

Hungary and the Adriatic Coast in the Middle Ages

Power Aspirations and Dynastic Contacts
of the Árpáadian and Angevin Kings in the Adriatic Region*

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The medieval Kingdom of Hungary that came into being around the turn of the first and second millennium in the Middle Danube Basin was a landlocked country.¹ Due to this situation the kings of the realm strove for acquiring a coastal area as soon as Hungary became strong enough for expansion. It can be stated without exaggeration that in the first period of this expansion political aspirations were more important than economic aims, following from the simple fact that the elements of commodity production and money economy made their appearance in Hungary only in the early thirteenth century.²

Dalmatia

The first steps were taken towards Dalmatia, a narrow strip of land and over 100 islands along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea stretching from the Bay of

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 6th Annual International Congress of the *Mediterranean Studies Association* held between 29–31 May 2003 at the Central European University, Budapest.

¹ Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve*. [King Stephen and his work] Budapest 1977; Gy. Székely, ed. in chief, *Magyarország története I. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*. [A History of Hungary. Vol. 1, Preliminaries and Hungarian history until 1242] Budapest 1984; Gy. Kristó, "Directions of orientation in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the first millennium." in B. Lukács et al., eds. *Mutual dynamics of organisational levels in evolution*. Budapest 1992, 128–133; Gy. Kristó, *A Kárpát-medence és a magyarság régmúltja (1301-ig)*. [The early history of the Carpathian Basin and the Hungarians until 1301] Szeged 1993; Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, *Die Erste Könige Ungarns*. Herne 1999.

² *Magyarország története*, 1: 1012–1162, 1280–1302; J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*. [The last Árpádians] Budapest 1993.

Kvarner (Quarnero) as far as the mouth of River Boiana.³ The Romans organised a province here which finally came under Byzantine rule after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. The Avar-Slavic invasions of the early seventh century caused great damages in the development of the region and led to the fall of Salona and other coastal Roman towns. Nevertheless, the Slavs, that is the Croats and the Serbs, managed to settle down in this region and started organising their own states. Dalmatia was under the direct control of Byzantium until 1000 when a short-lived Venetian conquest occurred. Due to Venetian domination and the growth of the Croatian state, Byzantine presence in Dalmatia was substantially weakened, and real Byzantine authority finally disappeared in the 1060s.

The Árpáds

The occupation of Croatia in 1091 by St. Ladislaus, king of Hungary paved the way for the acquisition of neighbouring Dalmatia. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that it was King Coloman who took the final steps towards the definitive attachment of Croatia to the Crown of Hungary. Some historians state that King Coloman achieved his goal by making a convention, referred to as *pacta conventa*, with the heads of the Croatian clans. According to the *pacta conventa* Croatia was henceforth to be ruled by the kings of Hungary but it was given an associate status and was not incorporated into Hungary. Coloman who had himself crowned king of Croatia in 1102 at Biograd, allowed the Croatian nobility to live according to their own laws and customs. It is also important to note that Hungarian noblemen were rarely donated landed estates in Croatia which was governed by a ban (*banus*) who exercised vice-regal authority there. King Coloman wished to extend a similar status to Dalmatia after he had invaded it in 1105 and become king of Dalmatia. Consequently, King Coloman organised Dalmatia also into a banate administered by a royally appointed ban, though it happened quite frequently that the banate of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia was administered by one and the same person who held all the three banates simultaneously.⁴

³ For Dalmatia see: J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*. London 1969. Zs. Teke, "Dalmácia." [Dalmatia] in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon, 9–14 század*. [Lexikon of Early Hungarian History. 9–14th centuries] (henceforth: KMTL). Editor in chief: Gy. Kristó, eds. P. Engel and F. Makk, Budapest 1994, 159–160.

