

GÁBOR BARABÁS

 <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4786-970X>  
University of Pecs

## *Papal Clerics in Thirteenth-Century Hungary: Papal Delegations and Local Careers\**

### Abstract

The paper discusses a special organisation of the medieval Papal Curia: the personal chapel of the popes, primarily focusing on the activity of its members in Hungary, during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The papal subdeacons and chaplains played a significant role in the operation of the Apostolic See, e.g. they functioned as legates in a growing number besides cardinals, and they participated in the work of the papal chancery, chamber, and penitentiary as well. Nevertheless, papal clerics were also to be found outside the Apostolic Court, such as in Hungary, where they can be classified into two different factions: the first major group was formed by the members of the Papal Chapel, who only visited the certain regions of church with special mandates for various kinds of tasks. In most cases, they had to deal with diplomatic affairs, or with matters of ecclesiastical government and discipline. The second category, on the one hand, consisted a group of clerics with special status, they were the so-called papal subdeacons, while on the other hand, certain members of the Hungarian clergy received the title of (honorary) papal chaplain from the popes as a reward for their services.

**Keywords:** Papacy, Medieval Hungary, Papal Chaplains, Papal Diplomacy, Papal Legate, Papal Judge-Delegate

**Słowa kluczowe:** papieństwo, średniowieczne Węgry, kapelani papiescy, dyplomacja papieska, legat papieski, papieski sąd delegowany

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## Introduction

The Papal Chapel, a community of the pontiffs' personal chaplains, was an important institution in the high Middle Ages. This office was not just relevant regarding the operation of the whole Papal Court and its inner affairs, but also because the members of it were active agents of the popes on various fields and different regions of Christendom. This study focuses on the appearance of papal chaplains and their career-opportunities in the Kingdom of Hungary during the thirteenth-century. Although this topic has been observed before, but it happened superficially and only from the perspective of other issues. Therefore, placing the organization in the centre of the investigation, a new and unique research aspect is created. In order to be able to give a proper insight into this topic, we first have to take a closer look at the chapel itself. Papal chaplains formed a special and complex group with several sub-categories, therefore it is necessary to first clarify how exactly the pontifical chapel operated in the high Middle Ages and who were the members of it. Following a general introduction, the analysis of those papal clerics (chaplains and subdeacons), who were either sent to Hungary as legates, nuncios or judges delegates by the popes, or received their title as members of the Hungarian clergy in return for their services will follow.

## The Papal Chapel

The term *capellanus domini pape* appeared in the pontifical sources with the beginning of the early Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The Papal Chapel originally was the community of the popes' personal chaplains who assisted the pontiffs in their liturgical capacities. It transformed into a complex institution during the late eleventh, early twelfth century parallelly to the structural development of the Papal Court.<sup>2</sup> This process started probably under the pontificate of Pope Urban II (1088–1099) and it was concluded by his successor, Paschal II (1099–1118).<sup>3</sup> The progress in the institutionalization was promoted by the formation of

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<sup>1</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ZRG KA, 1950, Bd. 3, p. 146; J. 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 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Century)*. *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Milano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 9–11 marzo 2011*, eds. M.P. Alberzoni, P. Montaubin, Brepols, Turnhout 2014, pp. 53–54. Siegfried Haider collected several records from the eleventh century, for instance Hildebrand, the later Gregory VII was probably the chaplain of Gregory VI. S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen der päpstlichen Kapelle*, "Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung" 1979, Bd. 87, pp. 39–40, 55–62, 64.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 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, B. Schimmelpfennig, ed. L. Schmugge, Jan Thorbecke, Sigmaringen 1992, pp. 47–48; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug*..., p. 53; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel 1288–1304: A Study in Institutional and Cultural Change*, PhD Dissertation, University College London, London 2013, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle*..., pp. 148–150; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel*..., p. 10.

the College of Cardinals as well.<sup>4</sup> Its members became more and more occupied with new duties, therefore they were no more in the position to fulfil their previous liturgical tasks.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the Papal Chapel, another important ecclesiastical order has to be mentioned besides chaplains, namely the papal subdeacons. This title referred to the consecration received from the pope. Their status was special because – among other factors – they were free from the jurisdiction of the diocesans and belonged directly under the popes.<sup>6</sup> The importance of subdeacons in the history of the Papal Chapel is well-represented by the fact that in the majority of the known cases, members of the chapel were mentioned as *subdiaconus S.R.E.* or *subdiaconus noster (domini pape)* in the twelfth century, even though not each and every papal subdeacon became automatically pontifical chaplain as well.<sup>7</sup> The strong tie between the two ecclesiastical statuses can be seen in the general usage (*subdiaconus et capellanus domini pape*) of the term under the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216).<sup>8</sup>

The early thirteenth century<sup>9</sup> was clearly a turning-point in the history of the Papal Chapel from many aspects. The title, subdeacon started to disappear from the sources, while the term papal chaplain had become almost exclusive. However, during the period of transition, the combination of the two titles can also be witnessed: *capellanus et subdiaconus domini pape*.<sup>10</sup> The former practice had changed 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*). This process signified the extension of papal authority and the hegemony of the Apostolic See.<sup>11</sup> Besides the titles that were being used, the structure of the chapel was also modified by Pope Innocent III,<sup>12</sup> such as the liturgical tasks of the chaplains.<sup>13</sup> The pope made efforts to provide the nec-

<sup>4</sup> S. Kuttner, *Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept* [in:] S. Kuttner, *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, Variorum Reprints, London 1990, pp. 129–214.

<sup>5</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 150; S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, pp. 40–55, 62–65. For the liturgical tasks of the popes prior to the thirteenth century, and the groups related to that see B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Bedeutung...*, pp. 52–56, 59–60.

<sup>6</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 153–156, 168–169; J. 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*, eds. M.P. Alberzoni, C. Zey, Vita E Pensiero, Milano 2012, pp. 266–268; T. Fedeles, *Magyar Klerikusszentelések Rómában a hitújítás kezdetén (1516–1523) [Ordination of Hungarian Clerics in Rome at the Outset of the Reformation]* [in:] *Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. Században*, eds. Sz. Varga, L. Vértesi, Pécsi Hittudományi Főiskola–Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet, Pécs 2017, pp. at 53–54; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 151–152, 159–160; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> 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. R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 156–157, 170–171.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 171–172; S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 171–172; B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Bedeutung...*, pp. 47–48, 60–61; R. Elze, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1973, pp. 17–20. Cf. J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root Up and to Plant*, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2003, p. 201. The liturgical works of the Papal Court from the early thirteenth century was examined by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig. B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher...*, pp. 17–23.

essary residence for his chaplains where they could all live together.<sup>14</sup> They were ought to assist popes at certain masses, to bear the cross before the pope during processions and they also had to perform masses themselves.<sup>15</sup> Their tasks were the sign of their high status in the Papal Court.<sup>16</sup> The chaplains' exact amount of income is not known in details, but they most probably received certain material goods (food, clothes, candles etc.) from the popes and received payments for their liturgical services. Furthermore, in order to cover their financial needs, chaplains were also granted certain benefices.<sup>17</sup> It was common for them to receive license to stay away from those benefices which laid outside of Rome,<sup>18</sup> and members of certain chapters of the Eternal City could also belong to the Papal Chapel. The popes were probably motivated to keep this functional group together, since the chaplains could be of great service for them in many ways.<sup>19</sup> It is no surprise therefore that chaplains could count on the possibility of their promotion, hence their membership in the Papal Chapel could be only one among the first steps in their ecclesiastical career.<sup>20</sup> It was not uncommon for papal chaplains to become cardinals,<sup>21</sup> as popes were generally motivated to choose the new members of the College of Cardinals among their loyal clerics. There is no record though which could illuminate the rate of these cases in which either the chaplains got their promotion or they remained to be the members of the chapel until their death.<sup>22</sup> However, becoming a cardinal was not the only mean for chaplains to receive a higher office, even though there are only a few archbishops and bishops known from the thirteenth century who previously were members of the pontifical chapel.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 270. Cf. B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Organisation der päpstlichen Kapelle in Avignon*, "Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken" 1970, Bd. 50, pp. 84; S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, pp. 67–69.

<sup>15</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 173–174; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 87–88, 95. Cf. B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Organisation...*, p. 84.

<sup>16</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 174, 198–200; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 87, 95.

<sup>17</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle*, pp. 168, 173–174, 185–187; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 76–77, 87–88, 95; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, pp. 56–57. Cf. B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Organisation...*, p. 84. The situation in late thirteenth century was elaborated by David Ross Matthew See M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 82–101.

