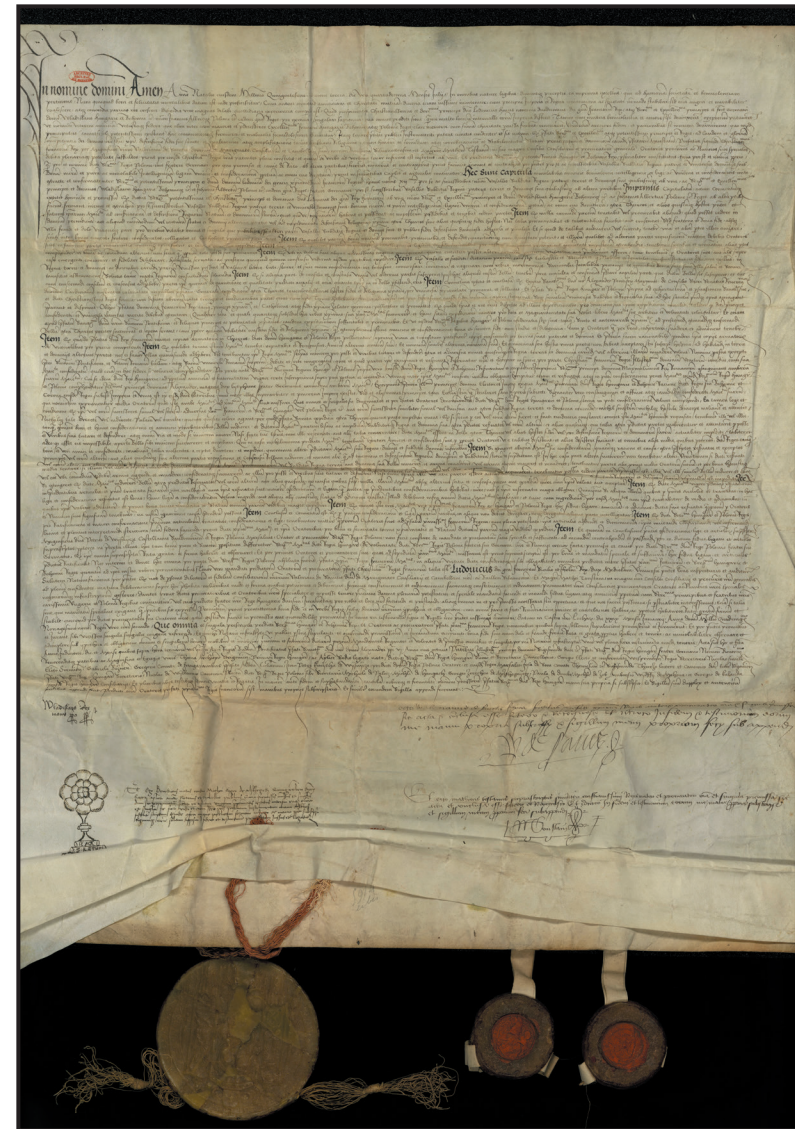




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THE JAGIELLONIANS IN EUROPE: DYNASTIC DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

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Debrecen
2016

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**THE JAGIELLONIANS IN EUROPE:
DYNASTIC DIPLOMACY AND
FOREIGN RELATIONS**

EDITED BY ATTILA BÁRÁNY,
IN CO-OPERATION WITH BALÁZS ANTAL BACSA

Debrecen
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Alliance treaty between France, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. Buda, 14 July 1500.

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FOREWORD

This volume is the proceedings of an international conference and workshop *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations / Die Jagiellonen in Europa: Dynastische und Diplomatische Beziehungen* held on 10-11 April 2015, organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen Hungary in Medieval Europe “Lendület” Research Group, at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, the University of Debrecen, Hungary.

The organizers aimed to give a broad, different approach, other than the usual national – for us, Hungarian – spectacle and view the dynasty in a European context, mainly concentrating on the European relations and view of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. Since our perspective is pre-1526, based on our Hungarian-centred researches, we mainly focussed on earlier periods, 15th and early 16th century.

Our aim was to organize a roundtable discussion as well, where the scholars of the different research centres throughout Europe could have an opportunity to have a discussion over the place and role of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the European constellation of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

We were honoured to welcome twenty speakers in six sessions from several countries – beyond the ones that had been under the rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty, i.e. Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Slovakia and Poland – from England, Germany and Romania. We were also pleased to welcome Dr. Paul Srodecki (Ostravská univerzita – Universität Giessen) as a guest speaker who launched the program with a key-note lecture (*Humanisten als Träger dynastischer Diplomatie an ostmitteleuropäischen Höfen des ausgehenden Mittelalters*).