⁴ Gy. Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon*. [Feudal disunity in Hungary] Budapest 1979, 128–138; F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*. Budapest 1989, 13–14; M. Font, "Megjegyzések a horvát-magyar perszonálunió középkori történetéhez." [Remarks on the Medieval History of the Personal Union between Croatia and Hungary] in P. Hanák, ed. in chief, *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára*. [Bridge over Centuries. Essays in Honour of László Katus on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday] Pécs 1997, 11–25; A. Zsoldos, "Egész szlavónia bánja." [Banus totius Sclavonie] in T. Neumann, ed. *Analecta Medievalia I. Tanulmányok a középkorról*. [Essays on the Middle Ages] Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem 2001, 269–280; Gy. Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon*. [Perception of Regions and Organisation of Space in Medieval Hungary] Szeged 2003, 115–125. For the relations between Hungary,

Despite Coloman's and his successors' efforts Dalmatia, which in fact, did not constitute a contiguous territory but a collection of scattered spots, including a few walled towns and a number of islands, did not become a permanent part of the Hungarian Crown. This can be explained by the fact that Dalmatia throughout the Middle Ages had always been the target of the political aspirations of several states, especially Venice, Byzantium, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy. In this difficult situation King Coloman proved to be an ingenious politician. He concluded an alliance with the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenos and allowed Prisca (Irene), daughter of St. Ladislaus to become the wife of the future John II, son of Alexius. This is why Alexius did not object to Coloman's action in Dalmatia who later returned this favour by helping the Byzantine emperor against the Normans. On the other hand, as the decrees of the synod of Guastalla prove, Coloman made concessions to the pope concerning the investiture of the high clergy in Hungary.⁵ In return, the pope did not protest against Hungarian rule in Dalmatia.

Hungarian Kings – Dalmatian towns

In order to reconcile the Dalmatian towns, King Coloman promised to leave their autonomy intact. Moreover, in 1108 he confirmed the former privileges of the citizens of Spalato (today Split, Croatia) and Trau (today Trogir, Croatia). The citizens were, among others, exempted from paying taxes to the Hungarian king (... *mihi et filio meo, aut successoribus meis tributarii ne sitis*) and were allowed to elect their headman and bishop (*episcopum vero aut comitem, quem clerus et populus elegerit, ordinabo*). The only thing that the king demanded in return was the two-thirds of the customs revenues of the cities (... *praeterquam introitus portus civitatis de extraneis duas partes rex habeat, terciam vero comes civitatis, decimam autem episcopus*). In 1124 Coloman's son, István II re-confirmed the franchises of the citizens of Trau and Spalato, while in 1142 and 1151 Géza II did the same with the burghers of Spalato and Trau, respectively. It is important to note that in the case of Spalato in 1142 Géza II expanded the former franchises of the citizens by securing

Dalmatia and Venice in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries also cf. the relevant parts of J. Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans: studies on the Byzantine administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIIth centuries*. Amsterdam 1976; Kristó–Makk, *Die Erste Könige Ungarns*; F. Makk, *Magyar külpolitika, (896–1196)*. [Hungarian Foreign Policy] Szeged 1996, also published in German: F. Makk, *Ungarische Aussenpolitik (896–1196)*. Herne 1999; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London–New York 2001. For the bans of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries see P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*. [A Secular Archontology of Hungary] 1301–1457, 2 vols., Budapest 1996, 1: 16–27.

⁵ Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 14; Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 146–148, 151–154, 160–169. Recently, however, King Coloman's concessions concerning the investiture of the high clergy in Hungary was refuted by Kornél Szlovák. Cf. K. Szlovák, *Pápai–magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században* [Papal–Hungarian Contacts in the 12th Century] in I. Zombori ed., *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve* [One Thousand Years of the Contacts between Hungary and the Holy See]. Budapest 1996, 24–26.

them free trading activity. István III also followed his predecessors' policy: in 1167 or 1169 he issued a charter in which he donated all those privileges to Sebenico (today Šibenik, Croatia) which had been given to the citizens of Trau in 1108. Speaking about urban privileges one should not forget about András II who in 1205 confirmed the franchises of the citizens of Nona (today Nin, Croatia) and in 1207 those of the citizens of Spalato.⁶

By scrutinising these privileges it can be stated that Hungarian rule was more favourable for the Dalmatian towns than Venetian rule. Let it suffice here to refer briefly to the fact that the Hungarian kings never restricted the trading activity of these towns, on the contrary, they supported them in many ways, while Venice regarded the Dalmatian towns as her rivals. From a Hungarian perspective it is also interesting that the Árpáadian kings until the early thirteenth century issued charters containing urban franchises in such a time when in their own realm no real towns existed. By real towns I refer to localities which besides being centres of trade and handicrafts enjoyed broad legal autonomy. In other words: in the eleventh and twelfth centuries only so called proto-urban towns could be found in the realm and the birth of real towns in Hungary proper, that is on the territory lying north of the River Drava, took place no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁷ It can be stated with a high degree of probability that the urban policy of the Hungarian kings mentioned above was primarily a political means with the help of which they tried to strengthen their rule over Dalmatia. To put it another way: they were far from pursuing a conscious urban policy in Dalmatia. Anyway, it was in Dalmatia that King Béla IV (1235–1270), during the time of the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241/42, realised another aspect of urban life, namely the military importance of these localities. It was then that the monarch, the royal family, together with high officials of the realm and thousands of Hungarians fled to the coastal towns of Dalmatia. The King and the

