

**SPECIMINA NOVA
PARS PRIMA
SECTIO MEDIAEVALIS**

XI.



*Dissertationes historicae collectae per
Cathedram Historiae Medii Aevi Modernorumque
Temporum Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*

*A Pécsi Tudományegyetem Középkori és Koraújkori
Történeti Tanszékének Történeti közleményei*

Pécs, 2021

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PREFACE

The Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis now has a history going back over two decades. After twenty years, the dynamism is unbroken, as evidenced by the resumption of a good number of papers – seven papers and four communications, not to mention the traditional "additional parts" (reviews, related publications, contents of previous issues). While in the previous issue the staff of the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Pécs published on the occasion of the anniversary, the present volume continues the tradition of providing an opportunity for members of other research institutions to publish their papers. We are pleased to provide opportunity to our colleagues from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Romania and Croatia to enrich our knowledge with their papers. Also as an organic continuation of tradition, we are devoting publication opportunity to doctoral students, for whom it is particularly important to present their scientific results in a foreign language at the beginning of their careers.

The themes of the volume are as broad as the distribution of authors: in addition to the meeting in Spiš, we are given an insight into the papal representation in Hungary in the 14th century, the relations between the bishops of Rome and Bosnia in the 13th century, and the problem of Croatian noble identity in this period. Bosnia is also mentioned in another context, that of its patron saint. In the case of Transylvania, the importance of the late-medieval university period and of personal and family network is discussed by one of the authors, while another contribution looks at the specific features of the region's population. In addition to an overview of the activities of the collegiate chapter of Arad as a place of authentication, which once operated on the southern periphery of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, there is also a discussion of the echoes of the first partition of Poland in the English media of the time.

After a jubilee tenth volume, we offer the present issue to our readers in the spirit of continuing tradition. As a novelty, this and previous issues are now available on a brand new web interface, facilitating easy access of a wide range of up-to-date research (<https://journals.lib.pte.hu/index.php/speciminanova>).

Pécs, 20 December 2021

Gergely Kiss

STUDIES

Márta FONT:

Meeting of Rulers in the Scepus Region (1214)*

The personal meetings of medieval rulers were of great importance just like the political meetings of our present days. Yet, in most cases only the fact of the meeting has remained to us, without any information on the details, the persons present there, and the duration of the participants' stay etc. In this paper we intend to reconstruct the meeting and its circumstances based on the events prior to that and on its consequences.

Keywords: Scepus, Hungary, Lesser Poland, Coloman King of Galicia, Salomea



The medieval sources are laconic about the meetings even in the cases of the imperial court, where kings and princes met each other.¹ The case of the personal gathering of the Hungarian king, Andrew II (1205–1235) and the prince of Lesser Poland, Leszek the White (1202–1227) in the Scepus region (Hungarian: Szepesség, today in Slovakia: Spiš) is quite similar in that aspect.² The subject of the negotiation was the territory of Galicia, and in the end the rulers agreed upon a joint rule of the principality. Nevertheless, the content of the agreement is not known, we can solely rely on its outcome, the events of the next years.

The Background

The beginnings of the expansion of the Hungarian Kingdom and Lesser Poland towards their Eastern neighbours, the Kievan Rus' started under the reign of the forebears of the rulers, who shaped the history in the first half of the 13th

* The study is based on the paper presented at the MECERN-conference held in Zagreb on 12–14 April 2018.

¹ E. g. FONT 2017.

² ПСРП/І vol. II. col. 732; PAULER 1899. II. p. 54–55; WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 58; ПАШИВТО 1950. p. 200; PROCHAZKOVA 1998 p. 66; HOLLÝ 2007. p. 12, 14–15; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 171; DABROWSKI 2012. p. 83–84.

century. Andrew II's grandmother, Euphrosyne Mstislavna,³ came from the Rurikid dynasty, whilst his grandfather, King Géza II (1141–1162), had led several campaigns into the territory of the Kievan Rus', even if their goals diverged in several aspects from those under Béla III (1172–1196), who intended to conquer the neighbouring territories. Experiences from Géza II's time long predated Andrew II, but the memory of those campaigns probably lingered. The short reign of Béla III in Galicia (1188–1189) shows different kinds of political actions. He incarcerated Vladimir Yaroslavich, the Galician prince, and started negotiations with the Galician elite and the grand prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich. Vladimir fled from the Hungarian court, and returned to Galicia, where he stabilized his rule with the help of the duke of Cracow, Casimir II the Just (1177–1194), and the sovereign of Vladimir–Suzdal, Vsevolod Yurievich. This episode foreshadowed the later Polish–Hungarian struggles for Galicia.

Leszek's grandmother, Zbyslava Sviatopolkovna was also a descendant of the Rurikid dynasty, and two of Leszek's uncles wed princesses from the Rus' as well: Boleslaw IV the Curly married Verkhuslava, daughter of Vsevolod Mstislavich the prince of Novgorod; while Mieszko III the Old wed Eudoksiya, Daughter of Yury Dolgoruky.⁴ Leszek's own wives came from the Rus': the first one being the daughter of Ingvar Yaroslavich of Volhynia.⁵ In 1207 Leszek wed Grzymisława, the daughter of Yaroslav Vladimirovich.⁶

After the death of Béla III his sons fought each other for a long time: the conflict between King Emery (1196–1204) and Prince Andrew draw the attention from the expansion to the inner struggles, that is why the idea of a campaign to Halych remained in the background and unrealised. In Lesser Poland the sons of Casimir II the Just – Leszek and Conrad – were underage by this time. A certain part of the elite of Lesser Poland, among others Bishop Pełka of Cracow and Palatine Mikołaj served the mother of the little princes, who acted as regent, but it was not sufficient against Mieszko III the Old of Greater Poland. Leszek became the ruler of Lesser Poland only after Mieszko's death in 1202.⁷

Prince Roman Mstislavich had ruled between 1199 and 1205 not only Galicia and Volhynia, but he also controlled the river route along the Dniester down to the Black Sea, whilst his expansion towards the east had caused tension with the grand prince of Kiev, Rurik Rostislavich. Roman locked Rurik's daughter, his first wife, into a nunnery and married a new bride probably from the Byzantine Empire. Not satisfied with the struggles in the east, the Galician

³ FONT 2005. p. 138.

⁴ ПСРЛ vol. II. col. 313; BALZER 2005. p. 218–220, 281–285; DĄBROWSKI 2008. p. 192–207. (Verkhuslava). Balzer's statement was corrected by DĄBROWSKI 2008. p. 677–686. (Eudoksiya).

⁵ The Galician–Volhynian Chronicle reports on the marriage, see ПСРЛ vol. II. col. 720; Kronika halicko–wołyńska p. 18. Yet her name is unknown. For Ingvar Yaroslavich see ПАПОВ 1977. p. 177; For the two marriages of Leszek see DĄBROWSKI 2008. p. 334–338, 689.

⁶ Her name is known only from Polish sources, for instance, from the legend of her daughter, Blessed Salomea. See Vita et miracula sanctae Salomeae p. 776; BALZER 2005. p. 462–465.

⁷ SZCZUR 2002. p. 145–147, 259–261.

prince intervened on several occasions in the quarrels of his western neighbours, the princes of Cracow and Mazovia, which led to the local princes, Leszek the White and Conrad respectively to unite in 1205 and to turn against Roman and his expansion. The prince of Galicia lost his life on the battlefield of Zawichost as the result of this new conflict.⁸ The new situation was now ripe for the expansion by Cracow and Mazovia.

The right of Roman's children for succession was declined by the milieu after their father's death. The adult Igorevichs from Chernigov⁹ also claimed their right for Galicia based on their mother's descent, whereas Roman's distant relatives from Novgorod appeared as well, with favourable connections on the steppe: Mstislav, the Brave (Khrabry, Храбрый), and his son, Mstislav the Successful (Udaloy, Удалой).¹⁰ In this situation Roman's sons, or rather their mother chose the obvious solution and tried to make use of their Polish and Hungarian connections. The claims were all based on various titles; yet everyone was led by the goal of expansion, including the Cracowian and the Hungarian rulers.

The events suggest that the Cracowian duke and the Hungarian king were rivals after 1205 in Galicia, the "lordless" territory, even if they had to make compromises from time to time. Their shared priorities were primarily to strengthen their influence, and they supported Daniel and Vasilko while their mother acted as their regent (1205–1206). Andrew II came to an agreement with the sons of Igor (Igorevichs), who were given Galicia in return for a certain amount of taxes (1207–1210). Meanwhile, the child Daniel continued to reside in the Hungarian court. When the underage Daniel was enthroned in Galicia, the Hungarian–Polish cooperation reached a new level (1211, 1213), yet soon enough the collaboration faced hardships again. It became clear for both parties, as early as 1214, that the rule over Galicia would have been possible only as the result of a Polish–Hungarian cooperation, which needed a more solid foundation. For that purpose, the idea emerged to seal the deal with the marriage of their two children, Coloman¹¹ and Salomea, who were expected to rule in Galicia together.

The Date of the Meeting

The date of the meeting and the agreement of the Scepus region cannot be discovered in the *Galician–Volhynian Chronicle* or in any other sources, yet the

⁸ Medieval Polish texts provide a detailed narrative of this event. See: Długosz, pp. 192–197; For the relationships among the Polish princes see: CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 64–65.

⁹ The rivaling sides among the branches of the Rurik dynasties were the descents of Vladimir (Vsevolodovich) Monomakh and Oleg Sviatoslavich. Prince Roman and his son were offsprings of the Monomakh branch, and the princes of Chernigov derived from Oleg. One of the newest branches among Oleg's offsprings was that of the Igorevichs, and they were related to a certain part of Chernigov, Novgorod Seversky. There were several kinships among the branches at the beginning of the 13th century, still the names of the female members are mostly unknown.

¹⁰ РАПОВ 1977. p. 163, 182; ФОНТ 1993. p. 32–33; КОТЛЯР 2002. p. 118–124.

¹¹ About him see: ФОНТ – BARABÁS 2019.

year of 1214 is not disputed in the historiography.¹² A more precise dating is hardly possible and only assumptions can be made. The majority of the researchers assume the date to be the fall of 1214, solely Holovko disagrees, as he opted for a summer meeting of the rulers.¹³ The reasoning for the dating lies in the previous events and the later cooperation. Leszek was still fighting in Volhynia in the spring of 1214, whereas a united Polish–Hungarian force appeared in Galicia at the end of the year.¹⁴ The chronicles offer an intense narrative, yet it seems sure that weeks were passing by between the journey of Leszek’s envoys and the personal summit of the sovereigns. The realization of the agreement needed further time, and the joined army probably arrived weeks later in Galicia. Therefore, the meeting could have taken place in late summer or early autumn, while the campaign can be dated probably to the late fall of 1214.

The Place of the Meeting

It was convenient that the meeting of the Hungarian king and the Polish prince took place near the common border; it is similarly understandable that the sovereign of lower rank and of younger age, the prince, visited the older king. It is questionable where exactly they met in the Scepus region, or where they found an eligible venue (it might have been a royal residence) for the “summit meeting”, for the reception, and the catering of the king, the prince, and their entourages. The *Galician–Volhynian Chronicle* noted only the name of the Scepus region.

The settling of the *Scepus* region happened only in the second half of the 13th century, and it must have been mostly unpopulated in 1214. The lack of an established royal county confirms this statement, since all over the Hungarian realm royal counties represented the local inhabitants’ belonging to and dependence from the royal power.

The name of the *Scepus* derives from the Hungarian adjective *szép* (‘beautiful’), the variations in other languages were based on that: Latin: *Scepus*, German: *Zips*, and later the Slovak *Špiš*.¹⁵ The county of *Scepus* belonged to the royal counties, a kind of structure that first appeared there in the 13th century in the region. According to Gyula Kristó’s statement, in this area the counties were established only later, since records of the first ruling count, Denis (Dénes), son of Ampud, only appeared in the year of 1216; even so, the early structure of the castle is unknown. It can be assumed that the development started at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries from the

¹² ПСРЛ vol. II. col. 732; Kronika halicko–wołyńska p. 52–53; BALZER 2005. p. 482–483; ГРУШЕВСКИЙ 1901. p. 13; ПАШУТО 1950. p. 200; КРИП’ЯКЕВИЧ 1984. p. 89; STÖKL 1981. p. 500–501; FENNEL 1981. p. 37; p. 106; АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧ – ВОЙТОВИЧ 2013. p. 52–53.

¹³ WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 58; FONT 1991. p. 126; FONT 2005. p. 225; ХАРДИ 2002. p. 134; ВОЛОЩУК 2005. p. 98–99; HOLLY 2005. p. 7; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 171; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 83; CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 72; ГОЛОВКО 2006. p. 276.

¹⁴ ПСРЛ vol. II. cols. 730–731; Kronika halicko–wołyńska p. 54–55.

¹⁵ FNESZ p. 609; KRISTÓ 1994.

territories originally belonging to Borsod and Gömör (Gemer). At that time, Denis was also the count of the vicinal Újvár County, so it was reasonable to give him jurisdiction over the newly forming county as well. One reason for the separation might be the prosperity of the commercial road; as the data from 1198 shows, it led through the area called *terra Scepusiensis* (land/soil of Scepus) which the royal men took toll on.¹⁶ The next record concerning the tolls comes from the period after the attack of the Mongols (1243), and it secured the toll-free status of the noblemen of the *Scepus* region on the markets of Szepesváralja (Spišské Podhradie).

The study of Attila Zsoldos enlightens the special nature of the formation of the *Scepus* region, and he evaluates the remaining data in correlation with other counties. Zsoldos¹⁷ differentiates two types of the formation of the counties, the first group's character can be found in the close symbiosis of the county (*comitatus*, a territory enclosed by borders, in Hungarian *vármegye*) and the dispersed estate structure of the royal castle (*várispánság*), whereas the other type (the later counties) was based on the kings' personal estates. These were generally formed on the basis of the so-called forest-dominions (*erdőuraldom*), yet, the area of the *Scepus* does not fit into either group.¹⁸

Therefore, the territory's formation was still in motion in the first decades of the 13th century. It is uncertain if the royal castle's construction was already finished or even started, which could have been the location of the meeting. The first mention of the stronghold derives from a charter of Béla IV issued in 1249, so we can count with the beginning of the construction in the 1230s. The three-storey palace included an alone standing tower and a great hall at every floor. The halls (22x12m) were indeed of representative size. Slovak historiography states that these buildings were constructed by Coloman, even if certain investigations about the building-history are dating the whole castle to the second half of the 13th century. Archaeological finds suggest an earlier construction, yet, their interpretation is somewhat doubted. István Feld has summarized the history of the research in his recent study; according to him, the round building of 22 meters diameter with a middle pillar, situated on the top of the hill was originally a residential tower, and it was turned into a water tank only after the reconstruction of the building. Other scholars state that it was originally built as a water catchment construction. The latest Slovak research holds the tower as a residential building built in the late 12th century, whereas its first floor was meant to be a water tank. Martin Homza even stated that Béla III incarcerated Prince Vladimir into the tower after he fled to Hungary from Galicia, nevertheless, this theory is beyond the realm of reality.

¹⁶ WEISZ 2013. p. 370.

¹⁷ ZSOLDOS 2001.

¹⁸ For the formation of the territory of the *Scepus* region see KRISTÓ 1988. p. 393–395; ZSOLDOS 2001. For the first count (*comes*) see CDES I. p. 165; ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 205. Denis, son of Ampud held the titles of count of *Scepus* and Újvár, and he also bore the office of the master of the treasury in 1216. Later on, he had a main role in the Hungarian expansion politics towards the Balkans as the count of Bodrog (1220–1222), and subsequently palatine (1227–1228, 1231, 1234). See ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 295; RA no. 308; ZSOLDOS 2001. p. 30.

A monographic processing of the whole castle, which could clear the history of the construction, is not published yet. We can presume that the tower could have been a royal court-house, like a *curia*, as Alexander Ruttkay believes, and if not, there could have been a “court house without any fortification”, like on other administrative units on the periphery of the forest county (*comitatus, erdőispánság*),¹⁹ which was only suitable for shorter stays.²⁰

The first mention of the provost of the collegiate chapter of the Scepus region, Adolf, originates from 1209. He was given the estates along the River Poprad “to populate them with people”. The building of the provostry is younger than that; according to Ernő Marosi the construction started in the mid-13th century. Attila Zsoldos stated that the foundation of the collegiate chapter meant the occurrence of the ecclesiastical estates in the Scepus region at the beginning of the 13th century, whereas the royal donations presented the possibility for the appearance of private estates.²¹ Therefore, the beginning of the formation of Scepus (Szepes) County can be dated to the outset, whereas the construction to the mid-13th century. Therefore, the beginning of the county of Scepus (Szepes) can be dated earlier, while the construction may have started in the middle of the 13th century.²²

The Participants of the Meeting

The personal gathering of Andrew II and Leszek the White was prepared by the visit of the duke’s envoys in Hungary, namely Pakosław, *castellanus* of Cracow and Lestich.²³ From the Polish side, Pakosław must have been present during the negotiations, but concerning the Hungarian participants there is no solid record. It can be assumed, however, that several royal officials were accompanying the king in 1214. Among the royal dignitaries were Palatine Nicholas, who was also the count (*comes*) of Bodrog County, Marcel, son of Marcel from the Tétény genus, who was the judge of the royal court (*iudex curiae*) and count of Csanád, Gyula from the Kán genus, who was the voivode of Transylvania and count of Szolnok, and Atyusz, son of Atyusz from the

¹⁹ Forest regions overlapping the administrative boundaries of royal counties and administered by a forest count (*comes*). See FELD 2014.370.

²⁰ FELD 1994; FELD 2014. p. 371, 376–379; HOMZA 2009. p. 126–150; OLEJNIK – JANOVSKÁ – STEJSKAL 2015. p. 57. The volume unfortunately gives credit to Martin Homza’s statements concerning the Scepus region without criticism and consideration of the Hungarian historiography. See HOMZA 2009. p. 55–56.

²¹ ZSOLDOS 2001. p. 29.

²² RA no. 243; MAROSI 1994.

²³ “Lestich” is not a given name, but it derives from the word Lestco (the Latin version of Leszek), it is a “paternal name”. It was not used by the Poles, still, the eastern-Slavic chronicler could use it referring to a certain relative of Leszek. It would be logical to think of his son, but Leszek married his spouse only in 1207, and he did not have a son by that time. A mystical Polish king also bore the name Lestco (See: Magistri Vincentii Chronica, p. 18.), therefore the passage could be also interpreted as “someone from the family of the Polish prince”. The Polish sources mention only Pakosław, and the other members of the mission are not named. The name Lestich as an independent version can be seen in the name register ПСР/І vol. II, p. xxi. For the origin of the name Leszek and its bearers see CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 25–26.

kindred bearing the same name, who was the ban of Slavonia. The master of the treasury was Miska, son of Solomon, from the Atyusz kindred and he was also the first master of the horses which title only appeared in 1217. If we throw a glance at the location, it can be stated that the royal structure of the area was still in motion; from 1214 only the counts of Borsod, Újvár, and Zemplén counties are known (Jacob, Alexander, son of Thomas, from the Hontpázmány genus, and Martin). The first count of the Scepus region appeared in the sources as early as 1216, the one of Gömör from the mid-13th century, while Sáros (Šariš) was merely a royal estate (*predium*) at the outset of the 14th century.²⁴

The presence of Archbishop John of Esztergom (1205–1222), the leader of the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy, presumably provided an opportunity to play a role in the coronation of Coloman. Marcel, the judge of the royal court was probably there too, since his career started in 1206, right after the enthronement of Andrew II, whereas he also had an important role in the leading of the realm's military in 1211.²⁵

Denis, son of Ampud, also could have been present; his career started as master of the treasury and count of Scepus in 1216. It can be assumed that the events of 1214 promoted the formation of the royal county in the Scepus region. Furthermore, Demetrius of the Aba kindred and File (Füle, Filja), who both played later a role in Prince Coloman's rule in Galicia, were presumably present at the meeting. There are no possible participants known who also witnessed Andrew II's adventure in Galicia as a child. In the times of the campaigns under King Béla III, only Palatine Moch (Mog) held previously relevant offices; he was the judge of the royal court (*iudex curiae*) in 1185–86, and in 1188 he acted as the count of Nyitra [Nitra, SK]. At the beginning of Andrew's reign, he received the palatine's office for the third time (1206). Nevertheless, he had probably passed away before 1214.

The Agreement

The *Galician–Volhynian Chronicle* gives credit to Leszek for the idea of the dynastic marriage as the affirmation of the alliance. It is no wonder that Pakoślaw took an active part in the arrangements, given the circumstance that the agreement was favourable for him. The object of the bargaining was the Galician territory, yet Cracow had claim only for the vicinal Peremyshl and Liubachev. Those two centres geographically belonged to the watershed area of the river Vistula (the area of the rivers San and Bug), whereas all the other rivers belonged to the watershed area of Dniester. It is worth mentioning that Pakoślaw, not Leszek, got into the possession of Liubachev; this also indicates

²⁴ For the royal officials in 1214 see: ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 17, 28, 37, 43. For the master of the treasury, the master of the horse, and the master of the stewards see ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 56, 62, 71. For the counts see: ZSOLDOS 2011. p. 143. (Borsod), 205. (Gömör), 156. (Sáros), 188. (Scepus/Szepes) 217. (Újvár), 234. (Zemplén).

²⁵ ПСРЛ vol. II. col. 724; Kronika halicko-wołyńska, p. 32.

the influence of the so-called “Galician party”.²⁶ The Polish–Hungarian reign in Galicia was embodied by the children of Andrew and Leszek, the approximately six years old Coloman and the ca. three years old Salomea (she probably was born around 1211).²⁷ The agreement was theoretically perfect, but the practice showed its weakness, and several problems emerged. Mostly, they abandoned the previously used and proclaimed justification that the joined forces were only supporting the sons of Roman. This change of events was primarily dangerous for Leszek, who needed the Volhynian military force for his own purposes, yet Daniel and Vasilko supported by the local boyars could reduce the Polish influence there. The autonomy of the siblings was also damaging for Andrew II’s Galician chances, since this opened up an alternative from the Hungarian rule. The Hungarian army was significantly larger than that of Lesser Poland, therefore Leszek was almost forced to submit to Andrew II.²⁸ The prince intended to ease this pressure through the search of new allies.

The Consequences of the Agreement

Despite its pitfalls, the agreement of *Scepus* remained effective until 1221. Prince Coloman was crowned twice as king of Galicia with papal approval: first in Hungary at the end of 1214 or early 1215, and for the second time in Halych at the beginning of 1216. The latter was meant to demonstrate the Hungarian power for the local elite.²⁹ The wife of Coloman, Salomea probably arrived in Halych only in 1219, after the success of the Hungarian–Polish campaign. The young couple was imprisoned by Mstislav Mstislavich soon afterwards. Once released from their capture Coloman and Salomea did not return to Halych, they moved to Hungary, they settled first in the *Scepus* region and relocated later to Slavonia. Coloman kept his title as “*rex Galiciae*” even after his return to Hungary until his death in 1241.³⁰ Salomea was mentioned as *regina* in a papal charter.³¹ Nevertheless, this title was conferred on her as the wife of the king, regardless whether she was crowned or not.

The Slavic historiography mentions, based on Shusharin, that Andrew II’s purpose regarding Galicia was to form a personal union, as it happened in the case of Croatia from the late 11th century.³² Nevertheless, the parallel of the two cases is not only invalid, but also misleading, since Croatia began to formulate statehood already in the 10th century, and the Croatian kings received a crown from the papacy as early as the 11th century. The personal union between Hungary and Croatia was emphasized by King Coloman’s separate coronation

²⁶ ПСРЛ vol. II. col. 731; Kronika halicko–wołyńska 59–60.

²⁷ Vita et miracula sanctae Salomeae p. 776–777.

²⁸ ГОЛОВКО 2006. p. 281.

²⁹ FONT 2019.

³⁰ BARABAS 2017. p. 32–43; BARABAS 2020. 298–306.

³¹ RGIX no. 2126.

³² ШУШАРИН 1971. p. 143; DĄBROWSKI 2012. p. 84; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 172. (note 143) Nagirnyj has misinterpreted my statement (FONT 1993. p. 35) since the reference regarding the territory *banats* did not refer to Croatia.

in 1102.³³ The state of Croatia diverged fundamentally from that of Galicia, where the institution of the kingdom and its later tradition was established by Prince Coloman's coronation at the outset of the 13th century. The plans of Andrew II were rather similar to the Hungarian expansion and administration on the Balkans.³⁴

translated by Gábor BARABÁS

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³³ DHA p. 330; FONT 2001. p. 65; SOKCSEVITS 2011. p. 71–83, 95–105.

³⁴ FONT 2005. p. 267–268.

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Gergely Kiss:

„*Facultatem concedit conferendi beneficia*” Les étrangers dans les bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle*

Abstract

For a long time, Elemér Mályusz's thesis, according to which foreign clerics flooded Hungarian church benefices, enjoyed unquestionable authority in Hungarian church history research, and this phenomenon could only be stopped by the vigorous action of Sigismund of Luxembourg at the turn of the 14th–15th centuries. The present research uses prosopographic data of papal envoys to analyse this question for the first decade of the 14th century. The two papal legates Niccolò Boccassini and Gentile de Monteflorum, who operated in Hungary, arrived, like many other papal legates, with special powers (*facultates*) that theoretically provided more opportunities for foreign clerics to receive benefices in Hungary. The study examines the extent to which the two papal legates took advantage of these opportunities and helped members of their own families to receive ecclesiastical benefices here, and what was their proportion in all the households of the legates.

Keywords: foreign clerics, ecclesiastical benefices, papal reservation, Hungary, 14th century, Niccolò Boccassini, Gentile de Monteflorum



Le nom d'Elemér Mályusz est vraisemblablement moins connu aux lecteurs étrangers. Ces œuvres prenant pour objet l'étude le règne Sigismund de Luxembourg ont rencontré davantage l'intérêt des chercheurs actifs à l'extérieur des frontières de la Hongrie de nos jours¹. Pourtant, en Hongrie il se

* L'auteur est le chercheur et le directeur du projet « Papal representatives in Hungary in the XIVth Century (1294–1378) – Online database » (NKFIH NN 124763) financé par l'Office National de la Recherche, du Développement et l'Innovation. Il est également le chercheur principal du projet TKP2020-IKA-04 financé par le Programme d'Excellence Institutionnelle de l'Enseignement Supérieur National. Le texte cité dans le titre est une formule fréquente des autorisations papales qui sert à justifier la collation des bénéfices. Source : AAV Reg. Vat. 52, fol. 80v ; RC V. nr. 469. (21-12-1305).

¹ MÁLYUSZ 1990. Cf. le compte-rendu de Paul W. Knoll : KNOLL 1991.

tient un des « doyens » des médiévistes ce qui est dû tant à la richesse qu'à la variété de sa production scientifique². Mályusz formula plusieurs thèses influentes dont une était l'« inondation » des bénéfices ecclésiastiques par des clercs étrangers dans le Royaume de Hongrie³.

Cette proposition a été formulée dans son ouvrage écrit sur la société ecclésiastique hongroise au Moyen Âge, publié dans des circonstances particulières⁴. Bien qu'après sa première publication en 1971, il ait fait l'objet de nombreuses critiques⁵, certaines de ses propositions sont devenues des thèses d'autorité. Plus récemment, cependant, les travaux de Mályusz ont été remis en question, notamment en ce qui concerne la fin de la période angevine et le règne de Sigismond de Luxembourg, qui ont, entre autres, sapé la solidité de la thèse susmentionnée⁶.

Mályusz déclare que c'était un véritable « conquête » des bénéfices ecclésiastiques de la Hongrie par des clercs étrangers qui incita la réaction du roi Sigismond de Luxembourg à entraver l'extension de ce processus. Il formule également que ces mêmes années, à savoir le tournant des XIV^e et XV^e siècles vit l'apparition d'une génération des clercs hongrois munie de formation universitaire qui leur permirent de « reconquérir » ces mêmes bénéfices ecclésiastiques⁷.

On a le bon droit de penser qu'en tel phénomène se produirait sous l'effet du cours des événements de précédentes décennies, notamment à l'époque angevine en Hongrie (1301–1382), en lien étroit avec la politique bénéficiale résolue des papes avignonnais.

Pour ce qui en est, un autre auteur tenu pour autorité, Vilmos Fraknói souligna le caractère « modéré » des papes d'Avignon quant à la réservation et la collation des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie⁸. Plus récemment, Ágnes Maléth dépouilla de près les sources relatives à la politique bénéficiale pontificale et royale de la première partie du XIV^e siècle. Contrairement à l'opinion de Vilmos Fraknói, elle conclut que les papes de l'époque, en particulier Jean XXII (1316–1334), ont accordé une grande importance au contrôle papal sur

² Les publications de Mályusz sont consultables sur les sites des *Regesta Imperii* (http://opac.regesta-imperii.de/lang_en/autoren.php?name=M%C3%A1lyusz%2C+Elem%C3%A9r) et de la *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (https://data.bnf.fr/12172036/elemer_malyusz/ – consultées le 3 septembre 2021).

³ MÁLYUSZ 2007. p. 69, 97. Je me réfère sur la réédition de 2007.

⁴ L'auteur avait prévu dans les années 1930 la publication basée sur ses cours universitaires consacrés à la société ecclésiastique. Le manuscrit d'alors vit une forte inspiration de l'école sociologique de Max Weber. Après la deuxième guerre mondiale l'oeuvre perdit l'actualité pour des raisons politiques. Ces mêmes circonstances étant changés à la fin des années 1960, le manuel fut enfin publié en 1971, mais l'auteur ne mit au jour les références des notes et de la bibliographique. Cf. C. TÓTH 2017b. p. 11–16.

⁵ FÜGEDI 1974 ; MEZEY 1979. Pour le résumé des critiques cf. C. TÓTH 2017b.

⁶ C. TÓTH 2017a ; C. TÓTH 2017b ; C. TÓTH 2019a.

⁷ MÁLYUSZ 2007. p. 69, 97.

⁸ FRANKÓI 1895. p. 48–71 ; FRANKÓI 1901. p. 117–119. (Benoît XI), p. 139–142. (Clément V), p. 148–151. (Jean XXII), p. 169–170. (Benoît XII, Innocent VI), p. 278–280 (Grégoire XI) ; Cf. plus récemment : RÁCZ 1996. p. 60–65 ; MALÉTH 2020. p. 172–176.

la collation des bénéfices ecclésiastiques⁹. La question est toutefois de savoir si cette tendance peut être considérée comme ayant ouvert la voie à une véritable « inondation » des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie par les étrangers.

La présente étude ne peut entreprendre de répondre à une question d'une telle envergure dans son intégralité, d'autant moins que cela nécessiterait l'inclusion de la période postérieure à 1342. Par défaut des dépouillements systématiques des sources, cette telle analyse de la politique bénéficiaire des papes d'Avignon n'est pas encore disponible pour la Hongrie pour cette période. Pour cette raison, je me limite ici à analyser plus en détail une courte période qui, du moins en théorie, était particulièrement favorable à l'expansion des clercs étrangers en Hongrie.

Outre leur mandat principal, les délégués pontificaux (*legatus a latere, nuntius*) se voyaient souvent attribuer des pouvoirs spéciaux qui permettaient de garantir les conditions institutionnelles et matérielles de leur légation (conseil, personnel de bureau), de régler le cadre juridique de leur service, leur compétence en matière d'organisation ecclésiastique (réorganisation des institutions ecclésiastiques, questions des bénéfices, etc.) et, enfin, d'assurer l'application de certaines grâces spirituelles (indulgences, élection des confesseurs, etc.). Celles-ci dépassaient généralement de loin le nombre de lettres d'autorisation des papes¹⁰. Les membres ecclésiastiques de ces délégations, qui étaient souvent nombreux¹¹, cherchaient davantage à faire octroyer des bénéfices mineurs par leurs seigneurs, munis de ces pouvoirs spéciaux (*facultates*).

Il semble qu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle, les conditions étaient encore plus strictes. L'une des facultés de l'évêque Philippe de Fermo, légat *a latere* en Hongrie (1278–1281), témoigne que le légat ne pouvait pas simplement procurer un de ses clercs à un bénéfice ecclésiastique dans une communauté des réguliers ou dans l'église séculière. L'autorisation papale fixait le nombre de bénéfices à distribuer à 15, et le légat ne pouvait faire parvenir à ses confidents qu'un seul bénéfice par institution. En outre, l'avis de la ou des personnes qui avaient le droit de collation de bénéfice devait être pris en compte. Cependant, le légat ne devait pas tenir compte des règles internes de l'institution concernée ou de toute réglementation papale contradictoire ce qui lui assurait une liberté d'action plus large¹². Quant à Niccolò Boccasini (1301–1303), ses facultés lui donnaient une marge de manœuvre beaucoup plus grande pour faire parvenir

⁹ MALÉTH 2020, p. 172–194.

¹⁰ En comparaison : ce nombre (*facultates*) remonte à 27 dans le cas de Philippe, évêque de Fermo, légat *a latere*, tandis que Boccasini en avait 33. KOVÁCS 2019, p. 148–151 (1. melléklet nr. III/1–27.); MALÉTH 2020, p. 58, 64. et tableau 4. Quant à Gentile, la recherche compte sur 15 facultés.

¹¹ Les règlements conciliaires et les sources référant la cour des délégués papales y font références. Le canon 4 du III^e Concile de Latran (1179) décréta que le nombre des chevaliers du cortège d'un cardinal ne pouvait dépasser à 25 personnes. HEFELE – LECLERCQ vol. V, t. 2, p. 1091–1092. Deux autres règlements sont connus du XIV^e siècle : le décret de Jean XXII de 1316 (*Dat vivendi normam*) et celui d'Innocent VI en 1357 (*Ad honorem*). ZACOUR 1975, surtout p. 447–449, 453–455 ; JUGIE 1990, p. 42–43. Ces constitutions ne sont pas cependant pertinentes pour la période étudiée.

¹² THEINER vol. I, p. 332 ; KOVÁCS 2019, p. 148. (III/8.).

des bénéfices ecclésiastiques et donc des revenus aux membres de son entourage. Il pouvait en disposer pour un maximum de 100 personnes, mais uniquement des titres qui étaient soumis à la réservation papale. Pour ce qui en est, le quatrième concile du Latran fait l'office de référence¹³. Il en va de même pour le pourvoi des postes vacants dans la province et durant la période du mandat du légat. En outre, Philipp obtint la possibilité de transférer à une autre personne les bénéfices des clercs étant à son service dans le cas où ces derniers seraient décédés pendant la durée de son légation¹⁴.

Dans le cas de Gentile de Monteflorum, il est intéressant de noter que les recherches effectuées jusqu'à ce moment-là ont fait état de très peu d'autorisations spéciales. La liste des facultés consultables aujourd'hui assurant la distribution des bénéfices ne donnerait point l'impression d'un éventail des moyens étant à la disposition du légat, du moins par rapport aux deux cas précédents. D'après ce texte, Gentile aurait été autorisé à fournir à seulement 12 personnes dignes de la ville et du diocèse de Fermo et de la Marche d'Ancône le même nombre de prébendes ou de bénéfices. En cas où deux personnes concourraient pour le même poste, le légat serait autorisé à leur procurer un bénéfice canonial ou clérical dans une collégiale¹⁵. Il est difficile d'imaginer qu'au total le pape se serait contenté à fournir seulement quinze facultés à son ambassadeur, chargé d'une tâche bien plus complexe que les délégués susmentionnés. Et il est presque impossible que le pape ait accordé une seule faculté de collation de bénéfices, plutôt limitée, à un légat de rang cardinal muni de plein pouvoir. En fait, il devait y en avoir davantage, mais certaines d'entre elles ne peuvent aujourd'hui être reconstituées qu'indirectement.

Parmi les registres pontificaux, le volume 54, qui couvre la deuxième année de Clément V, s'interrompt juste au moment où les pouvoirs spéciaux de Gentile sont énumérés¹⁶. Cependant, la collection Ottoboni Latini de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, le volume 2546 contient une partie des registres du pape pour cette année-là : quelques entrées¹⁷, un index de celles-ci¹⁸ et même quelques documents de la première année de Clément V, mais le texte est fragmentaire¹⁹. Il est clair, à la lecture de ces textes, que la liste n'est en aucun cas complète, et il est raisonnable de supposer que des facultés de collation de bénéfices plus étendues furent procurées à Gentile qui resteront pourtant inconsultables dû au fait de la disparition d'une partie des registres du premier pape d'Avignon. Une preuve évidente en est pourtant disponible qu'on connaît grâce le mandat du légat qu'il adressa au 30 mai 1308 à Spalato à l'archevêque

¹³ HEFELE vol. V, t. 2, p. 1354–1358, surtout les canons 26 et 29.

¹⁴ MALÉTH 2020. p. 364. (tableau 4, III/22–24.).

¹⁵ BAV Ott.Lat. 2546, fol. 107r ; MON. VAT. I/2. 10, 1. jz (regeste) ; RC V. nr. 2284 (regeste).

¹⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. 54. fol. 152v.

¹⁷ BAV Ott.Lat. 2546, fol. 99r–109r. Les *facultates* se trouvent dans l'édition des registres de Clément sous forme des regestes. RC V. nr. 2280–2290.

¹⁸ BAV Ott.Lat. 2546, fol. 111r–112v.

¹⁹ BAV Ott.Lat. 2546, fol. 114r–125v. Dans l'édition des actes de Gentile ces *facultates* sont répertoriées par des extraits. MON. VAT. I/2. 10. note nr 1.

de Kalocsa et à ses subordonnés. Gentile lui-même se réfère ici à son autorisation générale de conférer des bénéfices ecclésiastiques devenues vacantes dans les territoires soumis à son l'autorité. Seules les dignités des chapitres furent exceptées qui sont habituellement pourvues par élection, tout comme les prébendes dont les revenus ne dépassent pas 10 marcs d'argent²⁰.

La mise en oeuvre effective de la faculté de conférer des bénéfices ecclésiastiques que les papes accordèrent aux trois légats pontificaux, Philippe, Boccasini et Gentile, montre un tableau plutôt hétéroclite. Philippe fut autorisé à accorder des bénéfices ecclésiastiques à 15 personnes, on ne dispose néanmoins aucun acte qui puisse prouver qu'il aurait profité de l'occasion. Dans ce cas-là, les facultés spéciales ne furent pas destinées à la collation des bénéfices éventuellement vacants, qui aurait été aléatoire, il n'y a pourtant aucune preuve que Philippe ait effectivement conféré des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie. Cela a été limité par la l'autorisation spéciale elle-même, mais l'attitude fortement hostile à l'égard de Philip n'aurait pas pu faciliter de telles mesures²¹.

Boccasini avait un champ d'action beaucoup plus étendu que son collègue, et l'environnement n'était pas aussi inamical qu'imposa sur son prédécesseur. En effet, l'acte de 1308, cité ci-dessus à propos de Gentile montre qu'en dehors des restrictions qui y sont prévues, Philippe a réservé à lui-même la collation des bénéfices canoniaux où le principe de l'élection ne s'appliquait pas²². Il est surprenant cependant qu'on ne connaît aucun cas où le légat pontifical ait effectivement exercé ce droit, bien qu'il existe des exemples où Philippe a profité de l'occasion que d'autres facultés lui ont assurée²³.

²⁰ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 11–13.

²¹ Philippe fut envoyé en Hongrie par Nicolas III pour y rétablir l'ordre public, l'autorité royale. Il aurait dû inciter le roi de normaliser l'état des Coumans, ce peuple nomade et païen. Une troisième objectif de la papauté consistait à l'introduction d'un programme de réforme des moeurs du clergé élaborée bien avant l'arrivée du légat. La légation de Philippe de Fermo a abouti à un échec général sur tous les trois domaines. Voir en détail : KOVÁCS 2019.

²² « [...] in singulis ecclesiis cathedralibus et collegiatis regni et partium eorundem singulas dignitas, personatus, canonicatus, prebendas vel beneficia cum cura vel sine cura, primo vacaturos vel vacatura, illis duntaxat dignitatibus capitulorum ecclesiarum exceptis, ad quas hii, qui preficuntur eisdem maiores in earum capitulis post episcopos existentes, habent per viam electionis assumi ; necnon singula beneficia et ecclesias cum cura vel sine cura, personatus et dignitates primo vacatura vel vacaturos, ad singulorum vel singularum personarum, conventuum, capitulorum vel collegiorum collationem vel quamvis dispositionem communiter vel divisim spectantia vel spectantes, quocunque locorum extra dictas cathedrales et collegiatis ecclesias in regno et in partibus supradictis extiterint, exceptis ecclesiis collegiatis et aliis quibus cura imminet animarum, quarum fructus, redditus et proventus decem marcharum argenti, secundum communem estimationem, valorem annuum non excedunt, conferendos et conferendas personis ydoneis, et precipue regni et partium predictorum, ut ad divini cultum nominis et devotionem prefate sedis inducantur attentius, collationi ac provisioni nostre, auctoritate qua fungimur, felicis recordationis domini Benedicti pape XI, qui dum in minori officio constitutus, in prefatis regno et partibus legationis officio auctoritate simili fungerentur, similem reservationem fecisse dicitur in hac parte, vestigiis inherentes, tenore presentium reservamus ». MON. VAT. I/2. p. 11 ; MALÉTH 2020. p. 62–63.

²³ MALÉTH 2020. p. 59–63.

La légation en Hongrie de Gentile de Monteflorum est sans doute la plus documentée. La mesure qu'il prit au 30 mai 1308 a résumé en pratique le cadre de la politique bénéficiale qui lui avait été accordée. Ces facultés s'étendaient essentiellement à pourvoir tous les postes vacants dans les chapitres cathédraux et dans les collégiales, à l'exception des restrictions déjà mentionnées dans le cas de Boccasini²⁴. Tenu compte de la mise en œuvre pratique de cette vaste autorisation, six cas viennent à l'examen. Il est intéressant de retracer leur carrière dans son intégralité, dans la mesure du possible, afin de mieux comprendre comment s'est déroulée l'acquisition du titre de clerc en Hongrie par un étranger.

Le premier de cette série est Gasparus de Montasia (ou Casparus de Montefia, également connu sous le nom de Monteffia dans certaines sources), un clerc²⁵ qui est mentionné pour la première fois dans les chartes de Benoît XI. Le 16 février 1304, il est nommé par le pape recteur dans les affaires spirituelles (*rector in spiritualibus*) de la Campanie et Martima faisant partie des états pontificaux, lequel mandat fut répété peu après, au 21 mars. Dans ces deux actes Gasparus est mentionné comme chanoine de Côme²⁶. C'est à ce titre qu'il fut chargé par Benoît XI, le 29 février 1304, de traiter le cas de Nicolaus, le scribe pontifical, qui avait été privé de son office de recteur de l'église Saint-Léonard par l'évêque d'Alatri²⁷. Il entra également au service de Gentile comme chanoine de Côme, et le 11 juin 1308, le légat lui confia la visite des institutions ecclésiastiques de l'archidiocèse de Spalato²⁸. Moins d'un mois et demi plus tard, il est cité comme témoin dans l'un des documents de Gentile²⁹. Au début novembre, il fut un des témoins dans le procès de l'évêque de Trau (Trogir, HR). Ces deux derniers écrits ne lui ont attribué aucun titre canonial³⁰. Le 6 décembre, Gasparus valida à Buda un acte dans le cadre d'un litige qui avait lieu devant le légat³¹, comme le confirme un détail du procès-verbal de l'enquête sur l'élection de l'évêque de Transylvanie, enregistré le même jour. Celui-ci précisa qu'il ne prenait pas part à cette partie du procès s'étant absenté à Buda³². En avril de l'année suivante, et à nouveau au cours de l'été 1310, on le voit à plusieurs reprises en tant que témoin et officier d'audience dans des instances judiciaires présentées au légat. Il y est systématiquement désigné comme chapelain du légat³³, sans oublier de noter qu'il avait une prébende canoniale dans l'église de Transylvanie. En juillet 1309 il est mentionné comme subdélégué de Rennerius dictus Zucyus de Tudercu que le même légat avait

²⁴ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 11–13.

²⁵ Cf. Annexe I.5.

²⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 76^v, nr. 310 ; RB XI. nr. 349 ; AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 110^v, nr. 470 ; RB XI. nr. 557.

²⁷ AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 93^r, nr. 398 ; RB XI. nr. 457.

²⁸ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 14–16.

²⁹ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 37.

³⁰ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 71.

³¹ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 131.

³² MON. VAT. I/2. p. 176.

³³ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 98, 157.

envoyé comme juge adjoint (*subdelegatus*) dans le procès de l'évêque Benoît de Veszprém et du couvent de l'Ordre des Chevaliers de Saint Étienne. Ici, apparaît pour la première fois l'office de l'archidiacre de Szatmár qu'il tenait dans le chapitre de Transylvanie³⁴. En avril-juin 1310, Gasparus, l'auditeur du cardinal et chanoine de Transylvanie, cet homme de loi (*iurisperitus*) intervint comme témoin et procureur dans l'affaire de l'archevêque Jacques de Gniezno et de l'évêque Johannes Muscata de Cracovie, ainsi que dans l'affaire du monastère de la Vierge Marie à Wrocław³⁵. Tenu compte de l'absence d'une promotion ou d'une pétition du légat, on ignore les circonstances qui lui ont permis d'obtenir en Hongrie ce canonicat et cet archidiaconat. Il est certain néanmoins que l'entrée au service du légat devait être le facteur essentiel à Gasparus à se procurer de cet office. Son nom réapparaît des années plus tard dans les sources papales. Le 17 août 1317, Jean XXII lui fit parvenir à une prébende canoniale expectative dans l'église de Cologne, et le pape l'acquitta de l'obligation à renoncer à ses autres bénéfices tenus à Côme et en Transylvanie. Le document nous apprend également qu'il était chapelain de Charles Ier de Hongrie, et que cette nomination a été faite à la demande du premier roi angevin³⁶.

En juillet 1310, comme nous l'avons vu, l'évêque Benoît de Veszprém et le couvent de l'Ordre des Chevaliers de Saint-Étienne se sont opposés devant le tribunal de Renerius dictus Zucyus de Tuderco, juge délégué du légat. Néanmoins, ce fut son subdélégué, Gasparus qui a dû procéder³⁷. Le nom de son supérieur, *de Tuderco*, parfois *de Tuderto* désigne sans doute un clerc étranger venant du diocèse de Todi. Dans un procès que eut lieu trois mois plus tard, Zucyus de Collatzone fait figure également parmi les témoins en tant que chapelain et familier du légat, qui ne pouvait guère être une autre personne³⁸. Les deux sources mentionnent ses bénéfices ecclésiastiques hongrois, la première lui attribue l'office de l'archidiacre de Gömör, tandis que lui accorde celui d'Esztergom. Ce dernier devrait renvoyé à l'administration du doyenné cathédrale, ce qui ne peut être autre qu'une coquille car le prévôt de la collégial d'Esztergom-Szentgyörgy détenait alors cet office³⁹.

Nous n'avons que de vagues informations sur la carrière ecclésiastique antérieure et postérieure de Zucyus, le principal obstacle étant que ces deux noms (Renerius dictus Zucyus de Tuderco et Zucyus de Collatzone) ne sont pas connus sous la même forme dans d'autres sources. À titre d'essai, j'ai rassemblé des clercs de nom similaire dans des sources papales contemporaines en vue de pouvoir reconstituer les degrés successifs de l'activité

³⁴ MNL OL DF 287826 ; AOkt. t. II. nr. 695.

³⁵ AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 102r-104v, 108r-110v ; MPV t. III. p. 129-136, nr. 131 ; MPV t. III. p. 152-153, 178-179, 185, nr. 133.

³⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. 66. fol. 189v-190r ; LC J XXII. nr. 4776. Il est à noter qu'en ce même moment l'archevêque élu de Kalocsa, Ladislas de Jánk et l'évêque de Bosnie, Pierre, les ambassadeurs du roi hongrois furent présents à la cour d'Avignon. MALÉTH 2020. p. 353 (tableau 3, nr. 6-8 sz.).

³⁷ MNL OL DF 287826 ; AOkt. t. II. nr. 695.

³⁸ MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 179.

³⁹ En ce moment le fils du citadin Laurence, Pierre le détint. C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 51, 75.

professionnelle. Deux indicateurs ont été pris en compte, le prénom « Renerius » (et ces variations telles que Ranerius, Ranerius, Raynerius ou Raynaldus) et celui du lieu d'origine probable « de Tuderco » ou de « Tuderto », à savoir « de Todi ». Cette enquête a donné le résultat suivant : deux, Raynerius Conradi Grassi de Tuderto et Raynaldus Carocii de Tuderto sont les personnes qui pourraient être indentifier au familier du légat Gentile de Monteflorum.

En mai 1301, le fils de Conradus Grassi de Tuderto, le chanoine Raynerius de Pise, est exempté par Boniface VIII pour cinq ans de recevoir les ordres sacerdotaux⁴⁰. Il est probable que celui-ci et Renerius soient une seule et même personne. Outre cette occurrence ce nom s'absente néanmoins des registres pontificaux des années suivantes, l'identification à Renerius reste par conséquent une hypothèse sans confirmation.

L'autre possibilité à rétablir l'identité de Renerius porte sur un certain Raynaldus Carocii de Tuderto. Le 24 octobre 1296, le pape chargea, entre autres, Raynaldus, chanoine de Poitiers de faire parvenir à Johannes Puzaroni de Clariginiano un certain bénéfice ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Spolète⁴¹. Le 14 mars 1297, il prit le même rôle, cette fois le bénéficiaire était le chanoine Bérengarius Regis de Saintes, qui obtint l'office de doyen dans le même chapitre à la fin d'un processus d'élection mouvementé⁴². Quatre jours plus tard, Raynaldus reçut un mandat similaire : il a dû procurer un bénéfice à Jacobus Blasii dans le diocèse de Todi, sans doute parce qu'il en était lui-même originaire, comme son nom y fait allusion. Ce même Raynaldus, intitulé « maître » obtint un paiement de la Chambre Apostolique en 1299. Le 15 novembre 1301, le pape lui confie à nouveau l'exécution d'une nomination à un bénéfice présomptif (*expectativa*)⁴³. Le 2 avril 1304 suivit une autre commission : cette fois dans l'église de Todi. Le texte précise que Raynaldus lui-même y avait une prébende canoniale⁴⁴. Le 4 juillet 1307, il reçut lui-même la permission de Clément V de transférer l'obligation de visite l'archidiaconat d'Ardin et de recevoir ses revenus en espèces. Le document contient également d'autres informations importantes : il avait une prébende canoniale à Poitiers en même temps qu'il détenait la charge de doyen dans le diocèse voisin de Maillezais, en plus Raynaldus y est mentionné en tant que chapelain du pape. Cette autorisation de Clément V nous fait apprendre une information particulièrement précieuse : de toute vraisemblance Raynaldus résidait alors à la cour pontificale⁴⁵. Le 30 janvier 1308, il obtint à nouveau un mandat du pape qui lui ai demandé de procéder à la procuration d'un bénéfice⁴⁶. En 1310, nous le retrouvons dans un rôle similaire : le 28 octobre Raynaldus, chanoine

⁴⁰ AAV Reg. Vat. 50. fol. 40r ; RB VIII. nr. 4088.

⁴¹ AAV Reg. Vat. 48. fol. 129r ; RB VIII. nr. 1436.

⁴² AAV Reg. Vat. 48. fol. 234v ; RB VIII. nr. 1832.

⁴³ AAV Reg. Vat. 50. fol. 70v ; RB VIII. nr. 4205.

⁴⁴ „In eodem modo priori sancti Donati de Tuxalla, Tudertine diocesis, ac Petro de Valengis basilice Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, et Raynaldo Caroci Tudertine canonicis ecclesiarum” (italique par G. K.) AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 173v ; RB XI nr. 955.

⁴⁵ AAV Reg. Vat. 54. fol. 126r ; RC V. nr. 2142.

⁴⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. 55, cap. 152. f. 29r ; RC V. nr. 2461.

de Todi et chapelain du pape, ainsi que l'évêque de Todi et Petrus de Viridio, chanoine d'Elne furent chargés d'assurer un bénéfice convenable dans le diocèse de Todi à un clerc local, Jacobus qui détenait en même temps l'office du scribe papal⁴⁷.

Ensuite, pendant près d'une décennie, Raynaldus disparaît de ce type des sources. L'identification possible à Rennerius susmentionné peut y fournir une explication plausible : il y s'absentait puisqu'il accomplit des tâches en Hongrie étant au service du légat Gentile de Monteflorum⁴⁸. Il réapparaît en décembre 1319, alors qu'il semble avoir cédé son canonicat de Poitiers à Aymery de Saint-Cyr⁴⁹. Sa démission ne pouvait guère être volontaire, puisque la lettre de Jean XXII du 26 novembre 1320 nous fait apprendre que Raynaldus avait été privé de son canonicat de Poitiers pour avoir négligé son obligation de résidence pendant plus de dix ans⁵⁰. Cela semble à nouveau confirmer qu'après janvier 1308, d'abord les services qu'il rendit à la légation de Gentile en Hongrie, ensuite, après l'achèvement de celle-ci, d'autres fonctions que l'on ignore pour l'instant, l'ont amené à ne pas respecter les devoirs que lui imputait sa prébende canoniale de Poitiers. Le dernier écrit qui cite son nom fut délivré au 24 mai 1328. En ce moment-là il ne était certainement plus en vie, puisque c'est son décès qui ont donné l'occasion de pourvoir de son bénéfice canonial et de l'office de l'archidiacre de Todi⁵¹. Tenu compte des infirmations susmentionnées et les parallèles éventuels de la carrière ecclésiastique de Raynaldus⁵² et de Rennerius – le premier disparaît du milieu du pape les mêmes années où le dernier apparaît en Hongrie au service de Gentile de Monteflorum – on a le bon droit d'identifier ces deux personnes d'origines de Todi.

La personne suivante est Philippus de Sardinia, qui était l'un des auditeurs les plus occupés du légat papal Gentile de Monteflorum. Les sources nous font apprendre qu'il est entré au service de Gentile en tant que chanoine d'Oristano, il procédait le plus souvent en tant qu'auditeur général, parfois comme témoin dans les affaires revenant à la compétence judiciaire du légat⁵³. Il faisait clairement partie de sa cour : familier du cardinal, chapelain et clerc sont les titres qui accompagnent le nom de ce chanoine de la cathédrale de Sardègne. On s'est servi de cette intitulation entre l'été 1308 et décembre 1310, néanmoins, il n'y a aucune trace qu'il ait obtenu en Hongrie une prébende ecclésiastique avant mai ou juillet de 1311⁵⁴, il reçut alors l'office de prévôt de

⁴⁷ AAV Reg. Vat. 57. fol. 261r ; RC V. nr. 6236.

⁴⁸ Cf. Annexe I, nr. 6.

⁴⁹ Le 10 décembre 1319 le pape autorisa Arnaldus, le cardinal-diacre de S. Eustachius de disposer à son gré des bénéfices des chanoines que Aymericus, Raynaldus et Bernardus de Cucinato détenaient dans les chapitres de Salisbury, de Poitiers et de Pise. AAV Reg. Vat. 70. fol. 239r ; LC J XXII. nr. 10711. Au 22 décembre le cardinal nomma Arnaldus chanoine de Poitiers. AAV Reg. Vat. 70. fol. 242r-v ; LC J XXII. nr. 10755. Cf. FEG 10 (Poitiers). nr. 205, 548.

⁵⁰ AAV Reg. Vat. 71. fol. 124v-125r ; LC J XXII. nr. 12660.

⁵¹ LC J XXII. nr. 42508.

⁵² Cf. FEG 10 (Poitiers), nr. 354, 111. ; BOESPFLUG 2005. p. 380-381, nr. 964.

⁵³ MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 175. Portant sur ces activités en détail cf. Annexe I. 7.

⁵⁴ La mort de son prédécesseur, Seraphin est attestée au 22 avril 1311. C. TÓTH 2020. p. 47.

Pozsony (Bratislava, SK)⁵⁵. Il a dû résigné de cette fonction en même temps que le légat est parti, puisqu'en 1314, Pierre détenait la direction de la collégiale de Pozsony⁵⁶.

Les données qu'on rencontre durant les deux premières décennies du XIV^e siècle renvoient certainement au début de la carrière de Philippe, puisque nous retrouvons son nom même bien plus tard. Dans les registres de la collection de la décime papale que l'ont établi dans les années 1332–1337, Phylippus de Sardinia fut répertorié au paiement de l'évêque d'Eger en tant qu'archidiacre de Nyitra (Nitra, SK)⁵⁷. Dans les mêmes registres il y a néanmoins une notice qui précise que les décimes papales du chapitre de Nitra ont été payées par l'archidiacre de Nitra, Sebastianus du nom, et le lecteur du même chapitre⁵⁸. Toutefois, l'apparente contradiction peut être facilement résolue, puisque, pour Philippe, la source elle-même confirme qu'il s'agissait du doyenné de Nitra de l'archidiocèse d'Esztergom. En revanche, dans le second cas les registres en question ont répertorié les paiements de l'évêché de Nitra, par conséquent il n'était point nécessaire de préciser que le clerc effectuant le paiement appartenait au même diocèse.

Par la suite, c'est dans une source datée vraisemblablement du 6 avril 1341 que nous rencontrons un certain Philippus Mameli, archidiacre de Nitra⁵⁹. Il est vrai que le nom est quelque peu différent, on a le bon droit cependant de l'identifier à Philippus de Sardinia. Ce nom particulier apparaît également dans des documents pontificaux en 1329. Ceux-ci le mentionnent volontiers en sa qualité de greffier pontifical, sans oublier la prébende canoniale d'Oristano⁶⁰. Il existe également un autre document de la période intermédiaire que l'on devrait attribuer à Philippe de Sardaigne. Le 10 février 1336, le pape Benoît XII accorda un mandat de conservateur de deux ans à l'archevêque d'Oristano, à l'évêque de Bisarco et à l'archidiacre d'Esztergom en leur confiant de défendre les droits de l'abbaye cistercienne de S. Maria de Padulis dans le diocèse de Torres⁶¹. Bien que le nom du dignitaire ait été laissé vacant, cette entrée relève sans doute Philippus, désigné ici « archidiacre d'Esztergom » par erreur, au lieu de Nitra. Outre la notice des registres susmentionnée, Benoît XII s'est adressé également au prélat de l'archevêché d'Oristano, et Philippe y avait un bénéfice canonial dans le chapitre cathédral. L'autre destinataire du mandat du pape était un autre prélat de l'église de Sardaigne, tout comme l'institution ayant obtenu la protection juridique située dans un autre diocèse de l'île. Ces

⁵⁵ AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 373r–380v ; MPV t. III. p. 185–196, nr. 134. ; AOkt. t. III. nr. 62. ; MNL OL DF 238652 ; AOkt. t. III. nr. 119. Cf. C. TóTH 2020. p. 47.