<sup>18</sup> M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 76–79.

<sup>19</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die Diener des Apostelfürsten. Das Kapitel von St. Peter im Vatikan (11. – 13. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin–New York, De Gruyter, 2011, pp. 169–175; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 271–282; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 95ff.

<sup>20</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 184–185.

<sup>21</sup> The formation of the College of Cardinals and the Papal Chapel was probably related to each other. See H.W. Klewitz, *Die Entstehung des Kardinalskollegiums*, ZRG KA, 1936, Bd. 25, pp. 193. Cf. S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, p. 65. For the College of Cardinals see A. Fischer, *Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304: zwischen eigenständigem Handeln und päpstlicher Autorität* [in:] *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, eds. J. Dendorfer, R. Lützelshwab, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 2011 (Päpste und Papsttum 39), pp. 160–170, 174–176; W. Maleczek, *Die Kardinäle von 1143 bis 1216. Exklusive Papstwähler und erste Agenten der päpstlichen plenitudo potestatis* [in:] *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, eds. J. Dendorfer, R. Lützelshwab, Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart 2011 (Päpste und Papsttum 39), pp. 102–103.

<sup>22</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 164–166; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 268, 270, 271; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 54–56; S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, pp. 65; W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalkolleg von 1191 bis 1216*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1984, pp. 203–206; W. Maleczek, *Die Kardinäle...*, pp. 102–103; A. Fischer, *Die Kardinäle...*, pp. 160–170, 174–176.

<sup>23</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 167–168; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 55–56, 76.

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 day to day management of the Apostolic Chancery<sup>24</sup> is indisputable; it is even assumed that every papal notary was automatically a member of the chapel too.<sup>25</sup>

Chaplains actively took part in the papal judiciary system (*audientia* and later *rota*) as well,<sup>26</sup> primarily as auditors.<sup>27</sup> This practice, though not exclusively, led to judicial education becoming more important in the selection of new chaplains.<sup>28</sup> It is unknown whether chaplains were the members of the Apostolic Penitentiary or not, yet it seems to be revealing that the pontiffs often entrusted their clerics to be their personal confessors.<sup>29</sup>

The popes could mobilize their chaplains on a different field as well: they were frequently assigned as pontifical envoys of various types. Chaplains and subdeacons represented popes in diplomatic affairs with casual jurisdiction at first,<sup>30</sup> but for the thirteenth century, they could obtain full legation (*plena legatio*) for their missions in certain cases.<sup>31</sup> The number of the cardinals was limited that is the reason why the members of the Papal Chapel were mandated to it at an increasing rate. It was especially true in times when there was significant tension between popes and cardinals, when the service of trusted personal chaplains was highly beneficial to the pontiffs.<sup>32</sup> Clerics of the Apostolic See could act more flexibly during their missions than cardinals, since their lower rank meant lower responsibility at the same time.<sup>33</sup> The most distinctive task of chaplains

<sup>24</sup> The reform of the papal literacy was the achievement of Innocent III, it became necessary because of the growing needs of the papal government. Cf. T. Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986, pp. 54ff.

<sup>25</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 267, 275; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, p. 55. For twelfth-century examples see R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 158–160, 174–177. Cf. S. Haider, *Zu den Anfängen...*, p. 66. The chaplaincy is recorded by several officers of the chancery from the second half of the thirteenth century. See G.F. Nüske, *Untersuchungen über das Personal der päpstlichen Kanzlei 1254–1304*, “Archiv für Diplomatik” 1975, Bd. 21, pp. 249–431, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. S. Killermann, *Die Rota Romana: Wesen und Wirken des päpstlichen Gerichtshofes im Wandel der Zeit*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2009 (Adnotationes in Ius Canonicum 46), pp. 32–50; A. Fischer, *Die Kardinäle von 1216 bis 1304...*, p. 180.

<sup>27</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 177–180; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 269; R. Elze, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, p. 58; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 10. Cf. J. Théry, *Judicial Inquiry as an Instrument of Centralized Government: The Papacy's Criminal Proceedings against Prelates in the Age of Theocracy (Mid-Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Century)* [in:] *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 5–11 August 2012*, eds. J. Goering, S. Dusil, A. Thier, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2016, (Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C. Subsidia, 15.) pp. 883; S. Killermann, *Die Rota Romana...*, pp. 40–50. For their role in the delegated jurisdiction see below.

<sup>28</sup> M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 27, 52–53, 63–64.

<sup>29</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 180.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 268–269; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 12, 93–94. For typical examples see J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 274–275.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 276–279; A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Hat das Papsttum seiner plenitudo potestatis Grenzen gesetzt (1050–1300)?* [in:] *Das begrenzte Papsttum. Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns: Legaten – delegierte Richter – Grenzen*, eds. K. Herbers, F. López Alsina, F. Engel, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York, 2013, pp. 29–31.

<sup>32</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 180–181; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 263.

<sup>33</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 263, 275; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 13. Cf. R.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*, eds. J.R. Strayer, D.E. Queller, Rom 1972 (Studia Gratiana 15), pp. 459–460.

– among other duties – was the investigation of disputed elections, the deliverance of pallium for elected archbishops and metropolitans, and the reconstruction of the ecclesiastical system, e.g. the establishment of new bishoprics.<sup>34</sup> Chaplains, just as cardinals alike appeared among the rectors of the Papal States.<sup>35</sup>

The members of the pontifical chapel were frequently entrusted by popes to function as judge-delegates outside of Rome from the pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227), even though their main activity was remained to be auditors. Pope Gregory IX was the first who allowed his chaplains to permanently stay away from the Eternal City – whilst they functioned in that given area as legates or judges delegate – after they received a local benefice.<sup>36</sup>

The papacy 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 their own permanent residence far from the ecclesiastical centre. Therefore, they served the popes as members of cathedral-chapters or chapels of monarchs. Papal delegates still received local benefices during their missions, but the popes also tended to honour clerics outside from Rome and Italy in an increasing number with the title of *capellanus domini pape*.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, it can be assumed that after the previous extraordinary cases,<sup>38</sup> Innocent IV found the perfect solution for the growing need for loyal clerics outside of Rome. The title of *capellanus 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.<sup>39</sup> The sharp distinction between curial and honorary chaplains (*capellanus commensalis* and *capellanus honoris*) appeared only in the fourteenth century,<sup>40</sup> but two main functional types were already tangible in the 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 judge-delegates.<sup>41</sup> The title referred both to the clerics who were appointed by the popes, and to the office itself.<sup>42</sup>

If there were any strict regulations regarding the scope of the chaplains' duties then it is unknown for us, yet from the pontificate of Innocent IV papal designation charters are available. Concerning 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

<sup>34</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 183; J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 269; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, pp. 59–61, 64, 68.

<sup>35</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 269, 274–275.

<sup>36</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 188–189.

<sup>37</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 271; R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 188–189. Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 57–81.

<sup>38</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 188–190.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 45–47.

<sup>40</sup> 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 M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 100.

<sup>41</sup> 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. R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 187–190; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 28–31, 43–50, 79; 100. Cf. J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 271.

<sup>42</sup> M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 11.

the records it can be assumed that from the fourteenth century onwards, the appointed clerics still owed certain duties to the pontiffs, however 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 – or at least temporary – from the duties attached to the benefices they received.<sup>43</sup> The sources do not illuminate the duration of the chaplains' assignment, but it can be supposed that it lasted until promotion or up until the death of the certain chaplain. At the same time, the passing of the pope who appointed the chaplain could have meant the end of the service as well.<sup>44</sup>

Sources regarding the geographical dimensions of the Papal Chapel can be identified only from the pontificate of Innocent IV. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that in the early history of the institute mostly Roman clerics were enrolled, but clerics from outside of Rome started to show up among the members of the Chapel as well. The majority certainly had Italian origins, but French, German, English and Iberian clergymen were also to be found among them. Parallely to this tendency, papal chaplains appeared among the members of churches all over the Western Christendom.<sup>45</sup> If we intend to analyse the social background of chaplains' we can only rely on presumptions due to the lack of sources. It is also possible to expect that the majority of the members of the chapel were at first noblemen, but citizens of towns and cities were definitely present as well.<sup>46</sup> However, it can be observed that most of chaplains belonged to the papal *familia* in a broader sense and some of them were even relatives, mostly nephews of the current or previous popes. The family members of cardinals,<sup>47</sup> prelates, or even sovereigns were also to be found among pontifical chaplains, yet being a favourite was not the only possible way in. Lawyers, theologians and friars were also integral and important parts of the pontiffs' chapel.<sup>48</sup>

## Papal Clerics in Thirteenth-Century Hungary

After a brief introduction of the Papal Chapel we should to take a closer 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. It has to be emphasized though, that we do not intend to compile a whole prosopographical database of each relevant papal cleric. The aim of the paper is rather to display the possibilities in researching the Hungarian aspects of the activities of thirteenth-century papal chaplains.