The proceedings collect only a number of selected conference papers, nevertheless, beyond the authors of this volume, we welcomed speakers from several institutions and research centres from London to Zagreb (Royal Holloway University of London; University College London; Zemský archiv v Opavě, Opava and the Slezské zemské muzeum; University of Szeged; Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti). Beyond the scope of the articles, mostly investigating the fields of diplomacy, law, administration and representation, conference papers covered a much broader field ranging from matrimonial diplomacy, through the Habsburg attitude towards the dynasty and the treatment of the Ottoman threat to legal developments and political communication. The conference also had intriguing case studies on “individuals”, such as Prince Sigismund and the counts of Zrin/Zrínyi, while the ideological background of an ideal dynastic rule was seen in a tractate (*De institutione regii pueri*).

The event, as present volume is, was sponsored by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Office for Research Groups.

Nevertheless, the original idea for the workshop stemmed not only from our Debrecen research group. In July 2014 we organized a session (*The Jagellonian 'Empire' and European Diplomacy*) at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, where we came across with the colleagues of two research centres, that is, the European Research Council Research Group *The Jagiellonians: Dynasty, Memory & Identity in Central Europe*, Faculty of History, University of Oxford and the *Instytutu Historii i Archiwistyki*, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, in cooperation with the *Towarzystwo Naukowe*. There in Leeds, mainly through the intermediation of Dr. Piotr Oliński (Toruń) and Ilya Afanasyev (Oxford) we started a co-operation, first, upon the initiation of Dr. Oliński, leading to a joint enterprise of our Jagiellonian-related conference papers at the IMC, then, to organize a workshop. Since then we have been in a fruitful co-operation with these institutes.

In the Debrecen conference the research groups introduced themselves: a member of the Oxford Jagiellonians Project, Dr. Stanislava Kuzmová gave a presentation of their research program.

In 2015 our cooperation was followed at the International Medieval Congress, where the Debrecen and Toruń colleagues took part in the sessions organized by the Oxford Jagiellonian project (*Dynasticism in Medieval and Early Modern Europe and Beyond*). Two of the Debrecen research group members – Attila Györkös and myself – took also part with their papers at the Jagiellonians Project's conference in Somerville College, Oxford, in March 2016 (*Dynasty and Dynasticism (1400–1700)*). We also like to thank the Principal Researcher, Dr. Natalia Nowakowska for their help in our cooperation.

We also hope to follow up and strengthen the coordination of researches with this present volume.

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Gábor Nemes

The relations of the Holy See and Hungary under the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–1526)

‘The archives of the Roman Holy See can be compared to the mines, where the deeper a miner reaches the richer and more valuable strikes he finds.’

(Vilmos Fraknói)

Due to the scarcity of the Hungarian Medieval documents, which have survived the storms of history, the Hungarian historians have always put great emphasis on the study of foreign sources referring to Hungary with the researches at the Vatican Secret Archives having been in the forefront. Since the opening of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano in 1881 Hungarian historians have studied first of all the registers of bulls and the fonds of the Apostolic Camera, while the study of the briefs as the second type of the papal documents besides bulls, have remained neglected. Although Vilmos Fraknói published most of the briefs issued during the reign of Mathias I (Hunyadi), the sources of the Jagiellonian Age have remained untouched.¹

Why are these briefs² important? The practical demand of creating a new form of correspondence for the diplomatic letters and the confidential measures concerning the state administration instead of the slow, overstaffed Apostolic Chancery often consisting of unreliable persons rose in the chaotic period of

¹ Péter TUSOR, *Magyar történelmi kutatások a Vatikánban* [Hungarian historical studies in the Vatican] (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/1 – Excerptum), Budapest/Roma 2004.; Gábor NEMES, ‘A Jagelló-kori Magyarország és az Apostoli Szentszék kapcsolatai a pápai brevék tükrében. Kutatási beszámoló’ [The relation of the Apostolic See and Hungary in the Jagello age in the light of the papal briefs], in Ida FRÖHLICH (ed.), *Tíz éves a Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola*, Piliscsaba 2011, pp.43–58.

² Thomas FRENZ, ‘Zur äußeren Form der Papsturkunden 1230–1530’, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 22 (1976), 347–375; Idem, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen, 2), Stuttgart 1986, pp.28–9. [hereinafter: FRENZ 1986]; Idem, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance 1471–1527* (Bibliothek des deutschen Instituts in Rom, 63), Tübingen 1986, pp.12–15.

the Avignon Papacy:³ this new form of correspondence is the brief.⁴ During the fifteenth century the demand for the work of domestic and private secretaries (*secretarius domesticus et intimus*) depending directly from the Pope further intensified so that the Pope could have direct insight into the content of the letters to be sent out. Initially, issuing the brief was exclusively the duty of the secretaries, who worded and penned them according to the verbal instruction of the Pope. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the Holy See carried out its diplomatic correspondence almost exclusively in the form of brief.⁵

Comparing to the clumsy administration of the Chancery and the Chamber the faster and cheaper expedition of the briefs resulted in the fact that from the middle of the fifteenth century more and more applicants turned to the Holy See for papal license in briefs instead of bulls.⁶

