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Papal Representation in Hungary in the 14th Century Some Methodological Remarks*

Abstract: The present paper aims, first of all, to show an overview about the existing results of the researches concerning the relations of the Papacy and the Hungarian Kingdom in the 14th century. Besides the abundance of sources, the relationship was presented generally from diplomatic point of view and other features (church government, jurisdiction, sociology) were neglected. Using the experiences of a previous research project (DeLegatOnline) the present work shows shortly the available sources, the features to be analyzed and some methodological suggestion.

Key words: Papacy, Hungary, diplomacy, church government, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, prosopography, XIVth century

The analysis of the papal representation¹ can be considered as a relatively obscure topic, in spite of the fact that Hungarian historiography has traditionally placed a great emphasis on the examination of the international relationships and diplomacy. However, the need for more precise knowledge on the subject emerged in the last years due to an international research project which aims to conduct a prosopographic research of the administrative personnel of the Anjou dynasty.² This project focuses on the royal officers (including the officers of the Hungarian Angevins), and this obviously involves the study of the careers of the royal envoys as well. The outcomes of this project so far are undoubtedly useful in the examination of the papal-Hungarian relations during the 14th century. However, they are not sufficient on their own, and the subject has to be approached from the perspective of the papal delegates. Since the monograph of Vilmos Fraknói in 1901, the progress in the research of this area seems to be delayed.³ Even the newest works contain only short summaries based on Fraknói's book.⁴ The deficiency is particularly obvious in two fields. Firstly, there are only a few comprehensive case studies concerning the career of certain representatives; exceptions are Niccolò Boccasini,⁵

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¹ We would like to avoid the using of the term “papal legate”, as this institute is not defined clearly. The Hungarian historiography tends to describe every papal representative as legate, but this does not reflect the reality, as the sources apply various titles (e.g. *nuntius*, *apocrisarius*).

² EuropAnge (<http://www.agence-nationale-recherche.fr/?Project=ANR-13-BSH3-0011>)

³ Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-székkal* [The Political and Ecclesiastical Relations of Hungary and the Apostolic See in Rome]. I. 1000–1417. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1901).

⁴ Géza Érszegi, “Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok” [Hungarian-papal Relations], in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)*, ed. Gyula Kristó – Pál Engel – Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 527–529; József Gerics – Erzsébet Ladányi, “A Szent-szék és a magyar állam a 11. században” [Hungary and the Apostolic See in the 11th Century], in *Magyarország és a Szent-szék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. István Zombori, (Budapest: METEM, 1996), 9–20; Kornél Szovák, “Pápai-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. században” [Hungarian-papal Relations in the 12th Century], in *ibid*, 21–46; László Solymosi, “Egyházi-politikai viszonyok a pápai hegemonia idején (13. század)” [Ecclesiastical and Political Relations during the Hegemony of the Papacy (13th Century)], in *ibid*, 47–54.

⁵ Gergely Kiss, “Les légats pontificaux en Hongrie au temps des rois Angevins (1298-1311)”, in *La diplomatie des états Angevins aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Actes du colloque international de Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest 13–16 septembre 2007*, ed. Zoltán Kordé – István Petrovics, (Rome – Szeged: Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma Istituto Storico “Fraknói”, Dipartimento di Storia Ungherese del Medioevo e della Prima Età Moderna Università degli Studi di Szeged, 2010. p. 101–116.

Gentilis de Montefiore⁶ and Guy de Boulogne.⁷ Secondly, the already completed studies on representatives are ill-balanced: they tend to concentrate on the diplomatic aspect instead of the full description of the papal delegate's work, including the local (Hungarian) cases.

