

a cura di
Matteo Sanfilippo
Péter Tusor

GLI AGENTI PRESSO LA SANTA SEDE DELLE COMUNITÀ E DEGLI STATI STRANIERI I. SECOLI XV-XVIII



SETTE CITTÀ

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LISTA DELLE ABBREVIAZIONI

| | |
|------------------|--|
| AAAD = | Archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin |
| AAQ = | Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec |
| AAV = | Archivio Apostolico Vaticano |
| ABSI = | Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu |
| ACDF = | Archivio della Congregazione per la Difesa della Fede |
| AGAD = | Archivum Główny Akt Dawnych |
| AGS = | Archivo General de Simancas |
| AHN = | Archivo Histórico Nacional |
| APF = | Archivio di Propaganda Fide |
| AO = | Archivio Orsini |
| ASC = | Archivio Storico Capitolino (Roma) |
| ASF = | Archivio di Stato di Firenze |
| Barb. Lat. = | Barberiniani Latini |
| BAV = | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| BNE = | Biblioteca Nacional de España |
| C, I = | Congressi Irlanda |
| DBE = | Diccionario Biográfico Español, Madrid 2011-2013 (http://dbe.rah.es/) |
| DBI = | Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960- |
| HMC Franciscan = | Report on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin |
| HHSa = | Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna) |
| leg. = | legajo |
| MKL = | Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár (Archivio della Regia Cancellaria Ungherese) (Budapest) |
| MNL OL = | Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Archivio Nazionale Ungherese - Archivio di Stato) (Budapest) |
| MÖStA = | Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs |

The Diplomatic Representation of the Kingdom of Hungary to the Holy See (1458-1526)¹

Tamás Fedeleš

It is known before you that we always happily fulfil the wishes of King Matthias, our beloved son of Christ, if it is without hurting the Lord. However, every now and then he sends envoys to our court, who show little modesty and restraint during the discussion of their matters. The particular envoy who is currently staying here is no exception. It is most desirable from him to show more restraint when he seeks for audiences and conferring the king's affairs. His behaviour could easily leave our benevolent intentions in dismay, but our paternal love that we have for the king is unshakeable. Therefore, we ask you that in your letter to the king call for another envoy to be sent, or have him entrust you to supervise his matters, since even in your absence you could easily carry out your duties through your men at court².

These lines were written by Pope Sixtus IV in September, 1481 and were addressed to Gabriele Rangone, the Cardinal-Bishop of Eger and Cardinal Protector of the Holy Crown of Hungary. The Hungarian envoy, who drew the Holy Father's anger on himself with his reckless behaviour was John Vitéz of Kamarca, elected Bishop of Szerém (Syrmia), a tried-and-true diplomat of King Matthias. It was his third time to represent the Kingdom of Hungary in the Papal Court. The monarch did not call his envoy back, moreover, he ordered him to stay in the Curia, though he stipulated that in the future he had to consult with the Archbishop of Eger in every question, and was not allowed to act without his approval. In the meanwhile, the pope's anger started to wear off, hence on the consistory of 11 March 1482, the Holy Father – acting upon the proposal of Cardinal Rangone – appointed Vitéz to head the

1 This study was prepared in the MTA-PPKE Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group. The research was supported by the TKI.

2 Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentszékkel* [Hungary's Church and Political Relations with the Holy See], Budapest, Szent-István-Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, 1901-1903. 3 voll., vol. 2, p. 166.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167. "[...] volumus, ut in urbe et curia remaneas [...] Hec autem omnia volumus, ut cum reverendissimo domino cardinale Agriensi prius communitis, et nihil omnino agas sine scitu et consilio suo": *Mátyás király levelei. Kúliügyi osztály 1458-1490* [King Matthias's Letters. Foreign Affairs Department 1458-1490] ed. by Vilmos Fraknói, afterword by Gyula Mayer, [Budapest], Nap Kiadó 2008, vol. 2, nr. 100.

- MZA = Moravský Zemský Archiv
- ÖStA = Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Vienna)
- ÖStA, AVA = Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv
- PICR = Pontifical Irish College Rome
- PL = Prímási Levéltár
- PL, AEV = Prímási Levéltár, Archivum Ecclesiasticum Vetus
- PL, AS = Prímási Levéltár, Archivum Saeculare
- PSB = Słownik Polski Biograficzny (Kraków, PAN, 1935-2019, 52 volumes, A-TAR)
- QFIAB = "Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken"
- RQ = "Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte"
- SO = Sant'Uffizio
- ŠOBA = Štátny Oblastný Archív (Bratislava)
- SOGC = Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali
- SS = Santa Sede
- TMC = Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas
- WDA = Westminster Diocesan Archives

episcopacy of Szerém⁴. Vitéz stayed in the Eternal City and represented the interests of the Hungarian monarch until the end of 1482. After a few years of interval, he returned to the city on the Tiber's bank for the last time in the spring of 1486, where he oversaw the Hungarian affairs for four more years⁵. The duration of Vitéz's last Roman residence exemplifies the ongoing change and transformation in European diplomatic relations from the middle of the 15th century. One of the most important elements of this process was the emergence of permanent foreign representation and residences. In my paper, I aim to examine the representation of the Kingdom of Hungary in Rome during the late Middle Ages focusing on the following questions: what qualifications did the appointed envoys possess and what kind of expectations did they have to fulfil? As an introduction, in the followings Rome's role will be outlined in the European diplomacy of the late Middle Ages.

1. The diplomatic core of the late Middle Ages

Rome was the centre of European diplomacy from the middle of the 15th century until its sacking and plundering in 1527. The development of certain countries' permanent foreign representations, the appearance of the residing envoys' system and their extensive spread all took place in this period. During this process in which international relations were modernized, the Holy See, the Republic of Florence and Venice served as role models. From the Gregorian Reforms the Supreme Pontiff as the primary head of Christianity devoted special attention to constantly keep connection with the particular churches. The means of contact between the *Curia Romana* and the local churches were of rather various kinds. Besides dealing with matters of church administration and government, spiritual and canon law, the granting of church benefi-

4 "[...] ad relationem [...] cardinalis Agriensis providit ecclesie Sirimienisi de persona venerabilis patris domini Iohannis oratoris illustrissimi regis Ungariæ": *Cameralia documenta pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae I. (Obligaciones, Solutiones), II. (Visitationes, Quindennia, Rationes, Annatae, Obl. part., Legationes, Varia, Taxae)*, ed. by József Lukácsics - Péter Tusor - Tamás Fedeles, Budapest-Róma, Gondolat, 2014 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/9–10), nr. 906.

5 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi, cit.*, pp. 183, 188, 229–236; Bálint Lakatos, *Ordo Regum. Precedencialisták a pápai udvarban és a magyar király rangja a középkor végén* [Ordo regum. Lists of Precedence in the Papal Court and the Place of the King of Hungary in the Late Middle Ages] in *Magyarország és a római Szentiszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században* [Hungary and the Holy See of Rome II. Hungarian Historical Researches of the 21st Century in the Vatican], ed. by Péter Tusor - Kornél Szovák - Tamás Fedeles (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/15), Budapest-Róma, Gondolat, 2017, pp. 164–167.

es (*reservatio, provisio*), the Curia also coordinated the taxation of the certain benefices, since the establishment of the collectors' system in the 14th century. Furthermore, after the Peace of Lodi (1454), as a member of the *cinque principi italiani* (including Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples), the Papal State became one of the most significant temporal powers and political actors of the Apennine Peninsula⁶.