<sup>43</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 191.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Organisation...*, pp. 86ff; R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 192; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 57–81. Cf. J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 271.

<sup>46</sup> R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, p. 192; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 57ff.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig. Báncsa nembeli István (1205 k. – 1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája* [From Southern Hungary to Italy. The Course of Life of Stephen Báncsa (ca. 1205 – 1270), Bishop of Vác, Archbishop of Esztergom, the First Cardinal of Hungarian Origin], Pécs, Kronosz, 2015, pp. 66–68.

<sup>48</sup> Certain records from the thirteenth-century report that popes appointed their former cardinal-chaplains to pontifical ones. R. Elze, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 192–194.

Pontifical clerics could get involved with Hungarian affairs generally in two ways: some of them were sent to the Hungarian Kingdom from the centre of the Church as papal representatives (legates, nuncios, or judges delegate, and executors), meanwhile the members of the other group bore the title of papal subdeacon or chaplain as members of the Hungarian church-hierarchy. 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 as a reward for their services. Regarding the curial chaplains, the research focuses on their activities in connection with the Hungarian affairs, meanwhile, from the aspect of Hungarian clergymen, the obtainment of chaplaincy and its effect on the later course of chaplains' lives should be observed more thoroughly.<sup>49</sup>

If one intends to compile a prosopographical list of those papal clerics who can be related to the Hungarian Realm in the thirteenth century, the question of sources,<sup>50</sup> the difficulties around the inconsistent usage of titles and the different versions of the clergymen's names should be considered. These above listed elements could result in challenges during the implementation of a research, in spite of the fact that the identification of the benefices owned by these clerics could contribute to a precise analysis.<sup>51</sup> It also has to be taken into account that papal registers do not contain each and every papal charter issued within a certain time frame. The selection of the recorded letters issued or received by the pontiffs was based on various criteria (regarding the importance of the aforementioned affair, or due to the petition of the receiver etc.).<sup>52</sup> Thus, it is not completely

<sup>49</sup> Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 52.

<sup>50</sup> The research is generally based on charters, but also certain narrative sources are to be examined (e.g. CFH – *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, vol. I–III, ed. A.F. Gombos, Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Rege Nominata, Budapestinum 1937–1938). For further information, see the activity of Umberto Bianchi regarding the canonization of Margaret of the Árpáadian dynasty. The group of pragmatic sources contain mainly papal and local charters (e.g. *Die Register Innocenz' III. Band I–XIV*, ed. O. Hageneder et al., Graz–Wien–Rom 1964–2018; RPO – *I registri del Pontefice Onorio III dall'anno 1216 all'anno 1227*, vol. I–II, ed. P. Pressutti, Roma 1888; *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. I–IV, ed. L. Auvray, Paris 1890–1955; *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, vol. I–III, eds. C. Bourel de La Roncière, J. de Loye, P. Cenival, A. Coulon, Paris 1901–1953; RPR – *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*, vol. I–II, ed. A. Potthast, Berlinum 1874 and RA – *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. I–II/1, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1923–1943, vol. II/2–4; *Manuscriptis Emericus Szentpétery adhibitis et completis critice digessit Iván Borsa*, Budapest 1961–1987; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. I–II, ed. R. Marsina, Bratislava, Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971–1987; CDH – *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. I–XI, ed. G. Fejér, Typ. Universitatis, Buda 1829–1844; CDCr – *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. I–XV, ed. T. Smičiklas, Zagrabia 1904–1934; ÁÚO – *Árpádkori új okmánytár – Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. I–XII, ed. G. Wenzel, Pest–Budapest, MTA, 1860–1874; MES – *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. I–III, ed. F. Knauz, Strigonium 1874–1924, vol. IV, ed. G. Dreska, G. Érszegi, A. Hegedűs, T. Neumann, C. Szovák, S. Tringli, Strigonium–Budapestinum 1999; MREV – *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis – A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára*, vol. I–IV, ed. V. Fraknói, J. Lukacsics, Budapest 1896–1907; VMH – *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. I–II, ed. A. Theiner, Roma 1859–1860, etc.). Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 35–41.

<sup>51</sup> See M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 39–41.

<sup>52</sup> See O. Hageneder, *Die Register Innocenz III* [in:] *Papst Innozenz III, Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas*, ed. T. Frenz, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 92–93. Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 37.



inconceivable that not every relevant papal cleric is to be found in the remaining sources, therefore one has to be careful with drawing conclusions from the available data.<sup>53</sup>

Pontifical clerics (in the beginnings, mostly subdeacons) already appeared in the sources concerning affairs related to Hungary in the 1100s, however, they did so only in the cases of Dalmatian churches.<sup>54</sup> In a narrower sense, the first members of the Papal Chapel showed up in the late twelfth, early thirteenth century as pontifical delegates in the Hungarian Realm. The first one was a Cistercian monk, John of Casamari. He bore the title chaplain and subdeacon of the pope and his activity can be interpreted as a quasi-transition after the first missions in the 1100s, since he received several tasks of various nature regarding affairs of the Balkans from 1197 on.<sup>55</sup> His duty brought him to Hungary as early as 1202 where he even met King Emeric (1196–1204). He was ought to handle the investigation against Ban Kulin of Bosnia to clarify whether the ruler was – as suspected – a heretic or not. Besides the problem of Bosnian heresy, or more precisely, the *Bosnian church*,<sup>56</sup> John was authorized to conduct negotiations with Tsar Kalojan of Bulgaria around his planned coronation.<sup>57</sup> The next pontifical cleric was authorized by Pope Honorius III. Acontius (Aconcio) of Viterbo<sup>58</sup> appears in the sources in 1219, when he was commissioned to collect the stipulated contribution to the crusades, whereas during his second mission, he had to deal with the Bosnian heretics and also had to organize the fight against the pirates of Dalmatia in 1221. The papal chaplain managed to get to the Hungarian core-territory as well: he was present at the convention of the Hungarian

<sup>53</sup> Cf. M.D., Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>54</sup> The papal subdeacon and Cistercian monk, Henry of Pisa (Heinricus de Pisa) was sent to Dubrovnik in 1153 (CDCr II, nr 75). Papal subdeacons Vitellius and Theodinus were entrusted alongside with John (Johannes), presbyter-cardinal of S. Marc with a task regarding the archbishopric of Dubrovnik in 1168. (CDCr II, nr 104). Papal Subdeacon Teobald, a French Benedictine monk was sent to Dalmatia by Pope Alexander III because of the conflict of Split and Zadar in 1180 (CDCr II, nr 166 – October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1180; ÁÚO VI, pp. 144–145 – around 1181).

<sup>55</sup> See J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III...*, p. 74; J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1987, pp. 41–42; C.I. Kyer, *The Papal Legate and the 'Solemn' Papal Nuncio 1243–1378: The Changing Pattern of Papal Representation*, PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto 1979, pp. 84–85; I. Majnarić, *Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji tu u Bosni nije bio?*, “Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru” 2008, vol. 50, pp. 1–13; G. Barabás, *Heretics, Pirates, and Legates. The Bosnian Heresy, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Popes in the Early 13<sup>th</sup> Century*, “Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis” 2017, vol. IX, pp. 38–43. For John of Casamari see recently: *Giovanni da Casamari in Dalmazia e Bosnia*, ed. N. Veselic, Roma, Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. M. Lorenz, *Bogomilen, Katharer und bosnische “Christen”. Der Transfer dualistischer Häresien zwischen Orient und Okzident (11.–13. Jh.)* [in:] *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit; interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*, eds. B.J. Nemes, A. Rabus, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, pp. 107–121.

