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EGY KONKLÁVÉ HÍREI GYŐRBEN

Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni római ágens 1769-es levelei Zichy Ferenc győri püspöknek*

Az 1769. február 15. és 1769. május 18 között megtartott konklávét nem véletlenül tartotta utólag de Choiseul bíboros ügydöntöntőnek a szempontból, hogy egységes maradhat-e a katolicizmus vagy a nemzeti egyházak további erősödésével a Szentszék főssége odavész. De Choiseul bíboros ezt minden bizonnyal komolyan is gondolhatta, hiszen a LUDWIG VON PASTOR által kiadott római, rendkívüli, konklávéra szóló utasításaiból kiderül, hogy esetlegesen egy, a Bourbon-udvarok számára nem tetsző új pápa megválasztása esetén felhatalmazást kaptak a spanyol, francia és nápolyi bíborosok Róma azonnali elhagyására anélkül, hogy az megválasztott pápát elismerték volna.[1] Ez a forgatókönyv végül nem valósult meg, de felmerül a kérdés, hogy mit is jelentett az, hogy a Bourbonok számára elfogadható pápa? Miben nyilvánult ez meg az 1769-es konklávé alatt? Ezen túl, mindezekről milyen információkkal rendelkezett Zichy Ferenc győri püspök? Milyen gyakorta jutott friss római hírekhez ágense révén Zichy? Az alábbiakban erre keresem a választ.

1769. február 2-án elhunyt XIII. Kelemen pápa.[2] Már Kelemen pápasága alatt elindult a Szentszék és az európai udvarok között egy konfliktus-sorozat, amely központi témája lett a február 15-én indult konklávénak is. XIII. Kelemen pontifikátusa alatt kezdett először az I. József által vezetett Portugália, majd a Bourbon-udvarok – elsősorban a madridi – nyíltan jezsuita-ellenes politikát folytatni. Ennek során kitelepítéseket kellett elszenvednie a Jézus Társaságnak először Spanyolországból, majd a szintén Bourbon főség alatt álló nápolyi királyságból.[3] A fentnevezett udvarok étvágya azonban nem csillapult, nem elégedtek meg azzal, hogy a fennhatóságuk alatt álló területekről a Pápai Államba toloncolták a jezsuitákat, a feloszlatásukat követelték XIII. Kelemen pápától. E kívánságnak azonban a pápa haláláig ellenállt, pedig a diplomáciai nyomást egyre fokozta a Madrid–Párizs–Nápoly–Párma tengely.

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* Készült az ELKH TKI 30 207. sz. kutatócsoporti támogatás keretében. Az olasz levelek átírásának lektorálásáért hálás köszönettel tartozom NAGY KATALINnak.

[1] LUDWIG VON PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters XVI/2*, Freiburg 1932, 421. SZILAS LÁSZLÓ, *Konklave und Papstwahl Clemens' XIV (1769), Vorspiel zur Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu am 21. Juli 1773*, Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 96 (1974) 287–299.

[2] BATTISTA MONDIN, *Pápák enciklopédiája*, Budapest 2001, 558. CHRISTOPH WEBER, *Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte* (Päpste und Papstum 29/2), Stuttgart 1999, 800.

[3] WILLIAM V. BANGERT, *A jezsuiták története*, Budapest 2002, 321–343; PAUL SHORE, *The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation*, Leiden 2020, 7–10; DALE K. VAN KLEY, *Plots and Rumors of Plots*, The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events and Consequences (ed. by Jeffrey D. Burson–Jonathan Wright), Cambridge 2015, 13–39.

A konklávé azonban új lehetőséget teremtett az említett szereplőknek arra nézvést, hogy politikájukat sikerre vigyék. A madridi udvarnak, a franciával karöltve pontos elképzeléseik voltak a következő pápa személyét és politikáját illetően. Ezt de Choiseul bíboros fogalmazta meg a legnyíltabban 1769. március 21-ei levelében d'Ossuna márkinak, amelyben kifejtette, hogy bármelyik kardinális, aki vállalja, hogy feloszlatja a Jézus Társaságot, elismeri Franciaország avignon-i, és Nápoly pontecorvo-i és benevento-i foglalásait, valamint, hogy Pármának gesztusokat tesz és elégtételt ad, pápa lehet.[4] Ez utóbbira XIII. Kelemen pápa 1768. január 30-án kiadott, *Alias ad Apostolatus* kezdetű enciklikája miatt érezték feltétlenül szükségét a Bourbon-udvarok vezetői, amelyben a pápa semmisnek nyilvánította a jezsuiták ellen irányuló pármai törvényeket.[5] Az említett enciklikában XIII. Kelemen lényegében a kiközösítés lehetőségét vetítette előre a pármai udvar részére, a pápai főség megsértése és a jezsuiták erőszakos kitelepítése miatt. De Choiseul által megfogalmazott három szempont alapján – amelyeket a madridi udvar is osztott – a Szentszék mellé rendelt spanyol követség a teljes Bíborosi Kollégiumot négy csoportra osztotta.[6] Ennek során az első osztályba kerültek a támogatott bíborosok, akiket szívesen látnának megválasztott pápaként. Második osztályba kerültek a „rossznak" titulált bíborosok, azon elvek alapján, hogy támogatnák-e a Bourbon politikát. Harmadik csoportba kerültek a kétségesek, billegők. Negyedik csoportba pedig az indifferensnek, a pápai trónra esélytelennek tartott kardinálisok.[7] A spanyol követség által összeállított listán de Choiseul bíboros és a nápolyi Tanucci miniszter megjegyzései is helyet kaptak egy-egy kardinálissal kapcsolatban. Így tudható, hogy a francia bíboros szerint Cavalchini jó pápa lenne, de túl öreg, Neri Corsini bíborosról, hogy lehetetlen, hogy Róma püspökének válasszák. Sokatmondó, hogy de Choiseul, Ganganelli bíboros – a későbbi XIV. Kelemen pápa – neve mellé annyit írt „*trés bon*" vagyis: nagyon jó. Ilyen elismerő minősítést a francia főminisztertől Ganganellin kívül csupán az ötvennégy éves Caracciolo bíboros kapott, azonban ott kiegészítette annyival, hogy „*mais trop jeune*", vagyis: de túl fiatal.[8] A Szentszék ellen offenzívában lévő uralkodói udvarok nem csupán az új pápa személyét, de az egész szentszéki politikát is irányításuk alá akarták vonni. Ékes példája ennek, hogy Versailles-ban Stoppani kardinális megválasztása esetén életbe lépett volna az forgatókönyv, amely szerint a genova-i Pallavicini bíboros államtitkári kinevezését igyekeztek volna elérni.[9] A konklávé központi témája lett tehát, hogy melyik kardinális lesz hajlandó feloszlatni a Jézus Társaságot.

Az egyedüli, és legnagyobb kérdés a fentiek fényében az maradt, hogy miként viszonyul a bécsi udvar a Bourbon tervekhez. Bécs hangoztatta, hogy egy olyan pápa

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4 Ferdinando Petrucelli della Gattina, *Histoire diplomatiques des Conclaves IV*, Bruxelles 1866, 172.

5 Bangert, *A jezsuiták története*, 344; Dale K. Van Kley, *Plots and Rumors of Plots*, 14.

6 A követség vezetését 1772-ig Tomás de Azpuru y Jiménez, későbbi valenciai érsek látta el.

7 A Bourbon-udvarok közti munkadokumentum tisztázatát, a megjegyzésekkel együtt elküldték Bécsbe is: ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Rom, Varia, Kart. 52, fol. 165–167.

8 Uo., 165.

9 ÖStA HHStA Staatenabt., Rom, Varia, Kart. 52, fol. 166. Gattina, *Histoire diplomatiques des Conclaves IV*, 174; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XVI/2, 25.

kell, aki békét hoz a katolikus udvarok és a Szentszék egyre elmérgesedő viszonyába.[10] Ennél bővebben, vagy részletesebben azonban nem nyilatkozott a császári udvar, érdemben nem foglaltak állást. Pedig nem lehet azzal vádolni őket, hogy ne lettek volna pontos ismereteik a kollégium bíborosairól. A franciához hasonlóan a saját követségük is készített jelentéseket, részletes leírást közöltek minden bíborosról. Úgy életrajzi, mind karrier adatokkal, valamint politikai beállítottsággal.[11] E konklávén megválasztott Ganganelliről például az előzetesen Bécsbe érkező jelentés azt írta, hogy általános tisztelet és szeretet övezi, pápaságra alkalmas jellem, aki valószínűleg Albani bíboros befolyása alatt maradhat. Megjegyzi a jellemzés továbbá, hogy a megválasztása előtt szintén konventuális minorita V. Sixtus pápához hasonlóan eredményes pontifikátust érhetne el.[12]

Azonban minden jelentés és tájékozódás ellenére Bécs a többi nagy katolikus udvarhoz képest passzívabb politikát folytatott. Ezt a passzivitást nem lehet a meglepettségből adódott dermettségre fogni. A fent említett 1768. január 30-ai pápai enciklika után a spanyol udvar diplomáciája fokozatot váltott. Valószínűleg ekkora látták be Madridban, hogy XIII. Kelemen pápa semmilyen esetben sem fogja kiszolgálni III. Károly király igényeit a Jézus Társaság feloszlatásával kapcsolatban. Így 1768. február 3-ai dátummal a spanyol nagykövetен keresztül már jegyzék érkezett a bécsi udvarba Rudolph Joseph von Colloredo-Waldsee birodalmi alkancellárhoz, amelyben Madrid jövőbeni szentszéki politikájáról tájékoztatott.[13] E levél egyben a bécsi elképzeléseket puhatoló kapcsolat felvételnek is tekinthető. A nagykövet levele kifejtette, hogy a madridi udvar szerint a korábbiaknál nagyobb jelentőséggel bíró konklávé fog elkövetkezni a jövőben. Ennek érdekében pedig arra kéri a bécsi udvart, hogy csatlakozzon Madrid, Párizs és Nápoly kooperációjához, melynek során bizalmasan listákat osztanának meg egymással arról, hogy kit tartanak a legalkalmasabbnak Szent Péter trónjára.[14] Spanyol részről már e levélben sem hagytak kétséget afelől, hogy olyan személyt látnának szívesen az egyházi hierarchia élén, aki közömbösen viseltetik a jezsuita-kérdés iránt. Alig egy hetet kellett várni a bécsi válaszra, a február 9-ei válaszlevél helyeslően fogadta a felvetést a baráti udvarok közti kooperációról.[15] A spanyol

[10] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XVI/2, 18.

[11] ÖStA HHStA Staatenabt., Rom, Varia, Kart. 52, fol. 216–239.

[12] Uo., 229.

[13] ÖStA HHStA Staatenabt., Rom, Varia, Kart. 53, 1768. febr. 3. „*La Cour d'Espagne jugeant que dans les circonstances, ou se trouvent actuellment plusieurs grandes Puissances Catholiques l'election d'un Pape futur devra être aujourd'hui beaucoup plus interessante, que dans les elections passées, croit qu'il conviendroit que les Cours de Vienne, Paris, Naples, et Madrid prissent des mesures d'avance, et avant que le cas du Conclave soit échû. Pour proceder d'accord Sa Majesté Catholique pense, qu'il seroit bon, que ces puissances se communicassent confidentillement, premierement une liste des Cardinaux, qu'on croit en general pouvoir être elûs pour cette supreme dignité, et qu'on appelle Papables; Secondement une liste separée de ceux, à qui chaque Cour souhaiteroit donner la preference.*".

[14] Egy ilyen megosztott, Bécsben őrzött listáról idéztem fentebb a bíborosok jellemzését.

[15] ÖStA HHStA Staatenabt., Rom, Varia, Kart. 53, 1768. febr. 9. „*Sa Majesté l'Empereur jugeant pareillement qu'il convient aux interets des quatre Cours amies de Vienne, de Madrid, de Paris, et de Naples de concerter entre Elles d'avance les mesures à prendre sur l'election future d'un Pape, il ne balance point d'y donner de son coté les mains et Sa Majesté Imperiale est par consequent prête à consentir aux ouvertures confidentielles qu'on se servit*

felvetésre, hogy az esetleges személyes egyeztetésekre a Madrid és Bécs között félúton lévő Párizsban találkozzanak a Habsburg fél felajánlotta a császárvárost. Egyúttal e levélben II. József császár a tárgyalásokra Colloredo alkancellárt delegálta.

A Habsburg-diplomácia simulékonysága és nyitottsága a Bourbon tervekre dinasztikus megfontolásokra vezethető vissza.[16] Bécsben úgy gondolhatták, hogy nem kockáztathatják Mária Antónia és a Dauphiné, a későbbi XVI. Lajos eljegyzését a Jézus Társaság vagy a szentszéki diplomácia ürügyén. Kaunitz épp ezért egy évvel később, a konklávé kezdetekor a jezsuiták pártját fogó Giuseppe Pozzobonelli kardinálist, Milánó érsekét nyugalomra és tétlenségre intette, kérve őt, hogy ne avatkozzon be érdemben a Madrid vezette választásba.[17] A császári udvar úgy állt az ügyhöz, hogy egy viszonylagos semleges álláspontal csak nyerhet, így bárhogy is alakul majd a konklávé, diplomáciai előnyökre tehetnek szert. Ennek a semlegességnek volt az is a része, hogy a három birodalmi kardinális, köztük Christoph Anton von Migazzi bécsi érsek és váci püspök nem vettek részt a pápaválasztáson.[18] Egyéb látványos gesztust is tett II. József császár a Bourbonok kedvéért a jezsuiták rovására. A francia király szentszéki nagykövete Aubeterre jelentésében megjegyezte, hogy magánbeszélgetésükben a császár helyeselte a jezsuita rend feloszlatását.[19] A császár további jezsuitaellenes megnyilvánulását is feljegyezte a francia és a spanyol követ.[20] Mindketten, Aubeterre és Azpuru is említést tettek II. József konklávé alatti római tartózkodása idején tett látogatásáról az Il Gésu-ban, ahol a Jézus Társaság általános rendfőnöke, Lorenzo Ricci a Szent Ignác oltár előtt könyörgött a császárnak, hogy ne hagyja feloszlatni a rendet. II. József már-már cinikusan annyit felelt, hogy válasszon a kollégium olyan pápát, aki nem pártolja a feloszlatást. Majd folytatta, ő amúgy sem tehet semmit az ügyben.[21]

* * *

reciproquement de ses vues et idées par le moyen des Ministres respectifs. Le choix de l'endroit à fixer pour cette communication pouvant beaucoup contribuer à avancer les determinations préalables, celui de Vienne paroît le plus convenable à Sa Majesté Imperiale, et c'est sur ses ordres, que le Vice-Chancelier de l'Empire à l'honneur de faire ces ouvertures sur ce que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne lui en date de 3. courant communiqué sur l'objet sus mentioné. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur voudra bien les faire parvenir à Sa Cour et le Prince de Colloredo le prie d'agréer les assurences de sa consideration parfaite et distinguée. A Vienne le 9. Février 1768."

[16] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste XVI/2*, 18.

[17] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste XVI/2*, 19.

[18] Otthon maradt még Franz Christoph von Hutten zu Stolzenfels Speyer püspöke és Franz Konrad Kasimir Ignaz von Rodt konstanzi püspök.

[19] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste XVI/2*, 14.

[20] Ugyan így tett Visconti nuncius is, akinek 1769. jan. 2-ai, a bíboros államtitkárnak írt levelének az értelmében a császár nincs elköteleződve a jezsuita rend fenntartásában.

[21] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste XVI/2*, 15.

A hivatalosan február 15-én kezdődött konklávé végül május 18-án ért véget Giovanni Antonio – szerzetesi nevén Lorenzo – Ganganelli bíboros megválasztásával.[22] Európa katolikus udvarai nagyobb vagy kisebb mértékben, de eldöntötték, bő egy év folyamatos diplomáciai egyeztetés árán, hogy nem bízzák kizárólag a Bíborosi Kollégium tagjainak a belátására az új pápa személyét. De milyen mennyiségű és minőségű hírek hagyták el konklávé falait? Milyen római információk, szóbeszédek és pletykák jutottak ki az Örök Városból? Hol találtak ezek a hírek megértő fülekre? Milyen szerep és feladat jutott e közegben az ágensekre?[23]

Zichy Ferenc győri püspök (1743–1783) egy, a világegyház és az egyházpolitika iránt érdeklődő és érzékeny személynek tekinthető. Negyven éves püspöki fungálása alatt harminc évig biztosan tartott Rómában ágenst, aki rendszeresen hírekkel szolgált számára, illetve kúriai ügyeit, beadványait intézte. Jelenlegi ismereteim szerint Zichy egymást követő három ágenssel is kapcsolatban állt, akik mindegyike a Poloni család tagjai voltak.[24]

Zichy püspök információ-éhsége érthető módon az 1769-es konklávé alatt sem csillapodott, ellenkezőleg, az 1753 és 1782 között fennállt levelezés legaktívabb éve volt az 1769-es év.[25] Az egész évet tekintetbe véve összesen huszonegy, ebből XIII. Kelemen pápa halálától, XIV. Kelemen pápa koronázásáig tartó időszakból – február elejétől június elejéig – tíz levél származik. E levelekben minden esetben szó esik a konklávé aktuális híreiről, az éppen megérkező bíborosokról, a kollégiumban kialakult aktuális erőviszonyokról, a Habsburg-család itáliai és római utazásairól és látogatásairól. Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni, Zichy ekkor Rómában működő ágense április közepéig, amíg a diplomáciai nagyüzem és a császár, valamint a Habsburg hercegek látogatása tartott, heti rendszerességgel írt. A Bourbon udvarok által várva-várt két késő spanyol bíboros május eleji megérkeztével aztán a konklávébeli események

[22] MODANI, *Pápák enciklopédiája*, 558–559. Bővebben lásd: *L'età de papa Clemente XIV. Religione, politica, cultura* (I Libri dell'Associazione Sigismondo Malatesta), a cura di MARIO ROSA–MARINA COLONNA, Roma 2010.

