

COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

SEPARATUM EX CLASS. II, TOM. IO



BUDAPEST ♦ ROME

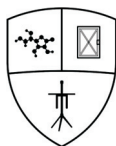
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COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

CLASSIS II, TOM. IO – SEPARATUM

THE REGISTER OF THE PAPAL
DOCUMENTS SURVIVING WITHIN
THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY(1417–1526)

GÁBOR NEMES



BUDAPEST ♦ ROME

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The Register of the Papal Documents Surviving within the Kingdom of Hungary
(1417–1526)

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THE REGISTER OF THE PAPAL DOCUMENTS

Surviving within the Kingdom of Hungary

(1417–1526)

I. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PRELIMINARIES

The positivist historiography has also started to collect the sources published by the pontiffs; just think of the volumes of PHILIPP JAFFÉ and AUGUST POTTHAST. Apart from the systematic exploitation of the bull-registers kept in the Vatican after the opening of the archives – mainly through the research¹ of WILHELM DIEKAMP and PAUL M. BAUMGARTEN on the history of diplomacy and chancery – the original papal publications found outside of Rome also attracted careful attention. In 1953, FRANCO BARTOLONI suggested the collection and diplomatic description of the papal charters that were issued between 1198 and 1417. However, BARTOLINI could not realize his plan; after his death of 1956, his initiative was taken over by a committee led by G. BATTELLI. On account of the diverse research opportunities of certain countries, BATTELLI had to come to the realization that the only way to publish the documents – instead of the unified chronology – was to publish them according to countries, parts of the countries, to archives or even according to greater fonds.²

¹ *Schedario Baumgarten. Descrizione diplomatica di bolle e brevi originali da Innocenzo III a Pio IX. Riproduzione anastatica I–IV*, a cura di GIULIO BATTELLI–SERGIO PAGANO, Città del Vaticano 1965–1986.

² ÉRSZEGI GÉZA, *A XIII. és XIV. századi eredeti pápai oklevelek számbavétele*, Levéltári Közlemények 61 (1990) 197–201, 197–198 [The Review of the Original Papal Charters from the 13th and 14th Century].

Besides, BARTOLONI's ideas proved to be fruitful for other researchers, as well: Anton Largiadèr collected the papal charters of Switzerland from 1963 to 1970;³ in 1966, WALTER ZÖLLNER collected the papal documents from the state archive of Magdeburg according to BARTOLONI's criterium.⁴ BERNARD BARBICHE's three-volume-work constituted the next milestone, which reviewed the original papal charters of the *Archives Nationales de Paris*. Beyond collecting certain charters' regesta in Latin, he also collected the notes made on them by the chancery.⁵ With this act, the series of *Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum* was launched, to which the *Commission Internationale de Diplomatie* issued a separate regulation of publication. The raison d'être of the series is also shown by the following five volumes published between 1988 and 2016: BRIGIDE SCHWARZ collected and published the papal charters from Lower Saxony, PATRICK ZUTSHI the ones from England, TILMANN SCHMIDT from Baden-Württemberg és Northern Germany, and ISABELLA AURORA the ones from Puglia and Basilicata.⁶ However, this enterprise

³ ANTON LARGIADÈR, *Die Papsturkunden des Staatsarchivs Zürich von Innozenz III. bis Martin V*, Zürich 1963; ANTON LARGIADÈR, *Die Papsturkunden der Schweiz von Innozenz III. bis Martin V. ohne Zürich I–II*, Zürich 1968–1970.

⁴ WALTER ZÖLLNER, *Die Papsturkunden des Staatsarchivs Magdeburg von Innozenz III. bis zu Martin V* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 13), Halle a. d. Saale 1966. Zöllner collected the papal charters of the archives of Magdeburg and Weimar in a further two volumes: WALTER ZÖLLNER, *Die jüngeren Papsturkunden des Staatsarchivs Magdeburg. Bestände Halberstadt, Quedlinburg und übrige Gebiete* (Studien zur katholischen Bistums- und Klostergeschichte 23), Leipzig 1982; WALTER ZÖLLNER, *Die jüngeren Papsturkunden des Thüringischen Hauptstaatsarchivs Weimar: (Von Innozenz III. bis zum Konzil von Konstanz)* (Studien zur katholischen Bistums- und Klostergeschichte 40), Leipzig 1996.

⁵ BERNARD BARBICHE, *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives Nationales de Paris I–III* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 1–3), Città del Vaticano 1975–1982.