<sup>57</sup> See J.R. Sweeney, *Innocent III, Hungary and the Bulgarian Coronation: A Study in Medieval Papal Diplomacy*, “Church History” 1973, vol. 42, pp. 321–323; W. Maleczek, *Das Frieden stiftende Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* [in:] *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, Thorbecke, Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 321–323; J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III...*, p. 113; I. Majnarić, *Papinski kapelan Ivan...*, pp. 6–7; J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, pp. 62–64; G. Barabás, *Heretics...*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>58</sup> *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum. Archdeacon Thomas of Split. History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, eds. O. Perić, D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol, J.R. Sweeney, CEU Press, Budapest–New York 2006 (Central European Medieval Texts 4), pp. 172–173.

prelates on which they tried to come to an agreement regarding the needed measures in the conflict between King Andrew II and his oldest son, Béla regarding the latter's marriage with Maria, daughter of Emperor Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea.<sup>59</sup>

Pope Gregory IX's chaplain, Egidius (Egidio) was present in the Kingdom of Hungary between 1228–1231 where he acted as judge-delegate in several lawsuits. The most intriguing episode of his Hungarian stay was his task that he received in 1229, namely when he was ordered to help Archbishop Ugrin of Kalocsa in the establishment of the proposed new bishopric in Syrmia (Srem).<sup>60</sup> Another John (Johannes de Civitella), arrived in the realm in 1241. He was supposed to promote the issue of the planned universal council in Hungary, and to ask for the pope's support in his conflict with Emperor Frederic II.<sup>61</sup>

The next papal chaplain and subdeacon whose task was related to the kingdom – counter to the previous chaplains – never set foot on Hungarian land. In 1241, Pope Gregory IX gave an order to his chaplain, Gregory (Gregorius de Montelongo),<sup>62</sup> to absolve Patriarch Berthold of Aquileia of his previous excommunication due to the petition of the nephews of the former archbishop of Kalocsa, King Béla IV and his brother, Duke Coloman of Slavonia.<sup>63</sup> In 1244, Gregory's successor Innocent IV assigned the same chaplain to take Beatrice d'Este, widow of the late Hungarian monarch, Andrew II, under his protection together with her son, Stephen. The former queen was with child

<sup>59</sup> See L. Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: Von der Volkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich 1987 (Konzilien-geschichte), pp. 173–176; I. 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” 2007, vol. 15, pp. 495–502; I. Majnarić, *Papinski poslanik Akoncije u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskoj 1219.–1223 godine* [in:] *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u cast Franje Šanjeka*, eds. L. Čoralić, S. Slišković, Dominikanska naklada Istina, Zagreb 2009 (Analecta Croatica Christiana 40), pp. 79–80, 88–95; G. Barabás, *Heretics...*, pp. 44–49; I. 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*, eds. R. Kotecki, J. Maciejewski, J.S. Ott, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2018 (Explorations in Medieval Culture 3), pp. 445; G. Barabás, *Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198 – ca. 1241) Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze*, Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien Balassi Institut – Collegium Hungaricum Wien Ungarische Archivdelegation beim Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien 2014 (Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien VI), pp. 183–187.

<sup>60</sup> See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkal*, I. kötet [*Ecclesiastical and Political Relations of Hungary and the Roman Holy See*, vol. I], Szent István Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, Budapest 1901, pp. 51–52; G. Barabás, *Papal Chaplain and Subdeacon Egidius. Judge-delegate and Legate in Hungary at the Same Time?*, “Istraživanja, Journal of Historical Researches” 2017, vol. 28, pp. 69–85.

<sup>61</sup> See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 64.

<sup>62</sup> *Gregorio da Montelongo di Maria Pia Alberzoni* [in:] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 59, 2002, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-da-montelongo\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-da-montelongo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29) (access: 5.03.2018).

<sup>63</sup> RPR, nr 10980. The former archbishop of Kalocsa confronted the pope because he supported Emperor Frederic II in his struggle with the Apostolic See. Gregorius de Montelongo became patriarch of Aquileia after Berthold passed away in 1251. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series. Ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta*, Münster 1913, p. 99. For Duke Coloman see: M. Font, G. Barabás, *Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241): Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power*, ARC Humanities Press – Amsterdam University Press, Leeds 2019 (Beyond Medieval Europe).

when the king passed away, and in fear of the successor, King Béla IV, she decided to escape from Hungary and sought shelter in Italy.<sup>64</sup>

The Franciscan friar, papal chaplain and penitentiary, Velasco,<sup>65</sup> happened to be present in Hungary twice. At first, he was commissioned by Innocent IV to mediate the negotiations between King Béla IV and the Bohemian monarch, Ottokar II in 1254.<sup>66</sup> Almost a decade later in 1263 Velasco received a similar task: he was appointed by Pope Urban IV (1261–1264) to act as a peacemaker between the Hungarian king and his firstborn son, the later Stephen V (1270–1272) in their civil war.<sup>67</sup> The friar's first mission was followed by the authorization of another papal chaplain, Bernhard Caracciolo, elected archbishop of Naples,<sup>68</sup> who, similarly to Velasco, was ordered to administer the negotiations between the quarrelling monarchs, Béla IV and Ottokar II (1253–1278). Nevertheless, he was called back by Innocent IV soon after his meeting and parleying with the Hungarian monarch.<sup>69</sup> Besides the order of Pope Urban IV given to the archbishop of Kalocsa and his suffragans regarding the endangered state of the Empire of Constantinople,<sup>70</sup> a charter of Amade, bishop of Győr from the Pok kindred contains the information that besides Velasco, another papal chaplain was present in Hungary in 1263: Magister Angelus, who in addition to his task to promote the issue of the Empire convoked the provincial council of the Esztergom archdiocese to Buda.<sup>71</sup>

Walter, a Franciscan friar and papal chaplain was sent to Hungary in 1264 in order to deal with the difficulties around the election of Timothy, the former archdeacon of Zala and a papal cleric of the bishop's office of Zagreb.<sup>72</sup> Innocent V (1276) delegated Umberto Bianchi, a papal chaplain and canon of Piacenza alongside with La Carre, canon of Verona to carry out an investigation concerning the life and miracles of Margaret,

<sup>64</sup> RPR, nr 11377.

<sup>65</sup> C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica...*, pp. 235, 244.

<sup>66</sup> V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 69, L. Solymosi, *Egyházi-politikai viszonyok a pápai hegemonia idején [Ecclesiastical and Political Circumstances During the Papal Hegemony]* [in:] *Magyarország és a Szent-szék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. I. Zombori, METEM, Budapest 1996, pp. 50; CFH, nr 428, 3143; RPR, nr 15033, 15034, 15046, 15047, 15048, 15079.

<sup>67</sup> V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, pp. 75–76; A. Zsoldos, *Az ifjabb király országa [The Land of the Younger King]*, “Századok” 2005, vol. 139, pp. 250; A. Zsoldos, *Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években [Family Issue. The Struggle of King Béla IV. and the Younger King Stephen in the 1260s]*, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, Budapest 2007, pp. 32–34.

<sup>68</sup> C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica...*, p. 359.

<sup>69</sup> CFH, nr 5013; RPR, nr 15313, 15318, 15322, 15327, 15328, 15460; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>70</sup> RPR, nr 18677.

<sup>71</sup> “ad conuocationem Magistri Angeli Clerici capelle domini Pape, et nuncii eiusdem in partes Vngarie”. CDH, IV/1, p. 172. Cf. I.M. Damian, *Eneco ferences szerzetes inquisitiója Pécs püspökével szemben (1267) [The Inquisition of the Franciscan Eneco against the Bishop of Pécs (1367)]*, “Egyháztörténeti Szemle” 2016, vol. 17, issue 2, p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> RPR, nr 18787; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 77; K. Ganzer, *Papsttum und Bistumbesetzungen in der Zeit von Gregor IX. bis Bonifaz VIII. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Reservationen*, Böhlau, Köln–Graz 1968, p. 258; J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma a XIII. század derekán. IV. Béla és az egyház [The Inner Politics of Christianity in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Century. King Béla IV. and the Church]*, “Történelmi Szemle” 1978, vol. 21, pp. 171–172; M. 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” 2015, vol. 76, pp. 27–48.

daughter of Béla IV. Their report was sent to Pope John XXI (1276–1277) after the implementation of the necessary<sup>73</sup> hearings.<sup>74</sup> Another record from 1276 indicates that Raynald of Orvieto, Innocent V's servant was sent to Hungary as a papal nuncio. The aim of his mission is unknown, nevertheless the fact that his authorization is known to a charter of Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily seems to be important. The charter was meant to express the monarch's support, and therefore it can be assumed that the task was to represent the Neapolitan Angevins, or perhaps to show sympathy for the young Hungarian queen, Isabella, daughter of Charles I and spouse of King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290).<sup>75</sup>

Clerics from the Papal Court could also act as collectors<sup>76</sup> – like the aforementioned Acontius – for example in the case of the required taxes for the crusade

<sup>73</sup> For the credence letters of papal representatives see H. Müller, *The Omnipresent Pope: Legates and Judges Delegate*, [in:] *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy. Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, eds. K. Sisson, A.A. Larson, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2016, pp. 206–207.

