

Cardinal Pietro Isvalies, the Bishop of Veszprém

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It was rare that a foreigner, let alone a foreign cardinal, was appointed to a Hungarian diocese¹. In the history of Hungary, there were only two such cardinals who became bishops while being legates: Branda da Castiglione and Pietro Isvalies, both of whom obtained the episcopal see of Veszprém². Below, the career of the latter is outlined from a Hungarian researcher's point of view by detailing his office as a legate and his retinue.

The Beginning of a Career: From Canon to Obtaining the Red Galero

Pietro Isvalies was born in Messina, Sicily in the middle of the fifteenth century to a poor family of Spanish origin³. His outstanding career started in his birthplace: at first he was a precentor of Messina, and then he became the vicar general of Archbishop Pietro de Luna⁴. Here he received his first benefices from Archbishop Luna, who appointed him as the provost of the Priory of Santa Croce of Messina and the com-

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Archival sources:

ASMo Ambasciatori = Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, Sezione estero, Carteggio ambasciatori

AAV = Archivio Apostolico Vaticano

MNL OL DF = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Diplomatikai Fényképtár

MNL OL DL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár

² Gábor NEMES, *Zaccaria Delfino bíboros győri adminisztrátorsága és kapcsolata Sopron várossal*, in «Soproni Szemle» 64/4 (2010) 397-416, 397.

³ Filippo CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI) 62, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2004, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-isvalies_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (downloaded 05/10/2017).

⁴ Marcello MOSCONE, *De Luna, Pietro*, in DBI, 66, 2006, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-de-luna_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-de-luna_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (downloaded 05/10/2017)

mentary abbot of the Santa Maria di Bordonaro monastery. After the death of the archbishop on 28 August 1492, he was enlisted into the service of Giovanni Paterno⁵, the archbishop of Palermo. In 1493 he gained the benefice of the Church of San Michele in Alcamo and became the scolasticus of Palermo⁶.

Afterwards, Isvalies was sent to the court of Pope Alexander VI in Rome, where – possibly with the support of King Ferdinand II of Aragon – he built up a brilliant career within a short period of time. The pope appointed him as an apostolic protonotary and later the governor of Rome on 11 August 1496. On 18 February 1497 – all the while maintaining his benefices of Messina – Alexander VI appointed him as the archbishop of Reggio Calabria. On 4 June of the same year Isvalies was consecrated by Bartolomeo Florido, the archbishop of Cosenza, in the Sistine Chapel⁷.

Thereafter, Pope Alexander VI entrusted him with several important high profile cases. In September 1497, he imprisoned Archbishop Bartolomeo Florido⁸ (who had earlier consecrated him) on the suspicion of forging a papal brief and profiteering from it. This was followed by Pedro de Aranda's imprisonment in the Castle of Saint Angelo on suspicion of heresy. Pedro de Aranda, said to be a crypto-Jew, who was not only the bishop of Calahorra, but also the master of ceremonies in the Curia. Isvalies also proved his military capabilities in February 1497 when he took part in the siege of Ostia with a subsidiary troop of Italian mercenaries. Later, in the spring of 1500 he had to employ force against the gangs of robbers attacking the pilgrims travelling to Rome for the Jubilee⁹.

⁵ Conrad EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series*, I-III, Münster, Regensburg, 1910-1914², II, 211.

⁶ F. CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*.

⁷ The commune servitium was paid on 31 March. HC II. 222; F. CRUCITTI, *Pietro, Isvalies*. – His consecration was followed by a lavish feast given in his residence in the company of two other prelates consecrated with him: Francesco Erolì, the bishop of Spoleto and Sinolfo di Castel Lotario, the bishop of Chiusi, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCCLXXXIII usque ad Annum MDVI*, I-II, Enrico CELANI (ed.), Città di Castello, S. Lapi, 1906-1913 (*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, XXXI-XXXII), II, 40-41.

⁸ Silvano GIORDANO, *Florido, Bartolomeo*, in DBI, 48, 1997, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-florido_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-florido_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (downloaded 09/10/2017).

⁹ F. CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*.

In recognition of his services and at the request of Ferdinand II, the king of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, Isvalies was created a cardinal by Alexander VI on 28 September 1500¹⁰. On 5 October – when his *occlusio oris* and the designation of his titular church took place – the pope commissioned the newly created cardinal to be a legate in Hungary¹¹. This, however, raises an important question. Why did Pope Alexander VI send Isvalies, who had mainly fulfilled curial duties so far, to Jagiellonian Hungary?

The Legation in Hungary

Diplomatic Background. On 15 April, 1499 Pope Alexander VI entered into an alliance with Venice and Louis XII, the French king, in order to launch a large anti-Ottoman campaign¹². As other allies were needed in the operation, Venice entered into negotiations with Buda in May¹³. The pope also sent a legate, Gaspare Golfi¹⁴, a friar minor and the bishop of Cagli, to Vladislaus II to convince him to join the league¹⁵. As a condition of the alliance, Vladislaus asked for financial support as well as the

¹⁰ Pope Alexander VI created 12 new cardinals on this consistory, many of whom was not at present – like Tamás Bakóc –; therefore, only those new cardinals who attended the consistory could perform the usual rituals, which lasted up until 5 October. E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II. 242–246. On the cardinal seal of Isvalies see Gyula VÉGH, *Jegyzetek a magyarországi püspökök címereihez*, II, in «Turul» 49 (1935) 66–70, 66.

¹¹ E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 245.

¹² In more detail see Kenneth M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, II, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1978, 508–517.

¹³ Gedeon BORSA, *A törökök ellen Magyarországon hirdetett 1500. évi búcsú és az azzal kapcsolatos nyomtatványok*, in *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár évkönyve*, Budapest, 1960, 241–279, 245; Domokos KOSÁRY, *Magyar külpolitika Mohács előtt*, Budapest, Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1978 (Gyorsuló idő), 1978, 83–86.

¹⁴ Antonín KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus? Papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1526)*, Knihnice Matice moravské, Brno, 2010 (Knihnice Matice Moravské 30), 355–356.

¹⁵ Vilmos FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-székkal II*, Budapest, Szent-István-Társulat, 1902, 256; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 245; András KUBINYI, *Diplomáciai érintkezések a Jagelló-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között*, in *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve*, István ZOMBORI (ed.), Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996, 119–134, 122.

annulment of his marriage with Queen Beatrice, otherwise he held out the prospect of concluding peace with the Ottomans. With the effective assistance of Venice, in April 1500 the long-lasting marital case seemed to be solved, since Pope Alexander VI annulled both Vladislaus' marriage with Queen Beatrice as well as his marriage contract with Barbara of Brandenburg.

Venetian and French emissaries continued to negotiate with the Hungarian monarch in Buda. After overcoming some other difficulties, Vladislaus agreed to join the alliance in return for a payment of 100,000 gold florins from Venice as well as obtaining a marriage contract from the French on 14 July. The chosen fiancée was Anne de Foix, the daughter of Prince Gaston de Candale¹⁶.

As these negotiations proceeded and reached their conclusion, the pope also entered into negotiations in Rome with the envoys of Maximilian I, France, England, Naples, Portugal, Venice, Florence and Savoy about the launch of an anti-Ottoman campaign¹⁷. However, the Ottomans threatened to derail Hungarian involvement when envoys arrived in Buda with a peace offer, forcing Pope Alexander VI to conclude negotiations in Rome and pursue the campaign having only Vladislaus II and Ferdinand II in the alliance. Pursuant to his policy, the pope wanted to send a cardinal legate to Vladislaus but no one accepted this commission. Instead, he again sent the Franciscan Bishop Golfi much to the disappointment to the court of Buda¹⁸. Gaspare Golfi had apparently

¹⁶ On the alliance of Hungary and France see G. WENZEL, *II. Ulászló*, 727-729; Lajos KROPF, *Anna királyné, II. Ulászló neje*, in «Századok» 29 (1895) 689-709, 695-706; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 247; D. KOSÁRY, *Magyar külpolitika*, 86; Attila GYÖRKÖS, *II. Ulászló házassága és a francia diplomácia*, in *Acta Academiae Agriensis, Nova Series XXXIX. Sectio Historiae*, Eger, Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, 2012, 89-102, 91-96.

¹⁷ Gusztáv WENZEL, *II. Ulászló magyar és cseh királynak házassági élete 1501-1506*, in «Századok» 11 (1877) 630-641, 727-757, 816-840, 632-639; V. FRANKÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 257. – Burchard mentions a secret consistory on 11 March, while according to Sanuto it was on 16 March. As the list of the envoys who were present is not the same – the envoys of Maximilian I and Savoy attended only the first meeting, while the representatives of Hungary and Portugal occur only on the second one – it is likely that there were two meetings. E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 207; *Marino Sanuto Világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai I. 1496-1501*, Gusztáv WENZEL (ed.), Pest, 1869 (Magyar Történelmi Társ., 14), 97.

¹⁸ V. FRANKÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 257; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 245; A. KUBINYI, *Diplomáciai érintkezések*, 122.

already arrived in Hungary by July, because he announced the collection of a tithe imposed on church benefices and the promulgation of papal bulls that ordered the recruitment of the army of crusaders. However, it also seems that he was unsuccessful with other negotiations while at Court¹⁹. The Ottoman envoy was still in Buda, and Golfi pressured Vladislaus II to send him away, which the Hungarian monarch had not yet done. After this, the monarch announced an armed assembly in Bács during the autumn of 1500; the main purpose of this demonstration of power might have been to put pressure on Venice²⁰.

On its part, the Ottoman Empire did not remain inactive either. Beginning in August 1500, the naval force of Bayezid II occupied the so-called 'Eyes of Venice', towns of the South-Western Peloponnese: Methoni, Navarino and Koroni²¹. In response, Alexander VI tried leverage the Sultan's activity in another attempt to gain more allies for his anti-Ottoman campaign. The pope sent three legates to various European monarchs: Cardinal Raymond Peraudi (Péraul) ²² to Germany and Scandinavia; Cardinal Juan de Vera to France, Spain, England and Portugal; Cardinal Pietro Isvalies to the territories of the Hungarian, Czech and Polish²³ crowns²⁴. As legates, the three cardinals were to be regarded as confidants of the pope. It is interesting to note that the latter two were newly created, suggesting that the pope had learnt from the nuisances caused by the 'old' cardinals' passivity.

¹⁹ V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 258; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 247-249; A. KUBINYI, *Diplomáciai érintkezések*, 122.

²⁰ In more detail: Norbert C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés. Adatok a királyi adminisztráció működéséhez*, in «Századok» 143/6 (2009) 1455-1481, 1455-1458.

²¹ K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, II, 522.

²² Gedeon BORSA, *Két Peraudi-féle nyomtatott búcsúlevél az Országos Levéltárban*, in *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár évkönyve*, Budapest, 1959, 279-291; A. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 336-343; see his instruction Edgár ARTNER, *Magyarország mint a nyugati keresztény művelődés védőbástyája*, Kornél SZOVÁK – József TÖRÖK – Péter TUSOR (ed.), Budapest-Róma, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2004 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/1), 146-147. n. 122.

²³ As stated in his commission: «Petrus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Ciriaci in Thermis Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie presbiter cardinalis Reginus ad Ungarie, Bohemie ac Polonie regna necnon Prussiam, Russiam, Livoniam, Litwaniam, Valachiam, Slesiam, Lusaciam, Moraviam, Transilvaniam, Sclavoniam, Croaciam, Corbaviam et Moscoviam omnesque et singulas regnorum et provinciarum predictorum civitates, terras atque loca illis subiecta etiam alia eis adiacentia apostolice sedis legatus».

²⁴ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 250; K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 531.

Isvalies, the Diplomat

The newly created legate – after having arranged his businesses – solemnly set off on 16 November. After a secret consistory, Isvalies and his retinue gave the pope the traditional kiss on the foot, and then he was accompanied by his fellow cardinals to the Porta Viridaria – the present day Porta San Pellegrino. However, Isvalies went only as far as the Falcone de' Sinibaldi Inn²⁵, where he had lunch, and then secretly returned to his home in Rome that night. Only three days later, at the night of 19 November did he set off. After midnight, he hurried to the pope in disguise – dressed like a shepherd – from whom he received instructions which had been written on 18 November. From there he set off on his journey²⁶.

Cardinal Isvalies arrived in Venice on 15 December, where he succeeded in persuading the Signoria both to make an annual contribution of 100,000 gold florins (instead of 80,000) to Hungary for three years and to attack the Ottomans with its navy in the future²⁷. The cardinal then headed to Hungary on the seemingly more comfortable route through Vienna. However, he changed his mind in Villach²⁸ and travelled instead by the Drava River to Marburg (Maribor) and Radkersburg, through Vasvár and Veszprém until he reached Székesfehérvár, where he had a week-long rest in the house of Gergely Frangepán, the provost of Fehérvár. Before arriving in Fehérvár, he was met by Miklós Bacskai, the bishop of Szerém (Syrmia), and Gaspare Golfi, the papal nuncio, who were sent to him by the monarch. On 27 January, ahead of the Hungarian delegation, an envoy from Venice named Sebastiano

²⁵ See on this Catherine FLETCHER, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome. The Rise of the Resident Ambassador*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 121–122.

²⁶ E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 248. Unfortunately, Johann Burchard, the papal master of ceremonies, did not explain why this interlude was needed. See the instruction Augustin THEINER, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, II, Roma, typis Vaticanis, 1861, 269–276, n. 297; E. ARTNER, *Magyarország*, 147–157. n. 123.

