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Papal Clerics and the Realm of Saint Stephen in the Fourteenth Century*

Abstract: The paper deals with a special organisation of the medieval papal Curia, with the personal chapel of the popes, thus the research focuses on their members' activity in Hungary in the 14th century. The papal subdeacons and chaplains played an important role in the operating of the Apostolic See, for instance they appeared beside the cardinals in a growing number as legates, whereas they had their share in the work of the papal chancellery, chamber, and penitentiary as well.

Nevertheless, the papal clerics were to be found also outside the apostolic court, generally, they could appear in two ways in 14th-century Hungary: Their first group was formed by the members of the papal chapel, who only visited the Church's regions authorized by special mandates given by the popes for various kinds of tasks. They had to deal mostly with affairs of diplomacy, church-government or -discipline. The second category consisted of clerics who had a career within the Hungarian church either from outside already as a papal chaplain or subdeacon, or they received the chaplaincy later as a reward for their services.

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

The present study gives a short analysis of the appearances of the members of a special institute of the papacy, the papal chapel in the Medieval Hungarian Realm, more precisely within the Hungarian church in the fourteenth century (1294–1378), a topic, which was previously touched upon only tangentially. In a broader sense the aim of the investigation is the illustration of the pontifical chaplains' activities or involvements in affairs of Hungarian relevance. To realize this goal, at first we have to give a short summary about the development of the pontifical chapel from the beginnings in the eleventh century, meanwhile we have to take a brief look at the situation in the thirteenth century in Hungary as well, so the differences could be identified, which occurred in a special aspect of the papal-Hungarian relations under the Popes of Avignon compared to the previous situation.

The Papal Chapel

The papal chapel, the community of the pontiffs' personal chaplains was an important institution in the high and late Middle Ages. It was a relevant office not merely regarding the operation of the papal court and its inner affairs, but also because its members were active as agents of the popes in various ways in the different regions of Christendom. Papal chaplains built a special and complex functional group with several sub-categories. Regarding the analysis this complexity makes it essential to take a look at the history of the papal chapel's

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institution first. It has to be defined how it exactly operated in the high Middle Ages, and who were to be found among its members. After the general introduction comes the analysis of those papal clerics (as we shall see later: chaplains and subdeacons), who either were sent to Hungary by the popes as papal delegates or who received their title as members of the Hungarian clergy in return for their services.

The term *capellanus domini pape* appeared in the pontifical sources with the advent of the early Middle Ages.¹ The papal chapel originally was the community of the popes' personal chaplains, who assisted the pontiffs in their complex liturgical capacities, as also the appearance of the term "capellanis, subdiaconis et acolythis de capella" shows it.² It transformed into a complex institution in the late eleventh, early twelfth century parallel to the structural development of the papal court.³ This process started probably under the pontificate of Pope Urban II (1088–1099), and it was concluded by his successor, Paschal II (1099–1118).⁴ The progress in institutionalization was promoted by the formation of the College of Cardinals,⁵ whose members became more and more occupied with new duties, therefore they were no more in the position to fulfil their previous liturgical tasks.⁶

Regarding the papal chapel, another important ecclesiastical order has to be mentioned beside the chaplains, namely the papal subdeacons. This title referred to the consecration given by the popes. What created a special status among other factors is that they were free from the jurisdiction of the diocesans and belonged directly under the popes', and they were very well aware of this situation.⁷ The importance of subdeacons in the history of the papal chapel can be seen by the fact that in the majority of the known cases members of the chapel were entitled as *subdiaconus S.R.E.* or *subdiaconus noster (domini pape)* in the twelfth century, even though

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

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

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

⁴ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 148–150; Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 10.

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

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

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

not each and every papal subdeacon became automatically pontifical chaplain as well.⁸ The strong tie between the two ecclesiastical statuses can be seen on the general usage (*subdiaconus et capellanus domini pape*) under the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216).⁹

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

Beside the titles that were used, the structure of the chapel was also modified by Innocent III,¹³ so was the chaplains' liturgy.¹⁴ The pope made efforts to provide the necessary residence for his chaplains, where they could all live together.¹⁵ They were ought to assist the popes at certain masses, in the midst of processions they had to bear the cross before the pope, and they also held masses themselves.¹⁶ Their tasks were the sign of their high status in the papal court.¹⁷ The scale of the chaplains' incomes is not known in details, yet they probably received certain material goods (food, clothes, candles etc.) from the popes and they received payment for their liturgical services. Furthermore, in order to cover their financial needs they were also given certain benefices.¹⁸ It was common for them to receive license to stay away from those benefices which laid outside of Rome,¹⁹ yet members of certain chapters of the eternal city belonged to the papal chapel as well. The popes were probably motivated to hold this functional group together, since the chaplains could be of great service for them in many ways.²⁰ It is no

⁸ Johrendt, "Der vierte Kreuzzug," 55.

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

¹⁰ Cf. Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 76–79

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

surprise therefore that chaplains could count on the possibility of their promotion, so their membership in the papal chapel could have been only one among the first steps in their ecclesiastical career.²¹ It was typical for papal chaplains to become cardinals,²² since the popes were generally motivated to choose the new members of the College of Cardinals among the circle of their supposedly loyal clerics. There is no record though which could enlighten the rate of these cases, in which either the chaplains got their promotion or they remained members of the chapel until their death.²³ The cardinalate however, was not the only possible mean for the chaplains to receive a higher office, yet there are only a few archbishops and bishops known from the thirteenth century who previously were members of the pontifical chapel.²⁴

Papal chaplains were entrusted not just with liturgical duties; they often worked in other institutions of the Apostolic See as well. Their participation in the daily routine of the papal chancellery²⁵ is undoubted; it is even assumed that every papal notary was naturally a member of the chapel too.²⁶

Chaplains also took part actively in the papal judiciary,²⁷ primarily as auditors.²⁸ This practice though not exclusively, led to the growth in importance of the judicial education in the case of the selection of the new chaplains.²⁹ It is unknown whether chaplains were the members of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

papal penitentiary or not, yet it seems to be revealing that the pontiffs often entrusted their clerics as their personal confessors.³⁰

The popes could mobilize their chaplains on a different field as well: they were frequently entrusted as pontifical envoys of various types. The chaplains and subdeacons represented popes in diplomatic affairs with casual jurisdiction at first³¹ but for the thirteenth century they could bare the complete office of full legation (*plena legatio*) for their missions in certain cases.³² The headcount of the cardinals was limited that is why the members of the papal chapel were mandated in an increasing rate especially in times of tension between popes and cardinals, when the service of trusted personal chaplains came in handy to the pontiffs.³³ Clerics of the Apostolic See could act more flexible during their missions than cardinals, since their lower rank meant lower responsibility as well.³⁴ The most distinctive tasks of chaplains – among other duties – were the investigation of disputed elections, the deliverance of pallium for elected archbishops and metropolitans and the reconstruction of the ecclesiastical system.³⁵ Chaplains, to the cardinals, alike also appeared among the rectors of the Papal States.³⁶