⁶ BRIGIDE SCHWARZ, *Die Originale von Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen (1199–1417)* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 4), Città del Vaticano 1988; PATRICK ZUTSHI, *Original Papal Letters in England (1305–1415)* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 5), Città del Vaticano 1990; TILMANN SCHMIDT, *Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Baden-Württemberg* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum

brought about the publication of many other works besides the series. WOLFGANG HILGER explored the papal bulls issued between 1198 and 1304,⁷ while the papal charters of the archives of Valencia and the Spanish provinces of the Dominican order were registered by the local researchers in their publications in 1980 – 2004 by outreaching the appointed time-limit.⁸

After the opening of the Vatican archives in 1881, the research of the papal-Hungarian relations' sources was undeniably shifted to Rome, since there were far more papal publications available within the walls of the Vatican than in the Hungarian archives.⁹ That is why it could happen that the collection of the papal charters kept in the Hungarian archives was delayed.

ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 6), Città del Vaticano 1993; TILMANN SCHMIDT, *Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Norddeutschland (Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Schleswig-Holstein) 1199–1415* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 7), Città del Vaticano 2003; ISABELLA AURORA, *Documenti originali pontifici in Puglia e in Basilicata 1199–1415* (Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III in ad Martinum V electum 8), Città del Vaticano 2016.

⁷ HILGER, WOLFGANG (bearb.), *Verzeichnis der Originale spätmittelalterlicher Papsturkunden in Österreich 1198–1304. Ein Beitrag zum Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. II: Diplomataria et Acta 83), Wien 1991.

⁸ JOSÉ ANTONIO POZO CHACÓN, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum (1321–1414), quae in Archivo Cathedralis Valentinae asservantur*, Valencia 1980; JAVIER SERRA-ESTELLÉS, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab anno Christi MLXXIV usque ad a. MDCIV in Archivo Regni Valentini*, Cuadernos de trabajos de la Escuela Española de Arqueología e Historia en Roma 15 (1981) 179–228; MARÍA LUZ MANDINGORRA LLAVATA–FRANCISCO JOSÉ SANCHIS MORENO, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum in Archivo Diputationis Valentiae asservata ab anno MCDX usque ad annum MDCCCXXVI edicta*, Hispania sacra. Revista española de historia eclesiástica 48 (1996) 593–635; JOSÉ VICENTE BOSCA CODINA–MARÍA LUZ MANDINGORRA LLAVATA, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum in archivo historico Provinciae Aragoniae Ordinis Praedicatorum asservata (ab anno 1427 usque ad annum 1725 edicta)*, Escritos del vedat 34 (2004) 333–422.

⁹ PÉTER TUSOR, *Magyar történeti kutatások a Vatikánban*, (CVH I/1 – Excerptum) Budapest–Róma 2004, xx–lxviii [Hungarian Historical Research in the Vatican] (= CVH I/20, 20–68).

2. THE GUIDELINES AND CRITERIA OF THE REPERTORIUM'S PUBLICATION

The aims of the *Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum* was undoubtedly inspirational for the work; however, the volume varies from it in many points. This was due to practical considerations, and partly to the different aims.

The beginning of Pope Martin V's pontificate provided the collection's starting point – where the above mentioned Index ended – and the Battle of Mohács, 29 August 1526, the classical end of the Hungarian Middle Ages constituted its end. Concerning the geographical orientation, the territory within the present border was not satisfying, the research had to be extended to every country of the Holy Crown.

During collection, every single form of manuscript was registered, therefore apart from the original documents, the copies, the transcripts, drafts, moreover printed letters of indulgence were also taken account of. Firstly, the National Archives of Hungary's Department of Diplomacy (DL) and Diplomatic Collection of Photos (DF) were searched,¹⁰ and then it was followed by the reviewing of the Hevenesi-, Kaprinai- and Pray-collections kept in the ELTE University Library and Archives in Budapest. Furthermore, online databases were also searched, among which the material of the archives available on the monasterium.net maintained by the ICARUS consortium should be mentioned, as well as the homepage of the *Arhiva Medievală A României*, (<http://archivamedievala.ro/>) that publishes the medieval charters kept in the Romanian archives. Yet, the medieval codices within the libraries' manuscripts were not systematically

¹⁰ GYÖRGY RÁCZ (ed.), *A középkori Magyarország digitális levéltára. Magyar Országos Levéltárban (MOL) a Mohács előtti gyűjteményekhez 1874–2008 között készült levéltári segédletek és oklevelek elektronikus feldolgozása (DL-DF 4.3.)* Budapest 2008. DVD-ROM; <http://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/> [The Digital Archives of the Medieval Hungary].

researched, since that would have completely expanded the confines.¹¹

3. PAPAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE HOLY CROWNS (1417 – 1526) – REVIEW, ANALYSIS

From the period of 11 November 1417 to 29 August 1526, the charter-text of 1064 pieces from the archives of the Carpathian Basin was collected. Almost half of the documents, 344 pieces were maintained in their original form, and half of them are from the time of Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X. If it is taken into consideration that GÉZA ÉRSZEGI collected 309 original papal charters from the period of 1198–1417, this number is noteworthy.¹²

