

COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

tom. 8

THE LEGATION OF ANGELO PECCHINOLI

at the Court of the King of Hungary
(1488–1490)

ANTONÍN KALOUS



BUDAPEST ♦ ROME

2021

COLLECTANEA VATICANA HUNGARIAE

CLASSIS II, TOM. 8

ANGELO PECCHINOLI
PÁPAI LEGÁCIÓJA

a magyar királyi udvarban
(1488–1490)

Írta és közreadja

ANTONÍN KALOUS



BUDAPEST • RÓMA

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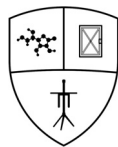
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Written and edited by
ANTONÍN KALOUS



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PREFACE

For historians, primary sources are the necessary foundation of their work. Making the sources available in print may seem as one of the most tedious works, but it does not have to be so, as most editors will agree. Working on the documents related to the legation of Angelo Pecchinoli has been an adventure that started in January 2004, when I first visited the Vatican Apostolic archives and library. In the library, by pure chance I discovered the first report of Angelo in a manuscript (Vat. lat. 5641) that was created thanks to the activities of Cardinal Marco Barbo. Since then, I was interested in the legation of Angelo Pecchinoli and collected sources in the archives next door, but most importantly when I finally managed to get to the National Library of Venice, to the Marciana in 2013, did the plan for editing all the reports get some shape. The *Collezione Podocataro* in Venice (in the Marciana and in the State archives) is one of the most fruitful collections in terms of papal correspondence of the 1470s, 1480s and early 1490s. It contains original letters that were sent by many papal representatives in the regions and thus also the reports of Angelo Pecchinoli. Even though surely not all the reports that were sent were preserved a nice number of fourteen documents already form a reasonable collection. It took some further visits to the library on the Piazzetta di San Marco and the State archives in the former convent of the Friars Minor to finalise the edition.

This book is dedicated to three excellent scholars, historians, to whom generations of students are grateful for introducing them to medieval sources, displaying the significance of these sources and the use of them. My teachers, professor LIBUŠE HRABOVÁ of Palacký

University in Olomouc and professor JÁNOS M. BAK of the Central European University in Budapest showed us medieval sources in use, always started from the primary sources and stressed the value of the editions. The same can be said about professor ZDEŇKA HLEDÍKOVÁ of Charles University in Prague, whom I never met as my teacher, but in the capacity of the Director of the Czech Historical Institute in Rome, who herself prepared editions from the Vatican Archives. Unfortunately, ZDEŇKA HLEDÍKOVÁ, who even inspired this edition and we frequently talked about it, passed away in November 2018, and JÁNOS M. BAK unexpectedly departed in June 2020. No further words could fully express my gratitude to these scholars.

Naturally, as this has been a lengthy project, I have used the knowledge and expertise of many friends and colleagues, whom I often consulted. The list of bibliography shows the literature that I used, but here I would like to express my gratefulness and my heartiest thanks to my friends for discussions, helpful corrections and explanations and also for securing and suggesting literature for further use. I would like to thank to friends and colleagues NORBERT C. TÓTH, FRANCESCO CARTA, GYÖRGY DOMOKOS, TAMÁS FEDELES, GYÖRGY GALAMB, OTA HALAMA, BÁLINT LAKATOS, TIBOR NEUMANN, TOMÁŠ PARMA, PATRIK PAŠTRNÁK, KATALIN SZENDE, and many others including my colleagues in the Department of History in Olomouc (many of whom I bothered with legates and Angelo). This book is a product of a project called *Reshaping of post-conciliar world* that was generously supported by the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc and that we shared with JAN STEJSKAL and also of my stays at the Czech Historical Institute in Rome, to which I am grateful for its support. I would like to thank once more to PATRIK PAŠTRNÁK and especially BÁLINT LAKATOS, who both read the whole text and made a number of helpful suggestions; and to ELIZABETH WOOCK, who tried to improve my English. My thanks go to the publisher and to PÉTER TUSOR, who as the series editor was always instructive and helpful and supported the publication of these sources.

INTRODUCTION

Angelo Pecchinoli and his Legation in Sources

I. THE LEGATION OF ANGELO PECCHINOLI

I. PAPAL LEGATES AND Nuncios IN THE REGION OF CENTRAL EUROPE

Papal representation is almost as old as the office of the bishop of Rome. In the early centuries, it was mostly concerned with the communication between the bishop and the Emperor, who resided in Constantinople. Later, during the reform of the Church in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, papal legates became the highest representatives of the leader of the Church and the leader of all Christendom, as viewed by the papacy itself. The situation changed radically during the late-medieval crisis of the office of the papacy, with the popes residing in Avignon, the Great Western Schism, and the conciliar movement as epitomized in the great Councils of the early fifteenth century.

The long fifteenth century (1370s–1520s) clearly shows the struggle of the highest office of western Christendom to regain power, if not within the secular world, then (even more strongly) within the Church itself. Especially the period after the conciliar threat to the papal supremacy was averted is characterised by the renewed efforts of the popes to use papal legates and other representatives for supporting their policies. The secular world was, of course, not closed to them, as they generally represented the pope as a political power and more importantly as a renewed leader of the Church. After the pros-

perity of the fourteenth-century (unlike Western Europe) the region of Central Europe was ever more in the centre of attention of the Papal Curia.¹

¹ Inspirationally, on fifteenth-century Church see JOHN VAN ENGEN, *Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church*, *Church History* 77 (2008) 257–284; literature on the papacy and its policy as well individual aspects of it in this period is extensive, cf. at least the most inspirational treatments, MARCO PELLEGRINI, *Il papato nel Rinascimento*, Bologna 2010; CHARLES L. STINGER, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Bloomington 1998; JOHN A. F. THOMSON, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*, London 1980; more recently, also MICHAEL MATHEUS–BERND SCHNEIDMÜLLER–STEFAN WEINFURTER–ALFRIED WIECZOREK, eds., *Die Päpste der Renaissance. Politik, Kunst und Musik*, Regensburg 2017. There exists a huge literature on papal legates, especially on the classical period of eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Here, I will refer only to more general works and each of them give a number of references to specialised literature. A good overview is given by KARL RUESS, *Die rechtliche Stellung der päpstlichen Legaten bis Bonifaz VIII.*, Paderborn 1912; KNUT WALF, *Die Entwicklung des päpstlichen Gesandtschaftswesens in dem Zeitabschnitt zwischen Dekretalenrecht und Wiener Kongress (1159–1815)*, Munich 1966; PIERRE BLET, SJ, *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique du Saint Siège des origines à l'aube du XIX^e siècle*, Vatican City 1982. On the early legates cf. KRISTON R. RENNIE, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation*, Basingstoke 2013; for the classical period see mostly ROBERT C. FIGUEIRA, *The Canon Law of Medieval Papal Legation*, PhD Dissertation, Cornell University 1980 and his articles, IDEM, *The Classification of Medieval Papal Legates in the Liber Extra*, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 21 (1983) 211–228; IDEM, *Decretalists, Medieval Papal Legation, and the Roman Law of Offices and Jurisdiction*, *Res Publica Litterarum* 9 (1986) 119–135; IDEM, *Legatus apostolice sedis: the pope's 'alter ego' according to thirteenth-century canon law*, *Studi medievali*, 3d ser. 27 (1986) 527–574; IDEM, *Papal Reserved Powers and the Limitations on Legatine Authority*, *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*. Festschrift Brian Tierney, ed. James Ross Sweeney–Stanley Chodorow, Ithaca 1989, 191–211; IDEM, *Subdelegation by Papal Legates in Thirteenth-Century Canon Law: Powers and Limitations*, In *Iure Veritas*. Studies in Canon Law in Memory of Schafer Williams, ed. Steven Bowman–Blanche Cody, Cincinnati 1991, 56–79; IDEM, *The Medieval Papal Legate and His Province: Geographical Limits of Jurisdiction*, *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages*. Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson, ed. Robert C. Figueira, Aldershot 2006, 73–105), and more recently, for example the collective volume, MARIA PIA ALBERZONI–CLAUDIA ZEY, eds., *Legati e delegati papali: Profili, ambiti d'azione e tipologie di intervento nei secoli XII–XIII*,

For several reasons, the area was regularly visited by representatives of the pope who were set to fulfil various tasks related to the secular, as well as ecclesiastical, policies of the Apostolic See. Angelo Pecchinoli, who is the subject of this volume, was one of them: he was not isolated as a visitor to Central Europe. The region was called on fairly regularly by papal legates *de latere* and by the nuncios. This is not a place for recounting the activities of other legates and nuncios, just for the context a list of papal representatives with highest powers is added. The table below shows Angelo Pecchinoli in line of other such legates and nuncios.²

Milan 2012. For fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the theoretical background of the functioning of the legation *cf.* at least, WERNER MALECZEK, *Die päpstlichen Legaten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges–Klaus Wriedt, Ostfildern 2003, 33–86; BERNARD BARBICHE, *Les 'diplomates' pontificaux du moyen âge tardif à la première modernité: Office et charge pastorale*, *Offices et papauté (XIV^e–XVII^e siècle): Charges, hommes, destins*, ed. Armand Jamme–Olivier Poncet, Rome 2005, 357–370; IDEM, *Bulla, Legatus, Nuntius: Études de diplomatie et de diplomatie pontificales (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)*, Paris 2007; RALF LÜTZEL-SCHWAB, *Flectat cardinales ad velle suum? Clemens VI. und sein Kardinalskolleg. Ein Beitrag zur Kurialen Politik in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 2007; ANTONÍN KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus? Papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1526)*, Brno 2010; IDEM, *Late Medieval Papal Legation: Between the Councils and the Reformation*, Rome 2017; WOLFGANG UNTERGEHRER, 'Diligenter se informat et omnia ... referat.' *Das päpstliche Gesandtschaftswesen als Kommunikationssystem (ca. 1450–1500)*, *Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum in Mitteleuropa (13.–16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Eva Doležalová–Robert Šimůnek, Munich 2011, 13–50; IDEM, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati im Reich (1447–1484): Zu Personal und organisation des kurialen Gesandtenwesens*, PhD Dissertation, Munich 2012. Most importantly for Hungary, the work of GERGELY BÁLINT KISS, GÁBOR BARABÁS and others in the *DeLegat* online project and the works of GÁBOR NEMES for the early sixteenth century. The literature is, however, substantial and legates and nuncios are mentioned in many works of political and church history that deals with more general questions.

² The table appeared in KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 206–208; *cf.* also IDEM, *Plenitudo potestatis*.

Papal legates *de latere* and nuncios with the powers of legates *de latere* in the region of Central Europe, 1447–1525 (name of legate/nuncio; years; office; province):

Juan Carvajal – 1447–1449 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia

Battista de' Errici – 1448 – *nuntius cum plenae legationis officio* – Polonia

Nicholas of Cusa – 1450–1453 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Bohemia

Luis Pires – 1450–1451 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Prussia

Enea Silvio Piccolomini – 1452–1455 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Aquileia, Saltzburg, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola; Hungaria

Giovanni di Castiglione – 1453–1455 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Austria, Hungaria, Moravia

Dionysius Szécsi – 1455–1465 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria

Juan Carvajal – 1455–1461 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria, Polonia

Giovanni di Castiglione – 1456–1457 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania

Girolamo Lando – 1459–1460 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Bohemia, Polonia

Bessarion – 1460–1461 – *legatus de latere* – Germania

Girolamo Lando – 1461–1464 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia, Prussia

Domenico Domenici – 1463–1464 – *legatus missus cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania

Girolamo Lando – 1464–1465 – *orator (cum potestate legati de latere)* – Hungaria

Lorenzo Roverella – 1467 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania

Peter von Schaumberg – 1467–1469 – *legatus de latere* – Germania

Rudolf of Rüdesheim – 1467–1482 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania, Bohemia, Polonia, Prussia etc.

- Lorenzo Roverella* – 1468–1472 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia
- Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini** – 1471 – *legatus de latere* –
Germania
- Marco Barbo** – 1471–1474 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria,
Bohemia, Polonia; Datia, Norvegia, Svetia
- Gabriel Rangoni* – 1474–1479 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Hungaria, Bohemia
- Alexander Numai* – 1474–1483 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania
- Domenico Camisati* – 1476 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia
- Giovanni Arcimboldi** – 1477 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria,
Bohemia (legation did not happen)
- Ausias Despuig** – 1479 – *legatus de latere* – Germania
- Giovanni d’Aragona** – 1479–1480 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria,
Bohemia, Polonia
- Giovanni Battista Cibo** – 1481 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria
(legation did not happen)
- Orso Orsini* – 1481–1482 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Ger-
mania, Hungaria
- Angelo Geraldini* – 1482–1484 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania, Bohemia, Polonia, Datia
- Bartolomeo Maraschi* – 1483–1485 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia, Datia
- Giovanni d’Aragona** – 1483–1484 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria,
Bohemia
- Ladislás Geréb of Vígárt* – 1484–1488 – *legatus cum potestate legati de*
latere – Hungaria, Bohemia
- Angelo Pecchinoli* – 1488–1490 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia
- Raymund Peraudi* – 1488–1491 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* –
Germania
- Orso Orsini* – 1493–1495 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Hun-
garia, Bohemia, Polonia

- Raymund Peraudi** – 1500–1505 – *legatus de latere* – Germania
- Pietro Isvalies** – 1500–1503 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia
- Mariano Bartolini** – 1504–1506 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania
- Achille Grassi** – 1510 – *orator cum potestate legati de latere* – Germania, Hungaria, Polonia
- Tamás Bakóc** – 1513–1519 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia
- Roberto Latino Orsini** – 1516 – *nuntius cum potestate legati de latere* – Hungaria (legation did not happen)
- Alessandro Farnese** – 1518 – *legatus de latere (sine facultatibus)* – Germania (legation did not happen)
- Tommaso De Vio** – 1518–1519 – *legatus de latere (sine facultatibus)* – Germania
- Pompeo Colonna** – 1523 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria, Polonia (legation did not happen)
- Tommaso De Vio** – 1523–1524 – *legatus de latere* – Hungaria, Polonia, Bohemia
- Lorenzo Campeggi** – 1524–1525 – *legatus de latere* – Germania, Hungaria, Bohemia, Polonia

Angelo Pecchinoli spent roughly two years on his legation. As a curial bishop, he was appointed the papal nuncio *cum potestate legati de latere* to the court of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, Matthias Corvinus, in 1488³ and represented the policy of Pope Innocent VIII.⁴ His legation was studied in detail by one person only, the fa-

³ Cf. MARIO MASTROCOLA, *Note storiche circa le diocesi di Civita C., Orte e Gallese*, part 3, *I Vescovi dalla Unione delle Diocesi alla fine del Concilio di Trento (1437–1564)*, Civita Castellana 1972, 67–89.

⁴ Apart from the general works in note 1, see MARCO PELLEGRINI, *Innocenzo VIII*, *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 3, Innocenzo VIII–Giovanni Paolo II, Roma 2000, 1–13; on the principles of Church politics and relation to Western European countries, GÖTZ-RÜDIGER TEWES, *Die römische Kurie und die europäischen Länder am Vorabend der Reformation*, Tübingen 2001, *passim*; on Innocent's role in Italian politics (even

mous Hungarian historian Vilmos Fraknói, who was responsible for a number of studies and source editions predominantly from the period just mentioned, i.e. the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, he never published sources related to the legation even though he studied the most crucial ones; the reports of Pecchinoli that are kept in the *Biblioteca nazionale Marciana* in Venice.⁵

2. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF THE LEGATION

The geographical scope⁶ of the legatine province of Angelo Pecchinoli is clearly defined in the documents of the legation, namely in the *bullā legationis* (n. 10 of the present edition) and the general credentials (n. 11): he was sent *ad nonnulla Germanie, Ungarie, Polonie et Bobemie ac alias illis adiacentes partes atque regna*. This means that his legatine powers, which will be discussed presently, could have been used over a fairly large area. From the legal point of view, these are the crucial documents; however, other documents of the nuncio's ac-

though limited), MAURIZIO GATTONI, *Sisto IV, Innocenzo VIII e la geopolitica dello stato pontificio (1471–1492)*, Roma 2010, 147–165.

⁵ VILMOS FRAKNÓI, *Pecchinoli Angelo: Pápai legátus Mátyás udvaránál (1488–1490)*, Budapest 1898 (Különlenyomat a *Katolikus Szemle* XII-ik kötetéből). He studied the reports in the copies by János Mircse, which I could not check before the time of writing as I could not visit Budapest, but I believe copies of those are kept in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in manuscripts which are part of the documents of VILMOS FRAKNÓI, cf. PÉTER TUSOR, *Magyar történelmi kutatások a Vatikánban* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/10c.), Budapest–Rome 2004, cxxiii, n. 11; and MIRCSE'S manuscripts in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, IMRE LUKINICH, *A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Történettudományi Bizottsága másolat- és kézirat-gyűjteményének ismertetése*, Akadémiai Értesítő 45 (1935) 5–102, here 25–32 (I would like to thank Bálint Lakatos for suggesting this study). See also Mircse's brief article on the reports, JÁNOS MIRCSE, *Emlékezések Mátyás király élete utolsóelőtti évéből*, Századok 16 (1882) 18–28.

⁶ For the theoretical context see FIGUEIRA, *The Medieval Papal Legate and His Province* and KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 90–102.

tivities might suggest otherwise. Some mandates confirm what was drafted in the above-mentioned documents (n. 16), while other mandates of the nuncio mention only that he was sent *ad regnum Ungarie* (nn. 12, 14, 17, 20), or *ad regna Ungarie* (nn. 13, 19, 21), which might suggest also other kingdoms that were traditionally linked to the Kingdom of Hungary (Croatia, Dalmatia) and maybe the kingdoms under the rule of King Matthias Corvinus, which would mean also the Kingdom of Bohemia and possibly other lands (Austria), and also *ad nonnullas Ungarie et Boemie partes* (n. 18). Interestingly enough, this shows some inconsistencies in the official documents of the Papal Curia, even though only minor ones. The instructions have even other wording of the authorisation, namely *ad serenissimum dominum regem Hungarie* (n. 9) or *ad serenissimum Hungarie regem* (n. 32). In his own charters, Angelo Pecchinoli delimited his authority just like the official *bullae legationis*.⁷

In reality, the region of the legatine powers of Angelo Pecchinoli was more restricted. The actual powers of the nuncio were limited to the lands governed by Matthias Corvinus, as we know from his activities. His own charters were published in Croatia, Hungary, and Austria and concerned matters regarding these countries as well as the lands of Bohemia and Moravia. When he came to the region, he could limit the powers of a legate (*legatus cum potestate legati de latere*), who resided in the Kingdom of Hungary, namely László Geréb of Vingtárt, bishop of Transylvania, whereas in the same time, a nuncio with the same powers operated at the court of the Emperor, Raymond Peraudi. This shows the scope of Pecchinoli's activity more clearly. Even more, the instructions (n. 9) spoke of the revocation of powers of the orators and nuncios and "especially" about the bishop of Transylvania. The mandate (n. 18), however, was rather general, but specified precisely that this concerned the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

⁷ E.g. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL) 56234 (Kállay család levéltára, n. 1373), DL 105524 (Wesseleányi család levéltára, n. 288); Prague, Národní archiv, Řád Františkáni, n. 74.

3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE LEGATION

Papal representatives came into their legatine provinces with various titles, as well as various powers and authority. The highest authority was reserved to the cardinals, who – at this time – always travelled as legates *de latere*. They were entitled to hold the highest powers as direct representatives, or even alter-egos of the pope. While the canon law of the thirteenth century clearly identified three levels of legates (*legati de latere*, *legati missi*, *legati nati*), later usage came with modifications to this model. Legates *de latere* continued as the representatives with highest authority, but the pope's competition with the cardinals' college, along with the cardinals' interests in Rome and possibly the higher costs of such legates, necessitated a creation of a new title or rather a new type of an envoy: *nuncius cum potestate legati de latere*. The title was usually used by the curial bishops, who were sent out from the Roman curia with similar tasks as the legates *de latere*, but with different conditions and slightly limited authority. A nuncio with the powers of the legate *de latere* had a lower standing than the cardinal-legate and most crucially, the legate *de latere* was an office in canonical terms. Some of the powers were native to the legate *de latere*, whereas the nuncios needed to carry special mandates; also, the nuncios needed to be provided with the *littere passus*, or the credentials, as they were still rather treated as diplomatic agents than ecclesiastical personages.⁸ The clause *cum potestate legati de latere*, however, meant that the nuncio could wield some special powers typical for cardinal legates and their legatine office. In general, even though a nuncio with the power of a legate *de latere* was not a cardinal, he could replace him in the region and – most importantly – distribute spiritual goods and give absolutions, dispensations and licences that were normally reserved to the pope or his offices (especially the Apostolic Penitentiary). He could also deal with ecclesiastical benefices, even those of episcopal rank, for which, however, he had to have special mandates.

⁸ KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 75.

Moreover, a nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* would have judicial powers within his legatine province, which means he – just like the legate *de latere* – could replace the episcopal judicial court in ecclesiastical matters. He could hear the cases in the first instance, which really meant a papal intrusion into the judicial powers of local bishops (abolished by the Council of Trent).

Angelo Pecchinoli was a nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* and, as shown above, the terminology had its meaning. In general, he could use a number of mandates he received when leaving Rome, which included various faculties. These were also given to him afterwards, when he resided in the region. To show, however, that his position was crucial for the legatine province and that he replaced the legate *de latere*, the situation of the Kingdom of Hungary is illustrative. When Angelo Pecchinoli was coming to the kingdom, there was already a papal representative with the powers of the legate *de latere*. The above-mentioned László Geréb of Vingárt, bishop of Transylvania, was created a legate *cum potestate legati de latere* on the request of King Matthias Corvinus after another legate *de latere*, Cardinal Giovanni d’Aragona, left the kingdom in 1484.⁹ In theory, the legates *de latere* represented the person of the pope, as stated above. This meant there should be just one such legate in the region: the pope could not be represented twice. And that is why Angelo Pecchinoli also carried with himself letters which revoked all the powers of all the papal orators and nuncios in the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, “especially the bishop of Transylvania” (n. 9). It was Angelo, then, who filled the position of the highest representative of the pope. It is quite revealing that the mandates he had for this act speak about the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia (n. 18), even though his commissions were expressly for Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. Germany at this point had another nuncio who resided at the Imperial court

⁹ Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Arm. XXXIX 18, fol. 62r (8 November 1484); ed. AUGUSTINUS THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita*, vol. 2, *Ab Innocentio PP. VI. usque ad Clementem PP. VII., 1352–1526*, Rome 1860, 500–501, n. 688.

and thus he was the highest representative there, namely Raymund Peraudi, later a cardinal and several times legate *de latere* in Germany.

The distinction between the legate *de latere* and a nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* was not only in legal terms, but it also affected financial matters. These clearly exemplify the fact that even though such a nuncio could replace a legate *de latere*, he was still not a cardinal and thus required much less representation and much fewer resources. The difference in the salaries of the respective representatives was huge. The legates *de latere* would normally receive 500 florins per month from the Papal Chamber, whereas the salary of the nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* would usually range from one to two hundred florins per month. This was also the case of Angelo Pecchinoli, who was promised one hundred florins (or in his case ducats) per month or one hundred and twenty, if he could secure these from the revenues that were due to the Papal Chamber from the archdiocese of Kalocsa (nn. 3, 22).

4. THE PERSON OF THE NUNCIO

Who was Angelo Pecchinoli? Unfortunately, not much is known about him and about his activities in Italy or at the Papal Curia prior to his legation to Central Europe, even though he has a place in the list of the bishops of the united dioceses of Orte and Civita Castellana. The dioceses of Orte and Civita Castellana, which were united in person of the bishop in 1437 and officially in 1439, played an important role due to their proximity to Rome. The position of the bishop of Orte allowed for an active life at the Papal Curia, as some of the bishops illustrate: Niccolò Palmieri (bishop of Orte and Civita Castellana 1455–1467) was a famous theologian and preacher in papal Rome,¹⁰ and even more famous is one of the most prolific papal masters of ceremonies, Johannes Burckard (bishop of Orte and Civita Castellana 1503–1506). Angelo Pecchinoli came from a distin-

¹⁰ ABBONDIO ZUPPANTE, *Palmieri, Niccolò*, Dizionario biografico degli italiani 80 (2014) (www.treccani.it).

guished family of Civita Castellana and occupied the position of the bishop of the dioceses in 1486–1492. Even though he is not so famous as the two above-mentioned bishops and did not leave behind either theological or historical works, he proves to be just as verbose as the other two when his reports from the court of Matthias Corvinus are taken into consideration. And, quite surprisingly, it is his legation that he is remembered for even in his diocese.

When Mario Mastrocola wrote about the bishops of the united diocese of Orte and Civita Castellana, he mentioned that Angelo Pecchinoli “was celebrated for the legation to Hungary and solely for this he was remembered.”¹¹ Mastrocola proves this in his text, which even though it is about the above-mentioned dioceses, refers only to Angelo’s legation, based on the editions of Augustin Theiner. A few papal documents show his activities in the diocese, as Angelo was supposed to conduct a visitation in his diocese before he left for his legation (nn. 4, 5). After he returned, Pecchinoli probably stayed with the Papal Curia and fulfilled some tasks in Rome, rather than in his own diocese. He was even appointed a *castellanus* in Civitavecchia, where he died in the end of 1492.¹² He was buried in Civitavecchia and his body was later transferred to the cathedral in Civita Castellana in 1579, as the stone inscription in the crypt of the cathedral testifies.

5. PRACTICAL FUNCTIONING OF THE LEGATION

Apart from the legal definitions of the geographical frame and legal position of the legate, the actual functioning of the legation must be treated. The legation normally started with the legates and nuncios leaving Rome, or in general the place where the pope resided. It ended with the legates coming back. This is obvious, but the leaving and returning had legal consequences and the legate had his powers between these dates. The dates were carefully followed and recorded, because

¹¹ MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 67.

¹² MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 83.

when cardinals legates were leaving or coming back, the whole life of the Curia stopped and no offices operated. The cardinals had to have special concessions to be able to participate in the revenues of the Cardinals' College etc.¹³ Angelo Pecchinoli, however, was a *nuncius cum potestate legati de latere*, a curial bishop and no such rules applied for representatives of lower rank. That is why some of the dates can only be conjectured and the travels and activities of such a nuncio did not attract that much attention as true legates *de latere*.

Pecchinoli left Rome sometime after 1 September 1488, as his mandates bear this date (**nn. 10–21**). His negotiations with the Papal Chamber about his income during his legation were protracted until 5 September (**n. 22**). After this date, there is no mention of him in Rome. His first report that was preserved, was the report from the court of Matthias Corvinus in Vienna sent on 30 January 1489 (**n. 24**); even though he might have sent an earlier letter when he got to Vienna. His last report, on the contrary, was sent on 24 July 1490, but we know that he published charters in Buda on 3 September 1490,¹⁴ and Székesfehérvár on 10 and 18 September,¹⁵ and even later, he was given recommendation letters by the prelates of Hungary and even by the new king on 22 and 25 September 1490 respectively (**nn. 51, 52**). Thus, most probably, his legation lasted for slightly more than two years. The exact date of Angelo's return is not known; not even the usually well informed and verbose Johannes Burckard helps here, because just the part between June 1490 and August 1491 is missing from the manuscripts. It is only known that after his return, Angelo became a warden of the castle at Civitavecchia, as stated above.

What happened between September 1488 and September 1490 was the legation. The nuncio probably went through Austria, so he

¹³ KALOUS, *Late medieval papal legation*, 137–138.

¹⁴ Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (DF) 256769 (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, Archivum capituli Zagrabiensis, Acta antiqua, sign. 79 35).

¹⁵ DF 282454 (Istorijski Arhiv Varaždin, Arhiv casmanskog Kaptola, Acta antiqua, n. 135), DF 256278 (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, Archivum capituli Zagrabiensis, Acta antiqua, sign. 9 1 D).

might have used one of the two ways described in informal instructions written probably by Lorenzo Roverella for Marco Barbo in 1472. Either through Udine to Venzone, then to Malborghetto and Villach and from there through the Habsburg hereditary lands, Carinthia, Carniola and Styria to Wiener Neustadt and Vienna; or from Venzone “to the left” and through the mountain passes to Innsbruck and then along the Inn and the Danube to Vienna.¹⁶ To my knowledge, Angelo is first heard of in Vienna on 5 December 1488 when he published a vidimus of an older papal charter,¹⁷ or later on 31 December 1488, when he granted a dispensation “super defectu natalium,” to a certain scholar.¹⁸ Which way he took is not clear, but he probably started to be active in Austria right away. His arrival to the court was recorded by the court historiographer of King Matthias, Italian Antonio Bonfini, who, however, was very brief and laconic. Even the dating is not precise; when he wrote about a big storm around the start of the year of 1489, he then continued that “that spring” Angelo came to the court.¹⁹ He must have come there before the storm (even though in his report he mentioned only a severe winter of that year, n. 24).

The nuncio stayed probably close to the king, at the royal court, but when in Vienna, in Buda and even in Székesfehérvár, his charters were dated: *Datum Wienne/Bude/Alba Regali, in domibus/domo nostre (solite) residencie*, which means he probably rented a place to live in.

¹⁶ Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1077, fol. 21v–24r; now edited by TOBIAS DANIELS, *Das Reich und die böhmische Kronsuccession in einem Memorandum Lorenzo Roverellas für Marco Barbo (1472)*, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 58, 2016, 15–62.

¹⁷ Schlierbach, Stiftsarchiv, Urkunden (1296–1917), sign. 1488 XII 05; also sign. 1488 XII 15 and 1489 II 12 (www.monasterium.net).

¹⁸ München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, fond Kloster Niederaltaich, Urkunden (790–1801), n. 1042 (www.monasterium.net).

¹⁹ *Antonio de Bonfinis: Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, vol. 4/1, ed. I. FÓGEL–B. IVÁNYI–L. JUHÁSZ, Budapest 1941, 158 (4.8.154), *Hoc vere Angelus Hortanus antistes legatus apostolicus, uti Petrum archiepiscopum liberaret quattuor iam annos in carcere iacentem, Viennam venit et magnifice a rege susceptus est.*

He probably travelled with a relatively small retinue, as usually only the cardinals legates had a huge retinue, which supported their needs and created even the legatine court. An indulgence letter to the Franciscan Observant church in Kusály (today Coșeu in Romania) was written by a scribe Bernardinus de Galesio and a notary and possibly a chancellor of the nuncio, who came from Gallese in Angelo Pecchinoli's diocese.²⁰ His hand is the same as the hand of almost all Angelo's reports.²¹ The early Viennese charters, but also others were written by a notary Hieronymus Betschlin from Strasbourg.²² Several notaries also wrote his charters: Jacobus de Bodogazonfalwa (Boldogasszonyfalva) and Johannes Ginorus (from Florence).²³ At other occasions the scribes Johannes Foulley²⁴ and Lucantonius Vi-terbiensis²⁵ appeared. Johannes Lopecz from Zaragoza served as an "au-

²⁰ Gallese is a small town in the province of Viterbo, roughly 25 km east of Viterbo. It is exactly mid-way between Civita Castellana and Orte (10 km from each), the two dioceses of Angelo Pecchinoli. The bishopric of Gallese was suppressed in 1252 and attached to the diocese of Civita Castellana.

²¹ DL 105524 (Buda, 20 May 1489; Wesselényi család levéltára, n. 288); cf. DL 67108 (Dessewffy család levéltára, margonyai, n. 333) and DL 67109 (Dessewffy család levéltára, margonyai, n. 335), Bernardinus received ten florins for the charter.

²² Cf. notes above and also DF 281771 (Štátny archív v Levoči, pobočka Stará Ľubovňa, Archív mesta Kežmarok, Pergameny, n. 81) and Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Hauptarchiv, Urkunde (1177–1526), n. 5304, sign. 1489 III 09 (www.monasterium.net).

²³ E.g. DF 256769 (Jacobus) (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, Archivum capituli Zagrabiensis, Acta antiqua, sign. 79 35); Slovenský národný archív, Hodnoverné miesto Bratislavská kapitula, sign. 2162 (Johannes) (www.monasterium.net), the last charter was produced by Johannes Ginorus, but both the other notaries, Jacobus and Hieronymus were present (*Presentibus Jacobo de Bodogaassogniafalwa et Jeronimo not(ario) sedis testibus*).

²⁴ DF 238292 (Prímási Levéltár Esztergom, Esztergomi Székesfőkapitán Magánlevéltára, Acta radicalia, sign. 71 1 6).

²⁵ DF 256876 (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, Archivum capituli Zagrabiensis, Acta antiqua, sign. 92 51).

ditor generalis”,²⁶ Benedictus Chepel, the provost of Hantha as “*auditor specialiter deputatus*”,²⁷ and Johannes de Milei (Milejszeg, Zala county), appears as “*commissarius supremus causarumque auditor generalis*”.²⁸ The reports by Angelo even mention other notaries (“*tabellarius meus*”), Alonso (or Alfonso) (nn. 39, 41, 46), and Evangelista (n. 46), who carried his letters as messengers to Rome. Angelo’s correspondence with Bardejov in turn mentions his commissary Johannes Hirk.²⁹

What might be inferred from this provisional list of people and charters is that Angelo Pecchinoli, just like other legates and nuncios, came with a retinue of several people, especially working for him in his chancery, hearing cases and publishing charters. The people around the nuncio were mostly foreigners (Italians, Spaniards), but also locals, such as Germans (Hieronimus Betschlin, if he can be regarded as a local; it rather seems he came with the nuncio from Rome, as he was from Strasbourg) and Hungarians (Jacobus de Bodogazonfalwa).

²⁶ E.g. see DL 90200 (Radvánszky család levéltára, sajkókazai, sign. 23 20); and DL 102927 (Batthyány levéltár, Forgács család levéltára, sign. 14 A 13).

²⁷ Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Hauptarchiv, Urkunde (1177–1526), n. 5304, sign. 1489 III 09 (www.monasterium.net). Cf. for Benedek Csepelyi BALÁZS KARLINSZKY, *Hántai prépost a győri székeskáptalanban. A hántai prépostok középkori veszprémi kanonokságáról Csepelyi Benedek példája alapján*, Primus inter omnes: Tanulmányok Bedy Vince születésének 150. évfordulójára, ed. György Arató–Gábor Nemes–Ádám Vajk, Győr 2016, 65–79 (I would like to thank Bálint Lakatos for suggesting this study).

²⁸ DL 102244 (Batthyány család levéltára, Miscellanea, sign. 191 4). Cf. also GYÖRGY BÓNIS, *Szentszéki regeszták: Iratok az egyházi bírászkodás történetébe a középkori Magyarországban*, A szerző hátrahagyott kéziratát gondozta és szerkesztette Balogh Elemér, Budapest 1997, 470–473.

²⁹ DF 215492 (Štátny archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Bardejov, Archív mesta Bardejova, n. 2733).

6. THE NUNCIO AS A DIPLOMAT

The last topic that is closely related to the formal aspects of the legation of Angelo Pecchinoli is that of diplomacy. Papal legates and nuncios with higher authority must necessarily be seen as the diplomats of the period. The correspondence and the reports or dispatches (*dispacci*) of the nuncio are typical sources of the late medieval envoys; quite naturally, as they inform their lords about their activities and ask for instructions. Papal legates had always been treated differently, as they carried also part of the sacred authority of the Apostolic See, nevertheless they also behaved as diplomatic representatives of their lords.

The traditional concept of late-medieval or renaissance diplomacy saw this period as a time of transition from the travelling ambassadors towards the permanent resident envoys, who represented their lords in the courts of their diplomatic partners.³⁰ More recent treatments of the history of Renaissance diplomacy started to see the development in less revolutionary terms, as a “polygenetic mode” in the words of Isabella Lazzarini and put more stress on communication rather than representation (even though it is not neglected).³¹

³⁰ Cf. DONALD E. QUELLER, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N.J. 1967; GARRETT MATTINGLY, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Harmondsworth 1965 (orig. 1955); IDEM, *The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy*, *Speculum* 12 (1937) 423–439; or the collection of studies of VINCENT ILARDI, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Diplomatic History*, London 1986 to name just a few traditional works. On legates and nuncios as and their diplomatic practice in an excellent study UNTERGEHRER, “*Diligenter se informet.*”

³¹ ISABELLA LAZZARINI, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520*, Oxford 2015, esp. 31–48; on legates and nuncios from the point of view of communication see UNTERGEHRER, “*Diligenter se informet.*” Cf. also other works in this direction, such as PAOLO MARGAROLI, *Diplomazia e stati rinascimentali. Le ambascerie sforzesche fino alla conclusione della Lega italiana (1450–1455)*, Florence 1992; DANIELA FRIGO, ed., *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, Cambridge 2000; RAINER C. SCHWINGES-KLAUS WRIEDT, eds., *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, Ostfildern 2003; CLAU-

The general trend, nevertheless, shifted towards resident envoys. Similarly, the papal diplomacy shifted towards the nunciature, i.e. the office of a permanent nuncio at respective European courts.³² In this respect, the second half of the fifteenth century was a transitional period for the papal diplomacy as well. The title of *nuncius cum potestate legati de latere* needed to be created to fill a gap in the representation: a diplomatic agent, who stayed for quite a long time in the region, who, however, kept the office of legation also in ecclesiastical terms.³³

Angelo Pecchinoli, as a curial bishop filled this position as a diplomat and a holder of an ecclesiastical office. As a diplomat, he sent dispatches and communicated very actively with his lord, the pope, but also followed the standard type of diplomatic communication with his host. Thus, apart from serving in the church structures of the region, as described above (granting dispensations and other graces, hearing cases etc.), he must be seen as a typical diplomatic agent. Italian and Roman standards were well developed by this time and here they can be illustrated mostly through his production of the dispatches, which clearly describe his communication with King Matthias and his court.³⁴

Here, the full diplomatic practice of Angelo Pecchinoli cannot be analysed. Briefly, however, it can be observed in his reports. In his first report (n. 24), he explained why he did not write sooner. In later reports, he often mentioned his messengers, who were sent to Rome with his letters, and in certain cases even discussed the matter

DIA ZEY–CLAUDIA MÄRTL, eds., *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie. Zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Zürich 2008; STEFANO ANDRETTA–STÉPHANE PÉQUIGNOT–JEAN-CLAUDE WAQUET, eds., *De l'ambassadeur: Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du moyen âge au début du XIX^e siècle*, Rome 2015; and for the diplomacy at the papal court, CATHERINE FLETCHER, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador*, Cambridge 2015.

³² WALF, *Die Entwicklung*, 76–109.

³³ KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 27–39.

³⁴ FILIPPO DE VIVO, *Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomatic Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, *European History Quarterly* 46 (2016) 519–544; cf. also LAZZARINI, *Communication, passim*; FLETCHER, *Diplomacy, passim*.

of their salary with the curia. In one case, Angelo even reacted to the complaints of the pope that he did not write often enough. He tried to defend himself with clear arguments, as he claimed 1) he had three messengers on the way; and 2) that the travelling was too dangerous in winter (n. 41). Later, he even stated he had four letters on the way to Rome (n. 48). This shows that communication with the Papal Curia could be quite costly, but more importantly, that definitely not all the reports of the nuncio were preserved. Even though they are kept in a fairly intact collection of letters in the *Collezione Podocataro*, we have to realise that these are only those documents that were kept by one cleric of the Chancery at home. Other reports might have ended in completely different places and thus perished.

Two elements must still remain to be commented on. First, the reports themselves might suggest that Angelo kept notes about when he was granted audiences by the king. The structure of the reports is not atypical for the period, in his usage of direct speech and his retelling of the dialogue with the king or other interlocutors in communication. At one place, he said that he would like to note one thing only and the king even suggested Angelo should write it down (n. 34).³⁵ As seen in this example, Angelo clearly mixes direct-speech reporting of the discussion with addressing the pope by his own comments to the situation. Most often, he describes the situation and addresses the pope; the direct-speech accounts, nevertheless, are fairly frequent.³⁶

The second and quite common element of the reports is the enciphering. Angelo Pecchinoli used a simple substitution as a cipher in his

³⁵ For clarity, the quotation marks are introduced. The king: "*Sed si dominus sanctissimus volet me audire, ego bene inveniam modum, quod cum pauco labore suo et cum pauca pecunia poterimus magnum aliquid facere.*" Cui respondi: "*Tunc, videat maiestas vestra, ego singula noto, istam partem de parva pecunia scio placere domino nostro.*" "*Notetis,*" inquit, "*et scribatis. Ego bene scio, quod est verum.*" Et visus est, pater beatissime, velle dicere modum habendum et postea continuit et non dixit. Cf. also GÉZA TÉGLÁS, *Lo stenografo del Re Mattia: Angelo Pecchinoli (1488-1490)*, Bollettino della Accademia Italiana di Stenografia 5 (1929) 101-106.

³⁶ This was quite common in the dispatches, cf. DE VIVO, *Archives*, 522-523; LAZARINI, *Communication*, 189-212.

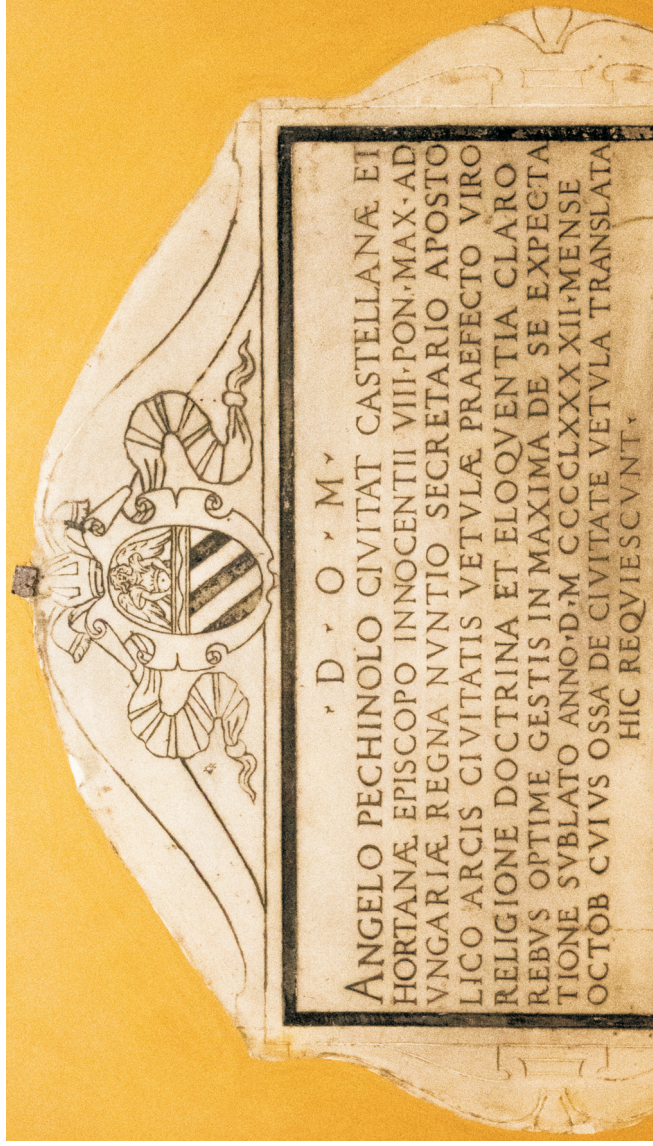
reports, with special set of symbols for each letter, which Bernhard Bischoff classified as a “freely invented sign alphabets” (*frei erdachte Zeichenalphabete*).³⁷ This type of a cipher was very typical for the later Middle Ages, before the more sophisticated systems of encoding were developed and spread thanks to the treatises of Leon Battista Alberti (1466) and Johannes Trithemius (1518, written around 1508). The Milanese chancery was, in this sense, quite progressive with its long-time chancellor Cicco Simonetta.³⁸ Special symbols or numbers were also used for individual lords or names (e.g. King of Hungary, Venetians, or Ancona). His usage of the cipher was rather limited, however; in the preserved material there is only one fully enciphered letter, otherwise, he enciphered paragraphs or individual words. Often, on the other hand, he used the individual symbols to replace individual names, as mentioned above. Some texts remained in cipher only, but most of the enciphered material was deciphered by the chancery and the text was written above the lines.

The cipher of Angelo Pecchinoli

a	∩	m	↗	papa	Antiquitas
b	//	n	β	rex Hungarie	40
c	o	o	a	regina Hungarie	5
d	8	p	2	rex Neapolitanus	80
e	⌘	q	6	rex Romanorum	40
f	∞	r	4	rex Francie	70
g	p	s	∞	Veneti	90
h	⊖	t	ψ	Ancona	18
i	z	u	9		
l	κ	x	7		

³⁷ BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Übersicht über die nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 62 (1954) 1–27, here 11–13, with examples.

³⁸ Cf. IOANNA IORDANOU, *The Professionalization of Cryptology in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, *Enterprise & Society* 19 (2018) 979–1013, here 983–984; for a large pool of ciphers of the Milanese usage see LYDIA CERIONI, *La diplomazia sforzesca nella seconda metà del quattrocento e i suoi cifrari segreti*, 2 vols., Rome 1970.



· D · O · M ·

ANGELO PECHINOLO CIVITAT CASTELLANÆ ET
HORTANÆ EPISCOPO INNOCENTII VIII·PON·MAX·AD
VNGARIÆ REGNA NVNTIO SECRETARIO APOSTO
LICO ARCIS CIVITATIS VETVLÆ PRAEFECTO VIRO
RELIGIONE DOCTRINA ET ELOQVENTIA CLARO
REBVS OPTIME GESTIS IN MAXIMA DE SE EXPECTA
TIONE SVBLATO ANNO·D·M CCCCLXXX XII·MENSE
OCTOB CVIVS OSSA DE CIVITATE VETVLA TRANSLATA
HIC REQVIESCVNT·

The *epitaphium* of Angelo Pecchinoli (Civita Castellana, Cathedral)

II. THE SOURCES

I. SOURCES FOR THE LEGATION

One of the basic obligations and responsibilities of the legate was to communicate. Necessarily, the legatine office was clearly described in the general documents of the Canon Law, be these the actual legal texts of the canonical collections, or later commentaries, treatises, and explanations even from the later fifteenth century. Other prescriptive sources, such as the definitions of liturgical and non-liturgical celebrations and ceremonies, include legates and key players on a regular basis. What we look for here, however, are the sources regarding a concrete individual. Key documents may always be identified for an individual legation: mandates (or faculties) and instructions. These give a legation its basic shape and define it quite clearly in legal terms. Further documents that emanate from the pope or the papal chancery are letters, correspondence, and the papal *brevia*. When addressed to the legate, they can still contain some further faculties which are otherwise given in the form of bulls. Other papal correspondence to local rulers or prelates usually complete the picture.

These sources must be completed with documents that originate from the legate himself. The most crucial ones must always be dispatches, the reports of the legates or nuncios, which became in the sixteenth century quite crucial for the running of the business of Church government through the permanent nunciatures. Naturally, quite a number of charters and letters were produced by the legate in the region. The study of these requires painstaking efforts, as

they are usually spread across the whole legatine province in many different archives and libraries. These should not be forgotten, as they might illustrate the legation from the point of view of the interaction of the legate with the local environment. This edition will focus, however, on the dispatches (reports) of the nuncio, as they are crucial for reporting on the events and activities of the nuncio; the others, being spread over the wide region in and around Hungary, still need to be collected in their entirety.

Finally, the third type of sources which might be still useful for the study of the legation are those from other parties, namely narrative sources and correspondence about the legate or nuncio and his legation and activities. Naturally, these sources might relate even more to the functioning of the system of the legation and still more on the individuals. These are, however, out of the reach of any such edition, when focusing on an active legate or nuncio.

The problem of sources for such legations is the fact that they are scattered all around Europe, as the activity of the legates could be quite broad. The system of papal representation developed within the definitions of Canon Law, but the actual *modus operandi* evolved only subsequently. This means that the stress on reports and their preservation appears slowly and reaches perfection only in the first half of the sixteenth century with the introduction of permanent nunciatures. For Central Europe, we might focus first on reports and letters sent back to Rome to the Curia by Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi, who served as a legate *de latere* in the region from 1524 to 1525, and the papal nuncio Giovanni Antonio Buglio, barone di Burgio, who was present in Hungary for one more year and reported also on the staggering advance of the Ottoman Turks.³⁹ These collections of original letters, which are kept in the Vatican archives in the *Segreteria di Stato*, seem complete, but there are still a number of docu-

³⁹ AAV Segr. Stato, Germania 53 (Campeggi), 55 (Burgio); edited in THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 676–802; and VILMOS FRANKÓI, ed., *Relationes oratorum pontificiorum / Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései, 1524–1526* (Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia II/1), Budapest 1884.

ments that relate to the work of the legate and predominantly the nuncio in other places. A manuscript in the Vatican library, for example, that apparently originated in the activities of papal representatives in Central Europe has a number of documents on Czech, Polish, and Hungarian matters, some of which are directly related to the tasks of Campeggi and Burgio, or are even addressed to them.⁴⁰ The sixteenth century, as the reports of the nunciatures show, is far beyond the possibility of publishing all the documents related to the missions of legates and nuncios.

If we follow the editing practice related to legates and their legations, there are not many editions. The reasons for this might range from the lack of preserved sources to the abundance of sources scattered all over Europe, which makes such an edition extremely difficult. Two examples are often mentioned:⁴¹ *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis* from his Hungarian legation in 1307–1311 edited by Antal Pór, and the *Acta legationis* of Nicholas of Cusa by Erich Meuthen. The first edition contains a variety of sources ranging from the faculties and mandates to even protocols of judicial processes, a formula, and account books.⁴² The latter one forms a two-volume part of the monumental *Acta Cusana*, in which Erich Meuthen collected over 1500 documents related to the legation of Nicholas of Cusa in Germany in 1451–1452, who travelled through present-day Germany, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Meuthen gave this task a huge amount of work and time but did not believe he managed to gather all possible sources.⁴³ The extent of the work is exposed by

⁴⁰ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Vat. lat. 3924, pt. 2. Cf. ANTONÍN KALOUS, *Elfelegett források a mobácsi csatáról. Antonio Burgio pápai nuncius jelentései, és azok hadtörténeti jelentősége*, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 120 (2007) 603–621.

⁴¹ E.g. MALECZEK, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, 37.

⁴² ANTAL PÓR, ed., *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis / Gentilis bibornok magyarországi követségének okiratai, 1307–1311* (Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia II/1), Budapest 1885.

⁴³ ERICH MEUTHEN, ed., *Acta Cusana: Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte Nikolaus von Kues*, Band I, Lieferung 3a, 3b, Hamburg 1996; cf. IDEM, *Das Itinerar der deutschen*

the fact that the documents come from 335 archives and libraries. The activities of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa were wide-ranging and so are the sources, which included diocesan statutes, reform decrees, indulgences, letters and charters of various sorts and a number of accompanying documents. There is huge value in such source collections. It is true, that for the second half of the fifteenth century, legates *de latere* or nuncios with the power of legates *de latere* were crucial for the government of the church, for crusade organisation, as well as for political and diplomatic matters of the papacy. The study of these documents helps greatly, not only for the history of the papacy and the Church, but also the local history of the regions of the legate's or nuncio's activity.⁴⁴

If we focus on the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a large number of legatine documents, even though the edition is not primarily concerned with the legate, can be found in an edition that is concerned with one singular and most crucial event; the peasant rebellion in Hungary in 1514, and since it was sparked by the call for a crusade propagated by Cardinal and legate *de latere* Tamás Bakóc, the sources of his legation were included by the editors into the volume. These, understandably, are principally related to his task of preaching the crusade and not to his other assignments and commissions.⁴⁵ A superb collection of sources that even create the personal archive of the nuncio might be discovered in Vienna. Bishop of Forlì, Alexander Numai was

Legationsreise des Nikolaus von Kues 1451/1452, Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte: Festschrift für Hermann Jakobs, Cologne 1995, 473–502.

⁴⁴ An overview, KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*; IDEM, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*; and for Germany, UNTERGEHRER, *Die päpstlichen nuntii und legati*; cf. also ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Diplomáciai érintkezések a Jagelló-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között*, Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon, Budapest 1999, 107–121; GÁBOR NEMES, *Pápai követek a Mobács előtti Magyarországon*, Századok 150 (2016) 369–385; and many other individual studies.

⁴⁵ ANTONIUS FEKETE NAGY–VICTOR KENÉZ–LADISLAUS SOLYMOSSI–GEISA ÉRSZEGI, eds., *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MCXIV*, Budapest 1979, *ad indicem*.

active as a nuncio with the power of legate *de latere* at the imperial court in the 1470s and early 1480s, and he died in Vienna in 1483.⁴⁶

There are a number of legates *de latere* and nuncios *cum potestate legati de latere* who were instrumental in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and for whom a number of sources is preserved both in the Vatican, Rome and Italy in general, and in local archives and libraries of central Europe. This is not a place to name them all; we shall rather focus on Angelo Pecchinoli and his sources.

2. SOURCES EDITED IN THIS VOLUME

The sources of the legation of Angelo Pecchinoli are not completely unpublished. They appeared in a few modern (late nineteenth- and twentieth-century) source editions prepared mainly for Hungarian history. There is only one report preserved in the Vatican archives and thus published several times, among others in a standard edition by AUGUSTINUS THEINER.⁴⁷ It was THEINER, who published seven of the twelve bulls with faculties that were given to Pecchinoli,⁴⁸ one of the

⁴⁶ BERND ERFLE, *Alexander Numai, Bischof von Forlì, als Diplomat in Diensten von Papst und Kaiser (1470–1483)*, PhD dissertation, Marburg 2002; FERDINAND OPLL, *Das Archiv eines päpstlichen Legaten aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts: Ein Bestand im Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv*, Städtische Wirtschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Franz Irsigler zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Rudolf Holbach–Michel Pauly, Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 2011, 179–210; much of the communication is edited in JOSEPH CHMEL, ed., *Actenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg im Zeitalter Maximilian's I.*, vol. 3 (Monumenta Habsburgica I/3), Vienna 1858, 435–465.

⁴⁷ *Iusti Fontanini Foro-Julienensis: De antiquitatibus Hortae, coloniae Etruscorum libri duo* (Rome: Apud Franciscum Gonzagam in via Lata, 1708), 474–490; THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 521–530, n. DCCXVIII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 362–374, n. 10 (republished according to THEINER).

⁴⁸ THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 515–520, nn. DCCXI–DCCXVII.

two sets of instructions⁴⁹ and two papal briefs, one addressed to Matthias Corvinus⁵⁰ and the other directly to Angelo.⁵¹ JÓZSEF TELEKI published the other set of instructions⁵² and one papal brief to Matthias,⁵³ in content almost completely the same as the one published by THEINER. Three papal briefs addressed to Matthias Corvinus, one of them already published by Theiner, and a letter from King Matthias to Pope Innocent VIII, were published by *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*.⁵⁴ Other briefs and extracts of the reports related to the matters of the bishopric of Veszprém and the conflict over the bishopric of Olomouc, in which the then bishop of Veszprém, János Vitéz the Younger, was involved, were published by JÓZSEF LUKCSICS.⁵⁵

Furthermore, both the sets of instructions were edited once more by EDGÁR ARTNER within an edition focused on documents related to Hungary as bulwark of Christendom and was published in the present series, *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*.⁵⁶ Documents were published in

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 530–534, n. DCCXIX.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 514, n. DCCIX.

⁵¹ AUGUSTINUS THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. I, *Ab Innocentio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III.*, 1198–1549, Roma 1863, 529, n. DCCXV.

⁵² JÓZSEF TELEKI, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. 12, Pest 1857, 417–432, n. DCCLXXX.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 413–414, n. DCCLXXVII.

⁵⁴ See VILMOS FRAKNÓI–GYULA DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices datae et ab eis acceptae / Mátyás király levelezése a római pápákkal, 1458–1490* (*Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* I/6), Budapest 1891, 241–242, n. CLXXXIX; 242, n. CXC; 245, n. CXCHII; 243–244, n. CXCI.

⁵⁵ JOSEPHUS LUKCSICS, ed., *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Veszprimiensis / A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára*, vol. 3, 1416–1492, Budapest 1902, 312–313, n. CDLXIV; 314–317, nn. CDLXVII–CDLXX.

⁵⁶ EDGÁR ARTNER–KORNÉL SZOVÁK–JÓZSEF TÖRÖK–PÉTER TUSOR, eds., “Magyarország mint a nyugati keresztény művelődés védőbástyája”. *A Vatikáni Levéltárnak azok az okiratai, melyek őseinknek a Keletről Európát fenyegető veszedelmek ellen kifejtett erő-*

other general Hungarian editions like *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek*⁵⁷ and *Mátyás király levelei*,⁵⁸ also appearing as single items in various other thematic editions.⁵⁹ Ten documents were republished by MARIO MASTROCOLA in his work on bishops of Civita Castellana and Orte,⁶⁰ and five documents were published in my general study on papal legates and nuncios in late-medieval central Europe.⁶¹ Charters published by the nuncio appear in local archives and are indexed in publications of registers of various archives, archival collections, and thematic collections.⁶²

As divided above, the crucial documents of the legation are related to the Papal Chancery: bulls (mandates and faculties mainly) and instructions. Usually originals of the faculties were not preserved, but as a rule they were registered in the *Registra Vaticana*. In

feszítéseiire vonatkoznak (cca 1214–1606) (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/1), Budapest–Rome 2004, 134–137, n. 113; 140–142, n. 118.

⁵⁷ IVÁN NAGY–ALBERT B. NYÁRY, eds., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából, 1458–1490*, vol. 4 (Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek 4), Budapest 1878, 12–13, n. 10.

⁵⁸ VILMOS FRAKNÓI, ed., *Mátyás király levelei, külügyi osztály*, vol. 2, 1480–1490, Budapest 1895, 352–354, n. 217.

⁵⁹ ALBERT BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta vitam Beatricis reginae Hungariae illustrantia / Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok* (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria 39) Budapest 1914; *Bullarium Franciscanum continens bullas, brevia, supplicationes tempore romani pontificis Innocentii VIII pro tribus ordinibus S. P. N. Francisci obtenta*, nova series, vol. 4-1 (1481–1489), vol. 4-2 (1489–1492), ed. CAESAR CENCI OFM, Grottaferrata [Romae] 1989–1990.

⁶⁰ MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 345–374, republished from THEINER and one document from Fontanini.

⁶¹ KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 347–351.

