CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE LATE MEDIEVAL PAPAL CHANCERY

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In my contribution, I will examine the relations between the late medieval papal chancery and men from the East Central European nations: Croatians, Hungarians, Bohemians and Poles. By studying the documents in some of the most valuable sets of registers of late medieval papal letters, Vatican and Lateran registers and the petitions in the registers of supplications, I have tried to trace their careers. Some of them made a supplication for a simple benefice in their diocese, while others – with degrees in theology in their pockets – applied for the post of a *penitentiarius minor* in the great Roman basilicas. Some followed well-programmed paths towards the highest posts in the ecclesiastical hierarchy – starting from a low curial officer to become an archbishop or a cardinal. Some had a decisive role in the governments of their dioceses or countries, others had important and influential posts in the curia. This paper will be a sketch of some of the most prominent biographies or curious situations seen in the Chancery registers, but not an exhaustive list of all persons working for the Apostolic Chancery and their relations with the East Central Europe in the fifteenth century.

How did the curia function?

As the central judicial, financial, and administrative body of the Church, the Roman curia functioned through numerous and various offices with specific jurisdiction. The most important offices until the fourteenth century were the Consistory, the Apostolic Chancery (administration), and the Apostolic Chamber (financial), all of which operated along hierarchically organized lines of authority; subordinates answered to specifically designated superiors in performing their duties. The very complex structure required a large number of learned men to do the paper work and to settle legal disputes. A talented young man with a good knowledge of Latin or with a degree in law, especially if he had good connections or, in the second half of the fifteenth century, enough money to buy an office, could find a socially and financially rewarding post in Rome.

The functions of the curia increased enormously throughout the Middle Ages. It grew as a result of the position of the papacy as the court of final appeal in spiritual matters (its prerogative to dispense from ecclesiastical or civil cen-

sures or impediments) and temporal matters (its claims to control the distribution of a wide variety of ecclesiastical offices throughout Europe). Historically, these powers and prerogatives evolved in response to Christians' seeking forgiveness for their sins or legitimization of their ecclesiastical authority from the pope. In order to meet these requests, the papacy and the canon lawyers created a variety of rules and exceptions that could be applied only by the Holy See and through the machinery of the curia. The normal procedure consisted of the petitioner submitting a request or *supplicatio* to the pope, who then issued his decision in the form of a *littera apostolica*, which was then communicated to the interested party. For the requested justice or favour a tax was charged; in theory, this was a charge for the document containing the dispensation of favour and not for the act itself. Originating as free will donations, they subsequently became standardized and obligatory. This arrangement must have appealed to many Christians because the initiative for most papal documents came from outside the curia.

The products of the Consistory, the Chancery and the Chamber were recorded in the Vatican registers. Between the beginning of the fourteenth century and the Council of Trent, new departments were founded or developed: the *Sacra Romana Rota*, the Datary,[1] the Sacred Penitentiary, and the Secretariate of State. Their records occur in one or other, and sometimes several, of the various sets of registers of the period: Vatican registers, registers of supplications,[2] Lateran registers,[3] and the cameral register, registers of briefs.

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[1] Traces of the office of *datarius* are found in the pontificate of Martin V (1417–1431). Its origin was due to the distinction introduced at the beginning of the Great Schism between the *signatura* on papal letters and the actual dating of the letter, the fixing of which was entrusted to a specific person. Under Sixtus IV (1471–1484) his duties expanded so that by the end of the fifteenth century he directed the office *Dataria*, where grants of favour, especially of non-consistorial benefices reserved to the Holy See and certain dispensations were prepared and dated. The archives of the *Dataria* were set up in 1671 by Clement X (1670–1676) and were later housed in the Lateran Palace. The early volumes of the Registers of Supplications come from the period when the Datary was developing out of the Chancery. Other volumes come from the period after the establishment of the Datary as such (c. 1450–1500), when it had full powers to handle all the graces which did not fall within the competence of the Penitentiary or that of the *Sacra Romana Rota* (disputed benefices). As a result of the vast amount of business which the Datary eventually had to deal with (supplications, collations to benefices, dispensations, pensions, informative processes relative to episcopal appointments, validation of graces, exchanges of benefices), new sets of registers were introduced over and above the old Registers of Supplications, and, as the volume of business grew, more expeditious forms of letters of grace were devised and registered in the *Registra brevium*.

[2] The set of registers known under the name of *Registra Supplicationum* (Registers of Supplications) begins with the first year of the pontificate of Clement VI (1342–1352) and is composed of 7,365 paper volumes in folio format (for the period from 1342 until 1899). Each register contains an integral copy of the supplication submitted to the pope in order to get some kind of favour, grace or privilege. Prevalently, one finds supplications for provisions in external tribunals, granted by the pope himself or by the vice-chancellor until

At the head of the curia stood the Pope and bis assistants, the cardinals. Naturally, not all the cardinals resided in Rome and assisted in the administration of the curia. Those who lived in Rome helped the Pope govem the Church and supervised the curia by participating in the Consistory which made policy and decided in certain legal questions, in provisions for the *beneficia maiora* (bishops' and abbots' appointments).

Some cardinals supervised specific offices: for example, the cardinal vice-chancellor[4] directed the Chancery,[5] the cardinal-*camerarius* or chamberlain, lead

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the fifteenth century. From the fifteenth century onwards they were granted through the Datary. The registration of the supplications guaranteed the interested party the existence of the text, especially if the original were lost. Throughout the fourteenth century they were kept in the Apostolic palace in Avignon. Two volumes of supplications for the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen were edited by Árpád Bossányi as *Regesta Supplicationum*, vol. 1, Clement VI (1342–1352) (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1916), and vol. 2, Innocent VI (1352–1362) and Urban V (1362–1370) (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1918).

[3] When the Great Schism began in 1378 the paper registers of common letters, known as 'Avignon Registers', remained in Avignon (in 1419, after the termination of the Schism, the registration in this series was abandoned). The popes of Roman obedience, beginning with Boniface IX (1389–1404), established the practice of registering common letters of grace in a new series of paper registers now called the *Registra Lateranensia*; these volumes were simply a continuation of the old Avignon registers. From then on the Vatican Registers series lost its contact with the Chancery, and most of the registers from this period actually came from the *Camera*. The Lateran Registers form, in effect, an original and independent series of Chancery registers, generally of common letters, nicely grouped under headings in each volume: benefices, pardons, dispensations, indulgences. Since many of the outgoing letters of grace and justice were occasioned by supplications, the text of the original supplication and papal reply that prompted a given letter may often be checked in the Registers of Supplications. The common letters registered in the Lateran Registers originated in the Chancery, but the Datary was the custodian from the second half of the fifteenth century and they were eventually housed in the *Archivum Bullarum* of the Datary in the Cortile of Sixtus V in the Vatican. Thus, although they really belonged to the Chancery in origin, because they were sent out *per cancellariam*, by provenance they belonged to the Datary. This long and consistent connection with the Datary often created the impression that they, too, originated from the Datary.

[4] Ludwig Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*,. vol. 1: *Storia dei Papi nel periodo del Rinascimento fino all'elezione di Pio II* (Rome: Desclée E. E. editori, 1925), 683-684: "L'ufficio più ragguardevole, importante e lucruoso in Curia era quello del vicecancelliere, che, siccome capo della cancelleria apostolica, aveva a lato una grossa schiera di impiegati: un ambasciatore afferma addirittura, che era la prima dignità dopo il papa." Throughout the fifteenth century the most prominent figures to direct this important office were the cardinals Johannes de Rupescissa (cardinal from July 6, 1427; died March 24, 1437); for more information see: Conradus Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta ex documentis tabularii praesertim vaticani collecta*, vol. 2 (Münster: Regensberg, 1914; reprint Passau: "Il Messaggero di S. Antonio" [hereafter *HC* 2], 6); Francesco Condulmer and Roderigo Lanzol-Borja (cardinal from September 17, 1456; appointed *vicecancellarius* on May 1, 1457 by his uncle, Pope Calixus III; he remained in office until August 11, 1492, when he was elected pope); for more information

the Apostolic Chamber,[6] the cardinal-nephew was in charge of the Secretariate of State whereas the cardinal *penitentiarius maior* directed the Sacred Penitentiary.[7]

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see: Thomas Frenz, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471–1527)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), 439, n. 2035.

