he elevated the existing Church of the Miraculous Blessed Virgin Mary in Oštarije, near Modruš, to the status of a sanctuary.²⁴ The document clearly states that the church had existed before, "near the place of Modruš, in the Diocese of Krbava",²⁵ and according to further statements in the document, it had already attracted many pilgrims and witnessed numerous miracles through the intercession and merits of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁶ Fur-

²¹ Andrija Lukinović, ed., *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis. Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije*, vol. 5 (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost; Arhiv Hrvatske, 1992), 540.

²² Lukinović, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis*, vol. 5, 223.

²³ For further details and numerous examples, along with references to sources, refer to: Tomislav Matić, "Hodočasnički oprosti i izgradnja crkva u Zagrebačkoj biskupiji u 15. stoljeću", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 38 (2014), no. 73: 13-33.

²⁴ The original document is preserved in the Vatican Archive, and it was first presented to Croatian historiography, along with a Croatian translation of its contents, by the late Bishop Mile Bogović of Gospić-Senj in his work on the relocation of the seat of the Krbava Diocese to Modruš, published in 1988 in a collection of papers on the Krbava Diocese in the Middle Ages (Mile Bogović, "Pomicanje sjedišta Krbavske biskupije od Mateja Marute do Šimuna Kožičića Benje", in: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku. Zbornik radova znanstvenog simpozija u povodu 800. obljetnice osnutka krbavske biskupije, održanom u Rijeci 23-24. travnja 1986. godine*, ed. Mile Bogović (Rijeka; Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovska škola u Rijeci; Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), 66). However, it should be noted that this papal document was already published in 1771 by István Kaprinai. See, Stephanus Kaprinai, ed. *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathiae de Hunyad regis Hungariae*, vol. 2 (Vindobonae: Typos Joannis Thomae nobilis de Trattnern, 1771), 283-284.

²⁵ *...Ecclesia Beatae Mariae Virginis de miraculis nuncupata, prope locum de Modrusia Corbaviensis diocesis...*, Kaprinai, *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathiae*, vol. 2, 283.

²⁶ *...ad quam ob crebra, quae inibi Altissimus ejusdem Virignis, & Matris precibus, ac meritis in dies manifestare non cessat, miracula, copiosa diversarum partium multitudo confluere consuevit...*, Kaprinai, *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathiae*, vol. 2, 283.

thermore, the document mentions that unnamed ecclesiastical dignitaries had previously endowed the church with numerous gifts, but it explicitly states that the pope, upon the request of Count Stephan III Frankapan, the lord of Modruš, elevated the church in Oštarije to the rank of a sanctuary. The pope decreed that all pilgrims who visited the church on Marian feast days such as the Presentation, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Assumption, and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and performed devotions between the first and second evening prayers, while leaving offerings for the church's renovation, would receive a seven-year indulgence.²⁷

A similar success was achieved a bit earlier by his brother Martin II Frankapan of Trsat, to whom Pope Nicholas V granted permission in 1452 to expand the church, or sanctuary, of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Trsat, and additionally allowed him to build a monastery next to it and bring in Franciscans.²⁸ This refers to the already well-known sanctuary to which, according to the tradition recorded by Friar Francis Glavinić in his work *Historia Tersattana*, also published in Italian in Udine in 1648, the Holy House of Nazareth was miraculously transported in 1291. Since 1367, a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been particularly venerated there.²⁹ Given that the Franciscans are a Catholic order with a strong Marian devotion, it is not surprising that Count Martin II Frankapan entrusted them with the guardianship of the sanctuary in Trsat. Count Martin's special affinity for the Franciscans is evident from the fact that he had constructed the Franciscan observatory monastery in Brinje. This can be inferred from a letter written by Pope Pius II to Friar Nicholas of Dubrovnik, the curator of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary de Pallude.³⁰

Therefore, it can be concluded that Count Stephan III Frankapan followed a similar course of action, perhaps even influenced by his brother's example. He brought the Franciscan Observants to the existing Marian sanctuary in Cetin, whose existence was recorded in 1446 but clearly existed even earlier and entrusted it to their care. This was certainly facilitated by the fact that the Ottomans briefly occupied Jajce in the late summer of 1463. It should be noted that Count Martin II Frankapan participated in the king's campaign to recapture Jajce in the late autumn and winter of 1463, which resulted in the city being returned

²⁷ Kaprinai, *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathiae*, vol. 2, 283-284.

²⁸ ...*prope ecclesiam sancte Marie super Tasart Carbavien. dioecesis ... unam domum cum claustro, dormitorio, refectorio, ortis, oralicijo at alijis necesessarijs officinis pro usu et habitazione fratrum minorum de observantia de novo fundari, construi et edificari...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. I, 385-386.

²⁹ For the history of the sanctuary in Trsat, see: Francesco Istriano Glaunich, *Historia Tersattana: raccolta dalle antiche, e moderne historie, annali, e tradizioni* (Vdine: Appresso Nicolò Schiratti con licenza de' superiori, 1648).

³⁰ Fernendžin, *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica*, 252-253.

to Christian hands, and he was rewarded with the castle and estate of Stjeničnjak.³¹ These reports highlight the connections between the Frankapan estates and western Bosnia, specifically the former domain of Bosnian Grand Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. This suggests the possibility that the Franciscan brothers may have arrived in Cetin from Jajce. However, due to the lack of written confirmation, this remains only a presumption.

It has also been noted that in his chronicle of the history of the Franciscan Province of Bosnia and Croatia, Friar Francis Glavinić stated that the founder of the Cetin monastery, Count Stephan III Frankapan, had a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine built next to it, where he was buried.³² Given that this information was preserved in a narrative source created almost two hundred years after the events it describes, and that it is unclear where Glavinić obtained his information, the reliability of his claim that Count Stephan III was buried in the chapel of St. Catherine within the Franciscan monastery in Cetin is questionable. It is important to note that Count Stephen III's wife, Isota D'Este, was buried in the Franciscan church near Senj, as evidenced by her tombstone, and that earlier Counts Frankapans were also buried in that location,³³ so it is possible that Count Stephen III was also buried there. Alternatively, it is possible that Glavinić's information refers to Count Stephen II, who founded the Franciscan monastery near Modruš in 1378 with the approval of Pope Gregory XI.³⁴ The question arises whether Count John V, Stephen II's brother, who married Catherine Carrara

³¹ Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 2, 43-44, 46-48. In more details see: Grgin, *Počeci rasapa*, 86. Additionally, it appears that following the Ottoman troops' devastation of his estates during their advance to Senj in the Ottoman campaign into Bosnia in 1463, Count Marthin II Frankapan initiated an independent offensive against the Ottomans in the summer of the same year. This occurred even before King Matthias Corvinus launched his campaign in the late autumn of that year (for further details on King Matthias's campaign, refer to a recent study: Filipović, *Bosansko Kraljevstvo*, 457-467). Namely, on September 8, 1463, Count Marthin II rewarded his official, Fabijan Dragalić, with the property of Slavetić, situated at the base of the Lipovac castle. This gesture was in recognition of Fabijan's personal accompaniment during the earlier campaign that aimed to expel the Ottomans from Kamengrad in Bosnia, a mission successfully accomplished (...*et signanter in proxima nostra exercituali expeditione ac expugnatione castris Kywar vocati, in regno Bozne habito contra sevissimos turcos, crucis Christi et fidei christiane acerrimos inimicos se virili offerens audacia...*, Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 2, 54). The Ottoman raider's incursion all the way to the Senj in 1463 is documented by concise information found in a letter sent to Pope Pius II on June 14 of the same year (...*Iam hostilis exercitus, superatis regni Bossine finibus, ad littora usque Segne...*, Joannes Schafárik, ed., *Acta archivi Veneti spectantia ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium*, fasc. II: *Continens acta ab CCCI usque DLVI* (Belgradi: In typographia principatus Serbiae, 1862), 511).

³² Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije", 95.

³³ See in more details: Marija Šerčer, "Žene Frankapanke", *Modruški zbornik* 4-5 (2011), no. 4-5: 34-35.

³⁴ György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, tom. IX, vol. 5 (Buda: typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngarica, 1834), 269. See in more details: Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 172; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Franjevci u Krbavskoj biskupiji", in: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku. Zbornik radova znanstvenog simpozija u povodu 800. obljetnice krbavske biskupije*,

of Padua, who had taken over Modruš by force from Catherine after her husband Stephen's death, moved her family from Cetin,³⁵ and perhaps Count John V had his late brother, Stephen II, buried in the chapel of St. Catherine in Cetin. This suggests that Glavinić's account might actually refer to Stephen II. This also means that Glavinić merged two historical episodes and their associated figures into a single narrative in his writing, and raises the possibility that the Franciscans in Cetin came from their earlier-established monastery in Modruš. In that case, the oral tradition, recorded by Glavinić in the 17th century, about the founder of the monastery, who is buried in Cetin, would refer to Count Stephen II, the founder of the Franciscan monastery in Modruš. However, due to the lack of written sources, this remains speculative.

In any case, after the mention from 1469, the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin is mentioned again in 1496. In August of that year, Friar Bernardino of Milan, the head of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order, confirmed certain documents and rights of the Franciscan Bosnian Vicariate in the monastery in Cetin.³⁶

Furthermore, the Cetin monastery is mentioned in 1506 as one of the monasteries of the Trsat Custody of the Observant Franciscan Bosnian Vicariate. In his extensive work on the history of the Franciscan Order (*Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum A S. Francisco Institutorum*), written in the mid-17th century and published in Rome in 1736, the Irish Franciscan Luke Wadding recorded a total of four monasteries, but he mentioned that there were many more in other places that had been devastated by the Ottomans.³⁷ Interestingly, Wadding did not know to whom the church and monastery in Cetin, as well as in Stjeničnjak, were dedicated, but he knew that the sanctuary and Franciscan monastery in Trsat were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the monastery in Senj to St. Francis.³⁸

The significance of the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin and the popularity of the sanctuary are vividly attested to by

održanom u Rijeci 23.-24. travnja 1986. godine, ed. Mile Bogović (Rijeka; Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovska škola u Rijeci; Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb, 1988), 86.