⁶ L. Fejérpataky, *Kálmán király oklevelei*. [Charters issued by King Coloman] Budapest 1892, 73–82; Gy. Györffy, "A XII. századi dalmáciai városprivilegiumok kritikájához." [Contributions to the critics of 12th-century Dalmatian urban privileges] *Történelmi Szemle* 10 (1967), 46–55; *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima: accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia* [ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196]. Edendo operi prae-fuit Georgius Györffy; adiuverunt Johannes Bapt. Borsa [et alii] Budapest 1992, charters nr. 130, 139, 145, 148, 152; M. Kostrenčić–T. Smičiklas, eds. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae/Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*. 18 vols, Zagrabie 1904–1990, Vol. 2: 49–50, 53–54, 115–16; 3: 68–69; S. L. Endlicher, ed. *Rerum Hungaricarum Monumenta Arpadiana*. Sangalli 1849, 400–403; G. Wenzel, ed. *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. 12 vols, Pest–Budapest 1860–1874, 1: 93–94.

⁷ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 50–61, 223–276; KMTL s. v. "város"; A. Kubinyi, "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete." [The first chapter of the history of towns in Hungary] in Cs. Fazekas, ed. *Társadalomtörténeti Tanulmányok – Studia Miskolcinsensia*, Vol. 2. Miskolc 1996, 36–46.

royal family finally found shelter within the walls of Trau, a town situated on an island.⁸

It is undeniable that conscious royal policy aiming at fostering urban development in Hungary dates from the 1230s. It was King Béla IV who issued the first charters securing urban privileges to localities in Hungary proper: for Fehérvár in 1237 and for Nagyszombat (modern-day Trnava in Slovakia) in 1238. The Mongol invasion accelerated this royal policy. However, the primary aim of Béla IV by fostering urban development was rather to give shelter to the population in the case of a potential new Mongol attack, than to strengthen the towns in the economic sense. King Béla's successors also followed this policy, but not so intensively. It was the fourteenth century, to be more precise the period between 1323 and 1382, during the consolidated reign of the Angevin kings, namely that of Charles I and Louis I, that the number of charters containing urban privileges increased significantly again. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some 50 settlements were granted a royal charter in Hungary. This number refers, on the one hand, only to those localities which were situated in Hungary proper, that is north of the River Drava (in other words Dalmatian and Slavonian towns are not included in this number), and, on the other hand, which were not ecclesiastical centres ("episcopal towns"). The urban franchises issued by the Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages are similar to each other and present few specific distinctive features, following from the fact that Hungarian legislation covered the whole territory of the realm. Dalmatia, however, primarily due to its special geo-

⁸ Among the primary sources, from our special perspective, two narrative works deserve attention. "Rogerius: *Carmen miserabile super destructione regni Hungariae per Tartaros.*" in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore regum ducumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum.* ed. E. Szentpétery, 2 vols. Budapest 1937–1938, 2: 545–588 and "Thomas of Spalato: *Historia pontificum Salonitanorum atque Spalatensium.*" in *Monumenta Spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium.* Scriptores 3, ed. F. Rački, Zagreb 1894. The four Mongol chapters of 'Historia Salonitana' are translated into German with an introduction and annotations in H. Göckenjan and J. R. Sweeney, eds. *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen, 1235–1250.* Graz–Wien–Köln 1985, 227–270, while the original Latin text of these chapters is also published in A. F. Gombos, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC.* Budapest 1937–1938, 2232–2244. Also see J. R. Sweeney, "'Spurred on by the Fear of Death': Refugees and Displaced Populations during the Mongol Invasion of Hungary." in M. Gervers, and W. Schleppe, eds. *Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic.* Toronto 1994, 34–62; J. R. Sweeney, "Identifying the Medieval Refugee: Hungarians in Flight during the Mongol Invasion." in L. Löb, I. Petrovics, Gy. E. Szőnyi, eds. *Forms of Identity. Definitions and Changes.* Szeged 1994, 63–76. Cf. I. Petrovics, "The role of towns in the defence system of medieval Hungary." in Ph. Contamine, O. Guyotjeannin, eds. *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge.* Vol. I, *Guerre et Violence.* Paris 1996, 263–271. B. Nagy, ed. *Tatárjárás.* [The Mongol Invasion] Budapest 2003.