²⁷ V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 259; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 250–251.

²⁸ Franz Wollgemeiott, a cleric of Villach who accompanied him to Buda, is likely to have joined him here, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [The Hungarian National Archives, National Archives of Hungary, Photographic Collection of pre-1526 Documents, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/>, MNL OL DF] 228251.

Giustiniani came and met with Isvalies just outside of Buda in Tétény in order to open negotiations as soon as possible. The next day, on 28 January 1501 they set out for Buda together. György Szatmáry, the bishop of Veszprém and Józsa Somi, the bailiff of Temes were waiting for him four miles before the town, while Vladislaus II and high ecclesiastical and secular dignities welcomed him one mile before the town gate where a speech was given by his fellow archbishop, Tamás Bakóc²⁹.

During the festive royal audience the following day, Pietro Isvalies only spoke in general terms. But during a secret meeting on 3 February he drafted the concrete proposition of the alliance with the Hungarian monarch. According to this, if war commenced, the pope would annually give 40,000 forints and Venice would annually give 100,000 forints to Vladislaus II for the whole period of the war. The cardinal stated that if the monarchs of France and Aragon would personally go to war, the pope also would embark with his cardinals. Furthermore, he proposed that Hungary should break the ceasefire with the Ottomans as soon as possible. An important condition was added, namely, a separate peace treaty could only be signed with the other allies' authorization and permission³⁰. The preliminary agreement was drafted at the lodging of the legate, at the Virgin Mary parish of Buda. Besides Isvalies, the head of

²⁹ See the report of Guistiniani, the envoy of Venice G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto I*, 246–247, 252–253; see the letter of Tommaso Daineri, the envoy of Ferrara, who travelled with Isvalies, *Descrizione dell'Ungheria. Magyarország leírása. Modenai és velencei követek jelentései Magyarország földrajzi és kulturai állapotáról a XV. és XVI. században*, Budapest, 1881, 7–8; István SZAMOTA, *Régi utazások Magyarországon és a Balkán-félszigeten 1054–1717*, Budapest, Franklin Társulat, 1891, 490–491. Originally, from Venice the cardinal should have been accompanied also by Giorgio Pisani, the envoy of Venice; though, he was sent after the legate by the Signoria only on 21 January, see *A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Történelmi Bizottságának oklevél-másolatai*, I, Lipót ÓVÁRY (ed.), Budapest, Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1890, 212–213, n. 904, 906. See also V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 260; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 251–252. – The papal instruction advised the itinerary of Ancona–Senj, A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 269, on the basis of this, see also Antonín KALOUS, *Late Medieval Nuptial Rites. Paride Grassi and the Royal Wedding of Székesfehérvár (Hungary) in 1502*, in «Questions Liturgiques. Studies in Liturgy» 97/1–2 (2016) 51–64, 52.

³⁰ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto I*, 254–256; V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 261; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 252. On the negotiations, see also Eszter KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei esztergomi érseki helynök levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban (1495–1505)* in *Vestigia. Mohács előtti magyar források olasz könyvtárakban*, György DOMONKOS – Norbert MÁTYUS – Armando Nuzzo (ed.), Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2015, 141–184, 156, 175.

the Hungarian delegates, Tamás Bakóc – who was consecrated cardinal by the legate on 9 May 1501³¹ – and the Venetian delegates, Sebastiano Giustiniani and Giorgio Pisani, took part in the work.

The draft was brought to Rome by the Nuncio Gaspare Golfi, though it did not win the total approval of Pope Alexander VI. The pope took issue to some of the independent measures taken by Isvalies. In contrast to the three years of aid stated in the instructions, Isvalies promised the aid of the Holy See for an indefinite time. Moreover, the entrance of the pope into the war had not been mentioned before. Golfi, who arrived in Rome on 15 March, was sent back to Buda through Venice at the end of the month with instructions to have the necessary parts of the draft changed. Upon his return, the draft was successfully renegotiated and with all other obstacles being resolved, the league was subsequently established on 13 May 1501³². After this, Vladislaus II expelled the Ottoman envoy and entrusted János Corvin, Józsa Somi and Bertalan Drágfi with the preparation of an offensive³³.

The Corpus Christi procession of 10 June 1501 afforded an opportunity to present some propaganda in support of the alliance. The organizers employed some imaginative tactics – such as the blowing up of Mohamed's symbolic coffin and the enactment of a spectacular naval battle on the castle hill – to stir up an anti-Ottoman martial spirit. The

³¹ «... dominico die proximo ante prefatum festum Beate Sophie dominus Strigonien-sis consecratus est in cardinalem Sancti Martini de Montibus». MNL OL DF 256914. The acknowledgement of the decree is due to the assistance of Norbert C. Tóth.

³² *Marino Sanuto Világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai II.*, Gusztáv WENZEL (ed.), Pest, 1877 (Magyar Történelmi Tár, 24), 5–6; L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 213–216; V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 261; Ivan PEDERIN, *A velencei köztársaság és Magyarország szövetsége a török elleni harcban*, in «Levéltári Közlemények» 57 (1986) 131–136, 133–135; ASMo Ambasciatori, busta 3/16,11. (*Vestigia. Mohács előtti magyar források olasz könyvtárakban*. <http://vestigia.hu/kereses>, Infocus n. 1359.); ASMo Ambasciatori, busta 3/24,3. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1464.). On 17 May, 1501, János Csázmai, the canon of Zagreb informed the chapter about the peace and also added the oath of the envoys of Venice and the legate. See MNL OL DF 256914. Norbert C. Tóth called my attention to the charter, for which I am thankful. – The agreement is wrongly dated to 12 May: Pál TÓTH-SZABÓ, *Szatmári György prímás (1457–1524)*, Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1906 (Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok), 47 and G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 252; E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 156, wrongly dated to 3 May.

³³ P. TÓTH-SZABÓ, 1906, 47; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 254; E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 156–157.

cardinal, who had led the procession, also tried to win over the everyday people. Lights were set up to illuminate his residence throughout the night so that all could see the statue of an armed angel which he had set up, from whose mouth white and red wine was flowing³⁴. Soon, these games and demonstrations were followed by real action. At the end of August 1501, the armies gathered in Tolna with the king personally in attendance³⁵ and where the legate himself also appeared³⁶. There, four captains were elected as the head of the army, Palatine Péter Geréb de Vingárt; Prince János Corvin, the Ban of Slavonia; Count Péter Szentgyörgyi Bazini, the voivode of Transylvania; and Józsa Somi, the bailiff of Temes. In addition, they agreed to impose certain taxes on the towns which would partially cover the expenses of the campaign³⁷. The day before its departure, on 21 August, Cardinal Isvalies and the Venetian envoys visited the king presumably to discuss the Diet³⁸.

After the meeting in Tolna, Vladislaus II began delaying his personal

³⁴ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 254-257. See the letter of Tomaso Daineri ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,4. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1465.); I. SZAMOTA, *Régi utazások*, 1891, 497-498; Ö. Szabolcs BARLAY, *Szemtanú levele az 1501-es Úrnapi szabadtéri színjátékról Budán*, «Magyar Könyvszemle» 99 (1983) 42-45. See also Gedeon BORSA, *Egy 1501. évi budai tudósítás és azok nyomdászai*, in «Magyar Könyvszemle» 101 (1985) 141-149. The news of the peace arrived in Rome on 30 May, at Whitsun; on the holy mass see E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 285-286.

³⁵ For the itinerary of the king see N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 1458, 1476-1477.

³⁶ L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 217, n. 924-925; ASMo *Ambasciatori*, b. 3/19,6, f. 3v (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1441.).

³⁷ N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 1463-1467. On the diet see also the reports of Stefano Raguseo written to Ercole d'Este, ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/19,6-7. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1441-1442) On the taxes imposed on the towns, see Tibor NEUMANN, *Minden időben kegyelmes uratok kívánunk lenni' A királyi városok adóztatása a 15. század végén*, in *Hatalom, adó, jog. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, István KÁDAS – Boglárka WEISZ (ed.), Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017, 13-106. – It is uncertain whether the legate accompanied the king on the route of Somogyvár-Veszprém-Fehérvár-Esztergom to Buda in October, 1501 (N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 1461-1462, 1477.). No matter how peculiar the staying of Mariano Bartolini, the auditor generalis of the legate, in Pécs on 24 September, 1501 is – besides, he dated all of his letters from Buda –, it is no proof in itself.

³⁸ ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,5. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1467.) See also N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 1458.

participation in the war effort against the advice of the pope, leaving the action to be led by his generals³⁹. In the autumn of 1501, János Corvin and Péter Geréb re-occupied the castle of Jajca (Jajce) while Józsa Somi also invaded Ottoman territories. In February 1502, Lőrinc Újlaki and János Brankovics, a Serbian despot, also engaged the Ottomans in battle⁴⁰. In response, the Ottomans attacked Slavonia and Bosnia where they seized the castle of Levács (Levač) near Jajca⁴¹. In March 1502, János Corvin, Józsa Somi, and Péter Szentgyörgyi moved their forces to Nikápoly (Nikopol)⁴². In the meantime, Venice also launched its offensive in the Aegean Sea. In accordance with his promise, Pope Alexander VI had 13 galleys prepared for Venice, which contributed to the success in re-occupying island of Lefkada, or Santa Maura as the Italians called it⁴³.

In January 1502, Vladislaus II travelled to Bohemia to address some domestic problems and to also ask for the assistance of the nobles there in the anti-Ottoman war⁴⁴. Cardinal Isvalies accompanied him since his duties as legate also covered the fight against the Bohemian Calixtine or Hussite heretics⁴⁵. While there, Vladislaus and the Czech Catholic and Calixtine nobility started to revive a proposed union of the two

³⁹ *Caesaris S.R.E. Card. Baronii, Od. Raynaldi et Jac. Laderchii ... Annales ecclesiastici denuo et accurate excusi XXX*, Paris, 1887, 334-335.

⁴⁰ L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 219; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 257; E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 157-158, 176-178. – On 2 December, 1501 Józsa Somi presented chained Ottoman captives to the legate, see ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,11. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1475.)

⁴¹ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 258; E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 158-159, 179-180.

⁴² Stephanus KATONA, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae*, XI, Budae, Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1792, 132-133. – Instead of Péter Szentgyörgyi, the voivode of Transylvania, Borsa (G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 258.) wrongly wrote Bertalan Drágfi, who cannot have been alive at that time. I thank hereby Norbert C. Tóth for calling my attention to this fact.

⁴³ V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 261. – In the spring of 1502, Hungarian diplomats tried to ally with Henry VII, the king of England, hoping for some financial aid from him. See E. Kovács Péter, *Egy törökellenes szövetség tervezete 1502-ből*, in «Levéltári Szemle» 40 (1990) 49-61; Attila BÁRÁNY – Attila GYÖRKÖS, *A Fehér Rózsa Magyarországon. Egy angol trónkövetelő viszontagságai és a Jagelló-kori diplomácia*, in «Századok» 146 (2012) 417-442, 418-431.

⁴⁴ N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 1467-1470, 1480. See also L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 221, n. 941.

⁴⁵ A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 275.

congregations. In February 1502, Cardinal Isvalies opened negotiations with the Calixtines whom he found to be rather supportive of a compromise. But this moved produced strong protests from the radicals which seemed to derail the process. The legate personally visited Olmütz (Olmouc) and Boroszló (Wrocław) to mediate between the parties, but without success since now neither of the two sides was willing to make concessions. Further, after discussions arose about potentially bribing the legate, the negotiations definitively failed⁴⁶.

By the summer of 1502, it had become clear to Cardinal Isvalies that Vladislaus did not want to personally take part in the battles against the Ottomans. Not only was the war going poorly, but it also seemed that Vladislaus could not even keep order in his own country as evidenced by a situation caused by the despotic measures of the nobility of Bihar⁴⁷. By this time, both Venice and Hungary started peace negotiations with the Ottomans. Józsa Somi covertly welcomed Ottoman envoys, and despite their secrecy, word reached the cardinal. Alarmed, Isvalies questioned the members of the league. On 2 November, 1502 Vladislaus II and the Venetian envoys admitted to the legate that they were negotiating with the Ottomans. In his anger, Isvalies – who had already warned the Hungarian monarch about the disgrace a peace treaty would cause – accused the Hungarian monarch of breaking his promise and sent an envoy to the pope asking for further instructions⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Antonín KALOUS, *The Politics of Church Unification: Efforts to Reunify the Utraquists and Rome in the 1520s*, in *Friars, Nobles and Burghers – Sermons, Images and Prints. Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe. In memoriam István György Tóth*, Jaroslav MILLER – László KONTLER (ed.), Budapest – New York, Central European University Pr., 2010, 181–197, 184; A. KALOUS, *Late Medieval Nuptial Rites*, 54–55. See also G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 268–269; Gábor NEMES, *Elszalasztott lehetőségek: VII. Kelemen pápa és II. Lajos országainak belpolitikája (1523–1526)*, in «Egyháztörténeti Szemle» 15/4 (2014) 3–19.

⁴⁷ The nobility of Bihar County blamed the monarch for the increasing and unreverged abuses of power, and it was to be feared that a riot against the monarch would break out. G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 267; E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 159, 180. On the situation of Bihar see MNL OL DF 287374., its copy: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár [The Hungarian National Archives, National Archives of Hungary, Archives of Diplomas and Charters, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/>, MNL OL DL] 24386., reg. Mihály HORVÁTH, *Magyar regesták a bécsi cs. levéltárból 1118–1605*, in «Magyar Történelmi Tár» 9 (1861) 3–96, 79–80.