³⁵ Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, 180-182.

³⁶ *...Ego fr. Bernardinus de Mediolano de Caijmis, ord. minor. de observantia ... volo ac mando acta et lata in loco sancta Marie gratiarum apud Cezinam praesentibus at audientibus partibus de quibus acum est...*, HR-AHAZU-23,-Acta Croatiae, vol. 1, 468-469.

³⁷ *...In his, allisque locis / habitabant Fratres magno / animarum lucro, & fidei incremento; / sed pro dolor! per Turcas omnia / ferme sunt occupata & diruta...*, Luca Hiberno Waddingo, *Annales Minorum seu Trium ordinum A S. Francisco institutum*, vol. 15 (Romae: Typis Rochi Bernabo, 1736), 337.

³⁸ *...SEPTIMA CUSTODIA / Terseti. / 35 s. Mariae Terseti, ubi olim erat / Ecclesia sanctae Mariae de Laureo, / quae postea Angelorum / ministerio in Picenum translata set. / 36 S. Francisci Segniae / 37. S. ... Cetini / 38. S. ... Stenyczmiak...*, Waddingo, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 15, 337.

the news from 1508.³⁹ Preserved records from that year mention how the priest John Mečarić, the parish priest of the Holy Cross Parish in Donja Kladuša, forbade the faithful from giving donations to the Franciscans in Cetin under the threat of ecclesiastical penalties.⁴⁰ In response to this decision, the guardian of the Cetin monastery, Friar Martin Bojničić, filed a lawsuit on behalf of his religious community.⁴¹ This historical episode not only reflects the dispute between the Franciscans in Cetin and the parish priest in Donja Kladuša but also indirectly testifies to the popularity of the Cetin sanctuary, to which the inhabitants of the relatively distant Donja Kladuša apparently regularly made pilgrimages.

The popularity of the Franciscan monastery in Cetin and the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary as a spiritual and pilgrimage center is attested by two more historical records from the early 16th century. On July 14th, 1510, George Grgurić of the noble Karinjani kindred, as a pledge for the salvation of his soul, had a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas the Confessor built within the Franciscan monastery church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin, and he donated the revenues from his estate in Prekovršac for this purpose.⁴² Furthermore, a few days later, on August 5th, 1510, the noblewoman Uršula Krešić, widow of John Landar Krešić, made numerous bequests to various Franciscan monasteries, including the monastery in Cetin.⁴³ On this occasion, she specified that her silver, valued at twenty ducats and on that moment kept by the nobleman Nicholas Babonošić, should be given to the Cetin monastery, along with one of the two chalices, while the other chalice was to be donated to the monastery of St. Bernardine in Slunj.⁴⁴ Additionally, she donated one ox and one pig to the Cetin Franciscans for the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy.⁴⁵

³⁹ HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 25-27.

⁴⁰ HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 26.

⁴¹ *...Ad inquisitionem vero venerabilis ac Raligiosorum virorum, fratris Martini Boijnijchich, quardiani monasterij ex loci Czetinensis, ordinis minorum regularis observancie ac locuis conventus eiusdem...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 25.

⁴² *...Georius Grugurich de generatione karijnen ... in ecclesia seu monasteris sancte Marie ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia prope Cetin habito ... unam capellam sub titulo et nomine sancti Nicolai episcopi confessoris a fundamentis ... ut perpetuis futuris temporibus in eadem capella deo laudes debite perpoluantur. Ut autem temporum si processu dicta capella in suo edificio conservatur et divinis cultus inoremelum suscipiat villam prekovrsev vocatam cum uniuersis eiusdem pertinencsijs...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 39-40.

⁴³ HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 43-46.

⁴⁴ *...Item argentum apud nobilem Nicolaum Babonosich repositum valoris viginti ducatorum, ut ex illo duo calices prodirentur, unus pro monasterio s. Bernardini in Zlun, et alius pro monasterio s. Marie in Cetin...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 44.

⁴⁵ *...Item fratribus in Cetin pro misis celebrandi lego unum bouum et unum porcum...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 45.

On the other hand, due to the increasing Ottoman threat and the challenges faced by the previously unified Observant Bosnian Vicariate, it was divided in 1514 into two separate custodies – Bosnia Croatia and Bosnia Argentina. This division was necessary because some of the monasteries were located in territories under Ottoman rule, while others were in areas under Christian rule, either of the Hungarian-Croatian king or Venice. The monasteries in the territories under Ottoman rule were assigned to the Bosnia Argentina Vicariate, while those in areas under Christian control were assigned to the Bosnia Croatia Vicariate. At that time, the Bosnia Croatia Vicariate was divided into four custodies – Krbava, Trsat, Cetin, and Greben.⁴⁶

According to Glavinić's account, the monasteries included in the Cetin Custody were Cetin, Zrin, Otok on Una River, Hrastovica, Bihać, Krupa on Una River, Slunj, Stjeničnjak, Obrovac on Una River, Bila Stina, Sisak, Bilaj, Blagaj on Sana River, and Kamengrad.⁴⁷ Furthermore, already in the following year, a friar named Mihovil is mentioned as the custodian of the Cetin Custody.⁴⁸ In a document dated April 13th, 1515, Peter Berislavić, the Bishop of Veszprém and one of the key figures in organizing the defense of Croatian historical territories against the Ottomans during the early 16th century,⁴⁹ appointed Friar Mihovil as the administrator of the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Skradin.⁵⁰ Moreover, the following year, in a document dated June 12th, Peter Berislavić himself is mentioned as the custodian of the Cetin Custody,⁵¹ which undoubtedly indicates the importance and reputation not only of the Cetin Custody but also of the Cetin Franciscan monastery.

⁴⁶ Franjo Emanuel Hoško, *Franjevci u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kroz stoljeća* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2000), 24-25.

⁴⁷ *...Custodia Cettinense nek Regno di Croatia Superiore hebbe Monasterij vnzeci, cio è*

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1 Cettina | 7 Hrupa |
| 2 Zrino | 8 Stinischnach |
| 3 Ottoch | 9 Obrouaz |
| 4 Hrastouiza | 10 Bellastin |
| 5 Bihach | 11 Sisach |

6 Slugn..., Glaunich, *Origine della Provincia*, 21.

⁴⁸ *...venerabilem fr. Michaele custodem custodie Cetine...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 61.

⁴⁹ About Ban Petar Berislavić see a recent study: Marija Karbić, "Biskup i ban Petar Berislavić i njegova uloga u protuosmanlijskoj obrani", in: *Antemurale Christianitatis: Crkva i društvo na području središnje Hrvatske krajem 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća*, ed. Tomislav Matić and Stipica Grgić (Sisak: Sisačka biskupija; Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište: 2021), 107-126, as well as the listed sources and literature.

⁵⁰ HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 61-62.

⁵¹ *...venerabilem patrem fratrem Petrum berisaglich cusstorem custodie Cetine...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 73.

Another document from 1531 attests to the exceptional significance and evidently the popularity of the Cetin Franciscan monastery.⁵² This document is a decree by Friar Andrew, the Minister General of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order, composed in Rome on June 20th of that year and addressed to the Provincial of the Province of Bosnia Croatia or the Custodian of the Cetin Custody.⁵³ In this decree, he granted special rights and privileges to the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin. He stipulated that double liturgical celebrations could take place in the Cetin monastery on the feast day of St. George, and that any pious man with a clear conscience could go to war against the Ottomans.⁵⁴ He also declared that full indulgence would be granted to those who were killed or severely injured in wars against the Ottomans.⁵⁵ The decision of the Minister General to grant these special privileges to the Cetin Franciscan monastery should be viewed in the context of the monastery's evident popularity as a sanctuary located near the border of the territory that was under Ottoman rule at that time, which undoubtedly facilitated the potential exercise of the granted privileges.

Moreover, the first chapter of the newly formed Franciscan Observant vicariate was held precisely in the monastery in Cetin, and Glavinić added that it was the most important monastery of the vicariate. On that occasion, Friar Peter from Jajce was elected as the provincial minister.⁵⁶ In any case, the Franciscan Observant vicariate of Bosnia Croatia was elevated to the rank of province after the formal recognition of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order in 1517.⁵⁷

The importance of the Cetin monastery in the following decades, up until 1544, is attested by the fact that on several occasions, the provincial chapter was held precisely in the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin. Glavinić recorded that in addition to the aforementioned first chapter in 1514, the third chapter was also held in the Cetin monastery in 1520, during which Friar George Rodešić was elected as the provincial minister.⁵⁸ Moreover, the sixth chapter took place in the Cetin monastery in 1529, with Friar Anthony Lipčinović

⁵² HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 128-129.

⁵³ *...minister Coruatia vel custos custodum Cetinij fratrum minorum regularis obserdantium...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 128.

⁵⁴ *...ac ecclesiam s. Mariae Cetinij ordinis et dioecesis praedictorum ... festumque s. Georgii in illis partibus sub ritu festi dupplicis celebrari et presbyteri saeculare, et quorumvis aliorum ordinum regularum, contra Turcas secuta conscientia pugnare quotiens opportunum fuerit libere et licite valeat...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 128-129.

⁵⁵ *...et quicumque utriusque sexus christifideles in pugna interfecti aut laetaliter vulnerate fuerint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam ac remissionem consequantur...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 129.

⁵⁶ Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije", 108.