Thus, the DeLegatOnline project is planned to be built on four, equally important pillars: diplomacy, church policy, canon law (ecclesiastical jurisdiction, law cases) and tax collections.⁸ A good example for the concept which the project represents would be a recent article on the legation of cardinal Gentilis⁹ which did not only reconsider the already known elements of the diplomatic and political importance of the cardinal's work, but it has also uncovered his participation in the Hungarian ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was a fully obscure area before. Gentilis' case highlights a peculiar contradiction: a serious historiographical deficiency despite the favourable number and availability of sources.¹⁰ A similar situation can be observed in case of the papal tax collectors, as the account books are available for a long time,¹¹ and still, they have been examined only from local historical¹² and ecclesiastical topographical perspectives.¹³ A comprehensive study of the papal representative's life would cover their career, their work outside Hungary, so their place and significance in the system of the relationships between the papacy and European countries could be determined. This kind of deep analysis usually proves to be crucial in the research on the role of the papacy in European diplomacy (mainly referred to as centre-periphery connections) as well and can be considered elementary and important for future researches not only in Hungary but in international framework as well.

The fact that the prosopographic research projects have significantly advanced since the 1990s underlines the actuality of the present research project, entitled *Papal Delegates in Hungary in the XIVth Century (1294–1378) – Online Database*.

⁶ Gergely Kiss, "Les légats pontificaux"; Viktória Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae. Beiträge zu der Jurisdiktionstätigkeit von Papstlegat Gentilis de Monteflorum in Ungarn (1308–1311)", in *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis VII*, ed. Márta Font – Gergely Kiss (Pécs: PTE Középkori és Korajúrkori Történeti Tanszék, 2013), 39–69.

⁷ Pierre Jugie, "*Le cardinal Gui de boulogne (1316-1373) : biographie et études d'une familia cardinalice*," (PhD diss., Université Paris 1, 1986); Idem, *L'activité diplomatique du cardinal Gui de Boulogne en France au milieu du XIV^e siècle*. (Paris: École des Chartes, 1987) (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 145); Idem: "La légation en Hongrie et en Italie du cardinal Gui de Boulogne (1348–1350)," in *Il Santo. Rivista antoniana di storia, dottrina, arte* 29 (1989): 29–69; Idem, "Le vicariat impérial du cardinal Gui de Boulogne à Lucques en 1369–1370," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Age* 103 (1991): 261–357; Idem: "Un discours inédit du cardinal Gui de Boulogne, légat en Espagne, prononcé devant le roi d'Aragon (24 janvier 1359)," in *Les prélats, l'église et la société, XI^e-XV^e siècles. Hommage à Bernard Guillemin*, ed. Françoise Bériac-Lainé (Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne, CROCEMC, 1994), 219–227; Ágnes Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi itineráriuma" [Guy de Boulogne's Itinerary in Hungary], *Világtörténet* 5 (37) (2015:1): 29–42.

⁸ Gergely Kiss, "Les légats pontificaux"; Gergely Kiss, "Les aspects des activités des légats pontificaux en hongrie aux XI^e-XIII^e siècles," in *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History. University of Szeged* 9, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi – Andrea Kökény (Szeged: Institute of History, University of Szeged, 2010), 38–54; Gergely Kiss, "Pápai legátusok a XI–XIII. századi Magyarországon (diplomácia, egyházkormányzat és egyházjog)" [Papal legates in Hungary in the XIth–XIIIth centuries (diplomacy, church administration and canon law)], in *„Fons, skepsis, lex”. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, ed. Tibor Almási – Éva Révész – György Szabados (Szeged: SZTE Történeti Segéd tudományok Tanszék, Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 195–201.

⁹ Viktória Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae".

¹⁰ *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis – Gentilis bíbornok magyarországi követségének okiratai 1307–1311*, ed. Antonius Pór, (reprint: Budapestini: METEM, 2000) (Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia – Vatikáni magyar okirattár I/2.) (cited hereafter: MonVat I/2.)

¹¹ *A pápai tizedszedők számadásai, 1281–1375. Rationes collectorum pontificorum 1281–1375*, Vilmos Fraknói (reprint: Budapest: METEM, 2000) (Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia: Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Vatikáni magyar okirattár. I/1.)

¹² György Timár, "Pécs egyházi társadalma Károly Róbert korában" [Ecclesiastical society of Pécs under the reign of King Charles Robert], in *Baranyai Helytörténetírás 1981*, 13–56.