[5] The *Cancellaria Apostolica* had the responsibility for expediting or issuing papal letters, especially the solemn bulls, on which it had a monopoly until the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, as the various other departments began to issue their own bulls and some papal correspondence became the duty of the papal secretaries, the chancery retained control of only those bulls reflecting public decisions made in the Consistory (its judicial statements and the nominations of cardinals and bishops), certain decisions from other offices, and the graces granted by the pope. As the Chancery lost many of its duties and the popes reformed it under pressure from the councils, the number of its employees actually increased. Below the vice-chancellor were twelve apostolic protonotaries, functionary and honorary. The other members had specific duties relating to producing or policing the bulls. For example, the *abbreviatores litterarum apostolicarum* composed the *minuta*, the concept, and were responsible for the legal contents of the documents issued by the Chancery; the *correctores litterarum apostolicarum* corrected legal documents (one of the main requirements for this post was a degree in law); the *collectores taxae plumbi* guarded the bulls until they were retrieved by the interested party and the taxes were paid; E. Fournier, "Abbreviatores ou abbreviateurs de lettres apostoliques", *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 1, col. 98-106; Thomas Frenz, "Die Gründung des Abbreviatorenkollegs durch Pius II. und Sixtus IV.", in *Miscellanea M. Giusti* 1 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978), 297-329; Brigide Schwarz, "Abbreviature officium est assistere vicecancellario in expeditione litterarum apostolicarum: Zur Entwicklung des Abbreviatorenamtes vom Grossen Schisma bis zur Gründung des Vakabilistenkollegs der Abbreviatoren durch Pius II.", in *Römische Kurie. Kirchliche Finanzen. Vatikanisches Archiv. Studien zu Ehren von Hermann Hoberg*, ed. Erwin Gatz, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 46 (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana), 789-823 (hereafter Schwarz, "Abbreviature officium"); eadem, "Die Abbreviatoren unter Eugen IV.", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 60 (1980), 200-274; eadem, "Der Corrector litterarum apostolicarum: Entwicklung des Korrectoramts in der päpstlichen Kanzlei von Innocenz III. bis Martin V.", *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974), 122-191.

[6] The Camera had the responsibility of collecting funds due to the Holy See such as annates and Peter's pence from spiritual and temporal sources, of directing the pope's personal finances and governing the papal states. Some of the more important duties of the chamberlain were the appointment and control of the activities of collectors in their turn responsible for collecting the numerous papal taxes *in partibus*. The chamberlain with the treasurer-general of the Roman Church (*thesaurarius generalis Ecclesiae Romanae*) and the clerics of the Camera, seven active members (*de numero*) with assistants and other (*supranumerarii*) members formed the *Collegium Camerae*. The Camera controlled the revenues accruing from the papal state; these funds became the major source of money for the Renaissance papacy, outdistancing the funds collected for the pope's spiritual gifts. Other offices in the curia, such as the Datary and the Penitentiary, also had financial aspects.

The reports of the collectors and other documents issued in the Camera not only register the tax payment, but sometimes they reveal the reasons for which the payment did not happen, thus making it possible to intuit whether a papal provision was successful or not. The

The cardinal-priest of Saint Clemens, Francesco Condulmer, vice chancellor during the pontificate of Eugene IV and his nephew, was sent as the pope's legate and commander of the papal fleet against the Turks in 1443–1444; he personally organized the project of the crusade, in which the most active roles were played by the pope, the Venetian senate and Philipp, the duke of Burgundy.[8]

Pope Eugene IV's personal physician and chamberlain, the *cubicularius*, Ludovico Trevisan (often even better known as Scarampi Mezzarota) was appointed papal treasurer, *camerarius*, on January 1, 1440. He was very active in the affairs of the curia for many years. Under Calixtus III he was a conspicuous figure in the Levant (1456–1458) as the commander of the papal fleet sent on a crusade against the Turks.[9]

In the Vatican and the Lateran registers, there are also records of cardinals being appointed bishops in the Central European dioceses. I have divided them into two groups:

First, there were those for whom being appointed cardinal was the highest point in their career: they had started at some lower level in their diocese and progressed in the hierarchy within it. They generally remained in their bishoprics, even after having become cardinals, and sometimes assumed the administration of nearby bishoprics. This was the case of several ecclesiastical persons.

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financial documentation produced by the Camera throws light on some of the procedures in the Chancery. Numerous registers which make up part of the Vatican Registers set today actually come from the Apostolic Chamber. Short notices registered in the *Obligationes et Solutiones, Obligationes pro communibus servitiis, Annatae, Introitus et Exitus*-registers of the Camera can be of greater importance than the registers of bulls themselves. See Martino Giusti, *I Registri Vaticani e le loro Provenienze originarie. Miscellanea Archivistica Angelo Mercati*, Studi e Testi 165 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952), 383-459.

[7] Prominent cardinals led this office throughout the fifteenth century: Jordanus de Ursinis (*HC* 2, 3), Dominicus de Capranica (*HC* 2, 6), Johannes de Tagliacotio (*HC* 1, 7), Philippus Calandrini (*HC* 2, 11), and Julianus de Rovere (who became Pope Julius II in 1503; *HC* 2, 16; *HC* 3, 9).

[8] On February 12, 1444, Pope Eugene IV wrote to Cardinal Cesarini that the Christian successes in Central Europe betokened the coming liberation of those parts of Greece and Europe which were occupied by the Turks, so that the Greeks and other easterners would soon enjoy the fruits of the union of the Churches proclaimed in Florence. The pope also assured the cardinal that plans were going forward for sending a papal fleet to the Levant to be commanded by his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, for service against the Turks: ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 382, fol. 206v-208v. *HC* 2, 7: *Franciscus Condulmarus, Venetus, nepos, protonot. apost. = tit. S. Clementis, dein. (c. a. 1445) ep. Portuen. (Venetiarum), vicecancellarius* (nominated in 1439), died October 30, 1453 *(card. in prima promotione die 19 Sept. 1431 habita)*; Achille Olivieri, "Francesco Condulmer", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 27 (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1982), 761-765, especially 763.

[9] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 382, fol. 111r, 144v-145r; see also Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 2: *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), 54-55 (hereafter Setton, *The Papacy*).

The *decretorum doctor* Dionysius, son of Nicholas Szech, for instance, followed a well programmed path to a successful career. On April 21, 1438, he was appointed bishop of Nitra; on June 5, 1439, bishop of the diocese of Eger, void since the death (*per obitum*) of Peter and the removal (*amotio*) of master Wenceslas, and on March 9, 1439, provost of the church of S. Thomas *in promontorio* of Esztergom. He kept the bishopric even after December 18, 1439, when he was appointed cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco *in Termis* by Eugene IV. He was made archbishop of Esztergom on February 15, 1440,[10] and already on February 25 his proctor Tadeo de Aldemariis – *artium et medicinae doctor, penitentiarius apostolicus* and *scriptor* – applied on his behalf for the pallium. The bishops of Györ and Vac were entrusted with handing over the pallium, whereas the apostolic *penitentiarius*, Valentinus de Kapos, got the mandate to bring it personally to the newly appointed archbishop.[11] After a supplication of the Hungarian King Ladislas, on March 24, 1452, Pope Nicholas V confirmed all the legate faculties and primatial jurisdiction that Cardinal Dionysius and his successors on the Esztergom See would have, both *in foro conscientiae* and *contentioso*.[12] Dionysius had the cathedral, which had deteriorated over the years, rebuilt with financial assistance from governor, János Hunyadi, and in 1453 consecrated it amid great celebration.[13] With the Turkish threat looming, he tried to bring about an agreement between the country's quarrelsome oligarchs using his superb diplomatic skills, but had little success.[14] He died on February 1, 1465.[15]

Another interesting path to the top of the ecclesiastical career ladder, the cardinalship, was that of Johannes de Bucca (Bucka). In 1388, he was appointed

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[10] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 365, fol. 216v; Pál Lukcsics, *Diplomata pontificum saeculi XV*, 1: *Martinus papa V.* (Budapest: Academia scientiarm Hungarica, 1931); 2: *Eugenius papa IV., Nicolaus papa V.* (Budapest: Academia scientiarm Hungarica, 1938) 2, n. 672 (hereafter Lukcsics, *Diplomata*).