⁵⁷ Hoško, *Franjevci u kontinentalnoj*, 23.

⁵⁸ Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije", 108.

being elected as the provincial minister. The ninth chapter (1538) saw the re-election of Friar Anthony as the provincial minister, while the tenth chapter (1541) saw Friar George from Senj being elected, and the eleventh chapter (1544) witnessed the election of Friar Stephan from Hrastovica as the provincial minister.⁵⁹

Therefore, the aforementioned historical data clearly testify that during the first five decades of the 16th century, the monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin held a prominent position in the Franciscan vicariate and later in the province of Bosnia Croatia. Furthermore, it seems that its church had been a place of special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary since the mid-15th century. It can be assumed, therefore, that it was a relatively well-equipped and large monastery, as evidenced by the fact that the nobility gathered at the assembly in Cetin at the beginning of 1527, during the selection of Archduke Ferdinand I of Habsburg as the Croatian king, met in its premises. Of course, this assumption should be further supported by archaeological research at potential locations of the monastery in present-day Podcetin and its immediate surroundings.

The reputation of the Franciscan monastery in Cetin during the second, third, and fourth decades of the 16th century was most likely enhanced by the support of two prominent church prelates from the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, both members of the Cetin branch of the Frankapan family. The first was Gregory Frankapan of Cetin, who served as Bishop of Veszprém from 1500 and Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács from 1513 until his death in 1523. He was a strong supporter of the Franciscan Order of the Observant Rule, as evidenced by his will, in which he bequeathed 1,000 gold ducats for the canonization of John of Capistrano.⁶⁰ The second was his nephew, Francis John Frankapan of Cetin, who was likely appointed as Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács in 1535 and held this position until his death in 1543. According to his biography, he was originally a member of the Franciscan order, and he received his early education precisely in a Franciscan monastery in Cetin.⁶¹ After his ordination, he transferred part of the Cetin estate to his cousins, brothers Mathew II and George II Frankapan of Slunj, with the king's permission in 1520.⁶²

The circumstances of the final departure of the Franciscans from their monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin are not entirely clear due to a lack of historical sources. The Franciscans were certainly still present

⁵⁹ Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije", 108.

⁶⁰ For a short biography, see: Petar Strčić, „FRANKAPAN, Grgur I. Cetinski”, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* vol. 4, ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998), 409, as well as the sources and literature listed there.

⁶¹ For a short biography, see: Petar Strčić, „FRANKAPAN, Franjo (Ivan X; Franciscus de Frangipanibus)”, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* vol. 4, ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998), 406, as well as the sources and literature listed there.

⁶² Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 2, 339-340.

in Cetin in the mid-15th century, as the aforementioned eleventh chapter of the Observant Province of Bosnia Croatia was held in their monastery in 1544.⁶³ This was a time when the defense of Cetin was still being led by its lords, the Counts Frankapan of Slunj. For example, Count George III Frankapan of Slunj sent a message to Baron Anthony Thurn from Cetin castle, seeking military assistance, particularly archers for the defense of Cetin.⁶⁴ He also mentioned that the castle of Cetin was a place for gathering information about the movements of Ottoman forces. From these brief reports, the strategic importance of Cetin in defense against the Ottomans is evident, as well as the fact that its lords had increasingly limited financial and military capabilities for its further defense. Furthermore, the strategic importance of Cetin in defense against the Ottomans is particularly visible in the well-known report on the state of defense and fortresses in the Croatian Frontier prepared by Captain John Lenković in 1563.⁶⁵ In his report, he listed and briefly described the state of defensive fortresses from the sea to the Sava River, naming the fortresses, describing their fortification types, stating their owners, the number of garrisons, and his recommendations for each fortress, whether to demolish and abandon it or to restore and continue defending it.⁶⁶ Regarding Cetin, Lenković mentioned that it was a castle and market town owned by Count Francis I Frankapan of Slunj and that there were ten royal soldiers in the castle. He immediately proposed that their number be increased to 40.⁶⁷ Therefore, based on Lenković's words, it can be inferred that by 1563, the Counts Frankapan of Slunj had entrusted the defense of Cetin to the royal army, specifically the frontier commanders.

The security situation further deteriorated with the fall of Kostajnica, a key fortress for the defense of the lower course of the Una River, as well as the nearby Novi in late July 1556.⁶⁸ The defense of the middle and lower course of the Una

⁶³ Glavinić, "Postanak Provincije", 108.

⁶⁴ Laszowski, *Monumenta Habsburgica*, vol. 3, 155-156

⁶⁵ On Captain John Lenković, see: Ivan Steklasa, "Ivan Lenković", *Letopis matice slovenske* (Ljubljana: Matica Slovenska: 1893), 58-110.

⁶⁶ Lopašić, *Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, vol. 3, 426-432.

⁶⁷ ...*Schloss vnd markht Zettin, auch den grafen von Slun zuegehörig, wirdt nicht mer dan das schloss mit 10 torschützen von ih. M. versehen. (Zu verstärken mit 40 kn. von nöthen)*..., Lopašić, *Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, vol. 3, 430.

⁶⁸ The defense of the lower course of the Una River after the fall of Dubica in 1538 mainly fell on the shoulders of the powerless Counts of Zrin, as well as the few royal forces in the area (for information about the fall of Dubica, see: Hrvoje Kekez, Krešimir Regan, *Srednjovjekovna Dubica. Orisi grada na obalama rijeke Une* (Zagreb; Sisak: Naklada Breza, Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište i Sisačka biskupija, 2022), 96-109. The extremely weak and disorganized defense could only withstand until the next serious Ottoman attack. Indeed, Kostajnica fell into Ottoman hands on July 27th, 1558, due to both the poorly prepared defense and the betrayal of Pankracije Lusthaler, the commander of the royal garrison in Kostajnica. With the fall of Kostajnica, the small military garrison also abandoned the nearby Novi. These events were recorded by Vramec in his chronicle: Vjekoslav Klaić, *priř. Antonii*

River began to crumble. Indeed, a few years later, in 1561, news of a major Ottoman raid on the territories of Slunj and Cetin was recorded. On June 4th of that year, around 1,500 Ottoman cavalry and infantry devastated Slunj and Cetin, taking away over a hundred people and a multitude of livestock.⁶⁹

The process of collapse of defense against the Ottomans was further accelerated after the fall of Krupa on Una River, the most important fortress on the middle course of the Una River, in 1565. Shortly after, the Ottomans captured Otoka in 1565 and the nearby fortresses of Stijena the following year. With the fall of the strongholds Ostrošac and Cazin in 1576, and the fall of Zrin and Gvozdansko in 1578, the anti-Ottoman defensive line on the Una River practically disintegrated. This fact prompted the decision of the Inner-Austrian Estates, held in Bruck an der Mur in 1578, to accept the construction of the last defensive line on the Kupa River. This involved building a series of smaller fortresses and guardhouses along the Kupa River between the existing strongholds in Sisak, Letovanić, and Pokupsko. Moreover, it was agreed upon to construct a new fortress in Karlovac.⁷⁰

With the fall of Krupa on Una in 1565, the border with the Ottoman Empire moved closer to Bihać, making the supply to this important Christian stronghold on Una extremely difficult.⁷¹ The entire area in the hinterland of Bihać found itself in the second zone of Ottoman threat, insecure and significantly endangered by Ottoman incursions. It is therefore possible to assume that during this time, until the mid-16th century, the Franciscans finally abandoned the monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin due to the general insecurity and the absence of patronage from the Counts Frankapan. By the mid-16th century, they were no longer realistically able to exercise patronage over the Diocese of Krbava or the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Croatia, as the wars with the Ottomans had noticeably diminished their social and material power.⁷² The latest possible timeframe (*terminus post quem non*) for the departure of the Franciscans from Cetin is suggested to be 1575, as mentioned by Adam Baltazar Krčelić in his “History of the Zagreb Cathedral”, stating that the Ottomans devastated

Vramecz: *Kronika*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, vol. 31, Scriptores, vol. 5 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1908, 60). Compare and see more: Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde*, 127; Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 126.

⁶⁹ ...4 Junij bis mille quingenti pedites et equites Turcae, in loca slun et Retin hostiliter eurrentes aliquot ibi vicos ricenderunt, atque ultra centum animas cum magna vi pecurum abdunerunt..., HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. II, 261.

⁷⁰ See in more details: Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde*, 248-269.

⁷¹ For more information on the communication valley of the Korana River and its importance for supplying Bihać during the second half of the 16th century, please refer to: Hrvoje Kekez, “Grad, pograničje i mali rat: Dinamika mijena uloge i vojno-strateškog značaja Slunja u obrambenom protuosmanskom ratu u drugoj polovini 16. stoljeća”, in: *Gradovi u ratovima: Kroz povijest do suvremenosti*, ed. Dražen Živić and Sandra Cvikić (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar: 2019), 163-178.

⁷² Hoško, *Franjevci u kontinentalnoj*, 86.

the castle of Cetin at the beginning of that year.⁷³ It is highly likely that what remained of the town, the market town of Cetin, was destroyed at that time, and it can be expected that the Franciscan monastery suffered the same fate if it had not been abandoned earlier.

The location of the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary within medieval Cetin settlement

Medieval sites in Podcetin

In the area of the medieval Cetin settlement, that is in the present-day location of the village of Podcetin, there are several archaeologically excavated sites as well as several archaeologically potential locations. In order to determine the possible location of the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, it is necessary first to list all the significant structures that were situated in that area and are recorded in written historical sources from the Middle Ages.