¹³ Tivadar Ortway, *Magyarország egyházi földleírása a XIV. század elején a pápai tizedjegyzékek alapján feltüntetve. Geographia ecclesiastica Hungariae ineunte saeculo XIV^o e tabulis rationes collectorum pontificorum a. 1281–1375 referentibus eruta digesta illustrantia*, I–II, (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1891–1892).

Since 2007, I have been collaborating with foreign historians in order to design a prosopographic database. It was made obvious that a limited, but quite well-documented period would be urgently studied. During the years 2014–2016 a previous research project was performed for the period of the Árpád dynasty (*Papal Delegates in Hungary in the XIth–XIIIth Centuries – Online Database*).¹⁴ This provided a firm foundation of methodology with the help of which over 200 persons were entered into the base “DeLegatOnline” with a complete biographical analysis, and even more events were registered as papal representation in Hungary.¹⁵

Albeit this project is ended, the database system makes possible to add new information, to make corrections etc. However, due the above mentioned facts in connection with the deficiency of the previous researches, it was clear that the work is to be continued over the 14th century. But, a slight overlap between the two projects is necessary, as some structural changes in the papal administration which influenced the papal delegation as well had started during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, what is more, the situation became more complex with the attempt of the Angevins to claim the Hungarian throne. Therefore, the starting date of the actual project was set to 1294. The end date of the examined period would be 1378, the start of the Great Western Schism, which means that our project would cover a separate and clear-cut period of the ecclesiastical history: the time of the Avignon papacy.

The main research objective of this project is to create a complete and comprehensive database of the biographical and prosopographic data of the papal delegates who had been commissioned to the Hungarian Kingdom in the Angevin period, more precisely between 1294 and 1378.

Papal delegates are to be understood as all the current representatives of the Papacy including not only the traditional ‘papal legates’ (especially the *legati a latere*) but the simple legates, nuncios, judges-delegate and tax collectors. The research group would collect and process all the available information about the life and career of the representatives who had been sent to Hungary with a papal mandate according to the following criteria. The search would cover *the complete life path, offices and titles* of the delegates, including those events which had preceded or followed their sojourn in Hungary. Their relation to the Hungarian rulers cannot be forgotten either, since the analysis of those connection can contribute to the better understanding of the Papal-Hungarian connections as well. In this way, the project would reveal every single detail of the biography of these personalities, so the prosopographic database could serve as the starting point for further investigations.

The above-mentioned structure and treatment methodology was developed mainly during the previous research period. However, the analyzed era has its own specifics that requires additional methodological tools.

First of all, the sources to be analyzed are a little bit different in the 14th century. The main type of the sources is still the charter. It is well known that in this period the papal curia was held in Avignon, and this fact resulted that papal writings are conserved not only in the Vatican Registers but in the Avignon Registers and the researcher must check all of them.¹⁶ Fortunately the existing source editions exploited deeply those Vatican collection, however a systematic checking of the sources¹⁷ and the publication¹⁸ is inevitable to find unpublished sources and to

¹⁴ <http://delegatonline.pte.hu>.

¹⁵ The number of the individuals integrated in the databas includes also the relatives of the papal representatives.

¹⁶ Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Registra Vaticana (RV), Registra Avinonensia (RA), see in details: <http://www.archiviosegreto.vaticano.va/content/archiviosegreto.vaticano/en/consultazione/catalogo-pubblicazioni.html> (downloaded on 9 May 2018).

¹⁷ For example the papal registries are consultable on dvds provided by the Archivio Segreto Vaticano ([RV](#), [RA](#) – downloaded on 9 May 2018).

