

TOWNS AND CITIES OF THE CROATIAN MIDDLE AGES

The City and the Newcomers

Edited by
Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić



Hrvatski institut za povijest / Croatian Institute of History
Zagreb, 2020

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Newcomers as Office Holders: The *familiares* of Hrvoje Vukčić in Central Dalmatian Cities*

Neven Isailović

In the historiography of the medieval Balkans it is well known that ten years after he crowned himself king of Bosnia, Tvrtko Kotromanić joined the campaign of Hungarian and Croatian rebels against the rule of Queen Mary of Anjou and her newly wed husband Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387). Although the rebellion failed in its main goal, the Bosnians and their allies achieved substantial territorial gains in Southern Croatia and Dalmatia between 1387 and 1390, ultimately capturing all main fortresses and acquiring the recognition of their supremacy by most of important communes in Central Dalmatia, such as Šibenik, Trogir, and Split, as well as the islands of Brač, Hvar, and Korčula.¹ Tvrtko's unexpected death in early 1391 prevented him from making further steps leading to the incorporation of conquered regions into his state.² Instead, Southern Croatia and Dalmatia were governed by the brothers Vukčić – grand voivode – and ban Hrvoje and ban Vuk, in the name of both King Dabiša of Bosnia and Ladislaus, a member of the Angevin dynasty and a Neapolitan pretender to the throne of the Realm of St Stephen. Bosnian rule over this region lasted until the summer of 1394, when the clash between the Hungarian and Bosnian nobles, combined with an attack by King Sigismund and the backdoor policy of all political factors, brought the foreign rule to its end.³

However, after the battle of Nicopolis (1396) and the ensuing tendencies in Sigismund's kingdom, Hrvoje Vukčić, who was gradually becoming the Bosnian kingmaker, launched another campaign on Croatia and Dalmatia, once again acting

* This work is supported by Croatian Science Foundation, within the project IP-2019-04-9315 "Angevin Archiregnum in East Central and Southeastern Europe in the 14th Century: View from the Periphery".

¹ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike* [Documents on the relations between South Slavs and the Venetian Republic] IV (Zagreb: JAZU, 1874), 280-282; Tadija Smičiklas et al., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae XVII* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1981), 297-299, No. 210 and 306-309, No. 218; Mladen Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji 1387-1394* [Bosnian rule in Croatia and Dalmatia, 1387-1394] (MA thesis, University of Belgrade, 1985), 24-46 and 134-137; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti. Sveta kruna ugarska i Sveta kruna bosanska 1387-1463* [The landslide of history: The Holy Crown of Hungary and the Holy Crown of Bosnia, 1387-1463] (Zagreb and Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2006), 39-58.

² Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 55-56 and 115-117; Neven Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara prema Dalmaciji (1391-1409)* [The Dalmatian policy of the Bosnian rulers (1391-1409)] (MA thesis, University of Belgrade, 2008), 27.

³ Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 55-73 and 115-125; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 27-51.

as both Bosnian and Neapolitan champion.⁴ Ultimately, between 1401 and 1403, he captured territories previously held by Tvrtko, his late brother Vuk, and himself, becoming the duke of Split by the grace of King Ladislaus.⁵ While the city of Zadar and its vicinity was controlled by the Neapolitans and the local nobility loyal to them, the Bosnian king Ostoja and Duke Hrvoje with his men (mainly Bosnians) were given vast authorities, not only in Split, but also in Trogir and Šibenik, as well as in the town of Omiš and the Central Dalmatian islands (i.e. Brač, Hvar, and Korčula) which now comprised the so-called *Comitatus Insularum*, previously controlled by the admiral of the Realm of St Stephen.⁶

Hrvoje came through his disagreement with King Ostoja in 1404 and installed the new king, Tvrtko II Tvrtković.⁷ He also survived numerous campaigns that King Sigismund and his nobles organised against him and Bosnia between 1404 and 1408.⁸ When he concluded that he should no longer invest in the cause of Ladislaus of Naples, who was gradually withdrawing from the Balkans, he once again made peace with Sigismund, keeping his control over Split and Omiš, as well as over the islands (in late 1408).⁹ However, his position grew weaker since he could not count on the support of the Bosnian nobility and Sigismund's presence was felt much more than Ladislaus' had been. The Dalmatian cities, excluding Split, were not under his influence as earlier, and they confided in Sigismund and his bans of Croatia and Dalmatia. This uneasy situation turned into an open war in 1413, when the nobility from Slavonia attacked Hrvoje and his lands. His count was ousted from Split and the Ragusans (i.e. the authorities of the commune of Dubrovnik) were given the

⁴ Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 87-107; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 66-75.

⁵ Ferdo Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba (1350.-1416.)* [Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić and his time (1350-1416)] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1902), 128-158; Dubravko Lovrenović, "Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i srednjodalmatinske komune (1398.-1413.)," [Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić and the Central Dalmatian communes (1398-1413)], in *Jajce 1396.-1996: zbornik radova sa znanstvenog simpozija u povodu 600. obljetnice spomena imena grada Jajca* (Jajce: Društvo za zaštitu kulturno povijesnih i prirodnih vrijednosti Jajca, 2002), 35-40; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 75-122.