[11] The Pauline friar Valentinus, son of Laurentius de Kapos, was appointed *penitentiarius* in the *Basilica Principis Apostolorum* and in the Roman curia, as well as apostolic chaplain, on August 10, 1439: ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 382. fol. 92r: Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 665. On February 25, 1440, it was decided that Valentin de Kapos brought the pallium. ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 365, fol. 218r: Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 675. *Frater Valentinus procurator ordinis fratrum B. Pauli primi heremitae sub regula S. Augustini*, who together with the general prior of the Order applied on January 10, 1448, that the church of St. Blase *de Anulo sub titulo S. Laurentii in Damaso de regione S. Eustachii* be given to their order might be the same person. ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 422, fol. 135v; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 998.

[12] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 398, fol. 185r; ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 420. fol. 36r; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 1252.

[13] Margit Beke, "Esztergom – the Hungarian Zion", in *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, ed. István Zsombori et al. (Budapest: Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference, 2001), 184.

[14] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 438, fol. 79v, 129r-129v: Rome, September 1, 1455. Calixtus III himself wrote to Dionysius Széchy on August 5, 1456, that up to the preceding May 31 the crusade had cost him, *Deo teste*, more than 150,000 ducats: ASV, *Arm. XXXIX*, vol. 7, fol. 25r.

[15] *HC* 2, 242; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 365, fol. 216v. Rome, February 15, 1440. Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, 672.

bishop of the Bohemian diocese of Litomyšl. On December 14, 1416, the conciliar fathers gathered in Konstanz appointed him legate of the Council to the Kingdom,[16] to the diocese of Olomouc, to administer it until the new pontiff be elected.[17] In fact, quite soon after his consecration, on February 14, 1418, Martin V appointed him bishop of Olomouc.[18] He retained the administration of Litomyšl until May 13, 1420, when Albertus Alson, the canon of St. Peter's church in Vyšebrad near Prague, was appointed its new bishop.[19] During the second promotion of Martin V, on May 24, 1426, he was created cardinal priest of S. Ciriaco.[20] On September 24, 1427, he was appointed provost in Transylvania with an annual income of 200 silver marks; the office became void after the promotion of Provost George Lepes to bishop.[21] Before bis death on October 9, 1430, the cardinal administered the dioceses of Olomouc, Vac, and Prague (from August 13, 1421, after the suspension of his predecessor Conrad de Vechta).[22] His successor, Kunšo (Conrad) de Zwola, provost of Olomouc, doctor of canon law, papal chaplain and *auditor causarum Palatii apostolici*, was appointed on January 10, 1431, to the bishopric of Olomouc, and on January 24, 1431, to the bishopric of Prague.[23]

The second, and throughout the fifteenth century more numerous category of cardinals (elevated to the cardinalate solely on the recommendation of kings or princes or because they were nephews of the reigning pope or sons of great baronial Roman or Italian families), pursued a career in the curia, in the vicinity of the pope. For them, the appointment to bishop in East Central European dioceses was only a reward for some service offered to the pope or the curia or a sinecure which did not even oblige them to reside in their diocese.

Three cardinals were appointed bishops in Dalmatian bishoprics. In Trogir, one finds two curial officials in search of benefices to increase their revenues and in pursuit of a successful ecclesiastical career. For the *medicinae doctor* Ludovico Trevisan (Scarampi Mezzarota) the bishopric in Trogir[24] was only one step in an extremely successful carreer. During his lifetime he was ap-

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[16] Jaroslav Eršil, *Acta Summorum Pontificum res gestas Bohemicas aevi praehussitici et hussitici illustrantia* 2 (Prague: Academia, 1980), n. 1096: Constance, March 27, 1416 (hereafter Eršil, *Acta)*.

[17] Ihidem, n. 1099.

[18] Jaroslav Eršil, *Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* 7: *Acta Martini V. 1417–1431*, 1: *1417–1422* (Prague: Academia, 1996), n. 208-210.

[19] *HC* 1, 318 (*Luthomuslen.*). Jaroslav Eršil, *Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* 7: *Acta Martini V. 1417–1431*, 2: *1423–1431* (Prague: Academia, 1998), 7, 1, n. 609 (hereafter Eršil, *Monumenta*).

[20] *HC* 2, 34; Eršil, *Monumenta*, n. 1580.

[21] *HC* 1, 493; ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 216, fol. 6v; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 964: Bishop George Lepes was killed in a battle on March 18, 1442.

[22] *HC* 1, 409; *HC* 2, 6.

[23] *HC* 1, 376 (Olomouc); Eršil, *Monumenta*, n. 2237; *HC* 1, 409 (Prague); Eršil, *Monumenta*, n. 2251.

[24] The appointment is dated October 31, 1435.

pointed patriarch of Aquileia and cardinal of S. Laurence in Damaso on July 1, 1440. Above all, he directed the Apostolic Chamber. He died very rich on March 22, 1465.[25] Giovanni Viteleschi, on the other hand, although he also pursued a brilliant ecclesiastical career, preferred the military career of a general in Eugene IV's army against the duke of Milan.[26] Pietro Riario, one of Sixtus IV's nephews, was given in *commendum* the archbishopric of Split on April 28, 1473.[27] This was only one in a long series that the illustrious uncle gave in *commendum* to the spendthrift nephew: on September 4, 1471, Treviso; September 25, 1472, Vanence and Die in France; June 25, 1473, Seville; July 20, 1473, Florence; November 3, 1473, Mende in France.[28] On November 23, 1472, followed appointment to the patriarchate of Constantinople, void after the death of Cardinal Bessarion.[29] Obviously, Pietro Riario was never in his *commenda*, to him they were only a source of revenues to pay his numerous gambling debts.

The Franciscan friar, Gabriele Rangone from Verona, made his way to the cardinalate starting with an inquisitorial mission to Bohemia on March 20, 1467, sent by Pope Paul II ... *ad extirpationem heresium et precipue nephandae Hussitarum septe ... per Boemie regnum et partes illi adiacentes* ... .[30] On December 16, 1472, he was appointed bishop of Alba Iulia (Transylvania),[31] and on April 24, 1475,[32] he assumed possession of the diocese of Eger, which he retained even after having become cardinal deacon of *SS. Sergii et Bacchi* in 1477.[33]

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[25] *HC* 2, 8; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 329, fol. 158r-v: Rome, October 31, 1435; *HC* 2, 235: (*transfertur ad Florentinam diocesim*); Ludwig von Pastor describes him as short, vain, and gloomy ("piccolo, superbo e dallo sguardo cupo"). His portrait, painted by Andrea Mantegna, is kept in Berlin. It seems that he had managed to cure cardinal Gabriele Condulmer (the future Pope Eugene IV) from some illness. After Cardinal Vitelleschi's death, Trevisan (Scarampi) assumed the government of Rome; von Pastor, *Storia dei papi* 1, 272-273; Pio Paschini, "La Famiglia di Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo", *L'Arcadia. Atti dell'Accademia e scritti dei soci* 5 (1926), 91-101.