First and foremost is the Cetin castle itself, which is mentioned for the first time as a castle (*castrum*) in a document dated November 25, 1387.⁷⁴ In this document, Sigismund of Luxembourg, the King of Hungary-Croatia, bestowed his castle Cetin in the County of Zagreb to John V, the Count of Krk, in recognition of his merits in liberating Queen Mary, his wife. After this initial mention, the Cetin castle is regularly referred to throughout the Middle Ages as well as during the 16th century when was mentioned as an important stronghold on the border with the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁵

Another important element of the medieval settlement of Cetin, intricately linked to the nearby castle, is its suburb (marketplace), i.e. the residential area most likely inhabited by craftsmen and merchants. Indeed, the preserved written sources clearly testify to the existence of a suburb, or marketplace, below the Cetin castle during the High Middle Ages. Although the formal document granting Cetin, castle and estate, as well as the Klokočki district to Count John V of Krk states that the king decreed Count John would exercise full ownership rights,⁷⁶ including the collection of revenues from the local marketplaces and trade,⁷⁷ it

⁷³ Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve Zagrebačke* (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1994), 282.

⁷⁴ *...quoddam castrum nostrum Cheten nuncupatum cum districtu seu territorio Klokoch vocato, in comitatu zagradiensi situm...*, Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 99.

⁷⁵ Kruhek, "Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer", 78-84

⁷⁶ Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 95-100.

⁷⁷ *...habitu memorato viro magnifico domino Johanni Wegle ac Modrusse comiti, eiusque heredibus et posteritatum cunctis sobolibus pro praxatis ... simulcum ipsorum castrum et districtus iuribus, iurisdictionis, tenentis, proprietatibus, oppidis, villis, ecclesiarum patronatibus, fori sed tributis terris cultis*

should be noted that this text enumerates all possible rights related to the castle in a formulaic manner, rather than necessarily reflecting the actual existence of marketplace at that time. Yet, as early as 1405 the place (*locum*) of Cetin is mentioned.⁷⁸ Even more, in a document from 1439, when listing the strongholds of the Counts Frankopani – Bužan, Ribnik, and Cetin – it is mentioned that below them are towns (*civitates*) and marketplaces (*oppida*).⁷⁹ Furthermore, at the beginning of the same year, in a lease agreement for Slunj between Counts John VI Frankapan and Peter of Zrin, it is stated that the contract was signed in the “marketplace below the castle of Cetin”.⁸⁰ Finally, as already mentioned, the Cetin marketplace is directly mentioned in a document regarding the assembly of the Croatian noblemen and church prelates held at the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin.⁸¹

During the Middle Ages, several churches are mentioned in written historical sources in the area of the Cetin settlement. In a list of parishes of the Zagreb Diocese compiled in 1334 by Archdeacon John of Gorica, two churches are mentioned – the Church of All Saints of Cetin and the Church of St. Emerik below Cetin.⁸² In the list of parish priests of the Zagreb Diocese from 1501, the Church of St. Emerik is mentioned again, stating that it is located *in Werkowych* and its priest at the time was certain Andrew, and the church also had another priest named Peter.⁸³ However, the Church of All Saints is not mentioned on that occasion. Instead, the record mentions the parish church of St. Nicholas in Cetin, where a priest named Nicholas served as the parish priest, accompanied by three chaplain priests named Thomas, Francis, and John. The church also had two grace priests named Stephan and Vid.⁸⁴

et incultis, pratis, agris, pascuis, vineis, silvis, nemoribus, aquis, molendinis, stagnis, piscinis, vadis ampniumque cunctis decuribus et redditibus..., Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 99.

⁷⁸ The document separately mentions the castle of Cetin, and then the place of Cetin, which clearly indicates the distinction between the fortress and the settlement (*...castrum Cettini ... loco dicti Cettini...*), Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 138.

⁷⁹ *...doubus castris Bwsan et Rybnyk vocatis ... solo castro Cethyn vocato ... in eisdem civitatibus, castris, oppidis, villis...*, Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 322-323.

⁸⁰ *...in oppido sub castro Cetin vocato...*, Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 318.

⁸¹ *...in oppido Cetinensi...*, Šišić, *Acta comitialia*, vol. 1, 52.

⁸² *...Item omnium sanctorum de Cetin ... Item sancti Emerici de sub Cetin...*, Franjo Rački, “Popis župa zagrebačke biskupije 1334. i 1501. godine”, *Starine JAZU* 4 (1872): 216.

⁸³ *...Andreas plebanus ecclesie sancti Emerici in Werkowych. Petrus socius eiusdem...*, Stjepan Razum, “Popis svećenika Zagrebačke biskupije iz 1501. godine”, *Tkalčić: godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 7 (2003): 315.

⁸⁴ *... Nicolaus plebanus ecclesie sancti Nicolai in Czethyn, Thomas, Franciscus et Johannes capellani eiusdem. Stephanus gracianus ibidem. Ebriacus est. Vitus gracianus ibidem. Concubinarius est...*, Razum, “Popis svećenika”, 315.

As previously mentioned, the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin was first mentioned in 1469⁸⁵ and was likely built next to the earlier pilgrimage church of the same name, mentioned in 1446, and according to the previously mentioned and cited sources, there is a possibility that within the Franciscan monastery were chapels of St. Catherine and St. Nicholas the Confessor.⁸⁶

So far, archaeological research has been conducted at several locations within the present-day area of Podcetin, while potentially archaeologically interesting sites can be identified on several military maps dating from the second half and late 18th century as well as field observations. First and foremost is the location of the visible remains of the medieval castle of Cetin (cadastral parcel 1477, 323 meters above sea level, hereinafter referred to as **P.1**), where archaeological excavations began in 2000, followed by conservation work. The excavations have revealed that the core, or the oldest layers of the castle of Cetin, date back to the 14th century,⁸⁷ while stone fragments with Gothic characteristics found there suggest a construction date between the latter half of the 13th century and the early 14th century.⁸⁸

Archaeological excavations have also been conducted on a small, flat plateau slightly lower than the elevation to the east of Mađarevo Hill (*Mađarevo brdo*, cadastral parcels 540 and surrounding parcels, hereinafter referred to as **P.2**). This is a site that is marked as “Big Church Site” (*Gross Czerkvina*) on the Habsburg map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* from 1790 (Fig. 1).⁸⁹ The archaeological excavations on this location have revealed the foundations of a small, fairly regular rectangular-shaped fortification with a defensive tower and a small palace. Typologically, it has been identified as an axial fortification from the 13th century. Additionally, several hewn and profiled stone fragments have been found at the site, which have been determined to belong to the early Gothic period of the second half of the 13th century. It is presumed that they originate from some kind of religious structure, possibly a church.⁹⁰

Archaeological excavations have also been conducted at the top of Mađarevo Hill or Baračevo Hill (*Baračevo brdo*), located north of the castle of Cetin, specifically on a small flat plateau in that area (cadastral parcels 590 and surrounding parcels, 285 meters above sea level, hereinafter referred to as **P.3**). It should be noted that on the Habsburg military map *Militarshe Carte Der Gegenc von Czetin* from 1790

⁸⁵ Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae potissum ecclesiastica*, 279.

⁸⁶ See the previously mentioned in this study.

⁸⁷ Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 29

⁸⁸ Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 225.

⁸⁹ It remains unclear why this site is marked as „Small Church Site“ (*Mala Crkvina*) on the schematic representation of the historical sites of Cetin (Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 210; Kruhek, “Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer”, 94).

⁹⁰ See in more details: Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 57-59.

(Fig. 2), the present-day Mađarevo Hill is marked as the “Church Site” (*Czerkvi-na*), just like on the map *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czetin...* (Fig. 3), where it is also labeled as such. This certainly suggested the possibility that an earlier church was located at that site, likely built before Ottoman rule. Indeed, archaeological excavations on that location resulted in the discovery of the foundations of a church, found at depths ranging from 0.6 to 100 cm, along with some accompanying archaeological material. Of particular interest is a fragment of a painted wall with preserved Glagolitic letters, leading to the conclusion that the quadrangular layout exhibits general characteristics of Gothic architecture.⁹¹

Southeast of the castle of Cetin, in its immediate vicinity, above a water source (cadastral parcel 729, hereinafter referred to as **P.4**), archaeological field surveys have indicated the remains of a medieval stone wall incorporated into a modern wooden stable. On this wall, a piece of architectural sculpture is visible, which could be a fragment of a profiled arch, suggesting rich ornamentation typical of Gothic church architecture.⁹² This site is marked on several Habsburg military maps from the late 18th century. For example, on the map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* from 1790 (Fig. 1), it is labeled as an “Ottoman graveyard” (*Tarszko groblie*), while on the map *Beileifiger Ideal Plan der Festung und Genend Czettin* from the late 18th century (Fig. 4), it is marked as a graveyard, specifically referred to as a “church graveyard” (*Czerkveno Groblie*). The graveyard is also indicated at this location on the aforementioned map *Militärische Carte Der Gegend von Czetin* from 1790 (Fig. 2). Therefore, the results of previous archaeological surveys, as well as the analysis of late 18th-century maps, clearly indicate that at this site during the High Middle Ages, there was a significant religious structure, likely a notable church possibly with a graveyard around it.

A detailed analysis of the mentioned Habsburg military maps, as well as the latest field surveys, have revealed several other potentially archaeologically interesting locations within the area of present-day Podcetin. Firstly, there is a small plateau on the eastern slope, located just at the entrance to Podcetin, along the road leading from Cetingrad to Podcetin (cadastral parcel 793, hereinafter referred to as **P.5**). This road is depicted on several of the aforementioned Habsburg military maps. Below this location flows a stream with a significant name – Cloister Stream (*Kloštarski potok*), which is also marked on the mentioned map *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czetin...* (Fig. 3) as “Cloister Stream” (*Kloštarski bach*), and the location itself is labeled with the toponym “Cloister” (*Klostar*). Furthermore, on the map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* from 1790 (Fig.