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

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

Therefore, it can be assumed that after the former extraordinary cases³⁹ Innocent IV found the perfect solution for the growing need of loyal clerics outside of Rome. The title of *capellanus*

³⁰ Elze, “Die päpstliche Kapelle,” 180.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

domini pape began to transfer from an office with certain obligations to an instrument of papal policy which was meant to be a reward for certain services.⁴⁰ The sharp distinction between chaplains usually present at the Curia and the honorary ones (*capellanus commensalis* and *capellanus honoris*) appeared in the fourteenth century⁴¹ but two main functional types were already tangible in the late 1200s: the first type consisted those chaplains from around the popes who acted as notaries and auditors, and the other included the ones who generally operated outside of the papal court as legates or judges delegate.⁴² The title referred both to the clerics who were appointed by the popes, and to the office itself.⁴³

If there was a strict regulation of the scope of the chaplains' duties then it is unknown for us, yet from the pontificate of Innocent IV, papal designation-charters are noted. Regarding this question, the formulations though do not depict the picture of a consequent papal policy, nor do they reveal the scale of the chaplains' duties. Based on the records, it can be assumed that from the fourteenth century the appointed clerics still owed certain duties to the pontiffs, yet the rights attached to their status were more significant. The members of the chapel, like the subdeacons, were freed from the jurisdiction and power of the diocesan bishops and probably, at least temporary, from the duties attached to the benefices they received.⁴⁴ The sources do not enlighten the temporal length of the chaplains' office, but it can be supposed that it lasted until promotion or the death of the members of the chapel. At the same time the passing of the pope who appointed the chaplain could have meant the end of the service as well.⁴⁵

Sources, regarding the geographical dimension of the papal chapel can be identified from the era of the pontificate of Innocent IV. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that in the early history of the institute mostly Roman clerics were enrolled but due to the linkage to the order of the papal subdeacons, clerics from outside of Rome started to show up among the members of the chapel. The majority certainly had Italian origins but French, German, English and Iberian clergymen were also to be found among them. Parallel to this tendency, papal chaplains appeared among the members of churches all over the Western Christendom.⁴⁶ However, it can be observed that most of the chaplains belonged to the papal "familia" in a broader sense, while some of them were even closer, being the relatives, mostly nephews of the current or previous popes. The family members of cardinals,⁴⁷ prelates, or even sovereigns were also to be found

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

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

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

⁴³ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 11.

⁴⁴ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 191.

⁴⁵ Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 191; Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 42.

⁴⁶ Schimmelpfennig, "Die Organisation," 86ff; Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 192; Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 57–81. Cf. Johrendt, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 271.

⁴⁷ Cf. 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] (Pécs: Kronosz, 2015), 66–68.

among pontifical chaplains, yet the personal favours meant not the only possible way in. Lawyers, theologians and friars were also integral and important parts of the pontiffs' chapel.⁴⁸ The most notable improvement of the fourteenth century was the growing distinction between curial and honorary chaplains. The actively serving chaplains were called *capellani intrinseci* (internal) from the pontificate of Benedict XII (1334–1342) on, they were differentiated from the former chaplains, who were known as *capellani commensales*, meanwhile the term *capellani honores* was in use from the time of Clemens VI (1342–1352).⁴⁹ Honorary chaplains did not have duties, yet they had certain privileges both outside and within the Curia. The number of *capellani honores* grew constantly during the century, it became so common that certain clerics were not even aware of the honour they gained.⁵⁰ Yet the distinction was not relevant in every aspect, for instance curial and in certain cases also honorary chaplains, similarly to the previous era, were entrusted in the Avignon-era according to the testimony of the papal sources as auditors in the Curia, and legates, nuncios, collectors, messengers and executors of various cases in different regions of the Western Christendom.⁵¹ Chaplains often received dispensations of various types and certain benefices from the pontiffs,⁵² and the chaplaincy generally meant for both of their groups a step forward in their career towards higher offices. If so, as bishops or archbishops they functioned as direct links between the papal court and the local churches.⁵³

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

After the introduction of the papal chapel we have to take a brief look at the Hungarian situation in the 1200s in a way in which the focus of the research comes to the pontifical chaplains related to the realm of Saint Stephen. Pontifical clerics could get in touch with Hungarian affairs generally in two ways: some of them was sent to the Hungarian Kingdom from the centre of the Church as papal representatives, meanwhile the members of the other group bore the title of papal subdeacon or chaplain as members of the Hungarian church-hierarchy.⁵⁴ This latter category is quite diverse itself: part of them happened to receive a benefice in Hungary due to the support of the Pontiffs, while others obtained the chaplain title at some point of their ecclesiastical career.⁵⁵

Since the aim of this paper is not the illustration of the thirteenth century-situation, we shall exclusively emphasize the activity of only certain papal clerics. For the first above-mentioned category, the papal representatives arrived in the kingdom from the Curia, one could name

⁴⁸ Certain records from the thirteenth-century report that popes appointed their former cardinal-chaplains to pontifical ones. Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle," 192–194.

⁴⁹ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 28–32, 47, 100.

⁵⁰ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 46–51.

⁵¹ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 38.

⁵² Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 39.

⁵³ Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 52–56.

⁵⁴ Gábor Barabás, "Pápai káplánok a 13. századi Magyarországon Szentszéki megbízások és helyi karrierok," [Papal Chaplains in Thirteenth-Century Hungary: Papal Delegations and Local Careers] *Történelmi Szemle* 60, vol 1. (2018): 106–117.

⁵⁵ Cf. Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 52.

several excellent examples, like John of Casamari,⁵⁶ Acontius, or Eneco,⁵⁷ who acted as papal legates in different affairs. Pontifical clerics also acted as judges-delegates in the Hungarian realm. Among them perhaps Egidius' operation was of the greatest relevance, who spent more than three years in Hungary,⁵⁸ yet also others arrived from the centre of the church to deliver judgments in disputed cases, like Walther in the case of the Zagreb-election.⁵⁹ The role of chaplains as collectors or executors cannot be left out of the picture as well, meanwhile the pontifical clerics' role as auditors in the papal court in Hungarian cases is an important element as well.⁶⁰