[26] Daniele Farlati, *Illyrici Sacri* 4: *Ecclesiae suffraganeae metropolis Spalatensis* (Venice, 1769), 406. As apostolic notary he was appointed bishop of Macerata-Recanati on April 16, 1431: *HC* 2, 220. The appointment as patriarch of Alexandria came on February 21, 1435: *HC* 2, 85; on 15 October 1435 as archbishop of Florence; on August 9, 1437, he was both appointed cardinal priest of S. Laurentii in Lucina and administrator of the Trogir bishopric. Viteleschi, above all, was a soldier, a commander in the papal army.

[27] *HC* 2, 240 (*Spalatensis*).

[28] *HC* 2, 248 (Treviso), 262 (Valence and Die), 165 (Sevilla), 154 (Florence), 192 (Mende).

[29] *HC* 2, 135.

[30] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 519, fol. 250v. See also the bull against the Hussites addressed to Gabriele Rangoni on March 15, 1467 (ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 519, fol. 235r-236v). Contemporary texts show the importance of Gabriele da Verona during this period, when Paul II's concern with the Hussite king was an impediment to the crusade.

[31] *HC* 2, 254.

[32] *HC* 2, 82.

[33] *HC* 2, 18.

Cardinals as commendatary administrators of monasteries

Cardinals were frequently provided with monasteries *in commendum*. Several records of these appointments are preserved in the Vatican and Lateran registers. Gabriele Condulmer, Pietro and Marco Barbo[34], Pietro Foscari[35], or Giovanni Michieli are frequently mentioned as administrators (*commendatarii*) of the Benedictine abbeys of S. Grisogonus in Zadar, S. Ambrogio in Nin, S. John the Baptist in Trogir, S. Nicholas *de portu* in Šibenik, S. Cosmas and Damian on the island of Pašman, and S. Stephen *de pinis* in Split. Cardinal Bessarion also held the latter *in commendum*. From 1458 until his death he received a yearly pension of 150 florins from its revenues.[36] At the council of Mantova in 1459 Pope Pius II Piccolomini appointed him his *legatus a latere* for the crusade against the Turks.

Diplomats and collectors

Johannes Dominici,[37] now revered as blessed, was appointed legate of Pope Gregory XII to the Polish King Ladislas Jagello and the Hungarian King Sigismund. On his way he stopped at the castle of the count of Celje to secure the latter's support of Gregory's party. This could partly explain his absence when Gregory XII fled from Gaeta to Rimini. Johannes went to Bohemia, too, to

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[34] Cardinal of St. Marco, Marco Barbo, nephew of Pope Paul II, bishop of Vicenza and the patriarch of Aquileia, received the Benedictine abbey of St. Michael in Trogir, void after the death of its abbot, barely a year after his appointment. Its revenues were estimated at only 40 small libras of Tours. Marco Barbo died on 11 March 1491. *HC* 2, 15.

[35] *HC* 2, 18 (20): appointed cardinal on November 10, 1477; died on August 11, 1485. He was also a papal notary and the *primicerius* of S. Marco in Venice and held in *commendum* the benedictine abbey of S. Cosmas and Damian on the island of Pašman. Through his vicar Franciscus Damiani (who himself was closely related to the curia being the archideacon of Zadar, papal acolyth and chaplain, nucio and collector for the Camera) he invested a large sum of money in 1461 for the reconstruction of the abbey) ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 516, fol. 37r. Rome, August 1, 1461.

[36] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 464, fol. 104r-105r: Rome, March 31, 1458.

[37] Johannes Dominici (Florence, 1357 – Buda, June 10, 1419) entered the Dominican order in 1374. He lived in a Venetian friary from 1387 to 1399 and founded the nunnery of Corpus Christi in Venice. Until 1406 he preached in Florence and was elected prior of Fiesole. From 1415 to 1416 he was councilor to Gregory XII, who appointed him archbishop of Dubrovnik in 1408 and Cardinal of Saint Sixtus on March 26, 1408 (after which he was known as *Cardinalis Ragusinus*). Gregory XII sent him to the Council of Constance. Martin V comissioned him to arrange affairs in Bohemia, where he stayed from 1417 to 1419, but the mission ended in total failure; Pino da Prati, *Giovanni Dominici e l'Umanismo* (Naples: Mezzogiorno, 1965); Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii* 2 (Rome: Sabinae, 1975), 406-413. Giorgio Cracco, "Giovanni Dominici e un nuovo tipo di religiosità", in *Conciliarismo, Stati nazionali, inizi dell'Umanesimo. Atti del XXV convegno storico internazionale. Todi 9-12 ottobre 1988*, Atti dei convegni dell'Accademia Tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualita medioevale, n.s. 2 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 1-20.

control the situation after the condemnation and execution of Jan Hus.[38] In summer 1414, Cardinal Dominici was sent on another mission to Sigismund, but all his efforts were already in vain because the king was preparing for the council. After the end of council, on February 1, 1418, Cardinal Dominici set out on a journey to Constantinople, where he was supposed to convince Emperor Manuel II Paleologus (1391–1425) and Patriarch Joseph (1416–1439) to join the negotiations on the reunion. Because of his sudden death in Buda, on June 10, 1419, he never reached Constantinople.

The cardinal of S. Angelo *in Pescheria*, the Spaniard Juan de Carvajal,[39] papal chaplain and auditor, *legatus a latere* to Emperor Frederick III and to the Hungarian kingdom, was an able and eminent figure despite his badly managed anti-Utraquist mission to Prague,[40] which failed in May 1448. He was sent to Germany, Hungary, and Poland[41] on another mission and was present at the Great Diet assembled in Buda on February 6, 1456. There he described the papal preparations for the fleet to attack the Turks, as well as the aid that was expected from King Alfonso V and from Duke Philip of Burgundy. A plenary indulgence was offered to every soldier who would bear arms against the Turks. It was at this diet that Carvajal bestowed a cross sent by the pope on the famous Minorite friar Giovanni da Capistrano and gave him a special papal brief to preach the crusade. In 1459, Carvajal continued his efforts to make peace between Emperor Frederick and Mathias Corvinus. He also played a role with regard to the problem of continuing Turkish attacks.[42] On August 27, 1457, he was granted numerous important faculties, among them those of dispensation and absolution.[43]

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[38] Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* 1 (Rome, 1863; reprint Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968), n. 499: 8 January 1409 (hereafter Theiner, *Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*).

[39] *HC* 2, 9: *Placentin., Diaconus Tituli S. Angeli, dein Portuen.* He died on December 6, 1469.

[40] He was sent by Nicholas V on August 4, 1447. Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 969-970: ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 386. fol. 7r-8r. Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta, collecta ac serie chronologica disposita* 2: *Ab Innocentio papa VI. usque ad Clementem papam VII (1352-1526)* (Rome: typis Vaticanis, 1860). On his activities see also: Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 981, 1021, 1092, 1246, 1308, 1311.

[41] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 438. fol. 212r-213v, 233v-234v. The date of his departure from Rome is fixed by an entry in the Acta Consistorialia (1439–1486) for the year 1455. ASV, *Arm. XXXI*, vol. 52, fol. 58r: *Recessus domini cardinalis Sancti Angeli: Anno et pontificatu predictis [1455 de tempore Calixti III] die vero XXV. Septembris, que fuit dies Iovis, fuit factum consistorium secretum, et reverendissimus dominus cardinalis Sancti Angeli recessit legatus in Alamaniam et Ungariam de mane per portam Sancte Marie de Populo.* See also *HC* 2, 31a.

[42] Cf. Pius II's letter to Carvajal, dated Mantua, June 11, 1459 (ASV, *Arm. XXXIX*, vol. 9, fol. 47v: *Ex litteris tue Circumspectionis in Nova Civitate* [Wiener Neustadt] *ultimo datis intelleximus que de tenenda inter imperatorem et regem Ungarie dieta deque novo ac repentino Turcorum adventu significas: fuerunt nobis hec nova satis molesta et dolemus.* Note the letters of the same date to Frederick III and the Venetians; ibid. fol. 48r-49r; and those of almost a year later, dated Siena, April 25, 1560, to Carvajal and Frederick; ibid.