⁵⁶ C. TóTH 2020. p. 47.

⁵⁷ „[...] nomine Phylippi de Sardinia archidyaconi Nitriensisi dyocesis Strigoniensis [...]”. MON. VAT. I/1. p. 215.

⁵⁸ „Item capitulum Nitirensis [...] solvit per Sebastianum archidyaconum et per lectorem.” MON. VAT. I/1. p. 187.

⁵⁹ MES t. III. p. 418. L'édition note que la charte fut issue vers (*circa*) 1341. Cf. MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 175.

⁶⁰ LC J XXII. nr. 45490, 45491, 45511.

⁶¹ AAV. Reg. Vat., vol. 121, fol. 32v ; MNL OL DF 291695 ; AOkt. t. XX. nr. 50. ; LC B XII. nr. 3242.

informations vont toutes dans la même direction et permettent d'en conclure que les deux personnes – Philippe de Sardaigne et l'« archidiacre d'Esztergom », en fait celui de Nitra – étaient identiques.

L'autorisation qu'on vient de citer suggère également que Philippe résidait dans la curie papale au moment de ce mandat, en 1336. Ceci semble contredire les informations des registres de la collection de la décime papale selon lesquelles il a payé au nom de l'évêque d'Eger. C'est précisément de la cour d'Avignon que l'évêque d'Eger, Nicolas de Dörögd est revenu juste après la fin du mois de mars 1331⁶², et il est fort possible que Philippe est venu en Hongrie avec les collecteurs de dîmes pontificaux. La notice mentionnant son nom apparaît avant la section enregistrant les décimes de la deuxième année et des années suivantes, on a donc toute raison de formuler que son arrivée dans le royaume tombe sur 1332 ou au plus tard sur l'année suivante. , Ensuite Philippus est certainement retourné à la cour papale et y reçut la commission de conservateur en 1336. De même, le document déjà mentionné à la cour d'Avignon. Celui-ci nous apprend que c'était Nicolaus Petri de Agria s'est engagé de payer la dette de 160 forints de Pierre, l'ancien prévôt de la collégiale d'Esztergom-Szenttamás. Or ce Nicolaus substituait Philippus Mameli pour ce qui en est ses devoirs dans l'archidiaconat de Nyitra. Quant à Pierre son gouvernement à la tête de la collégiale d'Esztergom-Szenttamás est attesté pour 1337–1338, par contre en 1340 c'est son successeur Jacques qui est répertorié. Pierre était également l'administrateur du doyenné de Nitra⁶³, ce qui suggère qu'il a géré cette circonscription ecclésiastique en remplaçant Philippe. Et c'est justement par sa présence à la curie pontificale que se justifie son absence dans le doyenné.

Vannes, également connu sous le nom de Johannes de Aretio, apparaît très tôt, à l'été de 1308, dans l'entourage du légat pontifical Gentile. Sa relation étroite avec le légat se reflète souvent dans le vocabulaire des sources, où les titres de chapelain, clerc et familier du légat accompagnent le plus souvent accompagnent le nom de Vannes. En plus, les mêmes sources n'oublient pas de mentionner (du moins jusqu'en juillet 1310) le bénéfice canonial qu'il avait dans le chapitre d'Osimo⁶⁴. En avril-mai 1311, il procède, cette fois-ci en tant que chanoine de Várad (Oradea, RO), avec le prévôt de la collégiale d'Esztergom-Szentgyörgy, Pierre et Albertinus de Parma, l'archidicacre de Dubica. Dans ce cas les mandatés obtinrent du pape une charge d'exécuteur de la prébende canoniale de Jean de Milisin à Pozsony⁶⁵. Le cas lui-même mérite l'attention, puisque, comme le montre le document du 7 avril 1311, c'est grâce à l'intervention du légat Gentile que Jean de Milisin, son *familiaris* reçut le

⁶² MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 150.

⁶³ C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 62–63.

⁶⁴ Voir en détail : Annexe I, nr. 8.

⁶⁵ PÓR 1886. p. 198–202, nr. III–IV.

bénéfice canoniale dans la collégiale de Pozsony. Il est vrai néanmoins, ce Jean n'était certainement pas un clerc étranger⁶⁶.

Le co-exécuter de Vannes, Albertinus de Parma était, lui aussi un homme de droit préoccupé de la cour judiciaire du légat Gentile. Et il fait également partie des clercs étrangers de la cour du légat qui détenait un bénéfice ecclésiastique en Hongrie. Il est mentionné archidiacre de Dubica pour la première fois le 5 mai 1309, puis le 22 mai 1311⁶⁷, tandis que dans les autres procès dans lesquelles il intervint, soit comme témoin, soit comme auditeur, soit encore comme notaire ou exécuter, il est souvent désigné comme notaire impérial et pontifical⁶⁸.

Enfin, et surtout, n'oublions pas de rappeler un certain Sanctus ou Santius parmi les familiers de Gentile qui avaient également un bénéfice ecclésiastique en Hongrie. Entre le milieu de l'été 1308 et juillet 1309, il apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans le procès qui aurait dû mettre terme aux différentes compétitions du siège épiscopal de Transylvanie. Il y apparut tantôt témoin ou procureur, tantôt auditeur ou exécuter. Une de ces sources nous apprend qu'il était chapelain du cardinal,⁶⁹ mais rien n'indique qu'il avait un bénéfice ecclésiastique quelconque à l'étranger, il est donc fort probable qu'il était un des rares clercs hongrois de la cour du légat.

Les six cas étudiés deviennent extrêmement intéressants lorsqu'ils sont comparés au nombre total de membres de la cour de Gentile, en particulier les clercs⁷⁰. Sur les plus de soixante personnes identifiées comme membres de sa famille pendant le séjour du légat en Hongrie, environ la moitié, soit 28, furent des clercs⁷¹. Un peu plus d'un cinquième (21%) de ces ecclésiastiques détenaient également un bénéfice ecclésiastique en Hongrie. Néanmoins, cette proportion est à légèrement baisser car Sanctus (ou Santius) se range davantage parmi les familiers clercs non-étrangers du légat. En fait, le nombre des cas où un familier clerc de Gentile avait une prébende quelconque en Hongre se réduit à cinq, soit 17,8% des 28 ecclésiastiques qui rendaient service au cardinal-légat en Hongrie. Pour en conclure, ces cinq personnes obtinrent de toute vraisemblance leur bénéfices en Hongrie grâce à l'intervention de Gentile, même si on ignore les détails de celle-ci, à l'exception des quelques analogies, comme dans le cas de János de Milisin ou et de Sanctus en Hongrie. Quoiqu'il en soit, cette proportion s'avère extrêmement bas au regard de l'étendue des facultés (*facultates*) dont disposait Gentile de Monteflorum, ce légat *a latere* du pape⁷².

À ce stade de l'étude, il convient d'étendre l'horizon de l'analyse vers d'autres clercs étrangers qui même s'ils ne furent rattachées ni à la cour

⁶⁶ C. TÓTH 2020. p. 73 et note nr. 578.

⁶⁷ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 267 ; PÓR 1886. p. 198–202, nr. III–IV ; AOkt. t. III. nr. 38, 65.

⁶⁸ Voir en détail : Annexe I. 9.

⁶⁹ MON. VAT. I/2. p. 267.

⁷⁰ Voir les données dans l'Annex II !

⁷¹ Annexe II. 1–28.

⁷² La proportion des bénéfices distribués par Gentile en Pologne pourrait modifier cette image, une telle analyse dépasserait les cadres de l'étude actuelle.

légataire de Boccasini ou de Gentile, ils ont néanmoins acquis des bénéfices en Hongrie dans les deux premières décennies du XIV^e siècle. Ce groupe n'est pas non plus négligeable, puisqu'il représente un nombre presque égal à celui du groupe qu'on est venu d'étudier.

Ils sont au nombre de cinq, dont les trois premiers sont liés au même office ecclésiastique, à savoir au doyenné de Nógrád de l'archidiocèse d'Esztergom. C'est un certain Bittinus de Coneglano qui est le premier parmi eux. Nous le rencontrons pour la première fois le 16 janvier 1304. Il fut un des trois exécuteurs (l'évêque et le prévôt de Trévise) qui ont procédé dans l'affaire de la prébende de Trente prévue au chanoine Petrus Leonardi de Garbo de Trévise⁷³. Un peu plus d'un mois plus tard, le 22 février, Benoît XI dépêcha trois conservateurs dans le diocèse de Vicenza : Bittinus, l'abbé de Sainte-Justine de Padoue et l'évêque de Milan⁷⁴. Le 17 mars, Bittinus réapparaît, cette fois en compagnie du prévôt du chapitre cathédral d'Esztergom, Teofil du nom : il se sont engagés au nom de Michel, l'archevêque d'Esztergom de payer les taxes établis sur les revenus de l'archidiocèse. Il va de soi que le document le désigne chapelain de pape, mais un office lié à l'église de Hongrie, le doyenné de Nógrád y fait figure également⁷⁵. L'obtention de ce dernier est due de toute vraisemblance au fait que la prébende était vacante.

On ignore les circonstances exactes de cette nomination, il est sûr cependant l'explication nous renvoie au problème de l'influence éventuelle des papes sur la collation des bénéfices. S'agit-il une réservation pontificale dû au fait que le prédécesseur de Bittinus aurait résigné devant le pape ou bien il aurait été mort dans la cour pontificale ? Ce prédécesseur, Jean du nom détint le doyenné de Nógrád entre 1296 et 1298, il était le chancelier de l'archevêque d'Esztergom⁷⁶. Ce dernier, Gergely de Bicske fut élu au siège archiepiscopal aux mois de janvier-février de 1298. Boniface refusa néanmoins de le confirmer pour avoir confronter le roi et les prélats hongrois en tant que partisan de la cause des Angevins de Naples qui ont réclamer le trône hongrois dès 1290, la mort de Ladislas IV⁷⁷. En ne confirmant pas Bicskei, comme on le sait, Boniface VIII souhaitait promouvoir l'arbitrage papal sur le trône hongrois⁷⁸. Le tour du destin voulait que le pape et le prélat hongrois trouvent tous les deux la mort à Anagni. Cela donna une puissante influence à Boccasini, l'ancien légat papal en Hongrie, qui monta sur le trône papal à l'automne 1303 sous le nom de Benoît XI. Le successeur de Boniface VIII n'hésita pas d'exercer le droit de nommer un

⁷³ AAV Reg. Vat. 51, nr. 248, fol. 64v ; RB XI. nr. 284 ; MANTESE 1954. p. 326 (sans date).

⁷⁴ AAV Reg. Vat. 51, nr. 405, fol. 94v ; RB XI. nr. 467 ; MANTESE 1954. p. 326.

⁷⁵ RC V Appendices 202 : 2. jz. ; CAMERALIA II. 1407. sz. Toute ambiguïté est exclue car, il est mentionné dans la source sous la forme qui suit : „dominus Bitinus de Coneglano, archidiaconus Neugradiensis in ecclesia Strigoniensi, domini pape capellanus”. Concernant le prévôte de la collégiale d'Esztergom-Szentgyörgy, Teofil, voir. CAMERALIA t. I. nr. 3 ; C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 52.

⁷⁶ C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 89.

⁷⁷ Cf. SZENDE 2003.

⁷⁸ KISS 2018 ; MALÉTH 2020. p. 143–150.

nouvel archevêque à Esztergom : notamment Nicolas *de genere* Bő qui reçut cet office vacant au 31 mars 1304⁷⁹.

Le 30 mai 1304, le pape accorde à Bittinus la permission de jouir de l'intégralité des revenus de ses bénéfices ecclésiastiques en considérant les services qu'il rend au pape à la cour d'Avignon ou ailleurs⁸⁰. Il est difficile de répondre à la question quels étaient ces prébendes, puisqu'il y est mentionné « seulement » comme chapelain du pape. Il est cependant intéressant de noter que les lettres pontificales accompagnant cette faculté ont été adressées au prévôt de l'église Saint-Martin de Trévis, au doyen de Concordia, et au chapelain de pape, Castellanus de Salomone, chanoine d'Arras. Il n'est donc pas exclu que Bittinus avait une prébende dans chacune de ces églises. Le doyenné de Nógrád devait sans doute y faire figure, comme en témoigne l'obligation de paiement susmentionnée qu'il fit au nom de l'archevêque d'Esztergom avec son collègue, le prévôt du chapitre cathédral de l'archidiocèse. De même, le 17 décembre 1305 Bittinus est à nouveau nommé chapelain du pape et archidiaque de Nógrád : il fut chargé d'exécuter l'octroi d'un bénéfice canonial à Lérída⁸¹.

À première vue, il serait difficile de relier les données ci-dessus à un quelconque mandat de légat en Hongrie, puisque la légation de Boccasini avait déjà pris fin au printemps 1303. Pourtant, les indices ne laissent pas d'ambiguïtés c'est par l'intervention de l'ancien légat *a latere* de Boniface VIII, le pape Benoît XI que Bittinus reçut son bénéfice dans l'église hongroise. Un de ces indices est que le pape confia, dès le début de l'année 1304 le cas d'un chanoine de Trévis à Bittinus. Ce même cité épiscopal était la ville natale tant pour Benoît XI qu'Altegradus de Lendenaria qui avait des relations étroites avec lui pendant et après son séjour en Hongrie. C'est qu'Altegradus était l'administrateur général et chancelier de Boccasini, avant de monter au siège épiscopal de Vicence par l'intervention de ce même pape⁸². Or, c'est également Benoît XI qui a nommé Bittinus conservateur de Vicence jusqu'au moment de la consécration d'Altegradus, et il est exclu que ce serait une simple coïncidence. De plus, ce n'est point du hasard qu'un autre membre de la famille de Boccasini, Nicolaus Raynerii de Interamne, obtint un canonicat dans l'église de Trévis⁸³.

Ce sont deux clercs florentins qui ont suivi Bittinus dans le doyenné de Nógrád : Thomas de Frescobaldis de Florentia entre 1309 et 1311, ensuite Hugolinus Tadei de Frescobaldis⁸⁴. Le premier est mentionné dans les sources dès 1306, lorsqu'il a payé le *servitium* à Avignon au nom de l'archevêque Berardus de Salerne ; cette source nous apprend également que Thomas était le camérier du cardinal-diaque de S. Angelus, l'archevêque Landulfus de

⁷⁹ BEKE 2003, p. 144.

⁸⁰ AAV Reg. Vat. 51, fol. 166r ; RB XI. nr. 907.

⁸¹ AAV Reg. Vat. 52, fol. 26v ; RC V. nr. 161.

⁸² Cf. KISS 2019.

⁸³ MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 155.

⁸⁴ MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 64, 201.

Naples⁸⁵. Thomas fut chargé à deux reprises entre 1309 et 1311 : une fois il a procédé comme exécuteur testamentaire l'autre fois en tant que juge délégué du pape. Dans ces cas sont toujours mentionnées tant la fonction qu'il détenait auprès du cardinal que celle du doyenné de Nógrád⁸⁶. Thomas est mort dans la cour pontificale avant le 15 mai 1311, par conséquent le droit de collation du bénéfice revint à Clément V. Une fois la réservation effectuée par Landulfus susmentionné, le pape a accordé le doyenné de Nógrád à Hugolinus, un autre camérier du même cardinal. Il va de soi que ce dernier faisait office de l'intervenant, qui, à plusieurs reprises entre 1305 et 1312, a aidé des membres de sa famille à obtenir des bénéfices⁸⁷.

L'influence décisive des cardinaux, même pour obtenir une prébende en Hongrie, est bien illustrée par le cas de Robertus de Condeco. Le 19 juillet 1311, Stephanus de Suisy, cardinal-prêtre de S. Ciriacus in Thermis⁸⁸ obtint de Clément V la permission de pourvoir le doyenné de Bars (archidiocèse d'Esztergom). L'ancien archidiacre, Robertus démissionna devant le Siège apostolique et le pape autorisa de son côté le cardinal de procurer le bénéfice à une autre personne appropriée, même si celle-ci disposait d'autres bénéfices ecclésiastiques⁸⁹. On est bien renseigné de la période durant laquelle Robertus a géré le doyenné de Bars : en 1309 son prédécesseur Nicolas, tandis que son successeur Damien est répertorié de 1316⁹⁰.

Ce n'est pas la première occasion où les chemins de Robertus et du cardinal se croisèrent : le premier appartenait à la famille cardinalice bien avant sa résignation. Le 29 octobre 1305, avant de partir en légation en France, Stephanus obtint, entre autres la faculté de nommer des clercs aux bénéfices vacants par démission et d'attribuer à ses chapelains les prébendes des chapitres cathédraux et des collégiales libérés par la mort d'autres clercs⁹¹. Ensuite, apprend-on d'un écrit de Clément V également daté du 19 juillet 1311, que Robertus de Condeco a résigné devant le cardinal le bénéfice canonial de l'église de Saint-Satur à Sancerre (diocèse de Bourges), dont la collation, ainsi que celle du doyenné de Bars était dévolue à Stephanus de Suisy⁹². Cette manière de lui procurer une prébende en France était parfaitement conforme aux facultés accordées au cardinal-légit.

Mon dernier exemple est celui de l'archidiacre de Vasca, Johannes de Regio. Il était sans aucune doute au service de la chambre pontificale sous Clément V, comme en témoignent trois sources⁹³. Le 18 août 1312, le pape, en louant les

⁸⁵ Il obtint de Célestin V le titre cardinal-diacre de S. Angelus en 1294 qu'il détint jusqu'à sa mort (fin d'octobre 1312). HC t. I. p. 12, 49.

⁸⁶ Annexe I. 2.

⁸⁷ P. ex. LC V nr. 128, 210, 403, 577, 1024, 1454, 2417, 4732, 5902, 6037, 6070, 6145, 8990, 9172.

⁸⁸ Il reçut le titre cardinal de Clément V le 15 décembre 1305 qu'il détint jusqu'à sa mort (11 décembre 1311). HC t. I. p. 14, 41.

⁸⁹ AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 172r-v; RC V. nr. 7120.

⁹⁰ C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 70.

⁹¹ AAV Reg. Vat. 54, fol. 107r; RC V. 2292-2293.

⁹² AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 172r-v; RC V. nr. 7120.

⁹³ Annexe I. 13.

mérites de Johannes a accordé à lui l'office de prévôt du chapitre de Parme ainsi qu'un bénéfice canonial, bien qu'il en détint déjà un autre à l'église de Zagreb sans oublier le doyenné de Vasca dans le même diocèse⁹⁴. Il est clair qu'il avait obtenu ces prébendes avant l'autorisation du pape qui lui accorda un autre bénéfice en Italie. Même si le texte de la charte pontificale se sert des lieux communs pour y trouver des arguments, il met en relief néanmoins la raison majeure pour laquelle ce titre a été accordé justement à Johannes. Ce n'est pas autre que le service de la chambre apostolique qui fut récompensé par le pape par l'octroi d'un bénéfice devenu vacant dans la cour pontificale.

La douzaine de cas décrits ci-dessus fournit de nombreux enseignements et permet d'en tirer des conclusions prudentes. Il est important de souligner que tant les carrières des personnes étudiées, que leur accès aux bénéfices, sans parler des opportunités ou de la politique bénéficiaire éventuelle de leurs partisans présentent un certain nombre de caractéristiques spécifiques. Bien que le champ d'action des légats pontificaux en Hongrie au cours de la période considérée ait augmenté en termes des facultés accordées, cela n'a pas nécessairement entraîné l'augmentation du nombre des clercs étrangers détenteurs des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie. Les circonstances où les prébendes devinrent vacantes limitait en soi l'application des facultés éventuelles puisque le droit de collation des bénéfices se bornait aux cas réservés au pape. En plus d'autres restrictions (en nombre, en espace, en droit de donation, etc.) s'imposaient aux légats pontificaux. Et n'oublions que l'exercice effectif de ces facultés spéciales était également influencé par le nombre réel de bénéfices vacants.

De tous les légats pontificaux actifs en Hongrie, c'est la légation de Gentile qui fournit le plus de données. Celles-ci montrent que les facultés spéciales visant à la collation des bénéfices se sont opérées dans la pratique, néanmoins elles ont aussi été effectivement limitées par les facteurs susmentionnés. De la bonne vingtaine des membres ecclésiastiques, presque exclusivement étrangers de la cour du légat, à peine un cinquième d'entre eux ont reçu un bénéfice en Hongrie. Dans un cas, nous rencontrons un phénomène inverse : Santius est entré dans la famille Gentile en tant que clerc hongrois et y obtint le titre de chapelain.

Le cas de Boccasini met également en lumière d'autres connexions. Aucun de ses collaborateurs ecclésiastiques n'avait obtenu de bénéfice ecclésiastique en Hongrie pendant sa légation (1301–1303) que pas plus tard, après avoir reçu la tiare. Bittinus de Coneglano fut l'un des clercs qui, grâce à Benoît XI, obtinrent un office ecclésiastique, en l'occurrence en Hongrie. D'autres clercs qui ont également été soutenus par ce pape (Altegradus de Lendenaria, Nicolaus Raynerii de Interamne) et Bittinus semblent être entre-liés par le diocèse de Trévise, tant pour la raison du lieu d'origines commun (Boccasini /

⁹⁴ AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 23v ; MPV III. 478–479, nr. 521.

Benoît XI et Altegradus) que par les mandats pontificaux relatifs à ce même évêché.

Les autres cas – ceux des deux Frescobaldi qui ont succédé à Bittinus dans la prébende de Nógrád et de Robertus de Condeco – montrent combien le rôle d'un cardinal était décisif dans la procuration d'une prébende en Hongrie. En effet, l'appartenance à la famille était un facteur cardinal, comme dans le cas de Johannes de Regio, qui a pu obtenir un bénéfice en Hongrie en tant que clerc familial de Clément V.

À une exception près – Gasparus de Montasia – les personnes qui ont obtenu des bénéfices de Gentile les ont quittés au moment où la légation prit sa fin. Il est logique d'en tirer la conclusion que ces prébendes ne servaient que pour la durée de la légation, en d'autres termes, la faculté accordée au légat ne constituait pas un octroi de bénéfices à titre viager. On peut même formuler que la collation aux bénéfices en question a cessé d'être valide lorsque le légat a quitté la province qui avait été soumise à sa juridiction. Et puisque la vacance ne s'est pas produite à la cour pontificale, le pape ne pouvait donc pas se réserver à lui-même le droit de redistribuer les bénéfices en question. Pour ce qui est de Gasparus, il est plus probable que l'acquisition d'un bénéfice en Hongrie en 1317 ait été liée à l'ambassade qu'il effectua alors à Avignon, et que Charles Ier ait donc fait appel à Jean XXII pour pour lui accorder d'autres bénéfices.

Le cas de Philippe de Sardaigne semble contredire l'hypothèse selon laquelle le départ du légat du territoire étant à sa juridiction aurait entraîné la résignation des bénéfices qu'il y avait distribués. Philippus Gentile était prévôt de la collégiale de Pozsony en 1311, alors qu'il se trouvait en Hongrie, et dans les années 1330, bien après que le légat ait quitté le pays, on le retrouve comme archidiacre de Nitra. Cependant, les sources montrent qu'il a quitté le prévôté, puisque seuls son canonicat d'Oristano et ses prébendes de Côme et de Varèse sont être attestés entre 1311 et 1330. Et le bénéfice qu'il détenait plus tard à l'église d'Esztergom s'est lié au mandat pontifical d'alors qui prévit la collection de la décime papale en Hongrie, ce qui demanda l'envoi de Jacobus Berengarii, Raimundus de Bonofato et Jacobus de Lengres (1332–1337) en tant que nonces et collecteurs des taxes pontificaux.

Les conclusions ci-dessus montrent également que la thèse d'une aussi grande importance que l'occupation massive des bénéfices ecclésiastiques de la Hongrie par des étrangers n'était non seulement pas valable au tournant des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, mais elle ne peut pas non plus être confirmée pour ce qui est le début de l'époque angevine. Même dans les cas évidents où un légat du pape était présent en Hongrie (1301–1303, 1308–1311) et obtint des facultés relativement larges pour procurer des prébendes ecclésiastiques à sa famille, il n'y avait pas de preuve visible d'une occupation à grande échelle d'étrangers ou d'une « inondation » de bénéfices. Celle-ci semble avoir été naturellement contrainte par la contingence des prébendes vacantes, par les limites légales des facultés, qu'il s'agisse de leur étendue ou de leur portée. En même temps,

l'appartenance à une famille cardinalice ou papale et les relations personnelles constituaient un avantage propice pour obtenir même un bénéfice en Hongrie. Néanmoins cela ne résulta point qu'une foule des clercs étrangers auraient acquis et détenu des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie durant la première décennie du XIV^e siècle.

Annexe

Tableau I : Clercs étrangers – bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Hongrie (1301–1312)

#	Nom	Bénéfice / office		Temps de détention des bénéfices	Référence (bibliographie)	Familia	Pro-cureur	temps du mandat pontifical	contenu du mandat du pape	Référence (sources)
		en Hongrie	à l'étranger							
1.	Bettinus / Bittinus de Coneglano	archidiacre de Nógrád	chapelain du pape	1304–1305	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 21.	Benoît XI, chapelain	Benoît XI	16-01-1304	exécuteur (Trento)	Reg. Vat. 51, nr. 248, fol. 64 ^v ; RB XI. nr. 284; MANTESE 1954. p. 326 (sans date).
								conservateur (Vicenza)	Reg. Vat. 51, nr. 405, fol. 94 ^v ; RB XI. nr. 467; MANTESE 1954. p. 326.	
								[obligation de paiement de <i>servitium</i> / paiement (Michel, archev. d'Esztergom)]	RC V Appendices 202 : note nr. 2. ; CAMERALIA t. II. nr. 1407.	
			chapelain du pape (chanoine de Treviso, de Concordia, d'Arras ?)					faculté (revenus des bénéfices)	AAV Reg. Vat. 51, fol. 166 ^r ; RB XI. nr. 907.	

			chapelain du pape			Clément V, chapelain	Clément V	17-12- 1305	exécuteur (Lérida)	AAV Reg. Vat. 52, fol. 26v ; RC V. nr. 161.
2.	Thomas de Frescobaldis de Florentia	archidiacre de Nógrád	camérier du cardinal	1306– 1311	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 201.	Landulfus, archev. de Naples, cardinal- diacre de S. Angelus	Clément V	1306	paiement de <i>servitium</i> (Avignon, Berardus archev. de Salerne)	AAV Cam. Ap. Obl. et Sol. 2, fol. 7v ; RC V. Appendices nr. 22.
			camérier du cardinal	1309– 1311			Clément V	1309	paiement de <i>servitium</i> (Avignon, Thomas, archev. de Reggio- Calabria)	AAV Cam. Ap. Obl. et Sol. 2, fol. 89r (AAV CD : fol. 58r) ; RC V. Appendices nr. 388
								1310	exécuteur (Adria)	AAV Reg. Vat. 57, fol. 258r ; RC V. nr. 6213.
								1311	juge délégué du pape (Toledo)	AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 118r- v ; RC V. nr. 6278.
		1311	obligation de paiement de <i>servitium</i> (Avignon, Robert, abbé de S. Maria ad Capellam)	AAV Cam. Ap. Obl. et Sol.2, fol. 21r ; RC V. Appendices nr. 161.						
3.	Hugolinus Tadei de Frescobaldis	archidiacre de Nógrád	camérier du cardinal	1311	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 64.	Landulfus, archev. de Naples, cardinal- diacre de S. Angelus	Clément V	15-07- 1311	collation (bénéfice)	AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 208r ; RC V. nr. 7252.

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4.	Robertus de Condeco	archidiacre de Bars		[1309–]av. 19-07-1311		clerc et familier de Stephanus De Suisy, cardinal-prêtre (S. Ciriacus in Thermis)	Clément V	19-07-1311	collation (per resignationem)	AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 172r-v; RC V. nr. 7120.
			chanoine (Saint-Satur, Sancerre, dioc. de Bourges)	après 29-10-1305 – avant 19-07-1311				19-07-1311	collation (per resignationem)	AAV Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 172v; RC V. nr. 7121.
5.	Gaspar de Montasia / Casparus de Montefia / Gasparus de Monteffia		chanoine (Como), recteur (Campania et Maritima)	1304	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 46.	chapelain de Gentile de Monteflorum <i>legatus a latere</i>	Benoît XI	16-02-1304 / 21-03-1304	rector in spiritualibus (Campania et Maritima)	AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 76 ^v , nr. 310; RB XI nr. 349; AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 110 ^v , nr. 470; RB XI nr. 557.
								29-02-1304	juge délégué du pape	AAV Reg. Vat. 51. fol. 93 ^r , nr. 398; RB XI nr. 457.
				11-06-1308				délégué du légat (visite, Spalato)	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 14–16.	
				23-07-1308				témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 37.	
				07-11-1308				témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 71.	
				06-12-1308				témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 131.	
				06-12-1308				?	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 176.	

		archidiacre Szatmár (chanoine de Transylvanie)	chapelain du cardinal					14-07-1309	vice-juge délégué du légat (sousedélégué de Renerius dictus Zucyus de Tudercó)	MNL OL DF 287826 ; AOkt. t. II. nr. 695.
		–	chapelain du cardinal					14-07-1309	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. 98.
		chanoine de Transylvanie	chapelain du cardinal					06-04 –17-06-1310	auditeur, témoin	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 102r–104v, 108r–110v ; MPV t. III. p. 129–136, nr. 131 ; MPV t. III. p. 152–153, 178–179, 185, nr. 133.
		–	chapelain du cardinal					25-08-1310	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 157.
		chanoine de Transylvanie, chapelain du roi	chanoine (Como), prebendier (Varaise), chanoine (Cologne, exp.)	1317		chapelain de Charles I ^{er} ?	Jean XXII	17-08-1317	collation (expectativa)	AAV Reg. Vat. 66. fol. 189v–190r. (AAV Reg. Av. 7, fol. 192r) ; LCJ XXII. nr. 4776.
6.	Renerius dictus Zucyus de Tudercó / Renerius	archidiacre Gömör		1309	C. TÓTH 2019b. p. 75 ; MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 179.	chapelain, clerc, <i>familiaris</i> de Gentile	Gentile de Monteflorum	14-07-1309	juge délégué du légat	MNL OL DF 287826 ; AOkt. t. II. nr. 695.

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	(Zucus) de Collatzone (Raynaldus Carocci de Tuderto? / Raynerio, nato Conradi Grassii de Tuderto?)	archidiacre d'Esztergom (cathédral)				de Monteflorum <i>legatus a latere</i>		10-10-1309	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 361.
7.	Philippus de Sardinia (Philippus Mameli)		chanoine (Oristano)	1308–1311	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 175.	chapelain, clerc, <i>familiaris</i> de Gentile de Monteflorum <i>legatus a latere</i>	Gentile de Monteflorum	17-06 – 23-08-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 19–23.
								23-07-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 37.
								24-07-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 37–38.
								03-08-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 43.
								12-08-1308 – 06-02-1309	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 46–53.
								25-09-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 58.
								04-11-1308 – 21-04-1309	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 60–98.
								08-11 – 23-12-1308	auditeur général	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 101–112.
								10-11-1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 114.
								27-11-1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 118.
								04-12-1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 127.
16-12-1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 139.								

							10-12-1308 – 02-07-1310	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 154–177.
							19-12-1308	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 182.
							08-01 – 03-07-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 187–189.
							08-01 – 03-07-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 196–256.
							03-05 – 05-05-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 265–267.
							09-05 – 08-07-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 298–300.
							25-06 – 24-12-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 307–352.
							20-08-1309	auditeur général	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 355.
							10-10-1309	témoin	MON.VAT. I/2. p. 361.
							07-07 – 02.08-1310	auditeur (général)	BAVMS Lat. nr. 3935, fol. 17v ; MPV t. III. p. 100–101, nr. 126.
							09-03 – 17-06-1310	auditeur (général)	MPV t. III. p. 185, nr. 133.
							29-03 – 31-03-1310	auditeur (général)	AAV Reg. Av. 1, 99r–107v; MPV t. III. p. 124–125, nr. 130.

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								11-04 – 25-08-1309	auditeur (général)	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 25r–29v; MPV t. III. 471–474, nr. 518.
								30-08-1309 – après 21-12-1310	auditeur (général)	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 86r–98v; MPV t. III. p. 105–124, nr. 129.
		prévôt de Pozsony	1311		C. Τόπη 2020. p. 47.			15 – 18-05-1311	auditeur général	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 373r–380v; MPV III. 185–196, 134. sz; AOkt. III. 62. sz.
								25-07-1311	témoin	MNL OL DF 238652; AOkt. t. III. nr. 119.
			chanoine (Oristano)			gréffier du pape	Benoît XII	23-06-1329	exécuteur	LC J XXII nr. 45490.
								23-06-1329	exécuteur	LC J XXII nr. 45491.
								24-06-1329	exécuteur	LC J XXII nr. 45511.
		archidiacre de Nyitra						[1332–1333]	[paiement de décime papale]	MON. VAT. I/1. p. 215.
					C. Τόπη 2019b. p. 95.			06-04- [vers 1341]	[solution]	MES t. III. p. 408; AOkt. t. XXV. nr. 201.
		archidiacre d’Esztergom (= de Nyitra)						10-02-1336	conservateur	AAV. Reg. Vat., vol. 121, fol. 32v; MNL OL DF

										291695 ; AOKt. t. XX. nr. 50 ; LC B XII. nr. 3242.
8.	Vannes (Johannes) de Aretio		chanoine (Osimo)	1308– 1311	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 204.	Gentile de Monteflor um pápai <i>legatus a latere, chapelain, clerc, familiaris</i>	Gentile de Montefl orum	14-06 -23- 08-1308	auditeur (général)	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 18, 23, 25, 33.
								23-07- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 37.
								03-08- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 43.
								17-08- 1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 49.
								19-08- 1308	auditeur (général)	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 72.
								05 – 07- 11-1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 71, 100.
								10-11- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 114.
								28-11- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 118.
								04-12- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 127, 139.
								09-12- 1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 106.
								10-12- 1308 – 02- 07-1310		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 154–177.
								16-02- 1309	procurateur	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 204.
								07-04- 1309	procurateur	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 193.
								16-04- 1309	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 98.
09-05- 1309	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 195.									

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								29 – 31-03-1310	auditeur (général)	AAV Reg. Av. 1, 99r–107v ; MPV t. III. p. 124–125, nr. 130.
								12-06-1310	témoin	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 102r–104v, 108r–110v ; MPV t. III. p. 129–136, nr. 131.
								30-09-1310	auditeur général	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 23v ; MPV t. III. p. 478–479, nr. 521.
								21-04-1309	procurateur	BAV Vat. Lat. 4013, fol. 41v ; MON. VAT. I/2. p. 264–265 ; AOkt. t. II. nr. 610 ; EO t. II. nr. 106.
		chanoine de Várad						07-04 – 22-05-1311	exécuteur (+ prévôt, d’Esztergom - Szentgyörgy, Albertinus de Parma, archidiacre de Dubica)	PÓR 1886. p. 198–202. nr. III–IV.
9.	Albertinus (Albertinus) de Parma		notaire public impérial et papal	1308–1311	MALÉTH 2020. Adattár nr. 3.	chapelain de Clément V, chapelain, clerc et	Gentile de Monteflorum	14-06 – 23-08-1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 23.
								27-11-1308		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 118.

						25-08-1309		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 157.
		archidiacre de Dubica				05-05-1309		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 267.
						01-08-1309		MON. VAT. I/2. p. 337.
						25-12-1309	notaire	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 374.
						29 - 31-03-1310	auditeur (général)	AAV Reg. Av. 1, 99r-107v ; MPV t. III. p. 124-125, nr. 130.
						12-06-1310	témoin	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 102r-104v, 108r-110v ; MPV t. III. p. 129-136, nr. 131.
						30-09-1310	auditeur général	AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 23v ; MPV t. III. p. 478-479, nr. 521.
						21-04-1309	procurateur	BAV Vat. Lat. 4013, fol. 41v ; MON. VAT. I/2. p. 264-265 ; AOkt t. II. nr. 610 ; EO t. II. nr. 106.
		archidiacre de Dubica				07-04 - 22-05-1311	exécuteur (+ prévôt d'Esztergom - Szentgyörgy, Vannes	PÓr 1886. p. 198-202. nr. III-IV ; AOkt t. III. p. 38, 65.

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									(Johannes) de Aretio)	
10.	Santius	archidiacre de Kraszna						24-07- 1308	témoin	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 158.
		archidiacre de Kraszna, procurateur (chapitre de Transylvanie)						09-04 – 02-07- 1309	procurateur	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 192, 194– 195, 211, 221, 228, 234, note nr. 1., p. 246, 250–252, 255.
		archidiacre de Kraszna						30-04- 1309	auditeur	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 191.
		archidiacre de Kraszna				chapelain de Gentile de Monteflor um <i>legatus a latere</i>	Gentile de Montefl orum	05-05- 1309	exécuteur (+ prévôt d’Esztergom - Szentgyörgy, Albertinus de Parma, archidiacre de Dubica, Vannes (Johannes) de Aretio)	MON. VAT. I/2. p. 267.
11.	Johannes de Reggio		clerc du chambre apostoli- que				Clément V	25-10- 1306	enquête	AAV Reg. Vat. 53, fol. 1v– 2r ; RC V nr. 1151.
								25-10- 1306	enquête	AAV Reg. Vat. 53, fol. 2r– 3r ; RC V nr. 1152 ; MVB nr. 8.
								11-07- 1307	enquête	AAV Reg. Vat. 54, fol. 150r–

									151r ; RC V nr. 2271 ; MVB nr. 12.
		archidiacre de Vaska		(1312 e.)					AAV Reg. Av. 1, fol. 23v ; MPV t. III. p. 478–479, nr. 521.
		(archidiacre de Vaska)	prévôt (Parma)	1312			18-08- 1312	collation (<i>non obstante</i>)	

Tableau II : La cour de Gentile de Monteflorum durant la légation en Hongrie¹

#	Nom	office (cour cardinalice)	office (affaires curiales durant la légation)	bénéfice eccl. détenu durant la légation	
				à l'étranger	en Hongrie
clercs					
1.	<i>Albertus (Albertinus) de Tribuscalibus de Parma</i>	<i>chapelain et familier</i>	<i>notaire public papal et impérial</i>	o	<i>archidiacre de Dubica</i>
2.	Angelus de Assissio	chapelain et clerc	o	o	o
3.	Angelus Theobaldi de Sancta Victoria		procurateur, notaire public papal et impérial	o	o
4.	Bonunsegna de Perusia	chambrier	auditeur	chanoine de Ravenne	o
5.	Dionysius	chapelain et penitenciarius	o	lecteur (OFM)	o
6.	Franciscus de Columba	chapelain et familier	o	moine (OCist.)	o
7.	Fredericus de Bononia	médecin et familier	o	o	o
8.	<i>Gasparus de Montasia</i>	<i>chapelain</i>	<i>auditeur</i>	<i>chanoine de Côme</i>	<i>archidiacre de Szatmár, chanoine de Transylvanie</i>
9.	Guillelmus de Sanguineto	chapelain et familier	notaire public papal et impérial, procurateur	o	o
10.	Henricus de Iascotil	clerc, chapelain	procurateur	chanoine de Wrocław	o
11.	Jacobus de Sancto Genesio	chambrier, chapelain	o	chanoine d'Osimo	o
12.	Johannes (Vangolus), filius domini Jacobi de Mevania	domicellus, familier	scribe, vice-procurateur, notaire public papal et impérial	o	o

¹ D'après MALÉTH 2020. tableau 7.

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13.	Johannes Anglicus filius Henrici Lepetit	chapelain	notaire du pape	o	o
14.	Johannes de Firmo	chapelain	o	o	o
15.	Johannes de Monte S. Martini	chapelain et clerc	o	o	o
16.	Johannes de Parma	clerc	témoin	o	o
17.	Johannes de Pontecurvo	chapelain	abréviateur, correcteur, notaire public papal et impérial	(chanoine de Brindisi)	o
18.	Johannes Ultramontanus	chapelain et clerc	o	o	o
19.	Petrus de Lana de Bononia	chapelain et familier	o	frère (OFM) de Zadar	o
20.	Petrus Gualterutii de Penna S. Johannis	chapelain et familier	o	o	o
21.	Philippus (Philippucius) de Cingulo	domicellus, familier	scribe, vice-procureur, notaire public papal et impérial	o	o
22.	<i>Philippus de Sardinia</i>	<i>chapelain et familier</i>	<i>auditeur général</i>	<i>chanoine d'Oristano</i>	<i>prévôt Pozsony</i>
23.	<i>Renerius (Zucyus) de Collazone</i>	<i>chapelain</i>	o	o	<i>archidiacre de Gómör / Esztergom</i>
24.	Robertus	clerc, chapelain	procureur	custos de Kujavie et chanoine de Wroclaw	o
25.	Salvus de Perusio	chapelain et clerc	o	o	o
26.	<i>Santius</i>	<i>chapelain</i>	<i>témoin, procureur, auditeur, exécuter</i>	o	<i>archidiacre de Kraszna</i>
27.	<i>Vannes (Johannes) de Aretio</i>	<i>chapelain</i>	<i>auditeur général, procureur</i>	<i>chanoine d'Osimo</i>	<i>chanoine de Várad</i>
28.	N.	?	exécuter	prévôt (S. Antonius de Montezario, dioc. d'Osimo)	o

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Ágnes MALÉTH:

Curialists and Hungarian Church Benefices in the 14th Century: The Example of Petrus Begonis*

The papal government was characterized by centralization in the 14th century in which the tax system and the papal beneficial policy were two main factors. The Avignon popes strived to extend their influence on every stratum of the ecclesiastical hierarchy by rewarding the members of the curia's developing administrative system with benefices in the local churches. The changes in the functioning of the papal curia offered a great opportunity for a growing number of qualified clerics to build successful careers in the papal service.

The process briefly described above had an impact on the contemporary ecclesiastical structure of the Hungarian Kingdom, as more and more clerics tried to obtain benefices with papal protection, especially in the second half of the 14th century. Soon not only papal officers, but cardinals and the members of their entourage held Hungarian ecclesiastical titles as well. The main aim of the present paper is to analyse the lifepath of a curialist, Petrus Begonis. First procurator of cardinal Guillaume de la Jugie, later papal chaplain, Petrus Begonis was granted various church offices – also in the Hungarian Kingdom – and charged with diverse diplomatic tasks in different parts of Europe (Hungary, Holy Roman Empire, Italy). His ecclesiastical career – spanning from the reign of Clement VI to that of Urban VI – gives an insight in the functioning of the papal curia in Avignon and helps us comprehend the administrative changes in the 14th century.

Keywords: Avignon papacy, papal court, 14th-century Hungarian Kingdom, ecclesiastical benefices, ecclesiastical career



The papal government was characterized by centralization in the 14th century in which the tax system and the beneficial policy were two main factors.¹ The

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¹ The centralization of the Avignon popes is occasionally considered as a strive for legitimacy. In this interpretation, centralized power was meant to compensate for the constant absence of the popes from Rome (and from Italy in general), and the mysticism associated with the Eternal City was replaced by the idea of the supreme pontiff. ROLLO-KOSTER 2015. p. 149.

concentration of the Holy See's power was the result of a long process established by the reforms of Gregory VII and Innocent III,² but it was also prompted by the long-term absence of the papal court from Italy that compelled the papal Curia to restructure its finances in order to supplement its income. Thus, the Avignon popes introduced new tax types and enforced a more consistent collection of the already existing fees, especially that of the payments imposed on ecclesiastical benefices. The implementation of the reforms increased the number of the administrative personnel which offered opportunity for a growing number of qualified clerics to build successful careers in the papal service, but also added to the costs of the Curia.

The process briefly described above inevitably influenced the beneficial policy of the Holy See. To remunerate the members of the Curia's developing administrative system, the Avignon popes intensified their control over the collation of the benefices, even in European countries which could be considered earlier as peripheral in the papal policy.³ The changes also had an impact on the contemporary ecclesiastical structure of the Hungarian Kingdom, as more and more clerics tried to obtain church benefices with papal protection, especially in the second half of the 14th century.⁴ Soon, not only papal officers, but cardinals and the members of their entourage held Hungarian ecclesiastical titles as well. Guillaume de la Jugie,⁵ a nephew of Clement VI (1342–1352) and cousin of Gregory XI (1370–1378)⁶ was probably one of the most successful prelates in accumulating benefices (*cumulatio beneficiorum*): only in the Hungarian Kingdom he held fourteen of them.⁷ The Hungarian ecclesiastical titles of de la Jugie were first mentioned in

² The centralization of power also fits the general political trend of the era, as secular monarchies showed similar tendencies in government. FAVIER 2006. p. 181–182.

³ The extension of the papal reservation served as the legal basis for the process. MOLLAT 1912. p. 383–388.

⁴ The popes thus tried to appoint their own candidates not only to consistorial benefices, but they also actively interfered in the decisions concerning the ecclesiastical offices of middle and lower ranks. In beneficial cases, the growing importance of the papal court is reliably indicated in the 14th century by the increase in the number of expectatives and provisions, supplications and appeals to the Curia, and the appointment of conservators and judge delegates. On the office of conservators see HÉNAFF 1997. p. 71–88; HÉNAFF 2000. p. 283–308; HÉNAFF 2005. p. 341–353. On judge delegates see HERDE 2002. 20–43; BARABÁS 2013. p. 175–199. On the cases which concerned Hungarian benefices and were managed by conservators or judge delegates in the first half of the 14th century see MALÉTH 2020. p. 89–120, 121–126.

⁵ HCI. p. 18, 41, 51.

⁶ From the de la Jugie family two brothers Guillaume and Pierre became cardinals. Through their mother, they were related to two popes of the Avignon period: Clement VI was their uncle and Gregory XI their cousin. Guillaume de la Jugie was created cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin in 1342 by Clement VI, and then he became cardinal presbyter of S. Clement in 1368. According to Anne-Marie Hayez, who studied the de la Jugie family, Guillaume de la Jugie resided continuously in Avignon until his death (1374), except on two occasions (his legations in Castile and Aragon between 1355 and 1358, and his visit to Rome with Pope Urban V). HAYEZ 1980–1981. p. 25–27. On his Hungarian benefices see C. TÓTH 2019. p. 138; FEDELES 2005. p. 463–464. (Nr. 396); THOROCZKAY 2014. p. 346–347.

⁷ MÁLYUSZ 2005. p. 161; BÓNIS 1961. p. 258.

the sources in 1343.⁸ Afterwards, the cardinal's name appeared frequently in papal letters related to the Neapolitan question – the marriage and coronation of prince Andrew – and de la Jugie was mentioned several times as a participant of the negotiations. Although papal sources mention that de la Jugie was a zealous supporter of the interests of the Hungarian king in the papal court, it is better to handle this piece of information critically. Nevertheless, the cardinal was one of Clement VI's closest confidants – and as such, he often assisted the pope in handling matters of the highest priority –, still he needed the goodwill of Louis I to claim the Hungarian benefices bestowed on him by the pope.⁹

Cardinal de la Jugie sought to secure Hungarian church benefices not only for himself, but for some members of his *familia* as well.¹⁰ One of his *familiares* was a cleric named Petrus Begonis, who – in addition to having Hungarian benefices – visited the Hungarian Kingdom several times, first as the cardinal's representative and later as papal nuncio. As Petrus Begonis' activity in the papal court was outstandingly long (approximately five decades, from the time of Clement VI to Urban VI)¹¹ and his career is a good example of the opportunities offered by the Curia, I believe it is worth examining his lifepath in detail.¹²

For ambitious clerics like Petrus Begonis, the administrative reforms of the 14th century created favourable circumstances, as the importance of (legal, financial, theological) expertise grew significantly. Simultaneously, professionalization of the officers and establishment of procedures were also taking place in the everyday procedures of the papal court.¹³ Not only the most important offices of the Curia (*Cancellaria Apostolica*, *Camera Apostolica*), but

⁸ 6 March 1343: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 7–8. (Nr. X); MES III. p. 490.

⁹ WODKA 1938. p. 29.; TUSOR 2018. p. 5–6. De la Jugie is mentioned as a supporter of King Louis I: 18 October 1346: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 140, fol. 152v–153r, ep. 663–664, MNL OL DF 291857, LCPC CL VI. I. p. 156. (Nr. 1246.) De la Jugie's attempts to win the support of the Hungarian king were not always successful (see below the orders of Louis I against the representatives of the cardinal). A later papal letter reveals that Andrew, bishop of Transylvania also prevented de la Jugie's procurators from filling the archdeaconate of Gyulafehervár (Alba Iulia, RO). 6 October 1353: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244A, ep. 470; THEINER II. p. 5–6. (Nr. XI.); LSC I VI. I. p. 192. (Nr. 583.)

¹⁰ Among them was János Uzsai, lector of Eger. In the late 1330s, he obtained a law degree in Bologna and later became rector of the university. He probably got acquainted with cardinal de la Jugie before 1343, during his rectorship. In 1343, he is already mentioned in the sources as de la Jugie's chaplain. MES III. p. 498; BÓNIS 1961. p. 258. Uzsai is mentioned by PÓR 1897. p. 770.

¹¹ Petrus Begonis must have died before the 11 October 1391, as this is the date when the executors of his last will made the first arrangements. BERLIÈRE 1906. p. 182.

¹² For a short biography of Petrus Begonis see BERLIÈRE 1906. p. 181–182; FEDELES 2007. p. 27; FEDELES 2018. p. 584; KOWALSKI 1996. p. 241–242. (Nr. 184.); KÖRMENDY 2007. p. 178. (Nr. 41.) I would like to thank Tamás Fedeles for the last reference.

¹³ The process of professionalization in the 14th century can be illustrated by the selection of papal tax collectors: in addition to the factors that had previously been decisive (social network and embeddedness, knowledge of the local circumstance, benefice in the diocese of the tax collection etc.), professional experience and university studies gained more and more importance, especially under the pontificate of John XXII. LE ROUX 2010. p. 161–181. This change can also be observed in the case of the papal tax collectors sent to the Hungarian Kingdom in the first half of the 14th century. MALÉTH 2020. p. 78, 87.

also the prestigious courts of the cardinals employed a growing number of qualified clerics. Studies on the papal Curia have shown that while the kinship of the reigning pope determined the composition of the College of Cardinals and the papal family, the members of the cardinals' entourage were not chosen based on blood relations. The factors which facilitated the advancement in a cardinal's *familia* were mainly individual qualities and a network of contacts (i.e. recommendations).¹⁴ This theory is supported by the results of the examination of the court of cardinal Guillaume de la Jugie: although the cardinal himself was of Limousin origin, the members of his entourage mainly came from the north of present-day France and the Paris region, many from central and southern France, and from Italy and Spain.¹⁵ In this respect, Petrus Begonis' case was not unique either, as his family lived in Castres, in the southern Languedoc region.¹⁶

To determine the place of Petrus Begonis in the *familia* of Guillaume de la Jugie, the best is to take Pierre Jugie's functional division of the cardinals' entourage as a starting point. The French specialist of the Avignon papacy distinguished four groups of *familiares* in his study on Guy de Boulogne's court: 1.) clerics (chapel clergy, Bible readers, etc.) who performed liturgical duties; they made up slightly more than half of the cardinals' entourage; 2.) administrative personnel (chancellery, secretariat, chambers, auditors of the cardinal's curia, etc.); 3.) domestic servants (housekeepers, doctors, etc.) and 4.) security guards. The second (administrative) group included the *familiares* who represented the cardinal in his benefices¹⁷ – like Petrus Begonis in the case of Guillaume de la Jugie.¹⁸ However, it seems that Petrus Begonis advanced from the role of simple representative, since in 1345 he was already mentioned as the cardinal's chaplain and *commensalis familiaris*.¹⁹

Petrus Begonis can be identified in the papal sources from 1343, when he was described as a cleric from the diocese of Limoges.²⁰ The titles used in the documents make it clear that he had legal qualification, although due to the lack of data it is not possible to determine which university he studied at. Initially,

¹⁴ According to Bernard Guillemain's estimation, a cardinal's *familia* in the Avignon period could count one thousand members, half of whom were clerics. GUILLEMAIN 2003. p. 7–11.

¹⁵ HAYEZ 1980–1981. p. 37–41.

¹⁶ This information is given in a supplication submitted by cardinal de la Jugie on behalf of Petrus Begonis' brother, Vincentius. Vincentius was granted a canonry in the church of Albi, near Castres, at the request of the cardinal. 22 March 1349: AAV Reg. Suppl. 17, fol. 216r; MPV III. p. 322–323. (Nr. 324.); FEDELES 2007. p. 27; FEDELES 2018. p. 584. Later, Petrus Begonis requested indulgence for the congregation of the church of S. Maria Magdalena in Castres, which was approved by the pope for a period of one year and forty days. 11 July 1351: MVB I. p. 710. (Nr. 1357.)

¹⁷ JUGIE 1986. p. 141–179.

¹⁸ See below the commissions of Petrus Begonis as procurator of cardinal de la Jugie in Hungary.

¹⁹ 20 October 1345: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 10, fol. 72r; MVB I. p. 320. (Nr. 532.) The term *commensalis* was used for those *familiares* who actually ate together with the cardinal, or, in other words, belonged to his closest circles. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI 1972. p. 463–474; KISS 2016. p. 67.

²⁰ See the document about the representation of de la Jugie cited above. 10 June: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 137, fol. 26v, ep. 73–76 (MNL OL.DF 291796), THEINER I. p. 654. (Nr. DCCCCLXXIX.)

he was mentioned as *baccalarius in legibus*²¹ (and once as *baccalarius in iure civili*, 1346²²), and later also as *licentiatus*.²³ At the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, Petrus Begonis acquired dignities in the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms.²⁴ He first became canon of Wrocław (1345–1346),²⁵ later *cancellarius* of the same church (1348–1382).²⁶ In 1348, he was appointed canon of Cracow;²⁷ however, it seems probable that he was unable to exercise his rights for this benefice for some time.²⁸ On the other hand, he did actually occupy the archdeaconate of Zemplén and the canonry of Eger in 1350, which had been reserved for him in 1349.²⁹ At least this is what we can suppose from the fact that he paid the *annata* to the papal tax collectors.³⁰ He exchanged the

²¹ This title appears in the sources between 1343 and 1351. 25 February 1349: AAV Reg. Suppl. 17, fol. 158; MPV III. p. 322–323. (Nr. 323.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 137, fol. 26 v, ep. 73–76; THEINER I. p. 654. (Nr. DCCCCLXXIX.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 35 = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244 N, fol. 95, ep. 228B; LCPC CL VI I. p. 348. (Nr. 2477.); CAMERALIA I. p. 69. (Nr. 73); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 36; LCPC CL VII. p. 348. (Nr. 2478.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 49r–v; LCPC CL VII. p. 348. (Nr. 2482.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 44v; LCPC CL VI FR p. 201–202. (Nr. 517.), THEINER I. p. 799. (Nr. MCCXXII.); 27 June 1348: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 188, fol. 176r, ep. 94., MVB I. p. 567–568. (Nr. 1005–1006.); 14 June 1348: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 189, fol. 21r, ep. 47; MVB I. p. 566. (Nr. 999.); Kovács 1983. p. 28. (Nr. 277.)

²² AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 140, fol. 152v–153r, ep. 663–664 (MNL OL DF 291857); LCPC CL VI I. p. 157. (Nr. 1246.)

²³ 28 September 1345: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 139, fol. 114v, ep. 446–447 (MNL OL DF 291827); LCPC CL VI II. p. 56. (Nr. 1998–1999.); 26 April 1353: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 121, fol. 140r–v (MNL OL DF 289417); THEINER II. p. 6. (Nr. XII.) The university studies of Petrus Begonis are mentioned by FEDELES 2007. p. 27; FEDELES 2018. p. 584; SCHUCHARD 2000. p. 212–213; VERESS 1941. p. 396. Gerhard Schindler also lists the title *magister legum*. SCHINDLER 1938. p. 58. I would like to thank Tamás Fedeles for the latter reference.

²⁴ On the ecclesiastical benefices of Petrus Begonis see BERLIÈRE 1906. p. 181–182; KOWALSKI 1996. p. 241–243. (Nr. 184.)

²⁵ 20 October 1345: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 10, fol. 72r; MVB I. p. 320–321. (Nr. 532.); 7 August 1346: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 87a, fol. 545r–v, ep. 29 (MNL OL DF 292732); 14 June 1348: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 189, fol. 21r, ep. 47; MVB I. p. 566. (Nr. 999.)

²⁶ 27 June 1348: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 188, fol. 176r, ep. 94; MVB I. p. 567. (Nr. 1005–1006.); 5 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 35 = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244 N, fol. 95, ep. 228B; LCPC CL VI I. p. 348. (Nr. 2477.); CAMERALIA I. p. 69. (Nr. 73.); 5 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 36; LCPC CL VI I. p. 348. (Nr. 2478.); 7 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 49r–v; LCPC CL VI I. p. 348. (Nr. 2482.); 5 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 44v; THEINER I. p. 799. (Nr. MCCXXII.), LCPC CL VI FR p. 201–202. (Nr. 517.); 19 December 1351: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 263, fol. 14; AAV Cam. Ap., Obl. et Sol., vol. 26, fol. 180v and vol. 28, fol. 55v; CAMERALIA I. p. 204. (Nr. 356.); MOHLER 1931. p. 280. With a reference to Gerhard Schindler's work, Kowalski dated Petrus Begonis' resignation from the chancellorship of Wrocław to 1382. KOWALSKI 1996. p. 242; SCHINDLER 1938. p. 164–165.

²⁷ 14 June 1348: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 189, fol. 21r, ep. 47; MVB I. p. 566. (Nr. 999.)

