

Gergely Kiss:

Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo

The Career of a Papal Legate At the End of the Twelfth Century*

The identification of the papal envoys is the starting point for the research. At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries different legates worked in the Kingdom of Hungary with the same given name, Gregory. It raised problems in the historiography, different persons were confused, and therefore heterogeneous life paths were mixed. The present paper aims to discuss all possibilities and determine the identity of the different papal envoys called Gregory. It provides the opportunity to present one of those legates', Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo's course of life.

Keywords: Medieval Papacy, Papal Legate, Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo, Gregorius de Crescentio Caballi Marmorei, Gregorius de Monte Carello, Gregorius de Crescentio, Gregorius de Gualgano, twelfth Century



Research has shown little interest in the time between the 1180s and 1210s, probably as it falls between two rather hectic periods, namely the vivid diplomatic and ecclesiastical fights following the inauguration of Pope Alexander III and the conflicts around the reign of Andrew II. The determinant and comprehensive summary by Vilmos Fraknói dedicated only a few paragraphs to the years between the reign of Alexander III and Innocent III and mentioned one single papal legate from this period by the name of Crescentius. However, this is the person's family name, in fact he was called Gregory. According to the erudite prelate he was the one who led the canonization procedure of King Ladislas in Várad (Oradea, RO).¹ In this work in the part describing the pontificate of Innocent III, the name Gregory appears two more times. Although there is no other clue to make his

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¹ FRANKÓI 1901. p. 34.

identification possible, the only information is that the pope sent 'cardinal Gregory' to Hungary. Fraknói refers to him first in 1199–1200 as the person making peace between King Emeric and prince Andrew (the later King Andrew II), then in 1207 the name of Gregory appears again. He was the one who was entrusted by Innocent III to bring the confirmation of the appointment of the archbishop of Kalocsa and the *pallium* for Bertold.² Kornél Szovák is similarly laconic, he shortly mentioned the papal legate, Gregorius de Chrescensis leading the canonization of King Ladislas I.³

However, the situation is more complicated, as Gregory who played an active role in the canonization of Ladislas I was in fact not Gregorius de Crescentio but Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo. The former was who made peace between the contentious sons of Béla III in 1199–1200, and who also proceeded in the confirmation of Queen Gertrudis' (King Andrew II's first consort) brother as the archbishop of Kalocsa. Besides them two other cardinals named Gregory appear, who we have to scrutinize in order to identify them unambiguously.⁴

To identify Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo is not an easy task. His very first biographer, Alfonso Chacon (OP) identified him as *Gregorius de Galganus de Sancto Apostolo*. Chacon summarized his career as a cardinal, that in 1188 he obtained the title of the cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu from Clement III, and later he became the cardinal-deacon of S. Anastasia. He shortly listed his assignments as legate without dates. 1) First following the orders of Clement III he made provisions against heretics in North-Italy (*Gallia Cisalpina*). 2) Later he was given assignment by Celestin III to the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire. 3) Afterwards Innocent III sent him to Piacenza so that the town would make amends for the illegalities against cardinal-deacon Peter (S. Maria in via lata). 4) Finally Innocent III sent him to Sicily as the guardian of the future Emperor Frederick II to help protect of the rights of the papacy and the child of Constance who was still a minor.⁵ Agostino Oldoini supplemented and in several places corrected Chacon's work published originally in 1630,⁶ and he suggested several modifications here. Oldoini considers it dubious that Gregory changed his office of S. Maria in Porticu with that of the cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia owing to Innocent III, just like the idea that he deceased in the time of the same pope. According to Oldoini, Gregory, the cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu was the witness in the charter issued in 1225 by Pope Honorius III for the archbishop of Ravenna. Oldoini considered the cardinal-deacon of S. Anastasia somebody else who appeared in a diploma issued by Innocent III in 1216, and to prove it, he added several other references of

² FRANKÓI 1901. p. 37, 44.

³ SZOVÁK 1996. p. 39–40.

⁴ Besides Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo appearing in the title, there can be mentioned Gregorius de Crescentio. Concerning his person see the study by Gábor Barabás in the present volume. As for the other two Gregories (another Gregorius de Crescentio and Gregorius de Gualgano) see below.

