

Hungarians and the Prague Nunciature

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Abstract

Emperor Rudolf II's move to Prague fundamentally changed the relationship between the Hungarians and the papal nuncios at the imperial court. The administration of the affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary was spatially divided and conducted through several channels. The Hungarian issues raised at the Prague and later at the Vienna nunciature were of a personal, ecclesiastical or political nature, in which the nuncio played a basically mediating role vis-à-vis the court. At the same time, all these forms of contact remained ad hoc in nature. Since neither the Hungarian nobility nor the clergy set up a residence, contacts were neither informal nor spatially/representationally institutionalized.

1 Introduction

In the following I will outline the relationship between the Hungarians and the Prague nunciature, taking into account the available sources, mainly on the basis of published and unpublished nunciature reports from the period of the long Turkish war (1593–1606) and the period immediately afterwards, as well as unpublished reports used in my researchs in the Archiv Apostolic Vatican, which also provide insight into the relationship between the Hungarians and the Prague court during the reign of Rudolf II. The relationship between the Hungarians and the Prague nunciature cannot be understood without knowing the relationship between the Hungarians and the Prague court.

First, let's briefly look at the political context in which the issue can be placed. After the Battle of Mohács (1526), the death of King Louis II of Hungary and the Bohemians, and later of his successors, Ferdinand I and John I, created a new political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. The central part of the country, together with Buda, the Hungarian capital, came under direct Ottoman occupation, and the royal court of Buda was abolished. The former royal court of Hungary moved its offices and officials partly to Vienna, to the Habsburg court, and partly to Gyulafehérvár (*Alba Julia*), the new capital of the Ottoman vassal state, the Kingdom of Szapolyai, which was formed from the eastern parts of the medieval kingdom of Hungary.¹

The aristocracy of the part of the Kingdom of Hungary coming under Habsburg rule sought to gain positions at the imperial court in Vienna and to

build up their institutional and personal connections. At the level of representation, this was reflected in the purchase of palaces in an attempt to strengthen its presence in the imperial city. With the accession of Rudolf II to power, the situation changed which also transformed the relationship between the Hungarians and the imperial court.²

The offices did not follow the Emperor to Prague but continued their operations either in Vienna or Pozsony (Bratislava).³ The same could be said of the Hungarian elite, which was geographically more distant from the new center of the Habsburg monarchy. This is of particular significance because the Hungarian nobility could not stay away from their estates for any length of time because of the border wars with the Ottomans. The Hungarians no had a permanent residence in Prague. This also meant that the personal ties that were essential to building a career at court were weakened. At the same time, the Hungarian aristocracy retained close links with the court of Archduke Matthias, who remained in Vienna, and with the government bodies that remained there.⁴

The relationship of the Hungarians with the imperial court was always controversial, as they saw the Habsburg dynasty as the main obstacle to the realisation of a national kingdom. This relationship was further complicated by the religious issue, in addition to the personality of the monarch. As a result of the Reformation, the majority of Hungarians became Protestant, who regarded the Ottoman vassalage and the Transylvanian Principality, which had also become Protestant, as an ally. After the extinction of the Szapolyai dynasty, the Báthory dynasty (1571), which succeeded to the Transylvanian throne and included several illustrious soldiers, was seen as the embodiment of the idea of a national kingdom.⁵

In 1604, an anti-Habsburg uprising of the Hungarian Protestant estates broke out, led by István Bocskai, an aristocrat of the Transylvanian principality, who was personally well known at the court in Prague, where he had been an ambassador (1598). The uprising he led (1604–1606), in addition to the national antagonisms already mentioned, further strengthened the Protestant-Catholic opposition.⁶ The Hungarians saw the court of Vienna, led by Archduke Matthias, as an ally against Rudolf II, and therefore sided with him in the “Brothers’ Quarrel” (*Bruderzwist*).⁷ The consequence of this was the dethronement of the Emperor from the Hungarian throne in 1608 and the election of Archduke Matthias as King of Hungary.

Increasing geographical, religious, and political distance made communication with the Prague court more difficult. In most cases, news from Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania reached Prague via Vienna rather than directly from Hungary. As there was no regular postal network in the Hungarian territory, letters were delivered by merchants, couriers or agents, usually acting on behalf of a military leader in the border area. These letters, which were sent to the court in Vienna and Prague and, for example,

to the papal embassy and the embassies of the Italian states (Mantua, Florence, Venice) in Prague, were used to produce avisos, which can be regarded as the forerunners of modern newspapers.⁸ Unfortunately, however, very little is known about the mechanism of this, and the Hungarian newspaper literature of the period is a little-researched subject.⁹

The transformation of the relationship between the Hungarian elite and the imperial court naturally had an impact on the papal nunciature in Prague, which had to adapt to the new situation.¹⁰ The question therefore arises: before 1608, when the extraordinary political situation led to the establishment of the Vienna nunciature in parallel with the Prague one, how did the Hungarians maintain contact with the papal envoy in Prague? What were the most important matters they dealt with and what channels were available to them? How did the Hungarians and the Kingdom of Hungary appear in the reports of the nuncio in Prague?