Rome began to regain its diplomatic magnitude after the closure of the Great Western Schism, and three main factors can be identified behind this process. The first factor was the Pope's primary judicial authority, which was acknowledged by the European monarchs of the era. Among other things, the head of the church decided in the elimination of possible marital obstacles and, if necessary, to annul the given marriage, which was crucially important to the contemporary ruling dynasties. The ascendancy of the Holy See is also indicated by the fact that the Spanish and Portuguese rulers asked Pope Alexander VI to decide where and to whom the newly discovered (and discoverable) non-European territories (1493) belonged. The second factor was the key role that the Holy See played in granting ecclesiastical benefices. Although certain monarchs in the first half of the 15th century aimed to gain control over the filling of their countries' ecclesiastical benefices – which was regulated by concordats and decrees concluded with the Holy See – the legitimacy of Bishops and Archbishops was ultimately guaranteed by the papal document of appointment. The third component was Italy itself. The frequent wars of the smaller or larger states that constituted the Apennine Peninsula and the French rulers' endeavours from the end of the 15th century – which led to the peninsula becoming the primary scene

6 For medieval and renaissance diplomacy, see e. g. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, New York, Penguin, 1955; Donald E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1967; Matthew Smith Anderson, *The Rise of modern Diplomacy 1450–1919*, London-New York, Longman, 1993, pp. 1–40; Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict. Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015; Nadia Covini - Bruno Figliuolo - Isabella Lazzarini - Francesco Senatore, *Pratiche e norme di comportamento nella diplomazia italiana. I carteggi di Napoli, Firenze, Milano, Mantova e Ferrara tra fine XIV e fine XV secolo*, in *De L'Ambassadeur. Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Stéphane Andretta, Stéphane Péquignot and Jean-Claude Waquet, Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 2015, pp. 113–162. For a more detailed historiography of the topic, see: John Watkins, *Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, "Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies", 38, 1 (2008) pp. 1–14. For Rome, see recently: Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome. The Rise of the Resident Ambassador*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

of the Valois-Habsburg rivalry in the 1520s – turned the region into one of the main conflict zones of the continent. Papacy also had a leading role in repelling the ever-increasing threat coming from the Ottoman Empire, since in the second half of the 15th century the Holy See was a major advocate of an anti-Turkish, Pan-European crusade, which was constantly on the agenda of the Papal State, but was never realized. In the long run, the Eternal City – as the centre of the *Respublica Christiana* – became the core of European transnational diplomacy in the second half of the 15th century, and consequently, every princely court and *Signoria* represented itself in the city⁷.

As a result of the previously outlined transformation process diplomacy professionalized and parallelly with this, numerous theoretical works were written discussing the expectations towards envoys. The first treatise was written by Bernard de Rosier, a canonist from Toulouse, with the title, *Ambaxiator Brevilogus* (1436)⁸. The Venetian diplomat, Ermolao Barbo, who also served in Rome, wrote about the office of permanent residence in his work of *De Officio Legatis* (in around 1490)⁹. A papal Master of Ceremonies, Paride de' Grassi's work, the *Tractatus de oratoribus Romanae Curiae* (1508/1509) mainly discusses the ceremonies related to the welcoming of diplomats delegated to the Holy See¹⁰.

2. From occasional legacies to permanent diplomatic representation

The Papal-Hungarian diplomatic relations, which were of great importance throughout the Middle Ages, are dating back to the beginnings of the construction of the Hungarian church organization¹¹. From time to time, the

Holy See, based on the certain level and seriousness of the given case, has sent representatives, legates and nuncios to the Carpathian Basin. Furthermore, from the end of the 14th century with the title of “born legate” (*legatus natus*), which was directly linked to the Archbishopric of Esztergom the Holy See, albeit formally, but provided constant presence for itself. Certainly, medieval Hungarian monarchs were represented by envoys in the Papal Court as well, but their assignments remained to be occasional before the 15th century. This meant that they were commissioned to carry out a specific diplomatic mission and returned home after the negotiations, whether they were successful or not. Under the reign of Louis I (the Great) (1342–1382) the diplomatic contact between Hungary and the Papal State became particularly intense¹². The king sent envoys to Italy a total of 106 times during the era and nearly half (47%) of these delegations paid a call on the Papal Court¹³. Among them, we can find professional diplomats in the contemporary sense of the word who – after fulfilling many assignments – became experts regarding the relations with the Holy See. One example for this is the case of the royal chaplain, Konrad Skultéti, who also happened to be a canon of Esztergom and Pécs. From the beginning of the 1350s, he was constantly on the road between the Papal Curia of Avignon and the Carpathian Basin for almost two decades¹⁴. During the reign of King Louis I (the Great) there was an important change in the selection of agents since a significant proportion of the diplomats came from the members of the royal chapel (*capella regia*). Thus, the clerics with qualification in canon law constituted the core of the king's diplomatic body. The establishment led by Wilhelm of Koppenbach, leader of the royal chapel (*comes capelle*) and secret chancellor (*secretarius cancellarius*) became the trustee of the association between Hungary and the Papal State¹⁵. However, there was no need

7 C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy*, cit., pp. 1-35; I. Lazzarini, *Communication*, cit., pp. 44-48.

8 Patrick Gilli, *Bernard de Rosier et les débats de la Réflexion théorique sur les missions d'ambassade*, in *De L'Ambassadeur*, cit., pp. 187-198.

9 *De Legatis et Legationibus Tractatus Varii: Bernardi de Roserio Ambaxiatorum brevilogus; Hermolai Barbari De officio Legati, Martini Garrati Laudensis De Legatix maxime principum, Ex aliis excerpta qui eadem de re usque ad annum MDCXXV scripserunt*, ed. by Vladimir E. Hrabar, Dorpati Livonorum, C. Mattiesen, 1906.

10 Philipp Stenzig, *Boischafterzeremoniell am Papsthof der Renaissance. Der Tractatus de oratoribus des Paris de Grassi. Edition und Kommentar* (Tradition – Reform – Innovation. Studien zur Modernität des Mittelalters 17), Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang, 2013, voll. 2.

11 The most complete summary of this topic was written by Vilmos Fraknói: V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., 2 voll. Recently see: *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve* [The 1000 Years in the Relationship between Hungary and the Holy See], ed. by István Zombori, Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996, pp. 9-134.

12 György Rácz, *Az Anjou-ház és a Szentszék (1301-1387)* [The Anjou House and the Holy See], in *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, cit., pp. 55-82.

13 Péter Rokob, I. (Nagy) Lajos király itáliai és szentszéki diplomatái [Italian and Papal Diplomats of King Louis I (the Great)], MA thesis, Pécs, 2011.

14 Tamás Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung des Domkapitels zu Fünfkirchen im Spätmittelalter (1354-1526)* (Studia Hungarica, Bd. 51), Regensburg, Ungarisches Inst., 2012, pp. 416-417 (nr. 35).

15 Tamás Fedeles, “in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale”. *Short History of the Medieval University of Pécs*, in *University of Pécs 650th Jubilee in Education – University and Universality – the Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, ed. by Agnes Fischer-Dárdai - István Lengvári - Éva Schmelczler-Pohánka, Pécs, A Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvtár kiadványai, 2017, pp. 80-82.

to adopt permanent representation either in the Anjou era or in the upcoming decades, due to the fact that occasional exchange of emissaries was proven to be sufficient to conduct the necessary negotiations.

The first known medieval resident representation was realized between King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) and Filippo Maria Visconti (1412-1447), the duke of Milan. The main motivation behind this was to create an anti-Venetian cooperation between the two states. From 1425 to 1432, the two allied rulers were represented in Buda and Milan through their envoys in order to ensure the continuous unity and agreement between the two states¹⁶. The Duchy of Lombardy also played a pioneering role in the formation of permanent embassies accredited to the Holy See, considering that Nicodemo Tranchedini, the first diplomat who stayed for a longer period of time in the Papal Court represented the Sforza family of Milan between 1451 and 1453¹⁷. Out of the Hungarian monarchs, Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) was the first who recognized the need to establish a permanent Roman diplomatic representation¹⁸. The background to this – besides an evolving new trend in diplomacy during the era – was primarily the Ottoman danger, but we should point out to the fact that the Holy See also played an important role in Matthias ultimately occupying the Hungarian throne. By supporting the election of the younger son of John Hunyadi, one of the protagonists of the 1456 Belgrad triumph, Pope Callixtus III (1455-1458) expected the new king to follow his father's footsteps and – with the support of the papacy – lead a military venture in order to expel the Ottomans from Europe. The efforts of the papal diplomacy and especially of Cardinal Legate Juan de Carvajal's, who resided in Hungary at that time, were finally crowned with success¹⁹. After Matthias's accession of the throne, within a short period

of time, it became clear to the king that his country alone could not compete with the Ottomans neither in terms of financial means, nor comparing their armed forces. He could only hope for financial support from Rome and Venice, moreover, the papacy was also a prominent partner of the Kingdom of Hungary as a major organizer of the anti-Turkish Crusade. A possible joint European coalition was meant to create the foundation of this undertaking, though it never actually came to pass²⁰. Apart from the Turkish question other issues, such as the military campaign against the Czech Hussites, the constant conflict between the Hungarian monarch and the Holy Roman Emperor and the question of the fulfilment of ecclesiastical benefices all made it increasingly necessary to maintain regular contact and daily presence in the *Curia Romana*. However, the emergence of resident representation did not lead to the disappearance of occasional diplomatic missions, a phenomenon which illustrates the process of transformation in contemporary diplomacy²¹.