⁶ Franjo Rački, "Izvadci iz kralj. osrednjeg arkiva u Napulju za jugoslovensku poviest" [Excerpts from the Central Royal Archive in Naples concerning Yugoslav history], *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 7 (1863): 53-54, No. XLIX; Nicolae Iorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV siècle* II (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899), 100; Ferdo Šišić, "Nekoliko isprava iz početka XV stoljeća" [Several documents from the early 15th century], *Starine JAZU* 39 (1938): 238-239, No. 77; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 49-50; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 119-120, 168-170, and 214.

⁷ Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* [History of medieval Bosnian state] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964), 198-206; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 108-124.

⁸ Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 121-142; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 132-133, 152-157, and 164-165.

⁹ Jelena Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji. Krajina srednjovekovne Bosne* [Donji Kraji: The March of medieval Bosnia] (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 2002), 89-91; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 140-148; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 158-168.

right to seize the islands.¹⁰ Hrvoje managed to keep only Omiš until 1416 when he died, undefeated but stripped of the majority of his territories in the Eastern Adriatic Littoral.¹¹ Soon after his death, another Hungarian-Venetian war broke out (1418–1420), which ultimately led to the conquest of the Dalmatian cities and islands by Venice in 1420.¹² The social and political strife in these cities, which partly developed during the Bosnian rule and due to it, most certainly contributed to such an outcome.

After this brief overview, our main issue – newcomers as office holders – should be addressed. First, it should be noted that Hrvoje Vukčić (and his brother Vuk in the 1390s) did engage many local men, especially petty nobles from the Croatian hinterland, as well as nobles and wealthier citizens from the Dalmatian cities, in their service.¹³ During the second period of the Bosnian rule (if not earlier), they also formed a long-lasting partnership with a local magnate – Ivaniš Nelipčić, whose sister, Jelena, became Hrvoje's wife.¹⁴ However, the main office holders seem to have been Bosnians, *familiars* of the Vukčić family, who came along with their masters. Various offices will be mentioned, but our focus will be on those linked with the Central Dalmatian communes.

In 1391, after the Croatian rebel leader Ivan of Paližna died, Hrvoje and Vuk Vukčić became bans of Croatia and Dalmatia, on behalf of the Neapolitan-Bosnian coalition, and *de facto* rulers of the region south of the Zrmanja river excluding Zadar, which was in peace with the conquerors although it formally stood against them.¹⁵ They appointed a Bosnian vice-ban (Ivan Mišljenović) and a castellan of the town of Klis (Vojko Latičić), which was their right by office.¹⁶ At this point, they did not influence

¹⁰ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 210-232; Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita* [A history of Split] I (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1957), 232-239; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 141-154 and 166-174.

¹¹ Neven Isailović, "Omiš pod vlašću Hrvoja Vukčića i borba za njegovo nasleđe" [Omiš under the rule of Hrvoje Vukčić and the struggle for his legacy], *Istorijski časopis* 54 (2007): 135-142.

¹² Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [History of the Croats from the ancient times to the end of the 19th century] III (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1980), 108-117.

¹³ Smičiklas et al., *Codex diplomaticus XVII*, 397-398, No. 292; 458-460, No. 335; 530-531, No. 379; Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 55-64, 115-122, and 138-139.

¹⁴ Mladen Ančić, "Prosopografske crtice o Hrvatinićima i Kosačama: prilog povijesti zapadnog Balkana s kraja XIV i početka XV" [Prosopographic notes on the Hrvatinić and the Kosača: On the history of the Western Balkans in the late 14th and early 15th centuries], *Istorijski časopis* 33 (1986): 53; Dubravko Lovrenović, "Jelena Nelipčić, splitska vojvotkinja i bosanska kraljica" [Jelena Nelipčić, a duchess of Split and a queen of Bosnia], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 20 (1987): 184-185.

¹⁵ Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 55-67 and 115-123; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 27-47.

¹⁶ Ferdo Šišić, "Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića, patricija zadarskoga" [The annals of Pavao Pavlović, a patrician from Zadar], *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 6 (1904), 16; Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Archival documents from the reign of Sigismund] II/1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956), 510, doc. 4171; Mladen Ančić, "Bihački kraj od 1262. do početka XV stoljeća" [The Bihać region from 1262 to the early 15th century], *Glasnik arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 25 (1985), 202 and 210; Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 31, 42, 62, 101, and 119-120; Neven Isailović, "Fragmenti o familijarima Hrvatinića u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj krajem XIV i početkom XV veka" [Fragments on the *familiars* of the Hrvatinići in

the government of the communes, at least not in an aggressive manner. Maybe that is why the cities dated their documents in a rather uneven way – sometimes without mentioning the ruler, sometimes mentioning the Bosnian king Dabiša and sometimes King Sigismund of Luxemburg. Ladislaus was never mentioned.¹⁷ Omiš and the Islands were at one point given to John Horváti (Ivaniš Horvat), a magnate from southern Hungary and one of the main allies of the Bosnians.¹⁸ Vuk Vukčić, as an operative governor of the region, had many other officials, but most of their names and identities are not mentioned in the available sources.¹⁹ It seems that the first period of Bosnian rule mostly influenced the population from the Croatian hinterland – thus, it is known that a new tax of a ducat per house was imposed, at least in some parts of the County of Knin, to which petty Croat nobles were also subjected.²⁰ Also, the Bosnian presence is confirmed by a notable case in which a local underage girl entered an unlawful marriage with a “Bosnian infidel”.²¹ The situation was restored to that prior to the Bosnian conquest when Sigismund regained all Croatia-Dalmatia after the defeat of John Horváti, who had already got estranged from the Bosnians, and a peace treaty with King Dabiša and the Vukčić brothers.²²