⁵ [CIAONIUS 1677. p. 1139](#). (access: December 2, 2014)

⁶ [CIAONIUS 1677. p. 1630](#). (access: December 2, 2014)

charters.⁷ Francesco Cristofori, just like Chacon, identified Gregory with the name Gualgano da S. Apostolo Gregorio, considered him the cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, and put his office between 1188 and 1193.⁸

To unravel these rather uncertain identifications, we think it appropriate to start with the analysis of the titles of cardinal. As it could be seen, Chacon mentioned two cardinal titles in Gregory's case: that of the deacon of S. Maria in Porticu and of the cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia. As Chacon sees it, he obtained the former from Clemence III and the latter from Innocent III. As the cardinal assignments of the latter pope are documented better, it seems appropriate to fold it up proceeding backward. There were appointments of cardinals seven times between 1198 and 1216 (1198, 1199, 1200, 1205, 1211, 1212, 1216). As for Konrad Eubel's data we first meet a cardinal named Gregory in 1205, who gained the title of cardinal-deacon of S. Teodorus then.⁹ Apart from him Innocent III created another cardinal with the same name in 1216, who became the cardinal-priest of S. Anastasius.¹⁰ However, the pope 'inherited' several Gregories from the time of his predecessor, Clemence III. For instance the cardinal-deacons of S. Angelus, S. Georgius ad velum aureum (Gregorius de Monte Carello), S. Maria in Aquiro, the cardinal-priest of S. Vitalis, finally the cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu.¹¹ This list casts doubt on the identification by Chacon as two persons far away in time may have been blurred. According to the sources, cardinal Gregory having the office of the cardinal church of S. Maria in Porticu held this office until he passed away in 1202, thus it is not probable that he was the head of another church one and a half decades later. As for Gregory having the title of S. Anastasia, there is no information referring to his having other cardinal church before.¹² Gregorius de Monte Carello is also unlikely to be the same as our Gregory as he can be traced with data only from 1190 and nothing reveals that he would have any connection with other cardinal church than the title of S. Georgius ad velum aureum. Here further difficulties arise with the different forms of the name.¹³ About Gregory having first the title of S. Maria in Aquiro then that of S. Vitalis it could be proved that he was a certain Gregorius de Crescentio Caballi Marmorei.¹⁴ As his activity as cardinal-deacon can be supported with data parallel with that of the mentioned Gregory, it is impossible that they were the same person.

⁷ According to Oldoini, Gregorius cardinal-deacon appears in the following places: in the diploma issued by Clemence III dated on 15th of December 1187, on 23rd of June 1190, Celestin III on 23rd of April 1193, Innocent III on 6th of November 1199. [CIACONIUS 1677. p. 1139-1140.](#) (access: December 2, 2014)

⁸ CRISTOFORI 1888. p. 217.

⁹ H C I. p. 4.

¹⁰ H C I. p. 4, 39.

¹¹ H C I. p. 3, note nr. 19, 21, 23, 25.

¹² H C I. p. 3. note nr. 25, p. 51.

¹³ H C I. p. 4, 50.

¹⁴ See the study by Gábor Barabás in the present volume.

Yet the story does not end here. With an almost identical name form another Gregorius de Crescentio appears, who was the former's nephew. He was the one who Innocent III appointed to the title of the cardinal-deacon of S. Teodorus in 1216.¹⁵ It is worth getting to know him better because of the name form appearing in the Hungarian literature. Gregory was the offspring of the Roman family Crescentius, his father was Gencius Roizus, his uncle was the other cardinal named Gregorius de Crescentio.¹⁶ He studied in Paris, then entered in the service of the pope and had an important role in the papal administration in the time of Innocent III.¹⁷ The pope appointed him to cardinal (S. Teodorus) in 1216.¹⁸ In the time of Innocent III and Honorius III, he was the *auditor* of the papal curia.¹⁹ He got a significant assignment at the end of 1220: he had to proceed in the case of the North-East-European church, his assignment covered North-East-Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark and Sweden, the dioceses of Prague, Olmütz, Meissen, Lebus, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Schwerin, Kamin, the provinces of Lund and Uppsala.²⁰ In the April of 1221 he was in Bohemia and tried to arrange the conflict of the monarch Ottokar I and the bishop of Prague Andrew and examined the question of rising the bishopric to archbishopric. As for the first task he succeeded – in the March of 1222 he released the *interdictum* proclaimed on the country –, however, in the case of Prague there was no change. In April 1222 he had already been on his way to Lübeck, in November he held a provincial synod in Schleswig, on 22th of November 1222 he was dated from Ratzeburg. Afterwards he went to Silesia (Wrocław) then to Cracow, he was present when Ivo bishop consecrated the Church of the Holy Trinity of the Dominicans.²¹ From January 1224 Gregory was again in the papal curia as *auditor*. Last he appeared among the signatories of a privilege dated on 9th of May 1226, probably he deceased in 1227.²²

What hinders our clear-sightedness is that before Gregory the title of S. Teodorus was held by a cardinal with the same first name, Gregorius de Gualgano. This name appears in Cristofori's work²³ though it totally disagrees with the sources. Gualgano was appointed to cardinal by Innocent III (S. Teodorus) in 1205, then later between 1216 and 1224 he became the cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia.²⁴ He appeared as a cardinal-deacon for the first time on

¹⁵ MALECZEK 1984. p. 183. Eubel puts his appointment to 1205, though it is inaccurate, that refers to another Gregory, mentioned later. Cf. HC I. p. 4, 52.