²⁸ Until the publication of the papal letter which reserved the archdeaconate of Zemplén for Petrus Begonis (25 February 1349, see below) he was not able to occupy his canonry in Cracow; this happened only in 1350. KOWALSKI 1996. p. 241.

²⁹ 25 February 1349: AAV Reg. Suppl. 17, fol. 158; MPV III. p. 322–323. (Nr. 323.)

³⁰ Petrus Begonis paid the papal tax collectors 125 and 30 florins as *annata* of the canonry in Eger and the archdeaconate of Zemplén. These offices had become vacant with the death of John, son of Demeter. 27 December 1351: AAV Cam. Ap., Collect., vol. 181, fol. 123r; Mon Vat I/1. p. 449. The pope repeated the donation of the mentioned benefices on the same day. MVB I. p. 730. (Nr. 1411.)

archdeaconate of Zemplén in 1353 for a canonry in Esztergom (1353–1366),³¹ and the canonry of Eger he held until 1370, when he received a benefice in the diocese of Commignes.³² From the end of the 1350s, the geographical focus of Petrus Begonis' ecclesiastical career changed; he gradually exchanged his benefices in Poland and Hungary for Western European ones. For a long time, he was archdeacon of Aure in the diocese of Commignes (1353–1370).³³ He also held minor ecclesiastical benefices in France, such as the rectorship in Jobia (diocese of Gap, 1363),³⁴ then in Combes (diocese of Béziers, 1370),³⁵ and a canonry and prebend in the church of S. Stephanus de Tescone (diocese of Montauban, 1370),³⁶ but he was also granted the expectative rights for a prebend in Commignes (1368),³⁷ and obtained a canonry and a prebend in Liège (1372)³⁸ and Paris (1375).³⁹ In 1370 he was appointed archdeacon of Condroz in the diocese of Liège, for which he had to give up his Polish benefices.⁴⁰ However, Petrus Begonis's representatives were unable to claim this dignity due to the opposition of the chapters' members.⁴¹ Thus, the pope

³¹ Petrus Begonis was given the canonry of Esztergom, which Andrew, son of Demeter had resigned at the same time in the papal Curia. According to the papal grant, he retained his expectative right for the archdeaconate of Aure and was also allowed to retain his canonries in Cracow and Eger. 26 April 1353: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 121, fol. 140r–v (MNL OL DF 289417); THEINER II. p. 6. (Nr. XII.) On 26 April 1353, Petrus Begonis paid 27 florins as *annata* to the papal tax collectors for the canonry of Esztergom. AAV Cam. Ap. Collect., vol. 181, fol. 117; Mon Vat I/2. p. 442; C. TÓTH 2019. p. 194; KOLLÁNYI 1900. p. 57. The canonry in Esztergom, vacated by the resignation of Petrus Begonis, was given to another cleric in 1366. AAV Cam. Ap. Collect., vol. 182, fol. 56; Mon Vat I/1. p. 465.

³² This canonry in Eger vacated in this way was given to Stephen, son of Blasius of *Ciil*. 22 July 1370: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 171, fol. 198.

³³ A papal source from 1371 reveals that the archdeaconate of Aure became vacant when Petrus Begonis was given the archdeaconate of Condroz. 3 February 1371: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 176, fol. 56.

³⁴ We do not know when Petrus Begonis acquired this benefice. In July 1363 he was already holding it, however, in the same month he renounced it. 11 July 1363: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 151, fol. 277; 28 July 1363: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 153, fol. 60.

³⁵ This office did not involve pastoral care and Petrus Begonis renounced it when he obtained the archdeaconate of Condroz. 9 May 1370: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 172, fol. 123.

³⁶ 11 July 1363: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 151, fol. 277.

³⁷ The condition of the papal grant was that he would renounce his canonry in Eger when he occupied the benefice in the expectative. 13 December 1368: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 170, fol. 222.

³⁸ This benefice was vacated by the death of Étienne Aubert the younger, cardinal presbyter of the church of S. Laurentius in Lucina. 25 May 1372: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 183, fol. 217; HC I. p. 43.

³⁹ 26 March 1375: AAV Reg. Aven., 199, fol. 42v.

⁴⁰ Meaning his canonry in Cracow and his chancellorship in Wrocław. 3 July 1370: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 172, fol. 229. A document dating between 1378 and 1382 reveals that he renounced his benefices in Poland (MVB p. 66–67. /Nr. 87./), which were given in 1396 to Johannes Pomeranus de Prussia, a cleric of King Louis I of Hungary and Queen Elisabeth. 5 April 1396: MVB V. p. 533–534. (Nr. 982.); KOWALSKI 1996. p. 182–183. (Nr. 87.) The promotion of Petrus Begonis to the archdeaconate of Condroz was mentioned by the account book of the *collectoria* of Cologne. AAV Cam. Ap., Collect., vol. 5, fol. 151v; KIRSCH 1894. p. 352.

⁴¹ 2 May 1371: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 282, fol. 110, AAV Reg. Aven. 174, fol. 305v.

appointed conservators to enforce Begonis's rights.⁴² As later papal sources consistently refer to Petrus Begonis as archdeacon of Condroz, we must assume that the problem was eventually resolved.⁴³

Petrus Begonis represented cardinal de la Jugie in the Hungarian Kingdom on several occasions.⁴⁴ The chronology of his visits – which can be reconstructed from the sources – suggests that he spent longer periods in the Hungary and, given that the cardinal held Polish benefices as well, in the region. He was first commissioned to Hungary by the cardinal in 1343, in connection with the *magisterium* of the houses of the Stephanites in Esztergom and Budafelhévíz (*magisterium domus cruciferorum sancti Stephani regis de Strigonia et Calidisaquis*).⁴⁵ Petrus' next visit to Hungary took place two years later, in the autumn of 1345, as it is indicated by Clement VI's request for the support of Louis I for Begonis acting as the representative of de la Jugie.⁴⁶ This document was preceded by a *supplicatio* dating a few days earlier in which de la Jugie asked the pope to grant him the possibility to retain the archdeaconate of Torontál and the canonry of the church of Várad, because his representatives had occupied these ecclesiastical offices before being informed that the cardinal's special rights for the archdioceses of Esztergom and Kalocsa had been withdrawn in the consistory. The supplication also reported that Louis I had earlier prohibited the cardinal's representatives to enter the Hungarian Kingdom for seven months.⁴⁷ Although de la Jugie's delegates were not named in the supplication, the king's order was presumably directed against the

⁴² The delegated executors were the deans of the church of S. Maria ad gradus (diocese of Cologne) and that of the church of S. Paulus (diocese of Liège), and the archdeacon of Hanonia (Honnecourt, diocese of Cambrai). 9 June 1372: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 185, fol. 146v.

⁴³ Petrus Begonis – a supporter of Urban VI – was eventually deprived of this title by antipope Clement VII. BERLIÈRE 1906. p. 182.

⁴⁴ Petrus Begonis is mentioned in several documents, which are not necessarily related to his activity in Hungary, as cardinal de la Jugie's procurator in the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms. As "*capellanus et familiaris commensalis, clericus Castrensis, baquallarius in legibus, procurator dicti cardinali in regnis Ungarie et Polonie*", 20 October 1345: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 10, fol. 72r, MVB I. p. 320. (Nr. 532.); and with the same date: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 217, fol. 366. = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 169, fol. 230; MVB I. p. 321. (Nr. 533.); "*baccalaureus in legibus, familiaris et procurator principalis in regnis Ungarie et Polonie*", 14 June 1348: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 183–184. (Nr. 371.); MVB I. 565–566. (Nr. 998–999.); and with identical content, 25 or 27 June 1348: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 118–119. (Nr. 161–162.), MVB I. p. 567. (Nr. 1005.); as "*baccallarius in legibus specialis capellanus, commensalis ac principalis vicarius et procurator in Ungarie et Polonie regnis*", 25 February 1349: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 241, fol. 332v–333r; MNL OL DF 291188; MPV III. p. 323. (Nr. 323); finally, as "*procurator principalis in regnis Ungarie et Polonie*", 22 March 1349: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 197. (Nr. 401)

⁴⁵ The papal letter asking for support for the cardinal's procurators was not only addressed to the Hungarian king; Clement VI sent a similar letter to the Hungarian queen and, in connection with the cardinal's Polish benefices, to the Polish king Casimir and his wife. 10 June 1343: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 137, fol. 26v–27r (MNL OL DF 291796); THEINER I. p. 654. (Nr. DCCCCXXIX.)

⁴⁶ 28 September 1345: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 139, fol. 114v, ep. 446–447 (MNL OL DF 291827); LCPC CL VI II. p. 56. (Nr. 1998–1999.)

⁴⁷ According to György Bónis' theory, the reason for the expulsion was the dispute over the bishopric of Veszprém (1344–1345). BÓNIS p. 1961. p. 258–259.

envoys who had left the papal court in the summer of 1343 – meaning John, son Domonkos and Petrus Begonis.⁴⁸

Next time Petrus Begonis was mentioned in the sources in the autumn of 1346. This time he was delegated to Hungary, because some of the villages belonging to the benefices of cardinal de la Jugie had been burnt.⁴⁹ Petrus probably stayed in Hungary continuously until at least the spring of 1347, when he represented the cardinal in a lawsuit against the Dominican sisters of the Rabbits' Island (Nyulak szigete, today Margitsziget). The legal conflict between de la Jugie, as the magistrate of the Stefanite houses in Esztergom and Budafelhévíz, and the sisters originated in the ownership of some lands in Budafelhévíz and in the rights for the tithe on certain vineyards. As the representative of the Dominican sisters proved the legitimacy of their claim with older documents, Petrus Begonis renounced the disputed properties on behalf of the cardinal.⁵⁰ After this court case in 1347, Petrus Begonis probably no longer represented the interests in person of de la Jugie in Hungary. A document from 1349 reveals that Petrus 'delegated' the management of the cardinal's Hungarian benefices to a cleric named John.⁵¹

Petrus Begonis' career changed dramatically in the early 1350s, as the talented cleric came to the attention of the pope. From 1351, Begonis was entitled papal chaplain in the sources,⁵² and it seems that this was not only an honorary title, but he left cardinal de la Jugie's court and started to work directly for the pope. This theory is confirmed by the fact that Petrus Begonis no longer acted as de la Jugie's representative; as a matter of fact, the documents mention the names of different clerics as the cardinal's delegates from the end of the 1350s.⁵³ On the other hand, Petrus was mainly sent on

⁴⁸ 25 September 1345: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 108–109. (Nr. CCVII.)

⁴⁹ 18 October 1346: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 140, fol. 152v–153r, ep. 663–664 (MNL OL DF 291857), LCPC CL VI. I. p. 157. (Nr. 1246.) As de la Jugie was a close relative and confidant of pope Clement VI, we cannot exclude the possibility that the king's resentment caused by the Holy See's policy after the death of Prince Andrew (September 1345) was behind this conflict.

⁵⁰ A document issued by the chapter of Buda described Petrus Begonis as a person skilled in law (*iuris peritus*), as procurator and special envoy (*nuntius specialis*) of cardinal de la Jugie. 14 March 1347: MNL OL DL 2873, MES III. p. 622–624. (Nr. 816) This charter transcribed the decision of Thomas, archbishop of Esztergom dating to 24 March 1316, in which he had prohibited the Stefanites to collect tithe of the vineyards in question. For this see MNL OL DL 1866; MES II. p. 722–723. (Nr. 817.); MALÉTH 2020. p. 99.

⁵¹ This is revealed by a document issued in Buda by Ildebrandino Conti, bishop of Padua, deputy of cardinal Gui de Boulogne during his legation to Hungary in 1349. 6 September 1349: MNL OL DF 248989, MES III. p. 696. (Nr. 935.)

⁵² 5 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 35 = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244 N, fol. 95, ep. 228B; CVH I/1. p. 69. (Nr. 73., dated to 1352) See also BARABÁS 2021. p. 143.

⁵³ In 1357 Johannes Pelros, archdeacon of Arad was the *vicarius generalis procurator* of cardinal de la Jugie. 30 October 1357: MNL OL DF 277381; URKUNDENBUCH II. p. 145–148. (Nr. 729). In 1364, Peter, son of Stephen of Monostor, archdeacon of Szabolcs later papal tax collector, and Johannes Bastardi, canon of Rouen are mentioned as the procurators of the cardinal's Hungarian benefices. 1 July 1364: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 246, fol. 244v; THEINER II. p. 61–62. (Nr. CXIV.). For Peter, son of Stephen see FEDELES 2018. p. 575–586. However, a record of the Apostolic Chamber from 1363 considered Petrus Begonis still a close associate of cardinal de la Jugie (*socius domini cardinalis Guillermi*) 22 June 1363: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 300, fol. 146; AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol.

papal missions afterwards. Many of these assignments were diplomatic in their nature. In 1351, he was sent by Clement VI to Hungary as *nuntius*.⁵⁴ The mission must have been connected to the agreement that was supposed to be concluded between Queen Joan I of Naples and Louis I. The Hungarian king returned to Buda from his second Neapolitan campaign at the end of October 1350,⁵⁵ and negotiations were conducted for almost two years through papal mediation.⁵⁶ Petrus Begonis was not entirely unfamiliar with the conflict between the two branches of the Angevin dynasty: a papal letter dated to 1345 states that he had been involved as a representative of cardinal de la Jugie in the diplomatic negotiations which were presumably concerned with the coronation of prince Andrew.⁵⁷ However, the commission in 1351 was not prolonged, as Petrus Begonis was back in the papal Curia at the end of the year, paying *servitium* to the Apostolic Camera on behalf of Michael, bishop of Zagreb.⁵⁸

Petrus Begonis was delegated to the Hungarian Kingdom by the pope on two more occasions.⁵⁹ In 1363, according to an entry in the Apostolic Chamber's *Introitus et exitus* books, he received 400 gold florins to cover the costs of his mission to Hungary and to the German territories (*ad partes Alamannie et Ungarie*).⁶⁰ Although we have no further details of this commission – neither the purpose nor the outcome of the journey is known –, it is generally considered as a tax collector's commission in historiography.⁶¹

302, fol. 15v; KIRSCH 1894. p. 420.

⁵⁴ See the document cited above with the date 5 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 35 = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244 N, fol. 95, ep. 228B; LCPC CL VI. I. p. 348. (Nr. 2477.); CAMERALIA I. p. 69. (Nr. 73.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 36, LCPC CL VI. I. p. 348. (Nr. 2478.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 44v; LCPC CL VI FR p. 201–202. (Nr. 517.); THEINER I. p. 799. (Nr. MCCXXII.); 7 August 1351: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 145, fol. 49r–v; LCPC CL VI. I. p. 348. (Nr. 2482.)

⁵⁵ KRISTÓ 1988. p. 124.

⁵⁶ The agreement was concluded in late 1352. CSUKOVITS 2019. p. 48.

⁵⁷ 28 September 1345: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 139, fol. 114v, ep. 446–447 (MNL OL DF 291827); LCPC CL VI. II. p. 56. (Nr. 1998–1999.)

⁵⁸ 9 December 1351: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 263, fol. 14, MOHLER 1931. p. 280; AAV Cam. Ap., Obl. et Sol., vol. 26, fol. 180v and vol. 28, fol. 55v; CAMERALIA I. p. 204. (Nr. 356.)

⁵⁹ According to a papal letter of 1359, Petrus Begonis was on sent to Louis I on behalf of Charles, duke of Normandy, and John, count of Poitou: "*Karolus dux Normannie [...] et Johannes comes Pictauiensis [...] dilectos filios Petrum Begonis archidiaconum de Aura in Ecclesia Convenarum, et nobilem virum Stephanum de Fayno militem, latores presencium, nuntios suos pro certis negotiis, sicut accepimus, per eos ministerio vive vocis tue celsitudini exponendis ad presentiam tuam mittant*" – 18 February 1359: MDA II. p. 526. (Nr. 396.) The purpose of the delegation is unknown, but it was probably to obtain the support of the Hungarian king for the Kingdom of France, which had been in a difficult situation during the Hundred Years' War. Another interesting question is why the archdeacon, who was essentially a papal officer, was mentioned by Innocent VI as a representative of the dauphin. Petrus Begonis may have originally been an intermediary between the pope and prince Charles of Normandy, who had ruled as regent since the battle of Poitiers (1356) and was chosen because of his experience in Hungary. I would like to thank Tamás Fedeles for drawing my attention to this papal letter.

⁶⁰ 22 June 1363: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 300, fol. 146; AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 302, fol. 15v; KIRSCH 1894. p. 420.

⁶¹ BERLIERE 1906. p. 181.

This assumption is indeed supported by the reference to the Apostolic Chamber in the above-mentioned note (*super certis negotiis ... ipsam Cameram tangentibus*). However, it is contradicted by the fact that there were other tax collectors working in the Hungarian Kingdom at that time,⁶² and by the fact that there are no recordings in the sources of the sums collected by Petrus Begonis. The most probable explanation is that the cleric, who at this time had the title of archdeacon of Aure, was responsible for settling the conflict with the Hungarian king over the papal taxes.⁶³

More details are known about Petrus Begonis' mission in 1369. This time, Urban V (1362–1370) sent him with John, bishop of Dax⁶⁴ from Rome to Louis I and Charles IV (of Luxembourg) (1346/1355–1378) to have the engagement of the Hungarian king's niece, Elizabeth⁶⁵ with the emperor's son, Wenceslas annulled.⁶⁶ It is highly probable that the papal envoys were additionally instructed to obtain armed support from the Hungarian king for the pope against the Italian powers, particularly against the city of Perugia⁶⁷ which was supported by Bernabò Visconti.⁶⁸ During the spring of the same year, Petrus Begonis had also been commissioned to request similar help from Joan I of Naples.⁶⁹

From the 1360s, Begonis recurrently participated in the Holy See's diplomacy. The tasks entrusted to him varied both in terms of the European powers involved and the nature of the affairs. In 1366, for example, the pope delegated him to establish peace between Guiscard Tavelli (Guichard Tavel), bishop of Sion, and the de la Tour brothers, Anthony and John. Tavelli, who enjoyed the support of count Amadeus VI of Savoy, was in continuous conflict

⁶² Arnaldus de la Caucina and Johannes de Capraspina. Mon Vat I/1. p. lxxi–lxxvii.

⁶³ Louis I. obstructed the work of the papal tax collectors and forbade the collection. Urban V's letters to the Hungarian king and the archbishop of Esztergom: 10 and 12 May: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 245, fol. 154r–v; THEINER II. p. 54–55. (Nr. XCVIII–XCIX.); LC U V. I. p. 58. (Nr. 420–421.)

⁶⁴ Jean de Saie (Johannes de Saya) was bishop of Lombez from 1362 to 1363, of Dax from 1363 to 1375, of Agen from 1375 to 1382, and of Albi from 1382 until his death in 1383. He was originally a cleric from Bordeaux, and he was sent to Louis I not only by Urban V, but also by Gregory XI. POMMEROL – MONFRIN 2001. p. 450. (Nr. 383. 8.); HCl. p. 77, 81, 97.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth was the daughter of prince Stephen, younger brother of Louis I, born of his marriage to Margaret of Bavaria. As the king of Hungary had no children of his own for a long time, Elizabeth was seen as a potential heir to the throne. Accordingly, several dynastic marriage plans had been made before her engagement to Wenceslas, including prince Albert of Austria as a possible candidate. HALÁSZ 2016. p. 93.

⁶⁶ 9 December 1369: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 7v and fol. 14; THEINER II. p. 89–90. (Nr. CLXXI–CLXXII.) The papal delegates with the title of *nuntius* received a daily allowance of 8 florins. 11 December 1369: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 14v. The relationship between Louis I and Charles IV was strained by the issue of succession to the Polish throne: the emperor tried to secure the Polish crown for his own dynasty by betrothing his son Wenceslas to the illegitimate daughter of king Casimir. FRAKNÓI 1901. p. 251–253; PÓR 1907. p. 37.

⁶⁷ The city, which rebelled against papal authority in 1369–1370, even hired the notorious mercenary general John Hawkwood to fight the pope. Consequently, Urban V declared a crusade against the city. HOUSLEY 1982. p. 261.

⁶⁸ 9 December 1369: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 7v; 11 December 1369: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 14r; THEINER II. p. 90. (Nr. CLXXII.); with the same date: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 14v.

⁶⁹ 9 April 1369: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244M, fol. 46, ep. 126.

with the de la Tour family, one of the noble families of Valais (Wallis) canton, during his more than thirty years long office time as bishop (1342–1375).⁷⁰ However, just as previous attempts, Begonis' endeavour to mediate failed due to the intransigence of the opposing parties.⁷¹

Petrus also represented the Italian policy of Urban V and Gregory XI as a *nuntius apostolicus* on several occasions. The sources suggest that he was a member of the pope's entourage while Urban V stayed in Rome (and in Italy) from October 1367 to September 1370.⁷² During this period, Begonis was sent twice to the Holy Roman emperor: first in July 1368, because of Charles IV's visit to Italy and the coronation as empress of his fourth wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania;⁷³ and secondly in December 1369, in connection with the failure of the Luxembourg–Anjou marriage alliance and the military situation in Italy (as detailed above). Subsequently, Petrus was also sent to Rome as papal envoy (1370),⁷⁴ and he negotiated with the doge of Genoa on behalf of pope Gregory XI (1374).⁷⁵

In addition to his diplomatic assignments, Petrus Begonis was also charged with minor missions by the Apostolic Chamber in the 1360s. In 1364, for example, he had to arrange the transfer of goods reserved for the Chamber from the bequest of the archbishop of Cologne,⁷⁶ and then he had to hand over 4000 gold florins to the representatives of the Alberti Company⁷⁷ in Flanders.⁷⁸ As the pope had sent him to the Hungarian king in the summer of 1363, and a record from February 1364 shows that Petrus Begonis was staying in Cologne at the time,⁷⁹ it seems very likely that he was not in the papal court when the Chamber issued the instructions (in June–July 1364); rather further tasks were added to his already existing delegation. In August and December 1364, he

⁷⁰ The members of the family de la Tour were the lords of Châtillon-le-Bas (in German: Niedergesteln, Switzerland). On the origin and the course of the conflict between Tavelli and the de la Tour brothers see BERCHEM 1899. p. 29–395.

⁷¹ 10 January 1366: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 248, fol. 25v, fol. 27. In April of the same year, Urban V tried to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion by sending another delegate. For the documents relating to the pope's mediation attempts see BERCHEM 1899. p. 369–393.

⁷² MOLLAT 1912. p. 113–116.

⁷³ 27 June 1368: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 249, fol. 131v. On the coronation of Elisabeth of Pommerania see WILBERTZ 1987. p. 49.

⁷⁴ 19 June 1370: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 250, fol. 106v.

⁷⁵ 16 January 1374: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 270, fol. 5v, fol. 19, fol. 78; 2 January 1374: AAV Reg. Vat., 269, fol. 247v.

⁷⁶ 4 June 1364: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 246, fol. 231r. The archbishop in question could be only Wilhelm von Gennep (Guillelmus de Gennep, 1349–1362), who died in September 1362. His successor Adolf von der Mark (Adolfus de Marka) resigned in 1363, and his successor Engelbert von der Mark (Engelbertus de Marka, 1364–1368) did not take office before the mentioned papal order. HC I. p. 98; KIRSCH 1894. p. xlv.

⁷⁷ In the second half of the 14th century, the Florentine Alberti company was one of the exclusive bankers to the papal court. ROOVER 1958. p. 14–59.

⁷⁸ 10 July 1364: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 246, fol. 270r; 11 July 1364: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 246, fol. 270v.

⁷⁹ The papal tax collector of Cologne recorded with the date of 7 February 1364 that he had given Petrus Begonis – who had resided in this time in Cologne – 100 florins following the instructions of the Apostolic Chamber. AAV Cam. Ap., Collect., vol. 9, fol. 71r–v; KIRSCH 1894. p. 333.

fulfilled his mission and delivered certain sums to the Apostolic Chamber from the bequest of the archbishop of Cologne.⁸⁰ His financial and legal expertise was also utilized by the Apostolic Camera in Rome (1369), when he assisted in the papal court's accounting as *procurator fiscalis*⁸¹ and *consiliarius camerae*.⁸²

Besides, the sources provide data on Begonis' two further commissions which do not fit neither in the category of the diplomatic missions, nor in that of the finance related tasks. First, Clement VI appointed Petrus Begonis as executor in a beneficial case in 1346.⁸³ The pope allowed Guillelmus Giberti, canon of Pécs,⁸⁴ to receive the revenues of his *sine cura* benefices for three years while being in the service of Galhardus, archbishop of Brindisi.⁸⁵ The executors – Petrus Begonis among them – were commissioned to ensure the rights of Guillelmus Giberti.⁸⁶ Secondly, Innocent VI delegated Petrus in 1353 to supervise the vassals and properties which Johannes Cantelmus, lord of Bovino, had placed under the protection of the Holy See because of his conflict with Louis I, king of Naples.⁸⁷

In conclusion, it can be stated that Petrus Begonis was an active member of the papal court for decades. His legal qualification and personal qualities

⁸⁰ 6 August 1364: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 305, fol. 54v; KIRSCH 1894. p. lxix, 393. (3716 florins. 3 sol. 4 den.); and 14 December 1364: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 311, fol. 43r–v; KIRSCH 1894. p. lxix, 394–396. (3846 florins. 4 sol.) In spring 1365, Petrus Begonis paid 1923 florins 2 sol. to the Apostolic Chamber. 27 March 1365: AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 311, fol. 43v–44r; KIRSCH 1894. p. 396–397.

⁸¹ 4 May 1369: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 169, fol. 105r.

⁸² 21 May 1370: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 171, fol. 39v.

⁸³ On the executors of beneficial cases see HITZBLECK 2009; on the executors of beneficial cases concerning Hungarian benefices in the first half of the 14th century see MALÉTH 2020. p. 127–134.

⁸⁴ Guillelmus Giberti (Gitberti) cleric from Béziers, was a canon of Pécs, Esztergom and Veszprém, and he also held minor benefices in the archdeaconate of Somogy. He probably arrived in Hungary with the papal tax collectors, as a papal notary. He worked as *subcollector* of Galhardus de Carceribus. He died in the papal Curia on 19 May 1348. For more information about him see, 20 May 1336: AAV Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol., vol. 6, fol. 149r; vol. 14, fol. 30v; vol. 16, fol. 24v; CAMERALIA I. p. 13. (Nr. 22, as a cleric from Béziers who examined the incomes of the dioceses of Nyitra and Veszprém); 13 February 1340: Mon Vat I/1. 417. (as notary working for Petrus Gervasii); 25 March; 1347: AAV Instr. Misc. 1735; THEINER I. p. 736–737. (Nr. MCVI, as canon of Pécs, one of the procurators of John, elected bishop of Veszprém). His canonries in Pécs, Eger, Esztergom and Veszprém, and his incomes from the chapels in the archdeaconate of Somogy were conferred to different people after his decease, see 25 May 1348: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 182–183. (Nr. CCCLXVIII–CCCLXX); 31 January 1352: Reg. Suppl. I/2. p. 232–233. (Nr. CDLXXXVI.) Also relating: Reg. Suppl. I/1. p. 228–229, 247; TIMÁR 1981. p. 46; C. TÓTH 2019. p. 205. Hungarian historiography tends to identify Guillelmus as bishop of Béziers, although it is never mentioned in any of his supplications that he would have been a prelate. The bishop of Béziers in this time (1313–1349) was Guillaume Frédel, younger brother of cardinal Bérenger Frédel the younger. In my opinion, Guillaume Giberti and Guillaume Frédel can hardly be the same person, especially as the latter died in December 1349. MOREMBERT 1977. col. 1183; HC I. p. 137.

⁸⁵ Galhardus, the former papal tax collector in Hungary, was archbishop of Brindisi between 1346 and 1348. HC I. p. 149.

⁸⁶ 7 August 1346: AAV Reg. Aven., vol. 87a, fol. 545r–v, ep. 29 (MNL OL DF 292732)

⁸⁷ 4 May 1353: AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 235, fol. 92r = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244A, fol. 95r, ep. 266; LSC I VI. I. p. 92. (Nr. 267.); AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 235, fol. 93r = AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 244A, fol. 222r, ep. 565a; LSC I VI. I. p. 87. (Nr. 255.)

enabled him to play a significant role, first in the entourage of cardinal de la Jugie, and from the 1350s on as papal chaplain in the service of the pope. He did not reach the top of ecclesiastical hierarchy – he obtained only the office of archdeacon (of Zemplén, Aure and later Condroz) – but he often held several benefices simultaneously. Begonis became a versatile and agile papal representative, who gained diplomatic experience through his missions in various parts of Europe (Holy Roman Empire, Hungarian Kingdom, Italy) and sometimes also managed financial tasks on behalf of the Apostolic Camera. His ecclesiastical career, spanning from the reign of Clement VI to Urban VI, gives an insight into the functioning of the Avignonese Curia and helps to understand the administrative processes of the period.

Ecclesiastical benefices of Petrus Begonis

1345–1346: canon of Wrocław

1348–1382: *cancellarius* of the church of Wrocław

1348: expectative for a canonry in Cracow

1349/1350–1353: archdeacon of Zemplén

1349/1350–1370: canon of Eger

1350–1378: canon of Cracow

1353–1366: canon of Esztergom

1353–1371: archdeacon of Aure (diocese of Commignes*)

1363: rector of the church of *Jobia* (diocese of Gap; *rector ruralis ecclesie de Jobia*)*

1363: canonry and prebend of the church S. Stephanus de Tescone (diocese of Montauban)*

1368: canon of Commignes

1368: expectative for another canonry in Commignes, with the condition that he resigned of his benefice in Eger

1370: rector of the church of Combes (diocese of Béziers; *rector ruralis ecclesie de Combacio*)*

1370: canon of Liège

1370–1385: archdeacon of Condroz (diocese of Liège)

1370: prebend in the diocese of Commignes*

1375: canonry and prebend in Paris*

The dioceses signed with * are located in present-day France.

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Abbreviations

AAV Cam. Ap., Collect.

Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Camera Apostolica
Collectoriae.

AAV Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex.

Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Camera Apostolica Introitus
et Exitus.

AAV Cam. Ap., Obl. et Sol.	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Camera Apostolica Obligationes et solutiones.
AAV Reg. Aven.	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Registra Avenionensia.
AAV Reg. Vat.	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Registra Vaticana.
AAV Reg. Suppl.	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano Registra Supplicationum.
MNL OL DF	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény.
MNL OL DL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Levéltár.

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LCPC CL VI	<i>Clément VI (1342–1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales intéressant les pays autres que la France.</i> I–II. Ed. DÉPREZ, Eugène – MOLLAT, Guillaume. Paris. 1960–1961.
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MES	<i>Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis.</i> I–III. Ed. KNAUZ, Ferdinandus. Strigonii. 1874–1924.
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Emir O. FILIPOVIĆ:

St. Gregory, the Patron Saint of Bosnia*

This paper attempts to shed light on the fluctuating identity of the patron saint of medieval Bosnia. Using available written sources and surviving contemporary numismatic material from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, it presents a curious situation whereby in the late Middle Ages at least three different saints of the same name were revered as patrons of the realm. The author argues that the choice of the specific saints and the changes in their identity were motivated by the peculiar religious conditions in Bosnia where, in light of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, the existence of the schismatic Bosnian Church increased external pressure on the ruling structures within the Kingdom of Bosnia to finally accept Latin Christianity as the official state religion.

Keywords: St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory the Great, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bosnia, charters, coins



Numerous written documents from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, as well as surviving contemporary numismatic evidence, indicate that the patron saint of Bosnia during the Middle Ages was St. Gregory. However, the same sources also show that during those two centuries at least three different saints of the same name were revered as patrons of the realm: St. Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), also known as *the Theologian*, Pope Gregory I (ca. 540–604), i.e. *St. Gregory the Great*, and St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (ca. 213–270), *the Miracle-Worker*.¹ The choice of these specific patron saints was

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¹ On St. Gregory as the patron saint of Bosnia in the Middle Ages see: GLUŠAĆ 1924; SOLOVIEV 1949; LOVRENOVIĆ 2008.

obviously motivated by the peculiar religious conditions in Bosnia where, in light of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, the existence of the schismatic Bosnian Church increased external pressure on the ruling structures within the Kingdom of Bosnia to finally accept Latin Christianity as the official state religion. This paper will seek to demonstrate how the fluctuating religious policy of the Bosnian rulers in the fifteenth century reflected on the identity of the patron saint and will attempt to understand these changes within the context of the complex religious and political situation in Bosnia at the time.

The roots of unconventional Christianity in Bosnia

The land of Bosnia begins to appear under that name in written sources from the middle of the tenth century,² but the beginnings and development of this secluded mountainous country in the early period of its existence are still shrouded in mystery.³ The lack of virtually any extensive sources or archaeological material from that time does not allow us to follow this process with any kind of certainty. We only know that its political reality in the following centuries was shaped by the conflict between Byzantium and Hungary for supremacy over the broader region of the Balkans.⁴ It is in these circumstances that more and more information about Bosnia emerges during the second half of the twelfth century. From then on, we know that Bosnian rulers bore the title of “ban” and were under the influence of the Hungarian kings, while maintaining a certain degree of independence in matters of trade, economy, military, and religion. The liberty in religious issues was specifically manifested through the existence of a Bosnian diocese which was headed by a presumably native Bosnian bishop, and through direct contacts and correspondence between the ruler of Bosnia and the pope in Rome.⁵

But it is exactly in light of the growing Bosnian autonomy that at the very end of the twelfth century its ruler, Ban Kulin (ca. 1180–1203), was denounced to the pope and accused by one neighbouring lord of receiving and protecting heretics in his realm.⁶ Pope Innocent III subsequently wrote to the king of Hungary urging him to take swift and decisive action against the insubordinate ruler of Bosnia. Protesting his innocence in the whole matter, believing that the accused heretics were actually faithful Christians, Kulin allowed them to be investigated by a papal emissary who managed to extract an admission and promise from the leaders of the group that they will in future abstain from the sins they had committed in the past. Their written abjuration was confirmed

² DAI p. 160–161.

³ See: ŽIVKOVIĆ 2010.

⁴ MAKK 1989.

⁵ DUJMOVIĆ – JUKIĆ 2010.

⁶ The letter was published in VMS p. 6. Nr. 10.

by the Hungarian king, Emeric in 1203 and the whole issue seemed to have been settled without much discussion.⁷

But the coerced renunciation did not alter the unconventional religious situation drastically; Bosnian bishops remained apparently ignorant of the Holy Christian rites and could not speak a word of Latin.⁸ Using this as justification, the Catholic establishment of Hungary attempted to further destabilize Bosnia in order to gain more control over the region which was slowly slipping out of their hands. However, in Bosnia the introduction of Latin Christianity was perceived to be associated with the establishment of greater Hungarian political influence, so this process was opposed by the local Bosnian elites who considered the Hungarian and Catholic advances as foreign, strange and potentially destructive to the autonomous position they had enjoyed thus far.

In the absence of a military solution to the problem, the Hungarian kings and bishops applied pressure on the pope to replace the noncompliant Slavic Bosnian bishop with a Hungarian prelate and to subject the Bosnian diocese to the metropolitan see of Kalocsa in Hungary. When this did not have the desired effect, they managed to remove the existing ecclesiastical structures from Bosnia, including the bishop and his chapter, and transfer them to Đakovo in Slavonia which was then a part of the diocese of Pécs.⁹ By dislocating the see of the diocese and placing its administration into the hands of Hungarian priests, King Bela IV and Pope Innocent IV had hoped to exert greater political and religious control over Bosnia, but their common project ultimately backfired. Instead of reaffirming Hungarian political influence and Latin Christianity in Bosnia, this seemingly insignificant landlocked state remained outside of firmer reach of the Hungarian kings and its doors were firmly shut to institutional Catholicism.¹⁰ It would take more than six centuries until regular diocesan Catholic hierarchy was reintroduced in Bosnia.¹¹

This development did not seem to deter the thirteenth-century Bosnian elites who soon found a replacement for the relocated see of the Bosnian diocese. The solution consisted of establishing a kind of a national Bosnian Church which was in essence a fusion of the old monastic order accused of heretical practices with the remnants of the ecclesiastical institution that had existed there previously. This church had its own local bishop of Bosnian origin, a distinct hierarchical structure, its own liturgy performed in the Slavic language, its particular religious teachings, influenced by western Christianity, but even more so by eastern monastic traditions, and was considered schismatic and heretical both by the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Likewise, members of the Bosnian Church called themselves “Christians” and also

⁷ For the text of the document, see: ČOŠKOVIĆ 2003. p. 113-115. Cf. MAJNARIĆ 2017; DALL’AGLIO 2019a; DALL’AGLIO 2019b.

⁸ CDCDS III. p. 361–362. Nr. 315.

⁹ ŠIDAK 1955; BRANDT 1970; BASLER 1973; BARABÁS 2014. p. 252, n. 697; BARABÁS 2017. p. 22.

¹⁰ DŽAJA 1985.

¹¹ GAVRANOVIĆ 1935. See also: DŽAJA 1992.

assumed their religion to be “the one and true apostolic faith”, meaning that the established versions of Catholic and Orthodox Christianity were thought of as heretical. To the Bosnian Christians, their Church was nothing else but a continuation of the dislocated bishopric, and a shelter which protected their traditional understanding of religion, language and identity.¹²

Due to a lack of sources, the early history of this institution is virtually unknown. For instance, its first mention in contemporary sources is dated to the 1320s, that is to say more than 70 years after the diocesan see was removed from Bosnia. But by then it was clearly an established and structurally fully formed organization.¹³ The ascent of the Bosnian Church corresponds to the political rise, expansion, and integration of Bosnia in the first half of the fourteenth century under the rule of Ban Stjepan II (1322–1353), and it is precisely the sources emanating from the chancery of this ruler that we first encounter the association of St. Gregory with Bosnia.

St. Gregory: more than just a dynastic patron

Since there was no Catholic bishop in Bosnia who would be able to invest and anoint the ruler, Ban Stjepan II had to rely on the Bosnian Church to authorize, legitimize, consecrate and bless his reign.¹⁴ In neighbouring Hungary the monarchy and the Catholic Church canonized rulers to strengthen the position of their royal descendants,¹⁵ and the Orthodox Church did likewise in Serbia with rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty.¹⁶ However, it seems that the atypical religious situation in Bosnia prevented the same models being applied to its rulers from the Kotromanić dynasty since none of them were ever pronounced holy or blessed by the Bosnian Church.¹⁷ Therefore, other forms of religious legitimation had to be employed. The veneration of saints was particularly widespread in the coastal towns of Dalmatia where each commune had its own patron saint,¹⁸ and in that regard Ragusa, where the cult of St. Blaise was especially strong,¹⁹ might have been a significant influence. Apart from the cultural and economic connections which existed between Bosnia and Ragusa at that time, the two were also linked with religious ties from the past century when the Bosnian diocese was subjected to the Ragusan metropolitan archbishop. Thus, the cult of St. Blaise might have paved way for St. Gregory, a saint evidently revered by the Bosnian Christians and members of the Kotromanić dynasty, to assume an exalted position in the ruling ideology of the Bosnian ban, as can be discerned from the existing documents.

¹² The extant literature on the Bosnian Church is vast, presenting diverse and often even conflicting interpretations. This is a selection of the most authoritative works published thus far: ŠIDAK 1975; FINE 1975; ČIRKOVIĆ 1987; ČOŠKOVIĆ 2005.

¹³ ČOŠKOVIĆ 2009.

¹⁴ See: LOVRENOVIĆ 2005a. p. 193–237.

¹⁵ KLANICZAY 2000. On royal sanctity see also: RIDYARD 1988; BOUREAU 2006.

¹⁶ POPOVIĆ 2006; POPOVIĆ 2016; MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ 2007.

¹⁷ See: FILIPOVIĆ 2019b.

¹⁸ MEDVED – SELAK 2015. p. 180–189; BORIĆ 2016; ODAK MIHAILOVIĆ 2016.

¹⁹ NAGY 1972; JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER 2008.

In the first available charter, issued by Ban Stjepan II to count Vukoslav Hrvatinčić in 1323, we encounter a rather peculiar intitulation of the Bosnian ruler. Namely, he styles himself as: "I Saint Gregory, called Ban Stjepan, Bosnian lord".²⁰ Three years later he issued another charter to the same recipient with an almost exact title: "I Saint Gregory, called Ban Stjepan, son of lord Ban Stjepan, by the Grace of God lord to all the Bosnian lands...";²¹ and the title is again repeated in a charter issued in 1329.²² From these examples it seems that St. Gregory was much more than just a dynastic patron as they clearly show that the saint was somehow supposed to be embodied or incarnated in the person of the Bosnian ban, who by the Grace of God assumed the throne to rule the Bosnian lands, defend his subjects and dispense justice. The name of Saint Gregory was obviously invoked to sacralise the legal actions of the ruler and to afford him an aura of sanctity.²³

However, in a charter issued in 1351, this title was somewhat altered. The main idea seemed to have remained the same, but the order was inverted: "I Ban Stjepan, called the servant of Saint Gregory".²⁴ It is unclear what caused this modification and what had changed in the meanwhile. Even though it is not a definitive answer, one must be aware that from the early 1340s Ban Stjepan II embraced a different, more moderate religious course, allowing the establishment of a Bosnian Franciscan Vicariate and intensifying his dealings with the pope.²⁵ It seems that when he died in 1353, Ban Stjepan II was a Catholic and was buried in a Franciscan church.²⁶ The change of St. Gregory's role in the title is perhaps a trace of the small amendments that had to be made in order to reconcile Ban Stjepan II's new religious policies with the teaching of the Bosnian Church which was still supported by the nobility of the realm.²⁷

Almost the exact same title is preserved on a charter of Ban Stjepan II's brother, count Vladislav, issued in 1353 in the name of his fifteen year old son, Ban Tvrtko, the designated successor to Ban Stjepan II: "I servant of God and of Saint Gregory, called lord count Vladislav".²⁸ No further deviations from this title were made in the following period, and the young Ban Tvrtko also titled

²⁰ THALLÓCZY 1914. p. 11; SOLOVIEV 1949. p. 264, calls this "une intitulation bizarre".

²¹ THALLÓCZY 1914. p. 7.

²² THALLÓCZY 1914. p. 14.

²³ BLAGOJEVIĆ 2011. p. 119–120, claims that this unusual title was constructed by "theologically uneducated scribes" who worked in heretical surroundings. However, aside from the fact that Ban Stjepan's designation was obviously not a result of scribal error, since the same title appears in three different documents composed in the period of almost a decade, it can also be pointed out that scribes in the Middle Ages had no authority to create or define royal titles.

²⁴ THALLÓCZY 1914. p. 17.

²⁵ DŽAMBO 1991. p. 77–82.

²⁶ LOVRENOVIĆ 2005b. p. 298, 304.

²⁷ LOVRENOVIĆ, 2008. p. 17.

²⁸ THALLÓCZY 1914. p. 19.

himself in 1366 as: "I servant of God and of Saint Gregory, called lord Ban Tvrtko".²⁹

There are a few observations which can clarify certain issues regarding these documents. Namely, it has been noticed that St. Gregory is only mentioned in those charters issued to the Bosnian nobility which adhered to the Bosnian Church. The Saint is not invoked in any of the contemporary charters issued to the Catholic merchant commune of Ragusa, nor indeed in any letters sent from Bosnia to Venice or Hungary.³⁰ This could possibly mean that the cult of Saint Gregory was particularly strong among the Bosnian Christians, and was something that was nurtured only internally within Bosnia itself. The apparent lack of any further diplomatic sources prevents us from reaching any other concrete conclusions.

The document from 1366 is the last one which mentions Saint Gregory in the title of the Bosnian ruler. After 1377, when Ban Tvrtko had himself crowned as king of the Serbs and Bosnia, he and his successors adopted a new name – Stefan (Gr. *στέφανος*), the crowned one – borrowed from the ruling ideology of the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty.³¹ This meant that from then on St. Gregory was omitted from the royal title and was not invoked anymore in any of the existing diplomatic documents. Furthermore, in his expansionist policy towards the Adriatic, King Tvrtko established two towns on the seacoast, one named after St. Stephen,³² and the other after St. Michael.³³ However, this did not mean that St. Gregory's role radically diminished after the establishment of the Bosnian Kingdom. In fact, the earliest preserved charter of Tvrtko as king, issued to Ragusa in June of 1378, was composed and written in the "royal court in Trstivnica ... in the church of St. Gregory",³⁴ which shows that the chapel in the capital of Bosnia was also dedicated to the patron saint.³⁵

Which St. Gregory was the patron saint of Bosnia?

The one question that the analysed sources do not speak of, is the identity of this St. Gregory who was so appreciated and honoured in Bosnia. *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* lists at least ten different individuals named Gregory who were considered as saints prior to the fourteenth century, and since the saints' cognomen does not appear in written documents we must turn to coins as a completely different kind of evidence in order to follow the story of the

²⁹ RAČKI 1889, p. 81–82. The same title is used in one other charter from 1366 which has only been preserved in the form of a transcription probably made in the late seventeenth century. Hrvatski spomenici, p. 85–86. Cf. ŠIDAK 1954.

³⁰ SOLOVIEV 1949, p. 265.

³¹ The standard work on Tvrtko's coronation and its political implications is still ĆIRKOVIĆ 1964; ĆIRKOVIĆ 2014. For a different approach which reconsiders the location and the identity of the person who crowned the king see: LOVRENOVIĆ 1999. On the dynastic name of Stefan see: MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ 1997, p. 42–59.

³² SSPP I/1, p. 84. Cf. HRABAK 1978.

³³ Akta i povelje I/1, p. 179. Cf. TOŠIĆ 1976.

³⁴ SSPP I/1, p. 82.

³⁵ ANĐELIĆ 1973, p. 165–171.

Bosnian patron. Namely, both Ban Stjepan II and Ban Tvrtko minted currency which showed Jesus Christ on the obverse and an image of the enthroned ruler on the reverse. But after Tvrtko's coronation in 1377, he ceased to produce his own coins and allowed the Ragusans to have a monopoly on trade and coinage in Bosnia.³⁶ Therefore, these are not helpful in determining which of the many possible St. Gregorys was the Bosnian patron and protector.

After a gap of almost 60 years, the next ruler who minted coins in Bosnia was Tvrtko's son, appropriately named Tvrtko II Tvrtković (1420–1443). In the mid-1430s he began striking coins with a representation of St. Gregory on the reverse, which included an inscription identifying this saint as Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), the fourth century Archbishop of Constantinople (Figure 1, 2).³⁷ On the coins the saint is portrayed as wearing a long-draped toga with an episcopal crozier in his right and a book in his left hand. He has no discernible beard, there is an aureole above his head and to his left side there is a fleur-de-lys which had become one of the most prominent political symbols of medieval Bosnia. Even though the legend on the coin does not claim that St. Gregory of Nazianzus was indeed the patron saint of Bosnia or the personal guardian of the ruler, this can nevertheless be deduced since it was customary to adorn medieval currency with an image of a holy protector.³⁸



Fig 1. Coin of King Tvrtko II Tvrtković minted between 1435 and 1443
Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 152, Lot 167 (1 July 2011)

Rv. 2 GRAGORIVS NAZIANVS

Fig 2. Inscription on the reverse side of King Tvrtko II's coin

³⁶ This policy was also maintained by his immediate successors who abstained from minting their own currency while permitting the circulation of Ragusan coins. See: REŠETAR 1924. p. 332–333.

³⁷ RENJEO 1943. p. 259, 280–282.

³⁸ In Ragusa, which was a great influence on Bosnia in financial and trade matters, almost all coins of that time bore an image of the commune's patron St. Blaise. REŠETAR 1924. p. 249–250.

Also known by the exalted cognomen “the Theologian”, Gregory was one of the most accomplished writers and orators of his time. He was born in Cappadocia in Asia Minor, and studied rhetoric and philosophy in Nazianzus, Caesarea, Alexandria and Athens.³⁹ As a saint he is revered both in Eastern and Western Christianity, and his identity cannot be used as an argument in the entirely modern dispute whether the Bosnian Church was more Catholic or more Orthodox in nature.

A few details from Gregory’s life and work might serve as an explanation why this particular saint might have been chosen to be the patron of Bosnia. Namely, in his formative years Gregory developed a close friendship with Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329–379) who is considered as the founder of the monastic traditions in the East.⁴⁰ It has already been pointed out that the Bosnian Church was essentially a monastic community which might well have followed the Basilian *Asketikon*.⁴¹

Moreover, in autumn of 379 Gregory of Nazianzus was appointed bishop in the imperial capital where he became the leader of the pro-Nicene community. In fact, the learned and eloquent author left extensive works which defined the classical Trinitarian doctrine both in the Greek and Latin world thus making Trinity the basic principle of orthodox Christianity.⁴² It seems that the Slavic-speaking Christians of the Balkans, and the members of the Bosnian Church in particular, especially cherished the Nicene Creed and the Nicene Fathers.⁴³ In the charters of Bosnian rulers and nobles who adhered to the Bosnian Church an oft-used sanction formula included the invoking of the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicea. Among others, this was the case in the charter of the Sanković brothers issued in 1391,⁴⁴ in the charter of Bosnian king Stefan Ostoja issued in 1409,⁴⁵ in two charters of Bosnian duke Sandalj Hranić issued in 1419 and 1420,⁴⁶ in a charter of Bosnian duke Radoslav Pavlović issued in 1420, and in two others issued a year later,⁴⁷ as well as in a charter of Bosnian duke Stjepan Vukčić issued in 1454.⁴⁸

Another reason why Gregory of Nazianzus could have been held in high regard by the Bosnian Christians is possibly down to the fact that he was the principal patron of St. Cyril (ca. 826–869) who was instrumental in the development of Slavic scriptures and liturgy.⁴⁹ The Cyrillic script, admittedly conceived by the early disciples of Cyril and Methodius, as well as the Slavic

³⁹ DALEY 2006. gives a detailed and comprehensive biography of the saint.

⁴⁰ FEDWICK 1981.

⁴¹ MILETIĆ 1957. p. 55–66; LOVRENOVIĆ 2008. p. 11–14; ĆOŠKOVIĆ 2005. p. 443–450. On the *Asketikon* see: SILVAS 2005.

⁴² BEELEY 2008. See also: ŠPIDLÍK 1971.

⁴³ BRKOVIĆ 1998. p. 273.

⁴⁴ Monumenta Serbica. p. 219.

⁴⁵ Monumenta Serbica. p. 273.

⁴⁶ Monumenta Serbica. p. 290, 303.

⁴⁷ Monumenta Serbica. p. 307, 312, 314.

⁴⁸ Monumenta Serbica. p. 468.

⁴⁹ ŠIDAK 1940. p. 137; HADŽIJAHIĆ 1985. p. 173; ŠPIDLÍK 1988.

liturgy, both represented a kind of a symbol of Bosnian cultural individuality in the struggle between Slavic and Latin Christianity that became so prevalent during the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ In fact, literacy in the Slavic vernacular became a strong bastion of defence against the Romanization and Latinization of Bosnia, which was fiercely resisted by the local aristocracy.

Therefore, acting perhaps as a link to the Slavic saints and their traditions, the image of St. Gregory was also minted on the reverse of the early coins issued by Tvrtko II's successor King Tomaš (1443–1461). He even struck coins with the Latin inscription *Sanctus Gregorius* on which the saint was depicted without a crozier, performing a blessing gesture with his right hand while holding a book in his left (Figure 3 , 4).⁵¹ However, the reign of King Tomaš corresponded to the time of the greatest Ottoman political, economic and military pressure on the Bosnian Kingdom.⁵² Understanding that he could not defend the country using only his own resources, Tomaš sought to ally himself as early as possible with the powers of Western Christendom.⁵³ But the Bosnian Church, accused of heresy, was a stumbling point in any negotiation attempted with the pope. The Bosnian king had to show that, unlike his predecessors, he personally did not support this institution, that he was outwardly a Catholic, and that he intended to steer the country openly on the course of Catholicism.⁵⁴



Fig 3. Coin of King Tomaš minted between 1443 and 1446
Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 152, Lot 168 (1 July 2011)

⁵⁰ DVORNIK 1964; SOULIS 1965. See also: HADŽIJAHIĆ 1985; STERK 2012.

⁵¹ RENGJELO 1943. p. 263, 284–285.

⁵² FILIPOVIĆ 2019a. p. 343–401.

⁵³ See: FILIPOVIĆ 2016.

⁵⁴ On 19 June 1447 Pope Nicholas V took Tomaš and his successors under the protection of the Holy Apostolic See, stating that he was the first among the kings of Bosnia to reject Manichaeism and openly accept Catholicism: *"Hinc est, quod cum Carissimus in Christo filius noster Stephanus Thomas Rex Bosne Illustris, spretis atque abiectis Manicheorum erroribus, quibus irretitus fuerat, primus inter Reges Bosne sanctam fidem catholicam acceptaverit, ipsamque publice confessus fuerit [...]"* – VMH p. 237. Nr. 395.

Rv. $\overline{S\bar{A}} - \overline{GR}$ (*Sanctus Gregorius*).

Fig 4. Inscription on the reverse side of King Tomaš's coin

The changing identity of the Bosnian patron saint

One of the visible signs that Bosnia had finally adopted Catholicism as the official state religion was the changing identity of its patron saint, as reflected on the coins of King Tomaš, and his son Stjepan Tomašević (1461–1463). Both rulers replaced St. Gregory of Nazianzus with an image of St. Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604),⁵⁵ who was pope of the Roman Catholic Church from 590 to 604.⁵⁶ Aside from the circular inscription which reveals his identity, on the coins the pope is shown as a figure wearing full pontifical robes with a papal mitre which is surrounded by an aureole. In his left hand he is holding a crozier while performing a gesture of benediction with his right hand (Figure 5, 6).

The choice of St. Gregory the Pope was a skilful compromise, whereby the name of the saint remained the same, thus facilitating a smoother transition into Catholicism. Even though the eastern saint was venerated in Latin Christianity, his replacement – a Roman pope – obviously represented a clear statement of intent on the part of the Bosnian king. No Saint could encapsulate the recently restored ties between Bosnia and Rome better than Pope Gregory I. However, the change still showed that the cult of St. Gregory was deeply ingrained into the consciousness of the king's immediate family as well as his Bosnian subjects and that they had to be appeased somehow. It seems that, at least on a superficial level, it was important to keep St. Gregory as the patron saint, and that common believers did not get the chance to be overly concerned about the particulars of his true identity.



Fig 5. Coin of King Stjepan Tomašević minted between 1461 and 1463
Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 152, Lot 173 (1 July 2011)

⁵⁵ RENGJE0 1943. p. 266, 269, 286–288.

⁵⁶ MOORHEAD 2005.

Rv. S. GRAGO — RI • PAPA

Fig 6. Inscription on the reverse side of King Stjepan Tomašević's coin

But this story has one more final and dramatic twist. After the death of King Tomaš in summer of 1461, his son and successor sought to finish his father's business and complete the transformation of the Bosnian Kingdom into a completely Catholic realm by having the royal crown and bishops sent to him directly from Rome. After ascending to the throne, he sent an emotional message to Pope Pius II:

"I am informed that the Turkish emperor Mohamed intends to attack me with his forces the following summer, and that he has already prepared everything he needs. I cannot stand up to such a force by myself. I have begged the Hungarians, Venetians and George the Albanian to help me in these times of trouble, and I beg you the same. I am not asking for hills of gold, but I would be satisfied if my enemies and subjects knew that your help would not be lacking. If the Bosnians see that they will not be alone in this war, but that they will be helped by others, they will fight more bravely, and the Turks will think twice about entering my country, where the passes are very tight, and the fortresses in many places unreachable, preventing easy entrance into my Kingdom. Your predecessor Eugene offered the crown to my father and wanted to establish episcopal churches in Bosnia. My father rejected that, not to cause the ire of the Turks, because he was a new Christian and did not yet expel the heretics and Manicheans from his Kingdom. I have been baptised as a child, I have learned the Latin language, and I firmly observe the Catholic faith, so I am not afraid of the things that my father was afraid of. Therefore, I want to accept the crown and the holy bishops from you, which will be a clear sign that you will not leave me in the time of trouble. With your aid I will bring my subjects more confidence, and to my enemies more fear."⁵⁷

Pope Pius II duly obliged and sent the crown, but while preparing his coronation, the king again sent messengers to Rome, enquiring about the matter of the patron saint. His letter was not preserved, but the pope's response survived. Replying positively to the king's pleas, in St. Peter's in Rome on 7 November 1461 Pius II issued a document stating that "the more we praise, venerate and pray to the glorious saints of God, the more we can hope to aid the heavy and frequent miseries, calamities and needs of the Christian

⁵⁷ The contents of this letter are relayed by Pope Pius II himself in his famous *Commentarii*, p. 534–535.

faithful”.⁵⁸ Moreover, the pope claimed that the Bosnian king, Stjepan had sent him messengers, saying that in his kingdom everybody publicly held and considered blessed Gregory the Miracle-Worker to be the patron and defender of the said kingdom. Therefore, answering the pleas of the king and his subjects, who desire to make this Saint’s intercessions with God more effective, pope Pius II used his apostolic authority to decree, will and command, that the feast of Saint Gregory, which falls on the 16th day before the Kalends of December [*sic!*], ought to be celebrated in Bosnia, including the octaves, in the same way that the church celebrates many other such feast days.⁵⁹

So, in addition to the two Gregorys that had previously been considered patron saints of Bosnia, this document introduces the third one – St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (ca. 213–270). Also known as the Miracle-Worker, Gregory was a third-century bishop of Neocaesarea in the area of Pontus in Asia Minor.⁶⁰ He is a saint both in Western and Eastern Christian traditions, and the Pope clearly stated that everybody in Bosnia considered him to be the patron and protector of the kingdom. Does this mean that the unspecified St. Gregory from fourteenth century sources was St. Gregory the Miracle-Worker all along? If he was, then what was the point of introducing the image of St. Gregory Nazianzen on King Tvrtko II’s coins and did that modification reflect any fundamental religious changes in Bosnia?⁶¹

Concluding remarks

The deficiency of any kind of direct evidence does not allow us to give categorical answers to the posed questions other than stating that the issue of the patron saint was obviously perceived as fundamentally important. However, certain aspects of the Miracle-Worker’s cult can be emphasized as relevant to the Christians of medieval Bosnia. Namely, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was an early Father of the Church, described as a recipient of the “Revealed Creed” and as such certainly must have been respected by those

⁵⁸ “PIUS EPISCOPUS etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Gloriosos dei sanctos quanto maiori prosequimur laudum et orationum veneratione, eo maiora et frequentiora Christifidelium miseriis, calamitatibus ac necessitatibus sperare possumus adiumenta” – VMH p. 371. Nr. 554. (7 November 1461)

⁵⁹ “Cum itaque Carissimus in Christo filius noster Stephanus Bosne Rex Illustris per suos oratores nobis significare curaverit, beatum Gregorium miraculosum nuncupatum, in eius regno Bosne pro patrono et defensore dicti regni publice ab omnibus haberi et reputari, eiusdem Regis et regnicolarum supplicationibus inclinati, cupientes dicti sancti suffragia et intercessionem apud deum reddere efficaciores, auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia decernimus, volumus et mandamus, festum diem eiusdem sancti Gregorii, qui dies in predicto regno esse dicitur XVI. Kal. Decembris [16 November], celebrari debere, etiam sub octava, prout multorum dei sanctorum festivitas ab ecclesia celebratur. Nulli ergo etc. nostre constitutionis, voluntatis et mandati etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice MCCCCLXI, VII Idus Novembris. Anno Quarto” – VMH p. 371. Nr. 554.