The second Bosnian rule over Croatia and Dalmatia, which started in 1401/1402, had a far greater influence on the Eastern Adriatic communes. At first, the situation seemed similar to that of 1391. Hrvoje was no longer mentioned as the ban, but as the general vicar of king Ladislaus of Naples and Ostoja of Bosnia.²³ His

Dalmatia and Croatia (late 14th and early 15th centuries), in *Spomenica akademika Marka Šunjića (1927-1998)*, ed. Dubravko Lovrenović (Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet, 2010), 312-315; Mladen Ančić, “Registar Splitskog kaptola” [Register book of the Split chapter], *Fontes: izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 20 (2014), 152.

¹⁷ Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum III* (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1765), 335; Franjo Rački, “Notae Joannis Lucii,” *Starine JAZU* 13 (1881), 249; [Giuseppe Alačević], “Serie dei Reggitori di Spalato,” *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 12 (1889), 63-64 and 77-80; Smičiklas et al., *Codex diplomaticus XVII*, 497-498, No. 355 and 583-584, No. 406; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 35, 38, 43, and 48.

¹⁸ Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 65-71 and 122-124; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 37-38 and 46-49.

¹⁹ Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj* (as in n. 1), 61-63 and 119-121; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 50-51, 60, 116, and 196-211.

²⁰ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Acta Kegelevichiana: annorum 1322.-1527.* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1917), XIX, XXIII, and 5-8; Tadija Smičiklas et al., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae XVIII* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1990), 139-140, No. 92; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 58.

²¹ Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović, “Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije (Inventar)” [Documents in the Archive of the Yugoslav Academy (an inventory)], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije* 2 (1959): 330, No. 1191; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 58-59; Đuro Tošić, “Crkveno poništenje jednog bračnog ugovora” [Church annulment of a marriage contract], *Glasnik Udruženja arhivskih radnika Republike Srpske* 1 (2009): 435-441.

²² Emir O. Filipović, “Bosna i Turci za vrijeme kralja Stjepana Dabiše – neke nove spoznaje” [New insights on Bosnia and the Turks during the rule of King Stephen Dabiša], in *Spomenica dr Tibora Živkovića* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2016), 280-291.

²³ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 165-166; Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji* (as in n. 9), 84-85; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 85, 94-95, 112-115, 147, 158, 188-189, and 208.

lieutenant (as vice-ban) was Tvrtko Latičić, brother of the former castellan of Klis, Vojko.²⁴ In 1400, through their agents in the region, the Bosnians started a war against the Hungarian supporters in Dalmatia, especially against the government of the so-called “internal Spalatians” (*intrinseci*). Failing to overthrow the regime in Split, they focused on the main fortresses, capturing Klis and probably Knin in 1401, while Omiš was controlled by the Spalatians until 1402.²⁵ With the help of the Neapolitan navy, the Bosnian army prevailed and by the end of 1402 all the communes of Central Dalmatia accepted king Ladislaus as their king and Hrvoje as his vicar. Split was the last to recognise the new masters. It was only after the conflict between the “internal Spalatians” and their former mastermind, Archbishop Andrea of Gualdo, that the city’s government was ousted.²⁶ The islands of Brač, Hvar, and Korčula also came under the Bosnian rule by the spring of 1403, while the town of Omiš was given to King Ostoja, only to be taken from him by Hrvoje in 1404.²⁷ In 1405, Hrvoje created an administrative unit made of Omiš, Craina (present-day Makarska Littoral) and the Islands and gave it to his son Balša. In 1411, however, the control over this unit was taken by Michael Caboga (Mihailo Kabužić), a renegade noble from Dubrovnik, and a trustee, vicar and protovestiar of Hrvoje. Michael was the key implementer of his master’s agenda in the region, along with the counts of Split, appointed by Hrvoje as the duke of Split (since 1403). Caboga controlled the appointment of castellans and other offices which were given to the Bosnians.²⁸ For instance, Biloslav (possibly surnamed Ljubunčić) and Ostoja, nobles from the County of Livno, which had belonged to Hrvoje since 1400, held the office of the castellans of Omiš, at least in 1415 and 1416.²⁹

²⁴ Giovanni Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio ora detto Traù* (Venice: Presso Stefano Curti, 1673), 375 and 384; Rački, “Notae Joannis Lucii” (as in n. 17), 255; Šišić, “Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića” (as in n. 16), 36-37; Šišić, “Nekoliko isprava” (as in n. 6), 170-171, No. 19 and 224-225, No. 68; Ivan Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* [Historical sources on Trogir] II (Split: Književni krug, 1979), 822-823 and 840; Isailović, “Fragmenti o familjarima” (as in n. 16), 314-315.

²⁵ Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 75-99 and 103; Isailović, “Omiš” (as in n. 11), 132-133.

²⁶ Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 91-99; Neven Isailović, “Povelja kralja Stefana Ostoje Splićanima” [A charter of King Stephen Ostoja for the Spalatians], *Stari srpski arhiv* 9 (2010): 167-186.

²⁷ Isailović, “Omiš” (as in n. 11), 133-134.