If the proportion of the survived sources and the years of the pontificates are regarded, then it can be stated that the maintained papal publications' distribution is more or less consistent. The number of the items per year – without counting the surprisingly low number of Adrian VI – is between 4 and 8, popes Pius II, Julius II and Leo X had the highest numbers.¹³

If the items of the volume are analysed according to their type, one can see that the majority of them is bull, the proportion of the briefs is only 13% (86), half of which (41) survived in their original form. Their distribution is not consistent, almost two thirds of theirs were issued by Julius II, Leo X and Clement VII. A little bit more than the third of the briefs are *breve de curia* of political and

¹¹ For these, see for example, PÉTER ERDŐ, *A részleges egyházjog forrásszövegei a Magyarországon őrzött középkori kódexekben*, Magyar Könyvszemle 108 (1992) 301–312 [The Sources of the Fractional Canon Law within the Medieval Codices Kept in Hungary].

¹² GÉZA ÉRSZEGI, *Eredeti pápai oklevelek Magyarországon (1198–1417)*, Akadémiai doktori értekezés, kézirat, Budapest 1989, 67–68 [Original Papal Charters in Hungary (1198–1417)].

¹³ GÉZA ÉRSZEGI observed while examining the papal charters from 1198–1417 that the distribution of the bulls is not consistent, see ÉRSZEGI, *Eredeti pápai oklevelek*, 66.

administrative nature. The quick and therefore cheaper secretarial issue of documents since the mid-15th century, which was administered in a shorter way than that of the processes of the chancery and chamber, resulted that among those, who approached the Holy See with a supplication – mainly cathedral-chapters and religious orders –, more and more people requested the papal permission in a brief. Consequently, the *breve commune* – the legal document to reply to the presented supplications that contained the permissions – also appeared beside the *breve de curia*. This sort of document type constitutes more than half of the volume's briefs. However, a third type of document also occurred, the *breve supplicatione introclusa*, which is none other than the fairly formulaic order, which was attached to the signed, therefore confirmed supplication, and addressed to the appointed person to implement it.¹⁴ I have found only five of this sort.¹⁵

There are two unique forms that deserve attention: the drafts and the printed letters of indulgence. The drafts can be found – with two exceptions – in the archive of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom.¹⁶ The existence of these documents is undoubtedly explained by the fact that the agents of the chapter of Esztergom in Rome also brought these *minutas* home to account for their expenses.¹⁷ Thousands of printed letters of indulgence must have been bought also in Hungary, though, only six texts survived in ten copies.¹⁸

However, it should be noted that the papal charters survived in the archives of the Carpathian Basin can be only the fragments of the effectively issued documents. PÁL LUKSICS's volumes that elaborated the registers remained from the pontificate of Martin V, Eugene IV and Nicholas V (1417–1455) in the Vatican Archives

¹⁴ NEMES, *Brevia Clementina*, XII.

¹⁵ n. 422. 562. 564. 573. 621.

¹⁶ n. 225. 230. 241. 244. 268. 269. 272. 273. 273a. 274. 276. 443. 451. 460. 478.

¹⁷ NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században II. rész. A sasadi tizedper 1452–1465 közötti „krónikája”* (Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam 8), Budapest 2015, II, 112, 119 [The Cathedral-Chapter of Esztergom in the 15th Century, Part II.].

¹⁸ n. 350. 585. 586. 587. 588. 612.

contain 2809 registers, in which the author always concentrated the supplications and their bulls that were issued concerning the same case, naturally if both survived.¹⁹ In contrast, in the archives of the Carpathian Basin, there are only 205 papal charters from this period, out of which only 90 are original. Above all, if we consider that in many cases their register did not survive in the Vatican, one can infer the extent of the papal archive's files' decay.²⁰

After having examined the charters' place of preservation, the addressees and the beneficiaries, it can be stated that the number of the bulls and briefs related to the religious orders is quite high, more than 40%. One of the reasons for this is that many such volumes of protocol survived that contained the papal privileges granted to the religious communities. Two Paulite collections of privileges,²¹ the privileges of the Benedictine Saint Justina-congregation of Padua,²² the privileges of the Carmelite and Augustine order that had been rewritten by a Dominican provost,²³ and a volume containing the

¹⁹ PÁL LUKCSICS, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei I–II* (Monumenta Hungariae Italica I–2), Budapest 1931–1938 [The Charters of the Popes of the 15th Century I–II].

²⁰ REMIGIUS RITZLER, *Die Verschleppung der päpstlichen Archive unter Napoleon I*, Römische Historische Mitteilungen 6–7 (1962–1964) 144–190; THOMAS FRENZ, *Die verlorenen Brevenregister 1421–1527*, Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 57 (1977) 354–365.