⁶⁰ SLUSSER 1998; VAN DAM 1982; TELFER 1936.

⁶¹ Both SOLOVIEV 1949. p. 274, and LOVRENOVIĆ 2008. p. 25, argued in their works that St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was indeed the patron saint of Bosnia and the Kotromanić dynasty throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century, but they did not explain why he was replaced by St. Gregory Nazianzen on the coins of Tvrtko II.

who claimed to follow “the true apostolic faith”.⁶² He also appealed to monastic communities since he was considered as a principal founder of ascetic life,⁶³ and this might have brought him to the attention of the Bosnian monks, some of who were well known for their austerity and monastic rigour.⁶⁴

But another, more viable reason to why the identity of St. Gregory the Miracle-Worker as the protector of the Kingdom was revealed so late in the history of Bosnia might be down to the quite common medieval practice of confusing the two eastern saints both of whom were called Gregory. Namely, as William Telfer puts it: “There are plentiful examples of mere ignorant or careless confusion in which the *Thaumaturge* receives the epithet *Nazianzen*, but it is probable that the *Thaumaturge* is meant”.⁶⁵ Furthermore, there seems to have been a conscious attempt to give St. Gregory the Miracle-Worker the title of *Theologian*, usually reserved for St. Gregory of Nazianzus, which only contributed to the misunderstanding. The two saints were also similarly portrayed in iconography – both as elderly bearded men embracing a codex with their left hand, and because both were bishops, one of Neocesarea and the other of Nazianzus, sometimes they were shown with episcopal croziers, as is the case on the described Bosnian coins. Both of them were eastern saints and early Church Fathers who dealt with the question of the Holy Trinity, making it even more difficult to distinguish between them.⁶⁶

Although it is difficult to believe that this was a mere mix-up created as a consequence of error or ignorance, confusion remains the only plausible explanation since the information provided by available sources makes it almost impossible to determine whether the St. Gregory invoked by Ban Stjepan II and Ban Tvrtko in the fourteenth century was either *Nazianzen* or *Thaumaturge*. Irrespective of this conundrum, the last Bosnian king was acutely aware that Bosnia needed a miracle and perhaps believed that a Miracle-Working saint would save his kingdom. He requested papal confirmation of the royal patron saint so that he could arrange his coronation ceremony to correspond with the feast day of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus – November 17.⁶⁷ But one thing is for sure – despite the best efforts of the King

⁶² These are the words used by Gost Radin, a high-ranking dignitary of the Bosnian Church, to describe his religion. His testament, composed in Ragusa in 1466, was discovered and published by TRUHELKA 1911. p. 372. In this case, the title of “apostolic” was intended to preserve the authenticity, origin, legitimacy and orthodoxy of the Bosnian Church, especially in relation to the two other Christian churches.

⁶³ TELFER 1936. p. 243.

⁶⁴ ĆIRKOVIĆ 1987. p. 220, 237.

⁶⁵ TELFER 1936. p. 245.

⁶⁶ One prominent example of confusing and equating saints is the case St. Procopius of Scythopolis [feast day: 8 July] and St. Procopius the Reader [feast day: 22 November]. See: ROSS BARKER 1913. p. 195–196. On the perceived significance of cognomens for saints, see: CERVA 2012. p. 520.

⁶⁷ The feast day of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was traditionally celebrated on November 17. VAN DAM 1982. p. 277. However, in the papal document it is erroneously stated that the feast falls on the “sixteenth day before the Kalends of December”, meaning 16 November. The exact date of King Stjepan’s coronation is unknown and historians presume that it could have occurred on 17 November. See: LOVRENOVIĆ 2006. p. 345.

and the Pope, no miracle occurred. The Ottomans conquered Bosnia and beheaded King Stjepan Tomašević in Jajce in 1463.⁶⁸ In the new circumstances St. Gregory was quickly forgotten and soon replaced by other saints who, in the tradition of Bosnian Franciscans, assumed the role of patrons and protectors of Bosnian Catholics: St. Vitus, St. George and St. Elijah the Prophet.⁶⁹

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Dženan DAUTOVIĆ:

Nulla spes sit ... **Bosnia and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century**

The main goal of this paper is to examine the relations between the Bosnian Banate and the papacy during the thirteenth century, one of the most turbulent periods in the history of this interaction. The focus will be set on the development of the situation regarding the Bosnian bishopric, its position in the political turmoil, and its fate after the collapse of every chance for agreement. First, we will give a short overview of the periods that precede this time when this bishopric was the centre of two waves of the Christianization of these areas and the carrier of religious life during the late Antiquity and early Middle Ages. The main part of the paper is dedicated to the events from the first half of the thirteenth century, crucial period that shaped the future political and religious picture of medieval Bosnia. The final part of the paper will cover the longest lasting consequences of the aforementioned events: the cessation of official contacts between Bosnia and the Roman Curia, relocation of the Bosnian bishopric outside its territory, and the formation of the Bosnian church – an autocephalous organization that emerged on the foundations of the previous Catholic diocese.

Keywords: Medieval Bosnia, papacy, Crusades, Hungarian Kingdom.



The oldest mentions about the official contacts between the medieval Bosnian state and the Roman Curia are dated at the end of twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. These contacts were friendly and cordial at first,¹ however, after a series of accusations against the Bosnian ban by his political enemies regarding his protection of heretics they quickly turned worse.² Both of these episodes are very significant, but they will not be a subject of this

¹ We are referring to the mission of the papal legate Theobald in Dalmatia and initiating contact with the Bosnian ruler, Ban Kulin (1180–1203) in the year 1180. Cf. FARLATTI IV. p. 191–193; MAJNARIĆ 2008. p. 98–103.

² These contacts between Bosnian ruler Ban Kulin (1180–1203) and pope Innocent III (1198–1216) are one of the most important episodes in the history of relations between Bosnia and the Roman Curia. For the political context of that episode see: DAUTOVIĆ 2016. p. 195–212. Some of the important analysis: BASLER 1973a. p. 13–22; ANČIĆ 2003. p. 17–38; ČOŠKOVIĆ 2003. p. 75–117; BARABÁS 2014. p. 293; BARABÁS 2017. p. 38–43.

paper. The historical context of the time of the events that we will analyse is the period of so-called Innocent's successors, meaning the pontificates of three popes: Honorius III (1216–1227), Gregory IX (1227–1241), and Innocent IV (1243–1254). Processes which marked this period are the implementation of the statutes from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and intensification of crusades on European soil.³

The developments we follow start with a mission by papal legate Acontius in Dalmatia with the purpose of solving the issue of pirates from Omiš, which robbed and murdered crusaders on the path to the Holy Land as well as ordinary Christians passing through.⁴ These pirates were a grand problem for local authorities as well, so the Hungarian king Andrew II issued warnings and using a well-rehearsed method of disqualification proclaimed them Patarens.⁵ In the letter from 13th April 1221 Pope Honorius III conveys to the archbishop of Split a concern regarding news about groups of Dalmatians and Slavs, enemies of Christ, practicing piracy, robbing crusaders and hiding like foxes with their loot.⁶ It is obvious that the initial mission of Acontius has nothing to do with Bosnia. Only after his visit to Split and Zadar did he receive reports about heretics allegedly living and acting unhindered in Bosnia. The authors of these denouncements are unknown but there are indications that they originated from the Hungarian side. Regardless of the source of these accusations, they were treated very differently than a couple of decades earlier when similar reports were presented to Innocent III. This pope, to whom many authors attribute a remarkable feeling for legal relations, conducted a thorough investigation which concluded that the reports regarding Bosnia were unfounded. His successor Honorius III, however, performed no investigations, nor did he contact the Bosnian ruler before promptly sending the letter *Inter alias sollicitudines*, a sort of a verdict against Bosnia without any possibility of appeal.⁷ The first part of the letter addresses the pirates of Omiš, before fiercely switching to the accusations against Bosnia. The pope points out that he heard reports that heretics are welcomed in Bosnia and allowed "like vampires breastfeeding in daylight, to spread their ideas and misconceptions,

³ For the decrees from this council see: GARCIA Y GARCIA 1981. Cf. RIST 2009.

⁴ More comprehensive analysis of Acontius' action: MAJNARIĆ 2009. p. 79–98. The author convincingly elaborated that Acontius arrived in Dalmatia in a role of *nuntio*, and only after familiarizing himself with the situation did he ask the pope to elevate him to the rank of *legate de latere*. However, his statement that the main argument against the theory of Acontius' arrival in Bosnia is that "no adequate secular authority or church organization exist there" cannot be sustainable at all.

⁵ CDCr III. nr. 162. p. 187–188.

⁶ RH III I. nr. 3245. p. 529; FEJÉR III/1. p. 307–308.

⁷ AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 11. fol. 168^v, ep. 69 (3 December 1221.) THEINER I. nr. 61. p. 31; FEJÉR III/1. p. 350–351; RH III II. nr. 3594. p. 13; CDCr III nr. 171. p. 196–197; POTTHAST I. nr. 6725; AHG nr. 83. p. 111; ARTNER nr. 33. p. 21.

too grief for the Lord”.⁸ For this reason, the pope addressed the Hungarian king and all archbishops and bishops of his land to repel these infectious people.⁹

Among the actions of Acontius declared against Bosnia, are letters of Honorius III to the archbishop of Esztergom (5 December 1221) asking for assistance in fighting the infidels and the spread of their teachings, once again repeating the vampire metaphor,¹⁰ and the letter to the Dubrovnik, 12 March 1222) advising them that during elections of the new archbishop they should select someone who is able to fight heretics in Bosnia and pirates in Dalmatia, once more repeating similar rhetoric.¹¹ These letters point to several issues. Obviously, Bosnia was not included in the original legat Acontius’s mission itinerary. Once rumours of the existence of heretics in Bosnia reached him, he forwarded them to the Roman Curia, from where instant condemnations were sent, without any call for questioning or renouncing of misconceptions. Clearly, the information which reached the pope was scarce, otherwise he would not have used the exact same syntagm in all of his letters. Although the pope demanded that the Hungarian ruler and clergy fought the heretics, there is no evidence that a crusade was launched. There are no mentions of indulgences and crusader vows. Even though this event was not followed by any concrete action, it carries much importance: Bosnia was once again in the focus of papal attention, with repeated negative context regarding the accusation of the presence of heretical teachings within its borders.¹²

For the next three years there are no further developments, until May 1225 when the letter *Gratus gerimus* of Pope Honorius III sent to Ugrin, archbishop of Kalocsa contained the first mentions of agitations for a crusade against Bosnia. The destruction of all heretics of Bosnia, Usora and Sol was the first directive, while repeating the vampire metaphor and mentioning the previous mission of legate Acontius. Onwards, the pope applauded the zeal of the

⁸ “*Cum itaque, sicut audivimus, in partibus Bosnie tamquam in cubilibus structionum heretici receptati, velut lamie nudatis mammis catulos suos lactent, dogmatizando palam sue pravitatis errores in enorme gregis dominici detremendum*” – AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 11. fol. 168^v, ep. 69 (3 December 1221). The usage of such allegories shouldn’t be much of a surprise. The letters of pope Honorius III were full of similar dramatizing metaphors. When he spoke about heresy, the pope regularly mentioned infections, the waves that desire to sink Peters boat, a broken hand that dangles from a wooden crutch, etc. RIST 2009. p. 85. For the usage of these classifications as a propaganda tool see: DAUTOVIĆ 2019. p. 59–80, and for the general use of propaganda in papal actions: MAIER 2016. p. 235–248.

⁹ “[...] *nos volentes pestilentes huiusmodi, si datum fuerit desuper, effugare, Karissimo in Christo filio nostro ... illustri Regi Ungarie, nec non universis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis illius Regni direximus scripta nostra*” – AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 11., ep. 69.

¹⁰ AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 11., fol. 168^v, ep. 71 (5 December 1221) RH III II. nr. 3601. p. 14; THEINER I. nr. 63. p. 31–32; FEJÉR III/1. p. 351; CDCr III. nr. 174. p. 198–199; POTTHAST nr. 6729; FERMENDŽIN nr. 35. p. 7.

¹¹ “*Cum itaque sicut audivimus vicini sitis castro predicto et partibus de Bossina, ubi heretici quidam dogmatizando palam sue parvitatis errores, Christi gregem et vineam*” – RH III II. nr. 3846. p. 50; FEJÉR VII/5. nr. 111. p. 229–230; FARLATI VI. p. 39; POTTHAST nr. 6802; CDCr III. no. 183. p. 209–210.

¹² Different authors argued different number of crusade expeditions against Bosnia in this period. For the survey of these historiographic interpretations see: DAUTOVIĆ 2020. p. 63–77. Cf. also ANČIĆ 2001. p. 89–106.

archbishop regarding the protection of faith, instructed him to rally the believers in front of the cross and to encourage them in fighting the heretics.¹³

In addition to this letter, the Pope confirmed the donation by which King Andrew II gave to the archbishop of Kalocsa, the territories of Bosnia, Usora and Sol, where the heretic infestation supposedly had spread.¹⁴ The final conclusion of this episode is revealed two years later, in the letter *Significavit nobis venerabilis* where Honorius III reminds the nobleman John Angelos that he received 200 silver ducats from the archbishop Ugrin to carry crusader insignia when fighting Bosnian heretics. The pope further reminded him to keep his promise and to persist in the work pleasing God, the extermination of heretics, while simultaneously commanding certain ecclesiastical leaders to force Angelos to do it.¹⁵ Sometime before, on 11 January 1227, the pope

¹³ "*Gratum gerimus et acceptum, quod catholice fidei ductus amore, ad profligandos hereticos de Bosna, Soy et Wassora, ubi tamquam lamie nudatis mammis publice catulos suos lactantes, ad exhortationem bone memorie magistri Acconci Subdiaconi et Capellani nostri, apostolice sedis legati, et aliorum bonorum virorum et viriliter accinxisti [...]. Super quo sinceritatis tue zelum dignis in domino laudibus commendantes, et favore debito prosequentes, fraternitatem tuam rogamus et monemus attente, ac per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus de gratia nostra confisus et auctoritate suffultus, prosequis ex animo causam Christi, catholice puritatis potenter prosequens subversores, ita quod Deo ad gloriam nobis ad gaudium et tibi ad profectum proveniat salutarem. Ut autem iniunctum tibi negotium perfectius exequi valeas, in partibus illis predices verbum crucis, fideles contra infideles efficaciter exhortando. Et si forsitan aliqui cruce signati vel cruce signandi per violentam manu iniectionem vinculo fuerint excommunicationes astricti, absolventi eos iuxta formam ecclesie tibi concedimus facultatem, nisi forsitan adeo fuerit gravis et enormis excessus eorum, quod merito sint ad sedem apostolicam destinandi*" – AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 13., fol. 60^v, ep. 328 (15 May 1225) RH III II. nr. 5489. p. 338; THEINER I. nr. 118. p. 55; FEJÉR III/2. p. 33; CDCr III. nr. 216. p. 242–243; POTTHAST nr. 7407; KATONA V. p. 467–468; AHG p. 112; ARTNER nr. 40. p. 24; FERMENDZIN nr. 36. p. 7.

¹⁴ "*Cum a nobis supplicasti, siquidem nobis, ut cum Karissimus in Christo filius noster Andreas Ungarie Rex Illustris terras quasdam, videlicet Bosnam, Soy et Wosora, infects heretica pravitate tibi purgandas committens, eas ecclesie tue in perpetuum pia liberalitate donarit, prout eiusdem presentate nobis littere plenius continebant, donationem huiusmodi apostolice dignaremur munimine roborare, presertim cum idem Rex nobis super hoc porrexit preces suas. Nos itaque tam ipsius Regis, quam tuis supplicationibus annuentes, terras ipsas sicut pie ac provide sunt donate, tibi et ecclesie tue per te, salvo iure Regio in redditibus et rationibus consuetis, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo etc. nostre confirmationis etc. Si quis etc. Datum ut supra*" – AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 13., fol. 60^v, ep. 329 (15 May 1225) RH III II. nr. 5490. p. 338; THEINER I. nr. 119. p. 55–56; FEJÉR III/2. p. 32; CDCr III. nr. 217. p. 243; POTTHAST nr. 7406; KATONA V. nr. 814. p. 466–467; ARTNER nr. 40. p. 24; RA I. nr. 421. p. 137; FERMENDZIN nr. 37. p. 7.

¹⁵ "*[...] set nequaquam attendes, quod fallitur, qui fallere Deum credit, qui secundum Apostolum minime tradetur, set derisores ipse deridet, contra dictos hereticos hactenus non curasti procedere, ab eodem Archiepiscopo pluries requisitus: qui si propter hoc nil penitus recepisses, deberes nichilominus ex animo persequi perfidos, ut fidei tue probatio clarius eluceret. Quia vero displicet Deo promissio infidelis, nec presumitur fidem hominibus servaturus, qui verax ipsi non potest existere veritati: nobilitatem tuam rogamus, monemus et hortamur attente, per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatinus promissionem tuam fideliter prosequens contra memoratos hereticos una cum predicto Archiepiscopo procedas viriliter et potenter, acturus ita ex animo causam Christi, quod gratiam in presenti, et in futuro gloriam merearis. Alioquin ne tibi contra salutem tuam noxie deferamus, dilectis filiis Preposito et Magistro Ipolito Canonico Albensibus Vesprimiensis diocesis nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut te ad complendum premissum, quod sine gravi peccato non servare non potes, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, cognita veritate compellant. Datum Laterani XVIII Kal. Februarii. Anno XI. Et super hoc scribitur illis executoribus*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 13., fol. 160^r–

affirmed the sale of the city of Požega to the archbishop of Kalocsa, for a more efficient fight against the heretics.¹⁶

Unlike the mission of Acontius, this episode had the semblance of preparation for a crusade, but it was never realized either. This should not be a surprise as there were numerous instances when the pope called for crusade, as well as occasions when indulgencies were given but military expeditions never took place. It is clear that a heretical label became not a symbol of Bosnian independence,¹⁷ but rather a successful and efficient branding – a political asset – which was assigned to a political adversary each time when he was to be destroyed.¹⁸ The benefits Hungary reaped from this action cannot be overlooked. The archbishop of Kalocsa is recognized as the supreme authority of Bosnia, Sol and Usora in front of the Curia, which can be understood as the first success of Hungarian agitation to achieve at least a formal authority over Bosnia. Knowledge about Bosnia inside the Roman Curia was reduced to rumours about vampires and heretics, which is unsurprisingly why Hungarian intents were successful.

During the following five years after Ugrin's attempts to organize campaigns against Bosnia, many changes took place which had direct influence on creating a new page in the relations between Bosnia and the papacy. The generally more passive (at least in Bosnian case) Honorius III was succeeded by one of the most pugnacious popes of the 13th century, Gregory IX.¹⁹ The Bosnian throne also changed possession, when Ban Kulin's successor was overthrown and exiled to the area of Usora, and Ban Matej Ninoslav became the new ruler;²⁰ in the Hungarian Kingdom, after the issuing of the Golden Bull, a stabilization of central control took place and the focus of politics was steadily shifted to adjacent countries.

A completely new situation arose which would dominate during the tumultuous decade which followed. The number of letters from the Roman Curia rose dramatically and the situation between the three main participants become significantly more heated. In historiography, two works are of special significance for reviewing the events from this period: Jaroslav Šidak's

160^v, ep. 466 (15 January 1227) RH III II. nr. 6167. p. 466; THEINER I. nr. 149. p. 72; FEJER III/2. p. 101–102; CDCr III. nr. 238. p. 264–265; POTTHAST nr. 7650; KATONA V. nr. 822. p. 498–501; FERMENDZIN nr. 38. p. 7.

¹⁶ *“Quanto propensius ecclesiarum desideramus augmentum er hereticorum exterminium studiosius procuramus, tanto ea que nostro conveniencia desiderio rite fuerint libentius acceptantes, hiis robur perpetue firmitatis adiicimus maxime requisiti. Eapropter vestris supplicationibus grato concurrentes assensu castrum de Posega cum pertinentiis suis, quod tu frater archiepiscopo ad opus ecclesie Colocensis, specialiter pro hereticis de finibus illis penitus profligandis, charissimus in Christo filius rege Ungarie et Bela eius primogenito consentientibus [...]”* – FEJER III/2. p. 100; CDCr III. nr. 237. p. 264.

¹⁷ This theory is whidespread even today, especially as significant mark of the modern nationalistic ideology among Bosniaks. Cf. LOVRENOVIĆ 2008. p. 169–303.

¹⁸ KLAJČ 1994. p. 93.

¹⁹ Cf. DALL'AGLIO 2011. p. 173–184; LOWER 2004. p. 49–62.

²⁰ Cf. PEROJEVIĆ 1942. p. 219–231; ĆIRKOVIĆ 1964. p. 50–69; BARABÁS 2017. p. 48–50.

approach from 1955 (republished in 1975),²¹ and a part of a monograph by Nada Klaić which addresses this issue.²² However, it must be noted that even in the works of these great names of Yugoslav medieval scholarship there are certain problems, mainly with the analysis of the source material. Šidak's analysis of papal letters, practically the only source of news regarding this period is undisputable. He perceived many mistakes of earlier historiography and clarified a number of mysteries. However, his "naive" approach – in the good sense of the word –, to the writings of the Roman Curia, did not allow him to place the letters in proper political context, because he searched for ideological content inside them rather than discovering the motives of their origin. On the other hand, the strongest aspect of the research of Nada Klaić has exactly revealed the political background of the entire process, which was undoubtedly the main cause for all happenings, but she often exaggerated and completely abandoned some clearly important issues. Combining these two approaches, with the addition of overall context and the rules of political and internal crusades, we will attempt to shed light on these important events.

As for the wider context, which is very important for these events, Šidak made an excellent point when he mentioned that they followed the conciliation between the pope and King Frederick II and happened during the nine-year truce in the conflict between the empire and papacy. Gregory IX used this fact to deal with a series of problematic questions in the realms of western Christianity, including the continuation of the fight against the Albigensians and the campaigns against Stendigers, Drenthes, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Bosnia.

The first phase of this crusade is accusations presented to the Roman Curia against the Bosnian bishop which can be reviewed in the letter *Graves et enormes* by Pope Gregory IX to the archbishop of Kalocsa and the bishop of Zagreb. This source did not garner much attention in the historiography. Usually, only the information and accusations included in it are used, but it is very interesting and significant from both the ideological and political aspect and the letter represents a signal for all the events to come. It must be pointed out that this letter was not preserved in the archives of Gregory IX but by the Benedictine monks of the abbey of St. Martin, in the present-day town of Pannonhalma in the north of Hungary. However, it can be concluded from further sources, that it was not a forgery from a later period. The main content of this letter is the accusation presented to the pope against the Bosnian bishop, Vladimir.²³ The accusations against the bishop are as follows: he is illiterate, he got the position by simony, he openly protects heretics, in his church he never serves mass nor does he give sacraments, ecclesiastical duties are so foreign to him that he does not know the ritual of baptism, he lives in a village with

²¹ ŠIDAK 1975, p. 177–209.

²² KLAIĆ 1994, p. 94–119.

²³ This source does not give us the name of the bishop, so Šidak accepted the opinions of Jireček and Hoffer that it was Vladimir: cf. ŠIDAK 1975, p. 185; JIREČEK 1957, p. 129; HOFFER 1901, p. 73.

heretics and finally, his own brother is a heresiarch, and he protects him in his misconceptions.²⁴

Who was the author of this denunciation is not known, which is in accordance with the statutes guaranteeing complete anonymity to whistleblowers cemented by Gregory IX,²⁵ but it is clear that he was well informed about earlier accusations against Bosnia as well as in the art of propaganda. The first accusation regarding the bishop's illiteracy referred to not knowing the Latin language,²⁶ which by association meant that he held his sermons in the native language, a practice which the Curia wanted to root out for a long time. Additional weight to the denunciation was given by the mention of simony, one of the main practices the reformed papacy wanted to eliminate.²⁷ The next count on the accusation list – that he openly protects heretics – was subject to the severe punishment of excommunication, ever since the statutes of the Fourth Lateran.²⁸ The sins of not serving mass, giving sacraments or not performing baptism were in direct conflict with the guidelines that Casamaris set for the reform of the Bosnian church couple of decades before. Finally, the remark that the bishop lives in a village was also intended to point out that he breaks the papal statutes, as bishops had to be seated in cities and larger settlements, and the last touch was the heresiarch brother which struck the final blow on the personal image of bishop Vladimir. Thus, the bishop was accused of Slavic liturgy and simony, offences punishable since the period of Gregory VII, and of protection of heretics and disregard of reforms, sins defined during the time of Innocent III. Besides that, this denunciation was issued against an ecclesiastical figure, the leader of the Bosnian bishopric, and not against the Bosnian ruler or his political elite, allowing the Curia a more liberal position to deal with the situation as it deemed fit. It is clear that the Bosnian bishop had no defence against such a detailed and prepared accusation.

In a previous letter Gregory IX requested a report on Bosnia from the archbishop of Kalocsa and the bishop of Zagreb, after which on 30 May 1233, with a letter, *Human conditionis miseriam* he initiated the switch of the mission of papal legate Jacob of Prenestre to Bosnia with the intent of performing an

²⁴ “*Graves et enormes venerabilis fratris nostri [...] episcopi de Bossina excessus et maculas [...] Idem enim, sicut accepimus, imperfectum suum minime recognoscens, utpote literalis expens scientie a hereticorum publicis defensor, per quemdam manifestum hereticum simonie vito mediante se in episcopum procuravit assumi. Et quia que mallo sunt inchoata principio vix bono exitu potiuntur, ipsi que vinee Domini Sabaoth deberet cultor utilis inveniri et subditid suis proficere verbo pariter et exemplo, nullum in ecclesia sua celebrat divinum officium nec ministrat ecclesiasticum sacramentum adeoque factus esse dicitur ab ecclesiasticis oficiis alienus, quod baptismi forme penitus est ignarus nec mirum quod, sicut asseritur, cum hereticus in quadam villa morevetur et fratrem eius carnalem manifestum heresiarcam quem deberet ab initio ad viam recitudinis revocare.*” – (5 June 1232.), AHG nr. 177. p. 233–234; ÁÚO I. nr. 181. p. 298–299; CDCr III. nr. 315. p. 361–362; POTTHAST. nr. 8942.

²⁵ LEA 1887. p. 325; EVANS 1958. p. 1–22.

²⁶ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 185.

²⁷ Cf. LECLERCQ 1947. p. 523–530.

²⁸ GARCIA Y GARCIA 1981. p. 47–51.

investigation against the Bosnian bishop.²⁹ The pope expressed his sorrow regarding the behaviour and the transgressions of bishop Vladimir, and emphasized that his defence by ignorance is not accepted.³⁰ So, the legate was ordered to replace the bishop and to divide the territory of Bosnia into 2–4 bishoprics, where leaders would be learned people, obviously clerics of Latin liturgy.³¹ With this letter the focus of papal critique shifted from the Bosnian bishop to the population of Bosnia, which were described as poor in material means but rich in wickedness because they followed heretic infidel teachings.³²

On 10 October 1232, the office of Gregory IX sent three letters as follows: to the Bosnian ban Matej Ninoslav, to the Hungarian prince Coloman and to Dominicans "de Bosna". We will observe that these three letters complete the mission of legate Jacob of Preneste and represent the final attempts of diplomatic solution of the crisis, meaning attempts of finalizing the Pope's plans for the territory of Bosnia. The first letter was sent to *dilecto filio nobili viro Ninosclavo duci de Bosna* and represents the first mention of this ruler (1233–1251) in any sources. We further learn that the pope takes the Bosnian ruler into his protection as long as he remains in the Catholic faith and ensures the privileges that his heretic forefathers enjoyed and were now undeservedly taken from him.³³ On the same day the pope sent a letter to Prince Coloman, the son of the Hungarian king, Andrew II in which he stated that Ninoslav had appealed to him that his old claims on cities and counties were endangered, and since he recently converted to Christianity and started persecuting heretics, he demanded that he returned the aforementioned privileges to the

²⁹ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 50^v–51^r, ep. 164 (30 May 1233.) RG IX I. nr. 1377. coll. 775–776; THEINER I. nr. 192. p. 113; FEJÉR III/2. p. 341–342; AHG nr. 194. p. 268; CDCr III. nr. 327. p. 379–380; POTTHAST nr. 9211; ŠANJEK 2003. nr. 8. p. 92–93; FERMENDŽIN nr. 39. p. 7–8.

³⁰ Regarding these events, Šidak clearly pointed out that Franjo Rački in his highly influential essay concluded without any basis that the Bosnian bishop admitted to the legate to have followed heretical teaching; RAČKI 1869. p. 151.

³¹ "*Quamvis autem idem episcopus ex simplicitate asserat se peccasse, quia tamen non in peccato huiusmodi decipere vel posse decipi multum differt, non quos zelus comedit animarum, volentes earum periculis obviare mandamus, quatenus eodem episcopo a regimine Bosnensis ecclesie prorsus amoto, tam in eadem ecclesia quam in locis aliis Bosnensis diocesis, que ut dicitur non modicum est diffusa, duos vel tres aut quatuor, prout videris expedire, doctos in lege domini, quos ad hoc idoneos esse cognoveris, studeas i episcopos ordinare.*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., ep. 164.

³² "[...] *cum habitatores illius terre dicantur in facultatibus tenues et in malitia locupletes, utpote qui pro magna parte sunt infecti heretica pravitate, paupertatem Christi pauperis imitando ardenti spiritu ad despectos accedente non recusent*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., ep. 164.

³³ "[...] *Quos prosequitur dominus sue clemencie largitate, ipsos de morte ad vitam et ad lucem de tenebris reducendo, libenter apostolice sedis gratia confovemus, ut illius protecti munimine liberius valeant virtutum operibus insudare. Te igitur sincere caritatis brachiis amplexantes, personam et terram tuam de Bosna cum omnibus bonis, que impresentiarum rationabiliter possides, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus, districtius inhiabentes, ne quis te in fide catholica permanentem super eadem terra, quam, sicut asseris, progenitores tui qui fuerunt vitio heretice pravitatis infecti ab antiquo pacifice possederunt, presumat indebite molestare, iure carissimi in Christo filii nostri ... illustris regis Ungarie semper salvo*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 84^r, ep. 292 (10 October 1233.); RG IX I. nr. 1521. coll. 842; THEINER I. nr. 200. p. 120; FEJÉR III/2. p. 342; AHG nr. 197. p. 271; CDCr III. nr. 335. p. 388; POTTHAST nr. 9304; KATONA V. p. 661; FERMENDŽIN nr. 41. p. 8.

ban so he could resume such behaviour.³⁴ On the same day, a similar letter was sent to the Dominicans, with the additional mention of his cousin Prijezda, who sent his son as hostage, and the pope now demanded his release.³⁵

It is essential to examine all three letters as a whole, and keep in mind that these, seemingly cordial relations would dramatically deteriorate in only a couple of months. They are obviously a consequence of legate Jacob's mission and of the letter which Ban Ninoslav sent to the Pope. This was a well-known *modus operandi* of Gregory IX applied in Stendigers' and in several other cases.³⁶ Accused of protecting heretics on his territory, Ban Ninoslav was investigated under threat of excommunication. The result of this accusation depended on the investigation of the legate which was ensured by Prince Coloman. It is evident that certain rights were taken from the ban during the investigation, so he sent a letter to the pope to restore them. Also, the mention of heretic predecessors is not to be attributed to the letter by Ninoslav, but rather to the pope's interpretation of it. The proof that this was a diplomatic mission is that the son of Prijezda was sent to the Dominicans as a hostage. Giving and receiving hostages as a part of diplomatic process was common practice since the Antiquity, especially widespread during the Middle Ages, mostly in cases when a conflict was being resolved between sides with different languages and cultural heritage.³⁷ This was the case with Bosnia, as

³⁴ "[...] *Dilecto filio nobili viro Ninoslavo duce de Bosna nobis innotuit referente, quod cum progenitores sui de antiqua consuetudine comitatus et alias villas terre sue concesserint et abstulerint quibuscumque, prout eis proprie voluntatis arbitrium suggerebat, eo nuper ab heresi ad fidem catholicam domino faciente converso et hereticos expugnante, detentores comitatum et aliarum terrarum ductus sui predictae consuetudini refragantur, comitatus et terras easdem contra voluntatem eius temere detinendo. Quare nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut cum ipse deterioris conditionis esse non debeat, quam dicti progenitores eiusdem qui fuerunt vito heretice pravitatis infecti, super hoc adesse sibi favore benivolo dignemur. Quocirca serenitatem tuam rogamus, monemus et hortamur in domino, quatinus consuetudinem ipsam, sicut est ab antiquis temporibus approbata, in favorem fidei et pravitatis heretice detrimentum facias firmiter observari, ita quod serenitatem tuam dignis exinde laudibus commendemus*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 84^r, ep. 293 (10 October 1233.); RG IX I. nr. 1522. coll. 842; THEINER I. nr. 201. p. 120; FEJÉR III/2. p. 343; CDCr III. nr. 336. p. 388–389; POTTHAST nr. 9305; KATONA V. p. 662; FERMENDŽIN nr. 42. p. 8.

³⁵ "[...] *Dilectus filius nobilis vir Ninoslavus dux de Bosna nobis exposuit et nos libenter audivimus et gaudemus, quod vestre sollicitudinis studio procurante nobilis vir Ubanus dictus Priesda consanguineus eius nuper ab immunditia pravitatis heretice rediit ad catholice fidei puritatem, et ut in illa stabilis preservet, suadente duce prefato, filium suum vobis obsidem assignavit. Verum quia de fide ipsius iam non debet, sicut idem dux asserit dubitari, cum puram et simplicem et devotionem eiusdem erga sanctam ecclesiam iam non argumenta sed experimenta demonstrent, dum in prosequendis hereticis fideliter elaborat, nobis pro parte sua fuit humiliter supplicatum ut dictum obsidem sibi restitui faceremus. Ideo mandamus, quatenus si vobis constiterit, quod dictus Ubanus sit plene conversus ad fidem, desiderio eius in parte ista sibi satisfacere procuretis, proviso quod per restitutionem huiusmodi nichil possit fidei contrarium procurari*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 84^r–84^v, ep. 294 (10 October 1233) RG IX I. nr. 1523. coll. 842–843; THEINER I. nr. 202. p. 120–121; FEJÉR III/2. p. 342; BOPI. nr. 100. p. 63; CDCr III. nr. 337. p. 389–390; POTTHAST nr. 9303; KATONA V. p. 663; FERMENDŽIN no. 40. p. 8.

³⁶ RIST 2009. p. 126.

³⁷ KOSTO 2003. p. 3–4.

the language of the liturgy was at the core of all problems between Bosnia and the Roman Curia.

The main consequence of the mission of legate Jacob of Preneste is the appointment of Johannes von Wildeshausen as the bishop of Bosnia. This member of the Dominican Order had prior experience in crisis zones, since he was the special emissary of the pope in the conflict with the Stendingers.³⁸ It is unknown when he was exactly appointed, but it seems that this act of the Curia, to appoint a Dominican as a head of the Bosnian diocese, was the main reason of that conflicts were about to ensue in February 1234. Possibly, it happened after the aforementioned letters in 1233.³⁹ According to the preserved sources, this appointment is to be taken as the last straw causing the definite rift between Bosnia and the Roman Curia. For a long time after this there would be no peaceful rhetoric between Bosnian rulers and the leader of the Roman Church. It is realistic to assume that besides the problems about language and liturgy in Bosnia, this forced appointments of strangers as leaders of the Bosnian bishopric introduced another one – the problem of investiture as a new, but strategically most important rift between the Bosnian ruler and the Roman curia.

Not even half a year after the previous letters, when Pope Gregory IX took the Bosnian ban into protection, praising his conversion all over, the same pope called for a crusade against Bosnia. The letter *Miserias et erumpnas* of 13 February 1234 marks the beginning of legatine action of the anonymous prior of the Carthusian monastery of St. Bartholomew from Trisulto in central Italy. His only task was to unite the clergy from adjacent territories around Bosnia under the sign of the cross, and he was supposed to give indulgences and privileges equal to those who marched to the Holy Land.⁴⁰ Several accusations and metaphors from the denunciation of the Bosnian bishop in 1232 were repeated with new ones added as well, all with the purpose of raising fighting spirit against heretics in Bosnia and the surrounding provinces.⁴¹ Only six days after, the Hungarian heir to the throne, Prince Béla pledged on the hands of Jacob of Preneste to cast out all heretics, fake Christians, Muslims and Jews from all the territories subjected to his rule.⁴²

³⁸ RIST 2009. 127; ROTHER 1895. p. 139–170; RABIĆ 2016. p. 53–69.

³⁹ Some authors offered time range October 1233. – February 1234 (Cf. JALIMAM 1999, p. 68.), but, if we consider the time needed for the news about the anointment to reach Bosnia and cause riots, as well as the time required for news about those riots to reach Rome, we can reasonably assume it happened before the end of the year 1233.

⁴⁰ *“Sicut enim nostris est auribus intimatum, tanta in Bosna et vicinis provinciis excrevit copia perfidorum, quod iam tota terra velut deserta et invia luget et languet spinis eam replentibus et urticis factaque est cubile draconum et pascua strutionum[...]. Ut autem nichil omnino desit ad tam sanctum negotium prosequendum, universis catholicis, qui ab eodem priore commoniti crucis assumpto caractere ad hereticorum exterminium se accinxerint, illam indulgentiam illudque privilegium elargimur, que accedentibus in terre sancte subsidium, conceduntur”* – AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 17., ep. 294.

⁴¹ AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 147^v–148^r; ep. 542 (12 February 1234) RG IX I. nr. 1798. coll. 985–986; THEINER I. nr. 207. p. 122–123; FEJÉR III/2. p. 379–381; CDCr III. nr. 343. p. 397–398; POTTHAST nr. 9402; FERMENDŽIN nr. 43. p. 8.

⁴² THEINER I. nr. 209. p. 123–124.

The situation gets even more complex during 1234. For a complete understanding of the events to follow, it is important to emphasize that the Hungarian king, Andrew II asked for help from the Roman Curia against the Galician nobleman, Danilo which he received in the end, but not before signing an agreement at Bereg Woods on 20 August 1233 with Curia.⁴³ There the king had to agree not to tolerate Jews, Muslims and holders of Christian slaves in his troops, to exclude the church from taxes on salt, whether it came by sea or land, to exempt all clergy from all general taxes except regarding certain legal affairs concerning property rights. However, as soon as he solved the political problem and achieved a success in Galicia, the king decided not to uphold the terms of the treaty, and married once more in his advanced age, leading to hostility with his sons Béla and Coloman. The Pope, through his legate Jacob of Preneste and later through the Bosnian bishop, Johannes von Wildeshausen warned King Andrew to honour his agreement via the letter *Quia ubi amor* of 28 July 1234,⁴⁴ and later in a letter with the same title from 16 August, excommunicating him and setting interdict on all his lands.⁴⁵

In the middle of October of the same year a severe propaganda action was launched by sending six letters which formed an organizational basis for starting a crusade. The first letter *Si tue serenitas* was sent on 14 October to Prince Coloman in which he was asked to force the heretic wickedness with full strength in parts of Slavonia (*ad convertendum in robore tue fortitudinis infectos macula heretice pravitatis, te versus partes Sclavonie ita magnanimiter et potenter accingas...*),⁴⁶ later allowing the prince to serve mass in his territory being under interdict, but only in absence of heretics, behind closed doors and with a silenced voice.⁴⁷ All the mentioned events and noticeable absence of Bosnia and its ruler in these papal letters lead us to a conclusion that that Gregory IX meant not Patarens, Cathars or other “usual suspects”, when mentioning heretics, but rather refers to King Andrew and his followers. After the return of Jacob of Preneste to Rome, the right hand of the pope was bishop Wildeshausen to whom he sent two letters on 17 October offering encouragement, allowing him to give indulgences to those that stand under the cross and fight the heretics in his bishopric and close surroundings, with identical indulgences as those who marched on the Holy Land, even to people who had attacked a member of the clergy in the past. At first look, these letters have identical contents but the first was titled *Episcopo Bosnensi contra hereticos Sclavonie predicanti* and the second *Ad purgandam terram Bosne, que*

⁴³ THEINER I. nr. 196–198; Cf. KOSZTOLNYIK 1996. p. 110–116.

⁴⁴ AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 202^r–202^v, ep. 198 (28 July 1234); RG IX I. nr. 2060. coll. 1114; THEINER I. nr. 214. p. 126–127.

⁴⁵ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 202^v–203^r, ep. 198 (16 August 1234); RG IX I. nr. 2061. coll. 1115; THEINER I. nr. 215. p. 127–128.

⁴⁶ THEINER I. nr. 218. p. 128–129.

⁴⁷ THEINER I. nr. 219. p. 129. Also, on 17 October Gregory IX wrote to Stephen, bishop of Zagreb, asking him to take under his protection all those who took the sign of the cross and to protect their properties while they are on the campaign: THEINER I. nr. 221. p. 129–130. About bishop Steven: RAZUM 2019. p. 137–146.

*velut terra deserta et invia diu luxit et languit.*⁴⁸ The term Sclavonia had different meanings in different time periods and on different occasions, but but if we are correct in our previous assumption regarding the animosity between pope and the Hungarian king, then it seems that in this case it had been related to the homonymous region of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁴⁹

After one year, the situation in Hungary calmed down, which was made official by Andrew's donation of Bosnia to his younger son, Coloman, which the pope confirmed in the letter *Licet apostolice sedis* issued on 9 August 1235.⁵⁰ The donation was as worthless as the previous one to bishop Ugrin, but gave Coloman a free path to lead a crusade against Bosnia making him the chief protagonist of military efforts.⁵¹ A couple of days later the pope sent instructions to the archbishop of Esztergom informing him about actions needed to be performed by the king to revoke the excommunication and interdict, and also mentioned the Bosnian bishop and legate Jacob in the letter.⁵² The affair was concluded on 31 August when the pope notified the Bosnian bishop and the priors of the Franciscans and Dominicans of Esztergom in a short letter, that they should not act on a warning issued by the legate against King Andrew without a special papal order.⁵³

The next letter *Deputatus Jhesu Christi* of 20 September 1235 is very interesting because it shows that the Bosnian bishop, Johannes von Wildeshausen requested from the pope to be absolved of his duty, which prompted a melodramatic response not to renounce his position, to keep resisting against heretics and fight until he is eventually free of his earthly body. Finally, he presented him examples of saints willing to sacrifice themselves in the service of the cross.⁵⁴ We would not interpret this source as fear or

⁴⁸ AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 17., fol. 214^r, ep. 254 (16 October 1234.); RG IX I. nr. 2127. coll. 1143–1144; THEINER I. nr. 220. p. 129; AAV Reg. Vat. 17. fol. 214^v, ep. nr. 256 (16 August 1234.); RG IX I. nr. 2129. coll. 1144; THEINER I. nr. 226. p. 130; BOP I. nr. 113. p. 70; FEJÉR III/2. p. 397–398; CDCr III. nr. 363. p. 418; KATONA V. p. 711–712; POTTHAST nr. 9738; FERMENTŽIN nr. 47. p. 9.

⁴⁹ For different meanings of the term "Sclauonia" see: ĆIRKOVIĆ 2020. p. 19–23. Cf.: Bagi Dániel: Sclavonia a Magyar–lengyel krónikában. In: „Köztes-Európa” vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta 60. születésnapjára. Szerk.: Bagi Dániel–Fedeles Tamás– Kiss Gergely. Pécs, 2012. 45–58.

⁵⁰ AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 18., fol. 61^r, ep. 189 (9. 8. 1235.); RG IX II. nr. 2726. coll. 138; THEINER I. nr. 229. p. 133; FEJÉR III/2. p. 449; CDCr III. nr. 385. p. 443; KATONA V. p. 733–734; POTTHAST nr. 9986; FERMENTŽIN nr. 50. p. 9. Also see: FONT – BARABÁS 2019. p. 118.

⁵¹ In this instance Šidak denies the arguments of Marko Perojević that Bosnia remained under the secular control of the archbishop of Kalocsa up to 1247, and he considered that this donation was revoked because the bishop did not fulfil the condition under which he got it: ŠIDAK 1975. p. 191. However, we believe that N. Klaić was on the right track when she said that both donations were only dead letters, because the Hungarian king could not give away something he did not own. KLAJĆ 1994. p. 93.

⁵² AAV. Reg. Vat. vol. 18., fol. 63^r, ep. 196 (24 August 1235); RG IX II. nr. 2733. coll. 144; THEINER I. nr. 232. p. 134.

⁵³ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18., fol. 68^v, ep. 220 (31 August 1235.) RG IX II. nr. 2760. coll. 160; THEINER I. nr. 239. p. 136.

⁵⁴ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18., fol. 71^r, ep. 229 (20 September 1235); RG IX II. nr. 2769. coll. 166; THEINER I. no: 241. p. 137; FEJÉR III/2. p. 455–456; CDCr III. nr. 387. p. 444–445; KATONA V. p. 741–743; POTTHAST nr. 10019; FERMENTŽIN nr. 52. p. 9.

tiredness from Wildeshausen, regarding war efforts in Bosnia. There is no evidence he ever even entered Bosnia. It can be assumed he grew weary of the intrigues and conflicts within the Hungarian Kingdom, which he witnessed first-hand, but these speculations do not concern our topic.

Šidak and Nada Klaić presented many good analyses to this subject, but understandably, did not offer the best solutions in some parts. Šidak correctly states that the problem of Sclavonia is not entirely resolved in the historiography, but then ties all the previously mentioned developments to Bosnia, with the initial assumption of its vassal position towards Hungary. Klaić goes too far in the opposite direction, proposing that none of the above happened in Bosnia, but rather in Hungarian territory. It seems that the truth is between these two theories.⁵⁵ The Roman Curia used the archaic term Sclavonia because the actions were undertaken on a wider area, not confined by borders of one country, which the scribes of the pope could not define better than through the aforementioned term. If the conflicts took place or had been planned only in the territory of the Hungarian Realm or the Bosnian Banate, the letters would specify the precise location, as in situations before and after. It is also clear that Bosnia was a part of these crusade plans, but we cannot be sure whether any true conflicts happened before 1237. Maybe there is validity to the assumption by Nada Klaić that during the reign of King Andrew the crusades against Bosnia were only future plans. Besides, Andrew died shortly after the interdict over his lands had been revoked on 21 September 1235, and it is difficult to envision Coloman being able to focus on plans in Bosnia until political tensions calmed down in Hungary.

The Roman Curia sent four letters on 8 August 1236 by which Pope Gregory IX took under his protection Prince Sibislav of Usora and his mother Ancilla, son and widow of the former Bosnian ban, Stjepan,⁵⁶ and the Hungarian clergy is notified not to disturb him or his men.⁵⁷ The pope singled Sibislav out as a lily among thorns, meaning that all other Bosnian noblemen and rulers fall into heretical depravity (*inter principes Bosnensis diocesis infectos macula heretice pravitatis existis quasi lilium inter spinas*). Šidak and Klaić agree that these letters should not serve to prove the possible conversion of Sibislav from heresy to Catholicism, but his asking for assistance from the pope should be a sign of preparation for the forthcoming military conflicts.⁵⁸

Before any confrontation with the historiographical literature and before forming any original conclusions for the events of these three years it is

⁵⁵ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 190–191; KLAJĆ 1994. p. 98–100.

⁵⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18, fol. 183^v, ep. 183 (8 August 1236); RG IX II. nr. 3272. coll. 457; THEINER I. nr. 258. p. 147; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 36–37; CDCr IV. nr. 12. p. 15–16; FARLATI IV. p. 48; KATONA V. p. 772; POTTHAST nr. 10223; FERMENDŽIN nr. 55. p. 10; AAV Reg. Vat., vol. 18, fol. 183^v, ep. 185 (8 August 1236); RG IX II. nr. 3274. coll. 457; THEINER I. nr. 260. p. 147; CDCr IV. nr. 14. p. 17.

⁵⁷ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18, fol. 183^v, ep. 184 (8 August 1236); RG IX II. nr. 3273. coll. 457; THEINER I. nr. 259. p. 147; CDCr IV. nr. 13. p. 16; POTTHAST nr. 10225; FERMENDŽIN nr. 54. p. 10; AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18, fol. 183^v, ep. 186 (8 August 1236) RG IX II. nr. 3275. coll. 457–458; THEINER I. nr. 261. p. 147; CDCr IV. nr. 15. p. 17–18; POTTHAST nr. 10226; FERMENDŽIN nr. 55. p. 10.

⁵⁸ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 191; KLAJĆ 1994. p. 100.

important to review all preserved sources as a whole. There are only three sources from the year 1237. On 18 May, the consuls of Dubrovnik forbid their traders leaving for Bosnia and dealing there, until emissaries returned with news regarding the safety inside the land.⁵⁹ Therefore, it is obvious that certain information had spread about an unstable situation in Bosnia, so the rulers of Dubrovnik reacted as usual, barring their traders from entering the area of crisis. Likewise, we can conclude that the developments which caused the situation to deteriorate in Bosnia, could not have happened long before that date because the vigilant rulers of Dubrovnik still awaited actual news from the field. The other two pieces of information speak about Johannes von Wildeshausen leaving the position of the Bosnian bishop. In the letter sent by Pope Gregory IX to the Hungarian king, Béla IV on 31 May 1237, he is already mentioned as the former bishop, and the same words of thankfulness are repeated in the letter to the archbishop of Kalocsa.⁶⁰ Earlier historiography translated the word *quondam* from the source as late/deceased, not as former, and therefore assumed Wildeshausen was killed during fights in Bosnia.⁶¹ Šidak disproved this theory easily by proving Wildeshausen became a general of the Dominican Order in 1242 and died in Strasbourg in 1252.⁶²

The next letter Gregory IX sent to the prior of the Dominicans, who were spreading Christianity among the Cumans in Hungary, the pope specifically asked for a monk named Ponsa,⁶³ so he could appoint him as the next Bosnian bishop, proving without doubt the subjugation of the Bosnian bishopric to the Roman Curia (*quem soli apostolice sedi usque ad beneplacitum nostrum volumus haberi subiectum*).⁶⁴ The previous letter is significant because it holds information about the progress of Coloman's crusade. The pope praises the success of the prince against the heretics which he brings, with a lot of effort, to the light of the Catholic faith.⁶⁵

After this, the flow of information about developments in Bosnia ceases, until the last days of 1238 when Pope Gregory IX sent six letters to various addressees near Bosnia. With the first letter *Sedi apostolice presidentis* he orders Ponsa to support Coloman's intentions in Bosnia, and especially to strike, with joint effort, the rest of the bishopric where heretical wickedness

⁵⁹ CDCr IV. nr. 24. p. 27.

⁶⁰ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18, fol. 294^v, ep. 110 (31 May 1237); RG IX II. nr. 3716. coll. 672; THEINER I. nr. 277. p. 155–156; AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 18, fol. 294^v–295^r, ep. 111 (1 June 1237); RG IX II. nr. 3717. coll. 672–673; THEINER I. nr. 278. p. 156–157.

⁶¹ PEROJEVIĆ 1942. p. 224.

⁶² ŠIDAK 1975. p. 193.

⁶³ VARGA 1995. p. 169–175.

⁶⁴ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 9^v–9^r, ep. 53 (26 April 1238); RG IX II. nr. 4286. coll. 979; THEINER I. nr. 289. p. 162–163; AHG nr. 238. p. 316–318; BOP I. nr. 182. p. 101; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 124–126; CDCr IV. nr. 50. p. 56–57; HCRH–SA V. p. 836–838; FARLATI IV. p. 50; POTTHAST nr. 10585; FERMENDŽIN nr. 57. p. 10.

⁶⁵ “[...] *carissimus in Christo filius noster Colomannus rex et dux Sclavorum illustris, sicut eiusdem insinuatione percepimus, terram Bosne, deletis tamen pravitatis heretice maculis, non absque multis laboribus deduxit ad lucem catholice pravitatis*” – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 9^v–9^r, ep. 53.

still resided.⁶⁶ Later, the letter *De superni regis* again restates almost identical praises as before regarding Coloman and his exploits in stifling heresy, instructing him not to allow the return of infidel teachings.⁶⁷

On the same day the pope contacted the archbishop of Esztergom ordering him to support the work of Bishop Ponsa in Bosnia which is filled with heresy, after which he contacted the abbot in Varaždin, at first to gather crusaders to send to Bosnia and on a different occasion to send the money that the late Ban Lula had left for crusades in Bosnia to the Bosnian bishop.⁶⁸ Eventually, the pope contacted the Dominicans of Pécs to give Ponsa the money that Ban Ninoslav had left there for the building of a cathedral in Bosnia.⁶⁹ After this “onslaught” of letters almost an entire year passed without any news. Finally, at the start of December 1239, the pope broke the wall of silence with yet another letter of praise to prince Coloman. Gregory IX pointed out how he received the prince’s letters and that he is thrilled with his persecution of heresy and the promotion of true faith.⁷⁰ Two days later, the pope wrote to the Bosnian bishop, confirming the territories given to him by the prince – Đakovo

⁶⁶ “*Cum igitur carissimi in Christo filii nostri Colomanni [...], ac aliorum fidelium circumposite regionis efficaci diligentia faciente provenerit, quod ibidem triumphante conditoris dextera, consurgit religio christiana ... fideles in Regno Ungarie constitutos secundum datam tibi a deo prudentiam exhorteris, ut tanquam zelum dei habentes, se viriliter et potenter accingat ad heretice pestis residuum de predicta diocesi penitus abolendum*” – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 65^v–66^r, ep. 352 (23 December 1238); RG IX II. nr. 4691. coll. 1197–1198; THEINER I. nr. 306. p. 169–170; BOP I. nr. 187. p. 104; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 126–127; CDCr IV. nr. 63. p. 67–68; KATONA V. p. 839–841; POTTHAST nr. 10693; FERMENDŽIN nr. 63. p. 11.

⁶⁷ “*De superni regis provenire gratia gratulamur, quod agnoscens humiliter te ad ipsius ymaginem ac similitudinem esse conditum et eiusdem sanguine pretioso redemptum, sibi retribuere vigilas, ut de Bosne partibus, deletis pravitatis heretice maculis, ibidem fulgeat lumen catholice puritatis [...] et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, quatinus in hoc potissime te arbitrando magnificium, quod dei sapientia providisse dignoscitur.*” – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 66^r, ep. 354 (22 December 1238); RG IX II. no: 4693. coll. 1198; THEINER I. nr. 302. p. 168; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 130–131; CDCr IV. nr. 58. p. 64; KATONA V. p. 841–842; POTTHAST nr. 10688; FERMENDŽIN nr. 58. p. 11.

⁶⁸ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 66^r, ep. 353 (22 December 1238); RG IX II. nr. 4692. coll. 1198; THEINER I. nr. 301. p. 168; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 128; CDCr IV. nr. 59. p. 65; KATONA V. p. 845–846; POTTHAST nr. 10692; FERMENDŽIN nr. 59. p. 11. AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 66^r, ep. 355 (22 December 1238.); RG IX II. nr. 4695. coll. 1198–1199; THEINER I. nr. 303. p. 169; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 128–129; CDCr IV. nr. 62. p. 67; HEQ II. p. 109; POTTHAST. nr. 10689; FERMENDŽIN nr. 60. p. 11. AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 66^r–66^v, ep. 356 (22 December 1238.); RG IX II. nr. 4696. coll. 1199; THEINER I. nr. 304. p. 169; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 129; CDCr IV. nr. 61. p. 66; HEQ II. p. 110; POTTHAST nr. 10690; FERMENDŽIN nr. 61. p. 11.

⁶⁹ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19, fol. 66^v, ep. 357 (22 December 1238.); RG IX II. nr. 4697. coll. 1199; THEINER I. nr. 305. p. 169; AHG nr. 251. p. 330; FEJÉR IV/1 p. 130; CDCr IV. nr. 60. p. 65–66; KATONA V. p. 843–844; POTTHAST nr. 10691; FERMENDŽIN nr. 62. p. 11.

⁷⁰ “*Nam sicut earum tenore percepimus, extirpare hereses et fidem studes catholicam propagare, exaltationem procuras ecclesie et ad expugnandum impugnatores ipsius eius te exponendo beneplacitis, beneficia que a potestate recepisti divina verbo et opere recognoscis*” – THEINER I. nr. 310. p. 172; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 175–176; CDCr IV. nr. 86. p. 93–94; KATONA V. p. 871–872.

and Blizna,⁷¹ and invites Dominican priors from Hungary to go to Bosnia and drive out heretics.⁷²

Let us start with the question of whether there was really an attack led by Coloman against Bosnia. In the analysis of all previous occasions when Bosnia was mentioned in the context of crusades: the actions of Acontius and Ugrin, even of Coloman before 1237, we were adamant that conflict did not take place and everything remained on the level of a threat. However, we believe that during 1237–1238 there had to be a certain incursion of a Hungarian army inside Bosnia. How else would the situation in Bosnia become calm enough to prepare for the building of a cathedral and the formation of a cathedral chapter? We cannot accept theories by Klaić that those were common conspiracies or webs of lies between the Roman Curia and the Hungarian royal court.⁷³ Such an approach towards a source can relativize any information, leading to further complications and the need for newer and newer theories. It is another question when we speak about the scale of these military actions. Here we cannot agree with Šidak when he states the total victory of the Hungarian army.⁷⁴ This source implies that the pope still did not believe that Bosnia was cleansed from the heretics, and ordered bishop Ponsa to constantly send new contingents of crusaders on a regular basis in that area.