¹⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI 1980. p. 107, note nr. 1.

¹⁷ MALECZEK 1984. p. 183. It can only be concluded from narrative sources, so his exact title cannot be given.

¹⁸ MALECZEK 1984. p. 183.

¹⁹ MALECZEK 1984. p. 183.

²⁰ MALECZEK 1984. p. 183.

²¹ MALECZEK 1984. p. 184.

²² MALECZEK 1984. p. 184; AUBERT 1986a. According to this author these data refer to Gregorius de Gualgano, though this is mistaken.

²³ CRISTOFORI 1888. p. 217.

²⁴ MALECZEK 1984. p. 151. Eubel mentions him with the name Gregorius Theodulus: HC I. p. 4, 39.

8th of June 1206, he was the auditor of the papal curia.²⁵ He was appointed to legate in Sicily in 1207, he was assigned to reach that Frederick II's vassals make oath of allegiance. We find him in Apulia in December 1208, he can be substantiated in Sicily first on 4th of September 1209. This assignment as legate lasted at least to the autumn of 1213.²⁶ In 1216 Innocent III transferred him to the title of S. Anastasia, he became cardinal-priest. In his last years he mostly worked as *auditor* in the curia, though once (December 1222) he appeared as *rector* of Segni. Some suppose that he was legate and *rector* in Latium and Campania between 1214 and 1220.²⁷ Probably he died in 1224 as his signature last appeared in a source dated 23rd of May 1224.²⁸ Gregory got connected to Hungary as well as the cardinal of S. Teodorus. He was the *auditor* in the legal case about the issue of estates in Somogy between the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma and the bishop of Zagreb.²⁹

Finally, it is possible to identify two Gregories theoretically. However, the cardinals of S. Angelus and S. Maria in Porticu cannot be considered one person as the title of S. Angelus was held not by Gregory but by a certain Bobo in the time of Clemence III between 17th of March and 5th of April 1188, while between 12th of April and 7th of December 1188 S. Maria in Porticu was held by Gregory, who appeared in the papal decrees between 9th of May 1191 and 10th of September 1197 in the pontificate of Clemence III. At the same time another Gregory can be seen as head of S. Angelus between 20th of May 1191 and 3rd of December 1197, they both were simultaneously in service in the time of Innocent III between 3rd of March 1198 and 21st of March 1202, furthermore between 11th of June 1199 and 1st of January 1202 January 1, thus we can preclude that the two persons were one and the same.³⁰

²⁵ MALECZEK 1984. p. 152; HC. I. p. 4. He thinks he first signed a papal charter as the cardinal of S. Teodorus on 1206 June 22.

²⁶ MALECZEK 1984. p. 152-153.

²⁷ AUBERT 1986a. In addition, the author records another legation in Bohemia and in Scandinavia, though these data refer to the previous Gregorius de Crescentius. MALECZEK 1984. p. 183-184.

²⁸ MALECZEK 1984. p. 153.

²⁹ According to Honorius III's diploma dated on 1221 January 2 Innocent III had earlier given order to the bishop of Győr and his colleagues to investigate as judges the case of the abbacy of Pannonhalma and the church of Zagreb about certain estates in Somogy and to make a report for the synod (1215, Fourth Lateran Council). As the party from Zagreb persistently stayed away, the abbacy took the case to Gregory, the then cardinal-deacon of S. Teodor, who heard the parties and made his verdict. SMIČIKLAS III. nr. 163; POTTHAST nr. 6466; ÁÚO I. p. 175-177. This case had to get to Gregory in 1215-1216 as in 1216 he became cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia.

³⁰ JL. nr. 536, 577; POTTHAST nr. 465; MALECZEK 1984. p. 93-94.

