

MAGYARORSZÁG ÉS A RÓMAI
SZENTSZÉK
III.

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Szerkesztette
TUSOR PÉTER, KANÁSZ VIKTOR



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TÖBBSZÓLAMÚ HÍREK?

Pápai nunciusok jelentései Magyarországról a 16. század közepén*

Az 1550-es évek első fele a Magyar Királyság egyik legmozgalmasabb időszaka volt. Az országegyesítési kísérlet, valamint annak kudarca, Jagelló Izabella és János Zsigmond távozása, Castaldo erdélyi bevonulása, Fráter György meggyilkolása, Temesvár, Szolnok, Drégely, Veszprém és Eger ostroma fémjelzi eme esztendőök bonyolult belpolitikai, hadi és diplomáciai fejleményeit. Az eseményeket elsősorban belpolitikai és hadügyi szempontból vizsgálta eddig a magyar történetírás, s pár kivételtől eltekintve¹ a nemzetközi kontextusba ágyazás elmaradt. A korabeli Magyar Királyság területén zajló események megértéséhez mindazonáltal szükséges azt is látnunk, hogyan viszonyultak a keresztény Európa egyéb államai és döntéshozói Magyarországhoz, s egyáltalán mit tudtak a Királyság ügyeiről. Ezt vizsgálva pedig nem csak Isztambul és Bécs álláspontját szükséges ismerni, hanem azt is érdemes megnézni, hogy Európa további államai mit és hogyan láttak az 1550-es évek első felében a Magyar Királyságból.

Jelen tanulmányban éppen ezért azt vázolom fel, hogy a római Szentszék milyen hírek alapján tájékozódott a Magyar Királyságot illetően. Ehhez a Róma és Magyarország közti információ-áramlás legfontosabb szegmenseinek, a nunciusoknak a jelentéseit használok fel. Ezen belül is Girolamo Martinengo bécsi, valamint a magyar történettudomány által szinte ismeretlen velencei nuncius, Ludovico Beccadelli jelentéseit mutatom be. Választásom azért esett rájuk, mert a vizsgált korszakban a Habsburg Ferdinánd király mellé rendelt bécsi, valamint a Signoriához küldött velencei nunciusok jelentései tartalmaznak nagy mennyiségű, releváns magyar vonatkozású hírt, valamint a két nuncius egyazon időszakban, 1550 és 1554 között viselte a hivatalát. Kettejük jelentései közül a velencei nunciusé kap nagyobb teret, ugyanis hiába adta ki őket FRANCO GAETA 1967-ben, Beccadelli jelentéseinek magyar vonatkozású hírei még Martinengóéhoz képest is ismeretlennek számítanak a magyar történetírásban.

* Készült az ELKH TKI 30 207. sz. kutatócsoporti támogatás keretében.

¹ Például: KÖRPÁS ZOLTÁN, *V. Károly és Magyarország*, Budapest 2008; KÖRPÁS ZOLTÁN–B. SZABÓ JÁNOS, „Ha követségbe jöttek, sokan vannak, de ha katonának, kevesen.” *Az 1550-es országegyesítési kísérlet katonai hátteréhez: 16. századi Habsburg baderök és stratégiák Európában*, *Mozgó frontvonalak. Háború és diplomácia a várháborúk időszakában. 1552–1568* (szerk. Bujdosóné Pap Györgyi–Fejér Ingrid–H. Szilasi Ágota), Eger 2017, 89–116; GUTTMAN BARNABÁS–KÖRPÁS ZOLTÁN–TÓTH FERENC–B. SZABÓ JÁNOS, *A magyarországi török várháborúk nemzetközi háttere, 1547–1556*, *Világtörténet* 9 (2019) 253–293.

I. A KÉT NUNCIUS

Az 1501-ben, Bolognában született Ludovico Beccadelli kora jellegzetes humanista egyénisége volt. Jogi tanulmányait 1526-ban félbehagyva Padovába költözött, s a humán tudományoknak szentelte magát. 1535-től kora híres diplomatája, Gasparo Contarini bíboros titkára lett, valamint többször tartózkodott Reginald Pole bíboros kíséretében is diplomáciai útjai során. Patrónusa halála után Marcello Cervini Reggio Emilia egyházmegyében generális vikáriusává nevezte ki. Komoly pasztorális és teológiai érdeklődése miatt nem meglepő, hogy 1545-től a Trienti Zsinat titkára lett. Csak 1549-ben kapott püspöki széket, mikor is elnyerte a Nápolyi Királyság kis egyházmegyéje, Ravello püspökségét. Beccadelli szeretett volna egyházmegyéjébe látogatni, azonban szándéka meghiúsult, miután III. Pál, majd III. Gyula pápa a velencei nunciatúra élére nevezte ki. Az újdonsült nuncius jelleméről sokat elárul, hogy mivel nem tudott az egyházmegyében tartózkodni, lemondását tervezte, amelyet a pápa meggátolt, sőt a Val Lavino-i apátság *commendátorságát* is rábízta. 1550. március 17-én érkezett új állomáshelyére, ahol egészen 1554 közepéig maradt. Beccadelli buzgón látta el nunciusi feladatait, s mind a pápa, mind Velence elégedett volt vele, ezért két év után – bár a nuncius vissza szeretett volna térni az egyházmegyéjébe – Róma a *Signoria* egyetértésével a maradása mellett döntött. Négy éves velencei szolgálata során nemcsak a napi hivatali ügyek kötötték le, hanem humanista érdeklődéséből és magas műveltségéből adódóan továbbra is foglalkozott régi szövegek fordításával. Ennek ellenére Martinengóhoz hasonlóan újra a visszahívását kérte. Végül 1554. június 16-án kinevezték őt a római egyházmegye *vicarius in spiritualibus*ává, így 1554. szeptember elején tért vissza Rómába.²

Girolamo Martinengo patrícius családba született 1504. szeptember 19-én, Bresciában. Az ifjú első jelentősebb tisztségét 13 évesen kapta, ugyanis 1517. december 21-én X. Leó pápa neki adta az orianói Santa Maria plébániatemplom javadalmát. Egyházi pályára készülve teológiai és jogi tanulmányait a padovai egyetemen folytatta, amelyet 1527-ben fejezett be. 1529-ben megkapta a lenói bencés monostor *commendátorságát*. Tevékenysége nem merült ki a jövedelmek beszédésében, hanem lelkesen és sikeresen vetette bele magát az apátság felvirágoztatásába. Tehetsége és kapcsolatai révén 1540-ben a római Kúria tagja, majd 1541-ben III. Pál pápa titkos kamarása lett, s ekkor szentelték pappá.³

² Életéről további szakirodalommal: GIUSEPPE ALBERIGO, *Beccadelli, Ludovico*, DBI vol. 7, Roma 1970, 407–413. – Nunciatúrájáról: *Nunziature di Venezia V–VI (21 marzo 1550 – 26 dicembre 1551)*, a cura di FRANCO GAETA, Roma 1967.

³ Életéről: *Enciclopedia Bresciana VIII*, ed. ANTONIO FAPPANI, Brescia 1991, 314; HENRYK DAMIAN WOJTYSKA, *Girolamo Martinengo, un bresciano nunzio apostolico in Polonia (1548)*, Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi (ed. Cesare Alzati), Roma–Freiburg–Wien 1994, 721–728; DONATO SQUICCIARINI, *Nunzi apostolici a Vienna*, Città del Vaticano 1998, 59–60; legújabbán: KANÁSZ VIKTOR, *Magyarország és a Szentzsák a 16. század közepén. Girolamo Martinengo nuncius és a Magyar Királyság (1550–1554)* [doktori (Ph.D.) értekezés], Győr–Pécs 2022, 39–44. 173–176.

Hosszú hivatalnoki évek után 1548-ban Martinengót nunciusként Lengyelországba küldték, azonban megbízatását nem kísérte siker. A Szentszék mégsem hibáztatta, sőt III. Pál életének utolsó hónapjaiban kinevezte I. Ferdinánd mellé nunciussá és ebben III. Gyula is megerősítette. Ferdinánd udvarával, amely a birodalmi gyűlés miatt már egy hónapja Augsburgban tartózkodott, augusztus 14-én találkozott, ekkor történt meg a bemutatása, és kezdődött meg 1554-ig tartó nunciatúrájának időszaka.⁴

A Velencébe és Ferdinánd mellé rendelt nunciosok egyik legfontosabb feladata Róma szakszerű és állandó, általában heti rendszerességgű tájékoztatása volt, s ezáltal a Római Kúria információ-szerzési rendszerének szerves részét alkották. III. Gyula pápa pontifikátusa elején még azt az utasítást adta a nunciainak, hogy egyik kipróbált diplomatájának, az első (állam)titkárnak, Girolamo Dandinónak (Dandini) küldjék a jelentéseit.⁵ A helyzet azonban hamar visszarendeződött az elődje, III. Pál pápa alatti eljárásrend szerint: 1551 novemberében a pápa elrendelte, hogy a nunciosok leveleiket ne Dandinónak vagy magának a pápának címezzék, hanem a frissen kreált bíboros neposának, Innocenzo Del Monténak, innentől kezdve neki küldte a jelentéseket Martinengo és Beccadelli is.⁶

Végül érdemes pár szót ejteni a két nunciuss információs csatornáiról is. Martinengo kétségtelenül sokkal jobb helyzetben volt. A földrajzi közelség, a bécsi udvar jól informáltsága, a beágyazottság, valamint a magyar előkelőkkel tartott kapcsolata lehetővé tette számára, hogy első kézből szerezzen megbízható híreket a Magyar Királyságról. Ez a jelentései minőségén is látszik.⁷ Vele szemben a velencei nunciuss – már csak a távolság nagysából kifolyóan is – az esetek többségében nem támaszkodhatott közvetlen, első kézből származó információkra. Mivel híreinek forrását bizonyos esetekben közölte, azt láthatjuk, hogy a Magyar Királysággal kapcsolatban általában a neki küldött és a rajta keresztülmenő levelezésekből tájékozódott. Mivel a korabeli szentszéki diplomáciai levelezés Velencén keresztül zajlott, maga Martinengo is a városon keresztül továbbította a jelentéseit, Beccadelli ezúton sok mindenről értesülhetett.⁸

⁴ Nunciatúrájáról: *Nuntiatur des Girolamo Martinengo (1550–1554)* (Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken [NB] I/16), bearb. von HELMUT GOETZ, Tübingen 1965; KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 45–172.

⁵ LUDWIG FREIHERR VON PASTOR, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages. XIII*, London 1924, 73. 75; róla: ANNA FOA, *Dandini, Girolamo*. DBI 32, Roma 1986, 413–423. A korabeli pápaságról: KENNETH MEYER SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). IV*, Philadelphia 1984.

⁶ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 85–86. Innentől kezdve nem csak Martinengo, hanem a lengyelországi és a franciaországi nunciuss is Innocenziónak küldte a jelentéseit. *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae. II. Zacharias Ferreri (1519–1521) et Nuntii Minores (1522–1553)*, ed. HENRICUS DAMIANUS WOJTYSKA CP, Romae 1992, 426–428; *Correspondance du nonce en France. Prospero Santa Croce (1552–1554)* (Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae 9), introduction par FRANCESCO GIANNETTO, texte édité et annoté par JEAN LESTOCQUOY, Rome–Paris 1972, *passim*.

⁷ KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 51–57.

⁸ „Le lettere a mons. abbate Martinengo si sono mandate a buon cammino.” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 141.

A fennmaradt nunciusi levelek között találunk két iratot, amit Martinengo közvetlenül velencei nuncius-társának írt. Ezekben is az információk továbbításáról volt szó: Fráter György és Giovanni Battista Castaldo leveleit továbbította velük.⁹ Emellett Beccadelli a Ferdinánd országaiból érkező utazók híreire is számíthatott, valamint Rómából előre jelezték neki az új bécsi nunciusok érkezését, akik új állandóhelyük felé tartva megfordultak nála, így tett Martinengo, valamint utóda, Zaccaria Delfino is.¹⁰

2. AZ EGYHÁZ BELSŐ ÜGYEI

A magyar egyházzal kapcsolatban Martinengo feltűnően keveset írt. Ezen belül gyakorlatilag három fő ügygel foglalkozott: az üresedésben lévő egyházmegyék kapcsán a püspökkinevezések kérdésével, a koronabíboros – azaz Fráter György – kreálásának hosszan elhúzódó procedúrájával, majd ezzel összefüggésben a pálos szerzetes meggyilkolása miatt indított szentszéki vizsgálattal, valamint a Trienti Zsinat vonatkozásában a magyar episzkopátus részvételének kérdésével.¹¹ Beccadelli pedig – bár Fráter Györgyöt többször megemlítette – lényegében nem írt a jelentéseiben a magyar vonatkozású egyházi kérdésekről, sokkal inkább a Zsinat ügyeit követte.¹²

Mivel a római szentszék diplomataírói beszélnék a protestáns felekezetszervezők különböző irányzatai miatt különösen forrongó időszakban, úgy gondolhatnánk, hogy Róma követői különösen nagy hangsúlyt fektetnek a jelentéseikben a helyi részegyház ügyeire, a protestantizmus terjedésére, a szerzetesrendek sorsára, valamint a helyi klérus állapotára. Ezt a prekonceptiót erősíthetné az a tény is, hogy mind Martinengo, mind pedig Beccadelli a trienti szellemiséget képviselte. Mint láthattuk, igyekeztek – még ha ez sokszor nem is sikerült – odafigyelni a rá bízott javadalom – leltérgyen az kolostor vagy egyházmegye – állapotára, a hívek lelkigondozására, nem is beszélve arról, hogy szívükön viselték, s személyesen is elősegítették a majd csak 1563-ban lezáruló Trienti Zsinat munkáját.

Mindezek fényében meglepő, hogy sem Martinengo, sem pedig Beccadelli nem mutatott különösebb érdeklődést a magyarországi egyházi viszonyok iránt. Ennek oka

⁹ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 84–85; GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 326; valamint utóda, Zaccaria Delfino levelezését: GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 329. 331. A velencei nunciuson keresztül máskor is mentek levelek Magyarországról Rómába. Erre utal ugyanis az az 1550. dec. 13-án kelt jelentés, amely a váci püspök – Dudics (Sbardellati) János Ágoston – 1550. nov. 15-én, Egerben kelt levelének a másolatáról szól, amiből láthatták Rómában, hogy Fráter György legyőzte az Erdélyre törő moldvaiakat és törököket Uő, *Nunziature di Venezia*, 5. 186–187.

¹⁰ 1550. júl. 12-én a következőket írta Beccadelli: „*Mercore la sera venne mons. Martinengo per inviarse fra quattro o sei giorni al suo viaggio.*” Uo., 87, valamint 43; Uő, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 291–292. 300. 305; *Nuntiatur Delfinos. Legation Morones. Sendung Lippomanos. (1554–1556)* (NB I/17), bearb. von HELMUT GOETZ, Tübingen 1970, IX. 1–2.

¹¹ KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 101–148.

¹² Például GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, V, 185. 282. 309.

részben abban kereshető, hogy a korszakban Várday Pál halála, valamint Oláh Miklós esztergomi érsek kinevezése között a magyar egyházi hierarchia sem tudott érdemben foglalkozni a problémával.

3. BELPOLITIKA ÉS UDVARI HÍREK

Mivel Ferdinánd egyik legfontosabb címe a magyar király volt, Martinengo feladatköre a magyar ügyekre is kiterjedt. Így ha nem is olyan szorosan, mint a mohácsi csata előtt a budai elődje, Burgio nuncius, de kapcsolatban állt a magyar rendekkel, a királyi udvarban, valamint a magyar országgyűlések alkalmával többször találkozott magyar világi és egyházi vezetőkkel, levelezést is folytatott több fontos személlyel, s folyamatosan kapott információkat a magyar helyzetről. Martinengo több alkalommal jelen volt a magyar országgyűléseken, például az 1552-es pozsonyi, valamint az 1553-as soproni diétán. Emellett a királyi udvarban tartózkodva az uralgó és családja mindennapjaira is jó rálátást nyerhetett, s a látottakról részletesen beszámolt a jelentéseiben.¹³

Beccadelli Martinengóhoz hasonlóan, de nála jóval tömörebben sokszor írt jelentéseiben a belpolitikai fejleményekről. Például ő is nyomon követte az országgyűléseket. Figyelmének mélységét jól mutatják a már említett 1553-as soproni diéta kapcsán továbbított hírei. 1553. március 18-án bizonyos Grácból érkező levelekből még úgy tudta, hogy április folyamán Pozsonyban ül majd össze az országgyűlés.¹⁴ Április 1-jei jelentése szerint húsvét után Pozsonyban vagy Nagyszombatban kerül erre sor a király és a fiai jelenlétében.¹⁵ Április 20-án pedig már tudott róla, hogy végül Sopronban lesz a diéta.¹⁶ Ezen kívül Martinengo és Beccadelli is figyelemmel kísérték az erdélyi törekvéseket is: a nunciusok nem csak a magyar országgyűlés ügyeit követték, jelentettek például az 1551-es nagyenyedi és a kolozsvári gyűlésen történekről.¹⁷

Különös, hogy a nunciusok a magyar világi politikusok és egyházi vezetők közül nagyon keveset neveztek meg, Martinengo például az esetek döntő többségében csak a tisztségüket adta meg. A bécsi nuncius éleslátását mindenesetre kitűnően mutatja, hogy ezek közül az egyik Nádasdy Tamás, akit már két évvel a nádorrá választása előtt úgy jellemzett, mint „a magyar nemzet feje”.¹⁸ Martinengo mellett Beccadelli

¹³ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 103–121. 241–248; KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 94–100.