<sup>74</sup> RPR, nr 21126, 21130; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 94, note 79; G. Klaniczay, *Az uralkodó szentéje a középkorban [Holy Rulers in the Middle Ages]*, Balassi, Budapest 2000, pp. 314–316; G. Klaniczay, *Saint Margaret: Royal and Female Sanctity* [in:] *Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria. The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary*, eds. I. Csepregi, G. Klaniczay, B. Péterfi, transl. I. Csepregi, C. Flanigan, L. Perraud, CEU Press, Budapest–New York 2018 (Central European Medieval Texts, vol. 8), pp. 20, 25; *Correspondence Relating to Margaret's Medieval Canonization Attempts, 2: Mandate of Pope Innocent V to the Canons Umberto Bianchi and de la Corra* [May 14, 1276], 3: *Mandate of Pope Innocent V to the Canons Umberto Bianchi and de la Corra* [May 25, 1276] [in:] *Legenda Vetus...*, pp. 726, 732.

<sup>75</sup> ADE – *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Acta Extera – Magyar diplomaciai emlékek az Anjoukorból*, vol. I–III, ed. G. Wenzel, Budapest 1874–1876, vol. I, p. 38. Cf. V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, pp. 80–81. Charles I was represented by Abbot Bernhard of Montecassino while negotiating with Stephen, the Hungarian junior king in 1269. ÁÜO VIII, p. 316. See E. Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon I. rész, I. Károly és uralkodása (1301–1342) [The Angevins in Hungary. Part I. Charles I and his Reign (1301–1342)]*, Budapestinum, Institutum Historicum Sedes Centralis Studiorum Philosophicorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 2012 (Monumenta Hungariae Historicae Dissertationes), p. 51. The charter of King Charles I regarding the conflict of Ladislaus IV and the Bohemian king, Ottokar II, issued in the same year, did not refer to Raynald. ADE I, p. 40.

<sup>76</sup> See L. Fejérpataky, *Pápai adószedők Magyarországon a XIII. és XIV. században [Papal Collectors in Hungary in 13–14<sup>th</sup> Century]*, “Századok” 1887, vol. 21, pp. 493, 589–609; L. Kropf, *A magyarországi pápai tizedszedők számadásai a 13. és 14. században [Accounts of Papal Collectors in Hungary in 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Century]*, “Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle” 1901, vol. 8, pp. 196–211, 233–266; C. Schuchard, *Die päpstlichen Kollektoren im späten Mittelalter*, Max Niemayer, Tübingen 2000 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Rom 91), passim; C. Schuchard, *Oculus Camere. Die Apostolische Kammer und ihre Kollektoren im 14. Jahrhundert. Wege, Medien und Hemmnisse der Kommunikation* [in:] *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter*, eds. G. Drossbach, H-J. Schmidt, De Gruyter, Berlin 2008 (Scrinium Friburgense 22), pp. 93–125; T. Fedeles, *Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus* [in:] *Magyarország és a római Szentsek II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században*, eds. P. Tusor, K. Szovák, T. Fedeles, MTA–PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történelmi Kutatócsoport, Budapest–Roma 2017 (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/15), pp. 31–87; T. Fedeles, *Ecclesiastical Career of the Apostolic Collector Petrus de Monasterio* [in:] *Incorrupta Monumenta Ecclesiam Defendunt. Studi offeriti a mons. Sergio Pagano, prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano I La Chiesa nella storia. Religione, cultura, costume*, t. 1, eds. A. Gottsmann, P. Piatti, A.E. Rehberg, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano 2018 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 106), pp. 575–588. The authorization of Archdeacon Peter of Grado (Petrus de Montecurvo) is also known. He was entrusted by Pope Urban IV in 1261 to collect the amount from Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, which was ordered by the First Council of Lyon in 1245. RPR, nr 18131, 18291, 18292. See L. Fejérpataky, *Pápai adószedők Magyarországon...*, p. 498.

in 1219.<sup>77</sup> In 1275, Gerard of Modena, a papal scribe was commissioned by Pope Gregory X (1272–1276) to collect the tax that was imposed by the Second council of Lyon in the region of Hungary, Poland, and *Sclavonia*.<sup>78</sup> The council prescribed to collect the tithe of all ecclesiastical incomes for a six-year period.<sup>79</sup> As his report indicates it, he performed his task between 1281 and 1286.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, papal chaplains and subdeacons also acted as judge-delegates or executors in Hungary. One of them, Egidius even stayed in Hungary for ca. three years where he was entrusted to deal with at least eight cases,<sup>81</sup> such as the issue of the Papal Subdeacon Primogenitus, who was not able to occupy the canonry he previously received in the cathedral-chapter of Győr.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, the first, although slightly indefinite record refers to the aforementioned John of Casamari who, as already indicated, was authorized to probably be a judge-delegate alongside with Archbishop Bernhard of Split to elicit whether Ban Kulin of Bosnia was indeed guilty of being a heretic or not.<sup>83</sup> The previously mentioned Acontius was elected by the parties as arbiter in the litigation between the archbishop of Esztergom and the Benedictine abbot of Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek).<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, John of Civitella received an authorization from Pope Gregory IX to complete the papal prosecution against Bishop Bulcsú of Csanád.<sup>85</sup> Eneco, a Franciscan friar, an Apostolic Penitentiary and chaplain had to fulfil an investigation in the case of Bishop Job of Pécs in 1266, who was accused with several crimes by certain members of the local cathedral-chapter.<sup>86</sup> The activity of Papal Subdeacon Peter can be evaluated as a transition to a second, larger group of pontifical clerics, those who had a career within the Hungarian church. Peter was namely canon

<sup>77</sup> See L. Fejérpataky, *Pápai adószedők Magyarországon...*, p. 497–498; I. Majnarić, *Papinski poslanik Akoncije...*, pp. 79–80; G. Barabás, *Heretics...*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>78</sup> For the term *Sclavonia* used in the papal chancellery see J.V.A. Fine Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans. A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2006, pp. 106–109

<sup>79</sup> RPR, 21368, sz; L. Fejérpataky, *Pápai adószedők Magyarországon...*, p. 499; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, 166.

<sup>80</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series prima tomus primus. Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Vatikáni magyar okirattár, Első sorozat, első kötet. A pápai tizedszedők számadásai, 1281–1375*, eds. A. Várszegi, I. Zombori, METEM, Budapest 2000, pp. 1–12.

<sup>81</sup> See G. Barabás, *Papal Chaplain and Subdeacon...*, pp. 69–73.

<sup>82</sup> For the activity of papal chaplains' as executors regarding the benefices of other papal clerics see J. Johrendt, *Der vierte Kreuzzug...*, p. 57; M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 39.

<sup>83</sup> See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 39; J.R. Sweeney, *Innocent III...*, pp. 321–322; I. Majnarić, *Papinski kapelan Ivan...*, pp. 8–12.

<sup>84</sup> “Cumque dilecto filio, Acontio Subdiacono et Capellano nostro, de mandato nostro in illis partibus existente, in eum tamquam in arbitrum fuisset ab utraque parte super praemissis et concorditer compromissum”. CDH VII/5, 226. See K. Keglevich, *A garamszentbenedeki apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1075–1403)* [*The History of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek in the Árpadian- and Angevin-era*], SZTE TTI, Szeged 2012 (Capitulum VIII), pp. 80–81.

<sup>85</sup> See K. Juhász, *A csanádi püspökség története. Az alapítástól a tatárjárásig (1030–1242)* [*The History of the Bishopric of Csanád from the Foundation to the Mongol Invasion (1030–1242)*], Csanád Vármegye, Makó 1930, pp. 169–170.