Based on this entangled summary there are several persons appearing in the period and bearing the first name Gregory:

Name	Title(s)	Year
Gregorius (†1202)	S. Angelus	1188–1202
Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo (†1202)	S. Maria in Porticu	1188–1202
Gregorius de Crescentio Caballi Marmorei (†1207/1208)	S. Maria in Aquiro S. Vitalis	1188–1199 (?) 1200–1207/1208
Gregorius de Monte Carello (†1210)	S. Georgius ad velum aureum	1190–1210
Gregorius de Crescentio (†1227)	S. Teodorus	1216–1227
Gregorius de Gualgano (†1224)	S. Teodorus S. Anastasia	1205–1216 1216–1224

We could see that the previous literature mentioned a papal legate named Gregory three times from the period between 1187 and 1210, or rather Fraknói brought the name Crescentius in the first case, Szovák mentions him as Gregorius de Chrescencius. The research connects him with the canonization of Ladislas I in 1192. Its source is the narrative by Thomas of Split about the history of the canonization, who thought that King Béla III requested Innocent III for permission and the pope sent cardinal Gregorio Crescenzi.³¹ In addition to mistaking the name of the pope, having Gregorius de Crescentius appear is also inaccurate, since he was not in Hungary in the time of Celestin III, only later, for the first time in 1199–1200.³² Thus the pope's delegate in 1192 was, as a matter of fact, another Gregory. There are three possibilities: the cardinal-deacons of S. Angelus, S. Maria in Porticu and S. Georgius ad velum aureum. From them the most probable is the second, Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu. Two reasons can be mentioned for this, on one hand that in 1189–1190 he must have been in Hungary, and in 1192 in Dalmatia he participated in a similar canonization case.³³ Let us see his career with more details.³⁴

Gregory came from the Roman Sancto Apostolo family.³⁵ Clemence III appointed him to cardinal in 1188, this is when he won the church of S. Maria in Porticu, and he signed a papal charter for the first time on 5th of April 1188.³⁶ We can find him in Hungary in the following year, we can date his

³¹ THOMAE SPALATENSIS p. 134, 136; THOROCZKAY 2016. p. 119.

³² See the details in the study by Gábor Barabás.

³³ THOROCZKAY 2016. p. 119.

³⁴ His prosopographic data is available on <http://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/195> – access: February 28, 2019.

³⁵ MALECZEK 1984. p. 93.

³⁶ MALECZEK 1984. p. 93. and 252. note; AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. His signature appears last time on 23rd of December 1201 so it is doubtful that he could really hold the office until 1202. HC I. p. 3, note nr. 1, p. 25, nr. 51; TILLMANN 1975. p. 383.

first stay here to 1189–1190.³⁷ The precise reason of his being a delegate is not known, but it is far too possible that his presence can have bearing on Clemence III's letter written to Isakios Angelos, the Byzantine monarch, where he promised help, mentioning that he persuaded among others the Hungarian king to do so too.³⁸ This time a papal decree reports about Gregory's activity. Béla III allowed before 1189 that the German *hospes* settled down in the time of Géza II could organize their churches under one chapter (*Landkapitel*). It seems that this fact was confirmed by Gregory on behalf of the Holy Father. Pope Celestin III's decree dated on 20th of December 1191 bears witness to this.³⁹

After it Gregory returned to the papal curia, his assignment as *auditor* (1191) proves it, and he had to scrutinize the dispute around the ordination of the canon of Narnia⁴⁰ with Albinus cardinal-bishop of Albano⁴¹.

³⁷ MALECZEK 1984. 93. and the earlier Hungarian literature (Fraknói) thought that he was here in 1192. SZOVÁK 1996. p. 39. thinks in 1188–1189. According to Aubert he got the assignment in Hungary in 1189 or 1190. AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. He similarly puts it in 1189–1190: TILLMANN 1975. p. 383, note nr. 163.

³⁸ "Isaaco imperatori scribit « dicto suo principes suos excitatos esse contra Saladinum: Fridericum, alterum imperatorem, Philippum Francorum regem, Richardum Angliae et Othonem Burgundiae; Guilelmum regem Siciliae, pacato a piratis mari, annonam ex Sicilia et Apulia profecturis ministrasse; Frisones quoque et Danos triremes quinquaginta et duodecim Flandrenses armasse, qui transeuntes in Mauritaniam et ad Africae littora flectentes, Saracenos magnis incommodis affligerint et Sylvinam urbem vi captam diripuerint; regem Hungarum Venetis pacem dedisse; rogat ut hoc bellum instauratum quibuscumque modis poterit iuvet »." – GOMBOS I. nr. 1615.

³⁹ See the charter at the end of the study (nr. 1).

⁴⁰ IP IV. p. 32, nr. 7; KARTUSCH 1948. p. 159.