²⁸ Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji* (as in n. 9), 94-98; Neven Isailović, “Mihailo Kabužić, dubrovački odmetnik – bosanski diplomata” [Michael Kabužić, a Ragusan outcast and a Bosnian diplomat], *Istorijski časopis* 56 (2008), 392-395 and 397-398.

²⁹ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike* [Documents on the relations between Southern Slavs and the Venetian Republic] VII (Zagreb: JAZU, 1882), 214 and 219-222; Đuro Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici* [Croatian monuments], vol. I (1100-1499) (Zagreb: JAZU, 1898), 115-116; Lovrenović, “Jelena Nelipčić” (as in n. 14), 189; Marko Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. i XV. st.)* [Bosnia and Venice (relations in the 14th and 15th centuries)] (Sarajevo: HKD Napredak, 1996), 128; Isailović, “Omiš” (as in n. 11), 137, 139, and 142-146; Isailović, “Fragmenti o familjarima” (as in n. 16), 322-324.

The Neapolitans were interested mainly in Zadar and its vicinity, so Hrvoje exercised his power in other cities. He completely controlled Split and had a large influence in Šibenik and Trogir, controlling the royal revenues which were given to him: a half of the chamber of salt and the chamber of the thirtieth. These revenues were overseen by men like Gojak Lalković, who was probably Bosnian too (but we cannot be certain). He was ordered by Hrvoje to take possession of the Central Dalmatian islands in July 1401. In August 1401 he was in Korčula but did not achieve his goal at that moment.³⁰ In 1402, however, Gojak is mentioned as the official of the chamber of Šibenik on behalf of Hrvoje. In this capacity he testified in favour of the Ragusan nobleman Pasquale Resti (Paskoje Rastić), Count of Šibenik, accused of speaking against the Bosnians and supporting King Sigismund.³¹ The cities of Šibenik and Trogir, although they were home to some Bosnian officials handling the royal reserves conceded to Hrvoje, kept their own local governmental system. They still elected their counts from the circle of noblemen they deemed suitable (usually from other Dalmatian communes), as well as the holders of other offices, such as judges, *examinatores* etc.³² In Split, the situation was rather different. To get the impression how, this paper will finally focus on the careers of two Bosnian counts of Split, appointed by Duke Hrvoje.

As soon as he became the duke of Split, Hrvoje named Petrica Jurjević from Vrbas the count (*knez*) of the city. This *homo nobilis et egregius* and a close associate of Vukčić held this office from 5 or 6 November 1403 until at least the autumn of 1407.³³ His first political action was the ennoblement of all Spalatians who took part

³⁰ Rački, "Izvadci" (as in n. 6), 53-54, No. XLIX; Vinko Foretić, *Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku do g. 1420*. [The island of Korčula in the Middle Ages before 1420] (Zagreb: JAZU, 1940), 137 and 143; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 110 and 113-115; Isailović, "Fragmenti o familijarima" (as in n. 16), 320. Cf. Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 41-42 and 44-51.

³¹ Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* [Old Serbian charters and letters] I-1 (Belgrade and Sremski Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1929), 451-453, No. 463-464; Isailović, "Fragmenti o familijarima" (as in n. 16), 320.

³² Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 44-47; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 43, 61, 101, 115, 121, 147, 169-170, 202, and 207.

³³ [Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori" (1889) (as in n. 17), 189-190; [Giuseppe Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 13 (1890), 16 and 31-32; Vladimir Rismondo, *Pomorski Split druge polovine XIV st. Notarske imbrevijature* [Maritime Split in the second half of the 14th century: Notarial abbreviations] (Split: Muzej grada Splita, 1954), 107-108; Novak, *Povijest Splita I* (as in n. 10), 312; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 16), II/1, 316, No 2705; 337, No. 2874; 386, No. 3255; 448, No. 3745; 518, No. 4219; and 614, No. 4917; Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 16), II/2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 90, No. 5773; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [History of the Croats from the ancient times to the end of the 19th century] II (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1980), 367; Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija* (as in n. 29), 94; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 48-49; *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian biographical lexicon] 6 (*I-Kal*) (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005), 641-642 (Pejo Čošković); Neven Isailović, "Familijari Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića u Splitu (1403-1413)" [*Familiares* of Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić in Split], *Istorijski časopis* 58 (2009): 127-132. Some historians have assumed that Petrica was Hrvoje's cousin, but there is no

in the final accord between the “internal” and “external” parties. This task he fulfilled along with the aforementioned *familiaries* and vice-bans Tvrtko Latičić and Ivan Mišljenović on 6 November 1403, in present-day Kaštela.³⁴ Although his statutory authorities primarily concerned legal and judicial duties, Petrica, without changing the Statute of Split, reserved additional competencies for the duke and himself, such as finance and defence, diminishing the role of the city council. Undoubtedly, he did this on Hrvoje’s demand. For instance, on 8 December 1403, he proclaimed himself the warden of incomes and outcomes of the commune, forcing the noble councillors to vote, contrary to the rule, by public voting (*viva voce*) instead of ballots.³⁵ In late 1403 and early 1404, the count arranged the settlement of blood feud between the Spalatians and the men of Count Ivaniš Nelipčić of Cetina, Hrvoje’s brother-in-law. Some inhabitants of the County of Cetina had been killed while attacking Split in 1400 and Petrica organised a committee and decided that the wealthiest Spalatian citizens should pay the blood ransom (*vražda*) of 1200 *libras*.³⁶ The count also coordinated military purchases and actions in Central Dalmatia – e.g. he asked for naval equipment, archers, arms, and armed men from Trogir and Korčula on several occasions.³⁷ He also acted as the agent of Hrvoje’s wife, Jelena Nelipčić, performing various tasks on her behalf and escorting her on every formal occasion. Petrica was the addressee of the Ragusan letters in which the authorities of Dubrovnik were asking him to help them and influence Hrvoje to return their goods pillaged by the pirates in Neapolitan service.³⁸ There is also a note about the complaint made by

direct evidence for such a claim.