In contrast to the compact series of the registers of supplications and bulls, the briefs issued before the organisational reforms of the Council of Trent can be found in scattered form in the Vatican Archives. Most of the briefs can be found in the archaic part of the archives, i.e. in the so called *Armadi*. Here, in addition to the registers of briefs and drafts, the legacies of secretaries contained briefs referring to Hungarian – first of all – diplomatic matters (Arm. XXXIX–

³ Friedrich BOCK, 'Über Registrierung von Sekretbriefen. Studien zu den Sekretregistern Johannis XXII', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 28 (1937–1938), 147–234.; Idem, 'Über Registrierung von Sekretbriefen. Studien zu den Sekretregistern Benedikts XII', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 29 (1938–1939), 41–88.; Idem, 'Einführung in das Registerwesen des Avignonischen Papsttums', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 31 (1941), 37–58.; Gottfried OPITZ, 'Über Registrierung von Sekretbriefen. Studien zu den Sekretregistern Clement VI', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 29 (1938–1939), 89–134.

⁴ Karl August FINK, 'Die ältesten Breven und Brevenregister', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25 (1933–1934), 292–307.; Idem, 'Untersuchungen über die päpstlichen Breven des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 43 (1935), 55–9, 74–7.; Idem, 'L'origine dei brevi apostolici', *Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma* 11 (1971), 75–81.; Armando PETRUCCI, 'L'origine dei brevi pontifici e gli antichi eruditi', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 89 (1966), 79–84.

⁵ Andreas KRAUS, 'Die Sekretäre Pius II. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte des päpstlichen Sekretariats', *Römische Quartalschrift* 53 (1958), 72–75.; Idem, 'Secretarius und Sekretariat. Der Ursprung der Intuition des Staatssekretariats und ihr Einfluß auf die Entwicklung moderner Regierungsformen in Europa', *Römische Quartalschrift* 55 (1960), 63–7.; Charles-Martial DE WITTE, 'Notes sur les plus anciens registres de brevés', *Bulletin de L'Institut historique Belge de Rome* 31 (1958), 153–68.

⁶ FRENZ 1986, 105–80.

XLIV).⁷ The Archives of the *Dataria Apostolica* contains the documents of those applicants who expected briefs for their applications (*Brevia Lateranensia*).⁸ The *Archivum Arcis* of the Castle of the Holy Angel keeps first of all the original testimonials of the returned envoys of the Holy See.⁹

Based on the papal briefs and supplemented them with the letters of Hungarian reference sent to the Holy See,¹⁰ the files of the Papal consistories,¹¹ the reports of nuncios' and other envoys' reports,¹² the Hungarian documental sources¹³ as well as the recent international and Hungarian literature I have reviewed this crucial period in the light of new points of view.

The briefs that I have revealed and published have offered a possibility to review the mentioned three years of relations of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy See in the light of the available sources and the recent literature.¹⁴ More than a hundred and ten years have passed since Vilmos Fraknói published his basic monograph about the relations of Hungary and the Holy See¹⁵ and

⁷ Karl August FINK, *Das Vatikanische Archiv. Einführung in die Bestände und ihre Erforschung*, Rom 1951², p.32, 75. [hereinafter: FINK 1951]; Lajos PÁSZTOR, *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America Latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia* (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 2), Città del Vaticano 1970, pp.16–9. [hereinafter: PÁSZTOR 1970]; Leonard E. BOYLE, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Subsidia mediaevalia, 1), Toronto 1972, p.39, pp.63–5. [hereinafter: BOYLE 1972]; Luigi NANNI (ed.), *Epistolae ad principes I* (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 28), Città del Vaticano 1992.

⁸ Karl August FINK, 'Zu den Brevia Lateranensia des Vatikanischen Archivs', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 32 (1942), 260–6.; FINK 1951, 68–9.; PÁSZTOR 1970, 54–6.; BOYLE 1972, 52–3.

⁹ FINK 1951, 146–8.; PÁSZTOR 1970, 21–4.; BOYLE 1972, 58–60.

¹⁰ BESSENYEI, Fejedelmi; Péter TUSOR, 'Fejedelmi forrásközlés', [Princely source publications], *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 16:2 (2004), 107–20.

¹¹ Péter TUSOR – Gábor NEMES (ed.): *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1605)* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/7), Budapest/Roma 2011. [hereinafter: Consistorialia]

¹² Mon. Vat. II/1.

¹³ György RÁCZ (ed.), *Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary (DL-DF 5.1)*, Budapest 2010. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a140506htm?v=pdf&a=start>.

¹⁴ Gábor NEMES, *Brevia Clementina. VII. Kelemen pápa magyar vonatkozású brevái (1523–1526)* [The Hungarian related briefs of Clement VII] (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/12; Publicationes Archivi Dioecesanii Jauriensis. Fontes, studia, 23), Budapest/Győr/Roma 2015.

