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CLERICS OF THE PAPAL CURIA AND THE REALM OF SAINT STEPHEN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY*

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Abstract: The paper deals with a special organisation of the medieval papal Curia, the personal chapel of the popes, thus the research focuses on their members' activity in Hungary in the fourteenth century. Papal subdeacons, chaplains and other clerics played an important role in the operating of the Apostolic See, for instance they appeared beside the cardinals as legates and nuncios whereas they had their share in the work of the papal chancellery, chamber, and penitentiary as well. Nevertheless, the papal clerics were to be found also outside the Apostolic Curia, meanwhile the differentiation of the title led to the formation of several sub-categories, like the curial and the honorary chaplains. Papal clerics could appear generally in two ways in the fourteenth-century Hungary: Their first group was formed by the members of the papal chapel who visited the Church's regions authorized by special mandates given by the popes for various kinds of tasks. They had to deal mostly with affairs of diplomacy, financial questions, church-government or -discipline. The second category consisted of clerics who had a career within the Hungarian church either from outside already as a papal chaplain, or they received the (honorary) chaplaincy at some point during their life.

Keywords: Medieval church history, Hungarian-papal relations, papal chaplains and subdeacons, papal delegate, papal representatives, legate, judge delegate, nuncio

The present study – based on an ongoing research – gives a short analysis of the presence of the members of a special institute of the papacy, the papal chapel in the Medieval Hungarian Realm, more precisely within the Hungarian church and regarding Hungarian matters in the selected era, from the time of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) until the end of the pontificate of Gregory XI (1370–1378); a topic, which

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has been previously examined only tangentially. In a broader sense, the aim of the investigation is the analysis of the pontifical chaplains' activities or involvements in affairs of Hungarian relevance. To realize this goal, first we have to give a short summary about the development of the pontifical chapel from the beginnings in the eleventh century based on the classic and recently published studies on the topic. Secondly, we have to present the situation in the thirteenth century Hungary as well, in order to identify those differences which emerged in this special aspect of the papal-Hungarian relations under the popes of Avignon.

The Papal Chapel

The papal chapel, the community of the pontiffs' personal chaplains was an important institution in the high and late Middle Ages. It was a significant office not merely because of its role in the operation of the papal court and its inner affairs, but also because its members were active as agents of the popes in various ways in the different regions of Christendom. Papal chaplains constituted a special and complex functional group with several sub-categories. It is this complexity which makes it essential to review the history of the papal chapel's institution first. It has to be defined how exactly it operated in the high Middle Ages, and who were its members. After the general introduction, those papal clerics (chaplains and subdeacons) will be presented who were either sent to Hungary by the popes as papal delegates or received their title as members of the Hungarian clergy in return for their services.

The term *capellanus domini pape* appeared in the pontifical sources in the early Middle Ages.¹ The papal chapel originally was the community of the popes' personal chaplains, who assisted the pontiffs in their complex liturgical capacities, as the appearance of the term "capellanus, subdiaconis et acolythis de capella" indicates it as well.² It transformed into a complex institution in the late eleventh, early twelfth century

¹ Reinhard Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonische Abteilung* 36 (1950): 146; Jochen Johrendt, "Der vierte Kreuzzug, das lateinische Kaiserreich und die päpstliche Kapelle unter Innocenz III.," in *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII) / Papal Legates, Delegates and the Crusades (12th–13th Century)*. *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Milano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 9–11 marzo 2011*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 53–54. Cf. Siegfried Haider, "Zu den Anfängen der päpstlichen Kapelle," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979): 39–40, 60–62, 64. Siegfried Haider collected several records from the eleventh century, for instance Hildebrand, the later Gregory VII was probably the chaplain of Gregory VI. Haider, "Zu den Anfängen," 55ff.

² Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 147–148.

parallel to the structural development of the papal court.³ This process started probably under the pontificate of Pope Urban II (1088–1099), and it was concluded by his successor, Paschal II (1099–1118).⁴ The process of institutionalization was promoted by the formation of the College of Cardinals,⁵ whose members became more and more occupied with new duties, therefore they could not fulfil their previous liturgical tasks.⁶

Regarding the papal chapel, another important ecclesiastical order has to be mentioned beside the chaplains, namely the papal subdeacons. This title referred to the consecration given by the popes. What created a special status among other factors, is that they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocesans and belonged directly under that of the popes, and they were very well aware of this situation.⁷ The importance of subdeacons in the history of the papal chapel is illustrated by the fact that the members of the chapel were entitled as *subdiaconus S.R.E.* or *subdiaconus noster (domini pape)* in the majority of the known cases in the twelfth century, even though not every papal subdeacon became automatically pontifical chaplain as well.⁸ The strong tie between the two ecclesiastical statuses is demonstrated by the widespread use of the general title *subdiaconus et capellanus domini pape* under the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216).⁹

³ See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, “Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichem Zeremoniell,” in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*. Reinhard Elze gewidmet zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 28. 6. 1992, ed. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmutge (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 47–48; Johrendt, “Der vierte Kreuzzug,” 53; Matthew David Ross, *The Papal Chapel 1288–1304: A Study in Institutional and Cultural Change* (PhD Dissertation. London: University College London, 2013), 11.

⁴ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 148–150; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 10.

⁵ Stephan Kuttner, “Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept,” in Stephan Kuttner, *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1990), 129–214.

⁶ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 150; Haider, “Zu den Anfängen,” 40–55, 62–65. For the liturgical tasks of the popes prior to the thirteenth century, and the groups related to that see Schimmelpfennig, “Die Bedeutung,” 52–56, 59–60.

⁷ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 153–156, 168–169; Jochen Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle als Bindeglied zwischen Kurie und Kirche,” in *Legati e delegati papali: profili, ambiti d'azione e tipologie di intervento nei secoli XII–XIII*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Claudia Zey (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2012), 266–268; Johrendt, “Der vierte Kreuzzug,” 56; Tamás Fedeles, “Magyar klerikusszentelések Rómában a hitújítás kezdetén (1516–1523),” [Ordination of Hungarian Clerics in Rome at the beginning of the Reformation] in *Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. században*, ed. Szabolcs Varga and Lázár Vértési (Pécs: Pécsi Hittudományi Főiskola–Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, 2017), 53–54.

⁸ Johrendt, “Der vierte Kreuzzug,” 55.

⁹ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 151–152, 159–160; Johrendt, “Der vierte Kreuzzug,” 55–56.

The early thirteenth century¹⁰ was distinctly a turning-point in the history of the papal chapel in many aspects. The title subdeacon started to disappear from the sources, simultaneously, the term papal chaplain became almost exclusive. However, during the period of transition the complementary usage of the two titles can be seen: *capellanus et subdiaconus domini pape*.¹¹ The former practice was altered not only because of the appearance of the chaplain's title, but also because the genitive form, *Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* was replaced by a reference to the pope (*domini pape*). It reflected the growth of the papal authority and the rise of hegemony of the Apostolic See.¹²

In addition to the titles that were used, the structure of the chapel was also modified by Innocent III,¹³ so was the chaplains' liturgy.¹⁴ The pope made efforts to provide the necessary residence for his chaplains, where they could all live together.¹⁵ They were ought to assist the popes at certain masses, in the midst of processions they had to bear the cross before the pope, and they also held masses themselves.¹⁶ Their tasks were the sign of their high status in the papal court.¹⁷ The scale of the chaplains' incomes is not known in details, yet they probably received certain material goods (food, clothes, candles etc.) from the popes and they received payment for their liturgical services. Furthermore, they were also given certain benefices,¹⁸ but usually they were permitted to be absent from those benefices which laid outside of

¹⁰ Cf. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 14.

¹¹ A significant part of the papal chaplains bore the titles *subdiaconus S. R. E.* and later *subdiaconus et capellanus*, thus, as subdeacons they were consecrated by the popes and could receive further ecclesiastical orders from the pontiffs. Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 170–171.

¹² Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 156–157, 170–171.

¹³ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 171–172; Haider, "Zu den Anfängen," 60.

¹⁴ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 171–172; Schimmelpfennig, "Die Bedeutung," 47–48, 60–61. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), 17–20. Cf. John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root Up and to Plant* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003), 201. The liturgical works of the papal court from the early thirteenth century was examined by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig. See: Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 17–23.

¹⁵ Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 270. Cf. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation der päpstlichen Kapelle in Avignon," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1970), 84; Haider, "Zu den Anfängen," 67–69.

¹⁶ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 173–174; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 87–88, 95. Cf. Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 84.

¹⁷ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 174, 198–200; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 87, 95.

¹⁸ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 168, 185–187. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 76–77; Johrendt, "Der vierte Kreuzzug," 56–57. Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 173–174; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 87–88, 95. Cf. Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 84. The situation in late thirteenth century was elaborated by Ross Matthew See Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 82–101.