All the successes of the Hungarian army and clergy vanished as fast as they happened. In the later source it is stated that the faith in this land could not be kept in the purity, and that the fortifications constructed were not strong enough.⁷⁵ The Bosnian ban, on 22 March 1240 once again acted as an independent ruler when dealing with Dubrovnik renewing previous rights and liberties. Furthermore, the Bosnian ruler felt powerful enough to guarantee the people of Dubrovnik protection in case they went to war with the king of Raška.⁷⁶ One Dominican chronicle from 1259 states that around this time the two monasteries built in Bosnia by these monks were burned down.⁷⁷

⁷¹ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19., fol. 138^v, ep. 174 (7. 12. 1239.); RG IX III. nr. 4991. coll. 143; THEINER I. nr. 311. p. 12; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 177; CDCr IV. nr. 87. p. 94; KATONA V. p. 879–880; POTTHAST nr. 10824; FERMENDŽIN nr. 65. p. 12.

⁷² AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 19., fol. 138^v–139^r, ep. 175 (7. 12. 1239.); RG IX III. nr. 4992. coll. 143–144; THEINER I. nr. 312. p. 172–173; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 176; CDCr IV. nr. 88. p. 94–95; POTTHAST nr. 10823.

⁷³ KLAJČ 1994. p. 92.

⁷⁴ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 195.

⁷⁵ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 195.

⁷⁶ "... азъ Млатен Никославъ, по милости боже вѣлики ванъ босеньски, съ моими воларими кельнемо съ тебе, Николавъ Томисѣтѣ, князѣ дѣрвовъчкомѣ, и въсѣ(ѣ)мъ властеломъ и въсѣ илькинѣ градскѣ ѣ господа бога нашего Исоу Христа ... да ви стою ѣ вечни и тверди миръ и ѣ срьдченѣ любовьѣ и ѣ всавѣ правьѣ, и по земле и владдане мое и моудѣ съмъ да си ходите свободно и пространо весь въсѣ десѣщине и весь никерѣ нильне дане ... и ако съ разьратитѣ съ крамѣмъ рашьки, да васъ не дамъ ни вашъ довитекъ, паче да ви ѣхранѣ съ въсѣ(ѣ)мъ вашимъ довиткомъ..." – MONUMENTA SERBICA nr. 35. p. 28–29.

⁷⁷ It is the chronicle of prior Suibert: "Ubi etiam duos conventus habuimus quos postea heretici combusserunt [...]" – ŠIDAK 1975. p. 184. We cannot be sure where the location of these monasteries were. Antonin Zaninović quotes that in Bosnia in 1233 one, and in 1259 two Dominican monasteries existed, but he did not specify their location (ZANINOVIĆ 1918. p. 265.), while Slavko Slišković offered a theory that one of them was located near the cathedral of St. Peter in župa Vrhbosna, while the other Dominican monasteries, important for their actions in Bosnia, were

Indirect assistance which led to a break of papal and Hungarian pressure on Bosnia came from an unexpected source: the Mongolian horde of Batu Khan. The great offensive which propelled the Mongols from a nomadic people of the steppes to the most fearsome and most successful warriors of the medieval period, was moving incontinently towards Central Europe as well. After a crushing victory of the Mongols over the Kumans on the lower Volga on 1235, more than 40,000 Kipchak Kumans found refuge in the Hungarian Kingdom. Mongols did not appreciate that act of King Béla IV, so the war was inevitable. The decisive battle took place on the river Sajó or Tisza on 11 April 1241 and ended with the complete defeat of the Hungarian army. Prince Coloman was mortally wounded and King Béla had to escape as far as the Dalmatian islands, the only place where the Mongolian cavalry could not follow.⁷⁸ Archdeacon Thomas of Split and some other sources note that in the April 1242 a strong Mongolian squadron passed through Bosnia and ransacked it as well.⁷⁹ Beside that, this event still gave Bosnia a break from the threat of Hungarian attack and in the long term was one of the most significant twists of fate in its history.

The Cessation: *translatio sedis* and the Rise of the Bosnian Church

After the Mongol incursion, military intervention by Hungary within the borders of the Bosnian Banate was not possible anymore. Moreover, Ban Matej Ninoslav started to get involved in internal matters of the Hungarian Realm, when he became prince of Split, in order to help the city in the fight against the rising influence of Trogir, a city whose strength significantly increased after providing shelter to Béla IV from Mongol invaders.⁸⁰ A chronicler from Split, Archdeacon Thomas was a contemporary to this appointment and his writings offer a first-hand source for the events about to unfold.⁸¹ With excellent analysis of this source, especially regarding Tomas' attitude towards the strangers who were appointed as prince of Split in the past, Nada Klaić clearly showed that for the writer and his contemporaries Matej Ninoslav was by no means a Pataren, and that his conflict with the Hungarian king ensued precisely because of the audacity the ban displayed when accepting that position, and due to his robbing and burning of the areas around Trogir.⁸² Somehow at that exact time, the new pope, Innocent IV named a legate to investigate the state of faith in Croatia and Dalmatia and to restore its former honour.⁸³ We would not agree with Šidak who stated that these lands were

located outside of its borders, in Zagreb, Čazma, Kotor, Bihać and Dubrovnik (SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005, p. 485).

⁷⁸ UZELAC 2015; FONT – BARABÁS 2019, p. 121–125.

⁷⁹ THOMAE SPALATENSIS p. 300; ŠIDAK 1975, p. 196; SOPHOULIS 2015, p. 251–278.

⁸⁰ PEROJEVIĆ 1942, p. 227.

⁸¹ THOMAE SPALATENSIS p. 340–355.

⁸² KLAJĆ 1994, p. 107–111.

⁸³ THEINER I. nr. 347, p. 187.

heavily influenced by wars against Ninoslav and the heretics.⁸⁴ Bosnia is never mentioned in that letter and the context of this inspection is more than obvious, after the Mongol devastations.

Further developments around Split are not significant from our perspective. It is worth mentioning that the famous donation of Béla IV in 1244 which is often used as evidence of victory of the Hungarian army and that Ninoslav was forced to accept the arrangement of the Bosnian bishopric according to the Hungarian model cannot be used in scientific discourse as it is clear that it was a 14th-century forgery.⁸⁵ Therefore, based on the sources, a Hungarian advance inside Bosnia was not possible then. In the same year 1244 the pope would grant, at the behest of the current general of the Dominican Order and former Bosnian bishop Johannes de Wildeshausen the rights of inquisition to this ecclesiastical order with the letter *Odore suavi*.⁸⁶

The year 1246 was a time when a fierce diplomatic action of Hungarian agitation with the Curia started in order to subject the Bosnian bishopric to the archbishop of Kalocsa. After the evident pressure, Innocent IV sent the abbot of the monastery of St. Martin in Pannonhalma to investigate the claims of Hungarian prelates on the 20 July. There he mentioned that this request came from Bishop Ponsa himself, who repeated accusations against the archbishop of Dubrovnik for neglecting the fact that the last Slavic Bosnian bishop was a heretic, as well as for allowing the spread of heresy in Bosnia.⁸⁷ Later he spoke about the desire of the archbishop of Kalocsa to exterminate the wicked heresy in Bosnia and measures taken by his predecessor while he still had secular power (given to him by King Andrew) who allegedly drove out thousands of heretics from Bosnia, but could not keep the territories he cleansed due to the inability of erected fortifications to withstand the heretic attacks.⁸⁸ The pope

⁸⁴ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 196.

⁸⁵ KLAJČ 1976. p. 470–472; KLAJČ 1994. p. 112–115.

⁸⁶ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 75^v, ep. 448 (2 May 1244); RI IV III. nr. 449. p. 81; POTTHAST nr. 11245. Since Theiner did not publish this letter, Smičiklas and some authors after him were misled that a similar letter from 1246, holds the correct datation of its publication (Cf. CDCr IV. nr. 261. p. 295–296; JALIMAM 1999. p. 82). Actually, it is the fact that pope confirms the privilege on that date, but it hardly had any real connection with Bosnia, since it is the general privilege. Second letter *Odore suavi*: AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 310^r (7 July 1246); RI IV III. nr. 2006. p. 208; THEINER SM I. nr. 95. p. 77; POTTHAST nr. 12204.

⁸⁷ "*Ex parte venerabilis fratris nostri ... episcopi Bosnensis fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum dudum ecclesia Bosnensi vacante etiam iam lapsa erat peccatis exigentibus in hereticam pravitatem ... Ragusensis archiepiscopus, eo tempore ipsius ecclesie metropolitanus, ibidem quemdam hereticum in episcopum prefecisset, ibidem in eodem crimine, cum ad eum pervenerit, quod tam ipse quam eius subditi huiusmodi erant labe respersi quodque in eclesiis civitatis et diocesis Bosnensis officia non celebrabantur divina, scienter tolerasset.*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 313^r, ep. 313 (20 July 1246); RI IV III. nr. 2034. p. 302; THEINER I. nr. 372. p. 201–202; FEJÉR VII/5. nr. 153. p. 268–270; FARLATI VI. p. 98; CDCr IV. nr. 263. p. 297–298; POTTHAST nr. 12233; FERMENDŽIN nr. 70. p. 13.

⁸⁸ "[...] *postmodum vero bone memorie predecessor venerabilis fratris nostri ... archiepiscopi Colocensis ecclesia in civitate et diocesi Bosnensi iurisdictionem habeat temporalem, ad extirpandam exinde pravitatem predictam, cum multis diversis temporibus exercitiis construendo et reficiendo in locis idoneis castra pro defensione ipsius Bosnensis ecclesie*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 313^r, ep. 313.

did not wish to hurry with such a decision and therefore instructed the emissaries to check the information he received from Ponsa.⁸⁹

We do not exactly know what the result of this expedition was, but too short time have passed from its beginning to determine that the letter *Amor celestis* was its result, a letter sent on the 3rd August to the archbishop of Kalocsa along with the sign of the cross inviting him to fight with resolve *contra hereticos de terra Bosnensi*.⁹⁰ As a supplement to the previous letter and in order to strengthen the resolve of crusaders, the pope arranged that the participants of the campaigns would divide the conquered land amongst themselves.⁹¹ The next letter by the pope, *Debent terre principes*, from the end of January of the following year is very significant. Along with the usual call to the Hungarian king by the pope to "fight the heretics and tame the evil enemies of the Roman Church" at the very end we have an addition *Sciturus pro certo, quod super facto terre Bosnensis nil penitus statuemus nisi de tuo consilio et assensu* where the pope promises the Hungarian king that the Curia would act in the future in Bosnia only with the approval and permission of the king.⁹² This is a true turning point and its significance needs to be emphasized. On one hand, this sentence shows the beginning of the abandonment of the Bosnian issue by the Curia, and on the other the Hungarian craving for Bosnia, if it was ever subdued, became institutionalized. Šidak also notes that in this letter, for the first time the heresy is titled with the name of the country itself – *Bosnenses hereses*.⁹³

Finally, with a letter of 28 August 1247, which was sent to the bishop of Győr and to the Hungarian prelates, the pope ordered the re-examination of the demands by the archbishop of Kalocsa, and if they proved to be truthful orders that the Bosnian bishopric becomes subject to him. This letter holds a famous sentence *nulla spes sit, quod ad fidem terra illa voluntarie revertatur*, where the pope confessed defeat of all his intentions in Bosnia.⁹⁴ In the historiography, several theories have developed about whether with this letter or immediately after it, the bishopric became officially subjected to Kalocsa or

⁸⁹ "Quia vero in tanto negotio absque magna deliberatione ac maturitate precedere nolumus, nec debemus, mandamus, quatenus inquiratis super hiis diligentius veritatem, et quod inveneritis nobis fideliter rescribatis ut exinde per vos instructi." – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 313^v; ep. nr. 313.

⁹⁰ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 317^r, ep. 55 (3 August 1246); RI IV III. nr. 2050. p. 305; THEINER I. nr. 373. p. 202; FEJÉR IV/1. nr. 153. p. 400–401; CDCr IV. nr. 264. p. 298; KATONA VI. nr. 962. p. 79–81; POTTHAST nr. 12246; FERMENDŽIN nr. 72. p. 13.

⁹¹ "Ut negotium fidei contra hereticos melius exequaris, presentium tibi auctoritate concedimus, ut possessiones eorum, quas a fidelibus occupari contigerit, possis concedere eisdem fidelibus eorumque heredibus, prout videris expedire" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 317^r, ep. 56 (3 August 1246); RI IV III. nr. 2051. p. 305; THEINER I. nr. 374. p. 202; CDCr IV. nr. 265. p. 299; POTTHAST nr. 12247; FERMENDŽIN nr. 71. p. 13.

⁹² AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 421^v, ep. 37 (30 January 1247); RI IV III. nr. 2953. p. 443; THEINER I. nr. 376. p. 202–203; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 461; CDCr IV. nr. 273. p. 310–311; KATONA VI. nr. 965. p. 88–89; POTTHAST nr. 12407; FERMENDŽIN nr. 73. p. 13.

⁹³ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 199.

⁹⁴ AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 455^v, ep. 155 (28 August 28, 1247); RI IV III. nr. 3204. p. 483; THEINER I. nr. 382. p. 204–205; FEJÉR IV/1. p. 467–468; BOP I. nr. 180. p. 175–176; CDCr IV. nr. 285. p. 322–323; KATONA VI. nr. 965. p. 89–91; POTTHAST nr. 12669; FERMENDŽIN no. 74. p. 13.

if this happened several decades later. For now, we stand by the theory proposed by Farlati which suited Šidak as well, that precisely during the year 1247 the metropolitan of the Bosnian bishopric was changed.⁹⁵

Here we need to return to the general context to correctly understand both previous and future moves by the Roman Curia. Pope Innocent IV issued several decisions in the later years of his pontificate which sharply digressed from the standard principles of the universal papacy and can be understood only from the aspect of the personality of this Roman bishop, as well as a set of contemporary circumstances.

For our topic it is significant that as a result of this change of attitude Pope Innocent IV allowed the Galician prince to perform the Slavic liturgy following eastern rituals, while on 29 March 1248 he allowed the archbishop of Senj the use of the Glagolitic liturgy and Slavic language where this custom remained.⁹⁶ This license cannot be interpreted as evidence that the papacy tolerated the Slavic liturgy even before. It must be regarded only in the context of relaxing the reins regarding religious issues. The authors who follow the aforementioned theory regularly fail to see that only two days before the approval to the bishop of Senj, the pope had sent two letters where he ceased all aggressive action against Bosnia and the Bosnian ban, and that all three letters are a part of an obvious joint venture with which the Curia wanted to calm the situation in the Balkan region and to solve problems on at least one front.

The first of the aforementioned letters linked to Bosnia *Cum sicut intelleximus* was sent to the archbishop of Kalocsa ordering him to cease all hostility towards Bosnia, until the old texts which Ban Ninoslav used to prove his righteous belief were examined. The composition of the delegation which was to examine this question, as well as the life, reputation, and behaviour of the Bosnian ruler, consisted of the aforementioned bishop of Senj and the prior of the Franciscans of Split.⁹⁷ The other letter was addressed to the executors of this mission with the explanation of their tasks.⁹⁸ With these letters this

⁹⁵ ŠIDAK 1975. p. 200. Supporters of the theory about year 1247: ĆIRKOVIĆ 1987. p. 205; KLAČIĆ 1994. p. 105; JALIMAM 1999. p. 83; DŽAJA 1992. p. 57; ŠANJEK 1975. p. 62.

⁹⁶ ŠIDAK 1937. p. 144–145; CDCr IV. nr. 307. p. 343; POTTHAST nr. 12880.

⁹⁷ "*Cum sicut intelleximus, nobilis vir Ninoslavus banus de Bossena a fide nequaquam deviet orthodoxa, sed tamquam catholicus vivat sub religionis observantia christiane, licet olim necessitatis tempore ab hereticis contra suos inimicos auxilium et favorem recepisse dicatur et eidem insuper nobili per quorundam fidedignorum litteras, licet antiquas, laudabile perhibeatur testimonium super fidei sua puritate, mndamus, quatenus provide pensans, quod animarum lucrum attendendum est potissime ac obtandum, contra prefatum nobilem et terram suam, presertim cum super eo, quod a prefatis hereticis interdum iuvamen habuit, satisfacere, sicut dicitur, sit paratus et nos de vita, fama et conservatione ipsius per venerabilem fratrem nostrum [...] episcopum Signensem et dilectum filium ... ministrum fratrum minorum Spalatensem, mandamus diligenter inquiri, aliquatenus non procedas*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 517r, ep. 699 (27 March 1248); RI IV III. nr. 3748. p. 567; THEINER I. nr. 387. p. 206; FEJÉR IV/2. p. 28–29; BF I. nr. 270. p. 511; CDCr IV. nr. 305. p. 341–342; POTTHAST nr. 12876; FERMENDŽIN nr. 76. p. 14.

⁹⁸ "*Presentium vobis auctoritate in virtute obedientie districte precipiendo mandamus, quatenus de vita, fama et conversatione nobilis viri Ninoslai bani de Bossene sollicite inquirentes, quod super hiis inveneritis, nobis vestris litteris fideliter intimetis*" – AAV Reg. Vat. vol. 21., fol. 517r, ep. 700 (27 March

episode of relations between the papacy and Bosnia came to an end. As we were able to see, there can be no discussion about military efforts by Béla IV against Bosnia in this period. Next to the classic use of crusader rhetoric, and indulgences were foreseen but like in most of the earlier occasions weapons were not raised.

After the official subjection of the Bosnian bishopric under the archbishop of Kalocsa, the next step was the transference of its seat outside the borders of Bosnia, inside the realm of the Hungarian Kingdom. This *translatio sedis* of the Bosnian bishopric is "one of the crucial events in the political and ecclesiastical history of medieval Bosnia whose importance cannot be overstated".⁹⁹ Unfortunately the source where the final decision of the Curia was expressed was not preserved, and neither was the more probable source belonging to the archbishop of Kalocsa where he ordered that this change took place, so we cannot determine the exact date when this happened. *Terminus ante quem* can be easily determined as 8 May 1252 when a letter to the bishop of Trebinje notes: *in villa que vocatur Diaco et ante domum in qua habitat episcopus Bosgnensis*.¹⁰⁰ It is obvious that it was already known that Đakovo was the new home to bishop Ponsa. Somewhat more problematic is to determine the *terminus post quem*. The oldest possible date is certainly the letter from the 7 December 1239 in which the donation of Đakovo and Blizna to the Bosnian bishopric by prince Coloman was confirmed. However, it seems that it is too early to use this date for the transfer of the bishopric seat.¹⁰¹ This decision would be difficult to perform as the Bosnian bishopric was not yet subjected to the archbishop of Kalocsa. From there it can be deduced that the date should be found after 28 August 1247 when the aforementioned mission was ordered to determine the validity of demands by the archbishop of Kalocsa. The exact same logic can be used to determine the date of subjugation to the archbishop of Kalocsa. It would be difficult for the Bosnian bishop to reside in Đakovo before his bishopric was subjected to Kalocsa. So, both events should be considered together, and it is conceivable that they happened in a "package", meaning that somewhere between the second half of 1247 and the first half of 1252 both the subjugation of the bishopric and the official transfer of its seat took place. Đakovo was not selected at random as the location for the new seat. The geostrategic position of this settlement on the main roads from Hungary to Bosnia and the erection of the church of St. Peter with the identical name as the cathedral church in Bosnia, were all strategically planned moves the Hungarian diplomatic machine aptly used in times to come.¹⁰²

What is the importance of this move? The bishopric is the basic administrative unit of the hierarchical order of the church. Even Cyprian, a

1248); RI IV III. nr. 3749. p. 567; THEINER I. nr. 386. p. 205–206; FEJÉR IV/2. p. 29; BF I. nr. 271. p. 511; CDCr IV. nr. 306. p. 342; POTTHAST nr. 12877; FERMENDŽIN nr. 75. p. 14.

⁹⁹ Cf. LOVRENOVIĆ 2010, p. 113–125.

¹⁰⁰ CDCr IV. nr. 430. p. 494–495.

¹⁰¹ It was still done by: ČOROVIĆ 1940. p. 198.

¹⁰² LOVRENOVIĆ 1994. p. 56; LOVRENOVIĆ 2004. p. 10–18.

theologian from the late Antiquity spoke about how the “bishop’s power is based on the word of God through which he assigned St. Peter the rule of the keys, so therefore the bishop is in the church and the church is in the bishop, and who is not with the bishop is not in the church either”.¹⁰³ The conclusion is simple: with displacing the seat of the Bosnian bishopric outside the Bosnian Banate, the multiple centuries year old membership of the Bosnian church to the western church was broken and an institutional rift ensued between the Bosnian medieval state and the Roman Curia. Bosnia became *regio nullius dioecesis* in the eyes of Rome.¹⁰⁴ The main consequence of this process was the confessional change inside Bosnia and the emergence of the Bosnian church.¹⁰⁵ The greatest authorities today agree that the Bosnian church (which did not exist before 1270s–1280s, so this term must be avoided when discussing the events in the 12th and first half of the 13th century) grew from the remains of the old Latin bishopric while they differ in the fact that it merged within a religious order of Krstjani, which existed in Bosnia from a long time before.¹⁰⁶ More than a century later, the leader of the Bosnian church, *djed* Radomir presented himself to the embassy from Dubrovnik as a “the true episcopo of the Bosnian church”.¹⁰⁷

It is important to conclude that the transfer of the seat is the consequence of Hungarian aspirations towards Bosnia.¹⁰⁸ But we cannot agree with the authors who claim that in Bosnia there was a conflict between the Roman Curia, which wanted a hierarchical establishment of Christianity in Bosnia, and the interests of the Hungarian court which did everything to stop it from happening. If we can single out basic results from all this mess of ideological, religious, political, and military rhetoric we can observe several things:

1. Bosnia irreparably got a negative reputation at the Roman Curia
2. The Hungarian Kingdom managed to reaffirm its rights of patronage over the Balkan region in the eyes of the pope
3. The election of native bishops who held the liturgy in the Slavic language was forbidden
4. On several occasions, crusades against Bosnia, its ruler and people were proclaimed, but were actually realized only one time
5. The centuries-old tradition of official church hierarchy on Bosnian soil was interrupted
6. On the institutional and spiritual remains of *ecclesie Bosnensis* an autocephalous Bosnian church emerged whose existence and activity are directly rooted into the Bosnian medieval states.

¹⁰³ JEDIN 1972. p. 377–378.

¹⁰⁴ BASLER 1973b. p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ For more detailed elaboration Cf. DAUTOVIĆ 2021. p. 75–92.

¹⁰⁶ DŽAJA 1985. p. 81–102; DŽAJA – LOVRENOVIĆ 2008–2009. p. 245–246; ĆIRKOVIĆ 1964. p. 68.

¹⁰⁷ *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I/1. nr. 440. p. 434.

¹⁰⁸ DŽAJA 1985. p. 96.

All these results suit clearly the Hungarian interests. As they were initiated by the Roman Curia, it cannot be concluded that the interests of the papacy and Hungary differed. Besides, if the Curia wanted longer-lasting success in the promotion of Catholicism on Bosnian soil, it could have implemented its strongest diplomatic weapon in the fight against heresy – the sending of the royal crown. In the 13th century, we have multiple examples when Rome used this exact method to solve its problems. Innocent III sent the royal crown in 1203 to the Bulgarian ruler Kalojan, the same thing was performed by Honorius III raising the Serbian župan Stefan Nemanjić to the status of king in 1217/1219. Then Innocent IV sent royal crowns to the Lithuanian duke Mindaugas in 1251 and to the ruler of Galicia-Volhynia Danilo Romanovič in 1253.¹⁰⁹ Dispatching of the royal crown to Ban Matej Ninoslav would solve all the problems that the Roman Curia and the Western Church had in Bosnia regarding heresy, schism or any other issues of religious nature. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that these questions were not the main goal of the Curia when communicating with Bosnia. The Hungarian Kingdom was too powerful ally for the papacy in East-Central Europe, and the popes of the 13th century did not wish to jeopardize this alliance by any means. The Bosnian Banate and the state of faith inside it were a collateral victim of the policy of leaning on strong secular rulers of a certain area which the papacy used to fulfil its own ambitions.

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¹⁰⁹ SWEENEY 1973. p. 320–334; MARITCH 1933. p. 39–43; SELART 2015. p. 201, 210–215.

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Ivan MAJNARIĆ:

The Making of a Nation: Identities of the Croatian Nobility during the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century*

During the 14th century, the state and governmental development brought forward the need to simplify a complex social reality. The management of this complexity eventually led to the formation of more tightly connected social groups, some of which can be considered as corporate groups. At the same time, different identities became clearly visible. Both processes can be observed in the Kingdom of Croatia during the Angevin reorganization of their dominions. The paper argues that these processes, among other things, nurtured the emergence of a pre-modern Croatian nation.

Keywords: 14th and 15th centuries, Kingdom of Croatia, nobility, nation, identity, corporate groups



In the past thirty years, research on identity and nation has been increasingly in the focus of attention. This is hardly surprising if one takes into account the socio-political circumstances: the fall of the communist regimes, the end of the Cold War with its division of the world, the accelerated globalization, and also the overall transformation of the elites. This trend in identity research has not bypassed the medieval studies, which have adopted innovative approaches to achieve outstanding results, especially in the field of early medieval history.¹ Thereby the question of nation building has often been approached in accordance with the established primordialist, instrumentalist, social-constructivist, and more

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¹ Critical literature on the subjects of early medieval identity is vast. With regard to Southeastern Europe, the most notable studies include: GILLET 2002; CURTA 2005; POHL – REIMITZ 1998; GEARY 2003; HEN – INNES 2000; STEPANOV 2010; CURTA 2008; also see BEREND 2001. On the early medieval Croatian identities, see BUDAK 1995; MILOŠEVIĆ 2000; BUDAK 2008; DZINO 2010; ANČIĆ – SHEPARD – VEDRIŠ 2018; DZINO – MILOŠEVIĆ – VEDRIŠ 2018.

recently ethno-symbolist models.² It is precisely by relying on the premises of the latter model, more precisely that of Anthony Smith,³ that some researchers have recently started to give preference to deep historical research and to interpreting the historical insignia and the spirit of the time, which has led them to abandon the aforementioned traditional models. Even though I cannot treat this issue in detail here, I will mention two facts: (1) that the models preceding Smith's – such as those proposed by Clifford Geertz, Frederik Barth, Pierre van der Berghe, Ernest Gellner, Elie Kedouri, or Benedict Anderson, John A. Armstrong, Rogers Brubaker and even Steven Grosby⁴ and Smith himself – did not explore the past professionally and thoroughly; and (2) that the new trends in identity or nation research have come from the historical and intellectual contexts other than the Anglo-Saxon one, moreover from a generation not directly connected to World War II. In any case, it is only recently that the gap between theoretical premises and the knowledge of the actual past has been bridged, occasionally leading to the rejection of the proposed theoretical models, as evident, for example, in studies by John Breuilly, Miroslav Hroch,⁵ and primarily those (on pre-modern nations) by Caspar Hirschi or Azer Gat.⁶

Identity research, regardless of its objectivity, cannot be completely separated from the way each individual researcher understands it subjectively. However, I also believe that the key elements, inseparable from any identity, are its given social and situational construction as well as its encounter with the "Other". Accordingly, identity can be also seen as a continued opposition between the longevity of mental patterns in the general context and their continual change in the context of the individual, depending on the given circumstances.

Keeping all this in mind, I will focus in this paper on the issue of late medieval identity among the Croatian nobility. Firstly, I will explore the context in which some aspects of identity were formed among the nobility, as well as the universality of that identity and the circumstances of its continuity and/or transformation. I will thereby elaborate the hypothesis that it is indeed possible to discern the elements of a Croatian nation in the identity of late medieval Croatian nobility.

However, before dedicating myself to the question of identity in late medieval Croatian nobility, I will offer a brief historical context of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia⁷ in the 14th century.

² Critical literature on the theories of nationalism is also vast. For an overview of different approaches, see ÖZKIRIMLI 2010. For further insight, also see the studies listed in notes 3–6.

³ Cf. SMITH 1999; SMITH 2000; SMITH 2009.

⁴ Cf. GEERTZ 1963; BARTH 1969. p. 9–38; BERGHE 1981; HALL 1998; GELLNER 1983; KEDOURIE 1994; ANDERSON 2006; ARMSTRONG 1982; GROSBY 2005.

⁵ BREUILLY 1993; HROCH 2007; HROCH 2015.

⁶ Cf. HIRSCHI 2012; GAT 2013.

⁷ In the following I will mostly use the term Kingdom of Croatia in accordance with the late medieval political theory (I will discuss this in more detail below) and modern composite state theory (see BACKERRA 2019; ELLIOTT 1992). Putting it more simply, the Angevin ruler

Around the mid-14th century, most of the nobility in the Kingdom of Croatia found themselves in a new social setting compared to the previous period.⁸ This happened primarily with the ascent of the House of Anjou: Charles and his son Louis, who restored the royal power and efficiency, including its omnipresence in every corner of the lands under St Stephen's Crown, which had been seriously weakened during the last Árpáadian kings. In order to consolidate his power, the ruler now used direct interventions (military and legal) in order to define the position of the nobility, with the aim of reducing the actual differences among them to an acceptable measure. This included the levelling of their legal status in 1351 or 1352⁹ – although the effect of these decrees both on the interrelations among the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia and on the relations of that nobility with the central government is very questionable – and their formal organization, primarily into counties, which he literally resuscitated. To be sure, these royal actions were not peacefully tolerated. In the Kingdom of Croatia, after the Croatian noble families of Bribirski, Cetinski, and Krbavski had succumbed by the mid-14th century to the king's direct military attack or at least his demonstration of military power, the rest of the nobility sought to resist the royal reforms by means of a more concisely designed political program. It is this program that allows us to consider the identity of the noble families that interest us most here.¹⁰

A very lively statement of the political program of the nobility in view of the aforementioned royal action is given in a narrative source commonly known as *Pacta conventa*,¹¹ one of the foundations of Croatian national

governed over several separate territories of which only some remained kingdoms during the later periods or were to be perceived as such. Unlike in the other parts of medieval Europe, the Angevin ruler was crowned only with the Crown of St Stephen, which nonetheless symbolized the plenitude of the ruler's authority. Thus, the lands encompassed by the Crown changed over time and it was not until the second half of the 14th century – in accordance with the new political theory and practice – that the Crown became finally and inextricably linked with the development of abstract concepts of the state primarily confined to Hungary (proper). This problem, simplified for this occasion, goes beyond the scope of this paper, for this see further PÉTER 2003. Following this line of argument, I believe that the term Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, most often used in historiography, does not correspond to the late medieval past and is, as such, a conceptual anachronism. In order to emphasize the social and administrative difference between the area of the Eastern Adriatic towns (Kingdom of Dalmatia) and the hinterland (Kingdom of Croatia), I will use the latter term. Besides, my research relates to the latter and not the former.

⁸ For a historical overview of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia during the 14th century, see ENGEL 2001. p. 140–277; KARBIĆ 1999; KARBIĆ 2000a. p. 58–138; ANČIĆ 1997b; ANČIĆ 2009; KLAJČ – PETRICIOLI 1976. p. 291–374; RAUKAR 1997. p. 77–88.

⁹ For the decrees, see SOMOGYI – SOMOGYI 1986.

¹⁰ Besides the works cited in the note 8, on the Angevine rule also see RADY 2002; CSUKOVITS 2013; KORDÉ – PETROVICS 2010; KLANICZAY 2002; LASZLOVSKY – NAGY – SZABÓ – VADAS 2018; SZENDE 2016; VARDY – GROSSCHMID – DOMONKOS 1986.

¹¹ Cf. CDCDS II. nr. 5, p. 8–9. For an overview of the discussion in Croatian historiography about the *Pacta conventa* cf. KLAJČ 1958–1959; ANTOLJAK 1980. p. 11–43; BEUC 1985, p. 73–85; RAUKAR

identity to the present day. Briefly, this document places in the year 1102, that is, after the extinction of the Croatian royal house, a purported agreement between the Hungarian king, Coloman the Learned and the representatives of twelve Croatian kindreds, in which the noblemen recognized Coloman as the king of Croatia in exchange for his confirmation of their various privileges. However, considering the fact that the *Pacta* have been positively dated to the 14th century,¹² it is reasonable to ask whether this document may be considered at all as a discursive framework for building the identity foundations in a broader sense. With regard to that, I consider it necessary to take a closer look at the wider context of identity that led to the articulation of a discursive political programme among the Croatian nobility in the second half of the 14th century as manifested in the *Pacta*.

As for the fourteenth-century Croatian nobility, two closely connected identities can be determined: that in connection with the memory of the last indisputably legitimate king of Croatia, Dmitar Zvonimir,¹³ and the identity of the community of *nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatiae*. I will start with the latter and come back to the former.

Among the few mentions of the *nobiles duodecim generationum regni* in the sources,¹⁴ the *Pacta* is the only one that offers detailed insight into the community. However, an analysis of the *Pacta* reveals its two main messages, one of the community of nobles and the other on the right of this community to the kingdom of Croatia. Furthermore, the nobles of this community are presented in it as the only relevant political subject in the Kingdom.¹⁵ It is exactly among these nobles that the memory of King Zvonimir was nurtured.

2002. p. 28–33. Also see MARGETIĆ 2003. p. 112–131; ANČIĆ 1998; JAKŠIĆ 1998. p. 269–286; MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 107–111.

¹² For a most recent argumentation on dating the *Pacta* in the 14th century, see MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 110–118. See also the previous discussion in the studies cited in note 11. It is also important to emphasize that in the political theory of the 11th and early 12th centuries, the concept of political representation – at least in the way it was presented in the *Pacta* – did not exist. In this context, the possibility of some kind of agreement between the ruler and his noble subjects as partners at the same level of social and political power – a precondition for entering such an agreement – cannot be presumed. But the concept did exist in the 14th century and was gaining in importance. I will return to the matter of political theory, especially regarding corporate groups, in more detail below.

¹³ On the revival of the figure of King Zvonimir during the 14th century, see KARBIĆ 2000b. p. 271–280; ANČIĆ 1997b; GOLDSTEIN 1984.

¹⁴ For these sources, see further KLAJIĆ 1956. p. 92–94.

¹⁵ A similar message is also communicated in a document known as *Pripis Supetarskom kartularu* (for the problem of the name see ANČIĆ 2013. p. 165). The *Pripis* lists 12 kindreds who ruled the Kingdom of Croatia. Among the six of *generibus* (named identical to those mentioned in the *Pacta*) a viceroy (*ban*) in Croatia was elected. Thus, the viceroy had to be *de genere Croatorum*. Other six kindreds gave the counts in *comitatibus Croacie*. This shows a clear correlation between the central messages of the *Pacta* and the *Pripis*.

During the 14th century, probably initiated by the circles close to the viceroys (*ban*) from the Subić of Bribir – the uncontested rulers of the Kingdom of Croatia in the last decades of the 13th and the first two decades of the 14th century¹⁶ – the figure of King Zvonimir experienced a genuine revival. Today, one can identify only some traces of this restoration, the fundamental one being the story of King Zvonimir's death. In its various versions, it has been noted down in several narrative sources,¹⁷ the oldest one dated to the 14th century.¹⁸ At the same time, the story is anachronous with regard to the age in which Zvonimir ruled (1076–1089), since it has no confirmation in the sources from his time. Basically, it evolves as follows: responding to the call to the First Crusade, King Dmitar Zvonimir summoned his subjects to an assembly near Knin, where they refused to go to war and, as the king insisted, wounded him lethally. According to the oldest version preserved in writing, the church of St Mary in Bribir, the home and seat of the Bribirski, became the site of the royal tomb. In some versions of the story, the king cursed the Croats with his last breath, saying that they would never again have a king of their own, but henceforth be subjected to foreigners. Except for the direct link to the Bribirski, manifest in the mention of Bribir,¹⁹ the immediate historical model for its final version – as plausibly shown by Damir Karbić – was the sudden death of Count Mladen Bribirski, the most powerful opponent of King Louis in Croatia in the mid-14th century. It is no coincidence that the tomb inscription from the cathedral of Trogir describes Mladen as *Croatorum clipeus fortis*,²⁰ the strong shield of the Croats. The title and the whole inscription conveyed the same symbolic and ideological message as the one nurtured by the community of *nobiles duodecim generationum*.

From this brief outline, it is evident that the Bribirski established an ideological link with Zvonimir as a good and just ruler, which – also based on the analogy between their own and Zvonimir's relations with the papacy – allowed them to assert the divine sanction of their power. That, again, made it possible to present the period of their rule as a natural and legitimate continuation of Zvonimir's reign as the last ruler of the native dynasty.²¹ After the decline of the Bribirski, this vision was further nurtured by their Croatian noble social circle formed at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century around the counts of Bribir. By the second half of the 14th century, as attested in the documents, the idea of

¹⁶ See further in KARBIĆ 2000a. p. 58–97.

¹⁷ For an overview of the sources and the different versions of the story, see KARBIĆ 2000b. p. 271–280; KURELAC 1970–71; ŠIŠIĆ 1905.

¹⁸ Besides the studies cited in n. 12, see ANČIĆ 1997b; NEMETH 2006.

¹⁹ In the same context, it should be noted that Viceroy Paul put up a plaque commemorating King Zvonimir in St Mary's church at Bribir (see KARBIĆ 2000b. p. 275–276; MARUN 1897) and also that the Subići allegedly wrote a letter to Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) in which they claimed that Croatia had been a fief of the Holy See ever since the time of King Zvonimir (see HC p. 97).

²⁰ MIC. p. 242; cf. ANČIĆ 2013. p. 167.

²¹ For the possible implications of the divine sanction on the Bribirski, see ANČIĆ 2020.

linking the Croatian noblemen with the “good king” Zvonimir had become part of their traditional understanding of their own past. Thus, the nobility presented itself as the bearer of continuity and the main political subject of the kingdom on the basis of its historical right, as the principal and direct partaker in the legacy of Zvonimir’s “sacred” rule. For these nobles, the figure of King Zvonimir was the focal point of their common memory and familial affiliation, and because of this common origin, they saw themselves as an elite entitled to be the only relevant political subject in the Kingdom.

The case of the noble kindred of Karinjani shows this quite manifestly. In 1360, some noblemen of Lapac approached the royal commission in Zadar, headed by Queen Elisabeth and the *iurati* of the Kingdom of Croatia, to defend their claim to the land of Karin.²² Among other things, they stated that a man called Vniha Lapčanin had married Klauda, a daughter of King Zvonimir, and obtained Karin from his father-in-law. Since Vniha died without heirs, Karin was inherited by his relatives, and their descendants still owned the land in 1360. Their claims were not corroborated by any written evidence – a common practice at the time – only by the argument of a sort of historical right. The *iurati* of the Kingdom of Croatia supported it, and thus the royal court accepted the claim about Vniha and Zvonimir as a valid argument. Apparently, the decisive factor, besides the fact that they were king’s men, was the legal formula – that the noblemen owned the land of Karin “by permanent claim” (*iusta et legitima prescriptione precedente*), which resulted from their statement that the Lapčani were the true heirs of Vniha, who had died without descendants – rather than the figure of King Zvonimir.

At the same time, the identification of the elite with the figure of King Zvonimir gradually also influenced the perception of the Bribirski. This provided them with a central position in the social memory of the local community, because that of King Zvonimir evoked the “glorious past” of the time of the Bribirski viceroys and celebrated the past of the elite as such. This kind of social memory had a real effect on the everyday rights of the nobility. During the second half of the 14th and the 15th century, there were several confirmations of various land privileges that the Bribirski had granted as viceroys.²³ It does not matter if these privileges were authentic, or if the interested parties needed to substantiate some kind of written evidence in the legal proceedings: they testify to the importance of sharing a common vision.

It is precisely these common myths and memories that the *Pacta* also relied upon. However, they also emphasized in their own way that only a part of the Croatian nobility constituted the “elected people” and the incontestable political subject. That refers, of course, to the community of

²² CDCDS XIII. nr. 54, p. 69–71. For the context of the case, see MAJNARIĆ 2018, p. 103–107. Also, on its importance in the context of the regulation of royal rights, see useful remarks in MATIJEVIĆ ŠOKOL 2008, p. 254.

²³ For some of the cases, see MAJNARIĆ 2022.

nobiles duodecim generationum, in which one may recognize, without the need of getting more deeply into the argumentation, the traditional, historical Croatian nobility as opposed to those noble families which acquired the status by elevation, often linked to the royal intervention during the second half of the 13th and in the 14th century.²⁴ Putting it more simply, the organization bearing the exceptionally symbolic name²⁵ of *nobiles duodecim generationum* may be considered the elite of the Kingdom of Croatia, which particularly flourished under the rule of the Bribirski.

Inextricably linked, the mentioned identities of the Croatian noble elite may be seen as the basis for creating the political-ideological message directed against the forceful assertion of royal supremacy around the mid-14th century, of which the *Pacta conventa* are only a discursive framework.

Briefly, the message presented the “elected people” as an unquestionable political subject, appearing before the king as the guardian of historical noble customs and rights in the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Croatia. At the same time, this message was also cultivated among the nobility as such, with some of its elements, such as the historical rights, successfully applied in everyday life, especially in cases when they did not directly contradict the royal orders.

Moreover, beyond that and especially at the discursive level, this message contained all those elements that are indispensable for generating the idea of the nation. This is most conspicuously shown in the content of the *Pacta*, regardless of the context of its production and the interpolation of our present knowledge. It should also be mentioned that the content of the *Pacta* is strikingly reminiscent of Smith’s five features of national identity, at least if viewed in the context of the Late Middle Ages and as a discursive phenomenon.²⁶

Applying to this content the premises of Smith’s model with its features of national identity, adapted to the limitations of the medieval reality, one may reach significant conclusions: the historical territory is identifiable with the area delimited by the Drava River;²⁷ the common myths and

²⁴ Besides the studies cited in note 11, for further argumentation see MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 118–120.

²⁵ For the symbolism of the name and the medieval symbolism of the number twelve, see MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 113–114.

²⁶ Cf. SMITH 1999. p. 104.

²⁷ For the most recent discussion on the northern border of medieval Croatia, the toponyms Drava and especially Gvozd, and the significance of the latter as a divider of geographical areas, but not the political ones, see SZEBERÉNYI 2017; ANČIĆ 2019. p. 119–122. What Gvozd really was and where it can be located is clearly discernible from the late medieval map *Tabula Hungariae*. The *Tabula* shows, in accordance with the methods of late medieval cartography, a relief-like massif that stretches from the Grobnik Alps over Kapela and Plješivica to River Una. It should also be noted that one of the most important ways of marking a geographical area was the impression that it had on the observer. In that context, it is important to emphasize the Old Slavic word *gvozd* with its meaning of a (dense) forest or mountain.

historical memories with the “good king” Zvonimir; the common culture with the so-called political-ideological message, among other things; the common rights and duties with the right to use the land and the duty of defending the Kingdom; and the common economy with the exemption of tax payment.²⁸ Moreover, if one adds to the *Pacta* the revival of King Zvonimir as a symbolic figure, its use can be seen as an extension of Smith’s model to include an elaborate vision of the national hero, as well as a national saint. Even though simplified, the implications of applying the model are more than evident.

But does that mean that among the subjects of the time who enjoyed full legal rights, one may speak of a Croatian nation in the 14th century?

In order not to view Smith’s model as another theoretical and anachronic shaping of the past reality, it is necessary to connect it with the late medieval political theory and its important consequences for society. During the 14th century, the development of political theory and its application in practice gradually led to the shaping of various corporations throughout Europe.²⁹ These were at the same time a reflection of an impetus coming from above (the centrifugal force of the government) and of one coming from below (the differentiation of the society itself). Putting it more simply, the constant growth of government required a clearer classification of society in order to facilitate its management. The side effect of this classification was the growth of the political community and, over time, its participation in the prerogatives of government previously reserved exclusively for the ruler. The community consisted of different groups, each with its own special position and rights, but they all focused on the common wellbeing.³⁰ Occasionally, the emergence of (corporate) groups, based on spatial, social and/or economic conditions, and in a given situational construction, brought to the fore the efforts of the elite. Such was the case of the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia, but due to the disappearance of active royal opponents (first of all, the Bribirski) and the comprehensive regulation of royal authority in the Kingdom, these efforts did not survive as exclusively elitist. Nonetheless, the elite of the Kingdom became the core of a (corporate) group that, during the second half of the 14th century, came to be known as the *Hrvati*. Initially through the discourse and eventually through the mediation of the symbolic idea of belonging to a community with a certain (normative) relationship with the ruler, the elite gave the impetus to a clearer shaping of the distinctive community and at the same time provided a conceptual connective tissue that differentiated that community from any other. By constantly insisting on

²⁸ Cf. the content of the *Pacta* in CDCDS II. nr. 5, p. 8–9.

²⁹ On medieval corporations and the corporation theory, see BURNS 2008. p. 341–606; WATTS 2009. p. 43–157; TIERNEY 1982. p. 29–53; CANNING 1996. p. 84–134; LATHAM 2012. p. 60–91.

³⁰ An exemplary representation of the late medieval world’s moral and spiritual order are the Ebstorf Map and the Hereford Map. They show the world as superimposed over the body of Christ, with Christ’s head, hands, and feet clearly visible and indicating the cardinal directions. See further EDSON 2007. p. 11–32; WOODWARD 1987; ENGLISCH 2002; 437–499.

the values of the elite – whether they were originally an invention of this elite or were appropriated and transformed by it – they gradually became the rights of the community. Moreover, these rights were at some point also defined by settlements with the ruler or at least by the fact that they were to some point acceptable to him.³¹ As shown previously, the *Pacta* is the best discursive example of these values, but they can also be discerned in the customs of the Croats (*consuetudines Croatorum*),³² a part of which were written down in the Law Code of Novigrad.³³ Without going into detail,³⁴ it is necessary to point out that the customs were not an indisputable norm, but rather guidelines to serve the sensitivity of the community to its own members. In this way, the customs were used according to the situation in order to preserve and perpetuate the community's self-identity and clearly separate it from outside factors. This self-identification was followed by practical actions on the local level, which affirmed the community's organization and ensured the preservation of its own local centre of power.³⁵ Thus, the customs played one of the crucial roles in building up the community and keeping it together.

The practical role of the customs for the community can be seen in several cases.³⁶ In 1361, a long-lasting lawsuit was delegated to the banal court by an order of King Louis I. In doing so, the king also instructed Nicholas Szécsi, the viceroy (ban) of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, to litigate according to the Hungarian customs and not the customs of the Croats and Dalmatians ([...] *non more aut secundum consuetudinem Croatorum an Dalmaticorum, sed iuxta legem et consuetudinem Hungaricalem iudicare deberemus*).³⁷ In 1376, Charles of Durazzo, the duke (*dux*) of Dalmatia and Croatia, filed a lawsuit from the Zadar court to the court seat of Knin. He did so because the Zadar court did not prosecute according to the *consuetudines Croacie*, and unlike in Knin (*ubi iura Crohatorum convenienter redduntur et clarius elucidantur*), the customs of the Croats were not valid in Eastern Adriatic towns. Furthermore, the duke pointed out that the court seat of Knin was equipped with experts for the customs of the Croats (*per homines antiquos Crohacie in talibus expertos [...] antiquioribus hominibus dictarum parcium Crohacie, qui scirent consuetudines ipsarum parcium [...] magis expertos in sciendo consuetudines*

³¹ The best way to follow these settlements in the Kingdom of Croatia are the activities of different special commissions under the king's authority, see MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL 2008; MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 66–71; ANČIĆ 1998. p. 250–251.

³² For the customs of the Croats, see KARBIĆ 1998; ANČIĆ 2003; KOLANOVIĆ 1993.

³³ For the Law Code of Novigrad, see ANČIĆ 2003; JAKŠIĆ 2000. p. 170–180; MAJNARIĆ 2018. p. 82–90; KARBIĆ – KARBIĆ 2013. p. 61–63.

³⁴ For detailed analyses, besides the works cited in the two previous footnotes, see also MAJNARIĆ 2022.

³⁵ Cf. QUILLET 2008. p. 525.

³⁶ For a detailed analysis of the cases, see MAJNARIĆ 2022.

³⁷ Cf. CDCDS XIII. nr. 127, p. 185–190.

Crohatinas...).³⁸ Finally, in 1383, Queen Elisabeth instructed the viceroy to judge the men of Poljica according to the customs of the Croats (*iuxta dicator(um) fidelium meorum Croatorum antiquas consuetudinis, seu ordines, et iudicia supradicta... fideles nostri homines de Politia [...] legibus, et consuetudinibus Croatorum [...] et antique consuetudine*).³⁹

The mentioned cases suffice to show what the *customs of the Croats* meant for the cohesion of the community and at the same time how the central government promoted such cohesion. In these circumstances, most of the nobles wanted to be a part of the community that shared the same values (the *customs of the Croats*), and at the same time determined what was acceptable at the local level, not solely by their own will, but as a reflection of their relations with the ruler. Exactly these were the features of a corporate group that can be recognized as the *Hrvati*.⁴⁰

The sense of belonging to the corporate group of *Hrvati*, as the only relevant political group, and its association with the largely defined territory led to the universality of that group. Coming back to the arguments from the beginning of my paper, the aforementioned identities and the corresponding ideological program were a product of fusion between the situational and social contexts. This program was indeed popular among the Croatian noble elite and also acceptable to the dominant political and administrative practice, at least insofar as it did not oppose that practice. This program also became the core of the universality of the *Hrvati* and belonging to the group basically became an imperative for all noblemen who wanted to successfully maintain their position.

The fact that by the 15th century, however, the organization of the *nobiles duodecim generationum*, as the most outspoken and present expression of that programme, would have gradually become a transpersonal reminiscence – which is clearly evident in its record of 1459⁴¹ – shows the monopolization of social life of the corporate group *Hrvati* in the Kingdom of Croatia. The protective role of the corporate group *Hrvati* with regard to the external factors that infringed upon the rights and position of the nobility is also mirrored in the so-called Fraternity of Croats of 1430.⁴² It was a union of Croatian nobility presided by the most prominent noblemen (Ivaniš Nelipčić and the five counts of Krbava), but

³⁸ Cf. MNL OL, DL 38492 (May 6, 1376); for a transcription, see KOLANOVIĆ 1993. p. 95–97; for some useful remarks regarding the transcriptions, see ANČIĆ 2013. p. 195.

³⁹ For the dating and transcription of Queen Elisabeth's letter, see NAZOR 2005. p. 247. Cf. NAZOR 2015. p. 52–53.

⁴⁰ This does not mean that the Croats, as a socio-elitist and politically-administratively defined and clearly perceived group, had not existed since the early Middle Ages. On this occasion, the aim has been to emphasize the (final) transformation of the (social and political) understanding of the Croats during the 14th century, especially during its second half, when the general political theory and its practice gradually led to the conception of society through various corporate groups.

⁴¹ Cf. LISTINE X. nr. 150, p. 146.

⁴² Cf. MNL OL, DL 38517 (26 July 1430); cf. also ANČIĆ 1996. p. 71–72; KARBIĆ 1998. p. 109–110; ANČIĆ 2013. p. 193; MAJNARIĆ 2022.

also included all other Croatian noblemen, dignitaries, and landlords linked to the court seats of the Croatian counties (Knin, Luka, Lika, Bužani, Krbava, Lapac, Pset, Humljani, Sokolsko, Srb, Poljica, Unac). Even though there are no direct records of this union, apart from a mere mention, its name is exceptionally intriguing when it comes to the issues of identity and community. According to a source from 1401, the Croatian noblemen considered each other as brothers.⁴³ Thereby this title seems not to have implied only noblemen as persons, but also reflected special closeness between their positions, rights, and affiliation with the *Hrvati*. Among others, it is important to point out that the Fraternity also nurtured the memory of King Zvonimir, which is evident from their annual gathering place in the church of St Bartholomew, where King Zvonimir was allegedly buried.⁴⁴ Another fact shows how the corporate notion of the society had taken root by then.

At the centre of the Fraternity, as a kind of its patron, was none other than King Sigismund.⁴⁵ The king was the only instance, as the members of the Fraternity saw it, which could and ought to provide them protection. It was the corporative reality that directed the Fraternity, as the guardians of the customs of the kingdom, towards the ruler. Furthermore, this is fully in line with the late medieval concepts of the mystical body of politics, which is also manifest in the distribution of fines in case of offences against the Fraternity. The most prominent nobles had to pay the highest fines, and a half of the amount of all fines went to the royal treasury. Thus, the transgression against the Fraternity's values was at the same time an offence against the ruler.

The case of the Fraternity, again, offers a clear insight into the actual level of cohesion among the Croatian nobility and into the process of emergence of the corporate group *Hrvati*, indicating a direction in which it is worth to search for an answer to the aforementioned question of the Croatian nation in the 14th century. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, in order to offer a more comprehensive answer, it is far more important to consider the discursive value of the political-ideological message, most clearly articulated in the *Pacta* (than the everyday political or social practice). The fact that this message was at the core of the corporate group *Hrvati*, and that this group did in fact exist from the second half of the 14th century, made the process of making the pre-modern Croatian nation – whether using the premises of Smith's model or not – possible in a certain social and situational context. Therefore, it is not crucial whether this Croatian nation was initially perceived discursively, but rather the fact that this distinctive

⁴³ Cf. ANČIĆ 2005. nr. 9, p. 76–77.

⁴⁴ On the significance of the church of St Bartholomew, see BUDAK 1999. p. 241–249; JAKŠIĆ 2000. p. 245–256.

⁴⁵ “[...] *concordiam et vnionem atque fraternitatem perfectam inter se ipsos primo ad laudem omnipotentis Dei a quo rite totum bonum fundatur exordium et ad fidelissima seruicia serenissimi regis nostri Sigismundi et per consequens sacre sancte chorone Hungarie [...]*” – MNL OL, DL 38517 (26 July 1430)

discourse, so central to the community, became refined and distorted over time into a historical fact, and could as such serve its purpose as a highly favourable proof in building a social position.

At the very end, we must ask ourselves once again: can we speak of a Croatian nation in the 14th century when referring to the subjects who enjoyed full legal rights at the time? Even though the elements of a Croatian nation in the 14th century can at first only be seen as one among many identities of the Croatian nobility, their unifying effect – perpetuated by the subsequent state formation and its need to simplify a complex social reality, among other things, by channelling this complexity into manageable corporate groups – can be positively followed during the 14th and partly the 15th centuries. So, it seems that the concept of the Croatian nation, at least for historical research, functioned equally in the late Middle Ages as it did in the 19th century, only with some different connotations and meanings, depending on the time and the overall context of its use. Therefore, I would like to argue – perhaps somewhat close to the recurrent perennialists – that the emergence of the Croatian nation should be sought in the late Middle Ages, but its elements sporadically appeared and evolved in history as it was needed. I am also of the opinion that one cannot presume that this “nation” was completely continuous; instead, its (discursive) elements were gradually conceptually elaborated. This “nation” also disappeared over longer periods and did not remain constant for a long time. Nevertheless, this vague nation with its clearly formulated elements awaited a suitable political (situational) and social moment, or the pressure of external/other factors, in order to become a reality.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

MNL OL, DL Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára,
Diplomatikai Levéltár

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CDCDS Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et
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Adinel C. DINCĂ:

**Marcus Polnar (†1506)
A Bright Star in the Constellation of a Transylvanian
Family***

The intention of the present paper is to re-evaluate the surviving records surrounding the career and activity of Marcus Polnar, member of an influential family of Transylvanian Saxons living in Sighişoara. Although many historical sources – pertaining to writing and imagery – reflect the constellation of Polnar family members, only some give a clue to the extent of Marcus' ascendancy over the destiny of his blood relatives. Furthermore, these sources have been misinterpreted over the last century and a half, leading to confusions among scholars. It will be argued now that Marcus started with a well-off lineage, to which he added, through academic background and social networking, a respectable public position, working his way into a true 'bright star' of his kin. By cooperating with his brother, Michael, and by endorsing the careers of his four nephews, Marcus Polnar contributed in a decisive manner to establishing and securing influence and authority for his family, beyond the status of a local Transylvanian urban elite.

Keywords: Transylvanian Saxons; urban elite; higher education; social mobility; family politics; legal mentality



When bishop György Klimó (1710–1777) entrusted in the mid-1760s provost József Koller (1745–1832) with the task of compiling a history of the episcopate of Pécs based on documents preserved in the local capitular archive and in Italian repositories,¹ the resulting material produced eight volumes² that even today arouse scholarly interest.³ Among the vast amount of

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¹ BODA 2013.

² KOLLER 1784–1812.

³ FONT – VARGHA 2003.

information encompassed by the aforementioned tomes, a particular piece stands out to the modern historian dealing with the intricacies of intellectual life in medieval Transylvania: the granting of an ecclesiastical benefice – the office of rector of Saint Andrew’s chapel⁴ in Pécs cathedral church – by the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) to Marcus Polnar (†1506), an esteemed doctor of law and parish priest in Şaeş (Schaas),⁵ as a reward for his services to the crown.⁶ A second document issued a fortnight later by the bishop of Pécs, Sigismund Ernuszt of Csáktornya ([Čakovec, HR] in office from 1473 until his death in 1505),⁷ and published in the editorial context mentioned before,⁸ confirms the donation and instructs Michael of Feketh, canon and vicar of the said church, to institute Marcus Polnar into his benefice and associated revenues.

Straightforward as they may seem, these two documents have been at the root of historiographical confusions, hindering the configuration of a biographical portrait of one of the less-known members of the influential Polnar family from Sighișoara [Schäßburg, Segesvár]. It is therefore the intention of the present paper to reconsider these documentary pieces together with some other accounts from a fresh perspective, opening a discussion around the multiple aspects of prosopographical analysis and its ramifications in the social, political, and intellectual networking within the community of Transylvanian Saxons⁹ around 1500, between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. Concurrently, this study also means to determine the current archival location of the original primary sources – most of them examined more than a century and a half ago and failing modern critical scrutiny –, to reassess their contents and to suggest new methodological frameworks for their interpretation, in accordance with recent historiographical developments and trends. To this end, several notions specific to sociological inquiry, such as ‘sociometric star’,¹⁰ ‘family constellation’,¹¹ ‘social mobility’,¹² ‘network paradigm’¹³ or ‘political friendship’¹⁴ will be brought into

⁴ The Gothic chapel of Saint Andrew may have been a significant edifice, built on the side of the cathedral (*ad latus ecclesie cathedralis*), damaged during the Turkish-Ottoman occupation of the town in the 16–17th centuries, see KIKINDAI – FEDELES 2006.