[23] A többféle római magyar ügyintézőre a késő középkorból lásd: NEMES GÁBOR, *Folytonosság vagy újrakezdés?: Magyarország és az Apostoli Szentszék kapcsolatainak alakulása Mohács előtt és után*, Egyházi társadalom a Magyar Királyságban a 16. században (Seria Historiae Dioecesis Quinqueecclesiensis 17), szerk. Varga Szabolcs–Vértesi Lázár, Pécs 2017, 105–133; UŐ, *Magyarország kapcsolatai az Apostoli Szentszékkel (1532–1526)*, Századok 149 (2015) 479–506, 490–493. Szintén korai adatok magyar megbízással rendelkező ágensekre: *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1605)* (CVH I/7), kiad. TUSOR PÉTER–NEMES GÁBOR, Budapest 2011, LV–LVII. Az állandó jellegű, közös és multifunkcionális római magyar agentúra kialakulására és működésére a tizenhetedik században: TUSOR PÉTER, *A magyar egyházi elit római hírforrásai*, Információáramlás a kora újkorban (Információtörténelem), szerk. Z. Karvalics László–Kis Károly, Budapest 2004, 108–124; UŐ, *Gli agenti dei prelati ungheresi a Roma nel Seicento*, 92 (2012) 359–380; legújabban pedig szintén tőle „*Ad Praelatorum et alia huius Patriae negotia in Curia Romana promovenda*". *The Roman Agents of the Hungarian Bishops in the 17th Century*, Gli agenti presso la Santa Sede delle communità e degli stati stranieri I. Secoli XV–XVIII (Studi di storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche 8), a cura di Matteo Sanfilippo–Péter Tusor, Viterbo 2020, 41–84.

[24] OLÁH P. RÓBERT, *Zichy Ferenc győri püspök római ágensi levelezése*, Olasz–magyar irodalmi és művelődési kapcsolatok a 18–19. században (szerk. Dóbék Ágnes), Budapest 2022, 264–265.

[25] OLÁH P., *Zichy Ferenc győri püspök római ágensi levelezése*, 267–268.

felgyorsultak, és bő két héten belül eredményre is jutott a pápaválasztó testület. Addig azonban minden héten római hírekkel látta el Pinto Poloni a győri püspöki udvart.[26]

Milyen római hírekért is fizetett Zichy püspök?[27] 1769. február másodikán elhunyt XIII. Kelemen pápa haláláról szóló híradást két nappal később, február negyedikén már részletesen tudatta is Pinto Poloni a megbízójával. E levelében a pápa halálának körülményei meglehetős részletességgel kerültek leírásra. A temetés előkészítésének folyamata mellett említést tett még például a Bíborosi Kollégium dékánjának, Cavalchini bíborosnak a betegeskedéséről, amely a kezdődő konklávé előtt különös jelentőséggel bírt. Február 11-ei levelében Pinto Poloni jelenti, hogy részt vett a pápa temetésén. Itt az ágens röviden kitért egy, a Bourbon-udvarok által különösen problematizált kérdésre, jelesül arra, hogy a katolikus udvarok határozottan kérték a kollégiumot, hogy ne válasszanak maguk közül új pápát, amíg az ultramontán bíborosok meg nem érkeznek a konklávéba.[28] Ezt a helyzetet különösen veszélyesnek ítélte meg az együtt politizáló három udvar, mert február során Flavio Chigi bíboros körül kezdett kialakulni egy egyre nagyobb őt támogató tábor. Chigi erősödésének a híre természetszerűleg feszültséget váltott ki a Bourbon-diplomácia reprezentánsaiból, hiszen az előzetes munkadokumentumban „*trés mauvais*", azaz nagyon rossz értékelést kapott.[29] Emellett Pinto Poloni szabatkozva írta, hogy most semmilyen nyomtatványt nem küldött. Ezek szerint feltételezhető, hogy jelentéseivel együtt rendszerint római lapokat, nyomtatványokat is csatolhatott Zichy számára ágense.[30]

Poloni március 4-ei levele újra több hírrel szolgált.[31] Jelentette, hogy még továbbra sincsenek az Itálián kívüli bíborosok Rómában, azokra továbbra is várni kell. Megemlítette, hogy megérkeztek Carlo delle Lanze és Urbano Paracciani bíborosok Rómába és hogy számításai szerint így sincs egy bíboros sem, aki hétnél több szavazattal bírna jelenleg. Tovább fűzte Pinto Poloni a jelentését kitérve a francia bíborosokra, akik közül csak ketten fognak érkezni, mivel de Choiseul nem vállalta a római utat. Megtudhatta e levélből Zichy püspök azt is, hogy Péter Lipót toszkán nagyherceg várhatóan napokon belül az Örök Városba érkezik. A soron következő március 15-ei levél egy gyors helyzetjelentésként közölte, hogy legutóbbi levele óta további három, közelebbről meg nem nevezett itáliai bíboros

[26] A szóban forgó levelek az alábbiak: GyEL Püspöki Levéltár (PL), Literae Romanae III, 1769. febr. 4., uo., 1769. febr. 11. uo., 1769, febr. 18. uo., 1769. márc. 4. uo., 1769. márc. 15. uo., 1769. márc. 18. uo., 1769. ápr. 1. uo., 1769. ápr. 15. uo., 1769. máj. 6. uo., 1769. jún. 10.

[27] Az további, részletes kutatás tárgyát képezi, hogy Bécs érintésével milyen római hírek birtokába jutott Zichy. Az azonban látszik, hogy elsőszámú és folyamatos információs csatornája a római Polonikon keresztül működött.

[28] GATTINA, *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves*, 179.

[29] ÖStA HHStA Staatenabt., Rom, Varia, Kart. 52, fol. 165.

[30] Ilyen például a portugál király Bíborosi Kollégiumnak írt levele, amiről tudni, hogy Poloni, levelével együtt csatolmányként Győrbe küldte. *Függelék*, 3. sz.

[31] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. márc. 4. *Függelék*, 1. sz.

érkezett Rómába.[32] A toszkán nagyherceg is bevonult, ahogy azt előre jelezte. Poloni szerint már csak a két francia és a két spanyol bíborosra várnak, akiknek hamarosan szintén érkezniük kell.

A fenti, viszonylag száraz és menetrendszerű, kiszámítható eseménysort nem más, mint a Szent Római Birodalom császára, II. József törte meg azzal, hogy március 15-én váratlanul Rómába érkezett.[33] Ennek tudható be Pinto Poloni szokatlanul sűrű levélküldése is, 15-e után 18-ai újabb, levele talán mind közül a legérdekesebb.[34] A jelentés leírja, hogy a város ujjongva fogadta a császárt, bármerre is járt Rómán belül. Poloni leveléből annyit tudhatunk meg, hogy Róma számos pontját meglátogatta. Más források azonban ezt alátámasztva pontosítják, hogy többek között a Szent Péter bazilikát látogatta meg a császár és a testvére, ahol a kupolába is felmentek.[35] E tudósításokból tudni, hogy megtekintette Alessandro Algardi Attila reliefjét és XIV. Benedek pápa sírját.[36] Az igazán érdekes részletek Poloni jelentésében azonban csak ez után kerültek elbeszélésre. A II. József császár és öccse, Lipót toszkán nagyherceg példátlan módon beléptek a konklávé elzárt részére, ahol két órán keresztül tartózkodtak, majd az akkor belépő Spinola bíborost közrefogva be is kísérték a többi bíboros közé. Kitért még a jelentés röviden arra, hogy a császár a bíborosokkal egyeztetést folytatott. Ezt a meglehetősen szokatlan jelenetet más elbeszélésekben is megtalálni, amelyben az uralkodó testvérpár, Spinola bíboros és a kétórányi elzárt részen időzés is megtalálható.[37] Külön érdekes, hogy e jelentés leírta a császár párbeszédét is, ami a belépést megelőzte. Ezek szerint József megkérdezte az ajtóban álló bíborosoktól, hogy lehetne-e négy-öt lépést tenni a zárt részen? Erre Fabrizio Serbelloni bíboros annyit felelt, hogy aki öt lépést megtesz ötszázat is megtehetne. Ezt a császár igenlő válasznak vette, és testvérével együtt ekkor lépett be a konklávé területére.

Az áprilisi levelek a fenti rendkívüli események után visszatértek a szokott rendbe mind témájukat, mind rendszerességüket illetően.[38] Április 15-én tudatta Pinto Poloni Zichyvel, hogy Lipót toszkán nagyherceg hazatért Firenzébe, ahol gyermeke születésének a híre fogadta.[39] Zichy ágense jelentést tett továbbá arról, hogy a nápolyi

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[32] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. márc. 15.

[33] PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste XVI/2*, 14–15. GATTINA, *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves*, 185. II. József itáliai utazásairól és azok jelentőségéről újabban: ELISABETH GARMS-CORNIDES, *E se venisse Cesare. Riflessioni intorno ad un progetto di viaggio*, Religione, cultura e politica nell'Europa dell'età moderna. Studi offerti a Mario Rosa dagli amici (a cura di Carlo Ossola–Marcella Verga–Maria Antonietta Visceglia), Firenze 2003, 309–333. UŐ, *Bruder, Kaiser, Mitregent. Die Italienreise Josephs II 1769*, „Die Habsburgische Variente des Aufgeklärten Absolutismus" Beiträge zur Mitregentschaft Josephs II., 1765–1780 (Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien 16), hg. von András Forgó–Krisztina Kulcsár, Wien 2018, 27–44.

[34] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. márc. 18. *Függelék*, 2. sz.

[35] GATTINA, *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves*, 185.

[36] Uo.

[37] GATTINA, *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves*, 186.

[38] 1769. ápr. 1-jéről való levelet lásd: OLÁH P., *Zichy Ferenc győri püspök római ágensi levelezése*, 272–273.

[39] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. ápr. 15. Felesége valóban terhes volt ekkor Ferdinánd nevű fiukkal, a későbbi III. Ferdinánd toszkán nagyherceggel (1790–1801/1814–1824), azonban ő csak máj. 6-án született meg, így Poloni ezen értesülése pontatlannak bizonyul.

útjából április 10-én visszatért császár további egyeztetéseket folytatott Pozzobonelli bíborossal. Poloni tájékoztatta megbízóját, hogy előreláthatóan negyvenhét kardinális fogja alkotni a pápaválasztó grémiumot, amiből harmincegy megszerzett szavazat kell az érvényes választáshoz. Újra kifejtette itt, hogy a spanyol bíborosok szavazatai – akik még mindig nem érkeztek meg – lesznek a döntőek. Az ő érkezésüknek a híre késztette Polonit arra, hogy tollat ragadjon május 6-án.[40] Az ágens tudatta, hogy a fő téma a konklávét illetően továbbra is az, hogy milyen sorsra jut majd a Jézus Társaság. E szempontból a spanyol bíborosok érkezése előrevetíti az eredményt is, mert mint Poloni fogalmaz, olyan pápához ragaszkodnak, aki megfelel a királyi udvaruknak. Zárásul a levelében megemlíti azt a konklávéról terjedő pletykát, hogy három részre szakadt a testület, azonban, ezt ennél jobban nem bontotta ki a levél írója.

Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni e tárgyalt témában írt utolsó ismert levele június 3-án kelt, amelyben leírja a konklávé utáni római eseményeket.[41] Megtudni e levélből, hogy másnap lesz a megválasztott pápa beiktatása. Illetve, hogy előreláthatólag június 5-én költözik be XIV. Kelemen pápa a Quirinal-ba. Tájékoztatta Poloni Zichyt, hogy hamarosan újraindul a hivatali élet is a Szentszéknél és kérelmei, beadványai elbírálásra kerülnek végre. Pinto Poloni az új pápa személyéről és várható politikájáról is szólt akkor, amikor jelezte, hogy kialakult politikát még nem látni XIV. Kelemennél, azt azonban tudja, hogy II. József császárnak már levelet küldött Firenzébe.

A konklávé hírei mellett újra és újra felbukkant Poloni leveleiben Kornis Ferenc ügye.[42] Címzetes püspöki kinevezésének megerősítéséről szóló római híreket szoros figyelemmel követte Zichy püspök.[43] Végül a szentszéki megerősítés 1769. június 12-én lett kiállítva Kornis számára. Ugyanilyen érdeklődéssel követte Zichy a zágrábi püspöki szék betöltésének az ügyét.[44]

Felmerül a kérdés, hogy mennyire számítottak Poloni római hírei exkluzívnak, lényegében megérte-e Zichynek fenntartania ügynökét? A válaszért összevetem a konklávé ügyeiért felelős és az udvarok közti kapcsolattartásra kinevezett Colloredo birodalmi alkancellár ágensi levelezését Zichyével.[45] Az alkancellár római ágense Francesco Brunati, szintén egy ismert ágens-dinasztia képviselője volt.[46] Colloredo a tárgyalt év májusáig tizenkilenc levelet kapott, köztük hét olyat, ahol a jelentés mellett titkos jelentést is mellékelt Brunati a szavazások eredményéről és az elzárt részen

[40] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. máj. 6.

[41] GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, 1769. jún. 3.

[42] HC VI, 247. Bedy Vince, *Győri Székeskáptalan története* (Győregyházmegye multjából 3), Győr 1938, 466.

[43] Kornis Ferenc püspöki processzusára lásd: Tóth Tamás, *A 18. századi magyar püspöki processzusok 1711–1780*, Magyarország és a római Szentszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században (CVH I/15), szerk. Tusor Péter–Szovák Kornél–Fedeles Tamás, Budapest–Róma 2017, 317–335, 330.

[44] *Függelék*, 3. sz.

[45] Rudolph Joseph von Colloredo-Waldsee 1769-es évi római ágensi levelei: ÖStA HHStA Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 377, Fz. 15.

[46] Andreas Gottsmann, *L'imperial-regia Agenzia austriaca nel lungo Ottocento*, Gli agenti presso la Santa Sede delle comunità e degli stati stranieri II. Secoli XVIII–XX (Studi di storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche 9), a cura di Matteo Sanfilippo–Péter Tusor, Viterbo 2021, 75–102, 75–76.

történtekről. Feltűnő, hogy Poloni tíz, a konklávé alatt írt leveléből nyolc pontosan ugyanarra a napra esett, mint a Francesco Brunati által írt levelek. A római ügyek és a fent tárgyalt, a katolikus udvarok befolyásával lebonyolított konklávé Habsburg-részről egyik leginkább érintett személye Colloredo herceg volt. Így feltételezhetően az alkancellár az egyik legjobban tájékoztatott személy lehetett Bécsben 1768–1769 táján a római ügyekkel kapcsolatban. Ennek fényében, az alkancellárnak címzett levelek mellett megítélhetővé válik Pinto Poloni leveleinek a minősége is.

Alább három levélpárosból egy-egy általam kiragadott példa alapján ismertetem a hasonlóságokat és a különbségeket.[47] Már első ránézésre is látszódik, hogy Brunati levelei terjedelmesebbek, mint Pinto Poloni-éi. A március 4-ei leveleikben mindketten említést tettek delle Lanze bíboros érkeztéről és Lipót nagyherceg jövőheti római látogatásáról. Francesco Brunati azonban egy bekezdés erejéig elemzi a március eleji konklávéi erőviszonyokat is, kitért az Orsini kardinális körül gyűlő erőkre és jelezte a bécsi udvar felé, hogy Torregiani bíboros Spinola személyére szóló szavazatok egyesítésével próbálkozott. Poloni még nem említette név szerint az érkezők között Bufalini bíborost, amit ágens kollégája ugyan azon napon már megtett.

Március 18-ai levelében Brunati hosszasabban értekezett pápai Államtitkárságot és a többi szentszéki hivatlat működtető személyek fontosságáról, kiemelve ellenpéldaként a jelen helyzetet, amikor szerinte Torrigiani államtitkár egyáltalán nem tud kiigazodni az európai politikán. Jelentette, hogy e posztra Spinola és Stoppani bíborosok látszanak legesélyesebbnek és legalkalmasabbnak is. Megemlítette továbbá, hogy a Dataria élére Pirelli, Fantuzzi, Veterani vagy de Rossi bíborosok esélyesek. Ezt az előrejelzést végzettségükre és kiterjedt jogi jártasságukra alapozta. Róma utcáin történt eseményekben azonban mindkét ágens pontos és érezhetően személyesen átélt élmények alapján írt. Brunati II. József császár római érkezéséről egyenesen azt állította, mintha Nagy Károly kora tért volna vissza Rómába. Poloni is az utcákon tülekedő és éljenző tömegekről írt. A konklávéba történt belépés eseményeinél azonban már érezhető, hogy Poloni feltehetőleg sokad kézből informálódhatott a történésekről, míg Brunati, ha nem is személyesen volt jelen, de utólag, egy vagy több jelenlévőtől hallhatta a történéseket. Ez jól megvilágítja kettejük jelentései között fennálló különbséget. Brunati sokkal pontosabb leírásokkal tudott szolgálni Bécsbe.

Ennek oka az 1769. április 15-ei Brunati levélben jól ki is tűnik. Colloredo alkancellár ágense közvetlen és személyes kapcsolatban állt a bíborosok legalább egy részével. Példázza ezt az, hogy Pozzobonelli Rómába érkezésekor az alkancellár levelét Brunati adta át személyesen a kardinálisnak, amely után beszélgetést folytattak. Ugyanezen levél szerint Brunati a római nagykövetekkel is élő kapcsolatban állt. Pinto Poloninak valószínűleg fizetnie kellett olyan hírmorzsákért, amelyek Brunati asztalán számolatlanul hevertek. Ugyanakkor Poloni levelei arról is tanúskodnak, hogy egy jószemű ágenssel dolgoztatott Zichy. Minden jelentős római történésről tudósított. Amelyekhez

[47] Itt nem térek ki a konklávén kívüli ügyek említésére azok összehasonlíthatatlan volta miatt. Brunati „kontrasztanyagként" használt jelentései: ÖStA HHStA Gesandtschafts- und Konsulatsarchive, Gesandschaftsarchiv Rom, Vatikan I, Kart. 175, fol. 23–26. 36–38. 56–57. Közlésüket lásd *Függelék*, 4–6. sz.

személyesen, nyilvánosan hozzáfért azokról bővebben és láthatóan pontosan, ferdítés nélkül adott hírt. Francesco Brunati által képviselt elit körhöz azonban nem volt személyes hozzáférése, ilyen esetekben elmondásokból dolgozhatott a kevesebb, de azt biztosan elve alapján. Ugyanakkor néha forrásai révén meglehetősen reális képet tudott alkotni akár a konklávé pártos ügyeiről is. Poloni csak megfigyelője volt azoknak az eseményeknek, amiknek Brunati részben alakítója is.[48]

Zichy püspök, ágense révén – aki a leírt jelentései mellé nyomtatványokat és római újságokat is csatolt – egy heti rendszerességgel tájékoztatott, jól értesült főpap volt. A kérdésre a válasz, hogy megérte-e római ágensének a fizetése a válasz egy egyértelmű igen. Nem lehet azonban ezt minőségében és mennyiségében összevetni a birodalom irányításával megbízott prominens személyek tájékozottságával, akik a korszak legjobb ügynökeivel dolgoztattak és akik a legfelsőbb döntéshozói körökig bejáratosak és elismertek voltak.