²¹ ELTE EKK Cod. 114 ("Miscellanea Paulina"), Cod. 115 ("Liber viridis") [MNL OL DF 286489.] See also GÁBOR SARBAK, *A pálos Liber viridis*, Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról, ed. by László Szelestei N., Budapest 1989, 155–167 [The Paulite Liber viridis]; ERDŐ, *A részleges egyházjog*, 303, 309.

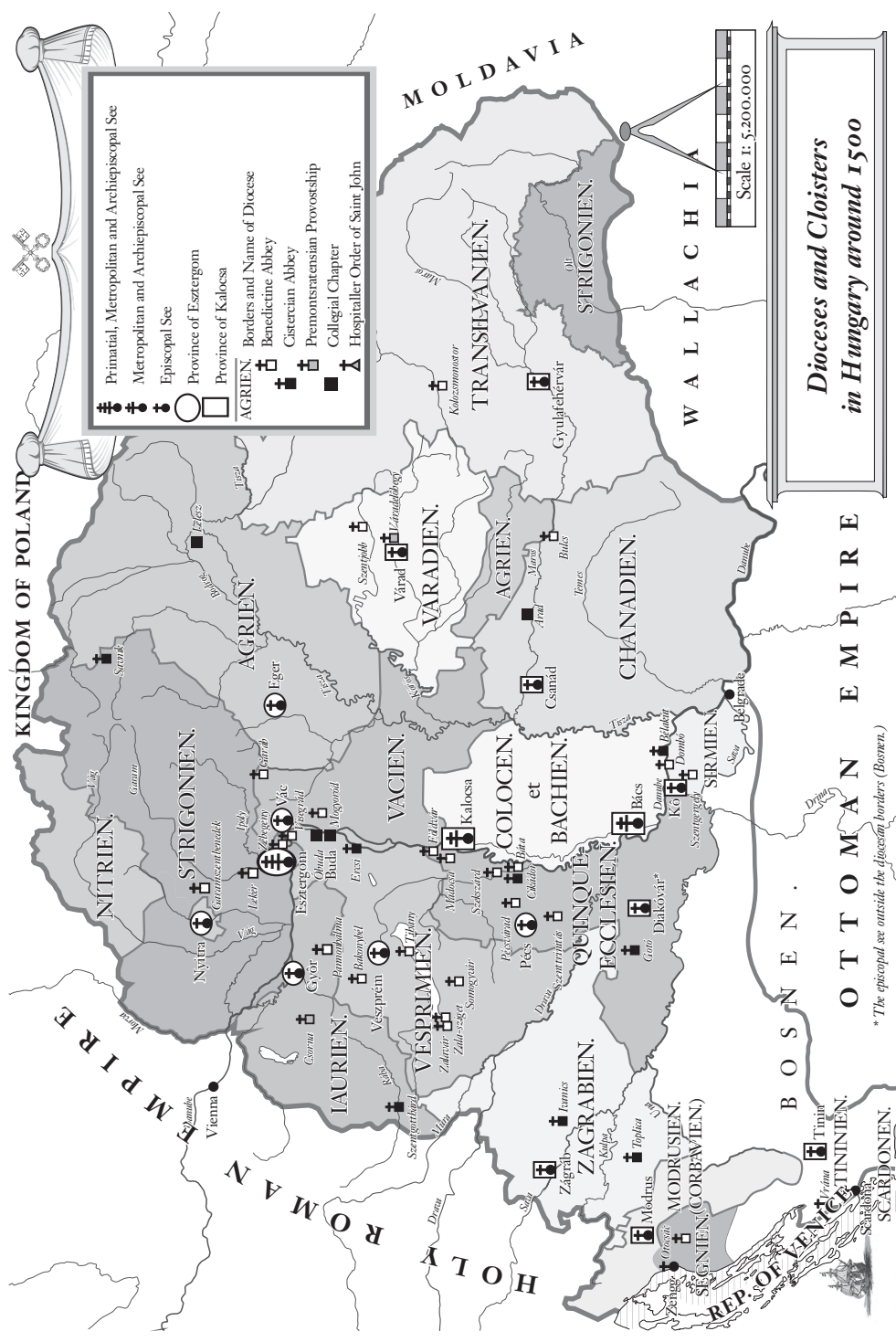
²² PFL Acta antiquiora, fasc. 59, n. 17. [MNL OL DF 208314.] See also PRT III, 118–119.