³⁴ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 384-385; [Giuseppe Alačević], “Note cronologiche e documenti raccolti da Giovanni Lucio Traguriense,” *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 4 (1881): 173; [Alačević], “Serie dei Reggitori” (1889) (as in n. 17): 190; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 166 and 273; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 840; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* (as in n. 33), II, 381; Isailović, “Fragmenti o familijarima” (as in n. 33), 313 and 315.

³⁵ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 385; Šišić, “Nekoliko isprava” (as in n. 6), 236-237, No. 75; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 840-841; Dubravko Lovrenović, “Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i Splitska komuna 1403-1413” [Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić and the Split Commune, 1403-1413], *Prilozi Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu* 23 (1987), 40; Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija* (as in n. 29), 126; Lovrenović, “Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune” (as in n. 5), 49; Isailović, “Familijari Hrvoja Vukčića” (as in n. 33), 128-129.

³⁶ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 385 and 516-519; Grga Novak, “Gradski bedemi, javne zgrade i ulice u sredovjekovnom Splitu” [Bulwarks, public buildings, and streets in medieval Split], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* series III, No. 1 (1949), 109; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 841 and 1088-1093; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 117; Isailović, “Familijari Hrvoja Vukčića” (as in n. 33), 129.

³⁷ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 384-385; Rački, “Notae Joannis Lucii” (as in n. 17), 258-260; Paolo Andreis, *Storia della città di Traù*, ed. Marko Perojević (Split: Hvarska štamparija Trumbić, 1908), 123; Foretić, *Otok Korčula* (as in n. 30), 154; Pavao Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* [A history of Trogir] I (Split: Književni krug, 1977), 140; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 840; Lovrenović, “Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune” (as in n. 5), 47; Serdo Dokoza, “Obrambeni sustav korčulanske komune u srednjem vijeku” [The defence system of the Korčula commune in the Middle Ages], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 49 (2007), 218.

³⁸ Medo Pucić, *Spomenici sr’bski* [Serbian monuments] I (Belgrade: Knjigopечатija Knjaževstva

the Tragurians in February 1406 concerning an unspecified damage that Petrica and his men did to the city's herds of cattle returning from Trogir while in the escort of Duchess Jelena.³⁹

Despite various experiences, Petrica Jurjević became bound to Trogir for his lifetime. A wealthy heiress from the Cega family – Pellegrina, daughter of Matthew, son of Peter (Matej Petrov) – had been granted the village of Radošić by King Sigismund in 1397, through a *praefectio regis*. After the Tragurians switched sides, he revoked this decision and Thomas Kurjačić of the County of Luka became the new pretender to the village. In early 1404, the authorities of Trogir asked for Hrvoje's assistance. The lawsuit was finished in 1407 and the village was confirmed to Pellegrina Cega. But, she was no longer just the heiress of Matthew Cega, but also the wife of Petrica Jurjević.⁴⁰ The marriage may have happened before 16 November 1405, when Jurjević was, as a unique case at that moment, ennobled and elected to the city council of Trogir although he was a foreigner.⁴¹ Was this an act of obsequiousness or the consequence of Hrvoje's direct pressure? We do not know. The decision concerning Radošić was made after King Ladislaus conceded the grant and after Hrvoje consulted with the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia. The nobles stated that the village had been property of the Cega family for decades and the legal form was honoured.⁴²

Petrica was last mentioned as the count of Split in October 1407. The same time next year, the office was held by Cvitko Tolihnić of Rama.⁴³ Jurjević continued his life in Trogir as a nobleman. We have only scarce information about his activities – he lent money to the Stipošević family in 1413/1414, became the city judge in 1413, and died in the autumn of 1416, just days before he was to leave his home for the Council of Constance as the envoy of Jelena Nelipčić.⁴⁴ Petrica and Pellegrina had only one

Srbskog, 1858), IX; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 130-131.

³⁹ Rački, "Notae Joannis Lucii" (as in n. 17), 261.

⁴⁰ Andreis, *Storia della città di Traù* (as in n. 37), 287; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* (as in n. 37), I, 311-312; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 129-130.

⁴¹ Andreis, *Storia della città di Traù* (as in n. 37), 340; Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira* (as in n. 37), I, 368; Isailović, *Politika bosanskih vladara* (as in n. 2), 146 and 224.

⁴² Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 389-390; Rački, "Izvadci" (as in n. 6), 68-69, No. LXIII; Vikentii Makušev, *Ital'yanskije arhivy i hranyaščiesya v' nih' materialy dlya slavyanskoi istorii. II Neapol' i Palermo* (Saint Petersburg: Imperatorskaya akademiya nauk, 1871), 36; Rački, "Notae Joannis Lucii" (as in n. 17), 263; Alessandro Cutolo, *Ladislao d'Angiò Durazzo* (Naples: A. Berisio, 1969), 341; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 848-850; Mladen Ančić, "Pet dokumenata za povijest istočnojadranskog zaleđa na početku XV. stoljeća" [Five documents on the history of the Eastern Adriatic hinterland in the early 15th century], *Glasnik arhivâ i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 29 (1989), 162-164; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 47-48; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 129-130.