FÜGGELÉK

1.

Róma, 1769. március 4.
Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni Zichy Ferencnek

Az Itálián kívüli bíborosok meg nem érkeztéig nem választanak új pápát. Eddig egyik esélyes jelölt sem számolhat hétnél több szavazattal. Delle Lanze és Paracciani bíborosok már Rómában tartózkodnak, tegnap be is léptek a konklávéba, így már harmincan vannak jelen. A hírek szerint Franciaországból két bíboros fog érkezni, a Szent Római Birodalomból Migazzit lehet várni. A portugál és spanyol bíborosok érkezéséről jelenleg még nincs semmi információ Rómában. Véleménye szerint a milánói bíborosok közül fog kikerülni a következő pápa. A következő hétre várják a a toszkán nagyherceg Rómába érkezését. Kornis Ferenc címzetes püspöki méltóságának megerősítése elő van készítve. Ígéri, hogy be fog számolni a megválasztott új pápa személyéről, ugyanúgy, ahogy az előzőnek a haláláról is tájékoztatott. Közszájon forgó tény, hogy a zágrábi püspökségre a jelenlegi csanádi püspököt fogják kinevezni.

(GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, *ord. cron.* – *orig.*)

Excellentia Reverendissima Patrona[49]

Connotae vere calamitosae circumstantiae huius Sedis Apostolicae et Ecclesiae et supplices instantiae horum gratorum exterarum regiarum aularum, ut suspendatur electio novi Pontificis vel usque ad adventum exterorum cardinalium vel saltem usque

[48] Vö. az előző j.-t.

[49] Első pillantársa szokatlan, más korszakokban nem igen használatos értelmező/jelző, az '*Excellentia*'-hoz tartozik nyelvtanilag, a forrásokban a '*Prona*' rövidítés, illetve függő alakjai találhatók.

ad reditum expressorum cursorum expeditorum cum notitia sequuti obitus defuncti Summi Pontificis effecerunt et efficiunt, ut cardinales actu in conclavi existentes nec adhuc de eligendo novo Summo Pontifice serio cogitasse indicium praebeant, cum nemo ex eis maiora ad praesens habuerit suffragia, quam septem, in modum, ut clarissime per hoc demonstrent, quod nisi omnes, qui venturi sunt, de facto advenerint cardinales, novus Pontifex non eligetur.

Ex exteris seu ab Urbe absentibus duo solummodo comparuerunt, Eminentissimus scilicet cardinalis dele Lanze e Thaurino[50] et Eminentissimus Cardinalis Paracciani archiepiscopus Firmanus,[51] qui post diem in conclave sese receperunt ac trigesimum cardinalium numerum compleverunt, praestolantur modo caeteri, quorum duos tantum ex Gallia (cum Eminentissimum cardinalem de Choiseul gravi morbo laborare dicatur).[52] Unum ex Germania, Eminentissimum scilicet Migazzi[53] in itinere iam constitutos esse nuperrimi cursores retulerunt, ex Lusitania vero et Hispania nulla adhuc certa haberi potuit notitia.

Pro mea et aliorum etiam sententia futurus Pontifex est inter cardinales Mediolanenses et forsan electio non egredietur e persona hodierni eiusdem civitatis archiepiscopi, cum in eo coniuncta reperiantur illa requisita, quae in praesentibus Ecclesiae circumstantiis requiruntur.

Expectatur hic quoque in proxima hebdomada magnus Hetruriae dux Urbem (ut alii opinantur) cum plena libertate occasione sedis vacantis intuiturus vel (ut alii mussitant) Neapolim iterum redditurus.

Hae sunt decurrentes notitiae, quae iam porrectis superaddendae inpraesentiarum occurrunt et per me ex debito mei muneris referendae veniunt Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae, cuius potentissimo me recommendans patrocinio profundissimam ago reverentiam et in pleno respectu subscribor.

Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae Patronae, reddita mihi nuper fuit gratiosissima litera Reverendissimi Domini Comitis a Kornis[54] requirentis a me notitiam praecisi status eius suffraganeatus in pleno concistorio pro collatione tituli proponendi, unde referendo eidem, quod pro parte Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae remissa ad me fuerat integralis summa pro efficienda expeditione eiusdem tituli et praeterea, quod in meis manibus reperiebatur adhuc originalis processus Sacrae Nunciaturae Viennensis pridie mortem Pontificis ad me perventus, et sic novo Summo Pontifici praesentandus subiunxi, quod statim ac Deo dante sequetur electio novi Pontificis, negotium sine dilatione perficietur, quod huiusmodi passum non fuisset dilationem, si supradictus, processus antea confectus et expeditus extitisset et inopinata Pontificis mors novum non interiecisset impedimentum.

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[50] Carlo Vittorio Amedeo delle Lanze (1712–1784), bíboros. HC VI, 15.

[51] Luigi Maria Torrigiani (1697–1777), bíboros, pápai államtitkár.

[52] Antoine Clériadus de Choiseul de Beaupré (1706–1774), bíboros, Lotharingia prímása, Besançon érseke. HC VI, 23.

[53] Christoph Anton von Migazzi (1714–1803), bíboros, bécsi érsek, váci püspök. HC VI, 23.

[54] Kornis Ferenc (1731–1790), c. juliopoliszi püspök, nagyváradi nagyprépost. HC VI, 247.

Evulgata est hic vox, quod ad vacantem Zagrabiensem episcopatum nominatus fuerit excellentimus Dominus hodiernus Episcopus Chanadiensis[55] intrinsecus (ut audio) amicus Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae, si haec vox veritati innitatur et quatenus idem Excellentissimus Episcopus Romano agente provisus non sit, supplicare auderem summae Benignitati eiusdem Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae ad hoc, ut validissima sua penes eumdem Excellentissimum Dominum Episcopum interponeret officia ad mei favorem, et denuo etc. Romae 4 Martii 1769.

[m.p.]

Humillimus addictissimus et
obligatissimus
iamdudum vobis obsequentissimus
Bartholomaeus Pinto Poloni agens
Excellentissimo Domino
Episcopo Iaurinensi

2.

Róma, 1769. március 18.
Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni Zichy Ferencnek

Március 15-ei levele óta újabb kardinálisok érkeztek Rómába. Megérkezett a városba II. József császár és öccse, Péter Lipót toszkán nagyherceg is. A testvérpárt általános éljenzés fogadta, bármerre is mentek Rómában. Ittlétük óta római látványosságokat kerestek fel. A császár tárgyalt Spinola bíborossal, majd beléptek a konklávéba, ahol több mint egy órát időztek a bíborosok között.

(GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, *ord. cron. – orig.*)

Excellentia Reverendissima Patrona

Ultra exteros seu ab Urbe absentes cardinales, quos notavi in praecedenti mea diei 15 currentis Martii et qui interea pervenerunt et in conclave ingressi sunt, alii quatuor hic comparuerunt, scilicet Pallavicini Ianuensis,[56] Priolus Venetus[57] Lÿnes ex Gallia[58] et Sersale Archiepiscopus Neapolitanus.[59]

Taliter autem exultat haec eadem Urbs ex praesentia Augustissimi Caesaris illiusque Celsissimi Fratris, ut ubique iidem Principes sese transferant, concomitentur ab universo fere hoc populo, alta voce clamante: vivat noster Augustissimus Imperator.

Sub externa autem die dicti Augustissimi Fratres sese contulerunt ad ianuam conclavis sub palliato colore videndi in illud ingredi Eminentissimum Cardinalem Spinola.[60] Unde adaperta ianua et ante illam stantibus omnibus purpuratis patribus Cardinalis Urbis

[55] Franz Anton Engl von Wagrain (1702–1777), csanádi püspök. HC VI, 188.
[56] Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini (1719–1785), bíboros, konklávé után pápai államtitkár. HC VI, 24.
[57] Antonio Marino Priuli (1707–1772), bíboros, Vicenza püspöke. HC VI, 20.
[58] Paul d'Albert de Luynes (1703–1788), bíboros, Sens-i érsek. HC VI, 18.
[59] Antonino Sersale (1702–1775), bíboros, nápolyi érsek. HC VI, 17.
[60] Girolamo Spinola (1713–1784) bíboros. HC VI, 21.

Vicarius facta profunda reverentia sequentia protulit verba: Pro his exteris Celsissimis Principibus non est clausura, nulla est canonica interdictio. Proindeque, si velint, possunt ingredi. Ad quae repetiit Imperator: Libenter et ad hunc effectum deponam ensem, quo cingor. Quo dicto subiunxit illico cardinalis Stoppani,[61] veluti primus in ordine sub illa die: Ensis ille, qui ad nostrorum Sedis Apostolicae et Universalis Ecclesiae defensionem praeelectus est deponendus non venit, sed nimium bene collocatus reperitur in Augustissima Persona, quae illum defert. Et hac servata formula tam dictus Augustissimus Imperator, quam eius Celsissimus Frater soli in conclave ingressi sunt, in quo per horam et ultra manserunt.

Ex permissione Sacri Collegii pro proximis Paschalibus Festis parantur artificiales Igneae Machinae, equorum cursus, et choreae.

Quandiu hic permansuri sint dicti Augustissimi Principes adhuc latet, opinatur tamen, quod ante diem 5 futuri Aprilis ambo discedent. Et in osculo sanctissimarum vestium dimississime maneo. Romae 18 Martii 1769.

Excellentiae Vestrae
Reverendissimae Patronae

[m.p.]

humillimus addictissimus et
obligatissimus
iamdudum vobis obsequentissimus
Bartholomeus Pinto Poloni agens

3.

Róma, 1769. április 15.
Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni Zichy Ferenc püspöknek

A toszkán nagyherceg hazament Firenzébe, ahol megszületett gyermeke. Április 10-én a császár visszatért Rómába Nápolyból, majd ment tovább Firenze felé. A császár egyeztetett Pozzobonelli bíborossal, milánói érsekkel. II. Józsefet távoztakor az Örök Városból nagy tömeg búcsúztatta. Úton vannak a spanyol bíborosok, de még nem érkeztek meg. Előreláthatólag negyvenhét bíboros fog összegyűlni, akik közül harmincegy kell az új pápa megválasztásához. Jelzi, hogy tart attól, hogy Zichy pár levelét nem kapta kézhez azok elkallódása miatt. Csatolja a portugál király kollégiumnak írt levelének másolatát. Úgy tudja, hogy a szerémi püspök ígéretet kapott a zágrábi püspökségre.

(GyEL PL Literae Romanae III, *ord. cron. – orig.*)

Excellentia Reverendissima Patrona

Consectanee ad ea, quae tam respectu ad Augustissimum Imperatorem Nostrum eiusque Celsissimum Fratrem Magnum Hetruriae Ducem, quam circa statum huius conclavis retuli in nuperrima mea diei 2. decurrentis Aprilis, subnectendum habeo,

[61] Giovanni Francesco Stoppani (1695–1774) bíboros, palestrinai püspök. HC VI, 16.

quod de facto in die 3. huius eiusdem mensis praefatus Celsissimus Hetruriae Dux Florentiam reversus est, ubi post tres horas ab eius adventu in lucem dedit Celsissima eius coniux alterum filium masculum.[62] Augustissimus vero Imperator in die 10. eiusdem currentis mensis e civitate Neapolitana redux, perintegram illam diem in hac Urbe permansit et in sequenti licet summo mane innumero nihilominus eum praestolante populo ex hac eadem Urbe discessit, Florentiam versus, eaque occasione in certo designato per huiusmodi iter loco per plures horas allocutus est cum Eminentissimo Cardinali Pozzobonelli,[63] archiepiscopo Mediolanensi, qui subinde Romam venit et hodie conclave ingressus est.

Deficiunt ergo ad complementum omnium cardinalium, qui in idem conclave ingressuri sunt, bini tantummodo ex Hispania, de quibus veluti mare secantibus nulla adhuc certa habetur notitia et, ut primum advenient, conficient numerum suffragiorum 47, quo stante eo tunc ad canonicam pontificis electionem suffragia triginta unum requirentur.

Ut prius, nunc quoque cardinales incerti vagantur cum eorum votis, unde nisi cito compareant Hispani patres vel ex misericordia Domini vota cardinalium actu in conclavi existentium in unum pro maiori parte conveniant, Deus scit, quando novum habebimus Pontificem.

Blandior, quod superiores meae litereae cum distincta relatione eorum hucusque occursorum a decessu Summi Pontificis interpellatim per me datae ad veneratissimas Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae manus rite tempestiveque redditae sint, cum de eis earumque adventu nil certi adhuc audiverim ex deficientia literarum Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae, quas anxie anhelabam et anhelo: et cum profundissimo obsequio sacras deosculor vestes. Romae 15 Aprilis 1769.

Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae Patronae

[m.p.]

humillimus addictissimus et
obligatissimus
iamdudum vobis obsequentissimus
Bartholomaeus Pinto Poloni agens

P. S. Post exaratam ac confectam praesentem, reddita mihi per hanc postham extitit perhumanissima Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae litera firmata die 20. revoluti Martii: Cumque quoad summam pecuniarum, in postha Veneta totaliter distincta ac separata a consueta nostra Austriaca posta, per me demum inventam, opportune instructam ac certioratam reddiderim eandem Excellentiam Vestram Reverendissimam cum mea praecedenti litera diei 4. eiusdem mensis Martii. Ideo superaddere tantum debeo, quod (ut Primum Altissimus nobis concedet novum Ecclesiae Caput) non ominam indilate urgere pro expeditione opportunarum bullarum, pro quibus obtinendis iam omnia in promptu sunt. Perennes interim reddens gratias Summae Benignitati

[62] Péter Lipót nagyherceg fia, a későbbi III. Ferdinánd toszkán nagyherceg a levél kelte után, máj. 6-án született.
[63] Giuseppe Pozzobonelli (1696–1783) bíboros, milánói érsek. HC VI, 13.

Excellentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae pro validissimis suis officiis, quae praestare in mei favorem parata fuisset penes Excellentissimum Dominum Episcopum Csanadiensem, quatenus vera fuisset vox illius electionis ad Episcopatum Zagrabiensem, et quae praestare gratiosissime pollicetur penes Episcopum Syrmiensem[64] vere futurum Episcopum Zagrabiensem, quem de caetero Episcopum Syrmiensem iam inserviendi feror honore, nisi hac occasione mei oblivisci placeat. Accludo pro notitia copiam literae regis Portugalliae Sacro Collegio Collegio Cardinalium conscriptae. Non verificatur supradata vox puerperii Magnae Hetruriae ducissae.

4.

Róma, 1769. március 4.

Francesco Brunati Colloredo birodalmi alkancellárhoz

Torrigiani bíboros szavazatokat próbált egyesíteni Spinola bíboros számára. Orsininek elegendő ereje van, hogy a francia és spanyol bíborosok érkezése előtt eredményt érjen el. Bufalini bíboros megérkezett Rómába, holnap be is lép a konklávéba, ahol így már 31-en lesznek, amiből 21 szavazat kell az új pápa megválasztásához. Egész Róma Lipót toszkán nagyherceget várja, aki feltehetőleg jövő hétfőn érkezik.

(ÖStA HHStA Gesandschaftsarch. Rom, Vatikan I, Kart. 175, fol. 23–26 – *orig.*)

Altezza

Per il Suo Maestro di Camera mandò jeri l'Ambasciadore di Francia al Cardinal Orsini[65] la lettera di Sua Maestà Cristianissima di riposta al Sacro Collegio sù la partezipazione della morte del Papa, la quale dal medesimo Cardinale fù immediatamente presenta ai Cardinali Capi d'ordini.

É falsa la voce che l'accennato Ambasciadore: abbia avuto ordine dalla sua Corte di dover spiegare il carattere d'Ambasciadore Straordinario al Conclave; si é meglio appurato d'aver egli unicamente ricevute delle istruzioni relative al presente stato delle cose: anzi non venendogli altri ordini, si crede che non sarà per fare venire publica comparse al Sacro Collegio.

Si vuole, che il Cardinal Rezzonico fiancheggiato dal Cardinal Torrigiani abbian ultimamente fatto qualche tentativo per unire un numero sufficiente di voti a favore del Cardinal Spinola Genovese, non si sà se seriamente, o per far prova delle loro forze, ma che non si è loro felicemente riuscito d'andare avanti con questo trattato. Il partito de zelanti unito a quello del Cardinal Orsini hanno forze bastevoli per rompere ogni dissegno fino all'arrivo de Cardinali delle Corone.

Ieri giunse qui proveniente dal suo Vescovato d'Ancona il Cardinal Bufalini;[66] Dimani entrerà in Conclave, dove compreso il medesimo saranno fin'ora al numero di 31 i Cardinali rinchiusi in Conclave; sicche 21 voti ci vogliono ora per l'inclusiva, e 11 per la esclusiva.

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[64] Paksy János († 1771) szerémi, majd 1770-től zágrábi püspök. HC VI, 382.

[65] Domenico Orsini d'Arragona (1719–1789), bíboros. HC VI, 14.

[66] Giovanni Ottavio Bufalini (1709–1782), bíboros, anconai püspök. HC VI, 23.