Branda Castellione was one of the cardinals renowned as apostolic nuncios in the Hungarian kingdom. He was appointed cardinal by the schismatic Pope John XXIII on June 6, 1411, and, also by the latter, administrator of the Veszprem church (which he resigned on May 5, 1424, when Peter Ladislai de Rosgon became the new bishop).[44] Giuliano Cesarini, another cardinal and nuncio, was killed at the battle of Varna on November 10, 1444, together with the young King Ladislas and numerous bishops.[45]

On February 1, 1444, the cardinal priests Gerardo of *S. Marie in Transtiberim*[46] and Ludovicus of S. Laurentii in Damaso[47] were authorized by Eugene IV to exact tithes in the territories subject to them. The money collected was to be given to Giuliano Cesarini, mentioned above, auditor of the Roman Rota and cardinal priest of Santa Sabina,[48] for the sustaining the army against the Turks in the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Wallachia.[49] On January 10, 1448, the cardinal treasurer Ludovico Trevisan (Scarampi Mezzarota) agreed that the church of *S. Blasius de Anulo in the regio S. Eustachii* in Rome be given to the Pauline friars, after a supplication by their prior general and friar Valentin, proctor of the Order, who *propter continuum ad Urbem accessum Ungarorum*

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fol. 185v-187r: ... *Iterum atque iterum rogamus tuam Excellenciam ut omnibus tuis desideriis quamquam etiam iustissimis orthodoxam nostram Christianae religionis fidem et eius defensionem maxime nunc dum periculum immineat, ut decet religiossisimum imperatorem pro Dei et tua gloria et cunctorum tibi subdictorum salute, anteponas* ...; to Frederick, fol. 186v. A letter to Carvajal, dated May 2, 1461, noted the expectation of another Turkish siege of Belgrade: ... *Turchum magnis apparatibus ad obsidendam Nandoralbem venturum* ...; ibidem, fol. 211r.

[43] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 449, fol. 133v-135r. See also: Lino Gómez Canedo, *Un Español al servicio de la Santa Sede. Don Juan de Carvajal, cardenal de Sant'Angelo, legato en Alemania y Hungria. (1399?–1469)* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas. Inst. J. Zurita, 1947), 22-23, 105, 113-119. On Carvajal's Hungarian mission, which lasted from 1455 to 1461, see 153-185, and on his becoming protector of the Hungarian nation, 187-219.

[44] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 239, fol. 46v; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 739.

[45] See Setton, *The Papacy*, 82-107.

[46] *HC* 2, 8, 63: Gerardus Landrianus, bishop of Cuma, created cardinal priest of *S. Marie in Transtiberim* on September 19, 1439.

[47] *HC* 2, 8: Ludovico Scarampi.

[48] *HC* 2, 6 (43): Julianus de Cesarinis, *auditor Rotae, diaconus S. Angeli, presbiter S. Sabine, episcopus Tusculanus, poenitentiarius maior* March 7, 1444; died on November 10, 1444. According to Setton, cardinal Cesarini was a militarist at heart and his determination to suppress the Hussite beresy by "crusades" provided clear evidence ot this; Setton, *The Papacy*, 78. On Cesarini's career see Roger Mols, *Dictionaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 12 (1953), col. 220-249.

[49] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 376, fol. 10r: Rome, February 1, 1444. Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 804: Julianus, *tituli S. Angeli*. Between April 20, 1431, and November 12, 1431, he was given vast powers to act in the territories of his legation (Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 2, 3, 28, 65). In the meantime he was promoted to cardinal of St. Sabina, *legatus* to Hungary and Poland. About his actions see Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 746, 771, 781, 790, 802-804, 809, 833, 835, 865, 1282, 1308.

apud quos ordo fundatus et honoratus existit, cupiunt unum locum in urbe Romana habere. The church was a *curata* with two simple benefices with revenues estimated at 50 florins in recompense for the church of S. Savior *prope pontem ruptum* in the very center of Rome, which the order had owned for quite a long time (*per plura tempora canonice habuit*).[50]

Nicholas (1427–1480), bishop of Senj and Modruš, was sent twice to the last Bosnian King Stephan Tomašević. During the first mission, which began in September 1460 and ended in August 1461, he was to crown the young king. His second mission started on December 11, 1462,[51] and ended with the ferocious death of the king and most members of Nicholas' household in June 1463. Nicholas described the events immediately preceding the disastrous fall of the Kingdom into Turkish hands in his work *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Libertatis*, kept in the Vatican Apostolic Library.[52] Soon after June 1463, Nicholas was sent to the court of Mathias Corvinus, his main task being to help the king reorganise the resistance and defence in Bosnia and to convince him to lead a military expedition there. Nicholas himself went to Venice on October 13, 1463, to ask for financial and military support and to inform the senate about the further actions that the king planned. By the end of October, he had reached the king in Belgrade and continued to follow him during his three-month-long winter campaign in Bosnia, in which some seventy fortresses, towns and villages (including the royal town of Jajce) were liberated. The newly elected pontiff, Paul II, must have been satisfied with the services that Nicholas had offered to his predecessor, because he entrusted him numerous important public offices of the papal state. Starting from September 18, 1464, until January 17, 1468, he became *castellanus* of Viterbo; on February 5, 1468, he was appointed governor of Ascoli, on October 31, 1470, governor of Fano, Sinigaglia, and Montefiore, and on January 11, 1471, governor of Sassoferrato; during the short vacancy between the death of Paul II and the coronation of Sixtus IV, July 26 – August 25, 1471, Nicholas was governor of Cesena.

Clerics employed as collectors

Numerous bulls of appointment to apostolic collectors in Dalmatian dioceses can be found in the Vatican registers: Secundus, bishop of Argos, was appointed nuncio and collector in the dioceses Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and

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[50] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 422, fol. 135v: January 10, 1448, *Fiat ut petitur. T.*

[51] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 508. fol. 102r-v: December 11, 1462, letter of appointment.

[52] BAV, *Vat. Lat.*, 8092. See Jadranka Neralić, "Udio Hrvata u papinskoj diplomaciji" (The Role of the Croatians in the papal Diplomacy), *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija. Zbornik Diplomatske Akademije* 4 (1999), 89-118, esp. 100-102 (hereafter Neralić, "Udio Hrvata"), and eadem, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427–1480): Bishop, Man of Letters and Victim of Circumstances," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 2 (2003), 15-23.

Bar[53] (and became bishop of Kotor soon after), the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of S. Stephen *de pinis* in Split was appointed collector in Dalmatia on August 19, 1432;[54] Paganino, the bishop of Ulcinj, was appointed nuncio and collector in Zadar, Osor, and other dioceses *illarum partium* on March 20, 1445;[55] Jacobus de Cadaporto was appointed collector for Istria and Dalmatia on January 12, 1455;[56] finally, there is the bull of appointment for Ivan Tolinić, the *primicerius* and canon of Šibenik, to become nuncio and collector in Istria, Dalmatia, and Dubrovnik, dated June 18, 1473.[57]

On April 20, 1455, Pope Calixtus appointed Nicholas Spitzinuri (the name occurs in the registers with different spellings), cantor of the church of Cracow and *decretorum doctor*, as collector and receiver general for the Holy See in Poland;[58] on 21 December of the following year, he granted him the faculty of giving absolution to those who rendered military service in the war against the Turks or contributed money thereto.[59] Similar grants had been given to Spitzinuri by Nicholas V five years before.[60] Spitzinuri's activity continued into the reign of Pius II, who informed the Polish episcopacy in a letter of August 24, 1459: ... *disponimus enim auxiliante Deo pro viribus nostris frenare superbiam et insolentiam horum perfidorum Turcorum propter quod iam plurimas in terrestribus et maritimis expeditionibus expenere* [sic] *pecunias non desinimus* ... .[61] On 17 May 1465 Paul II appointed Spitzinuri to be general collector for the Holy See in Poland, ... *Romane Ecclesie ac camere apostolice inibi debitorum et debendorum collector ac generalis receptor usque ad nostrum et dicte sedis beneplacitum*, the papal concern being especially for the *oblata et data pro Cruciata in subsidium contra Turchorum*.[62]