¹⁵ Vilmos FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentszékekkel I–III* [The political and ecclesiastical connections of Hungary with the Roman Holy See], Budapest 1901–1903. [hereinafter: FRAKNÓI 1902]

the contributions dedicated to this issue since then, have all been based on his work.¹⁶ The result of my research could be grouped into three fields:

- I have outlined the participants of the relations between the two states in the possibly wildest spectre touching also their role in the connections.
- I have reviewed the efforts of the Pope in the interest of Hungary at the different Christian courts.
- I have summarised the role the diplomacy of the Holy See played in the domestic policy of Hungary.

The manifolded character of the relations between Hungary and the Holy See was a result of the diverse role of the Pope himself. The Holy Father, as the ruler of the Papal State, was an active participator of not only the Italian but also the whole European policy and held diplomatic connections with the courts of other countries. A lot of ecclesiastical and secular individuals turned to the Pope as the head of the Holy Church so that he did justice or favour. Since the courts of the Curia were forums of higher instances, a lot of people went to Rome in legal matters. Besides, Rome was also one of the most widely visited places of pilgrimage.

The highest ranking envoys that the Pope could send to a certain country were the legates, who usually were persons of outstanding abilities, experienced diplomats and mainly cardinals.¹⁷ In May 1523 Pope Adrian VI sent the learned Dominican cardinal, Tommaso de Vio to Hungary, who were staying in Buda for almost a year.¹⁸ A new legate, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi(o) was appointed in January 1524 and arrived at the Hungarian court at the end of the year after having stayed in Nürnberg and Vienna. He remained in Buda for about half a year.¹⁹ In addition to the diplomatic representation the legates supervised the

¹⁶ Edgár ARTNER, 'Magyarország és az Apostoli Szentszék viszonya a mohácsi vést megelőző években (1521–1526)' [The relations of Hungary and the Apostolic See in the years prior to the battle of Mohács], in Imre LUKINICH (ed.), *Mohácsi emlékkönyv 1526*, Budapest 1926, pp.63–123.; Domokos KOSÁRY, *Magyar külpolitika Mohács előtt* [Hungarian foreign policy prior to Mohács], Budapest 1978.; András KUBINYI, 'Diplomáciai érintkezések a Jagelló-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között' [Diplomatic connections of the Holy See and Hungary in the Jagello era], in András KUBINYI, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Prelates, ecclesiastical institutions and religiosity in medieval Hungary] (METEM Könyvek, 22), Budapest 1999, pp.107–21. [hereinafter: KUBINYI 1999a]

¹⁷ Antonín KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus? Papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1526)* [Papal legates and nuncios in Central Europe in the late Middle Ages] (Knižnice Matice Moravské, 30), Brno 2010.

¹⁸ Consistorialia, no. 21, 36, 38.

¹⁹ Consistorialia, no. 43.; NEMES 2015a, no. 7–9, 19–21, 35, 64, 69, 72, 89.

money of the papal financial aid that was deposited in the Fugger Factory of Buda and acted as judges in lawsuits concerning the Holy See. During his stay in Buda, Campeggi led the discussions preparing the union of the Czech Catholics and Utraquists, tried to mediate in the canonisation of John of Capistrano towards the Pope and managed to persuade the Archbishop of Esztergom: László Szalkai to have himself consecrated to a priest.²⁰

While the legates stayed at their destination for a specific mission and for shorter periods of time, the standing representation was the duty of the apostolic nuncios. The office of the standing envoy's duty of the Holy Father in Buda was fulfilled for more than three years by Giovanni Antonio Burgio who arrived in Hungary together with Legate Vio in the summer of 1523.²¹

The operations of Nuncio Burgio were basically determined by the instructions he received from Rome. His primary duty was the diplomatic correspondence and the information provision, so he regularly sent reports (*dispacci*) to Jacopo Sadoletto, who was responsible for contacting with the envoys.²² Burgio handed the letters of the Holy See while commenting them according to the instructions of the Curia.²³ He also maintained contacts with the papal envoys staying at the neighbouring courts (especially with Nuncio Girolamo Rorario having been sent to the Austrian Archduke, Ferdinand) and interfered at the Holy See in the interest of Hungarian applicants.²⁴

Burgio's reports have not ceased to strongly influence and shape the general picture of Hungary before the Battle of Mohács. It was András Kubinyi, who first observed that Burgio, the papal diplomat of Sicily, was often misinformed by János Bornemissza, the biggest intriguer of the time, so this study also contributes to the study of the reliability of the picture having been provided by the papal nuncio.²⁵

²⁰ Gábor NEMES, 'Elszalasztott lehetőségek. VII. Kelemen pápa és II. Lajos országainak belpolitikája (1523–1526)' [Missed opportunities. The internal affairs of the countries of Clement VII and Louis II of Hungary], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 15:4 (2014), 3–19; NEMES 2015a, no. 24, 49, 51–5, 88, 98, 113–4, 122.

²¹ Gerhard RILL and Giuseppe SCICHLONE, 'Buglio, Giovanni Antonio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15 (1972), 413–7.

²² MON. VAT. II/I.