2 Between Vienna and Prague

The Hungarian issues in the nuncios’ reports can be grouped around three main themes: first, the filling of vacant ecclesiastical posts, processes and requests for various dispensations, such as *extra tempora*, which were quite common issues.¹¹ Second, the monitoring of relations between the court and the estates. The diets played a very important role, and the nuncios always reported on them in detail and at length and attended them personally whenever they could. To the modern reader, it may seem strange, for example, that the nuncios paid so much attention to the issue of the personal appearance of the emperor at the diet of Pozsony in 1581.¹² In addition to taxes, various religious complaints were regularly raised at the Diet. Since the Hungarian representatives who appeared at the diet were mostly Protestants, the subject of heresy naturally also appeared in the reports. The instructions given to the papal envoys identified the fight against heresy, the implementation of the provisions of the Council of Trent and the promotion of re-catholicization as the most important tasks. This is understandable in a country such as the Kingdom of Hungary, where the majority of the population belonged to one of the Protestant denominations. In the practice, the unwritten law, i.e. the right of the king and the nobility to nominate ecclesial benefices, proved to be particularly important. In Hungary, there was no legal regulation of the exercise of faith similar to the Religious Peace of Augsburg or the Edict of Nantes before 1606. The diet was the only forum where the Protestant estates could speak with one voice on the question of religion. But the same was true for the much weaker Catholic estates and the monarch. For this reason, the assemblies and the personal presence of the monarch were of particular importance to the orders.

The third important theme of the nunciature's reports was the question of the Turkish threat. This matter concerned not only the internal politics of Habsburg monarchy, but also the whole of Western Christianity. For the societies of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, the fight against the Turks was not just a propaganda,¹³ or interesting news, but a real and serious problem. The advance of the Ottoman Empire threatened the societies of the region and the Habsburg rule. The Habsburg government sought to protect them from the Ottoman advance. In this, it could count on the pope as a natural ally, who, as a *padre commune*, supported the universal defence of the Christian faith and also the continuation of the mission to the east, aimed at re-Catholicization and the Orthodox lands. At the same time, politically, it was vital for the Papal State, along with the other Italian states, to halt Ottoman expansion both on land and at sea. The outbreak of the long Turkish war (1593) proved to be a watershed, as the volume of war news increased radically, which also meant that the Papacy's attention was permanently focused – as it had never been before or since – on the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, as well as on the Hungarians.¹⁴

The radical increase in the volume of war news and the handling of related matters also radically increased the tasks of the nuncios. This became one of their most difficult tasks, as the Hungarian border was hundreds of kilometres away from the nunciature. We have records that the nuncio sent one of his officials,¹⁵ his *auditore*, to Vienna. In addition to live word of mouth, news reached the nuncio in the form of reports, letters and *awiso* (in German: *Zeitung*).

The permanent war situation required the strengthening of the temporary Hungarian presence in Prague. Whereas previously Hungarians had appeared at the Prague court mainly for ecclesiastical matters and for the Hungarian Diets,¹⁶ the former of course being handled by the nunciature and not collectively, but personally, the long Turkish war brought a change in this respect as well. The top Hungarian secular officials, the country's most distinguished aristocrats, such as Miklós Pálffy or Ferenc Nádasdy, who were commanders of the Hungarian troops in the war, visited Nuncio Speciano several times to consult him and ask for his help.¹⁷ The meeting with Nádasdy, a Lutheran, was of particular importance to the nuncio, as the court planned to send him to Transylvania in the spring of 1595 to discuss the war. It was also at this time that there was talk of sending the papal troops led by General Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini to Transylvania.¹⁸ Or, for example, at the beginning of 1597, Emperor Rudolf II ordered Hungarian advisers to Prague to discuss the war and the relief of Transylvania. At that time, a delegation of seven members, both ecclesiastic and secular, almost

the entire *Consilium Hungaricum*, appeared at the imperial court and the nuncio.¹⁹

3 The “Báthory Problem” and the Long Turkish War

Although there had been peace between the Habsburgs and the Porte since the Peace of Drinapoly (1568), the political relations of power in the Central and Eastern European region changed in 1571, the year of the Battle of Lepanto. The first sign of this was the aforementioned accession of István Báthory to the throne in Transylvania and his election as King of Poland in 1575. The papal diplomacy reacted quickly, as shown most clearly by the fact that the correspondence of the nuncios of the period, in relation to the Hungarians, contains a much more prominent reference to the Principality of Transylvania and the Báthory dynasty than before. István Báthory, who was elected king of Poland in opposition to the Habsburg candidate, was never in fact recognised as a legitimate king by the Habsburgs, who regarded him as their enemy.