Rome.¹⁹ Yet, the members of certain chapters of the eternal city could enter the papal chapel as well. The popes were probably motivated to hold this functional group together, since the chaplains could be of great service for them in many ways.²⁰ It is no surprise therefore that chaplains could count on promotions, so their membership in the papal chapel was only the beginning of their ecclesiastical career.²¹ It was possible for papal chaplains to become cardinals,²² as it was the interest of the popes to choose the new members of the College of Cardinals from a circle of supposedly loyal clerics. There is no record though which could enlighten the rate of the cases where either the chaplains were promoted or they remained members of the chapel until their death.²³ The cardinalate, however, was not the only possible mean for the chaplains to receive a higher office, yet there are only a few archbishops and bishops known from the thirteenth century who were previously members of the pontifical chapel.²⁴

Papal chaplains were entrusted not only with liturgical duties; they often worked in other institutions of the Apostolic See as well. Their

¹⁹ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 76–79.

²⁰ Jochen Johrendt, *Die Diener des Apostelfürsten. Das Kapitel von St. Peter im Vatikan (11. – 13. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 169–175; Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 271–282; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 95ff.

²¹ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 184–185.

²² The formation of the College of Cardinals and the papal chapel was probably related to each other. See Hans-Walter Klewitz, *Die Entstehung des Kardinalskollegiums*, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonische Abteilung* 25 (1936), 115–221. here: 193. Cf. Haider, “Zu den Anfängen,” 65. For the College of Cardinals see Étienne Anheim and Blake Beattie and Ralf Lützelshwab, “Die Kardinäle des avignonischen Papsttums (305–1378). Kreaturen des Papstes, Sachwalter partikularer Interessen und Mäzene,” in *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011) passim; Andreas Fischer, “Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304: zwischen eigenständigem Handeln und päpstlicher Autorität,” in *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011), 160–170, 174–176 (Päpste und Papsttum 39); Werner Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle von 1143 bis 1216. Exklusive Papstwähler und erste Agenten der päpstlichen plenitudo potestatis,” in *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer and Ralf Lützelshwab (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011), 102–103 (Päpste und Papsttum 39).

²³ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 164–166; Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 268, 270–271; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 54–56; Haider, “Zu den Anfängen,” 65; Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalkolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 203–206; Maleczek, “Die Kardinäle von,” 102–103; Fischer, “Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304,” 160–170, 174–176; Thomas W. Smith, “The College of Cardinals under Honorius III: A Nepotistic Household?,” in *Religion and the Household*, ed. John Doran and Charlotte Methuen and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge–New York: The Boydell Press, 2014), 81–82 (Studies in Church History 50).

²⁴ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 167–168; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 55–56, 76.

participation in the daily routine of the papal chancellery²⁵ is undoubted; it is even assumed that every papal notary was a member of the chapel at the same time.²⁶

Chaplains also took part actively in the papal judiciary,²⁷ primarily as auditors.²⁸ This practice was one of the reasons why the importance of legal qualifications grew in the selection of the new chaplains.²⁹ It is unknown whether chaplains were the members of the papal penitentiary or not, yet, it seems to be a common practice that the pontiffs appointed their clerics as their personal confessors.³⁰

The popes could mobilize their chaplains on a different field as well: they were frequently entrusted as pontifical envoys of various types. The chaplains and subdeacons represented popes in diplomatic affairs with casual jurisdiction at first,³¹ but by the thirteenth century it became more and more frequent that they received authorisation of full legation (*plena legatio*) for their missions.³² The number of the cardinals being limited, the members of the papal chapel were commissioned at an increasing rate, especially in times of tension between popes and cardinals, when the service of trusted personal proved to be particularly useful to the pontiffs.³³ Clerics of the Apostolic See could

²⁵ The renewal of the papal administration was the achievement of Innocent III; it became necessary because of the growing needs of the papal government. Cf. Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986), 54ff.

²⁶ Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 267, 275; Johrendt, "Der vierte Kreuzzug," 55. For twelfth-century examples see Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 158–160, 174–177. Cf. Haider, "Zu den Anfängen," 66. The chaplaincy is documented in case of several officers of the chancellery from the second half of the thirteenth century. See Gerd Friedrich Nüske, "Untersuchungen über das Personal der päpstlichen Kanzlei 1254–1304," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 21 (1975), 249–431. passim; Jane Eleanor Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198–1254. A Study in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Administration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 14–25 (Oxford Historical Monographs).

²⁷ Cf. Stefan Killermann, *Die Rota Romana: Wesen und Wirken des päpstlichen Gerichtshofes im Wandel der Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009) 32–50; Fischer, "Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304," 180.

²⁸ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 177–180; Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 269; Johrendt, "Der vierte Kreuzzug," 58; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 10.

²⁹ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 27, 52–53, 63–64.

³⁰ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 180.

³¹ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 161; Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 268–269; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 12, 93–94. For typical examples see Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 274–275.

³² Cf. Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 276–279; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Hat das Papsttum seiner plenitudo potestatis Grenzen gesetzt (1050–1300)?," in *Das begrenzte Papsttum. Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns: Legaten – delegierte Richter – Grenzen*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Fernando López Alsina and Frank Engel (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2013), 29–31.

³³ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 180–181; Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 263.

act more flexibly during their missions than cardinals, since their lower rank meant lower responsibility as well.³⁴ The most distinctive tasks of chaplains – among other duties – were the investigation of disputed elections, the deliverance of pallium for elected archbishops and metropolitans and the reconstruction of the ecclesiastical system.³⁵ Chaplains, similarly to the cardinals, were also often appointed rectors of the Papal States.³⁶

The members of the pontifical chapel were frequently commissioned by the popes as judges delegate outside Rome from the pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227). Yet, their main activity remained to be auditors. Gregory IX was the first who allowed his chaplains to stay away from the Eternal City permanently after they had received a local benefice, whilst they functioned in that given area as legates or judges delegate.³⁷

The time of Innocent IV (1243–1254) represented a new trend in the development of the papal chapel. First of all, the number of its members increased from ca. fifty to two hundred. However, it has to be emphasized that not every one of them stayed in the papal court, since a significant part of the chaplains had its own permanent residence far from the ecclesiastical centre and they served the popes as members of cathedral-chapters or royal chapels. Clearly this was not the only way: although papal delegates did indeed receive local benefices during their missions, the popes distinguished an increasing number of clerics from outside Rome and Italy with the title *capellanus domini pape*.³⁸

Therefore, it can be assumed that after the former extraordinary cases³⁹ Innocent IV found the perfect solution for the growing need of loyal clerics outside Rome. The title of *capellanus domini pape* began to transfer from an office with certain obligations to an instrument of

³⁴ Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 263, 275; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 13. Cf. Richard A. Schmutz, “Medieval Papal Representatives: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-delegate,” in *Post scripta. Essays on Medieval Law and the Emergence of the European State in Honor of Gaines Post*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer and Donald E. Queller (Rome: Institutum Gratianum, 1972), 459–460 (Studia Gratiana 15).

³⁵ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 183; Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 269; Johrendt, “Der vierte Kreuzzug,” 59–61, 64, 68.

³⁶ Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 269, 274–275.

³⁷ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 188–189.

³⁸ Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 271; Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 188–189. Cf. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 57–81.

³⁹ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 188–190.

papal policy which was meant to be a reward for certain services.⁴⁰ The distinction between chaplains usually present at the Curia and the honorary ones (*capellanus commensalis* and *capellanus honoris*) became evident in the fourteenth century,⁴¹ but the two main functional types were already noticeable in the late 1200s: the first type consisted of the chaplains close to the popes who acted as notaries and auditors, and the other included those who generally worked outside the papal court as legates or judges delegate.⁴² The title referred both to the clerics who were appointed by the popes, and to the office itself.⁴³

Sources on the geographical dimensions of the papal chapel can be identified from the time of Innocent IV. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that in the early history of the institute mostly Roman clerics were enrolled, but because of its connections with the order of the papal subdeacons, clerics from outside Rome started to appear among the members of the chapel. The majority certainly had Italian origins, but French, German, English and Iberian clergymen were also to be found among them. Parallel to this tendency, papal chaplains appeared among the members of churches all over the Western Christendom.⁴⁴ However, it can be observed that most of the chaplains belonged to the papal “familia” in a broader sense, while some of them were even closer, being relatives, mostly nephews of the current or previous popes. The family members of cardinals,⁴⁵ prelates, or even sovereigns could be also found among pontifical chaplains, yet, the appointments did not always result from favouritism. Lawyers, theologians and friars were also integral and important parts of the pontiffs’ chapel.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Cf. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 45–47.

⁴¹ A third group (*capellani capellae*) has to be also distinguished: its members dealt with judicial and governmental tasks instead of liturgical and administrative ones. See Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 100.

⁴² There is no distinction in the thirteenth-century sources. The spread of the honorary chaplaincy in the fourteenth century resulted in the change of the nature of the service, which became pure theoretical. Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 187–190; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 28–31, 43–50, 79; 100. Cf. Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 271

⁴³ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 11.