graphical location, and to its Roman and Byzantine past, was an exception in this respect.⁹

A new phenomenon

It is an interesting chapter of Hungarian rule over Dalmatia that King Géza II established a duchy there in 1161, which was united with Croatia. The first duke of Dalmatia and Croatia was Béla, younger son of Géza II, protégé of Emperor Manuel. The Byzantine emperor, in return for recognising István III as the legal king of Hungary, took Duke Béla under his guardianship, and exercised power over his duchy. Moreover, Manuel treated Béla, who was educated in Constantinople, until the birth of his own son as the heir to the Byzantine throne. Hungary recovered Dalmatia after Manuel's death and the former duke, Béla, who since 1192 was king of Hungary, appointed in 1193, in the person of Kalán, bishop of Pécs, a governor to Dalmatia. He was followed in this charge by Imre and András, sons of Béla III. Mention must be made here of the activity of István from the Gútkeled clan, who between 1248 and 1260 as *banus totius Sclavoniae* exercised full authority in the region lying between the River Drava and the Adriatic sea. His monetary reform and other measures further supported the development of the Dalmatian towns. The last person from the dynasty of the Árpáds who ruled Dalmatia as a duke, was András, king of Hungary between 1290 and 1301. With the end of the Árpád dynasty, the Angevins claimed the Hungarian throne on the basis of earlier dynastic marriages.¹⁰

The Angevins

The adjective Angevin is applied to three noble lineages that played important role in the history of medieval France, England, Naples and Sicily, and Hungary.¹¹ The word is derived from the capital of the western French province of Anjou. The first lineage deriving from the counts of Anjou gave kings to England between 1154 and 1399 and became known as the Plantagenet. In 1204 many of

⁹ J. Szűcs, "The three historical regions of Europe. (An outline)." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1983), 131–184; Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 50–61, 223–276; Kubinyi: "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete," 36–46; I. Petrovics, "Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary." *Historia Urbana* (1997/1), 39–42; I. Petrovics, *Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary* (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás*, 46; Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 42–124; Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 180–222.

¹¹ Zs. Teke, "Anjouk." [The Angevins] in KMTL 46–47; P. Engel, "Anjou-kor." [The Anjou era] in KMTL 47; Sz. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával*. [Decline of Angevin Rule in Hungary. A political history of Hungary from Louis the Great until the rule of Sigismund with the repertory of charters concerning the domestic strife between 1384 and 1387] 2 vols., Szeged 2003; Also confer with the relevant parts of N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, eds. *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins a la fin du Moyen Âge*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 275. Rome 2000; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 124–202.

the continental possessions of the Angevins, including Anjou, were lost to Philip II of France (1180–1223). Thereafter they came under the direct administration of the French crown. In 1246 Charles, son of Louis VIII and younger brother of Louis IX or the Saint, was invested with the counties of Anjou and Maine as his appanage. Charles and his lineage constitute the second major family of the Angevins that ruled in Naples and Hungary. In 1246 Charles married Beatrice, the youngest daughter of the count of Provence, as a consequence of which Angevin rule became hereditary in Provence until late in the fifteenth century. In 1266 Charles, accepting Urban IV's offer of the Sicilian crown under papal suzerainty, invaded southern Italy and led an army against Manfred of Sicily whom he defeated in the battle of Benevento. In the next two decades he became overlord of Albania (1272) and Tunisia, and king of Jerusalem. He had a grandiose scheme aiming at the creation of a Mediterranean empire in succession of the Byzantine Empire. This plan was frustrated in 1282 by the Sicilian Vespers as a result of which the Aragonese who had supported the revolt became the lords of Sicily. It was this plan that turned Charles's attention towards Hungary which could have served as a stepping stone against Byzantium. However, in 1267 Charles's first attempt for concluding an alliance with Hungary was refused by Béla IV, king of Hungary. Nevertheless, he did not have to wait long: Béla's son, István who was at war with his father, and consequently needed foreign supporters, proved ready for co-operation. István had his seven-year-old son, László (Ladislaus) marry Charles's daughter, Isabelle, while his own daughter, Mária (Mary/Marie), became the wife of the future King Charles II. This marriage was later the legal basis of the Angevin claim to the Hungarian throne.¹²