Regarding the second above-mentioned group, at first the career of Bishop Stephen of Zágráb (Zagreb, HR) can be underlined, who climbed the church hierarchy as papal subdeacon.⁶¹ The second subcategory is perhaps even more relevant concerning the relation between the Hungarian realm and church to the Papacy. In the second half of the thirteenth century namely several Hungarian clergymen obtained the papal chaplaincy as a reward for their services, which they mostly carried out as royal emissaries in the papal court. Their task in the kings' service, and their personal connections to the pontiffs could have been a help in their further ecclesiastical career, like in the case of Paul, who was sent to Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) as provost of Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1259 then he became provost of Székesfehérvár and royal vice-chancellor after he returned home, until he was elected to be the bishop of Veszprém in 1263. Parallel to that, he was the chancellor of the queen until his death in 1269.⁶² At last the relevance of Stephen Bánca, the first cardinal of Hungarian origin,⁶³ has to be emphasized, since several clerics in his *familia*, among them his nephews, obtained the papal chaplaincy,

⁵⁶ Ivan Majnarić, “Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji to u Bosni nije bio?,” [Papal Chaplain Johannes of Casamari and the Oath of Bilino Polje in 1203. The Papal Legate who was not in Bosnia?] *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 50 (2008): 1–13; Gábor Barabás, “Heretics, Pirates, and Legates. The Bosnian Heresy, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Popes in the Early 13th Century,” *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* IX (2017): 38–43.

⁵⁷ Ivan Majnarić, “Papinski poslanik Akoncije u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj 1219.–1223. godine,” [Papal Envoy Acontius in Dalmatia and Croatia in 1219–1223] in *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u cast Franje Šanjeka*, ed. Lovorka Čoralčić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina, 2009), 79–98. (Analecta Croatica Christiana 40); Ivan Majnarić, “Some Cases of Robbing the Papal Representatives along the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Second Half of the Twelfth and during Thirteenth Century,” *Acta Histriae* 15 (2007): 493–506; Ivan Majnarić, “Tending the Flock: Clergy and a Discourse of War in the Wider Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic during the Late Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Radosław Kotecki and Jacek Maciejewski and John S. Ott (Leiden, Boston MA: Brill, 2018), 445; Barabás, “Pápai káplánok,” 108, 111.

⁵⁸ Gábor Barabás, “Papal Chaplain and Subdeacon Egidius. Judge Delegate and Legate in Hungary at the Same Time?,” *Istraživanja, Journal of Historical Researches* 28 (2017), 69–85.

⁵⁹ Marko Jerković, “Imenovanje papinoga kapelana Timoteja zagrebačkim biskupom 1263. godine: Studija o odnosima srednjovjekovnih središta moći,” [The Appointment of Papal Chaplain Timothy to Zagreb Episcopal Dignity in 1263: A Study of Relations between Medieval Centres of Power] *Croatica Christiana periodica* 39, no.76. (2015), 27–48; Barabás, “Pápai káplánok,” 114, 115, 117.

⁶⁰ See Barabás, “Pápai káplánok,” 112.

⁶¹ See Barabás, “Pápai káplánok,” 112–113. Ivan Basić, “O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. stoljeću,” [Attempt for Unification of the Churches of Zagreb and Split in the 13th Century] *Pro tempore* 3 (2006): 34.

⁶² Jenő Szűcs, “A kereszténység belső politikuma a XIII. század derekán. IV. Béla és az egyház,” [The Inner Politics of Christendom in the Mid-13th Century. Béla IV and the Church] *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1978), 171–173; Barabás, “Pápai káplánok,” 115–116.

⁶³ See Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 32–44; Gergely Kiss, “Cardinal's familia as a Network in the 13th Century. A Case Study of Cardinal Stephen Bánca's Family in the Mid-thirteenth Century,” *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* IX (2017) 59.

and several Hungarian benefices alongside of it, as a result of the cardinal's support.⁶⁴ One of the *nepotes*, Stephen Bánca even became archbishop of Kalocsa in 1267.⁶⁵

Papal Chaplains and “Hungarian” Affairs in the Fourteenth Century

Papal chaplains appeared in the fourteenth century (the research focused on the period prior to the Western Schism, 1378), similarly to the previous century, in different ways connected to Hungarian matters. It can be stated however, that the categories are not completely identical. A relative large group of papal chaplains was entrusted by the pontiffs as auditors in litigations of Hungarian churches, yet the research did not uncover any sign of their activity as judges-delegate. Another quite relevant difference can be found on the field of papal legations. We have several examples of the authorization of those persons, who were formerly members of the pontifical chapel, yet in the time of their legations all of them held already higher offices. Nevertheless, papal clerics were entrusted as apostolic nuncios, collectors, or papal delegates of other nature,⁶⁶ concerning affairs with Hungarian aspects, mainly in connection with King Louis I's (1342–1382) Italian campaigns and claims.⁶⁷ The – honorary – members of the papal chapel appeared also among the clergy of the Hungarian church, in one case even the papal charter about the assignation has come to us. It is also known, that not every one of the appointed honorary chaplains could personally travel to the Curia to take the oath of allegiance, meanwhile there is proof of the Hungarian monarch's intention, to reward one of his Neapolitan supporter with the pontifical chaplaincy. One special case has to be mentioned also in this brief overview, since Guilelmus de Pusterla, the provost of Pozsony⁶⁸ and papal chaplain was entrusted as nuncio regarding the conflict between King John of Bohemia (1310–1346) and the Polish Monarch, Casimir III the Great (1333–1370) in 1345. At last another group has to be mentioned as well, that of the clergymen, who acted in Hungary as chaplains of certain cardinals, most of all Gentilis de Monteflorum and Guilelmus de La Jugie, in different instances.

Let us start with the involvement of papal chaplains in Hungarian affairs as auditors.⁶⁹ The very first trace of such activity is to be found in a charter of Pope Boniface VIII (1295–1303) issued in June 1299.⁷⁰ It was meant to entrust the provost of the cathedral-chapter of Győr as judge-delegate in the litigation of the bishop of Veszprém and the Hospitallers of Esztergom. The case was handled following to this stage in the pontifical *audientia* by Hugucio de Vercelis, canon

⁶⁴ For the cardinals' *familia* see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e „familiae” cardinilazie dal 1227 al 1254. I–II* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972) (Italia sacra 18–19), 443–509; Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 9–11, 66–68; Kiss, “Cardinal's familia,” 61–63.

⁶⁵ “qui patiebatur in scientia et aetate defectum” – *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. I–XI*. ed. Georgiius Fejér (Budae: Typ. Universitatis, 1829–1844) (cited hereafter: CDH) IV/3. 360. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól*, 96–99; Kiss, “Cardinal's familia,” 70–71; Cf. Szűcs, “A kereszténység,” 175.

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

⁶⁷ For King Louis I's Italian politics see Pál Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 159–161.

⁶⁸ The provostry of Pozsony was occupied by foreigners for almost a half century long. György Rácz, “Az Anjou-ház és a Szentszék (1301–1387),” [The Hungarian Angevins and the Holy See] in *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. István Zombori (Budapest: METEM, 1996), 74.