¹⁴ GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 214.

¹⁵ Uo., 216.

¹⁶ Uo., 222.

¹⁷ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 26–30. 41–44. 63–66. Az 1553-as erdélyi országgyűlésről Beccadelli is tudott: GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 254.

¹⁸ „Nadasdy, consigliere et capo della nation hunghera”. GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 197. Martinengo jó véleményének feltehetően az is alapot szolgáltatott, hogy Nádasdy római egyetemjárása következtében ismerte az olasz szokásokat, valamint a korabeli római viszonyokat. A nuncius véleménye annak fényében érthető igazán, hogy Nádasdyt a bécsi udvarban ekkor valóban sokra tartották. PÁLFFY GÉZA, *Nádasdy Tamás, a Dunántúl*

is értesülhetett a későbbi nádor fontosságáról, ugyanis megemlékezett róla az 1553. február 18-ai jelentésében, például a dunántúli főkapitányságról való lemondásáról, és Tahy Ferenc kinevezéséről.¹⁹

A legnagyobb figyelem természetesen a királyi család tagjaira, valamint magára a királyi udvarra hárult. Martinengo az udvari ünnepségekről és protokolláris rendezvényekről is megemlékezett, és nem egy esetben jelentette, ha az uralkodó vadászni indul.²⁰ Beccadelli ezt már nem követte nyomon, viszont érdekes, hogy Szulejmán esetében ő is továbbította a szultán vadászatairól szóló híreket.²¹ Emellett a nunciusok – a kor többi követével egyetemben – az uralkodócsalád egyes tagjainak utazásáról is gyakorta beszámoltak. A fontosabb házasságkötések is megjelentek a jelentésekben. Például Martinengo számára fontos ügynek számított – s Beccadelli is megemlékezett róla – Ferdinánd lányának, Katalinnak és II. Zsigmond Ágost lengyel királynak a házasságkötése, ahol végül ő képviselte a pápát, s amelynek az esküvői vacsorája kisebb diplomáciai zavart is okozott.²²

Ugyanakkor nem csak a reprezentatív, jeles bécsi napok, hanem a királyi udvar sötétebb tónusú sorscsapásai is megjelennek. Martinengo jelentéseiben többször olvashatunk a királyi család egyes tagjainak betegségeiről és baleseteiről. Igazán mély hatást azonban az 1552-ben kirobbant pestisjárvány okozott, amely során a bécsi nuncius karanténba zárva, halálfélelemben töltötte az év végét.²³ A járvány bécsi pusztítása Beccadelli figyelmét sem kerülte el, s úgy summázta február 4-én kelt jelentésében egy január 24-ei levelére hivatkozva a történeteket, hogy Bécsben, ahol 15 000 ember halt meg, megszűnt a pestis.²⁴

4. FRÁTER GYÖRGY MEGGYILKOLÁSA ÉS KÖVETKEZMÉNYEI

A pestis dühöngése, Nádasdy egyre emelkedő karriere, valamint a királyi udvar ügyei mellett sokkal nagyobb figyelem szegeződött Fráter György tevékenységére, az országegyesítés folyamatára, a bíboros meggyilkolására, valamint az azt követő 1552-es oszmán hadjárat eseményeire.²⁵ E fejlemények a bécsi és a velencei nunciátúra kiemelkedő hírei közé tartoztak.

főkapitánya (1542–1546 és 1548–1552), Nádasdy Tamás (1498–1562). Tudományos emlékülés: Sárovar 1998. szeptember 10–11. (szerk. Söptei István), Sárovar 1999, 29–54, 39–40.

¹⁹ GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 204–205., Vö. PÁLFFY, *Nádasdy*, 38–39.

²⁰ Például GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 249.

²¹ GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, V, 311.

²² GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 255–256; GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 222. 254., A házasságról: AAV Misc. Arm. II. 55. 296r; ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Rom, Diplomatische Korrespondenz, Kart. 13 (1550–1555), fol. 270r–272r. Lásd a *Függelek*, 1. sz. iratát.

²³ KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 168–171.

²⁴ GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 201.

²⁵ Fráter Györgyről az elmúlt években több monográfia is született: OBORNI TERÉZ, *Az ördögös Barát. Fráter György (1482–1551)* (Szilvett), Pécs–Budapest 2017; ADRIANO PAPO–GIZELLA NEMETH PAPO, *Nemá-surata ispită a puterii. Gheorghe Martinuzzi, adevăratul rege al Transilvaniei în secolul al XVI-lea*. Oradea 2019.

Martinengo rendszeresen és részletesen, velencei kollégája pedig ritkábban, felületesebben, de szintén többször írt a kortársak számára is sokszor átláthatatlan erdélyi helyzetről, Fráter György és Jagelló Izabella antagonisztikus ellentétéről, valamint az egyre erősödő oszmán nyomásról. Hogy egy konkrét példát említsek, 1550. november 8-án Beccadelli azt jelentette Rómába, hogy nagy a felfordulás Magyarországon, mert a váradi püspök erősen felfegyverkezett a királyné és Petrovics Péter ellen.²⁶ Később már a felek tárgyalásairól és megállapodásáról és Fráternek a szultánhoz küldött követéségeiről is tájékoztatta az Örök Várost,²⁷ valamint az országegyesítés sorsát is nyomon követte.²⁸

A frissen bíborossá kreált Fráter 1551. december 17-ei meggyilkolásának európai hírű megdöbbenést kiváltó híreről sokat írt Martinengo. E vonatkozású jelentései és levelei – pár, például a mellékletben közölt irat kivételével – ismertek, ezért inkább a velencei nuncius eddig figyelembe nem vett híreit érdemes alaposabban áttekinteni.²⁹ Ludovico Beccadelli az események után egy hónappal, 1552. január 16-án már biztosan tudott a gyilkosságról.³⁰ Január 23-án azt jelentette Rómába, hogy látta Ferdinándnak a császár orátorához írt január 4-ei levelét, melyben a váradi bíboros halálát mentegeti, mondván, hogy nyugtalan és kapzsi természete kényszerítette a királyt erre az intézkedésre, hogy népe és az egész ország ne essen a törökök áldozatául, amint azt állítólag Fráter tervezte. Mindemellett a nuncius azt írta, hogy a beglerbég nem jött volna Magyarországra, ha nem lett volna a szerzetes, akinek Ófelsége a bíborosi megtiszteltetést szerezte, és őt Erdély kormányzójává és kincstartójává tette, valamint neki szándékozott adni az esztergomi érsekséget is. Mindezzel azonban Fráter nem volt megelégedve, ezért a törökökkel szövetkezett.³¹ Érdekes, hogy a hír terjedését maga is fontosnak érezte és nyomon követte, így február 20-án

²⁶ Uő, *Nunziature di Venezia*, V, 158.

²⁷ Uo., 203. 244. 311.

²⁸ Például uo., 269. 272. 283. 301. 327. 329. 332. Vö. *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe (Disparci di Germania)*. I–II. bearbeitet von GUSTAV TURBA, Wien 1892, 522. 541.

²⁹ Például Martinengo GOETZ által kiadott, ide vonatkozó jelentéseit felhasználta: BARTA GÁBOR, *Vajon kié az ország?* (Labirintus), Budapest 1988.

³⁰ Lásd Innocenzio bíborosnak írt levelét: „*Il rev.mo di Törnone hiermatina partì di qui per Ferrara per venirsene a N. S. per trattar la pace, di che Dio gli faccia gratia. Il dì innanzi S. Sig.ria Rev.ma fu in Collegio a tor licenza et hebbe audienza secreta, nella quale potemo ben pensare che non lassasse di commendar la causa del suo Re, congiunta, come suol dire, con la libertà d'Italia, di che tanto più gli bavrà dato causa di ragionare questa nova sopravvenuta della morte violenta del card. Varadino procurata dal sig. Sforza Pallavicino a Vinz in Transilvania alli 17 del passato, come V. S. ill.ma bavrà inteso.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 36.

³¹ „*Ho veduto una lettera del ser.mo Re de' Romani, di 4 del presente, scritta qui all'oratore cesareo, nella quale il Re scusa la morte del card. Varadino, dicendo che la sua inquieta et avida natura ha sforzato S. M.tà a pigliar questa provizione per assicurarsi che le sue genti con tutto quel regno non fussero preda de' turchi, sì come dice che si trattava di fare; et scrive che 'I beglerbei non seria venuto questo anno in Ongaria se non fusse stato il frate, al qual S. M.tà havea procurato l'honor del cardinalato, datoli così extraordinaria mente da N. S., et l'havea fatto vaivoda et thesauriero generale della Transilvania et datoli intentione dell'arcivescovato di Strigonia; ma con tutto questo non si contentava et teneva le pratiche sopradette con turchi, sì come più a pieno bavrà fatto intendere a N. S., et soggiungeva nella detta lettera che la Transilvania stava quietissima. Il che, anchora che possa esser soverchio, ho voluto scrivere a V. S. ill.ma.*” Uo., 39–40.

írt arról, hogy az oszmánokhoz is eljutott Fráter meggyilkolásának híre.³² Végül pedig a kiváltott reakciókat figyelve azt is tudatta Rómával, hogy Erdély a történek ellenére nagyon nyugodt.³³ A gyilkosság után egy évekig elhúzódó szentszéki vizsgálat kezdődött, ami a bíboros megölésének jogosságát volt hivatott tisztázni. Mivel ezt Martinengo nuncius vezette, a jelentéseiben gyakran visszaköszön a téma, valamint a nunciatúrája kapcsán fennmaradt egyéb iratkorpuszt is e vizsgálat dokumentációja uralja.³⁴ Ezzel szemben a véres alvinci eseményeket követően Fráter alakja már kikerült Beccadelli jelentéseiből.

5. MARS BIRODALMA

A nunciusok már 1552 előtt is élénk figyelemmel kísérték a hadi események alakulását, valamint az oszmán vezetőkkel folytatott tárgyalásokat.³⁵ Mindenesetre a törtétek fényében Magyarországon, a bécsi udvarban, Velencében, s egész Európában egyre több hír keringett az oszmán készülődésről. Rendszeresen felmerült a velencei nuncius jelentéseiben is a kérdés, hogy a szultán vezet-e majd személyesen hadat Magyarországon, vagy ki áll majd a sereg élére, s mikor, hogyan indulnak vagy érkeznek a csapatok.³⁶ Ezzel összefüggésben mindkét nuncius követte Sforza Pallavicini botrányos

³² „Scrivono anchora che in nove giorni intesero la morte di fra Giorgio et che Rustan Bassà disse ch'era homo di due lingue et che li stava bene.” Uo., 51.

³³ Uo., 40. Erről Európa-szerte tudtak, például Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle arrasi püspök, a császár államtitkára 1552. jan. 17-én arról írt Habsburg Mária királynénak Innsbruckból, hogy Martinuzzi halála óta nincs mozgolódás Erdélyben. *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayerns Fürstenhaus. Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte. II. 1552*, bearb. von AUGUST VON DRUFFEL, München 1880, 38.

³⁴ Az iratanyag elszórtan található a Vatikánban (AAV Miscellanea, Arm. II, vol. 55 és vol. 61; Archivum Arcis, Arm. I–XVIII, vol. 1711), Bécsben (ÖStA HHStA Ungarische Akten, Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 65, Konv. B; Konv. C; Fasc. 72, Konv. B; Fasc. 74, Konv. D; Fasc. 75, Konv. B.), valamint Münchenben (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Oefeleana 246.) gyűjteményeiben. Több másolat is született róluk, például ELTE EKK Collectio Kaprinaiana, Ms. Ab 50, vol. XI, fol. 1–321. Mindezek mellett Ferdinánd király római ágense, Don Diego Lasso is gyakorta írt a vizsgálat és az *absolutio* kérdéséről, például ÖStA HHStA Rom, Dipl. Korr., Kart. 13, fol. 116rv. 120rv. 128v. 133rv. 142r. 147rv. 157r–164v. 168r. 170r–171r. 178r. 185r. 187rv. 260r. 266rv. 287v. 292r. 294v.

³⁵ Martinengo például tudott arról, hogy Bécsben járt a budai pasa követe, aki szerint a király emberei megszegették a fegyverszünet pontjait, és a szolnoki vár lerombolását kérte. GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 26–30. Mindez összefügghet a velencei nuncius 1550. dec. 6-ai jelentésével, amelyben arról írt, hogy a budai pasa tiltakozott az Eger közelében, a Tiszánál lévő új erőd miatt, amelynek a lebontását követelte. Ez minden kétséget kizáróan Szolnokra vonatkozhat. GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, V, 178. Szolnok fontosságáról: AAV Misc. Arm. II. 55. 217r–220r; *Deutsche Reichstakten unter Kaiser Karl V. Der Reichstag zu Augsburg 1550/51, I–II*, bearb. von ERWEIN ELTZ, München 2005, 932–933. 1604.

³⁶ Például GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 36. 51. 71–72. 87. 92. 99. 108–109. 113. 119. 124. („Che Acmar Bassà caminava con diligenza per la volta d'Ongaria et che in Samandria formaria l'essercito per andar poi in Transilvania.”), 197. Mindez máshol is központi témának számíthatott. Arras püspöke jan. 24-én arról írt Innsbruckból, hogy a király megölette a váradi bíborost, de nem tudni, mi lesz ennek a hatása, Szulejmán tengeren vagy szárazföldön intéz-e támadást. DRUFFEL, *Briefe*, 58. Mindezt azért is követhették ilyen nagy

italiai toborzójának híreit, sőt Martinengo – valószínűleg felismerve annak fontosságát – mérsékelt támogatást – lobbitevékenységet – is nyújtott hozzá.³⁷

Az 1552-es hadi események bemutatását mindkét nuncius a szegedi veszedelem néven elhíresült sikertelen ostrommal kezdi. A mára a köztudatból kikopott keresztény ostrom európai léptékű hírértékét jól mutatja, hogy nem csak Tinódi Lantos Sebestyén énekelte meg, hanem Itália-szerte ismerték a fejleményeket, s Martinengo, valamint Beccadelli is írt róla.³⁸

Veszprém sorsa is érdekelte a két nunciust. Ez esetben is a várható séma ismétlődött: Martinengo sokat és pontosan írt az eseményekről, míg a velencei nuncius június 18-ai jelentésében megemlékezett Veszprém oszmán ostromáról. Ebben egy cseh nemesről hallott – kevésbé hiteles, ám annál érdekesebb – híreit osztotta meg Del Montéval, ugyanis úgy tudta, hogy Sforza Pallavicini az Itáliában toborzott haderejével a várost felmentette, s az oszmán csapatok Székesfehérvárra vonultak vissza.³⁹ A hír persze inkább a vágyvezérelt gondolat körébe tartozott, Veszprém ugyanis végül oszmán kézre került. Ugyanakkor mindkét nuncius hitelesen emlékezett meg jelentéseiben a keresztény csapatok katasztrofális vereségével végződő palásti csatáról is, ahol az ott harcoló olasz segélyhadakat külön megemlégtették.⁴⁰

figyelemmel, mert úgy vélték, – ahogy azt Arras püspöke 1552. ápr. 28-án Habsburg Máriának írta – ha a szultán nem támad személyesen Magyarországon, talán a béke vagy a fegyverszünet is elérhető, s ezzel Ferdinánd király támogatni tudja a császárt a harcaiban. Uo., 440.