The Hungarian Angevins

In 1290, upon the death of István's son, László IV or the Cuman, Queen Mary of Naples, wife of Charles II, was of the opinion that the male line of the Árpáadian dynasty had died out with László, and that the Hungarian crown should pass to her family. She found followers soon in Southern Hungary where, for instance, the Croatian noblemen, Paul Šubić and his kinsmen also acknowledged Charles Martel of Anjou, son of Queen Mary and Charles II, as king of Hungary. In 1295, however, Charles Martel died unexpectedly. He was succeeded as a pretender by his seven-year-old son called Charles or Charles Robert (Caroberto). At the invitation of Paul Šubić and other Croatian lords, Charles Robert disembarked in Dalmatia in August 1300. Soon afterwards, on 14 January 1301, the Hungarian king, András (Andrew) III died suddenly and without a male offspring.¹³

¹² Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale. I. Le temps des Arpáds*. Rennes 2000; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 107. Nota bene, Charles I's daughter, Isabelle was named Erzsébet (Elizabeth) in Hungary.

¹³ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 327–332; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly (Károly Róbert)." [Charles I, (Charles Robert)] in Gy. Kristó, ed. *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*. [Kings of Hungary from the period between 1301 and 1526] Szeged 2003, 23–44.

The end of the house of Árpád brought an unprecedented political situation to Hungary. Three rival candidates for the vacant Hungarian throne, each having a link with the Árpáds through the female line, aspired to obtain the crown: Charles Robert of Anjou from Naples, Wenceslas III, son of Wenceslas II, King of Bohemia, and grandson of Béla IV, and Otto of Wittelsbach from Bavaria. For a while Wenceslas III seemed to have a greater chance for acquiring rule over Hungary, but it was Charles Robert (Caroberto), enjoying the support of popes Boniface VIII and Benedict XI together with that of the head of the Hungarian Church, who finally obtained the Hungarian crown and throne. After two coronations (1301, 1309) Charles I (Charles Robert/Caroberto) was finally crowned legally with the "Holy Crown of St. Stephen" in Székesfehérvár in 1310, and accepted by the Hungarian nobility as the legitimate king of Hungary. Nevertheless at first he was not able to control the realm, since the country was, in fact, ruled by a dozen of powerful landlords, the oligarchs or "petty kings." It took more than two decades for Charles I to liquidate the oligarchs, the last of which, John Babonić was subdued in 1323. It should be remarked that John Babonić, overthrown in 1323, was appointed ban of Croatia and Dalmatia by Charles I just a year earlier, that is in 1322, because the king was dissatisfied with Mladen Šubić whose hostile attitude towards the Dalmatian towns irritated the monarch. However, soon after his appointment John Babonić also rebelled against the king, what Charles I, naturally, could not forgive him.¹⁴

Since Charles I became king in Hungary, the Neapolitan throne was inherited, due to a papal judgement, by Robert, third son of Charles II. The Hungarian king, Charles I, however, never acknowledged this decision and referred to the fact that his father was Charles II's eldest son and thus the crown of Naples and Sicily was due to him by the right of primogeniture. In 1333 Charles I was invited to Naples and the family dispute was settled by an agreement. Robert, who had only two grand-daughters, betrothed one of them, Joan (Ioanna), his prospective heir, to András (Andrew), six-year-old son of the Hungarian monarch. Since it was not common in the Middle Ages that a woman could accede to the throne in her own right, Charles I cherished the hope that András (Andrew) would one day become king of Naples and Sicily.¹⁵

¹⁴ P. Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly harcai az oligarchák ellen (1310–1323)." [The Reunification of the Hungarian Kingdom. Charles I's struggles against the Oligarchs (1310–1323)] *Századok* 122 (1988), 89–144; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly főúri elitje." [Barons belonging to the newly created elite of Charles I] *Századok* 133 (1999), 41–62; I. Petrovics, "The Kings, the Town and the Nobility in Hungary in the Anjou Era." in N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, eds. *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins a la fin du Moyen Âge*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 275. Rome 2000, 431, 435–437; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 124–125, 128–134; Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)." [Charles I's Fights against the Oligarchs] *Századok* 137 (2003) 297–345.