⁶² BÉLA IVÁNYI, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára, 1319–1526*, Budapest 1910; IVÁN BORSA, *A Justb család levéltára 1274–1525*, Budapest 1991; BÓNIS, *Szentszéki regeszták; NORBERT C. TÓTH, Szabolcs megye hatóságának oklevelei II. (1387–1526)*, Budapest–Nyíregyháza 2002; FRANCESCA DE POLI, *Inventario della collezione Podocataro. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Registro n. 242, 9 bb., docc. 1657, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, Ms. Latini Cl. X, codd. 174–178, docc. 649*, prefazione di Flavia De Rubeis, Ariccia 2015.

the case of Angelo Pecchinoli, there are twelve documents published on 1 September 1488 and registered in the Vatican registers. One of them is the *bullā legationis*, the basic bull that defined the legatine province and general powers of the legate. Other bulls gave the nuncio specific powers and mandates in specific matters, and among them the general credentials for the nuncio may be found. It is typical that legates would also acquire further faculties during the time of their legation, but in this case no such faculties were identified. All of them are thus found in one volume of the *Registra Vaticana* of the Vatican archives, Reg. Vat. 734.

1. (n. 10 in this edition) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 232v–235r;⁶³ *bullā legationis*
2. (n. 11) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 231r–231v; *general credentials for Angelo Pecchinoli*
3. (n. 12) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 235r–236v⁶⁴
4. (n. 13) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 236v–237v⁶⁵
5. (n. 14) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 237v–238v⁶⁶
6. (n. 15) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 238v–239v⁶⁷
7. (n. 16) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 239v–242r

⁶³ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 515–517, n. DCCXI; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 346–348, n. 2.

⁶⁴ Contemporary copy in a charter 5 July 1490, Buda, in Zagreb, Nadbiskupijski arhiv, sign. Dec. 73; modern copy (1730): Budapest, ELTE Könyvtár, Kaprinai-gyűjtemény, B-sorozat, 69. kötet, pag. 150–164; edited in BALTHASAR ADAM KERCSÉLICH DE CORBAVIA, *Historiarum cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis partis primae tomus I.*, Zagrabiae s.d., 200–201.

⁶⁵ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 517, n. DCCXII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 348–349, n. 3.

⁶⁶ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 517–518, n. DCCXIII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 349–350, n. 4.

⁶⁷ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 518–519, n. DCCXIV; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 350–352, n. 5.

8. (n. 17) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 228v–229r⁶⁸
 9. (n. 18) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 229v
 10. (n. 19) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 229v–230r
 11. (n. 20) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 230r–231v⁶⁹
 12. (n. 21) 1 September 1488, Roma; AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 231v–232v⁷⁰

For obvious reasons, instructions are the second type of sources crucial for evaluating the legation. Originals of instructions are never preserved, but from the time of Pope Sixtus IV a number of instructions were preserved in the Vatican archives.⁷¹ They were copied in the Chancery and came to us in manuscripts from the sixteenth century which are preserved in the *Miscellanea* collection, and also outside the Vatican archives, for example in the *Marciana* in Venice or in the *Minucciana* collection, and the manuscripts of Minuccio Minucci (who was in service of several nuncios in the late sixteenth century) which are kept in the *Deutsches Historisches Institut* in Rome.

13. (n. 9) s.d. [around 1 September 1488], AAV Misc., Arm. II 7, fol. 492r–508v; 30, fol. 93r–100r; 53, fol. 128r–140v; 56, fol. 153r–170v⁷²
 14. (n. 32) s.d. [26 March] 1489, AAV Misc., Arm. II 7, fol. 519r–529v; 20, fol. 123r–130r; 56, fol. 193r–202v; Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Lat. IX 42 (= 3483), fol. 59v–65r; Deutsches Historisches

⁶⁸ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 520, n. DCCXVI; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 353–354, n. 7.

⁶⁹ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 520–521, n. DCCXVII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 355, n. 8.

⁷⁰ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 519–520, n. DCCXV; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 352–353, n. 6.

⁷¹ An overview with reference to manuscripts elsewhere (Vatican library; Venice; Florence), JOSEPH SCHLECHT, *Andrea Zamometić und der Basler Konzilsversuch vom Jahre 1482*, Paderborn 1903, 148–170, and edition of some of these as appendix.

⁷² Ed. TELEKI, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. 12, 417–432, n. DCLXXX; ARTNER–SZOVÁK–TÖRÖK–TUSOR, eds., “Magyarország”, 134–137, n. 113 (selectively).

Institut, Roma, cod. Minucc., ms. 14, fol. 191^v–206^r;⁷³ a contemporary concept can be found in BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 96^r–99^v

The instructions do not have an exact date, so the dating can be ascertained only on the basis of relative documents. In the first case, the start of the legation might be dated on the basis of the faculties that were given to the nuncio before he left Rome, in the second case a papal brief addressed to the nuncio mentions the instructions.⁷⁴ Moreover, in the case of the second set of instructions the concept of the instructions was preserved, which can be found in a manuscript compiled of documents, especially letters, linked to activities of Cardinal Marco Barbo.⁷⁵ The second instructions react to the first report of Angelo Pecchinoli, which he sent from Vienna on 30 January 1489 in at least two copies. The first one was directed to the pope, the other, with an explanatory letter, to Cardinal Marco Barbo, who was probably still interested in the region and still considered a specialist, as he went on his legation to Central Europe in 1472–1474 under Pope Sixtus IV.⁷⁶ We might then conjecture that Cardinal Marco Barbo took part in writing the second, supplementary set of instructions. The concept itself does not differ much from the letter as it was preserved in the later sixteenth-century copies – only one paragraph is put in a different place towards the end of the text. Otherwise, we may follow the number of in-text corrections which finalize the text of the instructions.

The third type of sources that are fundamental for the legation and are the reports, as mentioned above, which are much better organised with the introduction of permanent nunciatures in later pe-

⁷³ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 530–534, n. DCCXIX; ARTNER–SZOVÁK–TÖRÖK–TUSOR, eds., “Magyarország”, 140–142, n. 118 (selectively); MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 356–362, n. 9.

⁷⁴ AS Venezia, Coll. Podocatara, busta 2, n. 513/34, fol. 13^r; 26 March 1489 (n. 31).

⁷⁵ BAV Vat. lat. 5641.

⁷⁶ KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 245–284; the accompanying letter published on pages 349–350 (n. 25).

riods. In the case of late-fifteenth-century legates and nuncios, the reports were not so well organised after arriving to the Papal Curia, even though they must have been used in some way, as the sixteenth century manuscripts show. There are a few reports preserved among the instructions in the volumes of *Miscellanea* of the Vatican archives. Three of the reports of the papal nuncio Bartolomeo Maraschi, who was present in Central Europe in 1483–1485, travelling in Austria, Hungary, Saxony, and other German lands, were copied among the instructions. The nuncio sent the reports in October 1483 from Buda and Visegrád, the two seats of the King of Hungary, whom he visited. They were published several times, as they were preserved in well-known manuscripts.⁷⁷

Only one report from Angelo Pecchinoli was preserved within these manuscripts, and it is interesting that it was the only one not kept among the other reports of the nuncio preserved in originals. These are kept in Venice, in the *Biblioteca nazionale Marciana*, within the manuscripts that form the part of *Collezione Podocataro*. The documents appeared in Venice thanks to Ludovico Podocataro, who was born in Venetian Cyprus and entered the service of Cardinal Rodorigo Borgia (Borja) in Rome. In 1479, under Pope Sixtus IV, he may be found among the abbreviators in the Papal Chancery, where he later, under his former lord now Pope Alexander VI, advanced to the position of papal secretary. In 1500 he was created cardinal and died in 1504. His nephew Livio Podocataro, the archbishop of Nicosia (1524–1552), inherited his Roman house with the library and chancery documents, which finally ended up in the library and the

⁷⁷ AAV Misc., Arm. II 7, fol. 228r–248v; 20, fol. 49r–58v; 56, fol. 347r–358r; STEPHANUS KATONA, ed., *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae*, tom. 9, *Ab anno Cbristi MCCCCLXXVI ad annum usque MCCCCXC*, Buda 1793, 500–522, KATONA published with differences that might even point to a different manuscript, which I do not know; on the basis of manuscript 56 (with additions compared to Katona), KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 320–332; translated also to Hungarian on the basis of KATONA's edition, PÉTER KULCSÁR, ed., *Krónikáink magyarul*, vol. III/3, Budapest 2008, 36–43.

archives of Venice.⁷⁸ The five manuscripts that are considered part of the *Collezione Podocataro* in the library were created as bound volumes of original letters of the legates and nuncios of the 1470s, 1480s, and the early 1490s. This is the place where most of the reports from Angelo Pecchinoli survived. I could find only two more original copies outside the collection of these letters; as mentioned above, Pecchinoli sent the first report to Marco Barbo as well (30 January 1489) and a letter about the death of Matthias Corvinus and the consequences was sent in a shortened version to Cardinal Rodrigo Borja (6 April 1490).

Two of the reports are listed with two dates, as the first letter was written and before it was sent another letter was attached to it; they were sent together on the date of the latter one. The letters were not sent on regular basis, but the larger time gaps between some of them definitely indicate there were more reports sent. Angelo even responded to allegations by the pope that he did not write enough or not frequently enough. Angelo's response is, as in the case of the first report, which he sent relatively late after his coming to the region, that the king should be held responsible. Angelo even described the king as morose due to his illness. Further, Angelo mentioned on 26 December 1489 that he had three messengers on the way with letters to the pope. An enciphered letter sent two and a half months after the death of King Matthias clearly reveals that the nuncio sent more reports than those that survived until today: for the time between the death of the king (6 April) and this letter (24 June) Angelo recorded four different messengers which were sent with his reports, but there is no extant letter.

15. (n. 24) 30 January 1489, Vienna; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 127r-136v; BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 238r-247v

⁷⁸ ELISA ANDRETTA, *Podocataro, Ludovico*, Dizionario biografico degli italiani, vol. 84, Rome 2015 (www.treccani.it); cf. also GIUSEPPINA ROSELLI, *Il frammento di un registro perduto di brevi del papa Innocenzo VIII (gennaio-marzo 1489)*, Archivio Storico Italiano 149, n. 1 (1991) 93-118; DE POLI, *Inventario*, 11-14.

16. (n. 33) 17 April 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 118r–120v
17. (n. 34) 15 May 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 138r–146v
18. (n. 35) 1 & 25 June 1489, Buda; AAV Misc., Arm. II 56, fol. 170v–191v⁷⁹; AAV Misc., Arm. VI 39, fol. 145r–146v (only the beginning of the report in the second manuscript; both manuscripts from the late sixteenth century)
19. (n. 36) 18 September 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 110v–113r⁸⁰; Lat. XIV 99 (= 4278), fol. 16r–19r
20. (n. 38) 15 October 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 113v–114v; Lat. XIV 99 (= 4278), fol. 19r–20r
21. (n. 39) 3 November 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. XIV 99 (= 4278), fol. 20r
22. (n. 40) 27 November 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 124r–125r; Lat. XIV 99 (= 4278), fol. 20r–22r (one more paragraph added in the second manuscript)
23. (n. 41) 26 December 1489, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 178 (= 3625), fol. 167r–168v⁸¹
24. (n. 42) 6 January 1490, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 121r–122v
25. (n. 46) 6 April 1490, Vienna; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 123r
26. (n. 47) 6 April 1490, Vienna; AS Milano, Sf. 642/4,11⁸² (partially a copy of the previous letter of Pecchinoli to Innocent VIII, this one addressed to Roderigo Borja)

⁷⁹ Ed. JUSTI FONTANINI *Forojuliensis De antiquitatibus Hortae*, 474–490; THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 521–530, n. DCCXVIII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 362–374, n. 10 (according to Theiner).

⁸⁰ Ed. partially (related to Veszprém and Olomouc) LUKSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 312–313, n. CDLXIV.

⁸¹ Ed. partially (related to Veszprém and Olomouc) *Ibid.*, 314–315, n. CDLXVII.

⁸² On the basis of the Vestigia Project of Péter Pázmány Catholic University, <http://vestigia.hu> (accessed 28 November 2016).

27. (n. 48) 24 June 1490, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 174 (= 3621), fol. 97r–97v
 28. (n. 50) 18 & 24 July 1490, Buda; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (= 3622), fol. 116r–117v

The reports of Angelo were preserved in one more manuscript apart from the five of *Collezione Podocataro*, as this list shows. There are two other manuscripts in the *Marciana*, which contain mostly the reports of Leonello Chiericato, a papal nuncio to the King of the Romans, and Antonio Flores, a papal nuncio to France, but also other documents.⁸³ Four of the letters of Angelo Pecchinoli were bound together with these reports, one of which is unique and to another one an extra paragraph is added. All of the four reports were sealed and written as one letter in the same hand as other Pecchinoli's reports, i.e. the hand of the nuncio's scribe. These manuscripts from the *Marciana* have been subject to study by many historians. The content of the reports is known to a basic extent thanks to the indexing of Giuseppe Valentinelli, Léon G. Péliissier, and most recently (unfortunately, with a number of mistakes) Francesca De Poli.⁸⁴ The same manuscript containing most of the reports by Pecchinoli includes also relations of papal nuncio *cum potestate legati de latere* Angelo Geraldini from the early 1480s, which were published by Jürgen Petersohn.⁸⁵

An isolated example of the letter of 6 April 1490 may show that further letters might still be found. The letter to Pope Innocent

⁸³ Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM), Lat. XIV 99 (= 4278), Lat. XIV 100 (= 4279).

⁸⁴ JOSEPH VALENTINELLI, *Regesta documentorum Germaniae historiam illustrantium / Regesten zur deutschen Geschichte aus den Handschriften der Marcusbibliothek in Venedig*, 2 vols., Munich 1864–1866; detailed catalogue of documents in the five manuscripts: LÉON G. PÉLISSIER, *Catalogue des documents de la collection Podocataro*, Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 18 (1901) 473–493, 521–541, 576–598, with an edition of thirty documents; DE POLI, *Inventario*, with *regesta* for each document.

⁸⁵ JÜRGEN PETERSOHN, ed., *Diplomatische Berichte und Denkschriften des päpstlichen Legaten Angelo Geraldini aus der Zeit seiner Basel-Legation (1482–1483)*, Stuttgart 1987.

VIII is kept in the *Marciana*, but another letter from that date can be found among the diplomatic correspondence of the Sforza archives in the Archivio di Stato di Milano. The letter is of crucial importance, as it reports of the death of King Matthias Corvinus and it was attached to the diplomatic relation of the Milanese ambassador at the Viennese court of King Matthias Maffeo da Treviglio. He sent a copy of a letter which might have been given to him by Angelo Pecchinoli himself. This is, however, not a letter to the pope, but to the vice-chancellor of the Church, i.e. Cardinal Roderigo Borja, and the letter is much shorter than the other one. Angelo knew that one of the tasks of the Milanese ambassador was to secure the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza to János Corvinus, the illegitimate son of Matthias, and thus his succession was crucial for him. The nuncio then shared a letter wherein crucial information about the widowed queen, who was also striving for succession, was left out.⁸⁶

To proceed systematically, we can still focus on curial sources. There are a number of papal briefs addressed directly to the nuncio or to other people relevant for the legation, predominantly rulers and letters from them to the pope. Local archives might be fruitful for the papal briefs, but most crucially these are found in the registers of the briefs in the Vatican archives (or elsewhere). In the case of Angelo Pecchinoli, some of the briefs are found in a fragment of a register which is kept in the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice in *Collezione Podocataro*.⁸⁷ Also, some of the letters to the popes can be identified among these documents.

29. (n. 1) 6 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Matthias Corvinus; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 404v-405r⁸⁸

⁸⁶ This letter could be accessed through the Vestigia project of Péter Pázmány Catholic University and, in my case, through the friendship of György Domokos to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to it.

⁸⁷ Cf. ROSELLI, *Il frammento*.

⁸⁸ Ed. TELEKI, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. 12, 413-414, n. DCCLXXVII.

30. (n. 2) 11 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Matthias Corvinus; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 542r–542v⁸⁹ (almost the same as the previous); draft, AAV Instr. Misc. 4151
31. (n. 4) 26 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 455v–456r⁹⁰
32. (n. 5) 26 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to someone in the diocese (*Dilecto filio*); AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 458v
33. (n. 6) 26 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 460v–461r⁹¹
34. (n. 7) 26 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 461r–461v⁹²
35. (n. 8) 26 August 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 461v–462r⁹³
36. (n. 23) 22 November 1488, Roma; Innocent VIII to Matthias Corvinus; HHStA Wien, Salzburg, Erzstift (798–1806) AUR 1488 XI 22 (*www.monasterium.net*)⁹⁴
37. (n. 25) 30 January 1489, Vienna; Angelo Pecchinoli to Cardinal Marco Barbo; BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 237r–237v⁹⁵
38. (n. 26) 3 February 1489, Vienna; Matthias Corvinus to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 587⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Ed. THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 514, n. DCCIX; FRANKÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 241–242, n. CLXXXIX.

⁹⁰ Ed. JUSTI FONTANINI *Forojuliensis De antiquitatibus Hortae*, 473–474; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 345, n. 1 (according to Fontanini).

⁹¹ Ed. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 4, 478–479, n. 1232; KALOUS, *Plenitudo*, 347–348.

⁹² Ed. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 348.

⁹³ Ed. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 349.

⁹⁴ Ed. FRANKÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 242, n. CXC.

⁹⁵ Ed. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 349–350.

⁹⁶ Ed. NAGY–B. NYÁRY, eds., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, vol. 4, 12–13, n. 10; FRANKÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 243–244, n. CXCI; FRANKÓI, ed., *Mátyás király levelei*, vol. 2, 352–354, n. 217.

39. (n. 27) 6 February 1489, Vienna; Beatrix of Aragon to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 593⁹⁷
40. (n. 28) 27 February 1489, Innsbruck; Frederick III to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 5, n. 263
41. (n. 29) 26 March 1489, Roma; Innocent VIII to Matthias Corvinus; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 12v–13r⁹⁸
42. (n. 30) 26 March 1489, Roma; Innocent VIII to Beatrix of Aragon; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 13rv
43. (n. 31) 26 March 1489, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 13r
44. (n. 37) 5 October 1489, Vienna; Beatrix of Aragon to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 595⁹⁹
45. (n. 43) 2 March 1490, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 423v–424r¹⁰⁰
46. (n. 44) 2 March 1490, Roma; Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli; AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 424r–424v¹⁰¹
47. (n. 45) 31 March 1490, Roma; Innocent VIII to the Bohemian Franciscan province; AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 572r–573v¹⁰²; contemporary copy (insert in a notarial instrument), NA Prague, ŘF (Řád Františkáni), n. 83 (16 October 1496, Plzeň)
48. (n. 49) 24 June 1490, Buda; Peter Váradi to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 9, n. 781
49. (n. 51) 22 September 1490, Székesfehérvár; Hungarian prelates to Innocent VIII; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 178 (= 3625), fol. 99r

⁹⁷ Ed. BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta*, 129–131, n. LXXXVII.

⁹⁸ Ed. FRAKNÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 245, n. CXCIII.

⁹⁹ Ed. BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta*, 141, n. XCV.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. LUKCSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 315, n. CDLXVIII (date: 1 March 1490).

¹⁰¹ Ed. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n. s., vol. 4, 653–654, n. 1764; LUKCSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 316, n. CDLXIX (date: 1. 3. 1490); THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*, vol. 1, 529, n. DCCXV.

¹⁰² Ed. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n. s., vol. 4, 671–672, n. 1796.

50. (n. 52) 25 September 1490, Székesfehérvár; Wladislas II Jagiellonian to Innocent VIII; AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 604.

Most of these twenty-two letters are preserved among the curial documents in the Vatican or in other collections that are of the same origin, only were preserved elsewhere. It is mainly the above-mentioned *Collezione Podocataro* in the State archives of Venice. Naturally, this list cannot aspire to any level of completeness, but rather introduces what is currently available, where it is, and what is edited here. Most probably the list will grow longer within the scope of further research.

Other sources from the Papal Curia are difficult to find. The natural place to look for such sources would be the archives of the Papal Chamber. Unfortunately, most of the account books of the legates, which were once present in the Chamber, have been lost or rather discarded once the accounts of the legation were settled.¹⁰³ The registers of contracts and other documents of the Chamber might produce some results. The collection called *Diversa cameraria* occasionally registers, for example, contracts between the Chamber and the legates and nuncios about their salary. We are lucky to have two such documents for Angelo Pecchinoli, who was promised one hundred or one hundred and twenty (from the revenues of the church of Kalocsa-Bács, whose archbishop was imprisoned by the king and whom Angelo was supposed to liberate) ducats per month.

¹⁰³ In 1485, after a cleric of the Chamber Antonio da Forlì died, eighty manuscripts returned to the Chamber and among these, there were six account books of legates and nuncios; AAV Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 44, fol. 96r–97v; ed. EMIL GÖLLER, *Untersuchungen über das Inventar des Finanzarchivs der Renaissance Päpste (1447–1521)*, *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 5 (Studi e Testi 41), Rome 1924, 227–272, here 233–236; cf. ANTONÍN KALOUS, *Financing a Legation: Papal Legates and Money in the Later Middle Ages*, *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Roman Zaoral, Basingstoke 2016, 205–221, here 219, note 15.

51. (n. 3) 20 August 1488, Roma; AAV Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 46, fol. 188v
52. (n. 22) 5 September 1488, Roma; AAV Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 46, fol. 195r-195v

For nuncios with the power of the legates *de latere*, who were usually curial bishops, there are less sources available than for the legates *de latere*. The legates *de latere* were exclusively cardinals, and as such they had to follow certain ceremonial in Rome, when created as legates and when they left the City. This was all logged in the Roman diaries of papal masters of ceremonies. Usually, there is no mention of envoys who were not cardinals.

The above-mentioned sources, mostly found among the collections representing the central administration of the Church, constitute a solid ground, a body of documents for a detailed study of Angelo Pecchinoli's legation. And these fifty-two documents are edited in the present volume. Just to understand the legation of the nuncio better, we might have a brief look on the other sources, other documents that are preserved mostly in the local archives and libraries.

3. OTHER SOURCES FOR THE LEGATION

As this is still a work in progress, the number of documents related to the legation of Angelo Pecchinoli in Central Europe might still grow, even though the documents will never be that numerous as in the case of Nicholas of Cusa. A brief overview will be given; these sources might be rather used for the general treatment of Angelo Pecchinoli's legation or individual topics. This part of the research, naturally, is the most problematic one, as there are a huge number of archives and archival collections, which might be useful and where such sources could possibly be found. It is not only the central archives, but also various city archives or archives of ecclesiastical institutions as bishoprics, chapters, and monasteries. It would be pointless to proceed in the same way as in the previous section. At

this juncture, we might have a look on individual documents, which elucidate the functioning of the legation as such.

The nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* (*nuncius cum potestate legati de latere*) had within his legatine province almost the same authority as a cardinal, legate *de latere*, would have. He could certainly assume jurisdictional power in the province, reform monasteries, deal with benefices, and so on. These sources may reveal minute problems and detailed elements of the legation. The nuncio *cum potestate legati de latere* was certainly able to reform monasteries and publish new statutes for religious houses. A large-scale reform of all religious orders (mostly concerned, however, with Benedictines) was published by King Matthias Corvinus *assistente nobis reverendissimo in Christo patre domino Angelo episcopo Ortensi sancte sedis apostolice cum plena potestate legati de latere ad predicta regna legato*.¹⁰⁴ This crucial document for the relation of the king and the monastic orders proves the close cooperation between the sovereign and the nuncio in the region.¹⁰⁵

The jurisdiction of the nuncio may be illustrated on the documents related to the judicial processes run in the kingdom under his authority. There was a protracted dispute of the city council of Bardejov with Georgius Swarcz, a citizen of Košice, about some vineyards. The documents are mostly preserved in the archives of the town of Bardejov in Slovakia,¹⁰⁶ but a letter from the city council to the nuncio also appears in the National archives of Hungary. After lengthy negotiations, the citizens of Bardejov wanted to take the

¹⁰⁴ DF 207956 (3 November 1489; Bencés Főapátság Levéltára, Pannonhalma, Konventi levéltár, Capsarium, n. 1135) (www.monasterium.net); PONGRÁCZ SÖRÖS-TIBOLD REZNER, eds., *A Pannonbalmi Főapátság Története. Harmadik korszak, Az uralkodók reformáló törekvései. A pannonbalmi apátságnak főapátsággá való szervezése, 1405–1535*, Budapest 1905, 540–542, n. 87.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Mátyás király és a monasztikus rendek*, Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon, Budapest 1999, 239–248, here 247.

¹⁰⁶ IVÁNYI, *Bártfa*, 401–411, nn. 2724, 2726, 2734, 2746, 2763, 2767, 2768, 2775, 2777, 2792–2794, 2796, 2798.

case from the jurisdictional authority of the nuncio to their ordinary court, i.e. the judgement of the *magister tavernicorum* (Hung. *tárnokmester*).¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, a document appears where the nuncio himself rejects jurisdiction over a case, which he clearly described as pertaining to the secular court rather than to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁰⁸ A number of these documents has been registered by GYÖRGY BÓNIS in his (posthumously published) *Szentszéki regeszták*, which – even if it has a number of problems – is giving at least some guidance.¹⁰⁹ The jurisdiction of the nuncio might have been delegated to a commissary, as in the case of doctors Johannes Lopecz¹¹⁰ or Johannes de Milei.¹¹¹

Other acts of the nuncio include indulgences or other graces distributed within his legatine province. The Franciscan friary of Kúsály (present-day Coșeu in Romania) got a license to award indulgences to visitors of the church (at certain feast days) or those who help keeping up the church.¹¹² The Franciscans in Bohemia and Moravia were ordered to fill places in the regions of heretics to be able to impact them and bring them back to Catholicism. For that, they had a faculty to accept the heretics back to the bosom of the Church and absolve them from all sins.¹¹³ Other isolated cases might show the use of the nuncio's authority in spiritual matters. For example, at the very start of his legation, Angelo Pecchinoli gave the faculty to the administrator Georg von Niederaltaich to award a dispensation from *defectus natalium* to Silvester Koldrer, a scholar from

¹⁰⁷ DL 46140, 8 June 1490 (Magyar nemzeti múzeumi törzsanyag).

¹⁰⁸ DL 56234, 26 October 1489 (Kállay család levéltára, n. 1373).

¹⁰⁹ BÓNIS, *Szentszéki regeszták*, 470–473.

¹¹⁰ DL 90200, 31 March 1489 (Radvánszky család levéltára, sajkócazi, sign. 23 20).

¹¹¹ DL 102244, 24 April 1490 (Batthyány család levéltára, Miscellanea, sign. 191 4).

¹¹² DL 105524, 20 May 1489 (Wesselényi család levéltára, n. 36); ed. KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 350–351.

¹¹³ NA Prague, RF (Rád Františkáni), n. 74 (31 July 1489).

the diocese of Passau.¹¹⁴ Angelo Pecchinoli also allowed the priests of the chapel in Slavkov (in Moravia) to organise a procession at the feast of Corpus Christi. A transcription of the charter, accompanied by a Czech translation, can be found in the archives of the Unity of Brethren.¹¹⁵

There is a great variety of sources in local archives and these still wait for proper evaluation. This volume, thus, is only a step in the research into the legatine activities of Angelo Pecchinoli in Central Europe and papal representation in the later Middle Ages in general.

¹¹⁴ Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, fond Kloster Niederaltaich Urkunden (790–1801), n. 1042 (31 December 1488) (www.monasterium.net); cf. also n. 1041a insert in 1044 (23 June 1489)

¹¹⁵ Archiwum Państwowe Poznań, Akta Braci Czeskich (1507) 1557–1817 (1961), sygn. 47 (microfilm Nr. 0-76628), pag. 151–158 (I am indebted to Ota Halama, who shared this document with me).

III. THE LEGATION

I. THE TASKS OF THE LEGATION

Angelo Pecchinoli came to one of the most closely watched courts of European rulers by the pope. King Matthias Corvinus was in regular contact with the popes from the time of his ascension to the Hungarian throne for a number of reasons. This is not a place to recount all the relations between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Hungary in the later Middle Ages, but the interest of the popes was always present; the communication was crucial and the benefits mutual.¹¹⁶ Angelo Pecchinoli – like other legates and nuncios with higher authority – had a number of

¹¹⁶ The research of the relation of King Matthias Corvinus and the Papacy has a long tradition, cf. e.g. VILMOS FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a Római szent-székkal*, vol. 2, 1418–1526, *A konsztanci zsinattól a mohácsi vészig*, Budapest 1902, here 109–244; FERENC GALLA, *Mátyás király és a Szentszék*, *Mátyás király: Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára*, ed. Imre Lukinich, Budapest 1940, vol. 1, 95–170; PÉTER E. KOVÁCS, *A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt (1437–1490)*, *Magyarország és a Szentszék kapcsolatának ezer éve*, ed. István Zombori, Budapest 1996, 97–117 (in English without footnotes: IDEM, *Hungary, the Ottomans and the Holy See (1437–1490)*, *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, ed. István Zombori–Pál Cséfalvay–Maria Antonietta De Angelis, Budapest 2001, 69–78); ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Magyarok a késő-középkori Rómában*, *Studia Miskolcinsensia* 3, *Történelmi Tanulmányok, A Miskolci Egyetem történettudományi tanszékeinek évkönyve*, Miskolc 1999 (<http://mek.niif.hu/02000/02097/html/kubinyi.htm>); TAMÁS FEDELES, *A Magyar Királyság diplomáciai képviselője a Szentszéknél Mátyás király korában*, *Mátyás király és az Egyház*, ed. Tamás Fedeles, Pécs 2019, 35–54 and many specialised studies.

tasks and topics he was supposed to deal with when visiting the King of Hungary; in general, however, he followed the great topics of papal policy in the period. These are, naturally, of both political and ecclesiastical relevance, which is typical of legates and nuncios of higher rank. They always followed matters, which represented the double position of the Holy Father, the head of western Christendom.

To briefly overview these topics, first the issues of war and peace can be mentioned. The nuncio should help bringing about the peace among Christian rulers. In the case of King Matthias in the later 1480s, it was naturally the conflict with Emperor Frederick III and his son, King of the Romans Maximilian that was followed very closely by the Papal Curia. Peace treaties with the other great adversary of King Matthias, King Wladislas of Bohemia, were also often remembered, even though the war stopped a decade ago. The conflicts with the Jagiellonian kings of Bohemia and Poland were still burning in the mind of the king of Hungary. One of the key issues related to peace monitored by the nuncio and talked about at the court of Matthias Corvinus was the peace among the Christian rulers and states of Italy. The king was directly connected to the Italian milieu (even related to the King of Naples through marriage), and thus had an excellent insight into what happened there. His conflicts with the Venetians, negotiations with Milan about a possible marriage for his son, and the scandal with Ancona even strengthened the attention he dedicated to Italy.

Then, on the contrary, the nuncio was to be informed about a possible war, namely the war against the Ottoman Turks. The Turkish threat, which at this point was slightly downplayed by the presence of Sultan Djem in Europe, was a constant topic of the discussions between the king and the nuncio. The kingdom is seen as *antemurale Christianitatis*, which the king tried to use for his advantage to support all his claims with the pope.¹¹⁷ The problems of war and peace, which

¹¹⁷ Clearly the idea of the bulwark of Christendom appeared in the reports of Angelo Pecchinoli on several places. For the concept see PAUL SRODECKI, *Antemurale Christianitatis. Zur Genese der Bollwerksbetorik im östlichen Mitteleuropa an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Husum 2015.

necessarily entered the sight of the pope, may be described as a secular matter; nevertheless, it has much to do with the role of the pope as peace-maker and an organiser of the defence of Christianity.

Moreover, the pope has got an obligation not only to protect Christianity as such, but also to protect the liberty of the Church. The instructions as well as the reports of Angelo show an emphasis that is given to the *libertas ecclesiastica*, which was again put forward by the theologians in the end of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁸ A few cases that are treated by the nuncio are exemplary: the captivity of prelates, who were held under lock and key by the king (Archbishop Péter Váradi and others); attention to the Church property, or rather the alienated property of various ecclesiastical institutions (monasteries and bishoprics); and a greater significance is given to the proper behaviour of the Church subjects, whose absolute loyalty is a key to good government of the Church and must not be transferred to anyone else (the case of Ancona or Camerino). Church liberty was mentioned several times by the nuncio to the king as well as to his consort.

These matters of ecclesiastical politics introduce issues which are even more related to the functioning of the Church as institution. With his absolute authority, very much stressed by the nuncio, the pope exerted his governance over the whole Church in the region of activity of the nuncio. As an extended arm of his lord and master, the nuncio (with the power of legate *de latere*) came to the region to correct the Church and its members. He dealt with bishops and clerics, he administered order reforms and reformed their houses, he incited the struggle against the heretics (even though not really successfully), and – most importantly for most of the believers – brought spiritual benefits that were otherwise available only in Rome at the Apostolic See. Moreover, the nuncio represented the highest judicial power of the pope, who was *iudex ordinarius omnium*. This means that by the nature of the office of the legate *de latere*, the power of which he wielded, the

¹¹⁸ KENNETH PENNINGTON, *Ecclesiastical Liberty on the Eve of the Reformation*, Alla ricerca di soluzioni nuova luce sul concilio lateranense V. Studi per i 500 anni del Concilio, ed. Nelson H. Minnich, Vatican City 2019, 77–95.

nuncio could even replace the ecclesiastical judicial court of local bishops in the first instance, as mentioned above.¹¹⁹

The individual tasks of the nuncio were manifold even within these categories of war and peace, of *libertas ecclesiastica*, and of the correction of the Church and Church jurisdiction. He clearly represented the renewed government of the Church of the pope after the successful defeat of the conciliarist ideas of the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Angelo Pecchinoli came to the court of King Matthias Corvinus in the time of peace negotiations. The long war between the King of Hungary and Emperor Frederick III (and his son, from 1486 the King of the Romans, Maximilian) in Austria basically ended with Matthias's capture of Wiener Neustadt in August 1487.¹²⁰ This was already the third in a series of Hungarian-Austrian wars and as a result, Matthias Corvinus, who conquered a part of the Habsburg hereditary lands, essentially took over the government of Lower Austria.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Cf. KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 55–69.

¹²⁰ VILMOS FRAKNÓI, *Mátyás törekvései a császári trónra*, Budapest 1914; GYULA RÁZSÓ, *Die Feldzüge des Königs Matthias Corvinus in Niederösterreich 1477 bis 1490*, Vienna 1973; KARL GUTKAS, *Friedrich III. und Matthias Corvinus*, St. Pölten–Vienna 1982; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541, Schallaburg '82*, Vienna 1982, s. 241–274 (with articles by Richard Perger, Gottfried Stangler, Moritz Csáky); KARL NEHRING, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum bunyadiisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*, 2d ed., Munich 1989.

¹²¹ ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Die Wiener Regierung des Königs Matthias Corvinus*, Matthias Corvinus. Die Regierung eines Königreichs in Ostmitteleuropa 1458–1490, Herne 1999, 202–215; KATALIN SZENDE, “Proud Vienna suffered sore...” *Matthias Corvinus and Vienna, 1457–1490*, Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490, ed. Péter Farbaky–Enikő Spek-

The other conflict that was followed very closely and always noted by the king was the war for the Crown of Bohemia. It started with the crusade led by Matthias Corvinus against the Utraquist King of Bohemia George of Poděbrady, in April 1468, and went on after Matthias's election as King of Bohemia by a part of Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian nobility and estates in Olomouc in May 1469. It did not stop when a new King of Bohemia was elected in Kutná Hora in May 1471, even though this one was a Catholic from the now traditional royal family of Jagiellonians. King Wladislas II continued the fight against Matthias with the support of his father, King of Poland Casimir IV, and concluded a peace treaty only in December 1478, in Brno, which was finally ratified (slightly changed) in Olomouc in July 1479. Yet another meeting and treaty was concluded in Jihlava in September 1486.¹²² Both these meetings were noted in the discussions of the nuncio and the king.

Both the conflicts – in Austria and in Bohemia – became quite lively in the later 1480s with the new diplomatic moves of the two Kings of Bohemia and of the Romans. With the new pope Innocent VIII they felt the chance to get approved by the Apostolic See and sent their obedience embassies. They were received in sessions of public consistory; Wladislas on 18 May 1487, and Maximilian on 4 February 1488.¹²³ Both acts, however, were opposed by King Matthias, as he claimed the title of the King of Bohemia himself even though the peace treaty of Olomouc expressly stated that both Wladislas and Matthias are to be called hereditary Kings of Bohemia.¹²⁴ Matthias's concerns were about the fact that he was not addressed as the King of Bohemia by the pope, which the nuncio solved

ner–Katalin Szende–András Vég, Budapest 2008, 381–384; cf. also LÁSZLÓ JUHÁSZ, *Mátyás király Bécsben*, Veszprém 2002.

¹²² ANTONÍN KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín (1443–1490). Uberský a český král*, České Budějovice 2009.

¹²³ JOHANNES BURCKARD, *Liber Notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani, Città di Castello 1906, vol. 1, 196–198, 220–223.

¹²⁴ KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*, 179–185.

very elegantly claiming that the Papal Chancery always uses only the most respectable title for secular rulers (n. 34). Later, Angelo informed the king that the pope instructed his secretaries to include also the title of the King of Bohemia in his address (n. 36). Holding the title of the King of Bohemia had, however, also other consequences in the Empire. The King of Bohemia was one of the electors of the Emperor (or the King of the Romans), so Matthias reminded the nuncio that the new King of the Romans had not been properly elected, when the King of Bohemia (Matthias meant himself) was missing from the election. Neither of them, then, should have been confirmed or even accepted by the pope. And as seen in Angelo's reports, the topic went on and on in the discussions of the nuncio and the king.

The other great topic in terms of war and peace was the fight of Christian Europe against the Ottoman Turks. This struggle was very much connected to the inheritance of Matthias Corvinus, as his father János Hunyadi was seen as one of the most successful and most emblematic defenders of Christians against the Turkish invasion.¹²⁵ Even though he was certainly not always successful, the glory and fame stayed with his memory and was transferred to his son, Matthias Corvinus, and later even to his grandson, Matthias's illegitimate son János Corvinus, as seen in the instructions for Angelo (n. 9). Just like in the case of the Austrian and Bohemian wars, the talks at the court between the nuncio and the king responded to the latest developments in international politics and at the Papal court. The most persistent topic in terms of the Ottomans was Sultan Djem.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ JOSEPH HELD, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality*, New York 1985; ANA DUMITRAN-LORÁND MÁDLY-ALEXANDRU SIMON, eds., *Extincta est lucerna orbis: Jobn Hunyadi and his Time*, Cluj-Napoca 2009.

¹²⁶ L. THUASNE, *Djem-Sultan. Fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459-1495)*, Paris 1892; NICOLAS VATIN, *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XV^e siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines: Vâkî'ât-ı Sultân Cem, Oevres de Guillaume Caoursin*, Ankara 1997; HALIL INALCIK, *A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: the Agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan*, *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev, Basingstoke 2004, 66-88; cf. also JOHN FREELY, *Jem Sultan: The Adventures of a Captive Turkish Prince in Renaissance*

After his unsuccessful attempts to gain the throne in Constantinople (Istanbul) he approached the Hospitallers, the Knights of St John of Rhodes with a plea for help. They, however, being unable to organise a crusade, held him captive and came to terms with his brother, the new Sultan Bayezid II. From 1483 on, Sultan Djem lived in France under the “protection” of the grand master of the order, Pierre d’Aubusson, who later in 1489 transferred Djem to Pope Innocent VIII and gained a cardinal’s hat for it. What the pope’s actual plans were is not entirely clear, it may even seem possible that he intended to send Djem to Hungary. However, the king died in April 1490 and this plan never materialised. The pope made a new agreement with the Sultan, who – just like in the case of the Hospitallers – payed a good sum of money to the pope for keeping his brother safely under lock and key. The argumentation why Djem should be transported to Hungary (the interest of the Turkish “nobles”, pleas of his mother, the need of him for the crusade) was even introduced by the king with the claim of them being related.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, Sultan Djem never got to Hungary and the crusade that the king excitedly talked of never happened. He rather concluded another peace agreement in 1488, or extended that of 1483, which was witnessed by another papal nuncio at the court of Matthias,

Europe, London 2005. For international relations of the Ottoman Empire under Bayezid II, see SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481–1512*, Urbana 1948; from the papal side KENNETH M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 2, *The Fifteenth Century*, Philadelphia 1978, 364–482; for details on the relations of Bayezid II and Matthias Corvinus see IVAN BILIARSKY, *Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XV^e siècle*, *Turcica* 32 (2000) 291–305; GÜNEŞ İŞIKSEL, *Friendship and the principle of good neighbourhood between Bayezid II and Matthias Corvinus*, *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, ed. Christian Gastgeber *et al.*, Vienna 2011, 33–36; on the role of the Knights of St John see NICOLAS VATIN, *The Hospitallers at Rhodes and the Ottoman Turks, 1480–1522*, *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley, Basingstoke 2004, 148–162.

¹²⁷ Apart from these reports cf. MÁRTON GYÖNGYÖSSY, “Egy vér folyik ereinkben.” *Ki volt II. Mehmed szultán édesanyja?*, *Turul* 87 (2014) 14–19.

Bartolomeo Maraschi.¹²⁸ While the 1483 treaty lasted for five years, the new conditions specified two years of peace.

Finally, the matters of Italy, or rather various Italian states, filled the lines of Angelo Pecchinoli's reports. Several hot issues continued to appear regularly. First of all, it was the situation of Ancona, a city within the papal states, which asked Matthias Corvinus to accept them under his protection. The benefits were mutual; Matthias gained an outpost in the Italian soil and even more importantly tried to hamper in this way Venetian hegemony in the Adriatic. The Anconitans also benefited from this protection against Venetian hegemony. They displayed Hungarian banners and even though they claimed this did not challenge their loyalty to the Apostolic See, the pope did not take it so gracefully and put the city under an interdict. The topic then reappeared often in reports as a crucial point of dispute between the pope and the king.¹²⁹ Another point of conflict was the Kingdom of Naples. His father-in-law, King Ferrante I, received military support from Matthias in the case of the siege of Otranto in 1481, after it was taken by the Turks a year before, and also during the baron's war in the later 1480s.¹³⁰ The relationship of Ferrante

¹²⁸ BNM Lat. X 174 (= 3621), fol. 110v–111r.

¹²⁹ Most detailed treatment in R. W. LIGHTBOWN, *Francesco Cinzio Benincasa*, *Italian Studies* 19 (1964) 28–55; cf. also E. KOVÁCS, *A Szentszék*, 109–110; IDEM, *Hungary*, 75–76; MAGDA JÁSZAY, *Párbuzamok és kereszteződések. A magyar–olasz kapcsolatok történetéből*, Budapest 1982, 179. For sources see ANTAL HODINKA, *Hazai vonatkozású kéziratok az olasz könyv- és levéltárakban*, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 14 (1889) 45–83, here 52–54; VINCENTIUS MAKUCSEV, ed., *Monumenta historica slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 1/1, Warsaw 1874, 147–155.

¹³⁰ IVÁN NAGY–ALBERT B. NYÁRY, eds., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából, 1458–1490*, vol. 3, Budapest 1877 (*Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek* 3), 78–79, n. 66; JERRY H. BENTLEY, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples*, Princeton, N.J. 1987, 31–33; JÁSZAY, *Párbuzamok*, 179; cf. also ELISABETTA SCARTON, *La congiura dei baroni del 1485–1487 e la sorte dei ribelli*, *Poteri, relazioni, guetta nel regno di Ferrante d'Aragona. Studi sulle corrispondenze diplomatiche*, ed. Francesco Senatore–Francesco Storti, Naples 2011, 213–290; GIOVANNI PILLININI, *Il sistema degli stati italiani 1454–1494*, Venice 1970, about the wars of the late 1480s, 124–138; HUMPHREY BUTTERS,

and the papacy was quite problematic, as the changes on Peter's throne always meant changing attitudes. Good relations with Pius II and Sixtus IV were always followed by difficult affairs with their respective successors, Paul II and – most crucially for the late 1480s – Innocent VIII.¹³¹ And the third most significant topic concerned the dealings of the Venetians, whom the king consistently despised. His support of Ancona and of the King of Naples could also be considered as actions against the old enemy of Matthias,¹³² as he tried to protect his interests in the Adriatic and those of his subjects, as shown in the case of the city of Dubrovnik (n. 34). Matthias had further dealings with the lords of Ferrara, Urbino, and even Camerino, which was again seen as an intrusion to the rights of the Church. Angelo Pecchinoli even registered news that came to the Hungarian royal court from Rimini, Cesena, Pesaro, and other smaller places, even about Boccolino di Guzzone, an accomplished Italian condottiere.

3. CHURCH MATTERS

The Church matters treated by the nuncio cannot be isolated and quite often belong to the political issues, but primarily can be labelled as ecclesiastical questions. The most crucial ones concerned bishops and bishoprics. Only the pope could manage individual bishops or his legate with proper mandates. The nuncio even carried special absolutions and licences to bishops which could have been granted only

Politics and Diplomacy in Late Quattrocento Italy: the Case of the Barons' War (1485–86), Florence and Italy. Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein, ed. Peter Denley–Caroline Elam, London 1988, 13–31, here 16–18.

¹³¹ BENTLEY, *Politics*, 27–34.

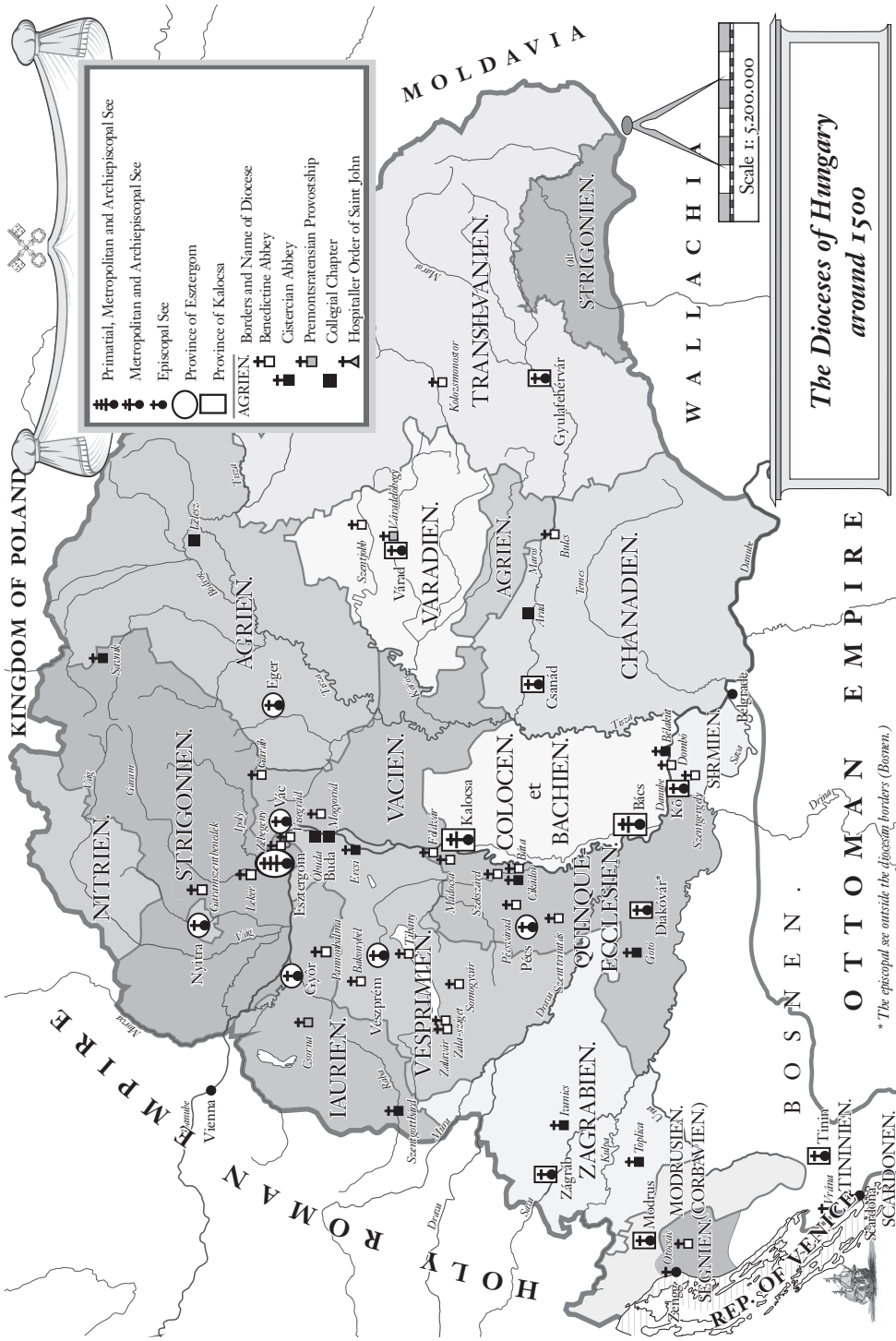
¹³² MAGDA JÁSZAY, *Contrastes et diplomatie dans les rapports de Mathias I^{er} Corvin et la République de Venise*, *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35, n. 1/4 (1989) 3–39; EADEM, *Venice és Magyarország. Egy szomszédság küzdelmes története*, Budapest 1990, 180–188.

by the pope (**nn. 6, 7, 8**). The issues were, however, much bigger than that. King Matthias, as a King of Hungary, had the patronage right over the Hungarian church. Thus, he wanted to provide for the bishoprics and archbishoprics, and his provisions should have been only confirmed by the pope. However, this was not always so easy. The king complained about the protracted nominations of the archbishop of Esztergom (the young Ippolito d'Este, son of the Duke of Ferrara, and the king's nephew), and of the bishops of Eger and Senj.¹³³

The bishopric of Senj, in Croatia, may serve as an example. The interest of the Apostolic See arose due to the fact that the appointment of the bishop by the pope had not been respected and a collision of other nominations meant a compromise had to be found. In his first instructions (**n. 9**), Angelo was informed that the pope had made a provision of the church of Senj and he should persuade the king to allow that; the nuncio then explained that the pope had provided for the church five months after the see became vacant (**n. 24**).¹³⁴ Yet, after further discussion about the matter, even with the intruder himself, Angelo was unable to change anything (**n. 24**). The then bishop, Paul of Bosnia was considered dead by the Curia and thus a new bishop was nominated. In Senj, however, Paul was still active (at least that is what can be ascertained from the sour-

¹³³ For individual Hungarian and Croatian bishops throughout the volume see NORBERT C. TÓTH–RICHÁRD HORVÁTH–TIBOR NEUMANN–TAMÁS PÁLOSFALVI, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1458–1526*, vol. 1, *Főpapok és bárók*, Budapest 2016; I have dealt with the relation of the nuncio to the bishops in an article, ANTONÍN KALOUS, *The pope, the king, and the bishops: Papal nuncio Angelo Pecchinoli and the limits of papal power in the late fifteenth century*, *Penisola italiana ed Europa centro-orientale*, ed. Andrea Fara, Rome 2021 (in preparation).

¹³⁴ He implicitly referred to Canon Law, which, however, mentioned three months as the limit, when the superior authority was supposed to take over the nomination rights, cf. X 1.6.41 (can. 23 of Lateran IV) in AEMILIUS FRIEDBERG, ed., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, part 2, *Decretalium collectiones*, Graz 1959, col. 88; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, editio critica*, vol. II/1, *From Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena (869–1424)*, ed. A. GARCÍA Y GARCÍA *et al.*, Turhout 2013, 179.

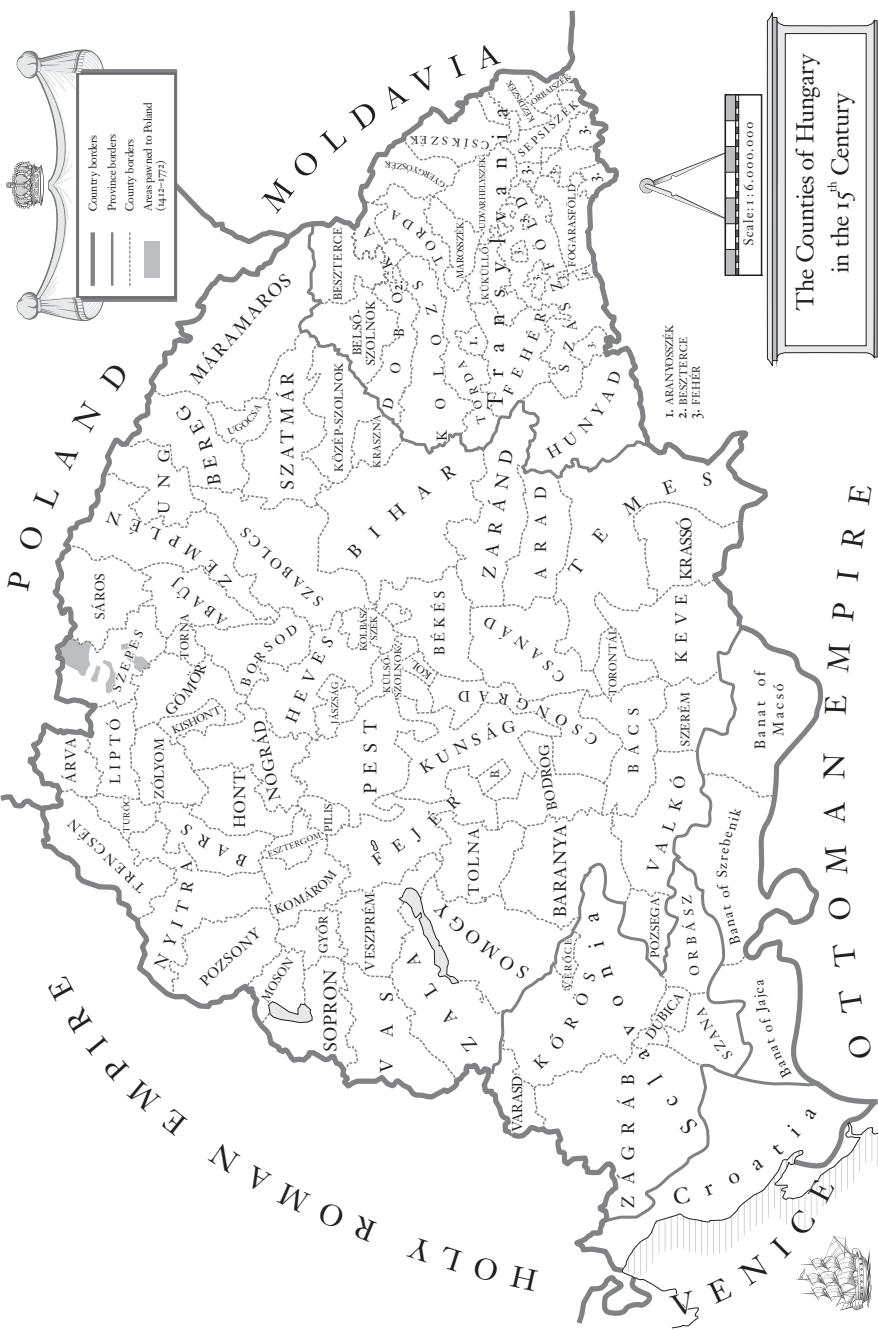


	Primate, Metropolitan and Archbishop See
	Metropolitan and Archbishop See
	Episcopal See
	Province of Esztergom
	Province of Kalocsa
	AGRIEN. Borders and Name of Diocese
	Benedictine Abbey
	Cistercian Abbey
	Premontrean Provostship
	Collegial Chapter
	Hospitaller Order of Saint John



*The Dioceses of Hungary
around 1500*

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



Country borders
 Province borders
 County borders
 Areas passed to Poland
 (1412-1773)

Scale: 1:6,000,000

1. ARANYOSZEK
 2. BESZTERCE
 3. FEHER

The Counties of Hungary
 in the 15th Century



ces);¹³⁵ nevertheless, the papal nomination of Andrea Campana came in December 1486. However, the king also appointed his candidate, Mihovil Božičević (Natalitius), who entered the bishopric with royal support. The pope yielded and even though Mihovil suggested to the nuncio that he would be happy to live with twenty-five florins per year with a minor bishopric of Otočac, it was the pope who gave in, and the king's man stayed in office until the king's death. A year after, the bishopric was handed over to Andrea Campana.¹³⁶ Another contested bishopric in Croatia that was, however, only hinted at by the king – as reported in the first Pecchinoli's letter (n. 24) – was the bishopric of Modruš.¹³⁷

The much more serious problems, however, were those of several bishops who regularly appeared in the nuncio's report. First, it was the archbishop of Kalocsa, Péter Váradi,¹³⁸ who was imprisoned by

¹³⁵ C. TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFALVI, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, vol. 1, 58.

¹³⁶ Cf. MILE BOGOVIĆ, *Moji predšasnici biskupi – u Senju, Otočcu, Krbavi, Modrušu, Vinodolu i Rijeci*, *Senjski zbornik* 42–43 (2015–2016) 5–198, here 48–55; cf. also JURAJ LOKMER, *Katedrala uznesenja blažene djevice Marije u Senju i senjski biskupi do početka XVII. stoljeća*, *Senjski zbornik* 42–43 (2015–2016) 235–326, here 289. My thanks to GYÖRGY GALAMB for clarifications of the matter and a suggestion of literature.

¹³⁷ Cf. ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Mátyás király és a Magyar püspökök*, *Főpapak, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 1999, 69–86, here 77; ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, 2d ed., Budapest 2007, 166–167; GALLA, *Mátyás*, 117–118; FRAKNÓI, *Magyarország*, 227; cf. FRAKNÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 163–164, nn. 124, 125; FRAKNÓI, ed., *Mátyás király levelei*, vol. 2, 17–19, nn. 12, 13. Nicholas of Modruš died in 1480 and still in 1482 Matthias was writing to the pope about the nomination of his successor, as the correct dating of the letters shows (13 October 1482, *Moravská zemská knihovna Brno*, sign. Mk 9, fol. 281v–282r; and also clarified by the editors of the reprint of *Mátyás király levelei* by GYULA MAYER in 2008).

¹³⁸ For Péter Váradi see JÁNOS VÉBER, *Két korszak batárán. Váradi Péter, humanista főpapa, kalocsai érsek pályaképe*, Pécs–Budapest 2016; VILMOS FRAKNÓI, *Váradi Péter kalocsai érsek élete 1480–1501*, *Századok* 17 (1883) 489–514, 729–749, 825–843; RABÁN

the king. This act seriously attacked the *libertas ecclesiastica* and securing his release was one of the key tasks of the nuncio. Péter Váradi appeared in many of the reports from Angelo and his case was always brought up by the nuncio when talking to the king. His task was to make the king release the archbishop and administer proper judicial treatment of his case. Even though the king promised to hand the archbishop over to the nuncio, he still protracted the resolution of the matter, and only after nine months of negotiations could Angelo report that the nuncio had been brought from Orava castle to Visegrád. However, Váradi was still in prison and the nuncio did not want to speak to him in private, only in public, so as not to hamper any later lawsuit (n. 35). The archbishop was fully released only after the king's death in April 1490 and even though he supported János Corvinus in the succession struggle, he later came to terms with the winning party, Wladislas II (n. 49, 51).