Members of the cardinals' households

Cardinals had their households composed of various ecclesiastical persons in their service. In the registers of the Chancery I have traced some clerics serving in them. The *sine cura* chapel of St. Peter *super platea* in Zadar, void due to the promotion of its last rector Angelo Cavazza to the bishopric of Rab, was given to the master of arts Aloisius Blasii, the protegee of Gabriele

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[53] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 352, fol. 237v-239r: March 18, 1419.
[54] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 381, fol. 185v-186r.
[55] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 382, fol. 255r.
[56] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 465, fol. 141r-143r.
[57] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 567, fol. 162v-164r.
[58] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 465, fol. 31r-32r.
[59] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 440, fol. 89r-90r.
[60] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 393, fol. 297r-300r; documents dated January 9, 1451.
[61] ASV, *Arm.* XXXIX, vol. 8, fol. 67v-68r, where a letter of the same tenor is also addressed to King Casimir IV of Poland; see also fol. 68v, a letter to Spitzinuri himself.
[62] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 542, fol. 65r-67r.

Condulmer, cardinal priest of S. Clement and future Pope Eugene IV, who recommended his supplication.[63]

The Dominican friar Dominico de Ragusio, professor of theology and one of the minor penitentiaries in the Lateran basilica, applying for the benefice in the *sine cura* church called *ruralis abbatia S. Dumnii de Pontis* in the diocese of Senj (void after the death of its late rector Antonio Morade de Modrusio), stated that he was a member of the household of cardinal vice-chancellor Roderigo Borgia.[64] Dominico de Ragusio was already in office in 1469 when he applied for the Benedictine abbey of S. Nicholas in the Senj diocese.[65]

In the late 1460s, Luca Dominici, a priest in the diocese of Split, was a chaplain in the household of Cardinal Bessarion *Trapezuntinus*. He applied for an archdeaconry in *Nigropontensis diocesis*, void after the resignation of its last archdeacon George de Crescencia.[66] The cardinal personally recommended the supplication of his chaplain.

Cardinal Pietro Barbo personally recommended to Pope Nicholas V two supplications by Marco Mauroceno, a noble cleric from Castellan diocese, both for the Benedictine abbey of S. Ambrogio in Nin, void after the death of its last abbot. Gregorius Conradi, a cleric from Chulm applying for the post of a canon in the church of Warmia (Ermland) on December 2, 1460, declared himself to be the familiaris of John, *tituli S. Marci presbyteri cardinalis*.[67]

Before being appointed archbishop of Dubrovnik, Johannes Venerius, nephew to cardinal Antonio Giacomo Venier, was *scriptor litterarum apostolicarum* in the chancery.[68] His brother Matthew, doctor in canon law and cleric, was a *scriptor penitentiarie* and *familiaris et cubicullarius* to Pope Sixtus IV; upon the recommendation of his protector, *penitentiarius maior* Cardinal Philippus Calandrini,[69] brother of Pope Nicholas V, he was given a *portio* of the church of All Saints in Dubrovnik, in lay patronage of the noble family Gučetić.

Even the low ranked curial officials were provided with benefices: they became papal chaplains and auditors in the Sacra Rota,[70] papal notaries, scribes

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[63] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 278, fol. 191r-192r. Rome, February 29, 1428. Angelo Cavazza was appointed *thesaurarius* on September 4, 1441. See: ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 382, fol. 167r and Theiner, *Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* 1, n. 545.

[64] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 770, fol. 92r-93r: Rome, November 29, 1471.

[65] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 700, fol. 21r-v: Rome, October 10, 1469.

[66] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 645, fol. 47v-48r: Rome, March 5, 1469.

[67] At that time the only cardinal of S. Marco was Pietro Barbo, nephew of Pope Eugene IV, *protonotarius apostolicus*; cardinal deacon of S. Maria nova from July 1, 1440 (fourth promotion), promoted cardinal priest of S. Marco on June 16, 1451, elected Pope Paul II on August 30, 1464. He died on July 26, 1471 (*HC* 2, 8, 14).

[68] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 722, fol. 60v (June 29, 1475): Antonius Iacobus Venier was appointed cardinal of S. Vito on May 7, 1473. He died on August 3, 1479. (*HC* 2, 17).

[69] *HC* 2, 11.

[70] For example, Fantino de Valle, one of the 12 auditors mentioned in the constitution *Romani Pontificis indefessa sollicitudo* issued on May 14, 1472, by Sixtus IV, was also sent on a diplomatic mission to the Bohemian king George Podiebrad and was a beneficiary in

and abbreviators.[71] Some of them had legal disputes running for years before various auditors of the Sacred Rota. An example of a long process in the rota is that of Master Peter de Casaciis, *bacallarius* in canon law, *scriptor et abbreviator* of apostolic letters in the chancery, member ot the household of Martin V and archdeacon of Cuma,[72] against another member of the same household and *scriptor* in the chancery, Master Antonio de Pago, canon of Šibenik cathedral. On October 25, 1447, Master Guillermo de Fondera, chaplain and auditor of the Rota, was given the mandate to decide in their dispute for a provision of the *sine cura* parochial church of the Blessed Mary of Stomorie in the diocese of Šibenik, resigned by Antonio Gazzari. The church was still the object of

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numerous dioceses throughout Dalmatia and the Venetian Republic. Neralić, "Udio Hrvata", 99-100.

[71] Master Paulus Stanghe de Leghendorff, canon of the diocese of Warmia (Ermland) and *litterarum apostolicarum scriptor et abbreviator*, applied on October 23, 1453 for the canonry in the diocese of Wrocław, void after the death in the Roman court of Marcus Bonfilii, member of the household of Cardinal S. Grisogoni (ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 470, fol. 19r-v). Ludovichus de Orto, *scriptor litterarum apostolicarum* and *familiaris Sedis Apostolicae*, was granted the faculty to receive the income of his office although he had been sent to Hungary and Bohemia with an apostolic mandate issued on March 14, 1426 (ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 196, fol. 196r; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 861). Nicolaus de Costen, *licenciatus in decretorum*, employed as *abbreviator* of papal letters in the Chancery and present in the curia, applied for the office of dean in Poznan cathedral, void after the resignation of Iohannes de Sprowa, ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 468, fol. 250v-251r; *Bullarium Poloniae litteras apostolicas aliaque monumenta Poloniae Vaticana continens*, VI: *1447–1464*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś, Stanislaus Kuraś et al. (Rome and Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1998), n. 708.