Il Cardinale dele Lanze si è proveduto di palazzo, si sente che resterà qui qualche tempo e che sarà forse incaricato di commissioni dalla Corte di Torino apponit[67] il nuovo Papa. Coerentemente all'umilissima mia de 25 scaduto rapporto al Capitolo intimato dalla Republica di Venezia ai P.P.[68] Benedettini de suoi Domini da tenersi dentro il corrente anno in Padova; Il Sacro Collegio ha creduto d'accordare la licenza a questi P.P. Superiori[69] di potervisi trasferire. Tutta Roma stà ansiosamente aspettando l'arrivo di Sua Altezza Reale l'Arciduca Leopoldo Grand Duca di Toscana, che si spera potrà qui seguire il Lunedi prossimo. Questa mattina è partito da qui il Ministro di Toscana per incontrare l'Altezza Sua Reale.

Si dice che l'ambascadore di Francia abbia avuto in riposta sul particolare del complotto di que' mal consigliati Cardinali che appena entrati in Conclave voleano precipitare un immatura elezione, che quel ministero avurebbe avuto piacere, che fosse seguita qui annessa ho l'onore d'umiliare a Vostra Altezza la solita relazione del Conclave, alla quale si degnerà l'Altezza Vostra di dar quel valore, che meritar può. Roma 4 Marzo 1769.

Col più profondo rispetto e sommissione ho il grand'onore di essere
Di Vostra Altezza

[m.p.]

Umilissimo Devotissimo
Obbligatissimo
Servitor Vero
Francesco Brunati

5.

Róma, 1769. március 18.
Francesco Brunati Colloredo birodalmi alkancellárhoz

A pápa megválasztása mellett nem kevésbé fontos a hivatalát alkotó személyek köre is. Az államtitkár pozíciójára mindig alkalmas személyt kell választani, nem úgy, mint jelenleg, amikor Torrigiani bíboros egyáltalán nincs tisztában az európai uralkodói udvarok viszonyaival. Stoppani és Spinola bíborosok jellemzése. A Dataria élére esélyes bíborosok felsorolása. Már csak Pozzobonelli és Sersale kardinálisok hiányoznak, akik minden bizonnyal közel járhatnak már Rómához. A meggondolatlan Molino bíboros pénzhiány miatt halogatja az indulását Ferrarából, támogatást kért a Velencei Köztársaságtól, de választ sem kapott. A francia Luynes bíboros megérkezett és társa Berny is bármelyik pillanatban befuthat. Kiderült, hogy Ganganelli kardinális a franciák választottjai között lehet. A minap a császár és öccse, a toszkán nagyherceg beléptek a konklávéba, ahol végigkísérték Spinola bíboros érkezését. Körülbelül másfél

[67] Tudnillik '*presso / a fianco di qualcuno*'.
[68] '*Padri*'.
[69] Ua.

órát töltöttek az elzárt részen. Miután hódoltak nekik a bíborosok, megtekintették a cellákat és kápolnákat, majd elégedetten távoztak. A császárt a nép mindenhol a városban ujjongva fogadja. II. József esténként a római nemességgel tölti az idejét, ahol mindenkit elvarázsol szellemességével az édesanyja által átadott neveltetésével. Köszöni, hogy a császárnak ajánlották személyét.

(ÖStA HHStA Gesandschaftsarch. Rom, Vatikan I, Kart. 175, fol. 36–38 – *orig.*)

Altezza

In prosseguimento di quanto ebbi l'onore di rispettosamente umiliare a Vostra Altezza l'ordinario scorso de 11 corrente rapporto ai Cardinali e Prelati che saronno al nuovo Papa per coprire le cariche più importanti de Pontificio Ministero. Essendo indubitato, che l'accerto di ogni negozio de Principi dipende più dai Ministri, che sono in palazzo, che dalla stessa volontà del Papa, e che non deesi perciò meno badare all'elezione del Pontefice, che a quella de suoi Ministri; l'Ambasciadore ed il Cardinal incaricato del segreto di Sua Maestà Cesarea dovranno avere le più efficaci premure.

Ed attenzione nel'elezione di detti Ministri, e principalmente del Segretario di Stato e del Datario, impiegi i più importatni per influire nella tanto necessaria unione fra il sacerdozio e l'Imperio, per il sistema della Gerarchia Ecclesiastica di Germania e perle reciproche convenienze.

Questi due Ministri si fanno sempre avanti, che il Papa sia dichiarato ne credesi perciò, che si contraga alcuna simonia, oltre i più recenti esempi abbiamo quello nel Conclave del Sommo Pontefice d'Innocenzo XI il quale Santissimo uomo per quietare i Francesi, pure si contentò con patto espresso di promettere la segretaria di Stato al Cardinal Cibo[70] proposto dalla Francia.

La scelta del Segretario di Stato dovrebbe regolarmente esser d'un soggetto il più capace di tanta carica. Talvolta accede tutto il contrario, come ultimamente si é veduto nel Cardinal Torrigiani affato ignaro del sistema delle Corti di Europa. Un tempo ad una tal carica s'inalzava un Prelato, ed alcuni credono, che ciò riuscisse di maggior vantaggio per i sovrani. Ora sarebbe ben difficile che i Cardinali si lasciassero scappar di mano un posto, che é il primo, ed il più importante di questa Corte.

I due Cardinali che vanno più in predicamento per cosi importante carica sono Stoppani, e Spinola. Del primo ne ho già umiliato a Vostra Altezza nelle mie riflessioni sopra il Conclave il pieno carattere. Rapporto al Cardinal Spinola mi resta aggiungere esser egli valido di corpo, di morigerati costumi, di sano discerniment e di affettare buona intenzione riguardo alle correnti vertenze. É molto pigro, lascia fare ai suoi subalterni, ed ha per massima di sempre sostenerli. Ha tutta l'alterigia Genovese, benché affetti il contrario. Tende al dispotismo, ed alla prepotenza, e nelle sue legazioni di Bologna e di Ferrara ha cercato coffare con i più forti, e questa é l'unica cosa, che ha fatto da per se. Egli é attaccatissimo a Torrigiani non tanto per stima, quanto per gratitudine poiche Torrigiani ha cercato sempre tutte le occasioni di guadagnarselo, deferendo sempre ai suoi voleri, specialmentte sul nuovo piano delle truppe di Ferrare

[70] Alderano Cibo (1613–1700), bíboros, 1676-tól pápai bíboros államtitkár. HC V, 46.

unica passione del Cardinal Spinola. Le molte aderenze che per parentati la il medesimo qui in Roma colle primarie case, gli produrranno molti Cardinali contrari e fra questi non saran[71] degli ultimi gli Albani[72] ed altri, i quali volendo per vari motivi dominare temono il genio imperioso d'un primo Ministro.

Dovendo essere il Datario, secondo l'esenza di questa carica, buon Dottore, avendo parte nell'elezione del Papa, come sarà probabile, il Cardinal Pirelli,[73] Fantuzzi,[74] Veterani,[75] de Rossi soggetti di molta capacità nelle materie legali, forse riuscirà uno di questi nissuno per altro meglio del Cardinale a cui verrà affidato il segreto dell Augustissima Reale Corte potrà conoscere a chi de Cardinali più convengan queste, ed altre cariche. Dai servizi che gli prestaranno i medesimi nell'elezione col dar mano al nostro partito potrà rilevarne autentiche prove del loro attaccemento, e divozione per prommovergli agli impiegi, che stimerà più convenienti all'interesse dell'Augustissima Reale Corte.

Avrei ardentemente desiderato descriver a Vostra Altezza quali sieno i Cardinali ed i Prelati attaccati sinceramente agli interessi della nostra Corte: ma l'amore della verità ed il dovere di fedel suddito, che non ha altro nel cuore che il buon servigio della Corte han[76] reso inefficace questo mio desiderio. Mi resta la speranza di veder in un nuovo Pontificato, che questo ministro incaricato de nostri affari non li posponga sempre ai suoi particolari interessi ed invece di alienare, sappia anzi cattivarsi gli animi de soggeti di vaglia, che mai mancano in questa corte.

Il Conclave si và riempiendo. Degli Italiani non mancano, che Pozzobonelli e Sersale, il quale deve essere poco lontano di Roma. L'imprudente Cardinal Molino per mancanza di denaro tarda[77] a muoversi da Ferrara; egli ha chiesto sussidio alla Patria la Republica di Venezia non gli ha nemeno risposto. Luynes é venuto, e si aspetta a momenti il Cardinale di Berny.[78] Si traspira, che il Cardinal Ganganelli possa esser molto in vista de francesi. Il partito di Stoppani va ora ordine retrogrado, s'impiccolisce alla giornata; i più de Cardinali gli son contrari. Ma ora il Conclave é più occupato a deliberar trattamenti a Sua Maestà Cesarea, che a brigare per l'elezione del Papa. Se gli preparanno infatti de suntuosi regalli de vari generi, e degli spettacoli publici, di girandole di fuochi d'artificio di corse e d'illuminazione della gran cupolla Vaticana.

Ier l'altro Sua Maestà Imperiale insieme col Gran Duca fu a San Pietro, dove girò da per tutto. E vi si trattenne quasi quattr'ore. Il popolo ed ogni classe di persone scorreva a torrenti per le strade, per le piazze, e per entro e fuori la chiesa; gli applausi e le acclamazioni furon continue ed universali: e la plebe Romulae ebria d'allegrezza esclamava da per tutto gettando i capelli per aria e viva il nostro Imperatore. Pareva

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71 Tudniillik '*saranno*'.

72 Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), bíboros. HC VI, 53.

73 Filippo Maria Pirelli (1708–1771), bíboros. HC VI, 24.

74 Gaetano Fantuzzi (1708–1778), bíboros. HC VI, 22.

75 Benedetto Veterani (1703–1776), bíboros. HC VI, 24.

76 Tudnillik '*hanno*'.

77 Tudnillik '*ritarda*'.

78 François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis (1715–1794), bíboros, Albi érseke. HC VI, 20.

il tempo di Carlo Magno, ogn'uno è attento ad osservarlo, ed ogn'uno si compiace della dolcezza della sua fisonomia ravvivata da alcuni tratti brillanti, e sani, fin il suo vestir semplice é applaudito. Lo stesso giorno poi dopo pranzo Sua Maestà Cesarea col Gran Duca ritornò a San Pietro per veder l'ingresso in Conclave del Cardinal Spinola. A quest'effetto si dovette approssimar alla porta del Conclave la quale fu subito spalancata, ed i Cardinali che eran ivi tutti raccolti v'invitarono ad entrare con premurose istanze i due sovrani, dicendo, che non avessero timore di rompere la clausura. Vi entraron infati i due sovrani, che furon accolti e complimentati da un Cardinale dopo l'altro e dopo essersi trattenuti circa un'ora e un quarto ad osservar le celle, e le due singolari capelle ne uscirono contentissimi.

Sua Maestà Imperiale va osservando tutte queste principali magnificenze e rarità, e le osserva con attenzione e con gusto, e fra i continui e viva del popolo che si affolla per tutto per vederlo ed acclamarlo con trasporti di giubilo. La sera egli va per conversazioni, che la più distinta nobiltà procura dargli nella maniera più cospicua e tutti dame, cavalieri, prelati rimangon incantati della sua affabilità, della sua disinvoltura, de suoi detti sani e spiritosi tutto riflette in gloria della rara educazione che gli ha data Sua Maestà l'Imperatrice Regina Apostolica. Insomma la venuta di Sua Maestà Imperiale in quest'alma città va a formar nella storia un epoca, ma un epoca della più dolce e grata memoria.

In questo momento vengo di ricevere il foglio veneratissimo di Vostra Altezza de 6 del corrente ed ho l'onore d'umiliarle in conferma di quanto si degna parteciparmi, che riguardo al contegno di Sua Maestà Imperiale egli continua qui a mantenere il più perfetto incognito, ciò nondimeno questo serve piutosto a maggiormente eccittare la curiosità, e l'amorevolezza del popolo per vi é più acclamarlo. Penetrato dal più profondo rispetto e dalla più viva riconoscenza rendo all'Altezza Vostra le più ossequiose grazie per la sua benefica intenzione di raccomdarmi a Sua Maestà Cesarea prima che da costa partisse. Ma già ne ho rilevati i più benigni effetti da poi che ho avuto il grand'onore di esser presentato ai piedi di Sua Maestà Imperiale egli ha avuto la clemenza di accogliermi con espressioni le più benigne. E questo riconosco tutto dalla protezione di Vostra Altezza per essersi degnata di presentarli le mie relazioni delle quali la Maestà Sua Imperiale me ne ha dato cenno. Onde rendo di bel nuovo umilissime grazie all'Altezza Sua eminentissima.

Le professo infinitamente obligato fino alle ceneri.

Questa sera è arrivato il Cardinale di Sersale e Lunedi prossimo entrarà in Conclave il Cardinale de Luynes. Roma 18 Marzo 1769.

Con profondo ossequio e Venerazione ho il grand'onore di essere.

Di Vostra Altezza

[m.p.]

Umilissimo Devotissimo
Obbligatissimo servitore vero
Francesco Brunati

6.

Róma, 1769. április 15.

Francesco Brunati Colloredo birodalmi alkancellárhoz

Megérkezett Rómába Pozzobonelli bíboros, akit másnap teljeskörűen tájékoztatott a konklávé eseményeiről. Kézhez vette Albani bíboros levelét. A Bourbon-tábor ellenzéke megpróbálkozhat egy érvényes pápaválasztással különösen azért, mert a hírek szerint két spanyol bíboros a napokban indult el Alicante-ból hajó helyett végül a szárazföldön. Így május közepe előtt nem érkezhetnek meg Rómába. Kánonjogászok és teológusok vizsgálják azt a francia elképzelést, hogy a megválasztandó bíboros tehet-e előre ígéreteket, amiket majd pápaként hajtana végre. Köszöni a megérkezett 400 forintos apanázst.

(ÖStA HHStA Gesandschaftsarch. Rom, Vatikan I, Kart. 175, fol. 56–57 – *orig.*)

Altezza

Si sarà degnato l'Altezza Vostra di osservare nell'ultima umilissima mia de 12 del corrente che subito arrivato il Signor Cardinal Pozzobonelli mi sono portato ad inchinarlo ed a presentargli il piego di cui mi ha clementissimamente incaricato Sua Maestà Cesarea. La mattina susseguente secondo l'appuntamento dal medesimo dattomi ho avuto l'onore d'informarlo pienamente del sistema della cose del Conclave avendo inoltre concertata con esso Signor Cardinale un esatta corrispondenza e comunicazione per tutto ciò, che potrà occorrere a Sua Eccellenza il Signor Ambasciadore. A questo oggetto egli ha desiderato di avere un'accurata e distinta informazione sopra ogni particolarità, che riguarda il cerimoniale della publica udienza d'esso Eccellentissimo Signor Ambasciatore al Conclave, quale mi sono fatto debito di presentargli. Nello istesso giorno mi ha onorato d'un suo biglietto l'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal Alessandro Albani, con cui mi fa la medesima ricerca, in esecuzione della quale gliene ho trasmessa copia in Conclave. Si rende più rimarchevole, che quest'ultimo porporato aveva due giorni prima mandata una memoria sopra il medesimo cerimoniale al Signor Conte Castellini, destinato Maestro di Camera di Sua Eccellenza il Signor Ambasciatore esebitagli forse dai Maestri delle cerimonie che sono in Conclave la quale varia di molto dal cerimoniale solito praticarsi dagli Ambasciadori Cesarei. É rimasto ancora molto sorpreso il Signor Cardinal Pozzobonelli in sentire che l'Eminentissimo Albani abbia per suoi conclavisti l'Abate Querelli suddito e pensionato del Re di Sardegna, e l'Avvocato Sala Calabrese. Egli dimostra tutto il zelo e divozione verso l'Augustissima e Reale Corte ed é rimasto incantato degli atti di clemenza di cui lo ha onorato Sua Maestà Imperiale nell'abboccamento tenuto col medesimo in Viterbo. Questa sera egli é entrato in Conclave in predicamento di Papabile. Si pretende che i Cardinali più impazienti non aspettavano che questo porporato per dar seriamente mano alla grand'opera dell'elezione del Papa. Almeno vi é chi crede, che il partito più forte possa forse azardare qualche tentativo prima dell'arrivo de Cardinali Spagnuoli, tanto più che coll'ultime lettere di Spagna, si é inteso il loro ritorno nel porto di Alicante, da dove hanno intrapreso colla permissione di Sua Maestà Cattolica il loro viaggio per terra cosiche per quanto lo prosseguino con diligenza, non potranno esser qui prima della metà,

o verso gli ultimi del prossimo mese di maggio. Questa notizia ha messo sossopra[79] i Cardinali in Conclave, molti de quali profitteranno probabilmente di questo incidente per attirare gli impazienti d'una più lunga cavecere, e carcere tanto più incomoda e pestifera quanto che già il caldo comincia a farsi sentire per sollecitare l'elezione.

Si dice esser stato commesso a vari Teologi e canonisti di esaminare se prima dell'elezione possan i Cardinali obbligarsi ad alcuni patti e convenzioni da eseguirsi poscia dal futuro Papa. In altri tempi si son anché promossi con simili dubbi ed i più gravi Teologi sono stati per l'affirmativa; cioé tutto può farsi quando vi é l'utilità pubblica. È costante voce, che i due Cardinali Francesi abbiano dichiarato in Conclave che presentemente Il Signor Cardinal Cavalchini era libero da quelle opposizioni, che nel Conclave passato furono prodotte da quella Corte. Onde ora era in arbitrio del Sacro Collegio d'avere verso il medesimo que riflessi e pensieri che potessero reputarsi più congrui e convenienti quello che è certo si è, che questo porporato negli ultimi tempi del passato pontificato ha sempre dimostrato sentimenti favorevoli principalmente nell'affare de Gesuiti alle Reverendi Reali Corti di Bourbon.

Penetrato dai più vivi sentimenti del più profondo ossequio e vera riconoscenza rendo a Vostra Altezza le più devote grazie per le benignissime espressioni delle quali si degna onorarmi col veneratissimo suo foglio de 3 del corrente tutti gli atti di clemenza de' quali mi ha benignamente graziato Sua Maestà Cesarea durante il suo soggiorno in Roma li debbo riconoscere dai benignissimi influssi dell'alta protezione del'Altezza Vostra egualmente ancora la grazia de 500 fiorini per l'equipaggio ed i 400 fiorini mensuali, che durante l'Ambasciata straordinaria mi vien clementissime di compartire Sua Maestà l'Imperatrice Regina Apostolica somma che eccede ogni mia brama per dover raddoppiare il mio zelo nel servizio di Sua Eccellenza il Signor Ambasciadore nell'onorifico mio incarico di segretario d'Ambasciata sotto i diluvi ordini. Mancandomi i termini per esprimere a Vostra Altezza le mie infinite obbligazioni, col più profondo rispetto e sommissione ho il grand'onore di essere.