Another, and maybe even more complicated case, was Bishop of Várad Jan Filipec.¹³⁹ Several issues were linked to his person. He was elected bishop in 1483 by the chapter of Olomouc on the suggestion of the king. However, he was never confirmed by the pope and since he already had a different bishopric, his position was always unstable. At some point he lost the support of the king who nominated and sug-

GERÉZDI, *Egy Magyar humanista: Váradi Péter*, *Magyarságtudomány* 1 (1942) 305–328, 532–563; JÓZSEF UDVARDY, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)*, Köln 1991, 335–402; cf. also GYÖRGY BÓNIS, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mobács előtti Magyarországon*, Budapest 1971, 229–230.

¹³⁹ RUDOLF GRIEGER, *Filipecz, Johann Bischof von Wardein, Diplomat der Könige Matthias und Wladislaw*, Munich 1982; ANTONÍN KALOUS, *Jan Filipec v diplomatických službách Matyáše Korvína*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 125 (2006) 3–32; IDEM, *Itinerář Jana Filipce (1431–1509)*, *Sborník prací historických XXII*, Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas philosophica, *Historica* 34 (2008) 17–43; IDEM, *Spor o biskupství olomoucké v letech 1482–1497*, *Český časopis historický* 105 (2007) 1–39; cf. also VINCZE BUNYITAY, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*, vol. 1, *A váradi püspökök a püspökség alapításától 1566. évig*, Nagyvárad 1883, 308–331; BÓNIS, *A jogtudó értelmiség*, 230.

gested to the pope János Vitéz the Younger (of Karmanca), who was then bishop of Srem. Filipec, however, regained the trust of the king, who then hindered all the activities of the nuncio, who wanted to act according to his instructions and support the new candidate to the Olomouc See. Jan Filipec was also accused of heresy (he came from an originally Utraquist family from Prostějov, a small town in central Moravia), but that might have been a part of the king's plan to discredit Filipec, after the bishop had lost his support. The nuncio, again, wanted to proceed with the trial against Filipec, but the king always urged the nuncio not to take any measures as the king needed the bishop in his service. This created awkward situations when the bishop, for example, celebrated vespers at the royal court, even though he was not absolved (**n.** 24). The nuncio even carried a faculty to grant Filipec a licence to enter whatever religious order he chose.

Without getting into details, which can be read in the edition of Angelo's reports, these two cases exquisitely show that the pope had no power to enforce his intentions with the bishops through his nuncio (even though he held the powers of a legate *de latere*). One was in disgrace and there was no way of ending imprisonment when the king disagreed; the other was in favour and there was no way of implementing the measures when the king needed the bishop for his diplomatic missions.

The third bishop who was frequently mentioned was a runaway bishop from Italy. Agostino Luciani,¹⁴⁰ bishop of Santorini (*Sanctuariensis*), was active at the court of Mirandola, but already in Italy had started to cooperate with the Utraquists of Bohemia, as he ordained their priests. He even left for Bohemia in April 1482 and stayed in the country for over ten years; he died sometime in the second half of 1493. Similarly to the case of Andrea Jamometić, arch-

¹⁴⁰ NICCOLÒ DEL RE, *Agostino Luciani, apostata bussita*, Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia I (1947) 418–428; JOSEF MACEK, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, Prague 2001, 118–131; A. KALOUS, *The Papacy and the Czech Lands between Reform and Reformation (1417–1526)*, The Papacy and the Czech Lands, A History of Mutual Relations, ed. Tomáš Černušák, Rome-Prague 2016, 115–146, here 136; IDEM, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 197; ČENĚK FLORIÁN, *Kdy umřel biskup Augustin Lucián?* Český časopis historický 41 (1935) 370–373.

bishop of Krajina, who attempted to organise a new Council of Basel, Pope Sixtus IV wanted to hunt him down and bring him back to Italy. Papal nuncio Angelo Geraldini and many others were commissioned to deal with the Basel matter; the council did not happen, but the archbishop was never brought back to Rome.¹⁴¹ In 1483, two of these nuncios, Bartolomeo da Ziliano and Bartolomeo Maraschi, were tasked to capture Bishop Agostino, but in vain.¹⁴² After five years, Angelo Pecchinoli did not even have this assignment in his instructions, but when the topic appeared at the court of Matthias, he was commissioned to proceed with the matter. However, just like others, he was also unsuccessful, which again shows that the real power of the pope in the region had some limitations, especially in Bohemia.

Bohemia and its heresy belonged among other relatively frequent topics of discussions.¹⁴³ In his first report, the nuncio even described the threefold nature of the Bohemian heresy. Reportedly, there are

¹⁴¹ On the matter see JÜRGEN PETERSOHN, *Reichsrecht versus Kirchenrecht: Kaiser Friedrich III. im Ringen mit Papst Sixtus IV. um die Strafgewalt über den Basler Konzilspronuntiator Andreas Jamometić 1482–1484. Forschung und Quellen*, Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 2015; also for Andrea Jamometić, see SCHLECHT, *Andrea Zamometić*; for Angelo Geraldini, JÜRGEN PETERSOHN, *Ein Diplomat des Quattrocento, Angelo Geraldini (1422–1486)*, Tübingen 1985; and the reports edited from the same manuscript as those of Angelo Pecchinoli by PETERSOHN, *Diplomatische Berichte, op. cit.*

¹⁴² KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 312–334; PETERSOHN, *Reichsrecht versus Kirchenrecht*, 52–53.

¹⁴³ A huge literature exists on the topic. For general overview, FRANTIŠEK ŠMAHEL, *Die hussitische Revolution*, 3 vols., Hannover 2002 (MGH Schriften); now most recently, MICHAEL VAN DUSSEN–PAVEL SOUKUP, eds., *A Companion to the Hussites*, Leiden 2020; for the relation to the Papacy, KALOUS, *The Papacy and the Czech Lands*; JOSEF MACEK, *Prag und Rom am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. Zum Verhältnis der päpstlichen Kurie zur böhmischen Reformation*, Historische Blickpunkte. Festschrift für Johann Rainer, ed. Sabine Weiss–Ulrike Kemmerling–Unterthurner–Hermann J. W. Kuprian, Innsbruck 1988, 391–403.

the Utraquists, the Unity of Brethren¹⁴⁴ (described as *piccardi*), and “those, who make nocturnal bacchanalia in caverns.” Nothing of that sort, of course, is known; this rather looks like a stereotypical accusation which was transferred throughout literature about heretical sects.¹⁴⁵ The Utraquists and the Unity were crucial parts of Bohemian and Moravian society. Matthias himself even stated that he could expel the Unity, but among others there are “good men” and reminded the nuncio that he had a concession from Pope Paul II to consort with them without incurring excommunication himself (n. 24). Clearly, the king’s boasting that he would expel all the Brethren from his kingdoms does not stand, as he was unable and possibly also unwilling to do that, not in Bohemia, which was under the rule of Wladislas, nor in Moravia, even though it was under his rule. On the contrary, on the instigation of Angelo even the right to live among the heretics and grant absolution to those who abjure heresy was conferred to Observant Franciscans (n. 45); they had asked for it some months earlier (n. 35). So, even though he probably never set foot in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the nuncio was also active in this respect.¹⁴⁶

Apart from these more significant issues, other ecclesiastical matters kept recurring in the reports of Angelo Pecchinoli. He frequently discussed the reform of friaries, especially those of the Friars Minor, and as King Matthias gave his support to the Observant Franciscans and they were brought to a number of houses around

¹⁴⁴ RUDOLF ŘÍČAN, *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite church in Bohemia and Moravia*, trans. C. Daniel Crews, Bethlehem, Pa. 1992 (orig. 1957); PETER BROCK, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries*, The Hague 1957; and most recently OTA HALAMA, *The Unity of Brethren (1458–1496)*, A Companion to the Hussites, ed. Michael Van Dussen–Pavel Soukup, Leiden–Boston 2020, 371–402.

¹⁴⁵ NORMAN COHN, *Europe’s Inner Demons*, St Albans 1976 (orig. 1975), *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ As mentioned above, he even granted licence to organise a procession in Slavkov in Moravia, for example.

Hungary.¹⁴⁷ The nuncio even cooperated with the king in reforming the Benedictine order, as shown in the charter published by Matthias.¹⁴⁸ Angelo Pecchinoli carried a number of spiritual benefits on himself to his legatine province and even asked for more when he was in the region. For example, some of the Hungarian nobles asked for portable altars, as they lived in the regions endangered by the incursions of the Ottoman Turks. He actually carried a faculty to grant twenty such licences (n. 16), but the local nobles wanted more and did not want to believe the limitations (n. 34). They rejoiced when further portable altars and indulgences could be granted (n. 36). The above-mentioned mandate (n. 16) provided the nuncio with a number of faculties to grant licences and dispensations in cases which were normally treated by the Apostolic Penitentiary, which was very typical for the legates and nuncios. As a rule, they were bringing a number of such spiritual benefits to their provinces, which made them (*cum grano salis*) a small travelling curia.¹⁴⁹

A special case, however, was discussed in relation to the husbands and wives of those who served to or were detained by the Turks. The

¹⁴⁷ Matthias and Franciscans, JÁNOS KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. 1, Budapest 1923, *passim*; IMRE KAPISZTRÁN VARGA OFM, *King Matthias and the Observant Franciscans*, Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490, ed. Péter Farbaky–Enikő Spekner–Katalin Szende–András Végh, Budapest 2008, 401–404; MARIE-MADELEINE DE CEVINS, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débacle (vers 1450–vers 1540)*, Rome 2008, *passim*; for a more general context of other orders see also KUBINYI, *Mátyás király és a monasztikus rendek*.

¹⁴⁸ SÖRÖS–REZNER, eds., *A Pannonhalmi Főapátság Története. Harmadik korszak*, 540–542, n. 87.

¹⁴⁹ KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 77–87; on Penitentiary overview of the activities of: at least KIRSI SALONEN, *The Curia: The Apostolic Penitentiary*, A Companion to Medieval Papacy, ed. Keith Sisson–Atria A. Larson, Leiden–Boston 2016, 259–275; EADEM, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527*, Saarijärvi 2001; KIRSI SALONEN–LUDWIG SCHMUGGE, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace": Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary*, Washington, D.C. 2009.

local bishops asked what might have been done in such cases: those left behind had new partners, lived in concubinate, and if they were rejected the sacraments they could even run away to the Muslims (n. 35). The answer came probably in some breve and is only hinted to, never discussed in full, so we have not learned what the solution was (nn. 36, 42). The list of all possible graces could go on much further as the nuncio with the power of the legate *de latere* acted as an extended hand of the Holy Father.

Another non-standard situation happened when Angelo reported that he captured one of the *cerretani* (as he called them *ciaratani*) (n. 35). The *cerretani*, inhabitants of Cerreto di Spoleto (and other three towns close to Spoleto, Triponzo, Sellano and Montesanto), were known in the Middle Ages as false preachers. In the fifteenth century they were connected to indulgence campaigns that collected money for various hospitals, most importantly for Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome.¹⁵⁰ Angelo Pecchinoli spoke about a *ciaratanus*, whom he captured and whose name was Antonius de Ponte; he gave substantial remissions of sins and crimes for Santo Spirito, as Angelo explained. The little town of Ponte is a neighbouring town to Cerreto di Spoleto; moreover, in 1485 two collectors, Pietro Cesarini and Riccardo Pontano, operated in Germany and they even published *littere confessionales*, confessional letters, which allowed the believers to choose a confessor and get remission of sins in cases reserved to the Apostolic See.¹⁵¹ A contemporary concept of a breve mentioned

¹⁵⁰ ANDREAS REHBERG, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem ... quam papa.*” *Der Heilig-Geist-Orden und seine Ablasskampagnen um 1500*, Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters. Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext, ed. Andreas Rehberg, Berlin–Boston 2017, 230–231; cf. CAROLUS DU FRESNE DU CANGE *et al.*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 2, Niort 1883, 271, 279, 323 (under Ceretanus, Cerretani, Ciaratani).

¹⁵¹ REHBERG, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem.*” 242–243; cf. GEDEON BORSA, *Ein bisher unbekannter gedruckter Bruderschaftsbrief der Hospitaliter vom Hl. Geist*, *Könyvtörténeti írások / Schriften aus der Geschichte des Buchdruckes*, vol. 2, A külföldi nyomdászat a 15–16. században, OSzK 1998, n. 20 (http://mek.oszk.hu/03300/03301/html/bgkvti_2/bgkio220de.htm) (= Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1984, 142–144); and IDEM, *A Szentlélekről elnevezett ispotályosrend búcsúlevele Esztergomban*, *Könyvtörténeti írások /*

Richardus Pontanus as a false preacher of indulgences together with other “clerical as well as lay people of Cerreto.”¹⁵² It may be perfectly possible that the companions of Riccardo Pontano stayed in the region and still preached the indulgences and collected money. Angelo himself even asked the city council of Bardejov, a northern Hungarian city, to count the money collected for the support of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in front of his commissary Johannes Hirk, who was mandated to collect the money, so that it is not given *alicui falso questori*.¹⁵³ It seems Angelo came across many other tasks in the region, which were not expected when he was leaving Rome. Like in

Schriften aus der Geschichte des Buchdruckes, vol. 3, Az OSZK évkönyveiben megjelent tanulmányok, OSZK 1998, n. 19 (http://mek.oszk.hu/03300/03301/btml/bgkvti_3/bgkio319.htm) (= Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve 1982–83, 207–220).

¹⁵² AS Venezia, Coll. Podocataro, b. 1, n. 196b, *Archiepiscopo Magdeburgensi. Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Pervenit ad aures nostras esse nonnullos in partibus Germanie, qui per duos fere iam annos publicavitur et continue publicant litteras indulgentiarum sub nomine Sancti Spiritus et sedis apostolice, quot vel frater inorate vel de falsitate manifeste coarguuntur colligendo pecunias et absolvendo ab omnibus casibus, et alia agendo, per que fidelium mentes seducant et decipiant, et ex quibus nisi provideatur oportune, scandala generali et fidelium populorum devotio minui et magnis erroribus involui omnes poterunt. Talium autem indulgentiarum publicationis ducem et primum inter certos habere dicuntur, quendam Richardum Pontanum, qui legatus appellatur, plures etiam alii cerrotani clerici et laici similia dei timore postposito attemptant, cum pernicie animarum. Quare cum tanta temeritas et perversa hominum audacia coherenda sit, hortamur fraternitatem tuam tibi que committimus et mandamus, ut tales cerretanos et falsarum litterarum iam seu revocatus (...) publicatores et assertores capi et detineri cures, suffraganeosque tuos commonefacias, ut ad id etiam studium adhibeant eosque si illuc divertent comprehendant et detineant, qui non relaxentur, donec aliud a nobis fuerit ordinatum. Datum.* Inserted noted (glued to the paper by red wax): *Reverendissimus dominus cardinalis sancti Marci [= Marco Barbo] vult, quod examines in partibus et de processu et examine facto avises sedes retentus personis et rebus m(...), usque ad aliam sedis ordinationi, et quod de cetero nullum amplius admittant.*

¹⁵³ DF 215492 (Buda, 26 September 1489; IVÁNYI, *Bártfa*, 401, n. 2726), ... *Superioribus diebus domino Johanni Hirk dedimus in mandatum, ut omnes pecunias, quas apud vos nomine Sancti Spiritus de Roma haberetis arrestare deberet, ne ipsas aliquando daretis alicui falso questori, qui nomine hospitalis Sancti Spiritus peteret nullum tamen verum mandatum haberet...*

the case of Bishop Agostino Luciani he discovered these issues only when he reached his legatine province.

As mentioned above, the nuncio had an obligation to protect the Church not only from spiritual, but also from material damage, as well as to protect the good believers. Again, these matters could even appear in the Kingdom of Bohemia, where he did not venture. For example, he should have followed the fulfilment of the agreement between Kings Matthias and Wladislas from September 1486, in Jihlava. It stipulated that the two alienated monasteries of Třebíč and Hradisko u Olomouce were to be given back to their respective abbots. Here the name of Jan Filipec pops up again, as the Premonstratensian canonry of Hradisko was pledged to him, and the Benedictine monastery of Třebíč then to Jaroslav of Šternberk, as mentioned in the instructions (n. 9) as well as special mandates for resolving the situation (n. 21). On a much smaller scale, the nuncio was asked to allow the sale of the *domus censuales*, the houses that belonged to the churches of Buda, but were seriously neglected and yielded no profit (n. 34).

Angelo could also be active in the conflict between the Šlik family, descendants of the famous chancellor of Emperor Sigismund Caspar (Kašpar) Šlik, and the burghers of Loket, a town in south-western Bohemia, which was pledged by Sigismund to Šlik. The burghers tried to protect the rights they had always had, whereas the Šlik family wanted to subjugate them under their rule. In brief, the Šliks and the burghers of Loket stood on opposing sides in the conflicts for the Crown of Bohemia; the Loket burghers took an oath of fealty to Matthias in 1471. After a big fire in the town in 1473, the Šliks expelled their opponents, who then stayed in Plauen and tried to organise their return to their hometown. The conflict, which was already addressed by Pope Sixtus IV and his nuncios Lorenzo Roverella and Rudolf of Rudesheim, was protracted into the pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII and well beyond. Innocent even gave indulgences to all supporters of the Loket exiles. Moreover, Angelo Pecchinoli had the faculty to proceed against Matthias Šlik and his sons in support of the exiled burghers, as their case was presented as proscript-

tion because of the loyalty to the papacy, even though the nature of the conflict was different (at least at the start of it) (nn. 9, 19).¹⁵⁴

4. SUCCESSION

A crucial part of Angelo Pecchinoli's legation came fairly unexpectedly. The king died suddenly on 6 April 1490, in Vienna. Angelo's reports afterwards and possibly also before this date are, unfortunately, not preserved. In 1490, he wrote a report on 6 January (n. 42) and then only on 6 April (nn. 46, 47), the day of the king's death. It is hardly believable that there would be no reports in those three months, when the last days of 1489 were so prolific. Then, the next report preserved was dated to 24 June (n. 48), i.e. two and a half months after Matthias's death. In this report, he expressly stated that he sent four different messengers "in the last days," which clearly proves that he wrote a lot and that the letters failed to be preserved. This is very unfortunate, especially for the analysis of the political matters of the Kingdom of Hungary. The succession struggle started right away and there were several pretenders to the throne.¹⁵⁵

The two reports the nuncio wrote after the death of Matthias Corvinus, which are preserved, cannot change the interpretations of the problem of Hungarian succession, but they clearly show a gen-

¹⁵⁴ The conflict was in detail and with knowledge of all older literature analysed by ZDEŇKA HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Loketský spor se Šliky v osmdesátých letech 15. století*, *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 14/2 (2011) 113–146.

¹⁵⁵ From the huge literature cf. at least GYULA SCHÖNHERR, *Hunyadi Corvin János*, Budapest 1894, 84–152; ANDRÁS KUBINYI, *Két sorsdöntő esztendő (1490–1491)*, *Történelmi Szemle* 33 (1991) 1–54; IDEM, *Die Komitatsgeschpanschaften im Jahr 1490 und das Problem der Thronfolge von János Corvin*, Matthias Corvinus. Die Regierung eines Königreichs in Ostmitteleuropa 1458–1490, Herne 1999, 113–135; also IDEM, *Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében*, *Századok* 122 (1988) 147–215, here 198–199; TIBOR NEUMANN, *Békekötés Pozsonyban – országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490–1492)*, *Századok* 144 (2010) 335–372, 145 (2011) 293–347.

eral trajectory. From the start of his legation, Angelo was supposed to praise the illegitimate son of King Matthias, János Corvinus, who had always been treated as a successor to his father's thrones. Already his name is mentioned in the first instructions: the nuncio should celebrate the military prowess of his father and especially his grandfather, and praise him as a follower of the tradition. Also, the king should be congratulated on the designed marriage of his son to Bianca Maria Sforza, the sister of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan (which was concluded *per procuram* in Milan in 1487 by no one else than the often mentioned Bishop Jan Filipec)¹⁵⁶ (n. 9). Later, his role as successor is repeated by the nuncio (nn. 35, 36, 38). However, János Corvinus was not successful in the struggle for the Hungarian throne, even though he had the full support of the now released Archbishop Péter Váradi. The Archbishop of Kalocsa, Bishop of Pécs Zsigmond Ernuszt, and Lőrinc Újlaki (Lovro Iločki, Lawrence of Ilok), Voivode of Bosnia were all called *pacis et quietis turbatores*, by the winning side of King Wladislas. Among other candidates, including King of the Romans Maximilian and Jan Olbracht, the third son of King Casimir IV, Wladislas, King of Bohemia, was the successful one. This is acknowledged by the nuncio who stayed in Hungary until the election and proclamation of the new king on 15 July 1490. The nuncio still reported that the four rebels (János Corvinus and his three above-mentioned supporters) came to terms with the new king on 24 July 1490 (n. 50).

As a postscript, there are two letters sent by Hungarian prelates and by King Wladislas after the royal coronation on 19 September 1490, in Székesfehérvár. Both the "bishops and prelates" and the king praised Angelo for the dignity and authority with which he protected the *libertas ecclesiastica* in the Kingdom of Hungary, while he lived among them (nn. 51, 52). Angelo asked to be recalled back to Rome in his report on 24 June, but stayed at least for one more

¹⁵⁶ SCHÖNHERR, *Hunyadi Corvin János, passim*; PÉTER E. KOVÁCS, *Corvin János házasága és a magyar diplomácia*, Századok 137 (2003) 955–971; KALOUS, *Jan Filipec*, 24–26.

month, the date of his last preserved report. Actually, he must have left only after the coronation of the king in the end of September. It would only make sense for him to carry the recommendation letters by the prelates of the kingdom and by the king on his person, to prove he fulfilled his assignment correctly and as best as he could; the king expressly said: *Cui has litteras dedi, ut testatissimum facerem reverendam paternitatem suam mihi meisque omnibus charissimam fuisse, dignitati sanctissime sedis vestre optime satisfacisse et inter nos ita versatam, ut iocundissime gratissimeque consuetudinis oblivisci diu non possumus. Hunc itaque ut virum gravissimum integerrimum et de sede apostolica optime meritum pedibus sanctitatis vestre unanecum diligentissime commendo (n. 52).*

IV. THE REPORTS AND THEIR EDITION

I. A NOTE ON THE REPORTS

The reports are a central part of this edition. They were described in the above text from the point of preservation and content, as well as from the formal point of view of diplomacy. They contain direct speech reports and ciphers. In this, they are not atypical and do not differ from the reports or dispatches from other contemporary papal legates and nuncios or Italian diplomatic agents in general. Most of the reports, as stated above, were in all probability written by Bernardinus de Galesio, who acted as a scribe of the nuncio. The reports were addressed to the pope himself, which means they were received by the chancery. Only one of the preserved reports was addressed to a cardinal in a copy (n. 24), which means the nuncio was surely aware of Cardinal Marco Barbo being a specialist on Central Europe. One other letter was adapted (shortened) and sent to cardinal vicechancellor of the Church, Cardinal Roderigo Borja (n. 47). The reports are naturally written in Latin, as the papal diplomacy resorted to Italian only in the first decades of the sixteenth century, unlike the rest of Italy (with the exception of Venice). There are few, limited cases when Angelo recorded local words to be precise, when speaking about certain concepts, e.g. in n. 35 *oldas* (for a “payment to an occupation army” in German), *sturma* (for an “attack” in German), and even local swear words, *curva fia olas* (“Italian son of a bitch” in Hungarian); or used Italian for description for specifics of the Italian situation, e.g. in n. 24 *capitaneum dele barche armate* or *lo*

capitano dela marcha (for a Venetian naval captain in the Adriatic and a military captain on the ground in Ancona).

Some concepts and events described by the reports are explained in the footnotes. The identification of individuals was also attempted, even though it was not possible to find all the names and identify all the persons. Standard reference works have been used, which are not quoted in the footnotes of the edition so as not to make it too heavy. Still, however, I am greatly indebted to the authors of these works.¹⁵⁷ Special cases, which had to be treated with the help of other literature, are properly footnoted.

2. A NOTE ON THE EDITION

The texts of the edition definitely do not form a compact dossier. They are texts from various registers of the Vatican archives (registers of bulls, of brevia, of Chamber material, and *miscellanea*), original

¹⁵⁷ For the identification and information on all the Papal Chancery personnel, see THOMAS FRENZ, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471–1527)*, Tübingen 1986 and IDEM, *Repertorium officiorum Romane Curie* (<https://www.phil.unipassau.de/bistbw/forschung/rorc/>) (accessed: 26 May 2020); on cardinals, SALVADOR MIRANDA, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (<http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas>); on cardinals and bishops, CONRADUS EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 2, 1431–1503, Münster 1914; on bishops of Hungary and parts of Croatia, C. TÓTH–HORVÁTH–NEUMANN–PÁLOSFALVI, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, vol. 1; other prelates of Hungary, FERENCZ KOLLÁNYI, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900*, Esztergom 1900; NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Az esztergomi székeséptanulmányok a 15. században*, part 1, *Akanonoki testület és az egyetemjárás*, Budapest 2015; on other legates and nuncios, KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*; and other diplomatic envoys, FEDELES, *A Magyar Királyság*; JOLÁN BALOGH, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, vol. 1, *Adattár*, Budapest 1966, 671–682; VILMOS FRANKÓI, *Mátyás király magyar diplomatái*, *Századok* 32 (1898) 1–14, 97–112, 385–404, 481–489, 769–781, 865–875; 33 (1899) 1–8, 291–309, 389–410, 773–787, 869–878; for Italians in general, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma 1960– (<http://www.treccani.it>); for itinerary of the king, whom the nuncio followed, see RICHÁRD HORVÁTH, *Itineraria regis Matthiae Corvini et reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458–[1476]–1490)*, Budapest 2011.

charters and letters. The original letters come in various forms and the most central to the edition are naturally the reports of the nuncio.

In principle, all the abbreviations were spelled out. The reports often contain enciphered words or sentences, in a few cases whole paragraphs and one letter is enciphered as a whole. In most of the cases, the ciphers are deciphered above the line, but for the purpose of the edition they are newly deciphered; thus, the edition is based on the original letter and not on the deciphering of the Chancery. All words that were enciphered are written in *italics* in the edition.

The texts themselves, as they come from various sources, are – as a rule – not normalised. The spelling and the word forms are kept as close to the preserved texts as possible, while paying attention to the understandability of the individual texts. In the case of multiple manuscripts for single texts, only the more important variants were listed (and not the spelling variants, capital letters, double or single consonants, or minor changes to the word order). Capital letters were used in the cases of proper names and for the names of God (*Deus*, *Dominus* etc.). For the sake of clarity, the punctuation has been added and partially changed, so that no confusing commas lie between cohesive sentences parts and elements. The same reason lies behind the introduction of the quotation marks into the text, as Pecchinoli likes to record direct speeches of himself as well as his partners in discussions.

DOCUMENTS

I.

Roma, 6 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to King Matthias Corvinus

The pope informs the king that he provided the Church of Olomouc to János Vitéz the Younger, the orator of King Matthias in Rome. Currently, the bishopric is held by Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad, who is supposed to give it over to Vitéz; however, on request of Roderigo Borja (Borgia), the vice-chancellor of the Church (who was asked by the king to do so), the ecclesiastical censures against Filipec are stopped and suspended for three months. The king is urged to encourage Filipec to give the bishopric over within the specified time limit. Everything will be communicated to the king by the nuncio [Angelo Pecchinoli], who is soon to be dispatched by the pope.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 404v–405r. – ED.: TELEKI, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. 12, 413–414, n. DCLXXVII.

Io. Crothonien.^{1a}

Ad regem Hungarie.

Carissime in Christo fili noster salutem. Scripsimus iam pluries maiestati tue, quod volentes providere diutine vacationi ecclesie Olomucensi² et gravi iacture, que inde verisimiliter sequi videbatur, presertim cum dicta ecclesia inter manus hereticorum existat. Proverideramus de illa venerabili fratri Iohanni episcopo Syrimiensi,³ oratori tuo apud nos constituto. Sperantes ipsum sua probitate et virtute posse eidem ecclesie sic vacanti satis et oportune prodesse. Et cum intelligeremus predictam ecclesiam a venerabili fratre Iohanne

¹ Iohannes de Viterbio, secretarius (1487–1496), bishop of Crotona (Cotrone) in Calabria (1481–1496).

² Olomouc, a city in Moravia, the seat of the only medieval bishopric in the land. The bishopric was vacated after the death of bishop Prothasius z Boskovic (d. 1482); the chapter elected (on the instigation of King Matthias Corvinus) Jan Filipec in 1483; see KALOUS, *Spor o biskupství olomoucké*.

³ János Vitéz the Younger (d. 1499), bishop of Srem (Sremska Mitrovica) (1481–1489), nominated as bishop of Olomouc, later bishop of Veszprém (1489–1499); also King Matthias's orator at the papal court (1476–1478, 1486–1490).

episcopo Varadiensi¹ detineri, posteaquam ipsum benigne moveramus, ut iuxta nostram provisionem predictae ecclesie occurreretur possessionem eidem oratori tuo assignaret, et nihilominus id facere recusaret, opus fuit, ut apostolica provisio iam facta debitum assequeretur effectum, et necessitati predictae ecclesie occurreretur contra ipsum Varadiensem ad censuras ecclesiasticas devenire, sicut devenimus. Prout etiam maiestati tue venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Portuensis,² sancte Romane ecclesie vicecancellarius, ut predictas censuras suspendere dignaremur, instanter nobis supplicavit. Nos autem, licet hoc durum admodum ac periculosum esse evidenter appareret, ut tam diu ecclesia ipsa pastore careret et predictus Varadiensis episcopus sic renitens esset provisionibus apostolicis in grave periculum anime sue et in contemptum mandatorum nostrorum in preiudicium ipsius Syrimiensi episcopi, quem tue [fol. 405r] maiestati commendatum esse cupimus, nihilominus volentes in omnibus, quantum cum Deo possumus, desyderio maiestatis tue complacere dictas censuras contemplatione tua tenore presentium ad tres menses postquam he nostre littere tue maiestati presentabuntur, suspendimus. Hortantes te, fili carissime, ut interea omnino cures et efficias, ut idem Varadiensis episcopus predictam ecclesiam iuxta nostram provisionem prefato episcopo Syrimiensi seu eius procuratori liberam et expeditam assignet, alioquin elapsis predictis tribus mensibus volumus dictas censuras et facultatem nostris executoribus super his concessas sicut antea perdurare ac subsistere in suis viribus. Quemadmodum etiam latius nostra ex parte communicabit cum maiestate tua nuncius noster³ propediem ad te destinandus. Datum ut supra.⁴

¹ Jan Filipec (d. 1509), bishop of Várad (1476–1490), elected bishop of Olomouc by the chapter in 1483 on the suggestion of King Matthias, but never confirmed by the pope in this position.

² Roderigo Borja (Borgia), cardinal-bishop of Porto; later pope Alexander VI (d. 1503), vicechancellor of the Church (1457–1492).

³ Here, the first reference to Angelo Pecchinoli, the future nuncio with the power of legate *de latere*.

⁴ 6 August 1488; fol. 404v: Datum Rome, die VI Augusti 1488, anno quarto.

Alerien.¹

^a Io. Crothonien.] *in marg.*

2.

Roma, 11 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to King Matthias Corvinus

The pope informs the king that he has written previously to him about the bishopric of Olomouc. The content is close to the previous breve about the same matter. The bishopric of Olomouc was provided to János Vitéz the Younger, but it is kept by Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad, who does not want to cede it to the new candidate. Ecclesiastical censures should be used against him, as the king knows. The pope was approached by Miklós Bacscai, an envoy of the king, by Roderigo Borja (Borgia), the vicechancellor of the Church, and also by János Vitéz himself, with the king's request to postpone the censures for six months. Jan Filipec should be temporarily absolved, and the censures suspended for three months. The king is urged to ensure the bishopric is handed over to Vitéz. Everything will be communicated to the king by the nuncio [Angelo Pecchinoli], who is soon to be dispatched by the pope.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 542r–542v (*cf.*, *ibid.*, fol. 404v–405r, 6 August 1488). – CONCEPT: AAV Instr. Misc. 4151. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 514, n. DCCIX; FRAKNÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 241–242, n. CLXXXIX.

Hie. Balbanus^{2a}

Regi Ungarie.

Charissime in Christo fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Scripsimus saepe maiestati tuae, quod volentes providere

¹ Ardicinus de la Porta, referendarius, bishop of Aleria in Corsica (Aleriensis) 1475–1493; from 9 March 1489 cardinal, from 1490 also appointed bishop of Olomouc.

² Hieronimus Balbanus, secretarius (1486–1492/3).

diutine vacationi ecclesiae Olomucensis¹ et gravi iacturae, quae inde verisimiliter sequi videbatur. Praesertim cum inter manus haereticorum existat, provideramus de illa venerabili fratri Iohanni episcopo Syrimiensi,² oratori tuo apud nos constituto. Sperantes eidem ecclesiae ex eius regimine satis et oportune provisum. Et cum postea intellexissemus praedictam ecclesiam a venerabili fratre Iohanne episcopo Varadiensi³ detineri, benigne eum monuimus, ut iuxta nostram provisionem praedictae ecclesiae possessionem eidem oratori tuo assignaret. Quod cum facere recusasset, opus fuit iusticia exigente contra ipsum episcopum Varadiensem ad censuras ecclesiasticas devenire. Prout et maiestati tuae cognitum esse debet. Verum [fol. 542v] nuper veniens ad nos dilectus filius Nicolaus Bozchai,⁴ nuncius tuus cum litteris maiestatis tuae tam ipse, quam venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Portuensis,⁵ sanctae Romanae ecclesiae vicecancellarius, necnon praefatus orator <tutus>^b, ut praedictas censuras ad sex menses suspendere et ipsum Varadiensem interim ab censuris absolvere dignaremur. Nos licet hoc a iuris ordine deviare et ipsi ecclesiae incommodum afferre aperte videremus, simul et consyderaremus id tendere in praeiudicium ipsius Syrimiensi episcopi, quem apud maiestatem tuam commendatissimum esse vellemus, nihilominus volentes aliqua in parte precibus tuae maiestatis, quantum cum Deo possumus satisfacere, dictas censuras contemplatione tua tenore presentium ad tres menses dumtaxat, postquam hae nostrae litterae tuae maiestati praesentabuntur, suspendimus et per idem tempus praefatum Varadiensem a supradictis censuris absolvimus. Hortantes maiestatem tuam, ut interea omnino

¹ The election of the chapter in 1483 was not confirmed by the pope, even though in reality the diocese was administered by Jan Filipec.

² János Vitéz the Younger.

³ Jan Filipec.

⁴ Miklós Bacskai, archidiaconus of Ung (1484–1496), in 1488 an envoy of King Matthias to Rome; later bishop of Srem (1500), bishop of Nitra (1501–1503), and bishop of Transylvania (1503–1504). Cf. NORBERT C. TÓTH, *A püspök és a prépost: a két Bacskai Miklós*, Turul 88 (2015) 144–146.

⁵ Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

curet et efficiat, quod praefatus Varadiensis episcopus praedictam ecclesiam iuxta nostram provisionem praefato episcopo Syrimiensi seu eius procuratori liberam et expeditam dimittat et assignet, alioquin elapsis praedictis tribus mensibus volumus dictas censuras et facultatem ipsas exequendi nostris executoribus concessas sicut antea perdurare. Quemadmodum etiam latius nostra ex parte communicabit cum maiestate tua nuncius noster¹ propediem ad te destinandus. Datum Romae, die XI Augusti 1488, anno quarto.

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b tuus] *add. Theiner et MVH.*

3.

Roma, 20 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope informs Angelo about the salary for his legation to King of Hungary and Bohemia Matthias Corvinus. The nuncio is supposed to have 120 ducats per month from the revenues of the archbishopric of Kalocsa (the archbishop of Kalocsa, Péter Váradi, was imprisoned by the king), if he is able to secure them. If not, he is entitled to 100 ducats per month directly from revenues of the Apostolic Chamber.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 46, fol. 188v.

Declaratio salarii domini episcopi Ortani, oratoris in Hungariam.^a
Innocentius papa VIII

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum in presentiarum fraternitatem tuam ad regna Hungarie illisque adiacentes partes atque regna pro nostris et sedis apostolice obeundis negotiis cum potestate legati de latere nostrum et dicte sedis nuntium et oratorem destinemus, quo facilius commissa fraternitati tue negotia obire valeas, salarium centum et viginti ducatorum auri de

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli.

camera super fructibus ecclesie Colocensis,¹ de cuius archiepiscopi de-
tentione et carceratione precipue agitur, mense singulo, donec lega-
tionis huiusmodi fungeris, constituimus et assignamus, prout in aliis
nostris desuper confectis litteris plenius continetur. Quod si ex fructibus
dicte ecclesie summam predictam recipere aut aliter exigere non valeres,
salarium centum ducatorum mense singulo, ut prefertur, declaramus
mentis et intentionis nostre esse ex fructibus camere nostre apostolice
tibi deberi. Prout presentium tenore ex nunc super fructibus dicte
nostre camere summam predictam constituimus et assignamus man-
dantes propterea thesaurario nostro ac dicte camere presidentibus, ut
tibi de salario prefato centum ducatorum mense singulo, donec com-
missionis huiusmodi offitio fungeris respondeant et responderi manent,
decernentes ac declarantes, nihilominus intentionis nostre fore et esse,
ut omne ad totum, quod ex fructibus dicte ecclesie Colocensis aut alias a
collectoribus nostris exegeris, receperis vel levaveris, id summam ex
camera nostra apostolica tibi debendam extenuet atque excomputet.
Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die XX
Augusti MCCCCLXXXVIII, anno quarto.

Hie. Balbanus²

[*a tergo:*] Venerabili fratri episcopo Ortano oratori nostro.^b

Presentatum in camera apostolica coram dominis, qui ipsum
acceptaverunt et obtulerunt se paratos obedire et adimplere, quan-
tum in eo continetur etc.³

B. de Spello⁴

^a Declaratio ... Hungariam] *in marg.* ^b a tergo ... nostro] *in marg.*

¹ Kalocsa, archbishopric in Southern Hungary. The archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács Pé-
ter Váradi was imprisoned by the king at that time. Releasing the archbishop was one
of the prime tasks of Angelo.

² Hieronimus Balbanus, secretarius (1486–1492/3).

³ Cf. n. 22.

⁴ Baptista de Spello, notarius camere (1480–1489).

4.

Roma, 26 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope requests the bishop of Orte to make a visitation to two towns of the diocese of Civita Castellana, namely in Sant'Oreste and Ponzano Romano before he leaves for the legation in Hungary. At the same time, the pope orders the abbot and the community of the monastery of St Paul extra muros urbis, to whom the cities belong *in temporalibus*, to send their vicars and officials for the visitation there. The bishop of Orte is impowered to use excommunication *late sententie* if they obstruct his visitation in any way. The bishop also obtained the faculty to excommunicate and suspend anyone who might object or contradict his visitation on the spot.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 455v–456r. – ED.: JUSTI FONTANINI *Forojuliensis De antiquitatibus Hortae*, 473–474; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 345, n. 1 (according to Fontanini).

Io. Gerona^{1a}

Episcopopo Ortano.

Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Ne forte ecclesie tue Civitatis Castellane² ex absentia tua, cum te ad regna Hungarie pro nonnullis nostris et sedis apostolice negociis impresentiarum mittamus, preiudicium generetur, volumus, ut inter eundum oppida Horestis³ et Ponzani⁴, que de diocesi Castellana esse asseris, pro tuo iure episcopali visites et alia facias, que ad prefatum visitationis officium de iure spectant et pertinent. Declaramus tamen mentis nostre non esse, quod preiudicium aliquod [*fol. 456r*] fieri debeat his, qui forte in premissis interesse aliquod habere pretenderent, sed iura tam tua, quam quorumvis aliorum remanere propterea illesa. Mandamus ni-

¹ Iohannes Gerona, scriptor cancellarie (1472–1486, 1487–1494), clericus camere (1486–1494), secretarius (1487–1494), previously also abbreviator, notarius camere, magister registri cancellarie.

² The dioceses of Orte and Civita Castellana were united in the person of the bishop in 1437 and officially in 1439.

³ Sant'Oreste, 10 km southeast of Civita Castellana.

⁴ Ponzano Romano, 5 km further northeast of Sant'Oreste.

hilominus dilectis filiis abbati, priori, cellerario ac monachis monasterii sancti Pauli extra muros urbis,¹ ad quos dicta oppida in temporalibus subesse noscuntur ac dictorum oppidorum vicariis et officialibus in virtute sancte obedientie, quatenus te in dictis oppidis cum honore et reverentia recipiant et admittant. Quod si per eos aut eorum aliquem impedimentum vel molestia aliqua fieri contigerit, presentium tenore tibi concedimus, ut eisdem abbati, priori, cellerario, officialibus atque aliis, ad quos spectat auctoritate nostra sub excommunicationis late sententie ac suspensionis a divinis penis mandes, quibus etiam nos presentium tenore sub hisdem penis mandamus, quatenus te ad visitationis huiusmodi officium exercendum admittant, teque cum honore et reverentia recipiant, dantes et concedentes tibi facultatem omnes et singulos, qui in premissis rebelles vel alias verbo vel facto contradictores forent, excommunicandi et suspendendi ac excommunicatos et suspensos declarandi et publicandi cum premissis penarum et censurarum aggravatione et reaggravatione et alia faciendi, que in premissis oportuna et necessaria tibi videbuntur. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Rome etc., die XXVI Augusti 1488, anno 40.

^a Io. Gerona] *in marg.*

¹ Benedictine abbey at the Basilica of St Paul Outside the Walls of Rome.

5.

*Roma, 26 August 1488**Pope Innocent VIII to a local official*

The pope writes to someone (probably a local official), who hinders the canonical visitation of Bishop Angelo Pecchinoli in his diocese of Civita Castellana, namely in the towns of Sant'Oreste and Ponzano, before he left for his legation. This person roused the people of the towns against the bishop, who wanted the pope to provide a solution. The pope mandates the official to allow Pecchinoli to perform full visitation without any violation of his rights. The bishop has the faculty to use ecclesiastical penalties, if needed.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 458v. – CONCEPT: AAV Arm. XL 1, fol. 105r, n. 76.

Io. Gerona¹

Dilecto filio.

Dilecte fili salutem. Conquestus est nobis venerabilis frater Angelus episcopus Civitatis Castellane, quod cum ipse ire voluerit ad exercendum officium visitacionis in castellis Santionestis² et Ponzani,³ que intra fines ecclesie sue civitatis sive diocesis Castellane esse asserit, esse noscuntur, tu eum de facto impedieris, quinimo et homines dictorum locorum ad resistendum eidem episcopo, ne huiusmodi officium exerceret, animaveris. Quapropter nobis humiliter supplicavit, dignaremur ei in premissis de oportuno remedio providere. Nos consyderantes equitati non convenire, quod alterius iura presertim episcopalia per quempiam maxime per religiosos usurpetur, tibi presentium tenore in virtute sancte obedientie mandamus, quatenus eundem episcopum ad dicta castella visitanda venientem admittas ac cum honore et reverentia, ut par est, recipias ipsumque libere visitationis sue officium exercere permittas, salvo tamen iure monasterii sancti

¹ Iohannes Gerona.

² Sant'Oreste.

³ Ponzano Romano.

Pauli et aliorum quoruncunque ius in hoc habere pretenduntium, cui nullatenus intendimus per presentes derogare. Quod si aliter feceris, eidem episcopo dedimus in mandatis, ut tam contra te, quam alios cuiusvis status, gradus vel conditionis fuerint, ad censurarum ecclesiasticarum aliarumque penarum procedat. Sententias autem et penas, quas in rebelles constituet ratas habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum ut supra.¹

A. Alerien.²

6.

Roma, 26 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with the faculty to grant a licence to Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad, to enter any of the religious orders after he resigns from all offices and hands over all his benefices to the nuncio.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 460v–461r. – ED.: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n. s., vol. 4, 478–479, n. 1232; KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 347–348.

Io. Crothonien.^{3a}

Episcopo Ortano ad regna Ungarie⁴ cum potestate legati de latere nuncio et oratori nostro.

Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Pro parte venerabilis fratris nostri Iohannis episcopi Varadiensis⁵ nobis nuper fuit expositum,

¹ fol. 456v: Rome etc. die XXVI Augusti 1488 anno 4.o.

² Ardicinus de la Porta.

³ Iohannes de Viterbio.

⁴ Kingdoms of Hungary are the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia etc. The plural might also include the Kingdom of Bohemia, as it was under the rule of Matthias Corvinus (as King of Bohemia) and thus in personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary, even though Bohemia was ruled by other King of Bohemia in Prague, King Wladislas.

⁵ Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad (1476–1490).

quod ipse zelo devotionis accensus aliquam ex probatis religionibus ingredi et in illa professionem emittere regularem desyderat, si ad id sedis apostolice licentia [fol. 461r] et adsensus accederet, de licentia prefata nobis ex parte eiusdem episcopi fuit humiliter supplicatum. Nos itaque consyderantes, quod que spiritu Dei aguntur, legibus non subiacent, fraternitati tue presentium tenore committimus et mandamus, quod si prefatus Iohannes ecclesie sue Varadiensi et alia ecclesiastica beneficia, que obtinet, in manibus tuis pure et libere cedere voluerit, quam cessionem recipiendi etiam presentium tenore facultatem tibi concedimus eidem Iohanni auctoritate nostra apostolica licentiam pariter et facultatem intrandi aliquam ex probatis religionibus et in illa habitum regularemque professionem etiam ante annum probationis sumendi et emittendi concedas et tribuas, prioribus quoque abbatibus et aliis officialibus ordinis et religionis, quam elegerit, eadem nostra auctoritate sub censuris et penis ecclesiasticis, de quibus tibi videtur, mandes, quod eundem Iohannem recipiant, paternaque, ut par est, caritate illum tractent, super quibus plenam et liberam harum serie concedimus fraternitati tue facultatem.¹ Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ordinis religionis, quam ipse Iohannes elegerit, indultis ac privilegiis ceterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Rome etc., die XXVI Augusti 1488. anno 40. Alerien.²

^a Io. Crothonien.] *in marg.*

¹ Jan Filipec entered the Franciscan Order on 10 June 1492 in Wrocław.

² Ardicinus de la Porta.

7.

Roma, 26 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with a faculty to absolve Orbán Nagylucsei, Bishop of Eger and the royal treasurer, from irregularity, as he administered a service after being involved in bloodshed. On orders of the king the bishop played a part in organising a campaign against a famous robber who was captured and later hanged on gallows by the secular power.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 461r–461v. – ED.: KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 348.

Io. Crothonien.^{1a}

Episcopo Ortano

Venerabilis frater salutem. Significavit nobis venerabilis frater noster Urbanus episcopus Agriensis,² quod alias, cum carissimo in Christo filio nostro Mathie Hungarie regi illustrissimi nunciatum foret, quod quidam .. (*sic*) publicus et famosus latro publica itinera in regnis Hungarie obsideret [*fol. 461v*] et viatores spoliaret, ipse Urbanus de mandato ipsius regis, cuius thesaurarius³ existit, commisit suis hominibus et operam dedit efficacem, ut ipse N. caperetur et curie traderetur seculari, qui postea suis id exigentibus culpis et demeritis furca suspensus exitit; irregularitatis notam etiam, quia divinis se postea immiscuit, propterea temere incurrendo, de absolutionis beneficio sibi per sedem apostolicam provideri humiliter supplicavit. Nos itaque consyderantes, quod sedes predicta, que pia mater est recurrentibus ad eam cum humilitate filiis propiciam se exhibet et benignam fraternitati tue presencium tenore committimus et mandamus, quod eundem a premissis censuris et irregularitate, quas premissorum occasione contraxit, si id humiliter petierit, auctoritate nostra apostolica in forma ecclesie consueta absolvas ac illi pro modo culpe penitentiam iniungas

¹ Iohannes de Viterbio.

² Orbán Nagylucsei, bishop of Eger (1486–1491).

³ Orbán Nagylucsei was a royal treasurer (1478–1490).

salutarem, super quibus omnibus et singulis harum serie plenam et liberam fraternitati tue concedimus facultatem. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis etc. Datum ut supra.¹ A. Alerien.²

^a Io. Crothonien.] *in marg.*

8.

Roma, 26 August 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with the faculty to absolve Tamás Bakóc, Bishop of Győr and the royal secretary, from irregularity, as he administered holy service after being involved in bloodshed. On the orders of the king, the bishop played a part in organising an assault at a castle held by some German laymen, who robbed a royal caravan with supplies, during which a number of people were killed.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 461v–462r. – ED.: KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 349.

Io. Crothonien.^{3a}

Episcopo Ortano.

Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Significavit nobis venerabilis frater noster .. (*sic*) episcopus <Iauriensis>,^{4b} quod cum quidam laici Teutonici ex quadam arce, quam tenebant, facerent, quominus commeatus et alia necessaria in castra carissimi in Christo filii nostri Mathie Ungarie regis illustrissimi deferri possent, ipse episcopus de mandato eiusdem regis, cuius secretarius⁵ existit, operam dedit efficacem, ut tam arx ipsa, quam illi, qui commeatus intercipient, caperentur. In qua captura predicti laici et plures cum illis occisi sunt.

¹ 26 August 1488, fol. 461r: Datum Rome etc. die XXVI. Augusti 1488. anno 4.o.

² Ardicinus de la Porta.

³ Iohannes de Viterbio.

⁴ Tamás Bakóc, bishop of Győr (1487–1494).

⁵ Tamás Bakóc was a royal secretary (1480–1489).

Irregularitatis notam etiam, quidem [fol. 462r] divinis se postea immiscuit, propterea temere incurrendo de absolutionis beneficio nobis humiliter supplicavit. Nos itaque consyderantes, quod sedes apostolica pia mater recurrentibus ad eam cum humilitate filiis propiciam se exhibet et benignam fraternitati tue presentium tenore committimus et mandamus, quatenus eundem episcopum a prefata irregularitatis nota sive macula, quam premissorum occasione contraxit, si id humiliter petierit, auctoritate nostra apostolica absolvas in forma ecclesie consueta et iniungas pro modo culpe penitentiam salutarem, super quibus omnibus et singulis plenam et liberam harum serie concedimus facultatem. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum ut supra.¹

A. Alerien.²

^a Io. Crothonien.] *in marg.* ^b Iauriensis] Ianuen. *ms., corr. per ed.*

9.

*s.d. [Rome, before ?? 1 September 1488]
Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli*

The pope gives Angelo instructions as the nuncio leaves for his legation in Hungary. After arriving to Hungary, the nuncio should greet the king and present the matters of his legation. – The pope loves and supports peace and especially detests the war between King of Hungary and the Emperor. These forces could be used against the Turks, who rejoice in the Christian princes' discord. If anyone has anything against the Emperor, it should be solved through the Apostolic See. The nuncio should work in this matter, even though it might seem hopeless, as many were already involved in the solution. He should tell the king that the Pope takes the matter very seriously and inspire his mind towards peace, even if in secret. The king should do this for the 'common good.' The nuncio should facilitate negotiations between the King of Hungary and the Emperor. The king should send his

¹ 6 August 1488, fol. 461r: Datum Rome etc. die XXVI. Augusti 1488. anno 4.o.

² Ardicinus de la Porta.

own orators and institute a truce, and finally a peace between the two, with the help of the pope's orator to the Emperor. – The pope was previously referred by an orator of the king about the incarceration of the Archbishop of Kalocsa [Péter Váradi] and the king asked for a papal envoy who would administer justice to the king. After praising the merits of the king in the fight against the Turks and the Bohemians, the nuncio should persuade the king to alleviate the imprisonment of the archbishop, who should be justly tried by the ecclesiastical court. – The nuncio should enquire himself and report back to Rome what he learnt. Also, the nuncio should then institute the courtly procedure, which should take place in presence of the archbishop in a place less subject to the king's jurisdiction (Esztergom) or a place, which does not immediately recognise the king (Vienna, Wiener Neustadt) or a place nearby, so that the archbishop can freely take part in the judgement. The king should be reminded that this is a case of an archbishop who was promoted on the king's own biddings to the Apostolic See. If the king offers such an option, the nuncio should take the archbishop into his care and custody (details are given about the terms of bail and custody of the archbishop). – The archbishop will receive the faculty to have advocates and procurators in the process, which should be led either *per viam accusationis* or *inquisitionis*, as decided by the king. The nuncio has the powers to use ecclesiastical censures against all who do not answer in the process correctly according to the truth. – The nuncio should remind the king that the cases of ecclesiastical persons should be treated by ecclesiastical courts. – There are others in the kingdom, who reject – under the pretext of papal privileges – being tried by their ordinary judges. All such privileges should be annulled with the exception of those who were officials of the Roman curia or who are apostolic notaries. The nuncio can proceed against all such cases. – The nuncio should proceed against those clerics in Silesia who borrow money and hide the interest as mortgages, as reported by the orators of the king. The contacts should be cancelled and the clerics punished with ecclesiastical censures. – In these kingdoms (meaning Silesia), there are barons, knights, and lower persons who do not pay tithes. The nuncio should proceed against them. – The nuncio carries an apostolic letter with him, with which he can revoke all the powers of all papal orators and nuncios, especially of the bishop of Transylvania [László Geréb of Vingárt, papal legate *cum potestate legati de latere*]. As revocation can be disturbing to the king, the nuncio has also letters which return all the powers to the bishop of Transylvania after the nuncio's departure. – After the nuncio deals with the matter of the archbishop, he should focus on the issue of his brother Paul

[Várad], provost of Esztergom, and Leontius [János Telegdi], provost of Pécs, who are both imprisoned. – The nuncio should also greet the queen and explain how much the pope longs for peace. The nuncio should implore her to help in the matter of peace negotiations between the king and the Emperor, as well as in the case of the archbishop. The queen should urge her spouse to uphold the liberty of the church. – The bishop of Várad [Jan Filipec], who illegally took possession of the bishopric of Olomouc, which was vacant after the death of Prothasius, bishop of Olomouc, and was given to the bishop of Srem [János Vitéz the Younger], should hand it over to the bishop of Srem. If he resists, the nuncio should proceed against him with ecclesiastical censures. – The nuncio should enquire in the matters of Matthias Šlik and his sons, who deprived the burghers of Loket, in the diocese of Prague, of all their properties and expelled them. The archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishop of Wrocław are also commissioned with that matter. – The nuncio should praise the king's zeal for fighting the Turks and encourage him to intensify his efforts. He should assure the king that the pope considers the present crusade as the most serious issue and that he already started exhorting other Christian princes to join the enterprise. As the king does not have legitimate offspring, his son János Corvinus should follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather and be educated in military matters. The nuncio should congratulate him on the bond concluded between the king and the duke of Milan, which brings hope for peace and concord in the region (the wedding of János Corvinus with Bianca Maria Sforza). – Speaking directly to János Corvinus, the nuncio should greet him and exhort him in keeping the glory of his father and grandfather, congratulate him on his wedding with the sister of the duke of Milan and to encourage him to urge his father to keep the liberty of the church. – The nuncio should work with the king to reinstate the property (??) of the church of Ráb [in Dalmatia]. – According to the peace treaty between king Matthias of Hungary [and Bohemia] and Wladislas (Vladislav) of Bohemia, the monasteries of Hradisko [close to Olomouc] and Třebíč, which were pawned to the bishop of Várad and Jaroslav of Šternberk respectively, should be returned to the church, to the hands of Matthias and the abbots of the monasteries. – The nuncio should press to the king and the queen that those who appeal to the Apostolic See should be free to do it; those, who hinder this, should be punished according to the bull read at Cena Domini. – In the matters of annulment of the treaty with Ancona, the nuncio should proceed according to his instructions. – The nuncio should request the king to follow the papal provision of the bishopric of Senj. – The nuncio should proceed in

the matter of possible heresy of the bishop of Várad according to his instructions. He should be allowed to enter any religious order after he renounces all the offices and benefices at the hands of the nuncio. – The nuncio should use all his powers and faculties with care and prudence, especially in collating the benefices.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Misc., Arm. II 56, fol. 153r–170v (A); Arm. II 7, fol. 492r–508v (B); Arm. II 30, fol. 93r–100r (C); Arm. II 53, fol. 128r–140v (D) (all four manuscripts from the late sixteenth century). Text edited from vol. 56, other volumes only for variant readings; vol. 56 also contains divisions in paragraphs with letter headings in the margins, which are kept here. – ED.: TELEKI, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarország*, vol. 12, 417–432, n. DCCLXXX; ARTNER–SZOVÁK–TÖRÖK–TUSOR, eds., “*Magyarország*”, 134–137, n. 113 (selectively).