⁹¹ Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 225-226; Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 30-31, 59. This site is marked as “Great Church Site” (*Velika Crkvina*) on the schematic representation of the historical sites of Cetin, which accompanied these two studies on the history of Cetin (Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 210; Kruhek, “Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer”, 94.

⁹² Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 228; Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 59 and 61.

1), this location is marked as “Cloister” (*Klostarska*), while on the map *Militärische Carte Der Gegend von Czetin* (Fig. 2), the elevation south of this location is labeled as “Cloister Hill” (*Kloštarsko brdo*). Thus, these indications suggest that a religious structure, most likely a monastery, was present at this site during the Middle Ages.

Another location that could potentially be archaeologically interesting, detected on the Habsburg military maps, is the site labeled as “Small Church Site” (*Klein Cerkwina*) on the map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* from 1790 (Fig. 1). This site is located on an elevation, specifically Mujić Hill (*Mujić brdo*), above the present-day village of Peraki (263 meters above sea level, hereinafter referred to as **P.6**). The toponym itself suggests that it is possible that this location corresponds to a pre-Ottoman, that is, medieval church.

The spatial layout of the medieval Cetin settlement

After examining the subsequently detected and found medieval written sources and early modern cartographic sources, as well as conducting preliminary field reconnaissance, it is possible to further refine and to some extent correct Kruhek’s opinions. It can be agreed that the discovered remains of the 13th-century fortifications (P.2) are very likely the remains of the original Cetin castle, as their location corresponds to fortifications built during that period. In his 1997 study on Cetin, Kruhek unmistakably conveyed his belief that the original Cetin fortress was erected no later than the mid-13th century, prior to the Mongol invasion.⁹³ He reiterated this assertion in subsequent works from 2001 and 2002.⁹⁴ Such fortifications were typically constructed on prominent elevations, yet still accessible, above water sources. Additionally, these positions were carefully chosen to oversee a wider area and transportation routes.⁹⁵

Position P.2 meets these criteria, as it is situated above the source of the King’s stream (*potok Kraljevac*), and it is highly probable that a road leading to the area of present-day Slunj passed through there, as indicated on several Habsburg military maps from the late 18th century. This suggests that a similar route was utilized during the Ottoman rule. It is worth noting that the name of the stream emerging at the base of the P.2 elevation may preserve the memory of the site’s

⁹³ Milan Kruhek, *Cetin. Grad izbornog sabora Kraljevine Hrvatske 1527* (Karlovac: Karlovačka županija, 1997), 9.

⁹⁴ Kruhek, Horvat, “Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti”, 225-226; Kruhek, “Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer”, 76-82.

⁹⁵ These criteria correspond, for example, to the position of the medieval castle of Vrbaš, which served as the seat of the corresponding county (Nikola Bilogrivić, *Sredovječni grad Vrbaška i kraj pod njim* (Sarajevo: Hrvatsko kulturno društvo “Napredak”, 1935), 3-5), as well as the position of the castle of Zrin, whose initial construction should be dated no later than the end of the 12th century (Hrvoje Kekez, Krešimir Regan, *Zrin. Srednjovjekovno sjelo Knezova Babonića i Zrinskih. Tvrđi grad, urbana aglomeracija i posjed* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2020), 39-44).

earlier, possibly medieval, significance, suggesting that a seat of royal power – one of the king's fort – was once located there.⁹⁶ Moreover, from position P.2, it was easy to monitor both the northwestern area, specifically the region of present-day Peraki, and the southeastern area, namely the region of present-day Podcetin.

In his analysis of the topographic data concerning the locations of the churches listed in 1334 and 1501, Kruhek assumed that the toponym "Cetin" in the 1334 census referred to location P.2, the original site of the Cetin fort. According to this premise, the new fort had not yet been constructed at the new location (P.1) by the time of that census. However, this assumption is incorrect. The processes discussed further in this paper, along with archaeological findings at location P.1, indicate that a new castle had already been built there by the 1334 census.

When addressing the question of whether the new Cetin castle at location P.1 was built before the 1334 census – i.e., whether the toponym "Cetin" in the census refers to the new location of Cetin castle (P.1) or the original Cetin fort at location P.2 – it is important to consider the process that accompanied the global colonization, as well as the analyzed material remains that provide evidence for the construction period of the new castle (P.1). Namely, it is important to consider the process that accompanied the global colonization process, which began in the mid-10th century and ended in the 14th century, reaching its peak in the 12th century. This process affected the entire Europe, gradually expanding from west to east, reaching vast areas of East Central Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic, including Croatian historical territories.⁹⁷ It led to economic growth due to increased agricultural production enabled by new farming techniques introduced by immigrants from the west. As a result, surpluses were created, allowing even peasants to participate in trade.⁹⁸ The preserved written records from the late 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries attest to the process of abandoning original fortifications in a certain area and constructing new fortresses in carefully chosen locations nearby. While the original locations were chosen in earlier periods to protect a broader area, the main criterion for selecting secondary locations was to protect and control transportation routes and collect various revenues and tributes related to the obligation of road maintenance. Secondary locations were

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that the part of the Krbava field where the famous 1493 battle between Christian forces, led by Ban Emeric Derencsényi, a representative of royal authority, and the Ottomans took place, is also called "Kraljevac" (Hrvoje Kekez, "Bernardin Frankapan i Krbavska bitka: je li spasio sebe i malobrojne ili je pobjegao iz boja?", *Modruški zbornik* 3 (2009): 81. This suggests a possible preservation of the site's historical importance since the Middle Ages, despite significant population changes due to the Ottoman threat in later times.

⁹⁷ Derek Keene, "Towns and the growth of trade", in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4/1, eds. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47-85; Jean W Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, A History of East Central Europe, 1000-1500*, vol. 3 (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1994), 110-120.

⁹⁸ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), 286-306.

generally situated near the primary ones, often no more than 500 meters away. Sometimes this process was accompanied by a change in the original name of the fortress, although that was not always the case.⁹⁹

For example, the Counts of Krbava until the mid-14th century built a new fortress, Udbina castle, near the original older fortress of Krbava, with the aim of better controlling the routes in and out of the karstic Krbava field.¹⁰⁰ Also, around the same time, the Counts of Zrin abandoned the original fortress of Kostajnica, first mentioned in 1240,¹⁰¹ which was likely located on the top of Djed Hill, and constructed a new fortress on an island in the middle of the Una River, known as *Wasserburg* Kostajnica, which is still standing.¹⁰² Lastly, the fortress of Krupa on the Una River, near the mouth of the Krušnica stream, provides a good example of this process. It is first mentioned in preserved written sources in 1343,¹⁰³ and was likely built by its rulers at that time, the Counts Babonić, during the first few decades of the 14th century after abandoning the original fortress in the nearby Minor Pset, which was probably located on the Pušačko Hill above the mentioned stream.¹⁰⁴

Therefore, it is possible to assume that by the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, or during the first few decades of the 14th century, a similar process occurred in Cetin. The document from 1387, according to which Sigismund of Luxembourg, the King of Hungary and Croatia, bestowed his Cetin castle in the County of Zagreb to John V, the Count of Krk, and in which the Cetin castle is mentioned for the first time, does not indicate when the Cetin castle (P.1) was originally constructed;¹⁰⁵ it only confirms that, at that time, it was a significant former royal castle that was granted to Count John V of Krk. However, it is im-

⁹⁹ Hrvoje Kekez, "Lech's Supposed Origins in Croatia: Regarding the Identification of the Rivers Huy and Krupa in the Works of Jan Długosz and Maciej of Miechów", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. CXXVI (2019), no. 3: 51-52.

¹⁰⁰ Milan Kruhek, "Topografija krbavske spomeničke baštine", in: *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*, ed. Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1997), 100-107.

¹⁰¹ Tadija Smičklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 5 (Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907), 121-122.

¹⁰² Drago Miletić, "Istraživanja, konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi i idejni projekti prezentacije s prijedlozima nove namjene staroga grada u Hrvatskoj Kostajnici", in: *Hrvatska Kostajnica: 1240. – 2000*, ed. Marija Krupić (Hrvatska Kostajnica: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Grad Hrvatska Kostajnica: 2002), 310.

¹⁰³ Milko Kos, "Odnosaji među goričkim grofovima i hrvatskim plemstvom u srednjem vijeku", *Vjesnik Zemaljskog arhiva* 19 (1917): 298.

¹⁰⁴ Kekez, "Lech's Supposed Origins", 52-54.

¹⁰⁵ *...quoddam castrum nostrum Cheten nuncupatum cum districtu seu territorio Klokoč vocato, in comitatu zagrabiensi situm...*, Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 99.

portant to note that meticulously crafted stone fragments with Gothic characteristics have been unearthed at the site of the present Cetin castle (P.1). These fragments suggest a construction date between the latter half of the 13th century and the early 14th century.¹⁰⁶ So, it is evident that by 1334, the Cetin castle had been relocated from position P.2 to position P.1, meaning it had been constructed on the new position to some extent by the time the 1334 census was compiled.

Considering this, along with topographic data from early modern maps and the results of field observations, we can attempt to address the question of the location of the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although Lopašić and Kruhek placed the monastery at location P.4,¹⁰⁷ at the foot of the visible remains of the Cetin castle (P.1), this seems unlikely. The location near the foot of the castle is more consistent with the typical placement of parish churches during the High and Late Middle Ages. One must have in mind the church served as a strong nucleus and a formative element in the development of urban and semi-urban settlements in the Middle Ages,¹⁰⁸ so it is not surprising to observe a similar practice in medieval Slavonia, where parish churches of semi-urban and urban settlements were located in the center of the settlement, near the main fortifications/castles. For example, the parish church of St. Nicholas in Krapina was situated in the immediate vicinity of the Krapina castle,¹⁰⁹ and the same can be said for the parish church of St. Michael in Kostajnica,¹¹⁰ as well as the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in medieval Zrin.¹¹¹ A similar position relative to the castle of Cetin within the yonder medieval settlement is held by the mentioned location in the center of present-day Podcetin (P.4), where remains of a medieval wall, likely belonging to a religious structure, are still visible.