³⁷ Az ügy gyakran feltűnik a jelentésekben: GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 99–126; KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 63–65. A küldetésről Beccadelli is tájékoztatta Innocenziót 1552. jan. 2-ai jelentésében: „*Il sig. Sforza Pallavicino, ch'è al servizio del ser.mo Re de' Romani in Ongaria, ha mandato un suo parente in Italia che si chiama il sig. Hippolito per far 4000 fanti da condursi in quelle parti.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 29., ápr. 23-án pedig: „*Il sig. Sforza con le sue genti, che dicono essere 4000 fanti, passano alla volta di Trieste per Ongaria et questi signori gli accomodano di barbe. Dice l'agente del Re de' Romani che l'Imperatore non ha voluto servirsi di questi fanti, ma ha commesso che vadano a loro viaggio.*” Uo., 93, valamint 123.

³⁸ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 106–III. Beccadelli a következőket írta Del Monte bíborosnak márc. 26-án Velenceből: „*Scrissi alli 12 a V. S. ill.ma di quello che s'era inteso della recu peratione di Zeghadin in Ongaria. Di poi questi signori bebbbero lettere di 10 come il bassà di Buda havea mandato gran numero di gente in soccorso per esser la terra aperta et le genti del Re s'erano ritirate a certi luochi oltra la Tissa. Hiermatina questi signori bebbbero lettere dal suo orator di 14 che un'altra volta in Zegadin s'era sollevato il popolo et havea tagliato a pezzi i turchi, ma la nova non si verifica perche ci sono lettere di 15 del Re de' Romani al suo agente che non ne parlano se non quanto ho scritto.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 76.

³⁹ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 185–186. Ludovico Beccadelli velencei nuncius jelentése Innocenzio Del Monte bíboroshoz, Velence, 1552. jún. 18.: „*Capitò qui, tre di sono, un gentilbomo del Re de Boemia che va a Milano, il qual mi disse che partì da Vienna al primo di questo, ov'era il Re Massimiliano che non attendeva ad altro che a mandar gente più che potea a soccorso dell'Ongaria, la qual era infestata da' turchi che a quel tempo assediavano Vespirmio, città notabile in Ongaria, et erano da 10.000 cavalli turchi; ma disse che da poi, giunto a Villacco, havea inteso come quella terra era stata soccorsa da cavalli ungari et boemi et le fantarie che ha menati d'Italia il sig. Sforza et che i turchi s'erano retirati in Albargale, ove da' christiani erano stati assediati; et diceva che gli ungari erano benissimo viso luti di combattere e difendersi da' turchi et che fra pochi di il prin cipe Ferdinando si dovea partire et andare in Boemia.*” Uo., 123.

⁴⁰ A velencei nuncius aug. 27-ei jelentésében többek közt kiemelte, hogy a hét órán át tartó csatában a magyarok és németek mellett olaszok is küzdöttek: „*Le nuove che questa settimana si dicono qui sono della rotta ch'hanno havuto gli christiani in Ongaria dal Bassà di Buda, che sono stati sette o otto millia fanti tra italiani, tedeschi et ungari, i quali combattertero ben sette bore et con strage degli nemici; pur furono rotti dalla moltitudine di quelli,*

Hasonlót tapasztalunk Temesvár ostromával kapcsolatban is. Martinengo folyamatosan és alaposan jelentett az eseményekről, valamint Beccadelli augusztus 6-ai és 13-ei jelentése is megemlékezett az ostromról, bár ő úgy tudta, hogy a pasa visszavonult Temesvár alól, mert nehéznek találta a vállalkozást.⁴¹ Augusztus 20-án viszont már Temesvár elestét s védői gyászos halálát jelentette, végül pedig szeptember 3-án arról írt, hogy Castaldo serege Temesvár visszavételére készült, s hozzájuk csatlakozott volna Sforza Pallavicini Palástinál megvert serege.⁴²

Szolnok ostromáról is beszámolt mindkét nuncius. Martinengo 1552. szeptember 8-ai jelentésében írt arról először, hogy ostrom alá vették a várat, amelyet tüzéséggel és csapatokkal becsülettel felszereltek, s habár 2000 emberre lenne szükség a védelméhez, csak 1000 tartózkodik benne.⁴³ Beccadelli pedig bécsi hírekre támaszkodva a város elfoglalásáról értesítette Rómát.⁴⁴ A várostromok közül a legnagyobb figyelem már akkor is az egri vár viadalát övezte, a nunciusok is különösen sokat írtak róla.⁴⁵ Itt már az egyébként felettébb jól értesült Martinengo is több bécsi, utólag tévesnek

et del sig. Sforza Palavicino si pen sava male, non intendensosi sino alli 13 in Vienna nova di S. Sigria.” Uo., 145. Sforza Pallavicini megmeneküléséről és Bécsbe távozásáról: „*Che l sig. Sforza Pallavicino con alcuni altri capi era riscatato et era tornato a Vienna et stava bene.*” Uo., 165.

⁴¹ GOETZ, Martinengo, 157–184. „*S’è anco detto che l bassà, che era a campo a Temisvar in Transilvania, s’è ritirato, havendo trovato l’impresa difficile.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 141. „*Scrive anco il maestro delle poste dell’Imperatore che li turchi, havendo dato assalti dannosi per loro a Temisvar, s’erano retirati et che si diceva ch’andariano sopra Lippa, la qual era però ben guar data.*” Uo., 142.

⁴² „*Qui si dice per certo che Temisvar in Transilvania fu preso per forza da’ turchi con occisione di tutti quelli di dentro, i quali non morirono senza molta strage de’ nemici.*” Uo., 143. „*Questi signori imperiali hier sera bebbeno lettere d’Augusta dell’ultimo del passato con alcuni avisi, che V.S. Rev.ma vedrà in un foglio qui incluso. Quel capitolo della rotta de’ turchi in Transilvania dicono ch’è scritto dal maestro delle poste d’Augusta, il qual accusa un aviso da Vienna del Silva, segretario del Re di Boemia; per ancho, qui non se n’ha altro scontro: pregaremo Dio che non sia vero. Dui di sono, a me refferi un gentilbomo che parti alli 17 da Vienna et havea parlato col Re che l Castaldo in Transilvania, doppo la persa di Temisvar, haveva insieme più di 60.000 persone per recuperar Temisvar come sperava, et che l sig. Sforza Palavicino andava a congiungersi con loro, quando fu assaltato dal Bassà di Buda, sì che potria esser molto bene che quei transilvani, per scotere il giogo turchesco, havessero fatto una buona unione.*” Uo., 148.

⁴³ GOETZ, Martinengo, 190–192. 1553. aug. végén a várban kitört nagy tűzvészről is megemlékezett Martinengo, amelyben az épületek nagy része elpusztult. Uo., 271.

⁴⁴ Ludovico Beccadelli így írt Del Monte bíborosnak okt. 1-jén: „*D’Ongaria sono lettere di 16 da Vienna che li christiani have vano abbandonato Tolnoc, luoco fortificato da loro sin l’anno pas sato, et turchi l’havevano occupato et trovatovi dentro di molta arti gliaria. Dicono che un ongaro, sul partir di detta fortezza, lassò un pezzo di corda accesa presso alla munitione, la qual abbrugiò nel tempo che turchi erano dentro et rovinò la fortezza con occisione de molti turchi, il campo de’ quali si credeva che andasse sopra Agria.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 158. Vö. JAC[QUES] AUG[USTE] THUANI, *Historiarum sui temporis opera*. I. [h.n.] 1609, 195; KÖRPÁS ZOLTÁN, *I. Ferdinánd levelezése V. Károly melletti követével, Juan Alonso de GámiZZal (1542–1556)*, Fons 16 (2009) 309–372, 345–346. DRUFFEL, Briefe, 770; *Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen*. 6: 2. Mai 1552 – 11. Juli 1553 mit ergänzenden Dokumenten zum Tod des Kurfürsten, bearb. von JOHANNES HERRMANN–GÜNTHER WARTENBERG–CHRISTIAN WINTER, Berlin 2006, 516.

⁴⁵ Az ostrom kora újkori itáliai recepciójáról legújabbán: BÁNRÉVI MÓNKA, 16–17. századi itáliai beszámolók a török kori Magyarországról és Egerről. Élet a török hódoltságban I. (főszerk. Sudár Balázs), Pécs 2022, 14–15; Uő, *Körkép Egerről és környezetéről „A töröknek a hazában léte alati”*, Élet a török hódoltságban, 28–31.

bizonyult pletykát osztott meg Rómával.⁴⁶ Fontos kiemelni, hogy ez az ostrom a magyar vonatkozású hírek közül Ludovico Beccadelli egyik legrészletesebben jelentett eseménye. Október 1-jén már megemlítette a várost *Agria* néven, majd 15-én már tudott az ostromról, valamint Szász Móric Esztergom ellen tervezett támadásáról,⁴⁷ 29-ei jelentésében pedig arról írt, hogy a vitézül védekező magyarok három oszmán támadást is visszavertek, miközben Móric herceg 12 000 gyalogossal és 4000 lovassal Esztergom ellen indult, ami Eger felmentése miatt lett volna létfontosságú.⁴⁸ A jelentések közül a november 5-ei jól szemlélteti a velencei nuncius informáltságát, ugyanis egy különleges, Bécsből érkező történetet jegyzett le: az egriek egy nagy árkot ástak a földbe, amit mesterséges tűzzel töltöttek meg, s úgy tettek, mintha egy részük meg akarná adni magát. Kinyitották a kapukat, a törökök pedig berontottak, s a tűz és a várvédők közé szorulva kétezren haltak meg.⁴⁹ Ez talán a Bornemissza Gergely által oly sikeresen alkalmazott tüzes kerék hírének lecsapódása lehetett. A velencei nuncius végül november 12-én jelentette Eger sikeres megvédésének hírét, amelyet egy november 1-jén, Bécsben íródott levélből tudott meg. A levél szerint október 28-án tudták meg, hogy a törökök feladták az ostromot (Martinengo is aznap írta meg a győzelem hírét). A védők a tábor bontása után összecsaptak az utóvéddel, amely során mintegy 2000 embert megöltek. A velencei nuncius – szintén Martinengo hírével összhangban – úgy tudta, hogy az ostrom felhagyásának oka a pestis volt, és hogy aznap több mint 400 ember halt meg a táborban, de mindemellett a város is jól meg volt erősítve, bár a falak nagy részét lerombolták.⁵⁰ Nem tudjuk, pontosan melyik jelentés ért először az Örök Városba, azt viszont tudjuk, hogy november 15-én már biztosan hallottak a nagy győzelemről Rómában.⁵¹

Végül fontos kiemelni, hogy mindkét pápai követ – valamint maga Ferdinánd király is – a magyarországi hadi helyzet kapcsán kiemelkedően fontosnak tartotta

⁴⁶ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 193–198. KANÁSZ, *Magyarország és a Szentsek*, 81.

⁴⁷ GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 158. „*Cb'e' turchi erano all'assedio d'Agria et che per disviarneli il duca Mauritio, che si truova in Ongaria con buon essercito, mostrava d'andare sopra Strigonia.*” Uo., 165.

⁴⁸ „*Per lettere di 11 et 12 da Vienna confermano la nova delli moldavi ribellati al Turco et adherenti al Re de' Romani, et dicono che gli ongari ch'erano in Agria s'erano diffesi valentemente da tre assalti dateli da' turchi et che 'I duca Mauritio con 12.000 fanti et 4.000 cavalli era andato alla volta di Strigonia.*” Uo., 170. Vö. DRUFFEL, *Briefe*, 796; HERRMANN–WARTENBERG–WINTER, *Politische Korrespondenz*, 490. 516–517. 535.

⁴⁹ „*S'è inteso che mostrando gli ongari che sono in Agria di volersi rendere a' turchi, fecero un gran fosso dentro la terra nel qual posero foco artificiato, et fingendo d'essere in divisione tra loro, la parte che mostrava favorire li turchi aperse le porte et turchi entrarono con impeto; et scrivono che tra quel fuoco et gli ongari inimici ve ne sono rimasti da 2000.*” GAETA, *Nunziature di Venezia*, VI, 174.

⁵⁰ „*Per lettere da Vienna, del primo di novembre. Cbe, per avisi di 28 d'ottobre da Agria, turchi haveano abban donato quella impresa et che nel levar del campo quelli di dentro erano usciti a combattere la retroguardia, dove che ne tagliarono a pezzi circa 2000. La causa del levar l'assedio dicono ch'è stata per rispetto della peste et che 'I giorno in campo morivano più di 400 persone, oltra che la città era ben munita, anchora che con l'arti gliaria bavessero buttato gran parte della muraglia.*” Uo., 177.

⁵¹ Erről Don Diego Lasso leveléből értesülünk, akinek a király írta meg a fejleményeket, s emellett Velencéből is kaptak híreket az ostrom végéről. ÖStA HHStA Rom, Dipl. Korr., Kart. 13, fol. 249r; DRUFFEL, *Briefe*, 825.

Szász Móricnak az utókor – és sokszor a kortársak számára is – kevés sikert hozó győri táborozását.⁵² Szerintük Móric nem csak a Győr körüli passzív védekezésre készült – amely már önmagában is intő jel volt az oszmán hadvezetés számára –, hanem Eger felmentése érdekében Esztergom megtámadását is tervezte.⁵³

6. ÖSSZEGZÉS

Összességében azt láthatjuk, hogy a többi korabeli nunciatúrához képest a velencei és a bécsi nuncius jelentései tartalmaznak érdemleges magyarországi híreket az 1550 és 1554 közti időszakból. Az I. Ferdinánd király mellé rendelt Girolamo Martinengo, valamint a Signoriához rendelt Ludovico Beccadelli nuncius nagy figyelemmel kísérte a Kárpát-medencében zajló fejleményeket. Értelemszerűen a bécsi pápai követ jóval részletesebben és gyakrabban jelentett a magyar ügyek alakulásáról, ugyanakkor a velencei nunciustól is megtalálhatóak a fontos – és néhol a kevésbé jelentős – események híre. Beccadelli bár többször közölt utólag álhírnék, téves információk bizonyuló híreket is, összességében jól tájékozottnak tekinthető, átlátta a Királyság politikai és hadászati körülményeit. A két nuncius figyelme középpontjában nem a magyar egyház belső problémái, valamint a protestáns reformáció viharos terjedése állt, hanem elsősorban a hadügyi és politikai kérdések foglalkoztatták őket a jelentéseikben. Kiemelten figyeltek az 1552-es magyarországi oszmán hadjáratokra, ezek során az egyes hadi eseményekről – például a várostromokról – részletesen írtak.

Habár nunciustársával összeköttetésben állt, hírei nem Martinengo jelentésein alapulnak, tőle független hírcsatornákon keresztül szerezte az információit. Ennek hatására Róma többszörmű hírforrással rendelkezett a Magyar Királysággal kapcsolatban: Bécs és Velence eltérő szövegei ugyanakkor összességében egymást erősítővé közös hangzattá váltak.

A feltártak alapján azt is sikerül jobban megértenünk, hogy a pápai nunciusok a kora újkorban (sőt mindmáig) miért vannak mindig az adott állam fejéhez akkreditálva, noha küldetésükben a 17. századi pápai hatalomvesztéssel párhuzamosan mind erőteljesebbé vált a lokális egyházszerkezettől való ellenőrzés és irányítás.

⁵² Erről röviden: KANÁSZ VIKTOR, *Eger és a szentszéki diplomácia. Girolamo Martinengo jelentései Eger 1552. évi ostromáról*, Itália öröksége Egerben (Konferencia-tanulmányok, Eger, 2021. szept. 23–24.), szerk. Szilasi Ágota, Eger, s.a.

⁵³ GOETZ, *Martinengo*, 97. levél, Martinengo Del Monténak, Bécs, 1552. okt. 28. A hír háttérében talán az állhatott, hogy a király többször sürgette Móricot, és Castaldo is erősen szorgalmazta azt, hogy Móric induljon Eger felmentésére, vagy ha ez nem is valósul meg, legalább Esztergomig nyomuljon előre. Móric ugyanakkor okt. 18-án arról panaszkodott, hogy Ferdinándtól nem kapta meg az engedélyt a támadáshoz, így pedig a határ védelmén kívül nem lehet mást tenni, s majd megerősödve tavasszal lesz esély a támadásra. ÖStA HHStA Ung. Akt., All. Akt., Kart. 67. Konv B. 1552, fol. 15r–18r. 49r–50v. 102r; HERRMANN–WARTENBERG–WINTER, *Politische Korrespondenz*, 516–517. Vö. GUITMAN BARNABÁS–KORPÁS ZOLTÁN–TÓTH FERENC–B. SZABÓ JÁNOS, *A magyarországi török várháborúk nemzetközi háttere*, 286. Szász Móric győri táborozásáról a későbbiekben külön tanulmányban fogunk foglalkozni.

FÜGGELÉK

I.