Instructiones pro episcopo Ortano^a

Instructiones gerendorum per nuntium et oratorem apostolicum ad serenissimum dominum^b regem Hungariae destinandum^c

Imprimis cum applicuerit^d,¹ salutabit dominum regem^e nomine sanctissimi domini nostri ac etiam nomine sue sanctitatis benedicet eidem verbo, demum^f presentabit breve et referet prudenter et accurate infrascripta, videlicet:

licet A^g

Quod sanctissimus dominus noster, cui superna^h dispositione cura dominiciⁱ gregis [*D fol. 128v*] demandata est,^j ea animi sui^k solitudine et vigili cura ducitur,^l ut nihil preter pacem et Christi fidelium unionem et concordiam in desideriis cordis sui cogitet. Quo fit, ut sue sanctitati omnes, quae^m inter Christi fideles exoriunturⁿ discordiae et dissensiones molestissime sunt,^o [*B fol. 492v*] precipue tamen bella, que inter principes, ut [*A fol. 153v*] illa, que nunc^p satore hoste humani generis inter^q suam maiestatem et serenissimum caesarem fervent, detestatur, ob que tanta populorum Christianorum cedes et strages exoritur, que etiam meminisse abhorret animus,^r urbes, provincie et regna populationibus vastantur et mala omnia

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli came to the court of Matthias Corvinus in Vienna possibly sometime in late September or in October 1488. His activity, however, is known only from early December on.

passim, que quisque sanê mentis^s cogitare potest, ^t eveniunt. Quod si furor iste armorum pari consensu in perfidiam Turchorum^u rabiem verteretur, actum foret de illorum nephando imperio, qui discordiis nostris letantur, et eorum vires^v nostris malis (proh dolor) augescunt, ad que obeunda et absolvenda sua sanctitas, ut par est, et pastoralis officii sui^w cura expostulat, semper etiam supra vires^x paratissima existit, etiam si caput hiis obiectare periculis^y expediat. Unde illa non sine cordis et animi gemitu suam celsitudinem per viscera misericordiae Dei adhortatur et monet, ut ab armis et via facti^z [*B fol. 493r*] abstineat compescatque animum et belli huius ardorem deponat reputetque secum, si quid habet adversus caesarem per [*A fol. 154r*] sedem apostolicam [*D fol. 129r*] et suam sanctitatem, que Dei omnipotentis voluntate et dispositione iudex est regum, principum et Christi fidelium omnium, terminari et componi oportere.^a Nam scriptum est, 'et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrê, omnes [*C fol. 93v*] gentes servient ei'.¹

Quod si frustra temptari^b omnia nuntius viderit, nec spes ulla salutis pro armorum depositione superesset,^c dicat celsitudini sue, quod dominus noster, licet rem hanc difficilem semper iudicaverit, ob id vel maxime quod foelici recordationis^d Paulus secundus² et Sixtus^{3e} predecessores sui^f tot conatibus totque insignibus viris^g et prelatis^h, quorumⁱ numero et sancte Romanę ecclesię cardinales^j dignissimi legati^k fuerint,¹ studuerint^m rem componere et frustra omnia culpis forsitan nostris id exigentibus temptataⁿ sint, attamen pastoralis officii sui^o esse duxit, [*B fol. 493v*] rem nullo modo deserere, presertim cum in ea nitatur^p salus reipublicę christianę. Quo minus^q Christi exemplo ad ianuam cordis maiestatis sue pulset,^r ut mentem ad pacem [*A fol. 154v*] aperiat,^s ad quam capescendam^t tot^u licet hactenus insignibus victoriis a Deo decoratus incedat, etiam in illorum medio cursu pro animi sui magnitudine inclinare cognoverit.^v Hortetur^w suam celsitudinem pro Deo proque huius sanctae sedis

¹ Ps 71, 11.

² Pope Paul II (1464–1471).

³ Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484).

reverentia committat tutis auribus tuis,^{xy} si quid est secreti, si quid est occulti, quod morbo huic et gravi malo mederi possit. Cum sepulta et secreta esse omnia [*D fol. 129v*] apud nuntium, sua maiestas^z sperare possit, et sic esse nuntius profiteatur nec illa cuiquam nota faciet,^a nisi sue sanctitati, ut rem ad compositionem suo consilio aggrediatur. Quod si sua maiestas occulti consilii aliquid in re hac aperiret, nuntius studeat^b per suas litteras diligenter domino nostro per proprium [*B fol. 494r*] nuntium significare et tunc volente^c domino rege capietur bonus modus et forma expediens ad rem cum Dei honore et sue maiestatis laude bene conducendam^d pro communi salute et hoc aperte pollicebitur nomine sanctissimi domini nostri [*A fol. 155r*] nuntius suam beatitudinem prestaturam omnem operam possibilem, cum nihil putet sua sanctitas, posse sibi contingere gratius, quam quod suis diebus et opera sua rem compositam esse videat.

Item advertat nuntius negocium^e deponendis armis non prius aggredi, quam sciat ad serenissimum caesarem¹ nuntium² esse destinatum,^f nec^g commissione super re^h huiusmodi sibiⁱ concessa modo aliquo utatur, aut se illam habere dicat, nisi prius nuntium ad prefatum dominum caesarem destinatum esse intellexerit, et tunc si aliud secretum non instet significandum,^j domino nostro super re huiusmodi poterit cum oratore, qui ad cesarem,^k ut profertur, proficiscitur,^l rem [*C fol. 94r*] suis litteris communicare et ut ab armis [*B fol. 494v*] et via facti^m cessetur, poterit inducias indicare ad [*D fol. 130r*] tempus, de quo sibi videbitur satis esse pro re bene ac feliciter conducenda,ⁿ [*A fol. 155v*] ut interim cum ab armis et via facti^o cessatur,^p id totum nuntio et oratori, quem sua sanctitas ad serenissimum caesarem destinare intendit, per suas litteras significetur, ut commodius possit uterque nuntius intendere ad pacis huius^q tractatum.

¹ Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1452–1490), as King of the Romans from 1440.

² Papal nuncio Raymund Peraudi, nuncio with the power of legate *de latere* (1488–1491), active at the imperial court from 1489.

B^r

Item cum superioribus annis apud sedem apostolicam per nuntium¹ sue maiestatis^s referretur, quod reverendus pater archiepiscopus Colocensis,² quibusdam (ut dicebatur) rebus ita sibi infensam suam maiestatem redidisset, ut propterea in vinculis coniectus esset, petereturque per dictum oratorem, ut ad regnum¹ Hungariae nuntius destinaretur, qui de meritis^u et causa carceris dicti archiepiscopi cognosceret et iustitiam ipsi^v regi administraret. Sanctissimus dominus noster memor imprimis, quantum sua maiestas et predecessores sui omnes optime semper meriti [*B fol. 495r*] sint de religione christiana deque^w sede apostolica, ut argumento sunt^x preclara illa, que pace et bello^y presertim contra perfidos Turchos^z nominis christiani inimicos, quam contra hereticos et sismaticos regni Boemiae [*A fol. 156r*] consulto, sua sanctitas hactenus distulit nuntium ipsum destinare, ut pote, si quid forte archiepiscopus ipse peccasset, [*D fol. 130v*] aut se non exhibuisset, ut par fuit, pro magnitudine meritorum per suam maiestatem in eum collatorum^a hec ipsa diutina captivitas archiepiscopum ad sanam^b mentem facile reduxisset et animum sue maiestatis mitigasset, unde gratissimum putet sua maiestas futurum esse domino nostro et toti collegio^c archiepiscopum non aliter examinatis meritis^d suis^e carcere liberari. His suasionibus apud dominum^f regem plurimum erit agendum, neu cum servo suo et factura manuum suarum iudicio experiri velit, Christi redemptoris nostri imitatus exempla,^g qui ad patrem pro hiis,^h qui illum morti tradiderunt, [*B fol. 495v*] enixe rogavit, tum maxime, quod si reusⁱ et nocens foret archiepiscopus tam gravi et diuturno^j pressus^k carcere delictis et culpis omnibus satis iam dudum fecisse putandum est,^l et super hoc orator multum laboret et cum magna dexteritate rem inducat. [*C fol. 94v*]

C^m

Verum, si nuntius ipse his suasionibus frustra [*A fol. 156v*] agi cum dominoⁿ rege videret,^o dicat, quod dominus noster memor fidei

¹ János Vitéz the Younger (Kamarcai), royal ambassador in Rome (1486–1490).

² Péter Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács (1480–1501).

et devotionis suae maiestatis ob id vel maxime, quod semper tam ipse, quam^p sui predecessores illustres^q omnes obedientiae filios sese sedi apostolice exhibuerint, misit nuntium ad suam maiestatem, quo^r celsitudo sua intelligat, non esse mentis^s [*D fol. 131r*] suae sanctitatis, si archiepiscopus aliquid demerisset, temptasset, ne^t aut quicquam^u in statum suae maiestatis molitus fuisset impune illud esse,^v sed ut causam ipsam audiat diligenterque ac mature crimina et obiecta in ipsum archiepiscopum intelligat et examinet, [*B fol. 496r*] quo suae sanctitati, cum^w ad illam regredietur, in^x Dei timore referre possit, que invenerit^y ad effectum, ut^z sua sanctitas una cum consilio et assensu venerabilium^a fratrum suorum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalium^b tamquam de maioribus causis, ex his, que^c legitime deducuntur^{de} canonice iudicare valeat. Adhortabitur itaque nuntius ipse,^f quanto poterit studio, suam celsitudinem,^g quod pro Deo proque decore suae maiestatis^h diligenter advertat iudicium, quod futurum est de ipsoⁱ archiepiscopo tale esse, ut legitimum semper et omni [*A fol. 157r*] tempore censerit^j possit, scilicet ut illi locus talis iudicii deligatur,^k qui non^l dicatur in manu regis esse, ne episcopus^m causam suamⁿ dicere cogatur, unde preponat,^o imprimis nuntius Romane curiae^p et sedem apostolicam, ad quam iudicandus et examinandus mitti, commode sub infrascriptis obligationibus posset. Conducat enim honori et gloriae^q suae maiestatis apud sedem apostolicam illum reum criminis, si forte [*B fol. 496v*] fuerit iudicari,^r apud quam emuli aliqui conati sunt, decori^s et^t maiestati celsitudinis suae^u hoc ipso solo facto detrudere, [*D fol. 131v*] quod si ad rem hanc adduci non posset,^v instet, quod locus iudicii eligatur, qui^w minus^x iurisdictioni regni^y subiaceat,^z ut est Strigonium,¹ que regem^a immediate^b non recognoscit, aut Vienna,^c vel^d Nova Civitas,² aut locus aliquis illic^e finitimus, in quo archiepiscopo non desit libera sui facultas, ut in sua libertate positus, omnibus metu, timore et impressione cessantibus excipere contra sibi^f obiecta^g possit. Agitur enim de archiepiscopo et

¹ Esztergom.

² Wiener Neustadt.

christo Domini,¹ qui membrum est sanctę sedis apostolicę, quam semper sua celsitudo pro animi sui magnitudine et [A fol. 157v] fidei fervore^h et observantia venerata est. Memineritque illa [C fol. 95r] illum eundem esseⁱ archiepiscopum, de cuius causa agitur, quem alias sua maiestas ad maiora promoveri apud sedem apostolicam procurabat,^j et si forte regia maiestas offerret ipsi nuntio dare ad [B fol. 497r] manus archiepiscopum, ut de illo custodiendo, curam sumat.^k Advertat nuntius non prius, si sibi videatur, ipsum capere, quam cum domino^l rege de modo cautionis, ut infra sequitur, conveniat, ne ipsum curam sumere oporteat de archiepiscopi difficili^m custodia. Idcirco cogitet, non prius in loco libero ponendumⁿ esse, quam cum rege convenerit, de modo cautionis, an^o per fideiussiones hominum ipsius regni,^p qui^q sub penis pecuniariis et^r censuris ecclesiasticis, prout [D fol. 132r] domino^s regi consultum esse crediderit, quod illum iudicio sistent, aut si forte homines regni, ob id, quod regem ipsum putent infensum esse, archiepiscopo obligationi et fideiussioni nolint^t accedere, tunc nuntius apud regem ipsum instet illi,^u ut placeat archiepiscopum iuratorie^v dimittere cautioni,^w ut iura volunt sub ecclesia [A fol. 158r] sticis censuris et pecuniariis gravissimis penis, quibus addatur,^x quod archiepiscopus ipse promittat,^y quod quoties [B fol. 497v] et quando fugam arriperet et^z sui in iudicio et coram ipso nuncio presentiam non faceret, quod ex tunc ipse confitetur, obiecta^a omnia crimina contra eum esse vera ea, que legitime constare haberique illa pro notoriis etiam facti permanentis ita,^b ut nulla amplius ad ea probanda probatio requiratur, sed sola fuga sua facta esse notoria etiam absque alia citatione aut declaratione censeantur,^c velitque ipse archiepiscopus ecclesiam suam Colocensem, cui preest, et cetera alia ecclesiastica beneficia, que obtinet, haberi pro vacantibus. Cui et quibus ex nunc in manibus ipsius nuntii nomine sanctissimi domini nostri recipientis et ad id presentium tenore speciale mandatum habentis omne ius, si quod in et ad illam seu^d illa competit, aut competere posset,^e resignat atque cedit liceatque ipsi regi

¹ Reference to *privilegium fori* of the Church, no cleric should be judged by the secular court. Cf. also 1 Par 16,22 and Ps 104,15 (Vulg.).

pro alio idoneo in dicta ecclesia et ceteris aliis [D fol. 132v] ecclesiasticis^f beneficiis domino nostro et sedi apostolicę supplicare, in [A fol. 158v] quos sedes apostolica providere,^g prout ipsi domino regi de ampliori [B fol. 498r] forma talis cautionis melius visum fuerit, quod si iuratorie^h vel fideiussorieⁱ cautioni^j nollet rex eum dimittere, sed custodiendum velit dare ad manus ipsius nuntii. Tunc nuntius mature et diligenter [C fol. 95v] advertat,^k non capere^l archiepiscopum ad manus suas et per suos homines custodiendum,^m nec se oneri tam gravissimo^o implicet, sed illum fidis^p hominibus^q custodiendum suo nomine tradat, in qua custodia nihil preter auctoritatem suam interponat, neque suos homines deputet, nec custodes eligat, sed electos, qui regi suspecti non sint, efficiat, ut iurent, cum ipso archiepiscopo^f sub penis et obligationibus premissis et aliis pecuniariis, prout ei^s videbitur, archiepiscopum representare et in iudicio et extra sistere totiens, quotiens^t ac iudicium,^u quod de eo futurum^v est, sponte et sine fraude subibat ac aliis obligationibus et penis, ut supra in iuratoria cautione est expressum. [A fol. 159r]

D^w

Quibus peractis diligenter advertat nuntius, [B fol. 498v] quod ipsi archiepiscopo detur copia et facultas habendi advocatos et procuratores, qui causam instruant, quibus nuntius efficiat,^x ut dominus rex cum effectu mandet, ut omni [D fol. 133r] regio^y metu cessante causam instruant et defendant, qui si forte aliquo casu negligentes forent. Nuntius ipse secundum ius et equitatem ex officio suo suppleat illorum defectus.^z Concedat insuper omnibus testibus, qui ad causam nominabuntur, deponendi et veritatem dicendi liberum arbitrium, mandet^a omnibus notariis^b et^c aliis, quibuscunque ad causam ipsius archiepiscopi instrumenta, prothocola aut iura quecunque facientia habentibus competenti,^d prius si voluerint recepta^e mercede illa, ut edant et exhibeant, quibus etiam^f nuntius ipse ex officio suo per censuras ecclesiasticas, si opus esse viderit,^g mandet et precipiat, et si solutio mercedum predictarum^h difficilis esset, eidem archiepiscopo, qui nunc constitutus est in mendicitate,ⁱ efficiat nuntius, quod de fructibus ecclesie sue aut aliunde [A fol. 159v] satisfiat [B fol. 499r] ita, ut iustitia cause sue non retardetur, nec moram aliquam

patiatur et in hoc,^j si videbitur necessarium, nuncius apud dominum regem et^k etiam pro honore sue maiestatis curari mandet, quod ex defectu ipsarum mercedum iustitia^l non impediatur.

E^m

Advertat insuper nuntius intelligere a domino rege, an velit, quod contra archiepiscopum procedatur per viam accusationis vel inquisitionis. Quod si per viam accusationis,ⁿ advertat, quod [*C fol. 96r*] accusatio fiat in forma iuris valida, si vero inquisitionis, super quo specialem [*D fol. 133v*] commissionem sanctissimi domini nostri habet, in qua^o sic procedat, quod premissa^p generali inquisitione habita prius informatione vitae ac morum ipsius examinatisque testibus, super illa deveniat servatis servandis ad specialem et contestata lite dabitur archiepiscopo copia processus cum prefixione termini ad opponendum contra dicta et personas testium, quibus peractis remittat vel reportet secum processum^q [*B fol. 499v*] autenticum in forma iuris valida. Et hoc, ut maturius deliberari valeat, con[*A fol. 160r*]demnandus vel absolvendus sit ipse archiepiscopus. Datur insuper ipsi oratori facultas procedendi per censuras ecclesiasticas contra omnes habentes aliquid ad causam huiusmodi faciens, quod illud edant et producant non constante, quod^r alicui^s ex illis, etiam si episcopali dignitate prefulgeant,^t a sede apostolica indultum existat, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint et^u quibus non obstantibus procedat, cum necessitas exegerit,^v ad censuras.¹

F^w

Postmodum nuntius ipse modeste, quantum fieri poterit, maiestatem regiam adhortabitur et^x in visceribus caritatis nomine sanctissimi domini nostri illum monebit, vel^y maiorum suorum vestigia imitatus,^z si casus (quod absit) contingerit^a per prelatos et alios ecclesiasticos regnorum suorum aliquid temptari^b sinistri, neu^c ad eos manum [*D fol. 134r*] apponat,^d quia scriptum est, “nolite tangere christos meos”², sed causam integram sedi apostolicę [*B fol. 500r*] et aliis ordinariis remittat, vel maioribus prelatis in regno existentibus,

¹ Cf. n. 20.

² 1 Par 16,22; Ps 104,15.

si mora esset periculosa, ut fieri de iure precipitur et mandatur. [*A fol. 160v*] Sunt enim hec, que Deum imprimis magnopere offendunt dignitatemque et fulgorem regii sui nominis obliterant et denigrant.

G^e

Subinde, quia sanctissimo domino nostro per oratorem domini regis relatum est aliquos esse in illis regnis, qui sub pretextu privilegiorum a sede apostolica obtentorum ex eo, quod aliqui capellani facti sunt honoris aliqui prothonotarii, accoliti et subdiaconi aliqui facti sunt,^f declinant, fora ordinariorum iurisdictionem contemnunt et in omnem licentiam horum pretextu labuntur, nec creditoribus iudicio^g pulsati^h respondere curant. Quo fit, ut sua sanctitas tales abusus abhorrens omnia talia [*C fol. 96v*] privilegia quibusvis personis concessa cassaverit et revocaverit, illis duntaxat exceptis personis,ⁱ que alias in Romana curia officiales fuerint^j et actu^k sua officia exercuerint,^l vel qui notariorum apostolicorum habitum gestari solitum deferunt.^m Voluit tamen sua sanctitas ac eidem nuntio mandavit, quod [*B fol. 500v*] postquam in dictis regnis revocationes, ut prefertur, publicaverit ipsos sic exemptos, qui maleficia aliqua exemptionis [*A fol. 161r*] premissa tempore perpetraverint,ⁿ possit punire et secundum iusticiam mulctare^o eosdemque exemptos [*D fol. 134v*] ad partium querelam^p pro debitis civilibus aut alias, criminalibus et ex officio procedere,^q inquirere, condemnare, vel absolvere, prout iuris ordo dictaverit non obstante, quod alicui^r ex illis a sede sit indultum apostolica, quod excommunicari, suspendi vel interdici non possint, quibus non obstantibus procedat contra eosdem, prout de iure^s alias iuxta commissionem, quam habet a domino nostro in forma predicta cum advocazione cause et causarum, si que forte harum occasione in Romana curia penderent,^t cum potestate procedendi in illis civilibus summarie, habeat tamen ipse nuntius rationem ipsorum exemptorum presertim propter nonnullorum ordinariorum, ut^u quibus videbitur, sibi privilegia [*B fol. 501r*] intacta demittat.¹

¹ Cf. n. 14.

H^v

Item quia in regnis predictis, hoc est in Slesia,¹ quedam inoleverat^w corruptela,^x prout oratores ipsi nomine sue maiestatis retulerunt, quod clerici et ecclesie persone ac laici^v pecuniam [*A fol. 161v*] mutuam dantes, ex qua, ut iura volunt, commodi nihil aut nihil^z lucri sperare debebant, tamen predia et alia bona a debitoribus sub hipoteca et pignore capere,^a ex quibus fructus et commoda hactenus tot recipere non erubuerunt et erubescunt,^b ut forte^c et longe amplius sit plenissime satisfactum,^d nec adhuc predia predicta relaxare etiam requisiti curant.^e Quodque amplius est,^f si predium, quod primo receperunt,^g bello [*D fol. 135r*] aut alio casu perierit, aliud predium ipsius debitoris invadunt, quod factum, ut par est, sua sanctitas detestatur,^h prefato nuntio mandat, ut omnes et singulos tales contractus, cum quibusvis et per quoscunque celebratos, etiam si iuramento firmati sint, usurarios decernatⁱ efficiatque, ut dicti tales mutu[*C fol. 97r*]antes [*B fol. 501v*] sua sorte contenti usuras restituant et alias, prout de iure fuerit faciendum, super quo ad partem commissionem habet, iuxta quam in causa procedet.^j Advertat^k nuntius non prius ad examen istorum contractuum usurariorum procedere, quam prius^l intelligat, qua mente intendant^m [*A fol. 162r*] illi, qui rem huiusmodi deferunt, cum potestate procedendi contra tales etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas, non obstante, quod alicui ex illis inhibitum existat, quod suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quibus non obstantibus procedat, prout de iure.²ⁿ

I^o

Item, quia dicto oratore referente intellexit, quod aliqui barones, militares et inferiores persone et etiam ecclesiastice ex eorum prediis integras decimas iuxta laudabilem consuetudinem in regnis illis hactenus observatam solvere obligantur,^p nescitur tamen^q quo spiritu

¹ Silesia, one of the lands of the Kingdom of Bohemia; according to a treaty (1479) between Kings Wladislas of Bohemia and Matthias of Hungary and Bohemia ruled by Matthias.

² Cf. n. 17.

ducti a multis annis citra integras decimas solvere indebite recu-
sarunt in animarum suarum preiudicium periculum et ceterorum
detestabile exemplum; quinim<mo>, ut habilius et commodius ec-
clesias et^f ecclesiasticas personas decimis predictis fraudent,^s causas
super eis in Romana curia coram certis^f iudicibus committi obti-
nerunt [*B fol. 502r*] et facte^u lites^v predictae [*D fol. 135v*] im-
mortales^w prefatas ecclesias^x tam in denegatione decimarum, ut
preferunt,^y quam in litium dispendiis ad exitium et [*A fol. 162v*] de-
solationem deduxerunt,^z et quia verisimiliter dubitatur, si res hec
non terminetur, ne alii horum exemplo decimas denegent. Sup-
plicavit^a dominum nostrum idem orator, quod tam pro indemnitate
ecclesiarum, quam ut dispendiis litigantium consulatur, ut omnes
et singulas causas huiusmodi coram quibusvis iudicibus in Romana
curia vel extra pendentes ad se sua maiestas advocaret et illas
summarie simpliciter et de plano, in eo statu, in quo nunc^b est,
resumendas^c et sine^d debito terminandas committeret et mandaret,
in quibus nuncius ipse procedat iuxta commissionem super^e his a
domino nostro factam^f cum potestate etiam per censuras eccle-
siasticas procedendi contra tales, non obstantibus, quod alicui ex
illis indultum existat, quod suspendi, interdici vel excommunicari
non possint a dicta sit sede indultum, quibus non obstantibus pro-
cedat, prout de iure.^{ig}

K^h

Item, ut commodius nuntius ipse ad obeunda, que sibi a sede
apostolica mandantur,ⁱ portat^l secum litteras apostolicas, per quas
dominus noster [*A fol. 163r*] revocat omnes facultates, quibusvis
oratoribus et nuntiis [*B fol. 502v*] suis in regnis illis existentibus^k et
presertim episcopo Transilvano² et quia hec revocatio posset molesta
esse domino regi, portat^l secum idem nuntius litteras apostolicas, per
quas reintegrat^m post discessum suum [*D fol. 136r*] eundem domi-

¹ Cf. n. 12.

² László Geréb of Vingárt, bishop of Transylvania (Alba Iulia) (1476–1501) and pa-
pal legate *cum potestate legati de latere* (1484–1488).

num Transilvanum, si id domino regi videbitur.¹ [*C fol. 97v*]

Lⁿ

Item prefatus nuntius, postquam rem archiepiscopi^o composuerit modo premissis, incipiat verba facere pro domino Paulo,² preposito Strigoniensi, ut eum sua maiestas ad beneficia sua^p restituere dignetur, neu^q ad ea, que forte de illo relata sunt, advertere velit, consideretque celsitudo sua, quod causam fratris agens plus equo forte in ea defendenda egit^r et excaudit, quam modestia exegerit.^s Ignoscat sua maiestas iusto dolori suo,^t qui cum fratrem, qui modo^u apud suam celsitudinem in supremo gradu fuerat decidisse, viderit,^v temperare illum nequierit,^w nec delicta iuventutis sue meminertit aut de illis vindictam sumat.^x [*B fol. 503r*]

M^y

Item, quia similis causa agitur de Leontio³ [*A fol. 163v*] preposito Quinqueecclesiarum,^z nuntius predictus accurate et diligenter de illo liberando verba faciat et ne causam ipsius prepositi forte duriozem efficiat, effingat^a nuncius,^b quod non^c in curia Romana deliberatione illius notitiam habuerit, sed postquam in regnis illis applicuerit,^d aliqui boni viri et Deum timentes apud eum insteterint^e uti pro liberatione sua^f apud maiestatem suam verba faceret, ad quod opus cum de libertate ecclesiastica tutanda^g agatur, putavit esse officii sui rem aggredi. [*D fol. 136v*]

N^h

Item nuncius advertat, quod pari reverentia et honore serenissimam reginam⁴ nomine sanctissimi domini nostri salutet ac eidem verboⁱ benedicat, nec non iuxta tenorem litterarum et brevis domini nostri sue celsitudini^j significabit, quantum sua sanctitas confidat et speret, quod in tractatu pacis et concordie componende inter regem predictum et

¹ Cf. n. 18. Angelo Pecchinoli was supposed to be the sole representative of the pope in the region, namely in the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. The charter for restitution of the position of Geréb is not known and was probably never used.

² Pál Váradi, provost of the Esztergom cathedral chapter (1483–1493).

³ János Telegdi, called Leontius, provost of Pécs.

⁴ Beatrix of Aragon (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary and Bohemia (1475–1490), wife of Matthias Corvinus.

serenissimum caesarem^k pro ingenii sui^l dexteritate et prudentia velut^m optima regina et modestissima femina pro communi christianę religionis salute et pace, que maxime ex predictorum [A fol. 164r] principum concordia pendetⁿ partes suas. Interponet^o apud dominum regem consortem suum, uti sanctissimas adhortationes et consilia domini nostri et eius nuntii prompta [B fol. 503v] devotione suscipiat seque reverentia et devotionis filium^p erga sedem apostolicam, ut facere semper pro animi sui magnitudine consuevit, exhibeat in negocio presertim liberationis prefati domini^q archiepiscopi auxilium suę maiestatis, nuntius apud dominum regem imploret et licet a multis asseratur, quod precipua causa detentionis ipsius [C fol. 98r] archiepiscopi ex regina processerit.^r Attamen^s nuntius prudenter et accurate hoc dissimulet, nec videatur credere, quod sua maiestas modo aliquo infensa sit ipsi archiepiscopo, sed sperare se dicat, quod intercessione et opera suę maiestatis pro libertate ecclesiastica^t tutanda^u et conservanda, quam semper sua maiestas colere et venerari visa est. Apud dominum regem opportune et importune instabit, suam celsitudinem blanditiis et preęcibus adhortabitur et deprecabitur, uti monitis et consiliis domini nostri sanctissimi et eius^v nuntii equo animo, [D fol. 137r] ut [A fol. 164v] par est, acquiescat. Neu^w tot preclarissima suę celsitudinis pace belloque monumenta^x hoc uno facto et maiore^y culpa, quam causa culpę obliterari et denigrari patiatur. Quodque,^z ut peramplius et operosius sua maiestas rem [B fol. 504r] hanc aggrediatur. Dicat nuntius id a domino nostro sigillatim sibi esse demandatum et iniunctum, ut hec^a et quecunque alia, que apud serenissimum dominum regem sit^b aggressurus omnia prius suo ductu suo^c consilio aggrediatur. Quando dominus noster pro suę sanctitatis ac sanctę sedis apostolicę reverentia sperat^d ac firmissimam spem gerit,^e bene omnia pro Dei honore et laude fieri posse suo consilio et sua singulari prudentia, quibus largitor,^f dominus personam suam insignivit.

O^g

Item, quia dominus noster intellexit, quod reverendus pater dominus Iohannes Varadiensis¹ de facto et sine aliqua canonica in-

¹ Jan Filipec.

stitutione^h in ecclesia Olomucensi,ⁱⁱ que dudum per obitum bone memorie domini Prothasii,² dum vixit, episcopi^j vacaverit^k et cui reverendum patrem dominum Ioannem³ episcopum^l Sirimiensem^m prefati domini regis [*A fol. 165r*] Hungariae oratorem in administratorem perpetuum prefecit, se intrusit ac illam temeratoⁿ ausu occupavit. Mandat dominus noster per suas litteras eidem domino Variensi, ut prefatam ecclesiam^o eidem domino Sirimensi una cum fructibus [*B fol. 504v*] a tempore occupationis et intrusionis huiusmodi restituat et dimittat^p ac ecclesiam eandem nec non castra et loca omnia, que tempore [*D fol. 137v*] invasionis sue alienavit et distraxit,^q reintegret. Quod si restituere, reintegrare ac dimittere recusaret, mandat dominus noster eidem nuntio et oratori suo, ut contra eundem episcopum Variensem omnesque alios et singulos cuiusvis [*C fol. 98v*] status, gradus et conditionis secularis vel ecclesiasticæ dignitatis fuerint, qui in premissis consilium, auxilium vel favorem prestiterunt^f vel in futurum prestabunt, vocatis, qui fuerint evocandi,^s ut iuris fuerit^t ad censurarum ecclesiasticarum gravationem et regravationem illarumque declarationem et publicationem^u ac aliarum penarum pecuniarum, prout expedire cognoverit, impositionem^v et illarum exactionem et premissa omnia et^w demum etiam ad suspensionem [*A fol. 165v*] a divinis,^x prohibitionem ab ingressu ecclesie ac ad interdicti ecclesiastici impositionem in locis,^y ad que^z tam ipse Variensis, quam eius³ in [*B fol. 505r*] premissis complices et fautores^b declinare contigerint,^c invocato ad hec et premissa omnia (si opus fuerit) auxilio brachii secularis ac alias iuxta continentiam litterarum a sua sanctitate in forma brevis emanatarum cum avocatione cause et causarum super huiusmodi intrusione quibusvis iudicibus commissarum procedat cum potestate easdem censuras et penas post debitam satisfactionem aut amicabilem compositionem remittendi et ab illis ab [*D fol. 138r*] solvendi simpliciter vel ad cau-

¹ Olomouc, city in central Moravia, the bishopric was contested 1482–1497.

² Prothasius (Tas) of Boskovice, bishop of Olomouc (1457–1482).

³ János Vitéz the Younger (Kamarcai), bishop of Srem (Sremska Mitrovica) (1481–1489) and orator of Matthias Corvinus in Rome (1476–1478, 1486–1490).

tellam aut cum reincidentia totiens quotiens,^d prout eidem nuntio et oratori secundum Deum et iustitiam visum fuerit.¹

P^e

Item, cum diu actum fuerit contra quendam Matheum Slich² et eius filios aliosque complices et fautores, qui^f incolae et cives Cubitenses³, Pragensis diocesis, qui ob fidem et obedientiam, quam sedi apostolicę [A fol. 166r] prestiterunt, patria et bonis omnibus spoliati sunt, ita ut nudi [B fol. 505v] exulent. Dominus noster causam et causas reintrusionis, declarationis, quam et quas reverendis dominis Magdeburgensi^{4g} archiepiscopo et ac Vratislaviensi⁵ et ceteris episcopis ac aliis, quibusvis^h iudicibus et delegatis dudum per suas litteras commisserat, advocat et eas in eo statu terminis et instantia, in quaⁱ nunc sunt, cum suis incidentibus annexis et connexis resumendas^j eidem nuntio et oratori suo iuxta prefatis dominis archiepiscopo et episcopis datam commissionem committit et delegat cum potestate et arbitrio, prout et sicut in litteris prefatis commissariis datis et attributis plenius continetur.⁶ [C fol. 99r]

A^k

Item prefatus nuntius nomine sue sanctitatis dicet, quod licet sua maiestas ad tutelam christianę religionis contra nephandum imperium Turcorum,^l quam sua celsitudo pro invicti^m animi sui magnitudine et fidei fervore commune [D fol. 138v] sibi semper cum sede apostolica esseⁿ crediderit et [A fol. 166v] in qua^o supra virilem suam

¹ Cf. n. 1, 2, 15.

² Matthias Šlik (d. 1487), brother of the famous Kašpar Šlik (Caspar Schlick), originally from a Cheb burgher family. The family acquired Loket in 1434 as a pledge by King Sigismund; after the fire of the town in 1473 King Wladislas II again confirmed the pledge in 1476. His sons were Mikuláš (Nicholas), Jeroným (Jerome) and Kašpar (Caspar). Cf. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Loketský spor*.

³ Loket, a small town about 15 km southwest of Karlovy Vary.

⁴ Ernst, duke of Saxony, archbishop of Magdeburg (elected 1476, ordained 22 November 1489, d. 1513).

⁵ Johannes Roth, bishop of Wrocław (1482–1506).

⁶ Cf. n. 19.

inexpugnabilem se murum et munitissimum propugnaculum¹ evisceratis^p etiam opibus [B fol. 506r] exhibuerit^q ita, ut ad rem prosequendam^r nulla adhortatione et excitatione^s indigere credatur.^t Attamen sua sanctitas^u pastoralis officii sui esse duxit, suam celsitudinem ad huius sanctissimi operis prosecutionem et perseverantiam plurimum adhortari, ad quam prosequendam et feliciter absolvendam sua sanctitas omnem animi sui curam omnem cogitatum ceteris post habitis adiecit, ad quam^v peragendam nulla melior^w ad invadendum hostem via esse videtur, quam per maiestatem suam rem aggredi, ut etiam de presenti huic sancte expeditioni operam dare incepit adhortando plurimos christianos principes et potentatus ad tam sancti operis expeditionem sicuti etiam maiestas sua per Franciscum Bandinum² familiarem suum per amplius potuit intellexisse. Sit sua maiestas^x bono animo insuper et bona spe sit, quando inter curas et seria^y rerum suarum nihil est, quod anxius suam sanctitatem premat, quam ad rei huius sanctissime expeditionem accingere,^z prout sua sanctitas omni^a co[A fol. 167r]natu^b se facturum^c statuit accedente aliorum [B fol. 506v] christianorum potentatuum auxilio, quod sua sanctitas affuturum sperat.

Adhortabitur insuper prefatus nuntius suam celsitudinem nomine sue sanctitatis, [D fol. 139r] quod circa illustrem Iohannem Corvinum, naturalem filium suę celsitudinis, ubi legitimam sobolem^d non habeat,^e diligentem^f velit habere^g curam, initietur^h illum rei militaris disciplinae,ⁱ magnisque et arduis regni illius negociis obeundis^j preficiat, ut patris et avi sui preclarissimorum virorum exempla imitatus invictum se pro christiane religionis salute^k pu-

¹ The Papal Chancery is using the concept of *antemurale Christianitatis*, here using the term *murum* or *propugnaculum*, cf. SRODECKI, *Antemurale Christianitatis*; NORMAN HOUSLEY, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505*, Oxford 2013, esp. 18–61; ARTNER–SZOVÁK–TÖRÖK–TUSOR, eds., “Magyarország”, *op. cit.*

² Francesco Bandini, a Florentine humanist, who came to Hungary in the retinue of Queen Beatrix in 1476. Stayed on as a court humanist and diplomat. Cf. PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi 54), Rome 1956, 395–435; RÓZSA FEUER-TÓTH, *Art and Humanism in Hungary in the Age of Matthias Corvinus*, Budapest 1990, 56–66.

gilem et athletam^l constituat.¹ Dicatque nuntius ipse, quod sua sanctitas ob multa, que de illius egregia indole audivit, que virum sit paritura eximium et paternae gloriae responsurum, illum amat et diligit, cupitque plurimum illum in virum crescere, prout ex Francisco Bandino, qui ita cuncta de illo retulit merita, ut suam sanctitatem in admirationem traxerit, largius potuit intellexisse. [*C fol. 99v*] Congratulabitur etiam cum ipso^m domino rege [*B fol. 507r*] de affinitate contracta cum illustrissimoⁿ domino duce [*A fol. 167v*] Mediolani,²⁰ ex qua sperat regni illius et vicinarum regionum pacem, concordiam et quietem sequuturam.

B^p

Benedicet insuper prefatus^q nuntius^f nomine suę sanctitatis illustrissimo Ioanni Corvino regio naturali filio, cui dicat, quod sua sanctitas nascenti glorie sue, ut ex egregia indole sua, que fide dignorum testimonio^s probatur,^t quod in virum et paternę ac avite glorię responsurus evadet,^u gratulatur et gaudet. Hortatur illum sua sanctitas, [*D fol. 139v*] perseveret^{vw} emuleturque paterne et avite glorie.^x Habet^y enim virtutum et^z glorię progenitorum suorum latisimum campum, quibus emuletur, quos^a sequatur et quos^b in omnibus suę vitę partibus sibi anteponat reputetque secum,^c a quibus progenitoribus clarissimis viris originem ducat, quorum gloriam non modo equare verum et vincere studere debeat.^d Pol<l>icetur^e [*B fol. 507v*] insuper sibi dominum nostrum læto animo facturum omnia, que ad gloriam et honorem statum insuperque augmentum nobilitatis suę conducant, tamquam pro peculiari filio sedis apostolicę, quando sua sanctitas munitissimum illum sperat [*A fol. 168r*] futurum, murum et propugnaculum sedis apostolicę^f et christianę religionis.

¹ János Corvin (1473–1504), illegitimate son of Matthias Corvinus and Barbara Edelpöck.

² Gian Galeazzo Sforza, officially duke of Milan (1476–1494), the de facto ruler of Milan was Ludovico (il Moro) Sforza, brother of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (d. 1476), who became officially duke of Milan only after Gian Galeazzo's death (1494–1499). The marriage of János Corvinus and Bianca Maria Sforza happened by proxy (Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad) in Milan on 25 November 1487.

Gratulabitur insuper illi de sponsalibus, que cum sorore¹ illustrissimi domini Mediolanensi^g contraxit, quare sua sanctitas futuram prolem, que virtutibus parentum et eorum progenitorum respondeat cum ex affinitate et necessitudine premissa futuram credit pacem et quietem regni et vicinorum, pro cuiusque optat sua sanctitas felix faustumque sit matrimonium. Nec non dominus nuncius eundem Iohannem adhortabitur, quod accurate et prudenter dominum regem adhortetur illique supplicet pro libertate ecclesiastica in regnis illis, ut facere semper consuevit conservanda.^h

Item mandat sua sanctitas eidem nuntio, quod pro reintegracione et restitutione rerum ecclesie Arbensi² plurimum apud dominum regem instet, ut iuxta privilegiorum sue maiestatisⁱ formam bona ecclesie predictae reintegrentur^j et restituantur.^k

Item, quod^l alias in tractatu pacis et concordiae³ inter Mathiam Hungariae et Vladislaum^m Boemiae reges conventum et conclusum fuit, quod pro bono pacis et concordiae regnorum predictorum monasteria Hyradichⁿ [*Afol. 168v*] et Cherich,⁴ quorum alterum Hyradich pignoratum domino Varadiensi⁵ fuit, alterum scilicet Cherich^o do-

¹ Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), sister of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan.

² A problem in the diocese of Rab (Arbe) in Dalmatia. This might concern the Benedictine monastery of St Peter in Valle, the property of which was alienated and still addressed as a problem on 7 Aug 1488, *cf.* AAV Arm. XXXIX 20, fol. 409rv.

³ The peace treaty between Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Wladislas Jagiellonian, King of Bohemia, was concluded in Brno in December 1478 and ratified by the two kings in a slightly changed version in Olomouc in July 1479. A second, complementary treaty was signed in Jihlava in September 1486. The Jihlava treaty contained the information on the monasteries of Hradisko and Třebíč, see FRANTIŠEK KAMENÍČEK, ed., *Jednání sněmovní a veřejná v Markrabství moravském od počátku 15. století až do přijetí krále Ferdinanda I. za markrabí Moravského roku 1527*, Archiv český, vol. 10, red. Josef Kalousek, Prague 1890, 241–352, here 292.

⁴ Hradisko (Hradiště) u Olomouce, a Premonstratensian canonry; 5,000 florins should be paid for the pledge to Jan Filipec according to the Jihlava treaty. Třebíč, a Benedictine monastery; should be returned free to the abbot according to the Jihlava treaty.

⁵ Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad.

mino Ieroslao [*D fol. 140r*] de Stellis¹ similiter pro certa summa fuerat inscriptum [*B fol. 508r*] solutis [*C fol. 100r*] pecuniis, illa domino regi Hungariae restitui deberent et licet de pecuniis ipsis iam illis satisfactum fuerit, vel per eos^p steterit, quominus pecunias levare voluerint,^q prefata monasteria nunc reddere recusant, et quia dubitatur, ne vel ex detentione prefatorum monasteriorum nova in regnis illis bellorum^r incendia oriantur, vel propter non servata pacta^s pacis^t et concordie^u hereticis et scismaticis regni Boemiae presidia et favores ex^v illis prestentur, mandat dominus noster eidem nuntio et oratori suo, ut sub censuris ecclesiasticis, pecuniariis penis, ingressu^w ecclesiae suspensionis^x a divinis, auxilii^y brachii secularis, si opus fuerit, et interdicti ecclesiastici impositione contra prefatum Varadiensem et dominum de Stellis eorumque complices vocatis,^z quorum interest, procedat. Et quod monasteria predicta cum suis iuribus^a soluta et satisfacta pecunia [*A fol. 169r*] iuxta conventionem in capitulis pacis conventam^b [*B fol. 508v*] ad manus prefati regis Hungariae et illorum monasteriorum abbatum^c deponant et realiter restituant^d iuxta prefati regis voluntatem et dispositionem, cum potestate a censuris absolvendi, interdicta relaxandi, quoties et quando viderit expedire. Procedendo etiam, si sibi videbitur, iuxta formam litterarum apostolicarum in forma brevium^e emanatarum ultimo loco, non obstante, [*D fol. 140v*] quod dicto episcopo aut aliarum^f ex illis a sede sit indultum apostolica, quod interdicti, suspendi vel^g excommunicari non possint, quibus non obstantibus, procedat ad censuras ecclesiasticas et pecuniarias penas, prout eidem nuntio solum^h Deum et iusticiam videbitur magis expedire.²

Instet insuper idem nuntius cum prefatis rege et regina, ut qui recursum petunt ad sedem apostolicam³ pro iusticia vel gratia consequenda metu aut minis non impediuntur, sed libera sit unicuique ad sedem predictam via. Quod sue maiestates [*A fol. 169v*] considerent,

¹ Jaroslav of Šternberk (1463–1492), son of the famous Bohemian baron and “kingmaker” Zdeněk of Šternberk (d. 1476).

² Cf. n. 21.

³ The end of texts BCD.

quam sit gravis censura et pena in eos, qui volentes habere recursum ad sedem apostolicam impediunt et disturbant a iure statuti presertim in bulla, que legitur in Cena Domini.¹

Item in negotio cassationis contractus confederationis aut ligę cum Anconitanis² procedat iuxta instructiones sibi desuper factas.

Item pro dicto Segniensi,³ cui per dominum nostrum et sedem apostolicam de dicta ecclesia Segniensi facta est provisio, loquatur idem dominus nuntius, dominum regem adhortetur, patiatu sua maiestas provisionem sedis apostolicę locum habere avocato intruso.

Item in negotio inquisitionis contra Varadiensem procedat secundum commissionem sibi desuper factam.⁴

Et si idem Varadiensis aliquam ex probatis religionibus intrare voluerit, cedat prius in manibus ipsius nuntii ecclesie sue Varadiensis et aliis ecclesiasticis beneficiis, si qua habet, prout presentium tenore [*A fol. 170r*] conceditur ipsi nuntio ressignationem ipsam recipiendi facultas et deinde concedat liberum ingressum ad religionem prefatam, in qua facultatem concedat, ut habitum et professionem suscipiat et emittat etiam ante annum probationis, cum potestate mandandi prioribus et officialibus religionis probatę, quam elegerit, quod eundem Varadiensem recipiant et fraterna tractent caritate sub censuris et penis, de quibus nuntio prefato videbitur.⁵

Advertat insuper nuntius, quod potestate et facultatibus sibi concessis cum modestia et prudentia Deique timore et sedis predictę re-

¹ Reference to *libertas ecclesiastica*, to the bull that is read on *Cena domini*. The papal bull *In coena domini* became a cornerstone of the protection of ecclesiastical liberty. It was first published by Pope Urban V (1363) and republished regularly by his followers. It built on older papal bulls. Cf. PENNINGTON, *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, 90 and *passim* for the context.

² Ancona was in conflict with the pope, as the burghers deserted to Matthias Corvinus and wanted to be under his authority.

³ Andrea Campana, nominated by the pope as bishop of Senj on 1 Dec 1486; the king, however, provided the bishopric to Mihail Božičević (Natalitius) before.

⁴ Cf. n. 13.

⁵ Cf. n. 6.

verentia utatur presertim in collationibus beneficiorum,¹ ut idoneas personas meritis et scientia deligat, usque adeo, ut ex commendabilibus operibus ac nominibus suis commendabiliorem apud suam sanctitatem et sanctam sedem apostolicam se reddat ita, ut sua sanctitas ad maiora per eundem nuntium obeunda illique postmodum committendo [*A fol. 170v*] et demandanda invitetur.

^a Instructiones ... Ortano] *om. BD*; Videtur esse instructio Innocentii papae VIII C. ^b dominum] *om. D. c* destinandum] destinatum C; destinandum etc. D. ^d applicuerit] advenit *BCD. e* regem] regem Hungariae *BCD. f* demum] *om. BCD. g* licet A] *in marg. A. h* superna] suprema *BCD. i* dominici] dominique C. ^j est] *om. BC. k* sui] *om. D. l* ducitur] *om. B. m* quae] qui A. ⁿ exoriuntur] oriuntur D. ^o sunt] sint *BCD. p* ut ... nunc] *om. BCD. q* inter] et inter *BCD. r* abhoret animus] adhortavimus B. ^s mentis] metuit D. ^t potest] *om. D. u* perfidiam Turchorum] perfidiam Turcarum *BCD. v* eorum vires] coram iure B; eorum iura D. ^w sui] *om. BCD. x* supra vires] supra iuris B; *om. D. y* periculis] periculis *BD. z* via facti] vi D.

^a oportere] oportet *BD. b* temptari] tentari *BCD. c* supereset] supersit *BCD. d* foelici recordationis] cum antea *BCD. e* Sixtus] alii D. ^f sui] *om. BCD. g* viris] iuris B. ^h prelati] nuntii *BCD. i* quorum] eorum *BC. j* cardinales] cardinalibus *BCD. k* dignissimi legati] dignissimis legatis *BCD. l* fuerint] *om. BCD. m* studuerint] studuerunt *BD. n* temptata] tentata *BCD. o* sui] *om. BCD. p* nitatur] vertatur *BC*; vertetur D. ^q Quo minus] quinimo *BCD. r* pulset] pulsat *BCD. s* aperiat] apponat *BD. t* capescendam] compescendam *BC*; compescendum D. ^u tot] *om. D. v* cognoverit] cognovit *BCD. w* Hortetur] Hortatur C. ^x tuis ... tuis] totis viribus *BD. y* tuis] *om. C. z* sua ... maiestas] sanctitatis suae D.

^a faciet] faciat D. ^b studeat] tunc studeat *BCD. c* volente] annuente *BCD. d* bene conducendam] conducendum D. ^e negocium] *om. BCD. f* destinatum] condestinatum D. ^g nec] ne *BD. h* re] se B. ⁱ sibi] *om. B. j* significandum] significando B. ^k destinatum ... cesarem] *rep. A. l* proficiscitur] proficiscetur *CD. m* via facti] vi D. ⁿ conducenda] concludenda *BD. o* via facti] vi D. ^p cessatur] cessetur B. ^q huius] ipsius *BCD. r* B] *in marg. A. s* maiestatis] sanctitatis C. ^t regnum] regem *BCD. u*

¹ A clause that tried to prevent the misuse of the nuncio's faculties, as sometimes happened. Cf. KALOUS, *Late Medieval Papal Legation*, 89.

meritis] demeritis *BC*; meritis eius *D*. ^v ipsi] domino *BCD*. ^w deque] de quo *B*. ^x sunt] est *BCD*. ^y pace ... bello] victoria que parta est bello *D*. ^z Turchos] Turcas *BCD*.

^a collatorum] collocatorum *C*. ^b sanam] sanctam *BC*. ^c collegio] collegii *B*. ^d meritis] demeritis *BCD*. ^e suis] *om. BD*. ^f dominum] *om. C*. ^g exempla] exemplum *BCD*. ^h hiis] illis *BD*; his *C*. ⁱ reus] deus *BD*. ^j diurno] diutino *C*. ^k pressus] prorsus *B*; *om. D*. ^l fecisse ... est] fecisset *D*. ^m *C*] *in marg. A*. ⁿ domino] *om. D*. ^o videret] viderit *BCD*. ^p tam ... quam] ipse et *D*. ^q illustres] *om. C*. ^r quo] quod *BD*. ^s mentis] mentem *B*. ^t temptasset ne] tentasset ut aliquid *B*; tentassetve aliquid *C*; *om. D*. ^u quicquam] aliquid *D*. ^v impune ... esse] ut impune illud ei esset *BCD*. ^w cum] eum *B*. ^x In] Cum *BCD*. ^y invenerit] reperierit *B*; repererit *CD*. ^z ut] *om. B*.

^a venerabilium] *om. BD*. ^b cardinalium] *om. B*. ^c que] *om. B*. ^d que ... deducunt] *om. D*. ^e deducunt] deducuntur *C*. ^f ipse] *om. BD*. ^g celsitudinem] maiestatem *C*. ^h maiestatis] celsitudinis *C*. ⁱ ipso] dicto *CD*. ^j censer] conferri *BC*; conferre *D*. ^k deligatur] delegatur *B*. ^l non] *om. BD*. ^m ne episcopus] ne in cesare episcopus *B*; ne in carcere episcopus *CD*. ⁿ suam] *om. D*. ^o unde preponat] unum proponat *BCD*. ^p Romane curiae] Romanam curiam *BD*. ^q honori ... gloriae] et expediet honori glorieque *D*. ^r iudicari] iudicare *BD*. ^s decori] *om. BD*. ^t et] suae *D*. ^u celsitudinis suē] *om. D*. ^v posset] possit *BCD*. ^w qui] *om. CD*. ^x minus] ligatur minus *B*. ^y regni] regis *C*. ^z subiaceat] subiectus *BCD*.

^a regem] regnum *D*. ^b immediate] mediatum *B*; mediate *D*. ^c Vienna] Neomburg *C*. ^d Vienna vel] *om. BD*. ^e illic] illi *BD*. ^f sibi] illa *D*. ^g obiecta] crimina *BCD*. ^h fervore] favore *D*. ⁱ illa ... esse] hunc illum est *D*. ^j procurabat] supplicabatur *BC*; supplicabat *D*. ^k sumat] assumat *D*. ^l domino] *om. C*. ^m difficili] fideli *BCD*. ⁿ ponendum] *om. C*. ^o an] videlicet an *BCD*. ^p regni] regi *B*. ^q qui] *om. BCD*. ^r et] an *CD*. ^s domino] *om. C*. ^t nolint] nolunt *D*. ^u illi] *om. BCD*. ^v iuratorie] *om. B*; iurative *D*. ^w cautioni] iuratoria cautioni iuridica est *in marg. C*. ^x addatur] addat *BCD*. ^y promittat] promittit *BD*. ^z et] *om. B*.

^a obiecta] dicta *D*. ^b ita] *om. BCD*. ^c censeantur] censeatur *D*. ^d seu] sive *D*. ^e posset] possit *D*. ^f ecclesiasticis] *om. B*. ^g in ... providere] quibus sedes apostolica provideat *BCD*. ^h iuratorie] iuratoria *BCD*. ⁱ fideiussorie] fideiussoria *BCD*. ^j cautioni] cautioni praemissa *B*; cautione praemissa *CD*. ^k advertat] caveat *BCD*. ^l non capere] ne

capiat C. ^m et per ... custodiendum] *om. D.* ⁿ custodiendum] ad custodiendum *BC.* ^o gravissimo] gravi *CD.* ^p fidis] fidedignis *D.* ^q nec ... hominibus] *om. B.* ^r efficiat ... archiepiscopo] praeficiat cumque, ut curent *BD;* praeficiat, curetque ut iurent *C.* ^s ei] eis *B.* ^t totiens quotiens] toties, quoties opus fuerit *CD.* ^u ac ... iudicium] ac ad iudicium *BD;* ac quod iudicium *C.* ^v futurum] futurum *B.* ^w D] *in marg. A.* ^x efficiat] faciat *BD.* ^y regio] regno *BD.* ^z defectus] defectu *B;* defectui *CD.*

^a mandet] mandet insuper *BCD.* ^b notariis] *om. D.* ^c et] *om. B.* ^d competenti] competentibus *D.* ^e recepta] accepta *BCD.* ^f etiam] iam *BD.* ^g esse ... viderit] fuerit *BD.* ^h predictarum] praefatarum *BCD.* ⁱ qui ... mendicite] in mendicite constituto *BCD.* ^j in hoc] *om. BCD.* ^k et] instet, ut *BCD.* ^l iustitia] iustitiam *B.* ^m E] *in marg. A.* ⁿ vel ... accusationis] *om. D.* ^o qua] quo *BCD.* ^p premisa] promissa *B.* ^q processum] processum suum *D.* ^r faciens ... quod] faciens illud producendi et exhibendi non obstante, quod *BCD.* ^s alicui] aliquot *C.* ^t prefulgeant] refulgeant *BCD.* ^u et] *om. BC.* ^v exegerit] exigerit *B.* ^w F] *in marg. A.* ^x et] ut *B.* ^y vel] ut *BCD.* ^z immitatus] invitatus *B.*

^a contingerit] contigerit *BCD.* ^b temptari] tentari *BCD.* ^c neu] ne *BCD.* ^d apponat] immitat *BCD.* ^e G] *in marg. A.* ^f facti sunt] et idcirco *BC;* et ideo *D.* ^g iudicio] in iudicio *D.* ^h pulsati] acti *BC;* *om. D.* ⁱ concessa ... personis] *om. BCD.* ^j fuerint] fuere *C;* fuerunt *D.* ^k actu] acta *BD.* ^l exercuerint] exercuerunt *D.* ^m vel ... deferunt] revocare *BCD.* ⁿ perpetraverint] perpetraverit *BCD.* ^o mulctare] molestare *D.* ^p querellam] querelas *BCD.* ^q procedere] providere *D.* ^r alicui] alieni *B.* ^s de iure] *om. BD.* ^t penderent] penderentur *D.* ^u ut] ex *B;* et *C.* ^v H] *in marg. A.* ^w inoleverat] inoluerat *AC;* voluerat *BD;* *corr. per ed.* ^x corruptela] comptela *sic B.* ^y prout ... laici] ut ecclesiasticae personae laicis *BCD.* ^z nihil] *om. BCD.*

^a capere] capere consueverint *BCD.* ^b et erubescunt] *om. BCD.* ^c forte] forti *A;* eum forte *B;* cum forte *CD.* ^d plenissime satisfactum] satisfactum tamen *BCD.* ^e curant] non curant *BCD.* ^f amplius est] priorio est exempli *B;* peioris est exempli *C;* peius est *D.* ^g receperunt] receperint *BCD.* ^h detestatur] detestatur et ideo *BCD.* ⁱ decernat] decernit *D.* ^j procedet] procedat *C.* ^k Advertat] et advertat *BCD.* ^l prius] *om. BCD.* ^m intendant] veniant *BCD.* ⁿ cum potestate ... prout de iure] *om. B.* ^o I] *in marg. A.* ^p obligantur] obligati *BCD.* ^q tamen] *om. BCD.* ^r ecclesias et] *om. BCD.* ^s fraudulent] defraudent *D.* ^t certis] quibusdam *BCD.* ^u facte] facti *D.* ^v lites] litis *BD.* ^w immortales] immortalis *B.* ^x prefatas ecclesias] dictas personas ecclesiasticas *BCD.* ^y ut prefertur] *om. BCD.* ^z deduxerunt] deduxerant *C.*

^a Supplicavit] Idcirco supplicavit *BCD*. ^b nunc] non *D*. ^c est resumendas] extant sumendas *BCD*. ^d sine] fine *AC*. ^e super] sibi super *CD*. ^f factam] datam *BCD*. ^g cum potestate ... prout de iure] *om. B. h. K* in *marg. A. i* mandantur] mandantur, aptus reputetur *D. j* portat] affert *BCD*. ^k existentibus] existentibus concessa *B*; existentibus concessas *CD. l* portat] habet *BCD. m* reintegrat] redintegrat *D. n. L* in *marg. A. o* rem archiepiscopi] archiepiscopi causam *BCD. p* sua] *om. BD. q* neu] nec *BCD. r* egit] agit *B. s* exegerit] postulare *BCD. t* iusto dolori suo] illius iusto dolori *BCD. u* qui modo] quinimmo *BD. v* viderit] vidisset *BCD. w* nequirit] nequiverit *C. x* sumat] capiat *D. y. M* in *marg. A. z* Quinqueecclesiarum] Quinqueecclesiensi *C*; Ecclesie *D*.

^a efficiat, effingat] reddat, effugiet *BD*; reddat, effugiat *C. b* nuncius] nuncius ostendere *CD. c* non] *om. BCD. d* deliberatione ... applicuerit] de procuranda ipsius liberatione sibi fuerit iniunctum, sed dicat, quod cum applicuerit illas regiones *BCD. e* eum insteterint] se instetisse *BC. f* sua] ipsius *BCD. g* tutanda] tuenda *BCD. h. N* in *marg. A. i* verbo] *om. D. j* celsitudini] maiestati *C. k* quod ... caesarem] *om. BCD. l* ingenii sui] ingenti sua *CD. m* velut] velit *D. n* pro communi ... pendet] quod *BC*; *om. D. o* Interponet] interponat *B*; interponere *D. p* filium] *sic ABCD*; filialis *Teleki. q* in negotio ... domini] ipsi litteras pro liberatione prefati *BCD. r* ex regina processerit] ab ipsa regina provenerit *BC. s* nuntius ... Attamen] *om. D. t* ecclesiastica] ecclesiae *D. u* tutanda] tuenda *CD. v* eius] sui *CD. w* Neu] nec *BD. x* monumenta] movimenta *B. y* maiore] maiori *BCD. z* Quodque] quoque *B*.