⁴⁴ Schimmelpfennig, “Die Organisation,” 86ff; Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 192; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 57–81. Cf. Johrendt, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 271.

⁴⁵ Cf. Gergely Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig. Báncsa nembeli István (1205 k. – 1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája* [From Southern Hungary to Italy. The Course of Life of Stephen Báncsa (ca. 1205 – 1270), Bishop of Vác, Archbishop of Esztergom, the First Cardinal of Hungarian Origin] (Pécs: Kronosz, 2015), 66–68.

⁴⁶ Certain records from the thirteenth-century report that popes appointed their former cardinal-chaplains to pontifical ones. Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 192–194.

The most notable development of the fourteenth century was the growing distinction between curial and honorary chaplains. Pope John XXII (1316–1334) created a new college beside the chapel, the members of which (the so-called *capellini capelle*), similarly to the previous times, fulfilled liturgical duties.⁴⁷ The actively serving chaplains were called *capellani intrinseci* (internal) from the pontificate of Benedict XII (1334–1342); they were differentiated from the former chaplains who were known as *capellani commensales*. Meanwhile the term *capellani honores* was used from the time of Clement VI (1342–1352).⁴⁸ Thus, practically two forms of the papal chapel existed, the so-called *capella magna* and the *capella intrinseca* (*capella secreta*).⁴⁹ The offices of *clericus capelle* and *ostiarius capelle* appeared already in the 13th century: they were ought to be a help to the chaplains in the liturgy and in their everyday life, yet, the second one vanished soon, and from the pontificate of Clement V (1305–1314) the *clericus capelle* had a broad range of tasks. The title papal *subdeacon* was in use again, this time it meant ceremonial duties, which were carried out together with the two *acoliiti*.⁵⁰

Honorary chaplains did not have duties, yet they had certain privileges both outside and within the Curia. The number of *capellani honores* grew constantly during the century, it became so common that certain clerics were not even aware of the honour they gained.⁵¹ Yet the distinction was not relevant in every aspect: for instance, the papal sources indicate that similarly to previous times, curial and in certain cases honorary chaplains were commissioned in the Avignon-era as auditors in the Curia, and as legates, nuncios, collectors, messengers and executors of various cases in different regions of the Western Christendom.⁵² Chaplains often received dispensations of various types and certain benefices from the pontiffs,⁵³ and the chaplaincy generally meant for both of their groups a step forward in their career towards higher offices. If so, as bishops or archbishops they functioned as direct links between the papal court and the local churches.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 91–94.

⁴⁸ Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 84; Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 28–32, 47, 100.

⁴⁹ Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 80.

⁵⁰ Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 80, 85–90, 94–104.

⁵¹ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 46–51.

⁵² Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 38.

⁵³ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 39.

⁵⁴ Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 52–56.

A Brief Summary of the Appearances of Papal Chaplains and Subdeacons in Thirteenth-Century Hungary

After the introduction of the papal chapel, we have to take a brief look at the Hungarian situation in the 1200s, in the 1200s in a way in which the focus of the research comes to the pontifical chaplains related to the realm of Saint Stephen. Pontifical clerics could get in touch with Hungarian affairs generally in two ways: some of them were sent to the Hungarian Kingdom from the centre of the Church as papal representatives, meanwhile the members of the other group held the title of papal subdeacon or chaplain as members of the Hungarian church-hierarchy.⁵⁵ This latter category is quite diverse itself: part of them happened to receive a benefice in Hungary due to the support of the pontiffs, while others obtained the chaplain title at some point of their ecclesiastical career.⁵⁶

Since the aim of this paper is not give a detailed description of the thirteenth century situation, we shall exclusively emphasize the activity of only certain papal clerics. As far as the the first category mentioned above is concerned, the papal representatives arrived in the kingdom from the Curia, one could name several excellent examples, such as John of Casamari,⁵⁷ Acontius, or Eneco,⁵⁸ who acted as papal legates in different affairs. Pontifical clerics also acted as judges delegate in the Hungarian realm. Among them perhaps Egidius' activity was of the greatest relevance, who spent more than three years in

⁵⁵ Gábor Barabás, "Pápai káplánok a 13. századi Magyarországon Szentszéki megbízások és helyi karrierek," [Papal Chaplains in Thirteenth-Century Hungary: Papal Delegations and Local Careers] *Történelmi Szemle* 60, vol 1 (2018): 106–117.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 52.

⁵⁷ Ivan Majnarić, "Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji to u Bosni nije bio?," [Papal Chaplain Johannes of Casamari and the Oath of Bilino Polje in 1203. The Papal Legate who was not in Bosnia?] *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 50 (2008): 1–13; Gábor Barabás, "Heretics, Pirates, and Legates. The Bosnian Heresy, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Popes in the Early 13th Century," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis IX* (2017): 38–43.

⁵⁸ Ivan Majnarić, "Papinski poslanik Akoncije u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj 1219.–1223. godine," [Papal Envoy Acontius in Dalmatia and Croatia in 1219–1223] in *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u cast Franje Šanjeka*, ed. Lovorka Čoralić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina, 2009), 79–98 (Analecta Croatica Christiana 40); Ivan Majnarić, "Some Cases of Robbing the Papal Representatives along the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Second Half of the Twelfth and during Thirteenth Century," *Acta Histriae* 15 (2007): 493–506; Ivan Majnarić, "Tending the Flock: Clergy and a Discourse of War in the Wider Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic during the Late Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski and John S. Ott (Leiden, Boston MA: Brill, 2018), 445; Barabás, "Pápai káplánok," 108, 111.

Hungary,⁵⁹ yet several others were sent from the centre of the church to deliver judgments in disputed cases, like Walther in the case of the Zagreb-election.⁶⁰ The commissions of papal chaplains as collectors or executors cannot be omitted either, and also their role as auditors in the papal court in Hungarian cases is an important element as well.⁶¹

Regarding the second group mentioned above, the career of Bishop Stephen of Zagreb can be highlighted, who advanced in the church hierarchy as papal subdeacon.⁶² The second subcategory is perhaps even more relevant concerning the relation between the Hungarian realm and church with the Papacy, as in the second half of the thirteenth century several Hungarian clergymen obtained the papal chaplaincy as a reward for their services, which they mostly had carried out as royal envoys in the papal court. Their task in the kings' service, and their personal connections to the pontiffs could have influenced in their further ecclesiastical career, like in the case of Paul, who was sent to Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) as provost of Pozsony (Bratislava, SK) in 1259, then he became provost of Székesfehérvár and royal vice-chancellor after he had returned home, until he was elected to be the bishop of Veszprém in 1263. Simultaneously, he was the chancellor of the queen until 1269.⁶³ At last the influence of Stephen Bánca, the first cardinal of Hungarian origin,⁶⁴ has to be emphasized, since several clerics in his *familia*, among them his nephews, obtained the papal chaplaincy, and several

⁵⁹ Gábor Barabás, "Papal Chaplain and Subdeacon Egidius. Judge Delegate and Legate in Hungary at the Same Time?," *Istraživanja, Journal of Historical Researches* 28 (2017), 69–85.

⁶⁰ Marko Jerković, "Imenovanje papinoga kapelana Timoteja zagrebačkim biskupom 1263. godine: Studija o odnosima srednjovjekovnih središta moći," [The Appointment of Papal Chaplain Timothy to Zagreb Episcopal Dignity in 1263: A Study of Relations between Medieval Centres of Power] *Croatica Christiana periodica* 39, no.76 (2015), 27–48; Barabás, "Pápai káplánok," 114, 115, 117.

⁶¹ See Barabás, "Pápai káplánok," 112.

⁶² See Barabás, "Pápai káplánok," 112–113. Ivan Basić, "O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. stoljeću," [Attempt for Unification of the Churches of Zagreb and Split in the 13th Century] *Pro tempore* 3 (2006): 34; Igor Razum, "Ecclesiastical Reformer and Politician: The Two Faces of Bishop Stephen II of Zagreb, 1225–1247," in *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, ed. Dženan Dautović, Emir O. Filipović and Neven Isailović (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press – Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 137–146, 137–142.

⁶³ Jenő Szűcs, "A kereszténység belső politikuma a XIII. század derekán. IV. Béla és az egyház," [The Inner Politics of Christendom in the Mid-13th Century. Béla IV and the Church] *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1978), 171–173; Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1000–1301* [Lay Archontology of Hungary. 1000–1301] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 2011), 101, 115.

⁶⁴ See Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 32–44; Gergely Kiss, "Cardinal's familia as a Network in the 13th Century. A Case Study of Cardinal Stephen Bánca's Family in the Mid-thirteenth Century," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* IX (2017), 59.