¹⁵ Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, E. Marosi, *Károly Róbert emlékezete*. [The Memory of Charles Robert] Budapest 1988, 170–172; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 137; Kristó, *I. Károly*, 41–42.

King Robert died on 20 January 1343 and in his testament he designated Joan (Ioanna) as his *only* heir to the throne of Naples. Her husband, Andrew had to content himself with the title "duke of Calabria." The queen-mother, Elizabeth of Poland and Louis I or the Great, who had been king of Hungary since 1342, did their utmost in order to secure the Neapolitan crown for Andrew. Since both the pope and the French king opposed the unification of the throne of Hungary and that of Naples, and Joan herself could not stand her husband, the outcome of the events could easily be predicted: total failure. Moreover, Andrew fell victim to a plot from the part of Joan and the lords of Naples: he was strangled at Aversa in 1345. The background and the details of András's assassination were never cleared up. King Louis I, who was unconcerned with the details, held the Angevin kindred as a whole responsible for the murder and resorted to arms. The Neapolitan wars in 1347 and 1350 were explicitly dynastic in character; waged for the crown of Naples by Louis I, who after the death of his brother, Andrew, demanded the Neapolitan crown for himself. Although these campaigns brought remarkable military successes, the city of Naples taken twice by Hungarian troops, Hungarian rule over the city and the kingdom of Naples was impossible to sustain.¹⁶

Unlike the Neapolitan wars, the acquisition of Croatia and Dalmatia proved to be a more realistic goal. During the pacification of Croatia in the 1340s the city of Zadar shook off Venetian rule, as a result of which Venetian troops launched a prolonged siege. Louis could not relieve the city and Zadar fell in 1348.¹⁷ Louis I was forced to make peace for eight years with the Republic of Venice. However, in 1356 when the peace expired he took the field once again. This time he enjoyed the moral support of both Pope Innocent VI and Emperor Charles IV. Moreover, the lords of Padua joined him with their own troops. The conflict was finally decided not in Italy, but in Dalmatia, where in 1357 Venice suffered a series of defeats. Consequently, the Dalmatian towns revolted one after the other, and having expelled the Venetians from within their walls, acknowledged Hungarian rule.¹⁸ On 18 February 1358 the Signoria signed a peace at Zadar in which it acknowledged Louis I and his successors as the only rulers of Dalmatia. Venice renounced "for ever" its claims to rule the Dalmatian towns and islands, assured free movement for their trading ships in the Adriatic Sea. Moreover, the doge consented to the abandonment of the title "duke of Dalmatia and Croatia" which

¹⁶ Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*. [The Wars of the Anjou Era] Budapest 1988, 91–125; Gy. Kristó, "I. Lajos." [Louis I] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 45–66; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 159–161.

¹⁷ For Charles I's planned campaign to Dalmatia in 1340 see F. Piti, "Hungary and Dalmatia in 1340." *Chronica* 2 (2002), 3–10; Obsidionis Iadrensis libri duo. In Georgius Schwandtnerus, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*. 3 vols. Vindobonae 1746–1748, 3: 667–723; Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 100–102, 104–108; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 160–162.

¹⁸ Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 137–143; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 160–162.

the first man of the Republic of Venice bore for centuries.¹⁹ It was in the late 1370s that Louis I got involved in a new conflict with Venice which ended with the peace of Torino. The peace, signed on 24 August 1381, confirmed the stipulations of the Treaty of Zadar concerning Hungary. Venice agreed to pay an annual sum of 7,000 florins to Hungary.²⁰ Due to the peace treaties of Zadar and Torino Louis I could incorporate the whole coast of Dalmatia from Dubrovnik to Rijeka into his kingdom. With the help of different privileges he tried to promote the trading activity between Dalmatia and Hungary, thus trying to integrate the former into the Hungarian economy. Yet, in this respect he was not too successful: dozens of charters prove that the articles of Levantine trade reached Hungary not from the south-west, but from the south-east, via the Pontic trade routes.²¹