Di Vostra Altezza

acui ho l'onore d'umiliare l'annesso foglietto segreto del Conclave che ricevo questo punto

[m.p.]

Umilissimo Devotissimo
Obbligatissimo servitore vero
Francesco Brunati

OLÁH P. RÓBERT

[79] Tudniillik '*sottosopra*'.

RÖVIDÍTÉSEK

AA.EE.SS	Archivio della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari
AAS	Acta Apostolicae Sedis
AAV	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
AHP	Archivum Historiae Pontificiae
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASRS	Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato – Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati e le Organizzazioni Internazionali
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BDHIR	Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom
BIHB	Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome
CAV	Collectanea Archivi Vaticani
CeSPoM	Centro Studi sull'Età dei Sobieski e della Polonia moderna
CST	Collectanea Studiorum et Textuum
CVH	Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae (I/1–20 és II/1–10, Budapest–Róma 2004–2022)
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (vol. 1–100, Roma 1960–2020)
DF	Diplomatikai Fényképtár
DL	Diplomatikai Levéltár
ELKH	Eötvös Loránd Kutatási Hálózat
ELTE EKK	Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Levéltár, Kézirattár
ESz	Egyháztörténeti Szemle
GyEL	Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár
HC	Hierarchia Catholica (*Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum*, S.R.E. Cardinalium, ecclesiarum Antistitum series I–IX, ed. Guilelmus van Gulik–Conradus Eubel–Patricius Gauchat–Ludovicus Schmitz-Kallenberg–Remigius Ritzler–Pirminus Sefrin, Monasterii–Patavii 1913–2002)
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények
HKA	Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hofkammerarchiv
LK	Levéltári Közlemények
LSz	Levéltári Szemle
MEV–Regnum	Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok–Regnum
MKSz	Magyar Könyvszemle

MKL	Magyar Királyi Kancellária. Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár
MNL-OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára
MHI	Monumenta Hungariae Italica (Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár)
MHH	Monumenta Hungariae Historica (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek)
MREV	Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis (*Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis. A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára* I–IV, szerk. Fraknói Vilmos–Lukcsics József, Budapestini 1896–1907)
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
MVH	Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae (*Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár*, I/1–6. II/1–3, szerk. Fraknói Vilmos, Budapestini 1881–1909)
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv
QFIAB	Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
P. Cons.	Archivio Concistoriale, Processus Consistoriales
P. Vienna	Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna, Processi Canonici
PPKE	Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem
PRT	Pannonhalmi Rendtörténet (*A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* I–XII/B, szerk. Erdélyi László–Sörös Pongrácz, Budapest 1902–1916)
PUGW	Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien
RORC	Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie (*Repertorium Officiorum Romane Curie*, hg. von Thomas Frenz, https://www.phil.uni-passau.de/histhw/forschung/rorc/)
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte
ST	Studi e Testi
Theiner, *Vet. mon. Hung.*	Augustinus Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam illustrantia* I–II, Romae–Parisiis–Vindobonae 1859–1860.
Theiner, *Vet. mon. Slav.*	Augustinus Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, I–II, Roma 1863–1875.
TSz	Történelmi Szemle

HUNGARY AND THE HOLY SEE OF ROME III.
Summaries

Queen Yolanda's Dower and the Golden Bull
An Unknown Royal Charter of 1222[1]

1. In her will, dated October 12th, 1251, Yolanda of Hungary, Queen Consort of Aragon, daughter of the Hungarian king Andrew II, bequeathed her Hungarian maternal inheritance, the ispanate (*comitatus*) of Pozsony (present day Bratislava, Slovakia) to her sons. It goes without saying that neither the queen, distant from her homeland, nor her heirs, did ever actually take possession of Pozsony, the western gateway of the Kingdom of Hungary. The first aim of my paper is to find out what was the legal basis for Yolanda's claim to one of the richest ispanates in Hungary, including the castle and town of Pozsony. *The answer is provided by a papal charter of December 9th, 1222, containing a transcript of a donation issued by King Andrew II at the beginning of the very same year*. The donation charter, hitherto undiscovered, shows that King Andrew II granted the castle of Pozsony as a dower to his second wife, Yolanda of Courtenay; their child, Yolanda of Hungary, Queen Consort of Aragon, thus regarded the domain as her rightful inheritance.

2. Under what circumstances did the marriage of Yolanda of Courtenay and Andrew II take place? In 1215 the Hungarian royal house established dynastic relations with the Latin Empire, itself heir to the Byzantine Empire. The Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders aimed at stabilizing his country's positions in the Balkans, which he attempted to realize, besides military victories, via marriage bonds. His alliance with the Árpáds may have played a role in controlling the Balkan states that had become independent during the previous decades. The meeting of the emperor and the king, which took place at Niš, Serbia, around the Easter of 1215 or 1216, was vividly remembered in a hagiographic work by the host, Stephen II (Prvovenčani) of Serbia. It seems plausible to assume that Yolanda of Courtenay arrived in Serbian territory accompanied by her uncle, the Emperor Henry of Flanders, from where she continued her voyage towards Hungary in the company of her fiancé. If it happened that way, we can date the meeting to the year 1215, when the marriage took place.

3. Andrew II followed the general practice of European monarchs when he offered his wife a rich town as her dower. Apart from the dower, we are also informed of the queen's dowry, which was worth 8000 marks of silver. But how much was this sum really worth compared to the dowries given to other princesses in contemporary Hungary and Europe? In fact, this amount can be considered quite

[1] See pp. 13–35.

average. In the dynastic history of the Árpáds, however, we find unusually high sums. The dowry, for example, promised to Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I of Sicily reached the sum of 200 000 marks of silver. This extremely high amount might have been motivated by the fact that Elizabeth's father-in-law, King Stephen V of Hungary, was willing to give up his claims in the Balkans in favour of the King of Sicily, who was attempting to restore the Latin Empire.

4. The document in question was written in the royal chancellery in the eventful year of 1222, when the monarch, Andrew II issued his famous Golden Bull, a document often referred to in discussions of Hungary's constitutional evolution. Queen Yolanda's dower charter contributes to the reconstruction of the stormy political history of 1222, as well as to the understanding of the circumstances in which the famous charter of liberties was issued. Andrew II altered his wife's dower as many as three times during the year of 1222. The grant of 1217, based on different incomes, was replaced by the ispanate of Pozsony and its appurtenances. Yet, before July 7th, the dower was again changed by the monarch, this time by the whole Banate of Slavonia with the counties of Zala, Somogy, Varasd (Varaždin) and Szerém (Srijem/Srem). I prove that there is a connection between the measures concerning the dower and the conflicts which accompanied the issue of the Golden Bull, and especially the 16th point of the former charter, in which Andrew II promised not to donate, under any circumstances, entire ispanates or any dignities as perpetual property or domain. The measures taken by Andrew II violated, most of all, the interests of the single person in whose name the opposition acted, forcing the king to issue the Golden Bull: his eldest son, the Young King Béla, who, as heir to the throne, was natural lord of the Dukedom of Slavonia. It is certain, however, that upon assuming the whole country's governance after his father's death, he would also have been frustrated by the alienation of the ispanate of Pozsony. Due to the fact that Pope Honorius III confirmed the king's donation of Slavonia to his queen after the issue of the Golden Bull on July 7th, we may assume that Andrew II had overcome the domestic crisis before that date, feeling powerful enough to neglect the earlier compromise, or at least the ban on donating entire ispanates, thus punishing the Young King Béla by dispossessing him of Slavonia. Father and son, however, reconciled during the second half of the same year, Béla regaining his dukedom. Finally, Andrew II succeeded in realizing his original plan by donating the ispanate of Pozsony to Yolanda, which was a likely motive to the conflict leading to the issue of the Golden Bull in the first half of 1222.

5. Our charter has another aspect that seems to be connected with the Golden Bull. In this case, however, the link is of theoretic nature. Andrew II must have been fully aware of the fact that his donating of Pozsony to Yolanda could provoke grave aversion, especially with the Young King Béla's men. As a consequence, he secured his measures using guarantees to an unprecedented scale. He appointed Duke Leopold VI of Austria as guarantor, who – should the dower be declared invalid – could provide appropriate aid to the queen, with the assistance of the Hungarian barons, to protect her rights. This act created a legal basis for the monarch of a neighbouring country to

interfere in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary upon Andrew II's death, under the pretext of helping his widow and heirs. The right to resist had also been given to the kingdom's aristocracy, with the foreseeable consequence that the heir to the throne would not be able to re-capture Pozsony from Yolanda and her future heirs without risking a civil war, unless he paid the sum of 8000 marks of silver to them. Expecting harmful measures to be taken by his own heirs, Andrew II was, therefore, the first Hungarian king to mobilize the resistance of his kingdom's nobility and declaring it in a written form. The king hardly considered the possibility of this weapon being turned against him: the resistance clause of the Golden Bull clearly proves that there were indeed people in the king's opposition, who – due to their family background as well as their erudition – were thoroughly familiar with European attempts at an effective control of power; indeed, had there been no such people, which seems unlikely, the donation charter issued by Andrew II could have served as a sample for them.

DÁNIEL BÁCSATYAI

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS AND HUNGARIAN CONSISTORIAL BENEFICES IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY

The notes relating to Hungary in Volume 52 of Obligationes et Solutiones[1]

The episcopal as well as the significant abbey benefices (*beneficia consistorialia*), granted or confirmed by the Pope together with the College of Cardinals, whose income per annum exceeded 100 Florins (Guldens) of Camera, were obliged to pay what is known as *servitium commune* starting from the 13th century. The amount to pay, starting from the pontificate of Alexander IV (1264–1271), was divided equally, i.e. 50–50%, between the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica* and the *Camera Collegii*. Initially, the sum of the *servitium* amounted to one third of the per annum income of the given benefice, based on estimates *(communi extimatione)*. After the Great Occidental Schism (1378–1417) the proportion was altered to approximately a fifth vs. a sixth. Besides the *servitium commune*, a further sum was to be paid by the newly appointed prelates, which consisted of five constituent parts *(quinque servitia)*; it was referred to as *servitia minuta* in the papal tax documents from the early 15th century on. The sum was determined on the basis of the number of cardinals; specifically, the fewer cardinals were present at the consistory upon the donation of the benefice, the higher the fee was. The papal bull of appointment was issued if the specific prelate, either in person or via his representative, obliged himself *(se obligare)* to pay appointment fee *(solutio)*. The obligations of payment to the *Camera Apostolica* and the *Camera Collegii* were, of course, carefully documented and presented by high priests before the *camerlengo*, head of the Apostolic Chamber, as well as before the chamberlain of the Holy Chamber; the two bodies led double-entry bookkeeping. The bills of debt included the date of obligation, the first

[1] See pp. 37–63.

name of the appointed person, or that of his representative, the donated benefice, the sum of the *servitium commune*; if relevant, the data concerning the predecessor's/predecessors' arrears, as well as the payment deadlines. Several documents include the place of the legal act and the names of witnesses, too. Most of the promissory notes and the bills certifying the act of payment are included in the volumes of *Obligationes et Solutiones* in the Vatican's Apostolic Archives *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)*, of which a total of 91 volumes survives from the period between 1295 and 1555.

The present paper publicizes the entries relating to Hungary in Volume 52 of the series *Obligationes et Solutiones*, most of which have been unknown. Although a source publication, entitled *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536)*, containing the late József Lukcsics's collection, this collection contains but one entry from the volume mentioned above. The most plausible reason is that Volume 52 of the series includes the obligations towards the College of Cardinals, while Volume 48, partly kept parallelly, documents the obligations made to the *Camera Apostolica*; József Lukcsics, therefore, prepared the Hungarian-related entries of Volume 48, spanning a longer period, thus containing more data concerning Hungary, for publication.

Unfortunately, it still remains a mystery why the Chamber of Cardinals kept two different (but mostly parallel) records of the same period (i.e. 1390-1397). Could this, perhaps, be explained by the fact that a revised copy of these volumes was compiled upon the recent appointment in September, 1390, of the cardinal Henricus de Minutilis as chamberlain?

Volume 52, containing 197 folios, has preserved data relating to the pontificate of Pope Boniface IX. The date of the first entry is September 28th, 1390 (fol. 1*r*), while the last one is dated August 24th, 1401 (fol. 196*v*). The volume includes a total of 18 Hungarian-related entries from the years between November 8th, 1392 and April 7th, 1400. A total of seven of these have not yet been published, while then of them have been published mostly on the parallelly led registries. The entries contain information on seven dioceses in the Kingdom of Hungary: Zágráb (modern Zagreb) with three entries, Transylvania, Syrmia, Várad (modern Oradea) and Veszprém with two entries each, as well as Eger and Nyitra (modern Nitra) with one entry each. Besides these, we find a diocese *in partibus infidelium*, viz. Varna, whose bishop was also lord of the benefice of the Cistercian monastery of Szepes (modern Spiš). What makes this entry interesting is that the Holy Father did not grant this benefice in the consistory *(dictum monasterium fuit datum in commendam motu proprio et non per consistorium)*, which is why the Chamber of the College of Cardinals did not receive their part of the appointment fee. The entries published in the present study offer new data for Hungarian ecclesiastical archontologic and prosopographic research. There are names, for instance, which had been unknown in the literature, such as Demeter, son of Péter, cathedral Canon of Pécs; János, Canon of Csázma (modern Čazma) and Dean of Kemlék (modern Kalnik); Lőrinc, Canon of Várad (Oradea) and Dean of Bihar (Bihor), as well as Imre Lőrincfi, Abbot of Almád. To sum up, the data published in this paper contribute to a more refined understanding of the relations between the Holy See and the Hungarian Church during the period of the Great Occidental Schism.

Tamás Fedeles

Two unknown breve registries from Pope Sixtus IV[1]

The State Archive of Rome *(Archivio di Stato di Roma)* purchased a volume at an auction at Sotheby's, London, in 1970, then another one from a private individual, Muriel Fink-Errera, in 1972. Both have been preserved in a perfect condition to date, their present-day binding probably originating from the 18th century. The two volumes (Acquisiti e doni, busta 26/1. and 27/1.) contain breves of the *commune* type, issued in the 6th year of the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV. Both volumes of breve registries have been so far unknown for Hungarian researchers, which is why the 16 breves they contain provides additional information, hitherto unknown, for studying the relations between Hungary and the Holy See during the reign of King Matthias of Hungary.

Pope Sixtus IV wrote a breve to Ilona (Croatian: Jelena), widow of Zsigmond Frangepán (Croatian: Žigmund Frankopan), Count of Zengg (modern Senj), as well as to Count János of Korbávia (Croatian: Jan Krbavski), in which the Pope – referring to Zsigmond's unlawful occupation of the properties of the Diocese of Arbe (modern Rab) – instructed them to abandon their activities. In an earlier breve addressed at the Chapter of Zágráb (Zagreb) and the Bishop of Zágráb, Osvát (Thuz) of Szentlászló, he discussed the case of Balázs Marócsai, Canon of Zágráb, whom he allowed to act as a full member of the Chapter – in spite of the fact that he was not a consecrated priest. The Pope sent a breve to Gábor Matucsinai, Archbishop of Kalocsa, to further the interests of the Dominican Order in Hungary, as well as to Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger and ambassador to the Pope relating to the visitation of the abandoned monasteries of Csút and Zsámbék. The breves also mention two Benedictines. János Szécsényi joined the Franciscan Order at age ten, leaving it before taking his oath and asking permission to join the Benedictine Order. The other one was Bertalan Patacsi, taking his oath in the Dominican Monastery at Pécs; however, due to the unrelievable headaches torturing him, he was granted permission by his supervisor to join any other order except the Benedictines. Still, he decided to join the Benedictines, which might have been the reason why he was sent so far from his native land. Furthermore, one finds information on the Diocese of Modrus (Croatian: Modruš), threatened by (Ottoman) Turks, the cathedral of which was granted the right of a jubilee indulgence on Assumption Day.

Two of the breves, relating to financial debt, provides important pieces of evidence of Hungarian presence in Italy. In his letter to King Matthias of Hungary, Pope Sixtus IV informed the king that Ioannes Argyropoulos had once lent 300 Guldens to Péter Garázda, Dean of Pozsega (modern Požega), but the sum had not been paid back to him. Argyropoulos was an influential member of the humanist circle in Florence, regarded as one of the fathers of Neo-Platonism. He had established relationships with Hungarian humanists, too: Janus Pannonius, upon visiting Florence, met him twice and attended his lectures with great enthusiasm. Péter Garázda must have stayed in Florence between 1469 and 1471; on the one hand, he joined the humanist circles;

[1] See pp. 65–93.

on the other hand, he acquired valuable codices for members of Hungary's high clergy. He himself bought, as a representational gift, three of these codices for János Zrednai, and one to the bishop Janus Pannonius. What Garázda spent this sum of 300 Ducats on is a matter of conjecture: he may have spent it on spectacularly illustrated codices or used it to cover his daily costs. Imre, son of Kelemen, Provost of Bosnia and Canon of Bács, as well as the Dean Mihály, Canon of Vác, faced problems of the same kind. They took a loan from the commercial house *Medici* and *Pazzi* by the Roman Curia, which they failed to pay back by January 30th, 1477. Imre, son of Kelemen, visited Rome several times on royal diplomatic missions; as he paid many a visit at the *Camera Apostolica*, the sum he borrowed might have been used to cover the taxes to be paid as fees to the Chamber.