The presence of a parish church at location P.4 during the Middle Ages is also suggested by information found in early modern maps. For example, on the 1790 map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* (Fig. 1), an "Ottoman cemetery" (*Tarszko groblie*), meaning the cemetery built before Habsburg's military actions to liberate this area, is marked at that exact location. Similarly, on the map *Beileifiger Ideal Plan der Festung und Gegend Czettin* from the late 18th century (Fig. 4), the same location is marked as a cemetery, specifically noted as

¹⁰⁶ Kruhek, Horvat, "Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti", 225.

¹⁰⁷ Lopašić, *Oko Kupe i Korane*, 102; Kruhek, Horvat, "Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti", 222-228; Kruhek, "Cetin, „Denkmal kroatischer”, 76-82.

¹⁰⁸ Bruno Milić, *Razvoj gradova kroz stoljeća II. Srednji vijek* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 80-81.

¹⁰⁹ Ratko Vučetić, "Prostorni razvoj srednjovjekovne Krapine", *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 24 (2000): 8.

¹¹⁰ Mirela Slukan Altić, "Razvoj i prostorna organizacija srednjovjekovne Kostajnice", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 25 (2007): 19.

¹¹¹ Kekez, Regan, *Zrin. Srednjovjekovno sijelo*, 138-144.

a “church cemetery” (*Czerkveno Groblie*). The cemetery is also marked at that location on the aforementioned map *Militärische Carte Der Gegenc von Czetin* from 1790 (Fig. 2). These maps suggest the existence of a cemetery at that site, indicating the continuity of the sacred space and the overall area. If the graves can be dated to the Middle Ages, which will only be established after archaeological research has been carried out, it is reasonable to assume that the site housed the parish church around which the cemetery was formed, rather than a Franciscan monastery as previously assumed.

However, this raises the question of where the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was located within the medieval Cetin area. Since the existence of this monastery is recorded in only a few medieval written sources, it is not surprising that only two historical sources indirectly mention the location of the monastery. In the renowned Cetin Charter concerning the election of Archduke Ferdinand I of Habsburg as the king of Croatia in 1527, it is stated that the gathered nobility met in the church of the Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary,¹¹² which was noted to be located in the marketplace of Cetin.¹¹³ The Latin term *oppidum* was used to describe the market town or suburb of Cetin.¹¹⁴ Therefore, from this information, it can be concluded that the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was situated within the late medieval Cetin settlement, which was typical for Franciscan communities in the Middle Ages. The Franciscan order had an inherently urban character, and their monasteries were primarily built within urban areas.

¹¹² ...in ecclesia his monasterii sancte Marie visitationis fratrum minorum de obseruantia..., Šišić, *Acta comitialia*, vol. 1, 52.

¹¹³ ...Datum in oppido Cetinensi generali nostro conuentu in supranominato monasterio celebrato..., Šišić, *Acta comitialia*, vol. 1, 52.

¹¹⁴ For a usage on the use of the term *oppidum* to denote a marketplace during the High and Late Middle Ages, for example, see: Josip Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980), 162-178; Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjemu vijeku* (Zagreb; Koprivnica: Nakladnička kuća „Dr. Feletar“, 1994), 14-36; Katalin Szende, “Some Aspects of Urban Landownership in Western Hungary”, in: *Power, Profit and Urban Land. Landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European Towns*, eds. Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Alte Ersland (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 141-166; András Kubinyi, *Városfejlesztés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000); András Kubinyi, “Városhálózat a késő középkóról”, *Történelmi szemle* 46 (2004), no. 1-2: 2-16; Danijel Jelaš, “Tipologija srednjovjekovnih gradskih naselja u donjem međurječju Drave i Save”, *Povijesni zbornik* 4 (2012), no. 5: 5-17; István Petrovics, “The Cities and Towns of Medieval Hungary as Economic and Cultural Centres and Places of Coexistence. The Case of Pécs”, *Colloquia* 18 (2011): 5-12; István Petrovics, “Towns and central places in the Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mureş region in the Middle Ages”, *Banatica* 26 (2016), no. 2: 77-104; Danijel Jelaš, “Rekonstrukcija srednjovjekovne urbane mreže Vukovske županije na temelju analize centralnih funkcija” (PhD diss. , University of Zagreb, 2018), 21-71; István Petrovics, “The Medieval Market Town and its Economy”, in: *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, eds. József Laszlovszky et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 359-368; Katalin Szende, “The birth of oppida: small towns in Hungary in the Angevin period”, *Urban history* 49 (2022), no. 3: 484-501.

The first Franciscan monasteries were constructed in suburbs, such as Venice (1220), Messina (1222), or Urbino (1223).¹¹⁵ This pattern was rarely deviated from, leading the French historian Jacques Le Goff, one of the prominent representatives of the French Annales school of historiography, to rightly conclude that the existence of at least one mendicant order monastery, such as the Franciscans, was one of the main indicators of urbanity during the Middle Ages.¹¹⁶

On the other hand, in the document of Friar Bernardino of Milan, the head of the Observant branch of the Franciscan order, from 1496, it is mentioned that he composed it “in the place of St. Mary of Grace near Cetin”,¹¹⁷ indicating that the church and Franciscan monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary were located in close proximity, on the outskirts of the settlement of Cetin. This was not uncommon as during the Middle Ages, the Franciscans established their monasteries in areas where there was a larger population with a developed economy and richer social life, as only such environments could sustain mendicant orders that were not engaged in economic activities but solely focused on spiritual work.¹¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, the first Franciscan monasteries were built in the suburbs.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, it should be noted that one of the fundamental missions envisioned by St. Francis for his brothers was the evangelization of the lower social classes, and thus his friars were meant to “be on the road” (*in via*), so the Franciscan monasteries, in a way, remained true to this principle by being constructed in the most accessible locations, along the main routes. Therefore, when choosing a location for the construction of a new Franciscan monastery, the fundamental Franciscan principle was that their monasteries had to be built on the road, at a busy place.¹²⁰

In the territory of medieval Slavonia, there are several examples of Franciscan monasteries located on the outskirts of urban or semi-urban settlements along the main thoroughfare. For instance, the medieval Franciscan monastery of St. Francis of Assisi in Kostajnica was situated at the site of the present-day St. Anne Cemetery, directly along the banks of the Una River, on the road that connected Dubica with Kostajnica and further led to Zrin.¹²¹ The same can be said for the Franciscan monastery in medieval Otoka on the Una River, which was also located on the road that led from Zrin through the Una River valley to Otoka

¹¹⁵ Anđelko Badurina, “Uloga franjevačkih samostana u urbanizaciji dubrovačkog područja” (PhD diss, University of Zagreb, 1974), 29.

¹¹⁶ Jacques Le Goff, “Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l’implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête”, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23 (1968), no. 2: 335-352.

¹¹⁷ ...*in loco sancta Marie gratiarum apud Cezinam...*, HR-AHAZU-23-Acta Croatiae, vol. I, 469.

¹¹⁸ Le Goff, “Apostolat mendiant”, 335-352.

¹¹⁹ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih*, 29.

¹²⁰ Badurina, *Uloga franjevačkih*, 15.

¹²¹ Slukan Altić, “Razvoj i prostorna”, 11-13, 19.

and further to Krupa.¹²² Similarly, the late medieval Franciscan monastery of St. Catherine was positioned on the outskirts of the Zrin settlement, most likely in the center of the present-day village of Vujanići, on the road that ran from Zrin through Gorička to the Pedalj fortress, and continued towards the ford of the Una River near present-day Dvor na Uni.¹²³ The location P.5 – the smaller plateau on the eastern slope of the current road leading from Cetingrad to Podcetin, at the entrance of the village Podcetin – is located precisely on the outskirts of the medieval settlement of Cetin, similar to the examples of medieval Franciscan monasteries presented here.

Moreover, the Habsburg military maps – *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* (Fig. 1), *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czezin* (Fig. 3), and *Beileifiger Ideal Plan der Festung und Genend Czettin...* (Fig. 4) – depict a road leading to Kladaša that passed directly by location P.5. Since these maps were created immediately after the Ottoman retreat, the road was likely in use during the Ottoman period and possibly even as far back as the High Middle Ages.¹²⁴ Therefore, the location of P.5 meets the two previously mentioned criteria for the site of a medieval Franciscan monastery – situated on the edge of the settlement and adjacent to a major road.

Furthermore, apart from the fact that it is a location on the edge of the medieval settlement of Cetin and adjacent to a major road, the road that led to medieval Kladaša, more arguments indicate the location of the Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary should be placed on the location P.5. Namely, there are the series of toponyms recorded in that area on several Habsburg military maps, of which the hydronym “Cloister stream” (*Kloštarski potok*) has survived to this day, flowing beneath the slopes of the mentioned the smaller plateau. The *Kloštarski/Cloister stream* is also marked on the mentioned map *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czezin...* (Fig. 3) as *Klostarski bach*, and the location itself is labeled with the toponym “Cloister” (*kloštar*). Furthermore, on the map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* from 1790 (Fig. 1), this location is labeled as “Cloister” (*Klostarska*), while on the map *Militarshe Carte Der Gegenc von Czettin* (Fig. 2), the elevation south of this location is marked as “Cloister Hill” (*Clostarsko Berdo*).

Therefore, based on the closed circle of indications presented here, it is most likely that the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was located on the plateau on the eastern slope, east of the current road leading

¹²² Radoslav Lopašić, *Bihać i Bihaćka krajina. Mjestopisne i poviestne crtice. Sa jednom zemljopisnom kartom i sa četrnaest slika* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1890), 243.