Hungarian benefices alongside it, as a result of the cardinal's support.⁶⁵ One of the *nepotes*, Stephen Báncsa even became archbishop of Kalocsa in 1267.⁶⁶

Papal Clerics and "Hungarian" Affairs in the Fourteenth Century

Papal chaplains appeared in the fourteenth century (the research focused on the period prior to the Western Schism, 1378), similarly to the previous century, in different ways connected to Hungarian matters. It can be stated however, that the categories are not completely identical. A relatively large group of papal chaplains was entrusted by the pontiffs as auditors in litigations of Hungarian churches, yet the research did not uncover any sign of their activity as judges delegate. Another quite relevant difference can be found on the field of papal legations. We have several examples of the authorization of those persons, who had been formerly members of the pontifical chapel, yet in the time of their legations all of them held already higher offices. Nevertheless, papal clerics were entrusted as apostolic nuncios, collectors, or papal delegates of other nature,⁶⁷ concerning affairs with Hungarian aspects, mainly in connection with King Louis I's (1342–1382) Italian campaigns and claims.⁶⁸ The – honorary – members of the papal chapel appeared also among the clergy of the Hungarian church, in one case even the papal charter about the appointment is preserved, while certain names are known thanks to a list from the time of Pope Urban V (1362–1370).⁶⁹ It is also obvious that not every appointed honorary chaplain could travel to the Curia to take the oath of allegiance; meanwhile there is proof of the Hungarian monarch's intention, to reward one of his Neapolitan supporters with the pontifical chaplaincy.

⁶⁵ For the cardinals' *familia* see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e "familiæ" cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254. I–II* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 443–509 (Italia sacra 18–19); Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 9–11, 66–68; Kiss, "Cardinal's familia," 61–63.

⁶⁶ *qui patiebatur in scientia et ætate defectum*. In *Codex diplomaticus Hungariæ ecclesiasticus ac civilis. I–XI*. ed. Georgius Fejér (Budæ: Typ. Universitatis, 1829–1844) (cited hereafter: CDH) IV/3, 360. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 96–99; Kiss, "Cardinal's familia," 70–71; Cf. Szűcs, "A kereszténység," 175.

⁶⁷ See Clifford Ian Kyer, *The Papal Legate and the 'Solemn' Papal Nuncio 1243–1378: The Changing Pattern of Papal Representation* (PhD Dissertation, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979), 4–66.

⁶⁸ For King Louis I's Italian politics see Pál Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 159–161.

⁶⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Avenionensia 238. ff. 235–272.

One special case has to be mentioned also in this brief overview, since Guilelmus de Pusterla, the provost of Pozsony⁷⁰ and papal chaplain was commissioned as nuncio to negotiate in the conflict between King John of Bohemia (1310–1346) and the Polish Monarch, Casimir III the Great (1333–1370) in 1345. At last, another group has to be mentioned as well, namely the clergymen who worked in Hungary as chaplains of certain cardinals, most of all Gentilis de Monteflorum and Guilelmus de La Jugie, in different instances.

I would like to start the analysis with the involvement of papal chaplains in Hungarian affairs as auditors.⁷¹ The very first trace of such activity is to be found in a charter of Pope Boniface VIII (1295–1303) issued in June 1299.⁷² It was meant to appoint the provost of the cathedral-chapter of Győr as judge delegate in the litigation of the bishop of Veszprém and the Hospitallers of Esztergom. The case was handled following to this stage in the pontifical *audientia* by Hugucio de Vercelis, canon of Bruges, a papal chaplain and subdeacon. The former authorization itself is known thanks to the auditor's charter issued in December 1300, in which Hugucio reported the appeal of the bishop and chapter of Veszprém.⁷³ Ugolinus, another papal chaplain also acted as auditor in the same lawsuit sometimes prior to 1302.⁷⁴ Altegradus de Lendenaria, doctor of canon law, a papal chaplain was entrusted likewise at the outset of the century with tasks as auditor and contributed to a settlement of a lawsuit between the Benedictine abbot of Pannonhalma and the provost of Pozsony. Nevertheless, in his case it has to be emphasized that he acted in Hungary as the chancellor and general auditor of cardinal-Legate Niccolò Boccassini.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ The provostry of Pozsony was occupied by foreigners for almost a half century long. György Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház és a Szentszék (1301–1387)," [The Hungarian Angevins and the Holy See] in *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. István Zombori (Budapest: METEM, 1996), 74.

⁷¹ For examples regarding Dalmatian affairs see: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae I–XV*, ed. by Tadija Smičiklas (Zagrabiae: JAZU/HAZU 1904–1934) (cited hereafter: CDCr), XI. 121. nr. 90; XI. 589. nr. 448; XIII. 548. nr. 397; XIV. 107. nr. 67.

⁷² *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespriensis – A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára. I–IV*, ed. Vilmos Fraknói and József Lukács (Budapest, 1896–1907) (cited hereafter: MREV), II. 23. nr. XXX.

⁷³ *Hugucio de Vercellis, canonicus Brugensis, domini pape subdiaconus et capellanus ac ipsius litterarum contradictarum audientie de eius speciali mandato officium gerens*. MREV II. 24. nr. XXX.

⁷⁴ *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, ed. Imre Nagy et alii (Győr–Budapest, 1865–1891), IV. 100; Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatical Photo Collection 200 762.

⁷⁵ *cum coram nobis magistro Altegrado de Lendenauia doctore decretorum domini pape capellano, ac reverendi patris et domini, domini Nicolai Dei gracia Ostiensis et Velleciensis epis-*

The above-mentioned tension between the bishop of Veszprém and the Hospitallers of Esztergom did not come to the end in the early 1300s, as the charter of Oliver de Cerzeto, canon of Poitiers, papal chaplain shows it, who as auditor summoned the knights to the papal court because of their lawsuit with the bishop in 1329.⁷⁶ Another litigation of the bishop of Veszprém likewise was handled in the *audientia* in 1354. Petrus de Ylhano, doctor of both canon and Roman law, canon of Agen and papal chaplain handled the complaint of the prelate against certain parish priests of his diocese.⁷⁷ Bernardus de Bosqueto, a doctor of canon law, and a papal chaplain himself, handled as auditor another case related to the bishop of Veszprém, his lawsuit with the rector of a parish in the Veszprém diocese.⁷⁸ The litigation of the archbishop of Esztergom and the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik, SK) was even dealt with by two papal chaplains as auditors, Gerhardus de Nova ecclesia, the dean of Furna (Thérouanne diocese), and Thomas, elected bishop of Limasol.⁷⁹

Gerard de Lalo, a papal chaplain, alongside with Johannes Caroli appeared in the case of Jacob of Piacenza, elected and confirmed bishop of Zagreb.⁸⁰ The clerics acted though not as auditors, but as the procurators of the prelate, who obliged himself to pay the *servitium commune* (400 Florins) and 5 *servitia minuta* after his confirmation in the bishop's chair.⁸¹

copi Apostol ice sedis legati, cancellario et generáli auditore causarum, in *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis I* (1301–1321), ed. Imre Nagy (Budapest: MTA, 1878) 21–22, nr. 17. See also: *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis. I–III*, ed. Ferdinandus Knauz (Strigonii, 1874–1924), IV, ed. Gabriel Dreska and Geysa Érszegi and Andreas Hegedűs and Tiburcius Neumann and Cornelius Szovák and Stephanus Tringli (Strigonii–Budapestini, 1999) (cited hereafter: MES) III. 44, nr. 78. For Boccassini see Gergely Kiss, “A pápai legátusok és a magyar egyházjog az Anjou-kor elején (1298–1311),” [Papal Legates and Hungarian Church Law at the Outset of the Angevin Era (1298–1311)] in *Pécsi történeti katedra. Cathedra historica Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, ed. Zoltán Csabai and Anna Dévényi and Ferenc Fischer and Péter Hahner and Gergely Kiss and József Vonyó (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Történettudományi Intézet, 2008), 271–274.

⁷⁶ MREV II. 49, nr. LX.

⁷⁷ MREV II. 161, nr. CLXXXVIII. and 167, nr. CXCI.

⁷⁸ MREV II. 191, nr. CCXXX.

⁷⁹ *Thome electo Nimotiensi tunc capellano nostro*. CDH IX/5. 40. nr. XI; Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series. Ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta* (Münster: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), 367.

⁸⁰ Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Lay Archontology of Hungary 1301–1407] I–II (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), I, 79; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 537.