[72] Petrus de Casaciis, cleric from the Milan diocese, was active in the curia from 1426, when one finds him as *scriptor cancellariae*, a post which he resigned in 1433; from 1436 he is only mentioned as *abbreviator* (ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 320, fol. 72v; see Schwarz, "Abbreviature officium", esp. 823. For himself he claimed the *ecclesia S. Marie Stomorie de Campo inferiori de Verpoglo Sibenicensis diocesis* under lay patronage and void after its last rector, the secular priest Jacobus Mikitich, was ordained and appointed to the post of abbot in the Benedictine monastery of S. Nicholas *de portu* in Šibenik. The bishops of Cività Castellana and Città di Castello as well as the abbot of the monastery of S. Ambrogio in Nin were appointed executors of the papal mandate. The yearly income of the church was estimated at 24 florins. Peter de Casaciis already owned two benefices: the church of S. Nazarius in Brolio in Milan and that of Saint Trinity in Pavia, a canonry with a prebend, the altar of S. Dionisius in the church of S. Iohannis de Varisio, the archdeaconry in Cuma, whereas he still had not taken possession of the benefices in the parochial church of S. Maria de Mezzocorone in Milan and in Trento had a legal dispute in the curia (*cuius possessionem nondum est assecutus in Romana Curia noscitur litigare*). These benefices assured him a yearly income of approximately 200 florins. Two processes in the curia had already been decided in his favour and letters in form of *gratia expectativa* for the canonries with a prebend in Todi and Torino had already been written; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 278, fol. 39v-40v: Genzano, July 27, 1428; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 278, fol. 238v-239v: Rome, April 21, 1428 (the yearly income of S. Mary's church was estimated at 40 florins); ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 279, fol. 116v. Rome, January 3, 1428.

contention four years later, and three more auditors were engaged: Stephano de Paperonibus, Agapito de Rusticis,[73] and Gaspare de Teramo.[74]

Johannes de Tremosnicz, canon of Prague cathedral, *scriptor* and member of Pope Alexander V's household, applied for the custody, a *simplex officium sine cura,* with the yearly income of 45 silver marks. He already owned the canonry with the prebend in the cathedral and the chapel of S. Maurice in the castle of Prague with 26 silver marks, and had a legal dispute *in partibus* about the canonry and prebend in Wissegrad and Olomouc with the yearly income estimated at 60 silver marks.[75]

Even the nephew of a *scriptor* in the Chancery made good use of his connections with a curial official to be provided with several benefices, one of them in Dalmatia. Johannes Dominicus, a priest from Venice and nephew of Dominicus Petri, received from Pope Sixtus IV personally a provision for a *beneficium simplex clericatus nuncupatus* in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the diocese of Hvar, and the priory of the collegiate church of SS. Apostles in Venice, void after the death of the curial official, Cristofor de Ubertis.[76]

Penitentiarii minores *in the Chancery registers*

In the fifteenth-century registers of supplications, (for the supplication) as well as in the Lateran and Vatican registers (for the letter of appointment), there are also records of clerics from East-Central-European countries applying for the post of *penitentiarius minor*[77] in various Roman basilicas: the Augustinian professor Johannes de Cormentino was recommended on June 2, 1423, by Duke Peter *in Trecz de Ungaria* from the diocese of Györ for the post in the Basilica Principis Apostolorum because of the lack of confessors able to speak Hungarian.[78] On the same day, the priest Andreas Galli of the Order of S. Paul first hermit, *de natione Ungarica*, applied for the same post and got it.[79] Some years later Andreas Galli was an acolyte in the diocese of Zagreb and rector of the pa-

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[73] He was also involved in numerous legal disputes for Polish beneficial cases in the period 1447–1464; see *Bullarium Poloniae* VI, n. 1029, 1212, 1240, 1397, 1425, 1430, 1437, 1461.

[74] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 441, fol. 248r-251r: Rome, October 25, 1447; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 473, fol. 98r-100r: Rome, May 25, 1451.

[75] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 138, fol. 19r-20r; Eršil, *Acta* 1 (Prague: Academia, 1980), n. 433.

[76] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 706, fol. 278r: Rome, May 23, 1474.

[77] Throughout the fifteenth century there were eleven penitentiary offices in St. Peter's (*Principis Apostolorum*) in Rome, divided among the nations: two each for Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, and one each for England, Poland, and Hungary.

[78] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 168, fol. 60v; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 234, fol. 156r: Rome, June 2, 1423; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 599.

[79] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 168, fol. 85v; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 234, fol. 83r: Rome, June 2, 1423; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 600.

rochial church of S. Nicholas de Lovaz[80] when he applied to be ordained a priest in the curia: the grant was conceded with the only condition that he be liable – *atratus* – for the ordination.[81] Only a few days before the death of Martin V, the nobleman Emeric Gregorii de Cherdy, son of Gregory de Cherdy, canon of Pécs cathedral, chaplain in the chapel of S. Ladislas in Buda, and *magister artium*, applied for the post of *penitentiarius minor*, although he did not have the required qualifications for the post (*non obstante quod in aliquo iurium seu theologie magistratus aut licentiatus non existat*). In his supplication, he informed those who were to decide in his case that for some years (*diversis anni temporibus*) huge numbers of people (*maxima multitudo populi*) had been coming to Rome applying to the Penitentiary for indulgencies and absolutions of their sins, so that now one or two *penitentiarii* no longer sufficed to satisfy the need.[82] He was appointed on November 14, 1432, by Eugene IV.[83] He acted as proctor in the Roman curia on May 20, 1433 in the case of the Pécs priest Martin Stephani, when the latter resigned the office of rector to the altar of S. Mary in the Bosnian Church, immediately applied for by its canon Johannes Fabian (with a revenue estimated at 30 florins).[84]

On January 19, 1449, Nicholas V proclaimed a jubilee for the following year, when thousands of pilgrims flocked to Rome, to be decimated by a violent outbreak of the plague and to witness the pope's timorous flight (on July 15) from the Eternal City. During the jubilee, however, the needs of Hungary were kept in mind, and a special indulgence was proclaimed for the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, the barons, knights, nobles, and lesser folk of the kingdom, with special mention of John Hunyadi. They were dispensed from the visit to Rome and the principal basilicas of the city to earn the plenary remission of sins because they had to defend the country against the Turks, "so that the rest of its inhabitants ... might be able to live in sweet security without fear and peril ...".[85] A special bull dated April 12, 1450, was sent to honor Hunyadi and extend to him and his family *omnium peccatorum suorum remissio plenaria* under the same conditions as those noted above.[86]

A Pauline hermit, Valentinus Laurentii de Kapos, was appointed *poenitentiarius* in the Basilica Principis Apostolorum and apostolic chaplain on

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[80] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 239, fol. 276r: Rome, March 22, 1429; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 1223.

[81] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 234, fol. 41r; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 290, fol. 281v-282v: Rome, March 24, 1429; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 1229.

[82] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 265, fol. 279v; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 299, fol. 272v-273r: Rome, January 16, 1431; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 1440.

[83] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 381, fol. 147r: Rome, November 14, 1432; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 122.

[84] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 286, fol. 232v; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 320, fol. 271r-272r: Rome, May 20, 1433; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 151.

[85] For the bull in question see ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 391, fol. 252v-254r. *Indulgentia pro nobilibus et prelatis Regni Hungarici* ... [in the margin of fol. 252v]: ... *pro parte* ... *nobilis viri Johannis de Hunniad, gubernatoris ac rectoris* ... [fol. 253r].

[86] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 391, fol. 249r.

August 10, 1439.[87] There is also a supplication[88] with a concession to Dyonisius Johannis de Henne, priest in Veszprem diocese and *scriptor* of letters in the Sacred Penitentiary, to be provided with the office of provost in the chapter of the Bosnian diocese (*de Diaco*) – its yearly income was estimated at 70 golden florins – and the canonry (estimated at 30 florins) void after the death outside the Roman Court of Jacob, its last holder. Dyonisius Johannis de Henne was already in possession of the canonry in Eger with the yearly income estimated at 40 florins, but there was a legal dispute, a process going on over it in the Apostolic Palace. The original letter had been lost somewhere during the process of making and expedition, so that Dyonisius demanded another one. Pope Eugene IV ordered that the new letter be written with the same old date of provision, out of the registers of bis predecessor Martin V (*ut e registris Martini pape V. litterae provisionales sub dato Rome apud Sanctos Apostolos 6. Kal. Maii an. 10 ei de predicta prepositura confecte transcriberentur*).[89]

A very interesting supplication with a curious report on the work of the minor Penitentiary for the Polish nation office can be found in the supplication register.[90] Namely, a French religious person (*religiosus*), Master Jacob, professor of theology, was provided with the post in the office for the Polish nation, although he did not speak the language. He was also provided with two benefices in the diocese of Ferrara, which kept him constantly absent from his Penitentiary office in Rome. Since Polish pilgrims coming to Rome to confess were not adequately taken care of, Paulus Polonus de Xansch, rector of the parochial church in Wiszkocz in the diocese of Poznan, *decretorum doctor*, and the substitute of the Polish nation, applied for the post. Another piece of curious information from this supplication is that three more nations, *Slavonica* (probably the Croatians), *Bohemica*, and *Russa*, were counted under the Polish nation. Because of the insufficient number of confessors and their inadequate linguistic preparation, many penitents left the Office unsatisfied.