The breves that have been recovered include two letters of recommendation as well. In one of them, Pope Sixtus IV recommended a certain Antonius Aloysius, citizen of Venice, to King Matthias of Hungary and Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger, upon the request of Aloysius's uncle Domonkos, son of Peter, papal scribe and familiar. The identity of the persons in question, however, remains ambiguous; Antonius Aloysius might have been the same person as Alvise Malombra, who was Bishop of the Diocese of Arbe (Rab) in 1484, and whose familiar relation to Rangoni can be justified. The leading figure in the other letter of recommendation is equally cryptic. When Mihály, canon-reader (lector) at Pécs, arrived at Rome on July 28th, 1477 asking for a letter of recommendation to be addressed to King Matthias of Hungary and Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger, the registry scribe found his surname illegible, replacing it with some dots. As no *lectors* at Pécs are known from the period between 1472 and 1478, the identification of Mihály's person is subject to further research.

The two volumes of breve registries at the State Archive of Rome seems to be a source to reveal many things which have been almost completely unknown to Hungarian researchers in Rome. Although it is the Vatican's Apostolic Archive *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)* that undoubtedly serves as a centre of research on the history of the papacy as well on the relations between Hungary and the Holy See, these two volumes do show that several other Italian collections possess valuable and indispensable documents. In addition, the study of 15th-century breves has recently become a focus of research. In the year 2021, thanks to Sergio Pagano, Prefect of the Archivio Apostolico, the publication of a regesta containing the breves in the earliest volume of registry from the time of Paul II's papacy marked the start of a grand series of publications. The goal of this noteworthy enterprise is to make available for researchers almost ten thousand sources, in the form of Latin regesta, which survive from the period between 1469 and 1493 in the Vatican's breve registries. It is an important duty of Hungarian researchers in Rome to join this recently initiated project by supplementing the 15th-century Hungarian-related breves in the Vatican and other Italian collections with the ones to be found in the Carpathian Basin, as well as by publishing the individual sources in their full textual form, contributing to further research on Hungarian ecclesiastical history, not to mention more general aspects of Hungarian and international historical studies.

GÁBOR NEMES


KINGDOM OF POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
REP. OF VENICE
NITRIEN.
STRIGONIEN.
AGRIEN.
IAURIEN.
VACIEN.
VESPRIMIEN.
VARADIEN.
TRANSILVANEN.
COLOCEN. et BACHIEN.
QUINQUE ECCLESIEN.
ZAGRABIEN.
MODRUSIEN. (CORBAVIEN.)
SEGNIEN.
CANADIEN.
SIRMIEN.
TININIEN.
SCARDONEN.
BOSNEN.
Primatial, Metropolitan and Archepiscopal See
Metropolitan and Archepiscopal See
Episcopal See
Province of Esztergom
Province of Kalocsa
AGRIEN. Borders and Name of Diocese
Benedictine Abbey
Cistercian Abbey
Premontsratensian Provostship
Collegial Chapter
Hospitaller Order of Saint John
Scale 1: 4.500.000
The Dioceses of Hungary around 1500
* The episcopal see outside the diocesan borders (Bosnen.)

An unknown consistorial source from the year 1502
A processus informativus of the Auxiliary Bishop of Eger in the Este archives at Modena[1]

It was in the late 19th century, when the Vatican Secret Archive had opened to the public, that international research started to pay attention to the records of the "canonical procedures" *(processus informativus*, *processus inquisitionis*, *processus canonicus)*, including their prosopographic and biographic worth, as well as their values concerning the history of given dioceses. The procedure was reformed and extended during the Council of Trent and, also, subsequently. The goal was to ensure the loyalty and capability of the future generations of bishops. Another aim was to appropriately inform the Roman *curia* about the conditions in the individual dioceses. From the second half of the 1620's, the registries survive almost uninterrupted in the various files of the Vatican's Apostolic Archives *(Archivio Concistoriale*, *Dataria Apostolica*, *Nunziatura Apostolica in Vienna)*.

The procedure did exist before the time of the *Tridentinum*. Based on the decisions of Session 9 of the Fifth Lateran Council, Pope Leo X issued his apostolic decree known as *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* in 1514. Several elements of the papal constitution had been laid down in the unpublished reform bull of Alexander VI, containing, for the most part, prescriptions concerning the candidate's personal qualities *(„circa sublimes et literatas personas")*. The inspectional procedure and the consistorial report was entrusted to the cardinal-protector in charge of the given territory. Several clauses of Leo X's decree equalled the formal expression of the general practice that evolved during the 15th century. A *processus* from the year 1464, agreeing in practice with the records (minutes) collected in the first half of the 16th century, placed in the *Archivum Arcis* (the Archive of the Castle of the Holy Angel). It is the earliest surviving document of its kind. The canonical inspection records of Juan de Cerda, Bishop of Barcelona, have been preserved for posterity by being placed among breve drafts in the Vatican Archives.

We can also find sources for the enquiry of episcopal candidates outside the Vatican collections. The private family archive of the Aldobrandinis at Frascati *(Villa Belvedere)*, for example, possesses 25 such documents from the heritage of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini from the period between 1594 and 1620. Four of these documents (from the years 1614–1617) relate to Hungary; they include the appointment documents of Péter Pázmány to the dignity of Archbishop of Esztergom. The earliest Hungarian-related source among the documents prepared according the prescriptions of the *Tridentinum* is János Pyber's 1612 procedure at Pécs, found in the *Archivio Concistoriale*. There had been only one earlier document of canonical enquiry, relating to Hungary, known to research, which was conducted about Tamás Tasnádi, Canon of Esztergom and Nyitra (Nitra) in Rome, in September 1518, concerning his appointment to Salona *(Salonen.)* (AAV Arch. Arcis, Arm. I–XVIII, n. 2858).

[1] See pp. 95–110.

The present paper publishes an even earlier document of canonical enquiry, found outside the Vatican, analyzing it and placing it in a historical and historiographic context. It is found in the *Archivio di Stato di Modena*, *Archivio Segreto Estense*, *Camera*, *Amministrazione dei Principi nr. 823. (Filza di documenti vari 1494–1518)*. Its discovery is the merit of the Research Team Vestigia, specifically of the researcher Hajnalka Kuffart. The source is found in a mixed bunch including material relating to Ippolito d'Este, apparently collected without any organizing principle, not even arranged in a chronological order.

The minutes (records) bear the date April 7th, 1502, written down by the imperial notary public Jerome, secretary to Cardinal Federico Sanseverino, concerning the case of Antonio de Perea, who was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's candidate to the status of Auxiliary Bishop of Eger. The witnesses heard were as follows. Consalvo de Castro, papal familiar *(comestabilis sanctissimi domini nostri)*; Daniele Vivis, Cardinal Francesco Borgia's secretary; Petrus Alamanus, diocesan priest at Esztergom and forty-year-old familiar of Cardinal Este; Martinus de Ezet, diocesan priest at Eger, Este's familiar and *magister domus* of Cardinal Sanseverino as well as earlier familiar of Cardinal Gabriele Rangoni.

Their claims about the candidate can be summarized as follows. He is from Spain, born in the Diocese of Toledo in lawful marriage; he is 32 years old, an observant Franciscan monk, consecrated presbyter, celebrates masses regularly and observing the rules; he is also an excellent preacher. As far as the Bishopric of Eger is concerned, the witnesses described it as one of the largest dioceses of Hungary, with an annual income of about ten thousand ducats. It always has an auxiliary bishop, generally chosen by the diocesan bishop from among his familiars. The auxiliary bishop Matthias of Požega *(Dominus Mathiam episcopus de Popcha)* had died a few years before. One witness, Malombra, recalls Bernát (Bernard), Fransiscan monk and Arcadian honorary bishop, who had been auxiliary bishop for about 22 years.

The petition written by Ippolito d'Este to the Pope was copied onto the last page of the document. The petition states that the Diocese of Eger has, as a rule, two auxiliary bishops, but one of them had passed away; therefore, he would like to have Antonio de Perea appointed to a bishop's title in the Bishopric Bugia (Bejaïa, Algeria). He would grant him 200 Florins (Guldens) per annum from his diocese's income to ensure his living appropriate for a bishop.

Hajnalka Kuffart, Gábor Nemes, Péter Tusor

Who has the right of appointment?
The patronage of St. Peter's Altar at Esztergom[1]

The present paper and the attached source publication describes the contents, and publishes the text, of the *libellus* from the lawsuit between Cardinal Tamás Bakóc, Archbishop of Esztergom, and the Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom. The source is

[1] See pp. 111–146.

found as Item 1 in *Tribunalia*, *Sacra Romana Rota*, *Processus actorum* in the Vatican's Apostolic Archive *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)*. The Hungarian National Archive received a microfilm copy of the document in 1977 (Reference: X 9042, 31109. sz.); yet, no magnified copy of the microfilm has been made, which is why it has still not been entered into the National Archive's database. As a result, no-one but a small number of people have known that the source exists. The *libellus* consists of sheets of paper bound in a parchment cover, containing a total of 80 pages of text with words and brief summarizing notes of the statements made at the Roman Curia, in order to facilitate the process. The *libellus* was compiled by the notary public Zsigmond Marosi, signing each page; after his notary's clause and official signature, we find the charter of the Convent of Pannonhalma, testifying that Zsigmond Marosi was indeed a recognized notary public in the Kingdom of Hungary.

The lawsuit started upon the transfer of two benefices concerning patronage rights. One of these was the governorship (patronage) of the Altar of St. Peter (and Paul) in Esztergom cathedral, which the members of the Esztergom cathedral chapter granted to their fellow canon, Bálint Budai, on November 16th, 1512, following the vacancy due to the death of the beneficiary, exercising their patron's rights. The archbishop Tamás Bakóc protested, via his advocate, and he also denied the right of the chapter to donate and the canon to accept the benefice. The other issue was the patronage of the building with the Chapel of St. Elizabeth (founded before 1380) in it by the thermal springs at Esztergom-Tapolca, also donated – upon the last beneficiary's death, referring to their patron's rights – to the canon János Szatmári by the cathedral chapter on October 4th, 1510. However, it was soon occupied by force by István Ibrányi, a fellow canon, with the archbishop Bakóc's approval, but against the lawful rights of the chapter as well as his own vow.

The cathedral chapter, in the matter of these two grievances, handed in a supplication to the recently elected Pope, Leo X, asking him to cure their grievances. The Pope appointed the bishop Dominicus de Iacobatiis lucerai (Nocera dei Pagani, Italy) judge in the case, who ordered the parties' advocates to investigate on the matter on August 27th, 1514; the canon Bálint Budai was represented by Henricus Howel, while the archbishop Tamás Bakóc was represented by Egidius Zephirus. The appointed bailiffs – János Rékai, monk and dean at Pannonhalma, as well as the guardian Pál Budai – gave an account of their investigation to the administrator in a letter in the form of a *libellus* on December 15th, 1514. (The benefice of the Chapel of St. Elizabeth, for reasons unknown to us, is not mentioned in the administrator's order.)

The bailiffs held the first session on December 4th, 1514, followed by the second one on December 11th, a week later, when they summoned the parties to appear before them. The last trial took place on December 15th. (Each session was held in the archabbot's palace at Pannonhalma.) Bálint Budai, canon of Esztergom, patron of the Altar of St. Peter (and Paul), attended the trial in person, while none of the advocates of Cardinal Tamás Bakóc, viz. the papal *penitentiarius* Mihály Vitéz Kamarcai, Menyhért Csúti (canon at Fehérvár), and Benedek Alsószegedi (notary public). During the trial, Bálint Budai and Bereck Ivánci, the clerk representing the chapter, presented

the charter of Fülöp *de genere* Türje, Archbishop of Esztergom, issued on April 10th, 1272, documenting the transfer of the patronage of the altar to the chapter, as well as the part relating to the Altar of St. Peter of his visitation at the cathedral chapter; furthermore, he also produced three donation charters of the altar benefice, dated January 2nd, 1453, December 29th, 1485, and November 16th, 1511 (*recte* 1512). (This is the only textual witness of the charters.) The evidence was studied by the canons and beneficiaries of Esztergom who were present at the trial, finding all pieces of evidence authentic; as a result, the *executor*s entered the texts into the *libellus*.

The final outcome of the lawsuit (and the trial) is not yet known, due to lack of sources, but it was demonstrably still in progress in the Curia of Rome on October 1st, 1515. Based on later evidence, however, it seems likely that the judge must have decided in favour of the Esztergom cathedral chapter, because – about ten years later – the new patron of St. Peter's Altar was appointed by the Chapter again, the new patron being Miklós Oláh, canon of Esztergom and dean of Komárom, just about starting his career.

NORBERT C. TÓTH

IN SEARCH OF LOST PAPAL BULLS

The appointment of Girolamo Balbi, Provost of Pozsony, as Bishop of Gurk (1522–1523)[1]

Girolamo Balbi (cca. 1460–1535) of Venice, Provost of Pozsony (Bratislava), poet and humanist, as well as a diplomat of the Kings Vladislaus II and Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, completing diplomatic missions in several European royal courts, went to serve the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand I, brother-in-law of Louis II, upon his king's approval, in the spring of 1522. One reason for this may have been that, as a diplomat, he must have been aware – after the Ottoman occupation of Belgrade in August, 1521 - of how serious the Ottoman threat on the Kingdom of Hungary was. On the other hand, he could expect an episcopal benefice, promised to him by the two Habsburg brothers, the Emperor Charles V and the Archduke of Austria, thanks to his significant role in bringing about the marriage between Ferdinand I and Anna Jagellonica, realizing the 1515 Habsburg-Jagellonian treaty.

In the end, Balbi received the small Bishopric of Gurk, located in the north-west of the Duchy of Carinthia, under the metropolitan rule of the Archbishop of Salzburg. The bishops, however, were obliged to take an oath of loyalty to the archbishop, against the landlord's rights and interests of the Austrian Archduke. The diocese was in the possession of Cardinal Matthäus Lang (1468–1540), Archbishop of Salzburg, who did not give up his possession upon acquiring the archbishop's seat in 1519. Yet, he was obliged by multiple treaties to pay a yearly duty of 800 Rhenish Florins to Ernest, Duke of Bavaria and Administrator of the Bishopric of Passau, he was not unwilling to

[1] See pp. 147–194.

pass the diocese on to someone else. The Archduke Ferdinand had to consider, besides Balbi, the interests of his powerful chamberlain, Gabriel Salamanca of Castile, Count of Ortenburg, who aimed at acquiring an ecclesiastical benefice for his nephew, Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos, aged 18. The archbishop and the archduke agreed on the details of the project at the Reichstag (imperial assembly) at Nuremberg in the autumn of 1522 (specifically, in mid-November). According to their agreement, Cardinal Lang ceded the Diocese of Gurk to Balbi, who, in turn, obliged himself to continue to pay the yearly fee imposed on the bishopric by his predecessor, as well as to be coadjutor to Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos at Gurk, maintaining his right to inheritance.

This paper focusses on Balbi's mission to Rome as ambassador of Archduke Ferdinand I to Pope Adrian VI, completed together with the ambassador Pedro de Córdoba, during the spring of 1523. The mission proved successful for Balbi: besides accomplishing the tasks he was instructed to carry out concerning issues of political and ecclesiastical government, he succeeded in convincing the Pope to issue papal bulls ensuring his own appointment as bishop, as well as the appointment of Antonio Salamanca-Hoyos as auxiliary bishop. While the original copies of the main charter of appointment issued for Hoyos with the date March 11th, 1523, and the appended charters with the same date as well as March 14th, have been entirely preserved in the charter series of the Archive of the Diocese of Gurk *(Archiv der Diözese Gurk)*, today found in Klagenfurt, Girolamo Balbi's charters have been lost.

Balbi, in the summer of 1526, some years after his appointment, resigned his bishopric, and settled in Rome for good. Unfortunately, the registry copies of the bulls do not survive in Lateran series of the Vatican's Apostolic Archive *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)*, either: the volume in question was destroyed while being carried to Paris – and back to Rome – in the early 19th century. We only know its contents from an indexical volume from the 18th century. The dates of issue and the contents of Balbi's charters can thus be established quite approximately, using other sources relating to the case. The appendix to this paper contains the most important sources relating to the episcopal appointment, in Latin and German, dating from between 1522 and 1524, found in the Vatican, Vienna and Klagenfurt.

BÁLINT LAKATOS

POLYPHONIC NEWS?
Papal nuncios' reports from Hungary in the mid-16th century[1]

In this paper, we look at the Hungarian references and connections in the reports sent to Rome by the nuncios Girolamo Martinengo, based at Vienna, and Ludovico Beccadelli, at Venice, from the period between 1550 and 1554.

Studying this issue, we may conclude that – as opposed to other nunciatures in Europe, e.g. in France – the reports by the Viennese and the Venetian nuncios do

[1] See pp. 195–209.

include relevant information on Hungary. Both nuncios followed the events in the Carpathian Basin quite closely, interpreting them not *per se*, but along the contemporary great divides, viz. the Ottoman-Habsburg and the Valois-Habsburg oppositions, considering the interests of the Holy See most of all, paying special attention to the War of Parma (1551–1552), which had serious consequences for Italy; the internal war in the Holy Roman Empire (especially the campaigns of Maurice of Saxony); finally, the wars fought against the Ottoman Empire.

It goes without saying that the papal nuncio in Vienna reported in more detail, and more frequently, on Hungarian issues, but the Venetian ambassador did also report on the crucial (sometimes not so crucial) news. Beccadelli, though he reported fake news several times, was in general quite well informed, and had a clear understanding of the political and military situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, neither he nor Martinengo was deeply concerned with the state of Hungarian clergy or the spread of Protestantism. Instead, they focussed on military issues such as the Ottoman campaign of 1552, including the siege of Temesvár (Timişoara), Szolnok and Eger; to a lesser extent, they paid attention to politics (such as diets), as well as the events at the royal (imperial) court. Although Beccadelli and Martinengo remained connected, Beccadelli's reports were not based on the latter's news: he gathered information via independent news channels.