⁶⁹ For examples regarding Dalmatian affairs see: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae I–XV*. edited by Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae, 1904–1934. (cited hereafter: CDCr), XI. 121. nr. 90; XI. 589. nr. 448; XIII. 548. nr. 397; XIV. 107. nr. 67.

⁷⁰ *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis – A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára. I–IV*, ed. Vilmos Fraknoi and József Lukcsics (Budapest, 1896–1907) (cited hereafter: MREV), II. 23. nr. XXX.

of Bruges, a papal chaplain and subdeacon. The former authorization itself is known thanks to the auditor's charter issued in December 1300, in which Hugucio reported the appeal of the bishop and chapter of Veszprém.⁷¹ Ugolinus, another papal chaplain also acted as auditor in the same lawsuit sometimes prior to 1302.⁷² Altegradus de Lendenaria, doctor of canon law, a papal chaplain was entrusted likewise at the outset of the century as auditor and contributed to a settlement in the litigation between the Benedictine abbot of Pannonhalma and the provost of Pozsony. Nevertheless, in his case it has to be emphasized that he acted in Hungary as the chancellor and general auditor of Cardinal-Legate Niccolò Boccassini.⁷³ Gerard de Lalo, a papal chaplain, alongside with Johannes Caroli served as auditor in the case of Jacob of Piacenza, elected and confirmed bishop of Zágráb,⁷⁴ who made a promise via his procurator about the payment of the obligatory *servitium commune* (400 Florins) and 5 *servitia minuta* after his confirmation in the bishop's chair.⁷⁵ The above-mentioned tension between the bishop of Veszprém and the Hospitallers of Esztergom did not come to the end in the early 1300s, as the charter of Oliver de Cerzeto, canon of Poitiers, papal chaplain shows it, who as auditor summoned the knights to the papal judiciary because of their law-suit with the bishop in 1329.⁷⁶ Another litigation of the bishop of Veszprém likewise was handled in the *audientia* in 1354. Petrus de Ylhano, doctor of both canon and Roman law, canon of Agen and papal chaplain handled the gravamen of the prelate against certain parish priests of his diocese.⁷⁷ Bernardus de Bosqueto, a doctor of canon law, and a papal chaplain himself, handled as auditor another case related to the bishop of Veszprém, his law-suit with the rector of a parish in the Veszprém diocese.⁷⁸ The litigation of the archbishop of Esztergom and the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik, SK) even came before two papal chaplains as auditors, Gerhardus de Nova ecclesia, the dean of Furna (Thérouanne diocese), and Thomas, elected bishop of Limasol.⁷⁹

⁷¹ "Hugucio de Vercellis, canonicus Brugensis, domini pape subdiaconus et capellanus ac ipsius litterarum contradictarum audientie de eius speciali mandato officium gerens". – MREV II. 24. nr. XXX.

⁷² *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, ed. Imre Nagy et alii (Győr–Budapest, 1865–1891), IV. 100; DF 200 762.

⁷³ "cum coram nobis magistro Altegrado de Lendenauia doctore decretorum domini pape capellano, ac reverendi patris et domini, domini Nicolai Dei gracia Ostiensis et Velleciensis episcopi Apostolice sedis legati, cancellario et generáli auditore causarum," Anjoukori okmánytár. *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*. I. (1301–1321), ed. Imre Nagy (Budapest, MTA, 1878.) 21–22, nr. 17. See also: *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis. I–III*, ed. Ferdinandus Knauz, Strigonii, 1874–1924. IV. ed. Gabriel Dreska and Geysa Érszegi and Andreas Hegedús and Tiburcius Neumann and Cornelius Szovák and Stephanus Tringli (Strigonii – Budapestini, 1999) (cited hereafter: MES) III. 44, nr. 78. For Boccassini see Gergely Kiss, "A pápai legátusok és a magyar egyházjog az Anjou-kor elején (1298–1311)," [Papal Legates and Hungarian Church Law at the Outset of the Angevin Era (1298–1311)] in *Pécsi történeti katedra. Cathedra historica Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, ed. Zoltán Csabai and Anna Dévényi and Ferenc Fischer and Péter Hahner and Gergely Kiss and József Vonyó (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Történettudományi Intézet. 2008), 271–274.

⁷⁴ Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Lay Archontology of Hungary 1301–1407] I–II (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), I. 79; Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series. Ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta* (Münster: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), 537.

⁷⁵ *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones*, ed. † József Lukacsics and Péter Tusor Péter, and Tamás Fedeles (Budapest – Róma: MTA–PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2014) nr. 13. (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/9) (cited hereafter: CVH I/9) About later payments by Jacob see *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Klemens VI.* ed. Ludwig Mohler, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1931.) 76, 88.

⁷⁶ MREV II. 49, nr. LX.

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

⁷⁸ MREV II. 191, nr. CCXXX.

⁷⁹ "Thome electo Nimotiensi tunc capellano nostro" CDH IX/5. 40. nr. XI; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 367.

As this brief summary shows, members of the papal chapel often get involved with Hungarian matters working in the papal court or even on the spot. Yet, as already indicated and similarly to the previous situation, they also appeared in the Hungarian Realm as papal delegates of various types, or within the Hungarian church hierarchy. Pope Benedict XII authorized Galhardus de Carceribus, provost of Titel (Тител, SRB) as his nuncio for Hungary and Poland in 1337. His task was to collect the due tithe for the papal treasury, since the previous collectors failed to do so.⁸⁰ Galhardus, the later bishop of Csanád (Cenad, RO), appointed bishop of Veszprém and archbishop of Brindisi,⁸¹ himself was no papal chaplain, but the pontiff assigned a help for him in 1338, in fact it was Stephen, a Dominican friar, who himself was called the chaplain of Benedict XII.⁸²

Clemens VI sent his chaplain, Johannes de Pistorio, the dean of Sanctus Salvatoris of Utrecht in 1348 to Naples in order to support the captured Angevin princess, whom King Louis I held hostage after the invasion of Naples, what was a reaction to the murder of his younger brother, Prince Andrew.⁸³ The next papal chaplain, whose activity was related to Hungarian matters, was authorized likewise regarding the situation in Italy. Hugo de Arpaione, canon of Rodez was sent to King Louis I and Queen Johanna I of Naples (1343–1381) to help the mission of papal legate Gui de Boulogne,⁸⁴ the negotiations between the two hostile rulers.⁸⁵ Guilelmus de Noelet, canon of Bayeux, doctor of canon law was sent to King Louis I alongside with his colleague, Rudolf the Civita-Castello in 1366, but without the concrete identification of the nature of authorization. Their mission was to convince the Hungarian monarch to participate in a crusade against the Ottomans and to prepare the alliance with the Byzantine emperor, John V Palaiologos (1341–1376, 1379–1391).⁸⁶ Petrus de Albiartz, a cleric of the Apostolic Camera and papal chaplain was entrusted by Pope Urban V (1362–1370) as collector for Hungary and Poland.⁸⁷ Nicholas, archdeacon of Pankota (Pâncota, RO) a subcollector of the Apostolic See

⁸⁰ László Fejérpataky, “Pápai adószedők Magyarországon a XIII. és XIV. században,” [Papal Collectors in Hungary in the 13th and 14th Centuries] *Századok* 21, no. 6 (1887): 514–515; Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékekkel*. [Ecclesiastical and Political Relations of Hungary and the Roman Holy See] I, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, 1901), 168; *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series prima tomus primus. Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Vatikáni magyar okirattár. Első sorozat, első kötet. A pápai tizedsedők számadásai, 1281–1375*. ed. Asztrik Várszegi and István Zombori (Budapest: METEM, 2000) I. LXVII–LXX, 410–437. (cited hereafter: MVAT I); CDCr X. 441. nr. 314.