<sup>86</sup> RPR, 19833, 19854; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 78; L. Koszta, *Püspökök és városuk. A 14. század közepéig* [*Bishops and their Towns until the mid-14th Century*] [in:] *A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543)*, eds. T. Fedeles, G. Sarbak, J. Sümegi, Fény, Pécs 2009, pp. 81–83; I.M. Damian, *Eneco ferences szerzetes...*, pp. 19–30.

of Kalocsa in 1243 when Innocent IV commissioned him together with his colleagues to administer the transposition of Bishop Benedict of Oradea (Nagyvárad) to the vacant bishopric of Győr.<sup>87</sup>

Papal chaplains also got involved with Hungarian affairs as auditors via the law-courts of the Apostolic See. It is known – thanks to a charter of Honorius III from 1221 – that Gregory of Crescentio, the cardinal-deacon of St Theodorus,<sup>88</sup> supervised the lawsuit of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma and the bishopric of Zagreb as chaplain during the pontificate of Innocent III, sometime before 1216.<sup>89</sup> Magister Gran was active as auditor in the litigation of the abbot and convent of Pannonhalma with the treasurer (*custos*) of the collegial-chapter of Székesfehérvár,<sup>90</sup> meanwhile Master Ubalduus was the auditor in the lawsuit of the bishop and archdeacon of Eger against certain priests prior to 1245.<sup>91</sup> A diploma of Pope Alexander IV from 1258 contains information regarding another type of involvement of papal clerics in a litigation. The case in question started because of the despoilment of the archbishop of Esztergom's men under the pontificate of Innocent IV. This is the reason why the next pontifex mandated his vice-chancellor, Master Jordanus to degrade the papal scribe Lanfrancus de Cocco, who was accused with the committed crime.<sup>92</sup>

The second category of pontifical clerics, as mentioned above, consists of those persons who received a Hungarian benefice due to the support of the popes, or received the chaplaincy as members of the Hungarian church as a reward for their services given to the pontiffs or the Hungarian rulers.<sup>93</sup> The first records concerning those careers, which fit into the above illustrated patterns can be derived from the pontificate of Honorius III. Provost Stephan of Arad and Canon Primogenitus of Zagreb were both papal subdeacons and managed to move up in the ecclesiastical hierarchy almost parallelly with each other in the 1220s. Provost Stephan functioned as royal chancellor before he became the bishop of Zagreb in 1224, whereas the Canon Primogenitus first received a canonry in the cathedral-chapter of Győr and later he was elected to be the bishop of Oradea thanks to the support of Gregory IX. It has to be noted, however, that – similarly to his case of Győr – he eventually failed to fulfil his position because another part of the local chapter

<sup>87</sup> RPR, nr 11084. Cf. A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [*Lay Archontology of Hungary 1000–1301*], Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011. p. 91; C. Tóth, Norbert, *A kalocsa-bácsi főegyházmegye káptalanjainak középkori archontológiája* [*The Medieval Archontology of the Chapters of the Archdiocese Kalocsa-Bács*]. [Kalocsai Főegyházmegyei Gyűjtemények Kiadványai; Subsidia ad Historiam Medii Aevi Hungariae Inquirendam (15;11)], Kalocsa, Kalocsai Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, 2019. p. 116.

<sup>88</sup> A nephew of Cardinal Gregory of Crescentio, who acted as legate in Hungary in 1199–1200, and 1207. G. Barabás, *The Life and Hungarian Legations of Cardinal Gregorius de Crescentio*, “Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis” 2019, vol. X (forthcoming).

<sup>89</sup> C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica...*, p. 4; J.R. Sweeney, *Innocent III, Canon Law and Papal Judges Delegate in Hungary* [in:] *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, eds. J.R. Sweeney, S. Chodrow, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–New York 1989, pp. 36, 41; W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalkolleg...*, pp. 183–184.

<sup>90</sup> See RPR, nr 5725; MREV I, p. 43.

<sup>91</sup> RPR, nr 15821; CDH IV/1, p. 372.

<sup>92</sup> RPR, nr 17343; MES I, p. 451.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 46.

elected the king's protégé, Benedict, lector of Esztergom.<sup>94</sup> In 1226, Pope Honorius III engaged in measures in favour of his chaplain, John Capocci (Johannes Caputius),<sup>95</sup> nevertheless he could not reach to be provost of the royal collegial-chapter of Arad because of the king's resistance. Thus, the pontifex had to acknowledge Andrew II's candidate, Albert two years later.<sup>96</sup>

An enormous increase in the number of relevant papal clerics – from the aspect of this research – can be connected to Stephen Bánca, an especially important figure of the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Century, since he was the first cardinal of Hungarian origin.<sup>97</sup> However, prior to the 1260s it was not impossible to profit from the support of a cardinal in the form of receiving Hungarian benefices. The Hungarian legation of Jacob of Pecoraria, cardinal-bishop of Preneste between 1232 and 1234<sup>98</sup> provided the opportunity for two of his chaplains<sup>99</sup> to gain Hungarian benefices. Cognoscens received a prebend in the cathedral-chapter of Esztergom, meanwhile Roger of Apulia – the chronicler of the Mongol attack of 1241–42 – became the archdeacon of Oradea at first, then he received the arch-

<sup>94</sup> See I. Basić, *O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. stoljeću* [Attempt for Unification of the Churches of Zagreb and Split in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century], "Pro Tempore" 2006, vol. 3, pp. 34; J. Gál, „*Qui erat gratosus apud eum*”. A spliti érsek szerepe az Árpádok királyságában [in:] *Magister historiae. Válogatott tanulmányok a 2012-ben és 2013-ban megrendezett középkorral foglalkozó, mesterszakos hallgatói konferenciák előadásából*, eds. M. Belucz, J. Gál, I. Kádas, E. Tarján, ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, Budapest 2014, pp. 64; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, p. 108; I. Razum, *Ecclesiastical Reformer and Politician: The Two Faces of Bishop Stephen II of Zagreb, 1225–1247* [in:] *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, eds. D. Dautović, E. O. Filipović, N. Isailović, Leeds, ARC Humanities Press – Amsterdam University Press, 2019, pp. 137–146.

<sup>95</sup> RPO, nr 580.

<sup>96</sup> See G. Kiss, *Királyi egyházak a középkori Magyarországon* [Royal Churches in Medieval Hungary], Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, Pécs 2013 (Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueeclesiensi 3), pp. 49, 74.

<sup>97</sup> See G. Kiss, *Cardinal's Familia as a Network in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. A Case Study of Cardinal Stephen Bánca's Family in the Mid-thirteenth Century*, "Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis" 2017, vol. IX, p. 59.

<sup>98</sup> See T. Almási, *Egy ciszterci bíboros a pápai világhatalom szolgálatában. Pecorari Jakab magyarországi legációja* [A Cistercian Cardinal in the Service of the Papal World Power. The Hungarian Legation of Jacob of Pecoraria], "Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok" 1993, vol. 5, pp. 129–141.

<sup>99</sup> The data regarding the Dominican appointed bishop of Bosnia, Johannes Teutonicus (Wildeshausen) also can be bound to Jacob's legation. According to the chronicle of Albericus, abbot of the French Cistercian monastery, Trium Fontium, the Dominican friar was the member of the Apostolic Penitentiary, when he was appointed as the bishop of Bosnia by Gregory IX: "A. 1234. Iacobus Prenestius episcopus cardinalis et legatus in Hungaria fratrem Iohannem Predicatore[m] de penitentialibus domni pape fecit episcopum in Bossena Ragusie". CFH, nr 103. There is no other record, which could vouch for this statement. See B. Ternovác, *Abosziai latin püspökség története 1344-ig* [The History of the Latin Bishopric in Bosnia until 1344] [in:] *Micae Mediaevales V. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, eds. L. Fábrián, J. Gál, P. Haraszi Szabó, D. Uhrin, ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, Budapest 2016, pp. 219–220; N. Rabić, *Im toten Winkel der Geschichte: Johannes von Wildeshausen als Bischof von Bosnien 1233/34–1237* [in:] *Die deutschen Dominikaner und Dominikanerinnen im Mittelalter*, eds. S. von Heusinger, E.H. Füllenbach, W. Senner, K.B. Springer, De Gruyter, Berlin–Boston 2016. pp. 53–69. For the data in Albericus' work regarding Hungary see J. Csákó, *Néhány megjegyzés Albericus Trium Fontium krónikájának magyar adataihoz* [Some Remarks on the Data of the Chronicle of Albericus Trium Fontium regarding Hungary] [in:] *Tiszteletkőr. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*, G. Mikó, B. Péterfi, A. Vadas, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest 2012, pp. 515–526.

deaconate of Sopron, later he became canon of Zagreb, while eventually he was elected to be the archbishop of Split.<sup>100</sup>