⁵ Şaeş, Latin: *Segws, Segus, Seges, Segesd, Schaas*, is the name of both a Transylvanian village and a creek flowing through Şaeş village and the city of Sighișoara (Latin name: *Segusvar, Segeswar, castrum Sches, Schesburg*), see ROTH 2003. p. 186–190.

⁶ KOLLER 1796 IV. p. 436–438, from 2 January 1487.

⁷ KUBINYI 2001; FEDELES – KOSZTA 2011. p. 137–142.

⁸ KOLLER 1796 IV. p. 439–440, from 16 January 1487.

⁹ For a general historical overview of these German-speaking ‘guests’ who settled in the 12th century in Transylvania, see GÜNDISCH 2005.

¹⁰ Within the pattern of interpersonal relations, a ‘sociometric star’ is defined as “the recipient of numerous and frequent choices from others who, therefore, holds a position of great popularity and leadership”, see SCOTT 2000. p. 10; see also MULLETT 2005. p. 258.

¹¹ WELLMAN – WETHERELL 1996; BÖLSKER-SCHLICHT 2004. More recently, the theoretical frameworks have been applied to the early modern communities of urban dwellers, see GÉRA 2019.

¹² CAVACIOCCHI 2009; VARANINI 2017.

¹³ HITZBLECK – HÜBNER 2014; LEMERCIER 2015; BURKHARDT 2016.

¹⁴ HASELDINE 2013.

the discussion with the purpose of bridging the analytical gap between the impact of higher education and its further effects on individual careers. When considering the analysis of medieval social networking in Transylvania, the question of firsthand testimonies must also be addressed: the prosopographical approach combines documentary (legal, administrative, religious) and visual sources (inscriptions, coats of arms, tombstones, donor portraits, seal imprints) into a multi-dimensional process that can be expanded from individuals to communities and places.¹⁵

The 'Polnar' (also sometimes spelled 'Polner') kin¹⁶ dominated the urban and ecclesiastical landscape of Sighișoara from the 1440s till the second decade of the 16th century. The driving force of the family of "new men" seems to have been Marcus' brother, Michael Polnar (†1497), an *alumnus* of Vienna University,¹⁷ mayor of Sighișoara (1483¹⁸–1486,¹⁹ 1491–1495) and royal judge, son of Michael Pellifex (†1445), a local wealthy and socially engaged furrier.²⁰ Michael Polnar's sons: Anthonius (†1514),²¹ Petrus († c. 1493),²²

¹⁵ See, for instance, a similar approach at PREISER-KAPPELLER 2012.

¹⁶ SCHULLER 1897; GÜNDISCH 1993. pp. 281–287; NUSSBÄCHER 1994; BALTAG 2016. pp. 47–50.

¹⁷ TŪSKÉS 2008. nr. 2888 from 1442: *Michael Pellificis de Schespurg*.

¹⁸ According to the inscription painted on the wall of the town's parish church: *Michel Polner Purgermeister 1483*, a charter issued by the Cluj-Mănăstur convent on 13 August 1483, original preserved at SJAN Sibiu, Colectia de documente medievale, U II. nr. 407, and a register, now lost, of the local 'Kalands Brethren', see FABRITIUS 1875. p. 250.

¹⁹ Michael Polnar's term as mayor started not long before his first documentary mentioning, however, various authors have erroneously considered that his time in office began earlier. The confusion was generated by a succession of three mayors in Sighișoara, all sharing the name *Michael*. Documentary evidence mention that one *Michael artium baccalarius* was *iudex regius* (1473–1475) and *magister civium* of Sighișoara after 1476, see *Urkundenbuch* VII. nr. 4093. The name *magister Michael alias magister civium* (or *senex magister civium*) is present in various documents issued by the Sighișoara town council throughout the 1480s. Both *magister Michael* and *Michael Polner* are among the members of the town council on 29 September 1486, see *Urkundenbuch* VII. nr. 4668, thus clearly delineating the two separate individuals. Further historiographical confusion was due to the mentioning of *Michael Literatus*, Sighișoara's town notary in the 1470s, as mayor of the town in 1478, see *Urkundenbuch* VII. nr. 4282, a possible misinterpretation of the 19th-century documentary transcript.

²⁰ He was *iuratus civis* in Sighișoara in 1440, see GÜNDISCH 1993. p. 281–282. After his passing, his widow and children were allowed by the papal protonotary Georgius de Cesarinis to choose a suitable confessor, see *Urkundenbuch* V. nr. 2517.

²¹ By 1487 Anthonius Polnar was already a member of the local council, recorded in Sighișoara's town book, mayor of Sighișoara and royal judge after the death of his father until his violent end during the peasant revolt of 1514, see GÜNDISCH 1993. p. 285–286.

²² Dominican friar and abbot of Cluj-Mănăstur convent, attended the universities of Ingolstadt in 1478–1479, Köln 1479, and Paris in 1480, see CZOPPELT 1972; JAKÓ 1990. I. p. 95; HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. nr. 32. In July 1493 his brother, Gabriel is already abbot of Cluj-Mănăstur, see SJAN Sibiu, Colectia de documente medievale, U II. nr. 531.

Gabriel (†1502),²³ Iohannes (†1504),²⁴ and Georgius († after 1521)²⁵ combined ecclesiastical and political offices from the mere positions of parish priests in Transylvanian Saxon villages to bishops of Hungarian dioceses, and from members of the provincial town councils to royal judges and treasurers. Additionally, their intellectual background and higher education perfected in Central and Western European universities led Gabriel and Iohannes, who were also Dominican friars, to the positions of royal secretaries. Besides King Matthias, further high dignities (even if not the highest grossing offices²⁶), fuelled by the academic background and diplomatic skills of these representatives of the Saxon patriciate²⁷ and their political connections, were also granted by Vladislaus II, king of Hungary between 1490–1516. The family's interests were primarily focused on their hometown of Sighișoara: the town's parish church²⁸ together with the Dominican convent²⁹ were the main recipients of the Polnar's generosity both in terms of direct endowment, and by securing sources of income. The town citadel was also fortified during the Polnar administration, and economic advantages were secured for the townspeople (i.e. market rights).³⁰

Within this hyper-active and socially involved family, the name of Marcus Polnar has been perceived as occupying a complementary position, as an appendage to Michael's set direction. Yet, it would be an overstatement to credit the acquired array of benefits entirely on the "visible" Polnar, even though Michael's name has endured in numerous documentary instances (although sometime misidentified!). In an intertwined interaction, the biographical details of both brothers, Michael, and Marcus, illustrate a complex reality dominated by the epoch's 'ideal pedigree': a well-off lineage, academic background, respectable public position, a 'modern' (or 'proper') devotional behaviour, and (cunningly articulated) social networking.

The first documentary instance to mention Marcus Polnar's name is the matriculation book of Vienna University,³¹ where he registered in 1460 as *Marcus de Castrosches* and graduated in 1462 with the academic degree of

²³ Dominican friar and abbot of Cluj-Mănăstur convent, royal secretary and treasurer, bishop of Bosnia from 1493 and Syrmia from 1495. See DULDNER 1892; JAKÓ 1990. I. p. 95; GÜNDISCH 1993, p. 285.

²⁴ Studied in Paris (1489) and Bologna (1495), secretary of Queen Anna de Foix-Candale, canon of Oradea, bishop of Nitra (1503), parish priest in Saschiz (1500–1504), see HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. nr. 279. See also GYÖRKÖS 2016.

²⁵ Parish priest in Cincu Mare [Nagysink] ca. 1521 and graduate of the Vienna University (c. 1500), see FIREA 2016. p. 248–252.

²⁶ FÜGEDI 1965.

²⁷ On the relationship between education and career, see an overview of the Saxon Transylvanian context in GÜNDISCH 2015; DINCĂ 2019a.

²⁸ Saint Nicholas parish church in Sighișoara, also called "the Church on the Hill", has been extended and decorated between 1480–1520 with ample support of the Polnar family, see NUSSBÄCHER 1983; POPA 1998–1999; JENEI 2004–2005.

²⁹ FABRITIUS 1861. p.11–12; SALONTAI 2002. p. 228–259; LUPESCUNE-MAKO 2004. p. 373–374; FÜLÖPP-ROMHANYI 2010.

³⁰ MÜLLER 1985. p. 22, 25.

³¹ TONK 1979. nr. 1390; TÜSKÉS 2008. nr. 4070.

philosophiae baccalaureus.³² Over the next 15 years, the young student from Sighișoara invested even more time abroad in his education, yet his whereabouts were not identified by scholars until recently: a record from 1472 places Marcus Polnar as student of canon law in Padua.³³ At that time, *Matthias Rwedel de Corona*³⁴ [Brașov, Kronstadt, RO] was asked to retrieve from Marcus a money debt and *unum librum Clementinarum* (a well-known collection of church legislation promulgated in 1317) that he had borrowed from his professor.

By 1476, Marcus was both *decretorum doctor* and parish priest in the village of Șaeș, the third wealthiest settlement in the land-chapter of Saschiz [Keyzd, Keisd]³⁵. However, the 1476 account³⁶ has long been regarded with caution by historians, due to the precarious state of preservation of the parchment, where the name of Marcus is partially illegible.³⁷ There is no doubt of the interpretation of the distinct words: (following the genitive rendition of the original text) *egregii Marci, decretorum doctoris, plebani de Seghws*, together with the mayor of Sighișoara (*egregii Michaelis magistri civium civitatis castri Seghws*)³⁸ and another nine lay and ecclesiastical officials from Sighișoara and the surrounding settlements, secure an indulgence letter from the bishops of Vidin and Eger (the latter also *legatus de latere* for Transylvania) in favour of the parish church in Brădeni [Henndorf].³⁹ So far, the career of Marcus Polnar hardly raises any question marks: he followed in his older brother's footsteps as a graduate of the Vienna University, went on studying in Italy to earn the degree of doctor of law and chose an ecclesiastical career, acquiring – probably with the help of his relatives – the position of parish priest in Șaeș. He would occupy this office at least for a few more years, as corroborated by other documentary evidence from 1481.⁴⁰

³² Marcus Polnar's most recent analytical biography in HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. nr. 1348. His academic route is also indexed by the RAG.

³³ Endre Veress (VERESS 1915) was the first scholar to investigate the Paduan archives in search for students from the Hungarian Kingdom who attended this Italian university, however, he found no record of Marcus Polnar. The newly retrieved information has been identified in the Archivio di Stato di Padova, Notarile, 232, f. 105v, where Polnar is recorded as a Hungarian student, see MARTELLOZZO FORIN 1999. p. 109, yet the detail was not put in context with Polnar's Transylvanian origin.

³⁴ Brother of Iohannes Ruedel, parish priest in Brașov (1446–1499), and former colleague of Marcus at Vienna University, where he registered in 1461 as *Matheus Ruedl de Corona* and graduated in 1464, see TUSKÉS 2008. nr. 4115.

³⁵ MÜLLER 1936. p. 40–42, 148–151; NUSSBÄCHER 1995a; NUSSBÄCHER 1995b.

³⁶ Document currently preserved by the SJAN, Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, Serie U V. nr. 1167.

³⁷ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CX; Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4125.

³⁸ Not to be confused with Marcus Polnar's brother, Michael! Documentary texts record *Michael artium baccalarius* as *magister civium* in Sighișoara in 1476, see footnote 19.

³⁹ A marginal yet active community that has invested over the entire 15th century in the decoration and fortification of their parish church, see FABINI 1998. p. 290–292. Two other indulgences for Brădeni church were issued in 1483 and 1497, see FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CXIV and CXL.

⁴⁰ “[...] *et Marcus doctor de Seges ecclesiarum parochialium plebani*.” – Original document at SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente episcopale, nr. 44 from 4 June 1481. A late 16th-century copy of this

The next piece of information brings together the two brothers, Marcus and Michael, in 1483,⁴¹ expressing clearly their options in terms of devotional attitudes, when both are mentioned as the founders of a religious association in their hometown. By this time, Marcus had risen within the local ecclesiastical configuration to the position of *decanus*, head of the land-chapter of Saschiz, while his brother, the mayor, was actively supporting the interior decoration of Sighișoara's parish church⁴² and representing the Saxon community at the royal court.⁴³ From this moment on, there is no other direct textual documentation surrounding the circumstances of the next few years to justify the reasons behind the granting of the royal benefice in 1487. However, indirect hints are provided by other records: less than a year before, on 6 February 1486, King Matthias had confirmed for the Transylvanian Saxons a 13th-century royal charter, thus extending a significant number of legal rights and privileges upon the entire German-speaking community of the province. The credit for this successful diplomatic undertaking went to Thomas Altemberger (†1491), the mayor of Sibiu [Hermannstadt] from 1471 to 1490, and erstwhile student of canon law in Vienna during the 1450s and early 1460s,⁴⁴ whose lobby campaign at the royal court settled in the Austrian capital city must have involved a larger number of Saxon representatives over a longer period. Michael Polnar was certainly no stranger to diplomatic relations at the court of king Matthias: in the autumn of 1486, he was present in the Austrian lands,⁴⁵ delivering the annual monetary contribution of the Transylvanian Saxons to the royal treasurer. This was probably the occasion for either Michael, or perhaps Marcus in person, to have requested a royal favour for the loyal subjects from Sighișoara. The charter issued by the king on 2 January 1487 repays the (unspecified) services of this *virum idoneum et personam bene meritam* with an ecclesiastical benefice – both a high dignity⁴⁶ and a significant source of income – in one of the wealthiest dioceses of the kingdom. Still, the designation by the Hungarian king of a canonical benefice in Pécs cathedral church, invoking a patronage right that has been discussed by

document misspelled Marcus' name as *Maray*, a form that has created some confusion among modern historians regarding the identity of the mentioned individual. See also Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4415.

⁴¹ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CCCXIV, pp. 250–251, with further details pertaining to this context on p. 251–257. A topic revisited by GROSS 2004. p. 141–149. and p. 164, footnotes 71–75.

⁴² SARKADI NAGY 2016.

⁴³ Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4536 from 25 August 1483.

⁴⁴ DINCĂ 2019b. p. 114.

⁴⁵ Letter from Retz, Austria, dated to 11 October 1486, Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4676 addressed to Thomas Altemberger.

⁴⁶ By accepting this benefice, Marcus Polnar actually replaced Thomas Bakócz of Erdőd (1442–1521) in the office of rector of Saint Andrew's chapel, who had been designated bishop of Győr, see C. TÓTH 2018. p. 11; C. TÓTH 2019. p. 140.

scholars,⁴⁷ opened an ascending social path for the Polnars in terms of family politics.⁴⁸

Both the royal document of 2 January 1487 and the related episcopal installation from 16 January of the same year raised a technical question: when publishing them, Joseph Koller indicated that these two documentary texts were transcribed later, on 10 June 1491, by the Cluj-Mănăştur [Kolozsmonor] convent, *primo loco*⁴⁹ and *secundo loco*.⁵⁰ This ambiguity concerning the exact preservation place and form of the documents has determined the Transylvanian Saxon, Lutheran pastor and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Karl Fabritius (1826–1881), to re-publish in 1875 the Koller-version of both the royal and episcopal texts and only the 1491 Transylvanian-issued text confirming Bishop Sigismund's letter. The editorial choice prevented further attempts at pinpointing the original document(s), a task only partially solved until now.⁵¹ Due to the extensive publication of archive material in printed and digital form, the original documentary pair has been identified in the holdings of the Hungarian National Archives.⁵²

The unexpected death of King Matthias on 6 April 1490, and the subsequent political shift has produced large changes in the entire Hungarian Kingdom and in the Transylvanian Voivodship as well. In the days of turmoil, the Polnar family quickly pledged their allegiance to the new king, Vladislaus II, a gesture that would bring them immediate advantages: not only was Michael forgiven for his alleged fraudulent use of public funds, which almost cost him his head in the previous year,⁵³ but he also returned to Sighişoara in 1491, where he accumulated the offices of mayor and royal judge. His son Petrus, a Dominican friar, would be named abbot and administrator (*commendator*) of the Cluj-Mănăştur convent and place of authentication,⁵⁴ despite the opposition of the previous governor, the local landlord Matthias Pongrácz of Dengeleg.⁵⁵ From this position, Petrus would plead for peace and unity among the divided Saxons

⁴⁷ FEDELES 2010. p. 110–112. See also general discussions on the topic in GALLA 1940; MÁLYUSZ 1959; ADRIÁNYI 1979.

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Mária Lupescu-Máko (Assoc. Prof., Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca) for granting me access to her manuscript *The Polnars* (hereafter LUPESCU-MÁKO 2008).

⁴⁹ Document issued by the Cluj-Mănăştur place of authentication on 10 June 1491, KOLLER 1796. IV, p. 460–461, *ex autographo*.

⁵⁰ Document issued by the Cluj-Mănăştur place of authentication on 10 June 1491, KOLLER 1796. IV, pp. 462–463, *ex autographo*.

⁵¹ Several scholars, dealing either with topics related to ecclesiastical history or art history, have mentioned one document or the other, see ENTZ 1996. p. 435; FEDELES – KOSZTA 2011. p. 138.

⁵² MNL OL DL 28332 is the shelfmark of the original Cluj-Mănăştur issued document transcribing King Mathias' designation of the benefice, while under the signature MNL OL DL 28333 the second original confirmation letter issued by the Cluj-Mănăştur convent is preserved, with the transcript of Bishop Sigismund's letter.

⁵³ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CXXVI, p. 107–108. from 16 June 1490.

⁵⁴ MNL OL DL 36398, p. 18, nr. 1; JAKÓ 1990. II. p. 69. nr. 2712, from 14 September 1490. Peter would see from his personal finances to the maintenance of the convent, see MNL OL DL 36398. p. 92. nr. 1; JAKÓ 1990. II. p. 100. nr. 2822.

⁵⁵ SJAN Cluj, Fond fideicomisionar Jósika, Documente medievale, nr. 476 from 25 March 1495.

in the winter of 1491⁵⁶ and coordinate in 1492⁵⁷ the ongoing trial of the Transylvanian Saxon towns against the customs enforced upon their merchants by the episcopal town of Oradea [Nagyvárad]. The position of abbot and *commendator* will pass after Petrus' death in 1493 to his brother, Gabriel,⁵⁸ the Dominican friar and newly appointed bishop of Bosnia, who would in turn carry on as the king's messenger, negotiator, and ambassador among the Saxons. Furthermore, Gabriel also conveyed messages⁵⁹ of the newly appointed royal treasurer in 1493, the bishop of Pécs, Sigismund Ernuszt, the one who granted the benefice to his uncle. Some time before 1495 even the younger Polnar brother, Iohannes, was granted an ecclesiastical benefice in the Saint Cross church in Wrocław.⁶⁰

It is difficult to measure the extent to which Marcus was involved in any or both decisions of the newly-elected king, yet, his connections at the royal court might have carried weight, as scholars have noted.⁶¹ Marcus Polnar himself took steps to secure his granted benefice and had the two letters confirming the position of rector of Saint Andrew's chapel in the cathedral church of Pécs transcribed and authenticated by the institution under the administration of his nephew. Just a few years later, in 1494,⁶² he obtained two more benefices, that of archdeacon of Pest and canon of Vác.⁶³ Between 1495 and 1500 Marcus may also have occupied the office of priest in Saschiz,⁶⁴ a well-endowed parish church that would also be passed on to one of his brother's sons, Iohannes, canon of Oradea⁶⁵ and Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár),⁶⁶ secretary of the queen and bishop of Nitra⁶⁷ (until his death in 1504). Over the next years, Marcus is documented as parish priest in Sighișoara (1500–1506), a trustworthy envoy of Sighișoara's town council (12 December 1502),⁶⁸ canon of Alba-Iulia (arch-

⁵⁶ SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U III. nr. 80 from 17 December 1491.

⁵⁷ SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II. nr. 568.

⁵⁸ SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II. nr. 523 from 19 May 1493, and SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II. nr. 531 from 4 June 1493, see DULDNER 1892. p. 366–367.

⁵⁹ SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II. nr. 553.

⁶⁰ "Iohannes Polnar de castro Schess Transsilvano cantor ecclesiae Sanctae Crucis Wratislaviensis." – FARA 2006. p. 128.

⁶¹ GÜNDISCH 1993. p. 284; LUPESCU-MAKO 2008.

⁶² FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CXXXVI. p. 113. from 5 March 1494, original document at SJAN Mureș, Fond Parohia evanghelică Sighișoara, nr. 14.

⁶³ A position that has not been acknowledged by historiography, see TÓTH 2015.

⁶⁴ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CCXCIV. p. 224. footnote 1: the original document has been lost, but two 18th-century copies record the names 'Marcus' and 'Martinus', respectively, as parish priest in Saschiz. The chronological sequence of the church personnel was reconstructed as part of the project *Fasti Ecclesiae Transsilvaniae I*, developed by Ciprian Firea and Adinel C. Dincă, additionally supported by David M. Smith.

⁶⁵ JAKÓ 1990. II. p. 207. nr. 3213. from 19 September 1501; KRISTÓF 2014. nr. 126. p. 239.

⁶⁶ SJAN Sibiu, Colecția Brukenthal, RS 1–10. nr. 529. from 15 March 1503.

⁶⁷ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CLVII. p. 136–137. from 8 January 1503.

⁶⁸ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CLVI. p. 135–136. from 29 December 1502, see SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U V. nr. 1208.

deacon of Ózd, 1503),⁶⁹ dean of Saschiz land-chapter (1503)⁷⁰ and, together with his other nephew, Anthonius – by now mayor of Sighișoara – a legal representative (*procurator*) of the town of Medias [Mediasch] (18 July 1505).⁷¹

Although two other generations of Polnars appear casually in 16th-century documentary sources,⁷² most historians consider that the eminent family concluded its illustrious public days with the violent and disgraceful death of Anthonius Polnar in 1514, during the Dózsa Rebellion. By this time, all its other representative members: Michael, Marcus, Petrus, Gabriel, and Iohannes, had already passed away. The Polnar ‘family constellation’ slowly faded away over the next decades, with no other bright star to polarize the concerted agency of its members.

So far, historical analysis has regarded the Polnars as deeply involved in the power system of their town and province, exercising authority not only as civically involved representatives of the urban patriciate,⁷³ but also due to their personal relations and services to the king(s). The four-decade influence of this family over a provincial town’s social web was fuelled by the income generated by land possession (income used in support of representative investments), merchant enterprises (such as the acquisition of saffron⁷⁴) and matrimonial strategies (Michael married Catherine, a relative of the influential governor of the coin mint and salt chamber, later mayor of Sibiu, Nicolaus Proll,⁷⁵ while

⁶⁹ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CLVIII. CLIX. p. 139–142. from 1503, original SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U V. nr. 35; 25 July 1503, original SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U V. nr. 1875.

⁷⁰ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CLX. p. 141–142. from 29 May 1503, original SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U V. nr. 33.

⁷¹ WERNER 1874. p. 308–311; FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CLXVI. Anthonius and his brother Iohannes were both named legal representatives of the Șeica district, see SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U V. nr. 1879.

⁷² A family tree in GÜNDISCH 1993. p. 284, 425; see also FIREA 2016. p. 249. One Gabriel Polner, registered at Vienna University as a student from Transylvania in 1510, parish priest in Noiștat between 1533 and 1549, and a relative of Laurentius Polnar from Baia Mare [Frauenbach] and Michael Polnar from Sibiu, may actually not be related (?) to the Sighișoara kin, see PAKUCS-WILCOCKS 2016. nr. 94. p. 80. Another *Valentinus Polner ex Schessburg* is registered in the matriculation books of the Vienna University in 1512, possibly a relative of the Polnar kin and mayor of Sighișoara at an unknown date, see TŰSKÉS 2008. nr. 6536. and FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CCCXIV. p. 240. A further *Valentinus Michaelis Polner de Megies, baccalaureus in decretis* and parish priest in Curciu who achieved his higher education in Kraków (1485) and Vienna (1498), is active as notary public in 16 November 1502, see DINCĂ 2020a. p. 80, 103. (nr. 102.) (see also footnote 104. of this paper for further details concerning this Valentinus Polnar).

⁷³ A Transylvanian Saxon urban oligarchy that rose to power mostly after the defeat of the former ruling class, the military-driven ‘Gräven’, in 1467 by King Matthias, following a revolt of these German landlords together with representatives of the Hungarian and Szekler nobility, see GÜNDISCH 1972; GÜNDISCH 1987. p. 182; FARA 2019. p. 79–82.

⁷⁴ SCHULLER 1897. p. 389.

⁷⁵ See also “*Circumspecto Michaeli Polner, marito alterius filiae, Catherinae*” – FARA 2020. p. 46. The name of Michael’s wife as ‘Geneloia’ – see TONK 1979. p. 75. – represents a misreading of the text *egregius vir Michael Polnar alias nostre civitatis magister civium praesentium ostensor unacum sua virtuosa geneloia*, FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CXXVI. p. 107–108; original document at SJAN Brașov, Primăria Municipiului Sighișoara, nr. 18. The correct interpretation of the text refers to *virtuosa genealogia*.

Anthonius' wife was a member of the 'Gräven' nobility, formerly married to a 'count of Merghindeal'),⁷⁶ and may have been based on instrumental relationships of clientage. The use of 'political friendship' networks is most visible in the case of Michael, whose cooperation with Thomas Altemberger from Sibiu transpires both in their common civic tasks (as envoys abroad⁷⁷ or supervisors of local affairs⁷⁸), and within their correspondence. There is also a spiritual dimension to this process of authority construction, the entire family expressing overtly its piety towards the modern patterns of devotion promoted by the mendicant orders, emphasising once again the features and the religious behaviour of the new elite of the Transylvanian Saxons.⁷⁹

The Polnars paid close attention to the edification, maintenance, and ornamentation of the Sighișoara parish church (Michael) and Dominican convent (Gabriel), Brădeni parish church (Marcus), Saschiz parish church (Iohannes), Cincu Mare parish church (Georgius), Cluj-Mănăstur convent and the Dominican convent in Cluj (Petrus). The wall painting in Sighișoara's "church on the hill" of a donor figure kneeling before Mary Magdalene has been hypothetically identified as Michael Polnar.⁸⁰ It has even been suggested that the Viennese style of the painted polyptych in the same church was due to Marcus' contacts with Austrian artists.⁸¹ A heraldic shield identified on a stove tile from Sighișoara may have belonged to (Marcus or) Gabriel Polnar,⁸² sharing the same imagery (a bull's head and a star) with a coat of arms preserved in Cincu Mare church,⁸³ where another member of the family was active. Perhaps it would not be too bold in this context to link the lavishly painted first page of Sighișoara's town book of 1487⁸⁴ to Michael Polnar's decorative disposition for symbolic public display of authority and prestige⁸⁵ – the commission for the illumination of the manuscript had been probably

⁷⁶ SCHULLER 1897. p. 400.

⁷⁷ "Thomas Altemberger Cibiniensis et Michael Polner de Segeswar civitatum nostrarum magistri civium" – FARA 2020. p. 46, original document at SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II. nr. 408. from 25 August 1483.

⁷⁸ A modern copy from 1485: "Cibiniensi Thomas Altemberger et Michael Pölder Segesvariensi magistri civium" – Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4591; original document preserved at MNL OL DL 36562. Further documents attest to their concomitant presence at various boundary-related events, especially over the next year: 3 July 1486: Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4645; 4 July 1486: Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4653, 4654; 4 December 1486: Urkundenbuch VII. nr. 4680.

⁷⁹ DINCĂ – SCHABEL 2021. especially at p. 59, with further details and bibliography.

⁸⁰ POPA 1998–1999. p. 181.

⁸¹ The Schotten altar in Vienna was under construction around the same time when Marcus Polnar was attending the university there, a hypothesis put forward by SARKADI NAGY 2011. p. 90.

⁸² RUSU 2008. p. 208–209; RUSU 2019. p. 275.

⁸³ FIREA 2016. p. 249–252.

⁸⁴ It must be noted, however, that Michael Polnar is not among the members of the town council recorded in the town book, only *magister Michael alias magister civium* and Anthonius Polnar, see DINCĂ 2016. p. 160; DINCĂ 2019c. p. 13–14, 16.

⁸⁵ A parallel social behaviour, that can be further investigated by art historians in relation to the family patronage networks of late medieval and early modern Transylvania is reflected in the papers gathered in the volume BROSENS – KELCHTERMANS – VAN DER STIGHELEN 2012.

made a few years earlier to a foreign artist, as contemporary artistic similarities have not been identified locally.

A personal portrait of Marcus Polnar is difficult to sketch at this moment due to the paucity of sources and the lack of any ego-documents to attest to his agency.⁸⁶ Except for the impression of his seal on some officially-issued letters – attesting to a Renaissance disposition commonly found in his contemporaries⁸⁷ of recycling antique Roman gems⁸⁸, no other personal items belonging to Marcus have been preserved to this day. In this context, the over-Transylvanian dimension of ecclesiastical and lay contacts of Marcus' personal social web that indicates most probably an academic network (Viennese and/or Paduan), can only be inferred.

With the aid of prosopographical methods that correlate the individuals' biographical data within a well-defined group,⁸⁹ Marcus Polnar can be integrated into a larger category of ecclesiastical intellectuals, formed in the scholarly environment of Central European universities, who used their intellectual contacts as a lobby clique. According to the principle of 'homophily' (the tendency to affiliate and associate with similar people),⁹⁰ the Transylvanian scholar belongs to a prosopographical group that expanded over the entire continent, sharing personal interests by means of travel and correspondence. The extent of this structure could have ranged from a couple of strategically placed relations to a wide array of informal acquaintances, supported, in this case, by indirect evidence. However, Marcus' ties of kinship, professional affiliation and fidelity did not develop into parallel "ego-networks" of undifferentiated relationships, but mingled into a single, family-focused preoccupation.

Certain deductions about Marcus Polnar's intellectual network can be presumed from the limited data at hand. A first clue is offered by the 1476 indulgence charter, a document which places Marcus, then parish priest in Şaeş, ahead of all other petitioners, either clerics or lay officials: the mayor of Sighişoara, the parish priests of Apold and Brădeni, the *villicus* and various secular representatives of the recipient community, Brădeni. The bishop of Eger, Gabriele Rangone O.F.M. †1486, former bishop of Transylvania (1472–1475) and *legatus de latere* for this territory in 1476 and, at the time, a close and trusted advisor of King Matthias,⁹¹ was one of the two ecclesiastical

⁸⁶ A definition of the concept of 'agency' as the sum of individual choices of social action in EPURESCU-PASCOVICI 2021. p. 2–3.

⁸⁷ DINĂ 2020b; ŞTEFAN 2021.

⁸⁸ The impression of Marcus Polnar's personal (ring?) seal on green wax is preserved on two documents, SJAN Sibiu, Colectia de documente medievale, U V. nr. 33. and nr. 35. The design possibly illustrates the goddess Victory crowning an anonymous individual, probably an emperor, dating from the first three Christian centuries (a hypothesis put forward by Radu Ardevan, Professor Emeritus at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, to whom I thank for this suggestion).

⁸⁹ STONE 1971; BEECH 1992.

⁹⁰ A set of five rules that impact the social network analysis has been developed by CHRISTAKIS – FOWLER 2010. p. 17–26.

⁹¹ HLAVÁČEK 2008; KRISTÓF 2019.

officials who granted this indulgence. A connection between Marcus and the former bishop of Transylvania is plausible, considering that the dynamic of social networks postulates the dispersion of ideas and shared interests beyond an individual's direct social ties – to this end, any member of the bishop's retinue might have been a direct 'friend' of Marcus Polnar, and influenced a favourable outcome for his supplication. The same supposition can be made about the 1487 royal benefice, considering not so much a close relationship with the Hungarian king – as modern historians have suggested –, but the similar intellectual profile of bishop Sigismund Ernusz: a former student of canon law in Vienna (1469) and Ferrara (1473) and analogously interested in Roman antiquities (a collector of relics, stones and inscriptions).⁹² University-trained canons were mobile, regularly availing of ecclesiastical benefices in distinct dioceses, in addition to offices in local ecclesiastical administration, "where they typically served as bishops' officials, chancellors, and archdeacons".⁹³

In 1483, Marcus, who must have been now in his early 40s', held the position of dean (*decanus*) of Saschiz land-chapter and founder of the local confraternity of the Kaland Brothers, where his older brother and mayor, Michael, was recorded as "the dean's brother" (*germanus decani*). All these clues lead to the opinion that the Polnars' rise to relevant local positions was made after the return of Marcus from his Italian academic sojourn and his involvement into the social and political life of the community of Sighișoara. Not only had he insinuated himself and his relatives into the local urban elite,⁹⁴ but he may also have guided the academic paths of his nephews who put on the mendicant robe. In this context one can also take into consideration the reciprocal influence of the Polnar family members, for instance Marcus' appointment as legal auditor in 1503 by cardinal Pietro Isvalies (†1511), legate for Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia: the latter had been present the year before in Buda at the wedding ceremony of king Vladislaus II and Anna de Foix-Candale,⁹⁵ whose private secretary was at the time Iohannes Polnar. The plurigenerational longevity of the interests in art patronage, diplomatic pursuits, ecclesiastical careers and patrimonial management⁹⁶ attest to the significance of family agency in the transmission of not only wealth but intellectual awareness.

Finally, Marcus Polnar was a Doctor of Law and as such, part of a network of legal professionals active in Transylvania and furthermore, in the entire

⁹² FEDELES 2009. p. XVI–XVII.

⁹³ BRUNDAGE 2008. p. 345.

⁹⁴ SHAW 2005; CAROCCI 2011. A recent analysis of family history and political elites, very useful from a methodological perspective, explores the development of the urban high-class of medieval Turin, see GRAVELA 2017.

⁹⁵ NEMES 2019. p. 80–81.

⁹⁶ For instance, the Polnars were reluctant to convey the large sum of money bequeathed by Gabriel to the Dominican convent of Sighișoara, which was later compensated by the donation of a farm and a garden near the town, see SCHULLER 1897. p. 373; FÜLÖPP-ROMHÁNYI 2010. p. 148–149.

Latin Christendom.⁹⁷ Documentary records place him between 1503–1505 in the position of ecclesiastical judge⁹⁸ and proctor for the town of Mediaș,⁹⁹ a double expertise (spiritual/material) that attests to his pragmatic use of legal proficiency. The complementary aspect of Marcus Polnar's activity – as beneficiary of a *stallum* in various cathedral churches, parish priest and dean, legal representative of a municipal structure – is further confirmed by his special envoy mission in the winter of 1502¹⁰⁰ to Alba Iulia, where he was to retrieve some privilege charters for Saschiz land-chapter and bring them to Sighișoara. His hometown officials supported this commission and furthermore stressed the weight of the task by asking the Sibiu municipality to lend assistance for safe travel. The importance of the interlocking of spiritual and secular forms of public action can be explained by the competing institutional groups in urban areas: churches, chapels, convents, and hospitals were closely tied to the generosity of secular and regular clergy, confraternities of professionals, lay officials, urban and regional elites. Marcus' involvement in spiritual management (from the pastoral care of souls to canonical arbitration and authority over the Church's temporal matters) was directed, as documentary evidence points out, towards the patrimonial enrichment of his family's patronage projects in Sighișoara and surrounding settlements.

A defining moment in this regard was the critical turn of April 1490 and the political change it generated: at that time, Michael Polnar was locked away in prison, awaiting sentence for his fraud indictment, and his children were scattered around Transylvania and abroad, holding no relevant offices. In this context, the functioning of a social network and exercise of legal mentality is evident: Marcus managed to obtain the pardon for his brother¹⁰¹ corroborated with an advancement of his office to royal judge, secured in 1491 his ecclesiastical benefice in Pécs by having the donation charters issued by the former king authenticated and may have even contributed to the nomination of his nephew Petrus to the position of abbot and *commendator* of the Benedictine convent of Cluj-Mănăștur. The same year, Sighișoara's town council headed by Michael endorsed a donation of property in favour of Saint

⁹⁷ MCSWEENEY 2019, p. 79.

⁹⁸ Cardinal Pietro Isvalies nominated two judges in this specific case, that would span over 1503 and produce a variety of legal instruments: Marcus Polnar and Barthomeus, *cantor* of Alba Iulia cathedral church, identified elsewhere as *iuris utriusque et artium liberalium doctor*, see SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U IV, nr. 11, from 24 July 1502. On the jurisdiction of papal legates over judicial matters and delegation of ordinary authority, see KALOUS 2017, pp. 62–66.

⁹⁹ Nominated together with other Saxon parish priests with legal education: "... *Alexandrum de Mussna, Blasium de Insula Christiana plebanos ac legum et decretorum doctores*" and his former co-judge, "*Bartholomeum iuris utriusque doctorem, cantorem*" – see footnote 71.

¹⁰⁰ See footnote 68.

¹⁰¹ A document issued by the town council of Sighișoara on 16 July 1490 attests to Michael's exemplary reputation and 'virtuous genealogy' (i.e. 'family') and makes reference to the support of his children and extended family, see footnote 75. See also DU CANGE, voice *Genealogia*. <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/genealogia>.

Nicholas parish church,¹⁰² doubled by a confirmation of King Matthias' charter on the same matter by the new Hungarian king.¹⁰³ This concern for written authentication of privileges and patrimony-related documents reflects the solid academic background and awareness of legal issues, specific to Transylvanian Saxons' secular clergy in the decades before the Protestant Reformation.¹⁰⁴ Further prosopographical investigation into the generations of graduates of the faculties of law from Vienna and Padua,¹⁰⁵ with focus on the affiliations between scholars, their spiritual, social, and economic profiles, might expose a larger number of relationship constellations within the Transylvanian Saxon communities and beyond. As parallel investigations have shown,¹⁰⁶ a doctors' degree represented a boost element of a church career and contributed to the establishment of a highly educated, and very influential ecclesiastical elite of the Transylvanian Saxons, involved and participating actively in the life of their communities not only through the cure of souls, but also through a particularly complex intellectual agency, engineered around literate/legal communication and artistic patronage.

The extent of Marcus' ascendancy over the destiny of his blood relatives needs to be assessed in context: he was not a free agent with selfish goals, yet a dedicated member of his kin, in a complex reciprocal relationship with his sibling and nephews and, implicitly, with their own social networks. Academic, economic, political, ecclesiastical, and artistic interactions reveal the prominent role of Marcus, the 'bright star', in the social destiny of the Polnar family constellation over two generations. This brief re-examination of sources, together with the fortuitous clue pertaining to the academic formation at the University of Padua, endeavours to introduce an updated methodological approach to the study of elites and intellectual history at the periphery of Latin Christianity, by combining elements of diverse 'auxiliary sciences of history', prosopography, sociology, art history, and social network analysis into a interpretative framework that would allow an in-depth investigation of the top-tier ranks of the Transylvanian Saxons' intelligentsia before the confessional break with the Holy See.

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¹⁰³ FABRITIUS 1875. nr. CXXX.

¹⁰⁴ DINCĂ 2021a; DINCĂ 2021b; DINCĂ 2021c.

¹⁰⁵ An initiative already under development by the Charles University Archive and Institute of the History of Charles University, Prague: 'Prosopography of Prague University of Law 1372–1419'.

¹⁰⁶ SROKA 2013.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

István Kovács:

The Collegiate Chapter of Arad: Early Period of the Development of a Place of Authentication (1229–1342)*

This study examines the early development of the function as place of authentication in the case of the collegiate chapter of Arad from the first issued diploma (1229) to the death of King Charles I. Although earlier historiography examined some of the important places of authentication (e.g., Pécs, Csanád), in case of Arad, only one historian, Kálmán Juhász analysed one hundred years ago the first charters and the authentication function. The study will present the historiography some aspects about charter issuing, the flow of information between *medium regni* (Buda, Visegrád) and Arad. I have also collected the contributors related to the place of authentication (dignitaries, canons and choir priests). In Appendix, I have published the list of the diplomas issued by the collegiate chapter of Arad with the main details between 1229 and 1342.

Keywords: Arad, place of authentication, collegiate chapter, Hungarian Great Plain, Middle Ages, King Charles I



In this paper I would like to discuss one of the unique ecclesiastical institutions of Hungarian medieval history. The *loca credibilia/testimonialia* (places of authentication) were convents, cathedral and collegiate chapters that handled a sizable segment of various legal cases, playing a role in the marginalizing of bailiffs (*pristaldi*) by the king. They also played a significant part in the emergence of the claim for documentary evidence.¹ The scope of activity of *loca credibilia* extended over local territory or more rarely, the whole

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¹ KÓFALVI 2002.

kingdom.² The spatial distribution of these institutions was unequal: it showed a declining tendency from west to east, most probably in accord with economic possibilities and population density. The most concentrated ecclesiastical network of medieval Hungary developed in the Transdanubian region.³

As the diplomas of Arad are available from the first third of the 13th century, my analysis begins in 1229. However, in these years the issuing of charters was sporadic and only became more frequent from the 1280s. An even more intensive period started from the 1320s.⁴ The end date of my investigation is 1342⁵ when King Charles I (1308–1342) died and his son, Louis I the Great (1342–1382) succeeded him to the throne. During this period the first fifty known charters were issued, and due to the continuous flow of communication between the royal court and the collegiate chapter the charters have taken their later forms.⁶ With the help of these documents and through their analysis, we can follow the whole progress.

In this paper, I would like to present the early development of the *locus credibilis* of Arad based on primary sources and relevant secondary literature. A further aim of this paper is to make additions to a theory introduced by Kálmán Juhász.⁷ The study may also be helpful to authors of comparative investigations. The appendix at the end of the article will be of value for researchers of the topic.

Historiography

The development of places of authentication and their practice became a vivid concern of Hungarian medievalists first in the early 20th century and then in the first two decades after the fall of communism.⁸ During the first wave of research, Ferenc Eckhart's essential monograph was published, which has become the starting point for all later analyses of this type.⁹ In his monograph, originally published in German, Eckhart reviewed among other aspects the history, formation and staff of the places of authentication, as well as the external and internal aspects of the diplomas. It was during this period that Kálmán Juhász,¹⁰ the historian of the diocese of Csanád, began his career,

² ECKHART 2012, p. 64–75. For the country-wide authority of issuing charters see. RIBI 2019, p. 313–337.

³ Cf. BALLÓ 1994, p. 121. Appendix Nr. 2 (map).

⁴ The issuing of charters at Arad began in the second wave of issuing charters in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, as is the case with most cathedral chapters, collegiate chapters founded by royalty and monastic convents. Cf. KOSZTA 1998.

⁵ See Figure 1.

⁶ I have published a list of the charters and important related information at the very end of this paper.

⁷ JUHÁSZ 1930.

⁸ For a bibliography of the works on places of authentication see; <http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/hithelyy.htm> – access: 5 June 2020. Cf. ECKHART, 2012, p. 164–182.

⁹ For the career of Ferenc Eckhart see. TÖRŐ 2017; ECKHART 1914, p. 395–558.

¹⁰ A summary of Kálmán's life and most important works: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/I/juhász.html> (access 4 June 2020).

exploring – among other things – the first regional centres issuing legal documents, the chapters and convents.¹¹ Juhász's research on the history of the church in the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain is essential. Even with the limited written sources available to him at that time, his research proved to be enduring and his achievements can still be used to this day.¹² The claim for documentary evidence in the southern region of medieval Hungary was illustrated by the Cistercian abbey of Egres (Igrış, RO) and the presumably Benedictine convent of Rohoncmonostor¹³ (both of which only issued one publication), as well as the places of authentication of Arad and Csanád which had continuously functioned in the Árpádian era. Juhász also analysed the formal features of local written sources, using the same method that Eckhart did.¹⁴ In accordance with Eckhart's theory, Juhász began his investigation focusing on the process in which the tasks of the bailiffs (*pristaldi*) were almost completely taken over by the places of authentication that emerged from chapters and convents over a few decades.¹⁵ In his analysis of the seals, he did not only outline the most important means of authentication, but also mentioned Desiderius, bishop of Csanád, who most likely supported the local ecclesiastical communities in the preparation of their own *typaria*.¹⁶ Desiderius's central role is suggested by the fact that he was the first to use this method of authentication; the seals of the chapters and convents also emerged during his episcopal office. Evidently, Kálmán Juhász also reflected on the fact that places of authentication in this region played a greater role after the publication of the relevant law in 1231.¹⁷ According to his view, it was not the law that caused a shift in the role of *loca credibilia*, but rather it codified an existing practice; consequently, he argues that the function of authentication was by this time concentrated in the hands of ecclesiastical centres.¹⁸ Juhász added another aspect to the examination of places of authentication through the analysis of the spatial distribution of their activities. According to his research, activities of both chapters (Arad and Csanád) covered the area framed by the borders of their own dioceses.¹⁹ This picture was further

¹¹ JUHÁSZ 1941.

¹² From the point of this study, three of his works have great relevance: first, JUHÁSZ 1962, in which he extracted all the diplomas he knew concerning the chapter of Arad; second, his monograph JUHÁSZ 1941, especially the second half in which (96–159) he published the regestas of the chapter's charters, and finally, his work about the early development of the places of authentication in the diocese of Csanád, JUHÁSZ 1930.

¹³ The convent is unidentified, it was situated near Nagyfalva (Satu Mare, RO). – ROMHÁNYI 2008.

¹⁴ ECKHART 2012. p. 15–26.

¹⁵ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 259.

¹⁶ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 259.

¹⁷ BAK 2019. p. 179. (access 24 March 2021)

¹⁸ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 261.

¹⁹ In the case of Csanád, this coincided with the territory of the bishopric of Csanád, but also in exceptional cases, extended to the territory of other bishoprics in the counties of Csongrád, Békés and Bodrog. He identified the range of activity of the collegiate chapter of Arad as the counties of Arad, Zaránd, Békés, Csongrád, Csanád, Szörény, Krassó, Temes, Keve (Torontál). JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 262.

nanced by Péter G. Tóth who examined the first period of the practice of authentication at the Csanád chapter in a similar timeframe as this paper does.²⁰ During his work, he demonstrated the fundamental correctness of Juhász's findings, since the diocese of Csanád was the main area of the chapter's activities of authentication. However, G. Tóth also stated that the scope of these activities extended beyond the boundaries of the bishopric.²¹ As part of the examination of the process of authentication at Arad, Juhász also pointed out that in the absence of statutes, only indirect sources – such as the regulations of neighbouring institutions – can be used as guides for historical inquiry, and that the *Regestrum Varadiense* could provide assistance.²² In the further parts of his work, he studied specific cases related to the chapter of Arad (III)²³ and analysed the external and internal characteristics of the diplomas (IV).²⁴ In chapters V–VI, specific legal cases were explored; first, he considered the *fassiones* and second, the *relationes* charters of the late Árpáadian era.²⁵ He concluded his study with a summary of the external descriptions of the diplomas, and with the following statement by Ferenc Eckhart: "The impartiality and honesty of the places of authentication could not be challenged: the sums deposited there were in the best custody."²⁶

In the decades after World War II, research on the history of places of authentication declined, as did on other areas of ecclesiastical history. As a result, scholarly achievements on the subject in these decades, unlike in the previous period, were mainly limited to case studies. However, the works published in this time are still valuable, since most of them concerned – similarly to the present study – activities of authentication and the issuing of diplomas by certain chapters or convents.²⁷ The atmosphere of political transition in the late 1980s provided new impulses to church historians; during this period the subject of places of authentication could re-emerge.²⁸ The zeal lasted until the end of the 1990s. The finest example for this endeavour is perhaps the grandiose historical enterprise issued for the millennium of the foundation of the Benedictine abbey at Pannonhalma. In the first volume of the book, several studies on activities of authentication and diplomas of the abbey were included.²⁹

In addition, it is indispensable to mention László Koszta and the Capitulum Research Group in Szeged, as in the three decades since the political transition, members of this group have been engaged in a systematic examination of

²⁰ G. TÓTH 2010.

²¹ G. TÓTH 2010. p. 24–29.

²² JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 262.

²³ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 263–264.

²⁴ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 264–266.

²⁵ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 266–269.

²⁶ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 270.

²⁷ E. g. SZAKÁLY 1968; SILL 1976; SIPOS 1979; VARGA 1980. Cf. HUNYADI 2019. p. 29.

²⁸ For further literature see HUNYADI, 2019. p. 30.

²⁹ DRESKA 1996; DRESKA 2008; SOLYMOSI 1996; SZOVÁK 1996; VESZPRÉMY 1996.

places of authentication.³⁰ In 1998, Koszta published his doctoral thesis, in which he investigated the activity of authentication at the cathedral chapter of Pécs from its beginnings until 1353.³¹ The importance of Koszta's work and his achievements in this field may be illustrated by the fact that in 2019, when a volume of studies was published in his memory, editors Tamás Fedeles and Zsolt Hunyadi both praised Koszta's impact on this area through the example of Pécs and in particular, the history of places of authentication. His disciples, including Tamás Kőfalvi, Zsolt Hunyadi and Tamás Fedeles added new viewpoints to our knowledge of the Árpáadian era and late medieval conditions of authentication.³²

Another volume of great importance is the collection of studies published in Pécs in 2009, which enabled the publication of six analyses of activities of authentication at the Hungarian chapters.³³ Four of the authors examined the practice of specific places of authentication,³⁴ while two examined the general features of medieval Hungarian places of authentication.³⁵

Trends of issuing charters

In the case of the chapter of Arad, the first known charter was issued about a century after the foundation of the provostry.³⁶ During the first hundred years, however, traces of authentication activity can be found, one of which was preserved by the *Regestrum Varadiense* in 1229.³⁷ Thus, the issuing of diplomas was based on a functioning authentication practice, which continued as an oral tradition until the 1230s. In addition, it is possible that some of the early diplomas of the places of authentication in the region of the Great Hungarian Plain (e.g., Arad, Csanád, Várad) were destroyed because of the Mongol invasion.³⁸ Nevertheless, their number cannot have been significant, as the quantity of issued documents did not increase drastically after 1242, only from the 1320s.³⁹

³⁰ For the Capitulum Research Group see <http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/> (access 9 June 2020)

³¹ KOSZTA 1998.

³² E.g., KŐFALVI 1998; HUNYADI 2002; FEDELES 2003.

³³ FEDELES – BILKEI 2009.

³⁴ KURECSKÓ 2009; DRESKA 2009; BILKEI 2009; VEKOV 2009.

³⁵ C. TÓTH 2009; KOSZTA 2009.

³⁶ For the time and method of foundation see KARÁCSONYI 1881; JUHÁSZ 1989. p. 494–505. especially p. 494–497.

³⁷ Reg. Var. Nr. 358 (347.); JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 260. It is remarkable that in this case, one of the litigants sought to prove his truth with a diploma from Arad which had already been issued; this points to the fact that the first diploma(s) was/were issued before 1229.

³⁸ According to János Karácsonyi's hypothesis, it took five years to restore the functioning of the chapter. It should be noted, however, that since the first decades after the Mongol invasion, there was still no regular activity at this place of authentication, the theory of a destroyed corpus cannot be justified. Cf. KARÁCSONYI 1881. p. 111–112.

³⁹ The development of the number of diplomas issued by the cathedral chapters of Csanád is almost identical to that at the chapter of Arad. Cf. G. TÓTH 2010. p. 22. – The practice of issuing diplomas in Pécs shows the same trend with different ratios. Cf. KOSZTA 1998. p. 41–43.

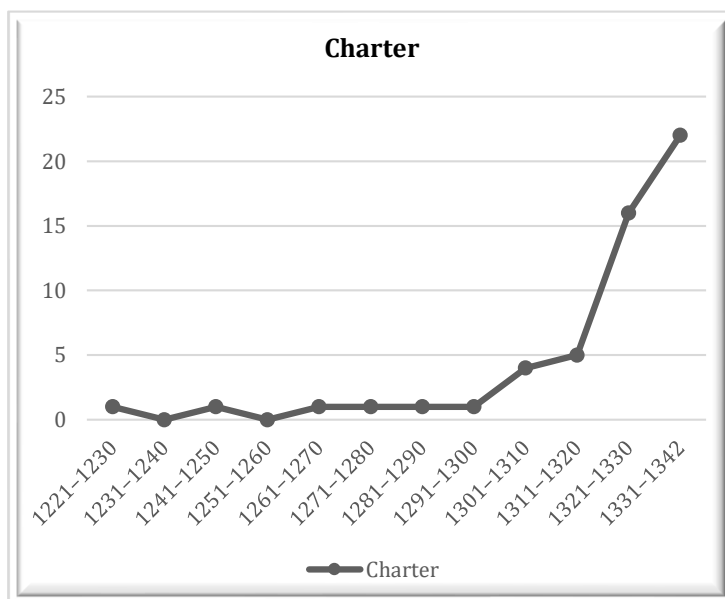


Figure 1: Diplomas issued in Arad 1221–1342

Looking at the chart above (Figure 1), it can be observed that the first diploma mentioned in relation to Arad was not followed by another for quite some time, and that the number of charters issued in the Árpáadian era never exceeded two per decade. The average of diplomas issued in the long first century of operation may be divided into four diplomas per decade, while only two diploma was preserved from the period between 1229 and 1269.⁴⁰ Thus, for another three decades after the date of the first diploma, there is no regular practice of issuing diplomas; only one case is known when authentic charter has been created. The phenomenon is not unique, of course, and the development of diploma issuing practice at other places of authentication was characterized by a similar graduality, although the length of the process varied for each location.⁴¹ Ferenc Eckhart investigated this question,⁴² and later many authors continued his research on the development of authentic document issuing practice.⁴³ In his monograph published in 1998, László Koszta constituted in a table of the most important details regarding diplomas of the cathedral chapter of Pécs, issued at Pécs as a place of authentication in the central middle ages.⁴⁴ On one hand, Koszta's volume shows the increased

⁴⁰ Nr. 2.

⁴¹ Cf. KOSZTA 1998, p. 13–17.

⁴² ECKHART 2012, p. 27–34.

⁴³ Cf. <http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/hithely.htm> (access 9 June 2020)

⁴⁴ KOSZTA 1998, p. 183–233.

involvement of the Transdanubian chapters, and on the other hand the fact that the cathedral chapter of Pécs issued diplomas regularly in the early period which cannot be stated in the case of the chapters of Arad and Csanád.

It is also worth taking a closer look at the first traces of authentication at the Csanád cathedral chapter, which was in contact with the Arad collegiate chapter. The first certified charter is from 1239, and no further documents were issued until 1285. It was followed by an average of four diplomas per decade for the next 40 years. After the 1320s, similarly to Arad, there was a sharp increase in the number of diplomas issued by the cathedral chapter of Csanád.⁴⁵ The 1320s also meant a milestone for Pécs, at least in terms of figures.⁴⁶ This phenomenon suggests that the process may not have only been the result of a local or regional impact, but a country-wide trend of change, which cannot be separated from the strengthening of the power of the Angevin dynasty in Hungary. King Charles I occupied the territories of Matthew Csák's heirs during these years, and then moved his seat to the centre of the kingdom, the so-called *medium regni*, more specifically to Visegrád.⁴⁷ The consolidation processes could thus move on to the next phase, which resulted in a more central role as well as an increase in the prestige of the places of authentication.

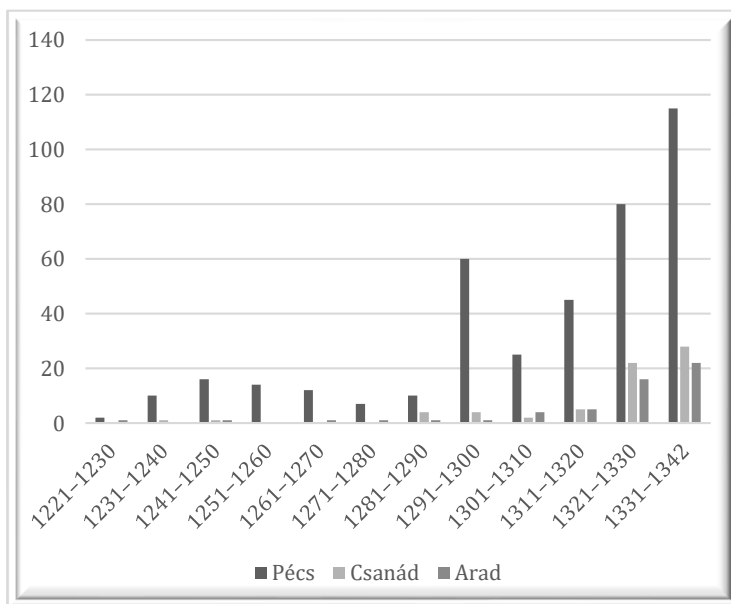


Figure 2: Number of charters issued in Arad, Csanád and Pécs (1221–1342)

⁴⁵ G. TÓTH, 2010. p. 22.

⁴⁶ Cf. KOSZTA 1998. p. 41–44.

⁴⁷ CSUKOVITS 2012. p. 83–88.

Of course, this scholarly endeavour of charting the role of places of authentication will be complete only when data related to all places of authentication of the period have been processed. After all, only a comprehensive inquiry can clearly show the county-wide, regional, and local characteristics that accompanied the process of consolidating the practice of authentication.