²³ NEMES 2015a, no. 7, 35, 59, 89, 106, 141–2, 146, 150.

²⁴ BESSENYEI, Fejedelmi, 122–123, no. XIX/1.; Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereinafter: ASV], Segreteria di Stato, Principi, vol. 2, fol. 344^r.

²⁵ András KUBINYI, 'Szalkai László esztergomi érsek politikai szereplése' [The political performance of Archbishop László Szalkai], in KUBINYI 1999, 147–60, here 147–8.; István TRINGLI, *Az újkor hajnala. Magyarország története 1440–1541* [The dawn of the modern age. The history of Hungary] (Tudomány–Egyetem), Budapest 2003, p.108.

The Pope might have sent his deputies to arrange any specific matters. He sent two deputies to distribute the supplies having been sent to support the Croatian-Dalmatian frontier: Thomas Niger/Tommaso Negri/Toma Crnić, the Bishop of Trau in 1524 and Leonardo Cresci in 1525–1536. While the latter is known only as a familiar of the Pope, Thomas Niger was an old, experienced diplomat of the Holy See.²⁶

The relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy See from a Hungarian side showed a very colourful picture: Hungary was represented in the Vatican mainly by Italians who could find their ways easier in the maze of the curia offices.

As the Paragraph 65 of Decree 1514 of Vladislaus II strongly restricted the Hungarian prelates' travels to Rome, they could not be appointed to be papal deputies. As a counterpart of the papal legates representing the Pope in the country of destination, the Hungarian king was represented in Rome at the highest level by the cardinal protector. During my research I managed to reconstruct the medieval antecedents of the important role of this office in the early modern age.²⁷ One of the most important duties of the protector was the administration of the matters concerning the benefices; he would supervise the ecclesiastic lawsuits and carried out deputy's appointments.²⁸ After possible antecedents of the fifteenth century (Gabriele Rangoni, Giovanni d'Aragona, Rodrigo Borgia, Giambattista Orsini) the first person having been called 'the

²⁶ Gábor NEMES, 'VII. Kelemen pápa magyar vonatkozású brevái (1523–1526). Adatok a Magyar Királyság és a Szentszék kapcsolataihoz' [The Hungarian related briefs of Clement VII. Data for the connections of the Kingdom of Hungary with the Holy See], in Péter TUSOR (ed.), *Magyarország és a római Szentszék (Források és távlatok). Tanulmányok Erdő bíboros tiszteletére* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/8) Budapest/Roma 2012, pp.51–69. [hereinafter: NEMES 2012]; NEMES 2015a, no. 26, 31, 47–48, 56–57, 84, 87, 107–108, 126, 131, 133–5.

²⁷ Gábor NEMES, 'Magyarország kapcsolatai az Apostoli Szentszékkal (1523–1526)' [The connections of Hungary with the Apostolic See], *SZ* 149:2 (2015), 479–506, 479–83.

²⁸ Joseph WODKA, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie* (Publikationen des ehemaligen Österreichischen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 4/1) Innsbruck/Leipzig 1938.; William E. WILKIE, *The Cardinal Protectors of England. Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation*, New York/London 1974.; Péter TUSOR, 'A magyar koronabíborosi és bíboros protektori "intézmény" kialakulása és elhalása a XV–XVI. században' [The development and decease of the crown cardinal and cardinal protector 'institution' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], in Tibor NEUMANN (ed.), *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Analecta mediaevalia, II), Budapest/Piliscsaba 2004, pp.291–310.; Péter TUSOR, *Purpura Pannonica. Az esztergomi bíborosi szék kialakulásának előzményei a 17. században* [The antecedents of the development of the Cardinal See of Esztergom in the seventeenth century] (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/3), Budapest/Roma 2005, p.45.; Michael von COTTA-SCHØNBERG, 'Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the Development of Cardinal Protectors of Nations', *Fund og Forskning* 51 (2012), 49–76.

cardinal protector of Hungary', was Cardinal Pietro Isvalies, a former legate to Hungary and an administrator of the Episcopate of Veszprém.²⁹

After Isvalies the same Giulio de Medici Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, a nephew of Pope Leo X became the protector, who ascended the papal throne under the name Clement VII in 1523. As for his operations as protector we mainly have data of offering benefices and he running the earliest known canonical investigation of Hungarian reference.³⁰

My researches have revealed that after the election of Cardinal Medici to Pope, Giovanni Salviati became the cardinal protector of Hungary. Since in the years 1520 and 1521 he reported about the Hungarian provision at the consistories several times in parallel with his relative, Cardinal Protector Giulio de Medici, it can be supposed that he represented the Hungarian interests as a Vice-Protector that time. Salviati also informed the Pope about the inheritance matter of János Lászlai confessor father based in Rome,³¹ followed the developments of the fights on the Croatian frontier against the Turks,³² the matter of the union of the Czech Catholics and Utraquists³³ as well as the developments of the discussions between Poland and the Teutonic Knights.³⁴ To maintain continuous information flow he also ran regular correspondence with Nuncio Burgio.³⁵

It was the Florentine Francesco Marsuppini who served the longest in Rome on behalf of the Kingdom of Hungary. He was a familiar and secretary of Cardinal Tamás Bakócz already in 1511.³⁶ Later, except for some periods of intermission he officially stayed in Rome for more than two decades. His main duty was to deliver the letters from Hungary to the Curia and report about them before the Consistory. Besides, he provided information to the Buda court and

²⁹ ASV Arm. XXXIX., vol. 25, fol. 340^r–341^r; THEINER, VMHH, II. pp.574–5, no. 778.