⁸¹ *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia. I–II*, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Romae, 1859–1860), I. 719. nr. MLXXXV. (cited hereafter: VMH); Engel, *Archontológia* I. 67, 77; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 149, 179, 523; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 203.

⁸² MVAT I, 410. See Fejérpataky, “Pápai adószedők,” 515; MVAT I, nr. LXVIII; 410, 417; CDCr X. 441, 442, . nr. 314.

⁸³ *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Acta Extera – Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból. I–III*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Budapest, 1874–1876) (cited hereafter: ADE), II. 279. nr. 254. and II. 293. nr. 260. For the events in Naples see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159–161.

⁸⁴ See pages: ??

⁸⁵ ADE II. 372. nr. 303.

⁸⁶ ADE II. 650. nr. 484. See: Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 249–250; VMH II. 73–89. nr. CXL–CXLVI. See in general: Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d’Avignon (1309–1376). Étude d’une société* (Paris: De Boccard, 1962), 353–354.

⁸⁷ Tamás Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus,” in *Magyarország és a római Szentszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században*, ed. Péter Tusor and Kornél Szovák and Tamás Fedeles (Budapest – Róma: MTA–PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2017), 72. note 213. (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/15).

was also a papal chaplain, at least he was dressed like one, when he was attacked and kidnapped from a church whilst entering the cathedral of Eger for celebrating mass in November 1376.⁸⁸ Certain members of the Hungarian church, as indicated earlier, bore the title of papal chaplain,⁸⁹ while there are also traces of members of the pontifical chapel around the pontiffs, who were of Hungarian origin. Dionisius de Ungaria was to be found among the chaplains of Clemens VI, who applied for the pontifex in order to secure the prebend of the lector-canon in Veszprém, for John, priest of Nyitra (Nitra, SK).⁹⁰ There is no other title of Dionisius in the text to find, but that of papal chaplain, yet the number of those clergymen, who beside the pontifical chaplaincy also had Hungarian benefices, is relative higher. A distinction has to be made, however, based on the clerics' places of origin. Bittinus de Coneglano, a papal chaplain, who was one of the pontifical delegates, who were assigned to protect the rights of the church of Vicenza in February 1304, bore the title of the archdeacon of Nógrád.⁹¹ Guilelmus de Pusterla, the provost of Pozsony, and a papal chaplain was empowered as apostolic nuncio by Pope Clemens VI in 1345 to support the negotiations between the Bohemian and the Polish monarchs, King John of Luxembourg and Casimir III.⁹² Beside the concerned parties the nuncio himself received papal charters regarding his authorization, tasks and licences. Among others he was empowered to engage in excommunication, if the goal of the reconciliation required it.⁹³ The Hungarian king, Louis I was also informed of the papal mission of one of the clerics, who possessed a benefice in his realm.⁹⁴

In the next year the pope made the arrangement that his chaplain, Nicholas, canon of Pécs was to be assigned for the at the time vacant local bishopric,⁹⁵ which title the new prelate of Polish origin bore until his death in 1360.⁹⁶ It has to be noted regarding our topic, even if the quite interesting course of life of Nicholas here cannot be introduced in details, that the new bishop of Pécs was obliged to pay the first year's incomes of his diocese, 3300 golden Florins to the papal camera as *commune servitium*.⁹⁷ The relevance of this quite common practice gives a note of the papal register about the payment, since it reports that Nicholas sent the necessary sum

⁸⁸ *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta, collecta, ac serie chronologica disposita*. I–II, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Roma, 1863–1875), I. 323–324, nr. 460. See: Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 43–44.

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

⁹⁰ “Supplicat sanctitati vestre humiliter et devote frater Dionisius de Ungaria, capellanus sanctitatis eius” – MREv II. 118. Nr. CXXXI. Cf. Rácz, “Az Anjou-ház,” 74.

⁹¹ Giovanni Mantese, *Memorie storiche della chiesa Vicentina. Vol. 2.: Dal Mille al Milletrecento* (Vicenza: Scuola Tip. Ist. S. Gaetano, 1954), 326. I am thankful for Gergely Kiss for this record.

⁹² “Sane quia negotium huiusmodi ex causis predictis insidet admodum nobis cordi; dilectum filium Magistrum Guillelmum de Pusterla, prepositum ecclesie Posoniensis Strigoniensis diocesis, capellanum nostrum, Apostolice Sedis nuncium, virum utique litterarum scientia peditum, probitatis et circumspectionis maturitate conspicuum” – ADE II. 104–105. nr. 98. and ADE II. 106. nr. 99.

⁹³ ADE II. 107. nr. 100. and ADE II. 109. nr. 101.

⁹⁴ ADE II. 114. nr. 105.

⁹⁵ CDH IX/1. 377. nr. CCX.

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

⁹⁷ Koszta “A püspökök,” 98. For Nicholas' further payments given to the papal treasury see *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer*, 139, 151, 171, 186

via the aforementioned Guilelmus de Pusterla, a papal chaplain and provost of Pozsony.⁹⁸ Thomas of Telegd, provost of Esztergom was likewise called papal chaplain in a pontifical charter issued in 1351, in which Pope Clemens VI assigned him for the vacant seat of the bishopric of Csanád, which position he possessed until 1359, the time of his transfer to the archbishopric of Kalocsa.⁹⁹