⁴¹ Albinus (?–1197) was the cardinal-bishop of Albano from 1189 until his death. He wrote about the early stage of his life in his work *Digesta pauperis scholaris Albini* (LC p. 85–89.). According to this, he was orphaned at an early age, then his uncle, a friar took care of him. After his death, with a close relative named Richard (his brother?), the future bishop of Orvieto (1177–1201) he studied together (Anianae), until he was called to Rome to be a cardinal. Some considered Albinus of Milanese origin, or maybe the offspring of some significant family of Pisa, though based on his work it is more probable that he was born in the town of Gaeta. By any means, it is certain that his relatives provided him with serious support as his quick ecclesiastical career also shows. In Pope Urban III's decree dated on 29th of June 1186 Albinus appears with the title *magister*, he probably studied theology and philosophy, though it is not known at which university. First, he held the office of cardinal-deacon of S. Maria under Pope Lucius III from 1182 (4th of January 1183 – 13th of March 1185), then in 1185 he was appointed head of S. Crucis in Jerusalem as cardinal-priest. In 1186 he went to Verona for unknown reasons, then from 1188 February to 1189 May we can see his signature on the papal privileges. The first decree signed as cardinal-bishop of Albano was dated on 31st of May 1189, the last on 9th of July 1196. The time of his death is dubious, but it must have happened before March 1198 as then Pope Innocent III referred to the bishop as deceased. A highly-respected member of the college of cardinals like Albinus could hardly have stayed away from the course of events and thus from the papal sources. Probably at the end of 1196 but by 1197 the latest, he had deceased. In his career he was *auditor* in the curia, legate and papal vicar, he also participated in administering the financial affairs of the Holy See in Rome. He got assignment in connection with Sicily in 1188, when Pope Clemence III sent him with Peter the cardinal-priest of S. Laurentius in Damaso to King William II's court in Palermo. As in spite of the orders of the concordat of Benevento in 1156, the Norman monarch had not taken his oath of fidelity and vassal to the pope. The legates succeeded as proved by several sources. Albinus made successful

Then he got a new assignment from Celestin III and had to proceed in two cases of canonization in Dalmatia and in Hungary. Gregory's signature can be justified until 3rd of January 1192 in the papal curia, so he must have set off at that time. We can put the time of the papal assignment earlier, at the end of the preceding year (December 1191?) due to the necessary preparations. We can find him in the town of Trau (Trogir, HR) in the middle of April, as Peter the archbishop of Split confirmed Gregory's decision made in the case of the bishop of Trau and the local archdeacons in his decree dated on 16th of April 1192.⁴² This is when the canonization of the previous local bishop John happened, which Gregory took part in. However, we do not know its details, only one of the rhymed *officia* of bishop John refers to the cardinal's contribution.⁴³ We can think of March-April as in the days before 27th of June Gregory had to be in Várad so that he could actively participate in the canonization of Ladislav I. In addition, we saw that although Thomas of Split was mistaken when he made Gregorius de Crescentio appear as papal legate, but it may as well be trustworthy that Gregory – that is Gregorius de S. Apostolo – spent the Lent in Trau, which means that he had already been there on 11th of March.⁴⁴ Anyway, he must have been in Várad before 27th of June. Unfortunately, there is no appreciable, detailed source about the canonization and neither about Gregory's exact role.⁴⁵ This is why we cannot compare what happened in Várad to the cases of canonization in the mid 13th century with their settled procedure. In Ladislav's canonization there could be caught Béla III's pursuit of sacred legitimacy, just like Celestin III's interest in the cult of saints where his cardinals had serious influence.⁴⁶

negotiations with King Tancred of Sicily in Messina in 1191. We can suppose on the basis of Tancred's privilege issued for the town of Gaeta that Albinus was present then as a papal vicar in the kingdom (before Innocent III's pontificate the office of the papal vicars was not confined to Rome, the *vicarius* could substitute the Head of the Church appointing him anywhere and any time). It can be imagined that the preaching was also an important part of the office of a vicar (BLUMENTHAL 1982. p. 32). In 1192 he got the above-mentioned assignment as legate with Gregory. As Celestin III was forced to accept Tancred as William II's successor after Henrik VI's leaving, which means that the pope needed his cardinals' service. As a result the concord of Gravina was signed in June 1192. The two cardinals met with the king in person in Alba Fucente in July and accepted his oath of fidelity on behalf of the pope. Based on some later documents of Innocent III, it is known that in 1194 Albinus decided in a case of appeal of the archbishop of Milan, and in 1196 he made the ordination of Daniel bishop of Ross (Rosscarbery) and he was also present by the consecration of the Sanctus Laurentius in Lucina church. See MAŁCZEK 1984. p. 76–77; BLUMENTHAL 1982. p. 10–11, 18–33; MONTECCHI PALAZZI 1986. here: p. 626–628; KARTUSCH 1948. p. 79–82.