³⁰ Consistorialia, no. 20.

³¹ DL 82 653.

³² ASV Segr. Stato, Principi, vol. 2, fol. 344^r.

³³ Petrus KASZA (ed.), *Stephanus Brodericus: Epistulae*, (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Series Nova, 16), Budapest 2012, no. 35, 45. [hereinafter: KASZA 2012]

³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 44.

³⁵ NEMES 2015a, no. 7.

³⁶ Guilelmus FRAKNÓI – Iosephus LUKCSICS (eds.), *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis* IV, Budapest 1908, no. 166.; NEMES 2015b, pp.483–485.

Nuncio Burgio. He was remunerated partly by regular provisions in cash and partly – following the contemporary practice – by benefices.³⁷

The envoy of the Hungarian king, who spent years in Rome, was István Brodarics/Stephanus Brodericus/Stjepan Brodarić, Provost of Pécs, who represented the interests of both the Hungarian court and Poland, since the Polish deputy Bishop Ciołek plocki had died.³⁸ Brodarics appeared at the Consistory several times, where he held oratories before the Pope when commenting the letters sent from Hungary. Sometimes he read out the letter before the body of the cardinals and once he translated the speech of the deputy of the Croatian Ban János Torquatus (Karlović)/Ivan *Karlović* Kurjaković delivered in Croatian into Latin.³⁹

Besides the Hungarian and the Polish kings he also corresponded with Archduke Ferdinand, and when the Holy Father sent the Cardinal Protector of Hungary: Salviati to Parma, he was also informed about the Hungarian news by way of Brodarics staying in Rome.⁴⁰

When Brodarics was away from office, he was substituted by his secretary Imre Kálnai.⁴¹ The Hungarian legation in Rome employed a special commissioner for running the everyday businesses at the different offices of the Curia, namely Egidio Zefiri, who came from the Amelia Diocese in Umbria.⁴² Similarly, an experienced person, Pietro Antonio Berri from Parma became the secretary of the Hungarian legation, who had been the scribe of Cardinal Vio during his legate mission to Hungary.⁴³

³⁷ DL 25 313., 46 842.; Vilmos FRAKNÓI, 'II. Lajos király számadáskönyve 1525. január 12. – június 16.' [The account book of Louis II of Hungary], *MTT* 22 (1877) 43.; †József LUKSICS *et al.* (eds.), *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/9–10), Budapest/Roma 2014, no. 1375, 1388.

³⁸ Péter KASZA, 'Egy magyar diplomata lengyel szolgálatban. Újabb források Brodarics István római követi működéséhez' [A Hungarian diplomat on Polish duty. Latest sources on the envoy service of István Brodarics in Rome], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 113 (2009) 593–605.

³⁹ Consistorialia, no. 32.

⁴⁰ KASZA 2012.; NEMES 2015b, 485–489.; NEMES 2015a, no. 67, 91–97.

⁴¹ Bálint LAKATOS, 'The Papacy's Policy on Hungarian Court Personnel 1523–1526: the Case of Imre Kálnai's Appointments as Archdeacon and Royal Secretary', in Péter E. Kovács – Kornél Szovák (eds.), *Infima aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, Budapest 2009, pp.163–93.

⁴² KASZA 2012, no. 102.; LUKSICS 2014, II, no. 1383–6.; NEMES 2015b, 490–1.

⁴³ Augustin THEINER, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Roma/Zagreb 1863, I. no. 788–9.; Angelo MERCATI, *Saggi di storia e letteratura*, Roma 1951, I. pp.321–3.; NEMES 2015b, 491.

In addition to the Hungarian deputies in Rome there were several envoys with ad hoc assignments, who were partly the couriers of the Hungarian court, partly pilgrims who were commissioned with dispatching letters to Rome (i.e. István Brodarics's brother Mátyás, the late Péter Beriszló/Petar Berislavić's cousin, János and István Aczél, Castellan of Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava).⁴⁴

The main coordinators of the money transfers between Hungary and the Holy See both in Rome and Hungary were the powerful Fuggers whose overall European connection network was also an important channel of the information flow. Most of the dues payable for the different benefices arrived at Rome through the Fuggers and their factors often delivered even the bulls. The papal financial aids deposited at the Fuggers served not only the purpose of the defence, but also the costs of the papal 'legation' in Buda were partly covered by them.⁴⁵