^a hec] hoc *BCD. b* sit] si *B. c* ductu suo] ductus *BCD. d* sperat] teneat *BCD. e* gerit] gerat *BCD. f* largitor] largiter *BCD. g. O* in *marg. A. h* institutione] instructione *D. i* Olomucensi] Olmocen. *A*; Olumacen. *BD*; Cluniacen. *sic. C. j* episcopi] illius episcopi *BCD. k* vacaverit] vacaverat *CD. l* episcopum] dominum *B*; *om. CD. m* Sirimiensem] Sirunen *sic. A*; Sirimen. *BCD. n* temerato] temerario *BCD. o* eidem domino ... ecclesiam] *om. D. p* dimittat] relaxet *BCD. q* distraxit] destruxit *BCD. r* presterunt] praestiterint *BC. s* evocandi] vocandi *BCD. t* iuris fuerit] ius postulabit *BCD. u* et publicationem] *om. B. v* impositionem] *om. B. w* et premisa omnia et] ac *CD. x* a divinis] ad *BCD. y* in locis] ad loca *BCD. z* que] qua *B*.

^a eius] illis *BCD. b* complices et fautores] complicibus et fautoribus *BCD. c* contigerint] contigerit *BCD. d* totiens quotiens] toties quoties *D. e. P* in *marg. A. f* qui] *om. BCD. g* Magdeburgensi] Madeburgen. *ABD*; Magderburgen. *C. h* quibusvis]

quibus cum *D.*ⁱ in qua] a quibus *BD*; in quibus *C.*^j resumendas] reassumendas *BCD.*
^k *A*] in marg. *A.*^l impérium Turcorum] Turcarum principem *BCD.*^m invicti] *om.*
*BD.*ⁿ esse] hostem *BCD.*^o qua] quo *BCD.*^p evisceratis] profusis *BCD.*^q exhibuerit]
adhibuerit *BD.*^r prosequendam] persequendam *B.*^s et excitatione] *om.* *D.*^t cre-
datur] videatur *BCD.*^u sanctitas] maiestas *A.*^v sua sanctitas ... ad quam] et *BCD.*^w
melior] meliori *BD.*^x maiestas] sanctitas *BCD.*^y seria] seriem *BCD.*^z accingere] se
accingere *BC.*

^a omni] omne *B.*^b conatu] cura *BCD.*^c facturum] facturam *B.*^d sobolem] prolem
BCD.^e habeat] habet *BD.*^f diligentem] diligenter *D.*^g habere] adhibere *BD.*^h
initietur] initiando *D.*ⁱ disciplinae] disciplina *BC.*^j obeundis] *om.* *D.*^k salute]
saluta sic *B.*^l athletam] defensorem *BCD.*^m ipso] *om.* *BD.*ⁿ illustrissimo] *om.* *B.*^o
Mediolani] Mediolanensi *BCD.*^p *B*] in marg. *A.*^q prefatus] dominus *C.*^r
prefatus nuntius] predictus orator *D.*^s testimonio] testimoniorum *C.*^t pro-
batur] comprobatur *D.*^u evadet] sit et evadet *BD*; sit et evadat *C.*^v gratulatur ...
perseveret] *om.* *C.*^w perseveret] ut perseveret *BD.*^x paterne et avite glorie]
paternam et avitam virtutem *BCD.*^y Habet] habeat *B*; habebat *D.*^z virtutum et]
om. *B.*

^a quos] quas *BCD.*^b quos] quas *BCD.*^c reputetque secum] cogitetque suum *B*;
cogitetque secum *CD.*^d studere debeat] ut studeat suadere debet *BCD.*^e Poli-
cetur] Pollicebitur *BCD.*^f quando ... apostolicę] *om.* *BD.*^g domini Mediolanensi]
domini ducis Mediolanensium *C*; ducis Mediolanen. *D.*^h quare sua sanctitas ...
conservanda] *om.* *BCD.*ⁱ sue maiestatis] *om.* *C.*^j reintegrentur] reintegretur *D.*^k
restituantur] restituatur *D.*^l quod] quia *BC.*^m Vladislaum] Huratislaum *A*; Hula-
dislaum *B*; Huladislauum *C*; Ladislauum *D.*ⁿ Hyradich] Hyradich *A*; Hiradich *BC.*
^o scilicet Cherich] *om.* *D.*^p eos] eum *D.*^q pecunias levare voluerint] pecunia
levantur *B*; pecuniae levantur *CD.*^r bellorum] *om.* *BD.*^s pacta] *om.* *D.*^t pacis]
om. *B.*^u concordię] concordia *C.*^v ex] ab *BCD.*^w ingressu] ingressus *BCD.*^x
suspensionis] suspensione et *BCD.*^y auxilii] auxilio *B.*^z vocatis] vocatos *D.*

^a iuribus] viribus *B.*^b conventam] deveniant *BCD.*^c abbatum] abbates *BCD.*^d
restituant] ea restituant *B.*^e forma brevium] brevis forma *D.*^f aliarum] alicui *BCD.*
^g vel] et *BCD.*^h solum] secundum *BCD.*ⁱ apostolicam] apostolicam non mo-
lestarum rerum *B*; apostolicam non molestentur etc. *CD*; *finis textus BCD.*^j
Segniensi] Seguien. *A*

10.

Roma, 1 September 1488
Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope publishes the bull of the legation, which defines the legal status of Angelo, Bishop of Orte [Angelo Pecchinoli] as nuncio and orator with the power of the legate *de latere*, as well as his legatine province (Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia). After the general explanation of the power of the pope, the bull gives general reasons for the legation of the nuncio, especially the Turkish danger against which the nuncio should proceed very ardently. He is sent as an angel of peace for the Christian princes whom he should bring into cooperation against the Turks.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 232v–235r. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 515–517, n. DCCXI; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 346–348, n. 2 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad nonnulla Germanie, Ungarie, Polonie et Boemie [fol. 233r] ac alias illis adiacentes partes atque regna nostro et sedis apostolice cum plena potestate legati de latere nuntio et oratori salutem etc. Pro humani generis redemptione de summis celorum ad ima mundi descendens unigenitus Dei filius Ihesus Christus ac mortem subiens temporalem, ne gregem sui pretio sanguinis redemptum ascensus post resurrectionem eius ad patrem absque pastore decederet, ipsius curam beato Petro apostolo, ut sue stabilitate fidei ceteros in christiana religione firmaret eorumque mentes ad salutis opera sue accenderet devotionis ardore commisit. Unde nos, licet immeriti, eiusdem apostoli disponente Domino successores effecti et ipsius redemptoris locum quamquam indigne tenentes in terris circa gregis eiusdem custodiam, ne lupus rapax obrepat illumque sua versutia ac dolo et fraude dissolvat, necnon a rectitudinis tramite deviare conprimat sollicitis vacare vigiliis et animarum saluti iugis attentione cogitationes intendere submovendo noxia et augendo pro futura de-

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

bemus, ut excusso a nobis negligentie somno nostrique cordis oculis sedula diligentia vigilantibus animas Deo lucrifacere sua nobis cooperante gratia valeamus. Cum itaque sicut, proh dolor, oculi cunctorum Christi fidelium possunt luce clarius intueri immanissimus Turchorum princeps, qui adversus dominicam crucem, in qua salvati et redempti sumus, sathane vexillum, reprobo, ausu et vasta temeritate erexerit, effundendi christiani sanguinis ardore nimio estuans, quam plurima et innumerabilia fidelium milia cruentissima strage afflixerit et maximam etiam partem in predam etiam miserabilem turpemque servitutem redegerit nephandoque suo subiugaverit imperio ac omnem [fol. 233v] sexum nulla usus humanitate, qui omni fera crudelior est, sevissime opprimerit, ac suos ferales ausus continuans in dictarum partium regnis et dominiis, necnon proximis et finitissimis locis atrocissimas incursiones peregerit, ex quibus et multis aliis victoriis christianis in domibus torpentibus obtentis in tanta superbie et arrogantie flamma elatus est, ut terra marique reliquas fidelium regiones invadere, debellare, sibique, si posset, quod reliquum christiani nominis existit, nephando suo subiugare anhelet imperio, in maximam divine maiestatis offensam nostramque et catholicorum regum et principum aliorumque fidelium ignominiam dedecus et iacturam et, quod molestissimum nobis est, nec aliter, quam cum animi dolore referre possumus, tam occasione dominiorum et terrarum, que reges, duces et principes in illis partibus existentes mutuo armis alter ab altero occupasse dicuntur, quorum occasione ni celeriter occurratur, gravissima bellorum incendia exoriri formidantur, nec facile spes instaurandi exercitus illis in oris pro reprimendis ipsorum nephandorum Turchorum copiis policeri potest, nisi prius discordie ac guerrarum turbines inter eosdem reges, duces et principes vigentes pacate et sedate ipsique ad pacis et quietis dulcedinem reducti fuerint. Nos, qui etiam revolvimus animo non sine ampliori cordis merore, quot patriarchales, metropolitane, cathedrales alieque insignes ecclesie pene imminuere ac utriusque sexus regularium personarum monasteria, cenobia et pia loca prophanata ac de formi ruine subacta, illorum ornamenta, cruces et calices [fol. 234r] aliaque divinis deputata ministeriis conflata et destructa ac,

quod lamentabilius est, sanctorum venerande reliquie conculcate et innumeri sexus utriusque fideles ad damnatam Machometicam septam sub dura servitute recipienda fuisse compulsos, et nisi per catholicos principes tante temeritati tantoque furori celeriter occurratur, maiora semper detrimenta videntur verisimiliter propediem futura, cum ad huiusmodi necessitates explicandum regesque principes, potestates, communitates et dominia hortandum, requirendum et monendum, ut semotis quibusvis dissidiis huic sancto operi vacent, ac se ad reprimendum ipsius perfide Turchorum gentis elatos conatus accingant, personaliter progredi non valeamus, te, quem experientia in magnis experti sumus, et quem probitate, fidelitate, scientia, necnon gravitate et consilii maturitate, aliisque plurimis virtutum donis invenimus insignitum, pro laude omnipotentis Dei et sedis apostolice ac nostro honore, necnon communis christiani populi salute ad huiusmodi presentes necessitates, quas et maiores in foribus prope futuras, nisi protinus obvietur, cernimus, ad prefatas partes illarumque reges, duces et principes ac adherentes eorumque regna et dominia tanquam pacis angelum et concordie cum plena potestate legati de latere nuntium et oratorem transmictimus. Tu igitur munus hoc pro Dei honore et nostri ac sedis predictae reverentia prompta devotione suscipiens iuxta exquisitam tibi a Domino datam prudentiam rebus in discrimine positus providere et oportune consuleore ac facere et exequi non differas, que necessaria fore et expediri [fol. 234v] cognoveris. Nos autem, ut fructus, quos inde futuros expectamus, quantotius eveniant, tibi omnes et singulas differentias tam inter memoratos reges, duces et principes ac adherentes hinc inde, quam quosvis alios, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana sint prediti dignitate, tam occasione quorumvis dominiorum et terrarum, quam alias subortas et forsan, que suboriri poterunt, audiendi, illasque sedandi et quietandi, necnon quosvis pacis tractatus et confederationes inter eosdem reges, duces et principes ac adherentes ineundi et, si oportuum tibi fuerit visum, treugas ad tempus vel ad tempora, de quo vel quibus inter se concordaverint, indicendi ac huiusmodi pacem, si ad illam tua accurata sollicitudine induci poterunt, vel treugas ipsas etiam cum censurarum appositione earumque aggravatione observari, faciendi et mandandi et tam eosdem, quam omnes et singulos catholicos principes

et populos, ut adversus eundem nephandissimum Turchorum principem pro defensione fidei, pro salute patrie et propria ac aliorum christianorum tuitione se ardentur, apponant, ipsiusque reprobos conatus reprimere studeant, excitandi omniaque alia et singula circa premissa necessaria quomodolibet et oportuna faciendi, statuendi, disponendi et ordinandi plenam et liberam harum serie facultatem, licentiam pariter et potestatem concedimus et elargimur. Quo circa fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus iniunctum tibi ministerium oneris et laboris [*fol. 235r*] huiusmodi devote suscipiens pro nostra et sedis predictae reverentia et tam pii operis actione, sic illud provide et solerter plenius exequaris affectibus, quod ex tuis laboribus divina tibi favente gratia sperati fructus adveniant, tuque nostram et eiusdem sedis benedictionem gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis, aut si alicui vel aliquibus, inter quos pacis et concordie huiusmodi tractatus agi et tractari contingeret, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana sint, prediti dignitate a sede predicta indultum existat, quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas, non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi commissionis vel mandati impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in hiis litteris de verbo ad verbum mentio specialis. Nos enim sententias, quas rite tuleris atque alias penas, quas statueris in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari.

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, Kalendis Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Coll. D. de Attavantis

Io. Cotini¹

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

¹ Dominicus de Attavantis, collector taxae plumbi (1487; and obviously here also in 1488). – Io. Cotini, unidentified.

II.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII publishes general credentials for Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope makes public the general credentials and the letter of safe conduct of the nuncio, Angelo, Bishop of Orte, as nuncio with the powers of the legate de latere in Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia and adjacent countries. The nuncio and his familiares (up to twenty of them) with all their property should have the right of passage in all the territories.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 231r–231v.

Hie. Balbanus¹

Innocentius etc. Universis et singulis, ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem etc. Cum in presentiarum venerabilem fratrem nostrum Angelum episcopum Ortanum ad nonnullas Germanie, Hungarie, Polonie et Bohemie partes necnon illis adiacentes partes atque regna cum potestate legati de latere pro nostris et sedis apostolice negotiis destinandum duxerimus cupiamusque ipsum episcopum suosque familiares cum equis, arnesiis, valisiis, libris, vestibibus rebusque et bonis suis omnibus plena ubique securitate et immunitate gaudere ab omnibusque benigne tractari. Eapropter universitatem nostram et vestrum singulos requirimus et ortamur in Domino, subditis vero nostris et gentium armorum capitaneis ubique ad nostra et Romane ecclesie stipendia militantibus districte precipiendo mandamus, quatenus eundem episcopum eiusque familiares usque ad numerum viginti cum omnibus et singulis eorum equis, valisiis, arnesiis, vestibibus, libris rebusque et bonis suis omnibus predictis per nostra et vestra territoria, passus, portus, pontes et loca quelibet tam per terram, quam per aquam transire, stare, ire, redire pro nostra et sedis predictae reverentia libere et expedite absque solutione alicuius datii, pedagii, passagii, fundi, navis vel gabelle aut cuiuscumque alterius [fol. 231v] impositionis seu oneris indicti vel indicendi exactione permittatis. Nec eidem episcopo aut eius familiaribus predictis in personis, rebus et bonis predictis molestiam vel iniuriam aliquam inferatis, seu ab aliis, quantum in vobis fuerit, inferri

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

permictatis, quin potius eidem episcopo et familiaribus prefatis de securo transitu atque receptu, prout vos aut quemlibet vestrum ab eis requiri contigerit, sic liberaliter providere curetis, quod exinde vestra possit devotio apud nos et sedem ipsam non immerito commendari, presentibus post biennium minime valituris. Datum ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

L. Maius³

12.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope grants the nuncio a faculty to proceed with ecclesiastical censures against the debtors of tithes in the Kingdom of Hungary. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 235r–236v; transcribed in a charter of Angelo Pecchinoli dated Buda, 5 July 1490 (modern transcription in 1730, ELTE Könyvtár, Kaprinai-gyűjtemény, B-sorozat, 69. kötet, pag. 150–164). – ED.: KER-CESELIČ, *Historiarum cathedralis ecclesiae Zagabiensis partis primae tomus I.*, 200–201.

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regnum Ungarie cum plena potestate legati de latere nostro et apostolice sedis nuntio oratori salutem etc. [*fol. 235v*] Cum nos hodie <te> ad regnum Ungarie pro nonnullis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis nostrum et apostolice sedis nuntium et oratorem ad Dei laudem et prefate ecclesie statum et honorem cum plena potestate legati de latere duxerimus destinandum et sicut nobis nuper carissimus in Christo filius noster Mathias Ungarie rex illustris per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Iohannem⁴ episcopum Sirimiensem suum apud nos oratorem

¹ 1 September 1488; fol. 229r: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII, Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Laurentius Maius, sollicitator (1482–1497), scriptor cancellarie (1483–1497), collector taxe plumbi (1488), and previously also abbreviator.

⁴ János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem.

fecit exponi, licet in regno illo a tanto tempore, cuius contrarii hominum memoria non existit, semper ex prediis et bonis omnibus, que christifideles possiderent, ecclesiis integre decime solvi consueverint, idque inviolabiliter observatum fuerit, tamen a multis iam annis citra occasione huiusmodi decimarum et super modo solutionis earundem varie lites inter diversas prefati regni personas exorte fuerint, super quibus in Romana curia coram diversis commissariis et iudicibus etiam causarum pallacii apostolici auditoribus lites pendent adhuc indecise non sine maximo partium dispendio. Nos considerantes, quod decime non tam humano, quam divino iure debentur, quas Deus sibi reservatis sacerdotibus in signum universalis domini solvi mandavit ac tam debitorum ipsarum decimarum dispendiis quam hiis, quibus debentur³ paterna caritate consulere, volentes omnes et singulas causas huiusmodi coram quibusvis iudicibus in Romana curia sive extra eam etiam sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus et presertim coram venerabilibus fratribus nostris Antonio Tiburtino¹ et Iohanne Alexandrino² episcopis ac dilectis filiis Petro de Ferrera, Guillelmo de Perreriis, Francisco Brevio, Mattheo de Ubaldis, [fol. 236r] Mattheo de Porta, Ieronimo de Poracariis,³

¹ Antonio Grassi, bishop of Tivoli (1485–1491); auditor of Rota Romana (1462–1490), referendarius (1484–1491), subdiaconus (1484). Served as nuncio to the Emperor in 1478–1479.

² Giovanni Antonio Sangiorgio, auditor of Rota Romana (1478–1493), referendarius (1482–1493); bishop of Alessandria (1478–1499), translated to Parma (1499–1509); created cardinal 20 September 1493; died 1509.

³ Petrus de Ferrera, a questionable person. Pedro Ferris was a bishop of Tarazona (1464–1478) and cardinal (1468/1476–1478), died on 25 November 1478. Thomas Frenz registered his death to 18 Nov 1492 and many reports of his activities. Most probably it is a different person of the same name; this person could not be a bishop or a cardinal, because it would be mentioned (when two bishops are named in front of everybody else) and must have been also auditor of Rota Romana, by Thomas Frenz since 1464. – Guillelmus de Perreriis, auditor of Rota Romana (1473–1500). – Francesco Brevio of Venice, auditor of Rota Romana (1482–1503), referendarius (1499–1503/4), bishop of Ceneda (1498–1508). – Matteo Ubaldi, auditor of Rota Romana (1484–1508), bishop of Penne (1508–1509). – Matteo da Porta, auditor of

Folino de Gaudera,¹ Eggerdo Durcap² et Petro ——— de Accolitis³ pallacii apostolici causarum auditoribus pendentes, etiam si ad sedem predictam legitime devolute ac de iuris necessitate in eadem curia tractande et finiende existant, illarum status et merita presentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes ad nos advocantes, illarum et earum singulas in eis statu, terminis et instantia, in quibus coram eis respective pendent, fraternitati tue tenore presentium resumendas ac ulterius etiam summarie simpliciter et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii cum omnibus et singulis incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis, attemptatis et innovatis attemptandisque et innovandis audiendas et fine debito terminandas, cum potestate citandi etiam extra loca commissionis tue et etiam per edictum publicum, si ad citandos tutus non pateret accessus, omnes et singulos sua quomodolibet interesse putantes in regno predicto et extra illud existentes et inhibendi etiam sub censuris quotiens videris expedit ac alia faciendi, gerendi et exequendi, que in premissis et circa ea necessaria fuerint, quomodolibet et oportuna auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium committimus et delegamus. Inhibentes prefatis cardinalibus, episcopis, iudicibus, commissariis et auditoribus, ne se de causis huiusmodi ulterius quoquomodo intromittere presumant ac decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane quicquid in illis per eosdem et quoscumque alios quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Volumus autem, quod quicquid in premissis decreveris per censuras ecclesiasticas earumque aggravationem et reaggravationem^b ac alia iuris oportuna remedia et etiam penas pecuniarias, de quibus tibi videbitur, appellacione [fol. 236v] postposita firmiter facias observari,

Rota Romana (1464–1493). – Girolamo Porcario, auditor of Rota Romana (1471–1503), referendarius (1484–1492), bishop of Andria (1495–1503).

¹ Felino Sandei, auditor of Rota Romana (1484–1499), referendarius (1490–1503), bishop of Penne (1495–1502).

² Egerdus Durcop, auditor of Rota Romana (1486–1499), bishop of Schleswig (1489–1499).

³ Pietro Accolti (Petrus de Accoltis), auditor of Rota Romana (1489–1505, 1508–1511), referendarius (1488–1510), cardinal (1511–1532).

invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis. Super quibus omnibus et singulis tibi plenam, liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem, non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque. Aut si alicui vel aliquibus, inter quos decimarum huiusmodi cause tractari et diffiniri contigerit, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana sint predicti dignitate a sede predicta indultum existat, quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam presentibus non expressam, vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi commissionis et mandati impediri valeat quomodolibet, vel differri et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in hiis litteris mentio specialis. Nos enim sententias, quas rite tuleris, atque alias penas, quas statueris in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Rome etc., ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

F. de Suno³

^a Deus sibi ... debentur] *add. in marg.* ^b et reaggravationem] *in marg.*

¹ 1 September 1488; fol. 235r: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Franciscus de Suno, scriptor cancellarie (1473–1489), magister registri cancellarie (1487–1489), previously also abbreviator and lector in audientia litterarum contradictarum.

13.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope instructs the nuncio to proceed against all ecclesiastical persons and most importantly prelates who are suspect of heresy, especially John, bishop of Várad, whose parents were Bohemian heretics. After the nuncio reaches Hungary, he should summon the bishop and others to enquire about the truth of such accusations. He should send all his findings back to Rome, so that the pope and the cardinals can decide. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 236v–237v. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 517, n. DCCXII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 348–349, n. 3 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regna Ungarie cum potestate legati de latere nostro et sedis apostolice nuntio et oratori salutem etc. Grave gerimus et molestum cum sinistra nobis, de quibusvis personis ecclesiasticis referuntur, sed in prelatorum excessibus presertim damnate [fol. 237r] heresis eo gravius provocamur, quod damnabilius eorum culpa remaneret incorrecta, cum trahatur a subditis, quod ab eis agitur facilius in exemplum. Sane non sine animi molestia fidedignorum relatione accepimus, quod venerabilis frater noster Iohannes episcopus Waradiensis,² sui status et honoris immemor Deique timore postposito ex parentibus Boemie heresis sectatoribus originem trahens eorum sequendo errores, que per predecessores nostros et sedem apostolicam damnata est expresse, probantibus hereticos, credentes fautores et receptores eorum scienter favorem ac opem et auxilium eis publice prestare non formidat, ob quod magna et vehemens de illo suspitio laborat, quod male de religione christiana sentire videatur. Nos itaque considerantes, quod omnis retardatio, que in commissione huius criminis fieri contingit,

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad, came from a burgher family in Prostějov, a small town in central Moravia. His parents were Utraquists.

periculosa est, in prelatiſ autem, qui in partem cure et ſolicitudinis ſuper gregem dominicum per ſedem apoſtolicam deputantur, periculioſior eſt amplius et gravior. Idcirco fraternitati tue, de qua in domino plurimum confidimus, preſentium tenore commictimus et mandamus, ut poſtquam perveneris ad regnum Ungarie, ad quod te in preſentiarum pro nonnullis noſtris et Romane eccleſie peragendis arduis negotiis deſtinandum duximus, vocatiſ dicto epiſcopo et aliis, qui fuerint evocandi etiam per edictum publicum in convicinis locis, ſi ad eos citandos tutus non pateat accessus, inquiras auctoritate noſtra de eiſdem relatiſ et aliis, que in apoſtolicę ſedis auctoritatis contemptum quotidie, ut aſſeritur, perpetrare non ceſſat, diligenter veritatem, et que inveneris, in publicam et auctenticam formam manu publici notarii inde rogandi redigi facias et ſic redacta ad noſ clauſa et ſigillata tranſmictas, ut habita tua ſic facta relatione fideli poſſimus ſuper hiisdem [fol. 237v] relatiſ, prout ſue ſaluti et univerſitati animarum ſibi commiſſarum ac eiſdem fidei integritati expedire putabimus de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio oportune providere, contradictores auctoritate etc. Non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus et ordinationibus apoſtolicis contrariis quibuſcumque, ſeu ſi dicto epiſcopo vel quibuſvis aliis communiter vel diviſim a ſede prefata indultum exiſtat, quod interdicti, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint per litteras apoſtolicas non facientes plenam et expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiſmodi mentionem. Tu autem ex traditiſ tibi dono celeſti virtutibus ſic te in veritatis premiſſorum inquisitionem diligenter exhibeas et ſolertem, quod exinde poſſis apud noſ merito commendari. Datum ut ſupra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantiſ

B. Bagarothuſ²

^a Hie. Balbanuſ] *in marg.*

¹ 1 September 1488; fol. 235r: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. milieſimo quadringenteſimo octavo, Kalendas Septembris, pontificatuſ noſtri anno quarto.

² Dominicuſ de Attavantiſ; Baptiſta Bagarothuſ, abbreviator (1484, 1485, 1488–1505), ſcriptor cancellarie (1485–1495), ſcriptor ſecretuſ (1488), previouſly alſo ſecretariuſ, later magiſter regiſtri cancellarie, comes Palatinuſ, cubiculariuſ and prothonotariuſ.

14.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with the faculty to proceed against all ecclesiastical persons, who misuse the papal privileges granted to them by the pope or his predecessors, or the cardinals and legates. The nuncio has the right to annul all such privileges with the exception of the officials of the Roman curia or apostolic notaries. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 237v–238v. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 517–518, n. DCCXIII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 349–350, n. 4 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo etc. Cum nos hodie te ad regnum Ungarie per nonnullis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis nostrum et apostolice sedis nuntium et oratorem ad Dei laudem et prefate ecclesie statum et honorem duxerimus destinandum, et sicut retulit nobis venerabilis frater noster Iohannes episcopus Sirimiensis² carissimi in Christo filii nostri Mathie Ungarie regis illustris orator ad nos destinatus, quam plures persone ecclesiastice in regno illo existant, que tam a nobis, quam predecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus litteras exemptionum impetrarunt seque in notarios, acolitos, subdiaconos et capellanos nostros recipi obtinuerunt, ut ordinariorum et aliorum competentium iudicum forum et iurisdictionem delinent, utque de excessibus et delictis, que licentius et confidentius exemptionum premissarum vigore committere non formidant, impunitatem consequantur, [fol. 238r] ut animarum suarum periculum divineque maiestatis offensam nostrumque et huius sancte sedis opprobrium et contemptum ac fidelium scandalum populorum. Nos considerantes, quod privilegium meretur amittere, qui promissa sibi abutitur potestate, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, ut omnia et singula privilegia, indulta, exemptiones et immunitates huiusmodi quomodo-

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem.

libet, tamquam predecessores nostros Romanos pontifices, quam per nos seu legatos sedis predictae, etiam si sancte Romane ecclesiae cardinales fuerint, quibusvis ecclesiasticis personis, quavis ecclesiastica dignitate prefulgeant, sub quibusvis verborum formis et clausulis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis ac insolitis concessas et concessa, auctoritate nostra revoces, casses, annulles ac pro nullis et infectis haberi mandes ita, ut deinceps talibus indultis, privilegiis et exemptionibus nullo modo in iudiciis et extra utantur aut uti possint, illas tamen dumtaxat personas excipias, quas etiam nos per presentes excipimus, qui nostri et sedis predictae officiales alias existentes actu in dicta curia sua officia exercuerint, vel qui notariorum apostolice sedis habitum gestari solitum deferunt, quibus privilegia firma et illesa volumus permanere; mandantes tibi etiam harum serie, ut postquam in regno illo revocationes et cassationes huiusmodi publicaveris eosdem exemptos, quos premissae exemptionis tempore delicta crimina et excessus ad partium querelam vel accusationem aut alia ex tuo officio commisisse, vel debita contraxisse legitime cognoveris, vocatis, quorum interest, punias, mulctes et alias iustitia suadente et prout expedire videris, castigas ac easdem ad debitorum solutionem et satisfactionem viis et remediis oportunitatis cogas et compellas, super quibus omnibus et singulis tibi plenam, liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus [fol. 238v] facultatem. Non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, aut quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi mandati impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri. Datum ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis

B. Bagarothus²

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

¹ 1 September 1488; fol. 235v: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis; Baptista Bagarothus.

15.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope instructs Angelo to press John, bishop of Várad (Jan Filipec), who illegally took possession of the bishopric of Olomouc, vacant after the death of the previous bishop, to hand it over to John, bishop of Srem, who was provided the bishopric by the pope. The bishop of Várad should be cited and coerced to relinquish the control of the bishopric of Olomouc. If this is not happening the pope grants the nuncio a faculty to use ecclesiastical censures against the bishop and his associates, with the possibility to lift the censures, when this is accomplished. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 238v–239v. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 518–519, n. DCCXIV; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 350–352, n. 5 (acc. to THEINER).

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo etc. usque destinandum. Et sicut non sine querela significavit nobis venerabilis frater noster Iohannes episcopus Sirimiensis² carissimi in Christo filii nostri Matie Ungarie regis illustris orator ad nos destinatus, venerabilis frater noster Iohannes episcopus Waradiensis³ nulla canonica provisione suffultus, sed propria temeritate et de facto ecclesiam Olomucensem,^b cui dudum certo modo vacanti eundem Iohannem Sirimiensem perpetuum administratorem in spiritualibus constituimus et deputavimus, a longo tempore citra invaserit et de facto occupaverit illiusque fructus, redditus et proventus in usus suos damnabiles converterit ac multa prefate ecclesie Olomucensi^c bona distraxerit et alienaverit in dicte ecclesie preiudicium, anime sue periculum divineque maiestatis offensam ac huius sancte sedis vilipendium et contemptum, super quibus de oportuno sibi provideri remedio nobis

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem.

³ Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad.

humiliter supplicavit.¹ Nos igitur, ad quos spectat, huiusmodi temerarios ausus reprimere omnes et singulas causas occupationis et occupationum ac invasionis [fol. 239r] et invasionum huiusmodi, quibusvis iudicibus commissariis et delegatis per nos sub quavis verborum forma commissas et delegatas ad nos harum serie proprio motu advocantes fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vocatis dicto Iohanne Waradiensi episcopo et aliis, qui fuerint evocandi etiam extra loca commissionis tue etiam per edictum publicum in convicinis locis, si ad eos citandos tutus non pateat accessus, eundem Iohannem auctoritate nostra moneas et requiras, ut infra competentem terminum, quem eidem prefigendum duxeris, ecclesiam Olomucensem^d predictam una cum fructibus, quos occupationis et intrusionis huiusmodi tempore recepit, eidem Iohanni Sirimiensi vel eius legitimo procuratori integre relaxet et restituat, necnon bona, que medio tempore alienavit et distraxit, eidem ecclesie reintegret et reintegrari faciat. Quod si facere contempserit, aut alias quomodolibet neglexerit, tam contra eundem Iohannem episcopum Waradiensem, quam eius in premissis complices fautores auxilium vel consilium prestantes cuiuscumque dignitatis, gradus, ordinis, nobilitatis et conditionis existant, ad censurarum ecclesiasticarum declarationem et publicationem illarumque aggravationem et reagravationem ac aliarum penarum pecuniarium, prout expedire cognoveris, impositionem, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis, necnon ecclesiastici interdicti in locis et ad quomodo tam ipsum Iohannem episcopum Waradiensem, quam eius in premissis complices et fautores impositionem declinare contigerit et alias iuxta posteriorum nostrarum litterarum desuper concessarum in forma brevis continentiam atque formam procedas, cum potestate

¹ Jan Filipec was elected by the cathedral chapter of Olomouc in 1483 and administered the diocese until 1490. His administration is considered a big success in local diocesan historiography, for example the Olomouc humanist Augustinus Olomucensis wrote about him very positively, cf. FRANCISCUS XAV. RICHTER, ed., *Augustini Olomucensis Episcoporum Olomucensium Series*, Olomouc 1831, 171–176; cf. KALOUS, *Spor o biskupství olomoucké*.

easdem censuras et penas post debitam satisfa[c]tionem aut amicabilem compositionem remictendi et relaxandi, necnon ab illis [fol. 239v] simpliciter vel ad cautelam vel contra incidentia totiens, quotiens expedire cognoveris, absolvendi, super quibus omnibus et singulis tibi plenam, liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem. Seu si dicto episcopo vel quibusvis aliis, cum quibusvis de intrusione et invasione huiusmodi erit agendum, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana sint preediti potestate, a sede predicta indultum existat, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi commissionis et mandati impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri, de quibus illarumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis. Nos enim sententias et censuras ecclesiasticas ac alias pecuniarias, penas, quas rite tuleris in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

B. Bagarothus³

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b Olomucensem] Olamucen. *ms.* ^c Olomucensi] Olamucen. *ms.* ^d Olomucensem] Olamucen. *Ms.*

¹ 1 September 1488; fol. 235r: Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Baptista Bagarothus.

16.

Roma, 1 September 1488
Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with a faculty to relief all the persons coming to him of labours and expenses, as he can provide a number of dispensations and licences otherwise accessible only at the Roman curia, usually at the Sacred Penitentiary. The nuncio can 1) grant dispensation to 24 ecclesiastical persons secular or regular to hold two incompatible ecclesiastical benefices, 2) grant dispensation to 20 persons of illegitimate origin to proceed to holy orders and hold ecclesiastical benefices, even with the care of souls, 3) grant dispensation to 12 persons who wish to enter into matrimony, but are unable to because of the impediment of public honesty or because they are related through a fourth or third grade of consanguinity, and absolution and dispensation to 20 persons, who knowingly or not knowingly entered into matrimony in such conditions, their offspring are to be pronounced legitimate, 4) grant indulgences of one hundred days to 20 persons who visit church and or other pious places out of devotion on various feasts or who help build or reconstruct the churches or other ecclesiastical places, or those who visit a mass solemnly celebrated by the nuncio, 5) create and constitute 12 persons to the office of notaries and ordinary judges, provided they take the usual oath, 6) grant a license to 20 persons (prelates or noblemen) to have a portable altar and to have a mass served in proper and honest places, 7) grant a license to 20 persons to elect a confessor, who can grant absolution except for cases reserved to the Apostolic See, the elected confessor then can grant full remission of sins at the moment of death (and if they survive, they should indulge in another form of penance, so that they do not slope down towards unlawful deeds; this can be substituted by fasting).

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 239v–242r.

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri nostro Angelo episcopo Ortano ad nonnullas Germanie, Ungarie, Polonie et Bohemie ac alias illis adiacentes partes atque regna nostro necnon sancte sedis apostolice nuntio et oratori cum potestate legati de latere salutem etc. Cum te dudum ad nonnullas Germanie, Ungarie, Polonie, Boemie ac alias

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

illis adiacentes partes atque regna pro certis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis nostrum et apostolice sedis nuntium et oratorem cum potestate legati de latere [*fol. 240r*] duxerimus destinandum, nos cupientes, ut tu, quamdiu tibi facta commissio duraverit, personis undecumque ex superioribus locis ad te recurrentibus te possis reddere graciosum etiam illarum necessitatibus consulere easque ab expensis et^b laboribus relevare.

Fraternitati tue, ut cum viginti quatuor personis secularibus vel ordinum quorumcunque non tamen mendicantium regularibus, ut singule earum quicunque duo curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia secularia, vel quorumcunque etiam Cluniacensem ordinum regularia beneficia etiam si secularia parrochiales ecclesie, vel earum perpetue vicarie et tam illa, quam regularia beneficia huiusmodi dignitates personaliter administrationes, vel officia, prioratus, prepositure in cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis vel collegiatis et dignitates ipse in eisdem cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis post pontificales maiores, aut in collegiatis ecclesiis huiusmodi principales prioratus vero prepositure, aut alie dignitates conventuales ac officia claustralia seu talia mixtim fuerint et ad illos, illas vel illa consueverint, qui per electionem assumi eis que cura immineat animarum, si eis alias canonice conferantur aut eligantur, presententur vel assumantur ad illa et instituantur in eis seculares videlicet secularia in titulum regulares vero persone unum in titulum et alium, quod tamen dignitas conventualis, aut officium claustrale non sit regulare, beneficia huiusmodi in commendam recipere et quoad vixerint, insimul retinere. Necnon commendandorum beneficiorum predictorum supportatis oneribus de residuis illorum fructibus disponere et ordinare, prout ipsa in commendam obtinentia beneficia in titulum pro tempore obtinentes de illis disponere et ordinare poterunt seu etiam debuerunt. Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium et pretiosorum mobilium [*fol. 240v*] ipsorum commendandorum beneficiorum eis penitus interdicta illaque simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis, quotiens eis placuerit dimictere et huiusmodi commende cedere aut loco dimissi vel dimissorum aliud vel alia, simile vel dissimile aut similia vel

dissimilia beneficium seu beneficia ecclesiasticum vel ecclesiastica, duo duntaxat curata seu alius invicem incompatibilia, similiter ipsi seculares secularia in titulum regulares vero persone regularia beneficia huiusmodi in eandem commendam recipere et tam seculares, quam regulares persone huiusmodi tam secularia, quam regularia beneficia predicta in titulum vel commendam respective insimul, quoad vixerint, retinere libere et licite valeant dispensandi.

Necnon cum viginti personis defectum natalium quomodolibet patientibus etiam ex quovis sacrilego incestu, adultero aut alio nephario coitu procreati existant, ut huiusmodi non obstantibus defectibus ad omnes ordines etiam sacros promoveri et beneficium ecclesiasticum, etiam si curam habeat animarum, obtinere.

Ac cum duodecim personis impeditis impedimento publice honestatis, iustitie et quarto et tertio consanguinitatis gradibus, coniunctis vel se attinentibus se invicem matrimonialiter copulari desiderent et cum viginti personis, si iam scienter vel ignoranter contraxissent eis ab invicem separatis^c ad tempus, de quo tibi videbitur et ab incestu censuris, quas propterea incurrerint, iniunctis ipsis, que de iure sint iniungenda, absolutis matrimonium de novo contrahere et in sic contracto per eos matrimonio remanere libere et licite valeant susceptam et suscipiendam prolem legitimam nuntiando dispensandi.

Necnon cum viginti personis utriusque sexus, qui quascunque ecclesias, monasteria et alia pia loca ecclesiastica, de quibus tibi videbitur, devotionis causa visitaverint annuatim et in tribus festis per te vel eas nominandis ac ipsarum ecclesiarum et piorum locorum dedicationis die devotionis causa visitaverint annuatim et ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum huiusmodi reparationem, structurarum et edificiorum eorundem manutentionem et conservationem manus porrexerint adiutrices ac quotiens te contigerit missam solemniter celebrare Christifidelibus, ibi interessentibus centum dies indulgentiarum de iniunctis eis penitentiis in forma ecclesie consueta misericorditer in Domino relaxandis litteris tuis perpetuo super diebus indulgentiarum huiusmodi valituris.

Necnon tibi, ut duodecim personas ydoneas in notarios, tabelliones seu iudices ordinarios recepto primitus ab eorum singulis

fidelitatis iuramento, quod huiusmodi notariatus, tabellionatus et iudicatus officia fideliter exercebunt nobisque et successoribus Romanis pontificibus canonice intrantibus fideles et obedientes erunt, auctoritate apostolica creandi, constituendi et deputandi.

Necnon personis ipsis, quod illud utiliter, fideliter et prudenter ubilibet exercere possint ac libere et licite valeant, auctoritate predicta tenore presentium licentiam concedimus pariter et facultatem ac viginti prelati vel quibusvis nobilibus locorum dominis, ut liceat eis habere altare portatile, non tamen in locis interdictis [*fol. 24rv*] cum debita reverentia et honore, super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis in sua et familiarium suorum domesticorum presentia possint per se ipsos seu proprium vel alium sacerdotem ydoneum missas et alia divina officia celebrare.

Necnon viginti personis petentibus, ut aliquem presbiterum secularem vel regularem in suum possint eligere confessorem, qui in omnibus preterquam sedi predictae reservatis casibus, quotiens fuerit opportunum, confessione eorum diligenter audita per commissis eis debitam absolutionem impendat et iniungat penitentiam salutarem.

Quodque idem vel alius confessor, quem duxerint seu eorum alter duxerit eligendi, omnium peccatorum suorum, de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint, in mortis articulo plenam remissionem ipsis in sinceritate fidei unitate sancte Romane ecclesie ac obedientia et devotioni nostre vel successorum nostrorum Romanorum pontificum canonice intrantium persistentibus auctoritate apostolica concedere valeat, tenore presentium indulgemus. Sic tamen, quod idem confessor de hiis, de quibus fuerit, alteri satisfactio impendenda eam ipsis per eos, si supervixerint, vel per alios, si forte tunc transierint, faciendam iniungat, quam ipsi vel illi facere teneantur, ut prefertur, et ne, quod absit, propter huiusmodi gratiam vel concessionem reddantur procliviores ad illicita in posterum committenda. Volumus, quod si a sinceritate fidei unitate Romane ecclesie ac obedientia et devotione nostra vel successorum nostrorum Romanorum pontificum canonice intrantium desisterent aut ex confidentia eiusdem concessionis aliqua forsann committerent, remissio huiusmodi eis nullatenus suffragetur. Et insuper, [*fol. 242r*] quod per

unum annum a tempore, quo tua concessio ad eorum pervenerit notitiam, computando singulis sextis feriis impedimento legitimo cessante ieiunent et si predictis feriis ex precepto ecclesie regulari observantia iniuncta penitentia, voto vel alius ieiunare teneantur, uno alio die singularum septimanarum, qua ad ieiunandum, ut premittitur, non sint astricti, ieiunent et si in dicto anno vel aliqua eius parte essent legitime impediti, anno sequenti vel alius, quam primum poterunt, modo simili huiusmodi ieiunium supplere teneantur. Porro, si forsitan alius prelibatum ieiunium in toto vel in parte quomodocunque adimplere nequierint, commode eo casu confessor predictus ieiunium ipsum in alia pietatis, quia commutare valeat, prout animarum suarum salutis viderit expedire, que ipsi pari modo debeant adimplere.

Alioquin tua concessio predicta quoad plenam remissionem huiusmodi dumtaxat nullius sit roboris vel momenti concedendi et indulgendi Pictavensis et Lateranensis conciliorum ac aliis apostolicis constitutionibus, necnon ecclesiarum, in quibus beneficia huiusmodi forsitan fuerint iuramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, auctoritate prefata tenore presentium concedimus facultatem. Forma autem iuramenti, quod promovendi per te prestabunt est talis: "Ego enim ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro etc." in forma tabellionatus.¹ Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII Kal. Septembris, anno quarto.

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

L. Maius³

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b et] et et *ms.* ^c separatis] seperatis *ms.*

¹ Cf. MICHAEL TANGL, ed., *Die Päpstliche Kanzleiordnungen von 1200-1500*, Innsbruck 1894, 35-36, n. III and 50, n. XVII.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Laurentius Maius.

17.

*Roma, 1 September 1488**Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli*

The pope provides Angelo with the faculty to proceed against the usurers in Silesia, who often hide interest as mortgages and require more if the property is destroyed during the wars. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 228v–229r. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 520, n. DCCXVI; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 353–354, n. 7 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regnum Ungarie cum plena potestate legati de latere nostre et apostolice sedis nuntio et oratori salutem etc. Cum nos hodie te ad regnum Ungarie pro nonnullis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis nostrum et apostolice sedis nuntium et oratorem ad Dei laudem et prefate ecclesie statum et honorem cum plena potestate legati de latere duxerimus destinandum et sicut venerabilis frater noster Iohannes² episcopus Sirimiensis^b carissimi in Christo filii nostri Mathie Ungarie regis illustris orator ad nos destinatus nobis nuper exposuit in partibus illis et presertim in Slesia^{3c} quedam corruptela inoleverit, quod tam laici, quam clerici, qui de pecunia, quam mutuo dare contigerit, commodi nichil aut nichil lucri sperare iuxta divina mandata deberent, cum pecunia huiusmodi mutuo concedunt, predia in ypothecam et pignus accipere et fructus ex prediis provenientes in usus suos convertere et in sortem non computare presumant. Quodque damnabilis esse videtur, si predia, que ypotheca titulo acceperunt, casu bello aut alia ruina perierint,^d aut in redditibus diminuta fuerint, alia predia eis dari non modo petunt, verum Dei timore postposito illa extorquere a debitoribus percurant.

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem and orator of Matthias Corvinus in Rome (1486–1490).

³ Silesia.

Nos considerantes, quod usurarum vorago, que utriusque testamenti scriptura damnatur, precipue in clericis est detestanda, fraternitati tue presentium tenore omnes et singulas causas usurarum et feneratorum contractuum premissorum tam ad partium querelam, quam per inquisitionem ex tuo officio summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, cum omnibus et singulis incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis, attemptatis [fol. 229r] et innovatis attemptandisque et innovandis audiendas, cognoscendas, decidendas et fine debito vocatis, quorum interest, terminandas et decidendas committimus et delegamus cum potestate citandi etiam extra loca commissionis tue predicta et per edictum, si ad eos citandos tutus non pateret accessus, omnes et singulos sua quemlibet in premissis interesse putantes in regno predicto et extra illud existentes et inhibendi etiam sub censuris, quotiens videris expedire, ac faciendi, quod decreveris, per censurarum ecclesiasticarum aggravationem et reaggravationem et alia iuris oportuna remedia ac penas pecuniarias, de quibus tibi videbitur, appellatione postposita, firmiter observari, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis. Super quibus omnibus et singulis tibi plenam, liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem. Non obstante premissis ac constitutibus et ordinationibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque aut si aliqui vel aliquibus, inter quos usurarum et feneratorum contractuum huiusmodi cause tractari et diffiniri contigerit, quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana sint predicti dignitate a sede predicta indultum existat, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari aut extra vel ultra certa loca ad iudicium trahi non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem et qualibus alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi commissionis et mandati impediri valeat quomolibet vel differri et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis. Nos enim sententias, quas rite tuleris atque alias penas, quas statueris in rebelles, rathas habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviola-

biliter observari. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII Kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Coll. D. de. Attavantis¹ P. Gormaz²

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b Sirimiensis] *corr. in marg.* ^c Slesia] *Slhesia ms.* ^d perierint] *corr. de perierunt (sic et Theiner)*

18.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with the authority to annul and revoke all the powers and faculties that have been given to the archbishops, bishops or others in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia by the pope or his predecessors, so that he can better fulfil all the tasks and requirements of his legation. He can publicly announce this act, so that no one can plead ignorance. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions, in relation to László Geréb, bishop of Transylvania.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 229v.

Hie. Balbanus^{3a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad nonnullas Ungarie et Boemie partes nostro necnon sedis apostolice oratori et nuntio cum potestate legati de latere salutem etc. Cum te ad nonnullas Ungarie et Boemie partes nostrum et apostolice sedis oratorem cum potestate legati de latere pro nostris et sedis apostolice arduis negotiis destinandum duxerimus, ut eo amplius atque operosius negotiis tibi commissis per nos tractandis et prospere concludendis intendas, quanto maiori prefulgeas facultatis prerogative, omnes et singulas potestates, quibus personis etiam si arciepiscopali,

¹ Dominicus de Attavantis.

² Petrus Gormaz, scriptor cancellarie (1487–1515), collector taxae plumbi, later also abbreviator.

³ Hieronimus Balbanus.

episcopali vel quevis alio prefulgeant dignitate in regnis Ungarie et Boemie existentibus, per nos vel predecessores nostros hactenus datas et concessas, presentium tenore cassamus, revocamus et adimimus ac pro cassis, ademptis et revocatis haberi volumus et mandamus, decernentes irritum et inane, quicquid deinceps earundem facultatum vigore atque pretexto per easdem personas aut eorum vicegerentes fieri vel attemptari contigerit. Volumus autem, ne quis revocationis, cassationis et ademptionis huiusmodi ignorantiam pretendant, ut tam in locis oportunis, quam personis, de quibus tibi videbitur, publices et publicari mandes. Datum ut supra¹ in precedenti.

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

B. Bagarothus³

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

19.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope grants Angelo with the power to deal with the matters of the burghers of Loket (in the diocese of Prague), who were expelled by Matthias Šlik and his sons and associates. The matter has been previously given to the authority of the archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishops of Wrocław and Merseburg. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 229v–230r.

Hie. Balbanus^{4a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regna Ungarie cum potestate legati de latere nostro et apostolice sedis nuntio et oratori salutem etc. De fide et integritate fraternitatis

¹ 1 September 1488, fol. 229v: Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII, Kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Baptista Bagarothus.

⁴ Hieronimus Balbanus.

tue, de qua magnam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, plurimum confidentes omnes et singulas causas executionum, reintrusionis, declarationis et publicationis in censuris ecclesiasticis ac reintegrationis et restitutionis bonorum, quas dudum felicitatis recordationis Sixtus¹ predecessor noster per suas litteras venerabilibus fratribus nostris Magdeburgensi² archiepiscopo ac Vratislaviensi³ et *[fol. 230r]* Merseburgensi⁴ episcopis ad universitatis hominum et incolarum oppidi Cubicensi⁵, Pragensis dioecesis instantiam contra et adversus Matheum Slic⁶ et eius filios ac eorum complices et fautores audiendas commisit et quas nos etiam per certas alias nostras litteras sub certis modo et forma nonnullis aliis iudiciis commiseramus, ad nos motu proprio harum serie advocantes et in eo statu, terminis et instantia, in qua nunc sunt, cum eorum incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis ac toto negotio principali fraternitati tue reas<s>umendas, audiendas, cognoscendas et fine debito vocatis etiam extra loca commissionis tue etiam per edictum publicum in convicinis locis, si ad eos tutus non pateat accessus, quorum interest, iuxta tam prefati Sixti predecessoris, quam nostrarum litterarum prefatis iudiciis datam, continentiam et formam terminandas et exequendas committimus et delegamus cum potestate citandi, ut premititur, et inhibendis etiam sub censuris ac easdem censuras et penas post debitam satisfactionem aut amicabilem compositionem totiens quotiens cognoveris expedire in omnes et singulos remictendis et relaxandis et absolvendis, super quibus omnibus et singulis plenam et liberam harum serie concedimus potestatem. Non obstantibus illis, que in dictis litteris volumus non obstare ac premissere nec non constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque in contrarium facientes non obstante quibuscumque, aut quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint,

¹ Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484).

² Ernst, duke of Saxony, archbishop of Magdeburg (elected 1476, ordained 22 November 1489, died 1513).

³ Johann Roth, bishop of Wrocław (1482–1506).

⁴ Thilo von Trotha, bishop of Merseburg (1466–1514).

⁵ Loket, a small town in western Bohemia. On the conflict see note on n. 9.

⁶ Matyáš Šlik (Schlick), see note on n. 9.

per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Datum ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

B. Bagarothus³

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

20.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with a faculty to deal with the matter of Peter [Váradi], archbishop of Kalocsa, who has been imprisoned by the king. The nuncio should enquire either by the way of accusation or inquisition into the matter and what he learns, report back to Rome, so that the pope can administer justice. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 230r–231r. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 520–521, n. DCCXVII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 355, n. 8 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie. Balbanus^{4a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regnum Ungarie cum potestate etc. salutem etc. Cum nos hodie te ad regnum Ungarie pro nonnullis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis nostrum et apostolice sedis nuntium et oratorem ad Dei laudem et prefate ecclesie statum et honorem destinandum [*fol. 230v*] duxerimus et sicut referente venerabili fratre nostro Iohanne episcopo Sirimiensi⁵, carissimi in Christo filii Mathie Ungarie regis illustris oratore ad nos destinato et dudum antea intelleximus, quod

¹ 1 September 1488, fol. 229v: Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII, Kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Baptista Bagarothus.

⁴ Hieronimus Balbanus.

⁵ János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem and orator of Matthias Corvinus in Rome.

venerabilis frater noster Petrus archiepiscopus Colocensis,¹ postquam in suspicionem venit, quod aliqua contra ipsius regis statum moliretur, de mandato ipsius regis in carcerem coniectus fuerit ac idem rex desideret veritatem et iustitiam in hac parte cognosci ac propterea nobis per eundem oratorem suum humiliter fecerit supplicari, ut personam aliquam idoneam ad partes illas destinare vellemus, que de meritis ipsius archiepiscopi cognosceret et veritatem rei nobis significare valeret, ut exinde secundum canonicas sanctiones debite providere possemus. Nos cupientes prefatum archiepiscopum a potestate dicti regis, velut iustitie debitum exigit, liberari^b et de causa huiusmodi per nos, ad quos solum spectat, cognosci, fraternitati tue, de qua ob morum elegantiam, integritatis literarum scientiam ac longam in magnis et arduis etiam sedis apostolice negotiis experientiam specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, causam et causas detentionis huiusmodi singulorumque criminum et obiectorum in archiepiscopum prefatum sive de illis per accusationem aut inquisitionem querelam, vel alias ex tuo officio inquiri contigerit, audiendas, cognoscendas presentium tenore committimus et delegamus, volentes et tibi mandantes, ut quod in premissis legitime cognoveris, nobis per processum desuper habendum, tuo sigillo clausum et signatum quantocius significare procures, ut exinde debite providere et iustitiam ministrare possimus, testes vero, qui nominati fuerint, si se gratia, timore vel odio subtraxerint, per censuras ecclesiasticas et alia iuris remedia compellas veritati testimonium prohibere. Super quibus omnibus et singulis [*fol. 231r*] plenam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus, quod aliquibus ab apostolica sit sede indultum, quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam

¹ Péter Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa-Bács.

effectus huiusmodi mandati impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri. Datum Rome ut supra.¹

Coll. D. de Attavantis²

B. Bagarothus³

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b liberari] liberum *Theiner*

21.

Roma, 1 September 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides Angelo with the faculty to deal with the matter of the monasteries of Hradisko and Třebíč, which were pawned to John, bishop of Várad (Jan Filipec) and Jaroslav of Šternberk respectively. As reported by the king's orator in Rome, John, bishop of Srem (János Vitéz the Younger), the treaty was concluded between King Matthias and King Vladislav that the monasteries will be returned to their respective abbots or the hands of King Matthias. The nuncio should coerce the bishop of Várad and Jaroslav of Šternberk to respect the agreement, and afterwards they are to be paid the sum of money that was agreed upon to return the monasteries. If they do not comply, the nuncio can use ecclesiastical censures against them. (The problem was referred to also in the instructions.)

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Reg. Vat. 734, fol. 231v–232v. – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 519–520, n. DCCXV; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 352–353, n. 6 (acc. to Theiner).

Hie Balbanus^{4a}

Innocentius etc. Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Ortano ad regna Ungarie cum potestate legati de latere nostro et apostolice sedis nuntio et oratori salutem etc. Retulit nobis venerabilis frater noster

¹ 1 September 1488, fol. 229v: Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII, Kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

² Dominicus de Attavantis.

³ Baptista Bagarothus.

⁴ Hieronimus Balbanus.

Iohannes episcopus Sirimiensis¹ carissimi in Christo filii Mathie Ungarie regis illustris orator ad nos destinatus, quod in tractatu pacis inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Mathiam Ungarie et Wladislaum^b Boemie reges conventum fuit, quod monasteria Rodich² et Cherich³, que tunc venerabili fratri nostro Iohanni <Varadiensi>^{4c} episcopo ac dilecto filio Ioreslao de Stellis⁵ pro certa pecuniarum summa pignorata fuerant, quod postquam illa soluta et restituta foret, predicta de Rodich et Cherich monasteria eorum abbatibus iuxta eiusdem Mathie regis voluntatem restitui et reintegrari deberent, licet eisdem <Varadino>^d episcopo ac Ioreslao predicta pecunie summa offeratur, attamen indebite et iniuste illam recipere et monasteria [fol. 232r] predicta restituere cessant et denegant.⁶ Et quia ex denegatione restitutionis prefatorum monasteriorum nova inter dictos regis suscitari bellorum incendia dubitantur ac quod ex locis predictis auxilia et favores hereticis regni Boemie prestentur, de oportuno super hiis provideri remedio nobis humiliter supplicat. Quare fraternitati tue, de qua plurimum in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta tenore presentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus vocatis etiam extra loca commissionis tue et per edictum publicum in convicinis locis, si ad eos tutus non pateat accessus, dictis Iohanne <Varadiensi>^e et Ieroslao de Stellis et aliis, qui fuerint evocandi, eundem Iohannem et Ieroslaum auctoritate nostra apostolica requiras, ut infra certum competentem terminum, quem eisdem prefigendum duxeris, soluta eisdem prius pecunia monasteria predicta cum

¹ János Vitéz the Younger, bishop of Srem and orator of Matthias Corvinus in Rome.

² Hradisko (Hradišti) u Olomouce, Premonstratensian canonry, see note on n. 9.

³ Třebíč, Benedictine abbey, see note on n. 9.

⁴ Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad.

⁵ Jaroslav of Šternberk, see note on n. 9.

⁶ Cf. the treaty of Kings Matthias and Wladislas on 10 September 1486, Jihlava, which specifies in a number of articles what should be done with individual properties that were not mentioned in the 1479 treaty of Olomouc. Třebíč and Hradisko should be returned to the abbots and the convents. See note on n. 9.

omnibus iuribus eorum prefato Mathie regi vel eorum abbatibus iuxta prefatorum capitulorum in pace predictam conventorum continentiam et formam cum effectu restituant. Quod si facere forte neglexerint, aut alias recusaverint, tam contra predictos Iohannem et Ieroslaum, quam omnes alios et singulos, qui predictis aut alteri predictorum complices et fautores forent, vel auxilium consilium aut favorem eis prestarent, cuiusvis status, gradus, nobilitatis mundane vel ecclesiastice conditionis fuerint, ad censurarum ecclesiasticarum aliaque penarum pecuniarum aggravationem et reaggravationem illarumque declarationem et publicationem et executionem, invocato ad hoc etiam, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis, necnon ecclesiastici interdicti in locis, ad que tam [fol. 232v] prefatos Iohannem et Ieroslaum eorumque complices et fautores declinare contigerit impositione, prout secundum Deum et rei exigentiam expedire cognoveris, procedas, cum potestate causam et causas capitulorum et conventorum huiusmodi inter reges Iohannem et Ierosalum prefatos aliosque sua quomodolibet interesse putantes et in executione citationis nominandos, cum omnibus et singulis eorum incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis ac toto negotio principali, summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii audiendi, cognoscendi ac fine debito terminandi, necnon easdem censuras et penas post debitam restitutionem et satisfactionem aut amicabilem compositionem remittendi et relaxandi, necnon simpliciter vel ad cautelam, quotiens expedire cognoveris, absolvendi, super quibus omnibus et singulis plenam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque aut, quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, anno etc., ut supra.¹

¹ 1 September 1488, fol. 229v: Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno etc. MCCCCLXXXVIII, Kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Coll. D. de. Att.¹B. Bagarothus²

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.* ^b Wladislaum] Wadislaum *ms.* ^c Varadiens] Vatislaviem. *ms.*, *corr. per ed.*; Vratislaviensi *Theiner.* ^d Varadino] Vatislao *ms.*, *corr. per ed.*; Vratislaviensi *Theiner.* ^e Varadiens] ... *ms.*, *add. per ed.*

22.