Decline of Angevine rule and the loss of Dalmatia

Since Louis I had no sons the question of succession was cause for great concern. When he died in 1382 his elder daughter, Marie who had married Sigismund of Luxembourg, acceded to the throne, as it was requested by the will of his father. However, the idea and practice of being ruled by a woman was not popular at all among the nobles of the realm. Consequently, they soon conspired against her. The main figures of the plot were the Horváti brothers, Paul, bishop of Zagreb and John, ban of Mačva. They supported Charles the Small of Durazzo, nephew of the duke who had been executed at Aversa. Charles the Small had been living in Hungary since 1364. Louis I, who obviously liked Charles, invested him with the duchy of Croatia and Dalmatia in 1371. Moreover, when Pope Urban VI offered the crown of Naples to Louis in 1380, the Hungarian king sent Charles with an army to Naples. Charles was successful and managed to accede to the throne. He ruled in Naples as Charles III between 1382 and 1386. When the Horváti brothers invited him to Hungary, Charles did not hesitate to depart. He disem-

¹⁹ Kristó, *Az Anjou kor háborúi*, 144; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 162. The Latin text of the peace treaty is published in G. Wenzel, ed. *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*. [Memories of Hungarian Diplomacy from the Anjou Era] 3 vols. Budapest 1874, 2: 501–505. The Hungarian translation of the Latin original by József Köblös is published in: J. Köblös, Sz. Süttő, K. Szende, *Magyar békeszerződések 1000–1526*. [Hungarian peace treaties] Pápa 2000, 126–132.

²⁰ The Latin text of the peace treaty of Torino is published by Gusztáv Wenzel in *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 1882, 8–60. The Hungarian translation of the Latin original is published in *Magyar békeszerződések*, 138–158.

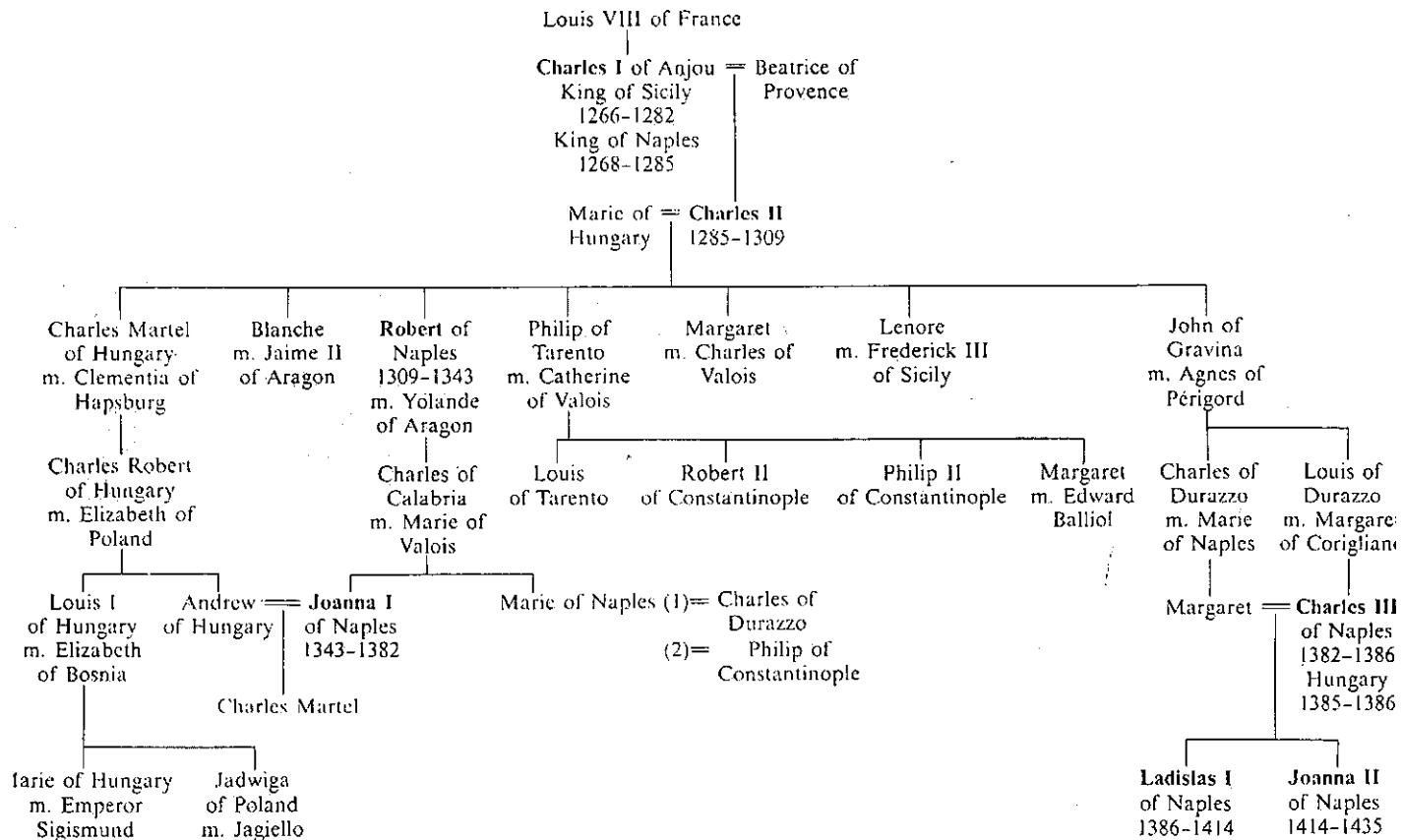
²¹ A. Fekete Nagy, *A magyar-dalmát kereskedelem*. [Trade between Hungary and Damatia] Budapest 1926; Zs. P. Pach, "A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala I. Lajos és Zsigmond korában." [The Transylvanian Route of Levantine Trade During the Reign of Kings Louis I and Sigismund] *Századok* 109 (1975), 3–32; Zs. P. Pach, "A Levante-történetírás fordulata 1879 és 1918 között." [The Turn of Levantine-historiography between 1879 and 1918] *Századok* 127 (1993), 239–269; Zs. P. Pach, "The Transcarpathian Routes of Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages. A Short Survey of a Long-standing Controversy." in M. Körner–F. Walter, eds. *Quand la Montagne aussi a une Histoire. Mélanges offerts à Jean François Bergier*. Bern–Stuttgart–Wien 1996, 237–246.