²³ ENMLt Törzsgyűjtemény, n. 143/A–B. [MNL OL DF 253771–2.], KÁROLY SZABÓ: *Az erdélyi muzeum okleveleinek kivonatai (1232–1540)*, Történelmi Tár 1890, 328–359, IV, 342–343, n. 487 [The Abstracts of the Museum of Transylvania's Charters (1232–1540)]; LAJOS IMPLÓM, *Adatok a Szent Domonkos-rend magyarországi rendtartományának történetéhez. A rendtartomány alapítástól 1526-ig* (Magyar Domonkos Rendtörténet 1), ed. by László Drimmer–Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, Vasvár 2017, 369 [Data to the History of the Hungarian Province of the Saint Dominican Order].

privileges granted to the Teutonic Knights²⁴ are of that sort. In these six volumes there are almost hundred papal documents from the period of 1417–1526, which is almost the tenth of the records within the repertory. The medieval collection of the regular archives – that survived the destructions of the Ottomans and the Josephinist church policy – also increase the number of the charters related to the religious orders: the Hungarian Franciscan Archives preserves 74, the archives of the Pannonhalma Archabbey preserves 72 papal bulls and briefs that are mainly original. It also should be mentioned that due to Joseph II's dissolutions, the fonds of the Hungarian Chamber's Archives that preserve the documents of the Paulites and other religious orders contain 83 papal publications from the period. Consequently, it is no surprise that the proportion of the papal charters related to the Franciscans, Benedictines and Paulites is the greatest, while the unexpected high number of the Carmelite, Augustine and the Teutonic Knights' documents is caused by the above-mentioned protocols. The destruction of the Dominican and Cistercian medieval files might be behind the low proportion of their documents.

Besides the orders' documents, numerous papal charters survived in the archives of the episcopacies and cathedral chapters. Naturally most of them are in Esztergom: the private archives of the arch-chapter maintain 83, while the Primate's Archives 37, which is more than the tenth of all the records. Furthermore, among the episcopal centres, Zagreb, Győr and Veszprém keep considerable number of charters, since their "private archives" survived. In the provincial archives of Upper Hungary, like in Pozsony (Bratislava), Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica), Kassa (Košice), Lőcse (Levoča) and Eperjes (Prešov), there are also numerous papal documents preserved, while in Transylvania, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Brassó (Braşov) and the Saxon National Archives of Nagyszeben (Sibiu) keep significant

²⁴ Batthyaneum, Ms. II. 39. [MNL OL DF 277830.], for this, see also ANTAL BEKE, *Index manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyianae Dioecesis Transsylvanensis*, K.-Fehérvár 1871, 54, n. 625.



Legend:

- Primate, Metropolitan and Archbishop See
- Metropolitan and Archbishop See
- Episcopal See
- Province of Esztergom
- Province of Kalocsa
- AGRIEN. Borders and Name of Diocese
- Benedictine Abbey
- Cistercian Abbey
- Prenonsiatensian Provostship
- Collegial Chapter
- Hospitalier Order of Saint John

Scale 1: 5,200,000

*Dioceses and Cloisters
in Hungary around 1500*

* The episcopal see outside the diocesan borders (Bosnen.)

number of documents. However, it is striking that the aristocratic family archives preserved hardly any papal charters.

If we consider the thematic content, the following observations can be made. The legal cases constitute the biggest group of items, they form almost the third. Namely, the Roman curial tribunals, as a supreme judicial forum, were often reached out – despite the Hungarian monarchs' from time to time occurring prohibition²⁵ – from the diocesan tribunals. The popes in their charters, therefore, ordered the examination of the cases, the dispatch of the judges, the delivery of a verdict and its execution, or they decided upon questions of jurisdiction and lawfulness.

The other, greater thematic content is represented by the privileges. They also can be divided into two easily identified groups concerning diplomacy. One of them is the group of files starting with the eternal formula indicating the general privileges (*Ad perpetuam* or *Ad futuram rei memoriam*). This means almost 150 charter-texts, which is more than fifth of the complete amount. It is important to add that almost third of them can be found in the already mentioned protocols that contain the privileges of the orders. The number of the indulgence-privileges (22), *Universis Christi fidelibus*, is much less; they constitute the examined files' 3%. If we compare this with the original charter-material of the 1198–1417 period examined by GÉZA ÉRSZEGI, the following picture can be drawn. Only 22 out of 309 started with the eternal formula there and ÉRSZEGI could reveal only seven indulgences, therefore, way less.²⁶

However, among the items of the volumes there are two groups that are represented by strikingly few files: these are the cases of benefices and *confessionale*.²⁷ The low number of the bulls appointing

²⁵ PÉTER ERDŐ, *A pápaság és a magyar királyság Zsigmond király idején*, Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának 1000 éve, ed. by István Zombori, Budapest 1996, 83–95, 91–92 [The Papacy and the Kingdom of Hungary under King Sigismund].

²⁶ ÉRSZEGI GÉZA: *Eredeti pápai oklevelek*, 68–69.