The Habsburg-Báthory conflicts were manifested in three main areas: the Polish throne and, through it, the Polish policy of the Prague court, which meant that the pre-existing Habsburg-Russian relations were not only maintained but even somewhat intensified. The other area was the border dispute between the Kingdom of Hungary, which is now to be understood as the part of the country under Habsburg rule, and the Principality of Transylvania, where a considerable part of the Báthory estates lay. Báthory claimed back from the emperor the possessions he had lost in the border war of the 1560s: although the Pope, through his special envoy Antonio Possevino, tried to mediate in the dispute, no agreement was reached.²⁰ This problem of an internal political nature, strange as it may seem, appears in much more of the correspondence of the Prague nuncios,²¹ than, for example, the Polish-Austrian-Russian relationship, although Báthory led three campaigns against the Tsar between 1578 and 1581.²²

The third, but more important issue, which occupies the smallest part of the correspondence, was István Báthory's plan for a Hungarian kingdom. This was based on the dissatisfaction of a section of the Hungarian nobility with the Ottoman policy of the Prague court, which considered Rudolf II unfit to rule.²³ Their hopes were embodied in István Báthory, who led several successful campaigns against the tsar and whose life program was to fight the Turks. To this end, the king maintained very intensive relations with Rome from the second half of the 1580s.²⁴ But he also made contact with the Hungarian malcontents, some of whom he was related to.²⁵

In contrast, the Holy See intended both monarchs to play a key role in the creation of a great anti-Turkish holy league. These plans had been formulated as early as the late 1570s, but Báthory's Russian wars meant that substantive negotiations did not begin. This situation changed after the Peace of Jan Zapolski (1582): from then until his death in 1586, Báthory's plans were the subject of intense papal diplomacy.²⁶ The nunciature in Prague played a subordinate role in the negotiations. This was simply because the imperial court, despite the efforts of the Roman Curia, refused to become involved in these negotiations. This is the reason why discussions on the league plans are absent from the reports, and why, in addition to domestic and ecclesiastical policy, the aforementioned subject of the frontier region filled the bulk of the correspondence.

After the election of Clement VIII (1592), these plans took on a whole new dimension, since the pope, whose motto was "marciare verso Constantinopoli," considered the expulsion of the Turks from Europe to be his life's goal.²⁷ The Fifteen Years' War, which officially broke out in 1593, created a great opportunity to implement this plan. The role of the Hungarians was enhanced by the war, and as a result they figured much more prominently in the correspondence of the Prague nuncios from the 1590s onwards.

Clement VIII sent a new nuncio to the Prague court. Reading Cesare Speciano's instructions,²⁸ it may at first glance seem surprising that there is no reference to war. Hungary is only mentioned in the text in connection with the appointment of ecclesiastical benefices, which, like other European countries, was a constant source of conflict between the Holy See and the imperial court.²⁹ Since the pope immediately contacted the Transylvanian court to restart the negotiations that had been interrupted in 1586, and immediately sent his special nuncio, Attilio Amalteo, to the court of the Prince in Gyulafehérvár in Transylvania, among other things precisely because of the league plans,³⁰ and we do not know of any other instruction, the most likely explanation is that Speciano received verbal instructions.

The Hungarian aspects of Speciano's reports are thus dominated by the war against the Turks.³¹ After the outbreak of the Turkish war, news and reports about it begin to pour in huge quantities, overshadowing all other news. It is almost impossible to find a report that does not give a longer or shorter account of the events of the war. The nuncio was not in an easy position, since he had not only to report on the events of the war, but also, as the representative of papal diplomacy, to obtain the entry of the Principality of Transylvania and Poland into the war within the framework of a formal alliance, a league.

This was greatly helped by the establishment of the Transylvanian nunciature in 1595, headed by Alfonso Visconti, who was originally destined

for Poland.³² He was also formerly papal nuncio in Prague. The Transylvanian nunciature was a real curiosity in the history of the papacy, as it was based in a Protestant country between 1595 and 1599, where the strongest denomination was the Antitrinitarian.³³ The Transylvanian, Polish and Prague nunciatures formed a tri-polar network, in constant contact with each other, exchanging news regularly. Unfortunately, most of the correspondence on this subject has not survived, and only the reports written to Rome give us an idea of how this network worked.

In addition to the Transylvanian nunciature, the Jesuit order also played an important role in the Prague nunciature's affairs of Hungarian interest: the best example is the confessor priest of Prince Zsigmond Báthory of Transylvania, the Spanish Jesuit Alfonso Carrillo, who, as the prince's confidant, negotiated several times in Vienna and Prague on diplomatic missions.³⁴ It was thanks to the joint efforts of the Jesuit and Speciano that the marriage between Archduchess Maria Christina of the Styrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty and Prince Zsigmond Báthory of Transylvania took place in 1595.³⁵ This established not only a dynastic relationship but also an anti-Turkish alliance between the Emperor and the prince. Not least, the Prague court hoped that the marriage would also serve the purpose of uniting the areas of the Kingdom of Hungary under the dynasty's rule with other parts of the kingdom not under direct Ottoman rule. As his marriage and the war did not go according to his plans, the prince had already announced his resignation in 1596, which he did in 1597.

Transylvania's presence in Prague reached its peak in terms of representation during the visit of Prince Zsigmond Báthory to Prague, who personally visited the imperial court in early 1597. The background to this visit was his abdication, which both the Prague court and the Roman Curia wanted to dissuade him from at all costs. Speciano, of course, mentions this month-long visit in his letters, the highlight of which was the celebration of the Prince's knighthood on 10 March. During this time, he met the prince in person several times.³⁶ In addition to Speciano, Visconti and Carrillo, who had known the nuncio personally for several years and had accompanied the prince to Prague, also sent reports to Rome on Sigismund's stay and negotiations in Prague.³⁷ In Prague that Zsigmond met the papal general Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini, who was leading the papal troops into the Hungarian theatre of war for the second time in 1597.³⁸ It was a real "summit meeting", since at that time Hungarian and Transylvanian affairs in Prague were represented by two nuncios and a papal general at the Prague court, who held several meetings with the Hungarian councillors who were also in Prague.