Roma, 5 September 1488

Raffaele Riario Sansoni to Angelo Pecchinoli

The camerarius of the Apostolic Chamber acts in accordance with the papal breve and orders the clerics of the Chamber to follow its requirements. The salary should either be taken from the revenues of the archbishopric of Kalocsa or, if that is not possible, directly from the revenues of the Apostolic Chamber.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 46, fol. 195r–195v.

Patentes pro episcopo Ortano, nuntio in Hungaria^a

Reverendus etc.³ Reverendo in Christo patri domino A. episcopo Ortano ad regnum Hungarie apostolico nuncio salutem etc. Presentavit paternitas vestra in camera apostolica quoddam breve sanctissimi domini nostri pape super deputatione salarii et provisionis vestre tenoris [*fol. 195v*] infrascripti videlicet: Innocentius etc.^{4b} Quo quidem brevi in ipsa camera diligenter examinato et habita desuper consideratione, volentes, ut decens est, voluntatem et mandatum prefate sanctitatis debere adimplere, promittimus paternitatem vestram de mandato etc. ac vigore dicti brevis et auctoritate nostri camerariatus officii, quod si, ut prefertur, de fructibus dicte ecclesie Colocensi⁵ illi non satisfiet,

¹ Dominicus de Attavantis.

² Baptista Bagarothus.

³ The camerarius (or camerlengo) was Raffaele Riario Sansoni, cardinal Sancti Georgii ad velum aureum (in office 1483–1520).

⁴ Cf. n. 3.

⁵ Archbishopric of Kalocsa.

iuxta tenorem eiusdem brevis de fructibus et redditibus camere apostolice illi satisfieri faciemus, propterea eandem paternitatem vestram, ut pro exoneratione eiusdem camere, que diversis gravatur expensis exacta diligentia procuret, promissionem ipsam sibi debitam ex fructibus dicte ecclesie Colocensi, de cuius causa agere, sibi satisfieri. Et pro conducenti sua provisione, quoad fieri possit super dicte ecclesie proventibus, recursum habeat. Mandantes prefatis presidentibus et clericis, ut predicta omnia observent et faciant observare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, in quorum etc. Datum Rome in camera apostolica, die V. Septembris 1488, pontificatus predicti anno quarto.

Visa Sinolfus¹

Phy. de Pontecurvo²

^a Patentes ... Hungaria] *in marg.* ^b *add. in marg.* vide retro folio 188 breve tergam.

23.

Roma, 22 November 1488

Pope Innocent VIII to King Matthias Corvinus

The pope writes a breve to the king, in which he recommends bishop of Orte (Angelo Pecchinoli), the pope's orator, to the king on the matter of the restitution of the properties of the church of Salzburg.

ORIG.: HHStA Wien, Salzburg, Erzstift (798-1806) AUR 1488 XI 22 (papal breve) (photo at monasterium.net). – ED.: FRANKÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 242, n. CXC.

Innocentius PP. VIII.

Carissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Referet nonnulla maiestati tue nostro nomine venerabilis

¹ Sinolfus de Castro Otherio, sollicitator (1482–1493), clericus camere (1483–1503), etc.

² Philippus de Pontecurvo, notarius camere (1478–1499), scriptor cancellarie (1484–1499), later also secretarius.

frater <Angelus>^a episcopus Ortanus, orator noster super restitutione castrorum et oppidorum ad ecclesiam Saltzburgensem pertinentium. Hortamur igitur maiestatem tuam, ut eidem episcopo fidem indubiam velit adhibere. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die XXII. Novembris MCCCCLXXXVIII, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.^b

B. de Gauionibus¹

[*a tergo:*] Carissimo in Christo filio nostro, Mathie Hungarie regi illustri.

^a Angelus] ... *ms.*, *add. per ed.* ^b quinto] quarto *MVH*

24.

Vienna, 30 January 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

The nuncio reports on his stay in Vienna, and the first discussion with the king on individual matters concerning 1) the Turks and the expedition against them, including the reports on János Corvinus; 2) the King of Naples and the Barons' War, even suggesting the pope's son, Francesco Cibo, should get a "statum" in the kingdom; 3) the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Péter Várad, and the reasons for its prolongation, the king also promised to put the archbishop into the hands of Angelo. Then Angelo speaks with the queen about the same matters, and also of 4) Ancona, which the king only protects, and 5) the bishop of Mirandola (titular bishop of Santorini, but previously active at the court of Mirandola), Agostino Luciani, whom she incited to flee from the heretics in exchange for impunity. The nuncio spoke with the king on the 6) Olomouc matter, asking him to postpone the censures against the bishop of Várad, Jan Filipec, as he was instrumental for negotiations in Silesia. – The nuncio had a discussion with the bishop of Várad on handing over the bishopric of Olomouc (on

¹ Baptista de Gavionibus, scriptor cancellarie (1485–1494), abbreviator (1485–1493), secretarius (1487–1494), later also magister registri cancellarie and prothonotarius.

expenditures he made, to whom he should return the bishopric, etc.), he asked the nuncio for a license to enter a religious order. After the bishop of Várád returned from Silesia, he celebrated the vespers at the court, even though he was not absolved. The nuncio had a long discussion with the bishop of Győr, Tamás Bakóc, about absolution for Filipec, as he was needed for the negotiations in Bohemia and Silesia. – The nuncio heard about the bishop of Mirandola, Agostino Luciani, who would like to flee from the heretics if he were guaranteed papal immunity from imprisonment. Luciani reportedly asked the king for help. The nuncio is eager to grant such immunity, but he wants to consult the pope first. – The nuncio reports the king asking about Sultan Djem, who supposedly is to be moved from France. The Venetians want to buy him. The king implores the Pope to give Djem to him, as he wants to lead war against the Turks. Djem should, as the nuncio mentions, be placed in the hands of the Pope, as other powers also want to have him. The war should be led by way of Hungary. – A longer discussion about Ancona followed. He accepted them to protect them against the Turks as well against Venice. With news from Italy, the king is concerned about the citizens of Ancona, as the Pope put the area under interdict. Tamás Bakóc discussed with the nuncio, who wants the king to withdraw from the agreements with Ancona. – The king came to talk to the nuncio, again narrating all what he was doing 1) for the Church in Italy and 2) against the Turks and 3) the Bohemians, he also mentioned 4) Djem again claiming they are related. If the king gets Djem, he can lead the campaign against the Sultan with the help of the Turkish opposition. He also explained the situation of 5) Ancona, which was also related to the clash with the Venetians. He is unhappy about 6) the Pope accepting the orators of the King of the Romans, who was not properly elected, and 7) the orators of the King of Bohemia (the Pope even confirmed the king, which is outrageous). The pope did not follow what the king needed in terms of 8) appointing bishops (Esztergom, Eger, Senj). As for 9) Ancona, it is really a struggle with the Venetians who want to have power over the sea as well as the papal cities. The king had to accept the Anconitans under his protection, but not against the Pope, and only temporarily. The nuncio reacted to all these topics referring to canon law in certain cases and explaining the activities of the pope, especially the matters of the Kings of the Romans and of Bohemia, of Djem, and of Ancona. – The nuncio had also a discussion with Queen Beatrix, especially about the matters of Djem and Ancona, asking her to persuade the king to follow the pope's will. She implored Angelo to write to the pope to send Djem to the king, as this would be crucial for the cam-

paign against the Turks (and reiterates all the arguments). Angelo encouraged her to write to the pope directly and she promised to do so. With the king, they agreed on further communication as to the Turks and the Anconitans. – In the meantime, the nuncio enquired into other matters. He requested the king to suppress the heretics in Bohemia and expel them; the king, however, asked for dispensations from the pope for the Utraquists, but promised to proceed against the Pickards (Unity of Brethren). The nuncio further reports on the orators of the Turks, of the lord of Camerino, and of the King of Poland. He has reported updates on the matters of 1) Djem, 2) the King of Naples, 3) the bishopric of Senj, 4) the bishopric of Olomouc, 5) the King of Poland, and (in the postscript) 6) Austria. – In conclusion, the nuncio apologises for a delay in writing, which is not his fault, as the king is difficult to negotiate with.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622) (M), fol. 127r–136v; BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 238r–248r (V) (two copies, both sent as originals, first directly to the papal chancery, the other to Cardinal Marco Barbo, *cf.* the accompanying letter that follows, *cf.* n. 25; the text is based on Marciana). – NOTE: Mircse lemásolta (M fol. 127r).

† Iesus

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Pedum oscula beatorum. Quod ad sanctitatem vestram, postquam illi de primo ingressu meo Viennam significavi,¹ non scripserim, in causa est, quod solito asperior hiems, que ingruit, volentes ad Italiam proficisci deterret. Tam et si tutum non putaverim passim omnibus litteras credere, quomodo fit, ut nuntium hunc familiarem meum ad rem hanc delegerim, ut minus timeam, litteras et que scribo, videri posse.

Dominus rex, ubi me seorsum et remotis arbitris, que in instructionibus illa mihi demandavit, audivit. Instructiones, dico, ne me idem repetere totius oporteat. Ad bellum cum Turcho capescendum, ad quod sanctitas vestra per sua virili auxilia pollicetur, si aliorum potentatum suffragia non defuerint. Respondit sua maiestas habere maximas gracias Deo, qui tandem sanctitati vestre hoc in mentem subgessit, ut communi consilio et auxilio bellum hoc gereretur et putat^a sanctitatis vestre optimum esse consilium, non solus

¹ The first report is not preserved.

tantam belli molem aggredi,^b nec ipse aliter rem aggredere^c nisi sanctitas vestra illi spondeat, auxilia aliorum non defutura, ne postea, quam bello initiaretur, pugnare et bellum sufferre solus cogere^c tur. Nec suam maiestatem tenet, quod pacem aut conditiones aliquas nunc cum Turcho habeat, est paratus^d illas infringere^e et a conventis semper et omni tempore ad iussum sanctitatis vestre resilire, modo illa polliceatur communi pecunia bellum se gessurum. Nec eum terret aut a proposito divertit bellum, quod illi in Austria est, cui paucissimis copiis ad tutelam dimissis, personaliter in Turchos descendere paratus est et quod reliquum est etatis et virium in hanc sanctam expeditionem et diu ac multum animo concupitam, tota mente et desiderio inpendere. In qua pulcherrimum ducit et vivere ac mori, nec putat unquam christianis maiorem aut optatiorem dari posse comoditatem ad rem capescendam, nec unquam Turchi timerunt tantum inferri eis bellum, quam hoc tempore rem pro exploratissimo se habere profitetur. Avidissime insuper audivit sanctitatem vestram, quod Iohanni¹ eius filio benedicat cupiatque in virum crescere et paterne ac avite glorie respondere ac sibi gratulari de necessitudine et affinitate contracta, quam si novisset sanctitati vestre per prius gratam esse, per prius illam quesivisset absolvere, subdidit et se inprimis ac filium, quem unice se diligere profitetur ac affinitatem et regnum in manu sanctitatis vestre esse.

De *rege Neapolitano*,^{2f} quod conventa non servaverit, dolere plurimum visa est maiestas sua, ac volens tutis auribus meis loqui, inquit, nunquam timidiorem hominem audivit. Nam, inquit, cum timet, omnia promittit, omnia spondet, omnia pollicetur, postquam metus cessaverit, dicit se pro metu fecisse. “Ego tamen,” inquit, “habeo sanctitati sue maximas gracias, quod sua sanctitas inclinet ad pacem. Et bonum esset, quod sanctitas sua esset contenta, quod iste census, quem dominus rex Neapolitanus^g promisit, solveretur hoc modo,^h vel ipse teneret ad securitatem maris Romani suis expensibusⁱ aliquas triremes,^j vel teneret aliquos armigeros. Secundum, quod sue

¹ János Corvinus (1473–1504), illegitimate son of King Matthias.

² Ferrante (Ferdinand) I, King of Naples (1458–1494).

sanctitati placeret et esset pro censu et aliquid ego facere,^k quod solvat in prompta pecunia, quia ab homine avaro prout^l ipse est bonum^m capere, quicquid homo potest. Ipse est iam senex et parvo tempore secundum etatem suam potest hic nobiscum esse, post mortem suam sanctitas sua posteaⁿ faciet, secundum quod tempora suadebunt. Interea sua sanctitas det sibi pacem, et patietur^o in quiete cum vivere isto paucio tempore.” Et cum^p de me quereret maiestas sua, quid illud est, quod plus movet sanctitatem vestram, quod non servasset, dixi, prout audiveram a sanctitate vestra, quod nullum capitulorum servasset et quod sanctitas vestra de toto videbatur dolere ac quod prius est post conventam pacem et firmata capitula barones illos de regno, quibus inpunitatem promisisset, captivos detineret. Respondit, quod intellexit illos barones esse captos, quia iterum post pacem quesivissent regem et regnum prodere et quod ex nova causa et culpa illud factum esset. Dixi, hoc non esse sanctitati vestre notum, quod novam culpam illi barones commiserint, [*M fol. 127v*] nec ad regem spectabat iudicare in causa propria, sed istud iudicium esse oportere sanctitatis vestre, an novam culpam et feloniam comiserint, vel non, et quod videbatur satis ini[*V fol. 238v*]quum, quod *dominus rex Neapolitanus*^q in sua causa iudicaret contra eos, quos in vinculis haberet. Maiestas sua respondit, satis videri sibi grave, quod contra illos barones in carcere existentes iudicium fieret. Tamen sibi videretur satis bonum, quod de communi concordia eligeretur unus, qui barones apud se detineret, et non essent in manu *regis Neapolitani*,^r et quod postea duo deputarentur de communi assensu, qui iudicarent, an isti barones novam culpam commisissent, vel non, et quod si placeret sanctitati vestre, vellet operam dare, quod fieret ac quod sanctitati vestre scribere vellet et efficeret, quod domino Francisco Cibo^t daret in regno *Neapolitano*^s unum statum. Istam partem, pater beatissime, ego, ut pote, quod nihil tale a sanctitate vestra intellexeram, non probavi nec improbavi, sed maiestatem suam hortatus sum, quod ad sanctitatem vestram scriberet, cui et me etiam scripturum sum pollicitus.

^t Francesco Cibo (1449–1519), son of Giovanni Battista Cibo, Pope Innocent VIII.

De domino Colocensi¹ ubi multa, que in rem commiserationis et diuturni iam nimis carceris esse videbantur accurate, quantum pro ingenii mei tenuitate licuit, edixeram adhortatus suam maiestatem, quod secum reputaret, quod hic ille est Colocensis manuum suarum factura, quem ipse de limo eduxerat et singula queque incrementa dederat et quod maiestas sua cum illo misericordiam faceret, ob sanctitatis vestre et sedis apostolice reverentiam. Respondit maiestas sua: “de archiepiscopo Colocensi ego habeo posse ostendere, quod ex legitima causa ego feci eum carcerare. Nam ipse per malam linguam suam quesivit ponere me et regnum meum in perditionem. Deus tamen confundat me, si ego vellem mortem suam, sed tantum timeo linguam suam, propterea secreta, que ipse scit de me cum imperatore, quod potius ego vellem esse mortuus, quam illa secreta revelarentur. Semel archiepiscopus petiit habere unum confexorem, cui dicebat velle peccata sua confiteri et ipse de suco cepe scripsit litteras in curia Romana et illas litteras cum pecuniis dedit ad unum presbiterum, qui eas deferret ad curiam. Ille presbiter se inebriavit in una taberna et factus ebrius, dixit, quod haberet litteras archiepiscopi. Fuit mihi significatum et tunc ego misi ad capiendum litteras illas et posuimus prope ignem et ego legi, que ipse scribebat de secretis meis. In veritate ego vellem prius mori, quam quod illa secreta venissent ad lucem. Ego volo coram paternitate vestra iustificare causam meam et cognoscetis, quod ego habeo magnam iustitiam. Credatis, domine legate, quod ipse est infatuatus, si¹ haberet comoditatem, posse loqui cum aliis aut scribere, ipse poneret me in perditionem.” Ista sunt verba maiestatis sue et longe² plura, que videbatur ingratitude archiepiscopi detestari et odium, quod ipse archiepiscopus contra regem concepisset. Cui ego sic respondi: “serenissime rex, nemo est, qui noverit magnitudinem beneficiorum per maiestatem vestram in archiepiscopum collatorum, quod non accuset, vel accusari possit illum et ingratitude et obliti pudoris. Attamen meminisse debet maiestas vestra, quod archiepiscopus apud sedem apostolicam non erat notus, sed incrementa sua ad supplicationes et preces maiestatis

¹ Péter Váradi, archbishop of Kalocsa.

vestre a sede apostolica recepit. Pro Deo, maiestas vestra non curet descendere ad iudicium cum servo suo et cum factura manuum suarum, quia persuasi mihi iam dudum, quod non potuit nisi in maiestatem vestram deliquisse, sed forte ista levitas in scribendis istis litteris fuit ab initio sui carceris. Hodie tamen ego puto, quod sit factus alter homo et reductus ad meliorem mentem. Quomodo posset maiestas vestra ostendere magnitudinem animi sui [*Mfol. 128r*] et clementiam, si non forent, qui delinquerent et quibus maiestas vestra misericordiam faceret? Non intueatur, queso, maiestas vestra archiepiscopi delicta, sed dominum nostrum et sedem apostolicam et libertatem ecclesiasticam, quam semper maiestas [*V fol. 239r*] vestra colere et venerari visa est. Meminerit, queso, quod ipse archiepiscopus est pontifex, est et christus Domini, quos Deus tangi^v prohibet. Vult maiestas vestra, quod tot rerum suarum preclarissima monumenta, que pace et bello effecit et assidue agit, unius hominicii^w facto obliquerentur. Donet maiestas vestra^x omnem culpam, omnem^y archiepiscopi lingue licentiam domini nostri, qui ad hanc rem pro vestre maiestatis honore plurimum illam adhortatur et monet et forte, cum ego loquar cum archiepiscopo, hominem inveniam aliter mutatum, quam olim fuerit.” “Domine legate,” respondit, “si ista res non concerneret statum meum, ego omnia facerem, sed credatis, ipse^z nunquam mutabitur. Ego volo eum dare ad manus vestras, ut teneatis et custodiatis eum, quod tamen non possit fugere et vos videbitis, quod plura mala dicet hodie, quam unquam. Credatis, ipse est infatuatus et faciam vobis constare, quot culpas et quot excessus ipse commisit et non solum ipse meretur stare in carcere, sed perdere vitam et quasdam etiam levitates, quas in Zagabria¹ et alibi fecerat, recensuit.” “Serenissime rex,” respondi, “consilium domini nostri et illius adhortationes sunt, ut maiestas vestra clementer et misericorditer iuventutis delicta ipsius archiepiscopi non reminiscatur, sed si illi in animo est, ut causa sua videatur de iure, quanto clarior est, ad maiorem maiestatis vestre^a decorem accedet, sed in nullo loco de re hac melius cognosci potuit, quam coram sua sanctitate, ubi liber erat

¹ Zagreb.

iudicii locus et archiepiscopus, si nocens erit, facilius convincetur, nec dicetur, quod iure sit passus.” “Quomodo,” inquit, “et^b testes et alia mala, que fecit, possum^c portare ad curiam? Ego dabo eum ad manus vestras et faciatis, quod ipse se defendat, quantum vult. Illa, que ego dico contra eum, sunt notoria in toto regno. Teneatis eum in Buda, teneatis eum in Strigonio¹ et ubi placet paternitatis vestre.” Respondi, quod^d eum vellem ad manus meas recipere et hominem alloqui et cum eo videri,^e quibus mediis fieri possit, quod maiestas sua esset contenta de isto homine. Attamen, quantum ad iudicium spectat, quod pro Deo maiestas sua esset contenta melius deliberare, quia non videbam aliquem honorem versari sue maiestatis in tali examine, in quo omnis victoria censi posset functa. Pater beatissime, non est visum artius pro liberatione instare apud regem, priusquam archiepiscopum alloquar, forte ipse mihi aliquas vias aperiet, que erunt in salutem suam. Ego propediem descendam et hominem ad manus meas, prout dominus rex pollicitus est, sub forma et lege, pro ut sanctitas vestra mihi demandare dignata est, recipiam custodiendum in Strigonio et certe, prout ex amicorum, siqui sunt, quia rari sunt, ipsius archiepiscopi iudicio^f possum colligere, melius erit Strigonium, ubi amplior erit comoditas se defendere, si ad iudicium veniendum est, quam alibi. Et prout ex verbis domini regis licet mihi colligere plus, maiestas sua timet de secretis suis, quorum iste, dum erat in gratia, conscius fuit, quam infensus sit archiepiscopo propter culpas et crimina, que commisisset. [*M fol. 128v*] [*V fol. 239v*]

Serenissima domina regina,² ubi que sanctitas vestra illi referenda explicui, respondit accurate et magna ingenii dexteritate, quod multum sibi gratulabatur audire vestram sanctitatem de bello in Turchos gerendo cogitare, quod sciebat dominum suum regem nihil ex animo magis concupiscere, quod reliquum etatis in illam sanctam perfectionem exigere et usque adeo dicebat regem hoc desiderare, ut sepius de hac re illum abortis lacrimis loquentem audierit, ad quod desiderium et manibus et pedibus adnixa volentem et ultro hec

¹ Esztergom.

² Beatrix of Aragon, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

desiderantem maritum impellam. Audivisset insuper avidissime,^g quod sanctitas vestra omnia pro voto suo cum domino rege Neapolitano conclusisset et licet illum parentem veneretur, attamen, ut christiana regina sanctitatem vestram et sedem apostolicam reveretur. Ita, ut nesciret, cuius partes magis substineret, quia hic parentis pietas, illic fidei religio versatur. Habebat tamen gracias sanctitati vestre, que ad dominum regem consortem suum de hac re notitiam fieri voluisset et que clementer et sine armis. Cum domino rege patre suo egisset et agere instituisset velletque una cum domino rege consorte suo tam ad sanctitatem vestram, quam ad patrem de mediis in rebus his captandis scribere. Supplicat humiliter, paterno amore et affectu paci et quieti regis et regni Neapolitani velit pro sua clementia consulere. De Colocensi, ubi multa questa est de hominis levitate et protervia in dominum regem, optulit se velle et consilio et auxilio adesse, difficillimum licet putaret dominum regem ob secreta, quorum ille Colocensis est conscius, quod ad sedem apostolicam mittat ad examinandum, aut sic simpliciter dimictat.^h “Sunt,” inquit, “qui me accusent, quod ad illum captivandum regem impulerim. Credatis, domine legate, quod sola loquacitas et levitas sua regem infensum redidit, nec nunc primum in carcerem est coniectus, sed sepius idem passus est. Et quia nullo cauterio ad sanam mentem reduci potuit, propterea tantopere hac vice ultima detentus est. Sevierat rex in fratres et illorum bona stabilia fisco addixerat,ⁱ mea causa et supplicatione mea sunt illis omnia restituta et nunc me, ut audies, vocat optimam et piissimam reginam.” De re *Anconitana*^j respondit, nulla alia causa hoc fecit, nisi quia multis lacessitus a *Venetis*.^k Iniuriis et dampnis putat hac via tandem iniuriarum suarum posse ulcisci. “In bonam partem,” inquit, “sua sanctitas capiat hoc factum nec fidem aut aures prestat emulis et inimicis domini regis, qui illum apud suam sanctitatem insimulare student, rebellionis et simultatis in terris ecclesie est paratus dominus meus rex et regnum et personam pro tutela sue sanctitatis et rerum ecclesie Ro-

ⁱ Ancona. There was a conflict about the city, which wanted to desert the papal states and place itself in the hands of Matthias Corvinus.

mane omni obiectare periculo non quod sollicitare studeat subditos sue sanctitatis ad defectionem. Et credatis, domine legate, quod super isto negotio cum sua maiestate capietis bonam conclusionem et nihilominus pro debito officii et servitutis mee erga suam sanctitatem et sedem apostolicam partes meas apud suam maiestatem, ut petitis, libentissime interponam.” Beatissime pater, difficile esset scribere, qua ingenii dexteritatis et prompta animi devotione et veneratione in sanctitatem vestram loquitur et verba ornatissime promit. Ita, ut fluvii et uberrimi fontes videantur. Addidit subinde, sollicitasse infelicem illum episcopum Mirandolanum¹ ad fugam et defectionem damnate heresis seque propediem, si velim inpunitatem, polliceri se facturam. Beatissime pater, supplico, sanctitas vestra dignetur ad preces meas [*V fol. 240r*] suis litteris dominam reginam de bono opere pro liberatione domini archiepiscopi inpendendo commendare, ac quod hoc ex meis litteris sanctitas vestra audierit, quia si possum efficere, quod domina regina credat me credere, suo auxilio posse illum liberare. Ego bene spero, quia a domino rege nuperrime habui bona verba de re archiepiscopi. [*M fol. 129r*]

In causa Olomocensi² ecclesie explicitis his, que sanctitas vestra mihi dederat in mandatis, dominus rex respondit verum esse, quod sic, ut referebam sanctitati vestre, supplicasset, sed mecum, ut dicebat fidenter, loquens: “dolo et fraude istius Varadiensis factum est, quod ille dux Iohannes de Glogovia cum duobus generis suis et multis aliis adherentibus sibi rebellassent.³ Et nisi, quia Deus voluit, quod ego rescivi et fui advisatus de proditione et tradimento, quod

¹ Agostino Luciani, bishop of Santorini (1477–1493), who resided at the court of Mirandola (thus also called Mirandolanus). Ordained Utraquist priests and left Italy for Bohemia in 1482, where he filled the position of a bishop in the Prague archdiocese, cf. DEL RE, *Agostino Luciani*; MACEK, *Víra a zbožnost*, 118–131.

² Dispute for the bishopric of Olomouc.

³ Jan II of Žagaň (Sagan) (d. 1504), duke of Žagaň (1461–1467), duke of Głogów (1476–1488). He gained Głogów thanks to the policy of King Matthias, who did not want King Wladislas to secure the duchy for himself. Cf. BARBARA TECHMAŃSKA, *Jan II Żagański. Niespokojny książe. Sojusznik króla busyty (16 VI 1435 – 22 IX 1504)*, Kraków 2001.

faciebat mihi iste homo, quia¹ habui tempus cum armigeris meis providere, vere ego non modo perdidissem Slesiam et Moraviam,¹ sed ille due provincie fuissent facte heretice, sicut et alia pars Boemie. Iste homo est Moravus et magnam habet alligantiam et confederationem cum istis Boemis et nullum ego habeo, qui tantum posset, aut tantam fidem habeat cum istis Boemis, quantum iste Varadinus. Ego volo mittere eum ad compositionem istarum rerum, quia postquam ille dux Iohannes perdidit illam suam civitatem, qua vocatur Glagovia,² et capitaneus meus illam recepit, rex Boemie misit ad me istos oratores ad compositionem, quia ego facio lamentationem meam contra regem Boemie, a quo isti mei rebelles habent auxilia, et convenimus, quod ego mictam^m oratores meos et debent ibi esse ad festum Epiphanie³ et si non convenerint, convenimus, quod eligatur unus tertius, qui non possit haberi suspectus. Ego cogito de domino sanctissimo. Est opus, quod ego mictamⁿ istum Varadinum. Rogo vos, domine legate, ad contemplationem meam velitis prorogare sibi terminum et suspendere istas censuras, quousque iste vadat et redeat, alias esset mihi magnum scandalum et poneret me in tanto periculo, quod ego possem desperare de Moravia et Slesia. Rogo vos, domine legate, faciatis mihi istam prorogationem. Et de inquisitione heresis, pro nunc, cum est in tranctandis istis meis negotiis, nihil dicatis.”^o Ad cuius verba, pater beatissime, ego respondi, quod maiestas sua vellet pro Deo meminisse, quod ad supplicationem suam de ista ecclesia Olomocensi esset provisum domino Sirimiensi, oratori suo, et sedes apostolica commendabat maiestatem suam, que suis litteris testimonium tulisset de istius Varadini temeritate, qui proprio ausu ecclesias invaderet et de fide catholica, ut natus est ex infamibus parentibus, male sentiret, quod si iste sentiret, favores maiestatis sue fieret rebellior et obstinacioris cervicis et dominus noster causam

¹ Moravia and Silesia (and Upper and Lower Lusatia) were ruled by King Matthias as King of Bohemia, as agreed between the two Kings of Bohemia, Wladislas and Matthias, in 1479 in Olomouc.

² Głogów, in Silesia.

³ 6 January 1489.

haberet allegare varietatem et contradictionem sue maiestatis, quod in una re nunc vellet unum et in eadem paulo post vellet contrarium. “Serenissime rex, tanquam bonus servitor ego ingenue loquor. Est hoc possibile, quod rex Hungarie tantus rex non possit sine Varadino obire sua negotia, cuius curia scatit insignibus viris et doctoribus ad rem istam et cetera alia obeunda? Et credit maiestas vestra, quod iste homo fideliter gerat negotia maiestatis vestre, postquam semel incepit esse proditor et malus? Amore Dei cogitet maiestas vestra de alio mittendo.” “Vere,” inquit, “domine legate, si ego essem ad pedes domini sanctissimi, ipse non denegaret mihi istam gratiam pro magno bono, quod potest christianitati obvenire, ut isti duces amplius non rebellent a me. Non curetis istam parvam dilationem facere? Ego non habeo alium, qui cum illis habeat tantam fidem sicut iste, qui est colligatus et confederatus [*V fol. 240v*] cum eis, et ego scio, quod ipse diligenter faciet, quia ego dedi sibi bona verba.” “Serenissime rex,” respondi, “quare maiestas vestra sicut ad tres menses tantum petiit suspendi, quare non ad maius tempus petiit a domino nostro tunc?”^p “Quia,” inquit, “istud bellum, quod ego habeo in illis partibus, putabam debere finiri intra istos tres menses. Credatis vos, domine legate, quod ego vellem, quod iste haberet illam ecclesiam, potius ego vellem perdere nasum, quam ipse haberet. Ego video, quod ipse vult esse mihi sotius nunc, quid faceret, si ipse haberet auctoritate apostolica.” “Serenissime rex, commissio mea dicit, quod possum absolvere post debitam satisfactionem factam parti. Ego sum contentus de inquisitione heresis nihil dicere [*M fol. 129v*] nunc et restituat Olo-mocensem ecclesiam ad manus maiestatis vestre et ego absolvam.” “Non, amore Dei,” inquit, “ego non volo habere. Faciatis mihi istam gratiam et ego,” adprehensa manu mea inquit, “promicto^q vobis in fide regia, quod postquam redierit, quod erit ad plus intra duos menses nunquam ulterius me impedire et sic dabo vobis litteras et ad dominum sanctissimum et si vos vultis eum capere, dabo eum ad manus vestras, ut ducatis eum Romam et faciatis de eo, quicquid vultis. Ipse tantum petit habere a nobis unum hominem vestrum, qui videat expensas, quas fecit in illa ecclesia. Et quod sit suspensus a censuris, amore Dei, faciatis, domine legate, quod ipse recedat con-

tentus." Tandem ubi dominum regem sic deprecantem sum intuitus, respondi, quod equo animo sua maiestas pateretur, quod ego viderem melius formam commissionis mee, ut possem per amplius deliberare ad quinque dies post conventus a sua maiestate. Respondi, quod suspensionem aut absolutionem facere non possem, nisi aut Varadinus ecclesiam restituisset, aut procurator domini Sirimiensis consentiret amicabiliter; si procurator consentiret, ego eram libenter facere paratus, et cum multi se offerent^f procuratores, quorum mandata cum inspexissem, quia non videbantur legitima. Ego, pater beatissime, nolui aliquid facere nec suspendere nec absolvere. Sum tamen pollicitus sue maiestati, absente Varadiense, ne ex hoc ipse superbiret per hos duos menses non inquietare nec citare nec aliquam molestiam facere. Dedi tamen sibi hominem, qui expensas, quas dicit se fecisse, videat et referat et ista fiducia, quod non molestem eum in malam suam rem discessit. Venerat ad me per prius sepius et rigida cervice, ut solet, multa^s prius questus est de domino rege, qui invitum et reluctantem in hac ecclesia Olomocensi intrusisset, et sue maiestati sepius dixisset, si non videret, quod posset optinere, huic oneri non implicaret eum et quia fidem sua maiestas astrinxisset^f consulto se non temere recepisset ecclesiam. Sed ubi videt mentem sanctissimi domini nostri, ipse non vult esse rebellis, nec expectare relabi in illas censuras, ipse vult ecclesiam ad manus capituli, a quo receperit, restituere et cui^u iure iurando fidem astrinxerat, si non posset optinere, quod ad capitulorum manus ecclesiam dimitteret. Rogabat me tamen, quod rationem habere vellem expensarum, quas ipse in rem ecclesie pro relutione oppidorum, pro reparatione et instauratione ecclesie fecisset. Et quod ipse videbat ulterius in isto mundo non posse stare cum honore propter hanc iniuriam, quam inferri sibi patiebatur rex, quod habitam et diu tentam ecclesiam cum rubore dimictere,^v rogabat me, licentiam illi concederem, posse religionem intrare, maxime cum ex hoc extingueret conceptam de illo heresim et Boemicam septam, pro ut sanctitatem vestram intelligere colligebat [*V fol. 241r*] ex brevibus ad eum missis super ecclesia Olomocensi. Et hoc, pater beatissime, usque ad simulatas lacrimas et mentita suspiria exclamabat. Cui pro tempore respondi, quod con-

sulto illum putabam fecisse, cum in ecclesia Olomocensi se intrusit, sed consultius fecisset se, prout bonum decet episcopum, si non laicali manu, sed sedis apostolice auctoritate nactus foret possessionem. Sciebat enim, quod non regis, sed sanctitatis vestre esset auctoritate fienda provisio illius ecclesie, maxime cum non sit de regno Hungarie¹ Olomocium. Nec paternitatem suam iuvare poterat, quod electionem aut postulationem capituli allegaret, quia cum ecclesiam Varadiensem optineret, ad aliam eligi aut postulari non poterat.² Hortabar itaque paternitatem suam, ut bene sibi consuleret, quod non putaret censuras evadere, ob id, quod capitulo [*M fol. 130r*] vellet restituere et non ad manus meas, aut partis adverse, cum pro possessore habeatur, qui dolo desiit possidere et pendente lite alienationem rei, de qua agitur, mutandi iudicii causa factam iura detestantur. Nec est, quod iuramentum prestitum capitulo posset allegare, quia in omni contractu superioris auctoritas semper excipere et maxime talis superioris, qui non recognoscit superiorem, ut est sedes apostolica. “Unde, domine Varadine,” dicebam, “ista ecclesia de manibus vestris exigenda est et extorquenda. Quod ad expensas actinet, videamus, si expense sint tales, que mereantur restitutionem, et an ante vel post restitutionem ecclesie debeantur nobis, videbitis formam commissionis et ita polliceor adesse iustitie vestre.” De religione dicebam, quod consultius ageret et melius deliberaret, si tandem mutare vitam esset animis non desperatorum more, sed eorum, qui Christo famulatum offerunt bono animo et quieta mente, ad illam procederet, et sciret, si semel eligeret intrare, non respiceret ulterius retro. Item, quod ecclesie Varadiensi et ceteris beneficiis prius cederet et sic licentiam a me^w optineret.³ De suspicione et infamia heresis ergo hoc

¹ A reference to the patronage rights of the Kings of Hungary over Hungarian Church that were secured by St Stephen and again by King Sigismund at the Council of Constance, cf. ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ, *Das Konstanzer Konzil und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn*, Budapest 1959; PÉTER TUSOR, *The Papal Consistories and Hungary in the 15th–16th Centuries. To the history of the Hungarian Royal Patronage and Supremacy* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae II/4), Budapest – Rome 2012.

² Cf. canon law, liber extra (X.1.7, titulus De translatione episcopi).

³ Jan Filipec entered the Franciscan Observant Order in Wroclaw on 10 June 1492.

non intelligebam, quam si intelligerem pro debito offitii, inquirere non timerem. Respondit: “extorquenda non si essent^x decem cardinales, quare magis electio fieri potuit de domino Sirimiensi, qui etiam aliam sponsam habet, quam de me? De expensis videatis, si sunt legitime, vel non, et quoniam pars adversa non vellet restituere, ego dabo oppida, que redemi, ad manus illorum vel aliorum, a quibus soluta pecunia recepi. De religione ego bene deliberavi, cum honore meo non possum huic regi amplius servire. Intrabo religionem, et quia non habeo nisi unum stomachum, potero illum implere de legumine,^y sicut nunc de decem ferculis ecclesie Varadiensis. Ego cedam, sed possessionem non dabo ad manus vestras, sed^z ad manus domini regis, a quo recepi. Tantum detis mihi licentiam intrandi.” “Domine Varadine,” dixi, “non sum decem cardinales, sed simplex episcopus et fretus sedis apostolice auctoritate, cuius vices hic immeritus gero. Illam de manu vestra extorquam et facillimum esse putabo non modo a paternitate vestra, verum a quo huius regni prelato. Nec ad vos spectat, cur domino Sirimiensi data sit illa ecclesia querere. Sedi apostolice sic placuit, quam non habetis vos iudicare et non placuit^a dare vobis, qui proprio ausu illam invasistis. De expensis, ut dixi, sum paratus iustitiam facere. Hortor vos ad reverentiam et obedientiam, quod si non feceritis, cognoscetis, quam ampla manus sedis apostolice sit.^b Et credatis, domine Varadine, quod dominus noster non misit me ad has partes cum legionibus armatis, sed tantum cum auctoritate sedis apostolice et credatis, si domino nostro et debito tuo non feceris, satis maiora tibi impedimeta scriptis sum factururus, quam si legionibus rem hanc essem expugnaturus.¹ Et interea, domine Varadine, auctoritate et mandato sanctissimi domini nostri sub penis et censuris, de quibus in brevibus sue sanctitatis nobis directis continetur, mando vobis, quod in bonis, castellis, oppidis et aliis rebus ad ecclesiam Olomocensem spectantibus nihil debeatis innovare vel attemptare, sed nec reimpignorationes^c aut novas infeudationes facere, nec aliquid de bonis illius ecclesie alienare, distrahere a quovis alienationi titulo cuiquam concedere.” Sic rogatum

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli stressed the Apostolic authority of his office.

notarium et testes dominum Iaurinum,¹ dominum Nicolaum Boschai² et medicum domini regis³ adhibui. Intorto naso et fluctuante gucture discessit. Beatissime pater, supplico, sanctitas vestra, sit contenta ad tam breve terminum ad domini regis supplicationem conquiescam non procedere contra eum, quia, ut dominus rex asse/[*M fol. 130v*]/rit, faceret sibi magnam turbationem. Placeret tamen mihi, quod sanctitas vestra suis litteris mandaret, quod post lapsum huius termini ulterius non differrem.

Interea, dum conclusionem super negotio Anchonitano^d expecto, revertitur dominus Varadiensis de Slesia⁴ et illico, ut sollempnes vesperas ante dominum regem cantet, se parat, refert mihi temerarii^e hominis audaciam dominus Iauriensis et dicit se mirari, si ego patiar hominem non absolutum non suspensum celebrare. Ego, pater beatissime, dubitavi, ne Iauriensis vellet consilia mea explorare. Dixi: “videbitis, domine Iauriensi,^f quod nihil indignum legato efficiam. Rogo paternitatem vestram cras ad me redire dignetur, ut quid facere velim nomine meo referat domino regi.” Sequenti die, cum Iauriensis prestolor sive ipse nollet nuntius huius rei fieri, sive ex alia causa, nescio, venire ad me sua hora distulit. Misi hominem meum ad dominum regem, ut quod Iauriensis esset relaturus, homo meus referret, invenit iam dominum Varadinum in pompa dicentem vesperas, pepercit^g aliquid domino regi dicere, ne^h offitia, ut mihi refert, turbaret. Adiit tamen dominam reginam, que pertinacissime abstinuit, finitis vespers, cum domino regi nuntiaretur, quod dominus Varadinus non suspensus, non absolutus divinis se immiscuisset, dolens, misit ad me Iauriensem pro Deo rogans, quod tantam domino

¹ Tamás Bakóc, bishop of Győr.

² Miklós Baesakai.

³ Giulio Milio, cf. LÁSZLÓ S. DOMONKOS, *The Medical History of a Medieval Hungarian King: Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490)*, R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv, ed. Péter Tusor, Budapest 1998, 133–147.

⁴ Silesia. Jan Filipec was one of the main negotiators of King Matthias after the defeat of Jan II of Žagaň and Jindřich (Henry) of Münsterberg. On 20 and 21 January Jan Filipec was in his castle in Vyškov in Moravia (a castle of the bishop of Olomouc), where he signed a treaty with the Silesian dukes, cf. KALOVS, *Itinerář Jana Filipce*, 30.

regi turbationem non facerem, quod iste, qui confisus in maiestate sua putabat se a censuris suspensum et qui hac credulitateⁱ vespas inchoaverat, turbaretur, propter quod negotia sue maiestatis bene per hunc Varadiensem cepta et de quibus sperat, optimam conclusionem disturbarentur. Respondi non decere domini Varadiensi credere auctoritate regis se posse a censuris absolvi et quod nullus poterit mihi melior testis fieri, quam ipse, cui petente domino Varadiensi censuras suspendi. Responderam, non posse nisi altero ex duobus modis aut per partitionem et restitutionem ecclesie Olomocensi, aut partium mutuo consensu. Et cum^j multa interminaretur idem Iauriensis deturbatione et inquietudine animi domini regis et quod poterat sua maiestas desperare de omnibus rebus, quas habet in Boemia, si nunc hunc hominem turbaret et inquietaret. “Dicit enim sua maiestas, quod putabat, quod dominatio vestra reverendissima censuras suspendisset, quia aliter non fuisset passus hominem celebrare et ecclesiastica ministrare sacramenta, nisi quia credebatur, quod hominem absolvisset vel suspendisset.” Respondi, quod dolebam plurimum, quod sua maiestas esset de re hac male contenta, sed putabam, quod pro sua prudentia a me non exigeret, plusquam ego possem. “Dixi sepius maiestati sue, qualiter possum absolvere et non aliter de consensu scilicet partium vel per restitutionem ecclesie. De credulitate sue maiestatis ego admiror, quia hec facta sunt presente te, domine Iauriensis, cui dixi ingenue et absolute nisi de consensu partium aut per restitutionem non possem facere.^k Sed ego bene admiror dominum Varadiensem, qui se scit non absolutum, non suspensum nullo facto signo aut verbo domino legato, qui hic est, tam temere tam imprudenter stipatus, quorundam nobilium Boemorum heresiarcharum *ca[V fol. 242r]*tervis, quos nuper ex Boemia secum adduxerat, divinis quod se tam imprudenter ingesserit.” Tandem laudata et probata duritie mea discessit dicensque, “loquor non ut episcopus,^l sed <ut> nuntius domini regis dixi.”^m Circa mediam noctem venit procurator utriusque partis et habens mandatum ad

ⁱ Tamás Bakóc, bishop of Győr, showed his loyalty to the king rather than to the Church.

hoc sufficiens, quod ego servo ad inportunam domini regis instantiam [*M fol. 131r*] et subgestionem et relationem sue maiestatis ob maxima, que sperat, commoda ex negotiatione istius Varadiensis, qui propediem iterum rediturus ad negotia eadem feliciter absolvenda. Ad dies XV cum reincidentia ad censuras^m suspendi. Beatissime pater, mira est hominis protervia, mira cervicis durities, homo, qui tantum in seculari et laicali potentia sperat, nec ullam habet sedis apostolice reverentiam. Mictoⁿ insuper copias quarundam informationum, quas per manus domini Corradi,¹ familiaris reverendissimi domini sancti Marci,² ex illis partibus habui, ubi hominis tirandidem facile poterit sanctitas vestra intueri. Exactis postquam dictis XV diebus procurator domini Sirimiensi una cum domino Varadiensi ad me venerunt una cum domino Iauriensi^o pro parte domini regis petentes pro pace et concordia rerum in Slesia absolvendarum, qui communicato propter concordiam, quam per medium domini regis fieri sperabant,^p consilio petierunt per hunc presentem Ianuarium et Februarium sub hiisdem penis et censuris deberem suspendere et quia secundum commissionem mihi datam ad partium instantiam non possum denegare^q petente maxime domino rege pro felici et comoda rerum suarum in Slesia absolute et conclusione debere suspendere. Cum reincidentia sum pollicitus^f suspendi per hunc et sequentem mensem nec prius volui verbum facere, quam a rege personaliter intelligerem.

Ex multis audieram, quod episcopus ille Mirandolanus,³ qui ad damnatos hereticos confugerat, sive sceleris conscientia ductus, sive quod temerarii hominis petulantiam heretici etiam illi, ubi noverrunt, spernant et detestentur, seu quod questus deficiat, desiderat

¹ Konrad Altheimer (d. 1509), canon of Olomouc cathedral chapter (1467–1490), administrator of the bishopric (1490–1497); worked for the chancery of Cardinal Marco Barbo, when the latter was a legate *de latere* in Central Europe, cf. PETER WÖRSTER, *Humanismus in Olmütz. Landesbeschreibung, Stadtlob und Geschichtsschreibung in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg 1994, 73–98.

² Cardinal Marco Barbo, worked as legate *de latere* to Central Europe (1472–1474), led negotiations between Kings of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia.

³ Agostino Luciani, bishop of Santorini.

inde discedere et ad nos redire, modo sanctitatis vestre habeat securitatem, quod non ignibus aut perpetuo carcere, ut par foret, dampnetur. Institi apud dominum regem, si maiestati sue via aliqua foret, hominem ad fugam inducat. Sua maiestas respondit, in manu sua esse, ubi et quando velim efficere, quod inde ille discedat, modo ego sue maiestati et episcopo fidem prestem, quod errorum et scelerum patratorem hactenus rerum^s impunitatem habeat. Pater beatissime, tantam molem nolui inconsulta sanctitate vestra polliceri, attamen ad hereticorum illorum confusionem putarem consultissime factum, quod omnia episcopo polliceam, modo inde fugiat. Quo magis ac magis perdit illi heretici non episcopum, sed Sinonem¹ habuisse se doleant. Vidi ego litteras, quas ut carta loquitur, sua manu scripsit, in quibus ad fugam auxilium regis implorat, de quibus copiam² micto^f sanctitati vestre.

Interloquendum sua maiestas me interrogavit, an scirem, quod ad festum Michaelis,³ frater Turchi⁴ ex Gallis ad sanctitatem vestram esset adducturus.^u Respondi, ut erat, quod nihil tale intellexeram, sed putabam oratores sanctitatis vestre efficisse apud regem Francie,⁵ quod ille Turchus ad manus vestras daretur. “Quid,” inquit, “dominus sanctissimus vult facere de eo? Est communis fama, quod *Veneti*^v volunt eum emere. Sanctitas sua nisi per Hungariam nunquam poterit aliquid facere contra Turchum,” non credat per viam *Venetorum*^w aliquid boni facere, ipsi vellent vendere illum fratrem Turchi. “Ego dico vobis, domine legatè, quod si dominus noster

¹ Sinon was a Greek soldier in the Trojan war, who as captive inspired the Trojans to drag the wooden horse inside the walls. Vergilius, Aeneis, II.

² The annexed copy is not preserved.

³ 29 November 1488.

⁴ Sultan Djem (Cem, Jem, Zizim; 1459–1495), brother of Sultan Bayezid II (Sultan, 1481–1512), who was held captive in France by the Hospitallers and in 1489 given to Pope Innocent VIII by Pierre d’Aubusson, the Grand Master of the order, who was in turn created cardinal. Djem arrived to Civitavecchia on 6 March and entered Rome on 13 March 1489. Here, Matthias probably refers to some negotiations in France.

⁵ Charles VIII, King of France (1483–1498).

intendit ad istum bellum contra Turchos, quod ego tantum desidero, sicut ire ad paradisum, quod in duobus annis ego volo expellere [*V fol. 242v*] Turchum ultra mare et terras suas et credat sanctitas sua, quod nisi illi, qui tenent illum Turchum, velint fallere fidem et facere contra eorum promissa, numquam dominus sanctissimus habebit eum. Non esset melius, quod sua sanctitas esset contenta, quod veniret ad manus meas, quam credere istis [*M fol. 131v*] *Venetis*,^x et cum hec loquebatur et manibus et capite totus adnitebatur ad desiderium de bello capescendo. Respondi: “serenissime rex, sicut maiestas vestra ex me intellexit, sua sanctitas nihil anxius, quam se huic bello adcingere^y cogitat et si aliorum, ut sperat, auxilia non deerunt, cito videbit^z maiestas vestra, quantum sua sanctitas hoc desideret, et sicut ipse est caput religionis nostre, sic ad suam sanctitatem spectat, quod ille Turchus sit ad eius manus, quia etiam alii potentatus forte inviderent, quod esset ad manus maiestatis vestre. Puto tamen, quod bellum gerendum non per *Venetos*,^a sed per maiestatis vestre viam inchoandum sit.” Tum propter belli huius frequentem peritiam, tum quia ad invadendum hostem nulla melior aut comodior via, quam per Hungariam ad sanctitatem vestram, inquit, de hac re se velle scribere.

Ad negotium *Anconitanorum*,^b respondit, quod satis dolebat, quod emuli sui tantum potuissent apud sanctitatem vestram, quod illi subgesserint animum se habere ad sollicitandum vassallos vestros ad defectionem, quia dudum fuerat maiestatis sue spectata fides et devotio erga sanctitatem vestram et sedem apostolicam, “sed ingenue,” inquit, “tecum, domine legate, dicam veritatem. Primum, quod me movit, est, ut istos *Anconitanos*^c protegere ab Turchorum rabie. Subinde ego tot incommodis et iniuriis ab istis *Venetis*^d sum lacessitus, quod nullo modo ulterius illorum tirandidem pati possim. Constitui per hunc modum ulcisci iniurias meas et quia in *Ancona*^e est commodissimus *portus*^f ad dampna inferenda eis, idcirco putavi conducere rebus meis ista pacta inisse, sed sua sanctitas certa sit, quod nulla est cogitatio ad dampnum ecclesie inferendum. Recensuit insuper pro certo se habere, quod dudum isti *Venetis*^g quesivissent similem compactationem cum *Anconitanis*^h inire et si eos nonⁱ prevenissem, iam illi inclinabant in capitula similia ineunda.” Respondi,

quod domino nostro omnes discordie, que essent inter Christi fideles, moleste forent. Precipue ille, que inter potentatus, et presertim, que disturbarent animum sue sanctitatis, et maxime hoc tempore, quo sua sanctitas animum induxit ad bellum contra Turchos, si aliorum non deerunt auxilia indicendum. Et licet gratissimum fuisset sanctitati sue, quod sua maiestas non modo *Anconam*,^j verum omnes alias sanctitatis sue urbes a Turchorum rabie protexisset, sed capitula et pacta inisse inconsulta sua sanctitate cum suis subditis. Hoc tam iure communi nullum est, quam per apostolicas constitutiones sub censuris ecclesiasticis et gravissimis penis nullum est et prohibetur.^k “Et credat maiestas vestra, quod sua sanctitas nullo modo potuit animum inducere, quod maiestas vestra hoc sua sponte fecerit, sed illius animus victus est inopportunitate et petulantia *Anconitanorum*.^l Nec putet maiestas vestra, domine rex, quod domino nostro, qui est universalis pater Christi fidelium, placere possit, quod urbes sue sint instrumenta, per que alius alium offendat et quod unde quies et pax oriri debet, inde scandala et bella oriantur. Pro Deo maiestas vestra induat personam domini nostri et reputet secum, quantum illi placeret, quod subditi aut vassalli sue maiestatis inconsulta illa confederationes inissent.” Adhortabar maiestatem suam, quod ratione unici equo animo pateretur et quod sibi non placeret, hoc in aliis cogitare potuisset. Natura enim hoc nos iure instruxit, quod aliis non facerem, quod in nobis grave reputassemus. Subdidi exempla de corona, quam felix recordationis Pius II regi Bosne donasset,¹ quod sue maiestati fuisset gravissimum, subdidi et illius [*V fol. 243r*] vaivode

¹ Stjepan (Stephen) Tomašević, King of Bosnia (1461–1463), asked in Spring 1463 Pope Pius II to send him diplomatic support, recommend him through a legate to the King of Hungary and send him a royal crown. Pius answered, “... Coronam mittere sine preiudicio regis Hungarie haudquaquam possumus, cuius rex Bosne vassallus est, et ad eum pertinet coronare regem. Sciscitabimur, quid sit animi eius. Si equo animo tulerit, coronam, que parata est, per legatum mitemus...”, *Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii*, ed. IBOLYA BELLUS – IVÁN BORONKAI, Budapest 1993, 534–535; cf. also EMIR O. FILIPOVIĆ, *The key to the gate of Christendom? The strategic importance of Bosnia in the struggle against the Ottomans, The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and competing cultures*, London–New York 2017, 151–168.

Moldaviensis,¹ qui auxilia *Venetorum*^m contemptoⁿ rege suo petiisset. “Reputetque secum maiestas vestra, quam iusta et quam modesta sit petitio domini nostri, qui a catholico rege non nisi, quod suum est, repetit relaxari.” “Quid,” inquit, “vellet dominus sanctissimus?” “Petit,” inquam, “domine rex, quod suis litteris declaret, quod a conventis et pactis cum *Anconitanis*^o discedat et quod ad eos scribat, quod iussu et hortatu sue sanctitatis a conventis discesserit, ac sigillum et vexillum repetat, ne videatur, quod maiestas vestra, que iustissima est, in messem, ut dicunt, alienam falcem immiserit.” “Ego,” inquit, “domine legate, non cogitavi, quod feci esse molestum domino sanctissimo, sed per me volo modicum cogitare et postea respondebo vobis. Ego volo videre, quomodo cum honore meo me^p possim absol[*M fol. 132r*]vere et quod dominus sanctissimus non remaneat cum *Anconitanis*^q male contentus, ut vellet eos forte punire propter ista capitula.” Et certe, pater beatissime, quantum licuit mihi coniectari ex verbis sue maiestatis et domine regine, mens regis erat, quod sanctitas vestra per unum breve assecuraret *Anconitanos*,^f quod nihil in eos severe statueret propter capitula huiusmodi. Interea cum pluries a me pulsaretur, si^s super re ista deliberasset et responderet, se nondum cum oratore, qui apud eum foret fuisse locutum. Venit novum ex Italia, quod sanctitas vestra *Anconitanos*^f et alios plures populos illius provincie excommunicasset et eorum loca ecclesiastico supposuisset interdicto. Venit ad me dominus Iauriensis^{2u} et gravem regis nomine querelam exposuit, quod sanctitas vestra tantum tribuere voluit *Venetis*^v et eo illam adduxerint, quod non expectato responso sue maiestatis nec litteris oratoris sui in iram exarserit excommunicationis et interdicti contra *Anconitanos*^w amicos suos, “an forte,” inquit, “sua sanctitas putat sic facere contra regem meum, sicut nunc facit contra *Anconitanos*^x vel sicut egit cum illo rege Boemie heretico profecto. Non cogitet sua sanctitas, quia magna inde possent scandala exoriri,” et multa alia referebat, que indignationem animi sue maiestatis videbantur arguere. Ego et si nihil de

¹ Stephen III the Great, voivode of Moldavia (1457–1504).

² Tamás Bakóc, bishop of Győr.

re hac intellexissem, attamen quantum pro tempore licuit, respondi me non credere, quod sanctitas vestra aliquid non expectato responso meo hactenus in *Anconitanos*^y pro culpa initorum capitulorum fecisse. Argumentoque esse dicebam, quod multos alios populos illius provincie simili pena mulcasset, unde putabam, quod novam aliquam culpam, novam aliquam defectionem aut rebellionem fecissent, cuius occasione sanctitas vestra in eos nunc sevisset. Addebam, quod etiam cum *Anconitanis*^z pridie immorarer, decretum fecerunt *Anconitani*,^a ne cui extra tribunalia, que ipsi pro suo imperio illic constituerunt, etiam ad sedem apostolicam liceret appellare. Fecissent etiam rebelles se, quod sumptibus arcis quam sanctitas vestra Auximi¹ pro tutela totius provincie facere instituisset, pro sua virili, ut cetera urbes sanctitatis vestre facere consueverunt, contribuere recusarent. Et hoc non audent, nisi quia se tutos putant, clipeo sue maiestatis et nihil aliud est fecisse capitula cum istis *Anconitanis*^b nisi gladium in furiosi manibus posuisse. Armat enim maiestas sua vaxallos ecclesie ad defectionem et rebellionem, qui a primeva fundatione urbis *Ancone*^c vaxalli ecclesie fuerunt. “Pro Deo, domine episcopo, ego requiro vos in vim illius iuramenti, quod sedi apostolice prestistis, quod dominum regem adhortari^d velitis et illi suadere, quod a conventis et capitulis discedere velit, nam quod in hanc usque etatem fuerit semper defensor et tutor sedis apostolice et christiane religionis, cur adveniente maiori et graviori etate ab illo [*V fol. 243v*] insigni animi sui instituto discedere velit, gravissimum esse censeo. Induat, queso paternitatem vestram, personam regis et videat, si vassallus suus capitula cum quovis se inconsulto fecisset, num tantum fuisset passus, an expectasset quemquam consulere aut adhortari.” Dominus Iaurinus, prout est modesti ingenii, facile venit in sententiam meam, et cum a me expeteret, quid in hac re ego desiderarem. Respondi non nisi, quod rex declaret se iussu et hortatu domini nostri a conventis velle discedere et discedat et sic domino nostro rescribat et *Anconitanis*.^e “Domine legate,” inquit, “difficile erit hoc a domino rege impetrare. Ego tamen puto, quod si res hec iterum agenda foret,

¹ Osimo, a town some twenty km south of Ancona.

nunquam sua maiestas temptaret, sed ubi facta est, ne levitatem in sua maiestate arguat. Credo, quod difficile erit hoc optinere. Ego," inquit, "vellem, quod irent ad diabolum omnes illi, qui suaserunt hoc domino meo regi, quid nos volumus de *Anconitanis*^f facere et confundantur illi, qui hoc suaserunt domino meo regi. Et credatis, quod si ista res nunc deberet fieri, sua maiestas bene consideraret. Sed video, quod ex una parte sit pudor, ex alia sit iustitia. Ego non cognoscerem meliorem modum, quam quod dominus rex non esset primus a discedendo, ne videretur territus aut levis." "Ego, domine Iaurine, non curarem nec vellem dixi, quod *Anconitanis*^g essent primi, sed ingenue ad requisitionem domini nostri facerem, prout sua sanctitas monet, et putarem, quod maior esset honor domini regis primus fieri velle a discedendo, quam quod ab *Anconitanis*^h pulsatus hoc faceret." "Ego credo," respondit, "quod dominus meus rex [*M fol. 132v*] nunquam poterit induci, quod sit primus, quia videretur, quod esset violare fidem regiam et prestitam *Anconitanorum*ⁱ et rex nunquam consuevit mutare voluntatem et datam fidem infringere." Ad aliquos postea dies, dum acrius pro conclusione habenda insisterem, quia putabam tam ex iusta petitione mea, quam ex verbis domine regine rem debere, ut par est, facile concludi.