While at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century the number of the Hungarian pilgrims to Rome was demonstratively high, it decreased radically in the years before the Battle of Mohács. However, in spite of the Turkish threat, the war in Northern-Italy and the plague hitting Rome, there were some who ventured to travel even in these years, i.e. István Aczél, Castellan of Pozsony (Pressburg/Bratislava), Chamberlain László Kanizsai, Steward of the Household András Trepka.⁴⁶ The Hungarian confessor fathers provided for the spiritual care of the Hungarian pilgrims in Rome, but during the Holy Year a Croatian confessor also served at St. Peter Basilica, namely Andreas Vrecsevics/*Vrčević*.⁴⁷

The ecclesiastical travelled to Rome not only on pilgrimage, but also to find justice, and there were others, who wanted to study. The most famous Hungarian student of the time in Rome was Tamás Nádasdi, the would-be Lord Palatine, who escorted Cardinal Vio during his legate mission to Hungary as his interpreter in the summer of 1523.⁴⁸ Again others were attracted to Rome by its

⁴⁴ NEMES 2015b, 494–5.; NEMES 2015a, no. 10, 75–77, 82.

⁴⁵ Aloys SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom 1495–1523*, Leipzig 1904, I. pp.266–75.; LUKSICS 2014, I. p.306, 314, 317, 323–5.; NEMES 2015a, no. 8–9, 35, 50, 62, 64–6, 68–71, 103–6.

⁴⁶ DL 39 348.; NEMES 2015b, 495–8.; NEMES 2015a, no. 46, 75–7.

⁴⁷ NEMES 2015a, no. 102.

⁴⁸ Endre VERESS, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221–1864* [Documents and registers of Hungarian students in Italian universities], (Monumenta Hungariae Italica, 3.), Budapest 1941, pp.260–1.; KUBINYI 1999a, 119.; András KUBINYI, 'Magyarok a késő-középkori Rómában' [Hungarians in late medieval Rome], in József BESSENYEI *et al.* (eds.) *Studia Miskolcinsia* 3, Miskolc 1999, p.85.

vivid, humanist spiritual life: Girolamo Balbi⁴⁹ moved here in 1524 and Georg von Logau⁵⁰ gained recognition with his poetry amongst the learned men of the Eternal City and he received two testimonials from Pope Clement VII upon leaving for home.

As a result of the new sources the number of the participators in the relations of the two states has grown considerably and the nature and quality of the relations have also become more refined. In the years before Mohács the representation of Hungary in Rome can be considered continuous and full. However, this interest representation did not operate in today's institutional forms, but it was based on the informal channels of an intricate network of personal connections.

Since the middle of the fifteenth century a key element of the foreign policy of the Papal State was the fight against the biggest enemy of Christianity: the Ottoman Empire. The Holy See offered assistance to the Hungarian Kingdom in its fight against the Turks not only by financial support, but the main motif of the Pope in shaping the connection system of the European countries was the consolation of the different courts with each other to create a single front against the Turks.

In 1526 the Pope sent letters calling for assistance repeatedly to the German, French, English and Portuguese courts. On 1 March 1526 the Pope sent Capino de Capi to Francis I King of France to urge him to assist Hungary against the Turkish threat, but the nuncio rather entered into discussion to create the League of Cognac against Emperor Charles V. Due mainly to the tense political atmosphere in Europe these letters of Clement VII calling for assistance hardly had any results.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Nándor KNAUZ, 'Balbi Jeromos II. Lajos király tanára' [The teacher of Louis II of Hungary, Balbi], *Magyar Sion* 4 (1866) 5–27, 81–106, 161–83, 241–61, 321–52, 401–19, 481–502.; Jenő ÁBEL, *Magyarországi humanisták és a Dunai Tudós Társaság*, [Humanists in Hungary and the Danube Scholarly Society] (Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből) Budapest 1880, pp.32–75.; NEMES 2015a, no. 49.

⁵⁰ Stephanus HEGEDÜS, *Analecta recentiora ad historiam renescentium in Hungariam litterarum spectantia*, Budapest 1906, pp.238–247.; Peter SCHAEFFER, 'Humanism on Display: Epistles Dedicatory of Georg von Logau', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17:2 (1986), 215–23.; Bálint LAKATOS, 'Pannoniae luctus – egy humanista antológia és a törökellenes Habsburg-lengyel összefogás kísérlete, 1544' [A Humanist Anthology propagating Anti-Ottoman Cooperation of the Habsburg Monarchy and Poland], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 112:3 (2008), 259–86.; NEMES 2015a, no. 110–111.

⁵¹ Joseph FRAIKIN, *Nonciatures de France. Nonciatures de Clement VII*, (Depuis la bataille de Pavie jusqu'au rappel d'Acciaiuoli, Archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France), Paris 1906, I. pp.7–10.; Kenneth M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, Philadelphia 1984, III. pp.238–42.; Maurizio GATTONI, *Clemente VII e la geo-politica dello Stato pontificio (1523–1534)*, (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 49), Città del Vaticano 2002, pp.132–3.; NEMES 2015a, no. 123–30.