¹⁸ For example: *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta, collecta, ac serie chronologica disposita*, I–II, ed. Augustinus Theiner, (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1863–1875); *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I–II, ed.

make a concordance between parallel registered charters and eventual mistakes of the publication. This field is so much important, because of the diplomatic photo collection of the National Archives of Hungary which contains copies of the originals conserved in the Vatican Archives, and they are to be compared before any further exploitation.¹⁹ The publication of the charters of the Angevin era in Hungary (in form of short summaries) refers mostly to Theiner's publication and the mentioned photo collection. But they contains old archivist references which were changed after the opening of the Vatican Archives. Therefore the referred signatures are to be corrected and completed in many cases.²⁰ It is also to be notified, that the researches based heretofore more or less only on the papal registers, however, several other collections contain exploitable documentation.

In fact new types of sources became into consideration with the Avignon period. It is generally known that the papacy introduced a new tax system during the late 13th century – the papal tenth – and a large variation of duties and fees was also initiated from the pontificate of Clement V. A large number of papal collectors were sent in every corner of the Latin Christianity who produced a notable quantity of sources: books of account, registers of obligations and payments. Those documents furnish information about their local activities and they give help also to reconstruct the ecclesiastical career of this special staff of the papal representation. In particular cases, it is also possible to find collectors' manual giving light about the collecting procedure.²¹ In the same time, according to the evidences, they acted very often as judge, i. e. they participated in the papal delegated jurisdiction. They had a significant role besides the legates *a latere* in the further introduction of the canon law. And even more, they served as a communication channel for the papal curia. It is not surprising that they were called not only *collectores*, but *nuntii* of the pope.²²

The papacy of Avignon had to create his own administration and find the sufficient financing, therefore a very creative new taxation system was installed in this era, especially during the pontificate of John XXII.²³ Hungarian scholars exploited recently a great part of the relevant documentation. Based on József Lukcsics' manuscript the notices relevant to Hungary of the *Camera Apostolica* of the Vatican Archives were published in 2014 which upgraded the signatures and the historiography.²⁴ The documents published in these two volumes are very useful to gather new information about papal representatives. However, a significant corpus was not exploited, the collection 'Introitus and exitus' which contains the real payments,

Augustinus Theiner, (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1859–1860); *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitarum historiam illustrantia. Ab Honorio PP. III. usque ad Gregorium pp. XII. 1217–1409*, I, ed. Augustinus Theiner, (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1860).

¹⁹ Ágnes Maléth's recent report about her researches in the Vatican Archives made the importance of this task evident in practice.

²⁰ *Anjou-kor okleváltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Ed. Kristó, Gyula et alii. (Budapest–Szeged, 1990–) (cited hereafter: AOKlt)

²¹ For example Raimondo de Bonofato's manual. ASV Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae* vol. 184. A short description is available: MonVat I/1, LXIII–LXIV. (László Fejérpataky), but the manuscript is unpublished.

²² Some examples: Raimondo de Bonofato, Rufinus de Civinio, etc. Cf.: Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai*, 166–167; Ágnes Maléth, "I. Károly és a pápaság kapcsolata (1301–1342)" [The relations of Charles I and the Papacy (1301–1342)], (PhD diss, SZTE–Université d'Angers, 2016). A short summary in French: Ágnes Maléth, Les relations de Charles I^{er} de Hongrie avec la papauté (1301–1342), in *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis IX*, ed. Gergely Kiss – Gábor Barabás, (Pécs, PTE Középkori és Koraújkorai Történeti Tanszék, 2017), 77–94.

²³ In general see: William Edward Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages I–II*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Clemens Bauer, "Epochen der Papstfinanz", *Historische Zeitschrift* 138 (1928): 459–465. See also the note nr. 25.

²⁴ *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536)*, ed. †József Lukcsics – Péter Tusor – Tamás Fedeles (Budapest–Róma, Institutum Fraknói, 2014) (*Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae* vol. 9–10.) see also online: <http://institutumfraknoi.hu/cvh>

incomes and disbursements as well. Nevertheless, several information comes from short payment notices concerning the activities of the collectors, nuntios and legates.²⁵

It is also important to take into account that the services of a papal representative were remunerated with ecclesiastical benefices. Therefore, the analyse of the supplications has a particular bearing. Fortunately the records relevant to Hungary of the *Registra Supplicationes* were published by Árpád Bossány²⁶ which is very useful for the period after 1342, but other documents of this type are to be researched to complete the existing prosopographical data. More recently Bálint Lakatos published the supplications of the pontificate of Hadrian VI.²⁷