Sua maiestas sollempni consiliariorum suorum parato spectaculo ita mihi respondit: "Domine legate, quia multum institistis pro responso rerum *Anconitanorum*,^j ego et si iustum dolorem meum voluissem mecum digerere, tum postquam, ut respondeam, instatis, volo vobis satisfacere. Et dum recordor bone memorie patrem meum etiam adhuc me puero existente, semper in armis pro defensione fidei et sedis apostolice et in illis bellis thesauros infinitissimos non modo consumpsisse, verum amicos carissimos notos consanguineos et unum germanum fratrem perdidisse et vulnera plurima me quoque meo corpore fuisse passum, ob que ingravescente nunc etate ego scio, quos propterea corporis dolores patior, in qua re, quid fecerim et quam acriter pugnaverim, omnes norunt,^k nam non modo viriliter a tanto hostium impetu me protexi, verum multa de illorum nefandis manibus recepi, prout in Bosna et aliis variis locis. Et credatis, quod si per Hungaros non fuisset sic viriliter pugnatum, actum

nunc foret de Italia et precipue de sede apostolica et semper ad simplex nuncium domini sanctissimi aut eius legati bellum indixi, nec aliter auspicans¹ periculis intrepidus in bella progressus, nec unquam de pace, nec unquam de concordia treugarum,^m nisi vel de mandato domini sanctissimi vel eius legatorum, subinde cum heresis ista Boemica invalesceret felicitis recordationis Paulus primo cesarem, subinde plurimos [*V fol. 244r*] alios requisivit, ut in hereticos illos insurgerent. Et cum nemo huic oneri se vellet adcingere,ⁿ solus rex Hungarie ad primam monitionem et mandatum sue sanctitatis illi bello me addixi, in quo nec pacem, nec treugam, nec conditionem aliquam cogitavi inire, nisi quam sua sanctitas iussisset aut voluisset. Et licet fuerim creatus rex Boemie^o et data fides per suam sanctitatem, quod nullus alius^p crearetur, aut forte creatus confirmaretur, attamen, quantum mihi fides pollicita fuerit prestita, nunc audies: in quibus bellis quantum laboris, quantum periculi adierim,^q quot denique thesauros exhausserim, quot nobilium et illustrium regnorum meorum mortes et cedes sim passus, vix decem Boemie tanti sunt. Invaserat subinde Turchus Italiam et Idruntum,¹ expugnaverat et expugnatum summa vi munierat ad simplices litteras domini Sixti de auxilio prestando,^r nil moratus, aliquos ex capitaneis meis cum lectissima militum robustorum manu ad recuperandum Idruntum confestim misi, nec prius inde milites meos discedere sum passus et quos meo sumptu et pecunia substinui,^s quam pax Italie reddita sit, vidissent Itali, vidisset sedes apostolica, quod Idruntum tandem effecisset, si non illum ex hostium manibus prope fuisset ereptum et mors maioris Turci² non intercessisset. Adcessit et Boccolini³ illius in Marchia defectio, quod ubi

¹ Otranto. It was taken by Mehmed II in 1480, liberated with the help of Matthias Corvinus in 1481.

² Sultan Mehmed II died on 3 May 1481 in the midst of preparations for a military campaign most probably directed against the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, but feared in Europe as a campaign against Rhodes or Italy, cf. FRANZ BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, Princeton, N.J. 1978, 403–404.

³ Boccolino Guzzoni (di Guzzone, d. 1494), a condottiere from Osimo in service of various powers from the later 1450s. Took part in the Baron's War on the side of Naples, Milan and Florence; took Osimo in 1486; in service of Milan from 1488.

audivi, ad dominum sanctissimum misi et illi optuli gentes meas ac in propria persona, si expedisset ad illum expugnandum venire et certe Turchus classem instructam habebat, ut milites suos ad Auximum capiendum micteret, nisi quod intellexit, quod in auxilium domini sanctissimi me optuleram. Post exactos tot labores, post tot pericula et exhaustos thesauros, que premia, quamve retributionem aut merita receperim? Hec sunt: vix sua sanctitas ad sedem apostolicam fuerat adsumptus et iam sciebat, quod diligentiam [*M fol. 133r*] feceram pro habendo fratrem Turchi, quem tantopere poscebam, tunc quod ipsemet frater Turchi ad me sua manu ad hoc scripsisset, tum quod mater sua per suos oratores hoc idem a me postulasset, tum etiam, quia ille mihi iure sanguinis est coniunctus,¹ nam soror avie mee casu a Turchis rapta nupsit avo istius Turchi, ex qua postea isti nati sunt, tum etiam quia barones et alii magnates in Turchia et per oratores eorum ac etiam per litteras me sepius sollicitaverunt, quod ego operam darem istum ad manus meas habere. Pollicentur enim mihi se istius auxilio et auspiciis brevi Turchum posse ultra Caucasum excludere et tandem sperabam, quod ad fidem veniret christianam, aut si non veniret per eius manus posse oratorem partim^t perditarum rerum ex Turchis recipere. Sua sanctitas tanquam glorie et honori meo invidisset ad subgestionem *Venetorum*^u inimicorum meorum, non modo misit oratores suos ad sollicitandum regem *Francie*,^v quod mihi illum non darent, verum etiam oratorem meum, episcopum Varadinum,² qui illuc meo nomine iverat, per unum breve sollicitabat, quod mihi esset proditor et quod non pro me, sed pro sua sanctitate illum peteret. Et hoc sua sanctitas non facit, nisi quia vult illum pauperem nobilem dare ad immolandum *Venetis*,^w qui polliciti sunt sue sanctitati certa milia ducatorum. Ita ego habeo ex litteris nobilium de consilio in regno *Francie*.^x Et non credatis, domine legate, quod *Veneti*^y petant habere

¹ Matthias Corvinus is referring to his alleged relation to Sultan Djem, cf. Gyön-gyössy, “*Egy vér folyik ereinkben.*”

² Jan Filipec went to France and tried to secure Sultan Djem for Matthias, in France May–November 1487. In 1487 he went on a long diplomatic mission to Ferrara, Venice, Milan, France, back to Milan and to the royal court in Vienna..

illum pro communi salute christianorum, [V fol. 244v] sed sperant dare illum ad immolandum Turcho et per illud recuperare aliqua, que ipsi plusquam femine inutiles et inbelles perdidit, et inferre mihi et regi Neapolitano² aliquod magnum scandalum. Nec potest dicere sua sanctitas, quod per viam Venetorum^a velit bellum inferre Turchis, quia bene scit, quod Turchus per mare non potest invadi, nec quicquam dampni sibi inferri et quando fieri posset, nescio, quid umquam ista classis Venetorum^b boni pro christiana religione fecerit. Illam impensam Veneti^c ad suum commodum faciunt et ad nullum alium fructum, nisi quod Venetorum,^d arma, ligna et alia necessaria ad Turchum exportant et tot census, tot pecunias Turchus recepit^e ab istis Venetis,^f quot ex dimidia parte regnorum suorum non recepit et tamen tantum valent apud suam sanctitatem isti Veneti,^g qui longe^h infideliores sunt, quam Turchi, quiⁱ multas urbes et multa ecclesie bona per tirandidem detinent, decimas et tres et quatuor a clericis contra omnem iustitiam extorquent, censuras et interdicta sue sanctitatis spernunt et spernere gloriantur et tam ad eorum subgestionem sua sanctitas effecit, quod illum fratrem Turchi mihi abstulit. Licet, sciat, quod ad invadendum et nocendum Turcho nulla oportuna magis comoditas, quam per Hungariam existat. Veneti^j sunt consiliarii, Veneti^k sunt confederati, Veneti^l sunt, qui suam sanctitatem regunt et gubernant. Nos alii spernimur et negligimur et ad sinum sue sanctitatis venire volentes expellimur. Nec hoc contenta sua sanctitas, quia Veneti^m suaserunt sibi, quod ego sollicitabam Anconitanosⁿ ad defectionem. Sua sanctitas, ut placeat Venetis,^o non expectato responso oratoris sui aut meo, Anconitanos^p excommunicavit, interdixit et spoliis et rapinis continue afficit. Quin immo, ut placeret Venetis,^q cum rex Romanorum^r mitteret oratores suos ad curiam, sua sanctitas, postquam audivit interesse meum et iustam causam meam, quod rex Romanorum^s non esset rite ac recte electus, sua sanctitas^t spreto et contempto me rege Boemie, prout per litteras sub bulla aurea possum ostendere, quod necessario rex Boemie requiratur, postquam oratori meo fuerat pollicitus,^u quod oratores regis Romanorum^v non admic-

¹ King Maximilian.

teret,^w refracta fide ad preces immo ad imperium *Venetos*^x illos admisit, confirmavit et approbavit et iam illi gloriantur, quod vivente patre nihil amplius petunt, quia iam sit *rex Romanorum*^y confirmatus. Nec has iniurias sua sanctitas satis esse putavit, sed [*M fol. 133v*] sciens pollicitam mihi^z per sedem apostolicam fidem esse, quod nullus preter me confirmaretur rex Boemie, tamen sua sanctitas nullo ad fidem prestitam, nullo ad honorem meum habito respectu, oratores regis Boemie admisit, recepit et confirmavit et ubi prius felicitis recordationis Sixtus electores illos hereticos excommunicaverat et electionem improbaverat,^a propter quod iste rex erat mihi subditus et nullum mihi prestabat in Slesia et Moravia impedimentum, nunc auxilio sedis apostolice et sue sanctitatis factus animosus, subditos meos animavit ad defectionem et rebellionem contra me et nisi magna vi et magno copiarum numero, quem propere ad tutelam misi, actum foret de Slesia et Moravia et non modo ego perdidissem, sed omnes hodie forent heretici, prout in reliquis Boemie partibus existunt et hoc, ut placeat *Venetis*,^b oratores Boemorum^c *rex Romanorum*^d admisit, qui ad instantiam *Venetorum*^e et in dampnum meum apud suam sanctitatem instantiam fecerunt. Vacavit^f subinde ecclesia Strigoniensis,¹ pro qua cum pro isto nepote domine regine² supplicassem. Nunquam potui audiri, sed illam ecclesiam sua sanctitas, que est principale membrum regni mei, nescio, cui contulit et cum tandem factum fuisset, [*V fol. 245r*] quod ille, cui fuerat concessa, illam renunciasset, nunquam ad supplicationem meam huic nepoti meo voluit conferre et ad simplicem instantiam domini Ferrariensi³ totum fecit et adhuc nescio, quam pensionem reservavit. Idem fecit de ecclesia Agriensi,⁴ idem de

¹ The previous Archbishop of Esztergom was Giovanni d'Aragona, brother of Queen Beatrix; cardinal (1477–1485), archbishop of Esztergom (1479–1485), died in Rome on 17 October 1485.

² Ippolito d'Este (1479–1520), a son of the duke of Ferrara Ercole d'Este and his wife Eleonora, sister of Queen Beatrix. Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), cardinal (1493–1520), bishop of Eger (1497–1520).

³ Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara (1471–1506).

⁴ The previous bishop of Eger was Gabriele Rangoni, bishop of Transylvania (1472–1476), bishop of Eger (1476–1486), cardinal (1477–1486), died in Rome on 17

ecclesia Segniensi,¹ ut unam tantum gratiam non potuerim dicere, potuisse in oculis sue sanctitatis invenire. Me sua sanctitas dicit, quod capitula cum *Anconitanis*^g contra suam sanctitatem inirem,^h sed *Venetis*,ⁱ qui omni cura et studio querebant cum^j *Anconitanis*^k maiores confederationes et tales, que omnino erant contra sedem apostolicam, nisi quod *Anconitani*^l recusaverunt. Sunt filii benedicti et nunc, quia isti *Veneti*,^m qui alias consueverunt in Adriatico mari habere unum capitaneum, quem vocabant capitaneum dele barche armate, ut tirandidem continent, vocant lo capitaneio dela marcha, et iam inceperunt velle habere unum hominem in *Ancona*,ⁿ qui exigeret a *Venetis*^o nautis vectigal, sicut in Ferraria facere consueverunt, nisi quod *Anconitani*^p illorum dolos experti, publicanum illic^q expulerunt, *Veneti*^r laudantur, probantur et sue sanctitatis iudicio commendantur. Multa preterea sunt et innumera, in quibus sua sanctitas non modo non amplecti et non amare^s me^t visa est. Immo, ut *Venetis*^u placeat odio me habere. Sed isto^v sua sanctitas faciat, quod velit, ubi sic contra me agere instituit. Ego omni cura et diligentia curabo providere domui mee, ex rebus meis et ubi sua sanctitas in perniciem et dampnum meum vult ad immolandum fratrem Turchum dare, sic providebo mihi, quod post cladem, quam iste frater Turchi postquam erit ad manus *Venetorum*,^w paritura est, non ego ero ultimus et videbit sua sanctitas, quantum expedierit sedi apostolice, quantum toti Italie et quantum christiane religioni. Unum scio, quod Turchus cum nullo amplius pacem et compositionem cupit, quam mecum, et qui ex pace plus possit lucrari, quam ego. Sua sanctitas viderit, quos effectus et quem finem dare istum fratrem Turchi ad manus *Venetorum*^x paritura sit. Quod itaque, domine legate, deberem dimictere *Anconitanos*,^y quos sub protectione mea adversus Turchos et *Venetos*,^z Turchis infideliores salva reve-

September 1486. Matthias appointed Orbán Nagylucei as the bishop on 27 October 1486, but the Pope confirmed him only half a year later (27 April 1487); Nagylucei was bishop 1486–1491.

¹ On 1 December 1486 the pope appointed Andrea Campana as bishop of Senj. In Rome it was believed that Paul of Bosnia, bishop of Senj, was dead, even though he was still active. Then the king appointed his candidate Mihail Božičević (Natalitius).

rentia sedis apostolice recepi, prout expresse continetur in illis capitulis. Hoc potissime^a tempore, quod sua sanctitas in iniuriam meam, ut placeat *Venetis*,^b illos excommunicavit et interdixit, non esset cum honore meo, volo in ista re, que magnum pondus habet, melius deliberare, quia ego non feci amicitiam cum *Anconitanis*,^c ut aliquid facerem contra sedem apostolicam et quod sit hoc verum, constat primo, quia illa liga est ad tempus et^d non in perpetuum et ipsimet *Anconitani*^e dixerunt mihi, quod faciebant de licentia domini sanctissimi, cui cum alias dixissent dampna et iniurias, quas eis *Venetis*^f continue inferebant, sua sanctitas re[M fol. 134r]spondit, 'Provideatis vobis melius, quod potestis, pro nunc non habemus comoditatem posse vos ab istis iniuriis defendere.' Et pro eorum defensionem contra *Venetos*^g fecerunt nobiscum ad tempus^h ista capitula et ad maiorem fidei et veritatem expressionem ostenderunt mihi alias confederationes, quas alias cum *Venetis*ⁱ fecissent et precipue cum duce Francisco Mediolanensi¹ et tamen sedes apostolica non ita habuit suspectas illas, sicut nunc dominus sanctissimus videtur suspicari de me et sic ad paternitatem vestram mictam consiliarios meos" et multa alia atrociora et crudeliora referebat et comminabatur.

Et quidem, beatissime pater, hec sic loquebatur, ut flammis ore, oculis ac naribus vomere videretur, quin immo in iram ac sevissimum furorem versus fratrem Turchi^j *Venetis*^k ad immolandum ob pecunias, quibus illum emerunt, dari pollicitum, velut intercalare carmen, ut dicunt, sepissime ac frequentissime referebat et repetebat. Cui pro tempore breviter sic respondi, quod maiestas sua et progenitores sui clarissimi pro tutela christiani nominis proque sede apostolica et labores et^l vulnera et impendia^m gravissima pertulerint, "nemo sani capi[V fol. 245v]tis est, qui ignoret, quo modoⁿ fit, ut multum christiana religio, multum sedes apostolica, multum denique tota Italia maiestati vestre et huic regno debere se profitetur. Sed equo animo maiestas vestra dicentem me audiat etiam sedes apostolica pro honore, pro gloria maiestatis vestre non habuit abbreviatis manus. Multa enim in illam privilegia maiora etiam rebus ipsis et thesauris impendit beneficia ita,

¹ Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan (1450–1466).

ut bona venia dixerim regum omnium, nullus regum peculiari amore sic ab illa sancta sede amari consuevit, ut rex Hungarie. De *rege Romanorum*^o nescio quid dicam, an confirmatus sit, vel non, unum noverit maiestas vestra, quod admissio nullum cuiquam intulit preiudicium, sic etiam iure cautum allegavi Clem. fin. de. se. ex.¹ Itaque si dominus noster amplius non processit, maiestati vestre nullam intulit iniuriam, quia ex admissione sola nunquam illi quesitum est ius. De Boemie rege hoc primum audio, nec unquam moveri hanc questionem audivi, putabam ex conventis inter utrumque regem sic actum esse. Nec maiestas vestra potuit hoc multum facere, quia sola admissio iuri vestro non denegat, nec illi ius de novo adicit per eandem Clem.² De ecclesia Strigoniensi vestra maiestas non habet, quod queratur de domino nostro, quia etiam si habeat maiestas vestra nominandi ius,^p cum illa vacat apud sedem apostolicam, illa est reservatio specialis et clausa in corpore iuris et sedi apostolice est reservata specialiter et nihilominus dominus noster fuit contentus complacere de illa maiestati vestre.³ Quemadmodum etiam de ecclesia Agriensi. Nec quisquam dicat, quod sua sanctitas ad domini Ferrariensis instantiam gratiam fecerit, sed solum et dumtaxat ad maiestatis vestre et domine regine supplicationem. De ecclesia Segniensi dominus noster ad quintum mensem, postquam illa vacavit, providit et illa, si habet ius presentandi, post quatuor menses expirat et ad proximum superiorem devoluitur.⁴ Unde maiestas vestra plus habet in hoc laudare dominum nos-

¹ Clem. 5.10.4 (canonical reference), "Si summus Pontifex ... quoque, si quem sub titulo cuiuslibet dignitatis ex certa etiam scientia, verbo, constitutione vel literis nominet, honoret seu quovis alio modo tractet: per hoc in dignitate illa ipsum approbare non intelligitur, aut quicquam ei tribuere novi iuris." See FRIEDBERG, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, part 2, col. 1192.

² Clem. 5.10.4 (the same reference as previous footnote).

³ Reference to the papal constitution of Clement IV of 1265, Licet ecclesiarum (VI 3.4.2; FRIEDBERG, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, part 2, col. 1021), according to which when a cleric dies in Rome, his successor in the benefice is appointed by the pope.

⁴ Reference to canon law, which spoke of three months, when the obligation to appoint (or elect) a holder of the benefice, cf. canon 23 of Lateran IV (*Conciliorum*

trum et sue sanctitati gratias habere. De isto fratre Turchi¹ maiestas vestra non debet egre ferre, quod sua sanctitas petierit sibi dari, quia sicut dominus noster est caput religionis christiane, sic istud bellum, ad quod sua sanctitas, si aliorum suffragia non deerunt, evisceratis opibus se adcingit,^q dignum et iustum est per eum inchoari debere, et quia iste frater Turci speratus esse ad magnum commodum istius belli, decens et conveniens est, sit ad manum sue sanctitatis ad tollendas invidias et dissensiones,^r si ad aliorum, quam sue sanctitatis daretur manus. Nec putet maiestas vestra, quod sua sanctitas aliquid in occulto vel per insidias egerit, ingenue illum sibi dare petiit usque adeo, quod cum alias dicebatur, quod maiestas vestra insisteret pro habendo illum, ego vidi copias brevium ad maiestatem vestram destinandorum, in quibus illam non modo, quod a petitione desisteret, verum, ut oratores micteret, ad hunc effectum hortabatur. [*M fol. 134v*] Nec pro Deo maiestas vestra velit sibi persuadere, quod sua sanctitas cogitet de dando illum ad immolandum *Venetos*.^s Immo si alicui dandus foret pro bello feliciter inchoando et absolvendo, non nisi per manus maiestatis vestre hoc fierit,^t tum propter peritiam rei militaris et frequentem de hostibus habitam hactenus victoriam, tum propter loci oportunitatem ad hostem invadendum, *Veneti*ⁿ non dum tanto beneficio dominum nostrum deiunxerunt, nec se hactenus pro sua sanctitate exhibuerunt, ut sua sanctitas cogitet illum fratrem Turci tot laboribus habitum, ad immolandum ad eorum manus dare. Sit maiestas vestra boni animi et putet, quod sicut disponente Altissimo sua sanctitas facta est caput religionis christiane, sic sua consilia ad pacem et concordiam Christi fidelium disponent. De *Anconitanis*,^v de quibus maiestas vestra dolet, profecto non habet illa, quod queratur, tum quod dominus noster eos tamquam subditos et vassallos castigare potest, et excommunicatio [*V fol. 246r*] non mortalis, sed medicinalis est, tum quod, postquam capitula cum maiestate vestra fecerunt, omni die novam rebellionem et defectionem cogitant et perinde est, quod capitula cum illis vestra

Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta, II/1, Turnhout 2013, 179; cf. also X 1.6.25, FRIEDBERG, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, part 2, col. 69–70).

¹ Sultan Djem.

maiestas fecerit, ac si gladium in furiosi manu posuisset. Nam pridie, cum *Ancone*^w immorarer,¹ decretum fecerunt, ne cui extra tribunalia, que ipsi pro suo imperio constituerunt, liceret ad alium iudicem etiam sedem apostolicam appellare et nunc contribuere recusant inpensis arcis Auximi,² quam dominus noster pro tutela totius provincie hedicari fecit, prout cetera urbes ecclesie semper facere consueverunt. Nec velit maiestas vestra putare fieri ad iniuriam suam, quod in *Anconitanis*^x fit exigentibus culpis et novis eorum rebellionibus, quodque, ut verum foret, simili censura plures alios populos Marchie notasset, maxime cum dominus noster pro suo iure, quia est directus et utilis dominus, facere potest, nec iuvat *Anconitanos*^y allegare, quod alias fecerint^z tales pactiones et capitula, tum quod non puto esse verum, tum^a quod etiam, si verum est, allegare inconueniens non est solvere, sicut tunc talia capitula non potuerunt facere, sic nunc eis non licuit, nec licet et talia capitula, nulla sunt tam iure communi, quam sunt excommunicati contrahentes et in bulla, quam legitur in Cena Domini³ et per alias apostolicas constitutiones. Pro Deo maiestas vestra in re hac, quam dominus noster petit, quam iusta et honesta est, dignetur non ulterius deliberare. Nam scriptum est, si bene, quid feceris, facias, cito, nam cito factum. Nec credat maiestas vestra istis *Anconitanis*,^b qui non minus de eorum misera superbia, quam de superba miseria gloriantur, quod de licentia sue sanctitatis hec capitula inierint, nam numquam sua sanctitas hoc permisisset, quin immo sua sanctitas numquam animum inducere potuit, quod maiestas vestra hoc fecisset, si credidisset domino nostro^c displicere,” et multa alia, que mihi in rem esse pro tempore visa sunt, dixi; nihilo tamen segnius sua maiestas ex imo pectore suspiria promere et indomiti equi more frenos mandare, torvus oculis, facie et denique toto aspectu comminari et magnum aliquid moliri videbatur. Nec contentus hec dixisse, sed sepius ac frequenter:^d “dari illum ad immolandum in dampnum et perniciem meam” repetebat, quo fit, ut postquam de illo Turcho ad

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli probably stayed previously in Ancona for some time.

² Osimo.

³ Papal bull *In coena domini* to protect the ecclesiastical liberties, see note on n. 9.

immolandum pecunia *Venetis*^e dari, ut sua maiestas refert, intellexit spem omnem rerum bene gerendarum deposui, mutatusque est totus ab illo in curas anxius et^f velut grande aliquid moliturus sepiissime ac frequenter tam graves hanc presertim de isto Turcho repetit iniurias. Unde, pater beatissime, hec prout ingenue hiis auribus hausi, sic nulla simulatione curavi illa tegere, sed latissime, ut mihi sunt audita, retexere, quo^g sanctitas vestra pro sua singulari et divina providentia sic consulat et disponat, ut pacem, quam semper amare et venerari visa est, amplectatur et foveat. Supplico rursus atque iterum sanctitati vestre per viscera misericordie Dei de illo fratre Turchi dando *Venetis*,^h si verum est, bene prius deliberet, neⁱ rex iste desperatis, ut video, rebus alienum^j aliquid a modestia et instituto suo, quod absit, efficeret.

Aderat domina regina et regem intuita tam gravi dolore et iracundia percitum mollire suavissimis, ut solet, verbis abstinuit. Ad dies subinde aliquos habito iterato super hiis cum domina regina [*M fol. 135r*] sermone maiestatem suam adhortatus, uti domini regis animum sanctissimis suis adhortationibus mollire et precari non cessaret, quod dominum nostrum sanctissimum putaret in eam sententiam cum *Venetis*^k venisse, ut illum Turchum ad eorum non commune bonum dare intenderet. Nec sua maiestas putaret *Venetos*^l hactenus sanctitatis vestre sic fuisse officiosos, ut tam grandi munere et honore illos dignos faceret. Reputetque secum sua maiestas, quod dominus noster regem amat, amplectitur [*V fol. 246v*] et paterno amore et caritate diligit ponatque ex animo has curas et hos, qui similia referunt, ut par est, spernat, efficiat sua maiestas, quod consiliis sue sanctitatis adquiescat. Dimictat,^m pro Deo, hos *Anconitanos*,ⁿ nec tam levi re hiis occasionem prestat, qui de rege obloqui desiderant, emuli forte nil amplius habent, quam quod negotium *Anconitanorum*^o exponant. Dimittat *Anconitanos*^p et videbit, quod dominus noster nihil sua sanctitate aut sede apostolica indignum efficiet. Ad que domina regina repetito sepius sermone: “ad id, domine legate, ego promitto domino nostro et vos meo nomine scribatis sue sanctitati, quod si novum istud non venisset, sua maietas fecisset totum, quod volebatis, et licet modicum fuerit durus, quia putat, quod dominus noster hoc non petat, sed *Venetos*^q putat ad hoc

instare, tamen sua maiestas, ego pro certo scio, quod litteras et revocationes fecisset, prout vos petitis. Sed postquam de Turcho audivit, ego non possum, nec valeo hominem mollire, aut in spem sue sanctitatis erigere, nec sompnos aut cibum capit solitos, sicque se propterea cruciat, quod grandes lacrimas interdum cum illum fratrem Turchi nominat dandum *Venetis*^f emictat^g et suspiria preter fidem profunda. Negotium *Anconitanorum*^h nullum est, ego ipsa volo efficere, quod totum, quod petitis, quodⁱ dominus rex efficiet. Pro Deo, domine legatę, considerate et animadvertite bene et diligenter hanc rem, quod non sit causa alicuius magni scandali. Ego novi domini regis ingenium, novi mores, scio, quid facere consuevit, ubi salutem desperat. Inducat dominus noster animum, ne hunc det *Venetis*,^v sed sicut sanctitas sua novit et conpertum habet, quod dominus meus rex tam peritia rei militaris, quam loci oportunitate paratissimus est, non maiori tempore quam triennio magnum Turchum e Constantinopoli et ceteris christianorum rebus expellere, si hunc fratrem habuerit. Scio ego, quod barones multi et proceres amplissimi in Turchiam sepius ad dominum regem scripserunt, quod operam daret illum fratrem habere, quoniam se ad defectionem paratos dicunt, si illum in bellum exire audierint. Hoc idem soldanus, hoc mater illius fratris petunt, sic ex legatis suis, quos apud soldanum habet, domino regi meo refertur, et si hoc cito non fiet, morientur postea proceres et barones illi, qui hunc fratrem amant, et iuventus, que nunc crescit, qui hunc fratrem non novit, non tam cito ad defectionem et arma sumenda impellitur. Postea frater iste factus senior tamquam cadaver nihil valebit. Inducat, pro Deo, sua sanctitas hunc velle dare domino regi meo et petat sua sanctitas, quas vult condiciones, que velit pacta, que velit cum sua maiestate federa, omnia sua maiestas efficiet, omnia faciet, omnia adimplebit, que sua sanctitas velit.” Subinde dominam reginam sum adhortatus, uti hec etiam ipsa vestre sanctitati scriberet referretque suis litteris, quod facere pollicita est.

Et consensu mutuo, cum ad regem ingrederemur, post aliqua rursus super negotio *Anconitanorum*^w sermonem intexui. Dicens velle me propediem nuncium ad sanctitatem vestram destinare, quod sua maiestas velit consilio et adhortationi vestre sanctitatis adquiescere^x et

quod a capitulis discedat. “Si non facio,” inquit, “sue sanctitati iniuriam, quare a conventis discedam?” “Serenissime rex,” inquam, “bona venia dixerim maiestati vestre, illa capitula mero iure nulla sunt, quia cum subditis et vassallis alienis inrequisito domino pacisci non licet, et qui talia ineunt federa per apostolicas constitutiones sunt excommunicati, tum in bulla, que legitur in Cena Domini, tum in aliis novis constitutionibus. Saltim maiestas vestra sit contenta, quod si *Anconitanis*^y petant se di[*M fol. 135v*]/micti^z et relaxari, quod maiestas vestra illos dimictat.” Respondit: “si dominus noster postquam ipsi fecerint debitum et reverentiam pro parte eorum et fecerint mandata sue sanctitatis, prout decet bonos vassallos, [*V fol. 247r*] absolvet eos et ipsi ad me sic scripserint, sum contentus eos dimittere,^a modo ego sim securus, quod dominus sanctissimus adsecuret me et *Anconitanos*,^b quod in eos nihil severe statuatur propter capitula, que fecerunt, ne remanerent inimici sue sanctitati. Nec credatis, quod si ipsi volunt fieri rebelles domino nostro, quod ego velim eos iuvare, immo in auxilium sue sanctitatis exire.” Habui maiestati sue maximas gratias et in testem pollicitorum sue maiestatis dominam reginam invocavi. Putavi itaque bonam frugem fecisse, hoc a sua maiestate potuisse extorquere, quod facillimum erit sanctitati vestre, ut hos *Anconitanos*^c ad litteras scribendas impellat, per quas se micti et liberari a sua maiestate petant et tandem idem erit effectus.^d

Priusquam venisset novum de isto Turcho, inceperam cum domino rege multa loqui de istis heresibus in Boemia,¹ que, pater sancte, ut audio, trifariam partite sunt, eorum aliqui sub utraque specie dicuntur, quibus bonus ille episcopus famulatur. Alii piccardi et hii hominum

¹ The heresies of Bohemia were Utraquists (from communion *sub utraque specie*), an official Church that built on the Hussite theology. They never wanted to leave the Roman Church and thus followed the Apostolic succession and still respected the pope (at least as an office). The second part were the Unity of Brethren, sometimes called Pickards, they broke off from the Roman church, elected their priests and bishops. The third group might refer to some radical branches of the Hussites in the early fifteenth century, but it is definitely a literary stereotypical description of heretical sects.

pessimi, nullum isti sacerdotem, nullum episcopum, aut ordinem ecclesiasticum admittunt,^e profitentur apostolorum vitam ducere et promiscue sunt inter se episcopi, sacerdotes et levite. Alii sunt, quos in cavernis sacra illa quondam bacchanalia faciunt nocturni. Adhortabar dominum regem, quod saltem de terris suis eos expelleret. Respondit sua maiestas: “vellem libenter domino nostro supplicare, ut sua sanctitas dispensaret cum aliquibus nobiles magnis dominis, quod eis et eorum filiis et uxoribus, qui nunc sunt, liceret ad vitam remanere, quod sub utraque specie possent sacramenta sumere, quia isti essent causa, quod alii vellent, nollent, parerent sedi apostolice et breviter cum illa heresis esset extirpata. Isti alii, qui dicuntur piccardi, quando-cumque sua sanctitas mandat mihi, quod illos expellam de regnis meis, illico faciam. Sed certe alias sunt boni viri,¹ nisi quod nullum ordinem ecclesiasticum admittunt. Ac vellem, quod sua sanctitas esset contenta, quod si ego participarem cum eis, qui sunt sub utraque specie,^f in divinis et aliis tractatibus rerum, que occurrunt, non essem excommunicatus, quia idem Paulus secundus² concessit mihi per suas bullas,” volui significasse sanctitati vestre, ut quid illi faciendum videatur, consulat et disponat.

Audivi ex bono loco, quod unus nuntius *Turci*,^g vel baronum suorum aut forte amicorum istius *Turci*,^h quod de proximo expectatur, et postquam dominus rex verba illa etⁱ bile et stomacho plena dixerat, hominem misit ad *Belgrado*,^{3j} ut oratorem illum excipiat, nescio, quid id sit, curabo diligentius rem omnem intueri.

Cum Francisco *Bandino*^{4k} venit quidam *Ciprianus homo domini de Camerino*^l et hic continue moratur et bis *nunci*^m iverunt et redierunt et hac ultima vice, postquam auditum est de isto *Turco*,ⁿ dominus *rex Hungarie*^o donatum bonis premiis remisit ad dominum suum. Iste

¹ Matthias Corvinus was in contact with many Utaquists. When he wanted to govern Moravia after 1479, he needed to respect the relative religious freedom.

² Pope Paul II.

³ Belgrade, on the southern Hungarian border, on the confluence of the Danube and the Sava.

⁴ Francesco Bandini.

——— (*sic*) est homo ingenii et certissime aliquid magnum molitur et ut puto contra *Venetos*,^p quos audio, quod ille miro odio prosequitur, sanctitas vestra^q diligenter rem scrutetur, quia pro certo scio aliquid esse inter *regem Hungarie*^r et illum, ut in Italia aliquid moliantur. Habeo ex bona officina.

Retulit subinde dominus rex, quod legatum suum ad soldanum miserat, ut illius animum ad prosequendum bellum inelleret et dum legatus ad regem rediret, triremem seu galeazam *Venetorum*^s [*M fol. 136r*] Alexandriae conscendit et navigatione seu alias infirmus factus tandem decessit, comi[*V fol. 247v*]tes legati predicti cum res et^t bona et litteras, que ad dominum regem deferebantur, obsignassent, triremis prefectus litteras et alia, que ad regem legatus ex soldano dona deferebat, rapuit et illas *Venetis*^u detulit. Res hec miro dolore et anxietate regem cruciat, nec tam eum movet rerum precium, quod maximum esse asserit, tum ex dono, tum que precio empta conportabat legatus suus. Sed intercepte littere et secreta regem stimulant, tum vel maxime, quod deferri secreta omnia ad Turchum putat. Mira res est, pater beatissime, quibus curis iactatus et profecto, si id verum sit, res est pessimi exempli, quod contra ius gentium legatos aut eorum bona molaverint. Secretaque huiusmodi ad hostes, si verum est, detulerint.

Dominus rex Polonie legatum misit insignem, ut hunc dominum regem ad bellum contra Turchum communi consensu capescendum. Hoc presertim tempore, quo Turchus vires exhaustis, bello, quo illum soldanus attrivit, dominus rex obligationem admisit et diem statuit et locum, quo utrinque legati conveniant, ut leges federum dicant. Micto copias^t responsionis et petitionis. Res est sanctissima, pater beatissime, si effectus sequatur, nec, pro Deo, sanctitas vestra occasionem hanc tam paratam rei, tam feliciter bene obeunde deserat.

Recessit, ut audio, insalutato hospite ex curia regis Polonie archiepiscopus (*sic*), res hec domino regi Polonie suspecta satis est, ut audio, et res novas moliturum archiepiscopum in regnis illis putant.

Cum de isto fratre Turchi esset sermo. Nacta temporis oportunitate dominum regem temptavi, quis foret rerum et belli futuri

¹ These copies are not preserved.

effectus, si frater ille Turchi sibi in bellum daretur. Respondit: “efficerem, quod mater et uxor darent^v *sanctitati sue*^w *sexaginta milia ducatorum*.^x Daret et soldanus longe^y maiorem et multo maiorem et satis notabilem maiorem summam, ut dicere velle se^z videretur *centum milia*,^a licet non expresserit.” Cui respondi: “hoc foret pro illa virili, quam *sua sanctitas*^b in bellum esset positura.” “Foret”, inquit, “pro ea re, quam *sua sanctitas*^c vellet.”

Ad medium sequentis mensis legatum¹ Neapolim dominus rex missurus est, cui etiam negotium cum rege Neapolis committet, ut sua maiestas dixit.

De ecclesia Segniensi, ubi primum Segniam² applicui, intrusum illum modeste monui, quod ecclesie, de qua sedes apostolica in alium providerat,^d gravissimum erat presertim laicorum potentia se intrussisse, dolere visus est vices suas et in dominum regem omnia retulit, qui invitum illum et reluctantem illi oneri implicuisset, maxime cum, ut ipse dicit, ecclesia tenuis ad modum existat. “Tandem,” dixit, “si dominus rex volet, sum contentus retenta pensione XXV ducatorum, pro quibus detur ad vitam meam unum membrum, quid dicitur Octociaz,³ quod non modo^e tantum adhuc, ut asserit, valet.” Sum de re hac cum domino rege locutus, qui respondit: “pro Deo, non faciatis, quod ego debeam facere rixas cum istis Hungaris, ipsi numquam hoc pateantur et alias ego habui multas tribulationes pro ecclesia Modrušensi,⁴ ego non volo ulterius intrare in istas tribulationes. Tamen ego

¹ Antal Sankfalvi (Anthony of Šankovce) was sent to Naples at the beginning of May, cf. MIRIAM HLAVAČKOVÁ, *A diplomat in the service of the kings of Hungary. The activity of the bishop of Nitra Antony of Šankovce at the end of the Middle Ages*, Historický časopis 59, Supplementum (2011) 3–24.

² Senj.

³ Otočac, a town some 30 km south-east of Senj, with a bishopric established by Pope Pius II and split from the Senj diocese in 1460. At this time, the bishop was Blasius Nicolai (1460–1492).

⁴ Dominican Anthony of Zadar, a confessor of the queen, was appointed as bishop of Modruš (formerly Krbava) by the king in 1480 (and asked the pope for confirming him). The pope, however, appointed another bishop, Christopher of Dubrovnik, a court cleric of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. Christopher was nominated on 29

faciam cum domino Ferrariensi, quod contemplatione mea faciet illum episcopum contentum, postquam dicitis, quod est vassallus suus et bonus et doctus vir.” [*M fol. 136v*] [*V fol. 248r*]

Beatissime¹ pater, isti procuratores domini Sirimiensi non audent in hac causa ecclesie Olomocensis aliquid petere, ne forte displiceant hiis, qui hic magna possunt. Et ego ex forma commissionis mee non possum aliquid, nisi ad partium pulsatus instantiam, si videatur sanctitati vestre bonum erit, fiat mihi commissio, quod exacto Februario etiam petentibus partibus non suspendam ulterius, nisi prius ecclesiam Olomocensem^f restituerit et quod si forte presentia vel exercitium domini Varadini pro hiis, que nunc domini regis curat, negotia necessaria foret, fructus saltim illius ecclesie non ad manus ipsius Varadinus, sed alterius, quem capitulum vel ego de mandato sanctitatis vestre elegero, deponantur. Alias cervicem indomiti huius hominis difficile erit humiliare. Negotium heresis differatur in tempus, prout dominus rex duxerit inchoandum, si placet sanctitati vestre.

Quod² nunc rex Polonie querit, non est, quod in animo gerat se illi expeditioni contra Turchos^g adcingere, ut ex bona officina mihi refertur. Sed regem Hungarie temptat, ut illius animum scrutetur, nam suspectam habet fugam illius archiepiscopi, qui insalutato hospite discessit, ne forte cum rege Hungarie aliquid contra eum vel eius regnum moliatur.^h Habeo ex bono loco.³ⁱ

Hec sunt, pater beatissime, que hic hactenus gessi. Supplico illi humiliter moram hanc et tarditatem non mihi, sed domino regi ascribat, qui morosissimus est et difficillimus in absolvendis negotiis. Ex Vienna, XXX Ianuarii MCCCCLXXXVIII. Dominus rex sus-

May 1480, but still on 13 October 1482 Matthias was writing to the pope to preserve his rights.

¹ In ms. V from here to the end (Habeo ex bono loco.) written by the hand of Angelo Pecchinoli, as an addition to the text.

² In ms. M from here to the end written by the hand of Angelo Pecchinoli (same as the end of the text in ms. V), as an addition to the text.

³ End of text V.

pectus habere videtur conventum, quem cesar nuperrime fieri iussit in Spira,¹ cui ut ex maiestate sua intellexi, unus prelatus nomine sanctitati vestre preesse debet.² Putant omnes, quod finitis hiis treugis si alias sanctitas vestra non providerit, ferro omnia rursus vastari, pridie cum hic de adversa valitudine sanctitas vestra refereretur, iussi per omnes ecclesias, ut par fuit, supplicationes fieri pro salute et incolumitate sanctitatis vestre, hoc idem domina regina in cappella sua sedulo fieri mandavit, que optime ac felicissime valeat. Et cuius sanctissimis pedibus humillime me commendo. Domina regina parat, ut ex bono autore habeo munera regio apparatu et sanctitas vestra imprimis ac de digna sanctitati vestre mictere.

Sanctitatis vestre humilis servulus Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus.

[*M fol. 137v*] Sanctissimo ac clementissimo domino nostro pape.

^a putat] *om. M.* ^b aggredi] *agredi MV.* ^c aggredederetur] *agredederetur MV.* ^d est paratus] *in marg. MV.* ^e infringere] *infringere MV.* ^f rege Neapolitano] *cifra 8o, Rege Fer. suprascr. M; rege et cifra 8o V.* ^g rex Neapolitanus] *cifra 8o V.* ^h hoc modo] *in marg. MV.* ⁱ suis expensibus] *om. M.* ^j triremes] *tiremes V.* ^k facere] *facerem M; faciam V.* ^l prout] *pro corr. in prout M; pro V.* ^m est bonum] *est. Bonum est V.* ⁿ postea] *om. V.* ^o patietur] *patiatur V.* ^p cum] *dum V.* ^q dominus rex Neapolitanus] *cifra 8o, in rasura dns rex Neapol M; dominus et cifra 8o V.* ^r regis Neapolitani] *cifra 8o in rasura regis M; regis V.* ^s Neapolitano] *cifra 8o, in rasura Neapol M; Neapol V.* ^t si] *si ipse V.* ^u longe] *logne MV.* ^v tangi] *tagni MV.* ^w hominicii] *homuncii sic MV.* ^x vestra] *vestram M.* ^y omnem] *omnis M.* ^z ipse] *quod ipse V.*

^a vestre] *sue M.* ^b et] *om. V.* ^c possum] *suprascr. M; in marg. V.* ^d quod] *quod ego V.* ^e videri] *videre V.* ^f iudicio] *om. V.* ^g avidissime] *om. M.* ^h dimictat] *dimittat V.* ⁱ addixerat] *adixerat M.* ^j Anconitana] *cifra 18 MV.* ^k Venetis] *cifra 9o MV.* ^l quia] *suprascr. M.* ^m mictam] *mittam V.* ⁿ mictam] *mittam V.* ^o Et de ... dicatis] *in marg. MV.* ^p petiit ... tunc] *in marg. MV.* ^q promicto] *promitto V.* ^r offerent] *offerrent V.* ^s multa] *om. V.* ^t astrinxisset] *astrinsixet MV.* ^u cui] *om. V.* ^v dimictere] *dimittere*

¹ Reichstag was called to Speyer on 6 January 1489, but it never happened.

² Probably Raymund Peraudi was to take this place.

V.^w a me] *in marg.* *V.*^x si essent] *in marg.* *V.*^y legumine] ligumine *MV.*^z sed] *suprascr. alia manu M; om. V.*

^a quam ... placuit] *in marg.* *MV.*^b sit] *suprascr. V.*^c reimpignorationes] reimpignationes *V.*^d Anchonitano] Anconitano *V.*^e temerarii] temerari *V.*^f Iauriensi] Iaurin. *MV.*^g pepercit] percepit *corr. in margine in pepercit V.*^h ne] *suprascr. M.*ⁱ credulitate] credulitatis *V.*^j cum] *om. M; suprascr. V.*^k De credulitate ... facere] *om. V.*^l dicensque ... dixi] *in marg.* *MV.*^m ad censuras] ab censuris *V.*ⁿ Micto] Mitto *V.*^o Iauriensi] Iaurin. *M;* Iaurien. *V.*^p propter ... sperabant] *om. M; in marg. sup. V; in hoc loco in marg. insertum sum pollicitus M.*^q ad partium ... denegare] *in marg.* *MV.*^r sum pollicitus] *in marg. V.*^s rerum] *om. V.*^t micto] mitto *V.*^u adducturus] adductus *V.*^v Veneti] *cifra 90 MV; suprascr. Veneti M.*^w Venetorum] *cifra 90 MV.*^x Venetis] *cifra 90 MV.*^y adcingere] adcignere *MV.*^z videbit] *corr. de videt M.*

^a Venetos] *cifra 90 MV.*^b Anconitanorum] *cifra 18 MV; suprascr. Anconitanor(um) M.*^c Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^d Venetis] *cifra 90 MV.*^e Ancona] *cifra 18 MV.*^f portus] *cifra MV; suprascr. portus M.*^g Veneti] *cifra 90 MV.*^h Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*ⁱ non] *suprascr. V.*^j Anconam] *cifra 18 MV.*^k prohibetur] proibetur *M.*^l Anconitanorum] *cifra 18 M; om. V.*^m Venetorum] *cifra 90 MV.*ⁿ contempto] contento *V.*^o Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*^p me] *suprascr. V.*^q Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*^r Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^s si] *om. M.*^t Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^u Iauriensi] Iaurin. *V.*^v Venetis] *cifra 90 MV.*^w Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^x Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^y Anconitanos] *cifra 18 MV.*^z Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*

^a Anconitani] *cifra 18 MV.*^b Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*^c Ancone] *cifra 18 MV.*^d in vim ... adhortari] *in marg. M.*^e Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*^f Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*^g Anconitani] *cifra 18 MV.*^h Anconitanis] *cifra 18 MV.*ⁱ Anconitanorum] *cifra 18 V; om. M.*^j Anconitanorum] *cifra 18 MV.*^k norunt] *pro noverunt.*^l auspicans] auspicatur *V.*^m treugarum] *corr. de treugatorum V; treugatorum M.*ⁿ adcingere] adcignere *MV.*^o Boemie] oemie *alia manu, in marg. cifra pro bo M.*^p alius] amplius *V.*^q adierim] *pro adiverim.*^r *nota in marg. ad in quo nec pacem ... prestando, fortasse per manum Marci Barbi: non videtur consonum veritati V.*^s substinui] *pro sustinui.*^t oratorem partim] maiorem partem *V.*^u Venetorum] *cifra 90 V; om. M.*^v Francie] *cifra 70 V; cifra 90 M (erronee).*^w Venetis] *cifra 90 MV.*^x Francie] *cifra 70 MV; in rasura Francie V.*^y Veneti] *cifra 90 MV.*^z regi Neapolitano] regi Neapol. *V; cifra 80, suprascr. Reg Neapolitano M.*

^a Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^b Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^c Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^d Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^e recepit] recipit *V*. ^f Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^g Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^h longe] logne *MV*. ⁱ qui] quod *V*. ^j Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^k Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^l Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^m Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ⁿ Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^o Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^p Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^q Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^r rex Romanorum] *cifra* +O *MV*; *suprascr.* Rex Romanor. ^s rex Romanorum] *cifra* +O *V*; *om. M.* ^t sua sanctitas] *om. V*. ^u *nota in marg. ad* Quin ... pollicitus, *forse per manum Marci Barbi: de admissione rege Romanorum ad obedientiam V. regis Romanorum] cifra* +O *MV*. ^w admicteret] admitteret *V*. ^x Venetos] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^y Romanorum] *cifra* +O *M*; rex Romanorum *V*. ^z mih] *corr. de nihil V; nihil M.*

^a *nota in marg. ad* sed ... improbaverat, *forstase per manum Marci Barbi: de rege Bohemie confirmat[ione] V.* ^b Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^c Boemorum] *alia manu M; om. V.* ^d Romanorum] *cifra* +O *MV*; *in marg. M.* ^e Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^f Vacavit] *in marg. de ecclesia Strigo. V.* ^g Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^h inirem] inierim *V*. ⁱ Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^j cum] ab *V*. ^k Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^l Anconitani] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^m Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ⁿ Ancona] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^o Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^p Anconitani] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^q illic] illum *V*. ^r Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^s amare] *corr. de amore M; amore V.* ^t me] *om. V.* ^u Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^v isto] esto *MV*. ^w Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^x Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^y Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^z Venetos] *cifra* 90 *MV*.

^a potissime] potissimum *V*. ^b Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^c Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^d et] *om. V.* ^e Anconitani] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^f Veneti] *cifra* 90 *M*; *om. V.* ^g Venetos] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^h ad tempus] *om. M.* ⁱ Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^j Turchi] Turchi pollicitum *M*; *del. pollicitum V.* ^k Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^l et] *om. M.* ^m inpendia] inpedia *M*. ⁿ quo modo] quo *V*. ^o rege Romanorum] *cifra* +O *MV*. ^p ius] *in marg. M; om. V.* ^q adcingit] adcignit *MV*. ^r dissensiones] dissentiones *V*. ^s Venetos] *cifra* 90 *in marg. V; om. M.* ^t hoc fierit] fieret *V*. ^u Veneti] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^v Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^w Ancone] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^x Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^y Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^z fecerint] fecerunt *V*.

^a tum] tunc *M*. ^b Anconitanis] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^c domino nostro] sue sanctitati *V*. ^d frequenter] frequentes *MV*. ^e Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^f et] *om. M.* ^g quo] qua *V*. ^h Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ⁱ ne] nec *M*. ^j alienum] *suprascr. V.* ^k Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^l Veneto] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^m Dimictat] dimittat *V*. ⁿ Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^o Anconitanorum] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^p Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^q Venetos] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^r Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*. ^s emictat] emittat *V*. ^t Anconitanorum] *cifra* 18 *MV*. ^u quod] *suprascr. M; om. V.*

Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*.^w Anconitanorum] *cifra* 18 *MV*.^x adquiescere] acquiescere *V*.^y Anconitani] *cifra* 18 *MV*.^z dimicti] dimitti *V*.

^a dimittere] dimictere *V*.^b Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*.^c Anconitanos] *cifra* 18 *MV*.^d *nota in marg. ad* absolvēt ... effectus, *fortasse per manum Marci Barbi*: Quod Anconitani scribant regi, ut liberentur *V*.^e admittunt] admictunt *V*.^f qui sunt in utraque specie] *in marg. V; om. M*.^g Turci] *cifra* *MV*; *suprascr. M*.^h Turci] *cifra* *MV*; *suprascr. M*.ⁱ et] *om. M*.^j Belgrado] *cifra in marg. MV*.^k Bandino] *cifra* bannino *MV*; *in marg. Bandino M*.^l Ciprianus ... Camerino] *cifra* *MV*; *suprascr. ciprianus homo domini de Camerino M*.^m nuncii] *cifra* *MV*; *suprascr. nunc M*.ⁿ Turco] *cifra* *MV*; *suprascr. turco M*.^o rex Hungarie] *cifra* 40 *MV*; *suprascr. rex hungarie M*.^p Venetos] *cifra* 90 *MV*.^q sanctitas vestra] *cifra* Antiquitas *V*.^r regem Hungarie] *cifra* 40 *MV*.^s Venetorum] *cifra* 90 *MV*.^t et] *om. V*.^u Venetis] *cifra* 90 *MV*.^v darent] *om. V*.^w sanctitati sue] *cifra* Antiquitas *MV*; *suprascr. pape M*.^x sexaginta milia ducatorum] *cifra* *MV*.^y longe] logne *MV*.^z se] *om. V*.

^a centum milia] *cifra* *MV*; milia *om. M*.^b sua sanctitas] *cifra* Antiquitas *MV*; *in rasura* sua sanctitas *M*.^c sua sanctitas] *cifra* Antiquitas *MV*; *suprascr. papa M*.^d providerat] provideret *V*.^e modo] *om. M*.^f Olomocensem] Olomacēn. *V*.^g contra Turchos] *in marg. M*.^h moliatu] moliantur *V*.ⁱ loco] *finis textus V*

25.

Vienna, 30 January 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Cardinal Marco Barbo

The nuncio writes to the cardinal about his legation in Hungary and introduces the report to the pope (here, n. 24), which includes in a copy to the cardinal.

ORIG.: BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 237r–237v. – ED.: KALOUS, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 349–350.

[*fol. 237v*] Reverendissime domine,¹ humilem commendationem. Ex litteris sanctissimi domini nostri, quarum copiam presentibus introclusam micto, dominatio vestra reverendissima videbit, quid hic hactenus factus sit apud hunc dominum regem, ab re est iudicio meo rem longius recensere, sanctitas sua iubeat, quid me facere ulterius velit. Cuius sacratissimis pedibus dominatio vestra reverendissima pro sua humanitate satis superque et rursus ac sedulo me commendare dignetur. Scit dominatio vestra reverendissima, quod denique eius^a sum. Hic est magister Iacobus² ex ordine predicatorum commensalis itineris dominationis vestre reverendissime, quem pro illius observantia avidissime vidit, scribit dominationi vestre reverendissime has pro negotiis ordinis. Supplico illi dignetur illius negotia mandare, dirigi et tantam hanc moram apud dominum nostrum excusare, quod non mea culpa, Deus novit, sed dominus rex, qui morosissimus est et difficilis, in causa est. Ex Vienna, XXX Ian. MCCCCLXXXVIII.

Dominationi vestre reverendissime humilis servitor Angelus, episcopus Ortanus.

[*a tergo:*] Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Marco episcopo Prenestinensi, cardinali sancti Marci, domino suo colendissimo.

^a eius] ..us (?)

¹ Marco Barbo (d. 1491), cardinal (1467–1491).

² Probably Iacobus de Perusia, scribe of Cardinal Marbo Barbo during his legation.

26.

*Vienna, 3 February 1489**King Matthias Corvinus to Pope Innocent VIII*

The king informs the pope that he sends Tamás Drági to the pope as his orator. He is informed of all the things that the king discussed with the nuncio and many others.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 587 (parchment 423×345 mm; closed with an attached seal, 75 mm, fallen-off; humanistic script). – ED.: NAGY-B. NYÁRY, eds., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, vol. 4, 12–13, n. 10; FRAKNÓI-DÉCSÉNYI-SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 243–244, n. CXC1; FRAKNÓI, ed., *Mátyás király levelei*, vol. 2, 352–354, n. 217.

Beatissime pater et domine clementissime. Post humilem mei ad oscula pedum sanctitatis vestre beatorum commendationem. Quod ab eo toto tempore, quo reverendus in Christo pater dominus Angelus episcopus Hortanus et sanctitatis vestre legatus hic apud me agit, nihil prorsus de his rebus, quas iam ultro citroque hactenus uberrime satis cum eodem tractavi, aut scripserit, aut eidem sanctitati vestre significare potuerit, quodque ne ego quidem hoc genere muneris seu officii pro expectatione eiusdem sanctitatis vestre hucusque fungi valuerim, cum adverse mee valitudini, qua laboravi, tum variis rerum mearum occupationibus, quibus eram diebus his potissimum obrutus, eadem sanctitas vestra ascribat, velim, huiusque tarditatis, ob has iam causas expressas etiam illa pro sua clementia rationem habere dignetur. Nunc autem, cum de rebus illis omnibus iam impresentiarum legatus ipse ad sanctitatem vestram latissime scribat, illamque de meo erga eandem et sanctam illam sedem animo ac devotione et obedientia certiolem reddat, existimavi non esse opus, ut illa eadem ego quoque impresentiarum per litteras repeterem, potissimum ex quo pro uberiori satisfactione sanctitatis vestre et testificatione animi et devotionis mee magnificum Thomam Dragii,¹ consiliarium meum et sanctitati vestre

¹ Tamás Drági, personalis presentie regie locumtenens (személynök) (1486–1490).

probe notum ad eandem his omnino diebus mittendum institui, qui non modo a me iam designatus, verumetiam pene expeditus existit, medio cuius postea, tam de illis omnibus rebus, quas legatus ipse in suis litteris nunc ad sanctitatem vestram transmissis perstringet, quam etiam multis aliis et quidem arduis negociis, sum eidem sanctitati vestre longe plura significaturus. Cui supplico humiliter dignetur illa adventum hominis huius equo et quieto animo expectare et interea pro mea in sanctitatem vestram obedientia taliter se erga me filium et servitorem suum obsequentissimum gerere, ut eius gratiam me habere plane cognoscam. Quo a sanctitate vestra omni studio, omnibus etiam officiis et obsequiis emereri contendam. Quam Altissimus pro augmento et statu reipublice christianę diu felicem ac incolumem conservare dignetur. Datum in arce civitatis mee Vienstensi, III die Februarii, anno domini Mo CCCCō LXXXIXō, regionum meorum Hungarie etc. anno XXXIo, Bohemię vero XXō.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis devotus filius Mathias, Dei gratia Hungarie Bohemieque rex necnon dux Austrię etc.

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Innocentio divina providentia sacrosancte Romane ac universalis ecclesię summo pontifici, domino meo clementissimo

27.