²⁷ Almost two-third of the cases of the diocese of Veszprém discovered in the registers of the Vatican Archives in 1417–1455 were of beneficiary and *confessionale* type; for this, see GÁBOR NEMES, *A veszprémi egyházmegye kapcsolatai a Római Kúriával a késő középkorban*, Capella reginalis. A veszprémi püspökség a középkorban (A veszpré-

to a benefice is surprising, because in the case of a bishop's provision, at least seven bulls were issued: apart from the appointed prelate, the cathedral chapter, the clergy of the diocese, his flock and vassals; in the case of a bishop the metropolitan, and in the case of an archbishop the suffragan bishop, and the monarch received a copy. There are more, than 170 bishop-appointments known from the period of 1417–1526 – not to mention the suffragan bishops –²⁸ which indicates that there should be at least 1000 bulls issued; however, we own only 20 in its original form.²⁹ Apart from them, other charters survived that were related to certain appointments: two from Apáti, one of a canon and three were priest-appointments.³⁰

The Hungarians, who submitted their requests to the Roman Curia, much preferred to present a *confessionale* supplication, which included the authorization of a complete absolution, free choice of confessor, offering a mass on a portable altar, the administration of sacraments in territories under interdictum; furthermore, the authorization of consuming eggs, dairy products, or meat during fasting.³¹ Additionally, most of these bulls – approximately half-three-quarter of them – were granted to the laity.³² Yet, I found only 7 such *confessionale* bull, which is a rather low number comparing to the fact that the subjects of the Holy Crown must have obtained thousands of such documents.³³

régi egyházmegye múltjából 38), ed. by Balázs Karlinszky–László Varga Tibor, Veszprém 2021, 123–155, 131 [The Relations of the Diocese of Veszprém with the Roman Curia in the Late Middle Ages].

²⁸ NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi arcbontológiája. Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig*, (A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár Kiadványai. Források, feldolgozások 27), Győr 2017 [The Archaeology of the Late-Medieval Prelates of Hungary].

²⁹ n. 336–341. 390–393. 416. 419. 465–472. 530.

³⁰ n. 27. 49–51. 83. 485–493. 531. 549–550.

³¹ BÁLINT LAKATOS, *Regesta Supplicationum 1522–1523. AVI. Adorján pápa uralkodása alatt elfogadott magyar vonatkozású kérvények* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/16), Budapest–Rome, 2018, 35–36.

³² NEMES, *A veszprémi egyházmegye kapcsolatai*, 131.

³³ n. 72. 81. 184. 202. 252. 255. 310.

What is the reason for this? The answer could be given by archaeological findings. Namely, during the excavations, numerous – though comparing to the number of the charters issued throughout centuries, quite few³⁴ – papal bulls with a leaden seal were unearthed, hugely thanks to the usage of the metal detectors. Except for the bulls that were buried as a result of the destruction of church institutions' archives,³⁵ three types of archaeological sites can be established: burial-place, urban environment and agricultural area. All of them inform us about the un-nique after-life of the bulls.

Some papal charters that were personalized, and therefore lost its relevance after the death of the beneficiary – perhaps in fear of their secondary, unlawful use – were simply thrown out. For this reason, many bulls were revealed from waste pits and latrines of medieval towns, or from the municipal watercourses of water channels, or from harbours.³⁶

Many leaden seals were found in – mainly church – individuals' tomb. One of the oldest examples for this is the tomb of Wolfgang, bishop

³⁴ STEFAN KÖTZ, *Eine Bleibulle Papst Innozenz' IV. vom Paderborner Marktplatz*, Archäologie in Westfalen-Lippe 2014, 133–136, 135–136.

³⁵ JÖRG ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel von Papst Bonifatius IX. (1389–1404) aus der Hansestadt Greifswald*, Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 53 (2005) 289–314, 309–310; MICHEL H. BARTELS, *Papal Bullae; a message from above? Interpretations of the papal lead seal (11th–16th c) in archaeological contexts in and around the Netherlands*, Vom Bodenfund zum Buch. Archäologie durch die Zeiten. Festschrift für Andreas Heege (Historische Archäologie Sonderband 1), hrsg. von Christoph Rinne–Jochen Reinhard–Eva Roth Heege–Stefan Teuber, Bonn 2017, 315–334, 319–321.