Regarding the first Hungarian cardinal's and former bishop of Vác and archbishop of Esztergom, Stephen Bánca's<sup>101</sup> circle, first Timothy, a canon of Pécs, archdeacon of Zala and Valkó should be observed. He was elected to be the bishop of Zagreb as the cardinal's chamberlain and papal chaplain and subdeacon in 1263. The previous archbishop of Esztergom supported him to become bishop of Zagreb, even though his nephew, Stephen, a papal chaplain himself was the other candidate for the position. Nevertheless, Timothy was not in an easy situation because of the Hungarian king's objection, as it can be seen from the abovementioned mission of Papal Chaplain Walter. Ultimately, Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) finally decided in favour of him.<sup>102</sup> The promotion of Timothy – and in connection with that, the vacancy of his former benefices – initiated a series of further changes. Papal Subdeacon Robert, a chaplain and *nepos* of Cardinal Bánca received the archdeaconate of Valkó and later a prebend in Esztergom,<sup>103</sup> while Archdeacon John of Győr, another nephew of Bánca, chaplain of Urban IV obtained the archdeaconate of Zala.<sup>104</sup> The other candidate for the title of the bishop of Zagreb was Stephen Bánca, the nephew of the Hungarian cardinal. He was the provost of Bratislava (Pozsony) from 1263 until he was elected by a group of the cathedral-chapter of Kalocsa to their new prelate after the death of Archbishop Smaragd.<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless, he could not occupy the archiepiscopal chair without difficulties: a contender of the canon's choice namely Demetrius, archdeacon of Bars and a papal subdeacon was counter-elected as the new prelate. In 1267, Pope Clement IV decided in favour of Stephen despite the accusations regarding his young age and lack of proper qualification.<sup>106</sup> Another member of Cardinal Bánca's family, the son of his brother, Orbász became the provost of the collegial-chapter of Požega (Pozsega) and occupied a prebend in Padova as papal chap-

<sup>100</sup> F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok [Canons of Eszterhom]*, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Káptalan, Esztergom 1900, p. 9; T. Almási, *Megjegyzések Rogerius magyarországi méltóságviseléséhez [Remarks on the Hungarian Offices of Master Roger]*, "Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominate. Acta Historica" 1988, vol. 86, pp. 9–14; K. Körmendy, *Studentes extra regnum 1183–1543. Esztergomi kanokok egyetemjárása és könyvhasználata*, Szent István Társulat, Budapest 2007 (Bibliotheca Institutii Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány Nominatae III, Studia 9), p. 172.

<sup>101</sup> For Cardinal Stephen Bánca see recently G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig..., passim*.

<sup>102</sup> See V. Fraknoi, *Magyarország...,* p. 77; J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...,* pp. 171–172; J. Udvardy, *A kalocsai érsek életrajza (1000–1526) [Biography of the Archbishops of Kalocsa (1000–1526)]*, Görres Gesellschaft, Köln 1991 (Dissertationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae XI), pp. 155–156; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...,* p. 103; G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...,* pp. 55–56, 89–90; G. Kiss, *Cardinal's Familia...,* p. 72.

<sup>103</sup> RPR, nr 18776, 18777, 18856. See G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...,* pp. 86–87.

<sup>104</sup> RPR, nr 18821. See G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...,* p. 80.

<sup>105</sup> "dilectum filium Stephanum, Colocensem electum, Capellanum nostrum et praepositum Posoniensem, Bononiae litterarum studio insistentem". CDH IV/1, pp. 360–361; RPR, nr 20265.

<sup>106</sup> "qui patiebatur in scientia et aetate defectum". CDH IV/3, p. 360. See RPR, nr 19710, 19725, 19889, 19890, 19942, 20265. See G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...,* pp. 96–99; G. Kiss, *Cardinal's Familia...,* pp. 70–71; J. Udvardy, *A kalocsai érsek életrajza...,* pp. 155–157. Cf. J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...,* p. 175; J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok [The Last Árpadians]*, Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993, p. 294; G. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon [Lawyers in Medieval Hungary]*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1971, p. 23.



lain after he finished his study in Bologna and Padova in 1264. The provost of Požega became the chancellor of the Queen-mother, Elizabeth in 1280.<sup>107</sup>

Regarding the so-called *familia*<sup>108</sup> of Cardinal Bánca, we have to take a brief look at further papal chaplains of Hungarian origin from Bánca's circle, who made a career in Italy. Simon of Hungary was the chamberlain and chaplain of Stephen Bánca and occupied a prebend in St John-church of Orvieto, whereas Albert of Parma was the notary of Innocent IV from 1247. Albert was elected to be the bishop of Paris in 1250, however, he had to decline the offer due to the pope's order, but this did not mean that the pontifex despised him. Previously, he was authorized as a papal diplomat on several occasions. Among other missions he was sent to France and England to engage in actions regarding the situation caused by Emperor Frederic II's death.<sup>109</sup> Albert's relative, Gerard, a canon of Esztergom who was called Hungarian (*dictus de Ungaria*) in the sources, was – besides his papal chaplaincy – also the chaplain of the Hungarian cardinal. For this reason, it seems to be conclusive that this relation played a determinative role in his career in Italy where he received several ecclesiastical benefices.<sup>110</sup>

The last group of pontifical clerics is made up of those Hungarian clergymen, who received the papal chaplaincy as a reward for their previous services that they carried out mostly as royal emissaries in the Papal Court.<sup>111</sup> At first, the case of Demetrius, archdeacon of Bars and Esztergom should be mentioned, since the first survived designation of a Hungarian cleric to be a papal chaplain was granted to him by Pope Clement IV. Demetrius was sent to the Holy Father by King Béla IV in 1265.<sup>112</sup> His task was to submit the Hungarian monarch's objections regarding the above-mentioned disputed election of

<sup>107</sup> See A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, p. 119; G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...*, pp. 100–101; G. Kiss, *Cardinal's Familia...*, pp. 70–71. Cf. J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, p. 175; Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség...*, pp. 25, 29. The chapels of the kings and queens were not independent from each other. J. Szűcs, *Társadalomelmélet, politikai teória és történetiszemlélet Kézai Simon Gesta Hungarorumában [Social Theory, Political Theory and Historical View in Simon de Kéza's Gesta Hungarorum]*, "Századok" 1973, vol. 107, pp. 569–643, 823–878, 833–834.

<sup>108</sup> For the cardinals' familia see A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e „familiae” cardinilazie dal 1227 al 1254. I–II*, Padova, Editrice Antenore, 1972 (Italia Sacra 18–19), pp. 443–509; G. Kiss, *Cardinal's familia...*, pp. 61–63.

<sup>109</sup> J. Johrendt, *Die päpstliche Kapelle...*, pp. 275–278; G. Kiss, *Cardinal's familia...*, pp. 69–70; D. Bácsatyai, *Személyi összeköttetések a Curia Romana és a magyar egyház között a 13. század közepén. Pármai Albert és Bánca István [Personal Relations between the Curia Romana and the Hungarian Church in the Mid-13<sup>th</sup> Century: Albert of Parma and István Bánca]* "Történelmi Szemle" 2018, vol. 60, pp. 305–306.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. RPR, nr 14846. Regarding Gerhard, it was assumed that he became the member of the College of Cardinals in 1278, however the identification is not doubtless. See G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...*, pp. 74–77; A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia...*, pp. 354–355; C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica...*, p. 10; F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok...*, p. 12; G.F. Nüske, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 85; D. Bácsatyai, *Személyi összeköttetések...*, pp. 306–308.

<sup>111</sup> It has to be emphasized that Stephen Bánca, the first cardinal of Hungarian origin visited the Papal Court as royal envoy in 1241. As bishop of Vác he was entrusted by King Béla IV to inform Gregory IX about the Mongol invasion. He received the office of legation already as archbishop of Esztergom in 1243. G. Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig...*, pp. 22–64. For the clerics in royal service see J. Gerics, *Adalékok a Kézai Krónika problémáinak megoldásához [Remarks on the Solution of the Kézai-Chronicle]*, "Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae. Sectio historica" 1957, vol.1, pp. 117–121.

<sup>112</sup> Demetrius's close relation to the king is reflected in the fact that the cleric was the chancellor of Princess Kunigunda, wife of Prince Béla in 1265–1266. A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, p. 120.