*Róma, 1553. május 25.**Don Diego Lasso I. Ferdinándnak*

Az uralkodó megbízásából igyekezett elérni, hogy Martinengo nuncius képviselje a királyi udvarban Habsburg Ferdinánd lányának, Katalinnak és II. Zsigmond Ágost lengyel királynak a házasságkötésén a pápát, de Rómában Maffei bíboros testvérét szemelték ki erre a feladatra, aki egy nyakláncot visz majd Katalinnak.

(ÖStA HHStA Rom, Dipl. Korr., Kart. 13, fol. 272^{rv} – orig.)

Sacratissima Caesarea Regiaque Maiestas

Per alias Maiestatis Vestrae litteras ad III presentis mensis Maii ad me datas impositum mihi est, quod si Sanctissimus Dominus Noster misurus sit aliquem nuncium, qui intersit eius nomine nuptiis inter serenissimos principes Sigismundum Augustum⁵⁴ et Catherinam archiducissam Austriae⁵⁵ celebrandis, ad quas ipse serenissimus princeps Sanctitatem eius invitaverat, ipse omnibus quibus possem modis et rationibus studerem et penes Sanctitatem Suam omni conatu instarem, ut iuberet reverendum abbatem Martinengum nuncium apostolicum in aula Maiestatis Vestrae residentem Sanctitatis eius loco et nomine hisce nuptiis interesse, quippe qui functus iam pro maiori parte in aliis locis commissione examinis in causa quondam Fratris Georgii⁵⁶ procul dubio eo ipso nuptiarum tempore apud Serenissimam Reginam Isabellam⁵⁷ pro prenominato examine futurus sit, eiusque Sanctitati omni studio omnique conatu supplicavi, ut hoc concedere dignaretur, sua tamen Sanctitas respondit de hoc tunc loquendum esse, cum dispensatio concessa fuisset, ipso vero medio tempore reverendissimus cardinalis Mapheus⁵⁸ curavit, ut eius frater eo transmitteretur, et propterea declaravit eius Sanctitas prenominationum cardinalis fratrem se velle transmittere, in eo ulteriorem diligentiam facere non valui, qui quidem nuncius geret certam gemmam ad Serenissimam Reginam Catherinam. Deus Vestram Sacratissimam Caesaream ac Regiam Maiestatem conservet cum augmento aliorum maiorum regnorum. Romae XXV Maii 1553.

Maiestatis Vestrae
humilis servus
Don Di[ego] Lasso

[a terg.] Sacrae Cesareae ac Regiae Romanorum Hungariae et Bohemiae Maiestati, domino Nostro

⁵⁴ II. Zsigmond Ágost lengyel király.

⁵⁵ Habsburg Katalin főhercegnő.

⁵⁶ Fráter György.

⁵⁷ Jagelló Izabella.

⁵⁸ Bernardino Maffei bíboros.

2.

Róma, 1554. szeptember 13.

Girolamo Martinengo I. Ferdinándnak

Támogatásáról biztosítja a királyt és bizakodik a Fráter György ügyében indult vizsgálat pozitív lezárásában.

(ÖStA HHStA Rom, Dipl. Korr., Kart. 13, fol. 279^{rv} – orig.)

Serenissime Rex

Regiae Maiestatis Vestrae litterae mihi quam humillime omnia sua mandata suscipienti iucundissimam gratiae suae significationem praebuerunt: nam, cum nihil magis ex animo cupiam, quam devotionem meam Maiestati Vestrae modis omnibus declarare, ipsa sua benignitate obtulit optatam occasionem meamque fidem sibi notam et gratam esse ostendit, quod ego cum summa reverentia maximi beneficii loco accipio, atque omni studio operam dabo, ut Maiestas Vestra sciat me regias et pene paene divinas virtutes suas venerari et colere et in amplissima fortuna humanitatem illam admirari omni laude dignissimam, quae me ita habet obstrictum, ut nemini fide ac devotione erga Maiestatem Vestram cedam.

Quare cum Vestrae Serenitati maximas gratias habeam, in Georgiana⁵⁹ causa, cuius aliquas partes mihi dignata est committere, cum eam multi faciat, talem me praestabo, qualem Serenitas Vestra voluit me esse multis in me collatis favoribus ac beneficiis. Quia vero hactenus sit effectum, ex Reverendo Domino Preposito Viennensi,⁶⁰ qui accurate et prudenter attestaciones confectas Suae Sanctitati praesentavit, coram poterit intelligere. Ego, quantum de Sanctissimi Domini Nostri mente, quae Maiestatem Vestram paterno affectu amplectitur, conycere possum, et ex Romanorum Cardinalium Vestre Maiestatis observantissimorum sermone, quibus ea cognitio commissa est iudicare, optimam spem capio, atque confido Maiestatem Vestram omnia ex sententia consecuturam. Quod ut maturius fiat, quamvis hic, a suo agente nihil praetermittatur, nullo meo labori parcam (quamvis non ille mihi videatur labor, cum Maiestati Vestrae inserviam cum voluptate), quin et instando et suum religiosissimum animum meritaque amplissima praedicando, sicut antea feci saepius, enitar, ut quam honestissimae de suo facto sententiae ferantur, et ego Maiestati Vestrae suisque omnibus meum devotissimum animum comprobem, quem cum hactenus sentiam sibi gratum esse, non desistam humillime rogare, ut sua singulari memoria, qua valet plurimum, me ita inter suos colloceat, ut ei perpetuo sim in gratia, meoque hoc devoto sibi animo assidue utatur, cum mihi nihil sit optatius, quam Maiestati Vestrae inservire, quam diu incolume nobis servari votis omnibus Deum precor.

⁵⁹ Fráter György.

⁶⁰ Martin Bondenarius bécsi prépost.

Datum in Urbe Roma, XIII. Calendis Septembris, anno a Christo nato millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto,

eiusdem Serenissimae Vestrae Maiestatis
Devotissimus, fidelissimus
et humillimus servus
Hieronymus Abbas Martinengus comes

[*a terg.*] Serenissimo Romanorum, Hungariae, Bohemiae etc. Regi, Domino meo Clementissimo etc.⁶¹

KANÁSZ VIKTOR

⁶¹ Ettől jobbra papírfelzetes vörös színű gyűrűs viaszpecsét. Érdekes, hogy míg a nuncius a szabatos királyi címzést használja, Lasso mint római királynak (és de facto trónörökös várományosnak) már kvázi császári címzést ad Ferdinándnak, noha ekkor még V. Károly a császár.

RÖVIDÍTÉSEK

| | |
|------------|--|
| AA.EE.SS | Archivio della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari |
| AAS | Acta Apostolicae Sedis |
| AAV | Archivio Apostolico Vaticano |
| AHP | Archivum Historiae Pontificiae |
| ASR | Archivio di Stato di Roma |
| ASRS | Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato – Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati e le Organizzazioni Internazionali |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| BDHIR | Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom |
| BIHB | Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome |
| CAV | Collectanea Archivi Vaticani |
| CeSPoM | Centro Studi sull'Età dei Sobieski e della Polonia moderna |
| CST | Collectanea Studiorum et Textuum |
| CVH | Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae (I/1–20 és II/1–10, Budapest–Róma 2004–2022) |
| DBI | Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (vol. 1–100, Roma 1960–2020) |
| DF | Diplomatikai Fényképtár |
| DL | Diplomatikai Levéltár |
| ELKH | Eötvös Loránd Kutatási Hálózat |
| ELTE EKK | Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Levéltár, Kézirattár |
| ESz | Egyháztörténeti Szemle |
| GyEL | Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár |
| HC | Hierarchia Catholica (<i>Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum</i> , S.R.E. Cardinalium, ecclesiarum Antistitum series I–IX, ed. GUILDMUS VAN GULIK–CONRADUS EUBEL–PATRICIUS GAUCHAT–LUDOVICUS SCHMITZ–KALLENBERG–REMIGIUS RITZLER–PIR- MINUS SEFRIN, Monasterii–Patavii 1913–2002) |
| HHStA | Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv |
| HK | Hadtörténelmi Közlemények |
| HKA | Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv |
| LK | Levéltári Közlemények |
| LSz | Levéltári Szemle |
| MEV–Regnum | Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok–Regnum |
| MKSz | Magyar Könyvszemle |

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| MKL | Magyar Királyi Kancellária. Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár |
| MNL-OL | Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára |
| MHI | Monumenta Hungariae Italica (Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár) |
| MHH | Monumenta Hungariae Historica (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek) |
| MREV | Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespriemiensis (<i>Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespriemiensis. A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára</i> I–IV, szerk. FRAKNÓI VILMOS–LUKCSICS JÓZSEF, Budapestini 1896–1907) |
| MTA | Magyar Tudományos Akadémia |
| MVH | Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae (<i>Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár</i> , I/1–6. II/1–3, szerk. FRAKNÓI VILMOS, Budapestini 1881–1909) |
| ÖStA | Österreichisches Staatsarchiv |
| QFIAB | Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken |
| P. Cons. | Archivio Concistoriale, Processus Consistoriales |
| P. Vienna | Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna, Processi Canonici |
| PPKE | Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem |
| PRT | Pannonhalmi Rendtörténet (<i>A Pannonbalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története</i> I–XII/B, szerk. ERDÉLYI LÁSZLÓ–SÖRÖS PONGRÁCZ, Budapest 1902–1916) |
| PUGW | Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien |
| RORC | Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie (<i>Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie</i> , hg. von THOMAS FRENZ, https://www.phil.uni-passau.de/histhw/forschung/oroc/) |
| RQ | Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte |
| ST | Studi e Testi |
| THEINER, <i>Vet. mon. Hung.</i> | AUGUSTINUS THEINER (ed.), <i>Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam illustrantia</i> I–II, Romae–Parisiis–Vindobonae 1859–1860. |
| THEINER, <i>Vet. mon. Slav.</i> | AUGUSTINUS THEINER (ed.), <i>Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia</i> , I–II, Roma 1863–1875. |
| TSz | Történelmi Szemle |

HUNGARY AND THE HOLY SEE OF ROME III.

Summaries

QUEEN YOLANDA'S DOWER AND THE GOLDEN BULL *An Unknown Royal Charter of 1222¹*

1. In her will, dated October 12th, 1251, Yolanda of Hungary, Queen Consort of Aragon, daughter of the Hungarian king Andrew II, bequeathed her Hungarian maternal inheritance, the ispanate (*comitatus*) of Pozsony (present day Bratislava, Slovakia) to her sons. It goes without saying that neither the queen, distant from her homeland, nor her heirs, did ever actually take possession of Pozsony, the western gateway of the Kingdom of Hungary. The first aim of my paper is to find out what was the legal basis for Yolanda's claim to one of the richest ispanates in Hungary, including the castle and town of Pozsony. *The answer is provided by a papal charter of December 9th, 1222, containing a transcript of a donation issued by King Andrew II at the beginning of the very same year.* The donation charter, hitherto undiscovered, shows that King Andrew II granted the castle of Pozsony as a dower to his second wife, Yolanda of Courtenay; their child, Yolanda of Hungary, Queen Consort of Aragon, thus regarded the domain as her rightful inheritance.

2. Under what circumstances did the marriage of Yolanda of Courtenay and Andrew II take place? In 1215 the Hungarian royal house established dynastic relations with the Latin Empire, itself heir to the Byzantine Empire. The Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders aimed at stabilizing his country's positions in the Balkans, which he attempted to realize, besides military victories, via marriage bonds. His alliance with the Árpáds may have played a role in controlling the Balkan states that had become independent during the previous decades. The meeting of the emperor and the king, which took place at Niš, Serbia, around the Easter of 1215 or 1216, was vividly remembered in a hagiographic work by the host, Stephen II (Prvovenčani) of Serbia. It seems plausible to assume that Yolanda of Courtenay arrived in Serbian territory accompanied by her uncle, the Emperor Henry of Flanders, from where she continued her voyage towards Hungary in the company of her fiancé. If it happened that way, we can date the meeting to the year 1215, when the marriage took place.

3. Andrew II followed the general practice of European monarchs when he offered his wife a rich town as her dower. Apart from the dower, we are also informed of the queen's dowry, which was worth 8000 marks of silver. But how much was this sum really worth compared to the dowries given to other princesses in contemporary Hungary and Europe? In fact, this amount can be considered quite

¹ See pp. 13–35.

average. In the dynastic history of the Árpáds, however, we find unusually high sums. The dowry, for example, promised to Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I of Sicily reached the sum of 200 000 marks of silver. This extremely high amount might have been motivated by the fact that Elizabeth's father-in-law, King Stephen V of Hungary, was willing to give up his claims in the Balkans in favour of the King of Sicily, who was attempting to restore the Latin Empire.

4. The document in question was written in the royal chancellery in the eventful year of 1222, when the monarch, Andrew II issued his famous Golden Bull, a document often referred to in discussions of Hungary's constitutional evolution. Queen Yolanda's dower charter contributes to the reconstruction of the stormy political history of 1222, as well as to the understanding of the circumstances in which the famous charter of liberties was issued. Andrew II altered his wife's dower as many as three times during the year of 1222. The grant of 1217, based on different incomes, was replaced by the ispanate of Pozsony and its appurtenances. Yet, before July 7th, the dower was again changed by the monarch, this time by the whole Banate of Slavonia with the counties of Zala, Somogy, Varasd (Varaždin) and Szerém (Srijem/Srem). I prove that there is a connection between the measures concerning the dower and the conflicts which accompanied the issue of the Golden Bull, and especially the 16th point of the former charter, in which Andrew II promised not to donate, under any circumstances, entire ispanates or any dignities as perpetual property or domain. The measures taken by Andrew II violated, most of all, the interests of the single person in whose name the opposition acted, forcing the king to issue the Golden Bull: his eldest son, the Young King Béla, who, as heir to the throne, was natural lord of the Dukedom of Slavonia. It is certain, however, that upon assuming the whole country's governance after his father's death, he would also have been frustrated by the alienation of the ispanate of Pozsony. Due to the fact that Pope Honorius III confirmed the king's donation of Slavonia to his queen after the issue of the Golden Bull on July 7th, we may assume that Andrew II had overcome the domestic crisis before that date, feeling powerful enough to neglect the earlier compromise, or at least the ban on donating entire ispanates, thus punishing the Young King Béla by dispossessing him of Slavonia. Father and son, however, reconciled during the second half of the same year, Béla regaining his dukedom. Finally, Andrew II succeeded in realizing his original plan by donating the ispanate of Pozsony to Yolanda, which was a likely motive to the conflict leading to the issue of the Golden Bull in the first half of 1222.

5. Our charter has another aspect that seems to be connected with the Golden Bull. In this case, however, the link is of theoretic nature. Andrew II must have been fully aware of the fact that his donating of Pozsony to Yolanda could provoke grave aversion, especially with the Young King Béla's men. As a consequence, he secured his measures using guarantees to an unprecedented scale. He appointed Duke Leopold VI of Austria as guarantor, who – should the dower be declared invalid – could provide appropriate aid to the queen, with the assistance of the Hungarian barons, to protect her rights. This act created a legal basis for the monarch of a neighbouring country to

interfere in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary upon Andrew II's death, under the pretext of helping his widow and heirs. The right to resist had also been given to the kingdom's aristocracy, with the foreseeable consequence that the heir to the throne would not be able to re-capture Pozsony from Yolanda and her future heirs without risking a civil war, unless he paid the sum of 8000 marks of silver to them. Expecting harmful measures to be taken by his own heirs, Andrew II was, therefore, the first Hungarian king to mobilize the resistance of his kingdom's nobility and declaring it in a written form. The king hardly considered the possibility of this weapon being turned against him: the resistance clause of the Golden Bull clearly proves that there were indeed people in the king's opposition, who – due to their family background as well as their erudition – were thoroughly familiar with European attempts at an effective control of power; indeed, had there been no such people, which seems unlikely, the donation charter issued by Andrew II could have served as a sample for them.