⁴² FEJÉR II. p. 279–281; SMIČIKLAS II. nr. 238.

⁴³ "*Joannem Gregorius optans venerari, per Martinum pauperem jussit praedicari.*" MARINKOVIĆ 2008; THOROCZKAY 2016. p. 121. It is interesting that in case of Thomas of Split he only shortly refers to his exemplary life, his writing, but does not mention his canonization. THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 76, 86.

⁴⁴ THOMAS SPALATENSIS. p. 134, 136.

⁴⁵ In summary: MEZEY 1980; FRAKNÓI 1901. p. 34–35 (Crescencius!); TILLMANN 1975. p. 383; SZOVÁK 1996. p. 39–40 (Gregorius de Chrescencius!)

⁴⁶ GOODICH 2008; THOROCZKAY 2016; SOLYMOŠI 2017.

The only Hungarian charter drawn up by him also described his activity, that as the continuation of a previous case he proceeded in the case of the foundation and legal status of the collegiate church of Szeben (Sibiu, RO). As we saw in 1189–1190 Gregory confirmed the institution founded by Béla III. However, the provost of Szeben claimed jurisdiction over all the German church, which interfered with the jurisdiction of the territorially authorized bishop of Transylvania. The dispute was taken to the pope and Gregory got the assignment to proceed with the case. The legate learned from the king sojourning in Veszprém that the provost was the church superior of only those Germans who made their settlements and their churches in the deserted, uninhabited area designated for settlement by Géza II.⁴⁷ Innocent III in 1198, then in 1231 Gregory IX also confirmed the decision of the cardinal-legate, which did not bring peace between the provost and the bishop of Transylvania in the issue of the former's jurisdiction and legal status.⁴⁸ Of course there is the question if this measure had been taken in the course of the earlier legation. Despite that the text known only from the later confirmations is undated, once Gregory himself referred to that the litigation arose in the time of his previous legation (*cum prius officium legationis gessimus in Hungaria*), then it got to the pope and after that the cardinal dealt with it. In addition, the bishop of Transylvania 'A' mentioned in the text can be identified with Adrien, who was the head of the diocese between 1192 and 1201.⁴⁹

We do not know when exactly Gregory left the country, but he was in the papal curia on 18th of January 1193 as the witness of a diploma issued there. During the year similarly to his Dalmatian and Hungarian activity, he participated in another canonization, the subject of which was Jean Gualbert.⁵⁰ He was active in Rome in 1196: Celestin III assigned him and the cardinal-bishop of S. Clemens (John of Viterbo) to be auditors in the case between the canons of Split and the priests of the town.⁵¹ Then the pope sent him as legate to the Marquisate of Ancona, he undertook to restore the territory for the papal state after the death of the German King Henri VI (on 28th of September of 1197). Since the king transferred Tuscia to the pope in his testament, though the text of the testament was not known at that time. As Celestin III wanted the Marquisate on his side, he wanted to secure the recognition of his power partly by the local churches, e.g. the bishop of Fermo, partly by Gregory's assignment. This task fell to Gregory who had to ensure the fidelity of numerous territories, the town of Perugia, Ancona, Rimini,

⁴⁷ See the charter at the end of the study (2).

⁴⁸ For this see THOROCZKAY 2012; KISS 2015.

⁴⁹ Based on RA nr. 152, 194; ZSOLDOS 2011, p. 89.

⁵⁰ AASS Julii, III. p. 337; TILLMANN 1975, p. 383; AUBERT 1986b, col. 1458.

⁵¹ SMIČIKLAS II. nr. 260; JL nr. 17404; ÁÚO VI. p. 189–191. Cf. SZOVÁK 1996, p. 39–40; RI III. p. 376, note nr. 4.