3. The envoys

In the Latin sources of the observed era, various terms were in use to identify diplomats. While the diplomatic terminology applied by the Holy See was well refined and reflected the envoys' status in hierarchy (*legatus de latere*, *legatus missus*, *legatus natus*, *nuntius*, *internuntius*)²², the secular terminology however shows greater diversity. Considering lay envoys, the term, *ambaxiator* was used in the 14th century. Nevertheless, expressions such as *orator*, *nuntius*, *procurator* and *legatus* also appeared. These were often used as synonyms, but occasionally they could also signify the differences in rank or function. The Hungarian envoys of the examined period were most often denoted with the word *orator*, which was the most common name for the diplomats of

16 G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, cit., pp. 65-66.

17 Paolo Margaroli, *Diplomazia e stati rinascimentali. Le ambascerie sforzesche fino alla conclusione della Lega italiana (1450-1455)*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992, pp. 72-74.

18 Tamás Fedetes, *A Magyar Királyság diplomáciai képviselete a Szentiszéknél Mátyás király korában* [The Diplomatic Representation of the Kingdom of Hungary at the Holy See in the time of King Matthias Corvinus], in *Mátyás király és az Egyház* [King Matthias and the Church] (Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi 10), ed. by Id. Pécs, 2019, pp. 35-54.

19 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 109-110; Ferenc Galla, *Mátyás király és a Szentiszék* [King Matthias and the Holy See], in *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv születésének ötvenévesfordulójára* [King Matthias. Five Hundred Years of the Birth of a Memorial Book] ed. by Imre Lukinich, Budapest, A Korvin Mátyás Magyar-Olasz Egyesület megbízásából kiadja a Franklin-Társulat, [1940], vol. 1, pp. 133-134; Péter E. Kovács, *A Szentiszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak*

alatt (1437-1490) [The Holy See, the Turk and Hungary under the Hunyadians], in *Magyarország és a Szentiszék*, ed. by I. Zombori, cit., p. 105.

20 See this question recently: Andrea Fara, *Tra Crociata e Umanesimo. Diplomazia e diplomati del regno d'Ungheria presso la Curia Romana nella seconda metà del Quattrocento*, in *Roma centro della diplomazia internazionale tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, ed. by Id. and Eleonora Plebani, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2019, pp. 61-82.

21 T. Fedetes, *A Magyar Királyság*, cit.

22 See further literature in Werner Maleczek, *Die päpstlichen Legaten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, in *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (Vorträge und Forschungen 60), ed. by Rainer C. Schwinges – Klaus Wriedt, [Konstanz], Jan Thorbecke, 2003, pp. 33-86, and most recently Antonin Kalous, *Late Medieval papal Legation. Between the Councils and the Reformation*, Roma, Viella, 2017.

secular monarchs in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. Apart from these, other terms could also occur in the sources. In the spring of 1462, Nicolaus Mohorai, Papal Chamberlain and *custos* of Vác appeared as an agent and facilitator, representing King Matthias' affairs (*solicitor rerum nostrarum in curia Romana*).²³ Another chargé was George Polycarp Kosztolányi, whose scope of duties was described as follows: *procurator, actor, factor, gestor, director generalis et specialis*.²⁴ The term *procurator* also occurred later in the case of Imre, provost of Bosnia (1466).²⁵ Besides the above-mentioned ways of usage, the term *nuntius* was also applied, furthermore, on one occasion the monarch sent a *nuntius secretus*, a secret envoy to the Curia (1475).²⁶ The unrefined nature of the terminology is also underlined by the fact that Pope Paul II used the expressions *orator* and *nuntius* as synonyms (*nuntii et oratori tui*) in one of his letters (1465), while a couple of decades later, Pope Innocent VIII emphasized the role of terms in signifying the ranks of one another, for *eg. orator* preceded *nuntius* in hierarchy.²⁷ In addition to the above-mentioned expressions, the magistracy of the Republic of Florence sometimes referred to the diplomats of the Hungarian monarchs in Rome as *legatus*.²⁸

From the examined period altogether 44 Hungarian envoys' name is known (Chart 1–2). 30 persons (68%) were sent to Rome by Matthias Corvinus, six by Vladislaus II (1516–1526) and six by Louis II (1490–1516) (27%). Two diplomats, Antal Sánkfalvi and Nicolaus Bacskai were commissioned by both Matthias as well as by Vladislaus II. Regarding their status, the majority of them were churchmen (34 persons – 77%), which corresponded with the contemporary international picture. Based on the latest researches of Catherine Fletcher it is known that the Italian states were the first to send laymen to the Papal Court, which practice was adopted only gradually by other powers. Most monarchs, such as the Hungarian kings, usually employed clerics to be their envoys in Rome, because they were familiar with the structure and

23 *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vaticáni magyar okiratár, series I, tom. I–VI*, Budapestini, Franklin-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1887–1891, vol. I/6, nr. 14; *Mátyás király levelei*, cit. vol. 1, nr. 22.

24 Martinus Georgius Kovachich, *Formulae solemnes styli in cancellaria curiaque regum olim usitatai*, Pestini, Typis Matthiae Trattner, 1799, nr. 179.

25 *Cameralia*, cit., nr. 238.

26 *Monumenta Vaticana*, cit., vol. I/6, nr. 76.

27 *Ibid.*, nr. 189 and 200.

28 *Florenzi Okmánytár – Simonyi Ernő másolatai. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattára* [Florenz Documentary – Ernő Simonyi's Copies. Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Ms 4994, vol. 2, nr. 188–193.

functioning of the Papal Court. Many of them had previously gained curial experience or studied at one of the Italian universities.²⁹ Among these clerics, we can find nine bishops, but the majority of them were recruited from the middle class of the ecclesial society and usually were in possession of one (or more) canonical benefice or prebend. From those clergymen who came from the secular sphere, only three Franciscan friars, Francis Corbavian, Mark of Fiume, Bishop of Zengg and then Knin, Gabriel Pályi, a Franciscan Observant provincial, and a Johannite knight, Florio Roverella can be identified. Considering laymen, court dignitaries and government officials all of them conducted envoy commissions and in almost 50% of the cases they travelled to Italy together with clergymen. Regarding the case of George Polycarp Kosztolányi, it is worth mentioning that his status changed during his diplomatic service. At the beginning of the 1460s he travelled twice to the Papal Court as a layman (*laicus Strigoniensis diocesis*). After settling down in Rome in 1468, as an official of the *Curia Romana*, he took up the minor ecclesiastical orders and became a member of the clergy despite the fact that he got married (*clericus coniugatus*) in the meantime.³⁰ Consequently, he carried out his agent duties as a churchman of the Holy See.

77% of the diplomats (34 persons) were subjects of the Holy Crown of Hungary, while the remaining twelve people were of foreign origins. The latter ones were initially Italians, which phenomenon will also be discussed later in this paper. What skills and knowledge these diplomats, who were delegated to the Holy See during the era, had to have? What were the certain aspects which contributed to their selection?