According to a charter (*motu proprio*) of Gregory XI (1370–1378) Peter (Petrus Stephani), a papal chaplain possessed a canonicate in the cathedral chapter of Esztergom and the magistrate of the local Virgin Mary chapel. These are the only facts known regarding him, and that his benefices were given after his death to another Peter, who was called also Petrus Stephani in the sources.¹⁰⁰ A third Peter, Petrus Begonis appeared in the sources in 1345 as the *familiaris*, chaplain and procurator in Hungary and Poland of Cardinal Guilelmus de La Jugie,¹⁰¹ than he obtained several benefices in the mentioned kingdoms. He received the pontifical chaplaincy in 1351 and he was given several tasks by the popes following to that, in December 1351 he even represented King Louis I in the Curia.¹⁰² A further record also has to be mentioned, which sheds light on the practice of appointing honorary chaplains from the Hungarian clergy. Peter, the already mentioned, second Petrus Stephani, who obtained the benefices of the papal chaplain with the same name, beside his Hungarian and Polish benefices an apostolic collector and nuncio,¹⁰³ got the task in 1376 to take the oath of loyalty in the name of the Apostolic Camera from seven appointed honorary pontifical chaplains, who were not able to travel personally to the papal court.¹⁰⁴

There is even a charter remained to us from 1377, which reports the appointment of Ladislaus, the Benedictine abbot of Somogyvár as the chaplain of Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378).¹⁰⁵ Based on a record from 1352 it is also known, that King Louis I made a supplication to Pope Clemens VI in favour of Yrsullus Minutulus, a canon of Naples, who was appointed following to that to become a papal chaplain.¹⁰⁶ Although this issue does not belong directly to the Hungarian church,¹⁰⁷ yet the Hungarian monarch's supplication can be interpreted in the context of his Italian interest.

After the short analysis of the actual papal chaplain, who can be associated with Hungarian affairs, we shall broaden the focus of the illustration, therefore let us take a look at those papal delegates, who were members of the pontifical chapel at some point of their career, yet, by the

⁹⁸ “Nicolaus electus in episcopum Quinqueecclesensem in Ungaria, promisit [...] per dominum Guilelmum de Posterla, capellanum apostolicum, procuratorem suum, 3300 fl, et 5 servitia consueta, solvendo medietatem [...]” – CVH I/9. nr. 34. see also at: CDH IX/1. 379. nr. CCX

⁹⁹ CDH IX/2. 87. nr. XXIII. Cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 179; Engel, *Archontológia* I. 65, 67; Juhász, Kálmán: *A csanádi püspökség története (1307–1386)* [The History of the Bishopric of Csanád (1307–1386)] (Csanád Vármegye, Makó, 1946), 75–82.

¹⁰⁰ MVAT I/1. 469. Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 75. note 233.

¹⁰¹ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 18; CVH I/9 XLII; Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 79; Fedeles Tamás, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526)* [The Personnel of the Cathedral-Chapter of Pécs in Late Middle Ages (1354–1526)] (Pécs, Pécs Története Alapítvány: 2005), 465–466. (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 17)

¹⁰² Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 80.

¹⁰³ For his person see: Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” passim.

¹⁰⁴ Fedeles, “Petrus Stephani,” 42.

¹⁰⁵ “Gregorius episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Ladislao, abbati monasterii sancti Egidii de Symigio Vesprimiensis diocesis salutem etc. ... Te in nostrum et dicte sedis capellanum gratiose recipimus et nostrorum ac ipsius sedis capellanorum consorcio favorabiliter aggregamus, intendentes, quod per hoc favoris apostolici presidia plenius sorciaris” – MREV II. 250. nr. CCXCVIII.

¹⁰⁶ For a similar English case see Matthew, *The Papal Chapel*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ ADE II. 425.

time of their missions in Hungary, or related to Hungarian matters, they were far beyond that. This way we can present some examples regarding the actions of papal representatives in the Hungarian realm and also can get an insight into the possible role of the papal chaplaincy in the clerics' later ecclesiastical careers.

The first one, Bertrand de Saint-Genès occupied certain ecclesiastical benefices, e.g. a canonicate in the cathedral-chapter of Angoulême, and in a papal charter of March 1318, Bertrand was called chaplain, meanwhile in 1321 he was an auditor of the Apostolic palace.¹⁰⁸ He was also applied as papal agent outside of the Curia,¹⁰⁹ and was consecrated by Pope John XXII (1316–1334) to patriarch of Aquileia in July 1334.¹¹⁰ Bertrand received his first mission related to Hungarian affairs in July 1346, when he was sent by Pope Clemens VI to Zadar to meet King Louis I there. The patriarch was mandated to convince the Hungarian monarch to drop the planned campaign to Naples,¹¹¹ which task he temporary managed to fulfil.¹¹² King Louis eventually led his army to Italy anyway, and the pope again entrusted the patriarch with the negotiations,¹¹³ yet this time Bertrand did not meet Louis, but stayed in Rome instead, meanwhile the Hungarian army continued marching towards Naples.¹¹⁴ Bertrand was again authorized by Pope Clemens VI in May 1348, after the king's envoys presented Louis's argument regarding the situation in Naples (the reason of his attack and the execution of Charles of Durazzo, and why he captured and sent the Angevin princes to Hungary)¹¹⁵ and his claim for the local royal title. The pope gave the order to the legate, not to turn down the Hungarian king definitively,¹¹⁶ but the personal meeting fell off also this time, since Bertrand did not get into Naples, while the Hungarian king left it for good.¹¹⁷

As we can see, Bertrand was not anymore a papal chaplain, when he got in touch with Hungarian affairs related to King Louis's Italian campaigns. The same can be stated regarding Gui de Boulogne, who received the full office of legation in 1349 as the cardinal of S. Cecilia. His task was to negotiate with the Hungarian monarch regarding the issue of Naples, for what reason he travelled to Hungary. The negotiations took place in Pozsony in June 1349. The reason, why Gui is mentioned in this study, is that in the early stage of his ecclesiastical career, in 1328, around the age of twelve¹¹⁸ he was papal chaplain and a canon of Reims.¹¹⁹ Pope John XXII gave him a prebend and the archdeaconate of Bayeux. Benedict XII made him archbishop of Lyon in October 1340,¹²⁰ meanwhile two years later Clemens VI promoted him to the

¹⁰⁸ Guillaume Mollat, "56 Bertrand de Saint-Geniès," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart [et alii], I–XXXI, fasc. 184, 8 (Paris: Letouzé, 1934) col. 1075; Gergely Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak (legátusok, nunciosok, adószedők) a Magyar királyságban. IV. 14. század (1294 – 1378)* [Papal Delegates (Legates, Nuncios and Collectors) in the Hungarian Realm. 14th Century (1294–1378)] (Manuscript, 2017) 9–10.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 9–10.

¹¹⁰ Mollat, "56 Bertrand de Saint-Geniès," 1075–1077; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 9–10.

¹¹¹ Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [The Wars of the Angevin-era] (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1988), 100–109; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 70.; Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 203; VMH I. 715. nr. MLXXX. and MLXXXII; 716. nr. MLXXXIII.

¹¹² Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 204; VMH I. 720. nr. MLXXXVI. and MLXXXVII.