The most spectacular part of the negotiations in Prague and of Sigismund's stay there was undoubtedly the takeover of the Order of the

Golden Fleece, which was then considered the most prestigious order of knights in Europe. Báthory's knighthood ceremony was attended by all the court dignitaries, the embassies, including, of course, the nuncio Speciano. The Grand Master of the Order in 1597 was Philip II, who, by admitting him to the Order of the Golden Fleece, tried to dissuade the Prince from his intention to abdicate and to reward his war services.

Although Báthory abdicated his throne at the end of 1597,³⁹ he returned in August 1598, but a few months later, at the beginning of 1599, he resigned again and handed the throne to his nephew, Cardinal András Báthory. These unexpected political turns took not only the imperial court but also the nunciature by surprise. Speciano's successor,⁴⁰ Filippo Spinelli, had to face perhaps the most complex problem of his entire Prague career, the succession to the Transylvanian throne, from the very beginning of his term of office. The new Transylvanian prince, who came to the throne in violation of the Habsburg-Báthory Treaty of 1595, wanted both to have his rule recognised by the emperor, who had chosen his brother Archduke Maximilian as governor of Transylvania, and to make peace with the Turks. The latter would also have meant recognition of Ottoman vassalage. For the papal diplomacy, András Báthory was an ideal candidate for the throne, so that even after his divorce from the prince,⁴¹ Maria Christina wanted to marry the cardinal and tried to get the court in Prague to recognise Báthory as the new prince of Transylvania. To this end, Germanico Malaspina, newly recalled from his nunciature in Poland, was sent to replace Visconti, who had left Transylvania in 1598. Malaspina had to mediate with Spinelli between András Báthory and Rudolf II. However, this failed and the Cardinal Prince was killed in the battle of Sellenberg. This also changed the political situation again: a military government was formed in Transylvania under the leadership of the imperial general Giorgio Basta. From the end of 1599 onwards, the Prague nunciature had to communicate with Transylvania not as a quasi-sovereign country, as before, but as a special military-controlled territory of the imperial government until 1604, when the Bocskai uprising broke out.

Zsigmond Báthory, who abdicated his throne several times and settled in Bohemia from 1604, ended his life in Libochovice in 1613,⁴² his tomb is in the chapel of St. Sigismund in St. Vitus Cathedral. He therefore has multiple links with Bohemia and the Czech capital.

4 Faith and Politics: The Bocskai Uprising and the Prague Nunciature

The Habsburg-Báthory marriage and Báthory's visits to Prague were a special episode in the relationship between the Hungarians and the

Transylvanian Principality and the Prague court. Apart from the aforementioned Jesuit Carrillo, there were secular envoys from the Principality of Transylvania, among whom we find a mixture of Catholics and Protestants. The nuncios made every effort to meet each of the ambassadors personally and received them at their residences. In all cases, the reports indicated the religious affiliation of the ambassador. One interesting case was the embassy of István Bocskai to Prague, where he arrived in 1599 in the company of Demeter of Naprághy, Bishop of Transylvania. Bocskai, who was the uncle of Zsigmond Báthory, played a key role in the principedom's entry into the war against the Turks in 1595. The Chancellor and Bishop of Transylvania, Naprághy, was also a man of the emperor. András Báthory, who ascended the Transylvanian throne in the spring of 1599, sent them to get rid of them because he considered them both to be Habsburg partisans.⁴³

They both met several times with Speciano's successor, Filippo Spinelli nuncio.⁴⁴ Bocskai's person attracted the nuncio's interest, as indicated by the fact that he devoted a whole report to him and returned to his person later. He believed that the imperial court wanted him to stand as a candidate for the position of Prince of Transylvania. He therefore tried to get to know him, invited him to his house several times and questioned him. The Transylvanian lord made a good impression on him, his only objection being his Calvinism.⁴⁵ For Naprághy, this embassy meant disgrace, for Bocskai, two years of house arrest in Prague, because he was suspected of trying to break his oath to the emperor. The nuncio probably did not meet him during the period of his imprisonment, as I have found no mention of the Hungarian magnate in the reports. But this "house arrest" certainly played a part, in addition to personal grievances, in his being at the head of the anti-Habsburg uprising in 1604. Bocskai's rebellion of 1604 to 1606 brought victory for the Hungarian estates. In the Peace of Vienna, the emperor was forced to accept most of the demands of the estates, the most important of which was the free exercise of religion by the Lutheran and Calvinist confessions.⁴⁶

In addition to the Turkish War, the Báthory affair and the Bocskai uprising, the presence of the Hungarians in Prague was noticeably re-increased, which can be traced in the nuncio reports, when in 1608, as a result of the above-mentioned uprising, an extremely complicated and serious political situation arose in the Habsburg monarchy.⁴⁷ The victory of the Hungarian estates and the extraordinary financial burden of the Turkish war brought the Habsburg monarchy to the brink of collapse. In order to avoid this, the Habsburg government was forced to make concessions to the rebellious Hungarians and to make peace with the Turks. The emperor and the pope refused to accept the free exercise of religion.