Therefore, Rome had a polyphonic source of news about the Kingdom of Hungary, but the different voices of Vienna and Venice did reinforce each other, providing a common voice. Based on our discoveries, we may get to better understand why the papal nuncios of early modern Europe were (indeed, have been, up to the present) delegated to a given head of state, although – in tandem with the weakening of papal powers – their mission became increasingly concentrated on checking and controlling local churches.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

NUNCIOS AT WAR
Filippo Spinelli in the Prague Court[1]

The new papal nuncio, Filippo Spinelli, arrived at the Imperial Court in Prague in 1598. One of his most important tasks was to organize a great holy league to fight the Ottomans. This was important because, formally speaking, it was but the Habsburg Monarchy and the Principality of Transylvania to be at war with the Ottoman Empire. The then monarch of the latter, Zsigmond (Sigismund) Báthory, concluded a dynastic marriage treaty with the Habsburgs on January 28th, 1595, which was a military coalition as well. Pope Clement VIII was attempting to expand this coalition into a great anti-Ottoman holy league with the participation of the Papacy, Poland, France

[1] See pp. 211–227.

and Spain. Spinelli, therefore, was forced to convince the Imperial Court, exhausted by the war, to go on fighting and not to conclude a peace treaty. Moreover, with Zsigmond Báthory leaving Transylvania in 1598, which was followed by his unexpected return and his repeated abdication a few months later, resulted in a crisis of power, which Spinelli was supposed to solve in a way that served the interests of the Holy See. Specifically, Cardinal András Báthory was elected Prince of Transylvania in April, 1599, a move that had not been expected by the Imperial Court.

Rome, however, saw these developments as opportunities to take. The reports *(dispacci)* by the nuncio Spinelli, kept at the Vatican Apostolic Archive *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)*, reveal the intention of the Holy See to make Cardinal Báthory marry the divorced wife (Maria Christina of Austria) of the former prince, Zsigmond Báthory, who abdicated in favour of the Cardinal; András was, of course, supposed to resign from his duties as cardinal. In practice, this would have meant for the Emperor to accept the existing situation, concluding a new treaty with the new prince on the basis of the 1595 Habsburg-Báthory treaty. The new treaty included the war against the Turks, as well as – due to the religious adherence of the new prince – the protection of Catholics, the most important points for the Holy See. All this, however, would have meant for the Emperor to disregard the Transylvanians' breaking their oaths, as well as accept an increasing Polish influence in the Principality. Specifically, the fact that András Báthory had a rather close relationship with the High Chancellor of Poland, Jan Zamoyski, was virtually known to all parties.

The Pope sent Germanico Malaspina, who knew the Báthorys well, to Transylvania. He was assisted by Spinelli, from Prague. The Pope considered his diplomatic mission so important that he made some corrections to the ambassador's instructions in his own hand. No sooner did Malaspina, the new nuncio delegated to Transylvania, arrived at his destination than Demeter Naprági and István Bocskai visited the Prague court. They were not the ambassadors of András Báthory, indeed, they had not been authorized to act that way; the Cardinal wanted to simply get rid of them, considering both as men of the Habsburgs. Moreover, he personally blamed Bocskai for the death of his nephew, Boldizsár Báthory, put to death by Zsigmond during the conflict resulting from entering the war against the Turks. Spinelli met with Bocskai several times, thinking that the Emperor wanted Bocskai, rather than András, to occupy the Transylvanian throne. This he considered as a threat, since Bocskai was a Calvinist. The nominee, against him, of the Court to head Transylvania was the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian. As for the Emperor, the only reason for negotiating with András Báthory was to gain some time, in order to settle the issue of ruling the Principality by military means. It is not entirely clear whether the nuncio Spinelli suspected at all if the negotiations with András Báthory's ambassadors, who were to arrive later, without any official authorization to act as ambassadors, were meant to serve as preparations for these military actions. However, when the troops of Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) penetrated Transylvanian territory, everything became clear. The cardinal-prince, who had lost the battle of Sellenberk (German: Schellenberg, Romanian: Șelimbăr), was subsequently killed near Csíkszentdomonkos (modern Sândominic); his death resulted in a new state of affairs.

The papal diplomacy reacted to this turn right away, as shown by two of Spinelli's reports, dated February 14th and 28th, 1600, mentioning the status as Prince of Transylvania of Silvestro of the Aldobrandini family, nephew of Pope Clement VIII. The idea originated, needless to say, from Rome, being crucial enough for Spinelli to keep considering it for a month and a half; he received the relevant instruction by the secretary of state from the Eternal City at the very end of the year 1599 or the early days of the year 1600. The idea was not unprecedented. Notably, the name of another of the Pope's nephews (though not by blood), Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini *nepos*, had already been mentioned in 1597, when Zsigmond Báthory abdicated for the first time. What the papal diplomacy offered to the Imperial Court was this: Silvestro Aldobrandini was to be granted Transylvania as a prince *(principe)*, marrying Maria Christina. In fact, the above-mentioned dynastic treaty and alliance of 1595 between the Habsburgs and the Báthorys would be replaced by an alliance of the Habsburgs and the Aldobrandinis. If realized, this move could have been enormously important, as it would have led to a full-scale restructuring of political relations. With Silvestro Aldobrandini being accepted (as prince), the financial resources would have become available, as the Pope would have been ready to provide for the defence of the Principality, the costs of which were accepted to be around 300,000 *scudos* per year. This sum would have been increased by the income of the Duchy of Correggio, which the Pope was attempting to grant to Silvestro as a benefice, as well as the income of the Principality itself. There was another problem, too: the Duchy, like many other Italian domains, was under excessive Spanish influence. The case of Transylvania and Correggio was not only judged to be a difficult issue by the nuncio Spinelli, but also by his negotiating counterpart, Rudolf Coraduzzi, Imperial Privy Secretary, though he did not consider it impossible to carry out. By the beginning of the new year, in January in particular, the conditions on the above-mentioned alliance had been received from Rome; the timing was hardly accidental.

It is this point where our sources become silent. Silvestro Aldobrandini, together with the entire House of Aldobrandini, are no longer mentioned in historical documents as masters of Transylvania. It was Voivode Mihai who was appointed Governor of Transylvania, but he (just like Prince András Báthory) was forcibly removed by the Imperial Court, due to his opposition to the Imperial General Giorgo Basta as well as his increasingly independent political activity. The efforts of the Holy See concerning András Báthory and Silvestro Aldobrandini did not prove successful. Thereafter, papal diplomacy became concerned with the loss of Kanizsa to the Turks in late 1600, having serious and threatening consequences for the Austrian border lands, which were geographically quite near Italian territory.

TAMÁS KRUPPA

An Appeal by a Canon of Zagreb to Rome against Pázmány
Count János Erdődy's removal from the Bishopric of Eger (Sopron, 1625)[1]

It is a fundamental accepted statement on the early modern Catholic confessionalisation as well as on the history of the papacy that the uninterrupted survival of the structures inherited from medieval times, or, rather, their prolonged dismantling, raised several barriers to the development of confessionalizing modernization to a more stable and comprehensive scale than what was in fact realized. The present paper, continuing and concluding the results of an earlier study, thanks to the Vatican's source base, refines - and places in a historical context – what the aims of the late medieval type at realizing family interests had unfavourable effects on the composition of Hungarian episcopate in the first third of the 17th century.

Tamás Erdődy, Ban of Croatia and Lord Chief Treasurer, attempted both to support his family and to build the bishop's career of his mentally ill son, John, which was dysfunctional for the Diocese of Eger as well as the entire Hungarian hierarchy. The endeavour is not free of internal paradoxes, either. Specifically, Tamás Erdődy was at the same time a supporter of Pázmány's appointment as Archbishop. The contradictory processes of the formation of the Catholic episcopate's composition are brought to a common denominator and made understandable by Klesl's policy, determined throughout by the maxim of Habsburg inheritance after 1614/15. This was why Melchior Klesl, Chairman of the Imperial Privy Council, needed Pázmány, and this must have been why he considered Tamás Erdődy's support important.

From the sources it seems that the decisions on the appointments to Eger and Esztergom were both made in the spring of 1616. The actual issue of the documents was delayed, though: on the one hand, due to legal difficulties around Pázmány's being a Jesuit; on the other hand, the struggle concerning incomes delayed Erdődy's appointment. Tamás Erdődy went on building his son's nimbus after acquiring the episcopal benefice, but no longer in scientific fields like in Bologna, Parma, and Ingolstadt, but as patron of the arts. The dedication to János Erdődy of a musical piece (Tomaso Cecchini, Venice, 1619) at least alludes to this. It is hardly an accident that the dedication at the beginning of the publication makes reference the role of the bishop's father.

Another important result of the research published in the paper is that it brings to light the conflict between Erdődy and Pázmány, buried in the historical past for four hundred years. The deprivation of the sick count of his episcopal benefice in October, 1625 (a year after his influential father died) at the Diet of Sopron in 1625 has so far been a hidden *fact* in Hungarian history. The significance of this finding is not only the mere statement of the fact of the bishop's removal, but rather the placement of the issue in the process of the gradual deterioration in Hungarian-Croatian relations. In the light of the appeal in the case of the disposition from the Bishopric of Eger, sent to the Apostolic Holy See instantly, this hidden, hitherto unknown, internal conflict

[1] See pp. 229–264.

among Hungary's high and middle clergy can be interpreted as an opposition between two approaches, viz. medieval vs. tridentine. We must also consider the fact, however, that the complaint placed at the Roman Curia against the Archbishop of Esztergom in favour of János Erdődy was accompanied by an attempt at a full-scale dishonouring of Hungary's episcopate. The idea and the realization of the appeal to Pope Urban VIII originates from the Croatian Gáspár Verbanovich, an influential canon at the Zagreb Chapter, who was also the *de facto* author of the document initiating the lawsuit, surviving in the Vatican Apostolic Library's *(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)* series called *Barberini Latini.* The writings of another member of the same chapter, canon György Ráttkay, exhibit a clear and openly expressed anti-Hungarian attitude two decades later. The complaint against Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, sent to the Pope from Zagreb may be regarded as an exceptionally grave and important case, which – apart from violating the ban on directly turning to the Roman Curia – was also against strict Hungarian legal prescriptions. The last such case had occurred more than a century before, when the Augustinians of Körmend initiated a lawsuit against the head of the Hungarian Church.

The Vatican document pressing charges against Péter Pázmány at the Roman Curia, which serve as the chief basis for this study, belongs in essence to the history of the Diocese of Eger, as it addresses the Pope in favour of its disposed bishop. Besides the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the most important scene of the evolution of Catholic confessionalization was the Diocese of Eger, covering almost the entire territory of Upper Hungary. In the case of Esztergom, a functional step was taken in the process of carrying out the Tridentine programme with the appointment of Péter Pázmány, while – along the same political lines of power – it was the Count János Erdődy, a young aristocrat, mentally and psychologically incapable, who was appointed to Eger. The high priesthood of the non-residing count was utilized by his environment, consisting of Croatian clerics, to basically "drain out" the Bishopric's income. The misuse, however, did not lead to serious problems due to the campaigns of Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen. Upon Tamás Erdődy's death in January 1624, and the Peace of Vienna in May 1624, concluding the second campaign by Bethlen, it became possible, indeed urgent, to solve the problem. Pázmány's move, assisted by the Papal Nuncio, at the Diet of Sopron of 1625, bringing about the deprivation of János Erdődy of the Bishopric of Eger (note that the death next year of the still young aristocrat could not possibly be foreseen and taken into consideration), and the appointment of János Pyber, an experienced bishop consecrated back in 1613, proved to be a step of key importance. His rule saw the re-acquisition of the incomes that founded the future spread of Catholicism, setting them in order and providing for their functional use. The early modern Catholic confessionalization was basically centred around bishops. The removal of Erdődy, incapable of organizing denominations, from his bishop's seat, and his replacement with the capable bishop János Pyber, are interpretable as equally essential, crucial (and also symbolic) steps in the history of the Diocese of Eger, together with most of Upper Hungary, as well as Péter Pázmány's Archbishopric of Esztergom in the early modern history of the Archdiocese and Hungarian Catholicism.

PÉTER TUSOR


HABSBURG HEREDITARY PROVINCES
POLAND
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
CROATIA
SCLAVONIA
ROYAL (HABSBURG) HUNGARY
TURKISH OCCUPATION TERRITORIES UNDER
PARTIUM PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA
PARTIUM TRANSYLVANIA
VENICE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Important places: towns, fortresses
Scale: 1:4.500.000
The Kingdom of Hungary around 1620
Árva
Bártfa
Késmárk
Kisszeben
Lőcse
Szepeshely
Eperjes
Trencsén
Szakolca
Besztercebánya
Garam
Vág
Kassa
Jászó
Ungvár
Lelesz
Munkács
Zólyom
Selmecbánya
Nagyszombat
Vienna
Pozsony
Nyitra
Léva
Fülek
Szendrő
Sárospatak
Bodrog
Tisza
Huszt
Prut
Tokaj
Ipoly
Ércsekújvár
Nógrád
Szécsény
Kismárton
Ruszt
Sopron
Esztergom
Vác
Eger
Gyöngyös
Németi
Nagybánya
Szatmár
Győr
Komárom
Visegrád
Hatvan
Buda
Pest
Tura
Duna
Tisza
Pápa
Szombathely
Palota
Fehérvár
Veszprém
Sárvár
Németújvár
Sümeg
Mura
Rába
Szolnok
Debrecen
Somlyó
Szamos
Beszterce
Szamosújvár
Várad
Maros
Kolozsvár
Bákó
Egerszeg
Simontornya
Kecskemét
Körös
Kalocsa
Gyula
Torda
Marosvásárhely
Csíksomlyó
Drávа
Kaposvár
Kanizsa
Hódmezővásárhely
Nagyenyed
Varasd
Szeged
Arad
Szávа
Körös
Pécs
Baja
Szabadka
Medgyes
Segesvár
Gyulafehérvár
Lippa
Dévа
Szászsebes
Szeben
Fogaras
Brassó
Zágráb
Verőce
Siklós
Zenta
Temesvár
Lugos
Hátszeg
Pozsega
Eszék
Óbecse
Temes
Karánsebes
Ol
Krassóvár
Unna
Pétervárad
Titel
Zengg
Szendrő
Orsova
Drina
Belgrád

István Telekessy's appointment as Bishop of Csanád
Sources in the Medici Archives of Florence (1696)[1]

The Bishop István Telekessy (1633–1715) became known as Bishop of Eger during Rákóczi's War of Independence, being the first to sign the act dethroning the Habsburgs at the Diet of Ónod in 1707. His earlier ecclesiastical career is less familiar, which included his appointment, as canon of Győr, to the episcopal seat of Csanád in 1689. The territory of the Diocese of Csanád had been almost completely destroyed due to the Ottoman occupation; in actual fact, it was only the Franciscans of Szeged who had kept in touch with Hungary's church hierarchy. In the course of the 17th century, the Bishops of Csanád, residing on Royal Hungarian territory, entrusted the Fransiscan superior of Szeged with the task of acting as vicar-general, fulfilling the pastoral and organizational duties even under Turkish rule. During the Ottoman war between 1683 and 1699, the part of the region of Banat between the rivers Danube, Tisza, and Maros (called *Temesköz* in Hungarian) suffered from constant fighting, making it impossible for István Telekessy to even consider residing in his diocese and starting its reorganization. This was one of the reasons why he did not even initiate the process of the papal approval of his episcopal title in Rome, which took place as late as 1696 when he had been persuaded by the Cardinal Lipót Kollonich, Archbishop of Esztergom, to appear at the Viennese Nunciature, requesting the process of approval to start. The process consisted of two parts, the stage at the Nunciature and the one in Rome. The Nunciature was temporarily headed by the auditor Francesco Maria Abbati, who carried out the canonical inspection of the nominee according to the established procedure, during which heard three witnesses, the Jesuit fathers Gábor Hevenesi, Márton Szentiványi and Maximilian Scherhackl, recording their testimonies, which related in part to the person nominated, but also to the conditions in the Diocese of Csanád. The testimony given by Gábor Hevenesi includes hitherto unknown biographical data about Telekessy, notably, that he had been offered the status of Hungarian Royal Chancellor by the Viennese Court, but he refused. The witnesses unanimously judged Telekessy, who had completed theological studies in Rome, to be eligible for bishop. At the same time, all of the three witnesses pointed out that the Bishopric of Csanád had been almost fully destroyed, and it is only the local Franciscans to be relied upon in the pastoral process. After the documentation of the bishop's canonical inspection had been completed at the nunciature, it was sent on to Francesco Maria de'Medici, the Habsburgs' Cardinal-Protector. As Cardinal Medici did not live in Rome, he could carry out the Roman process of approval through his agent, the Abbot Fabrizio Agostini. As we learn from the correspondence between Cardinal Medici and his agent, the imperial diplomatic representatives in Rome (Count Georg Adam von Martinitz, Imperial Ambassador, Cardinal Johannes von Goëss, Prince-Bishop of Gurk, and François Chassignet, ambassadorial secretary) were slow to react to the documents and instruction received from Vienna. Fabrizio Agostini was finally able to cooperate

[1] See pp. 265–276.

with the abbot Gianbattista Mariotti, Roman agent of Cardinal Lipót Kollonich, after which the process of the papal approval of István Telekessy was unhindered. At the papal consistory of August 13th, 1696, Cardinal Francesco del Giudice, joint protector, gave an account of the Bishop of Csanád's case, which was the second proposition *(propositio)*. Pope Innocent XII also gave his approval for the procedure to be carried out *gratis*, considering the destruction suffered by the Diocese of Csanád. The abbot Mariotti sent the bull reinforcing Telekessy to Cardinal Kollonich on November 3rd, 1696. Not much later, viz. in the year 1699, however, Telekessy was appointed Bishop of Eger. The reorganization and rebuilding of the Diocese of Csanád could not start before 1716, after Temesvár (Timişoara) had been recaptured from the Turks by the Christian troops. The process of the reconstruction of the diocese started in the 1720's, first with Szeged as its centre, followed by Temesvár later.

BÉLA VILMOS MIHALIK

NEWS OF A CONCLAVE IN GYŐR
Letters by Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni, Roman Agent, sent to Ferenc Zichy, Bishop of Győr, in 1769[1]

Research on agents, as well as bringing to light and publishing the letters sent by them to their principals (clients), provide enormous opportunities for us to form a clear view of how well-informed the principals were as well as of the nature of their concerns. This holds especially for the bishops of Hungary, who maintained relationships beyond Vienna, viz. with Rome, via their agents. Ferenc Zichy, Bishop of Győr (1743–1783) was no exception: he employed agents working in Rome for three decades. Zichy's three Roman agents came from the same family; they were Pietro Poloni, Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni and Francesco Poloni.