To sum up, it can be proved, that the variants of the collections and document types are very large, not only papal registers, different subdivision of the *Camera Apostolica*, supplications are to be taken into account, but other collections as well.²⁸ And finally the narrative sources can not be either omitted. In some cases, only this type of sources is at our disposal, although its documentary value raises difficulties (use of terms, chronology, partiality, etc.).²⁹

The main purpose of the project, as it was in the previous one, is to build up a prosopographical database of the papal representatives. But, what does ‘papal representative’ mean? It can be found in many cases that the men sent by the popes were all legates or nuntios. Unfortunately they are not distinguished precisely, although the differentiation in the 14th century is more unambiguous than before. The 13th century canonists developed a system with three main categories of the representatives which draws a distinction between 1) *legatus a latere*, 2) *legatus* or *nuntius* and 3) *legatus natus*. In short, the first had the full authorization of the pope and he could act independently based on the papal authority, and was recruited from the cardinals. The second had a special mandate to represent the pope in a concrete case or matter, the third served as a permanent and resident representative of the successors of St. Peter.³⁰

However, if only this very strict categorization were adopted, several features would be neglected. As we have seen above, papal collectors had jurisdictional tasks, and it is a very

²⁵ See the relevant publications: Emil Göller, *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1910); Idem: *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII*, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1920); Ludwig Mohler, *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Klemens VI*, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1931) (Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 1316–1378, V.); Hermannus Hoberg, *Taxae pro communibus servitiis. Ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1445 confectis (ST 144)*, (Città del Vaticano: Bibliothec Apostolica Vaticana, 1949).

²⁶ *Regesta supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai: avignoni korszak* [Regesta supplicationum. Documents Relating to Hungary of the Papal Supplication Registers], ed. Árpád Bossányi, I–II, (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1916–1918).

²⁷ *Regesta supplicationum 1522–1523. A VI. Adorján pápa uralkodása alatt elfogadott magyar vonatkozású kérvények. The Supplications Relating to the Kingdom of Hungary Approved under Pope Hadrian VI*, ed. Bálint Lakatos, (Budapest–Róma: Institutum Fraknoi, 2018) (Collactanea Vaticana Hungariae I/16.)

²⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, AA Arm. C., Camera Apostolica Collectoriae, Instrumenta Miscellanea.

²⁹ A recent example is Gergely Kiss, “Kuno pápai legátus és Magyarország az elbeszélő források tükrében” [The Papal Legate Kuno and Hungary in the Light of the Narrative Sources], in *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek. Tanulmányok Veszprémy László tiszteletére*, ed. Katalin Mária Kincses, (Budapest: Hadtörténeti Múzeum és Könyvtár, 2018), 253–262.

³⁰ Richard Antone Schmutz, “*The foundation of medieval papal representation*”, (PhD Diss., University of Southern California, 1966); Idem, “Medieval papal representatives: legates, nuncios and judges-delegate”, in *Studia Gratiana post octava decreti saecularia collectanea historiae canonici XV*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, – Donald E. Queller, (Roma, 1972), 441–463; Robert C. Figueira, “*The canon law of medieval papal legation*”, (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 1980); Idem, “The Classification of medieval papal legates in the Liber Extra”, *Archivum Historia Pontificae* 21 (1983): 211–228; Idem, “*Legatus apostolicae sedis. The pope’s alter ego according to thirteenth century canon law*”, *Studi medievali* III/27, (1986): 527–574; Clifford Ian Kyer, *The Papal Legate and the “Solemn” Papal Nuncio 1243–1378: The Changing Pattern of Papal Representation*, (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1979); Kriston R.Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave–Macmillan, 2013).

important field of influence of the papacy, i. e. the diffusion of the canon law. The same phenomenon can be seen by the activity of delegated judges.