Assisi, Gubbio, Spoleto. He returned to the papal curia from this assignment on 23rd of December 1197, where he made his report.⁵²

Gregory probably took part in the election of Innocent III,⁵³ who appointed him to the *rector* of the Principality of Spoleto, then sent him to Lombardy as legate (1198): he presided over the synod of Verona where the representatives of Milan renewed their previous accession to the League of Lombardy.⁵⁴ He must have proceeded here in the case of the heretics of Lombardy, he prohibited that they get certain title.⁵⁵ There was an alliance concluded concerning the case of the German struggle for the throne in Lodi on 1198 December 28, though that time Gregory was not present as he had returned to Rome at the end of the spring.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, in the spring of 1198 the English King Richard I asked the legate to intercede in the case of the revolt in Piacenza.⁵⁷ Probably he proceeded in a case of a marriage in Bologna at the end of the summer, which he assigned to the abbot of S. Proculus and Lanfrancus, the canon of Bologna and which was brought before Innocent III.⁵⁸ The pope sent him to Sicily at the end of December 1198, he had to represent the interests of the son of empress Constance, Frederick and had to proceed with the country's affairs on behalf of the king's guardian, the pope.⁵⁹ In June-July 1199 he was again in Rome, then probably returned to Sicily, then in November again he went to Rome. On 24th of November 1199 the pope gave his assignment to Sicily to cardinal Cencius.⁶⁰ He worked as an *auditor* in the curia in the time of both Innocent III and Celestin III.⁶¹ He

⁵² IP IV. p. 4, nr. 17, p. 118, nr. 17.; JL nr. 17426, 17585; FRIEDLAENDER 1928. p. 106–107; KARTUSCH 1948. p. 159; MÜLLER 1950. p. 37; TILLMANN 1975. p. 383, note nr. 163; AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458; MALECZEK 1984. p. 93–94.

⁵³ MALECZEK 1984. p. 93–94; JL nr. 17585: “[Rainaldus de Celano] *qui in partibus vestris dilecti filii nostri Gregorii de s. Apostolo, s. Marie in porticu diaconi cardinalis apostolici sedis legati vices exercet [...]*”. FRIEDLAENDER 1928. p. 107 and note nr. 139.

⁵⁴ WINKELMANN 1873–1878. I. p. 342; TILLMANN 1975. p. 383; MALECZEK 1984. p. 93–94; AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. According to the latter he administered justice in the dispute of the bishop of Transylvania and the provostship of Szeben at the same time (1198). However, the decree of the legate was dated in 1189, Innocent III only rewrote it in 1198. Cf. FEJÉR II. p. 250–251, 333–335; FRIEDLAENDER 1928. p. 107.

⁵⁵ RI III. nr. 298.

⁵⁶ He must have been there on 1198 May 30. WINKELMANN 1873–1878. I. p. 342.

⁵⁷ Based on the letter of Innocent III written to the English king on 1198 (?) April 30, in which he asked the English king to ensure the estates of the merchants of Piacenza and Parma in England until they make amends to him and Peter cardinal-deacon (S. Maria in via lata). LI III EW p. 14; RI III I. nr. 121. See *ibid* nr. 3.

⁵⁸ RI III. nr. 362.

⁵⁹ According to the critical edition of the sources, the papal assignments, the notice to the prelates of Sicily were dated at the end of December 1198, thus earlier than the previous date of early 1199 accepted in the literature before. RI III I. nr. 570–572 (1198); TILLMANN 1975. p. 383 (1199); MALECZEK 1984. p. 93–94. (1199); AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. (1198). The pope sent a general mandate to the prelates of the region in January 1199, in which he mentioned Gregory's assignment. RI III. nr. 554 (557), 555 (558).

⁶⁰ AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. Concerning the person of Cencius, see MALECZEK 1984. p. 111–113.

⁶¹ For this see i.e. he proceeded in the case of Michael bishop of Faro's appointment to the archbishopric seat of Split in 1199 July. SMIČIKLAS II. nr. 306; ÁÚO VI. nr. 134.

appeared in a papal charter last time on 1st of January 1202, he might have deceased not much later.⁶²

Appendices

Itinerarium:

1189–1190: Szeben (Sibiu, RO) (?) – ?

1192: after 3rd of January – 16th of April: Trau – before 27th of June: Várad (Oradea, RO) – ?; Veszprém – ?

Charters concerning the legate's activity in Hungary

1 [1189–1190]

Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu confirms the foundation of the collegiate chapter of Sibiu.