In a more thorough analysis of the charters, it is worth examining the circumstances in which the diplomas were kept. In general, a diploma can be preserved in three ways – these will be examined here through the case of the collegiate chapter of Arad. While the slight majority of the diplomas (28 pieces; 54%) survived in its original form, more than a third (16 pcs; 31%) was preserved in transcripts. Another seven documents are mentioned in later diplomas, and an additional charter is known only in the form of a modern extract.⁴⁸

Although not more than 52 charters are known from the first century of its functioning, it is worth examining what types of legal issues the place of authentication handled. There are 26 private cases: once, Master Jaachk,⁴⁹ objected to an irregular sale; four times people came to the chapter in protest related to various estate cases;⁵⁰ while on 19 occasions the chapter was asked to authenticate a legal act. These included purchases of property,⁵¹ donations in exchange for paraphernalia,⁵² an exchange of pledges,⁵³ and finally the settling of property disputes.⁵⁴ We also encounter a case where the defendants were forced to admit that their previous purchase of property was invalid because of the protest of Paul [from the kindred of] Csanád.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the chapter was asked on two occasions to issue transcripts of earlier diplomas (*transsumptio*).⁵⁶ Not only private individuals, but the king or another authority could also turn to the chapter to ask the institution's participation in a matter of public law. As a result, the provostry wrote 26 reports (*relatio*) to the issuer of the mandate. In nine of these cases, the delegate of the chapter performed perambulation of boundaries⁵⁷ and on 10 occasions the place of authentication recorded property donations in writing.⁵⁸ In addition to the two cases mentioned above, the chapter was instructed to conduct investigations six times,⁵⁹ and in five cases summons were published.⁶⁰ Finally, in one case,

⁴⁸ János Karácsonyi has proved that one of the charters is a forgery. KARÁCSONYI 1902. p. 18–19. Nr. 100.

⁴⁹ Nr. 52.

⁵⁰ Nr. 4; 24; 36; 43.

⁵¹ Nr. 3; 6; 8; 9; 11; 26.

⁵² Nr. 16; 37.

⁵³ Nr. 20–21.

⁵⁴ Nr. 32; 39; 44; 51.

⁵⁵ Nr. 40; AOkL XXII. Nr. 612.

⁵⁶ Nr. 5; 33.

⁵⁷ Nr. 2; 10; 12; 18; 22; 23; 25; 34; 38.

⁵⁸ Nr. 14; 19; 22; 27; 35; 38; 41; 48.

⁵⁹ Nr. 13; 28; 31; 45; 47; 49.

⁶⁰ Nr. 19; 27; 29; 30; 46.

the king requested the chapter to send one of its members to testify at the taking of an oath, which had to be reported of.⁶¹

Characteristically, there were overlaps between the categories in several cases. For instance, on three occasions when people were instituted to an estate, the chapter was also asked to perform the perambulations of boundaries.⁶² In addition, we encounter a case where the institution process could have been in order, but one of the neighbours disputed the designated boundary marks rather than the fact of seizin to the estate, so he was summoned before the king.⁶³ Another case is relevant here from 1329/1330,⁶⁴ when a strange situation occurred. John, son of Demetrius, a royal bailiff, together with the chapter's delegate Nicholas, have taken part in the perambulation of the boundaries of Szentandrás (which was to be donated), and since there was no objection, they fulfilled the task. However, both of them later protested the proceedings before a member of the cathedral chapter of Vác.⁶⁵

The circumstances in which charters were preserved predefined the possibilities of examining of the types of diplomas. At the same time, the use of seals may be relevant for the analysis of diplomas that remained in their original form. Authentic seals emerged in the Hungarian Kingdom during the rule of Saint Leslie I and King Coloman. According to Eckhart, in the second half of 13th century most of the churches used authentic seals.⁶⁶ Kálmán Juhász pointed out that the chapter of Arad may have engraved a seal at the beginning of the 13th century.⁶⁷ On the originals, the seal of authentication was used in three forms: 1) printed on the back of the diploma (*litterae patentes*); 2) the diploma was folded and sealed (*litterae clausae*); finally, 3) the seal of the diploma was punched through two points, and a bright-coloured silk cord was threaded through it and stamped (*litterae privilegiales*).⁶⁸

In the analysed period, the *litterae clausae* occur in the highest number (19 pcs; 68%).⁶⁹ A fifth of the original diplomas (6 pcs; 21%) was issued as *litterae privilegiales*;⁷⁰ this form was mostly used in cases where the contents of the document were intended to be eternal. The method was therefore applied primarily to property donations. In another three cases (*transsumptiones*), it is suspected that their originals were also issued as letters of privilege.⁷¹ The

⁶¹ Nr. 15.

⁶² KOSZTA 1998. p. 19; Nr. 22; 34; 38.

⁶³ Nr. 19. Cf. AOkI. IX. Nr. 194.

⁶⁴ Nr. 27.

⁶⁵ Cf. AOkI. XIV. Nr. 208.

⁶⁶ ECKHART 2012. p. 204–206.

⁶⁷ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 258–259.

⁶⁸ ECKHART 2012. p. 291–297.

⁶⁹ Nr. 13; 15; 19; 24; 28; 29; 30; 31; 32; 34; 35; 36; 43; 44; 45; 47; 49; 50; 52.

⁷⁰ Nr. 3; 5; 6; 9; 33; 37. Following the country-wide trends, the form of privilege (and chirograph) was also the most archaic form diplomas at Arad. Cf. KOSZTA 1998. p. 45.

⁷¹ Nr. 7; 11; 26.

lowest proportion of the diplomas studied here (2 pcs; 4%) was issued in the form of a patent.⁷²

Administration and flow of information

The analysis of the documents issued by places of authentication may be continued by investigating the reports made to the delegating authorities. In these cases, the monarch, or a country-wide authority (e.g., the mandate of the palatine or judge of the royal court) issued the mandate. It is worth examining the time that passed between the issue and the execution of the order, and response afterwards; in some cases, this step was also followed by a confirmation by the king. In the mandate of the chancellery, the supplicant simultaneously appointed several royal bailiffs who were confirmed by the royal authority. They were responsible for the conduct of the act (e.g., perambulation of boundaries, summons, investigation, etc.).⁷³ During the examined period, the orders mostly came from Buda, Temesvár (Timișoara, RO) and Visegrád, and the reports were consequently sent there as well.

The three royal seats are worth examining separately. It is important to point out, however, that 1318 is the earliest time that may be included in the study as no earlier mandates are known. The first orders were issued at Temesvár, the next ones at Visegrád, and the last ones at Buda. As all three locations functioned as royal seats, it is easy to explain why Visegrád replaced the original dominance of Temesvár (with only two appearances of Buda).⁷⁴ From Temesvár, Charles I sent three assignments to the chapter. The first diploma was issued on 7 June 1318 by the royal chancellery, in which Dominic Saar, at the request of the lieutenant comes of Temes, ordered the lands of *Phylupteluke* and *Rygachteluke* in Temes to be donated to the supplicant in the company of the royal bailiff (*homo regius*) Peter Zeel of Budun.⁷⁵ Therefore, a messenger carrying the order of the king was sent to Arad and to the royal bailiff Peter. Unfortunately, the document does not give the exact time when the order was fulfilled, but it is certain that Peter together with the deputy, James embarked on a journey to the two estates in county Temes and finally, within seven days, a certificate of procedure was issued at the chapter. Then a report was sent back to the court, where, after its presentation the king issued his confirmation on 25 June in Temesvár, i.e. eleven days later. In this exemplary case the delivery of the mandate is more important than the date of the confirmation; on one hand, it is easier to analyse, and on the other hand, the king had not to confirm the diploma upon receiving the report, or even within a few days. This observation is supported by the second order from

⁷² Nr. 38; 51.

⁷³ ENGEL 2003. Pál Engel's research has shown that in appointing royal bailiff, they sought to select county nobles, but if the supplicant did not know one, he named appropriate persons from his own familiars, colleagues, or friends.

⁷⁴ Regarding the issue of royal seats, see ALTMANN et al. 2004.; regarding Temesvár (Timișoara, RO) see: PETROVICVS 2008.

⁷⁵ AOkI. V. Nr. 154.

Temesvár,⁷⁶ fulfilled by the royal chaplain Thomas, the archdeacon of Ugocsa, and the above-mentioned deputy James.⁷⁷ Based on László Koszta's research, such role of clerics refers to court service (at a royal or queen's chapel),⁷⁸ as it can be seen in this case as well.⁷⁹ The king's messenger could deliver the mandate personally. Then, he and James travelled to *Pangraczfaya*, *Chenkewerme* and *Kyshwdus* estates in Arad county, where they introduced Thomas' sons from the kindred of Csanád into the estates, and finally on the third (!) day of the assignment the chapter made its usual report, while the royal confirmation only followed it after 74 days.⁸⁰ In a third example, the monarch did not appoint a *homo regius*, in this case the provostry's own testimony was required.⁸¹ In any case, it is certain that the king's order, dated to 24 April 1321, reached the chapter before 29 April, as on that day the deputy James testified to the agreement between Paul and Andrew on one side, and James, Abbot of Bizere and master Pósa on the other, regarding the estate of the Fehéregyház (Feyeryghaz),⁸² located approximately 25 kilometres from Arad. The chapter finally issued its report on 8 May.⁸³

At the same time, the distance between Temesvár and Arad raises some methodological questions which also concerns the other two locations. In the cases of Temesvár, Buda and Visegrád, we do not know which medieval road was optimal (fastest to travel) to Arad.⁸⁴ Based on today's settlement structure, the shortest route between Arad and Temesvár is about 55 kilometres long, thus travel by coach or wagon could take two days, and travel by horse a single day.⁸⁵ Therefore, taking this speed and proximity as a given average, the reason

⁷⁶ AOkI. V. Nr. 154.

⁷⁷ AOkI. V. Nr. 154.

⁷⁸ KOSZTA 1998, p. 33.

⁷⁹ It is also necessary to underline the importance of personal relations in the selection of the royal bailiff, since the person who made the donation was master Csanád, provost of Várád, secret notary and comes of the royal chapel, who had a close (working) relationship with the appointed royal officials (royal chaplain Thomas, archdeacon of Ugocsa, master Benedict, the frater of the bishop of Csanád). Cf. ENGEL 2003. 592. p.

⁸⁰ AOkI. V. Nr. 593.

⁸¹ AOkI. VI. Nr. 120.

⁸² ENGEL 2020. Code: 12AD13

⁸³ Nr. 15.

⁸⁴ András Kubinyi used his research on the medieval Great Plain to describe the difficulties of calculating distances and with it, the estimation of journey times: KUBINYI 2000. p. 33–36.

⁸⁵ The royal bailiff was allowed to travel by horse or carriage, so it is particularly important to clarify how quickly the above discussed distances could have been travelled. In this question, we must rely on the early modern (1556) estimates of Miklós Jankovich, who calculated a speed of 7–12 km/h, if the messenger completed the journey with the same horse, while if he changed the mounts, we could count an average of 12–15 km/h. Here, he would have to change horses six times a day, with twelve hours of travelling. JANKOVICH 1975. p. 221–222. More recently, Norbert Ohler's monographic enterprise has further nuanced the conditions of medieval travel: OHLER 1995. According to the impressive book of Norbert Ohler, László Koszta estimated the distance that can be done in one day by carriage or wagon as 36–40 km; horse travel with escorts and luggage as 30–45 km per day; in case of haste, this could be as high as 50–80 km. KOSZTA 1998, p. 112. Tamás Fedeles also based his calculations on Ohler, thus calculating the daily performance of the trader's cart journey as 35–40 km, and as 50–60 km for ordinary riders. FEDELES 2015. p. 223.

for the two-week response time may be found in something other than the quality of the roads. For instance, in the case of some charters, the proceedings themselves may have required delays and multiple subprocesses⁸⁶. In the case of Visegrád, the city is 280–290 kilometres away from the collegiate chapter. Based on this distance, it was possible to reach Arad not earlier than on the seventh day, but the journey could also take up to nine days. At the same time, for a rider in a hurry, it was possible to make the journey in a minimum of five days or a maximum of six days. The route from Buda to Arad was somewhat shorter – a journey of 240–250 kilometres –, largely on the same track as one would take from Visegrád. To travel this distance would take at least six days by wagon or coach. However, in the saddle of a horse, the journey could be completed in four to six days.

Returning to the time periods between the dates of the mandate and the report, it is worth continuing the analysis with the orders given in Buda. The first mandate from Buda was issued on 8 June 1325,⁸⁷ and the reply of the chaplain was written on 15 June 1325,⁸⁸ i.e. the exchange of letters took only one week. The quick process suggests that the messenger did not complete the assignment on a coach or wagon, but probably on horseback. Even a modern bureaucratic apparatus would be honoured by this speed of administration. After the messenger had delivered the mandate to the royal bailiff Blasius and to the chapter, the two witnesses travelled to the Bola estate in Békés county. To reach the estate, they travelled 120–125 km, so with their return to the chapter, the journey of the royal bailiff and choir priest James was about 250 km long. This is confirmed by another case where only nine days elapsed between the dates of the command from Buda and the report. Here, the issuer of the command was not the office of the royal chancellery, but of the palatine John Druget; the diploma was issued on 17 August 1330,⁸⁹ while the reply of the chapter was sealed on 26 August.⁹⁰ The palatine's letter of summon seems to have quickly arrived to Arad. In response, the royal bailiff, and the delegate of the chapter (priest James) – after travelling 80–85 km – summoned Bernaldus's sons Lawrence, Zemlek, and Dombou on 24–25 August. In both cases, the relatively short time between the mandates and the chapter's responses reinforces the assumption that both the persons delivering the order and those who fulfilled it could ride the horses at the highest possible speed.⁹¹

At the same time, most diplomas of this period were issued in Visegrád. King Charles I established his residence here⁹² in a symbolic gesture, after the defeat of Matthew Csák's heirs. Therefore, it is understandable why the letters

⁸⁶ KOSZTA 1998. p.114.

⁸⁷ AOkI IX. Nr. 242.

⁸⁸ Nr. 22. AOkI IX. Nr. 246.

⁸⁹ AOkI XIV. Nr. 480.

⁹⁰ AOkI XIV. Nr. 492.

⁹¹ For more information on carriage travel and for additional historiography on the same matter see FEDELES 2008 p. 461–478. See especially p. 470.

⁹² BUZÁS – LASZLOVSKY – MAGYAR 2003; ALTMANN et al 2004; PETROVICS 2008.

of command were issued in the king's name and were sent from here as early as in 1318, and almost exclusively from 1325 onwards. These Visegrád commands were fulfilled with speed varying between 11 and 47 days.⁹³ In my study, I will examine only the outliers ('fast' or 'slow' cases), since an overly slow procedure creates the suspicion that the administration did not progress at the desired pace, while quick procedures may show the minimum amount of time to make the journey between Visegrád and Arad. In the mandate published by King Charles I on 13 April 1330,⁹⁴ the above mentioned Dombou of Salánk was the suspect of murder. On 26 April,⁹⁵ the chapter issued its report, which revealed that royal bailiff Henche and choir priest John had conducted an investigation in the villages of Jara, Kenéz, Egres and Álcsi in Csanád county and found Dombou guilty. The relatively short time between the issuing date of the two diplomas shows that both the messenger and officials preferred the fastest possible type of travel (horse).⁹⁶ In addition to the murder case, an estate donation from 1326 provides us with a clue to calculate the time of the journey. Although the royal mandate from 24 March 1326⁹⁷ was fulfilled only by the time of the octava of the day of St. George (i.e. 1st May) by the lector Paul who represented the chapter, and Paul of Chala,⁹⁸ we also know that the king confirmed the diploma of the collegiate chapter on 11 May.⁹⁹ Based on these dates, we may calculate that within 10 days after the charter was issued, the messenger made the journey back from Arad to Visegrád and the report to the chancellery was written. Behind of the extremely long 47-day response time, therefore, one must look for a reason other than the speed of the messenger. Similarly, another letter of mandate dated 21st March 1333 did not arrive at Arad until the end of April, which proves that the procedure was not immediately initiated after the mandate was issued. In this latter case, Ruzyn's son, Michael was the royal bailiff, and on 27 April, in the presence of the chapter's envoy Benedict, he fulfilled the order by the perambulation of the boundaries and by the seizin of the estate.¹⁰⁰

Contributors in the authentication procedure

For the functioning of the places of authentication some personal conditions were essential, e.g. members of the chapter or the convent who were in some way involved in pursuing the prescribed act or in issuing the diploma. The most direct participants were those who drafted diplomas: the lector or his subordinates, the sublectors, and the notaries as well. Although only two notaries are known from the history of the Collegiate Chapter of Arad, the

⁹³ Nr. 19; 21; 28; 29; 34; 35; 38; 45; 47; 49; 50.

⁹⁴ AOkI. XIV. Nr. 200.

⁹⁵ AOkI. XIV. Nr. 223.

⁹⁶ Nr. 28.

⁹⁷ AOkI. X. Nr. 105.

⁹⁸ AOkI. X. Nr. 168.

⁹⁹ AOkI. X. Nr. 187.

¹⁰⁰ Nr. 34. Cf. AOkI. XVII. Nr. 237.

existence of the office is probable, as shown by the example of other chapters.¹⁰¹ However, the appearance of the notaries was more typical from the 14th century on than in the Árpádian era. Therefore, in line with country-wide trends, this suggests that the main part of their operation at Arad started from the late Middle Ages.¹⁰² Elsewhere, the position was established in the mid-14th century.¹⁰³ In the case of the chapter of Arad, one of the deputy dignitaries was first mentioned in 1318 – therefore, it seems that the lector himself edited the diplomas in the first decades of the examined period.¹⁰⁴ As the number of charters issued began to increase, so not only a deputy to the dignitary was mentioned, but in one case, the notary as well.¹⁰⁵ In cases where individuals appeared before the chapter and a document was issued by the chancellery, most often only the presence of two persons was required: that of the editor of the diploma (lector, sublector or notary) and that of the guardian (or the guardian's deputy). The latter's role was to supervise and to consult the archives of the chapter, as well as to use the authentic seals.¹⁰⁶ Alternatively, during the formulation of a report for a mandate, the chapter had to send out a certified person as a witness (*testimonium*) who, alongside the official, fulfilled the mandate. According to Juhász, these delegates were initially canons (*socium et concanonicum nostrum*),¹⁰⁷ and later the choir priests (*sacerdotem /presbyterum/clericum de choro nostro*) took over the task.¹⁰⁸ Although the author considered this statement applicable primarily for the Árpádian era, it can also be concluded that this trend remained valid even after the end of the Árpádian era. However, at the end of the Middle Ages, the choir priests were once again replaced by canons in the work of authentication at the chapters of Arad and Csanád. In addition, I consider it necessary to analyse more carefully who the members of these groups of canons were, with respect to both dignitaries – in the case of the cathedral chapter of Csanád – and ordinary canons.¹⁰⁹

During the examined ca. 100 years, 26 official requests were received by the collegiate chapter. The report is available, and the names of the contributors are known in 25 of these cases.¹¹⁰ Among those delegated in the period, there were both dignitaries and ordinary canons, as well as choir priests. The concept of Juhász seems to be supported by the fact that the first person sent out was a cantor, namely Paul. In the beginning, these assignments

¹⁰¹ In case of Pécs see KOSZTA 1998. p. 100.

¹⁰² KOSZTA 1998. p. 100–101.

¹⁰³ The first mentions can be found in connection with Pécs in the 1320s. Cf. KOSZTA 1998. p. 106.

¹⁰⁴ The same case can be observed in accordance with the deputies of the dignitaries, at least in the case of Arad, but this statement can only be based on uncertain data.

¹⁰⁵ Nr. 37.

¹⁰⁶ FEDELES 2005. p. 54–57.

¹⁰⁷ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 268.

¹⁰⁸ JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 268–269.

¹⁰⁹ The detailed explanation for falls beyond the scope of this study and will be presented in another paper.

¹¹⁰ Nr. 2; 10; 12; 13; 14; 15; 18; 19; 22; 23; 25; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 34; 35; 38; 41; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49.

were probably given to dignitaries and canons. In the first quarter of the 14th century, however, they were choir priests, James (*subcantor*) as well as Benedict and Michael, who travelled in the presence of the royal bailiff and performed the duties.¹¹¹ Still, the task cannot be considered as one exclusively tied to their positions, since in 1326, and a year later as well it was lector Paul who represented the place of authentication with another canon, while in 1335 dean Peter was sent to bear witness with the royal bailiff Deseu of Chura.¹¹² The preliminary suggestions are further nuanced by the reports issued in December 1340 and six months later. Their common feature is that the canon Stephen was the contributor,¹¹³ i.e. the opportunity may have been open to all members of the chapter, as well as to the priests of lower ranks.¹¹⁴ Consequently, although the choir priests represented a higher proportion of delegates, several cases show that they were not the only ones who functioned as clerical witnesses.

Another cornerstone of the analysis of the operation of a place of authentication is how it was able to provide the appropriate staff to issue diplomas. Exploring this question is a difficult task in the case of Arad due to the small number of charters. In a *relatio* dated 1269, the name of lector Philip appears with the usual *datum per manus* formula.¹¹⁵ The next lectors are not known by name, since the next document that may serve as a point of reference was issued in 1310. In this document, the lector, John is mentioned, but no other information is known about him. This charter is followed once more by a major pause, since the names of lectors were excluded from the sources until 1326.¹¹⁶ Lector Paul performed the duty twice, and in 1329 and in 1335 he was listed among the dignitaries of the diplomas issued by the chapter.¹¹⁷ From 1335 until the death of Charles I, there is no further related evidence in the Arad charters; the next piece of information about lectors appears only in a diploma of King Louis I, already beyond the scope of this study.¹¹⁸ The next list of dignitaries appears two decades later as well.¹¹⁹

Although none of the deputies to the lector are known from our period, it may be assumed that the role already existed. Among the notaries, only

¹¹¹ Custos Paul: Nr. 3. Subcantor James: Nr. 12; 14; 15. Choir priest Benedict: Nr. 13; 34. Choir priest Michael: Nr. 19. Choir priest James: Nr. 22; 30. Choir priest Nicolas: Nr. 27; 29. Choir priest John: Nr. 28; 31; 38. Deacon Thomas: Nr. 47. Choir priest Peter: Nr. 49. Choir priest Paul: Nr. 50.

¹¹² Lector Paul: Nr. 23; 25. Dean Peter: Nr. 35.

¹¹³ Nr. 45; 48.

¹¹⁴ The trend has strong similarities to the first period of the practice of authentication at the cathedral chapter of Pécs. KOSZTA, 1998. See the table p. 109. *A kiküldetések megoszlása az alsópapság és az egyházi középréteg között* [Distribution of missions between the lower and the middle clergy].

¹¹⁵ DL76151; JUHÁSZ 1930.265. ZICHY I. p. 19–20, Nr. 25.

¹¹⁶ The rows of dignitaries became regular at some point during the reign of Louis I (1342–1382), and from Sigismund's reign (1387–1437). Cf. KOVÁCS 2017. However, further research is needed to uncover the exact circumstances of the process.

¹¹⁷ Nr. 26; 37.

¹¹⁸ AOkI. Nr. 504.

¹¹⁹ DL 4538.

Benedict may be identified by name. Based on Benedict's presence, it can be assumed that the diplomas of the chapter, at least in part, were edited by notaries from this year at the latest.¹²⁰

Summary

Looking at the first 52 diplomas issued by the collegiate chapter of Arad, it becomes clear that the development of the practice of issuing charters at the chapter fits well into Eckhart's more than a century old theory.¹²¹ On closer inspection, the number of charters issued at the chapter is significantly less than that of the cathedral chapter in Pécs, but a development process almost parallel to the neighbouring cathedral chapter of Csanád may be reconstructed. In summary, it is worth taking a regional approach to the process of authentication at the two southern region of Great Hungarian Plains chapters and creating a comparative analysis of these results on one hand, and country-wide trends on the other. The general statements can be nuanced by further research on the provostry of Titel, also founded in this region by two members of the royal family, King László I and Prince Lampert. In addition, it is important to emphasise and examine even more the role of Desiderius, bishop of Csanád in the development of the authentication practice, as there are clear indications that he was a key figure in the process, as mentioned above in relation to the use of seals.¹²²

As for the practice of issuing diplomas, the chapter was in line with country-wide patterns; the same or a similar *formularium* was used by each institution to create their own procedures. However, it should be emphasised that while the numbers of newly issued diplomas have changed rather similarly Arad and Csanád (Figure 2), these were extremely low in comparison with the Transdanubian chapters (e.g., Pécs). Considering previous historiography, these statements seem to be valid in almost all aspects, since income conditions and career opportunities were also more limited at Arad and Csanád than at the Transdanubian institutions.

Regarding the flow of information, it should be noted that the chapter worked rather quickly most of the time. In fact, it was not only the messengers who travelled between the royal seat and Arad at great speed; the joint journey of the royal bailiffs and the delegates of the chapter could also be considered hasty. Similarly to the example of Pécs, the time taken to complete the procedure depended mostly not on conditions of personnel, but on the nature and the complexity of the case itself.¹²³ From the outset, the protagonists of the chancellery at the place of authentication were the lector and the guardian, while the task of substitution was shared not only by the canons, but also by a large number of the members of the lower clergy.

¹²⁰ Nr. 37.

¹²¹ ECKHART 2012. p. 15–55.

¹²² JUHÁSZ 1930. p. 258–259.

¹²³ Cf. KOSZTA 1998. p. 112–115.

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Abbreviations

- MNL OL DF Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény.
- MNL OL DL Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Levéltár.

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Appendix

The list of charters issued by the collegiate chapter of Arad (1229–1342)

Nr.	Date	Type	Subject	Form of survival	Form of issuing	Contributor(s)	Edition/ <i>Regesta</i>
1.	1229	declaration	transfer of property?	mention	n/a	n/a	Reg. Var. Nr. 291. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 1.
2.	14 April 1247	report	perambulation of boundaries	forgery	n/a	n/a	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 2–4.
3.	1269	declaration	transfer of property	original	privilege	cantor Paul; list of dignitaries ¹	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 5. ZICHY I. p. 19–20. Nr. 25.
4.	1290	declaration	protestation	transcription (1339)	n/a	n/a	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 6. ZICHY I. p. 550–556. Nr. 528.
5.	1291	<i>transsumptio</i>	agreement	original	privilege	n/a	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 7. HO VIII. p. 308–309. Nr. 254.
6.	1302	declaration	transfer of property	original	privilege	n/a	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 8.
7.	1306	declaration	redemption after abuse of power	transcription (1394)	[privilege]	n/a	AOkI. II. Nr. 98. ZsO I. Nr. 400.
8.	1308	declaration	transfer of property	<i>regesta</i>	n/a	n/a	AOkI. II. Nr. 528. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 9. Tört. Ért. 1888. p. 110.
9.	1310	declaration	transfer of property	original	privilege	list of dignitaries ²	AOkI. II. Nr. 1017. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 6. Nr. 10.

¹ Staff in the list of dignitaries: the lector Philip, the cantor Paul, the guardian Zalandus and the dean Henc. Cf. ZICHY I. p. 19–20. Nr. 25.

² Staff in the list of dignitaries: the lector John, the cantor Alexis, the guardian John, the canons John, Vracha and Martin, and Nicolas archdeacon of Csongrád (Chengrad[!]) Cf. AOkI. II. Nr. 1017.

10.	[around] 22 September 1315	report	perambulation of boundaries	mention	n/a	n/a	AOkI. IV. Nr. 158.
11.	1317	declaration	transfer of property	transcription (1334)	[privilege] ³	n/a	AOkI. IV. Nr. 679.
12.	14 June 1318	report	perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1318)	n/a	subcantor James	AOkI. V. Nr. 158. AOkm. I. Nr. 425. Temes Nr. 27. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 7. Nr. 11–13.
13.	[between] 19 November 1318 and 31 December 1318	report	inquest	original	letters close	choir priest Benedict	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 7. Nr. 14–15. ZICHY XII. Nr. 6.
14.	15 July 1319	report	introduction into possession	transcription (1319)	n/a	subcantor James	AOkI. V. Nr. 531. Temes Nr. 19. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 7. Nr. 16–17.
15.	8 May 1321	report	oath	original	letters close	subcantor James	AOkI. VI. Nr. 120. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 7. Nr. 19–20.
16.	1322	declaration	paraphernalia	transcription (1394)	n/a	n/a	AOkI. VI. Nr. 886. ZsO. I. Nr. 400.
17.	3 July 1323–5 December 1323	declaration	agreement	transcription (1323)	n/a	n/a	AOkI. VII. Nr. 340. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 7. Nr. 22. ZICHY I. p. 243–246. Nr. 273.
18.	[before] 14 April 1325	report	perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1572)	n/a	n/a	AOkI. IX. Nr. 137.
19.	12 May 1325	report	introduction into possession; summons	original	letters close	canon Michael	AOkI. IX. Nr. 194. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 24.

³ Cf. AOkI. IV. Nr. 679.

20.	[before] 2 June 1325	declaration	pledge	mention	n/a	n/a	AOkI. IX. Nr. 229. AOkm. II. Nr. 175. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 25.
21.	5 June 1325	declaration	pledge	original	n/a	n/a	AOkI. IX. Nr. 239. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 25. AOkm. II. Nr. 175.
22.	15 June 1325	report	introduction into possession; perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1329)	n/a	choir priest James	AOkI. IX. Nr. 256.
23.	1 May 1326	report	perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1326)	n/a	lector Paul	AOkI. X. Nr. 168.
24.	25 May 1326	declaration	protest	original	letters close	n/a	AOkI. X. Nr. 218. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 26.
25.	6 June 1327	report	perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1589)	n/a	lector Paul; choir priest John	AOkI. XI. Nr. 198.
26.	1329	declaration	transfer of property	transcription (1343)	[privilege]	list of dignitaries ⁴	AOkI. XIII. Nr. 675. Doc. Trans. II. Nr. 523.
27.	18 April 1330	report	introduction into possession; summons	transcription (1378)	n/a	choir priest Nicolas	AOkI. XIV. Nr. 208. HO. p. 306–308. Nr. 284.
28.	26 April 1330	report	inquest	original	letters close	choir priest John	AOkI. XIV. Nr. 223.
29.	4 July 1330	report	summons	original	letters close	choir priest Nicolas	AOkI. XIV. Nr. 390. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 27–28.
30.	26 August 1330	report	summons	original	letters close	choir priest James	AOkI. XIV. Nr. 492. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 30–31. ZICHY I. p. 365–366. Nr. 373.
31.	22 July 1331	report	inquest	original	letters close	choir priest John	AOkI. XV. Nr. 285. ZICHY I. p. 375. Nr. 380.

⁴ People in the list of dignitaries: the lector Paul, the cantor Blasius, the guardian Valentine, the canons John, Michael and Peter. Cf. AOkI. XIII. No.675.

32.	25 March 1332	declaration	compromise	original	letters close	n/a	JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. p. Nr. 33. ZICHY I. p. 387–388. Nr. 391.
33.	28 July 1332	transsumptio	transfer of property	original	privilege	n/a	DL 2202; AOkm. II. Nr. 99.
34.	8 May 1333	report	introduction into possession; perambulation of boundaries.	original	letters close	choir priest Benedict	AOkI. XVII. Nr. 273. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 8. Nr. 34–35.
35.	27 April 1335	report	introduction into possession	original	letters close	dean Peter	AOkI. XIX. Nr. 217.
36.	20 September 1335	declaration	protest	original	letters close	n/a	AOkI. Nr. 568. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 37.
37.	1335	declaration	paraphernalia	original	privilege	list of dignitaries ⁵	AOkI. XIX. Nr. 786.
38.	20 August 1337	report	introduction into possession; perambulation of boundaries	transcription (1341)	n/a	choir priest John	AOkI. XXI. Nr. 486. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 38.
39.	15 May 1338	declaration	exchange	original	letters patent	n/a	AOkI. XXII. Nr. 252. ZICHY I. p. 536–537. Nr. 511. Békés II. p. 3. Nr. 2.
40.	1338	declaration	?	mention	n/a	n/a	AOkI. XXII. Nr. 612. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 39.
41.	14 March 1339	report	introduction into possession	transcription (1374)	n/a	n/a	AOkI. XXIII. Nr. 128. Krassó III. p. 136–151. Nr. 92.
42.	19 May 1339	report	introduction into possession	mention	n/a	n/a	DL 91549
43.	7 June 1339	declaration	protest	original	letters close	n/a	AOkI. XXIII. Nr. 338. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 40.

⁵ People in the list of dignitaries: the lector Paul, the cantor Andrew, the guardian Valentine, the canons Michael and John, the dean Peter, the notary Benedict, Bereck [canon]. Cf. AOkI. XIX. Nr. 786.

44.	11 June 1340	declaration	composition	original	letters close	provost John, excantor John	AOkl. XXIV. Nr. 376. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 41.
45.	17 December 1340	report	inquest	original	letters close	canon Stephen	AOkl. XXIV. Nr. 735. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 42–43. ZICHY I. p. 592–593. Nr. 563.
46.	22. January 1341–1 May 1341	report	summons	mention	n/a	n/a	AOkl. XXV. Nr. 67.
47.	3 February 1341	report	inquest	original	letters close	deacon Thomas ⁶	AOkl. XXV. Nr. 95.
48.	19 April 1341– 8 May 1341	report	introduction into possession	mention	n/a	canon Stephen	AOkl. XXV. Nr. 224.
49.	19 May 1341	report	inquest	original	letters close	choir priest Peter	AOkl. XXV. Nr. 332. JUHÁSZ 1962. p. 9. Nr. 44. Temes I. p. 69–71. Nr. 37. Kállay I. p. 141. Nr. 608.
50.	3 November 1341	report	summons	original	letters close	choir priest Paul	AOkl. XXV. Nr. 763.
51.	1 January 1342	declaration	agreement	original	letters patent	n/a	AOkl. XXVI. Nr. 169.
52.	2 July 1342	declaration	protest	original	letters close	n/a	AOkl. XXVI. Nr. 354. Sopron vm. I. p. 169–170. Nr. 136.

⁶ Cf. AOkl. XXV. Nr. 95.

Bálint BANDI:

***”By now only the name of the village is Hungarian ...”
Demography of Magyaralsózsuk (Jucu), Magyarkályán
(Căianu) and Vajdakamarás (Vaida-Cămarăș) at the
Beginning of the 18th Century***

Many aspects of the demography of early modern Transylvania are still waiting to be unfolded. Demographic studies about the era shed light on only certain segments of the whole picture, due to the fragmented historical sources, as well as the limited scope of the censuses. Moreover, in the absence of fundamental research, it is not even possible to examine the migration processes that took place in the era. The censuses (*conscriptioes*) made in the first decades of the 18th century, which in many cases contain the names of the householders, are suitable for examining the demographic changes and the ethnic distribution of certain settlements. This article provides an insight into the demography of the Unitarian settlements belonging to the castle domain of Gyalu by using censuses and ecclesiastical sources. It should be emphasized that this type of research is only a drop in the ocean in terms of the complexity of the issue. However, its results hopefully contribute to a deeper understanding of the demographic changes of Transylvania.

Key words: history of Transylvania, early modern history, demography, population history, migration, demographic changes, ethnicity, urbaria, Unitarian bishop records, censuses



Many aspects of the demography of early modern Transylvania are still waiting to be unfolded. Demographic studies about the era shed light on only certain segments of the whole picture, due to the fragmented historical sources, as well as the limited scope of the censuses. An in-depth, interdisciplinary approach to the issue not only provides insight to the population history of the examined period, but it also highlights a forgotten segment of our nation's past. In the absence of fundamental research, however, it is not even possible to examine the migration processes took place in the era.

The censuses (*conscriptioes*) made in the first decades of the 18th century, which in many cases contain the names of the householders, are suitable for examining the demography of certain settlements. In the following, I will examine the population history of the Unitarian settlements belonging to the castle domain of Gyalu (Gilău, RO), with particular reference to the dynamics of different migration movements and changes in ethnic distribution.

Demographic changes in the Unitarian settlements of the castle domain of Gyalu

The Urbaria of the Castle Domain of Gyalu, published in 1944, provides the most comprehensive picture of the history of the domain and the demography of the settlements belonging to it. In addition to discussing the development of the domain, the author, Zsigmond Jakó, published *urbaria* covering nearly three centuries, providing valuable data on the population history of early modern Transylvania.¹ Putting aside the description of the history of the domain, of which Jakó gives a detailed analysis in the introduction, I would like to focus on the issue of possession, especially the question of from when the examined settlements belonged to the domain. Jakó writes the following in this regard: “[...] in 1649, when Zsigmond Rákóczy handed over Gyalu [i.e., the castle domain] to Ferenc, the son of György II Rákóczy, the novel accessories of the domain were Alsómagyarzsuk, Visa (Vișea, RO), Vajdakamarás, Asszonyfalva (Săcel, RO), Magyar – and Oláhkályán, Ajton (Aiton, RO), and Magyar – and Oláhbányabükk (Vâlcele, RO).”² Presumably, before the above mentioned year, the settlements became part of the domain. However, we have contradictory data about how long the examined settlements belonged to the domain. According to Sándor Varga, the villages of the Transylvanian Plain belonging to the domain, such as the settlements we examine, may have been seceded from the domain between 1727 and 1731. By contrast, József Benkő claims that Magyaralsózsuk and Magyararkályán were no longer in the hands of the treasury (*fiscus*) in 1669.³ Because of the lack of information in connection with the landowner society, we are unable to confirm or confute the assertions of the authors. However, it is undoubtable that the examined settlements were once part of the domain for a longer or shorter period of time.

The first reliable data regarding the demography of the examined settlements are dated to 1652. By analysing them, we may get an insight into the economic and social conditions of the given community, and at the same time, we can make an attempt to estimate the ethnic distribution of the residents. In Magyaralsózsuk, the manorial officials registered 4 householders in 1652, which, even taking into account the generally applied multiplication method used to estimate the number of a family, assumes a total of 20

¹ JAKÓ 1944. p. 1–418. Besides Jakó, many other scholars contributed to the examination of the population history of the Principality of Transylvania. Among them, first and foremost László Makkai and Attila T. Szabó should be mentioned. In addition, it is worth highlighting the work of David Prodan who also enriched our knowledge in many aspects concerning the demography of the early modern Transylvania by publishing the *urbaria* of the Land of Fogaras. For the latter, see PRODAN – URSUȚIU – URSUȚIU 1970; PRODAN 1976.

² JAKÓ 1944. p. XX.

³ VARGA 2011. p. 23; BENKŐ 1999 p. 364.

residents in the settlement. In the light of the fact that the urbarium also listed the number of children of the householders, the latter number reduces to 12, which may already give rise to suspicions that only part of the settlement belonged to the domain.⁴ An urbarium, only mentioned by Jakó, which in 1643 listed Magyaralsózsuk as a *partial estate* also confirms our assumption. Furthermore, the urbarium elaborated in 1652 does not include the term *integra* in contrast to the other two examined settlements. It probably intended to indicate that the entire village belonged to the castle domain. In addition, there are many accounts which named the Suki family as the landowner of the settlement and the surrounding areas.⁵ Based on their names (e.g., Bakk, Béres; Lőrinc, Pál),⁶ the registered householders are considered to be Hungarians. However, during the late Middle Ages, the Suki family settled a large number of Romanian serfs (*jobbagiones*) on its lands, including Ábeltelke, which is adjacent to Magyaralsózsuk.⁷ Unfortunately, we cannot give an answer to the question of how many Romanian serfs may have moved to Magyaralsózsuk from Ábeltelke, but there is no doubt that the number of Romanian settlers in the surrounding villages increased significantly during the examined period.⁸

In Magyarakályán, also in 1652, the manorial officials registered 18 householders. Applying the multiplier used to estimate the number of a family, and complementing that with the number of the residents left out from the urbarium, a total population of 100 people can be assumed.⁹ The vast majority of the registered householders have Hungarian names (e.g., Kályáni, Nagy, Székely, Varga; Imre, István, Péter), but surnames used by Romanians (e.g., Mo[[]dovai, Paska) also appear in the urbarium. It is worth noting that the householders with Romanian surnames are all listed as newcomers (*advenae*), which suggests that they may have settled in the village shortly prior 1652.¹⁰ Romanians, similarly to Magyaralsózsuk, had been settled in the vicinity of the settlement during the late Middle Ages. The appearance of Oláhkályán in the written sources confirms the presence of the Romanian population.¹¹ According to Léstyán, Oláhkályán was depopulated by the 17th century, which is also approved by the urbarium dated to 1652, which mentions a bare settlement next to Magyarakályán.¹² On the other hand, another account suggests that the sheer part was actually the original settlement which had been scorched by the army of Giorgio Basta at the beginning of the 17th century.¹³ In the case of Vajdakamarás, we also have an urbarium from 1652,

⁴ JAKÓ 1944. p. 142.

⁵ JAKÓ 1944. p. XCVII; KENOSI – UZONI 2009. p. 280.

⁶ JAKÓ 1944. p. 142.

⁷ H. BALÁZS 1939. p. 24–25, 63; VARGA 2011. p. 15.

⁸ VARGA 2011. p. 23; MAKKAI 1942. p. 240–242.

⁹ If we take into consideration other data listed in the urbarium (marital status of the householders, number of children, existential conditions of the people living in the given household), the number of the population may reduce.

¹⁰ JAKÓ 1944. p. 139.

¹¹ H. BALÁZS 1939. p. 63. Oláhkályán first appears in written sources in 1457 as "*utraque Kályán*". The first mention of Oláhkályán dated to 1468. For the latter, see LÉSTYÁN 2000. p. 220; MAKKAI 1942. p. 234.

¹² LÉSTYÁN 2000. p. 220; JAKÓ 1944. p. 140.

¹³ CoATSz.

according to that 24 householders lived in the settlement in the given year. Hence the total population – calculated with the previously applied multiplier – could have been approximately 100–120 people. The names in the urbarium (e.g., Dombi, Farkas, Kis, Szabó; András, Gergely, Pál) suggest that the majority of the residents was Hungarian. Moreover, considering the many identical surnames (e.g., Hagyó, Kodori, Nagy), there might be possible family connections with the inhabitants of Magyarakályán.¹⁴

More data on the demography of the settlements have been preserved by the Unitarian episcopal visitation records. Although each of the settlement had Unitarian parish in the examined period, we have no data in connection with visitation (*generalis visitatio*) in Magyaralsózsuk, despite the fact that the landowner Suki family, according to many accounts, belonged to this religious confession. Hence, the Unitarian Church somehow had to be represented in the village.¹⁵ In our view, however, it does not mean the omission of the *visitatores*, but it could be in connection with the unique situation of the Unitarian community in the settlement. As Kénosi and Uzoni state: “*in their* [i.e., the Suki family’s] *manor houses in Alsó- and Felsőzsuk, court preachers perform the worship. [...] For some time now, on Sundays, theology students have been going out from the city* [i.e., Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, RO)] *for worship, to whom are therefore being given the Christmas income of the mill.*”¹⁶ Thus, the *visitatores* left out Magyaralsózsuk not out of negligence, but presumably for that reason, as it was not relevant to carry out the visitation in the settlement – given the possibly complete absence of church property.

In Magyarakályán, the visitation took place on April 14, 1693, on which occasion the number of *parishioners* was listed. Since that time only the Unitarian Church was present in the settlement, we have the opportunity to estimate the number of the Hungarian population. The church officials registered 9 parishioners, which – using the multiplier suggested by Lehel Molnár – assumes a Hungarian population of up to 36 people at the date of the visitation.¹⁷ Two visitations took place in Vajdakamarás (1693, 1711), however, the parishioners were not listed in either case, therefore we do not have data on the number of the Hungarian population. Nevertheless, the indirect information contained in the bishop’s records suggest that the Hungarian population, or a certain part of it, stayed in the village. The correspondence of the surnames mentioned in the records (e.g., Balogh, Kodori, Nagy) with the surnames listed in the urbarium analysed above also proves the aforementioned concept.¹⁸

In contrast with the Unitarian bishop records, the census dated to 1713 provides a much broader insight into the demography of the examined settlements. The census records, similar to the urbaria analysed above, sought primarily to assess the economic conditions of the householders, thus, it provides potentially valuable data not from a socio-historical rather than an

¹⁴ JAKÓ 1944. p. 137–138.

¹⁵ KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009. p. 280. Moreover, the Hungarian population, which may have already been in minority back then, was probably Unitarian without exception.

¹⁶ KÉNOSI–UZONI 2009. p. 301.

¹⁷ UNÉPVIRE p. 124; MOLNAR 2020. p. 132.

¹⁸ UNÉPVIRE p. 122–123.

economic historical perspective. However, regarding the fact that the officials in charge of the census assessment also listed the names of the householders, we have the opportunity to analyse the ethnic proportion of the settlements. At the date of the census, 29 householders were registered in Magyaralsózsuk, which assumes a total population of approximately 150–160 people. Six of the householders are listed without name, all of whom are referred as vagabonds (*vagi*), which term was presumably intended to express that these people were not permanent residents. The rest of the householders were divided into three categories, such as serfs (*coloni, jobbagiones*), cottars (*inquilini*) and court servants (*aulici servi*). Based on their names (e.g., Durnye, Filip, Mold[o]ván, Oltyán, Vacar, Vaszka; Komán, Miron, Nikita, Teodor, Timofi, Vasilie, Vonye), they all can be considered Romanians.¹⁹ Also in 1713, 14 householders were registered in Magyarkályán, which assumes a total population of approximately 70–80 people. Householders identified as *vagus* (4 per.) are again listed without a name, therefore we are not able to determine their nationality. The remaining 10 householders, similarly to Magyaralsózsuk, were classified according to their social status. While the serfs (2 per.) can be considered to be Hungarians (János Kis, András Pap), most of the cottars (5 per.) and court servants²⁰ (3 per.) had family name or first name of Romanian origin (e.g., Mold[o]ván; Juon, Gyorgye, Stefán, Vasilie).²¹ In Vajdakamarás, 11 householders were registered in 1713, which assumes a total population of approximately 60 people. The vagabonds (3 per.) were not registered by name this time either, and – unlike the other two settlements – the officials did not list any court servants. The census contains mostly names of Hungarian origin (e.g., Árva, Farkas, Fehérvári, Kádár, Magyarországi; András, Gergely, Miklós), and in one case (Jére Orosz) the nationality of the householder is uncertain.²²

In addition to the analysis of the written sources connected to the demography of the settlements, it is also worth taking a look at the wider migration processes in order to understand the demographic changes. During the early modern era, the population of the region was constantly afflicted by wars and epidemics, which caused significant decline in the population of many villages, especially in the settlements along the main roads.²³ These demographic catastrophes have apparently affected the population of Magyarkályán and Vajdakamarás, as the decline in the population is demonstrated. In the case of Magyarkályán, at the same time, a large-scale population change took place as well, as a result the proportion of the Romanian population increased significantly. Vajdakamarás, although its population declined during the era, preserved its Hungarian majority. In Magyaralsózsuk, a population change may also have taken place, due to the appearance of new Romanian families and the rapid increase in the number of the previously settled Romanian population.

¹⁹ CONSCRIPTIO p. 180–181.

²⁰ Romanian court servants were probably given their surnames, which are often of Hungarian origin, after their occupation (e.g., Hajtás, Puskás, Vincellér).

²¹ CONSCRIPTIO p. 191–192.

²² CONSCRIPTIO p. 168–169.

²³ MAKKAI 2000. p. 40; SZABÓ 2002. p. 224.

Among the collection of Attila T. Szabó, we can read the following about Magyararkályán: *“by now only the name of the village is Hungarian [...] most of its residents came from other settlements [...] the names of the rest [...] Kodori, Székely, Szabó, Nemes, Hosszú, Csobán, descendants of Hungarians, but they abandoned their nationality, forgot their language, and they all follow the Eastern Orthodox Church.”*²⁴ Although this note dates from 1864, there can be no doubt that both Magyararkályán and Magyaralsózsuk had already lost the vast majority of their Hungarian population during the early modern period. Thus, even then, the villages preserved the memory of the former residents only in their names. On the other hand, Vajdakamarás retained its Hungarian majority. As the Hungarian population became a minority, and as the landlords initiated mostly violent religious conversions,²⁵ the Unitarian parishes ceased to operate in the settlements over time.²⁶ Although the Unitarian community remained intact in Magyaralsózsuk for decades, a Greek Catholic parish was also established in the settlement due to the significant number of Romanian population. In Magyararkályán the Unitarian population converted to the Calvinist confession, while the Romanian serfs formed a Greek Catholic parish here as well. In Vajdakamarás, the Unitarian Church was also replaced by the Calvinist Church, and at the same time a smaller Greek Catholic community was also formed.²⁷ As we have seen, an extensive population movement took place during the examined period. As a result of these migration processes, new incomers, mostly Romanians settled in the villages. Thus, the ethnic distribution of the examined settlements changed dramatically, predicting the expansion of the Romanian population in Transylvania.

²⁴ CoASZT

²⁵ While Kénosi and Uzoni highlight the cruelty of the missionaries in both Magyararkályán and Vajdakamarás, Benkő emphasizes – at least in connection with Vajdakamarás – that the Unitarian population converted of its own free will. KÉNOSI – UZONI 2009 p. 281–283, 326–328; BENKŐ 1999 p. 368.

²⁶ In 1766, the visitors listed Magyaralsózsuk as the *filia* of Kolozsvár. At the same year, the church officials in Magyararkályán and Vajdakamarás did not find any Unitarians. MOLNÁR 2020. p. 123. cf. MATKÓ 1997. p. 42.

²⁷ For the number of members of the parishes, see BENKŐ 1999. p. 407; MOLNÁR 2020. p. 123; TOGAN 1898. p. 25

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Brigitta Kinga SCHVÉD:

The First Partition of Poland and the Issue of the European Balance of Power in Contemporary English Media (1772–1774)*

Prussia, Russia, and Austria gradually divided the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in three stages between 1772 and 1795. In their partition policy, Prussia and Russia managed to make Austria take sides with them on the first, as well as the third occasion, and during these partitions, the Western powers such as France or Great Britain – although fully opposing such violent breach of Polish–Lithuanian statehood – did not act against them. A new kind of balancing policy and partition diplomacy materialized in these partitions of Poland (*rozbiory Polski*) and the loss of Polish sovereignty. The present paper seeks to explore the roots of this peculiarly balancing constellation of great powers, analysing the political environment that led to the first division of Poland in 1772, while investigating the opinion of Great Britain on the partition. The first part of the study places the 18th-century European political scene in an ideo-historical context, presenting the concepts of ‘reason of state’ and ‘balance of power’ that motivated the dynamics of diplomatic negotiations. In light of this, the second part describes the motivations and key events of Polish (domestic) and European (great power) politics in the 18th century up to the time of the first partition, while the main part analyses the English press reaction to the division, its visual sources and the relevant pamphlet literature of 1772–1774.

Keywords: partition of Poland, balance of power, Anglo–Polish relations, Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, English press, English pamphlets, political iconography, Edmund Burke, John Lind



Introduction

The Kingdom of Prussia, the Russian Empire, and the Habsburg Empire gradually divided the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in three stages between 1772 and 1795. These partitions took place at negotiating tables through diplomatic agreements, without any of the neighbouring great powers getting embroiled in war with each other, or with

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Poland.¹ Even most contemporary reactions believed that a new kind of balancing policy of the European great powers based on partition diplomacy materialized in the partitions of Poland (*rozbiory Polski*) and the loss of Polish sovereignty. Beginning in the late 17th century, the two emerging great powers, Prussia and Russia intervened in Polish–Lithuanian affairs more and more often and in an increasingly forceful manner, pursuing an intensive interventionist policy in Poland. Considering their expansive power interests, they wanted to secure the weaknesses of the factious Polish government in the long run, thus making the Polish–Lithuanian state ineffective.

This paper seeks to explore the roots of this peculiarly balancing constellation of great powers based on partition diplomacy, analysing in detail the internal and external political environment that led to the first division of Poland in 1772, while presenting the opinion of Great Britain² on the partition. The maritime great power was especially interested in the evolution of the European balance of power and had a particularly good view – given its characteristics as an island nation – of the constant change in the balance of the continent. The first part of the study places the scenes of 18th century European politics in the context of the history of ideas, presenting the concepts of ‘reason of state’ and ‘balance of power’ that motivated the dynamics of diplomatic negotiations. The second part presents the key events of Polish domestic, as well as European great power policies from the first half of the 18th century, demonstrating the path to the first partition of Poland in 1772. The third part analyses English press reactions to the first division from 1773, as well as the relevant pamphlet literature and political satires and allegories from 1772–1774.

1. The role of the concepts of ‘reason of state’ and ‘balance of power’ during the 18th century

International relations were defined basically by the concept of ‘reason of state’ and the principle of ‘balance of power’ by the 18th century, which resulted a highly competitive European state system.³ In an era which ranked states by their area and population, the struggle for domination placed an increasing emphasis on the established military power.⁴ Expansive foreign policy became the basis of international relations, which essentially meant that states with small territories are insignificant and weak, making them unlikely to survive. On this basis, contemporaries thought that weak states such as Poland, which was large in territory but was not functioning efficiently from either administrative or military point of view, do not deserve survival at all.⁵

One of the important alleviating forces that could prevent the violence – called into existence by national interest – from becoming the only tool of international communication was the concept of balance of power. The

¹ The terms *Poland* and *Polish* will refer to the Polish–Lithuanian state in the entire study.

² Through the Acts of Union of 1706 and 1707, England (including Wales) and Scotland united their kingdoms into a new political unit (i.e., Great Britain). Therefore, any mention of *England* or *English* refer to Great Britain in the entire study.

³ SHEEHAN 1996. p. 100.

⁴ SOREL 1969. p. 42–44; PHILLIPSON 2005. p. 43.

⁵ SOREL 1969. p. 45–46.

principle had become an integral part of political discourse by the 17th century; in the decades following the treaties of Westphalia (1648), the idea of a European balance of power was increasingly seen as a possible tool for maintaining the *status quo* and protecting relations between dynastic states in the continent.⁶ The concept had become gradually incorporated in European as well as English political language by the early 18th century in a geopolitical sense, as “dividing” or “(counter)balancing” the power of individual states to prevent excessive power. The widespread use of the concept and its successful integration into the diplomatic sphere are best indicated by the treaties of Utrecht (1713–1714), the individual treaties of which were the first that explicitly included the term “European balance of power”.⁷

With the development of the Utrecht system, European powers declared their intention to strengthen the peace and tranquillity of the Christian world by trying to maintain a fair balance of power.⁸ Maintaining balance meant that no one state, or alliance of states can be allowed to become too strong, so that it would represent a threat to the peace of Europe. If it did happen, the other states may reduce the power of the state that had gained too much dominance by joining forces to maintain the balance.⁹ However, the emergence of new players – such as Russia and Prussia – on the European palette of great powers and their “entry to the game” in the following decades began to disturb the former system of political relations, which ultimately, through the so-called ‘Diplomatic Revolution’ of 1756, disrupted the order established by then.¹⁰

In terms of European influence, there were five great powers by the mid-18th century, namely France, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, which were generally considered almost equal in terms of power. If any of these states sought or gained dominance, it alarmed the others and brought to life the practical application of balance-of-power mechanism. However, this policy ultimately did not work in all cases as a suitable legal guarantee, because while they were eager to apply it to control aggression, the great powers rarely provided real assistance to weaker or smaller states. For all these reasons, it could happen in practice that balance of power favoured stronger, more offensive states through the so-called ‘partition diplomacy’.¹¹

In essence, partition diplomacy meant that if a state could not be prevented from gaining territory at the expense of a weaker neighbour, then other neighbouring states were also entitled to make a gain of a(n almost) similar degree for their own benefit in order to maintain the existing balance of power. The most cost-effective way to do this was when the state in question did not wage an expensive war against its equal and strong neighbours but rather offered a share from the “spoils” to its neighbours through a preliminary agreement and the joint division of the territory of the victim state.¹² The first partition of Poland – followed by two more – is the best example of this type of

⁶ SCHRÖDER 2017, p. 91–93.

⁷ SASHALMI 2015, p. 23–24.

⁸ BLACK 1983, p. 55–58; THOMPSON 2011, p. 267.

⁹ SCHROEDER 1994, p. 5–11.

¹⁰ ANDERSON 1970, p. 196–198; ANDERSON 1987, p. 295–298; BLACK 1990, p. 301.

¹¹ SOREL 1969, p. 60; ANDERSON 1987, p. 247–250.

¹² SOREL 1969, p. 65–68.

diplomatic solution. However, it must be noted that the application of the partition plans cannot be exclusively observed in the policies of the three great powers active in the partitions of Poland; the idea of partitions constituted an integral part of contemporary diplomatic protocol during the 18th century.¹³

2. The path to the first partition of Poland (1772) – The development of European balance of power regarding the situation of Poland from the first half of the 18th century until 1772

In addition to the dynamics of the 18th century European foreign policy, the political structure of Poland and its internal weaknesses also played a major role in the disappearance of the state from the maps of Europe by 1795. The Polish–Lithuanian union became one of the largest states in contemporary Europe from the 16th century; however, the Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*)¹⁴ was almost paralyzed by its peculiar political system. The Polish monarch was elected by the large nobility, and only the Sejm (estates' assembly or parliament) held legislative power. Thanks to the institution of *liberum veto*, even a single “nay” vote at the parliament was enough to make a bill fail.¹⁵ By the 18th century, it had become a common saying that “Poland subsists on anarchy” (*Polska nierządem stoi*), which prevented the implementation of governmental and military reforms in the country.¹⁶ However, many contemporaries, including most Polish nobles thought that precisely *this* internal anarchy – the Polish state “paralyzed by the *liberum veto*”¹⁷ – was one of the main guarantees of the balance of power in Europe and the *status quo* of the great powers. In their opinion, the existence of a weak Polish ‘buffer state’ was expressly advantageous for the neighbours of the Polish state, because it held up against an attack by a potentially rival great power, while always receiving support from different countries.¹⁸

Up until the middle of the 18th century, this opinion had also been shared by several French and English diplomats, who thought that this anarchy also met the interests of France and Great Britain, since it prevented the individual Central Eastern European great powers from increasing their territory at the expense of Poland. However, by the mid-18th century, due mainly to the political changes following the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the European balance of power had undergone a substantial change.¹⁹ In the first half of the 18th century, two dynamically developing states with a seriously expansive foreign policy emerged at the same time in the neighbourhood of Poland. After the 1740s, the aggressive Russian, as well as Prussian foreign policies were severely hindered

¹³ Soós 2009, p. 119–120.

¹⁴ The noun *rzeczpospolita* is a calque of Latin *res publica*, but it did not mean republic in the era, only indicated the fact that the Polish–Lithuanian state is a parliamentary monarchy, the ruler of which can be elected. This name is today in use for Poland (the official name of the Polish state is *Rzeczpospolita Polska*).

¹⁵ LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 2–7, 8–10.

¹⁶ SZOKOLAY 1996, p. 69–70.

¹⁷ RING 2001, p. 9–10.

¹⁸ DAVIES 2006, p. 396–397.