DÁNIEL BÁCSATYAI

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS AND HUNGARIAN CONSISTORIAL BENEFICES
IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY

*The notes relating to Hungary in Volume 52 of Obligationes et Solutiones*¹

The episcopal as well as the significant abbey benefices (*beneficia consistorialia*), granted or confirmed by the Pope together with the College of Cardinals, whose income per annum exceeded 100 Florins (Guldens) of Camera, were obliged to pay what is known as *servitium commune* starting from the 13th century. The amount to pay, starting from the pontificate of Alexander IV (1264–1271), was divided equally, i.e. 50–50%, between the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica* and the *Camera Collegii*. Initially, the sum of the *servitium* amounted to one third of the per annum income of the given benefice, based on estimates (*communi extimatione*). After the Great Occidental Schism (1378–1417) the proportion was altered to approximately a fifth vs. a sixth. Besides the *servitium commune*, a further sum was to be paid by the newly appointed prelates, which consisted of five constituent parts (*quinque servitia*); it was referred to as *servitia minuta* in the papal tax documents from the early 15th century on. The sum was determined on the basis of the number of cardinals; specifically, the fewer cardinals were present at the consistory upon the donation of the benefice, the higher the fee was. The papal bull of appointment was issued if the specific prelate, either in person or via his representative, obliged himself (*se obligare*) to pay appointment fee (*solutio*). The obligations of payment to the *Camera Apostolica* and the *Camera Collegii* were, of course, carefully documented and presented by high priests before the *camerlengo*, head of the Apostolic Chamber, as well as before the chamberlain of the Holy Chamber; the two bodies led double-entry bookkeeping. The bills of debt included the date of obligation, the first

¹ See pp. 37–63.

name of the appointed person, or that of his representative, the donated benefice, the sum of the *servitium commune*; if relevant, the data concerning the predecessor's/ predecessors' arrears, as well as the payment deadlines. Several documents include the place of the legal act and the names of witnesses, too. Most of the promissory notes and the bills certifying the act of payment are included in the volumes of *Obligaciones et Solutiones* in the Vatican's Apostolic Archives (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*), of which a total of 91 volumes survives from the period between 1295 and 1555.

The present paper publicizes the entries relating to Hungary in Volume 52 of the series *Obligaciones et Solutiones*, most of which have been unknown. Although a source publication, entitled *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae* (1297–1536), containing the late JÓZSEF LUKCSICS's collection, this collection contains but one entry from the volume mentioned above. The most plausible reason is that Volume 52 of the series includes the obligations towards the College of Cardinals, while Volume 48, partly kept parallelly, documents the obligations made to the *Camera Apostolica*; JÓZSEF LUKCSICS, therefore, prepared the Hungarian-related entries of Volume 48, spanning a longer period, thus containing more data concerning Hungary, for publication.

Unfortunately, it still remains a mystery why the Chamber of Cardinals kept two different (but mostly parallel) records of the same period (i.e. 1390–1397). Could this, perhaps, be explained by the fact that a revised copy of these volumes was compiled upon the recent appointment in September, 1390, of the cardinal Henricus de Minutillis as chamberlain?

Volume 52, containing 197 folios, has preserved data relating to the pontificate of Pope Boniface IX. The date of the first entry is September 28th, 1390 (fol. 1r), while the last one is dated August 24th, 1401 (fol. 196v). The volume includes a total of 18 Hungarian-related entries from the years between November 8th, 1392 and April 7th, 1400. A total of seven of these have not yet been published, while then of them have been published mostly on the parallelly led registries. The entries contain information on seven dioceses in the Kingdom of Hungary: Zággráb (modern Zagreb) with three entries, Transylvania, Syrmia, Várad (modern Oradea) and Veszprém with two entries each, as well as Eger and Nyitra (modern Nitra) with one entry each. Besides these, we find a diocese *in partibus infidelium*, viz. Varna, whose bishop was also lord of the benefice of the Cistercian monastery of Szepes (modern Spiš). What makes this entry interesting is that the Holy Father did not grant this benefice in the consistory (*dictum monasterium fuit datum in commendam motu proprio et non per consistorium*), which is why the Chamber of the College of Cardinals did not receive their part of the appointment fee. The entries published in the present study offer new data for Hungarian ecclesiastical archontologic and prosopographic research. There are names, for instance, which had been unknown in the literature, such as Demeter, son of Péter, cathedral Canon of Pécs; János, Canon of Csázma (modern Čazma) and Dean of Kemlék (modern Kalnik); Lőrinc, Canon of Várad (Oradea) and Dean of Bihar (Bihar), as well as Imre Lőrincfi, Abbot of Almád. To sum up, the data published in this paper contribute to a more refined understanding of the relations between the Holy See and the Hungarian Church during the period of the Great Occidental Schism.

TWO UNKNOWN BREVE REGISTRIES FROM POPE SIXTUS IV¹

The State Archive of Rome (*Archivio di Stato di Roma*) purchased a volume at an auction at Sotheby's, London, in 1970, then another one from a private individual, Muriel Fink-Errera, in 1972. Both have been preserved in a perfect condition to date, their present-day binding probably originating from the 18th century. The two volumes (*Acquisiti e doni*, busta 26/1. and 27/1.) contain breves of the *commune* type, issued in the 6th year of the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV. Both volumes of breve registries have been so far unknown for Hungarian researchers, which is why the 16 breves they contain provides additional information, hitherto unknown, for studying the relations between Hungary and the Holy See during the reign of King Matthias of Hungary.

Pope Sixtus IV wrote a breve to Ilona (Croatian: Jelena), widow of Zsigmond Frangepán (Croatian: Žigmund Frankopan), Count of Zengg (modern Senj), as well as to Count János of Korbávia (Croatian: Jan Krbavski), in which the Pope – referring to Zsigmond's unlawful occupation of the properties of the Diocese of Arbe (modern Rab) – instructed them to abandon their activities. In an earlier breve addressed at the Chapter of Zággráb (Zagreb) and the Bishop of Zággráb, Osvát (Thuz) of Szentlászló, he discussed the case of Balázs Marócsai, Canon of Zággráb, whom he allowed to act as a full member of the Chapter – in spite of the fact that he was not a consecrated priest. The Pope sent a breve to Gábor Matucsina, Archbishop of Kalocsa, to further the interests of the Dominican Order in Hungary, as well as to Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger and ambassador to the Pope relating to the visitation of the abandoned monasteries of Csút and Zsámbék. The breves also mention two Benedictines. János Szécsényi joined the Franciscan Order at age ten, leaving it before taking his oath and asking permission to join the Benedictine Order. The other one was Bertalan Patacsi, taking his oath in the Dominican Monastery at Pécs; however, due to the unrelievable headaches torturing him, he was granted permission by his supervisor to join any other order except the Benedictines. Still, he decided to join the Benedictines, which might have been the reason why he was sent so far from his native land. Furthermore, one finds information on the Diocese of Modrus (Croatian: Modruš), threatened by (Ottoman) Turks, the cathedral of which was granted the right of a jubilee indulgence on Assumption Day.

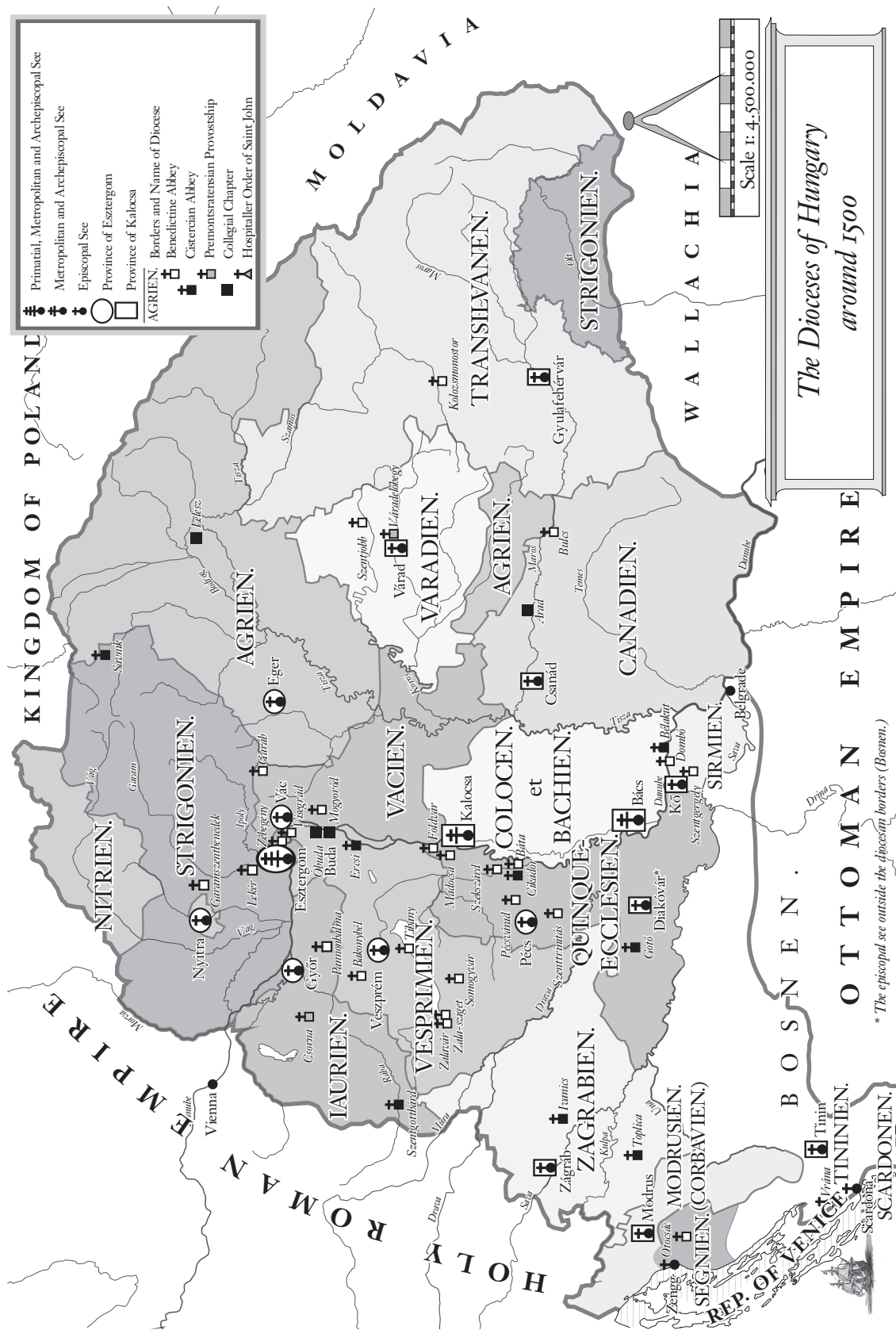
Two of the breves, relating to financial debt, provides important pieces of evidence of Hungarian presence in Italy. In his letter to King Matthias of Hungary, Pope Sixtus IV informed the king that Ioannes Argyropoulos had once lent 300 Guldens to Péter Garázda, Dean of Pozsega (modern Požega), but the sum had not been paid back to him. Argyropoulos was an influential member of the humanist circle in Florence, regarded as one of the fathers of Neo-Platonism. He had established relationships with Hungarian humanists, too: Janus Pannonius, upon visiting Florence, met him twice and attended his lectures with great enthusiasm. Péter Garázda must have stayed in Florence between 1469 and 1471; on the one hand, he joined the humanist circles;

¹ See pp. 65–93.

on the other hand, he acquired valuable codices for members of Hungary's high clergy. He himself bought, as a representational gift, three of these codices for János Zrednai, and one to the bishop Janus Pannonius. What Garázda spent this sum of 300 Ducats on is a matter of conjecture: he may have spent it on spectacularly illustrated codices or used it to cover his daily costs. Imre, son of Kelemen, Provost of Bosnia and Canon of Bács, as well as the Dean Mihály, Canon of Vác, faced problems of the same kind. They took a loan from the commercial house *Medici* and *Pazzi* by the Roman Curia, which they failed to pay back by January 30th, 1477. Imre, son of Kelemen, visited Rome several times on royal diplomatic missions; as he paid many a visit at the *Camera Apostolica*, the sum he borrowed might have been used to cover the taxes to be paid as fees to the Chamber.

The breves that have been recovered include two letters of recommendation as well. In one of them, Pope Sixtus IV recommended a certain Antonius Aloysius, citizen of Venice, to King Matthias of Hungary and Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger, upon the request of Aloysius's uncle Domonkos, son of Peter, papal scribe and familiar. The identity of the persons in question, however, remains ambiguous; Antonius Aloysius might have been the same person as Alvisé Malombra, who was Bishop of the Diocese of Arbe (Rab) in 1484, and whose familiar relation to Rangoni can be justified. The leading figure in the other letter of recommendation is equally cryptic. When Mihály, canon-reader (lector) at Pécs, arrived at Rome on July 28th, 1477 asking for a letter of recommendation to be addressed to King Matthias of Hungary and Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger, the registry scribe found his surname illegible, replacing it with some dots. As no *lectors* at Pécs are known from the period between 1472 and 1478, the identification of Mihály's person is subject to further research.

The two volumes of breve registries at the State Archive of Rome seems to be a source to reveal many things which have been almost completely unknown to Hungarian researchers in Rome. Although it is the Vatican's Apostolic Archive (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*) that undoubtedly serves as a centre of research on the history of the papacy as well on the relations between Hungary and the Holy See, these two volumes do show that several other Italian collections possess valuable and indispensable documents. In addition, the study of 15th-century breves has recently become a focus of research. In the year 2021, thanks to Sergio Pagano, Prefect of the Archivio Apostolico, the publication of a regesta containing the breves in the earliest volume of registry from the time of Paul II's papacy marked the start of a grand series of publications. The goal of this noteworthy enterprise is to make available for researchers almost ten thousand sources, in the form of Latin regesta, which survive from the period between 1469 and 1493 in the Vatican's breve registries. It is an important duty of Hungarian researchers in Rome to join this recently initiated project by supplementing the 15th-century Hungarian-related breves in the Vatican and other Italian collections with the ones to be found in the Carpathian Basin, as well as by publishing the individual sources in their full textual form, contributing to further research on Hungarian ecclesiastical history, not to mention more general aspects of Hungarian and international historical studies.



* *The episcopal see outside the diocesan borders (Bosnen.)*

AN UNKNOWN CONSISTORIAL SOURCE FROM THE YEAR 1502

*A processus informativus of the Auxiliary Bishop of Eger
in the Este archives at Modena¹*

It was in the late 19th century, when the Vatican Secret Archive had opened to the public, that international research started to pay attention to the records of the “canonical procedures” (*processus informativus, processus inquisitionis, processus canonicus*), including their prosopographic and biographic worth, as well as their values concerning the history of given dioceses. The procedure was reformed and extended during the Council of Trent and, also, subsequently. The goal was to ensure the loyalty and capability of the future generations of bishops. Another aim was to appropriately inform the Roman *curia* about the conditions in the individual dioceses. From the second half of the 1620’s, the registries survive almost uninterrupted in the various files of the Vatican’s Apostolic Archives (*Archivio Concistoriale, Dataria Apostolica, Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna*).

The procedure did exist before the time of the *Tridentinum*. Based on the decisions of Session 9 of the Fifth Lateran Council, Pope Leo X issued his apostolic decree known as *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* in 1514. Several elements of the papal constitution had been laid down in the unpublished reform bull of Alexander VI, containing, for the most part, prescriptions concerning the candidate’s personal qualities („*circa sublimis et literatas personas*”). The inspectional procedure and the consistorial report was entrusted to the cardinal-protector in charge of the given territory. Several clauses of Leo X’s decree equalled the formal expression of the general practice that evolved during the 15th century. A *processus* from the year 1464, agreeing in practice with the records (minutes) collected in the first half of the 16th century, placed in the *Archivum Arcis* (the Archive of the Castle of the Holy Angel). It is the earliest surviving document of its kind. The canonical inspection records of Juan de Cerda, Bishop of Barcelona, have been preserved for posterity by being placed among breve drafts in the Vatican Archives.

We can also find sources for the enquiry of episcopal candidates outside the Vatican collections. The private family archive of the Aldobrandinis at Frascati (*Villa Belvedere*), for example, possesses 25 such documents from the heritage of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini from the period between 1594 and 1620. Four of these documents (from the years 1614–1617) relate to Hungary; they include the appointment documents of Péter Pázmány to the dignity of Archbishop of Esztergom. The earliest Hungarian-related source among the documents prepared according the prescriptions of the *Tridentinum* is János Pyber’s 1612 procedure at Pécs, found in the *Archivio Concistoriale*. There had been only one earlier document of canonical enquiry, relating to Hungary, known to research, which was conducted about Tamás Tasnádi, Canon of Esztergom and Nyitra (Nitra) in Rome, in September 1518, concerning his appointment to Salona (*Salonen.*) (AAV Arch. Arcis, Arm. I–XVIII, n. 2858).

¹ See pp. 95–110.

The present paper publishes an even earlier document of canonical enquiry, found outside the Vatican, analyzing it and placing it in a historical and historiographic context. It is found in the *Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Camera, Amministrazione dei Principi nr. 823. (Filza di documenti vari 1494–1518)*. Its discovery is the merit of the Research Team Vestigia, specifically of the researcher HAJNALKA KUFFART. The source is found in a mixed bunch including material relating to Ippolito d'Este, apparently collected without any organizing principle, not even arranged in a chronological order.