¹¹³ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 219–220; VMH I. 751. nr. MCXXVII.

¹¹⁴ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 220–221.

¹¹⁵ See Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 159–161; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor*, 109–123; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 70–71.

¹¹⁶ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 223–225; VMH I. 756, nr. MCXLII. and 760. nr. MCXLIII.

¹¹⁷ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 225; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor*, 123–125.

¹¹⁸ Guillaume Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart [et alii], I–XXXI, fasc. 184, 10. (Paris: Letouzé, 1938), col. 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹¹⁹ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹²⁰ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

cardinal of Santa Cecilia, which title he switched to the cardinal-bishopric of Porto in 1350.¹²¹ Gui was therefore already a cardinal, when he visited Hungary,¹²² thus his activity, which was lately investigated in its details by the Hungarian historian Ágnes Zapała-Maléth,¹²³ will be introduced only briefly. Gui was entrusted as a legate regarding Hungarian matters as early as 1345, after the murder of Prince Andrew, younger brother of Louis I, in Naples, although the cardinal excused himself from the duty.¹²⁴ For the next time Gui received an authorization in November 1348 from Clemens VI; he was ought to negotiate with King Louis I regarding his plans in Naples and a possible peace with Queen Johanna I, the suspected initiator behind Prince Andrew's murder.¹²⁵ Gui's authorization covered Hungary, Lombardy and certain archdioceses (e.g. Salzburg, Aquileia, Zadar).¹²⁶ His mandate was of dual nature, beside his duty as a diplomat the cardinal handled all sorts of ecclesiastical matters thanks to his status as *de latere* legate and the faculties (*facultates*: e.g. donating benefices, right for granting dispensations etc.) he received from the pontiff.¹²⁷ The itinerary of Gui, his way throughout northern Italy to Hungary, was compiled by Pierre Jugie,¹²⁸ but the date of his stay in Hungary was recently revised by Ágnes Zapała-Maléth. According to the young medievalist, Gui indeed met King Louis I in Vienna, but it happened on the 31st of May, afterwards the monarch and the legate travelled to Pozsony, where they started their negotiations. The king showed himself willing to fulfil the papal requests (to suspend further military actions, to release the captured Angevin princes and to renounce his claim for Naples),¹²⁹ perhaps that is why the meeting ended after circa 10 days.¹³⁰

As Zapała-Maléth pointed out, the cardinal left the realm after that, and did not stay there until the fall, like previously suspected.¹³¹ Gui was to be found in Vienna again on the 20th of June, 1349, and he spent the remaining months of the year in Austrian territory.¹³² It is worth mentioning that the cardinal-legate left a substitute in his place in Hungary, he subdelegated Hildebrand Conti (Ildebrandino), bishop of Padova¹³³ for the further actions. Gui did not exclusively dealt with diplomatic matters whilst his rather short stay in the realm. For instance he handled the case of the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek and the nunneries of Pozsony and Nagyszombat (Trnava, SK).¹³⁴ Seemingly the presence of the cardinal was harnessed by the clergy of close-by churches. The cardinal was entrusted with this issue by the pope again in early 1350,¹³⁵ after King Louis I seemingly accepted the papal terms.¹³⁶ Yet, in

¹²¹ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 10.

¹²² For Gui's activities in papal service see Pierre Jugie, "L'activité diplomatique du cardinal Gui de Boulogne en France au milieu du XIV^e siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 145 (1987), 99–127. and Pierre Jugie, "La légation en Hongrie et en Italie du cardinal Gui de Boulogne (1348–1350)," *Il Santo. Rivista antoniana di storia, dottrina, arte* 29 (1989), 29–69.

¹²³ Ágnes Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne magyarországi itineráriuma," [Some Remarks on the Itinerary of Cardinal Gui de Boulogne in Hungary] *Világtörténet* 5 (37), no. 1 (2015), 29–42

¹²⁴ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30.

¹²⁵ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 225.

¹²⁶ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 101; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 11–12.

¹²⁷ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 30–31.

¹²⁸ Jugie, "La legation," passim.

¹²⁹ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 230, CD IX/1. 674. nr. CCCLXIX.

¹³⁰ Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–34.

¹³¹ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 102. Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–34.

¹³² Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 33–35.

¹³³ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232; Maléth, "Gui de Boulogne," 31–33.

¹³⁴ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232.

¹³⁵ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 778, nr. MCLXXXII. and 779. nr. MCLXXXIV.

¹³⁶ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 232; VMH I. 784, nr. MCXC.

the meantime the Hungarian monarch started his second Italian campaign, so the pontiff intended to approach the king via Gui again.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, the cardinal this time refused to accept the task, so the pope had to turn to Cardinal Hannibal de Ceccano and Bishop Raymund Saquet of Théroutanne.¹³⁸ Cardinal Gui dedicated himself in the following months to Italian and French businesses,¹³⁹ yet it is suspected that he had his role in the end in the final peace between King Louis and the pope.¹⁴⁰

The next person in question, Alexius de Vodronio was a canon of Xanten and the cleric of the Apostolic chamber when he was appointed as papal collector for Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in early 1372. His task was to supervise the collection of the due to the pope's conflict with the Viscontis laid tax (tenth).¹⁴¹ In November he took upon himself the leading of the negotiations between the Hungarian monarch and the emperor, which was handled by Legate Johannes de Cardaillac prior to that.¹⁴² Later on he was entrusted to prepare the return of Pope Gregory XI to Rome.¹⁴³ Alexius applied in 1376 for the position of the vice-chamberlain of the Apostolic Camera,¹⁴⁴ but he became a bishop in the same year, and seemingly left the chamber behind.¹⁴⁵

The last papal legate, whose course of life fit into the framework of this paper was Agapitus Colonna. He was a papal chaplain and the archdeacon of Bologna when Pope Urban V appointed him in July 1363 for the bishop's chair of Ascoli Piceno, although he was not in the proper age by that time. He was transferred to Brescia in October 1369 and afterwards to Lisbon in August 1371.¹⁴⁶ Agapitus was ordered by Gregory XI in spring 1373 to travel to Hungary and the Empire to handle the conflict between King Louis I and Emperor Charles IV (1355–1378). The papal legate first negotiated with the emperor and later on with the Hungarian monarch. His task was furthermore to handle the issue of the lagged behind papal tithes and the incomes of the vacant ecclesiastical benefices in the realm, which was previously forbidden by the king. Agapitus was successful in both cases.¹⁴⁷

At last, let us take a look at a special clutch of clerics, which only partially belongs to our research's focus, yet it cannot be left out of the analysis, the group of the chaplains of cardinals, who acted in the Hungarian Realm. The first traces can be bound to the legation of Gentilis de Monteflorum, the cardinal of S. Martinus in montibus. The Franciscan friar was sent to Hungary by Pope Clemens V (1305–1314) to help King Charles I (1301–1342) in his struggle for the power in the realm and to straighten the church-discipline in 1307, where he operated until 1311.¹⁴⁸ It is crucial to underline that the cardinal-legate was not exclusively occupied with the issues of the Angevin king, he was active in accordance with his commission in several ecclesiastical matters, and members of his entourage handled a series of litigations and other

¹³⁷ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 784. nr. MCXC.