Regarding the qualities an envoy should be in possession of, Bernard de Rosier wrote followings: "[The envoy] should not be either haughty, scrooge, fraudulent, unpleasant, short tempered, avaricious, violent, mocking, superstitious, whispering, malicious, or unfriendly, lustful, aloof, drunk, greedy, reckless, bold, timid, impatient, lazy, liar, adulatory, cheater in words or

29 C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy*, cit., pp. 86–87.

30 Vilmos Fraknói, *Mátyás király magyar diplomatái I. Kosztolányi György* [Hungarian diplomats of King Matthias I. György Kosztolányi], "Századok", 32 (1898) pp. 1–14; József Köblös, *Az egyházi közélet rég Máttyás és a Jagellók korában* [The Ecclesiastical Middle-Class at the Age of King Matthias and the Jagiellonian Rulers] (Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 12), Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1994, pp. 354–355; Kornél Szovák, *A Hungarian Humanist in Rome, in Gli archivi della Santa Sede e il Regno d'Ungheria* (sec. 15–20). *Studi in memoria del professor Lajos Pásztor archivista ungherese dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae II/4), a cura di Gaetano Platania - Matteo Sanfilippo - Péter Tusor, Budapest-Roma, Gondolat, 2008, pp. 11–21.

deeds, but should be trustworthy, humble, restrained, moderate, considerate, benevolent, virtuous, thoughtful, righteous and merciful, generous, attentive, munificent, noble-minded, kind in words and deeds, patient, friendly, apt, brave, tender, calm, skilful and strong³¹. Certainly, the positive characteristics and personality traits mentioned by the French lawyer were considered to be elemental, but additional virtues and qualities were needed for diplomats to be successful too. Since the envoy's job and assignments were confidential, the loyalty towards the monarch was fundamentally vital. The success of the commission after all was primarily based on the ability to communicate and making contacts. It was also advantageous to have a pleasant, engaging appearance, as the striking defects of the body could have been barriers in the way of efficient work. Nevertheless, the most important trait according to the early modern theorists was that the envoy should have a charismatic personality³². It was important for the emissaries to be well-informed, prepared and be in possession of the appropriate language competencies, though these traits were not the only decisive factors. Above all, the envoy had to acquire a proficient level in Latin, which was the official language of the Curia as well as of diplomacy in general³³. Yet, in the Papal Court Italian language grew to be more prominent, and by the early 16th century practically became the working language of the Curia. Therefore, a Roman resident ideally spoke both Italian and Latin fluently. In 1487, during the reception of the Duke of Ferrara the majority of the envoys who were currently accredited to the Holy See at that time – among whom there was John Vitéz of Kamarca – used both languages³⁴. Two out of the examined diplomats were not proficient in speaking Latin, nor could they read or write. Bishop John (Janus Pannonius) of Pécs was the one who had to sign a document in the Papal Court instead of John Rozgonyi, the *magister tavernicorum* and the baron could only confirm the act with his seal (1465). Obviously, he could not write³⁵. Nicolaus Alóslendvai Bánfi, the count (*comes*) of Pozsony (Bratislava) did not speak any Latin or Italian and

31 *De Legatis*, cit., p. 5.

32 Anikó Kellner, *A tökéletes követ – elmélet és gyakorlat a kora újkori politikai kultúra tükrében* [The perfect Envoy – Theory and Practice in the Context of Early Modern Political Culture], "Korall", 23 (2006), p. 98.

33 T. Haye, *Die lateinische Sprache als Medium mündlicher Diplomatie*, in *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen*, cit., pp. 15-32.

34 C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy*, cit., p. 44.

35 AAV, Camera Apostolica, *Diversa Camera*, vol. 34, f. 67r.

according to the envoy of Venice, he was: "non sa latin, solum hungaro"³⁶. In such cases either the employees of the Curia, or someone present from the surrounding circle translated the negotiations for the diplomat. In the case of Bánfi, it is most likely that his well-educated fellow envoy, Stephen Bajoni conveyed the king's words on his behalf during the audience³⁷. Besides the above-mentioned languages the envoys were familiar with others as well, as the case of Stephanus Brodericus (István Brodaries) shows³⁸. On one occasion, during a consistory Brodericus translated the words of the representative of the ban of Slavonia, John Korbavia from Croatia to Latin³⁹. Rhetorical competency was also proved to be crucial since a well-constructed oration built upon proper argumentation techniques could be the key of a successful commission. The primary meaning of the Latin *orator* – speaker, which terminology was generally and widely used for envoys at the time – also refers to this aspect. Thus, the delegates had to be effective speakers to which neatness, fluency and the humanist *eloquentia* also contributed. Well-constructed orations given in eloquent Latin was a fundamental expectation mainly among the highly qualified clerics of the Curia⁴⁰. The sophisticated taste of the Papal Court's members must have been satisfied by the convincing orations of the Hungarian diplomats, who obtained humanist education. From these speeches three

36 V. Fraknoi, *Mátyás király*, cit., and X. Bánfi Miklós, "Századok", 33 (1899), p. 1. note 1.

37 Bajoni studied at the University of Ferrara and then at the University of Bologna. He graduated from Bologna as a doctor of canon law. Regarding his further career see: Tamás Fedeleš, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, cit., pp. 310-311 (nr. 17); Erzsébet Prezenszki, *Bajoni István, egy XV. századi humanista főpap életpályája. (Pályavázlat – kérdőjelekkel)* [Stephen Bajoni, the Career of a 15th-Century Humanist Prelate, / Career Sketch – with Question Marks], in "Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris". *Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulójára a kalmából* [Studies on the 600th Anniversary of the Constance Council], ed. by Attila Bárány - László Pószán, Debrecen, Printart-Press, 2014, pp. 401-413.

38 See for his life: Péter Kasza, *Egy korszakváltás szemtanúja. Brodaries István pályaképe* [A witness of an era's change. The career profile of Stephanus Brodericus], Pécs-Budapest, Kronosz Kiadó, 2015; Id., *A Hungarian diplomat in Polish service. New sources for the functioning of Stephanus Brodericus as ambassador in Rome*, "Camaenae Hungaricae", 7 (2010), pp. 61-73.

39 16 March 1523: "[...] nuntius ipsius bani fuit introductus et lingua Slavonica proposuit ea, quae a bano in mandatis habebat, et orator regis Ungarie omnia Latine referebat, quae in sua lingua dixerat [...]": *Consistorialia documenta pontificia de Regni Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426-1605)*, edited by Péter Tusor - Gábor Nemes, Budapest-Róma, Gondolat, 2011 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/7), pp. 40-41 (nr. 32).

40 A. Kellner, *A tökéletes követ*, cit., p. 95.

survived. One is the oration of Janus Pannonius (1465), the humanist poet who also studied in Italy,⁴¹ the other is of Ladislaus Vetési (1475)⁴², who joined his uncle's entourage in Ferrara. The third is of Stephanus Brodericus (1522)⁴³, who was a permanent envoy in Rome during the 1520s and whose Latin speech prompted the cause of joining forces against the Ottomans (*oratio cohortatoria contra Turcos*). All three orations are great examples and truly reflect the modern Italian humanist education.

Considering the theoretical erudition of the envoys', their further education should also be discussed. Practically almost everyone had the chance to acquire the basic knowledge, the *septem artes liberales* in the Hungarian cathedral and town schools⁴⁴, while those, who had bigger aspirations in mind could continue to pursue their studies at universities in order to acquire special qualifications. As there was no *studium generale* permanently and uninterruptedly functioning in the Kingdom of Hungary⁴⁵, those who desired to study went to Vienna, Krakow, or chose one of the Italian universities⁴⁶. Out

41 *Analecta ad historiam renaissance in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, ed. by Eugenius Abel, Budapest, In Aebibus Academiae Hung., 1880, pp. 95–88.

42 *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis I–IV*, ed. by Vilmos Fraknói - József Lukecsics, Budapest, 1896–1907, vol. 3, pp. 324–334.

43 Stephanus Brodericus, *Oratio ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum*, ed. by Csaba Csapodi, Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1985.

44 Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon* [History of Public Education in Hungary], Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906; Id., *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [The history of prebend schools in Hungary until 1540], Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910; István Mészáros, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között* [The History of Schooling in Hungary between 996 and 1777], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. For the cultural circumstances of the era, see: János Horváth, *A irodalmi műveltség megoszlása. Magyar humanizmus* [The Distribution of the Hungarian Literary Culture. Hungarian Humanism], Budapest, Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1935.

45 For a recent work on the medieval Hungarian universities see: Márta Font, *Hope of Success and Causes of Failure. Founding Universities in Medieval Hungary, in University and Education – University and Universality – the Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, ed. by Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai - István Lengvári - Éva Schmelczler-Pohánka, Pécs, University Library of Pécs, 2017, pp. 49–73; T. Fedeles, “in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale”. *Short History of the Medieval University of Pécs*, ibid., pp. 75–106.