An exceptionally important point in the history of these relationships was the year 1769, when, with the death of Pope Clement XIII in early February, a conclave had to be summoned in Rome. Zichy's current agent, Bartolomeo Pinto Poloni, wrote as many as twenty-one reports during that year, eleven of which date from the period of the conclave. Zichy was informed by his Roman agent on the identity of the cardinals arriving at the Eternal City, the current gossip in Rome, as well as the situation at the conclave. The agent, usually present at public events, provided precise and concise reports. As Poloni generally attached printed documents and newspapers to his reports, the Bishop's Court at Győr had a relatively comprehensive view on the news of the Roman events that had taken place about a week earlier.

The conclave of 1769 was extremely important: the great Catholic courts of Europe, led by the Bourbons, had decided to concentrate their powers on helping to St. Peter's throne a pope who would serve their political goals, including the issue of

[1] See pp. 277–297.

the dissolution of the Jesuit Order and the recognition of the territorial expansion of France and Naples. As a result, the conclave turned out to be a great European project, in which the Habsburg Empire mostly acted as an observer. Nonetheless, the Viennese Court kept being informed through their agents. My paper evaluates Pinto Poloni's letters and compares them to the letters sent by Francesco Brunati, Roman agent of the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Colloredo, and, as such, a well-informed person with access to the innermost circles.

RÓBERT OLÁH P.

THE EARLIEST *PROCESSUS* OF THE DIOCESE OF SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR (1777)[1]

The canonical investigational processes relating to the appointment to an episcopal or archiepiscopal position *(processus informativus; processus inquisitionis; processus canonicus*), known also as *episcopal processes*, contain valuable materials which serve as important, but hitherto not much studied, sources for historical research. Ignác Nagy de Séllye (1777-1789) was appointed first Bishop of the recently created Diocese of Székesfehérvár *(Albaregalen.)* in 1777. In connection with his appointment, following the legal prescriptions, the Nuncio at Vienna carried out the canonical process of the inspection of the state of the Diocese. We can find related material in the Vatican Apostolic Archives at two locations, viz. the Consistorial Archive and the Archives of the Viennese Apostolic Nunciature.

The collegiate chapter, named after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was founded by King (Saint) Stephen I. It may have been founded on the basis of the *capella regia*, or royal chapels, with a long tradition in the West; Székesfehérvár was namely a royal city, where the medieval kings of Hungary were crowned and generally also buried. It was a privileged provostship, which was surely granted (from the 13th century on) full passive *exemptio*. During the wars with the Turks, it was under Ottoman rule almost continually between 1543 and 1688. Upon the liberation of the city, the provosts attempted to restore the collegiate chapter, although without much success. This may be one of the reasons why neither the Diocese nor the Cathedral Chapter of Székesfehérvár have inherited the rights of the medieval provostship. In accordance with the monarch's request, the consistory of November 12th, 1776, gave its preliminary approval of the creation of the diocese and the chapter. Queen Maria Theresa founded the new diocese (along with the Diocese of Szombathely), appointing Ignác Nagy, Provost of Kaposfő and Cantor Canon (*canonicus cantor*) of Veszprém, as the first bishop (1777–1789). In his bull starting *Cunctis ubique* of June 17th, 1777 (known in Hungarian law as *bulla confirmatoria*), Pope Pius VI. reinforced the foundation of the Bishopric, which became a suffragan diocese of the Archbishopric of Esztergom. Its territory was carved out of the Diocese of Veszprém: Fejér

[1] See pp. 299–306.

county as well as parts of Pilis county came under the jurisdiction of the new bishop. According to claims by witnesses, the territory of the diocese contained sixty parishes, but consistorial documents as well as historical research point to sixty-two of them. The expected income of the Diocese was initially estimated to be around 15 thousand Florins (Guldens). Besides the income provided by tithes, the bishop was given the goods of the former privileged provostship as well as the goods of the Jesuits at Székesfehérvár before the dissolution of the order. It was the parish church of St. Stephen of medieval origin but built, in fact, not much earlier, that became his cathedral. A cathedral chapter with six members was also created, for the maintenance of which was planned to be based on the domains (demesnes) of Sukoró, Pákozd, Etyek, Gyúró and Sóskút, whose goods belonged in most part to the collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár before the Ottoman occupation; after the liberation from Turkish rule, to the Jesuits of Komárom (until the order was dissolved). Part of today's Sóskút (Baratháza) was also given to the chapter.

There were two witnesses to the episcopal process, relating to the diocese. One of them was György Bernáth, who – as a clerk at the Hungarian Chancellery – may have been familiar with the conditions in Székesfehérvár; the other one was Márk Franyul (Marko Franjul), canon of Modrus (Modruš), who had served in the Diocese of Veszprém, and – as he claimed himself – the parish priest at Székesfehérvár as well.

TAMÁS TÓTH

VILMOS FRAKNÓI'S RESEARCH REQUESTS IN THE VATICAN APOSTOLIC ARCHIVES (1881–1885)[1]

The aim of the present paper is to analyse, and elaborate on, the requests of research (between 1881 and 1885) by Vilmos Fraknói, preserved at the Vatican Apostolic Archives *(Archivio Apostolico Vaticano)*. For the most part, this is performed by embedding the requests preserved in the Prefectorial Archives, available by special permission, into the literature on the topic. Providing an overview of the conditions in the Vatican's Secret Archives, using them to form an overall picture of the work of Vilmos Fraknói, canon and historian, chief secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, at the Vatican, especially as far as the beginnings of the publication of the series *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* are concerned.

During the period when Fraknói joined the research on Vatican sources, the regulation was to hand in the request to the papal Secretary of State, who – upon approval – passed it on to the head of the Archives. The request was expected to contain a detailed description and justification of which documents the researcher wished to examine and to what end. The requests of Vilmos Fraknói (1881-1885), found in the Prefectorial Archives of the Vatican Apostolic Archives, do meet these requirements.

[1] See pp. 307–321.

Once the request had been approved, the scholar was allowed to study the documents in the reading room, under the strict supervision of the archive's personnel. Fraknói, besides conducting negotiations on the organization of the work on *Monumenta Vaticana*, succeeded in starting his exploration in the Vatican Secret Archives after May 26th, 1881. This is proved by his requests: in his request dated May 15th, Fraknói – referring to an earlier letter by Haynald – addressed the Cardinal and Secretary of State Ludovico Jacobini, in order to be granted permission to go on studying the sources surviving from the 1300's and the 1520's in the volumes of *Nunziatura della Germania* and *Litterae Principium*, as well as in the letters of Cardinal Campeggio and Pope Clement VII. Fraknói requested an extension of his permit on June 6th, 1881, attaching a longer list of items he intended to study. Then, in his 1885 request, he gave an account of the increasing number of young Hungarian historians who joined the project, having seen its initial success as well as the results revealed in relation to Hungary.

This paper offers a brief overview of the first years of the history of the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* (1881–1892/1909), tracing, most of all, Fraknói's work, who did pioneering work to establishing the ever-important pillars underlying the relations between the Holy See and Hungarian scientists.

KATALIN NAGY

"THIS IS BUT PURE HUNGARIAN MADNESS"
Sources on the aftermaths of the bull 'Christi fideles graeci'[1]

The creation of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog for Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity in the year 1912 caused intense internal and external political debates, leading to some extreme expressions of anger and diplomatic bouts. The Romanians in Hungary, as well as public opinion in the Kingdom of Romania, considered the step as an attack on them by the Budapest government, since about half of the parishes of the newly established diocese had been transferred from the dioceses of the Romanian Greco-Catholic metropolitan domain of Transylvania. The creation of the diocese, initiated by Francis Joseph (Franz Joseph) I as apostolic King of Hungary, was preconized by Pope St. Pius X in his bull *Christi fideles graeci*. The bull itself represented, as interpreted by Romanians, the injustice they suffered, the subjugation of Romanian Greek Catholics by the law, and a threat to Romanian national identity. The peace treaty of Trianon cured, indeed amply compensated for, the Romanians' grievances, due to which the *Christi fideles graeci* became a symbol of past harassments in the period between the two world wars. Romanian fears were again revived by the Second Vienna Award: as the Romanian-Hungarian border had been altered, Miklós Dudás, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, proposed a re-transfer of the parishes that had been categorized

[1] See pp. 323–339.

as belonging to his diocese in 1912 but placed under the supervision of the metropolitan dioceses in 1919. Starting in the autumn of 1940, the relevant officials were attempting to find a solution during a long series of meetings as well as by commissioning an apostolic inspector; these attempts, however, lost their relevance (much like the revision of the bull *Christifdeles graeci*) as a result of the war and its consequences.

This study, based on two private letters and a diplomatic reminder (found in the papal *Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato*), attempts to show what Romania's "official" opinion about the problem was on the one hand; on the other hand, it presents the views of the Senator Mariu Theodorian-Carada, a veteran of Romanian politics, who kept following the endeavours of Hungarian Greco-Catholics for three decades, playing his part in the fight against *Christi fideles graeci*. His attitude and thoughts were definitely influenced by what the Cardinal Mariano Rampolla said to him about the Hungarian Greco-Catholic movement during a private conversation in 1910: "*This is but pure Hungarian madness*".

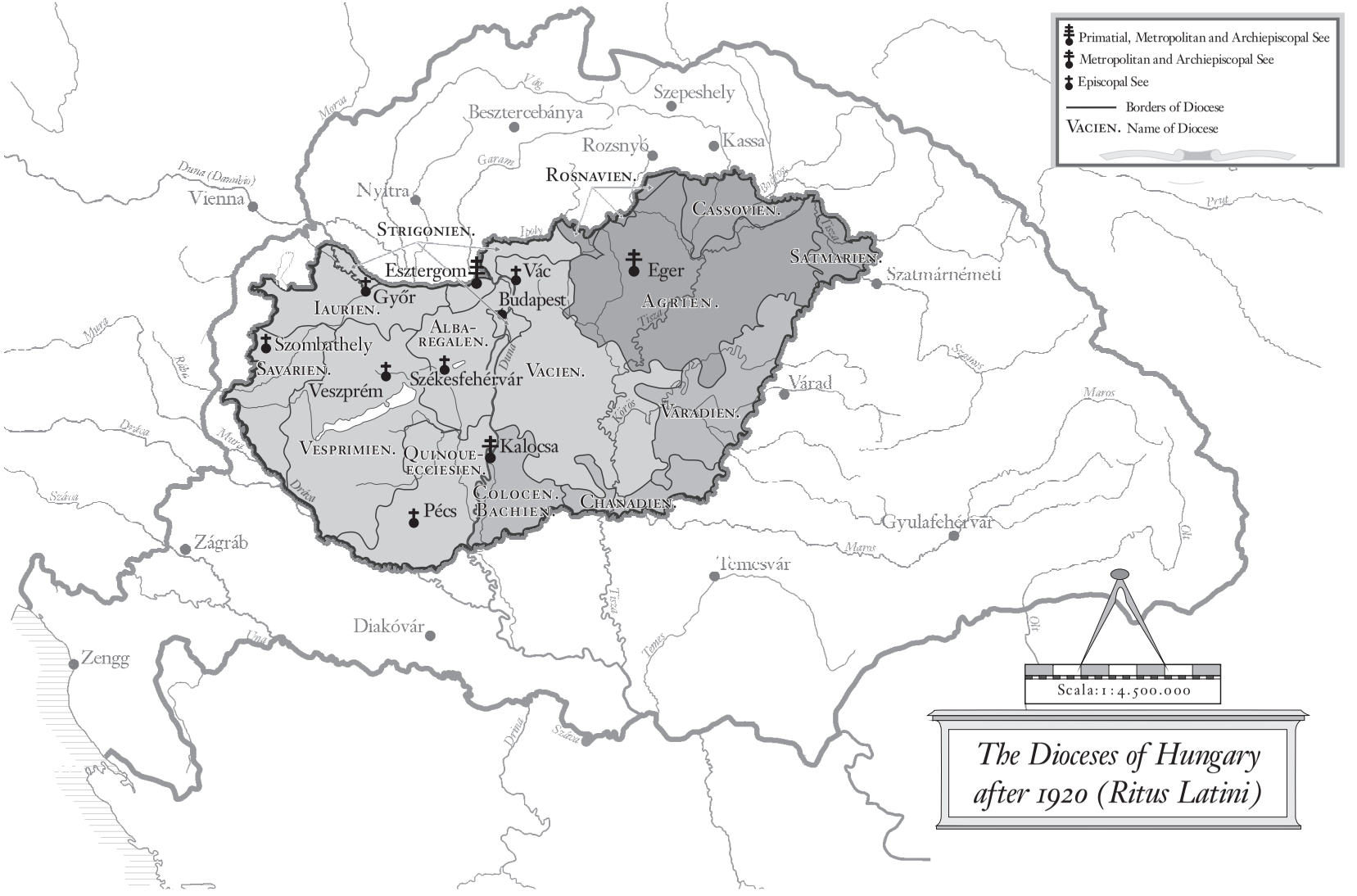
TAMÁS VÉGHSEŐ

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JÓZSEF GRŐSZ, ARCHBISHOP OF KALOCSA-BÁCS, WITH ALVARY GASCOIGNE, BRITISH ENVOY TO BUDAPEST, IN 1945[1]

This paper presents and analyzes two reports by Alvary Gascoigne, British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Budapest (1945–1946), in which he informed the British Government about his negotiations with József Grősz, Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács (1943–1961). Copies of these reports were also sent by the diplomat to his Vatican counterpart, Sir Francis D'Arcy Osborne, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary based in Rome. The documents, preserved in the papal *Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato*, were forwarded by the latter diplomat to Domenico Tardini, papal Substitute of the Secretariat of State, who was also in charge of the international relations of the Apostolic Holy See as Secretary of the Holy Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. Pope Pius XII was, thus, able to receive news of the recent developments in Hungary's ecclesiastical and political conditions, from direct Hungarian sources via British mediation at the end of World War II.

Having given an outline of the historical background as well as Gascoigne's career, we present an account of two meetings of the Archbishop and the Envoy (taking place on May 28th and July 23rd, 1945). During these meetings, the two men discussed the current political, social and ecclesiastical situation, as well as the Hungarians' experience of the Soviets and the Communists. The important issue of realizing land reform and property redistribution was also raised, just like the difficulties of maintaining and managing the extensive ecclesiastical organization. Besides, the state of the Hungarian legal system, as well as the coming parliamentary elections, were also discussed by the Archbishop and the Envoy.

[1] See pp. 341–358.


Primatial, Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal See
Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal See
Episcopal See
Borders of Diocese
VACIEN. Name of Diocese
Vienna
Nyitra
Besztercebánya
Szepeshely
Rozsnyó
Kassa
ROSNAVIEN.
CASSOVIEN.
STRIGONIEN.
Esztergom
Győr
Vác
Budapest
Eger
SATMARIEN.
Szatmárnémeti
IAURIEN.
AGRIEN.
ALBA-REGALEN.
Szombathely
SAVARIEN.
Veszprém
Székesfehérvár
VACIEN.
Várad
VARADIEN.
VESPRIMIEN.
QUINQUE-ECCLESIEN.
Kalocsa
COLOCEN. BACHIEN.
CHANADIEN.
Pécs
Zágráb
Gyulafehérvár
Temesvár
Diakóvár
Zengg
Scala: 1 : 4.500.000
The Dioceses of Hungary after 1920 (Ritus Latini)

Gascoigne offered to open a communication channel between Hungary's Catholic Church and the Apostolic Holy See, which the Archbishop Grősz did accept. That is how Grősz's report (dated September 2nd, 1945) to Pope Pius XII on the state of the Hungarian people and their Church found its way to the Eternal City. Finally, to conclude our paper intended as a publication of sources, we briefly discuss the Archbishop's Anglo-American connections and their effects, with special regard to their reception during the Archbishop's show trial in 1951.

GYÖRGY SÁGI

VINCE TOMEK, PIARIST GENERAL, ADVISOR AND CHRONICLER OF VATICAN DIPLOMACY[1]

Besides the Nunciatures, the General Curiae of monastic orders, seated in Rome, have played a significant role in assisting the Apostolic Holy See in modern times, having a comprehensive picture of the issues of the places they serve at, thanks their international presence. During the years after 1945, these internal transmission channels became even more valuable: after the Soviet occupiers had expelled the Apostolic Nuncio Angelo Rotta from Budapest, there was no official diplomatic mission of the Holy See delegated to Budapest. It was mostly the Cardinal József Mindszenty who took responsibility for representing and informing the Vatican.

In post-war Rome, there were Hungarian monks serving at almost all of the significant male monastic centres. An outstanding one was Vince Tomek, elected Piarist general in 1947. Tomek, who spoke several languages, played an especially important role, since a great number of Piarist monasteries and schools, now headed by him, were located in the Eastern (Soviet) Bloc. Moreover, being the head of a monastic order which maintained Catholic grammar schools, he had direct experience of the process of Sovietization as well as the communists' political concepts regarding education. After the nationalization of Hungary's church-operated schools on June 16th, 1948, which had tragic consequences for the Piarist order, the main mission of which was teaching, he (Tomek) paid a visit to Hungary between July 26th and August 16th, attempting to achieve an exemption of monastic grammar schools from being nationalized.

In the autumn of 1948, he acted as aide to Gyula Czapik, Archbishop of Eger, who went to Rome aiming at a settlement of the situation regarding the ecclesiastical policies in Hungary – being a monastic order's general, he felt quite at home in the Curia's offices; even the employees working for the papal Secretariat of State often turned to him for advice, as Giulio Barbetta, who worked for the Secretariat, did in May 1949, on the issue of whom to appoint as Bishop of Veszprém. In the end, it was

[1] See pp. 359–377.

the Dominican monk Bertalan Badalik, supported by Tomek, who became Bishop of Veszprém. Vince Tomek kept paying continuous attention to the events in Hungary, especially the renewed negotiations during the Second Vatican Council, of which he kept a diary full of data. His bequeathed property, stored in 25 chests, includes 7 chests with 90 diaries in them, containing 5534 pages of notes from the period between 1949 and 1975. The processing of his inheritance has now started, thanks to the Fransiscan monk KÁLMÁN PEREGRIN, the continuation of which is an important task in getting to know the history of the Hungarian Church, of emigration, as well as the Second Vatican Council.

BALÁZS RÉTFALVI

Translated by LÁSZLÓ KRISTÓ