¹³⁸ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233; VMH I. 786. nr. MCCXII.

¹³⁹ Mollat, "Boulogne (Gui de)," 102–103, Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 249; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 12–14.

¹⁴⁰ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 233–236; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 12.

¹⁴¹ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 257–258; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 17.

¹⁴² Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 258–268; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 17.

¹⁴³ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 285; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 17.

¹⁴⁴ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 281; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

¹⁴⁵ Guillemain, *La cour pontificale*, 286; Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Kiss, *Pápai megbízottak*, 18.

¹⁴⁷ Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 268–269; MVAT I/1. 460–463.

¹⁴⁸ For Gentilis see: Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 121–132; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 59–60.

issues.¹⁴⁹ The first data regarding our point of interest derives from 1308;¹⁵⁰ the charter reports of the presence of several chaplains of the cardinal during the election of Charles I at the general convention at Pest and their role in the issuing of the charter about it: Philippus de Sardinia, canon of Arborea and Johannes de Aretio, canon of Osimo and Várad (Oradea, RO) were called as auditors, meanwhile Guilelmus de Sanguineto, Johannes Anglicus and Albertus de Parma bore the titles chaplain of the legate and public notary.¹⁵¹ The signs of the chaplains' activity can be found in several other issues as well, both regarding the king's struggle for the power over the realm,¹⁵² and as auditors or notaries in ecclesiastical cases of various types.¹⁵³ Not Gentilis was the only legate, who made use of his chaplains whilst his mission in Hungary. Gui de Boulogne authorized in 1349 Nicolaus, the doctor of theology and Louis, canon of Laon to negotiate with King Louis I of Hungary.¹⁵⁴

Chaplains of certain cardinals appeared also within the Hungarian church. Ladislaus, canon of Pécs, the son of Palatine Nicolaus of Zsámbok,¹⁵⁵ the chaplain of Cardinal-bishop Johannes de Corvenis of Porto,¹⁵⁶ received a special licence from Pope Clemens VI to seize also the provostry of Csázma (Čazma, SK) in 1345.¹⁵⁷ John of Usa, lector of Eger, the chaplain of the powerful cardinal Guillaume de La Jugie of S. Maria in Cosmedin, who had an enormous influence in Hungary.¹⁵⁸ John applied for a benefice in the diocese of Veszprém by Pope Clemens VI in 1348.¹⁵⁹

Summary

If we take a look after this short presentation at the tendencies of the fourteenth century regarding the activities of the members of the papal chapel in Hungarian affairs from the point of view of the Hungarian-papal relations, primarily we have to emphasize the importance of

¹⁴⁹ For this side of the legation see Kiss, "A pápai legátusok", 275–279; Viktória Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae. Beiträge zu der Jurisdiktionstätigkeit von Papstlegat Gentilis de Monteflorum in Ungarn (1308–1311)," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* VII (2013), 39–69.

¹⁵⁰ CDH VIII/1. 264. nr. CXXXV. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 60–61; Rácz, "Az Anjou-ház," 59–60.

¹⁵¹ "venerabilibus et discretis viris magistris Philippo de Sardinia Arborensis, et Ioanne de Aretio Auximanensis ecclesiarum canonicis auditoribus, nec non magistris Guillelmo de Sanguineto, Ioanne Anglico, et Alberto de Parma capellanis praefati domini legati, et notariis publicis" CDH VIII/1. 269. nr. CXXXV. See furthermore: CDCr VIII. 174. nr. 161. Another chaplain, Gasparro de Montesia is also known. "presentibus venerabilibus et discretis dominis Vanne de Aretio et Gasparro de Montesia prefati domini legati capellanis" VIII. 235–236. nr. 197. Cf. Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 60.

¹⁵² E. g. CDH VIII/7. 60. nr. XXXVI. Another charter from 1310 informs of the role of the Franciscan friar and chaplain Dyonisius in regard of the negotiations between King Charles I and Voivod Ladislaus Kán. MES II. 619, nr. 683. See: Tamás Kádár, "Harcban a koronáért. II. I. Károly (Róbert) király uralkodásának 1306–1310 közötti szakasza," [Fighting for the Crown, II. King Charles (Robert) I's Reign in 1306–1310] in *Történelmi tanulmányok XXV*, ed. György Miru – Ádám Novák – Balázs Antal Bacsa (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2017), 183.

¹⁵³ E.g. CDH VIII/5. 41. nr. XXIV. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 48, 49, 51, 55, 59, 63–67; CDH VIII/7. 69. nr. XLIII. See Kovács, "Causae coram nobis ventilatae," 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 59, 63–65, 68. Franciscus, monk of Columba appeared as the fundator of a chapel in Pozsony. MES II. 646, nr. 718.

¹⁵⁴ CDH IX/1. 686. nr. CCCLXXXVII. and 689. nr. CCCLXXXVIII; MES III. 698, nr. 937, and 699, nr. 938.

¹⁵⁵ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, I. 3 Zsámboki Miklós (1342–1356)

¹⁵⁶ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 16.

¹⁵⁷ CDH IX/1. 291. nr. CLIII; CDCr XI. 192. nr. 145.

¹⁵⁸ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, 18; CVH I/9 XLII; Fedeles, "Petrus Stephani," 79; Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan*, 465–466.

¹⁵⁹ MREV II. 95. nr. XCV.

King Louis I's Italian politics and campaigns, which affair had an enormous impact on the issue in question. So is the attitude of Pope Clemens VI to underlined, who unlike his predecessors, did not always followed the Hungarian monarch's will, but he appointed his protégés for Hungarian benefices, which behaviour deepened the already existing tension between Louis I and the papacy regarding the Neapolitan succession.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, it cannot be stated that only these two factors were of importance, papal chaplains acted in Hungary, or regarding Hungarian matters both prior and after the 1350s, and members of the Hungarian clergy obtained the honorary chaplain titles in a growing number in the selected era, prior to 1378, as the record from 1376 about the seven appointed honorary can vouch for this statement. If we take a further look at the institutional side of the research, it also has to be stated, as mentioned earlier, that no papal chaplain appeared in the sources as judge-delegate, and their activity as legate, nuncio or collector was also a relative rare phenomenon in the fourteenth century, which state was a clear change compared to the previous century. We also have several examples of the authorization of persons, who were previously members of the pontifical chapel, yet in the time of their legations all of them held already higher offices.

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¹⁶⁰ Rác, “Az Anjou-ház,” 67–74.

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