barked in Dalmatia in September 1385. Mária had no other choice than to renounce and Charles was crowned king of Hungary on 31 December 1385. Charles's rule was, however, short-lived: the Garai party had him assassinated. After his death in early 1386 the Horváti brothers declared his son, Ladislaus (László) to be king of Hungary. Ladislaus as King of Naples (1386–1414) had bright prospects for acquiring the Hungarian crown. The legal king, Sigismund of Luxembourg was not too popular in Hungary. The news of his defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 and the monarch's prolonged absence from the country did little to enhance Sigismund's popularity. On his return he had to face strong opposition and in April in 1401 he was even taken prisoner by the rebellious lords. However, the barons were unable to come to an agreement, and Sigismund – due to the efforts of Nicholas Garai, the king's faithful supporter – was set free seven weeks later. In 1403 another revolt broke out against Sigismund and that provided a greater chance for Ladislaus to acquire the Hungarian crown than the one two years earlier. However, this time Ladislaus hesitated too long. It was too late when he had arrived in Zadar in the company of Angelo Acciajuoli, legate of Pope Boniface IX on 19 July 1403 and had been crowned there by Archbishop János (John) Kanizsai on 5 August. Since this time Sigismund and his supporters were determined and quick, Ladislaus soon realised that he had lost the game. He left for Italy in November but before sailing home he had bestowed upon one of his supporters, Hervoje the government of Dalmatia.²²

The resulting situation was rather bizarre. Only one member of the Angevin dynasty, Charles the Small could unite the throne of Naples and Hungary, but it cost him his life. Though, his son, Ladislaus of Naples had not been able to achieve his aim, that is he had failed to acquire the Hungarian crown, he remained in control of Dalmatia. As a pretender to the Hungarian–Croatian throne Ladislaus sold his claims to Dalmatia to the Republic of Venice in 1409 for 100,000 ducats. Venice took possession of Zadar, Nin, Vrana and Novigrad, together with the islands of Pag, Cres and Rab, at once. Though between 1411 and 1413, and again between 1418 and 1419 Sigismund made repeated attempts to recover the lost territory, he failed. By 1420 Venice had occupied most Dalmatian cities and islands and remained there until 1797.

²² Sz. Süttő, "Mária." [Mary] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 67–76; Sz. Süttő, "II. Károly (Kis Károly)." [Charles II (Charles the Small)], in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 77–84; Sz. Süttő, "Nápolyi László." [Ladislaus of Naples] in Kristó, *Magyarország vegyesházi királyai*, 85–92; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 195–199, 206–208, 210; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya*, passim. Also cf. KMTL s. v. Mária (1), Károly (4).

The House of Anjou (1266-1435)



The House of Anjou (1266-1435). Source: William L. Langer (ed.): An Encyclopedia of World History. Boston 1968. p. 315.