⁴³ [Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori" (1890) (as in n. 33), 32 and 44; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 16), II/2, 90, No. 5773 and 174, No. 6355.

⁴⁴ Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i Splitska komuna" (as in n. 35), 43; Lovrenović, "Jelena Nelipčić" (as in n. 14), 189; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 174 and 226; Ana Plosnić Škarić, "Sklop kuća Stipošević u Trogiru" [The Stipošević house block in Trogir], *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 56 (2013), 38 and 47.

surviving child, a son called John (Ivaniš), who inherited his father's and a part of his mother's possessions upon her death in 1427.⁴⁵ Pellegrina's children from the second marriage to Peter (Petar) Cippico, one of whom was the famous Coriolano (Koriolan), inherited the rest, including the mansion in Trogir's main square, later known as the "great Cippico palace".⁴⁶ A notarial document written in Split in June 1440 reveals that in November 1439 John bestowed his inheritance from Pellegrina (who is mentioned only as the widow of Petrica Jurjević) upon the Spalatian nobleman Doymus, son of Nicholas Franceschi. This probably implied only Pellegrina's movable and immovable properties in Split. Peter Cippico died in March 1440 at the latest. In June of the same year, Franceschi transferred everything he received from John, son of Petrica Jurjević, to aforementioned Peter's brother Michael (Mihovil) Cippico. It is not entirely clear why and under what circumstances this transfer occurred.⁴⁷ In the 1460s and 1470s, John's son Gregory (Grgur or Grgo Ivanišević) litigated with Coriolano and his family, as some of Petrica's and certain joint possessions had been given (unlawfully, in Gregory's view) to the Cippico family (including the village of Radošić). Their conflict was intensified by their opposing political stances concerning Venice and Hungary. Most of the said possession were ultimately given to the Cippico family.⁴⁸

Although another trustee of Hrvoje – Raup Dragović or Dragovoljić from either Sana or Livno – briefly became *miles* of the count of Split in March 1405, and was referred to as the count by the Ragusans on one occasion the same month, he later continued his activity in Bosnia and the office of the count of Split was ultimately given to Cvitko Tolihnić of Rama (by October 1408).⁴⁹ Tolihnić maintained his position

⁴⁵ Ivo Babić, "Oporuke Pelegrine, Petra i Koriolana Cipika" [Last wills of Pellegrina, Peter, and Coriolano Cippico], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 30 (2006), 29, 31, 33, and 39-40.

⁴⁶ Cvito Fisković, "Neobjavljeni reljef Ivana Duknovića u Trogiru" [A hitherto unpublished relief by Giovanni Dalmata in Trogir], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 14 (1962), 95-96; Mladen Andreis, *Trogirsko plemstvo do kraja prve austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji (1805.)* [Tragurian nobility before the end of the first Austrian administration in Dalmatia (1805)] (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 2006), 179 and 304; Irena Benyovsky Latin, *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo* [Medieval Trogir: Space and society] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009), 146 and 158-159. Pellegrina and Peter, son of Mark Cippico, married around 1419.

⁴⁷ Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb [Arhiv HAZU, Zagreb], Documenta veneta, I-44; Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović, "Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije (Nastavak – do smrti kralja Matije Korvina)" [Documents in the Archive of the Yugoslav Academy (Continuation: Until the death of King Matthias Corvinus)], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije* 3 (1960): 566, No. 2005. Beside the real estate and rent, Franceschi and another Spalatian nobleman, Cristopher, son of Blaise Andreis, also gave their share of Pellegrina's inheritance in ducats (*in ducatis viginti quinque pro centenario*) to Michael Cippico.

⁴⁸ Ivan Pederin, "Koriolan Cippico, njegov odnos prema mletačkoj vlasti i njegove veze sa ugarskim dvorom" [Coriolanus Cippico, his attitude towards the Venetian rule, and his connections with the Hungarian court], *Zbornik Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Istraživačkog centra JAZU* 13 (1983): 193-195; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 131-132.

⁴⁹ [Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori," (1890) (as in n. 33), 44; Grga Novak, "Comes, potestas, prior, consul, rector, capitaneus i miles grada Splita" [Comes, potestas, prior, consul, rector, capitaneus, and miles in the city of Split], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50 (1928/29), 251-253 and 263-264; Novak, *Povijest Splita* (as in n. 10), I, 312-313; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 16), II/2,