⁸¹ *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones*, ed. † József, Lukcsics and Péter Tusor Péter, and Tamás Fedeles (Buda-

As this brief summary shows, members of the papal chapel often get involved with Hungarian matters working in the papal court or even locally. Yet, as already indicated and similarly to the previous situation, they also appeared in the Hungarian Realm as papal delegates with various types of authorisation, or within the Hungarian church hierarchy. Bonaiutus de Casentino, canon of Aquileia and papal chaplain was appointed as collector by Pope Boniface VIII in September of 1301 and by Benedict XI in February 1304 anew. He was ought to collect the papal taxes in the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia and the Polish Principality, even though he probably has never set foot on Hungarian soil.⁸² Pope Benedict XII authorized Galhardus de Carceribus, provost of Titel (Тител, SRB) as his nuncio for Hungary and Poland in 1337. His task was to collect the due tithe for the Apostolic Camera, since the previous collectors failed to do so.⁸³ Galhardus, later bishop of Csanád (Cenad, RO), appointed bishop of Veszprém and archbishop of Brindisi,⁸⁴ himself was no papal chaplain, but the pontiff assigned a help for him in 1338, in fact it was Stephen, a Dominican friar, who was entitled chaplain of Benedict XII.⁸⁵

Clement VI sent his chaplain, Johannes de Pistorio, the dean of S. Salvatoris of Utrecht in 1348 to Naples in order to support the captured

pest–Róma: MTA–PPKE Fraknoi Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2014), nr. 13 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/9) (cited hereafter: CVH I/9). About later payments by Jacob see *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Klemens VI.* ed. Ludwig Mohler, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1931) 76, 88.

⁸² See: Ágnes Maléth, “Egy elfeledett pápai adószedő: Bonaiutus de Casentino,” [A Forgotten Papal Collector: Bonaiutus de Casentino] In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 9. A IX. Medievistikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2015. június 17–19.) előadásai*, ed. Brigitta Szanka and Zoltán Szolnoki and Péter Juhász (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2017), 141–156; Ágnes Maléth, *A Magyar Királyság és a Szentszék kapcsolata I. Károly korában*, [The Relation between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy See under King Charles I (1301–1342)] (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2020).

⁸³ László Fejérpataky, “Pápai adószedők Magyarországon a XIII. és XIV. században,” [Papal Collectors in Hungary in the 13th and 14th Centuries] *Századok* 21, no. 6 (1887): 514–515; Vilmos Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékekkel* [Ecclesiastical and Political Relations of Hungary and the Roman Holy See] I (Budapest: Szent István Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, 1901), 168; *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series prima tomus primus. Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Vatikáni magyar okirattár. Első sorozat, első kötet. A pápai tizedsedők számadásai, 1281–1375*, ed. Asztrik Várszegi and István Zombori (Budapest: METEM, 2000) I, LXVII–LXX, 410–437. (cited hereafter: MVAT I); CDCr X. 441. nr. 314.

⁸⁴ *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia, I–II*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Romae, 1859–1860), I, 719. nr. MLXXXV (cited hereafter: VMH); Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája* I, 67, 77; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 149, 179, 523; Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi*, 203.

⁸⁵ MVAT I, 410. See Fejérpataky, “Pápai adószedők,” 515; MVAT I, nr. LXVIII; 410, 417; CDCr X. 441, 442, nr. 314.

Angevin princes whom King Louis I hold hostage after the invasion of Naples, what was a reaction to the murder of his younger brother, Prince Andrew.⁸⁶ The next papal chaplain whose activity was related to Hungarian matters, was authorized likewise in connection with the situation in Italy. Hugo de Arpaione, canon of Rodez was sent to King Louis I and Queen Johanna I of Naples (1343–1381) to help the mission of papal legate Gui de Boulogne,⁸⁷ the negotiations between the two hostile rulers.⁸⁸ Guilelmus de Noelet, canon of Bayeux, doctor of canon law was sent to King Louis I alongside with his associate, Rudolf the Civita-Castello in 1366, but without the concrete identification of the nature of authorization. Their mission was to convince the Hungarian monarch to participate in a crusade against the Ottomans and to prepare the alliance with the Byzantine emperor, John V Palaiologos (1341–1376, 1379–1391).⁸⁹ Petrus de Albiartz, a cleric of the Apostolic Camera and papal chaplain was entrusted by Pope Urban V as collector for Hungary and Poland.⁹⁰

The next person in question, Helias de Vodronio was a canon of Xanten and the cleric of the Apostolic chamber and honorary chaplain,⁹¹ when he was appointed as papal collector for Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in early 1372. His task was to supervise the collection of the tithe which had been levied because of the pope's conflict with the Viscontis.⁹² In November he was entrusted as an apostolic nuncio with the negotiations between the Hungarian monarch and the emperor, which had been handled by Leg-

⁸⁶ *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Acta Extera – Magyar diplomacziái emlékek az Anjou-korból. I–III*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Budapest, 1874–1876) (cited hereafter: ADE), II. 279. nr. 254. and II. 293. nr. 260. For the events in Naples see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159–161.

⁸⁷ See below.

⁸⁸ ADE II. 372. nr. 303.

⁸⁹ ADE II. 650. nr. 484. See: Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 249–250; VMH II. 73–89. nr. CXL–CXLVI. See in general: Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376). Étude d'une société* (Paris: De Boccard, 1962), 353–354.

⁹⁰ Tamás Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus,” in *Magyarország és a római Szentszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században*, ed. Péter Tusor and Kornél Szovák and Tamás Fedeles (Budapest–Róma: MTA–PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2017), 72, note 213 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/15).

⁹¹ *Die Ausgaben der Apostolischen Kammer unter den Päpsten Urban V. und Gregor XI. (1362–1378)*, ed. Karl Heinrich Schäfer, (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1937), 366. (Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378, 6); Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 41.

⁹² VMH II. 114. nr. CCXXVI; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 257–258; Gergely Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak (legátusok, nunciások, adószedők) a Magyar királyságban. IV. 14. század (1294–1378)* [Papal Delegates (Legates, Nuncios and Collectors) in the Hungarian Realm. 14th Century (1294–1378)] (Manuscript, 2017), 17.

ate Johannes de Cardaillac previously.⁹³ Later on he was charged with the preparations of the return of Pope Gregory XI to Rome.⁹⁴ Helias applied in 1376 for the position of the vice-chamberlain of the Apostolic Camera,⁹⁵ but he became a bishop in the same year, and seemingly left the chamber behind.⁹⁶

Nicholas, archdeacon of Pankota (Pâncota, RO) a subcollector of the Apostolic See was also a papal chaplain, at least he was dressed like that, when he was attacked and kidnapped whilst entering the cathedral of Eger for celebrating mass in November 1376.⁹⁷

Certain members of the Hungarian church, as indicated earlier, held the title of papal chaplain,⁹⁸ while there are also signs of members of the pontifical chapel who were of Hungarian origin. Dionisius de Ungaria was to be found among the chaplains of Clement VI, who presented a supplication to the pope in order to secure the prebend of the lector-canon in Veszprém, for John, priest of Nyitra (Nitra, SK).⁹⁹ There is no other title of Dionisius mentioned in the text, but that of papal chaplain, yet the number of those clergymen, who additionally to the pontifical chaplaincy had Hungarian benefices is relatively higher. A distinction has to be made, however, based on the clerics' places of origin. Bittinus de Coneglano, a papal chaplain, who was one of the pontifical delegates assigned to protect the rights of the church of Vicenza in February 1304, bore the title of the archdeacon of Nógrád.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ VMH II. 118–119. nr. CCXXXV; 119. nr. CCXXXVI; 146–147. CCXCII; Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi*, 258–268; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 17.

⁹⁴ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 285; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 17.

⁹⁵ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 281; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

⁹⁶ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 286; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

⁹⁷ *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta, collecta, ac serie chronologica disposita*, I–II, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Roma, 1863–1875), I, 323–324, nr. 460. See: Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 43–44.

⁹⁸ The research concentrated on the Hungarian church, but also clerics from Dalmatia could have been rewarded with the pontifical chaplaincy, like Archbishop Thomas de Ripatransona from Dubrovnik (Ragusa). *Thomas de Ripatransona reverendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Thome dei et apostolice sedis gracia archiepiscopi Ragusini et domini pape capellanus, per ipsum archiepiscopum in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalis vicarius constitutes*. CDCr X. 323. nr. 246. Nicholas de Ragnina, a canon of Dubrovnik bore the title *capellanus honoris* in the 1360s. *Nicolao de Ragnina, capellano honoris domini nostri pape, canonicis cathedralis ecclesie Ragusine*. CDCr s XIV. 137. nr. 89.

⁹⁹ *Supplicat sanctitati vestre humiliter et devote frater Dionisius de Ungaria, capellanus sanctitatis eius*. MREV II. 118. Nr. CXXXI. Cf. Rácz, “Az Anjou-ház,” 74.

¹⁰⁰ Giovanni Mantese, *Memorie storiche della chiesa Vicentina. Vol. 2: Dal Mille al Mil-trecento* (Vicenza: Scuola Tip. Ist. S. Gaetano, 1954), 326. I am thankful for Gergely Kiss for this record.