46 Endre Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221-1864* [Register of Students and Documents of Hungarian Students Attending Italian Universities 1221-1864], Budapest, Akadémia, 1941; Kinga Kör-

of the observed persons (24 people), 54.5% of them studied at a university and received an academic degree. The majority of them (21 people, 87.5%) were clerics. The students (17 people) mostly studied in Italy, mainly at Bologna, Padua and Ferrara, but some of them visited Florence as well. Nine studied in Vienna and only one person, Stephen Verbóci chose Krakow⁴⁷. Regarding the academic fields, all of the candidates started their university studies with the *facultas artium* in the manner of contemporary educational system. Out of them, 15 persons continued their studies at the faculty of law. They constituted 62.5% of the graduated ones. All earned a doctorate in canon law and three of them also obtained a degree in Roman law at the universities of Bologna and Padua, which were considered to be the most prominent centres of legal studies in Europe. This is not surprising at all, considering the fact that during the negotiations with the Holy See, in delicate matters such as the filling of church benefices, matrimonial or in other contentious cases, the mastery of canon law was essential. Two Italian medical doctors, Francesco Fontana and Florio Roverella also appeared among the diplomats. One notable example is the case of Antal Sánkfalvi, the Bishop of Nyitra (Nitra). His appointment as a Roman envoy (1492) was highly influenced by the fact, among other aspects, that he gained significant experience in matrimonial cases throughout his career. His most renowned commission on this field was to achieve the annulment of Vladislaus II's earlier marriages⁴⁸.

mendy, *Studentes extra regnum 1183-1543. Esztergomi kanonokok egyetemjárása és könyvtáraznadata 1183-1543* [University Studies and Book Use of Canons in Esztergom 1183-1543] (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III. Studia 9), Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2007; Anna Tuskés, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365-1526 – Studentis from Hungary at the University of Vienna 1365-1526* (Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemen 1), Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2008; Péter Haraszti Szabó - Borbála Kelényi - László Szógi, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken 1348-1525 – Studentis from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348-1525. I-II*, (Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemeken 2-3), Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2016-2017; István Draskóczy, *Ungarn – ein Land ohne Universität. Studenten aus Ungarn an der Universitäten in Wien und Krakau zur Zeit der Jagellonen (1490–1526)*, in *University of Pécs*, cit., pp. 177–191; Borbála Kelényi, *Students from the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom at the University of Vienna*, ibid., pp. 193–212.

47 P. Haraszti Szabó - B. Kelényi - L. Szógi, *Magyarországi diákok*, cit., vol. 2, nr. 2833.

48 Miriam Hlavačková, *A diplomat in the service of the Kings of Hungary. The activity of the Bishop of Nyitra Antony of Šankovec at the end of the Middle Ages*, “Historický Časopis”, 59 (2011), Supplement, pp. 3–24.

Certainly, the Italian universities provided a great opportunity both to master the Italian language and to create a network of connections, which was also vitally important concerning the diplomatic missions. Apart from the official negotiations and ceremonies numerous informal occasions were available to collect new pieces of information, which was the primary task of the envoys. Occasionally, behind the curtains, private meetings were held like on receptions, during lunches which followed the Masses, or on the occasion of greater processions. On these events, envoys had the chance to get in touch with the cardinals and officials of the Papal Curia to discuss important matters. Obviously, they could acquire trustees and informants among the Italian members of the Curia and the Roman aristocracy by speaking their native language⁴⁹. Consequently, the most suitable for this task – besides the Hungarian envoys who spoke Italian fluently – were the delegates of Italian origins who already had been very well-connected themselves. 78% of the examined foreign diplomats were from the region of one of the Italian city-states. The doctor of medicine, Florio Roverella was from Ferrara and earlier he had been the governor of one of the provinces of the Papal State. He arrived to Buda (1475) as the envoy of the king of Naples. His duty was to contribute to the preparations of the nuptial of King Matthias and Beatrice of Aragon. He had excellent connections in the Curia, since one of his brothers, Lorenzo, the Bishop of Ferrara had previously visited the Hungarian court as a papal legate, while his other brother, Bartolomeo, the Archbishop of Ravenna, was an influential member of the Papal Court and the College of Cardinals and around the end of his life he became *Camerlengo*⁵⁰. Florio was commissioned with Roman affairs by the Hungarian king, moreover, he functioned as a permanent agent between 1475 and 1484⁵¹. It seems that he parallelly administered the representation of the Kingdom of Hungary and Naples as well. Therefore, he served Matthias Corvinus and his father-in-law, Ferrante d'Aragona at the same time. The proper connections thus, were fundamental in the successful administration of affairs in Rome. Especially those, who spent a shorter or longer period of time in the city became more suitable to perform diplomatic duties, since they were the ones who knew best the labyrinths of the Papal Curia's offices, the power relations in the College of Cardinals and the ways towards influential people. George Polycarp Kosztolányi, who received excellent

49 See details for this: C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy*, cit., pp. 105-114.

50 Albert Berzeviczy, *Beatrix magyar királyné (1457-1508)* [Hungarian Queen Beatrix 1457-1508], Budapest, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kiadása, 1908 pp. 178-179; Elisabetta Traniello, *Roverella, Bartolomeo*, in DBI, vol. 88 (2017) (=http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-roverella_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

51 *Mátyás király levelei*, cit. vol. 1, nr. 223, 315; vol. 2, nr. 106., 134.

humanist education got to know Aenea Silvio Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II, during his studies in Ferrara. After his homecoming, he was admitted to the royal chancery with the help and patronage of John (Vitéz) of Zredna, Bishop of Várad (Oradea). At the beginning of the 1460s, he visited Pope Pius II two times as the envoy of King Matthias. Besides that, he also performed diplomatic duties in Venice, Florence and Nuremberg. In 1468, he settled down in Rome where he became an associate of the *Cancellaria Apostolica* first as a *scriptor* (1470), then an *abbreviator* (1473), a *magister registri cancellarie* (1482), and finally a *notarius Romane Curie* (1483). He married the daughter of Georgius Trapezuntius, his former fellow-student and later colleague in Chancery. The union significantly extended his social connections in Rome. The Hungarian monarch wasted no time to appoint his experienced man as permanent agent, which office was held by him for two decades⁵². Out of the diplomats of Matthias at the Holy See others also became members of the more extended Papal Court, and were granted various titles and privileges in parallel. Two apostolic protonotaries (A. Vetési, Schomburg, Karai, Sánkfalvi) and chamberlains (Mohorai, Imre son of Kelemen, Szántai, L. Vetési) can be found among them, such as a papal chaplain (Baeska), a papal subdeacon (Treviso), and a papal familiar (Mohorai).

4. Occasional delegates

The vast majority of Hungarian ambassadors (36 person – 82%) arriving to the Holy See only completed provisional missions (Chart 1). Among them as expected, there were a few who already paid a call several times on the Papal Court. Albert Vetési, Bishop of Veszprém, for example visited the Curia Romana on four occasions, fulfilling a temporary mandate. He was considered to be an experienced Roman traveller and diplomat, since he attended the coronation of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1433 as a member of the emperor's entourage. In 1452 and 1455 he returned to the Eternal City. Pope Callixtus III appointed Albert Vetési – who in the meantime acquired a doctoral degree in both canon and Roman law – to be his notary. Formerly, he was the notary of John Hunyadi, therefore as a loyal and skilful diplomat of the family, he became one of the most employed delegates of King Matthias. Although he acted as an emissary in Czech and German regions as well, most of his assignments bounded him to Italy. In achieving this confidential status, his network of connections, qualifications and his knowledge of Italian language – which he had refined back in his college years in Siena – could be

52 On his person see J. Köblös, *Az egyházi közélet, cit.*, pp. 354–355; K. Szovák, *A Hungarian Humanist*, cit.

contributing factors⁵³. For the first time under the reign of King Matthias, he led the Hungarian emissary to Rome during the spring of 1459. His primary task was to express the king's veneration to the newly elected Pope Pius II, but the conflict between King Matthias and Emperor Frederick III was also discussed during the meeting, such as the Ottoman threat. The Pope then sent a sanctified sword and a cap to the Hungarian monarch through Vetési. The aid against the Turks provided the central topic for the Hungarian-Papal relations of the era, therefore it is not surprising that this question was continuously on the agenda of the Bishop of Veszprém in 1463, 1474 and 1475⁵⁴.

Michael Szántai, a canon of Buda also completed Roman commissions on more occasions in the first half of the 1470s. He became a regular member of the royal court through Elizabeth Szilágyi, since he was her chaplain. Szántai was first sent to Rome by the king in the fall of 1470 in order to give new instructions to the Hungarian envoys – who were already there – in connection with the Czech campaign. In January 1475, he was on the king's side in Wrocław and from there he went to Rome with the instructions for the Hungarian diplomats. During the fall of the same year he travelled again to the Eternal City as a *nuntius secretus*, on which occasion the Pope Sixtus IV received his call. He visited Rome for the last time in 1476 traveling together with the noble, Stephen Jakscs. At this event, he handed over the flags, which the Hungarian forces seized from the Turks possibly at the siege of Sabac on the behalf of Matthias Corvinus, who obviously sought for financial aid from the pope in order to support the defence against the Ottomans⁵⁵.