until the fall of Hrvoje's regime in 1413. Unlike his predecessor, Cvitko's authority stretched even to the Islands and Omiš, and he was mentioned as their count. This authority, mainly judicial, he shared with the duke's protovestiary, Michael Caboga. Two of them were proclaimed nobles and councillors of Split in January 1412, on the suggestion made by Vice-count Gojčin, another Bosnian in Split.⁵⁰ It seems that, after his settlement with king Sigismund, Hrvoje tried to establish a more centralised unit out of all the territories in Dalmatia that were under his formal control. However, Hrvoje's control was effectively smaller after 1409. That is why Count Cvitko had to balance between the duties to his master and his wife Jelena, to the city of Split and to the representatives of the central authorities (i.e. King Sigismund and his bans of Croatia-Dalmatia). Yet, he played his role with substantial talent for more than four years.⁵¹ Hrvoje still had partial control of the salt and trade taxes (the thirtieth) in Skradin, Šibenik, Trogir, and Split, and he entrusted these revenues to Cvitko (in 1409). Yet, he could no longer trade with Naples-oriented cities. Tolihnić wanted to implement the law, but occasionally he was forced into corruption, not only by Hrvoje, but also by the king's men. For instance, he had to dismiss the charges of smuggling against a Venetian merchant, after the intervention of two notable men.⁵² Cvitko was entrusted with preparing the festivities in order to celebrate Sigismund's coronation as the king of Bosnia in 1410, but the coronation ultimately did not take place.⁵³ In 1411, he found himself in difficulties since the Spalatians tried to bypass Hrvoje's authority, which resulted in a regional affair and threats made by Tolihnić

174, No. 6355. On Raup, see: Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* (as in n. 31), I-1, 480-481, No. 498; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 132-136; Neven Isailović, "Jedan nepoznati izvor o predaji gradova Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinica ugarskom kralju Žigmundu 1410. godine" [A hitherto unknown source on Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić and his ceding of towns to the Hungarian king Sigismund in 1410], *Istorijski časopis* 64 (2015): 145-155. Raup still had connections with Split in December 1412, when a Tragurian nobleman became his procurator with the recommendation of the commune of Split and through the *procura* issued by the Spalatian communal notary.

⁵⁰ Sime Ljubić, *Statuta et leges civitatis Budae, Scardonae et Lesinae* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1882/83), 225 and 489; [Alačević, "Serie dei Reggitori" (1890) (as in n. 33), 46-48; Novak, *Povijest Splita* (as in n. 10), I, 312-313; Ljubo Karaman, *Odabrana djela* [Selected works] (Split: Književni krug, 1986), 423 and 474; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i Splitska komuna" (as in n. 35), 40; Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 16), III (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 191, No. 565; 239, No. 819; 388, No. 1545; and 625, No. 2691; Isailović, "Omiš" (as in n. 11), 134-136 and 143; Isailović, "Mihailo Kabužić" (as in n. 28), 392-395; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 136-143.

⁵¹ Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 136-142.

⁵² Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 48; Mladen Ančić, "Inventar splitskoga kancelara i javnog bilježnika Tome Colutii de Cingulo (Prilog poznavanju prvih humanističkih krugova u Dalmaciji)" [Inventory of Thomas Colutii de Cingulo, a chancellor and public notary in Split (On the earliest humanist circles in Dalmatia)], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 47 (2005), 114-117 and 140-142; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 145; Milan Ivanišević, "Promišljanje o rodovima Lukari u Splitu i Lukarević u Dubrovniku" [Some thoughts on the Lukari kindred in Split and the Lukarević kindred in Dubrovnik], *Kulturna baština* 41 (2015), 15 and 33-34.

⁵³ Mladen Ančić, *Na rubu Zapada. Tri stoljeća srednjovjekovne Bosne* [On the fringe of the West: Three centuries of medieval Bosnia] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 266.

to the Tragurians (for sheltering the outcast from Split), by Hrvoje to the Spalatians (for giving a house to King Ostoja of Bosnia) and vice versa.⁵⁴ The count of Split was afraid of his master, which is clearly evident from his twice-made request to the city's notary to issue a receipt confirming that he [Cvitko] had not taken any money from the rent of Hrvoje's possessions in Split (in April 1412).⁵⁵ Cvitko also acted as a business intermediary for Jelena Nelipčić and was himself a wealthy man. Even Mišljen, Tolihnič's master of stables, was giving money on loan.⁵⁶ Count Cvitko's last diplomatic performance should have been a meeting with the Florentine emissary Giovanni d'Andreozzo Orlandi, who received instructions for his mission in early May 1413, but it is not known if this meeting occurred before Hrvoje's count was ousted from Split.⁵⁷

According to the presently known data, the overthrow of Hrvoje's regime in Split happened between 3 and 4 June 1413. It was an action simultaneous with the general attack on Hrvoje's lands organised by the nobility of King Sigismund.⁵⁸ On 3 June, the city still recognised the authority of Duke Hrvoje and Count Cvitko, while a day later they dated their acts by mentioning King Sigismund and *rector* Karin, son of Radoslav. The pro-Bosnian city judges were also substituted.⁵⁹ The Bosnian garrison was ousted

⁵⁴ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 391 and 402-403; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 225; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 852 and 873-876; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* (as in n. 33), III, 80; Milko Brković, "U Jajcu izdane isprave bosanskih vladara" [Charters of Bosnian rulers issued in Jajce], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 40 (1998), 98; Isailović, "Familijski Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 139-140.

⁵⁵ Ančić, "Inventar" (as in n. 52), 117-118.