⁴⁸ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 22–24; L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 224–

The letter of Cardinal Isvalies arrived a few days after Antonio Giustiniani, the Venetian envoy in Rome, had informed the pope about the Signoria's intention to make peace with the Ottomans. Afterwards, during the consistory of 14 December, Alexander VI – though disappointed – was forced to agree to this⁴⁹. For the sake of clarification, Vladislaus II also sent an envoy (Péter Beriszló) to the pope on 20 January 1503, who informed the pontiff about the king's reasons to sue for peace⁵⁰. The negotiations between the Hungarians and the Ottomans – which Isvalies also attended – advanced very slowly⁵¹. Although the pope recalled the cardinal in March, he remained in Buda⁵². Negotiations continued and peace was finally achieved in June 1503⁵³. The agreement came into force on 20 August, 1503⁵⁴.

The cardinal's delayed return to Rome can be partly explained by the noteworthy connections Isvalies formed with Vladislaus, his court and with Cardinal Bakóc⁵⁵. These relationships are evidenced by his stays as a guest in Esztergom in November, 1501, in the royal palace of Visegrád, and then in Vác with Bishop Miklós Bátori⁵⁶. He attended the reception of Queen Anne de Foix in Székesfehérvár on 27 September, 1502; he also rode on the queen's left on the ceremonial entry. Even though two days later the coronation and wedding ceremonies were administered

226; V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 262; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 267. See also ASMó *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,26. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1492.)

⁴⁹ *Dispacci di Antonio Guistinian ambasciatore veneto in Roma dal 1502 al 1505*, I-III, Pasquale VILLARI (ed.), Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1876, I. 250-273. On 13 December, 1502 Tommaso Amadei – presumably wrongly – reported to Ippolito d'Este that the peace had already been made. E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 159-160, 180. The legate of the cardinal arrived with the pope's answer at the beginning of January: ASMó *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,27. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1493.)

⁵⁰ V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 262-263; G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 267-268.

⁵¹ L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 227-228.

⁵² ASMó *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,28. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1494.)

⁵³ E. KIRÁLYNÉ BELCSÁK, *Tommaso Amadei*, 160, 181.

⁵⁴ The copy of the arrangement's draft issued for the cardinal: MNL OL DL 30498. (see the text also by G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 81-89.). See also the letter of Bayezid II: MNL OL DL 39328.

⁵⁵ The papal instructions ordered him to cultivate a good relationship with Bakóc. See A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 274-275.

⁵⁶ ASMó *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,8. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1471.) – On Miklós Bátori, the bishop of Vác, see N. C. TÓTH, *Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés*, 15-17.

by Tamás Bakóc, the archbishop of Esztergom, Isvalies was still very much present. The legate was given protocolaire tasks: in the coronation procession he went next to the monarch and at the festive diner he sat on the queen's left⁵⁷. A year later on 15 August, 1503, he became one of the godfathers of Vladislaus and Anne's first child, Anna⁵⁸.

The Indulgence of the Jubilee

The eighth jubilee was opened on 24 December 1499 with the solemn opening of the Porta Sancta at St. Peter's Basilica. Thousands of pilgrims had already arrived and many more would come. Before the Jubilee Year was closed on 5 January 1501, Pope Alexander VI, in accord with tradition, expanded the Jubilee beyond Rome to other countries including Hungary. Among the conditions to obtain the Jubilee indulgence was aid to be offered to the anti-Ottoman crusade, a part of which was assigned to certain countries by the pope⁵⁹.

On 22 May 1500 Alexander VI issued two bulls: one which expanded the indulgence of the Jubilee for the benefit of the crusade, and the other which made it possible for the Hungarian king to spend the

⁵⁷ Henrik MARCZALI, *Közlemények a párisi nemzeti könyvtárból* in «Magyar Történelmi Tár» 23 (1877) 85–122, 104–106; G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 22; G. WENZEL, *II. Ulászló*, 753–756; József FÓGEL, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)*, Budapest, 1913, 130–131; A. GYÖRKÖS, *II. Ulászló házassága*, 100–101; Attila GYÖRKÖS, *Reneszánsz utazás. Anna királyné 1502-es fogadtatásának ünnepei Észak-Itáliában és Magyarországon*, Márabesnyő, Attraktor, 2016 (*Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* 9), 156–162. ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta b.3/24,23. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1489.) The text of the wedding ceremony from the *Rituale Romanum* was likely read by Cardinal Isvalies during the wedding mass, Antonín KALOUS, Papežský legát Pietro Isvalies a svatba Vladislava Jagellonského s Annou z Foix, in *Středověký kaleidoskop pro muže s hůlkou. Věnováno Františku Šmahelovi k životnímu jubileu*, Eva DOLEŽALOVÁ – Petr SOMMER (ed.), Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2016, 545–552; A. KALOUS, *Late Medieval Nuptial Rites*, 51–64; A. GYÖRKÖS, *Reneszánsz utazás*, 61–62.

⁵⁸ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 81; G. WENZEL, *II. Ulászló*, 822–823; L. ÓVÁRY, *MTA oklevél-másolatai*, I, 228–229, n. 981–982; J. FÓGEL, *II. Ulászló*, 126. On the birth of Anna, see also ASMo *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,29. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1495.) – Vladislaus II called him «amicus et compater noster carissimus» still in 1510. MNL OL DF 208091. *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, I–XII, László ERDÉLYI (ed.), Budapest, 1902–1912, III, 631.

⁵⁹ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 246. See the bulls of 22 December, 1499 that announced the Jubilee, E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 181–186.

church tithe on the anti-Ottoman war⁶⁰. The bulls were brought from Rome to Buda by Nuncio Gaspare Golfi and were announced in the Virgin Mary Church on 26 July. Since the public promulgation of the bulls and the collection of the donations intended for the crusade were the monarch's duty⁶¹, Zsigmond Thurzó, the canon of Esztergom and a royal secretary, presented the bulls on the king's behalf to Archbishop Tamás Bakóc who transcribed them. The royal mandate, with the bulls and instructions attached to them, was issued on 5 August 1500 and survived in the Henckel-codex of Lőcse (Levoča)⁶². One of the most important orders is found in the section that regulated the manner of the promulgation of the indulgence, the election of the confessors, etc. There we read that Vladislaus II forbade anyone to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, which meant that petitions which would otherwise be heard in Rome had to be addressed locally by Isvalies.

Therefore, besides his diplomatic duties as a legate, Cardinal Isvalies had to coordinate the indulgence of the Jubilee. On 9 March 1501 – even before the conclusion of the negotiations which formed the league – he announced the future crusade and an extension of the jubilee until 27 June 1501⁶³. This prolongation was followed by others, so that the Jubilee in Hungary only finally closed on 23 April, 1503⁶⁴.

As legate, Isvalies also appointed commissioners of indulgences (*commissarius*, and *subdelegatus loci in sacro negotio iubilei deputatus*), who were local priests, capitular and monastic superiors, and gave them the faculty to hear confessions for a given time. Although the collection of money

⁶⁰ AAV, Arm. XXXII, vol. 21, ff. 131v-137v, ed. by Augustin THEINER, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, II, Roma, 1860, 547-552, n. 731-732, cited by G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 246.

⁶¹ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 248-250.

⁶² On the Henckel-codex of Lőcse (Levoča): Vince BUNYITAY, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statútumai*, Nagyváradi, Franklin Társulat, 1886, IX-XIII; Robertus SZENTIVÁNYI, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae*, Bibliotheca Univ. Szegediensis, Szeged, 1958, 287-288; Eva SELECKÁ-MÁRZA, *A középkori lőcsei könyvtár*, Szeged, Scriptum, 1997 (Olvasmánytörténeti dolgozatok VII), 29.

⁶³ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 252-253. See its copies MNL OL DF 237341., 275542.

⁶⁴ On the prolongation: 31 January, 1502. MNL OL DF 235406. Cited by: G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 258; 16 March, 1503. MNL OL DF 235516., 19 March, 1503. MNL OL DF 235218., cited by G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 266.

was the task of the royal treasury, Isvalies aided this work by using his prestige as a legate to try to minimize possible opposition⁶⁵.

As Vladislaus II prohibited the pilgrimage to Rome, many people took advantage of Cardinal Isvalies' presence by submitting special requests to him in Buda since they could not do so in Rome. The majority of the supplications were so-called *confessionale*, which were requests for total absolution, the free choice of a confessor, the permission to use a mobile altar, and the consumption of lamb, dairy products and eggs during the lent⁶⁶. The majority of the petitioners were nobles – Jindřich Albrecht z Kolowrat, steward of the Czech royal household⁶⁷; László Sztritei and his wife, Erzsébet⁶⁸; the widow of Benedek Csáki, Apollónia and her daughter, Katalin⁶⁹; the widow of János Bocskai of Raszinya, Ilona Czobor of Szentmihály⁷⁰; Gotthárd Sitkei and his son, Sebestyén⁷¹; and László and Pál Szentkirályi with their wives, Dorottya and Margit⁷². However, we also find some clerics among the petitioners, like János, the abbot of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik)⁷³ and Franz Wollgemiot, a priest of Villach⁷⁴. Benedek Görgei, the canon of Szepes (Spiš) visited the cardinal concerning the taking of the holy orders⁷⁵, while János, the priest of the Church of the Virgin Mary of Nagyszeben (Sibiu) obtained the faculty to grant a hundred-day-long indulgence to the congregation at the end of holy mass⁷⁶.

⁶⁵ 27 July, 1501. He asked Domonkos Kálmáncsehi, the bishop of Várad, to help Gábor Polner, the bishop of Bosnia, who was entrusted with the collection of the money. MNL OL DF 283917.

⁶⁶ See on this *Regesta supplicationum, 1522–1523. A VI. Adorján pápa uralkodása alatt elfogadott magyar vonatkozású kérvények*, Bálint LAKATOS (ed.), Budapest – Róma, MTA-PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2018 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/16), 35–36.

⁶⁷ 8 February, 1501. MNL OL DF 288443.

⁶⁸ 9 May, 1501. MNL OL DL 88863.

⁶⁹ 19 May, 1501. MNL OL DL 71582. published by *Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez*, I/2, Oklevelek 1500–1818, Budapest, 1919, 497–499.

⁷⁰ 24 May, 1501. 21047.

⁷¹ 21 March, 1502. MNL OL DL 46581.

⁷² 11 October, 1502. 46605.

⁷³ 12 March, 1501. MNL OL DL 22533.

⁷⁴ 8 March, 1501. MNL OL DF 228251.

⁷⁵ 12 July, 1502. MNL OL DL 63880.

⁷⁶ 26 April, 1503. MNL OL DF 245583.

There were many who did not obtain their indulgence directly from the legate, but from one of the commissioners of indulgences who were authorized by him⁷⁷. Certain documents issued by the commissioners were replaced by letters of indulgence, which might have been printed in Vienna in the autumn or winter of 1501 and previously authenticated with the seal of the legate's office and the signature of the secretary⁷⁸. The majority of the recipients were noblemen⁷⁹; however, there were also citizens and residents of the market towns⁸⁰.

Church affairs

Cardinal Isvalies was also entrusted with the reformation of the Hungarian monastic orders. The legate was first visited by János, the abbot of Garamszentbenedek, who requested the confirmation of a cloister, prevailing abbots' privileges, and the recitation of evening prayer according to the Roman Rite⁸¹. Isvalies' effort to reform the Benedictine order in Hungary fit in well with the intentions of Vladislaus II, and with his support, the renewal of the Benedictine order was quickly

⁷⁷ 22 December, 1500. MNL OL DL 90582. László Kemendi, the provost of Vasvár, for Dorottya, the widow of Gergely Gyarmati Szabó; 1501. MNL OL DL 94629. István, the priest of Varasd, for Miklós Kövendi Székely; 20 May, 1501. MNL OL DL 65989. Mihály, the parish priest of Kassa, for Sándor, the son of Benedek Fábiánfalvi and his mother, Katalin; 10 June, 1501. MNL OL DF 258274. Lőrinc Bélai, the guardian of Poljanc, for Ferenc Grabarjai Beriszló, the ban of Jajca, and his family, published by *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai 1448–1526*, Balázs KERTÉSZ (ed.), Budapest, Argumentum, 2015. (Magyarországi ferences források 7), 109–110; 15 June, 1501. MNL OL DF 234575. Benedek Kornis, the provost of Lelesz, for the son of Máté Szegedi Marasy, László; 17 June, 1501. MNL OL DL 74975. Márton, the priest of Eperjes for István Máriássy and his family, published by Béla IVÁNYI, *A márkusfalvi Máriássy család levéltára 1243–1803*, I, Lőcse, Szepesmegyei Történelmi Társulat, 1917 (Közlemények Szepes vármegye múltjából, 9), 80. n. 280; 16 June, 1501. MNL OL DF 216501. János Menlen, the parish priest of Bártfa for Leonhardus Weydtlandt.

⁷⁸ G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 258–265.

⁷⁹ 1 January, 1502. MNL OL DL 22544; 26 March, 1502. MNL OL DL 36087; 23 April, 1502. MNL OL DL 66756; 6 May, 1502. MNL OL DF 265888; 8 August, 1502. MNL OL DL 46599; 22 August, 1502. MNL OL DL 93699.