In this matter, in Hungary they could count on one person, Cardinal Ferenc Forgách, Archbishop of Esztergom, who, in addition to his ecclesiastical offices, also held the offices of Governor and Grand-Chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁸ All this was known in Rome, which explains why he was elected Archbishop of Esztergom in 1607, and later Cardinal, even though he was a convert whose parents were Lutherans.⁴⁹ Forgách belonged to one of the wealthiest families in Upper Hungary, and was converted by the Jesuits. After his studies in Rome, he quickly rose through the ranks, soon becoming Bishop of Nitra and Chancellor of Hungary. His political career began during the aforementioned Bocskai rebellion, when the Peace of Vienna, signed by the emperor and the Hungarian estates on 23 June 1606, was not implemented as chancellor-general, in accordance with the will of the emperor, after Bocskai's death a few months later. This made his relations with Archduke Matthias and the court of Vienna extremely tense, which was exacerbated by the fact that in the spring of 1608, in order to obtain the Hungarian throne, the Archduke made a confederation with the Hungarian, then Austrian and Moravian estates, with whose help he dethroned his brother and crowned himself King of Hungary. As the political situation was tense, Forgách had to stay in Hungary at all times, so he liaised with the imperial court, including the then papal nuncio Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, through his agents and the nuncio's *auditore*. In 1608 the Holy See sent a papal legate to resolve the political situation. As a result of the trip of Legate Giovanni Milino, the Holy See dropped the charges brought against Matthias by Forgách and the resulting inquisition suit, and established the Vienna nunciature.⁵⁰ From 1608, the Vienna nunciature, headed by Placido de Mara, maintained contact with Forgách.⁵¹ Due to the loss of the Vienna nunciature and the Hungarian crown, the new nuncio in Prague, Antonio Caetani, made far fewer references to Hungarians and the Kingdom of Hungary in his correspondence.

5 Conclusions

The special political situation of the Kingdom of Hungary and the move of the court to Prague meant that neither the Hungarian estates nor the Hungarian barons and clergy had any permanent representation in Prague. The presence of Hungarians in the multicultural court of Prague was minimal compared to that of the archducal court that remained in Vienna: this separation had geographical, political, financial, religious/cultural, informal, and personal aspects.

For these reasons, the nunciature in Prague was not able to establish an institutional relationship with the Hungarians in addition to the personal one. The letters show that the nuncios were informed by news coming mainly from Vienna to Prague. Some of his business was conducted with an

official in his cabinet, the *auditore*. In addition to the more or less routine ecclesiastical and domestic matters, news of the Turkish war is particularly important. Of these, the period from 1595 to 1597 can be regarded as the high points, as this was when the Transylvanian Principality entered the war, when Zsigmond Báthory married the Habsburg Archduchess Maria Christina, and when he divorced and renounced his homeland in favor of the Habsburgs.

The situation is somewhat different with the Principality of Transylvania, where, especially after the outbreak of the Turkish war and because of the Habsburg-Báthory alliance, embassies arrived relatively regularly, as Transylvania was considered an independent country. The nuncios also tried to establish personal contact with the envoys, while in other cases they communicated with the imperial councillors and minions or sought information through agents. This situation only changed in exceptional cases, such as the personal visit of Prince Zsigmond Báthory of Transylvania, or the extraordinary political situation in Hungary, the Bocskai uprising or the dethronement of Rudolf II. This is also the reason why the nunciature network split, albeit temporarily, in 1608, when the nunciature of Vienna was established alongside that of Prague.

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Notes

- 1 For the most recent summary and literature on this, see Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century* (Budapest: Institute of Habsburg History, 2009).
- 2 On Rudolf's court, see R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II: Ohnmacht und Einsamkeit* (Graz: Styria, 1980).
- 3 Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 157–191.
- 4 On the presence of the Hungarian aristocracy in Vienna, see Anna Fundárková and István Fazekas, ed., *Die Weltliche und kirchliche Elite aus dem Königreich Böhmen und Königreich Ungarn am Wiener Kaiserhof im 16. –17. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung, 2013); Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 71–88 (on the difficulties of integration in Prague, see 76–84).
- 5 Tamás Kruppa, "Tradycja rodziny i mit genealogiczny w zwierciadle probatoriańskiej i antibatoriańskiej propagandy," in *Latinitas Hungarica. Lacina w kulturze Wegierskiej*, ed. Elzbieta Olechowska (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013), 139–160; Tamás Kruppa, "Kult svatých a dynastická propaganda na dvoře Báthoryů v 16. století," *Theatrum historiae* 5 (2009): 27–37; Tamás Kruppa, *Tradíció és propaganda keresztútján. Fejezetek Báthory Zsigmond udvarának kultúrájából: Humanizmus és reformáció* 36 (Budapest: Balassi, 2015), 143–160.
- 6 László Makkai, András Mócsy and Zoltán Szász, *History of Transylvania, Volume I* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 757–764; Pálffy, *The Kingdom*, 209–233.
- 7 Bernd Rill, *Kaiser Matthias. Bruderzwist und Glaubenskampf* (Graz: Styria, 1999), 122–194; Hans Sturmberger, *Uprising in Bohemia* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1959), 24–31; Tomáš Černušák, "Die Papstpolitik und die Entwicklung des Bruderzwistes in der Korrespondenz des Nuntius Antonio Caetani," in *Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg (1608–1611)*, ed. Václav Bůžek (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2010), 211–224.
- 8 Cornel Zwierlein, "Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis von italienisch-deutschem Kulturtransfer 1552–1570," *Sources and Research from Italian Archives and Libraries* 90 (2010): 169–224; Mario Infelise, "Gli avvisi di Roma: Informazione e politica nel secolo XVII," in *La Corte di*