⁵⁶ [Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori" (1890) (as in n. 33), 47-48; Giuseppe Alačević, "La consorte di Hervoya duca di Spalato contribuiscie quarantre marchee due once di argento pel lavoro dell'arca di S. Doimo," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 14 (1891), 74; Marica Rismondo-Berket, "Prilozi poznavanju splitskog pomorstva u drugoj polovici XIV i poč. XV st." [On maritime Split in the second half of the 14th and the 15th century], *Pomorski zbornik* 10 (1972), 357; Vladimir Rismondo, "Registar splitskog notara Jakova de Penna (1411-1412)" [Register book of Split's notary Jacob de Penna (1411-1412)], *Grada i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije – Izdanje Historijskog arhiva u Splitu* 8 (1974), 13-15, 40, and 52-53; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i Splitska komuna" (as in n. 35), 43; Lovrenović, "Jelena Nelipčić" (as in n. 14), 185-186; Branka Grbavac, "Oporuka i inventar splitskog notara Jakova pok. Ubentina de Pugliensibus iz Piacenze. Prilog proučavanju splitskog notarijata" [The last will and inventory of Split's notary Jacob, son of the late Ubertino de Pugliensibus from Piacenza: On the notarial office in Split], *Acta Histriae* 21/1-2 (2013), 83.

⁵⁷ Iorga, *Notes et Extraits* (as in n. 6), II, 141; Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár IV* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 148, No. 528; Lovrenović, "Jelena Nelipčić" (as in n. 14), 186-187; Isailović, "Familijski Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 141.

⁵⁸ Lucio, *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 392-394; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 226-228; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 853-857; Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji* (as in n. 9), 92.

⁵⁹ [Alačević], "Serie dei Reggitori" (1890) (as in n. 33), 63-64; Novak, *Povijest Splita* (as in n. 10), I, 236-238 and 242-243; Mályusz and Borsa, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (as in n. 57), IV, 100, No. 263 and 179, No. 696; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i Splitska komuna" (as in n. 35), 44; Isailović, "Familijski Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 142. While in the *Memorie storiche di Tragurio* Iohannes Lucius (Ivan Lucić) asserted that the commune of Split had sent its envoys to King Sigismund after the ouster of Hrvoje's regime, seeking the reversal of Vukčić's measures against the liberties of the city, Lucius's

and Hrvoje's castle near the Silver Gate destroyed.⁶⁰ The Islands also rejected Hrvoje's rule in mid-June. All the communities requested from King Sigismund to restore their previous privileges and to annul all Vukčić's measures against their autonomy. The Ragusans were appointed by the king to administer the Islands on his behalf.⁶¹ On 8 July 1413, the Spalatians proclaimed that they would build a church, dedicated to Saint Vitus, to celebrate their deliverance from the Pharaonic servitude.⁶² Supporters of the Bosnians among the citizens and the nobility were removed from their offices and many of them lost their titles and statuses.⁶³

To conclude, the presence of the Kingdom of Bosnia as a major political factor in Southern Croatia and Dalmatia lasted for roughly 25 years, from 1387 and 1416. This period was significantly marked by a single key player – Hrvoje Vukčić, a marcher lord from the Hrvatinić family. Formally an agent of higher suzerains (kings or pretenders of Bosnia or the Realm of St Stephen), he was the one who exercised effective control over the conquered area, giving various offices to his *familiares* and members of his retinue from Bosnia. Although the statutes of the cities of Dalmatia were not changed and many communes were only indirectly affected by the *de facto* Bosnian regime in their region, the case of Split was somewhat different since it was directly submitted to Hrvoje's rule. Over ten years (1403-1413), despite no formal change in legislation, the Bosnian counts who administered Split on Vukčić's behalf violated a series of communal traditions and liberties, which made them highly unpopular with the population, especially with the nobility. However, it does not seem that this resentment rendered the daily life dysfunctional. The sentiment towards the Bosnians was not unanimous and universal, since political divisions existed among the Spalatians themselves and some of the sources are undoubtedly partial. On the other hand, the long-lasting foreign rule over Dalmatia most certainly loosened its connections with the central authorities in Buda and facilitated its fall to the Venetians less than ten years after the collapse of Hrvoje's regime.

note, published by Josip Alačević, suggests that Hrvoje forbade this Spalatian diplomatic mission, which preceded and perhaps prompted his downfall. The first version, published in 1673, seems more plausible. Cf. Lucio, *Memorie istoriche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 394; [Alačević], "Note cronologiche" (as in n. 34), 173; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 857.

⁶⁰ The present-day tower in Split, colloquially called Hrvoje's Tower, is in fact a Venetian fortification and has nothing to do with Hrvoje's regime in Split. His actual tower was in today's Hrvojeva street.

⁶¹ Ljubić, *Listine VII* (as in n. 29), 123-125; Jovan Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje* [The acts and charters of Dubrovnik] I (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1934), 221-244; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 171-174; Isailović, "Omiš" (as in n. 11), 135-136.

⁶² Lucio, *Memorie istoriche di Tragurio* (as in n. 24), 394-397; [Alačević], "Note cronologiche" (as in n. 34), 173; Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje* (as in n. 5), 226; Novak, *Povijest Splita* (as in n. 10), I, 236-241; Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (as in n. 24), II, 857-862; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* (as in n. 33), III, 80-81, 84, and 103-108; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i Splitska komuna" (as in n. 35), 44; Mrgić-Radojčić, *Donji Kraji* (as in n. 9), 92 and 98-99; Lovrenović, "Hrvoje i srednjodalmatinske komune" (as in n. 5), 51; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti* (as in n. 1), 172-174.

⁶³ Novak, *Povijest Splita* (as in n. 10), I, 242-244; Isailović, "Familiari Hrvoja Vukčića" (as in n. 33), 143-144.