⁸⁰ 1 March, 1502. 244197; 20 March, 1502. MNL OL DF 271216; 25 May, 1502. MNL OL DL 60895.

⁸¹ MNL OL DL 21677., 22531., 22532.

accomplished. On 19 March 1501, thus even before his primary work of helping form a league against the Ottomans was complete, Isvalies appointed the following as visitors of the Benedictines: Máté Tolnai, the abbot of Pannonhalma, István, the abbot of Zalavár and András Nagyrévi, the auxiliary bishop of Vác⁸². Several days later, the cardinal gave permission to Máté Tolnai to be ordained, as he previously was not⁸³. In addition, Isvalies participated in the reform of the Premonstratensian Order when, at the request of Gergely Apatóci, the Premonstratensian provost of Csorna, he approved the taking of twelve monks from other orders to his monastery in order to increase the size of the community⁸⁴. Regarding the Franciscans, by the order of the pope, Isvalies intervened to ensure peaceful arrangements between the rival Observant and Conventual Franciscans, as a consequence of which the Hungarian Observant Vicariate again became under the authority of the Cismontane (Italian) vicar general⁸⁵. Turning his attention to another order, Isvalies granted the request of Imre Perényi to raise the former Saint László Chapel of Terebes (Trebeș) to the status of a parish church so that the previous Virgin Mary parish church would become a Pauline monastery⁸⁶.

⁸² MNL OL DF 207990. (its copy: MNL OL DF 208065.), published by *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III, 566-567. n. 115. More on this MNL OL DF 208065. See on Nagyrévi Norbert C. TóTH, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája. Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig*, Győr, Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2017 (A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár Kiadványai. Források, feldolgozások 27) 106.

⁸³ MNL OL DF 208002., published by *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III, 567, n. 116. See also on this op. cit. 568-571. n. 117-120.

⁸⁴ MNL OL DL 21096., published by Ignatius BATTYÁNY, *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium*, III, Claudiopoli, Typis Episcopalibus, 1827, 640-641.

⁸⁵ MNL OL DF 275543., cited by János KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, I-II, Budapest, Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1923-1924, I, 360-361, II, 574-575.

⁸⁶ MNL OL DL 21314., 21449. See Zsuzsa BÁNDI, *Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei: regeszták*, in «Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv» 5 (1985) 557-725, 676-677.

The Retinue of Cardinal Isvalies

During his stay in Hungary the cardinal produced an extensive amount of documents, which were handled by a well-organized and large 'office'. The management of the diplomatic correspondence and the ecclesiastical court⁸⁷, the handling of requests and the issue of their approvals, the dispatch – into a very wide circulation – of the bulls of the indulgence, along with the prolongation of the indulgence, the granting of faculties for confessors during the Jubilee, and other such tasks supplied a significant amount of work for the official retinue⁸⁸.

The ecclesiastical court of the legate was headed by the *auditor generalis*, the first being Mariano Bartolini until he returned home. Later, in the middle of 1502, that role was taken over by Filippo Sergardi. Each auditor had the help of a special clerk, Johannes Filioleri helped Bartolinie and Tommaso Bellorusso helped Sergardi⁸⁹. Filippo Sergardi was the head of the chancery; Ippolito Sassi and later Corrado Caracciolo were responsible for the handling of the charges imposed on the documents, while Girolamo Maserio guaranteed the registration. There were also men who drafted and transcribed documents along with other clerks on the staff who might have acted also as messengers and administrators. The private secretaries of the cardinal might have been Rainerio Cascotti and Tommaso Bellorusso. For the sake of communication with the Holy See, or perhaps the management of his curial affairs, Isvalies once

⁸⁷ See the function of the tribunal of the Holy See 11 October, 1501. MNL OL DF 282466., 3 December, 1501. MNL OL DL 21081., 13 December, 1501. MNL OL DF 286610., 24 March, 1502. MNL OL DF 250373., 18 May, 1502. MNL OL DF 208008. (*Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, IV, Guilelmus FRANKÓI – Iosephus LUKCSICS (ed.), Budapest, Franklin Társulat könyvnyomdája, 1908, 120. n. 103.), 20 May, 1502. MNL OL DL 46595., 21 June, 1502. MNL OL DF 245575., 4 July, 1502 and 25 March, 1503. MNL OL DF 230078., 4 August, 1505. (Béla IvÁNYI, *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára 1245–1526*, II, Szeged, 1932, 325. n. 851.), 2 January, 1503. MNL OL DF 229224. (B. IvÁNYI, *Eperjes*, 328. n. 861.), 25 March, 1503. MNL OL DL 101479., 4 April, 1503. MNL OL DF 216599., 6 April, 1503. MNL OL DF 245582., 17 April, 1503. MNL OL DF 245584. 12 June, 1503. MNL OL DL 101343. 29 August, 1503. MNL OL DF 251603.

⁸⁸ The function of the legate's 'office' is hugely similar to that of the function of the nunciatures in the 17th century. See on this Péter TUSOR, *A barokk pápaság 1600–1700*, Budapest, 2004, 187–194.

⁸⁹ On him see below.

sent his Roman agents, Ippolito Sassi and Giovanni Bartolomeo de' Dossi, to the Eternal City⁹⁰.

In the 'chancery' of the legate, we find mainly clerics from Central Italy, yet there are Romans (Ippolito Sassi and Giovanni Bartolomeo de' Dossi), some Southern-Italians (Corrado Caracciolo and Tommaso Bellorusso), and even some from France (Jean Boton Besançon and Petrus Desiderii who were from the diocese of Verdun). It is not surprising that among the clerics mentioned above, there were a number of qualified jurists: Mariano Bartolini, Filippo Sergardi, Giovanni Bartolomeo de' Dossi, and Vincenzo Baldi were all doctors of both secular and canon law⁹¹. Besides them, there were many notaries public, like Rainerio Casciotti, Jean Boton, and Tommaso Bellorusso. The majority of the retinue had already been curial officials before joining the 'office' of the legate. Others were just beginning their careers and after returning to Italy from their work in Hungary received papal or municipal offices in Rome.

It is worth highlighting the number of the persons with humanist education around the cardinal. Girolamo Maserio was an expert in the Greek and Latin authors; Gentile Santesio da Subiaco, who had a byname of Pindaro, was proficient not only in poetry, but also in music; the often mentioned Tommaso Bellorusso could have also been a humanist as the student of Pomponio Leto, as well as Ippolito Sassi who was famous for his noteworthy collection of antique sculptures in his home in Rome. With this in mind, it is reasonable to claim that it was no accident that Jacobus Piso, the Transylvanian Saxon humanist, also became the *familiaris* of Cardinal Isvalies. The fact that the legate was very close to János Thurzó and his sons, János, the bishop of Boroszló, and Szaniszló, the bishop of Olmütz, was obviously determinative; as it was the cardinal who introduced Piso to the humanist group around him. Alternatively, or coincidentally, the relationship between Isvalies and Piso could have been due the cardinal's ability to help Piso launch a promising career⁹².

⁹⁰ See the persons in the Appendix.

⁹¹ On him see below.

⁹² Piso mentioned in a letter written to Erasmus that when the news about the death of János Thurzó arrived Cardinal Isvalies said the following: «When the news about his death was told to Sig. Pietro, the former cardinal of Reggio (namely, he had been on very confidential terms with Thurzo while being the legate of Hungary), the cardinal turned to me and grabbed my right arm as if he wanted to make me promise

The court of the cardinal was extremely costly, not only due to the size of the retinue, but due to the cost of the many elegant formalities. Isvalies needed more income than his benefices in Italy provided since the Apostolic Chamber did not pay his legation's monthly support of 500 forints during his stay, even as late as May 1505⁹³. At first, in December 1502, Vladislaus II intended to give the episcopal see of Nyitra (Nitra) to the legate, which had become vacant after the removal of Miklós Bacskai to Transylvania⁹⁴. Instead, in the summer of 1503, he was given the episcopal see of Veszprém. A letter to Ercole I d'Este from Tommaso Daineri, the envoy of Ferrara, sheds light on whether the appointment was Cardinal Isvalies' doing or the king's. Daineri wrote that the legate continuously urged the monarch to transfer him to another diocese. This would seem to support the theory that when the pope appointed Isvalies as the head of the diocese of Veszprém on 15 July, it was in response to the legate's entreaties⁹⁵. Daineri must have indicated that the news of the papal appointment – which happened in the consistory of 21 June – had just arrived in Buda⁹⁶.

something, and said: «Piso, I know that you have always adored Thurzo. I want you to know, for good, that I could not find anybody among those potentates that I came across in Europe that could have been compared to Thurzó concerning his qualities and merits». László JANKOVITS, *Jacobus Piso levelezése Erasmusszal*, in *Convivium Pajorin Klára 70. születésnapjára*, Enikő BÉKÉS – Imre TEGYEY (ed.), Debrecen – Budapest, 2012, 91–98, 95. See also *ivi*, 96. and László JANKOVITS, *Jacobus Piso kapcsolatterkései a Lajtán innen és túl*, in *Értelmiségi karriertörténetek, kapcsolathálók, írőcsoportosulások*, Annamária BÍRÓ – László BOKA (ed.), Nagyvárad–Budapest, Partium Kiadó, 2016, 31. – The relationship between the Hungarian intelligentsia and the Italian humanists staying in Hungary at the time of the papal legateship is still unexplored. It is questionable whether Floriani Montini, who corresponded with Erasmus of Rotterdam and stayed in Hungary in the retinue of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, contacted the Hungarian Erasmists in Buda. See on this Gábor NEMES, *Pápai követek a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, in «Századok» 150 (2016) 369–385, 375.

⁹³ A. KALOUS, *Late Medieval Nuptial Rites*, 53; Antonín KALOUS, *Financing a Legation: Papal Legates and Money in the Later Middle Ages*, in *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, Roman ZAORAL (ed.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, 205–221, 210–214.

⁹⁴ C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 63, 86.

⁹⁵ «Monsignor reverendissimo lo legato non cessa spingere questa regia maiestate a far provisione ali loci finitimi, che sone assai pochi minuti. Sua santità reverendissima hoggi sono octo di hebbe la provisione pacifica de la chiesa de Vesprimio». 23 July, 1503. ASMó *Ambasciatori*, busta 3/24,29. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1495.)

⁹⁶ AAV, Registri Lateranensi, vol. 1129B, ff. 20v–23r, G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKSICS,

The timing of the royal provision can only be guessed. On 19 May, 1503 Gergely Frangepán was still the bishop of Veszprém. But by 7 June he was already the archbishop of Kalocsa, while the diocese of Veszprém was vacant⁹⁷. As a consequence, Vladislaus II might have written to Pope Alexander VI about the transfer of the legate at the beginning of June, upon which the pope – out of respect for Isvalies and perhaps on his insistence – decided immediately. The installation is likely to have happened in August, since on 3 September Vladislaus II declared in a charter that the cardinal – after having been appointed by the king as the head of the diocese of Veszprém because of his merits – took possession of the episcopal see⁹⁸.

Pietro Isvalies parted from the royal court on 7 September 1503 in the company of rich presents – estimated at 1700 ducats by the envoy of Venice – given by the royal couple. Among others items, the cardinal was given richly harnessed Hungarian, Turkish and Vlach horses, three Hungarian stallions, six golden cups, two beautiful maces, ornamented fabrics, and two Ottoman captives. From Buda he travelled to Cardinal Tamás Bakóc in Esztergom, with whom he stayed ten days. From there, he set off to Venice where he arrived on 2 October after having passed by San Daniele del Friuli. On 8 October, he informed the great council of Venice about his activities as a legate, where he tried to cast blame

Monumenta Romana, IV, 113, n. 112. See also: «Sanctissimus dominus noster in suo consistorio secreto, ut moris est, ad relationem reverendissimi domini cardinalis Salernitensis absolvit reverendissimum patrem dominum Georgium de Frangepanibus a vinculo et perfectione, quibus ecclesie Vesprimiensis tenebatur, et illam reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Petro tituli Sancti Ciriaci, ut prefertur, vacante in administrationem dedit». AAV, Archivio Concistoriale, Acta Camerarii, vol. 1, f. 138r. Cardinal Juan de Vera, who prepared the relation, presented Zsigmond Thurzó's appointment of Nyitra to the consistory on 4 August. On the consistory of 21 June, the pope also decided upon Miklós Bacskaï's transfer to Transylvania; Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini Gentili was the relator there. See *ibid.* ff. 138v, 139 v.

⁹⁷ N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 38, 118.

⁹⁸ *Veszprém város okmánytára. Pótkötet (1000-1526)*, Géza ÉRSZEGI – László SOLYMOSSI (ed.), Veszprém, Veszprémi Érseki és Főkapitányi Levéltár, 2010 (A Veszprémi Egyházmegye Múltjából 20), 464-466, n. 278, 465. This is supported by the decree of Miklós Laskai issued in Buda on 18 September, 1503, in which there is only the «datum in castro nostro Vesprimiensi» see MNL OL DL 21207. – Giovanni Badoer, the envoy of Venice, estimated the annual income of the bishopric to 6000 ducat. See G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 91.

for the failed anti-Ottoman campaign on the Hungarians⁹⁹. Afterwards, by passing by Padua, Montagnana, and Ostia he hastened to Rome¹⁰⁰, where the cardinals were preparing for a conclave again due to the death of the newly elected Pope Pius III. He arrived in the Eternal City on 24 October 1503¹⁰¹; therefore, he could be present at Pope Julius II's election¹⁰².