¹⁹ LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 28–29.

by the weak Polish state that “lay in their way”.²⁰ The various European great powers, especially the Russian, the Prussian, and to a lesser extent the Austrian leadership, had become increasingly influential in shaping Polish domestic and foreign policy already from the late 17th century. The vying for power of Polish noble groups increased the tension in domestic policy, together with social and religious tensions,²¹ which the Polish ruler was unable to deal with without Russian support.²²

Upon the Polish king, Augustus II's death in 1733, the doubtful development of Polish succession became not only a domestic issue but also a serious problem from the point of view of European great power policies. During the ensuing War of the Polish Succession (*Wojna o sukcesję polską*, 1733–1738), the mentioned new type of interventionist policy of the great powers of Europe manifested. The struggle for succession to the throne started the process that essentially determined the evolution of Polish politics in the second half of the 18th century; in line with their great power ambitions, Russia and Prussia were able to pull almost the whole of Poland into their respective spheres of influence.²³

Ultimately, Russian help secured the Polish throne for Augustus II's son, who became the new ruler of Poland in 1733 as Augustus III (1733–1763). His efforts for domestic political stabilization failed due to resistance from the Polish nobility; the components of the country shattered at all levels. A warning example of the serious domestic crisis was that due to the paralyzing exercise of the institution of *liberum veto*, no parliamentary session could be successfully concluded between 1736 and 1763.²⁴ By the mid-18th century, the Polish state had become the battleground of various noble groups that represented diverse political and economic interests.²⁵

Internal conflicts between the individual noble groups and various spheres of interest had become increasingly tense already before Augustus III's death in 1763, especially regarding the election of the new king. Catherine II, Empress of Russia (1762–1796) supported the confederation of the pro-Russia Czartoryski family only if the new Polish ruler would be Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski, who had a close relationship with both the mentioned Polish family and the Russian leadership;²⁶ he had formerly served as a diplomat at the court in Saint Petersburg.²⁷

Eventually, the last election of the Polish king before the partitions was fully in line with the constellation of great powers that threatened to divide the great powers of Europe into two camps after the Seven Years' War. Count Nikita Ivanovich Panin, foreign minister of Russia between 1762 and 1764 made several attempts to form an alliance with the participation of Great Britain,

²⁰ RING 2001, p. 10.

²¹ On the religious tensions in Poland in these decades see among others: LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 20–24, 34–36.

²² RING 2001, p. 153–156.

²³ LUKOWSKI 1991, p. 157–158.

²⁴ Soós 2009, p. 124.

²⁵ Soós 2009, p. 124–125.

²⁶ RING 2001, p. 161–162.

²⁷ Poniatowski was also secretary of the Polish embassy in England and formerly a lover of the future Russian Empress Catherine II. BUTTERWICK 2001, p. 195.

Sweden, Saxony, Poland, and Prussia (*northern system*). In contrast, French Secretary of State Étienne François de Choiseul worked on creating a system of alliance between France, Spain, the Italian city-states, and the Habsburg Empire (*southern system*).²⁸ Therefore, the problems surrounding the 1764 election of a new Polish king after the death of Augustus III essentially constituted an important part of the great power policy of France, the Habsburg Empire, and the Russian Empire, namely the development of the European balance of power.²⁹ Catherine II's nominee, Stanisław Poniatowski was elected as Polish king (Stanislaus II Augustus, 1764–1795) in September 1764 with the participation of a small portion of the Polish nobility and in the intimidating presence of the Russian army.³⁰

The Prussian–Russian agreement of April 1764 expressly supported Poniatowski's nomination and provided a joint guarantee for preserving the *liberum veto* system – maintaining the anarchic Polish domestic conditions, to exploit the internal weakness of the Polish state. The agreement clearly jeopardized the positions of the Habsburg Empire in the region, since the Prussian and Russian rulers also agreed that if needed, they would mutually support each other with their armies on Polish territory. This constellation clearly indicated that the combination of Prussian, Russian, and Austrian great power interests would decide the fate of Poland. France and Britain, aware of the Prussian–Russian alliance and considering the strength of the Russian troops stationed in Polish territories, did not wish to take clear positions regarding the issue of the Polish royal election.³¹

Surprisingly, Stanislaus Augustus embarked on an intensive reform policy. The new Polish monarch studied the constitution of the United States of America closely, and saw the ideal form of government in the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain and his own country.³² His reformist efforts met not only Prussian and Russian but also internal resistance, as the power and authority of most Polish magnates also depended on Prussian or Russian interests. The increasingly weak governance, the strengthening of the internal opposition, and the political and religious divisions finally resulted in the fact that the country sunk into a state of total anarchy by early 1767. It seemed that the Russian imperial court successfully strengthened its positions in Poland, but the turn of events in domestic and foreign policy soon prompted Empress Catherine II to re-evaluate her policy in Poland. In 1768, another confederation was formed in the town of Bar in Podolia against the Polish king and the Russians, in defence of noble privileges and national independence.³³ As a result of the initial successes of the Bar Confederation and the outbreak of a new Russo–Turkish War (1768–1774), both the Polish domestic situation and

²⁸ DAVIES 2006, p. 409.

²⁹ LUKOWSKI 1985, p. 570–574.

³⁰ RING 2001, p. 161.

³¹ LUKOWSKI 1985, p. 570–574; SCOTT 1976, p. 53–54.

³² On the English relations and literacy of Stanislaus II Augustus see among others: BUTTERWICK 1998.

³³ LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 44–47.

the political scene of the great powers urged the Russian Empress to regroup her forces.³⁴

In the changed political and military situation, the Russian court was ready to accept the Prussians' first offer in 1768 for the partition of Poland, and they soon involved Austria in the negotiations as well. Stanislaus Augustus himself asked the Austrian troops to march into Spiš (Polish *Spisz*, Hungarian *Szepes*) and temporarily occupy the areas bordering Poland in 1769, to suppress the strength of the Bar Confederation forces.³⁵ Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1765–1790) retook the towns in Spiš of 1769, which had been formerly pawned by Sigismund of Luxembourg (inter alia, King of Hungary, 1387–1437 and Holy Roman Emperor, 1433–1437), to counterbalance the power relations changed after the occupation of Silesia. In 1770, he eagerly "helped" the Polish ruler, Stanislaus Augustus and occupied the border regions of neighbouring Galicia.³⁶

The plan of territorial settlements concerning Poland was also part of the power policy of Russia. From the Austrian perspective, it was not Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary but her son, Joseph II³⁷ who urged the most the case of partitioning Poland. He believed regarding the Polish situation that the civil war and the anarchic conditions of the Polish state seriously threatened the borders of the Habsburg Empire.³⁸ The first Prussian plan for the acquisition of lands was drafted in 1769 in Berlin.³⁹ The essence of this plan was that Austria and Prussia should join forces and provide support for the Russian Empire against its war with the Turks, and in return for this support, Austria should acquire Galicia and Lemberg (Lviv), while Prussia would gain protectorate over Ermland and Gdańsk.⁴⁰ The implementation of this plan was eventually prevented by the aforementioned Austrian troops marching into Spiš, as Frederick II was sceptical about the Austrian annexation of this territories. It meant that the Habsburg Empire had significantly increased its power in the region, which seriously threatened Prussian interests.⁴¹

By reason of the Austrian annexations in Spiš, Frederick II proposed talks to Emperor Joseph II, who first negotiated in August 1769 in the Silesian town of Neisse. The parties successfully clarified the issue of the deployment of Austrian troops in Spiš; Austria promised that it would not threaten or

³⁴ RING 2001. p. 165–167.

³⁵ The formerly Hungarian *Szepes* county shared borders with Poland; after the dismemberment of Poland, the border was adjacent with the Austrian province of Galicia. On the pledge policy of Sigismund of Luxembourg see: INCZE 2016.

³⁶ RING 2001. p. 167–168; LUKOWSKI 1999. p. 56–60.

³⁷ In addition to his title of Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II was later also King of Hungary and of Bohemia between 1780 and 1790. When he ascended the Hungarian throne, Joseph II renounced the coronation and the associated oath of his own volition. Therefore, he was called the "King with hat", a sobriquet that became a commonplace in Hungarian literature. Thus, he was freed from all the constraints that came from the agreements of his predecessors, which was essential to transform the state system according to his own ideas.

³⁸ Soós 2009. p. 130.

³⁹ LUKOWSKI 1999. p. 65–67.

⁴⁰ In addition, Russia would get hold of any part of Poland it chooses to cover the costs of the Russo-Turkish War.

⁴¹ Soós 2009. p. 130.

jeopardize the interests of Prussia in the region.⁴² Another meeting took place between them in September 1770 in the Moravian town of Uničov (Neustadt), which was mainly justified by the progress of the Russo–Turkish war and the successes of the Tsar’s troops against the Ottoman army. It now proved essential in terms of the Prussian and Austrian territorial demands to also deal with the newly released Russian forces. Frederick II openly took a stand on the partition of Poland by then, arguing that the Commonwealth had weakened to an extent that the Polish inner political situation and anarchic conditions were now threatening the stability of the international situation and the balance of power between the great powers. The Prussian king also expounded that in his opinion, such “arbitrary” measures as the deployment of Austrian troops in Spiš did not serve the solution of the Polish problems. He believed that only partitions implemented under “lawful” agreements between the great powers could put an end to individual states gaining excessive power in an arbitrary manner. Frederick’s opinion was also supported by Emperor Joseph II.⁴³

An agreement in principle was concluded between Prussia and Russia in June 1771, and an actual convention on the partition was signed between them in early 1772. Ultimately, after long hesitation, Maria Theresa also joined the division plan in March 1772.⁴⁴ Next, the three great powers settled the Polish question within a mere five months, agreeing on the exact drafting of the treaty that met the demands of each of them.⁴⁵ The final partition treaty was signed in Vienna on 25 July or 5 August 1772.⁴⁶ Prussia acquired Eastern Pomerania (without the towns of Gdańsk and Toruń), instantly gaining control over 80% of the Commonwealth’s total foreign trade. Russia consolidated its authority over Courland (Kurland), as well as it annexed Polish Livonia and the territories east of the Dvina and Dnieper rivers. Austria gained the most: the southern part of the Kraków and Sandomierz Voivodeships, as well as Red Ruthenia. By the partition, the Commonwealth lost about one third of its territory and half of its population.⁴⁷

⁴² Soós 2009, p. 129–131.

⁴³ Soós 2009, p. 130; LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 77–81.

⁴⁴ The Hungarian queen feared that the Habsburg Empire could in no case win so much with the partition as its rivals. Ultimately, she rather left the question entirely to her son, Emperor Joseph II, who was ready to exploit the political opportunity. Finally, despite all her worries, she signed the Austrian document urging for the partition of Poland on 4 March 1772, thereby making a definitive contribution to resolving the Polish issue. Her decision was largely influenced by the realization that the Turks’ weakness and the absence of France and Britain from the issue would eventually get the Habsburg Empire into a serious war with either Russia or Prussia – in the ultimate and worst case, with both great powers. On the Austrian reticence see among others: LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 67–70.

⁴⁵ DAVIES 2006, p. 414.

⁴⁶ The preamble of the treaty named, among others, “the spirit of discord” as the main reason that led to the act of partition, since this discord “had caused anarchy in Poland” and “threatened with the disintegration of the country”; besides, the Polish conditions jeopardized the peace of neighbouring powers and thus, the balance of power of Europe. DAVIES 2001, p. 269–277.

⁴⁷ LUKOWSKI 1999, p. 77–81.

3. Reactions to the first partition of Poland in English political media

3.1. English press reactions to the first partition from 1773

This section intends to demonstrate the rhetoric of English press materials dealing with the first partition of Poland through the analysis of an annual publication, as well as selected daily and weekly political press from the year 1773.⁴⁸ The first partition took place thirteen years before the foundation of *The Daily Universal Register*, the predecessor of the famous British conservative daily, *The Times*.⁴⁹ The influence of the daily had diminished by the mid-19th century due to the emergence of competitors such as *The Daily Telegraph* or *Morning Star*, but it had had a significant influence and readership until then. *The Times* is one of the oldest continuously operated newspapers in the world; however, there were some other dailies and weeklies, as well as periodicals in England that were established before 1785.⁵⁰

One of these publications was the periodical called *The Annual Register*, which contained various parliamentary and governmental documents, treaties, speeches, as well as commentaries on important domestic and foreign events.⁵¹ The *Register* was associated with Irish-born British politician Edmund Burke (1729–1797), and most issues of the periodical are linked to his name.⁵² While *The Times* often criticized Burke's views, his opinion on the French Revolution (1789–1799) and the partitions of Poland were later shared by the paper.⁵³ The authorship of *The Annual Register for 1772*, which was published in the following year, is also attributed to Burke.⁵⁴ The chapter on European history of the *Register* from 1773 focuses on the most important issues of the European continent, naturally including the topic of the Polish partition. The author states right from the outset that the division of the Polish state poses a great deal of threat to both Poland and Europe, and he strongly condemns the partition of the Commonwealth:

“The present violent dismemberment and partition of Poland, without the pretence of war, or even the colour of right, is to be considered as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe. It is not

⁴⁸ On the reception of the second and third Polish partitions in England see: WICKLUM 1999.

⁴⁹ The founder of *The Times*, John Walter published the first issue of the newspaper on 1 January 1785 under the name *The Daily Universal Register* but changed the title three years later to *The Times*. On the history of the early years of *The Times* see among others: BOWMAN 1931.

⁵⁰ The first English newspaper, *The London Gazette* was published in 1665. *The Daily Courant* (from 1702) was the first daily newspaper in England which reported mainly on political news, yet without commentary. From 1714, *The Evening Post* was published in the evenings, and this model was adopted by many other newspapers. By the 18th century, the specifically advertising daily papers also appeared throughout Great Britain, notably *The Daily Advertiser*. On the history of the English press in the 17th and 18th centuries see among others: BLACK 1987, especially p. 197–244; BLACK 2019, especially p. 9–76.

⁵¹ HORN 1945. p. 35.

⁵² Edmund Burke (1729–1797) was a founder of modern British conservative politics, who had numerous ground-breaking works published on philosophical, aesthetic, as well as historical theory issues. Some of Burke's main works are *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757); *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791).

⁵³ LOCK 2006. p. 334.

⁵⁴ HORN 1945. p. 35.

(say the politicians of the continent) sapping by degrees the constitution of our great western republic, it is laying the axe at once to the root, in such a manner as threatens the total overthrow of the whole [...]. We now behold the destruction of a great kingdom, with the consequent disarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, with as total an indifference and unconcern, as we could read an account of the exterminating one hord of Tartars by another (...).⁵⁵

Burke declared that in effect, the partition of Poland had radically and violently changed the power relations of the European continent. The British monarch, George III (1760–1820) expressed a similar opinion in his memorandum regarding the Polish partition, referring to the unresolved and even more heated tension among the European great powers and the threat to the European balance of power:

“The very extraordinary phenomenon of a coalition of the Courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin to take what may suit their Separate conveniences of the Kingdom of Poland, is so subversive of every idea of their mutual jealousies, and of the balance of Europe that it of necessary must give rise to very extraordinary Alliances amongst the other Powers.”⁵⁶

The British monarch stated that in his opinion Great Britain, the Netherlands, and France should form an alliance to counterbalance the alliance between the Prussians, the Russians, and the Austrians, as well as to “extricate Poland from the Tyranny that now seems impending”,⁵⁷ in the interest of Poland to endure and survive the pressurization and territorial demands suffered from its neighbours. Although the British monarch wished for a British–French–Dutch alliance in his memorandum to solve the issue, in practice, the British government was indolent about the partition of Poland. Although the monarch outlined the legislative plan of the government for the new parliamentary session in his November 1772 speech, there was no mention of the partition in the royal speech.⁵⁸

The partition of Poland posed a serious threat to – the evidently mainly commercial – British interests in Central Eastern Europe; however, a major British action against Prussia and Austria would have jeopardized the monarch’s Hanoverian legacy.⁵⁹ The relevant part of the *Register* elaborates that the partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth has brought about a tremendous change in the balance of power, since Poland’s former role as a natural obstacle of Prussia and the Habsburg Empire against Russian ambitions and aggression has almost become irrelevant, and thus, the

⁵⁵ [BURKE] 1773. p. 2.

⁵⁶ FORTESCUE 1927. nr. 1180.

⁵⁷ FORTESCUE 1927. nr. 1180.

⁵⁸ SIMMS 2007. p. 567.

⁵⁹ SIMMS 2007. p. 566.

influence and power of Russia has greatly increased, which has created a potentially dangerous situation on the European continent.⁶⁰

The thought of the partition had already occurred to Prussia in 1656, in 1720 and in 1733; for example, in his political testament written in 1752, Frederick II compared Poland to an artichoke, which is “consumed leaf by leaf”, indicating that the partition diplomacy was already considered conceivable by the Prussian court as early as the mid-18th century.⁶¹ In his second testament, written in 1768, the Prussian king also suggested that he wanted to unite Royal Prussia and the bishopric of Ermland, thereby seeking to establish a land connection towards East Prussia – this was actually realized after the first partition.⁶² In the context of the Polish partitions, the English press also wrote extensively about Frederick’s political testament in the 1780s and 1790s, as the testament was also published in English.

In the year following the first partition, the English daily and weekly newspapers frequently wrote about the partition treaty, of course in shorter news-releases compared to the analysis in the 1773 *Register*, as well as in short opinions and so-called op-eds.⁶³ The shorter news-releases remained objective and emotionless concerning the subject; however, each of the more specific op-eds considered the partition policy of Prussia, Russia, and Austria as a disgraceful sin. *Middlesex Journal*, a thrice-a-week evening paper in London, published an opinion in its issue of 21 January 1773 already mentioned in the foregoing, namely that “the maritime powers, however unaccountably indolent they may be about the partition of Poland, are highly concerned in its independence.”⁶⁴ While reflecting on the partition, the author also explains what a relief it could have been for Poland if the three neighbouring great powers had not been able to implement the partition, since that way, they would have been unable to avoid the outbreak of a major European war and ultimately, attacking each other: “Happy were it for Poland, if these royal *banditti* [viz. Prussia, Russia and Austria] would fall out in the division of the spoil [viz. Poland], and attack each other!”⁶⁵

A later issue of the journal, while discussing the consequences of the Polish partition treaty, concludes that the only interest of Great Britain may be to side with Russia in the Polish question, along with the Spaniards, the French, and the Dutch. The author saw the Russian interest as the least destructive regarding the Polish partition policy; he opined that it is extremely important to remember that “the insatiable ambition of the Emperor [i.e., the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II] and King of Prussia will not be satisfied with Poland only.

⁶⁰ [BURKE] 1773. p. 4–12.

⁶¹ DIETRICH 1986. p. 654–655, CLARK 2006. p. 231.

⁶² On Frederick II’s political testaments see among others: DIETRICH 1986, especially p. 369–375.

⁶³ An op-ed (short for *opposite the editorial page*) article expresses the opinion of an author usually not affiliated with the publication’s editorial board. Op-eds are usually printed opposite the page on which the editorial is printed; they are different from both *editorials* (opinion pieces submitted by editorial board members) and *letters to the editor* (opinion pieces submitted by readers). “Op-ed”: MWD (access 20 March 2021); “Meaning of op-ed”: CED (access 20 March 2021)

⁶⁴ “News”, *Middlesex Journal*, 21 January 1773 – 23 January 1773.

⁶⁵ “News”, *Middlesex Journal*, 21 January 1773 – 23 January 1773.

No; they seem too sensible of their own strength, and the ease with which the powers of Europe acquiesce in the unparalleled plunder of Poland.”⁶⁶

The author of an op-ed article published in the issue of 16 April 1773 of the *Public Advertiser*⁶⁷ under the pseudonym of *Tullius* also believed that the Prussian interest is the most dangerous one in the formula, both in terms of the European balance of power and the English national interests:

“I have said [...] that every Accession of Territory to Prussia is against the Interest of England. [...] Can it be necessary to point out to the meanest of the Rabble, the Iniquity of the Partition of the unfortunate Kingdom of Poland, or the Necessity of our Interposition to avert those fatal Consequences which must inevitably attend the ambitious Views of Prussia, if we permit him to proceed in his Tyranny?”⁶⁸

In the author’s opinion, the military intervention of England is unavoidable “to preserve that Balance of Power on which the Happiness and Prosperity of every State in Europe necessarily depend”.⁶⁹

3.2. *The English pamphlet literature of the first partition from 1773*

Two particularly impressive English pamphlets were written and published in 1773 on the first partition of Poland, both by John Lind (1737–1781), who was an English barrister, political activist, and pamphleteer. After graduating from Oxford, he joined John Murray (1714–1775), the British ambassador in Constantinople in the 1760s, then went from Constantinople to Poland, where he spent several years in the service of King Stanislaus II Augustus.⁷⁰ He was initially a tutor to the monarch’s son, Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, then the king made him the governor of an institution for educating cadets and granted him the title of privy councillor. In 1773, after the first partition, he returned to England where in the ensuing years – as a political activist and pamphleteer – he sought to win over Western European states and his homeland, Great Britain to the Polish cause. According to a later description, during these years Lind was the unofficial “minister and more than the plenipotentiary” of the Polish monarch.⁷¹

Lind wrote two different pamphlets in 1773 concerning the first partition. In his *Letters concerning the present state of Poland* written under the pseudonym Gotlieb Pansmouzer, he described the division of Poland as a

⁶⁶ “Arts and Culture”, *Middlesex Journal*, 9 February 1773 – 11 February 1773.

⁶⁷ *Public Advertiser*, or under its former name, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, then simply *General Advertiser* consisted almost exclusively of commercials and advertisements, but also published op-ed articles and news after its publication was taken over by Henry Woodfall, who renamed the newspaper to *Public Advertiser*. “Woodfall, Henry Sampson”: [RAE 1885–1900](#). (access 18 March 2021)

⁶⁸ “News”, *Public Advertiser*, 16 April 1773.

⁶⁹ “News”, *Public Advertiser*, 16 April 1773.

⁷⁰ John Lind received his MA at the Balliol College of Oxford in 1761. While there he began an important friendship and association with jurist and philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), with whom he also cooperated later. “Lind, John (1737–1781)”: [COURTNEY 1885–1900](#). (access 22 February 2021)

⁷¹ DE CHAMPS 2015. p. 35.

crime against the *ius gentium* and strongly attacked it. In addition, he was also probably the main author of a work that was published without naming its authors, and which soon became well-known across Europe.⁷² The highly satirical work entitled *The Polish partition in seven dramattick dialogues*, also published in 1773, presented in a playful manner the absurd and hitherto unimaginable situation in which some rulers of continental Europe sacrifice Poland to satisfy their desire for power. Amid the Europe-wide debate that concerned actual international issues, the work was almost immediately translated also into French, Polish, Italian, and Dutch.⁷³

As Lind's fame grew in Britain, his reputation also spread in France, as the French court, diplomacy, and political circles closely monitored both the partition of Poland and the so-called Tea Act (also enacted in 1773), and the resistance against it – for Lind opposed the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), and he expressed this view in several pamphlets. Both events were closely monitored by official French circles, as they (could have) had a serious impact on the European balance of power. The *Letters* were almost immediately translated into French, just as the *Seven dramattick dialogues*. Lind's view in defence of Poland almost fully corresponded to the official position of the French government. Indeed, his attack in the *Seven dramattick dialogues* on philosophers, portrayed by the author as accomplices to the partition of Poland, was also in line with the political direction of the main French ministers, which was opposed to philosophers.⁷⁴

The aim of the *Letters* was to explore the completely unlawful political measures through which King Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II, Empress of Russia ruthlessly decided to divide Poland among each other, “breaking through every law of nations and of natural equity”.⁷⁵ The domestic publication of the *Letters* was financially supported by two British politicians, Lord Mansfield and David Murray, the Viscount Stormont.⁷⁶ While Lind's arguments in this work were largely of a legal and moral nature, addressing the more educated political audience, the strongly satirical *Seven dramattick dialogues* were written for a wider audience. In this latter, the author emphasized and caricatured the controversial situation where Frederick and Catherine openly supported the enlightened ideas, as opposed to their real, pragmatic politics – for the Prussian and Russian *realpolitik* was as far from the enlightened ideas of liberty, nation or reforms as possible.⁷⁷ To demonstrate the dangers of Prussian and Russian great power policies, Lind caricatured

⁷² HORN 1945, p. 29.

⁷³ The main characters of the play are the following interlocutors, whose royal titles were incomplete in the publication due to censorship: *The Empress of Hungary* (Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary); *The Empress of Russia* (Catherine II of Russia); *The King of Prussia* (King Frederick II of Prussia); *Ephraim, Baron of Joppa*; *Sergeant Whiskerfeldt, the Ambassador*; *A Philosopher – a modern one*; *A Geographer* and *The King of Poland – now and then* (King Stanislaus II Augustus of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania).

⁷⁴ Both works were probably translated into French on behalf of Rayneval, a high-ranking official in the French Ministry of the Interior. (DE CHAMPS 2015, p. 38.)

⁷⁵ [LIND] 1773a, p. 174.

⁷⁶ “Murray, David, seventh Viscount Stormont and second earl of Mansfield (1727–1796)”: [SCOTT 2008](#). (access 22 February 2021)

⁷⁷ DE CHAMPS 2015, p. 36.

several philosophers in the work, showing that their teachings justified all violations of moral and political principles on the level of pragmatic politics. For example, in one of the dialogues, the Prussian king tried to defend the diplomatic measure of the partition with the following argument:

“I have said already that our enterprise [viz. carving up Poland] is of a nature entirely *new*; but as it is highly advantageous to us all, and as *utility* with me is the standard of *morality*, I am fully satisfied with what we are soon to execute. I own, indeed, that according to the *old notions*, our convention is unjust, violent, barbarous, and abominable, and it is not easy to obliterate and efface these *old notions*; even *I* who have long got pretty well rid of them, find now and then some twitches of an irritable fibre on which my chaplain and my nurse made early impressions, which they called by the name of *conscience*,– but when I take a dose of the new *philosophy*, from the prescriptions of David H – E [viz. Hume], Helvetius, or Diderot, the spasm passes.”⁷⁸

The author puts the following sentences into the mouth of the Prussian king, among the other interlocutors, illustrating the terrible injustice of the Polish division:

“Our project [viz. the first partition of Poland] certainly is an intrepid insult upon all the prejudices of education, upon the pretended rights of humanity, upon the common sense and patience of mankind. Nothing, at first sight, appears more odd, nay, more shocking than to deprive a sovereign of his dominions, without any other pretext than the dubious expressions of some obsolete legendary parchments, and pretensions that have been cancelled by the most solemn, clear, and recent treaties.”⁷⁹

Reinforcing the idea of *injustice* and the *equal responsibility* of the three rulers, he adds:

“This insult upon, (what fanaticks call) heaven, upon the justice of the imaginary Being whom mortals continue more or less to respect, and upon the ancient and vulgar feelings of the human mind is so much the more striking, in that we, ourselves, *all three* have, but very lately declared, that we pretended no claim to possess, nor had any design to encroach upon the very smallest part of brother Poniatowsky’s territories.”⁸⁰

3.3 *The first partition of Poland in English visual sources from 1772–1774*

The contemporary graphic media of the era form a separate field of study among media products, including satirical prints published in different

⁷⁸ [LIND] 1773b. p. 11–12.

⁷⁹ [LIND] 1773b. p. 12.

⁸⁰ [LIND] 1773b. p. 12–13.

publications of English press. The inclusion of the study of visuality, particularly as regards the first partition of Poland, has largely been absent from the centre of interest of previous research, all the while the iconographical study of political engravings reflecting on the partition provide important contributions to contemporary perception. Regarding contemporary English satirical prints that reflected on, were related, or referred either directly or indirectly to the first partition of Poland, a total of five engravings are analysed within the framework of the present paper from the period 1772–1774; observing their political iconography, as well as the applicable patronage and the purposes of the political inspiration underlying the symbolic and allegorical content represented by them.

One of the first English political engravings directly related to the treacherous act of the partition of Poland is from the year of concluding the first partition treaty and is entitled “Picture of Europe for July 1772”.⁸¹ According to the entry in the catalogue of the *British Museum*, the engraving is probably from a magazine, which is yet to be identified.⁸² The satirical portrayal, which severely criticizes English diplomacy that failed to take any measures to prevent the partition, depicts the contemporary European situation of the great powers by reflecting on the tripartite conclusion of the first partition treaty on 25 July 1772 in Saint Petersburg, as well as on the events of the first Russo–Turkish War (1768–1774). On the engraving dated to July 1772, we can see seven monarchs, including the three central monarchs responsible for the first partition (Empress Catherine II, Emperor Joseph II and King Frederick II) sitting at a table with the *Map of the Kingdom of Poland* in their hands. Facing the three monarchs a king can be seen whose crown is broken, his head is bowed, and his hands are tied behind his back, who is none other than Stanisław August Poniatowski (Stanislaus II Augustus), the last monarch of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Behind the three partitioning monarchs studying the map, two standing figures look on with expressions of concern regarding the events of the partition; they are Louis XV (indicated by fleur-de-lys on top of his crown) and Charles III of Spain. In a chair on the extreme right, George III of Great Britain lies back fast asleep; his chair is inscribed *Brit*. Behind Stanislaus II Augustus sits a bearded man with a turban, whose wrists and ankles are chained; he probably represents the Ottoman Empire, referring to the fact that Empress Catherine II of Russia was at war with it at this time, which had a great impact on the development of the European balance of power and the Polish issue. Above the map of Poland hang scales inscribed “The Ballance of Power”; on the lighter scale is a label inscribed “Great Britain”. As already mentioned, George III was not, in fact, indifferent to Polish matters, and was by no means blind to the Polish question; however, the engraving portrays him as a ruler who was not interested in the interests of England.⁸³ His representation with eyes closed, in a sleeping state suggests that the monarch was blind, and that is why he could not see the European events. Thus, the creator of the engraving

⁸¹ ANON. 1772.

⁸² GEORGE 1935. p. 59.

⁸³ GEORGE 1935. p. 59–60.

wanted to draw attention to the fact that the monarch and the government had not done any specific measures to prevent the partition of Poland.

The political engraving from 1 May 1773 entitled “The Political Dancing Bear. Music has charms to sooth a savage Beast”, published in the columns of the *London Magazine*,⁸⁴ offers an insight into the English diplomatic manoeuvres of the following year, also referring indirectly to the Polish issue. The engraving seeks to pinpoint the absurdity of the diplomatic situation where, according to contemporary rumours, Britain proposed to make an alliance with France and Spain to officially act against the tripartite invasion and partition of Poland. On the engraving, two men symbolizing France and Spain can be seen with a dancing bear which represents England. The fiddler is the French ambassador, Comte de Guînes, and the English bear is dancing to a French tune.⁸⁵ The two sovereigns in the background are those of Prussia and Austria who laugh with amusement at the folly of a triple alliance so unnatural – which was only in prospect at the time and did not materialize at all.

Indeed, George III did outline several drafts regarding the formation of a possible multilateral alliance in case the three partitioning powers could not agree with each other, and jealousies would arise between them. These drafts included an alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the Netherlands against Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Another crisis began to emerge around March 1773, arising out of the fact that nearing the end of the Russo–Turkish War, the Russian Empire had gained too much political weight. It attracted little public notice, but in the last months of the Russo–Turkish War, France and Spain threatened to attack the now excessively dominant Russia, prompting Britain to make naval preparations for any necessary European intervention. This shows, in fact, how unfounded were the rumours of a triple alliance between England, France, and Spain in April 1773; although in the following year, especially in the power situation developing due to the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (July 1774), several French diplomats contemplated the possibility of persuading Britain to check Russia more effectively or possibly even attack the empire.⁸⁶

On the engraving published in Great Britain by Robert Sayer entitled *The troelfth cake / Le gâteau des rois* – which was made sometime during 1772–1773 – we can see four monarchs inspecting a large map of Poland inscribed “Poland in 1772” (*Pologne en 1772*), spread out on a table.⁸⁷ The monarch sitting on the extreme left is Catherine II of Russia who points with both hands to the part of South Poland nearest the Russian frontier. The Empress looks up towards Stanislaus II Augustus of Poland who looks back at Catherine with a distraught expression. The Polish king stands with one hand on the map, while

⁸⁴ ANON. 1773a.

⁸⁵ GEORGE 1935. p. 115.

⁸⁶ The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, concluded in July 1774, ended the first Russo–Turkish War (1768–1774). As a result, the Russian side clearly gained a huge advantage; the Ottoman Empire was forced to recognize the independence of the Crimean Khanate, hitherto under Turkish rule, as well as the protectorate of the Russian Empire over Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia managed to acquire a long-coveted exit to the Black Sea, and the Kerch peninsula, as well as the territory between the Dnieper and the Southern Bug rivers also came under Russian rule. MAJOROS 1997. p. 59–60, 63.

⁸⁷ ANON. 1773b.

his other hand clutching his crown which is slipping from his head, referring to the fact that the Polish ruler is just losing the subject of his crown, the Polish state.

Opposite Catherine, at the right side of the table stands Frederick II of Prussia, in riding dress, his sword resting on the map near Danzig (spelled as *Dantzik* on the map), between Pomerania and Brandenburg. British monarch George III was depicted between the Polish and Prussian kings. George turns his back to the Polish monarch, turning completely towards Frederick, but he ignores where the sword of the Prussian ruler points, and looks away. The female figure representing France, blowing two trumpets, flies above and away from the four monarchs; this could indicate either that she turns away from the problem, or that she is spreading the hideous act of the partition throughout Europe.

The relevant catalogue of the *British Museum* reveals that it was probably a British engraving made in French style.⁸⁸ The title of it was clearly incorrectly translated or translated back from an English reprint into French,⁸⁹ for *troelfth* was probably intended to be the English word *twelfth*. The French title *Le gâteau des rois* ("The Cake of Kings")⁹⁰ expresses excellently the absurdity of the situation where the three partitioning powers "feasted on" Poland with such a noble simplicity, calmness, and arrogant indifference as if they were only sharing pieces of cake among each other at a tea party. Besides, the engraving suggests clear propaganda in view of the latent hostility of England and its carelessness in connection with the partition of Poland. It is possible that the creator of the engraving tried to influence the English monarch this way that France and Britain should take joint action to prevent the partition; or maybe he just wanted to secure the benevolent neutrality of England by representing George III as indolently acquiescing in the partition.⁹¹

On the political engraving called *Merlin*, which can be dated 1 January 1774 and was published in the columns of *The Westminster Magazine*,⁹² we can see a procession of the monarchs of Europe, as Merlin the wizard points to them from the left corner.⁹³ The procession starts with the Danish monarch, followed

⁸⁸ The author of the original drawing is Jean-Michel Moreau the Younger (1741–1814), also called Moreau le Jeune, who was a French draughtsman, illustrator, and engraver. The strength of expression of his symbolic representation turned out to be so suggestive that it gained immense popularity in Europe and was repeatedly copied in the 18th and 19th centuries. Several versions of Moreau's drawing were made, for example the print created and published by Johannes Esaias Nilson (1721–1788), an excellent 18th-century Augsburg engraver and publisher (NILSON 1773). One of the most famous engravings made based on Moreau's drawing is the one by Noël Le Mire, whose engraving appeared in Paris in February 1773. His composition was immensely influential on various other satirical works of its time and gained notoriety in contemporary Europe; its distribution was banned in several European countries, including France, which meant that many variants of this work have been anonymous. The engraving from the *British Museum* (ANON. 1773b) – which is similarly not signed, probably made by an anonymous English graphic, and published in Great Britain by Robert Sayer – repeats the composition of Le Mire's famous engraving.

⁸⁹ GEORGE 1935. p. 60.

⁹⁰ The engraving is known in Polish literature as *Kołacz królewski*, which means „Royal cake”.

⁹¹ GEORGE 1935. p. 60.

⁹² The British newspaper entitled *The Westminster Magazine* (with the subtitle *Pantheon of Taste*) was published in 13 volumes between 1773 and 1785.

⁹³ ANON. 1774.

by Empress Catherine II of Russia and Stanislaus II Augustus. Similarly, to earlier representations, the Polish king is depicted here as well with his crown breaking, referring to the first Polish partition and the endangerment of Polish statehood. Two monarchs are walking side by side behind Stanislaus Augustus, who can be identified as Emperor Joseph II and King Frederick II of Prussia. They are holding the map of Poland, discussing the process of implementing the partition of Poland.⁹⁴

The last graphic to be analysed is John Lodge's engraving *The Polish Plumb-Cake*, which was published on 1 May 1774, also in *The Westminster Magazine*. On the engraving we can see four monarchs sitting around a table on which is a round "cake" – a representation of Poland – divided into four sections; marked Russia, Austria (titled as *Germany* in the engraving), Prussia, and France.⁹⁵ In the centre sits the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II, a drawn sword in his hand. On the left is Empress Catherine II, holding a cleaver. On the right is King Frederick II of Prussia, wearing a hat with a cockade; he also holds a drawn sword. In the foreground, at the extreme end of the table sits the new French king, Louis XVI, with a knife in his hand.⁹⁶ Behind is the king of Poland weeping, his crown about to fall from his head. On the right side, a man stands in a jewelled turban representing the Ottoman Empire, flourishing his sword. A devilish demon appears from under the tablecloth, pointing at the king of Prussia⁹⁷ – indicating that Frederick II stood behind the grandiose albeit completely diabolical plan of the partition of Poland, and the wires were pulled by Prussia. Beneath the design the following two-liner is engraved:

"Thy Kingdom, Stanis'us, is now at stake,
To four such stomachs, 'tis a mere plumb-cake."⁹⁸

The accompanying text explains that Frederick is "a King more savage than an Indian", who "lets the Emperor of Germany [i.e., Joseph II] and the Empress of Russia [i.e., Catherine II] go snacks, while he offers the King of France a share to keep him from attacking Germany (i.e., Austria)". The demon says, "though they have executed his design, they shall not long enjoy the plunder!"⁹⁹

Summary

Prussia, Russia and the Habsburg Empire successfully divided the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth among each other in 1772, which was only the first step in the practice of a new type of partition diplomacy, as a result

⁹⁴ GEORGE 1935. p. 162–163.

⁹⁵ LODGE 1774.

⁹⁶ The portrayal of the French king resembles more his predecessor, Louis XV, as Louis XVI assumed the French throne only at the time the engraving was made (in May 1774).

⁹⁷ GEORGE 1935. p. 167.

⁹⁸ In the phrase *plumb-cake*, *plumb* can both mean 'absolute' and the metal 'lead', or by means of implication and further thinking, the term *plunder* can also be considered, which is mentioned in the accompanying text ("they shall not long enjoy the plunder!"); in addition, the compound phrase is also an entertaining play on words, as *plum cake* is a popular English cake made with raisins and sometimes also with plums.

⁹⁹ GEORGE 1935. p. 167.

of which Poland disappeared from the maps of Europe for a long time by 1795.¹⁰⁰ The Polish–Lithuanian state had been struggling with numerous internal problems during the 17th and 18th centuries, and the necessary reforms were significantly hindered not only by a significant portion of the Polish nobility, but also by the Prussian and Russian governments. Principally the Polish *liberum veto* created an excellent opportunity for the Prussian and Russian governments to keep the Polish–Lithuanian state weak; the two neighbouring powers prevented the internal reforms of Poland so that they would be able ultimately to eliminate the country easily, without a war.

The severe consequences of the first partition became apparent to contemporaries already a few years after the division. In his work entitled *The Prussian Monarchy Under Frederick the Great* (1788), the Count of Mirabeau expressed his opinion regarding the first Polish partition that it would be “impossible and inappropriate” to justify it. The count expressed that the first partition treaty “brought about only a senile peace for Europe”, so it did not resolve the issue of controlling the rise of the neighbouring great powers, especially Russia and Prussia.¹⁰¹ Mirabeau demonstrated very well how much change the dynamics and mechanisms of European foreign policy – evolving in the name of the balance of power – had undergone by the end of the 18th century. This kind of negative opinion had become universal by the mid-19th century, but it is also frequently found in contemporary French and English publications after 1772; yet contemporaries, of course, also emphasized the self-destructive role of Polish conditions.¹⁰²

In their partition policy, Prussia and Russia managed to make Austria take sides with them on the first, as well as the third occasion, and during these partitions, the Western powers such as France or Great Britain – although fully opposing such violent breach of Polish–Lithuanian statehood – did not act against them. The partitioned territory was given a nominally independent form of state under the name *Duchy of Warsaw* in 1807, but this constellation was transformed into the similarly non-sovereign Kingdom of Poland in 1815, which condition lasted until 1918.¹⁰³

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¹⁰⁰ DAVIES 2005. p. 410–411.

¹⁰¹ DAVIES 2006. p. 416.

¹⁰² For an overview of the historiography of the Polish partitions see among others: SEREJSKI 1970; MORLEY 1972; MÜLLER 2005.

¹⁰³ WANDYCZ 1993. p. 43–65.

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BOOK REVIEW

Lucian Boia: The Romanians and Europe. An astonishing story

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(ISBN 978-973-50-6814-1)

In the historiography of the nations along the Danube, there is a long history of comparing the progression of the certain nations with the Western European “civilisation model”. The states of the *Occidens*, which in many aspects set an example, and had already embarked on the path of transformation into a modern nation-state from not later than the dawn of the early modern era, however, had followed a completely different pattern, with such conditions of which were not given to the nations of the East-Central region of Europe. The lack of basic structures, in act, sheds light on the specific model that characterises the history of the Danube nations and in which the history of the Romanians represents a unique variant.

In his recent work, Lucian Boia has also applied a comparative approach to present the defining moments of the history of the Romanian nation, in which he touches on the controversial issue of the origin of Romanian people, as well as the major stages of the evolvement of Romanian language and the embeddedness of various models adapted throughout their history, and last but not least, the topic of national minorities. Lucian Boia, professor at the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest, has emphasized since the beginning of his career the need for a paradigm shift in the traditional approach to history applied by Romanian historians. Boia first dealt with the topic of regional relations of the premodern and modern Romanian national movements and the history of modern Romanian politics, but later in his research the examination of the issue of Romanian national consciousness and self-assessment have become increasingly important. In one of his best-known works, *History and Myth in Romanian Public Consciousness (Istorie și mit în conștiința românească)* through a rigorous critical analysis of national myths, he tried to draw public attention to the outdatedness and backwardness of traditional approaches used in Romanian historical research, as well as on the necessary revision of historical works. Prominent representatives of Romanian historiography, of course, received the writing with suspicion and condemned the author for his scientifically unfounded criticisms and anti-nationalist tone. In the recent decades, several volumes and studies have been published by him in Romanian, French, English and Hungarian language. The work presented below is part of a series of his thematic works intended to a wider audience, in which he sought to enrich the interpretation of Romanian history in a European perspective.

The volume contains nine essays, which, despite covering different topics, still fit together coherently. In the first chapter (*Biology or Culture?*) Boia gives a schematic overview of the origins of the Romanian people, presenting the most significant stages of the emergence of the *Daco-Roman continuity theory*, during which the thesis of the ethnic homogeneity and purely Roman origin of the Romanians was gradually replaced by the possibility of mixing with the Dacians. The author also emphasises that although linguistic heritage and genetic origin are essential components of a nation's history, it is necessary to discuss them separately, and they should not be conflated with each other.

In the next chapter (*The Strangeness of the Romanian Language*) the author attempts to reveal the most remarkable moments of the evolvement of the Romanian language, with special emphasis on the neologist movements that unfolded in the last third of the 19th century. Boia does not challenge the essentially Latin origin of the

Romanian language which as such, forms a separate language island in the sea of predominantly Slavic-speaking nations living in the East-Central European region. Nevertheless, he points out that as a result of close linguistic interactions, in addition to the insignificant number of Hungarian, German and Turkish loanwords, a considerable amount of Slavic terms have also been incorporated into Romanian public discourse. However, during the language reform most of the words of Slavic origin were gradually displaced in the common language and were replaced by Latin-based neologisms. Still, the marginalisation of Slavic words does not mean that they are completely vanished from the Romanian vocabulary, in fact, Boia gives many examples of the phenomenon of Slavic expressions, which had been already embedded in spoken language (e.g., *iubire* 'love', *război* 'war', *vreme* 'weather') remained in use.

In the following two essays, the author discusses the different models adapted during the historical development of the Romanian nation. The backbone of the first essay (*The Carousel of Models*) is, in fact, the "civilisation models" that in some way influenced the formation of the Romanian national consciousness. In this respect, the first, and probably the most important element is the Romanian people's adherence to orthodoxy, which at the same time implies that the Romanian nation is essentially the child of the Eastern (Byzantine) cultural sphere, although it has been affected by many Western influences over the centuries. The sketchy reception of the models and the frequent change of direction, mainly in the field of culture, eventually created a mixture in which, although the western features come to the surface, the deeper structures are dominated by the oriental character. In the second essay (*The Art of Blending*), Boia demonstrates the positive and negative effects of the aforementioned blending with many striking examples, highlighting the contrast that still characterises the Romanian cuisine in addition to culture and architecture, and which duality in fact permeates the Romanian society.

Hereinafter, in three brief essays, we get a schematic overview of the past and present of the national minorities and the attitude of the state power and the majority society towards them. In the first essay (*Minorities*), analysing the data of the 1930 census, the author points out that while the proportion of the Romanians in the *Regat* exceeded 90%, other regions were more characterised by ethnic diversity. He also points to the phenomenon that although the Romanian population formed an absolute majority in Transylvania as well, the Hungarian and Saxon ethnic groups were the dominant ones in the cities. In other regions, such as Bukovina and Bessarabia, in addition to the Romanian population, there was a significant number of Ukrainian and Jewish minorities, the latter mainly in the vicinity of urban settlements. Subsequently, in a short essay (*Are We Good or Bad?*), Boia examines the issue of tolerance, looking for the answer concerning the extent to which the Romanian people met the criteria for acceptance when living with different ethnicities. In his view, Romanian society is characterised by a duality in this respect as well: while it represents unconditional acceptance and openness towards "Western elements", it is extremely hostile to the ethnic groups that have lived with it for centuries. He cites as an example the intolerance towards Jewish communities in Romania at the beginning of the last century and the growing prevalence of antisemitism in Romanian society, emphasising his conviction that the Romanian nation is very susceptible to extremities. Eventually, in the third essay (*Again on Minorities*), by presenting the current and recent status of the Hungarian and Saxon ethnic groups and paralleling the current Romanian nationality policy with the national strategic objectives of other European Union countries, the author gives the reader a comprehensive picture of the affairs between the Romanian state and national minorities, emphasising throughout his conviction that various

ethnic groups, especially minorities with a distinct cultural identity and ethnic self-awareness, which are also usually geographically separated, are indeed an important part of Romanian history.

In the two final essays of the volume, the author examines the question of the possibility of federalisation (*Should we federalise?*) and the dilemmas of the current Romanian political system (*The Dragnea Experiment*). Greater Romania, made up of provinces with strong regional traditions, still struggles with the autonomy aspirations of the minorities who are trying to preserve their language and cultural heritage, primarily with the aspirations for autonomy of the Hungarian speaking ethnic group living in a well-defined area. Yet, the slightest realisation of the aforementioned aspirations to autonomy means betrayal in the eyes of the Romanian people thinking in national unity and threatens the disintegration of the Romanian nation-state. Thus, given the "historical sensitivity" of the majority society on this issue, the Romanian political elite set the dogma of a unified nation-state against the federalist state structure, envisaging, if necessary, the forcible assimilation of national minorities. Nevertheless, efforts to bridge the widening gaps in the cultural sphere have been pushed out of the political discourse in parallel with the emphasis on national ideology, although, according to the 1930 census, there have been marked disproportions in the regional distribution of literacy. Concerning the relationship between society and politics, Boia argues that the anomalies in the modern Romanian political history originate primarily from the shallow adoption of Western patterns, which even if integrated into the Romanian society, the circumvention or violation of the imposed basic rules has now become common practice. Hence it is not surprising that the society is gradually moving away from politics and that the people are fundamentally distrustful of politicians, many of whom also held office in the communist system but may remain in leading positions to this day without calling them to account (*Illustration*).

In conclusion, we can say that despite the fact that the work primarily conveys educational content, it also exhausts the criteria of a scientific study in its complexity and approach. The scope and the volume of the essays also promise a schematic overview of the issues discussed, however, the numerous references and the coherent, consistent presentation of the thoughts suggest the author's proficiency in the examined issues and also his unquestionable expertise. The marked critical tone, the frequent, almost sarcastic invectives that characterise many of Boia's works, in many cases try to draw the reader's attention to current problems, phenomena pervading Romanian public thinking, such that without breaking the dynamics of the text, in fact, on the contrary, they tend to shade the overall picture. The essays included in the volume, even because of their genre specifics, contain few references, and the author applies them only when publishing data or a literal quote. On the other hand, on some of the less elaborate questions, Boia repeatedly refers to his own works, which helps the readers who intend to immerse themselves in a particular issue to get further information. Considering all aspects, the volume provides an extremely exciting outline of the most controversial issues in Romanian history, using an approach very different from the traditional Romanian historical methodology, as he is not afraid to reject conventions and strictly favours scientific facts over subjective elements. It is an instructive work that despite being meant for a wider readership, will hopefully resonate in both Romanian and international academic life.

Bálint Bandi

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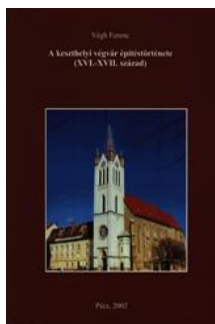
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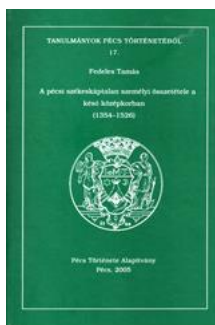
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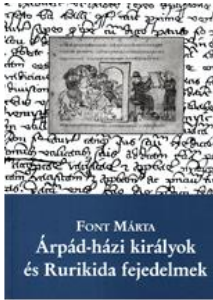


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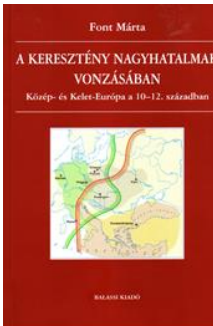
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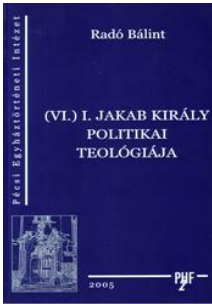
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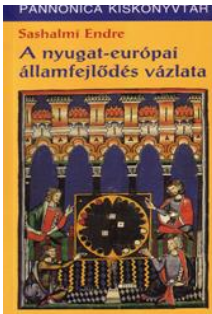
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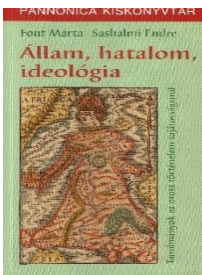
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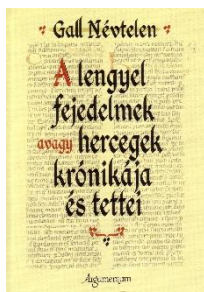


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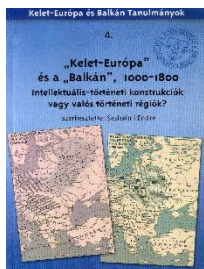
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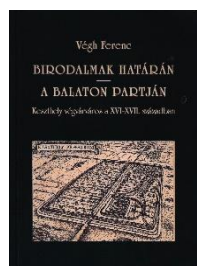
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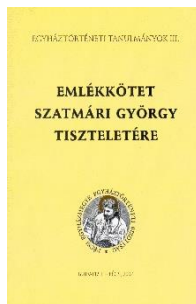


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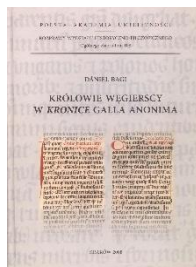
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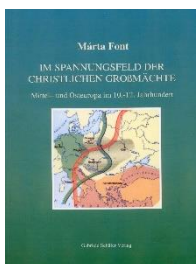
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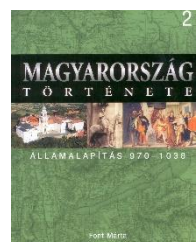
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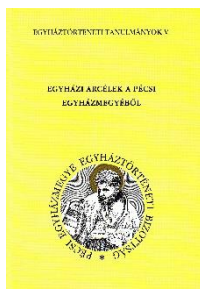
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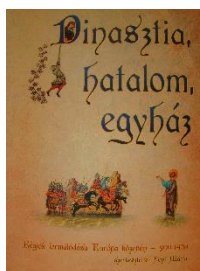
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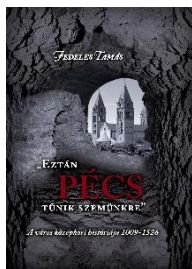
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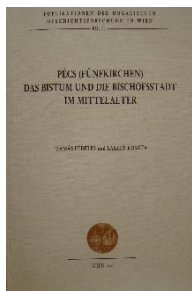


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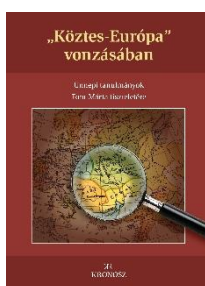


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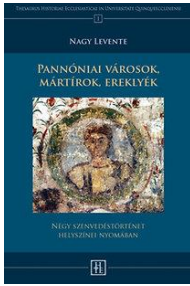
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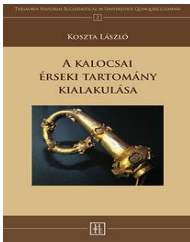


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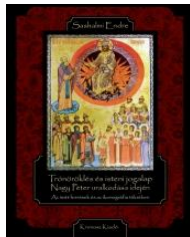


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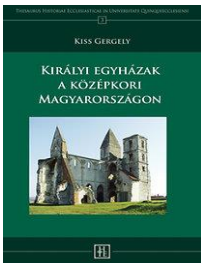


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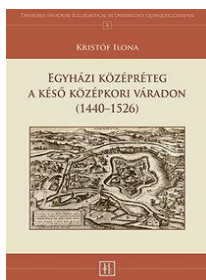
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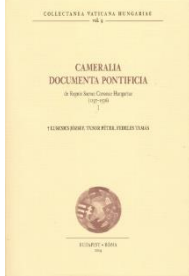
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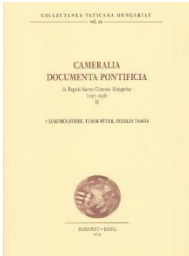
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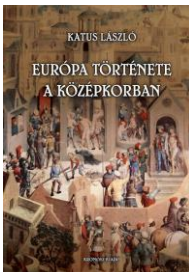
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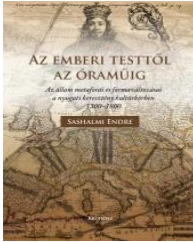
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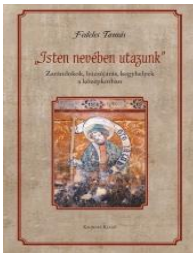


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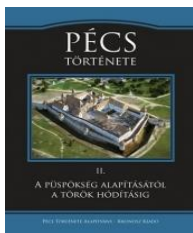


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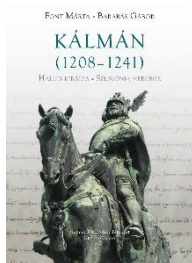
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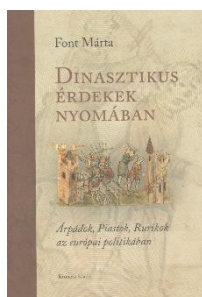


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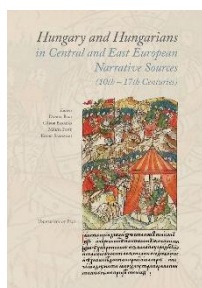


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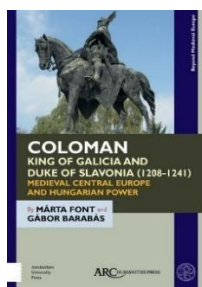
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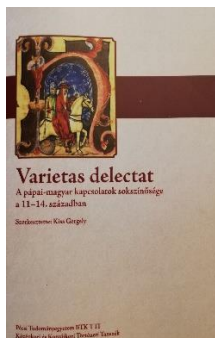


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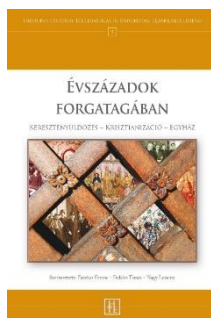
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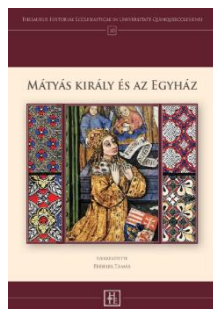
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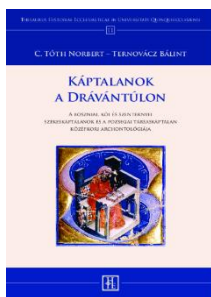
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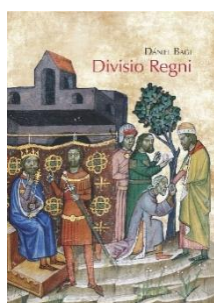


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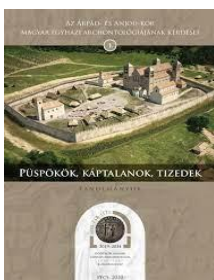


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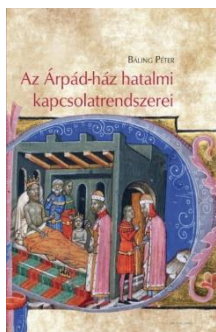
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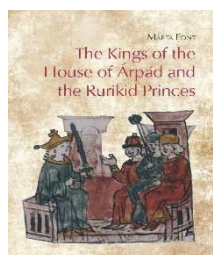


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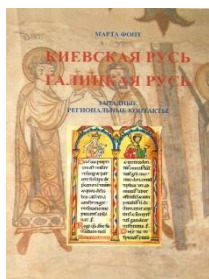


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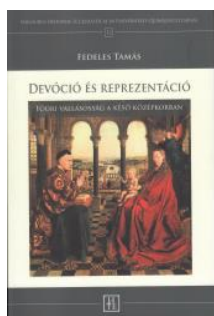
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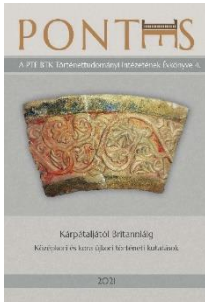
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