Guilelmus de Pusterla, the provost of Pozsony,¹⁰¹ and a papal chaplain was appointed apostolic nuncio by Pope Clement VI in 1345 to support the negotiations between the Bohemian and the Polish monarchs, King John of Luxembourg and Casimir III.¹⁰² Beside the concerned parties the nuncio himself received papal charters regarding his authorization, tasks and licences. Among other things, he was permitted to apply excommunication, if the goal of the reconciliation required it.¹⁰³ The Hungarian king, Louis I was also informed of the papal mission of one of the clerics who held a benefice in his realm.¹⁰⁴

In the next year, the pope made the arrangement that his chaplain, Nicholas, canon of Pécs would be assigned for the local bishopric vacant at the time.¹⁰⁵ This title the new prelate of Polish origin held until his death in 1360.¹⁰⁶ It has to be mentioned, even if the quite interesting lifepath of Nicholas cannot be described here in detail, that the new bishop of Pécs was obliged to pay one-third of the first year's incomes of his diocese, 3300 golden Florins¹⁰⁷ to the papal camera as *commune servitium*.¹⁰⁸ The relevance of this quite common practice gives a note about the payment, since it reports that Guilelmus de Pusterla, a papal chaplain and provost of Pozsony paid the necessary sum for Nicholas to the Apostolic Chamber.¹⁰⁹ Thomas of Telegd, provost of Eszter-

¹⁰¹ The title of the provost of Pozsony had been used as a type of award both by the popes and the Hungarian rulers. See Norbert C. Tóth and Bálint Lakatos and Gábor Mikó, *A pozsonyi prépost és a káptalan vizsgálja (1421–1425): A szentszéki bíráskodás Magyarországon – a pozsonyi káptalan szervezete és működése a XV. század elején [The Struggle of the Provost and the Chapter of Pozsony (1421–1425): The Ecclesiastical Judiciary System in Hungary – The Institution and Operation of the Chapter of Pozsony at the Outset of the 14th Century]* (Budapest: Veszprémi László, a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia–Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum–Szegedi Tudományegyetem–Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Magyar Medieviztikai Kutatócsoportjának vezetője: 2014), 62. (Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam 3)

¹⁰² *Sane quia negotium huiusmodi ex causis predictis insidet admodum nobis cordi; dilectum filium Magistrum Guillelmum de Pusterla, prepositum ecclesie Posoniensis Strigoniensis diocesis, capellanum nostrum, Apostolice Sedis nuncium, virum utique litterarum scientia preditum, probitatis et circumspectionis maturitate conspicuum.* ADE II. 104–105. nr. 98. and ADE II. 106. nr. 99.

¹⁰³ ADE II. 107. nr. 100. and ADE II. 109. nr. 101.

¹⁰⁴ ADE II. 114. nr. 105.

¹⁰⁵ CDH IX/1. 377. nr. CCX.

¹⁰⁶ László Koszta "A püspökök és városuk – A 14. század közepéig," [Bishops and their City – Until the Mid-14th Century] in *A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543)*, ed. Tamás Fedeles and Gábor Sarbak and József Sümegei (Pécs: Fény Kft, 2009), 96–101.

¹⁰⁷ See *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia*, XIVII–XIVIII.

¹⁰⁸ Koszta "A püspökök," 98. For Nicholas' further payments given to the papal treasury see *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer*, 139, 151, 171, 186.

¹⁰⁹ *Nicolaus electus in episcopum Quinqueecliensem in Ungaria, promisit [...] per dominum Guilelmum de Posterla, capellanum apostolicum, procuratorem suum, 3300 fl, et 5 servitia consueta, solvendo medietatem [...].* CVH I/9. nr. 34. see also at: CDH IX/1. 379. nr. CCX.

gom was likewise called papal chaplain in a pontifical charter issued in 1351, in which Pope Clement VI assigned him for the vacant seat of the bishopric of Csanád, which position he held until 1358 when he was translated to the archbishopric of Kalocsa. In 1367 he became the head of the Hungarian church, the archbishop of Esztergom.¹¹⁰

According to a charter (*motu proprio*) of Gregory XI (1370–1378), Peter (Petrus Stephani), a papal chaplain held a canonicate in the cathedral chapter of Esztergom and the magistrate of the local Virgin Mary chapel.¹¹¹ These are the only known facts regarding him, and that his benefices were given after his death to another Peter, who was called also Petrus Stephani in the sources.¹¹² A third Peter, Petrus Begonis appeared in the sources in 1345 as the *familiaris*, chaplain and procurator of Cardinal Guilelmus de La Jugie in Hungary and Poland,¹¹³ and later he obtained several benefices in the mentioned kingdoms. He received the pontifical chaplaincy in 1351 and he was given several tasks by the popes following that, what is more, in December 1351 he represented King Louis I in the Curia.¹¹⁴ According to a charter of Pope Gregory XI, Bishop Dominicus of Nyitra had been the member of the Apostolic Penitentiary, before he received the Hungarian office, therefore he belonged to the papal Curia.¹¹⁵

A further record also has to be mentioned, which sheds light on the practice of appointing honorary chaplains from the Hungarian clergy. Peter, the already mentioned, second Petrus Stephani, who obtained the benefices of the papal chaplain with the same name, beside his Hungarian and Polish benefices an apostolic collector and nuncio,¹¹⁶ was commissioned in 1376 to take the oath of loyalty in the name of the

¹¹⁰ CDH IX/2. 87. nr. XXIII. Cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 179; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája* I, 64, 65, 67; Kálmán Juhász, *A csanádi püspökség története (1307–1386)* [The History of the Bishopric of Csanád (1307–1386)] (Csanád Vármegye: Makó: 1946), 75–82.

¹¹¹ *fuit receptus in capellanum honorum dominus Petrus Stephani*. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Avenionensia 238. f. 258.

¹¹² MVAT I/1. 469; Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 75, note 233.

¹¹³ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 18; CVH I/9 XLII; Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 79; Tamás Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526)* [The Personnel of the Cathedral-Chapter of Pécs in Late Middle Ages (1354–1526)] (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány: 2005), 465–466 (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 17).

¹¹⁴ Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 80.

¹¹⁵ VMH II. 129. nr. CCLXI; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, I. 72.

¹¹⁶ For his person see: Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” *passim*; Tamás Fedeles, “Ecclesiastical Career of the Apostolic Collector Petrus de Monasterio,” in *Incorrupta Monumenta Ecclesiam Defendunt. Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano, prefetto dell’Archivio Segreto Vaticano I La Chiesa nella storia. Religione, cultura, costume Tomo I*. Eds. Andreas Gottsmann – Pierantonio Piatti – Andreas E. Rehberg, (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano: 2018) 575–588. (Collecanea Archivi Vaticani 106.) *passim*.

Apostolic Camera from seven appointed honorary pontifical chaplains, who were not able to travel personally to the papal court.¹¹⁷

There are charters from 1372 and 1377 which report on the appointment of Canon Demetrius of Veszprém and Ladislaus, the Benedictine abbot of Somogyvár as chaplains of Pope Gregory XI,¹¹⁸ meanwhile, the honorary chaplaincy of Provost Emeric (Cudar) of Kalocsa is known thanks to the above mentioned list from the Vatican Archives.¹¹⁹ A record from 1352 also shows that King Louis I made a supplication to Pope Clement VI in favour of Yrsullus Minutulus, canon of Naples, who as a consequence was appointed as papal chaplain.¹²⁰ Although this issue does not belong directly to the Hungarian church,¹²¹ yet the Hungarian monarch's supplication can be interpreted in the context of his Italian interest.

After the short analysis of the group of papal chaplain who were somehow associated with Hungarian affairs, the focus of the examination should be broadened. Therefore, I would like to discuss those papal delegates who were members of the pontifical chapel at some point of their career, but they were further promoted by the time of their missions in Hungary, or their tasks related to Hungarian matters. This way we can present some examples regarding the actions of papal representatives in the Hungarian realm and also can get an insight into the possible role of the papal chaplaincy in the clerics' later ecclesiastical careers.

The first one, Bertrand de Saint-Geniès occupied certain ecclesiastical benefices, e.g. a canonicate in the cathedral-chapter of Angoulême, and in a papal charter of March 1318, and was also entitled chaplain. In 1321 he was an auditor of the Apostolic palace.¹²² He was also com-

¹¹⁷ Fedeles, "Petrus Stephani," 42.