The minutes (records) bear the date April 7th, 1502, written down by the imperial notary public Jerome, secretary to Cardinal Federico Sanseverino, concerning the case of Antonio de Perea, who was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's candidate to the status of Auxiliary Bishop of Eger. The witnesses heard were as follows. Consalvo de Castro, papal familiar (*comestabilis sanctissimi domini nostri*); Daniele Vivis, Cardinal Francesco Borgia's secretary; Petrus Alamanus, diocesan priest at Esztergom and forty-year-old familiar of Cardinal Este; Martinus de Ezet, diocesan priest at Eger, Este's familiar and *magister domus* of Cardinal Sanseverino as well as earlier familiar of Cardinal Gabriele Rangoni.

Their claims about the candidate can be summarized as follows. He is from Spain, born in the Diocese of Toledo in lawful marriage; he is 32 years old, an observant Franciscan monk, consecrated presbyter, celebrates masses regularly and observing the rules; he is also an excellent preacher. As far as the Bishopric of Eger is concerned, the witnesses described it as one of the largest dioceses of Hungary, with an annual income of about ten thousand ducats. It always has an auxiliary bishop, generally chosen by the diocesan bishop from among his familiars. The auxiliary bishop Matthias of Požega (*Dominus Mathiam episcopus de Popcha*) had died a few years before. One witness, Malombra, recalls Bernát (Bernard), Franciscan monk and Arcadian honorary bishop, who had been auxiliary bishop for about 22 years.

The petition written by Ippolito d'Este to the Pope was copied onto the last page of the document. The petition states that the Diocese of Eger has, as a rule, two auxiliary bishops, but one of them had passed away; therefore, he would like to have Antonio de Perea appointed to a bishop's title in the Bishopric Bugia (Bejaïa, Algeria). He would grant him 200 Florins (Guldens) per annum from his diocese's income to ensure his living appropriate for a bishop.

HAJNALKA KUFFART, GÁBOR NEMES, PÉTER TUSOR

WHO HAS THE RIGHT OF APPOINTMENT?
*The patronage of St. Peter's Altar at Esztergom*¹

The present paper and the attached source publication describes the contents, and publishes the text, of the *libellus* from the lawsuit between Cardinal Tamás Bakóc, Archbishop of Esztergom, and the Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom. The source is

¹ See pp. III–146.

found as Item 1 in *Tribunalia, Sacra Romana Rota, Processus actorum* in the Vatican's Apostolic Archive (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*). The Hungarian National Archive received a microfilm copy of the document in 1977 (Reference: X 9042, 31109. sz.); yet, no magnified copy of the microfilm has been made, which is why it has still not been entered into the National Archive's database. As a result, no-one but a small number of people have known that the source exists. The *libellus* consists of sheets of paper bound in a parchment cover, containing a total of 80 pages of text with words and brief summarizing notes of the statements made at the Roman Curia, in order to facilitate the process. The *libellus* was compiled by the notary public Zsigmond Marosi, signing each page; after his notary's clause and official signature, we find the charter of the Convent of Pannonhalma, testifying that Zsigmond Marosi was indeed a recognized notary public in the Kingdom of Hungary.

The lawsuit started upon the transfer of two benefices concerning patronage rights. One of these was the governorship (patronage) of the Altar of St. Peter (and Paul) in Esztergom cathedral, which the members of the Esztergom cathedral chapter granted to their fellow canon, Bálint Budai, on November 16th, 1512, following the vacancy due to the death of the beneficiary, exercising their patron's rights. The archbishop Tamás Bakóc protested, via his advocate, and he also denied the right of the chapter to donate and the canon to accept the benefice. The other issue was the patronage of the building with the Chapel of St. Elizabeth (founded before 1380) in it by the thermal springs at Esztergom-Tapolca, also donated – upon the last beneficiary's death, referring to their patron's rights – to the canon János Szatmári by the cathedral chapter on October 4th, 1510. However, it was soon occupied by force by István Ibrányi, a fellow canon, with the archbishop Bakóc's approval, but against the lawful rights of the chapter as well as his own vow.

The cathedral chapter, in the matter of these two grievances, handed in a supplication to the recently elected Pope, Leo X, asking him to cure their grievances. The Pope appointed the bishop Dominicus de Iacobatiis lucerae (Nocera dei Pagani, Italy) judge in the case, who ordered the parties' advocates to investigate on the matter on August 27th, 1514; the canon Bálint Budai was represented by Henricus Howel, while the archbishop Tamás Bakóc was represented by Egidius Zephrus. The appointed bailiffs – János Rékai, monk and dean at Pannonhalma, as well as the guardian Pál Budai – gave an account of their investigation to the administrator in a letter in the form of a *libellus* on December 15th, 1514. (The benefice of the Chapel of St. Elizabeth, for reasons unknown to us, is not mentioned in the administrator's order.)

The bailiffs held the first session on December 4th, 1514, followed by the second one on December 11th, a week later, when they summoned the parties to appear before them. The last trial took place on December 15th. (Each session was held in the archabbot's palace at Pannonhalma.) Bálint Budai, canon of Esztergom, patron of the Altar of St. Peter (and Paul), attended the trial in person, while none of the advocates of Cardinal Tamás Bakóc, viz. the papal *penitentiarius* Mihály Vitéz Kamarcai, Menyhért Csúti (canon at Fehérvár), and Benedek Alsószegeci (notary public). During the trial, Bálint Budai and Bereck Ivánci, the clerk representing the chapter, presented

the charter of Fülöp *de genere* Türje, Archbishop of Esztergom, issued on April 10th, 1272, documenting the transfer of the patronage of the altar to the chapter, as well as the part relating to the Altar of St. Peter of his visitation at the cathedral chapter; furthermore, he also produced three donation charters of the altar benefice, dated January 2nd, 1453, December 29th, 1485, and November 16th, 1511 (*recte* 1512). (This is the only textual witness of the charters.) The evidence was studied by the canons and beneficiaries of Esztergom who were present at the trial, finding all pieces of evidence authentic; as a result, the *executors* entered the texts into the *libellus*.

The final outcome of the lawsuit (and the trial) is not yet known, due to lack of sources, but it was demonstrably still in progress in the Curia of Rome on October 1st, 1515. Based on later evidence, however, it seems likely that the judge must have decided in favour of the Esztergom cathedral chapter, because – about ten years later – the new patron of St. Peter's Altar was appointed by the Chapter again, the new patron being Miklós Oláh, canon of Esztergom and dean of Komárom, just about starting his career.

NORBERT C. TÓTH

IN SEARCH OF LOST PAPAL BULLS

*The appointment of Girolamo Balbi, Provost of Pozsony, as Bishop of Gurk (1522–1523)*¹

Girolamo Balbi (cca. 1460–1535) of Venice, Provost of Pozsony (Bratislava), poet and humanist, as well as a diplomat of the Kings Vladislaus II and Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, completing diplomatic missions in several European royal courts, went to serve the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand I, brother-in-law of Louis II, upon his king's approval, in the spring of 1522. One reason for this may have been that, as a diplomat, he must have been aware – after the Ottoman occupation of Belgrade in August, 1521 – of how serious the Ottoman threat on the Kingdom of Hungary was. On the other hand, he could expect an episcopal benefice, promised to him by the two Habsburg brothers, the Emperor Charles V and the Archduke of Austria, thanks to his significant role in bringing about the marriage between Ferdinand I and Anna Jagellonica, realizing the 1515 Habsburg-Jagellonian treaty.

In the end, Balbi received the small Bishopric of Gurk, located in the north-west of the Duchy of Carinthia, under the metropolitan rule of the Archbishop of Salzburg. The bishops, however, were obliged to take an oath of loyalty to the archbishop, against the landlord's rights and interests of the Austrian Archduke. The diocese was in the possession of Cardinal Matthäus Lang (1468–1540), Archbishop of Salzburg, who did not give up his possession upon acquiring the archbishop's seat in 1519. Yet, he was obliged by multiple treaties to pay a yearly duty of 800 Rhenish Florins to Ernest, Duke of Bavaria and Administrator of the Bishopric of Passau, he was not unwilling to

¹ See pp. 147–194.

pass the diocese on to someone else. The Archduke Ferdinand had to consider, besides Balbi, the interests of his powerful chamberlain, Gabriel Salamanca of Castile, Count of Ortenburg, who aimed at acquiring an ecclesiastical benefice for his nephew, Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos, aged 18. The archbishop and the archduke agreed on the details of the project at the Reichstag (imperial assembly) at Nuremberg in the autumn of 1522 (specifically, in mid-November). According to their agreement, Cardinal Lang ceded the Diocese of Gurk to Balbi, who, in turn, obliged himself to continue to pay the yearly fee imposed on the bishopric by his predecessor, as well as to be coadjutor to Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos at Gurk, maintaining his right to inheritance.

This paper focusses on Balbi's mission to Rome as ambassador of Archduke Ferdinand I to Pope Adrian VI, completed together with the ambassador Pedro de Córdoba, during the spring of 1523. The mission proved successful for Balbi: besides accomplishing the tasks he was instructed to carry out concerning issues of political and ecclesiastical government, he succeeded in convincing the Pope to issue papal bulls ensuring his own appointment as bishop, as well as the appointment of Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos as auxiliary bishop. While the original copies of the main charter of appointment issued for Hoyos with the date March 11th, 1523, and the appended charters with the same date as well as March 14th, have been entirely preserved in the charter series of the Archive of the Diocese of Gurk (*Archiv der Diözese Gurk*), today found in Klagenfurt, Girolamo Balbi's charters have been lost.

Balbi, in the summer of 1526, some years after his appointment, resigned his bishopric, and settled in Rome for good. Unfortunately, the registry copies of the bulls do not survive in Lateran series of the Vatican's Apostolic Archive (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*), either: the volume in question was destroyed while being carried to Paris – and back to Rome – in the early 19th century. We only know its contents from an indexical volume from the 18th century. The dates of issue and the contents of Balbi's charters can thus be established quite approximately, using other sources relating to the case. The appendix to this paper contains the most important sources relating to the episcopal appointment, in Latin and German, dating from between 1522 and 1524, found in the Vatican, Vienna and Klagenfurt.

BÁLINT LAKATOS

POLYPHONIC NEWS?

Papal nuncios' reports from Hungary in the mid-16th century¹

In this paper, we look at the Hungarian references and connections in the reports sent to Rome by the nuncios Girolamo Martinengo, based at Vienna, and Ludovico Beccadelli, at Venice, from the period between 1550 and 1554.

Studying this issue, we may conclude that – as opposed to other nunciatures in Europe, e.g. in France – the reports by the Viennese and the Venetian nuncios do

¹ See pp. 195–209.

include relevant information on Hungary. Both nuncios followed the events in the Carpathian Basin quite closely, interpreting them not *per se*, but along the contemporary great divides, viz. the Ottoman-Habsburg and the Valois-Habsburg oppositions, considering the interests of the Holy See most of all, paying special attention to the War of Parma (1551–1552), which had serious consequences for Italy; the internal war in the Holy Roman Empire (especially the campaigns of Maurice of Saxony); finally, the wars fought against the Ottoman Empire.

It goes without saying that the papal nuncio in Vienna reported in more detail, and more frequently, on Hungarian issues, but the Venetian ambassador did also report on the crucial (sometimes not so crucial) news. Beccadelli, though he reported fake news several times, was in general quite well informed, and had a clear understanding of the political and military situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, neither he nor Martinengo was deeply concerned with the state of Hungarian clergy or the spread of Protestantism. Instead, they focussed on military issues such as the Ottoman campaign of 1552, including the siege of Temesvár (Timișoara), Szolnok and Eger; to a lesser extent, they paid attention to politics (such as diets), as well as the events at the royal (imperial) court. Although Beccadelli and Martinengo remained connected, Beccadelli's reports were not based on the latter's news: he gathered information via independent news channels.

Therefore, Rome had a polyphonic source of news about the Kingdom of Hungary, but the different voices of Vienna and Venice did reinforce each other, providing a common voice. Based on our discoveries, we may get to better understand why the papal nuncios of early modern Europe were (indeed, have been, up to the present) delegated to a given head of state, although – in tandem with the weakening of papal powers – their mission became increasingly concentrated on checking and controlling local churches.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

NUNCIOS AT WAR

Filippo Spinelli in the Prague Court¹

The new papal nuncio, Filippo Spinelli, arrived at the Imperial Court in Prague in 1598. One of his most important tasks was to organize a great holy league to fight the Ottomans. This was important because, formally speaking, it was but the Habsburg Monarchy and the Principality of Transylvania to be at war with the Ottoman Empire. The then monarch of the latter, Zsigmond (Sigismund) Báthory, concluded a dynastic marriage treaty with the Habsburgs on January 28th, 1595, which was a military coalition as well. Pope Clement VIII was attempting to expand this coalition into a great anti-Ottoman holy league with the participation of the Papacy, Poland, France

¹ See pp. 211–227.

and Spain. Spinelli, therefore, was forced to convince the Imperial Court, exhausted by the war, to go on fighting and not to conclude a peace treaty. Moreover, with Zsigmond Báthory leaving Transylvania in 1598, which was followed by his unexpected return and his repeated abdication a few months later, resulted in a crisis of power, which Spinelli was supposed to solve in a way that served the interests of the Holy See. Specifically, Cardinal András Báthory was elected Prince of Transylvania in April, 1599, a move that had not been expected by the Imperial Court.

Rome, however, saw these developments as opportunities to take. The reports (*dispacci*) by the nuncio Spinelli, kept at the Vatican Apostolic Archive (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*), reveal the intention of the Holy See to make Cardinal Báthory marry the divorced wife (Maria Christina of Austria) of the former prince, Zsigmond Báthory, who abdicated in favour of the Cardinal; András was, of course, supposed to resign from his duties as cardinal. In practice, this would have meant for the Emperor to accept the existing situation, concluding a new treaty with the new prince on the basis of the 1595 Habsburg-Báthory treaty. The new treaty included the war against the Turks, as well as – due to the religious adherence of the new prince – the protection of Catholics, the most important points for the Holy See. All this, however, would have meant for the Emperor to disregard the Transylvanians' breaking their oaths, as well as accept an increasing Polish influence in the Principality. Specifically, the fact that András Báthory had a rather close relationship with the High Chancellor of Poland, Jan Zamoyski, was virtually known to all parties.

The Pope sent Germanico Malaspina, who knew the Báthorys well, to Transylvania. He was assisted by Spinelli, from Prague. The Pope considered his diplomatic mission so important that he made some corrections to the ambassador's instructions in his own hand. No sooner did Malaspina, the new nuncio delegated to Transylvania, arrived at his destination than Demeter Naprági and István Bocskai visited the Prague court. They were not the ambassadors of András Báthory, indeed, they had not been authorized to act that way; the Cardinal wanted to simply get rid of them, considering both as men of the Habsburgs. Moreover, he personally blamed Bocskai for the death of his nephew, Boldizsár Báthory, put to death by Zsigmond during the conflict resulting from entering the war against the Turks. Spinelli met with Bocskai several times, thinking that the Emperor wanted Bocskai, rather than András, to occupy the Transylvanian throne. This he considered as a threat, since Bocskai was a Calvinist. The nominee, against him, of the Court to head Transylvania was the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian. As for the Emperor, the only reason for negotiating with András Báthory was to gain some time, in order to settle the issue of ruling the Principality by military means. It is not entirely clear whether the nuncio Spinelli suspected at all if the negotiations with András Báthory's ambassadors, who were to arrive later, without any official authorization to act as ambassadors, were meant to serve as preparations for these military actions. However, when the troops of Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) penetrated Transylvanian territory, everything became clear. The cardinal-prince, who had lost the battle of Sellenberk (German: Schellenberg, Romanian: Șelinbăr), was subsequently killed near Csíkszentdomonkos (modern Sândominic); his death resulted in a new state of affairs.