- Roma tra Cinque e Seicento "Teatro" della politica europea*, ed. Mario Infelise (Bari: Laterza, 2002), 189–205; Mario Infelise, "La circolazione dell'informazione commerciale," in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa IV: Commercio e cultura mercantile*, ed. Richard A. Goldthwaite and Reinhold C. Mueller (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca, Costabissara, Colla, 2007), 499–522; Mario Infelise, "From merchants' letters to handwritten political avvisi: Notes on the origins of public information," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe III: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Egmond Florike (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33–52; Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung. Die Fuggerzeitungen (1598–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011).
- 9 For a few brief overviews and case studies, see Tamás Kruppa, "Az oszmánellenes szent háború eszméje és Erdély Girolamo Frachetta alkalmi műveinek tükrében," *Lymbus. Művelődéstörténeti Tár* 7 (2004): 19–49; Vilmos Polgár, *Magyarország és a magyarok a XVII. századi olasz közvéleményben* (Pannonhalma: published by the author, 1942).
- 10 For the relationship between the imperial court and the curia, see Alexander Koller, ed., *Kurie und Politik: Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturrechtsforschung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1998), 137–175; Alexander Koller, *Imperator und Pontifex: Forschungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiserhof und Römischer Kurie im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung (1550–1648)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2012), 72–103, 121–139.
- 11 For example, on the question of the filling of the Archbishop of Esztergom's chair, see Alexander Koller, ed., *Nuntiaturen des Orazio Malaspina und des Ottavio Santacroce. Interim des Cesare dell'Arena (1578–1581): Nuntiaturreports aus Deutschland III/10* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 279, 446, 549. For the period 1592 to 1606, see Alena Pazderová, ed., *Epistulae et acta Caesaris Speciani 1592–1598, Pars I: Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628 I* (Prague: Národní archiv, 2016); Natale Mosconi, ed., *La nunziatura di Praga di Cesare Speciano (1592–1598), Tom. IV* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1966), 36, 55.
- 12 On the diet in 1581, see Koller, *Nuntiaturen*, 273, 277, 279–280, and 283. On the emperor's appearance in Pozsony, see also 290, 298, 351, 393, 395, 398, 400, 409, 434, 453, 483, 489, 492, 501, 524, 532, 535, 539, 545, 549, 557, and 559.
- 13 See Géraud Poumarède, *Il mediterraneo oltre le crociate: La guerra turca nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento tra leggende e realtà* (Torino: UTET libreria, 2011), for a counterexample, see Winfried Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr* (Munich: Beck, 1978).
- 14 Tamás Kruppa, "Hungary and the Hungarians in Italian Public Opinion during and after the Long Turkish War," in *A Divided Hungary in Europe. Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541–1699 III: The Making and Uses of the Image of Hungary and Transylvania*, ed. Kees Tszszelzky (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 89–107; Karl Göllner, *Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts I–III* (Bucharest: Acad. RPR, 1961–1978); Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. „Türkengefahr“ und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003).
- 15 See Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (subsequently AAV), Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 67C, fol. 69r. On the activities of the auditors of the nuncios, see Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 67B, fol. 287r, 297v, 315r, 323v, 324r, 331r, vol. 87C, fol. 191r, 192r; AAV, Segr. Stato, Germania, vol. 114D, fol. 87rv, 105r–106v, 117r–118v; Tamás Kruppa, ed., *Forgách Ferenc okmánytár. Levelek és iratok (1586–1615): Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae II/9* (Budapest, Rome: Gondolat, 2022), 436–437.
- 16 AAV, Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 57, fol. 16r; Koller, *Nuntiaturen*, 25, 28, 85, 95, 101, 103, 263, 271, 279–280, 283, 359, 372, 446, and 545; Pazderová, *Epistulae*. For the period 1606 to 1608 see Kruppa, *Forgách okmánytár*.
- 17 Pazderová, *Epistulae*, 149, 190, 868, 945–946, 1876, and 1894.
- 18 Originally Clement VIII did not want to send the general and his soldiers to the Hungarian theater of war, but to the Transylvanian principality. See Tamás Kruppa, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini prágai tárgyalásai. Adalék a Szentszék háborús szerepvállalásához 1597-ben," *Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Közlemények* (2019): 85–116; Tamás Kruppa, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini pápai generális megíúsult erdélyi hadivállalata 1595–1596-ban," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 131 (2018): 662–680.
- 19 For the negotiations, see AAV, Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 109BC, fol. 38r, 57r. Mosconi, *La nunziatura*, 96–97 and 112–113. On the diet, see Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia regni Hungariae 1588–1597 VIII* (Budapest: MTA, 1883), 321–322 and 337–339.
- 20 Vilmos Fraknói, "Egy jezsuita diplomata hazánkban," *Katholikus Szemle* 16 (1902): 585–607, 685–707, and 796–811. For Possevino's