One of the most active Hungarian diplomats of the Jagellonian era was Peter Beriszló, a royal secretary and Provost of Fehérvár⁵⁶. He travelled to Rome for the first time in January 1503, where he discussed the terms of a possible peace treaty with the Ottomans. Pope Alexander VI welcomed the Hungarian and the Venetian diplomats in audiences, where Beriszló outlined the current situation in a long speech the result of which the Holy Father gave his consent to make peace with the Turks. During the fall of 1503, the king sent Beriszló

53 Pál Rainer, *Vetési Albert veszprémi püspök* [Albert Vetési Bishop of Veszprém], "A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei", 18 (1986), pp. 227-233.

54 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 115-116, 128, 146.

55 *Monumenta Vaticana*, cit., vol. I/6, nr. 75-77; *Mátyás király levelei*, cit., vol. 2, nr. 235.

56 András Kubinyi, *Beriszló Péter és budai szereplése* [Péter Beriszló and his Appearance in Buda], in Id., *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, Church Institutions and Religion in Medieval Hungary] (METEM Könyvek 22), Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999, pp. 171-184; J. Köblös, *Az egyházi közélet*, cit., p. 337.

again to the Holy See, but this time he only made it to Venice where he negotiated with the Signoria and the papal legate. In May, 1508 he came to Rome again via Venice and spent the summer there. However, his mission did not succeed, since he was unable to convince the pope to create an anti-Turkish alliance. His last Roman journey began in October 1511 and he stayed in the Eternal City until March, the next year. This time he travelled in the company of Francesco Marsupini and his task was to get prepared for the arrival of Thomas Bakócz, who came to the Lateran Council⁵⁷. A palace near Campo de' Fiori was rented for the Hungarian prelate and his entourage. It previously belonged to the recently deceased Cardinal-Legate Pietro Isvalies who had just passed away a few weeks before the arrival of Bakócz⁵⁸. While staying in Rome, Beriszló obtained the Bishopric of Veszprém (1511-1520), which became vacant upon the death of Cardinal Isvalies⁵⁹.

Mark of Fiume, Bishop of Zengg, then of Knin, Nicolaus Nyújtódi Székely, Canon of Fehérvár, later the Bishop of Knin⁶⁰, and laymen such as Stephen Frangepán and Francesco Fontana also performed diplomatic duties on several occasions in the *Curia Romana*.

However, 66% (29 people) of the observed persons completed only one Roman mission. This included Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Pécs, and John Rozgonyi *magister tavernicorum*, who led a populous delegation to the coast of Tiber during the spring of 1465. Janus Pannonius, who was a renowned hu-

57 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 262-263, 275, 278, 303-304; András Kubinyi, *Diplomáciai érnitkezések a Jagello-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között (1490-1526)* [Diplomatic Contacts between the Hungarian State in the Jagellonian Era and the Papacy (1490-1526)], in *Magyarország és a Szentiszték*, ed. by I. Zombori, cit., 123-125.

58 Gábor Nemes, *Pietro Isvalies bíboros veszprémi püspök* [Cardinal Pietro Isvalies Bishop of Veszprém], in *Folyamatosság és változás. Egyházzervezet és hitélet a veszprémi püspökség területén a 16-17. században* [Continuity and Change. Church Organization and Belief in the Bishopric of Veszprém in 16-17 Century], ed. by Balázs Karlinszky - Tibor László Varga, Veszprém, Veszprémi Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, 2018, p. 29.

59 Norbert C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája* [Archontology of the late medieval Prelates of Hungary], Győr, Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2017, pp. 118-119.

60 His mission in 1472 has recently become known: Antonín Kalous, *Mátyás király és a pápaság 1472. Nyújtódi Székely Miklós Rómában* [King Matthias and the Papacy 1472. Miklós Székely Nyújtódi in Rome], in *Vestigia II. Magyar források Itáliából* [Hungarian sources from Italy], ed. by György Domokos - Hajnalka Kuffart - Márton Szovák, Piliscsaba, Vestigia Kutatócsoport, 2018, pp. 41-54.

manist poet⁶¹, studied at various universities in Italy. He welcomed the newly elected pope, Paul II in the name of the King of Hungary, then in his oration he drew the attention of the Holy Father and the cardinals to the Turkish threat. His suggestive speech and the subsequent discussions led to the Apostolic Chamber granting 57500 golden florins to King Matthias, which was the largest financial aid of the era, remitted in one single installment⁶². Besides aiming to procure financial support for the anti-Turkish cause, the envoys also acted in other matters. This was the time when a royal supplication was submitted for the establishment of the University of Bratislava, and to create Stephen Várdai, Archbishop of Kalocsa, a cardinal⁶³.

The example of Antonius de Probis, Bishop of Penne and Atri represents a practice which was already applied by King Matthias. He sent the delegates of Naples and Ferrara – who were originally accredited to Buda – to act in his own affairs in Rome, as the case of Florio Roverella and Francesco Fontana shows it. Probis arrived in Buda as the envoy of Ferrante d'Aragona, the King of Naples. In addition to his diplomatic duties, Cardinal-Legate Giovanni d'Aragona authorized Probis to supervise affairs in the absence of the cardinal in connection with the jubilee indulgences in Hungary (1480)⁶⁴. When he prepared to return home in April 1482, King Matthias sent Probis to Pope Sixtus IV, with instructions concerning the churches of Salzburg and Passau. The Hungarian monarch informed his father in law, the King of Naples in a letter about the mandate of Probis⁶⁵.

61 József Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, Pécs, Janus Pannonius-Társaság, 1931; Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius. Poet and Politician*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1981; László Jankovits, *Nobilis Ingenio. Janus Pannonius költészete* [Nobilis Ingenio. The Poetry of Janus Pannonius], Arad, IJK, 2012.

62 AAV, Camera Apostolica, *Diversa Cameralia*, vol. 34, ff. 66v-67r. The papal legate, Hieronymo Lando on a receipt issued by Buda to the ambassadors (1466): *ibid.*, vol. 32, f. 230rv.

63 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit. vol. 2, pp. 111–113.

64 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Hungarian National Archives Diplomatic Photo Collection] 271. 201.

65 "Cum nuper reverendum in Christo pater dominus Anthonius de Probis episcopus Adriensis, qui hiis temporibus apud nos oratorem maiestatis vestre se summa fide et probitate gessit, licentiam tandem redeundi a nobis postulare [...] Cumque sollicitanti reditum quotidie protraheremus, supervenerunt nobis interea quedam ardua negotia, prout ex ipso maiestas vestra clarius intellegit, pro quibus oportuit illum pro nostro oratore ad apostolicam sedem destinare. [...] et ideo data sibi certa instructione ad pedes sanctissimi domini nostri primum et deinde ad maiestatem vestram destinavimus oratorem nostrum [...]": Máttyás király levelei, cit., vol. 2, nr.120.

1st Chart

Occasional Delegates to the Holy See (1458–1526)⁶⁶

| Nr. | Person | Years |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Albert Vetési, Bishop of Veszpérm | 1459, 1463, 1474–1475 |
| 2. | Albert Hangácsi, Bishop of Csanád | 1459–1460 |
| 3. | Francis OFM, Bishop of Corbavia | 1459–1460 |
| 4. | Simon of Treviso (Vostich), canon of Esztergom, archbishop of Antivar | 1459–1460, 1469 |
| 5. | Stephen Frangepán, comes | 1459–1460, 1463 |
| 6. | George Polycarp Kosztolányi, royal secretary | 1460, 1462 |
| 7. | Ladislav Vezsenyi, <i>magister agazonum regaliu</i> | 1462 |
| 8. | Mark of Fiume OFM, Bishop of Knin | 1463, 1465 |
| 9. | John Csezmeicei (Janus Pannonius), Bishop of Pécs | 1465 |
| 10. | John Rozgonyi, <i>magister tavernicorum regaliu</i> | 1465 |
| 11. | George Handó, provost of Pécs, vice chancellor | 1465, 1466, 1467 |
| 12. | Ulrich Grafeneck, miles | 1467 |
| 13. | Nicolaus Mohorai, <i>custos, lector</i> of Vác | 1466, 1470–1471, 1474, 1475 |
| 14. | George Schomberg, provost of Pozsony (Bratislava) | 1468 |
| 15. | Stephen Bajoni, canon of Pécs and Várad (Oradea) | 1467, 1469 |
| 16. | Nicolaus Bánfi, bailiff of Pozsony (Bratislava) | 1469 |
| 17. | Ladislav Karai, provost of Buda | 1470–1471 |
| Nr. | Person | Years |
| 18. | Imre, son of Kelemen, provost of Bosnia | 1466, 1471, 1474 |