¹¹⁸ *Gregorius episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Demetrio Georgii, canonico Vesprimiensi salutem etc. Virtutibus clarens et meritis, sicut apud nos fame laudabilis testimonio commendaris, illam in nostro et apostolice sedis conspectu gratiam meruisti ... te in nostrum et dicte sedis capellanum gratiose recipimus ac nostrorum et ipsius sedis capellanorum consorcio favorabiliter aggregamus, intendentes, quod per hoc favoris apostolici presidia plenius sortiaris* – MREV II. 209. nr. CCXLVI; *Gregorius episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Ladislao, abbati monasterii sancti Egidii de Symigio Vesprimiensis diocesis salutem etc. ... Te in nostrum et dicte sedis capellanum gratiose recipimus et nostrorum ac ipsius sedis capellanorum consorcio favorabiliter aggregamus, intendentes, quod per hoc favoris apostolici presidia plenius sorciar.* MREV II. 250. nr. CCXCVIII; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Avenionensia 238. fol. 245. and 248v.

¹¹⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Avenionensia 238. f. 259. He was appointed as provost of Székesfehérvár by Pope Gregory XI in 1371, and later on became bishop of Várad (Oradea, RO) and Eger. MREV II. 204–205. nr. CCXXXIX; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, I. 68, 76, 83.

¹²⁰ For a similar English case see Ross, *The Papal Chapel*, 46.

¹²¹ ADE II. 425.

¹²² Guillaume Mollat, "56 Bertrand de Saint-Geniès," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart [et alii], I–XXXI, fasc. 184, 8 (Paris: Letouzé, 1934) col. 1075; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 9–10.

missioned as papal representative outside of the Curia,¹²³ and was consecrated by Pope John XXII (1316–1334) as patriarch of Aquileia in July 1334.¹²⁴ Bertrand received his first mission related to Hungarian affairs in July 1346, when he was sent by Pope Clement VI to Zadar to meet King Louis I. The patriarch was mandated to convince the Hungarian monarch to abort the planned campaign to Naples,¹²⁵ which task he temporarily managed to fulfil.¹²⁶ King Louis eventually led his army to Italy, and the pope again entrusted the patriarch with the negotiations,¹²⁷ yet this time Bertrand did not meet Louis, but stayed in Rome instead, meanwhile the Hungarian army continued to march towards Naples.¹²⁸ Bertrand was again authorized by Pope Clement VI in May 1348, after the king's envoys presented Louis's argument regarding the situation in Naples (the reason of his attack and the execution of Charles of Durazzo, and why he captured and sent the Angevin princes to Hungary)¹²⁹ and his claim for the local royal title. The pope gave the order to the legate, not to turn down the Hungarian king definitively,¹³⁰ but again they failed to meet personally, as Bertrand did not travel to Naples, while the Hungarian king left it definitively.¹³¹

As we can see, Bertrand was not anymore a papal chaplain, when he got in touch with Hungarian affairs related to King Louis's Italian campaigns. The same can be stated regarding Gui de Boulogne who received the authorisation of full legation in 1349 as the cardinal of S. Caecilia.¹³² His task was to negotiate with the Hungarian monarch regarding the issue of Naples, so he travelled to Hungary. The negotia-

¹²³ Cf. Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 9–10.

¹²⁴ Mollat, "56 Bertrand de Saint-Geniès," 1075–1077; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 9–10.

¹²⁵ Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [The Wars of the Angevin-era] (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1988), 100–109; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 70; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 203; VMH I. 715. nr. MLXXX. and MLXXXII; 716. nr. MLXXXIII.

¹²⁶ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 204; VMH I. 720. nr. MLXXXVI. and MLXXXVII.

¹²⁷ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 219–220; VMH I. 751. nr. MCXXVII.

¹²⁸ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 220–221.

¹²⁹ See Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159–161; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor*, 109–123; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 70–71.

¹³⁰ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 223–225; VMH I. 756. nr. MCXLII. and 760. nr. MCXLIII.

¹³¹ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 225; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor*, 123–125.

¹³² For Gui's Hungarian legation see recently: Ágnes Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi legációja [The Hungarian Legation of Gui de Boulogne]," in *Varietas delectat A pápai-magyar kapcsolatok sokszínűsége a 11–14. században*, ed. Gergely Kiss (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem BTK TTI Középkori és Koraújkori Történeti Tanszék, 2019), 175–199; Ágnes Maléth, "The Legation of Gui de Boulogne in the Hungarian Kingdom," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* X (2019), 95–120.

tions took place in Pozsony in June 1349. The reason why Gui is mentioned in this study, is that in the early stage of his ecclesiastical career, in 1328, around the age of twelve¹³³ he was papal chaplain and a canon of Reims.¹³⁴ Pope John XXII gave him a prebend and the archdeaconate of Bayeux. Benedict XII appointed him archbishop of Lyon in October 1340,¹³⁵ two years later Clement VI promoted him to the cardinalate of S. Cecilia, which title he switched to the cardinal-bishopric of Porto in 1350.¹³⁶ Gui was therefore already a cardinal, when he visited Hungary,¹³⁷ thus his activity, which was lately investigated in detail by the Hungarian historian Ágnes Maléth,¹³⁸ will be introduced only briefly. Gui was commissioned as a legate regarding Hungarian matters as early as 1345, after the murder of Prince Andrew, younger brother of Louis I, in Naples, although the cardinal excused himself from the duty.¹³⁹ For the next time Gui received an authorization in November 1348 from Clement VI; he was ought to negotiate with King Louis I regarding his plans in Naples and a possible peace with Queen Johanna I, the suspected initiator of Prince Andrew's murder.¹⁴⁰ Gui's authorization covered Hungary, Lombardy and certain archdioceses (e.g. Salzburg, Aquileia, Zadar).¹⁴¹ His mandate was of dual nature, beside his duty as a diplomat the cardinal handled all sorts of ecclesiastical matters thanks to his status as *de latere* legate and the faculties (*facultates*: e.g. donating benefices, right for granting dispensations etc.) he received from the pontiff.¹⁴² The itinerary of Gui, his way throughout northern Italy to Hungary, was compiled by Pierre Jugie,¹⁴³ but the date of his stay in Hungary was recently revised by Ágnes Maléth. According to the young medievalist,

¹³³ Guillaume Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart [et alii], I–XXXI, fasc. 184, 10. (Paris: Letouzé, 1938), col. 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹³⁴ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹³⁵ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹³⁶ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹³⁷ For Gui's activities in papal service see Pierre Jugie, "L'activité diplomatique du cardinal Gui de Boulogne en France au milieu du XIV^e siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 145 (1987), 99–127, and Pierre Jugie, "La légation en Hongrie et en Italie du cardinal Gui de Boulogne (1348–1350)," *Il Santo. Rivista antoniana di storia, dottrina, arte* 29 (1989), 29–69.

¹³⁸ Ágnes Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi itineráriuma," [Some Remarks on the Itinerary of Cardinal Gui de Boulogne in Hungary] *Világtörténet* 5 (37), no. 1 (2015), 29–42.

¹³⁹ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30; Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi legációja," 176–179.; Maléth, "The Legation of Gui de Boulogne," 99–102.

¹⁴⁰ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 225.

¹⁴¹ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 11–12.

¹⁴² Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30–31.

¹⁴³ Jugie, "La legation," *passim*.

Gui indeed met King Louis I in Vienna, but it happened on the 31st of May, afterwards the monarch and the legate travelled to Pozsony, where they started their negotiations. The king showed himself willing to fulfil the papal requests (to suspend further military actions, to release the captured Angevin princes and to renounce his claim for Naples),¹⁴⁴ perhaps that is why the meeting ended after approximately 10 days.¹⁴⁵

As Maléth pointed out, the cardinal left the realm after that, and did not stay there until the fall, like previously suspected.¹⁴⁶ Gui was to be found in Vienna again on the 20th of June, 1349, and he spent the remaining months of the year in Austrian territory.¹⁴⁷ It is worth mentioning that the cardinal-legate left a substitute in his place in Hungary, he subdelegated Hildebrand Conti (Ildebrandino), bishop of Padova.¹⁴⁸ Gui did not exclusively deal with diplomatic matters during his rather short stay in the realm. For instance, he handled the case of the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek and the nunneries of Pozsony and Nagyszombat (Trnava, SK).¹⁴⁹ It seems as well that the local clergy took an advantage on the presence of the cardinal. The cardinal was entrusted with this issue by the pope again in early 1350,¹⁵⁰ after King Louis I seemingly accepted the papal terms.¹⁵¹ Yet, in the meantime the Hungarian monarch started his second Italian campaign, so the pontiff intended to approach the king via Gui again.¹⁵² Nonetheless, the cardinal this time refused to accept the task, so the pope had to turn to Cardinal Hannibal de Ceccano and Bishop Raymund Saquet of Thér-ouanne.¹⁵³ Cardinal Gui dedicated himself in the following months to Italian and French issues,¹⁵⁴ yet, it is suspected that he had a role in the end in the final peace between King Louis and the pope.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁴ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 230, CD IX/1. 674. nr. CCCLXIX.

¹⁴⁵ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–34.

¹⁴⁶ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 102. Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–34.

¹⁴⁷ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–35.

¹⁴⁸ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232; Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 31–33; Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi legációja," 181; Maléth, "The Legation of Gui de Boulogne," 101–102.