- mission in Transylvania, see Vasile Rus, "La missione di Antonio Possevino come diplomatico papale in Transilvania (1583)," in *Antonio Possevino i gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania Atti della giornata di studio Cluj-Napoca, 4. dicembre 2007*, ed. Alberto Castaldini (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 25–39.
- 21 Koller, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 88, 102, 110, 128, 153, 250, 268, 352, 354, 356, 368–369, 374, 380, and 446.
- 22 Tamás Kruppa, *A kereszt, a sas és a sárkányfog. Törökellenes ligatervek és küzdelmek a Báthory-korszakban (1578–1597): Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae II/5*. (Budapest, Róma: Gondolat, 2014); Koller, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 110, 157, 184, 200–201, 204, 268, 374, and 427–428.
- 23 Koller, *Nuntiatoren*, 280 and 502.
- 24 On this, see in detail Kruppa, *A kereszt*, 29–154, on the Jesuit eastern missio, see Jan Joseph Santich, *Missio Moscovitica: the Role of the Jesuits in the Westernization of Russia 1582–1689* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 3–56.
- 25 See Kruppa, *A kereszt*, 82–86.
- 26 On these negotiations, see note 24.
- 27 L. F. Mathaus-Voltolini, "Die Beteiligung des Papstes Clemens VIII. an der Bekämpfung der Türken in den Jahren 1592–1595," *Römische Quartalschrift* 15 (1901–1902): 303–326, and 410–423; Peter Bartl, "Marciare verso Costantinopoli – Zur Türkenpolitik Clemens VIII.," *Saeculum* 20 (1969): 44–56; Domenico Caccamo, "La diplomazia della Controriforma e la crociata: dai piani del Possevino alla "lunga guerra" di Clemente VIII.," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 128 (1970): 255–282; Jan Paul Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der „Lange Türkenkrieg“ Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993); Giampiero Brunelli, *La santa impresa. Le crociate del papa in Ungheria (1595–1601)* (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2018); Massimo Carlo Giannini, *L'oro e la tiara: La costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede (1560–1620)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), 177–200 and 241–270; Georg Lutz, ed., *Das Papstum, die Christenheit und die Staaten Europas 1592–1605* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994).
- 28 On Speciano's activities, see Georg Lutz, "Die Prager Nuntiatur des Speciano (1592–1598). Quellenbestand und Edition seiner diplomatischen Korrespondenz," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 48 (1968): 369–381. For the most recent edition of the instruction, see Pazderová, *Epistulae*, 5–6. For the documents of Speciano's correspondence of interest to Transylvania, see Tamás Kruppa, ed., *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthoryak korában. Kiadatlan iratok (1584–1599)* (Szeged: SZTE, 2004); Tamás Kruppa, ed., *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthory korszakban. Okmánytár II. (1595–1613): Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/5* (Budapest: Gondolat, 2009).
- 29 Péter Tusor, "A prágai nunciatúra tervezetei a trienti katolicizmus magyarországi terjesztésére a 16–17. század fordulóján," *Századok* 144 (2010): 1165–1182.
- 30 For a publication of the relevant letters, see Andreas Veress, ed., *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae II/3* (Budapest: Franklin, 1909), 1–34.
- 31 See Pazderová, *Epistulae*, XCII–CXI, and throughout the correspondence.
- 32 For his correspondence, see Veress, *Relationes*; for his diplomatic activities, see Tamás Kruppa, "Apostolic Nunciature in a Protestant Country: the Transylvanian Mission of Alfonso Visconti, Bishop of Cervia (1595–1598)," in *Il Papato e le chiese locali. Studi*, ed. Péter Tusor and Matteo Sanfilippo (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2014), 89–123. For the correspondence of the Visconti follower Germanico Malaspina, see Veress, *Relationes*, 316–376. On his activities, see Béla Ambró, "Malaspina nuncius működése Erdélyben," *Katholikus Szemle* 2 (1887): 253–290; Tamás Kruppa, "Germanico Malaspina pápai nuncius erdélyi missziója 1599-ben," *Korunk* 33, no. 8 (2022): 3–12.
- 33 On antitrinitarianism in Transylvania, see Mihály Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism (1566–1571). From Servet to Palaeologus* (Baden-Baden, Bouxwiler: Koerner, 1996); Mihály Balázs and Gizella Keserű, ed., *György Enyedi and Central European Unitarianism in the 16–17th centuries* (Budapest: Balassi, 2000).
- 34 László Szilas, *Der Jesuit Carrillo in Siebenbürgen: 1591–1599* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1966), 54–55, 59–65, 92–96, and 100–111; Pazderová, *Epistulae*.
- 35 Pazderová, *Epistulae*, 1190–1191, 1204–1205, 1219, 1231, 1287–1288, 1314–1315, and 1341. On the marriage based on the correspondence