Celestinus episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili fratri ... Strigoniensi archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tue devotionis fervorem, quam circa Romanam ecclesiam et nos specialiter habes, certis rerum indiciis cognoscentes, tuis desiderii duximus et petitionibus annuendum et tam in coronatione regis, iuxta quod in registri bone memorie Clementis praedecessoris nostri habetur inscriptum, tibi privilegium confirmamus, quam etiam regie domus officialium prepositos vinculo anathematis alligandi et in causis spiritualibus iudicandi plenam et illibatam tuam fraternitatem habere decernimus potestatem, ita siquidem, ut nullus Ungarici regni praelatorum, nisi tu solus, sicut etiam in regia concessa habetur, beatae memorie praedecessoris nostri Alexandri auctoritate ac nostra tue ecclesie confirmata, id praesumptione qualibet audeat attentare. Cum autem ecclesia Theutonicorum Ultrasilvanorum in preposituram sit liberam instituta, et eisdem, quibus [et alie] prepositure exemptae, libertatis [insignibus redimita, et eam] authentico scripto carissimus in Christo filius noster Bela illustris rex Ungarie studuit communire, quam etiam dilectus filius noster Gregorius sancte Marie in Porticu diaconus cardinalis tunc apostolice sedis legatus, privilegii sui munimine roboravit et apostolica postmodum auctoritas confirmavit, eandem institutionem ratam habentes, precipimus nostri registri serie contineri, perenni memoria duraturam. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumerit, indignationem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius noverit se incursum. Datum XIII. Kalendas Januarii pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Original: –

Copy: *Celestin III, 20-12-1191*

Reg. EO I. nr. 21.

Ed.: UGDS I. nr. 1; FEJÉR II. p. 276–277.

⁶² MALECZEK 1984. 93-94. By all means Innocent III's decree dated in 1206 says that he and Peter the archbishop of Split were of good memory. SMIČIKLAS III. nr. 52; AUBERT 1986b. col. 1458. says he appears last as the signer of a papal decree on 1201 December 23.

2 [1192]

Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu's decision in the dispute of jurisdiction between A[drien] bishop of Transylvania and R., provost of Sibiu.

Gregorius de sancto Apostolo dei gratia sanctae Mariae in Porticu diaconus cardinalis, apostolice sedis legatus omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos litere presentes devenerint, salutem et orationem in Domino. Ne quorumlibet sopite questiones materiam recidive contentionis invenient, quod salubriter et bene dispositum est, perpetuum debet stabilitatem obtinere et iuxta maiorum monita litterarum memorie commendari, ne processu temporis in dubiam questionem deveniat, quod definitive constat sententie calculum suscepisse. Cunctis igitur fidelibus volumus notum fieri, quod cum occasione huius verbi „desertum”, quod verbum est in privilegio gloriosi et illustris domini regis Belae, et nostro ad preces eiusdem regis impetrato a nobis et obtento super constitutione prepositure Ultrasiluae, quam fecimus, cum prius officium legationis gessimus in Hungaria questio esset orta inter enerabilem fratrem nostrum A[drianum] Ultrasiluanum episcopum et dilectum amicum nostrum P. prepositum Cipiniensem, pro eo, quod occasione prefati verbi prepositus diceret generaliter omnes Flandrenses ecclesie sue fuisse suppositos, contra episcopus responderet, dominum regem et nos intellexisse, de illis dumtaxat, qui tunc erant in illo solo deserto, quod gloriose memorie G[eisa] rex Flandrensis concessit, et de illis, qui in eodem tantummodo deserto erant habitantes, et eo processum esset, quod questio eadem ad dominum papam fuisset delata et inde ad nos remissa, utpote ad eum cui interpretatio prefati verbi domini regis mente et voluntate explorata, deberet esse certissima, prefatus illustris et gloriosus rex ad interrogationem nostram hanc interpretationem Vesprimii in presentia magnatum suorum promulgavit, quod non fuit eius intentionis tempore constitutionis prepositure nec postea, quod alii Flandrenses preposito essent subditi, nisi qui tunc tantummodo habitabant in deserto, quod sancte recordationis G[eisa], pater suus Flandrensis concesserat, et in eodem futuris temporibus essent habitaturi. Nos vero idem cum domino rege sentientes et eandem interpretationem habentes in animo, predictum verbum sic interpretamur, quod de nullis aliis Flandrensis intelleximus, nec alios prepositure supposuimus, nisi dumtaxat illos, qui tempore, quo ipsam preposituram constituimus, in illo tantum habitabant, et erant habitaturi deserto, quod G[eisa] rex Flandrensis prioribus concessit. Et ut hec nostra et domini regis interpretatio omni tempore plenum robur et firmam Stabilitatem obtineat, has inde litteras scribi mandavimus et sigillo nostro fecimus sigillari.

Original:

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Copy:

- 1) Innocent III, 15-06-1198, Rome
- 2) Gregory IX, 26-02-1231, Lateran
- 3) 18th century (DL 37051).

Reg.

EO I. nr. 22, 158; RG IX. nr. 559.

Ed.:

UGDS I. nr. 2, 58; FEJÉR II. p. 250–251; RI III. nr. 272. (2)

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