His Career after the legation

Benefices in Hungary. Like many of his contemporaries, Pietro Isvalies continued to be the bishop of Veszprém even after his work as legate was finished and he returned to Rome, ruling the diocese as an absentee bishop. But it is clear that he was still involved with the governing and support of the diocese. After the cathedral of Veszprém burnt down in 1504, Isvalies asked Pope Julius II to grant a plenary indulgence for those who visited the church on the Feast of the Ascension for the sake of renovation¹⁰³. Apart from the restoration of the cathedral – which is, among other proofs, evidenced by the Renaissance plaque set up in commemoration of Queen Gizella and Queen Adelhaid, the wife of Saint Ladislaus I, with the cardinal's coat of arms¹⁰⁴ – the building of the

⁹⁹ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 90–92. See also G. BORSA, *A törökök ellen*, 269.

¹⁰⁰ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 172, 174; G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, LXXI.

¹⁰¹ P. VILLARI, *Dispacci di Antonio Guistinian*, II, 265; *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, V, Federico STEFANI (ed.), Venezia, Visentini Cav. Federico Editore, 1881, 232; E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 396.

¹⁰² E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II, 404.

¹⁰³ G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 141, n. 116. A year before, Vladislaus II permitted the annual market in Szenttamásfalva, which located at the footstep of the castle of Veszprém. See G. ÉRSZEGI–L. SOLYMOSSI, *Veszprém*, 464–466, n. 278.

¹⁰⁴ András UZSOKI, *Az első magyar királyné, Gizella sírja*, in «A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei» 16 (1982) 125–168, 143–149; Árpád MIKÓ, *Stílus és felirat. Kőbe vésett, klasszikus- és korai humanista kapitálissal írott feliratok a Mátyás- és Jagelló-kori Magyarországon*, in «Művészettörténeti Értesítő» 54/3–4 (2005) 205–244, 218–219; Árpád MIKÓ, *D. O. M. All'antica feliratok és a reneszánsz stílus a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon*, in «Nem sülyed az emberiség!» ... *Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára*, József JANKOVICS (ed.), Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2007, 1195–1205, 1195–1197.

two monumental semi-circular bastions serving the defense of the gate of the inner castle can also be attributed to him¹⁰⁵.

The absence of the cardinal seemed fortuitous to those who found the time appropriate to lay hands on the estates and incomes of the diocese. Isvalies requested defense for his possessions from Julius II who entrusted Ferenc Szatmári, the bishop of Győr; Miklós Bátori, the bishop of Vác; and Máté Tolnai, the abbot of Pannonhalma with this duty¹⁰⁶. However, whatever they were able to accomplish proved to be insufficient, despite the papal bull.¹⁰⁷ In this document, which ordered the returning of the alienated goods, one can find dignified persons among the usurpers: Ambrus and István Ákosházi Sárkány¹⁰⁸, the vice-prefects of County of Zala: Gáspár Uzsa, János Gétyei, Balázs Csányi¹⁰⁹; Kelemen Szarka¹¹⁰, János Polyáni, who was the *custos* of Veszprém¹¹¹ and Canon Miklós of Busto.

The previously mentioned Tommaso Bellorusso, originally from Sicily like Isvalies, became the head and vicar of the diocese after Isvalies' return to Rome. Born in Palermo around 1475, Bellorusso travelled to Rome from 1493 to 1494 to study from the well-known humanist, Pomponio Leto. After becoming Isvalies' secretary from 1497 to 1498, he accompanied the Cardinal to Hungary on the legate's mission¹¹². He

¹⁰⁵ Sándor TÓTH, *Veszprém város településtörténeti kialakulása*, in «A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei» 8 (1969) 257-278, 260. See also A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 578. n. 784. – The construction was directed by Isvalies's vicar, Tommaso Bellorusso according to his instructions; see below.

¹⁰⁶ G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 143, n. 121.

¹⁰⁷ G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 152, n. 124.

¹⁰⁸ András KUBINYI, *Egy üzletelő és diplomata várúr Mohács előtt: Ákosházi Sárkány Ambrus*, in *Gerő László nyolcvanötödik születésnapjára*, Nóra PAMER (ed.), Budapest, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994 (Művészettörténet – műemlékvédelem 6) 263-291, István was the nephew of Ambrus, see *ivi*, 265.

¹⁰⁹ Norbert C. TÓTH – Richárd HORVÁTH – Tibor NEUMANN – Tamás PÁLOSFALVI – András W. KOVÁCS, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1458-1526. II. Megyék*, Budapest, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017 (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Adattárak) 355-356.

¹¹⁰ The nobleman of the bishop became the later castellan of Veszprém and the vice-prefect of Veszprém. See G. ÉRSZEGI– L. SOLYMOSI, *Veszprém*, 285, 287-288, 290; N. C. TÓTH et al., *Archontológia*, 346.

¹¹¹ Balázs KARLINSZKY, *A veszprémi káptalan bevételei és gazdasági ereje a XV–XVI. század fordulóján*, in *Veszprém reneszánsza*, László KILIÁN – Pál RAINER (ed.), Veszprém, Művészetek Háza, 2008, 37-66, 37, 57.

¹¹² Federico MARTINO, *Per la storia degli autografi di Tommaso Bellorusso*, in «Medi-terranea. Ricerche storiche» 3 (2006) 361-378, 366-367, 375.

was known to have already been a canon in Palermo and a notary public when, now as a secretary, he authenticated one of the charters of the legate in November 1501¹¹³. In November of the next year, he appeared as the clerk of Filippo Sergardi, Isvalies' auditor general¹¹⁴. After the period of the legation, his activities as a governor and vicar can be traced up until the summer of 1508¹¹⁵. At the time, the cardinal-bishop's confidence in him was shaken, since he could neither produce accounting books, nor account for the money spent on the renovation of the castles. Therefore, Isvalies made a complaint to the pope who then wrote directly to Vladislaus II to ask for an investigation of the case¹¹⁶. Bellorusso was removed as vicar and promptly deprived of the governorship of Cardinal Isvalies' Hungarian benefices which consisted of the diocese of Veszprém and the two abbeys of Pécsvárad and Szekszárd; these being turned over to the administration of Vincenzo Baldi on 6 November 1508¹¹⁷. The damning judgement must have been made in the spring of 1509, since the possessions confiscated from Bellorusso, the archdeaconry of Segesd and the Saint Balázs and Saint Martin altar-benefices of the cathedral of Veszprém were given to Cardinal Isvalies – presumably as compensation¹¹⁸. After the proceedings, Tommaso Bellorusso did not remain in

¹¹³ «Thomas Bellus Russus canonicus Panormitanensis publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ac prefati reverendissimi domini legati secretarius». 27 November, 1501. MNL OL DF 275543.

¹¹⁴ 8 November, 1502. MNL OL DL 88875. His name here is Thomas Panormita. See also MNL OL DF 200595., cited by N. C. TóTH, *Archontológia*, 118.

¹¹⁵ 10 January, 1504. MNL OL DF 201545; 28 February, 1505. MNL OL DF 200593; 12 March, 1505. MNL OL DL 46705; 14 May, 1505. MNL OL DL 93718; 17 December, 1505. MNL OL DF 201553; 23 March, 1506. MNL OL DF 216820; 1 September, 1506. MNL OL DF 208418. 19 September, 1506. MNL OL DL 25461; 4 June, 1507. MNL OL DL 68485. 13 July, 1507. *A veszprémi káptalan számadáskönyve 1495–1534. Krónika (1526–1558). Javadalmások és javadalmak (1550, 1556)*, László KREDICS – Lajos MADARÁSZ – László SOLYMOSI (ed.), Veszprém, 1997, 126–127. 23 July, 1507. Jenő GUTHEIL, *Veszprém város okmánytára. Oklevelek a veszprémi érseki és káptalani levéltárakból (1002–1523)*, Veszprém, Veszprémi Érseki és Főkáptalani Levéltár-Veszprémi Érseki Könyvtár, 2007 (*A Veszprémi Egyházmegye Múltjából*, 18), 315–317, n. 205. See also G. FRANKÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 141, n. 117. and 154, n. 129; N. C. TóTH, *Archontológia*, 118.

¹¹⁶ 16 August, 1508. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 28, ff. 424rv, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 578. n. 784.

¹¹⁷ MNL OL DL 46875., cited by C. TóTH N., *Archontológia*, 119.

¹¹⁸ He participated in the meeting of the chapter still on 13 July, 1508, see L. KREDICS – L. MADARÁSZ – L. SOLYMOSI, *A veszprémi káptalan*, 134, 137. 17 July, 1509.

Hungary, returning to Rome where he spent two more years¹¹⁹. From there, he returned to his birthplace of Palermo on behalf of Cardinal Francesco Remolino, the archbishop of that place, where he became a vicar until 1518. Then for a short period of time in 1532 he became the vicar of the diocese of Monreale. After his return home, he began writing humanist tracts by which he was able to augment his income¹²⁰.

After Belorusso's removal, his offices were filled in by Vincenzo Baldi as already stated above.¹²¹ A doctor of law of Pistoian origin, Baldi's name does not appear in the sources prior to this. Therefore, it is unclear whether he arrived in Hungary during the legation of Isvalies or shortly after. He was a governor and vicar until the spring of 1509 when he was succeeded by Péter Beriszló, the provost of Fehérvár¹²². Beriszló – who was sent to the Roman Curia many times by Vladislaus II – knew Cardinal Isvalies personally. It was he who brought the papal brief on the investigation against Bellorusso from Rome¹²³. After this, Baldi

G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 178, n. 153. On the Saint Martin altar-benefice see L. KREDICS – L. MADARÁSZ – L. SOLYMOSI, *A veszprémi káptalan*, 126-127. See also László SOLYMOSI, Az 1515. évi veszprémi zsinat és a vallásos élet, in *Tudomány és művészet Veszprémben a 13-15. században*, Veszprém, 1996 (Veszprémi Múzeumi Konferenciák 6), 62.

¹¹⁹ In his memoir he described the years he spent in Hungary as follows: «Deinde, cum essem a secretis scriba Petri Cardinalis Rhegyni, ductus sum invitatus in Pannoniam Inferiorem ab ipso Cardinale, misso illuc legato ab Alexandro sexto pontifice maximo pro expeditione in Turcas, qui vendicaverant sibi, vi armorum, Neopactum, Motonem et Coronem, civitates Peloponesi, a ditione Venetorum. Peracto postea triennio, illinc legatus cum vellet recedere, constituit me vicarium suum et rectorem, non tamen ex meo voto, insignis ecclesiae Vespriensis, ubi primarium templum dicatum est divino Michaeli illudque reparavi et exornavi quantum fas mihi fuit et patronum predicti templi accepi in advocatum. Decem tandem consumptis annis, coactus sum Romam regredi...» F. MARTINO, *Tommaso Bellorusso*, 375, see also *ivi* 367.

¹²⁰ His works: *Tractatus de duabus Madalenis* (1520/1535), *Vita S. Angeli martyris Carmelitani* (1526/1527), *Vaticinia de Christiane Reipublice afflictione ac dein consolatione* (1527), *Opus de Septem Spiritibus* (1535), F. MARTINO, *Tommaso Bellorusso*, 362-372.

¹²¹ 6 November, 1508. MNL OL DL 46875., 15 November, 1508. MNL OL DF 201574. (J. GUTHEIL, *Veszprém*, 317-319, n. 206), 16 December, 1508. MNL OL DL 107484., 26 April, 1509. MNL OL DF 262506. (G. ÉRSZEGI – L. SOLYMOSI, *Veszprém*, 479-481, n. 287.); N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 119.

¹²² András KUBINYI, *Beriszló Péter és budai szereplése*, in «Budapest Régiségei» 20 (1963) 125-136. On his legateships see A. KUBINYI, *Diplomáciai érintkezések*, 123-124.

¹²³ On this see A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 578; V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 278.

remained in Veszprém until 1516, supporting himself on a benefice as a canon¹²⁴. In 1518 he appeared as the Roman procurator of Tamás Bakóc. In 1523, along with Filippo Sergardi (a former auditor of Isvalies), he was the executor of János Lászlai, a well-known Hungarian confessor in Rome¹²⁵.

Even after his return to Rome, Isvalies continued to expand his Hungarian benefices beyond the diocese of Veszprém¹²⁶. In 1505 he obtained

¹²⁴ In 1510 he took part in the administration of the lease of Pécsvárad and Szekszárd, see MNL OL DF 208102., published by *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III, 636–638, n. 175. He is not registered as a missing person on the capitular meetings until 1516; however, after that regularly. See L. KREDICS – L. MADARÁSZ – L. SOLYMOSI, *A veszprémi káptalan*, ad indicem.

¹²⁵ *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1605)*, Péter TUSOR – Gábor NEMES (ed.), Budapest – Róma, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Egyháztörténeti Kutatócsoportja, 2011 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/7), 29–32, n. 20, 30; *Stephanus Brodericus: Epistulae*, Petrus KASZA (ed.), Budapest, Argumentum Kiadó-MOL, 2012 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Series Nova 16), 87–88, n. 28, quoted by: Bálint LAKATOS, *Kálnai Imre főesperesi és királyi titkári kinevezése (1523–1525). Adalékok a pápaság magyar személyi politikájához Mohács előtt*, in «Századok» 144 (2010) 411–431, 423. See also Gábor NEMES, *Magyarország kapcsolatai az Apostoli Szentszékkal (1523–1526)*, in «Századok» 149 (2015) 479–506, 492.