- of Maria Christina, see Kálmán Benda, *Erdély végzetes asszonya* (Budapest: Helikon, 1985); Elisabeth Zingerle, "Maria Christierna Principessa di Transilvania e Arciduchessa di Innerösterreich: Il suo matrimonio di solo quattro anni," in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede e il regno d'Ungheria (secc. 15–20): In memoriam di Lajos Pásztor: Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/4*, ed. Gaetano Platania, Matteo Sanfilippo and Péter Tusor (Budapest, Roma: Gondolat, 2008), 35–50.
- 36 On the nuncio's negotiations on Transylvania and the arrival of the Golden Fleece, see AAV, Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 109BC, fol. 44r, 159r, 165r; Mosconi, *La nunziatura*, 54, 62–63, 66–67, 96–99, 102–105, 107–109, 112–115, 121–122, 124, 128–129, and 131–133.
- 37 Veress, *Relationes*, 274–283. Szilas, *Der Jesuit*, 92–95. In one of Speciano's reports, he calls Visconti a good old friend; Mosconi, *La nunziatura*, 30.
- 38 On Aldobrandini's second campaign in Hungary, see Brunelli, *La santa impresa*, 89–123, on his negotiations in Prague, see Kruppa, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini prágai." See also Aldobrandini's correspondence, Tamás Kruppa, ed., *Pápai csapatok Magyarországon (1595–1597, 1601): Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/17* (Budapest, Roma: Gondolat, 2020).
- 39 His relations with the court of Prague and the nunciature did not break off after his resignation. For example, in 1607 Nuncio Ferreri lobbied the court on the estates of Rome in favor of Báthory, for whom he tried to obtain the Transylvanian or archbishopric throne of Esztergom. For the documents of this, see Transylvania and the Holy See. Péter Tusor, *Purpura Pannonica. Az esztergomi „bíborosi szék” előzményei a 17. században: Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/3* (Budapest, Roma: Gondolat, 2005), 56, 63, and 64.
- 40 The nuncio wanted to leave his post in 1597. See AAV, Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 109BC, fol. 42r.
- 41 On divorce, see Tamás Kruppa, "Báthory Zsigmond válása. Adalékok egy fejedelmi frigy anatómiájához," in *A Báthoriak kora. (A Báthoriak és Európa)*, ed. Attila Ulrich (Nyírbátor: Jósza András Múzeum, 2008): 106–112. On András, see Ildikó Horn, *Báthory András* (Budapest: Typotex, 2002).
- 42 Václav Pešák, "Sigmund Bátorý v Čechách (1602–1613)," in *K dějinám československým v období humanismu. Sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k 60. narozeninám 1860–1932*, ed. Bedřich Jenšovský and Bedřich Mendl (Prague: Československá archivní společnost, 1932), 443–467.
- 43 Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia regni Transylvaniae IV (1597–1601)* (Budapest: MTA, 1878), 322–326.
- 44 Tamás Kruppa, "Nunciusok háborúban. Filippo Spinelli a prágai udvarban," in *Magyarország és a Római Szentszék III: Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/21*, ed. Péter Tusor and Viktor Kanász (Budapest, Roma: Gondolat, 2022), 211–227; Tamás Kruppa, "Náprági Demeter erdélyi püspök és kancellár apológiája 1601-ből," in *Magyarország és a római Szentszék (Források és távlatok). Tanulmányok Erdő Péter bíboros tiszteletére: Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/8*, ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: Gondolat, 2012), 105–118.
- 45 On Bocskai's stay in Prague, see AAV, Fondo Borghese, serie III, vol. 67B, fol. 133r–134v, 169r–171v, and Ambró, *Malaspina*, 261–265.
- 46 The events of the uprising were the subject of numerous reports by Nuncios Ferreri and Serra; see Arnold Oscar Meyer, ed., *Die Prager Nuntiatur des Giovanni Stefano Ferreri und die Wiener Nuntiatur des Giacomo Serra (1603–1606): Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland siebzehntes Jahrhundert* (Berlin: A. Bath, 1913).
- 47 Rill, *Kaiser*; Hans Sturmberger, *Georg Erasmus Tschernembl. Religion, Libertät und Widerstand* (Graz: Böhlau, 1953), 157–158, 165, 209–211. For editions of the nuncio's reports of the period, see Milena Linhartová, ed., *Epistulae et acta Antonii Caetani 1607–1611, Pars I–III: Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628 IV* (Prague: Ministerium scholarum et instructionis publicae, 1932–1940); Zdeněk Kristen, ed., *Epistulae et acta Johannis Stephani Ferrerii 1604–1607, Pars I/1: Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628 III* (Prague: Institutum Historicum, 1944); Tomáš Černušák, ed., *Epistulae et acta Antonii Caetani 1607–1611, Pars IV–V: Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628 IV* (Prague: Academia, 2013–2017); Kruppa, *Erdély és a Szentszék II*.
- 48 On his life and activities see Pongrácz Sörös, "Forgách Ferenc, a bíboros," *Századok* 34 (1901): 577–608, 691–723, 774–818. For his political correspondence, see Kruppa, *Forgách*.
- 49 Tusor, *Purpura Pannonica*, 59–76.

- 50** Péter Tusor, "Az 1608. évi magyar törvények a római inkvizíció előtt: II. Mátyás kiközösítése," *Aetas* 15 (2000): 89-105.
- 51** For the nuncio's thematic reports on Forgách, see Kruppa, *Forgách*, 321-322, 330-331, 338-341, 343-346, 351-359, 362-363, 364-367, 368-369, 372-373, 375-376, 378-388, 394-395, 402-404, 406-411, 412-415, 417-424, 426-430, and 432-433.