Timothy as bishop of Zagreb.<sup>113</sup> The king's aim, as we could already see, was for Timothy not to be acknowledged or approved. Nonetheless, Demetrius appeared in the sources a papal subdeacon as early as 1266, and he received his designation to be a papal chaplain in the same year.<sup>114</sup> This was the first known papal charter of this kind given to a member of the Hungarian church.<sup>115</sup> It has to be emphasized though that Demetrius was not the first one among the Hungarian clerics honoured with this title. This statement cannot be validated with sources, but it seems to be likely that Provost Paul of Bratislava (Pozsony) became papal chaplain (even before Demetrius) in 1259 after he delivered the letter of Béla IV about the new Mongol threat to Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261).<sup>116</sup> The Hungarian monarch employed a permanent envoy in Pope Urban IV's court between 1258 and 1264. King Béla IV was represented there by Master Sixtus, archdeacon of Komárom and canon of Esztergom.<sup>117</sup> The Hungarian cleric was commissioned to mediate in the king's conflict with his son, Prince Stephen in 1264.<sup>118</sup> The pope authorized the bishop of Nitra (Nyitra) in the same year to provide an appropriate benefice for his chaplain, Sixtus.<sup>119</sup> Based on these factors, it seems to be reasonable to think that the pope's goal was to reward the Hungarian clergyman for his almost six years long service with the chaplaincy and a benefice.<sup>120</sup> There is, however, another known case which seemingly does not fit into this tendency, namely the royal authorization of Ladislaus, archdeacon of Hont, provost of Esztergom. He was already entitled papal chaplain (and royal notary, and *aulic apocrisarius*) in the charter of Béla IV, which he delivered to Clement IV on the occasion of his election in 1265. This title however cannot be interpreted as the consequence of the royal mission.<sup>121</sup> It cannot be ignored though that he

<sup>113</sup> Cf. J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, pp. 171ff; *idem*, *Az utolsó Árpádok...*, pp. 93–94; Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség...*, p. 25; J. Gerics, *Adalékok...*, p. 118.

<sup>114</sup> RPR, nr 19725; RCIV, nr 337; ÁÜO III, p. 147. See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, pp. 77–78; F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok...*, p. 15; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, p. 111.

<sup>115</sup> “Clement Episcopus etc. dilecto filio magistro Demetrio Archidiacono iu Ecclesia Strigoniensi, Subdiacono nostro, salutem etc. [...] Tuam itaque personam paterno prosequentes affectu, eamque intendentes favoris Apostolici gratia prevenire, te Capellanorum nostrorum consortio duximus aggregandum, ut tanto libentius de cetero cultui virtutum intendas, quanto exhibitus tibi honor potioris tibi onus maturitatis indicit, quantoque te decet nostris et Apostolice Sedis obsequiis familiariter adherere”. ÁÜO III, pp. 147–148.

<sup>116</sup> “per dilectum filium M. Paullum, prepositum ecclesie [...] capellanum nostrum, nuncium tuum, virum vtique litteratum, prouidum et prudentem”. CDH IV/2, p. 507; RPR, nr 17678. See RA, nr 1222. Cf. V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, pp. 72–74; J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, pp. 171ff; J. Gerics, *Adalékok...*, p. 118; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, pp. 109, 111.

<sup>117</sup> J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok...*, pp. 93f, 172–174; Gy. Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség...*, p. 25; J. Gerics, *Adalékok...*, p. 118; A. Zsoldos, *Az ifjabb király országa...*, pp. 251–252; *idem*, *Családi ügy*, pp. 32–35.

<sup>118</sup> See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, p. 76; F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok...*, p. 13. Cf. J. Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, pp. 172–174.

<sup>119</sup> “dilectus filius magister Sistus, capellanus noster, scolasticus Strigoniensis, clericus et nuncius carissimi in Christo filii nostri B(ele) Ungarie regis illustris, morum et scientie meritis iuvari dinoscitur, ut a nobis gratiosa benivolentia foveatur”. ÁÜO III, 100; RPR, 18979. Cf. J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, p. 174.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, p. 46.

<sup>121</sup> “duximus ad vestram felicitatem dilectum et fidelem clericum nostrum, magistrum Ladislaum, capellanum vestrum, archidiaconum S. Eustachii in ecclesia Strigoniensi, amiliarem notarium, et apocrisarium aule nostre”. CDH IV/3, pp. 259–260; RA, nr 1438. See V. Fraknói, *Magyarország...*, 76–77; F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok...*, p. 14; J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, p. 179; K. Körmendy, *Studentes extra regnum...*, p. 157; J. Gerics, *Adalékok...*, p. 118–119.

already visited the Papal Court prior to the above-mentioned events, however, due to the lack of sources it remains merely a supposition.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, Ladislaus's case clearly shows how careful one has to be with the interpretation of the remaining records because of the precariousness in the tradition of sources.

The last known papal chaplain of the discussed era was Jacob, provost of Čazma (Csázma), doctor of canon law. He does not appear to be in royal service but as the delegate of Papal Legate Philip, bishop of Fermo.<sup>123</sup> He was supposed to proceed with the investigation because of the damages the bishop and the chapter of Zagreb suffered. Nonetheless, the remaining data emphasize the importance of Cardinal Bánca's support and especially the relevance of royal service in the Papal Court regarding the connection between the Hungarian clergy and the pontifical chapel.<sup>124</sup>

## Summary

To conclude and to outline the further possibilities of the research, three aspects should be highlighted regarding the relatively heterogenic group of papal chaplains, and their relations to the Hungarian church, besides their activity as legates, nuncios, or judge-delegates.<sup>125</sup> In our opinion, the frequent crossing of the paths of particular papal chaplains, the importance of Stephen Bánca's support and the royal missions are the most relevant phenomena to observe in the thirteenth century from the aspect of further researches on the topic. Concerning the first aspect, we can find several examples from the examined era to be mentioned: for instance, the parallel careers of the papal subdeacons Stephen and Primogenitus, or Egidius functioning as the executor in the latter's case. The disputed election of Timothy offers a real point of intersection not only because his opponent, Stephen was papal chaplain too, but because Pope Urban IV sent his chaplain, the Franciscan Walter to investigate the case, whereas King Béla's complaint was brought to Pope Clement IV by Demetrius, who became an appointed papal chaplain following this mission.

The impact of the activity of the first cardinal of Hungarian origin, Stephan Bánca has been stressed many times already. Several papal clerics who belonged to his *familia* indeed gained benefices in the Hungarian church. A royal mission in the Papal Court could have been an influence in a reversed way, namely that the members of the Hungarian clergy could receive the pontifical chaplaincy as a reward for their services.

<sup>122</sup> It seems to be certain, however, that he represented Béla IV in Italy until the king's death in 1270. See J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, pp. 173–174.

<sup>123</sup> ÁÚO XII, p. 310. See V. Kovács, *Alter ego domini papae Nicolai III. Fülöp fermói püspök, szentszéki legátus magyarországi tevékenysége (1279–1281)* [*Alter ego domini papae Nicolai III. The Activity of Bishop Philip of Fermo, Legate of the Holy See in Hungary (1279–1281)*] [in:] *Varietas delectat A pápai-magyar kapcsolatok sokszínűsége a 11–14. Században*, ed. G. Kiss, Pécsi Tudományegyetem BTK TTI Középkori és Korajtkori Történelmi Tanszék, Pécs 2019 (DeLegatOnline Könyvek 1), pp. 117–166, 144, 157, 159, 165.

<sup>124</sup> For the situation in England see M.D. Ross, *The Papal Chapel...*, pp. 46–48, 67–68.

<sup>125</sup> For the distinction of the different type of authorizations see R.A. Schmutz, *Medieval Papal Representatives...*, *passim*.

The personal network of connection that they developed as emissaries must have been contributing elements in this process as well.

The continuation of the research – the complete analysis of the ecclesiastical and lay careers of the relevant persons, especially the elucidation of the impact of the papal chaplaincy – could lead us to a better understanding of the ecclesiastical society in the thirteenth-century Hungary and of the diplomatic operations of the Hungarian monarchs. The complexity of this topic can be traced in the missions of Paul or Demetrius. The first one was sent to Pope Alexander IV as provost of Bratislava in 1259 then he became provost of Székesfehérvár and following his homecoming, royal vice-chancellor until he was elected to be the bishop of Veszprém in 1263. Parallely to that, he was the chancellor of Queen Elizabeth, until his death in 1269.<sup>126</sup> Demetrius was the archdeacon of Bars and chancellor of Princess Kunigunda when he represented Béla IV in Clement IV's court. He returned to the Hungarian realm already as papal chaplain, where he became royal vice-chancellor as the provost of Székesfehérvár in 1268 and in 1277 anew.<sup>127</sup> Although Magister Sixtus did not obtain a major benefice after his recursion but he did receive a new diplomatic task: he was sent to the Neapolitan Angevins as a royal emissary.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, pp. 171–173; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, pp. 111, 115.

<sup>127</sup> J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, p. 173; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája...*, pp. 111–112, 120.

<sup>128</sup> J. Szűcs, *A kereszténység belső politikuma...*, p. 173.

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