³⁶ The papal bulls discovered in the latrines were mainly found in civil houses, however, the latrine of the nunnery near the Salzburg Cathedral also hid one. As these discovered seals are mainly from the 13–14th century, the anti-papal movement of the Reformation cannot be reckoned here. ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 295–297, 308–311; KÖTZ, *Eine Bleibulle*, 135; BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 328–329. Out of the bulls found in Hungary, the ones discovered in the castle of Buda can belong to this category; see VIKTÓRIA P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla a középkori Bánbégyes falu területéről*, Archaeologiai Értesítő 145 (2020) 195–206, 201 [Papal Bull from the Territory of the Medieval Bánbégyes Village].

of Regensburg in Sankt Emmaram, from the 10th century.³⁷ Many tombs were excavated in numerous churches of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, moreover England and Scandinavia that contained bulls, mainly as an attachment of the grave of a bishop, abbot, or canon.³⁸ The leaden seals must have been buried with the charters, often by the will of the deceased. One of the best examples for this is Johann von Venningen, the bishop of Basel, who left in his testament that he should be buried with the bulls of Pope Callixtus III in his right hand.³⁹

The best-known artefact in Hungary may be the leaden seal of Pope Paul II that was found in the cathedral of Pécs. In the tomb designated to Janus Pannonius, the seal was found on the right hand of the deceased, under the left hand-bones; consequently, similarly to the bishop of Basel, the charter could have been in the hand of the deceased.⁴⁰ This was not a unique case, since in the tomb of Bishop Miklós Dörögdi three papal leaden seal were discovered; besides the seal found in the cathedral of Veszprém⁴¹ must have been a supplement to the burial. One of the three seals discovered in the abbey of Rudina might have enriched a tomb of an abbot.⁴² Not only were the seals discovered from the tomb of churchmen, but they were also found in the grave of laymen. In the cemetery of the St Mary's Hospital in London, six graves of wealthy people hid seals, one of

³⁷ LUKAS CLEMENS, *Zeugen des Verlustes – Päpstliche Bullen im archäologischen Kontext*, Kurie und Region. Festschrift für Brigitte Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag (Geschichtliche Landeskunde 59), hrsg. von Brigitte Flug–Michael Matheus–Andreas Rehberg, Stuttgart 2005, 341–357, 352.

³⁸ ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 307–308; CLEMENS, *Zeugen des Verlustes*, 352–353; BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 318–329.

³⁹ CLEMENS, *Zeugen des Verlustes*, 352.

⁴⁰ GÁBOR KÁRPÁTI, *Janus Pannonius sírja*, Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 50–52 (2005–2007), n. 2., 123–131, 127–128 [The Tomb of Janus Pannonius].

⁴¹ P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla*, 201.

⁴² The seal was discovered on the chest of the deceased. It is implying concerning the personality of the buried that in the graves found at the bottom of the northern tower – where the seal was found in one them – the stone-marbles used during the election of the abbot were also found, see VJEKOSLAV KRAMBERGER, *Bula pape Bonifacija IX. pronađena na Rudini*, Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Požegi 2 (2013) 103–113, 105–107; P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla*, 202.

them could have been a rich merchant's wife's.⁴³ The tomb of Hedvig, the daughter of Louis I, in Wawel, Krakow, contained two seals.⁴⁴ The seal of Pope Callixtus III was discovered in the St Laurence chapel of Crkvari – near Raholca (today Orahovica) of Slavonia – in a grave of a female individual,⁴⁵ while the leaden seal unearthed in one of the tombs of the xenodochium of Esztergom-Szentkirály might have been possessed by a layman.⁴⁶

Concerning the seals found in the graves, the purpose to destroy the charter was also in the background; however, there might have been more to it. In the case of a churchman, the provisional bulla showed the rank and title of the deceased, while a *confessionale* charter could be the objective proof of the buried person's pilgrimage to Rome, similarly to the numerous excavated pilgrim badges. Furthermore, we cannot exclude the fact that the leaden seals portraying the apostle princes were attributed the role of a protector at the time by the persons preparing to their last judgement.⁴⁷

We have finally arrived at the last and perhaps most interesting usage of the seals. It is speculated in many cases that after being cut off from the parchment the seals were used as a talisman, an amulet and were given an apotropaic function. Many leaden seals were pierced and worn as a necklace, like that of the pieces found under the canon-stall of the cathedral of Lund.⁴⁸ It also happened that they were buried in a field to ask Apostles Peter and Paul – who were intertwined with the harvest in the cult – the averting of natural disasters and the yielding of better crops.⁴⁹ In Hungary, papal bulls

⁴³ ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 307. According to the author, bulls were discovered also from Irish churchyards. See further English examples BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 330.

⁴⁴ ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 311; CLEMENS, *Zeugen des Verlustes*, 352.

⁴⁵ TATJANA TKALČEC, *Arheološka istraživanja nalazišta Crkvari – crkva sv. Lovre 2012. godine*, Annales Instituti Archaeologici 9 (2013) 20–25, 23–24; P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla*, 202.

⁴⁶ P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla*, 201.

⁴⁷ ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 310–311; CLEMENS, *Zeugen des Verlustes*, 353–354; BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 329–330.

⁴⁸ ANSORGE, *Vier Bleisiegel*, 307; BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 329–330.

⁴⁹ BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 323–325, 330–331.

were found in a field near Muhi, Nyírtelek and Bánhegyes, which indicates that this tradition also existed in Hungary.⁵⁰ However, this finding also raises another question, whether how did the peasants come in possession of such bulls?⁵¹ Did they dig up from waste pits, or did they buy them from the owners of the invalid seals after the parchments' destruction?