66 The sources of the data are as follows: V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., vol. 2; *Morumenta Vaticana*, cit. vol. I/6; *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Máttyás király korából* [Hungarian Diplomatic Memories from the Time of King Matthias], ed. by Iván Nagy - Albert Nyáry, Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Hivataltal, 1875–1878, 4 voll.; *Máttyás király levelei*, cit. 2 voll.; Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Máttyás király korában* [Art in the Time of King Matthias], Budapest, Akadémiai, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 674–675; András Kubinyi, *Diplomáciai érintkezések a Jagello-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között (1490–1526)* [Diplomatic association between Jagellonian Hungary and the Papacy (1490–1526)], in *Magyarország és a Szentiszék*, ed. by I. Zombori, cit. pp. 119–134; Id., *Magyarok a késő-középkori Rómában* [Hungarians in Late Medieval Rome], in *Studia Miskolcensis III*, Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetem, 1999, pp. 83–91; B. Lakatos, *Ordo Regum*, cit.; I. Fedeleš, *A Magyar Királyság*, cit.; Terézia Horváth, *A vasvári káptalan prépostsjai a Máttyás-korban* [The Provosts of the Chapter of Vasvár under the Reign of King Matthias Corvinus], in *Máttyás király és az Egyház*, cit. pp. 109–111.

| Nr. | Person | Years |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| 19. | Nicolaus Nyíjtódi Székely, Bishop of Knin | 1467, 1472, 1480 |
| 20. | Michael Szántai, canon of Buda | 1470-1471, 1475, 1476 |
| 21. | John Laki Tüz, <i>magister ianitorum regalium</i> , ban of Slavonia | 1474-1475 |
| 22. | Ladislau Vetési, provost of Veszprém | 1475 |
| 23. | Stephen Jakscs, baron | 1476 |
| 24. | Mariottus Semlis, canon of Eger | 1476, 1478 |
| 25. | John Kamarcai Vitéz, provost of Várad, later Bishop of Szerém (Syrmia) | 1476-1478, 1480, 1481-1482 |
| 26. | John Telegdi, canon of Pécs, commendator of Abbey of Zalavár | 1477 |
| 27. | Francesco Fontana, <i>doctor medicinae</i> | 1478, 1483 |
| 28. | Gabriel Pályi OFM, Franciscan Observant provincial, the king's confessor | 1479 |
| 29. | Antonius de Probis, Bishop of Penne and Atri | 1482 |
| 30. | Antal Sánkfalvi, canon of Várad, provost of Pozsony | 1482, 1489 |
| 31. | Francesco Bandini, Florentine Humanist, royal familiar | 1488 |
| 32. | Nicolaus Bacskai, canon of Eger, provost of Mislýe (Mysłina) | 1488 |
| 33. | Thomas Drági, <i>personalis presentiae regiae locumtenens</i> | 1489 |
| 34. | Ladislau Kemendi, provost of Vasvár | 1492 |
| 35. | Thomas Bakócz, Bishop of Győr, later Bishop of Eger, then Archbishop of Esztergom, cardinal, patriarch of Constantinople | 1493-1494 |
| 36. | Philip Bodrogi, canon of Győr, papal chaplain | 1495-1496 |
| 37. | Johann Brandis, provost of Wroclaw | 1495-1496 |
| 38. | Peter Beriszló, canon of Kalocsa, provost of Fehérvár, then Bishop of Veszprém; royal secretary | 1502, 1503, 1508, 1511-1512 |
| 39. | Martin, <i>custos</i> of Kalocsa | 1513 |
| 40. | Francesco Marsupini, canon of Esztergom | 1516 |
| 41. | Stephen Verböci, <i>personalis presentiae regiae locumtenens</i> | 1519 |
| 42. | Paul Csallovics, elected noble envoy | 1519 |
| 43. | Imre Fancsi, elected noble envoy | 1519 |
| 44. | Matthias Brodarics, noble | 1524 |

5. Hungarian residents at the Holy See

The Hungarian diplomats who were sent to Rome had their official letters of commission, which was handed over to the Holy Father upon their arrival, and a reference letter addressed to the cardinals. However, neither of it contained the actual duties of the envoys, nor the length of their commissions. The only exception from this is the case of the above-mentioned George Polycarp

Kosztolányi. He was appointed to be a permanent agent and he had to perform his duties in the absence of the royal envoys (*absentibus oratoribus nostris*), thus his term was designed to cover indefinite time⁶⁷. However, from other various types of sources – such as the survived instructions for envoys, private letters, entries from the supplication registers and the documents of the *Camera Apostolica* – it is more or less possible to reconstruct the length of the envoys' Roman residence. Based on these documents we can assume that there were ten permanent agents in Rome in the period between 1458 and 1526.

2nd Chart

The Hungarian resident envoys and agents in Rome (1458–1526)⁶⁸

| Nr. | Person | Period |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| 1. | Nicolaus Mohorai, <i>custos</i> , then <i>lector</i> of Vác, papal familiar and chamberlain | 1461-1465 |
| 2. | George Polycarp Kosztolányi, <i>scriptor</i> , <i>abbreviator litterarum apostolicarum</i> , canon of Veszprém and Fehérvár | 1468-1489 |
| 3. | George Handó, provost of Pécs, royal secretary | 1468-1470 |
| 4. | Imre, son of Kelemen, provost of Bosnia | 1471-1474 |
| 5. | Florio Roverella, knight of Saint John | 1475-1484 |
| 6. | John Kamarcai Vitéz, provost of Várad, later Bishop of Szerém (Syrmia) | 1476-1478, 1486-1490 |
| 7. | Antal Sánkfalvi, Bishop of Nyitra (Nitra), <i>protomotarius apostolicus</i> | 1492-1500 |
| 8. | Nicolaus Bacskai, provost of Mislýe (Mysłina), papal chaplain | 1494-1496 |
| 9. | Francesco Marsupini, canon of Esztergom and Eger | 1517-1526 |
| 10. | Stephanus Brodericus, the provost of Pécs, royal secretary | 1522-1524, 1525 |

67 M.G. Kovachich, *Formulae solennes styli*, cit. nr. 179.

68 The sources of the data are as follows: V. Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi, cit. vol. 2; Monumenta Vaticana*, cit. vol. 1/6; *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek*, cit. 4 voll.; *Mátyás király levelei*, cit., 2 voll.; J. Balogh, *A művészet*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 674-675; A. Kubinyi, *Diplomáciai érintkezések*, cit.; Id., *Magyarok a késő-középkori*, cit.; Megan K. Williams, "Dui fratelli... con dui principi": family and fidelity on a failed diplomatic mission, "Journal of Early Modern History", 14 (2010), pp. 579-611; P. Kasza, *Egy korszakváltás*, cit. pp. 52-66; *Stephanus Brodericus Epistulae*, edit, *introduxit et commentariis instruxit Petrus Kasza* (Bibliotheca Scriptorium Medii Recentisque Aevorum), Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2012, nr. 10-49; B. Lakatos, *Ordo Regum*, cit.; T. Fedeles, *A Magyar Királyság*, cit.

The data in the chart clearly illustrate that King Matthias considered it highly important to maintain permanent representation in Rome besides annually sending emissaries. Occasionally, permanent Roman representatives could work parallelly with each other. They could facilitate the work of the occasional delegates – who arrived to the city with predetermined, specific tasks – by constantly managing and maintaining their network of connections in the Curia, thus providing them with the necessary information for the successful conduction of their commissions. On the one hand, the Roman resident representation built under the reign of King Matthias was designed to increase the prestige of the Hungarian ruler. On the other hand, it is clearly visible that in the late Middle Ages the Holy See was one of the most important diplomatic partners of the Kingdom of Hungary. Permanent agents devoted their attention to the anti-Hussite Crusade conducted by the King of Hungary, as well as to the war between Hungary and Austria. Furthermore, a major undertaking was to gain help and financial support to the anti-Turkish cause, but besides all these grand issues, permanent envoys completed many routine tasks as well. Their most important assignment however, was to constantly obtain information and to transfer the news to the royal court in Buda. This also included to keep the Pope and the Cardinals well-informed about current Hungarian likewise.