Also, the traditional view of the papal representation in Hungary involves the same risks, that is to miss very important fields of representation. The first type of representative (*legatus a latere*) was very rare in Hungary during the 14th century, and it is not to mention that the third, the resident papal legate was created in Hungary only in 1394/1395.³¹

Another problem of the traditional historiography is the lack of symmetry of the different fields of representation. The diplomacy is too much accentuated, it seems to be in the heart of the relations, at least from the traditional point of view. Some concrete examples can, however, change this opinion and reveal the complexity of the representation.

Niccolò Bocassini (the later Benedict XI) was sent in 1301 in Hungary by Boniface VIII to ensure the coronation of the first Angevin king in Hungary. He had to gain the formal approval of the secular and ecclesiastical elite to Charles I's coronation, and to re-establish the order and peace. However, during his almost two years long sojourn, not more than two synods were convoked, and they treated this task in only general terms. So it can be stated that Bocassini's activity was unsuccessful in the field of diplomacy.³² But in the same time, the cardinal of Ostia proceeded in more than dozen jurisdictional cases dealing with the privileges and prerogatives (tithes, *privilegium fori*, etc.) of the local ecclesiastical institutions.³³

Some years later another legate arrived in Hungary – this time sent by Clement V – with the same tasks. The differences between the diplomacy and the other fields mentioned above as “pillar” of the legatine activities are more explicit. Gentilis de Monteflorum convoked five “national” synods to “re-establish the peace and the order” in the whole kingdom. It means that he took the formal oath of fidelity of the secular elite (among the prelates it was already unnecessary), and the respect of the prerogatives of the churchmen was ordered by the canons of the synod. However, this activity seems to be very “poor” for a three years long sojourn. But in fact, Gentilis was far too active as ordinary judge. The small number of diplomatic activities face more than 35 jurisdictional acts dealing with lower ecclesiastical benefices and complex controversies over canonical election as well.³⁴

It is evident that the higher type of papal representatives had essentially diplomatic tasks, but in the same time, the *legati a latere* acted very often as ordinary judge – based on his full papal authorization – and it contributed, after all, to the fulfilment of his obligation. The same phenomenon is to be noticed on the lower rank, in the case of simple legates, nuntios or the papal collectors. It is clear, to sum up, that if we focus too much on the diplomatic field, it risks losing other elements of the context and it can result in a distorted image and inappropriate conclusions.

Therefore a complex method had to be applied to preserve any possible features of the papal representatives' activities. It is not negligible however, that the above mentioned high-ranking legates acted not alone, they arrived at their post with a more or less numerous staff. This population was recruited on the basis of personal relationship. In the case of the cardinal-legates, it was the *familia cardinalis*, they employed mainly their own staff, but, in a lower number, they used the local clergymen in the form of subdelegation.³⁵ Those people are, however, rarely taken into account as papal representatives, but they can be ranked among them by their activities due to delegated papal authorization. It is a more interesting research field to

³¹ It was John of Kanizsa, archbishop of Esztergom who received the title *legatus natus* personally in 1394 and it was extended over any of his successors. Ádám Vajk, “Kanizsai III. János” [John III of Kanizsa], in *Esztergomi érsekek 1000–2003*, ed. Margit Beke, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003), 196–200.

³² Boniface VIII's letters refer only to the synodes which were convoked to “negotiate the situation of the Kingdom of Hungary”. AOKI I, nr. 96.

³³ Gergely Kiss, “Les légats pontificaux en Hongrie”, 102–108, 114 (Table I).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104–105, 108–112, 115–116 (Table II).

³⁵ Viktória Kovács, “Causae coram nobis ventilatae”.

reconstruct the interpersonal relations, since this is another sociological aspect of the papal representation. It seems evident that personal relations and connections had strong impact on the ecclesiastical career, the reconstruction of which is one of the main aims of any prosopographical research.

The *familia* based not necessarily on blood relations, the majority belonged not to the kinship. The family means in this case the population giving service to the head of the household and receiving accommodation, provision and remuneration. The identification of this kind of “family members” is not so evident for different reasons.