Although, the relations between Hungary and the papacy were quite intense at the time of the examined period,⁵² documents of diplomatic nature survived in a very low number. One of the reasons for this could be the decay and dispersion of the Hungarian royal archives, which is partly compensated by the registers kept in the Vatican Archives.⁵³ Yet, a volume might have preserved some papal documents from the late royal archives: in the so-called "greater" Nádasdy-codex⁵⁴ the treaty of Némethújvár's bull of confirmation of Pius II,⁵⁵ and the briefs of Pope Sixtus IV written to King Matthias can be read.⁵⁶

If one thoroughly examines the diplomatic documents within the volume, the following can be stated. Considerable number of papal charters survived in Esztergom,⁵⁷ which is by no surprise, since the archbishop of Esztergom – as the primate and chief-chancellor of Hungary – was almost always one of the most prestigious members of the political elite of Hungary. However, the most significant collection that can be related to the archbishop of Esztergom did not

⁵⁰ P. HORVÁTH, *Pápai bulla*, 195–197, 202.

⁵¹ BARTELS, *Papal Bullae*, 329.

⁵² For this, see for example VILMOS FRANKÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékekkel I–III*, Budapest 1901–1903, II; *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. by ISTVÁN ZOMBORI, Budapest 1996, 83–134 [The Church and Political Connections of Hungary with the Holy See, I–III].

⁵³ Truly confidential documents have not been registered, see NEMES, *Brevia Clementina*, XIV–XVI.

⁵⁴ ELTE EKK Ms. G 39. ("greater" Nádasdy-codex) [MNL OL DF 28386.]

⁵⁵ n. 266. See the background of this PÉTER E. KOVÁCS, *A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt (1437–1490)*, in *Magyarország és a Szentszék*, 97–117, 106 [The Holy See, the Ottomans and Hungary under the Hunyadis].

⁵⁶ n. 333. 365. 374. 403–403c.

⁵⁷ n. 140. 154. 273–276. 650. 655.

survive in the archives of the seat. The papal bulls and briefs – of diplomatic topic – of János Beckensloer,⁵⁸ who died in Salzburg, were discovered in the *Wiener Haus, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Österreichische Akten*'s fonds of Salzburg, and were placed in the National Archives of Hungary according to the agreement of Baden of 1926.⁵⁹ Another, smaller collection is related to István Bátori.⁶⁰ The four papal briefs addressed to him was transferred to the Archives of the Hungarian Chamber along with the family archives, and then during arrangement of the files they were shifted to the *Acta publica* fond.⁶¹

The situation of those volumes that had not been written in Hungary but finally arrived there is unique. The Cod. lat. 260.⁶² codex of the National Széchényi Library – which contains the letters of Pope Martin V⁶³ – was compiled or in the diocese of Passau, either in the diocese of Augsburg, and then it was moved to the national library by MÁRTON GYÖRGY KOVACHICH and MIKLÓS JANKOVICH. The volumes of Cod. Lat. 210. and 211.⁶⁴ – which include the texts written in the ideas of the wars against the Ottomans and the Christian Crusade, among which naturally the papal charters written with a diplomatic purpose⁶⁵ – also originated from Southern Germany and were later moved from the Augustine convent of Lecco to Budapest.

⁵⁸ MARGIT BEKE, *Beckensloer V. János, Esztergomi érsekek 1001–2003*, ed. Beke Margit, Budapest 2003, 214–219.

⁵⁹ Besides the appointing bulls of the archbishop of Esztergom (n. 336–341.) the following briefs are in question: n. 346–347. 353. 369. 372. 378. 382. 384. VILMOS FRAKNÓI researched these documents still in Vienna: VILMOS FRAKNÓI, *Beckensloer magyar prímás III. Frigyes német császár szolgálatában 1459–1489*, *Történeti Szemle* 6 (1917) 159–186, 259–283, 165 [Beckensloer, Primate of Hungary in the Service of Emperor Frederick III, 1459–1489].

⁶⁰ C. TÓTH, *Ki kicsoda az ecsedi Bátori családban. A Bátori család ecsedi ágának tagjai 1377–1541*, *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle* 44 (2009), n. 1., 5–45, 23–25 [Who is Who in the Bátori Family of Ecsed].

⁶¹ MAKSAY, *A Magyar Kamara Archívuma*, 21–24.

⁶² *Kézirattár. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattárának katalógusai*, CD-ROM, Budapest 2004, Codices, 260.

⁶³ n. 32. 34–37.

⁶⁴ *OSZK Kézirattár*, Codices, 210–211.

⁶⁵ n. 217. 265. 293. 304. 397.