¹²³ Kekez, Regan, *Zrin. Srednjovjekovno*, 125-130.

¹²⁴ It is interesting to note that the modern road from Cetingrad to Podcetin closely corresponds to the roads depicted on the aforementioned Habsburg military maps (Fig. 5), suggesting the continuous use of certain historical routes.

from Cetingrad to Podcetin, at the entrance to the village of Podcetin (P.5). This, of course, should be proven or disproven by archeological excavations of the site.

Concerning the other churches mentioned in medieval sources as being located in the Cetin settlement area (Church of All Saints, Church of St. Emerik and Church of St. Nicholas), a slightly different interpretation can be proposed, one more aligned with Lopašić's views than with Kruhek's. Thus, it is reasonable to agree with Lopašić's view that the Church of St. Emerik was located on Mađarevo Hill (P.3),¹²⁵ where archaeological excavations in the 2000s uncovered the remains of a medieval church featuring Gothic elements. Namely, the mention in the 1334 census that the church of St. Emerik was located "below Cetin" (*sub Cetin*)¹²⁶ could be interpreted as it being situated on top of Mađarevo Hill (P.3) where the remains of a medieval church were found,¹²⁷ as it is located at a slightly lower elevation (285 meters above sea level) compared to the position of the castle of Cetin (P.1, 323 meters above sea level). Furthermore, in the 1501 census, the same church is mentioned as being *in Werkowych*,¹²⁸ the toponym indicating it was on top of a hill, which aligns with the actual terrain as observed and proposed by Lopašić in the late 19th century.¹²⁹ This description from the 1501 census should not be surprising, as it is clear that the main parish church in Cetin at the time was the Church of St. Nicholas, described as being "in Cetin".¹³⁰ In any case, it is interesting to note that the first church in Cetin was dedicated to St. Emerik, a Hungarian king from the Árpád dynasty. From the first recorded mention of the Cetin fortress in 1387, it is clear that it was a royal fortress until then. This suggests that the choice of the heavenly patron for the original, possibly parish, church in Cetin was a symbolic assertion of dominion over the area. It is worth noting that the Zagreb Cathedral was also dedicated to a Hungarian saint from the Árpád dynasty – St. Stephen I, King of Hungary.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Lopašić, *Oko Kupe i Korane*, 102.

¹²⁶ ...*Item sancti Emerici de sub Cetin...*, Rački, "Popis župa", 216.

¹²⁷ Kruhek, Horvat, "Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti", 223-225; Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 30-31, 59.

¹²⁸ ...*Andreas plebanus ecclesie sancti Emerici in Werkowych. Petrus socius eiusdem...*, Razum, "Popis svećenika", 315.

¹²⁹ Lopašić, *Oko Kupe i Korane*, 102. It should be noted that the toponym *Verhau* appears on the map titled *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czetin...* (Fig. 3). This toponym might be connected to the description of the Church of St. Emerik, which a 1501 census reported as being located *in Werkowych*. The map places *Verhau* on a hill east of the present-day village of Sadikovac (marked as *Szadikovo* on the map), which corresponds to the current Begovac hill (*Begovac*, 337 meters above sea level). However, since the term *Verhau* derives from *vrh*, meaning a general term for a hilltop, and considering the considerable distance of this location from the present-day remains of Cetin castle – much farther than any other locations analyzed in this study – as well as the absence of medieval archaeological traces on this elevation, it is unlikely that the 1501 toponym refers to this site.

¹³⁰ ...*ecclesie sancti Nicolai in Czethyn...*, Razum, "Popis svećenika", 315.

¹³¹ Krčelić, *Povijest Stolne crkve*, 8.

The Parish Church of St. Nicholas, mentioned in the 1501 census where at that moment, as previously noted, six priests were serving,¹³² was very likely located at the foot of the Cetin castle at location P.4, where a likely pre-Ottoman church cemetery is marked on the aforementioned Habsburg military maps, and where the remains of the walls of a medieval sacred building are still visible. It is possible that this was originally the Church of All Saints, with the patron saint being changed over time, as suggested by Kruhek.¹³³ Namely, according to King Sigismund's 1387 charter, which granted the Cetin castle and estates to Count John V, the Counts of Krk were also given the right of patronage over the churches in the donated area.¹³⁴ Since this church was dedicated to St. Nicholas, it is possible that John's son, Count Nicholas V, renamed the existing church, dedicating it to his heavenly patron, St. Nicholas.

Alternatively, it is possible that there were two separate sacred buildings situated on two separate locations, one older (constructed before the 1334 census) and one newer (constructed after the 1334 census, but before the 1501 census), as suggested by topographic data from early modern maps and, to a lesser extent, by archaeological excavations. In that case, the Church of St. Nicholas was likely built later, possibly after Cetin was taken over by the Counts of Krk, later Frankapans, and in any case after the 1334 census, and was probably situated near the Cetin castle at location P.4. Meanwhile, the Church of All Saints was older and was likely located elsewhere. As previously mentioned, it is stated in the 1334 census that the Church of the All Saints was located "from" or "around" Cetin (*de Cetin*),¹³⁵ indicating that it was a church situated within the Cetin area, under the protection of the castle of Cetin, more or less distant from it. Considering that a new castle was built in the position of the current castle of Cetin (P.1) by 1334, two possible locations for the Church of the All Saints can be considered. Firstly, it could have been located on a small flat plateau slightly lower than the elevation east of Mađarevo Hill (P.2), where archaeological excavations revealed remains of a smaller fortification built until the mid-13th century, as well as several chiseled and profiled fragments that could be associated with a religious structure.¹³⁶ If these fragments indeed come from a religious building, it is possible that the Church of the All Saints was situated at position P.2, as it would be sufficiently

¹³² Razum, "Popis svećenika", 315.

¹³³ Kruhek, Horvat, "Cetin – spomenik hrvatske povijesti", 222-228; Kruhek, "Cetin, Denkmal kroatischer", 76-82.

¹³⁴ ...*simulcum ipsorum castris et districtus iuribus, iurisdicionis, tenentis, proprietatibus, oppidis, villis, ecclesiarum patronatibus* [highlighted by author], *fori sed tributis terris cultis et incultis, pratis, agris, pascuis, vineis, silvis, nemoribus, aquis, molendinis, stagnis, piscinis, vadis ampnumque cunctis decuribus et redditibus*..., Thallóczy, Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, vol. 1, 99.

¹³⁵ ...*Item omnium sanctorum de Cetin*..., Rački, "Popis župa", 216.

¹³⁶ Kruhek, *Cetin. Studija povijesnih*, 57-59.

distant from the castle of Cetin (P.1) to be described as “from” or “around” Cetin in the 1334 census. On the other hand, the description also matches the position at the top of Mujić Hill (*Mujić brdo*), above the present-day village of Peraki (P.6), indicated as “Small Church Site” (*Klein Czerkvina*) on the *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin* map from 1790 (Fig. 1), which could indicate awareness of a previous religious structure at that location, perhaps the Church of the All Saints mentioned in the 1334 census.

Concluding Remarks

The research and considerations presented here indicate that the Observant Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cetin was most likely founded by Count Stephan III Frankapan sometimes around 1463 or 1464, when he brought the Franciscan friars to Cetin and entrusted them with the management of the church dedicated to the same heavenly patron, which had already been a significant pilgrimage site for some time. Count Stephan III likely did so as part of his efforts to have pilgrimage churches near his important castles, similar to the case of the Church of the Miraculous Blessed Virgin Mary in Oštarije near Modruš, which was elevated to the status of a sanctuary by Pope Pius II in 1459. In the following years, the Franciscan Monastery in Cetin became extremely important and by the beginning of the 16th century, it served as the center of the Observant Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia Croatia, which later became a province after the vicariate was elevated to the rank of a province in 1517. Moreover, the significance of this monastery is evident from the fact that several provincial chapters were held there until 1544.

Furthermore, the considerations presented here, which involve a new analysis of known and unknown medieval and early modern written sources and maps, as well as field reconnaissance, provide a conclusive set of indications that the Franciscan Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which existed within the medieval Cetin settlement, was most likely located on the plateau on the eastern slope, east of the current road leading from Cetingrad to Podcetin, at the entrance to the village of Podcetin (P.5), rather than in the center of present-day Podcetin (P.4) where remnants of a medieval wall, likely from a religious structure, are still visible, as previously assumed in the existing scientific literature. It appears that the location of the Church of St. Nicholas in Cetin, mentioned in the 1501 census of priests of the Zagreb Diocese, stood at this site. However, the presumed location of the Monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the entrance to present-day Podcetin (P.5), just like other locations in the area of late medieval Cetin settlement, can only be confirmed or disproved through archaeological research, which appears necessary.

APPENDIX



Figure 1. Depiction of the Cetin fortress and its surroundings on the map *Plan Der Situation und Attaque der Festung Czettin...* (detail).

Source: Austria (hereafter: AT) – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv (hereafter: OeStA/KA) – Kartensammlung (hereafter: KPS) – Genie- und Planarchiv (hereafter: GPA) – Inland – C Historischer Teil (hereafter: C) – VII: Kroatien, Slawonien, Bosnien, Herzegowina (hereafter: VII) – Czettin/Militärgrenze (Befestigungen – Alpha) (hereafter: Czettin), no. 1 a.



Figure 2. Depiction of the Cetin fortress and its surroundings on the map *Militärische Carte Der Gegend von Czetin* (detail).

Source: AT-OeStA/KA-KPS-GPA-Inland-C-VII-Czettin, K VII 187E.



Figure 3. Depiction of the Cetin fortress and its surroundings on the map *Positions Carte Von der Türkischen Festung Czetin...* (detail)

Source: AT-OeStA-KA-KPS-GPA-Inland-VII-Czettin, b VII.