First, the institutionalization is a very slow process. Its origins date from the pontificate of the pope Alexander III (1159–1181), but the mid-thirteenth century canon law did not develop a coherent definition of the ‘family’, it remained some kind of ‘suite’, ‘company’ or a small population giving service to a cardinal. The first general regulations were adopted in the Avignon: in 1316 the number of the domestic servants who had their provision at the same table as the head of the family (*familiars domestici commensals*) was fixed to 20 persons and laics and clerics were separated. Around forty years later, in 1357 Innocent VI disjoined the group of *commensals* from the other family members. In spite of those regulating aspirations, the reconstruction of the *familia* rings other difficulties.³⁶

Secondly, even the sources are missing or quite ambiguous. It is not so easy to find a so called nomination act, a document which determines the functions and the status of the *familiaris*. Other types of sources are more recurrent: papal registers, letters and even more the supplies for ecclesiastical benefices or papal authorizations. They normally use the term ‘familiaris’, but in several cases the individual in question is never mentioned with this functional adjective. Only the context can furnish relevant information. The number of those people is sometimes pretty high, it can reach the third of the entire family.³⁷ They took part in everyday administration: beared witness to jurisdictional acts, were present, lived in the curia and enjoyed the beneficiary policy of their *dominus*. They constituted the neighbouring zone of the *familia*, including in some cases more blood-relatives than the family in the literal sense.

In conclusion, it can be stated, first, that the largest type of sources should be involved in the researches to have a complete documentation basis. Not only papal, royal or other charters are to be analyzed, but registers and manuals of tax collectors, books of account, registers of obligations and payments or even other written sources. Secondly, it is very important to enlarge the circle of the examined individuals. Contrary to the traditional point of view, other forms of papal representation is to be included into the analysis. Besides papal legates – with a practicable distinction of the main types as *legatus a latere*, simple legate or nuntio or residential legate – other persons like delegated judges, tax collectors, family members and locally recruited staff are to be taken into account. Third, the representatives’ activities are confined not merely to diplomatic affairs, the church policy (crusades, campaign against

³⁶ Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e „familiae” cardinilazie dal 1227 al 1254*, I–II, (Padova: Antentore, 1972) (Italia sacra 18–19.); John E. Weakland, “John XXII before his pontificate, 1244–1316. Jacques Duèse and his family”, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 10 (1972): 161–185; Pierre Jugie, “[Les familiae cardinalices et leur organisation interne au temps de la papauté d’Avignon: esquisse d’un bilan](#)”, in *Aux origines de l’Etat moderne. Le fonctionnement administratif de la papauté d’Avignon. Actes de la table ronde d’Avignon (23-24 janvier 1988)*, (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1990) ([Publications de l’École française de Rome, 138.](#)), 41–59 (downloaded on 8 May 2018); Pierre Jugie, *Le sacré collège des cardinaux de la mort de Benoît XII à la mort de Grégoire XI (1342–1378)*, (PhD diss., Université Paris 1, 2010).

³⁷ Gergely Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól – Itáliáig: Bánca nembeli István (1205 k. – 1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája* [From Southern Hungary to Italy The Course of Life of Stephen Bánca (ca. 1205 – 1270), Bishop of Vác, Archbishop of Esztergom, the First Cardinal of Hungarian Origin]. Budapest–Pécs, 2015. p. 68–102; Idem: “Cardinal’s *familia* as a network in the 13th century A case study of cardinal Stephen Bánca’s family in the mid-thirteenth century”, in: *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis IX*, ed. Gergely Kiss – Gábor Barabás, (Pécs: PTE Középkori és Korajújkori Történeti Tanszék, 2017), 59–75.

heresies, missions, etc.) and ecclesiastical jurisdiction are to be taken into consideration. Fourth, the papal representatives “never walk alone”, they had their own company, they had a part of a special society. It had its own network of relations which could be very useful in the (ecclesiastical) career. The exploration of this relationship could contribute new information and make possible to constitute a better modern prosopographical database.

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