The papal diplomacy reacted to this turn right away, as shown by two of Spinelli's reports, dated February 14th and 28th, 1600, mentioning the status as Prince of Transylvania of Silvestro of the Aldobrandini family, nephew of Pope Clement VIII. The idea originated, needless to say, from Rome, being crucial enough for Spinelli to keep considering it for a month and a half; he received the relevant instruction by the secretary of state from the Eternal City at the very end of the year 1599 or the early days of the year 1600. The idea was not unprecedented. Notably, the name of another of the Pope's nephews (though not by blood), Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini *nepos*, had already been mentioned in 1597, when Zsigmond Báthory abdicated for the first time. What the papal diplomacy offered to the Imperial Court was this: Silvestro Aldobrandini was to be granted Transylvania as a prince (*principe*), marrying Maria Christina. In fact, the above-mentioned dynastic treaty and alliance of 1595 between the Habsburgs and the Báthorys would be replaced by an alliance of the Habsburgs and the Aldobrandinis. If realized, this move could have been enormously important, as it would have led to a full-scale restructuring of political relations. With Silvestro Aldobrandini being accepted (as prince), the financial resources would have become available, as the Pope would have been ready to provide for the defence of the Principality, the costs of which were accepted to be around 300,000 *scudos* per year. This sum would have been increased by the income of the Duchy of Correggio, which the Pope was attempting to grant to Silvestro as a benefice, as well as the income of the Principality itself. There was another problem, too: the Duchy, like many other Italian domains, was under excessive Spanish influence. The case of Transylvania and Correggio was not only judged to be a difficult issue by the nuncio Spinelli, but also by his negotiating counterpart, Rudolf Coraduzzi, Imperial Privy Secretary, though he did not consider it impossible to carry out. By the beginning of the new year, in January in particular, the conditions on the above-mentioned alliance had been received from Rome; the timing was hardly accidental.

It is this point where our sources become silent. Silvestro Aldobrandini, together with the entire House of Aldobrandini, are no longer mentioned in historical documents as masters of Transylvania. It was Voivode Mihai who was appointed Governor of Transylvania, but he (just like Prince András Báthory) was forcibly removed by the Imperial Court, due to his opposition to the Imperial General Giorgio Basta as well as his increasingly independent political activity. The efforts of the Holy See concerning András Báthory and Silvestro Aldobrandini did not prove successful. Thereafter, papal diplomacy became concerned with the loss of Kanizsa to the Turks in late 1600, having serious and threatening consequences for the Austrian border lands, which were geographically quite near Italian territory.

TAMÁS KRUPPA

AN APPEAL BY A CANON OF ZAGREB TO ROME AGAINST PÁZMÁNY
*Count János Erdődy's removal from the Bishopric of Eger (Sopron, 1625)*¹

It is a fundamental accepted statement on the early modern Catholic confessionalisation as well as on the history of the papacy that the uninterrupted survival of the structures inherited from medieval times, or, rather, their prolonged dismantling, raised several barriers to the development of confessionalizing modernization to a more stable and comprehensive scale than what was in fact realized. The present paper, continuing and concluding the results of an earlier study, thanks to the Vatican's source base, refines - and places in a historical context - what the aims of the late medieval type at realizing family interests had unfavourable effects on the composition of Hungarian episcopate in the first third of the 17th century.

Tamás Erdődy, Ban of Croatia and Lord Chief Treasurer, attempted both to support his family and to build the bishop's career of his mentally ill son, John, which was dysfunctional for the Diocese of Eger as well as the entire Hungarian hierarchy. The endeavour is not free of internal paradoxes, either. Specifically, Tamás Erdődy was at the same time a supporter of Pázmány's appointment as Archbishop. The contradictory processes of the formation of the Catholic episcopate's composition are brought to a common denominator and made understandable by Klesl's policy, determined throughout by the maxim of Habsburg inheritance after 1614/15. This was why Melchior Klesl, Chairman of the Imperial Privy Council, needed Pázmány, and this must have been why he considered Tamás Erdődy's support important.

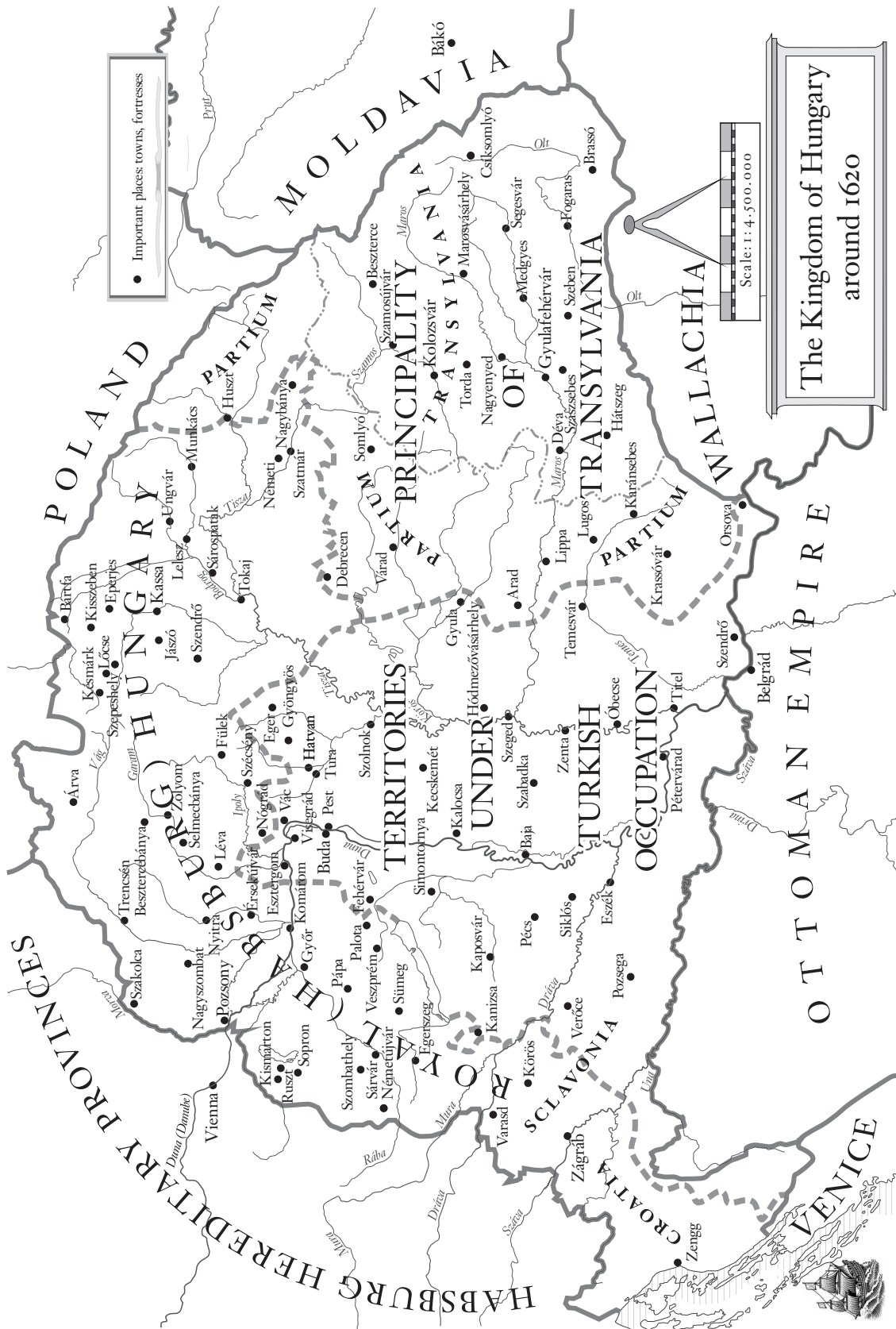
From the sources it seems that the decisions on the appointments to Eger and Esztergom were both made in the spring of 1616. The actual issue of the documents was delayed, though: on the one hand, due to legal difficulties around Pázmány's being a Jesuit; on the other hand, the struggle concerning incomes delayed Erdődy's appointment. Tamás Erdődy went on building his son's nimbus after acquiring the episcopal benefice, but no longer in scientific fields like in Bologna, Parma, and Ingolstadt, but as patron of the arts. The dedication to János Erdődy of a musical piece (Tomaso Cecchini, Venice, 1619) at least alludes to this. It is hardly an accident that the dedication at the beginning of the publication makes reference the role of the bishop's father.

Another important result of the research published in the paper is that it brings to light the conflict between Erdődy and Pázmány, buried in the historical past for four hundred years. The deprivation of the sick count of his episcopal benefice in October, 1625 (a year after his influential father died) at the Diet of Sopron in 1625 has so far been a hidden *fact* in Hungarian history. The significance of this finding is not only the mere statement of the fact of the bishop's removal, but rather the placement of the issue in the process of the gradual deterioration in Hungarian-Croatian relations. In the light of the appeal in the case of the disposition from the Bishopric of Eger, sent to the Apostolic Holy See instantly, this hidden, hitherto unknown, internal conflict

¹ See pp. 229–264.

among Hungary's high and middle clergy can be interpreted as an opposition between two approaches, viz. medieval vs. tridentine. We must also consider the fact, however, that the complaint placed at the Roman Curia against the Archbishop of Esztergom in favour of János Erdődy was accompanied by an attempt at a full-scale dishonouring of Hungary's episcopate. The idea and the realization of the appeal to Pope Urban VIII originates from the Croatian Gáspár Verbanovich, an influential canon at the Zagreb Chapter, who was also the *de facto* author of the document initiating the lawsuit, surviving in the Vatican Apostolic Library's (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*) series called *Barberini Latini*. The writings of another member of the same chapter, canon György Ráttkay, exhibit a clear and openly expressed anti-Hungarian attitude two decades later. The complaint against Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, sent to the Pope from Zagreb may be regarded as an exceptionally grave and important case, which – apart from violating the ban on directly turning to the Roman Curia – was also against strict Hungarian legal prescriptions. The last such case had occurred more than a century before, when the Augustinians of Körmend initiated a lawsuit against the head of the Hungarian Church.

The Vatican document pressing charges against Péter Pázmány at the Roman Curia, which serve as the chief basis for this study, belongs in essence to the history of the Diocese of Eger, as it addresses the Pope in favour of its disposed bishop. Besides the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the most important scene of the evolution of Catholic confessionalization was the Diocese of Eger, covering almost the entire territory of Upper Hungary. In the case of Esztergom, a functional step was taken in the process of carrying out the Tridentine programme with the appointment of Péter Pázmány, while – along the same political lines of power – it was the Count János Erdődy, a young aristocrat, mentally and psychologically incapable, who was appointed to Eger. The high priesthood of the non-residing count was utilized by his environment, consisting of Croatian clerics, to basically “drain out” the Bishopric's income. The misuse, however, did not lead to serious problems due to the campaigns of Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen. Upon Tamás Erdődy's death in January 1624, and the Peace of Vienna in May 1624, concluding the second campaign by Bethlen, it became possible, indeed urgent, to solve the problem. Pázmány's move, assisted by the Papal Nuncio, at the Diet of Sopron of 1625, bringing about the deprivation of János Erdődy of the Bishopric of Eger (note that the death next year of the still young aristocrat could not possibly be foreseen and taken into consideration), and the appointment of János Pyber, an experienced bishop consecrated back in 1613, proved to be a step of key importance. His rule saw the re-acquisition of the incomes that founded the future spread of Catholicism, setting them in order and providing for their functional use. The early modern Catholic confessionalization was basically centred around bishops. The removal of Erdődy, incapable of organizing denominations, from his bishop's seat, and his replacement with the capable bishop János Pyber, are interpretable as equally essential, crucial (and also symbolic) steps in the history of the Diocese of Eger, together with most of Upper Hungary, as well as Péter Pázmány's Archbishopric of Esztergom in the early modern history of the Archdiocese and Hungarian Catholicism.



The Kingdom of Hungary
around 1620

ISTVÁN TELEKESSY'S APPOINTMENT AS BISHOP OF CSANÁD
*Sources in the Medici Archives of Florence (1696)*¹

The Bishop István Telekessy (1633–1715) became known as Bishop of Eger during Rákóczi's War of Independence, being the first to sign the act dethroning the Habsburgs at the Diet of Ónod in 1707. His earlier ecclesiastical career is less familiar, which included his appointment, as canon of Győr, to the episcopal seat of Csanád in 1689. The territory of the Diocese of Csanád had been almost completely destroyed due to the Ottoman occupation; in actual fact, it was only the Franciscans of Szeged who had kept in touch with Hungary's church hierarchy. In the course of the 17th century, the Bishops of Csanád, residing on Royal Hungarian territory, entrusted the Franciscan superior of Szeged with the task of acting as vicar-general, fulfilling the pastoral and organizational duties even under Turkish rule. During the Ottoman war between 1683 and 1699, the part of the region of Banat between the rivers Danube, Tisza, and Maros (called *Temesköz* in Hungarian) suffered from constant fighting, making it impossible for István Telekessy to even consider residing in his diocese and starting its reorganization. This was one of the reasons why he did not even initiate the process of the papal approval of his episcopal title in Rome, which took place as late as 1696 when he had been persuaded by the Cardinal Lipót Kollonich, Archbishop of Esztergom, to appear at the Viennese Nunciature, requesting the process of approval to start. The process consisted of two parts, the stage at the Nunciature and the one in Rome. The Nunciature was temporarily headed by the auditor Francesco Maria Abbati, who carried out the canonical inspection of the nominee according to the established procedure, during which heard three witnesses, the Jesuit fathers Gábor Hevenesi, Márton Szentiványi and Maximilian Scherhackl, recording their testimonies, which related in part to the person nominated, but also to the conditions in the Diocese of Csanád. The testimony given by Gábor Hevenesi includes hitherto unknown biographical data about Telekessy, notably, that he had been offered the status of Hungarian Royal Chancellor by the Viennese Court, but he refused. The witnesses unanimously judged Telekessy, who had completed theological studies in Rome, to be eligible for bishop. At the same time, all of the three witnesses pointed out that the Bishopric of Csanád had been almost fully destroyed, and it is only the local Franciscans to be relied upon in the pastoral process. After the documentation of the bishop's canonical inspection had been completed at the nunciature, it was sent on to Francesco Maria de' Medici, the Habsburgs' Cardinal-Protector. As Cardinal Medici did not live in Rome, he could carry out the Roman process of approval through his agent, the Abbot Fabrizio Agostini. As we learn from the correspondence between Cardinal Medici and his agent, the imperial diplomatic representatives in Rome (Count Georg Adam von Martinitz, Imperial Ambassador, Cardinal Johannes von Goëss, Prince-Bishop of Gurk, and François Chassignet, ambassadorial secretary) were slow to react to the documents and instruction received from Vienna. Fabrizio Agostini was finally able to cooperate

¹ See pp. 265–276.

with the abbot Gianbattista Mariotti, Roman agent of Cardinal Lipót Kollonich, after which the process of the papal approval of István Telekessy was unhindered. At the papal consistory of August 13th, 1696, Cardinal Francesco del Giudice, joint protector, gave an account of the Bishop of Csanád's case, which was the second proposition (*propositio*). Pope Innocent XII also gave his approval for the procedure to be carried out *gratis*, considering the destruction suffered by the Diocese of Csanád. The abbot Mariotti sent the bull reinforcing Telekessy to Cardinal Kollonich on November 3rd, 1696. Not much later, viz. in the year 1699, however, Telekessy was appointed Bishop of Eger. The reorganization and rebuilding of the Diocese of Csanád could not start before 1716, after Temesvár (Timișoara) had been recaptured from the Turks by the Christian troops. The process of the reconstruction of the diocese started in the 1720's, first with Szeged as its centre, followed by Temesvár later.

BÉLA VILMOS MIHALIK

NEWS OF A CONCLAVE IN GYŐR

*Letters by Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni, Roman Agent, sent to Ferenc Zichy,
Bishop of Győr, in 1769¹*

Research on agents, as well as bringing to light and publishing the letters sent by them to their principals (clients), provide enormous opportunities for us to form a clear view of how well-informed the principals were as well as of the nature of their concerns. This holds especially for the bishops of Hungary, who maintained relationships beyond Vienna, viz. with Rome, via their agents. Ferenc Zichy, Bishop of Győr (1743–1783) was no exception: he employed agents working in Rome for three decades. Zichy's three Roman agents came from the same family; they were Pietro Poloni, Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni and Francesco Poloni.

An exceptionally important point in the history of these relationships was the year 1769, when, with the death of Pope Clement XIII in early February, a conclave had to be summoned in Rome. Zichy's current agent, Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni, wrote as many as twenty-one reports during that year, eleven of which date from the period of the conclave. Zichy was informed by his Roman agent on the identity of the cardinals arriving at the Eternal City, the current gossip in Rome, as well as the situation at the conclave. The agent, usually present at public events, provided precise and concise reports. As Poloni generally attached printed documents and newspapers to his reports, the Bishop's Court at Győr had a relatively comprehensive view on the news of the Roman events that had taken place about a week earlier.

The conclave of 1769 was extremely important: the great Catholic courts of Europe, led by the Bourbons, had decided to concentrate their powers on helping to St. Peter's throne a pope who would serve their political goals, including the issue of

¹ See pp. 277–297.

the dissolution of the Jesuit Order and the recognition of the territorial expansion of France and Naples. As a result, the conclave turned out to be a great European project, in which the Habsburg Empire mostly acted as an observer. Nonetheless, the Viennese Court kept being informed through their agents. My paper evaluates Pinto Poloni's letters and compares them to the letters sent by Francesco Brunati, Roman agent of the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Colloredo, and, as such, a well-informed person with access to the innermost circles.