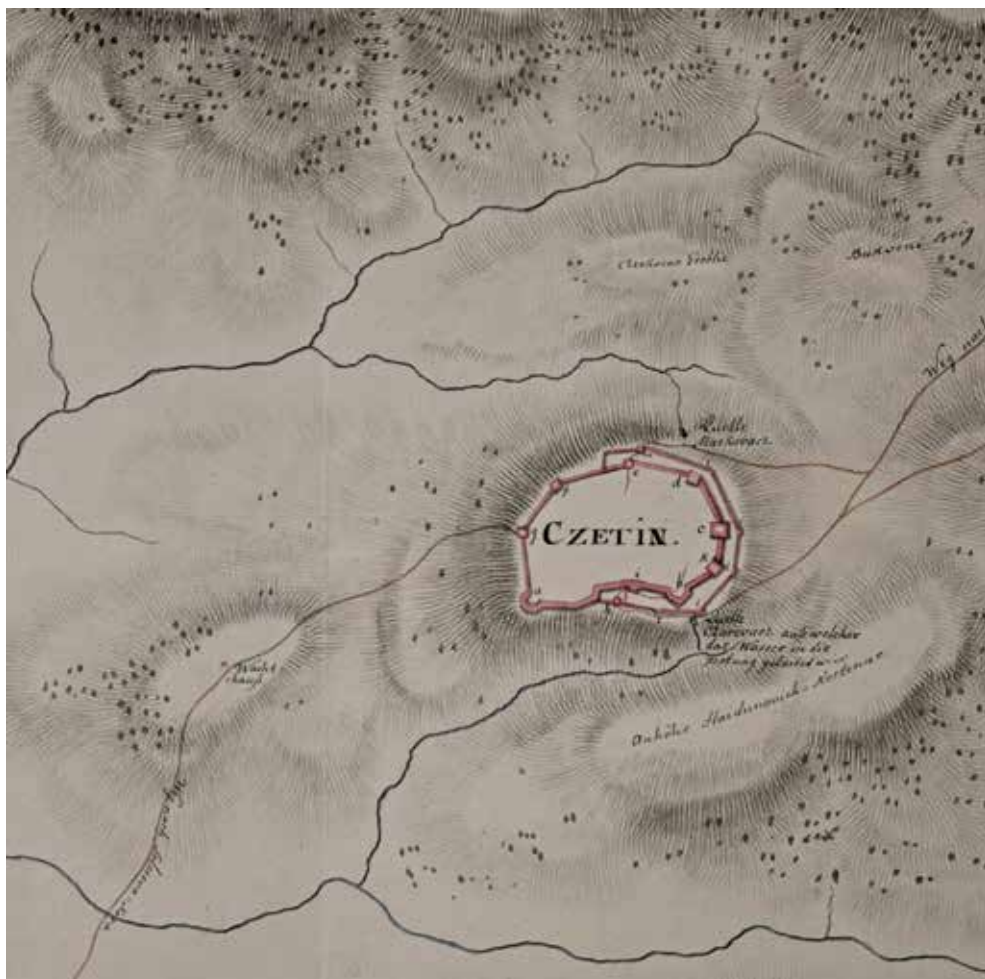


Figure 4. Depiction of the Cetin fortress and its surroundings on the map *Beileifiger Ideal Plan der Festung und Gegend Czettin* (detail)

Source: AT-OeStA-KA-KPS-GPA-Inland-VII-Czettin, b K VII I 72E.

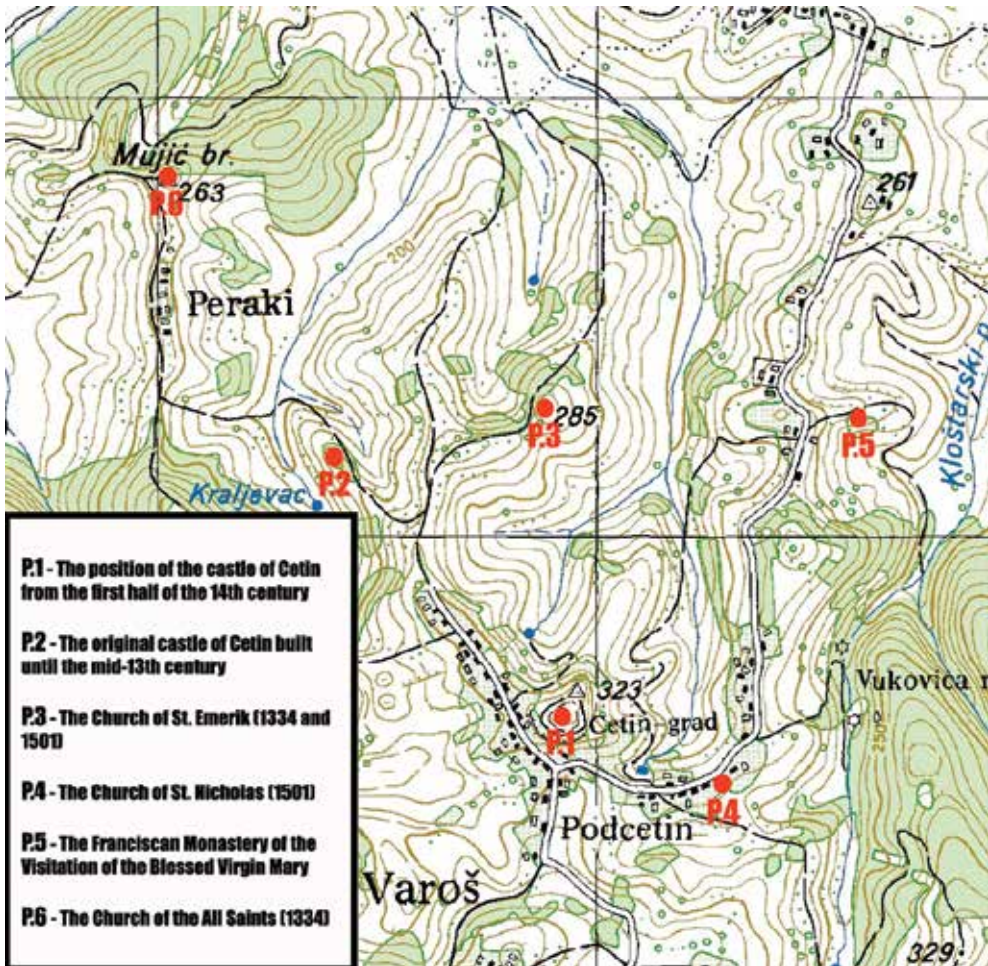


Figure 5. A possible topography of the late medieval Cetin settlement



Figure 6. Aerial view at the present-day Podcetin (P.1 – The remains of the Cetin castle; P.4. – The remains of the Church of St. Nicholas; P.4 – The possible location of the medieval Franciscan monastery of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary) (photo by Miroslav Vuković, modified by author)

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*Hrvoje Kekez**

Franjevački samostan Pohodaženja Blažene Djevice Marije u Cetinu. Povijest, značaj i pokušaj određivanja lokacije

Sažetak

Franjevački samostan Pohodaženja Blažene Djevice Marije u Cetinu najviše se pamti kao mjesto gdje su se 1. siječnja 1527. godine okupili hrvatsko plemstvo i crkveni prelati. Ovaj povijesni događaj, zabilježen u svečanoj ispravi, označio je izbor Ferdinanda I. Habsburškog za hrvatskog kralja. Unatoč njegovom značaju, povijest i važnost samostana nisu dobile veliku pažnju u hrvatskoj historiografiji. Stoga je prvi cilj ovog rada riješiti taj nedostatak koristeći manje poznate i rijetko korištene povijesne izvore. Osim toga, rad ima za cilj utvrditi lokaciju samostana unutar kasnosrednjovjekovnog Cetina. Ispituje postojeće teorije o njegovoj lokaciji, ocjenjuje valjanost tih zaključaka te predlaže nove mogućnosti za njegovu lokaciju na temelju analize sačuvanih pisanih izvora, ranonovovjekovnih kartografskih podataka i terenskog istraživanja. Istraživanja i razmatranja predstavljena ovdje ukazuju na to da je franjevački samostan najvjerojatnije osnovao knez Stjepan III. Frankapan oko 1463. ili 1464. godine, kada je doveo franjevce u Cetin i povjerio im upravljanje već postojećom crkvom, koja je već neko vrijeme bila značajno hodočasničko mjesto. U sljedećim godinama, samostan je postao iznimno važan i do početka 16. stoljeća služio je kao središte Vikarije franjevaca opservanata Bosna-Hrvatska, koja je 1517. godine uzdignuta na rang provincije. Sredinom 16. stoljeća, Frankapani više nisu mogli stvarno vršiti pokroviteljstvo nad Krbavskom biskupijom ili franjevačkom opservantskom provincijom Bosna-Hrvatska, jer su ratovi s Osmanlijama vidno smanjili njihovu društvenu i materijalnu moć. Najkasniji mogući okvir za odlazak franjevaca iz Cetina sugerira se kao 1575. godina, kako to spominje Adam Baltazar Krčelić. Nadalje, razmatranja izložena u ovom radu, koja uključuju novu analizu poznatih i nepoznatih srednjovjekovnih i ranonovovjekovnih pisanih izvora i karata, kao i terenskih istraživanja, pružaju zatvoreni krug indicija da se franjevački samostan Pohodaženja Blažene Djevice Marije najvjerojatnije nalazio na platou na istočnoj padini, istočno od sadašnje ceste koja vodi iz Cetingrada u Podcetin, na ulazu u selo Podcetin.

Ključne riječi: Cetin, franjevački samostan Pohodaženja Blažene Djevice Marije, mikropografija, kasni srednji vijek

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