¹⁴⁹ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232; Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi legációja," 181.

¹⁵⁰ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 778, nr. MCLXXXII. and 779. nr. MCLXXXIV.

¹⁵¹ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232; VMH I. 784, nr. MCXC.

¹⁵² Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 784. nr. MCXC.

¹⁵³ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 786. nr. MCCXII.

¹⁵⁴ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 102–103, Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 249; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 12–14.

¹⁵⁵ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233–236; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 12.

The last papal legate, whose course of life fit into the framework of this paper was Agapitus Colonna. He was a papal chaplain and the archdeacon of Bologna when Pope Urban V appointed him to the bishop's chair of Ascoli Piceno in July 1363, although he was not in the proper age at that time. He was transferred to Brescia in October 1369, and afterwards to Lisbon in August 1371.¹⁵⁶ Agapitus was appointed by Pope Urban V as a nuncio in 1364 to act as a peacemaker in the quarrels of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria with Duke Stephen II of Bavaria, Archbishop Louis of Aquileia and a nobleman of Padova, in which cases – among other prominent people – King Louis I was requested to assist him.¹⁵⁷ Gregory XI delegated him again as nuncio in spring 1373 to travel to Hungary and to the Empire to handle the conflict between Louis I and Emperor Charles IV (1355–1378).¹⁵⁸ The papal delegate first negotiated with the emperor and later with the Hungarian monarch. His task was furthermore to handle the issue of the unsettled papal tithes and the incomes of the vacant ecclesiastical benefices in the realm, which had been previously forbidden by the king. Agapitus was successful in both cases.¹⁵⁹

At last, let us take a look at a special category of clerics, which only partially belongs to our research's focus, yet it cannot be left out of the analysis, the group of the chaplains of cardinals, who acted in the Hungarian Realm. The first traces can be bound to the legation of Gentilis de Monteflorum, the cardinal of S. Martinus in montibus. The Franciscan friar was sent to Hungary by Clement V in 1307 to help King Charles I (1301–1342) in his struggle for the throne and to strengthen the church-discipline, and he stayed in Hungary until 1311.¹⁶⁰ It is crucial to underline that the cardinal-legate was not exclusively occupied with the issues of the Angevin king, he was active in accordance with his commission in several ecclesiastical matters, and members of his entourage handled a series of litigations and other issues.¹⁶¹ The first in-

¹⁵⁶ Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

¹⁵⁷ VMH II. 63–64. nr. CXIX; 64. nr. CXX; 65. nr. CXXII; 65–66. nr. CCXXIII; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 99.

¹⁵⁸ Fedeles, "Petrus Stephani," 38–39, 50, 56, 63.

¹⁵⁹ VMH II. 127–128. nr. CCLVII; 128–129. nr. CCLVIII; 129. nr. CCLIX; 129. nr. CCLX; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 268–269; MVAT I/1. 460–463.

¹⁶⁰ For Gentilis see: Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 121–132; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 59–60.

¹⁶¹ For this side of the legation see Kiss, "A pápai legátusok," 275–279; Viktória Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae. Beiträge zu der Jurisdiktionstätigkeit von Papstlegat Gentilis de Monteflorum in Ungarn (1308–1311)," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* VII (2013), 39–69.

formation connected to our topic of examination derives from 1308;¹⁶² a charter reports of the presence of several chaplains of the cardinal at the election of Charles I at the general convention in Pest and their role in the issuing of the charter about it: Philippus de Sardinia, canon of Arborea and Johannes de Aretio, canon of Osimo and Várad (Oradea, RO) were mentioned as auditors, meanwhile Guilelmus de Sanguineto, Johannes Anglicus and Albertus de Parma held the titles chaplain of the legate and public notary.¹⁶³ The signs of the chaplains' activity can be found in several other issues as well, both regarding the king's struggle for the power over the realm,¹⁶⁴ and as auditors or notaries in ecclesiastical cases of various types.¹⁶⁵ Not Gentilis was the only legate, who benefitted from the work of his chaplains during his mission in Hungary. Gui de Boulogne authorized in 1349 Nicolaus, doctor of theology and Louis, canon of Laon to negotiate with King Louis I of Hungary.¹⁶⁶

Chaplains of certain cardinals appeared also within the Hungarian church. Ladislaus, canon of Pécs, later bishop of Veszprém, the son of Palatine Nicolaus of Zsámbok,¹⁶⁷ and chaplain of Cardinal-bishop Johannes de Corvenis of Porto,¹⁶⁸ received a special permission from Pope Clement VI to occupy also the provostry of Csázma (Čazma, HR) in 1345.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² CDH VIII/1. 264. nr. CXXXV. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 60–61; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 59–60.

¹⁶³ ... *venerabilibus et discretis viris magistris Philippo de Sardinia Arborensis, et Ioanne de Aretio Auximanensis ecclesiarum canonicis auditoribus, nec non magistris Guillelmo de Sanguineto, Ioanne Anglico, et Alberto de Parma capellanis praefati domini legati, et notariis publicis.* CDH VIII/1. 269. nr. CXXXV. See furthermore: CDCr VIII. 174. nr. 161. Another chaplain, Gasparro de Montesia is also known. ... *presentibus venerabilibus et discretis dominis Vanne de Aretio et Gasparro de Montesia praefati domini legati capellanis.* CDCr VIII. 235–236. nr. 197. Cf. Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 60.

¹⁶⁴ E. g. CDH VIII/7. 60. nr. XXXVI. Another charter from 1310 informs of the role of the Franciscan friar and chaplain Dyonisius in regard of the negotiations between King Charles I and Voivod Ladislaus Kán. MES II. 619, nr. 683. See: Tamás Kádár, "Harcban a koronáért. II. I. Károly (Róbert) király uralkodásának 1306–1310 közötti szakasza," [Fighting for the Crown, II. King Charles (Robert) I's Reign in 1306–1310] in *Történelmi tanulmányok XXV*, ed. György Miru – Ádám Novák – Balázs Antal Bacsa (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2017), 183.

¹⁶⁵ E. g. CDH VIII/5. 41. nr. XXIV. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 48, 49, 51, 55, 59, 63–67; CDH VIII/7. 69. nr. XLIII. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 59, 63–65, 68. Franciscus, monk of Columba appeared as the fundator of a chapel in Pozsony. MES II. 646, nr. 718.

¹⁶⁶ CDH IX/1. 686. nr. CCCLXXVII. and 689. nr. CCCLXXVIII; MES III. 698, nr. 937, and 699, nr. 938.

¹⁶⁷ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, I. 3 Zsámboki Miklós (1342–1356), 78.

¹⁶⁸ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 16.

¹⁶⁹ CDH IX/1. 291. nr. CLIII; CDCr XI. 192. nr. 145; György Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon [Legists in Hungary before 1526]*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó: 1971), 33.

John of Usa, lector of Eger, was a chaplain of the powerful cardinal Guillaume de La Jugie of S. Maria in Cosmedin, who had an enormous influence in Hungary.¹⁷⁰ John applied for a benefice in the diocese of Veszprém to Pope Clement VI in 1348.¹⁷¹

Conclusion

If we take a look after this short presentation at the tendencies of the fourteenth century regarding the activities of the members of the papal chapel in Hungarian affairs from the point of view of the Hungarian-papal relations, primarily we have to emphasize the importance of King Louis I's Italian politics and campaigns which had an enormous impact on the issue in question. The attitude of Pope Clement VI has to be underlined as well, as he, unlike his predecessors, did not always follow the Hungarian monarch's will, but appointed his protégés for Hungarian benefices. This deepened the already existing tension between Louis I and the papacy regarding the Neapolitan succession.¹⁷² Nonetheless, it cannot be stated that only these two factors were of importance, papal chaplains acted in Hungary, or regarding Hungarian matters both prior and after the 1350s, and members of the Hungarian clergy obtained the honorary chaplain title in a growing number in the examined period, prior to 1378, as the record from 1376 about the seven appointed honorary chaplains testifies. If we take a careful look at the institutional aspects of the research, it also has to be stated, as mentioned earlier, that no papal chaplain appeared in the sources as judge delegate. There are more examples known, when papal chaplains were delegated as nuncios or collectors, but their activity as legates was a quite rare phenomenon in the fourteenth century.¹⁷³ This phenomenon was a distinct change compared to the previous century. We also have several examples of the authorization of clerics who were previously members of the pontifical chapel, yet in the time of their delegations all of them held already higher offices.

¹⁷⁰ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 18; CVH I/9 XLII; Fedeles, "Petrus Stephani," 79; Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan*, 465–466.

¹⁷¹ MREV II. 95. nr. XCV.

¹⁷² Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 67–74.

¹⁷³ The decreasing number of authorizations of papal legates was a general phenomenon in the 14th century. See Kyer, *The Papal Legate*, 28–77.