¹²⁶ AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 23, ff. 522v–523r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 568–569, n. 763. On the payment of the *commune servitium* see *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae*, I–II, †József LUKCSICS – Tamás FEDELES – Péter TUSOR (ed.), adiuvante Gábor NEMES, cooperatores András KOLTAI, Noémi KALOTAI, Gergely KISS, Zsanett MATUS, Budapest – Roma, MTA-PPKE Lendület Egyháztörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2014 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/9–10), I, 187–188, n. 321–322. See also Vilmos FRANKÓI, *A szekszárdi apátság története*, Budapest, 1879, 28. – Besides his Hungarian interests, he also received several Italian benefices. While being a legate in Hungary, he won the benefice of the S. Salvatore di Motta Rossa Basilian monastery (in the diocese of Reggio Calabria, 1501.). Directly after his election, he received the S. Pietro di Villanova Benedictine abbey and the provostship of Crema (1503) from Pope Julius II, which were later followed by the S. Maria di Roccamadore Cistercian abbey (in the diocese of Messina, 1504), the S. Maria di Trapezomata and the S. Angelo di Valletuccio Basilian monasteries (in the diocese of Reggio Calabria, 1505) and the diocese of Ourense (in the archdiocese of Braga, 1508). In the meantime, on 18 August, 1508, he exchanged his cardinal titular-church with S. Pudenziana. He did not have to wait long for the additional benefices: in 1509 he received the Diocese of Mazara's archdeaconry of Salem and the parish of S. Niccolò di Brigaria in Palermo (G. FRANKÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 178, n. 153.), and then in 1510, he became the archdeacon of the S. Maria Maggiore and the administrator of the diocese of Messina. See on these F. CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*.

the abbeys of Pécsvárad and Szekszárd¹²⁷, whose businesses were taken over by his then-governor of Veszprém, Tommaso Bellorusso. It is interesting to note that the people of Pécsvárad were reluctant to recognize Bellorusso at first¹²⁸. Moreover, Isvalies lodged a complaint with the pope regarding disciplinary problems in the monasteries¹²⁹. The cardinal did not pay much attention to the farming of the two monasteries, since he leased them out to Máté Tolnai, the abbot of Pannonhalma and to other Benedictine abbots for an annual fee of 2000 forints¹³⁰. Apart from these, in July 1509 he received the archdeaconry of Szeged in the cathedral chapter of Bács¹³¹. Later that year in October, he also obtained the archdeaconry of Bars which had become vacant after the death of Fülöp Bodrogi¹³².

¹²⁷ The diet of 1507, which enacted that an order could only be headed by a monk, made an exception with him: he could head the monasteries until the end of his life or until being elected as a pope. V. FRAKNÓI, *A szekszárdi apátság*, 28-30; Vilmos FRAKNÓI, *A magyar királyi kegyúri jog Szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig*, Budapest, Athenaeum 1895, 223; *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, XII/B, 35.

¹²⁸ MNL OL DF 208062.

¹²⁹ On 10 October, 1507, Julius II entrusted György Szatmári, the bishop of Pécs, and Zsigmond Thurzó, the bishop of Várad, with the restoration of discipline. See AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 25, ff. 463v-464v, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 575-576. n. 780.

¹³⁰ MNL OL DF 208091. and MNL OL DF 208102. *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III. 630-632, n. 170; 636-638, n. 175. – On behalf of Tommaso Bellorusso, in 1506 the auditor of Isvalies, Bartolomeo da Ancona, took 250 forints from the lease of the monastery of Pécsvárad. MNL OL DF 208059., published by *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III, 608, n. 153.

¹³¹ 15 July, 1509. G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 177, n. 152.

¹³² G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 178, n. 154. On Fülöp Bodrogi see Endre VERESS, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221-1864*, Budapest, 1941 (*Monumenta Hungariae Italica* 3), 255-256; Ferenc MONAY, *A római magyar gyóntatók*, Róma, 1956, 52-54; József KÖBLÖS, *Az egyházi közép-préteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában (A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával)*, Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1994 (*Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* 12), 382; Gábor NEMES, *Győr egyházmegyeiek a késő középkori Rómában*, in *Magyarország és a római Szentszék II. Vatikáni kutatások a 21. században*, Péter TUSOR – Kornél SZOVÁK – Tamás FEDELES (ed.), Budapest – Róma, MTA-PPKE Fraknoi Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2017 (*Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae* I/15) 107-136, 115-116. – He did not occupy his archdeaconry of Bars, from the spring of 1510 Gergely Pesti had its benefices, Kinga KÖRMENDY – Norbert C. TÓTH, *A Collegium Christi alapítása és tagjainak egyetemi tanulmányai. Az oklevelek és kéziratok tanúsága*, in *Metropolis Hungariae*, András HEGEDŰS (ed.),

Cardinal Protector

As a cardinal protector of Hungary and Bohemia¹³³, Pietro Isvalies frequently represented Vladislaus II in the Roman Curia as his personal diplomat and often facilitated sensitive communications between Buda and Rome. For instance, Isvalies gave Pope Julius II a congratulatory letter from the Hungarian monarch, the barons and prelates on the occasion of his election. In addition, they assured the new pope of their support in his demands on Venice. For his part, the pope counted on the cardinal to inform involved parties in Hungary regarding any developments in Rome which concerned them in addition to sending papal briefs through Isvalies¹³⁴.

In numerous cases, Cardinal Isvalies presented the requests of the Hungarian court to the pope. These included the appointment of a brother of Queen Anna, Archbishop Jean de Foix of Bordeaux, as the administrator of Transylvania¹³⁵; about keeping András, the Dominican provost of Fehérvár in his office¹³⁶; about the possible excommunication and interdictum, which could be inflicted upon the monarch and his court due to the occurrence of Bohemian heretics in the court of Buda¹³⁷; a request to exempt Albert and Charles, princes of Munster, from excommunication for the sake of their grandfather, George

Esztergom, 2017 (Strigonium antiquum VIII) 145-165, 165. I thank Norbert C. Tóth for calling my attention to this.

¹³³ For recent work on the cardinal protectors see Péter TUSOR, *A magyar koronabíborosi és bíboros protektori „intézmény” kialakulása és elhalása a XV-XVI. században*, in *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, Tibor NEUMANN (ed.), Budapest – Piliscsaba, Argumentum, 2004 (Analecta mediaevalia II) 291-310; G. NEMES, *Magyarország kapcsolatai*, 479-483; C. FLETCHER, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 22-24.

¹³⁴ 26 July, 1504. AAV Arm. XXXIX, vol. 22, ff. 127v-128v, 128v-129r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 558-559, n. 739-740; 20 November, 1504. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 22, ff. 219v-220r, 229v-230r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 559-560, n. 742-743. See also V. FRANKÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 274-275.

¹³⁵ 1 May, 1506. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 24, ff. 183rv, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 570-571, n. 768. See also J. LUKCSICS – T. FEDELES – P. TUSOR, *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia*, I, 190, n. 326.

¹³⁶ 10 December, 1506. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 25, ff. 35rv, A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 573, n. 775.

¹³⁷ 3 July, 1506. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 24, ff. 270rv, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 572, n. 772.

of Poděbrady¹³⁸, or about the aid that should have been sent for the anti-Ottoman war¹³⁹.

The other important duty of the protector was to present episcopal nominees – found suitable during the canonical investigation process – to the pope during the papal consistory. In the case of Isvalies, we have data regarding five such presentations: Miklós Laskai, the bishop of Vidin¹⁴⁰; Simon de Begna (Simon Kožičić), the bishop of Modrus¹⁴¹; Mihály Máramarosi (Jánosfalvi), the bishop of Moldva¹⁴²; János Miletinci, the bishop of Gallipoli¹⁴³; and András, the bishop of Roson¹⁴⁴.

In Rome, Isvalies made good use of his first-hand knowledge of affairs in Hungary. For instance, in connection with the anti-Ottoman war, Cardinal Isvalies spoke at length about his legation in Hungary during a papal consistory¹⁴⁵. Again, relying on his experience, the cardinal was able to inform the pope about diplomatic relations between King Vladislaus and Shah Ismail I.¹⁴⁶ He described the prominent persons of the Hungarian clergy to the pope including Cardinal Tamás Bakóc¹⁴⁷ and György Szatmári, the bishop of Várad¹⁴⁸. Occasionally he also informed the envoys of the other monarchs staying in Rome about Hungarian

¹³⁸ 19 May, 1507. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 25, ff. 340r-341r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 574-575, n. 778.

¹³⁹ 26 September, 1508. AAV Arm. XXXIX., vol. 28, ff. 502v-503v, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 579, n. 787.

¹⁴⁰ 15 November, 1504. G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 153, n. 126. Auxiliary bishop of Vác, see N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 123.

¹⁴¹ 7 November, 1509. P. TUSOR – G. NEMES, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, 16-17, n. 10. See also N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 79.

¹⁴² 11 January, 1510. P. TUSOR – G. NEMES, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, 17-18. n. 11. Auxiliary bishop of Esztergom, see also N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 82.

¹⁴³ 24 April, 1510. TUSOR P. – NEMES G., *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, 19-20. n. 12. Auxiliary bishop of Várad, see also N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 113.

¹⁴⁴ 19 May, 1510. P. TUSOR – G. NEMES, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, 20-22. n. 13. Auxiliary bishop of Zagreb, see also N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 129-132.

¹⁴⁵ 30 January, 1505. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 23, ff. 659v-660r, 661v-662v, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 560. 562-563, n. 750-751.

¹⁴⁶ 17 June, 1508. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 28, ff. 318v-319r, published by Augustin THEINER, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*. I. Roma, Typis Vaticanis, 1863, 554-555, n. 748.

¹⁴⁷ 29 August, 1505. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 23, ff. 517r-518r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 568, n. 762.

¹⁴⁸ 20 November, 1504. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 22, ff. 229v-230r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 560, n. 743.

affairs¹⁴⁹, which he continued to be well informed about as exemplified by his knowledge of the case concerning the *dotalitium* (dowry) of Vladislaus II and Beatrice of Naples¹⁵⁰.

In addition to these offices, Isvalies was also the cardinal protector of Poland and Bohemia¹⁵¹. In that capacity, he accompanied the envoys of King Alexander of Poland when they were welcomed by the pope in a public consistory, after which he escorted them from the papal palace and treated them to a feast on 10 March 1505¹⁵². Three years later in 1508, he was the one to present the pope with the request of King Sigismund of Poland – whom he personally knew from his legation in Hungary – concerning support for his anti-Ottoman war¹⁵³. In addition, Isvalies often informed the pope about the conflict between Polish crown and the Teutonic Order¹⁵⁴. Perhaps it was only natural then that his own retinue often took part in the networking between the pope and the Jagiellonian court. In the autumn of 1509, Pope Julius II sent the vassal of Cardinal Isvalies, the previously mentioned Transylvanian Saxon Jacobus Piso, as a nuncio to King Sigismund, in whose court he had an office up until the summer of 1510¹⁵⁵. In March 1510, the

¹⁴⁹ E.g. P. VILLARI, *Dispacci di Antonio Guistinian*, III, 180, 314.

¹⁵⁰ 27 March, 1508. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 28, ff. 151v–152v, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Hung.*, II, 576–577. n. 782; 16 August, 1508. AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 28, ff. 437v–438r. The trial started in November 1507, see Beatrice's letters written to Ippolito d'Este: ASMò, Carteggio Principi, *Esteri*, 1623, b. 2/8, 17–19. published by Albert BERZEVICZY (ed.), *Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, Budapest, Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1914 (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, I/ 39) 452–456; *Vestigia*, Infocus 2209–2211. – It might be due to his activity as a cardinal protector that he transcribed the sola signatura supplication of János, the parish priest of Sárospatak, in his residence of Rome on 24 April, 1508. MNL OL DF 234614.

¹⁵¹ Joseph WODKA, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie*, Innsbruck – Leipzig, Rauch, 1938 (Publikationen des ehemaligen Österreichischen Historischen Instituts in Rom 4/1), 20.

¹⁵² E. CELANI, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II. 474.

¹⁵³ AAV, Arm. XXXIX, vol. 28, ff. 513v–514r, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 325–326, n. 356.

¹⁵⁴ 27 March, 1509. A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 326–327. n. 358; 1 May, 1510. AAV, Arm. XXXII, vol. 21, ff. 218rv, published by A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 330–331, n. 364.

¹⁵⁵ On 10 November, 1509, Vladislaus II wrote to the pope from Prague that *Jacobus Piso decretorum doctor sanctitatis vestre nuntius* handed the breves over to King Sigismund, AAV, Arm. XXXII, vol. 21, ff. 226r–227v. By the help of Cardinal Isvalies, on 1 October, 1509, he received the prebend of Esztergom of Fülöp Bodrogi, the Hun-

papal brief which called for a new anti-Ottoman crusade was brought to Esztergom by a man named Piero, a vassal of the cardinal¹⁵⁶.