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[87] ASV, *Reg. Vat.*, 382, fol. 92r: Florence, August 10, 1439; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 665.

[88] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 212, fol. 128r; ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 275, fol. 181v-182v: Rome, April 27, 1427; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 1, n. 931.

[89] ASV, *Reg. Lat.*, 303, fol. 164r- 165r: Rome, May 12, 1431; Lukcsics, *Diplomata* 2, n. 43.

[90] ASV, *Reg. Suppl.*, 542, fol. 31r-v: Tivoli, August 1, 1461; *Bullarium Poloniae* 6, n. 1641.

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Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and Their Communication with the Holy See

Edited by

Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations related to the collections of the Vatican Secret Archives 7

Preface 8

Piroska Nagy, Peripheries in Question in Late Medieval Christendom 11

Kirsi Salonen, The Penitentiary under Pope Pius II. The Supplications and Their Provenance 19

Torstein Jørgensen, At the Edge of the World: The Supplications from the Norwegian Province of Nidaros 29

Kirsi Salonen, The Supplications from the Province of Uppsala. Main Trends and Developments 42

Irene Furneaux, Pre-Reformation Scottish Marriage Cases in the Archives of the Papal Penitentiary 60

Jadranka Neralić, Central Europe and the Late Medieval Papal Chancery 71

Etleva Lala, The Papal Curia and Albania in the Later Middle Ages 89

Piroska Nagy and Kirsi Salonen, East-Central Europe and the Penitentiary (1458–1484) 102

Lucie Doležalová, "But if you marry me": Reflections on the Hussite Movement in the Penitentiary (1438–1483) 113

Ana Marinković, Social and Territorial Endogamy in the Ragusan Republic: Matrimonial Dispenses during the Pontificates of Paul II and Sixtus IV (1464–1484) 126

Gastone Saletnich and Wolfgang Müller, Rodolfo Gonzaga (1452–1495): News on a Celebrity Murder Case 145

Blanka Szeghyová, Church and Secular Courts in Upper Hungary (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century) 151

Ludwig Schmugge, Penitentiary Documents from Outside the Penitentiary 161

Gerhard Jaritz, Patterns and Levels of Periphery? 170

List of Contributors 173

ABBREVIATIONS RELATED TO THE COLLECTIONS OF THE VATICAN SECRET ARCHIVES

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano

Arm. = Armadio

Congr. Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Ap. = Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Apostolica

Instr. Misc. = Instrumenta Miscellanea

Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. et Div. = Penitenzieria Apostolica, Registra Matrimonialium et Diversorum

Reg. Vat. = Registra Vaticana

Reg. Lat. = Registra Lateranensia

Reg. Suppl. = Registra Supplicationum

Reg. Aven. = Registra Avenionensia

RPG = Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum

PREFACE

The present publication contains selected papers from two international conferences: the first was held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Bergen (Norway), in October, 2003[1] and the second at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest (Hungary), in January, 2004.[2] The purpose of these meetings was to gather researchers interested in the history and significance of the papal curia and, in particular, the Apostolic Penitentiary, in the later Middle Ages. The main emphasis was placed on a comparative approach and on the role of peripheral areas of Western Christendom in their communication with the Holy See.

There are various kinds of centre-and-periphery hierarchies.[3] There are geographic, social, economic, and cultural peripheries and centres. "The general textbooks ... address materials from the geographical and social peripheries of privileged cultures only as adjuncts to their central narrative. ... The history of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe become excursus to a central narrative."[4]

However, concerning the communication of the Holy See with various areas of Christendom in the Middle Ages, the impact of 'peripheries' has attracted a new interest in recent years. Since the opening of the archives of the Apostolic Penitentiary to researchers in 1983 relatively few scholars have exploited the sources, but recently their number has increased. Most of them have studied the supplications to the Penitentiary of petitioners from their own home countries and edited material on a national basis. The German Historical Institute, under the leadership of Ludwig Schmugge, has already published several volumes of entries concerning German-speaking territories. Also, the Norwegian and Icelandic material has recently been released by Torstein Jørgensen and Gastone Saletnich. Similar enterprises are in process in several other countries: Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, England and Wales. The examination of territo-

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[1] "*The Late Middle Ages and the Penitentiary Texts: Centre and Periphery in Europe in the Pre-Reformation Era.*"

[2] "Ad Confines. *The Papal Curia and the Eastern and Northern Peripheries of Christendom in the Later Middle Ages(14th – 15th c.).*"

[3] For this and the following, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Center and Periphery in the Teaching of Medieval History," in *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 252.

[4] Ibidem, 248.

ries on the geographic peripheries in their relation to Rome has been a main focus in these studies.

The archival material of the Penitentiary and the communication of the papal curia with the various regions of late medieval Europe should, however, not be studied only on national levels. There is an increasing need for such studies to be supplemented by comparative searches for differences and analogies in how Christians from different corners of Europe used the papal offices and were treated by them. It is well known that even though the regulations of canon law were in theory the same for everyone, regional differences in interpreting and applying them emerged in the Late Middle Ages. The need to turn to the papal authority in matters of canon law varied depending on the role of local bishops and the presence or absence of papal legates or collectors, who often had the power to deal with similar matters *in partibus.* Also, people in the central territories of Christendom had different opportunities for turning to the papal curia with their requests than those living on the peripheries of the Christian world.

Questions like these played the central role in the discussions of the two conferences noted above. In this book we will render an overview of the present status of this new field of research. As an introduction, Piroska Nagy deals with the question of how to apply centre-periphery models to a comparative analysis of the sources. Kirsi Salonen uses the Penitentiary registers from the period of Pope Pius II to analyse the supplications, their provenance, and the role of peripheries.

Two peripheral parts of late medieval Europe and their significance concerning the communication with the Holy See represent the main part of the publication: Northern Europe and East Central Europe. Comparative analyses of Scandinavian and Scottish source material from the Penitentiary Registers are made by Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen, and Irene Furneaux. The studies on East Central Europe are introduced by an inquiry concerning the general importance of the area for the papal curia (Jadranka Neralić), and an overview of the communication of the Holy See with Albania (Etleva Lala). Piroska Nagy and Kirsi Salonen offer a quantitative analysis of East Central Europe and the Penitentiary (1458–1484), followed by contributions on individual territories, such as the Czech lands (Lucie Doležalová) and Dalmatia (Ana Marinković). The contribution by Gastone Saletnich and Wolfgang Müller indicates that in any studies of the role of peripheries one must not neglect the more central areas. Blanca Szeghyová and Ludwig Schmugge show that local archives and their contents are an indispensable additional source for comparative analyses.

Many friends and colleagues have helped in preparing this book for print. We are pleased to thank the personnel of the Penitenzieria Apostolica, especially Padre Ubaldo Todeschini, for reading the manuscript and suggesting useful corrections. We are also much obliged to the skilled staff of the *Sala di Studio* in the Vatican Archives, who patiently brought us volume after volume of the reg-

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Finally, we wish to thank the academic institutions which in a more direct way have promoted this project: the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen, the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest, the Institut für Realienkunde of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Finland, and the Department of History at the University of Tampere.

Bergen, Budapest, and Tampere, November 2004

Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen, Kirsi Salonen