The residents – with two exceptions, namely Roverella and Marsupini – were of Hungarian origins. It can also be stated that they were experienced diplomats, since the majority of them had already been to the Curia several times before becoming agents. This is also true if we reverse it: there were a few among them, who returned to the Eternal City several times after their residential service ended. Nicolaus Mohorai, canon of Vác and Pécs, returned to Hungary after several years of Roman residence (1465) but in the next decade, he visited the Papal Court at least five more times⁶⁹. The Archbishop of Esztergom, John (Vitéz) of Zredna was considered to be the father of Hungarian humanism. A relative of his, John Vitéz of Kamarca, became one of the most active diplomats of the Hungarian king in the mid-1470s. He studied liberal arts and canon law at the universities of Bologna and Padua and ultimately obtained his doctorate in canon law⁷⁰. Vitéz was fluent both in Latin and Italian and received the finest humanist

69 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit. vol. 2, pp. 136, 140-141, 146, 149, 495; T. Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung*, cit., pp. 389-391 (nr. 266).

70 V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 229-238; Gergely Sonnevend, *Ifjabb Vitéz János veszprémi püspök* [John Vitéz the Younger, Bishop of Veszprém], in *Veszprém reneszánsza* [Renaissance of Veszprém], ed. by László Kilián - Pál Rainer, *Veszprém, Művészetek Háza / Veszprém Megyei Múzeumai Igazgatóság*, 2008, pp. 117-170; Ilona Kristóf, *Egyházi középréteg a késő középkori Váradon (1440-1526)* [Ecclesiastical Middle Class in the Late Medieval Várad (1440-1526)],

education. He can be identified as a permanent delegate at the Holy See from 1476 until the death of King Matthias in April 1490. Besides several occasional assignments, on two incidents he spent a relatively longer time in the centre of the Ecclesiastical State, and for the last five years of the king's reign he permanently resided in Rome. His activities are quite well documented: credentials, references and envoy ordinances which were issued for him are preserved. Unfortunately, the reports he sent from Rome have vanished over the centuries, consequently we only know about the fact that he corresponded with the king⁷¹. The diary of the papal Master of Ceremony, Johannes Burckard contains a brief summary, which outlines a debate between Vitéz and the Scottish King's envoys on their ceremonial ranks. The event took place in February 1487, before the Papal Mass in St. Peter's Basilica⁷².

At last, besides the temporary and resident envoys, the role of the institution of the Cardinal Protectors should be examined. This office came to life as a consequence of endeavours made by the monarchs of certain states in order to enforce their interests at the Holy See. From the second half of the 15th century, based on a submitted royal proposal which was followed by the pope's approval the Holy Father appointed the patrons of each nation⁷³. During the observed period, altogether six cardinals were entrusted to represent the Kingdom of Hungary on the highest diplomatic level at the Papal Court. Four of them, Juan Carvajal⁷⁴, Gabriele Rangone⁷⁵, Pietro Isvalies⁷⁶ and Giovanni d'Aragona⁷⁷ – who

Pécs, Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 2014 (Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi 4), pp. 260-261.

71 In a letter from King Matthias to Vitéz, the following is stated: "ex litteris tuis accepimus": *Mátyás király levelei*, cit. vol. 2, nr. 92.

72 For this and the late medieval list of precedence see: B. Lakatos, *Ordo Regum*, cit. particularly pp. 164-171.

73 Péter Tusor, *I cardinali della corona ed i protettori del regno d'Ungheria (o degli stati asburgici) tra Quattro e Settecento*, in *Gli "angeli custodi" delle monarchie. I cardinali protettori delle nazioni*, (Studi di storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche 4), a cura di Id. - Matteo Sanfilippo, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2018, pp. 255-280.

74 Vilmos Fraknói, *Carvajal János bíbornok magyarországi követségei. 1448-1461* [Cardinal Juan de Carvajal Embassies in Hungary, 1448-1461], Budapest, kiadja a Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1889.

75 Ilona Kristóf, *Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20-1486)* [The Career of Gabriele Rangone (1410/20-1486)], in *Mátyás király és az Egyház*, cit., pp. 35-54.

76 G. Nemes, *Pietro Isvalies*, cit.

77 Margit Beke, *Aragóniai VI. John* [Giovanni VI. d'Aragona], in *Esztergomi érsekek*

was actually the brother-in-law of King Matthias – happened to visit Hungary as papal legates many times before. Accordingly, they were familiar not just with the state of affairs, but also with the monarch, the secular and ecclesiastical nobility. Rangone, as the Bishop of Transylvania and then of Eger, d'Aragona as the Archbishop of Esztergom and Isvalles, as the Bishop of Nyitra and then of Veszprém were also members of the Hungarian body of prelates. This meant that they could keep their Hungarian benefices even after their return to Rome. In addition to afore-mentioned cardinals, Pedro Ferriz, Rodrigo Borgia, the later Pope Alexander VI, Giovanni Battista Orsini, and Giulio de' Medici, the later Pope Clement VII could be identified as patrons of the country. The term, protector first appeared in the case of Cardinal Pietro Isvalles. He was appointed by the Pope in 1507 to be the protector of the Kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia (*regnum Hungariae et Bohemiae protector*)⁷⁸. In a letter dated on the 16 November 1523, Stephanus Brodericus called Cardinal Giulio Medici the protector of Hungary as well⁷⁹.

6. Conclusion

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the diplomatic representation of the Hungarian monarchs in the Holy See was multileveled and constant. In comparison with earlier periods, two fundamental differences can be located. On the one hand, Hungarian monarchs endeavoured to employ permanent agents in Rome according to the contemporary European progress and trend, and on the other hand, they wanted to enforce their country's interests on the highest level possible with the help of Cardinal Protectors. This effort was motivated by the more and more imminent Ottoman threat, since the Holy See was the most reliable party the Hungarian kings could hope support from in their defensive campaign against the Ottomans.

1001-2003 [Archbishops of Esztergom 1001-2003], ed. by Id., Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2003, pp. 219-222.

78 Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia, I-II*, Romae, Typ. Vaticanis, 1859-1860, vol. 2, nr. 778.

79 "Nunc autem et auctoritate reverendissimi domini cardinalis de Medicis, protectoris regni Hungariae, qui se, antequam conclave ingrederetur": *Stephanus Brodericus Epistulae*, cit., nr. 24.

"Ad Praelatorum et alia huius Patriae negotia in Curia Romana promovenda". The Roman Agents of the Hungarian Bishops in the 17th Century¹

Péter Tusor

The organization of the modern – compared to the medieval conditions – Catholicism in Hungary that could compete with the Protestant denominations launched rather late, in the 1600s. The process of the Catholic confessionalisation in the 17th century, which basically formed the aspect of the contemporary Hungarian history and was hallmarked by the name of Archbishop Péter Pázmány (1616-1637), resulted in a closer relationship and more frequent contacts between the Hungarian church leadership and the Roman centre².

From the beginning of the 16th century, the Apostolic See remained in contact with the European countries and local churches through permanent papal legations, the apostolic nunciatures. Their system was completely built up after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) that outlined the program of the Catholic revival. The nunciature of Vienna and temporarily of Prague and Graz conveyed the statements and decisions of the Holy See to the Habsburg-countries, among which to Hungary; besides it provided reports about the political and religious relations of these countries on a weekly basis³. However, it is obvious that the

1 This study was prepared in the MTA-PPKE Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group. The research was supported by the TKI and the MKI. The Italian version of this study, Péter Tusor, *Gli agenti dei prelati ungheresi a Roma nel Seicento*, QFIAB, 92 (2012), pp. 359-380, during the revision was shortened – especially in its apparatus – and updated with newer data; moreover, it was supplemented by a new chapter ("The place of the Hungarian agents in the imperial and royal Habsburg representation in Rome") and an appendix of sources.

2 For the Hungarian confessionalisation, see recently: *Das Tridenter Konzil und seine Rezeption im Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Márta Fata, András Forgó, Gabriele Haug-Mortiz and Anton Schindling, Tübingen, Aschendorff Verlag, 2019.

3 Michael F. Feldkamp, *Die europäischen Nuntiatoren in der frühen Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Luzerner Nuntiatür*, "Zeitschrift für schweizer-