The Sad End of a Glorious Career

Cardinal Pietro Isvalies gradually became one of the most influential cardinals of the Curia during the pontificate of Julius II, and thus received several important military duties from the pope. In 1509 he had to travel to Tivoli to stop the riots of the Colonnas and Orsinis. In September 1510, Julius II decided to attack the Prince of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, who was supported by Louis XII and with whom he had been in alliance not long before. Therefore, the pope sent Isvalies with Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona to Bologna, which had been seized from the Bentivoglios in 1506, to recruit 6000 soldiers for the papal army for the campaign against Ferrara. In January 1511, Isvalies participated in the siege of Mirandola, returning to Bologna after the city was occupied by papal forces. On 14 May 1511, the French army led by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio of Milan approached Bologna forcing Pope Julius II to remove to Ravenna, handing the title of the governor over to Cardinal Legate Francesco Alidosi. On 23 May 1511 the papal troops suffered a grave defeat and were forced to give up Bologna, which was re-occupied by the expelled Bentivoglios. One of the reasons of the defeat was a conflict that had arisen between Cardinal Alidosi and Francesco Maria della Rovere, the Duke of Urbino, who was the nephew of Pope Julius II and the head of the papal troops. The fracture had worsened to the

garian confessor who died in Rome (G. FRANKÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 179, n. 155.), and then he is likely to have become an apostolic protonotary and a papal chamberlain after his service as a nuncio (P. TUSOR – G. NEMES, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, 35, n. 25.). On his legateship see also A. THEINER, *Vet. mon. Pol.*, II, 330–331, n. 364; Jenő ÁBEL, *Magyarországi humanisták és a Dunai Tudós Társaság*, Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880, 82; L. JANKOVITS, *Jacobus Piso kapcsolatai*, 32.

¹⁵⁶ G. WENZEL, *Marino Sanuto II*, 166; Bálint LAKATOS, *A tatái országgyűlés és diplomáciai háttere (1508–1510)*, in *A diplomácia választóján. 500 éve volt Tatán országgyűlés*, János LÁSZLÓ (ed.), Tata, 2010 (Annales Tataienses VI) 29–65, 8. – Piero might be identical to Procurator Petrus, who arranged the lease of the monasteries of Pécsvárad and Szekszárd. See MNL OL DF 208102., published by *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III. 636–638. n. 175.

point that the Duke of Urbino had Cardinal Alidosi publicly killed on 24 May¹⁵⁷.

It was during these circumstances that Isvalies was appointed as the legate of Bologna and Romagna by Pope Julius II. However, he was badly defeated by the Bentivoglios in a battle fought for the re-occupation of Bologna on 17 July 1511. Fleeing from the pope's anger, he died of an illness in Cesena on 22 September, 1511. Afterwards, his mortal remains were returned to Rome and laid to rest in the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore¹⁵⁸.

Outlook

Cardinal Isvalies was an outstanding bureaucrat and diplomat who, through his education, talent and connections had an exceptional career in the Roman Curia. On the Piazza del Biscione, near Campo de' Fiori, he bought the palace of Virginio Orsini, which he renovated and decorated with paintings and sculptures. He erected his court here, which also provided a meeting place to the erudite humanists¹⁵⁹. He supported the famous Sicilian poet Angelo Callimaco who dedicated two of his works to him¹⁶⁰. The noted theologian and philosopher Marco da Benevento lived and worked in his court while writing his geographical and astronomical work, *Geographia*¹⁶¹. The cardinal's considerable income was consumed by his court, which at times caused liquidity problems, a fate shared by many of his fellow cardinals¹⁶².

¹⁵⁷ David S. CHAMBERS, *Popes, Cardinals and War. The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2006, 119–125.

¹⁵⁸ G. FRANKÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, LXXIII; F. CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*.

¹⁵⁹ F. CRUCITTI, *Isvalies, Pietro*. On the Palazzo Orsini Pio Righetti see C. FLETCHER, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 131.

¹⁶⁰ Giancarlo SCHIZZEROTTO, *Callimaco, Angelo*, in DBI, 16, Roma, 1973, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-callimaco_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-callimaco_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (downloaded 12/05/2020). On his connections in Hungary, see József HUSZTI, *Angelus Callimachus Sicilius költeménye Báthori Miklóshoz*, in «Magyar Könyvszemle» 36 (1929) 10–14.

¹⁶¹ Margherita PALUMBO, *Marco da Benevento*, in DBI, 69, Roma, 2007, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-da-benevento_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (downloaded 12/05/2020).

¹⁶² Cardinal Isvalies was criticized by cardinal Bernardo Dovizi for wearing fake jewels, Ronald C. FINUCANE, *Contested Canonizations. The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523*, Washington, 2011, 120.

Isvalies' benefices in Hungary soon found new owners after his death. The episcopacy of Veszprém was given to Péter Beriszló who had been appointed governor and vicar by Isvalies himself¹⁶³. In the spirit of the Benedictine reform hallmarked by Máté Tolnai, monks again became the heads of the abbeys of Szekszárd and Pécsvárad: Abbot Mihály and Abbot Pál respectively¹⁶⁴. Tamás Bakóc, who had worked with Isvalies during the 1501 preparations for the anti-Ottoman war, arrived in Rome on 26 January, 1512 and took up residence in the palace on the Piazza del Biscione, where Cardinal Isvalies had lived mere month before¹⁶⁵. Although the palace was situated in the most fashionable district among the diplomats of Rome, that was hardly the main motive of Bakóc. The archbishop of Esztergom wanted to follow the footsteps of Cardinal Isvalies by taking on the role of cardinal protector and even a certain part of his vassals¹⁶⁶. By relying on the legacy of Isvalies, during his two-year stay in Rome, Bakóc executed of the most intensive Hungarian representation ever in Rome, which also served and assisted János Szapolyai, King of Hungary (1526–1540) after the Battle of Mohács¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶³ N. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia*, 119.

¹⁶⁴ V. FRAKNÓI, *A szekszárdi apátság*, 30; *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, XII/B. 35–36.

¹⁶⁵ V. FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 304.

¹⁶⁶ G. NEMES, *Magyarország kapcsolatai*, 492–493, 504.

¹⁶⁷ GÁBOR NEMES, *Folytonosság vagy újrakezdés? Magyarország és az Apostoli Szentszék kapcsolatainak alakulása Mohács előtt és után*, in *Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. században*, Szabolcs VARGA – Lázár VÉRTESI (ed.), Pécs, Pécsi Püspöki Hittudományi Főiskola Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, 2017 (Seria Historiae Dioecesis Quinqueecclesiensis XVII) 105–133.

APPENDIX

*The Clerks of Cardinal Legate Pietro Isvalies in Hungary**Auditor generalis*

Mariano Bartolini (*Marianus de Bartholinis de Perusio*) 7. V. 1501. (DF 229183.)¹⁶⁸
23. II. 1502. (DF 278334.)

Doctor utriusque iuris. He was born in Perugia in around 1465/66. In the 1490s he taught civil law in his birthplace and in Pisa, besides holding offices in Perugia; in 1499 he was conservatore della moneta, in 1500 avvocato del comune. After returning from Hungary he was the auditor of the Sacra Romana Rota (1503–1508), auditor causarum palatii apostolici, and papal chaplain (1504). In the meantime he was an apostolic nuncio sent to Maximilian I (1504–1506), and then the chamberlain of the Sacra Romana Rota (1506–1507), later he was again in the court of Maximilian I with Cardinal Legate Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal (1507–1508). † 3. IX. 1509¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁸ Reg. B. IVÁNYI, *Eperjes*, n. 824. His further charters: MNL OL DF 260854; 229185. (B. IVÁNYI, *Eperjes*, n. 826.); 232085; 207995. (*Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III. 574–575. n. 123; G. FRAKNÓI – I. LUKCSICS, *Monumenta Romana*, IV, 104, n. 90.); MNL OL DL 46575. (György BÓNIS, *Szentszéki regeszták*, Budapest, 1997 (Jogtörténeti Tár, 1/1) n. 3932.). See also *Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, III. 572–573. n. 122.

¹⁶⁹ On his life see Roberto ABBONDANZA, *Bartolini, Mariano*, in DBI, 6, 1964, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/mariano-bartolini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. (downloaded: 31/10/2017). Furthermore, Thomas FRENZ, *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie (RORC)*, Patavie, 2009–2016, <http://www.phil.uni-passau.de/fakultaetsorganisation/fakultaetsangehoerige/histhw/forschung/rorc/conspectus-generalis-personarum-alphabeticus/>, *Marianus de Bartolinis*; E. ARTNER, *Magyarország*, 159; A. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 336–343, 357, 361–362.

Filippo Sergardi (*Philippus de Sergardis Senensis*)¹⁷⁰ 8. XI. 1502. (DL 88875.)¹⁷¹
10. VII. 1503. (DF 253273.)

Doctor utriusque iuris. He was born in Siena; on 7 April, 1466 he completed his studies in law in his birthplace or in Ferrara with the leadership of the famous jurist of Siena, Bulgaro Bulgarini¹⁷². As a young man he was the secretary of the rich merchant of Siena, Agostino Chigi¹⁷³, and then he went to Rome, where he might have obtained curial offices through the instrumentality of his master: collector taxae plumbi (1493–1496), scriptor penitentie (1497–1499), prothonotarius apostolicus (1501–1525)¹⁷⁴. After returning from Hungary, by the side

¹⁷⁰ On his life and family the latest Benedetta BORELLO, *Comprare e investire. Le case dei Sergardi a Roma tra Cinquecento e Settecento. Appunti su una ricerca in corso*, Siena, Università di Siena, 2004, http://www.storia.unisi.it/uploads/media/borello_segardi.pdf (downloaded 31/10/2013), G. NEMES, *Magyarország kapcsolatai*, 492–493, 499–501; Piers BAKER-BATES, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, London – New York, Routledge, 2017 (Visual Culture In Early Modernity), 35–52. Piers Baker-Bates suggested that there were two Filippo Sergardi (*ivi*, 39.), an uncle and a nephew. There is only one source existing on the older Filippo, one extract of the *Le pompe sanesi o vero relazione delli uomini e donne illustri di Siena e suo stato*, the biographical collection of Ugurgieri Azzolini, a Dominican monk of Pisa published in 1649 in Pistoia (I.V.XXIII.). According to this, Filippo di Giovanni Sergardi became an abbot in the diocese of Esztergom in 1494 («fu fatto abbate nella diocesi di Strigonia in Ungheria»), and then he was appointed as a cleric of the Camera Apostolica in Rome. Afterwards, he was sent to Emperor Maximilian by Pope Alexander VI as a legate («da Alessandro VI pontefice Romano fu mandato nunzio straordinario a Massimiliano imperatore per trattare negozii importantissimi e difficilissimi appartenenti alla Republica Cristiana»). He died in Germany, where he was loved by the emperor as well as by the whole Hungarian nobility (*tutta la nobiltà Unghera*). While the paternal grandfather of Filippo was called Giovanni, it should be mentioned that from the family home of Montalcino, it was Niccolò, the father of Filippo, who moved to Siena; his children being born here. I could not find any data on his legateship, abbacy and other titles; therefore, it is possible that this biography is only a part of the legendry of the family.

¹⁷¹ The judge sent before it 13. IX. 1501. MNL OL DF 232090.

¹⁷² P. BAKER-BATES, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, 37.

¹⁷³ *Ivi*, 39. – As one of the executors of Agostino Chigi's testament, he led the construction of the Chigi Chapel of the Santa Maria della Pace in Rome, where he met such masters like Baldassare Peruzzi, Sebastiano del Piombo. See *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Thomas FRENZ, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance 1471–1527*, Tübingen, De Gruyter, 1986 (Bibliothek des deutschen Instituts in Rom 63), 435, n. 1984–1985; T. FRENZ, *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie*. Thomas Frenz wrongly handled them as two separate persons in the name of Philippus de Senis and Philippus de Sergardis. – On 19 May, 1499, he enrolled in the Holy Spirit hospital in Rome, *Necrologi e libri*

of Isvalies, he was present at the conclave electing Pope Julius II¹⁷⁵. After this, he obtained the following curial offices: secretarius apostolicus (1502–1534), clericus camere (1504–1526, decanus clerici camere apostolice 1520–1523.), corrector archivii Romane curie (1505–1513), magister registri cancellarie (1508–1518, 1532), notarius (1512), advocatus consistorialis (1519–1525), miles sancti Petri (1520–)¹⁷⁶. In his absence he also got Hungarian benefices: the canon of Esztergom (around 1508), Pécs (1509–1512), Győr (1510–1515), the beneficiary of the Our Lady Chapel of the cathedral of Esztergom (1512–1529). He had excellent connections with Cardinal Tamás Bakóc and the Hungarian Paulines in Rome¹⁷⁷. † before 15. III. 1536.

*Secretary (secretarius)*¹⁷⁸

Filippo Sergardi (*Phi. prothon. Senen.*)

19. III. 1501. DF 207990.

[11. X. 1502.]¹⁷⁹

29. VIII. 1503. DF 251603.¹⁸⁰

See above.

affini della provincia Romana, II, Pietro EGIDI (ed.), Roma, Forzani e C., 1914 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia), 375.

¹⁷⁵ E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, 1900. II. 404.

¹⁷⁶ T. FRENZ, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste*, 435, n. 1984–1985. T. FRENZ, *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie*; Ivana AIT, *La catena invisibile: riflessioni sui testamenti dei secoli XIV–XV* in *Per Enzo. Studi in memoria di Vincenzo Matera*. Lidia CAPO – Antonio CIARALLI (ed.), Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2015, 7–8 (Reti Medievali 25), 15–16.