In its fight against the Turks the Holy See attributed a prominent role to Poland which had tensions with almost all of its neighbours. The Hungarian king Louis II received important role in negotiating peace between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, and the papal legates and nuncios also took part actively in these negotiations.⁵²

His Holiness also interfered several times with shaping the internal political power relations of Hungary in order to rule out political figures causing internal hardships and support figures that were loyal to the Holy See beyond doubt. Although István Werbőczy/Verbőci enjoyed the full support of the Pope, his promotion to the office of the Lord Palatine cannot be attributed to any direct papal interference.⁵³

However, in case of the Chancellor's office his Holiness exerted serious pressure. He promoted István Brodarics, the Hungarian king's envoy to Rome to the office, instead of László Szalkai Archbishop of Esztergom, who was presented in unfavourable light in Nuncio Burgio's reports to Rome who had received this denouncing information from János Bornemissza. At the same time, the diplomacy of the Holy See got into difficult situation, since the Pope would have needed the services of Szalkai in the matter of returning the Czech Utraquists to the Catholic Church which issue had gained importance because of the unification of the radical Picard sect with the Lutherans. So, Clement VII had promised the biretta to Szalkai in case of the success of the confessional union, but later he made it dependent upon Szalkai's resign from his Chancellor's office. Paradoxically, the promised biretta was simultaneously a means of motivation and recompense.⁵⁴

In conclusion, the effect of the diplomacy of the Holy See to the Hungarian domestic policy cannot be considered beneficial. The confessional union failed, due partly to the tense domestic political situation in Bohemia and partly to the unrelenting attitude of Legate Campeggi and the weakened political influence of Szalkai, who, as a consequence of Nuncio Burgio's denouncing reports and the papal strive to change the composition of the cardinals' body, was not ap-

⁵² FRANKÓI 1902, II. 349–51.; NEMES 2015a, no. 98.

⁵³ NEMES 2014, 3–4; NEMES 2015a, no. 116–121.

⁵⁴ Antonín KALOUS, 'Tárgyalások az utraquisták és a római egyház egyesüléséről: a kiegyezés politikája' [Negotiations on the union of the Utraquists and the Roman Church: a compromising policy], in Beatrix F. ROMHÁNYI and GÁBOR KENDEFFY (eds.), *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológiai- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok*, Budapest 2009, pp.154–63; Idem, 'The Politics of Church Unification: Efforts to Reunify the Utraquists and Rome in the 1520s', in Jaroslav MILLER and László KONTLER (eds.), *Friars, Nobles and Burghers – Sermons, Images and Prints. Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe. In memoriam István György Tóth*, Budapest/New York 2010, pp.181–97.; NEMES 2014, 5–19.

pointed to be a cardinal. On the other hand, István Brodarics, who was weightless in the internal matters, received one of the most important positions of the country: the Chancellor's office.

Since the end of the fifteenth century, when the Hungarian kings could not fully fulfill their duty of defending the southern frontiers, the dominant political actors of Croatia and Dalmatia – that were under the protection of the Hungarian Crown – the Frangepáns, Péter Beriszló and János Torquatus intensified their own diplomatic activities. After the fall of Nándorfehévár (Belgrád), Knin and Scardona, Klissza/Klis became one of the most important fortresses, so even Pope Clement VII considered its support as a priority. Following the example of his predecessor Adrian VI, he supported the forts in dire strait with money, corn and war materials. In order to evade misuse he commissioned his own men: Bishop Thomas Niger and Leonardo Cresci with the distribution of the aids. This measure seemed also justified by the fact that the captains of Zengg/Senj: Péter Krusics/ Petar Kružić and Gergely Orlovics/Grgur *Orlović*, who were always in need of money, tried to better their situation with violent actions in many cases; i.e. they sold the corn having been sent by Pope Adrian VI for their own purse, occupied a Turkish commercial ship in Zara having been under Venetian control and confiscated several benefices of the Bishop of Zengg.⁵⁵ An intensive relationship was created between the Pope and the Frangepán/Frankopan family the members of which asked for protection from His Holiness and the Holy See in their difficult situation.⁵⁶

The Papal State offered assistance to the Hungarian Kingdom in its fight against the Turks not only by financial and diplomatic means, but also with its spiritual power. An example of this was that in the Holy Year of 1525, when – because of the Roman plague and the standing Turkish threat – only a very small number of pilgrims could visit the Holy City, the Pope was generous to offer indulgence licenses, thus the subjects of Bernát Frangepán/Bernardin Frankopan, the soldiers of Kristóf Frangepán/Krsto Frankopan with a white cross on their chests and the inhabitants of Klissza received indulgence by visiting the nominated churches in the Holy Year.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ NEMES 2015a, no. 27, 59–60.

⁵⁶ NEMES 2012, 57–64.

⁵⁷ NEMES 2012, 64–5; NEMES 2015a, no. 78–79, 99–100.

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