RÓBERT OLÁH P.

THE EARLIEST *PROCESSUS* OF THE DIOCESE OF SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR (1777)¹

The canonical investigational processes relating to the appointment to an episcopal or archiepiscopal position (*processus informativus*; *processus inquisitionis*; *processus canonicus*), known also as *episcopal processes*, contain valuable materials which serve as important, but hitherto not much studied, sources for historical research. Ignác Nagy de Séllye (1777–1789) was appointed first Bishop of the recently created Diocese of Székesfehérvár (*Albaregalen.*) in 1777. In connection with his appointment, following the legal prescriptions, the Nuncio at Vienna carried out the canonical process of the inspection of the state of the Diocese. We can find related material in the Vatican Apostolic Archives at two locations, viz. the Consistorial Archive and the Archives of the Viennese Apostolic Nunciature.

The collegiate chapter, named after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was founded by King (Saint) Stephen I. It may have been founded on the basis of the *capella regia*, or royal chapels, with a long tradition in the West; Székesfehérvár was namely a royal city, where the medieval kings of Hungary were crowned and generally also buried. It was a privileged provostship, which was surely granted (from the 13th century on) full passive *exemptio*. During the wars with the Turks, it was under Ottoman rule almost continually between 1543 and 1688. Upon the liberation of the city, the provosts attempted to restore the collegiate chapter, although without much success. This may be one of the reasons why neither the Diocese nor the Cathedral Chapter of Székesfehérvár have inherited the rights of the medieval provostship. In accordance with the monarch's request, the consistory of November 12th, 1776, gave its preliminary approval of the creation of the diocese and the chapter. Queen Maria Theresa founded the new diocese (along with the Diocese of Szombathely), appointing Ignác Nagy, Provost of Kaposfő and Cantor Canon (*canonicus cantor*) of Veszprém, as the first bishop (1777–1789). In his bull starting *Cunctis ubique* of June 17th, 1777 (known in Hungarian law as *bulła confirmatoria*), Pope Pius VI. reinforced the foundation of the Bishopric, which became a suffragan diocese of the Archbishopric of Esztergom. Its territory was carved out of the Diocese of Veszprém: Fejér

¹ See pp. 299–306.

county as well as parts of Pilis county came under the jurisdiction of the new bishop. According to claims by witnesses, the territory of the diocese contained sixty parishes, but consistorial documents as well as historical research point to sixty-two of them. The expected income of the Diocese was initially estimated to be around 15 thousand Florins (Guldens). Besides the income provided by tithes, the bishop was given the goods of the former privileged provostship as well as the goods of the Jesuits at Székesfehérvár before the dissolution of the order. It was the parish church of St. Stephen of medieval origin but built, in fact, not much earlier, that became his cathedral. A cathedral chapter with six members was also created, for the maintenance of which was planned to be based on the domains (demesnes) of Sukoró, Pákozd, Etyek, Gyúró and Sósút, whose goods belonged in most part to the collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár before the Ottoman occupation; after the liberation from Turkish rule, to the Jesuits of Komárom (until the order was dissolved). Part of today's Sósút (Barátháza) was also given to the chapter.

There were two witnesses to the episcopal process, relating to the diocese. One of them was György Bernáth, who – as a clerk at the Hungarian Chancellery – may have been familiar with the conditions in Székesfehérvár; the other one was Márk Franyul (Marko Franjul), canon of Modrus (Modruš), who had served in the Diocese of Veszprém, and – as he claimed himself – the parish priest at Székesfehérvár as well.

TAMÁS TÓTH

VILMOS FRANKÓI'S RESEARCH REQUESTS
IN THE VATICAN APOSTOLIC ARCHIVES (1881–1885)¹

The aim of the present paper is to analyse, and elaborate on, the requests of research (between 1881 and 1885) by Vilmos Frankói, preserved at the Vatican Apostolic Archives (*Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*). For the most part, this is performed by embedding the requests preserved in the Prefectorial Archives, available by special permission, into the literature on the topic. Providing an overview of the conditions in the Vatican's Secret Archives, using them to form an overall picture of the work of Vilmos Frankói, canon and historian, chief secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, at the Vatican, especially as far as the beginnings of the publication of the series *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* are concerned.

During the period when Frankói joined the research on Vatican sources, the regulation was to hand in the request to the papal Secretary of State, who – upon approval – passed it on to the head of the Archives. The request was expected to contain a detailed description and justification of which documents the researcher wished to examine and to what end. The requests of Vilmos Frankói (1881–1885), found in the Prefectorial Archives of the Vatican Apostolic Archives, do meet these requirements.

¹ See pp. 307–321.

Once the request had been approved, the scholar was allowed to study the documents in the reading room, under the strict supervision of the archive's personnel. Fraknói, besides conducting negotiations on the organization of the work on *Monumenta Vaticana*, succeeded in starting his exploration in the Vatican Secret Archives after May 26th, 1881. This is proved by his requests: in his request dated May 15th, Fraknói – referring to an earlier letter by Haynald – addressed the Cardinal and Secretary of State Ludovico Jacobini, in order to be granted permission to go on studying the sources surviving from the 1300's and the 1520's in the volumes of *Nunziatura della Germania* and *Litterae Principum*, as well as in the letters of Cardinal Campeggio and Pope Clement VII. Fraknói requested an extension of his permit on June 6th, 1881, attaching a longer list of items he intended to study. Then, in his 1885 request, he gave an account of the increasing number of young Hungarian historians who joined the project, having seen its initial success as well as the results revealed in relation to Hungary.

This paper offers a brief overview of the first years of the history of the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* (1881–1892/1909), tracing, most of all, Fraknói's work, who did pioneering work to establishing the ever-important pillars underlying the relations between the Holy See and Hungarian scientists.

KATALIN NAGY

“THIS IS BUT PURE HUNGARIAN MADNESS”

Sources on the aftermaths of the bull ‘Christi fideles graeci’¹

The creation of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog for Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity in the year 1912 caused intense internal and external political debates, leading to some extreme expressions of anger and diplomatic bouts. The Romanians in Hungary, as well as public opinion in the Kingdom of Romania, considered the step as an attack on them by the Budapest government, since about half of the parishes of the newly established diocese had been transferred from the dioceses of the Romanian Greco-Catholic metropolitan domain of Transylvania. The creation of the diocese, initiated by Francis Joseph (Franz Joseph) I as apostolic King of Hungary, was preconized by Pope St. Pius X in his bull *Christi fideles graeci*. The bull itself represented, as interpreted by Romanians, the injustice they suffered, the subjugation of Romanian Greek Catholics by the law, and a threat to Romanian national identity. The peace treaty of Trianon cured, indeed amply compensated for, the Romanians' grievances, due to which the *Christi fideles graeci* became a symbol of past harassments in the period between the two world wars. Romanian fears were again revived by the Second Vienna Award: as the Romanian-Hungarian border had been altered, Miklós Dudás, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, proposed a re-transfer of the parishes that had been categorized

¹ See pp. 323–339.

as belonging to his diocese in 1912 but placed under the supervision of the metropolitan dioceses in 1919. Starting in the autumn of 1940, the relevant officials were attempting to find a solution during a long series of meetings as well as by commissioning an apostolic inspector; these attempts, however, lost their relevance (much like the revision of the bull *Christifideles graeci*) as a result of the war and its consequences.

This study, based on two private letters and a diplomatic reminder (found in the papal *Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato*), attempts to show what Romania's "official" opinion about the problem was on the one hand; on the other hand, it presents the views of the Senator Mariu Theodorian-Carada, a veteran of Romanian politics, who kept following the endeavours of Hungarian Greco-Catholics for three decades, playing his part in the fight against *Christifideles graeci*. His attitude and thoughts were definitely influenced by what the Cardinal Mariano Rampolla said to him about the Hungarian Greco-Catholic movement during a private conversation in 1910: "*This is but pure Hungarian madness*".

TAMÁS VÉGHSEŐ

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JÓZSEF GRÓSZ, ARCHBISHOP OF KALOCSA-BÁCS,
WITH ALVARY GASCOIGNE, BRITISH ENVOY TO BUDAPEST, IN 1945¹

This paper presents and analyzes two reports by Alvary Gascoigne, British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Budapest (1945–1946), in which he informed the British Government about his negotiations with József Grósz, Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács (1943–1961). Copies of these reports were also sent by the diplomat to his Vatican counterpart, Sir Francis D'Arcy Osborne, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary based in Rome. The documents, preserved in the papal *Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato*, were forwarded by the latter diplomat to Domenico Tardini, papal Substitute of the Secretariat of State, who was also in charge of the international relations of the Apostolic Holy See as Secretary of the Holy Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. Pope Pius XII was, thus, able to receive news of the recent developments in Hungary's ecclesiastical and political conditions, from direct Hungarian sources via British mediation at the end of World War II.

Having given an outline of the historical background as well as Gascoigne's career, we present an account of two meetings of the Archbishop and the Envoy (taking place on May 28th and July 23rd, 1945). During these meetings, the two men discussed the current political, social and ecclesiastical situation, as well as the Hungarians' experience of the Soviets and the Communists. The important issue of realizing land reform and property redistribution was also raised, just like the difficulties of maintaining and managing the extensive ecclesiastical organization. Besides, the state of the Hungarian legal system, as well as the coming parliamentary elections, were also discussed by the Archbishop and the Envoy.

¹ See pp. 341–358.

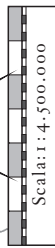
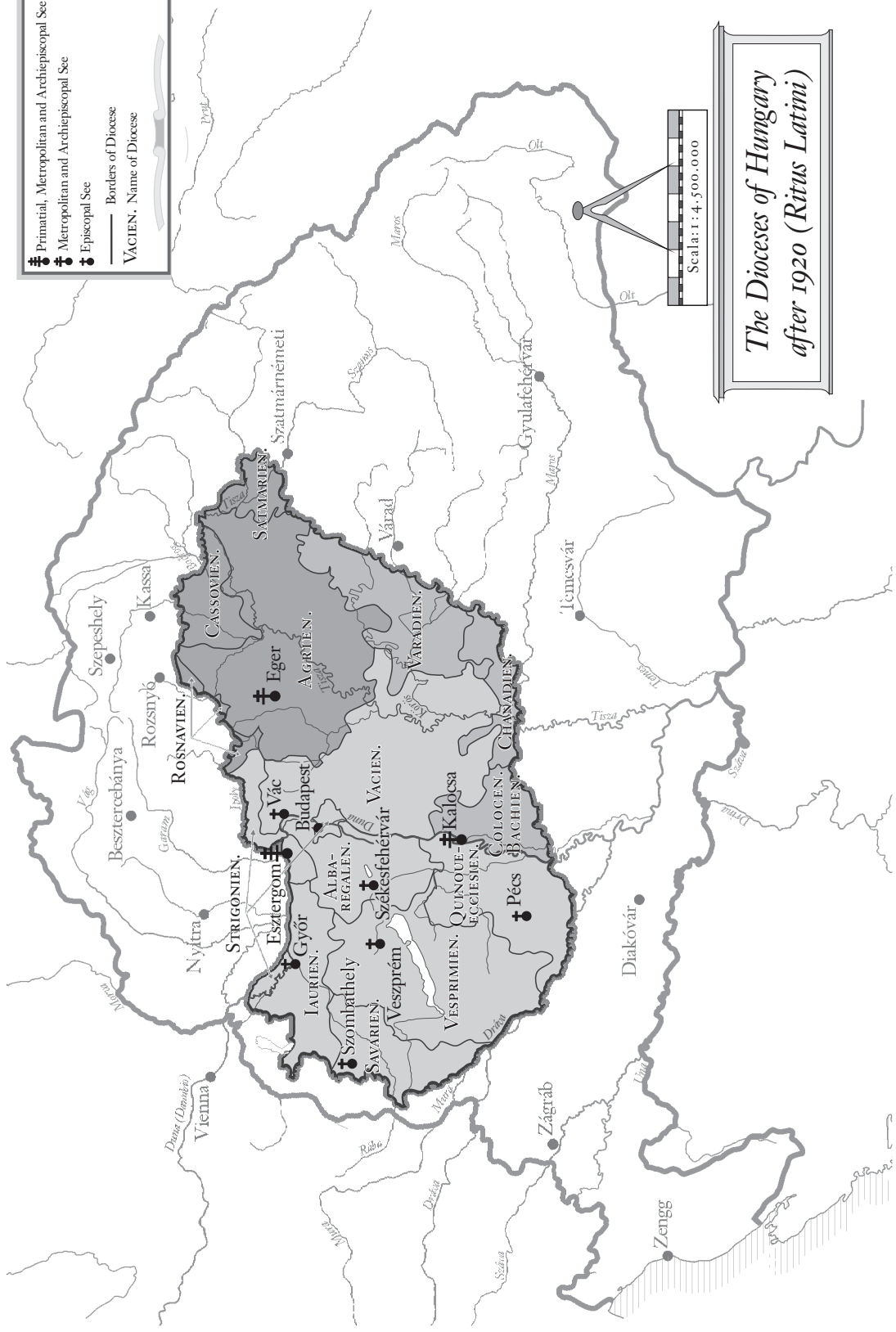
Primate, Metropolitan and Archbishop See

Metropolitan and Archbishop See

Episcopal See

Borders of Diocese

VACIEN. Name of Diocese



*The Dioceses of Hungary
after 1920 (Ritus Latini)*

Gascoigne offered to open a communication channel between Hungary's Catholic Church and the Apostolic Holy See, which the Archbishop Grósz did accept. That is how Grósz's report (dated September 2nd, 1945) to Pope Pius XII on the state of the Hungarian people and their Church found its way to the Eternal City. Finally, to conclude our paper intended as a publication of sources, we briefly discuss the Archbishop's Anglo-American connections and their effects, with special regard to their reception during the Archbishop's show trial in 1951.

GYÖRGY SÁGI

VINCE TOMEK, PIARIST GENERAL, ADVISOR AND CHRONICLER
OF VATICAN DIPLOMACY¹

Besides the Nunciatures, the General Curiae of monastic orders, seated in Rome, have played a significant role in assisting the Apostolic Holy See in modern times, having a comprehensive picture of the issues of the places they serve at, thanks their international presence. During the years after 1945, these internal transmission channels became even more valuable: after the Soviet occupiers had expelled the Apostolic Nuncio Angelo Rotta from Budapest, there was no official diplomatic mission of the Holy See delegated to Budapest. It was mostly the Cardinal József Mindszenty who took responsibility for representing and informing the Vatican.

In post-war Rome, there were Hungarian monks serving at almost all of the significant male monastic centres. An outstanding one was Vince Tomek, elected Piarist general in 1947. Tomek, who spoke several languages, played an especially important role, since a great number of Piarist monasteries and schools, now headed by him, were located in the Eastern (Soviet) Bloc. Moreover, being the head of a monastic order which maintained Catholic grammar schools, he had direct experience of the process of Sovietization as well as the communists' political concepts regarding education. After the nationalization of Hungary's church-operated schools on June 16th, 1948, which had tragic consequences for the Piarist order, the main mission of which was teaching, he (Tomek) paid a visit to Hungary between July 26th and August 16th, attempting to achieve an exemption of monastic grammar schools from being nationalized.

In the autumn of 1948, he acted as aide to Gyula Czapik, Archbishop of Eger, who went to Rome aiming at a settlement of the situation regarding the ecclesiastical policies in Hungary – being a monastic order's general, he felt quite at home in the Curia's offices; even the employees working for the papal Secretariat of State often turned to him for advice, as Giulio Barbetta, who worked for the Secretariat, did in May 1949, on the issue of whom to appoint as Bishop of Veszprém. In the end, it was

¹ See pp. 359–377.

the Dominican monk Bertalan Badalik, supported by Tomek, who became Bishop of Veszprém. Vince Tomek kept paying continuous attention to the events in Hungary, especially the renewed negotiations during the Second Vatican Council, of which he kept a diary full of data. His bequeathed property, stored in 25 chests, includes 7 chests with 90 diaries in them, containing 5534 pages of notes from the period between 1949 and 1975. The processing of his inheritance has now started, thanks to the Fransiscan monk KÁLMÁN PEREGRIN, the continuation of which is an important task in getting to know the history of the Hungarian Church, of emigration, as well as the Second Vatican Council.

BALÁZS RÉTFALVI

Translated by LÁSZLÓ KRISTÓ