¹⁷⁷ J. KÖBLÖS, *Az egyházi középréteg*, 438–439; Tamás FEDELES, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526)*, Pécs, Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2005 (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 17), 442; Kinga KÖRMENDY, *Studentes extra regnum. Esztergomi kanonokok egyetemjárása és könyvhasználata 1183–1543*, Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2007 (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III. Studia 9), 210–211; G. NEMES, *Magyarország kapcsolatai*, 492–493, 499–501.

¹⁷⁸ The signature of the secretary is on the right side, under the plica.

¹⁷⁹ On the charter of the legate dated on 11 October, 1502, his signature can be found on the places of the secretary as well as the scriptor (MNL OL DL 46605.), from this time on until 29 August, 1503 his signature is always in the place of the scriptor, namely on the plica, at the right bottom.

¹⁸⁰ On the charter with the reference number of MNL OL DF 208002 his signature is in the place of the *collector taxae plumbi* for the first time concerning the papal bulls.

Rainerio Casciotti (*Ranerius Casioctus*)¹⁸¹ 26. V. 1501. DF 237342

The canon of Volterra and notary public, who was born in San Gimignano. In 1498 he was the chancellor of one of the judges of the case against Girolamo Savonarola, of Francisco de Remolins in Florence. In 1502 he is again in Florence as a notary public¹⁸².

*Taxator*¹⁸³

Filippo Sergardi (*Phi. prothon. Senen.*) 8. III. 1501. DL 22531.

9. III. 1501. DL 21677.

See above.

Ippolito Sassi (*Hi. Saxo*) 8. II. 1501. DF 288443.

12. VII. 1502. DL 63880.

He was born in a Roman noble family of Florentine origin. Besides being a *taxator*, he was also a messenger. He returned from Rome on 21 August, 1502¹⁸⁴. On 1 November 1503, by the side of Isvalies, he was present at the conclave electing Pope Julius II¹⁸⁵. Thereafter, he had municipal offices in Rome; in 1511 he was one of the representatives of the district of Ponte, in 1515 he was one of the conservatores¹⁸⁶. With his brother, Benedetto Sassi, the canon of St. Peter's

¹⁸¹ «Ego Ranerius Casioctus de Sancto Geminiano canonicus ecclesie Wlterranensis publicus apostolica atque imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ac prefati reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri cardinalis etc. legati antedicti secretarius».

¹⁸² Gian Carlo GARFAGNINI, *Introduzione*, in *Domenico Benivieni, Trattato in difesa di Girolamo Savonarola*, Gian Carlo GARFAGNINI (ed.), Firenze, SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003 (Savonarola e la Toscana 20) XVII-XXXVI, XVIII-XIX; <http://www.luoghifermani.it/?p=5797> n. 673. (downloaded: 31/10/2017.)

¹⁸³ The signature of the *taxator* is under the text of the charter, on the left hand side; to the left there is the month of the payment, and above it its sum can be seen. On the papal bulls, the signature of the *rescribendarius* and the *computator* can be seen in these places. Thomas FRENZ, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 1986 (Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen 2), 108-111.

¹⁸⁴ ASMo Ambasciatori busta 3/24,22. (*Vestigia*, Infocus n. 1487.) «messer Hippolyto Saxo cavalier et gentilhomme domino».

¹⁸⁵ Benedetto FIORAVANTI, *Antiqui Romanorum pontificum denarii a Benedicto XI. ad Paulum III*, Roma, ex Typographia Bernabò, 1738, 169, 177; E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II. 404.

¹⁸⁶ Gian Paolo CASTELLI, *Ante diem clade Urbis interiit. Fausto Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro: la sua vita, la sua famiglia e il Sacco di Roma*, in *Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di testi, saggi e inventari IX*, Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2016 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani), 147-329, 183.

Basilica he created a collection of antique works of art in their home on the Via di Governo Vecchio¹⁸⁷.

Corrado Caracciolo (*C. Caratiolus*) 27. VIII. 1502. DF 287786.
29. VIII. 1503. DF 251603.

From 1498 he was an apostolic protonotary, from 1507 a scriptor archivi Romane curie, from 1511 a secretarius. † before 18. IV. 1513¹⁸⁸.

Registrar

Girolamo Maserio (*Hi. Maserius*) 8. II. 1501. DF 288443.
9. III. 1501. DL 21677¹⁸⁹.

A humanist scholar of Forlian origin, he taught Greek and Latin at the university of Rome and Perugia. Presumably, he stayed in Hungary during the whole legation of Cardinal Isvalies. In October 1503, when the cardinal on his way home had negotiations in Venice, he stayed there and taught Greek in the Scuola di S. Marco until 1509. In 1505 he published Cicero's works of *Partitiones oratoriae*, *Orator ad Brutum* and *Topica*. After the lost battle of Agnadello in 1509 he had to leave Venice, since before the battle he had foretold Venetian victory from the stars¹⁹⁰.

Clerk (scriptor)

Philippus Datarius 8. II. 1501. DF 288443.
9. III. 1501. DL 21677.

His identity is unknown, according to the place of his signature on the charter, he might have been a sollicitator.

¹⁸⁷ *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, Nancy Thomson DE GRUMMOND (ed.), London – New York, Routledge, 1996, 1012-1013.

¹⁸⁸ T. FRENZ, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste*, 311. n. 515.

¹⁸⁹ His signature appears on the register-note; therefore, he must have been responsible for the registration.

¹⁹⁰ F. STEFANI, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, V, 333, 438; *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, VIII, Niccolò BAROZZI (ed.), Venezia, Visentini Cav. Federico Editore, 1882, 384; *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, XII, Niccolò BAROZZI (ed.), Venezia, Visentini Cav. Federico Editore, 1886, 296. Vittore Fausto, the humanist scholar and shipbuilder was his famous student: Francesco PIOVAN, *Fausto, Vittore*, in DBI, 45, 1995, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittore-fausto_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittore-fausto_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (downloaded: 31/10/2017); Lilia CAMPANA, *Vettor Fausto (1490-1546), Professor of Greek at the School of Saint Mark in Teachers, Students and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, Federica CICCOLELLA – Luigi SILVANO (ed.), Leiden, Brill, 2017 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 264) 311-341, 316-317.

Rainerio Casciotti (*R. Casciottus*)
See above.

8. II. 1501. DF 288443.

V. Crastonus

8. III. 1501. DL 22531., 22532¹⁹¹.

Gentile Santesio da Subiaco, «Pindaro» (*G. Pindarus*) 8. III. 1501. DF 228251.

12. III. 1501. DL 22533.

He was born in around 1463/64 to a poor family; he could have studied in the «seconda Accademia» of Guilio Pomponio Leto. In 1491 he was a papal chaplain; he delivered the eulogy on the funeral of Davide Villani, the Roman envoy of Henry VIII. In 1493–1495 he stayed in Hungary as the auditor and secretary of papal Nuncio Orso Orsini. In May 1499 Pope Alexander VI appointed him as the governor of Rieti. From 1503 he was the secretary of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and after his patron became pope (Leo X), he obtained many offices: from 1513 the referendary and secretary of Parma, he had many benefices in South Italy, from 1516 he was a comes palatinus. In 1513 he was sent to Venice due to the peace between the republic and emperor, in 1514 to Siena to ease the riots, in 1516 to Brussels to negotiate with the young Charles, the king of Aragon. He was a famous humanist, poet, musician; he was the member of the Roman Academia Corycia. †11. III. 1526¹⁹².

Giovanni da Piacenza (*Jo. Placentinus*)

9. III. 1501. DL 21677.

Petrus Desiderii

19. III. 1501. DF 207990.

The cleric of the diocese of Verdun, the notary of the Sacra Romana Rota 1512–1521.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ It is possible that he is a relative of the famous humanist, Carmelite monk, Giovanni Crastone; on him see Lucia GUALDO ROSA, *Crastone, Giovanni*, in DBI, 30, 1984, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-crastone_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-crastone_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (downloaded 20/11/2017).

¹⁹² *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, XV, Federico STEFANI (ed.), Venezia, Visentini Cav. Federico Editore 1886, 446; E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, I, 319; Alessandro FERRAJOLI, *Il ruolo della Corte di Leone X. Prelati domestici*, in «Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria» 40 (1917) 247–277, 255–262. *Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi Regesta I–VIII*, Joseph HERGENRÖTHER (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 1884–1891. n. 2450, 8124, 8125, 9928–9930, 17828; Anthony CUMMINGS, *Informal Academies and Music in Pope Leo X's Rome*, in «Italica» 86 (2009) 583–601, 588–589.

¹⁹³ T. FRENZ, *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie*, Petrus Desiderii; Christiane SCHUCHARD, *Die Rota-Notare aus den Diözesen des deutschen Sprachraums 1471–1527. Ein biographisches Verzeichnis*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken» 93 (2013) 104–210, 188.

Jean Boton (*Johannes Boton*)

26. III. 1501. DF 275542.
27. V. 1501. DF 237341.
[27. VII. 1503. DF 253273.]

He was the cleric of the diocese of Besançon and notary public¹⁹⁴. Once he was the scriptor of Cardinal Isvalies' charter¹⁹⁵. From the autumn of 1502 he was the clerk of Filippo Sergardi¹⁹⁶. On 12 June, 1503 he was declared as a lawyer by Mihály Szerdahelyi Imrefi in a case conducted in front of Cardinal Isvalies¹⁹⁷.

Pietro da Corone¹⁹⁸ (*Pe. Coronen.*)

3. XII. 1501. DL 21081.
27. VIII. 1502. DF 287786.

R. Libaldius

24. V. 1501. DL 21047.

Johannes Filioleri

12. VI. 1501. DF 229185.
9. II. 1502. DL 46575.

He was the clerk of Mariano Bartolini; In 1512 he was the member of the Roman Collegio dei notai capitolini¹⁹⁹.

Agent

Giovanni Bartolomeo de' Dossi
(*Johannes Bartholomeus de Dossis*,
Gianbartholome da Pavia)

27. XI. 1501. DF 275543²⁰⁰.
21. VIII. 1502. ASMo
Ambasciatori busta 3/24,22.
(VESTIGIA, Infocus nr.
1487.)²⁰¹

He was of Pavian origin; his father was Mariano de' Dossi della Palma, clerk

¹⁹⁴ See also MNL OL DL 50596.

¹⁹⁵ ⁹ May, 1501. MNL OL DL 88863.

¹⁹⁶ MNL OL DF 246273., 201538., 286469., 253273.

¹⁹⁷ MNL OL DL 101343.

¹⁹⁸ He might have been come from Corone, which was a fortress of Venice and occupied by the Ottomans in August, 1500.

¹⁹⁹ *Repertorio dei notari romani dal 1348 al 1927. dall'Elenco di Achille Francois*, Romina DE VIZIO (ed.), Roma, Fondazione Marco Besso, 2011 (Collana di storia ed arte VI), 53.

²⁰⁰ He was present in the royal palace of Buda, when Cardinal Isvalies issued a charter on the settlement of the conflict between the Observant and Conventual Franciscans.

²⁰¹ «Messer Gianbartholome da Pavia doctore clarissimo et advocato concistoriale in Urbe...».

of the Roman senate, his mother was Giulia Boccacci²⁰². Doctor utriusque iuris, advocatus consistorialis (1500–1510), presidens annone et mercium (1509). On 21 August, 1502 he arrived in Buda from Rome with Ippolito Sassi. †1524²⁰³.

Summarium

During his Hungarian legate between 1501 and 1503 Cardinal Isvalies spent his time negotiating concerning an anti-Turkish coalition. But also organised the matters of the jubilee for the benefit of a possible crusade. Both the cardinal's benefices, including the episcopacy of Veszprém, the abbacy of Pécsvárad and Szekszárd, and his office of the cardinal protector in Rome for the Jagellonian kingdoms resulted in his surviving connections to Hungary even after he moved back to Italy.

Curriculum

Dal 2006 lavora nell'Archivio Diocesano di Győr come archivista. Inoltre dal 2011 anche insegna storia della chiesa e storia dell'arte nell'Accademia Teologica di Győr. Dal 2017 lavora come collaboratore scientifico dell'Accademia Ungherese delle Scienze – Università Cattolica Péter Pázmány Istituto Storico Vilmos Fraknói. Ricerca le relazioni tra l'Ungheria e la Santa Sede Apostolica nell'età tardo-medievale e crea un repertorio delle bolle papali medievali in Ungheria. Laureatosi in storia, storia dell'arte e medievistica all'Università Cattolica di Péter Pázmány nel 2014, ha conseguito il dottorato di ricerca, titolo della dissertazione: "Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede Apostolica e l'Ungheria nel pontificato di Papa Clemente VII".

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²⁰² E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II. 249; Rodolfo LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, I, Roma, E. Loescher & C., 1902, 168.

²⁰³ E. CELANI *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*, II. 249; T. FRENZ, *Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie*, Johannes Doxius. – His house still stands on Via del Governo Vecchio (no. 104.); yet his palace and garden which were next to the Trevi Fountain have unfortunately perished. Ferdinando GREGOROVIVUS, *Storia della città di Roma nel medio evo dal secolo V al XVI*, VII, Venezia, Antonelli, 1875, 868; Sergio DELLI, *Le strade di Roma. Una guida alfabetica alla storia, ai segreti, all'arte, al folklore*, Roma, Newton Compton, 1975, 462.