*Vienna, 6 February 1489**Queen Beatrix of Aragon to Pope Innocent VIII*

The queen writes to the pope that King Matthias is sending his envoy to him, who will also have the faculty to withdraw from the treaty with Ancona. She also implores the pope to decide well about Sultan Djem, ideally in favour of her husband.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 593 (parchment 383×263 mm; closed with an attached seal, 52 mm, fallen-off; humanistic script). – ED.: BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta*, 129–131, n. LXXXVII. – NOTE (under the text, right corner): Sanctus de Aversa.¹

Sanctissime ac beatissime pater et domine. Post humilem filię commendationem et pedum oscula beatorum. A reverendo domino Angelo episcopo Ortano sanctitatis vestre legato hic agente, qui eidem in presenciarum scribit, illa in facto Anconitanorum, quid egerim, intelliget, tandem, ut sanctitas vestra per litteras meas voluntatem et animum huius serenissimi regis, domini et consortis mei precarissimi intelligat, tue quidem beatitudini expono, maiestas sua pro hac et nonnullis insuper aliis rebus missura est ad pedes sanctitatis vestre oratorem suum et ille iam nisi ad maiestatem suam applicuisset infra triduum aut ad summum quadriduum eum expediret, qui iussu suo per Anconam iter arriperet, ubi, si eum in persona sue maiestatis sive in transitu sive in reddito ab urbe et sanctitate vestra Anciani² et tota comunitas loci pari et comuni consensu petent, quo sua maiestas patiatur eis que concedat liberam ab initis federibus discedendi facultatem. Et tractata conclusaque cum sua maiestate rescindendi et revocandi paratissima esset pro sua in sanctitatem vestram et sanctam sedem obediencia et reverencia eis con-

¹ Sanctus de Aversa wrote most of the letters of the queen from 1480, cf. ALBERT BERZEVICZY, *Beatrix királyné 1457–1508. Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, Budapest 1908, 390–393.

² *Anziani* were the officials of the city of Ancona, who formed the Senate (Consiglio), cf. LIGHTBOWN, *Francesco Cinzio Benincasa*, 36.

cedere, et fidem datam promissaque eorum omnia remittere et relaxare atque ab illa confederatione resilire. Verum absque illorum voluntate et instancia hoc ei facere non liceret et si forte illi in transitu illius oratoris id non peterent, nihilominus maiestas sua illius oratoris medio cum vestra beatitudine concordabit, modo sanctitas vestra interea, donec orator ipse conspectum beatitudinis vestre adibit, aliquid in illos via facti non attentet et modo concordia maiestati sue cedat ad honorem et Anconitanis fiat, sine periculo, dampno et iniuria. Nam aliter maiestas sua salvo honore, salva etiam fide sua ab illis federibus recedere et Anconitanis deserere nequiret. Sed quid ad rem, beatissime domine, audeo uti filia obedientissima hoc unum tue sanctitati dicere, quod si negotium germani magni Teucri¹ non superveniret, ut ex litteris dicti reverendi domini Ortani sanctitas vestra percipiet, factum Anconitanorum ita ad voluntatem tue beatitudini processisset, quod merito illa, ut sperat, et hic meus rex, tanquam obediens tue sanctitati et sedis apostolice obedire optat, contenta et parata remansisset. Video profecto, beatissime domine, quod si de Turcho isto sanctitas vestra preter spem huius maiestatis deliberaverit, tot incendia et mala evenirem, quod non solum vestre sanctitati humilibus precibus supplicarem, verum etiam apud eius pedes continuo et genibus flexis plorare teneor, ut de illo Turcho bene putet et deliberat, nam si preter spem huius mei consortis, ut dixi, de illo ageretur, pro salute fidei christiane iuditio meo, et, prout sentio, preter mentem omnium aliquid sinistri succedere arbitror. Scio, beatissime domine, quid loquor, scio, quid dico, animadvertat illa amore summi et omnipotentis Dei ad ea, que de isto fratre Turci evenire poterunt, et sua solita et divina prudentia factum hoc moderat et temperat. Plura alia vestre beatitudini scriberem, sed, ut eius aures non optundem, taceo, et relatibus reverendissimi domini cardinalis vicecancellarii,² cui aliqua de huiusmodi negotio scribo, me remitto, dignetur ergo sanctitas vestra eidem domino cardinali indubiam adhibere fidem. Almam sanctitatis vestre personam, cuius pedi-

¹ Sultan Djem.

² Cardinal Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

bus me humillime commendo, incolumem servet Altissimus. Datum Vienne, sexta Februarii Mo CCCC^o LXXXIX.

Regina Beatrix

Eiusdem sanctitatis vestre humilis et devota filia regina Hungarie etc.

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape

28.

Innsbruck, 27 February 1489

Emperor Frederick III to Pope Innocent VIII

The emperor informs the pope that he heard about the arrival of Angelo, bishop of Orte, who should exercise his legatine powers over the prelates and clerics also in Austria and especially in relation to the abbot of Melk. As the Emperor is worried about the wrongdoings of King Matthias, who influenced Angelo, he asks the pope to write to Angelo and order him to exercise his powers in the hereditary lands of the Emperor only with his explicit consent. He should also revoke all his acts before this date.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 5, n. 263 (parchment 315×293 mm; closed with a seal 42 mm, fallen off; gothic). – NOTE (below the text, right corner):

Commissio domini imperatoris propria.

Beatissime pater domine reverendissime. Fama auribus nostris intimavit quendam Angelum Ortensem episcopum, de quo, si recte meminimus, alias nobis sanctitas vestra scripsit, quod eundem ad Hungarorum regem in causa liberationis archiepiscopi Colocensis¹ missurum sit per terras et ducatum nostrum Austrie onus legacionis cum potestate legati de latere exercere, et multa in prelatos et clericos in hac Hungarica tempestate nobis adhuc adherentes et presertim in abbatem Medlicensem,² cuius monasterium in spiritualibus inmediate sanctitati vestre subiectum esse dinoscitur, mi-

¹ Péter Váradi.

² Wolfgang Schaffenrath, abbot of Melk (1486–1495).

nari et promittere sub collore tanquam eos in statum et dignitatem suam reponere studeat. Sed cum iam dudum dicti regis versucias rivum non in suo alveo labi, sed pro usu suo aliorum divertere conantem novimus, faciliter persuaderi possumus, quod ipse Ortensis episcopus bono zelo motus ad huiusmodi edicta concitetur, sed anguem regium in herba latentem et toxicum suum, quid idem bonus presul forte adhuc non sentit vitare cupiens. Sanctitatem vestram magnopere hortamur ac enixe rogamus, quatenus dicto Ortensi episcopo per publica sanctitatis vestre scripta committere velit, ne usquam legacionis munus nisi nobis expresse consentientibus in terris, ducatibus et dominiis nostris hereditariis in nostra vel dicti regis potestate consistentibus exercere aut aliquid in dictorum prelatorum, aut cleri preiudicium attentare presumat. Si vero aliquid huiusmodi antequam tale sanctitatis vestre mandatum eidem exhibitum fuerit per eundem episcopum actum, gestum, institutum aut quovis pacto decretum aut determinatum fuerit, id ipsum sua auctoritate irritare, annullare et nullis viribus subsisti debere decernere dignetur. In eo nobis precipuam exhibentiam, complacentiam vicissim erga sanctitatem vestram et sanctam sedem apostolicam promerendi. Datum in opido Ynnsprugg, comitatus nostri Tirolensi, die penultima mensis Februarii anno domini etc. LXXXnono, imperii nostri tricesimo septimo, regnorum nostrorum Romani quadragesimo nono, Hungarie etc. vero tricesimo.

Fridericus divina favente clemencia Romanorum imperator, semper augustus, Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie etc. rex ac Austrie, Stirie, Karinthie et Carniole dux etc.

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino domino Innocencio sancte Romane ac universalis ecclesie summo pontifici domino nostro reverendissimo.

29.

*Roma, 26 March 1489**Pope Innocent VIII to King Matthias Corvinus*

The pope informs the king about receiving his letter and the letter of Angelo. He exhorts the king to give all his trust to the nuncio, who is duly informed by the pope.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 12v–13r (part of the registers of brevia kept in Coll. Podocataro, January to March 1489). – ED.: FRAKNÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 245, n. CXCH.

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Regi Hungarie

Carissime etc. Legimus litteras² maiestatis tue et omnia mature consideravimus, et tam super illis, quam super aliis, quas ad nos scripsit³ venerabilis frater episcopus Ortanus, orator noster, respondemus⁴ oratori ipsi ad plenum, qui cum tua maiestate erit et omnia illi exponet, quam hortamur, velit oratori prefato fidem indubiam adhibere et te talem prestare [*fol. 13r*] erga nos et hanc sanctam apostolicam sedem, qualem tua eminens virtus et catholica mens ac laudabilis consuetudo postulant, prout maiestatem tuam facturam confidimus cognita presertim paterna nostra in te caritate, que certe maior esse non posset. Datum Rome etc., die XXVI Martii MCCCCLXXXIX, anno quinto.

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² Cf. n. 26.

³ Cf. n. 24.

⁴ Cf. n. 32.

30.

*Roma, 26 March 1489**Pope Innocent VIII to Queen Beatrix of Aragon*

The pope informs the queen about receiving letters from her and Angelo. He encourages her to persevere in her activities, especially in supporting her husband. She should give all her trust to Angelo.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 13^r–13^v. – ED.: BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta*, 133–134, n. xc.

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Regine Hungarie

Carissima in Christo filia nostra salutem etc. Ex tuis² et venerabilis fratris episcopi Ortani,³ oratoris nostri, intelleximus optimam mentem et dispositionem tuam erga nos et hanc sanctam sedem, pie facit et religiose maiestas tua et magna profecto laude digna est. Commendamus te in Domino et hortamur, eundem tenorem servet in posterum et in hoc saluberrimo instituto perseveret et in primis serenitas tua illustrem coniugem suum, Hungarie regem bene erga ipsam sedem disponat et operam det, ut nobiscum bene conveniat, sicuti pio et catholico principe, qualiter se semper exhibuit, dignum est, ut possimus eo bene animato [*fol. 13^v*] et disposito aliquam expeditionem in Christi nominis hostes Turcos facere, cuius Deo duce bona iam occasio nobis se offert. Erit hoc opus salutare et apud Deum, pro cuius honore agitur, meritorium. De his omnibus latius verba faciet nostro nomine cum tua maiestate venerabilis frater episcopus Ortanus, orator noster, cui plenam fidem velis adhibere. Datum ut supra.⁴

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² *Cf.* n. 27.

³ *Cf.* n. 24.

⁴ 26 March 1489; fol. 13^r: Datum Rome etc. die XXVI Martii MCCCCLXXXIX, anno quinto.

31.

*Roma, 26 March 1489**Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli*

The pope informs Angelo about receiving his letter. After considering all what Angelo reported, he sends the second set of instructions, which are included (n. 32). He also informs him about sending a credential letter to the king.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 2, n. 513, fol. 13r.

Hie. Balbanus^{1a}

Episcopo Ortano, oratori nostro

Venerabilis frater etc. Accepimus litteras tuas et responsiones² per te prudenter factas carissimo in Christo filio nostro, Mathie Hungarie regi illustri, legimus omnia diligenter et accurate singula consideravimus. Commendamus plenum studium et diligentiam tuam, quibus in rebus istis uteris et respondemus tibi ad plenum, sicuti introcluis instructionibus videbis.³ Expones omnia prefato regi, cui breve credentiale⁴ in personam tuam dirigimus, quod illi reddes, et solita prudentia et diligentia cuncta curabis. Datum ut supra.⁵

^a Hie. Balbanus] *in marg.*

¹ Hieronimus Balbanus.

² *Cf.* n. 24.

³ The pope refers to the second set of instructions that are preserved in several sixteenth-century copies and a contemporary concept. Neither of them is dated: the date might be inferred from this breve, *cf.* n. 32.

⁴ *Cf.* n. 29.

⁵ 26 March 1489; fol. 13r: Datum Rome etc. die XXVI Martii MCCCCLXXXIX, anno quinto.

32.

s.d. [Rome, 26 March 1489]

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope provides the second set of instructions after receiving the first report from Angelo (n. 24), which was properly read and considered. – First, the nuncio should praise the king as a fighter against the Turks and the heretics and thank him for being *murus* and *antemurale Christianitatis*. The pope, however, is sad about the matters of Ancona. – The nuncio should address the following matters, to which the pope gives his explanations. 1) In the Bohemian matters, the pope recounts the acts of his predecessors Paul II and Sixtus IV; the king has always been supported by the curia and should not be suspicious. The pope explains and defends his acceptance of the orators of Wladislas, the King of Bohemia. 2) The pope explains and defends the acceptance of the orators of the King of the Romans. 3) As for Sultan Djem, the pope explains and defends his activities, always for the good of Christendom. 4) The pope has an alliance with the Venetians, but only for the sake of preserving the Church state, the king should be encouraged to reconcile with the Venetians. 5) As for the matter of Ancona, the pope will lift the interdict, but the king should give up the treaty with Ancona and not interfere in the liberties of the Church. 6) The king should be thanked for sending his orator to the King of Naples. 7) As for the bishop of Santorini, Agostino Luciani, if he manages to flee from the heretics, he should be kept in a safe place and the pope consulted for the proper punishment. 8) News reached Rome about the king releasing the Archbishop of Kalocsa. If that is true, the king should be properly thanked.

ORIG.: unknown. – CONCEPT: BAV, Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 96r–99v (the edition is based on this manuscript of the concept, which, with the marginal and interlinear notes, does not differ that much from the copies of the instructions that are preserved in the later manuscripts; it had been substantially edited by someone, possibly Cardinal Marco Barbo). – COP.: AAV Misc., Arm. II 56, fol. 193r–202v; 7, fol. 519r–529v; 20, fol. 123r–130r; 30, fol. 105r–109v; DHI Roma, cod. Minucc., ms. 14, fol. 191v–206r; Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. IX 42 (=3483), fol. 59v–65r (all six manuscripts from the late sixteenth century). – ED.: THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 530–534, n. DCCXIX; ARTNER-SZOVÁK-TÖRÖK-TUSOR, eds., “*Magyarország*”, 140–142, n. 118 (selectively); MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 356–362, n. 9 (acc. to Theiner).

Sanctissimus dominus noster litteras et informationes rerum Hungaricarum Vienne XXX. Ianuarii anno MCCCCLXXXVIII datas

per reverendum dominum episcopum Ortanum nuncium et oratorem suum ad serenissimum Hungarie regem destinatum de mense Martii die (*sic*) suscepit, quas omni diligentia legit atque perlegit.

Laudat primo et ante omnia ac summopere probat et admiratur, quod serenissimus ille rex, qui fidei^a catholice tam contra immanissimos fidei hostes Turcos, quam contra hereticos invictissimus pugil semper et fuit et habitus est, in eodem tenore animi ac sanctissimo laudabilique proposito perseveret.^b Rogatque sanctissimus noster (*sic*) Deum, ut quemadmodum maiorum et clarissime quondam memorie patris suiⁱ res gestas summa cum laude ac honore Dei superavit. (*sic*) Ita in presentiarum pro fide catholica et universa republica christiana continuis victoriis seipsum quodammodo opitulante domino nostro Iesu Christo, pro cuius fide pugnat, superare possit. Ad quam rem nunquam sanctissimus dominus noster pro virili sua bene perficiendam se defuturum profitetur, curaturumque omni conatu,^c ut una cum auxilio et favore^d sue sanctitatis et sancte apostolice sedis potiorum christianitatis potentatum subsidia maiestati sue presententur. Cuius^e regnum et situ et veteri experientia contra infideles pugnandi et situ ipso ad retundendam infidelium rabiem precipuum semper et quasi murus et antemurale fuit. Aget propterea dominus orator nomine sanctissimi domini nostri maiestati regie maiores, quam poterit, gratias, quod tam prompte ac libere profiteatur se ad mandatum sanctissimi domini nostri, si quas cum Turco pacis conditiones² habet, omnino interrupturum. Cognoscit enim sanctissimus dominus noster^f ista a regio et vere catholico animo invictissimi christiane fidei^g propugnatoris procedere.

Sed quemadmodum sanctissimus dominus noster leto iucundissimoque animo serenissimi domini regis mentem erga sanctam sedem apostolicam et fidei defendende zelum cognovit, ita dolore cordis intrinsecus non mediocri tactus est, propterea, que paulo post

¹ János Hunyadi (d. 1456), father of King Matthias Corvinus.

² A peace treaty with Sultan Bayezid II was concluded in 1483 for five years and in 1488 for further two years.

significavit ipse orator ipsum serenissimum regem magna perturbatione animi, cum instaret pro responso de rebus Anconitanis, solemni consiliariorum suorum preparato spectaculo^h publiceⁱ respondisse.

Et quanquam per ipsum oratorem satis commode et tempestive responsum sit et^l ab eo tempore trium quasi mensium^k spatium interfluxerit, persuadeatque sibi sanctissimus dominus noster obiecta illa tempore ac diuturnitate et perspecta rerum continuatione regem ipsum manu quedammodo tetigisse, suspitiones omnes illas falsas^l et confictas fuisse per eos, qui forsitan nullo habito ad communem fidei et ipsius domini regis^m causam respectu particularia tantum commoda sua spectant et sectantur. Tamen cum iuxta apostoli dictum paratus sit sanctissimus dominus noster unicuique reddere testimonium bone mentis et paterne dilectionis, quam semper predecessores sui et ipse unacum sancta apostolica sede et sacro collegio erga ipsum serenissimum regem habuit, pauca <ad> serenandam ipsius mentemⁿ adducet. [*fol. 96v*]

Adduxit igitur maiestas sua primo loco merita parentis sui¹ et maiestati sue^o pro hac sancta sede et fide catholica defendenda cum suorum sanguine et cede exhibita. Que certe sanctissimus dominus noster et sacrum collegium sincero et puro animo agnoscit, nec ullo modo diffitetur. Ita tamen, quod certissime persuadet^p sibi sanctissimus dominus noster serenissimum dominum regem pro sua prudentia^q non minori^r affectione^s suam maiestatem a sancta apostolica sede prosecutam^t tanquam peculiarem et carissimum filium re ipsa cognovisse et indies cognoscere. Ut enim a rebus Bohemicis, quas primum proposuit,^u incipiamus.

Maiestas sua non ignorat expeditionem Bohemicam ab ipso instante primum imperatore² ex illis notis^v conventionibus, quas ad

¹ János Hunyadi.

² Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor.

invicem habebant,^w susceptam fuisse. Cumque pro more suo strenue negotium illud administraret, sancte memorie dominus Paulus,¹ qui eum iam pridem quasi adoptivum sancte apostolice sedis filium facere cupiebat, publice ad extirpandam heresim illam detestandam ipsum potissimum delegisset,^x causam privatam ad publicam eius gloriam convertit. Excommunicatoque et privato^y heretico Bohemie detentore² ipsum regem Bohemie declaravit. Que res quantam ei dignitatem atque auctoritatem apud christianos omnes reges, principes et potentatus in medio iuventutis et rerum gestarum flore ac regni novitate^z pepererit. Ipse serenissimus rex et agnovit et, ut est regio et invictissimo animo preditus,^a nunquam dissimulavit.^b Nec unquam^c destitit ipse predecessor Paulus^d missis oratoribus apostolicis^e spiritualibus gratiis et quanta maiori pro temporum conditione pecuniarum summa potuit, sanctam illam expeditionem sacro^f approbante collegio adiuvaré.³ Sixtus⁴ etiam eiusdem^g successor et predecessor sanctitatis sue immediatus^h in eodem tenore perseveravit.ⁱ Primum statim post assumptionem suam^j legato de latere⁵ destinato^k ac post ipsum pluribus dignissimis prelati ad maiestatem suam^l oratoribus, quibus^m potuit, favoribus et gratiis prosequi non destitit, ita ut ipse rexⁿ et carissimus ecclesie filius existimaretur. Ipse autem sanctissimus dominus noster licet propter maxima camere apostolice debita et acerrimum, quod paulo post assumptionem suam exarsit

¹ Pope Paul II.

² George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia (1458–1471), excommunicated by Pope Paul II in 1465.

³ A number of papal legates and nuncios were sent by Pope Paul II to the region to help the war against King George. *E.g.* Rudolf of Rüdeseim, Lorenzo Roverella, Gabriele Rangoni and also Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini to Germany. Money was collected in the region and subsidies came from Rome as well, especially from the *Depositeria generale della crociata*, cf. FRANTIŠEK BENEŠ, *Depositeria generale della crociata*, *Československý časopis historický* 14 (1966) 738–757; KARL AUGUST FINK, *Der Kreuzablaß gegen Georg Podiebrad in Süd- und Westdeutschland*, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 24 (1932–1933) 207–243.

⁴ Pope Sixtus IV.

⁵ Cardinal Marco Barbo, legate *de latere* in the region (1472–1474).

bellum, re pecuniaria omnino vacuus et quodammodo egens,^o particulari aliqua significatione maiestatem suam prosequi prohibitus hactenus sit. Nunquam tamen destitit eum omni paterne caritatis et amoris officio prosequi atque complecti, ac indulgentias et quemcumque alia^p per oratores suos a sanctitate sua impetrare desideravit, clementissime assensus^q est. Ac propterea his perspectis^r iure optimo deberet maiestas sua omnia prius suspicari, quam pati per^s malivolos et qui fortasse moleste ferunt devotionem maiestatis sue erga hanc sanctam sedem et sanctissimum dominum nostrum ita testatam esse, aliquid sibi sinistrum persuaderi. Cum presertim hec sancta sedes cum omni integritate et pontifices in ea sedentes, tamquam commune^t rei publice christiane corpus curantes, nihil nisi quod commune bonum et pacem quietemque^u concernat agere soleat, quorum sine invidia dictum sit precipuus est ipse sanctissimus dominus noster, [fol. 97r] ideo maiestas sua^v pro usu rerum et experientia, qua pollet, quemadmodum puro atque sincero animo^w nihilque nisi communem fidei^x et christianitatis^y causam respiciente^z per sanctissimum dominum nostrum fuerit in optimam interpretari partem deberet, nec pati suspensiones huiusmodi^a ascendere in cor suum tantamque ac ita testatam benivolentiam labefactari.^b

Nam quod conqueritur oratores regis Bohemie per sanctissimum dominum nostrum ad obedientiam^c admissos et confirmatos,¹ illud^d sciat maiestas sua nullam in hoc ab ipso sanctissimo domino nostro confirmationem habuisse, nec aliquo modo in preiudicium maiestatis sue factum, sed cum rex ille Bohemie post pacem cum maiestate sua

¹ The orators of King Wladislas of Bohemia, namely Půta z Rýzemberka, Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic and Pavel Pouček arrived to Rome on 11 May 1487 and were received in the public consistory on 18 May 1487, providing obedience of the king to the pope and complaining that the king was left out of the election of the King of the Romans. It is interesting, in the context of Matthias's complaints, that János Vitéz the Younger, orator of King Matthias in Rome, rode on the right-hand side of Pavel Pouček during the ceremonial entry to the city. Cf. BURCKARD, *Liber Notarum*, vol. 1, 196–198.

conclusam¹ continuo apud^e Sixtum predecessorem continuis nunciis^f tam per se, quam per^g serenissimum Polonie regem² patrem suum, per triennium et ultra pro obedientia prestanda omni possibili conatu^h instetisset, cumque diverseⁱ et patri et filio, intuitu precipue ac respectu sue maiestatis prorogationes ac dilationes date fuissent, superveniente Sixti obitu quamprimum ad pontificatum assumptus est sanctissimus dominus noster presens,³ statim misso post eius assumptionem notabili oratore^j viro ecclesiastico et catholico,⁴ maiori quam unquam antea diligentia et assiduitate, ut ad obedientiam reciperetur.^k Idem pater et filius insteterunt. Id potissime pro argumento adducentes, quod serenissimus dominus rex Hungarie pacem et arctissimam benivolentiam cum eo contraxerat, eumque titulo et appellatione^l regni Bohemie honestaverat,⁵ quibus rationibus non obstantibus communicata etiam hac re cum oratore maiestatis regie. Dilatio ad biennium et ultra data est, ut interea temporis maiestas sua cum omni commoditate valeret,^m aliquid canonicum et legitimumⁿ producere,^o quo obedientiam a filio catholici regis ipsoque catholico et ab ipso domino rege in regem appellato,^p quem sanctissimo domino nostro^q totiens et tanta cum instantia, ut prestare posset, flagitabat. Honesta aliqua vel saltem apparenti^r dilatione adhuc prorogare posset. Et cum nihil postea^s produceretur,^t continuoque instaretur, non potuit sanctissimus dominus noster aliqua tergiversatione, ne reciperentur, denegare. Cum presertim in capitulis pacis illius Olomucen-

¹ Peace between Kings Wladislas and Matthais was concluded in July 1479 in Olomouc.

² Casimir IV, King of Poland.

³ Pope Innocent VIII.

⁴ Pavel Pouček was appointed as provost of the Prague church as well as visitor of the Prague archdiocese by Pope Innocent VIII on 23 October 1484, effectively becoming the Catholic administrator of the archdiocese.

⁵ The peace treaty between Kings Matthais and Wladislas concluded in 1478/1479, ratified by both of them in Olomouc, July 1479. Both were to be called hereditary Kings of Bohemia; Wladislas was to rule in Bohemia, Matthais in Moravia, Silesia and Upper and Lower Lusatia.

sis¹ confirmate^u nihil vel de fide vel de regia appellatione obstare^v videretur. Et sciret sanctissimus dominus noster, quod^w illa appellatio sicut omnia iura clamant, nullo unquam tempore ipsi domino regi preiudicium afferre posset. [*fol. 97v*]

Que^x ratio etiam movit sanctissimum dominum nostrum ad suscipiendos oratores serenissimi Romanorum regis,² qui neque confirmationem, neque benedictionem aliquam preter simplicem obedientie^y acceptationem a sanctissimo domino nostro habuerunt. Cum autem esset ipse tantus princeps tantique principis filius, nulla cum honestate poterat sanctissimus dominus noster ipsos oratores ad obedientiam ipsam non admittere. Fuitque res illa per plures dies maxima cum maturitate et diligentia per sanctissimum dominum nostrum et sacrum collegium disputata^z conclusumque, ut more maiorum, electum³ et coronatum ab archiepiscopo Coloniensi⁴ ad obedientiam admitterent, propterea non^a bene fecit, quicumque fuerit ille orator, qui maiestati sue scripsit. Sanctissimum dominum nostrum pollicitum fuisse oratores non recepturum,^b quoniam in re tanti momenti nunquam ita perfunctorie sanctissimus dominus noster^c et non habita prius magna consideratione respondisset. Et quia in informatione,⁵ quam scripsit orator, videlicet dominus episcopus Ortanus, ponitur, quod dominus rex dixit sanctissimum dominum nostrum fidem fregisse, non potest aliquo modo sibi persuadere, quod ex ore tam prudentis et castigati principis, tam male castigatum verbum exciderit de sanctissimo presertim domino nostro, qui locum

¹ Cf. the previous note.

² The orators of Maximilian, King of the Romans, received in public consistory on 4 February 1488, offered obedience of the king. They were led by Luka Tolentia (de Tollentis).

³ Maximilian was elected on 16 February 1486 in the cathedral of Frankfurt am Main.

⁴ Maximilian was crowned King of the Romans in Aachen by Herrmann von Hessen, archbishop of Cologne (1480–1508).

⁵ Cf. n. 24.

domini nostri Iesu Christi in terris tenet et dominum regem ac regna sua paterna caritate diligit atque prosequitur.

Quod autem secundo^d loco et acerbissimis verbis conquesta est maiestas sua de fratre Turci,¹ quod sanctissimus dominus noster a principio sui pontificatus^e sciens maiestatem suam sollicitare, ut eam habere posset, rem impedivit et oratores misit ad regem Francie² sollicitandum, ne ipsum sue maiestati traderet.^f Affirmat hoc sanctissimus dominus noster verbo pontificali se nihil unquam tale cogitasse, sed cum matura deliberatione ac maximo adhibito consilio cognosceret sanctitas sua, nihil eque facere posse ad communem totius rei publice christiane salutem et infidelibus terrorem incutiendum, quam si Turcus ille ex latebris illis, quibus in Galiis detinebatur,³ in lucem hominum deveniret, ut captata oportunitate aliquid magni contra infideles eius medio fieri posset, quod eisdem ductus^g rationibus dominus Sixtus predecessor suus iam facere inceperat, omni conatu et diligentia egit, nihilque pretermisit, ut homo ille, sicut omni iure et equitate suadente fieri debebat, per magnum magistrum Rhodi,⁴ in cuius potestate tenebatur, ad sanctam apostolicam sedem pro infidelium confusione deduceretur.⁵ Qua in re assequenda sanctissimus dominus noster nullis animi laboribus, nullis impensis pepercit. Cumque voti sui compos sit factus, gratias et habet et agit glorioso Deo, quod tandem hominem ad manus suas acceperit. [*fol. 98r*] Affirmet autem orator ipse domino regi, quod sanctissimo domino nostro et sacro collegio nihil est magis cordi, nihil magis dies

¹ Sultan Djem.

² Charles VIII, King of France.

³ Sultan Djem was kept in France mostly in the castle of Bourgneuf, where a tower was designated for him, *Tour Zizim*. Bourgneuf lies some 40 km east of Limoges, on the way to Aubusson; and only 15 km from the castle of Le Monteil-au-Vicomte, birthplace of the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Pierre d'Aubusson.

⁴ Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Hospitallers (1476–1503), created cardinal in 1489, possibly as a reward for handing Sultan Djem over to the pope.

⁵ Sultan Djem finally arrived to Civitavecchia on 6 March and entered Rome on 13 March 1489.

noctesque animum eius urget atque sollicitat, quam curare omni vigilantia studio atque opera, ut communi^h potiorum christiane rei publice potentatum, comparato auxilio, huiusque hominis adminiculo expeditio contra infideles preparetur. Et quoniam inter principes pro tempore et conditione rerum solent esse diverse affectiones passionisque animi, existimat et ita re vera esse iudicat sanctissimus dominus noster et hec sancta sedes apud nullum commodius hominem istum, quam apud sanctitatem suam servari posse. Qui cum sit pater communis animarum etⁱ vicarius Christi proque officio suo totum rei publice corpus curate necesse habeat^j nemo iuste potest aliquid de eo in contrariam partem suspicari, certissimeque^k persuadeat^l sibi maiestas sua, quod si Deus misertus christianarum calamitatum nobis aliquando concesserit, ut expeditio hec, quam summo opere affectat sanctissimus dominus noster,^m executionem habeat, nihil omnino fietⁿ et de expeditione et de homine illo nisi habito maximo et precipuo^o respectu ad ea, que consuluerit maiestas sua, quam et sanctissimus dominus noster et sacrum collegium optime novit, pro rebus contra infideles clarissime gestis ac regnorum suorum situ primas omnino^p partes iure optimo habituram, quia^q maiestas sua maxime suspicari^r et toto contextu sermonis sui apertissime proficitur^s receptionem serenissimorum Romanorum et Bohemie regum instante^t precipue Venetorum dominio per nos^u factam, multaque contra sanctissimum dominum nostrum aliena a modestissima maiestatis regie natura circa hoc dixerit, tanquam sua omnia Venetorum, qui^v sanctissimo domino nostro confederati sunt, intuitu faciat. Et postremo, quasi id pro certo sciat, affirmet^w sanctissimum dominum nostrum^x fratrem Turci Venetis,^y ut eius verbis utamur, venditurum non existimat^z sanctissimus dominus noster esse ex dignitate apostolice sedis et sua particularius respondere. Sed omnia interpretatur ad maximam commotionem animi, quam ex malivolorum suggestionem conceperat sua maiestas. Monet tamen suam maiestatem paterno animo et pontificali caritate, ut^a deinceps modestius et maiori cum tranquillitate animi loquatur, in re presertim, sibi nullo modo comperta, nec tam facile prolabatur ad suspicandum tam iniqua de sanctissimo domino nostro, qui ut cetera pretereamus,

pontifex est Christi vicarius, qui pro salute nostra et fidelium redemptione voluit crucifigi. [fol. 98v]

Immorabimur^b propterea in iustificandis obiectionibus illis, quoniam cum^c Turcus ille perductus sit, ad sanctitatem suam et de eo^d conservando bene et mature ac secundum Deum^e deliberatum sit, facile patitur sanctissimus dominus noster successum temporis ipsius ostensurum, qua mente et quo animo in eo habendo incesserit sanctitas sua.^f Cognoscetque maiestas sua eos, qui talia confinxerunt, eumque ad illam iracundiam perpulerunt, non minus cupere et machinari, aliquid mali^g contra maiestatem suam, quam contra apostolicam sedem. Et in universum affirmet et ita polliceatur in verbo pontificali, quod nec Venetis, nec alicui alteri principi vel potentatui eum tradet, sed conservaturum hominem apud se tanquam precipuum adiumentum ad expeditionem, quam et sanctissimus dominus noster et sua maiestas regia in animo habent.^h

Quantum autem ad id, quod precipueⁱ in omni^j sermone suo obicere videtur maiestas sua sanctissimo domino nostro de confederatione domini Venetorum cum sanctitate sua, considerare debet maiestas sua, ut et ipsa^k sepenumero intellexit et^l vidit, quod Romani pontifices precipue propter infidelitates et tyrannidem eorum, qui subditi omni iure ecclesie sunt, necessario coacti fuere ratione temporalis^m dominiⁿ et patrimonii beati Petri, quod in Italia possident, ad auxilia et confederationes in Italia et extra Italiam omni studio conquirendas. Quorum exemplo et maiori quam unquam antea necessitate astrictus sanctissimus dominus noster presens non ad cuiusquam iniuriam, sed^o ad conservationem ecclesiastici status dominio Venetorum^p confederatus est. Rogat autem sanctissimus dominus noster Deum, ut parcat illi, quicumque sit, qui non contentus contra principem et pastorem suum arma prius et omne genus rebellionis inferre^q et post pacem denique factam nihil eorum, que solemniter promiserat, servaverit, quotidie novis iniectis suspicionibus communem^r pacem diversis et subditis^s artificiiis turbare nititur Venetosque in suspicionem et ad apertam quasi inimicitiam^t cum maiestas sua^u

adducere conatur. Quos^v maiestati sue deditissimos sanctissimus dominus noster semper cognovit et maiestas sua temporibus preteritis re ipsa nonnunquam experta est et verbis ac litteris testata.^w Hec autem maiorem sanctissimo domino nostro molestiam inferunt, quoniam his artibus et diabolicis, ut ita loquamur, mediis^x verisimiliter timendum est, quod absit et avertat Deus, ne impedimenta tam sancte expeditioni, quam et sanctissimus dominus noster et maiestas sua toto corde et animo suo concupiscit^y inferantur. Quin potius orabit maiestas regia nomine sanctissimi domini nostri, ut interponat partes suas pro rege et Venetis pacificandis etc.^z

De re autem Anconitana non est, quod sua maiestas dicat sanctissimum dominum nostrum id facere Venetorum causa, sed orabit legatus iterum atque iterum, sicut hactenus fecit, ut rem illam more pii et christiani regis componere et revocare,^a quam primum curet, nec patiatur hanc notam inuri candidissime et apud omnes christianos celebratissime fame sue.^b

Et rogat sanctissimus dominus noster maiestatem suam, ut in ea re induere velit personam sue sanctitatis^c res ipsa iam debuit docere regem, excommunicationem ipsam non fuisse propter huiusmodi causam, sed aliis privatis et iustissimis respectibus et precipue pro statuto contra libertatem ecclesie lato.^d Tamen sanctissimus dominus noster pro sua clementia [*fol. 99r*] eosdem humiliter id petentes, quia statutum revocaverunt,^e absoluit et clementia pontificali prosecutus est.

De¹ negotio domini regis Ferdinandi² agat gratias regie maiestati nomine sanctissimi domini nostri, quod tam benigne optulit se Neapolim oratorem missurum.³

¹ The two following paragraphs are placed only after the next paragraph (starting with Idcirco) in all other manuscript copies of the sixteenth century. No indication is made in the concept, that they should be placed elsewhere, but this was most probably done in the final copy to keep the logical sequence of the topics.

² Ferrante I, King of Naples.

³ Antal Sánkfalvi.

De damnato illo et scelestissimo^f homine^g episcopo Sanctuariensiⁱ agat^h orator ipse cum serenissimo domino rege, quemadmodum ipsis ad Dei honorem etⁱ fidei catholice causam facere magis videbitur, bonum tamen esset, si scelestus ille inde aufugerit, teneatur in aliquo tuto loco, ut inde effugere non possit, quia maiora velⁱ similia scandala verisimiliter perpetrare posset, si facultatem haberet vagandi. Eo autem detento consulatur sanctissimus dominus noster, cui si aliquid promiserit, ne damnetur extremo supplicio servabit sua beatitudo.^k

Idcirco aget orator omni possibili via et diligentia, quod dominus rex dimittat Anconitanos in pristinam conditionem, nec ullomodo satisfactum existimat sanctissimus dominus noster pro illa responsione, quam scribit dominus Ortanus, videlicet quod si curabitur per sanctissimum dominum nostrum, quod Anconitani supplicent serenissimo domino^l regi, dimittet eos ad pristinam libertatem et si dominus rex tantum estimat honorem suum in hac re, in qua nullas habet iustitie partes aut equitatis, quanto magis id facere debet sanctissimus dominus noster una cum sacro collegio, cuius honor, dignitas et status ita enormiter leditur. Nec debet dominus rex hac in re adducere aliquas excusationes, quas ipse pro sua prudentia bene cognoscit nullius esse momenti. Et si dato casu, quod etiam mediocris aliqua villa in regno sue maiestatis taliter depactata fuisset, qua indignatione animi, quo apparatu armorum tantam iniuriam ulcisceretur, ut taceamus, cum quanto preiudicio anime sue huiuscemodi pacta cum subditis ecclesie inita sunt per maiestatem suam, que nulla sunt. Et per bullam, que solet in Cena Domini promulgari,² omnia irrita sunt et talia perpetrantes incidunt in gravissimas [fol. 99v] censuras per tot sanctissimos pontifices retroactis temporibus usque ad hanc diem promulgatas. Et ad summam nihil in hac re dominus orator relinquat intactum cum omnes iustitie et equitatis partes sint apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum et sanctam sedem apostolicam in hoc negotio. Et nisi fuisset summa clementia

¹ Agostino Luciani.

² Papal bull *In cena domini*.

sanctissimi domini nostri et sancte apostolice sedis consueta benignitate usa fuisset, sanctitas sua et respectum ipsius serenissimi domini regis^m gravius animadversum fuisset. Promittit tamen sanctissimus dominus noster et ita in verbo pontificali affirmat, quod nec in hoc aliquid grave in eos decernet, sed expectabit usque ad adventum oratoris, quem propediem missurum scribit sua maiestas et ipse oratorⁿ propter huiusmodi causam non^o succensebit ipsis Anconitanis, nec in hoc unquam inhonorabit maiestatem regiam, quam quidem maiestatem^p precipua caritate et paterna benivolentia atque affecta complectitur ipse sanctissimus dominus noster una cum sacro collegio et sancta apostolica sede.

Dum autem hæc scriberentur, allatum est sanctissimo domino nostro novum in certo tamen nuntio, quo significabatur dominum regem archiepiscopum Colocensem¹ relaxasse, quod si verum erit, ut summopere desiderat sanctissimus dominus noster precipue pro honore et iustificatione regie maiestatis, teneat pro certo maiestas sua, quod preter laudem, quam ab hominibus pro clementia et regia benignitate sua est habiturus, apud gloriosum Deum maximi meriti locum inveniet ac a sanctissimo domino nostro et sacro collegio miris et inauditis laudibus extolletur.^q

^a qui fidei] *corr. de qui pugil fidei ms.* ^b perseveret] *corr. de perseverat ms.* ^c omni conatu] *suprascr., corr. de de novo ms.* ^d auxilio et favore] *corr. de favore et auxilio ms.* ^e Cuius] *corr. de Quam unicam ms.* ^f Cognoscit ... noster] *suprascr., corr. de Procedunt enim ms.* ^g christiane fidei] *corr. de fidei christiane ms.* ^h preparato spectaculo] *corr. de spectaculo preparato ms.* ⁱ publice] *suprascr. ms.* ^j per ipsum ... sit et] *in marg. ms.* ^k trium quasi mensium] *suprascr., corr. de trimestre ms.* ^l falsas] *suprascr., corr. de in quibus quas quicumque fuit ille qui finxit ms.* ^m et ipsius domini regis] *in marg. ms.* ⁿ serenandam ipsius mentem] *in marg., corr. de in iustificationem suam ms.* ^o maiestati sue] *suprascr., corr. de erga ms.* ^p persuadet] *corr. de persuadeat ms.* ^q pro sua prudentia] *in marg. ms.* ^r minori] *corr. de minora ms.* ^s affectione] *suprascr. alia manu, corr. de merita erga ms.* ^t prosecutam] *suprascr. alia manu, corr. de profectam agnoscere ms.* ^u quas primum proposuit] *suprascr. ms.* ^v illis notis] *alia*

¹ Péter Váradi.

manu ms.^w ex illis ... habebant] *in marg. ms.*^x potissimum delegisset] *corr. de delegisset ita potissimum ms.*^y et privato] *suprascr. alia manu ms.*^z in medio ... novitate] *in marg. ms.*

^a preditus] *suprascr. ms.*^b dissimulavit] *corr. de dissimulabit ms.*^c Nec unquam] *corr. de Nec his contentus d. Paulus unquam ms.*^d Paulus] *suprascr., corr. de noster ms.*^e missis oratoribus apostolicis] *in marg. ms.*^f expeditionem sacro] *corr. de expeditionem adiu ipso sacro ms.*^g etiam eiusdem] *corr. de etiam immediatus eiusdem ms.*^h predecessor ... immediatus] *corr. de immediatus predecessor noster ms.*ⁱ perseveravit] *suprascr. ms.*^j statim ... suam] *in marg. ms.*^k destinato] *suprascr. ms.*^l ad maiestatem suam] *suprascr. ms.*^m oratoribus quibus] *corr. de oratoribus missis nunquam destitit quibus ms.*ⁿ ipse rex] *suprascr., corr. de peculiaris rex ms.*^o re pecuniaria ... egens] *in marg. ms.*^p quecumque alia] *suprascr., corr. de privilegia ms.*^q clementissime assensus] *suprascr., corr. de facillime assecutus ms.*^r his perspectis] *suprascr., corr. de debe ms.*^s quam pati per] *corr. de quam perso pati ut per ms.*^t commune] *corr. de communes ms.*^u pacem quietemque] *suprascr. ms.*^v sua] *corr. de sua que ms.*^w quemadmodum ... animo] *in marg., corr. de potius deberet omnes actiones sanctissimi domini nostri in optimam interpretari partem et quemadmodum puro atque sincero animo ms.*^x fidei] *corr. de fidem ms.*^y et christianitatis] *in marg. ms.*^z respiciente] *corr. de respiciunt fuit in optimam partem interpretari ms.*

^a huiuscemodi] *suprascr. ms.*^b tantamque ... labefactari] *add. alia manu ms.*^c ad obedientiam] *suprascr. ms.*^d illud] *corr. de illum ms.*^e apud] *corr. de apud sancte memorie ms.*^f nunciis] *corr. de nunciis et litteris ms.*^g per] *corr. de per patrem ms.*^h omni possibili conatu] *in marg. ms.*ⁱ cumque diverse] *corr. de ea cumque diversi diverse eis ms.*^j oratore] *suprascr., corr. de nuntio ms.*^k reciperetur] *corr. de reciperentur ms.*^l et appellatione] *suprascr. ms.*^m valeret] *suprascr., corr. de posset ms.*ⁿ canonicum et legitimum] *in marg. alia manu ms.*^o producere] *corr. de proficere ms.*^p et ab ipso ... appellato] *in marg. ms.*^q nostro] *corr. de nostro prestitam ms.*^r vel saltem apparenti] *suprascr. ms.*^s nihil postea] *corr. de nihil maiestas sua postea ms.*^t produceretur] *corr. de produceret ms.*^u confirmate] *suprascr. alia manu ms.*^v nihil vel ... ob stare] *suprascr. alia manu, corr. de aut parva aut nulla pene de fide et sancta apostolica sede ratio habita fuisse ms.*^w sciret ... quod] *in marg. ms.*^x Que] *corr. de Idem que ms.*^y obedientie] *in marg. alia manu ms.*^z collegium disputata] *corr. de collegium adhibitis et aliquibus potioribus ex auditoribus rote gravissime disputata, canc. alia manu ms.*

^a more maiorum ... non] *in marg. alia manu ms.* ^b recepturum] *corr. de recepturum cum vix ultima die ms.* ^c noster] *corr. de noster responso ms.* ^d secundo] *suprascr., corr. de primo ms.* ^e pontificatus] *corr. de pontificatus sollicitate ms.* ^f traderet] *corr. de traderen ms.* ^g ductus] *corr. de adductus ms.* ^h communi] *corr. de communi christianorum ms.* ⁱ et] *corr. de et locum d. n. ms.* ^j proque officio ... habeat] *in marg. ms.* ^k certissimeque] *suprascr. ms.* ^l persuadeat] *corr. de persuadeatque ms.* ^m noster] *corr. de noster locum ms.* ⁿ fiet] *corr. de fiet nisi ms.* ^o et precipuo] *suprascr. ms.* ^p omnino] *suprascr. ms.* ^q quia] *corr. de Et quia ms.* ^r suspicari] *corr. de suspicari videtur ms.* ^s profitetur] *corr. de profitetur confirmatio ms.* ^t instante] *corr. de et instantibus ms.* ^u per nos] *suprascr. ms.* ^v Venetorum qui] *corr. de Venetorum intui qui ei ms.* ^w affirmet] *suprascr. ms.* ^x nostrum] *corr. de nostrum hon ms.* ^y Venetis] *corr. de Venetis vend ms.* ^z existimat] *suprascr., corr. de curat ms.*

^a ut] *suprascr., corr. de et publice ms.* ^b Immorabimur] *corr. de Non immorabimur ms.* ^c cum] *corr. de cum iam ms.* ^d eo] *corr. de eo bene ac secundum deum ac dep. ms.* ^e deum] *corr. de deum conservando ms.* ^f sanctitas sua] *corr. de s. d. nr. ms.* ^g mali] *in marg. ms.* ^h Et in universum ... habent] *alia manu ms.* ⁱ precipue] *corr. de precipue nobis ms.* ^j omni] *suprascr. ms.* ^k ipsa] *corr. de reipsa ms.* ^l intellexit et] *in marg. alia manu ms.* ^m temporalis] *corr. de temporalitat ms.* ⁿ dominii] *corr. de dominii quod in ms.* ^o non ad ... sed] *in marg. alia manu ms.* ^p Venetorum] *in marg. ms.* ^q inferre] *suprascr. (ferre), corr. de intulit ms.* ^r communem] *suprascr. ms.* ^s et subditis] *suprascr. ms.* ^t et ad ... inimicitiam] *in marg. ms.* ^u sua] *corr. de vestra ms.* ^v Quos] *corr. de Quos semper ms.* ^w et verbis ... testata] *in marg. alia manu ms.* ^x mediis] *corr. de mediis periculum ms.* ^y quam et ... concupiscit] *in marg. ms.* ^z Quin potius ... etc.] *alia manu ms.*

^a et revocare] *in marg. ms.* ^b sue] *corr. de sue. Non reste ms.* ^c sue sanctitatis] *corr. de sanctitatis sue ms.* ^d et precipue ... lato] *in marg. alia manu ms.* ^e quia statutum revocaverunt] *suprascr. alia manu ms.* ^f et scelestissimo] *suprascr. ms.* ^g homine] *corr. de homine qui ms.* ^h agat] *suprascr., corr. de habet ms.* ⁱ et] *corr. de et sedis ms.* ^j vel] *corr. de et ms.* ^k cui si ... beatitudo] *alia manu ms.* ^l serenissimo domino] *suprascr. ms.* ^m et respectum ... regis] *in marg. ms.* ⁿ nec in hoc ... orator] *in marg. alia manu, corr. de nunquam ms.* ^o non] *suprascr. ms.* ^p quidem maiestatem] *suprascr. ms.* ^q Dum autem ... extolletur] *alia manu ms.*

33.

*Buda, 17 April 1489**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

The nuncio travels with the king from Vienna to Buda. The nuncio reports on 1) the Archbishop of Kalocsa (the king promised to solve the matter and let the nuncio visit the archbishop and take him to Esztergom); 2) Sultan Djem (reportedly, he reached Rome) and a Turkish orator at the court of Matthias; 3) an orator from Camerino in relation to Ancona; 4) the bishopric of Olomouc and the bishop of Várad; 5) the King of Naples and news about the matters in Italy. And adds new information on Sultan Djem and the bishop of Várad and again on the same matters and the king of Naples in a postscript.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 118r–120v (the letter in original on pages [folded], size 220×290 mm; inside a small leaflet [fol. 119], size 210×130mm; the script is rather bookish, different hand than other Pecchinoli's reports; Pecchinoli's hand in an addition in the end of the text and also in the inserted leaflet; parts of the text are enciphered, i.e. individual words and parts of sentences). – NOTE (up on fol. 118r): Mircse.

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post pedum oscula beatorum. Tandem descendi ex Vienna Budam¹ cum serenissimo domino rege. Videbo breviter, quo tendat maiestas sua. An iudicio, vel clementia causam domini Colocensis² terminari volet. Est tamen mihi sua maiestas pollicita, quod pro honore vestre sanctitatis ego ipse descendam ad locum, ubi ille est in carcerem servatus et quod eum sub fida custodia ad Strigonium deducam servandum iuxta sanctitatis vestre mandatum. Quod sequetur, etiam per proprium nuntium significabo sanctitati vestre.

*Rex Hungarie*³ est nunc multis anxius curis ob istud novum, quod hic est auditum, quod *Turcus*³ *Romam venerit*.^{4b} Putabat, quod ex

¹ King Matthias stayed in Vienna until 12 March and through Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony) and Komárno arrived to Buda in early April, cf. HORVÁTH, *Itineraria*, 129.

² Péter Váradi.

³ Sultan Djem.

⁴ Sultan Djem arrived to Rome on 13 March 1489.

Massilia^{1c} non ita cito *discederet*^d et multa *minari*^e videtur et iam hic est *legatus Turcorum*^f multum solempnis. Nec adhuc potui *scire*,^g quorsum venerit. Perstat tamen in primo proposito, quod omnia, que vult *sanctitas vestra*,^h vult *facere*,ⁱ ac quod faciet, quod *soldanus sexcenta milia*^j et *mater sexaginta*^k *milia ducatorum*^l dabunt *sanctitatis vestre*.^m

Scio ex bono loco, quod ille nuntius *domini*ⁿ de *Camerino*,^o qui hinc recessit cum *Cintio*,^p *Anconam*^q portavit ab *rege Hungarie*^r *pecunias*.^s Et nunc hic est alius, qui apud *regem Hungarie*,^t nescio, quid ultra sollicitat et multa habuit donataria.

De ecclesia Olomucensi³ contra *Varadinum*^{4u} si *sanctitas vestra* non dat mihi aliud in mandatis, procuratores domini *Sirimiensis*⁵ semper petunt prorogari et suspendi censuras. Et de consensu partium iuxta commissionis mee formam non possum negare. Et maxime, quia dominus rex, qui opera *Varadini* nunc indiget, sic fieri mandat procuratoribus domini *Sirimiensis*. Propediem mictam ad *sanctitatem vestram* proprium nuntium, per quem illa dignabitur videre, qualiter de *sanctitate vestra* et sede apostolica *Varadinus* sentiat. [fol. 118v]

Fuit insuper *regi Hungarie*^v molestissimum, quod *compositionem*^w rerum *regis Neapolitani*^{6x} per alias manus, quam suas fieri^v queratur. Retulit mihi, quod *sanctitas vestra* primo id promiserat *Laurentio*² de *Medicis*,^{7a} quod nollet *vestra sanctitas* per alias manus fieri, nisi per suas, postea nesciente *Laurentio*,^b idem *sanctitas vestra* promiserat

¹ Marseille.

² Francesco Cinzio Benincasa (d. 1507), humanist and poet from Ancona, probably from 1483 in the service of Matthias Corvinus which was of military or diplomatic nature. Cf. LIGHTBOWN, *Francesco Cinzio Benincasa*.

³ Bishopric of Olomouc.

⁴ Jan Filipec.

⁵ János Vitéz the Younger.

⁶ Ferrante I, King of Naples.

⁷ Lorenzo Medici, il Magnifico (1449–1492), an actual ruler of the Florentine republic.

domino Lodovico.^{1c} Et certe, pater beatissime, *rex Hungarie*^d magno affectu videbatur ad rem hanc venire et debere plurimum sanctitati vestre, quod rem hanc ad eum detulisset. Pollicebatur insuper illas condiciones, quas sanctitas vestra aliis meis litteris vidisse potuit.

Respondi *regi Hungarie*,^e cum primum hoc mihi retulit, quod non credebam, quod sanctitas vestra conclusionem per alias manus faceret, quam per *regem Hungarie*.^f Potest bene esse, quod aliquos *tractatus*^g voluerit per illos intelligere aut forte *Laurentius*^h vel ille *Lodovicus*ⁱ ita se iactent. Sed aliter et aliter poterit sanctitas vestra credere ratum esse, quod fieret per manus *regis Hungarie*,^j quam per manus cuiusvis aut privatarum personarum. Nihilosegnius tamen *rex Hungarie*^k occultam indignationem concepisse videbatur. Si sanctitas vestra in negotio nondum conclusit, videretur mihi bonum esse huius *regis Hungarie*^l fidem experiri, quid in negotio hoc faceret. Nam ab initio magno affectu videbatur adduci, quod ipse rem hanc *componeret*^m et maxime, cum dicebat, *barones*ⁿ in manu *tertii*^o ponerentur.

Postremo sanctitas vestra pro Deo de isto *Turco*^p non prius deliberaret *Venetis*^q *dare*.^r Si vera est fama, quam condiciones, quas *rex Hungarie*^s offert, videat, vere sint, an non. Nam *regina Hungarie*^t sepius mihi dixit, quod *rex Hungarie*^{uv} omnia, que volet et que petet sanctitas vestra, et faciet et adimplebit.

Non² est mihi visum, quod hunc mictere, que ad me ex ecclesia Olomocensi missa sunt de Varadino, quam religiose se habeat tam in ecclesia, quam in obedientia erga sanctitatem vestram. Sed propediem nuncium mictam proprium, per quem deferri omnia. Puto tutius pro Deo, sanctitas vestra dignetur non prius per dominum Thomam Dragi concludere, quam ista, de quibus loquor, viderit. Ex Buda, die XVII Aprilis MCCCCL[fol. 120r]XXXVIII.

Sanctitatis vestre humilis servulus Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus

¹ Ludovico Maria Sforza, il Moro (1451–1508), an actual ruler of Milan instead of his nephew Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza from 1476, and from 1494 as duke.

² From this place written by the hand of Angelo Pecchinoli.

[*an inserted note on a leaflet:*]¹

[*fol. 119r*] Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Erant iam littere clause, cum nuncius advenit cum brevibus sanctitatis vestre, et quia nuncius meus erat ad viam paratus et regem hoc die sanctissimo² adire non est visum, volui nihilosegnius, quod nuncius veniret et duo pro Deo dignetur sanctitas vestra advertere. Primo ad id, quod nomine soldani pollicetur sua maiestas, alteris, quod si conclusio cum domino rege Neapolitani est futura, adponat, queso, rex iste manum erubescit, quod soceri negotia pro privatis et non se regem generis concludantur. Habeo sanctitatem vestram ingentissimas gratias, refecit animum meum breve, quod sanctitas vestra scribit. Videbam, quod rex iste Lionis³ aliquid a sua modestia moliebatur. Sed propediem nuncium proprium mictum de hiis omnibus, que a domino rege adcipiam. Breve super ecclesia Olomocensis non habui.

Sanctitatis vestre humilis servulus Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus

[*fol. 120v*] Beatissimo ac clementissimo domino nostro papê me etc.

^a Rex Hungarie] *cifra* 40 *ms.*; *suprascr.* rex hungarie. ^b Turcus Romam venerit] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* turcus romam venerit. ^c Massilia] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* massilia. ^d discederet] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* discederet. ^e minari] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* minari. ^f legatus Turcorum] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* legatus turcorum. ^g scire] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* scire. ^h sanctitas vestra] *cifra* Antiquitas *ms.*; *suprascr.* papa. ⁱ facere] *cifra* *gacere* (!) *ms.*; *suprascr.* facere. ^j soldanus sexcenta milia] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* soldanus sexcenta milia. ^k sexaginta] *cifra* sexsaginta (!) *ms.* ^l mater ... ducatorum] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* mater sexaginta milia ducatorum. ^m sanctitatis vestre] *cifra* antiquitas *ms.*; *suprascr.* pape. ⁿ domini] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* domini. ^o Camerino] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* de Camerin. ^p Cintio] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* Cintio. ^q Anconam] *cifra* 18 *ms.*; *suprascr.* Anconam. ^r rege Hungarie] *cifra* 40 *ms.*; *suprascr.* rege hungarie. ^s pecunias] *cifra* *ms.*; *suprascr.* pecunias. ^t regem Hungarie] *cifra* 40 *ms.*; *suprascr.* regem. ^u contra

¹ Written by the hand of Angelo Pecchinoli.

² Easter Sunday fell on 19 April 1489.

³ János Telegdi, provost of Pécs.

Varadinum] *alia manu, fortasse Angeli Pecchinoli.* ^v regi Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. regi.* ^w compositionem] *cifra ms.; suprascr. compositionem.* ^x regis Neapolitani] *cifra 80 ms.; suprascr. Regis Neap.* ^y fieri] *alia manu corr. de facere ms.* ^z Laurentio] *cifra ms.; suprascr. laurentio.*

^a Medicis] *cifra ms.; suprascr. medicis.* ^b Laurentio] *cifra ms.; suprascr. laurentio.* ^c domino Lodovico] *cifra ms.; suprascr. domino Ludovico.* ^d rex Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. rex.* ^e regi Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. regi.* ^f regem Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. regem.* ^g tractatus] *cifra ms.; suprascr. tractatus.* ^h Laurentius] *cifra ms.; suprascr. Laurentius.* ⁱ Lodovicus] *cifra ms.; suprascr. Ludovicus.* ^j regis Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.* ^k rex Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.* ^l regis Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.* ^m componeret] *cifra ms.; suprascr. componeret.* ⁿ barones] *cifra ms.; suprascr. barones.* ^o tertii] *cifra ms.; suprascr. tertii.* ^p Turco] *cifra ms.; suprascr. turco.* ^q Venetis] *cifra 90 ms.; suprascr. Venetis.* ^r dare] *cifra ms.; suprascr. dare.* ^s rex Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. Rex.* ^t regina Hungarie] *cifra ? ms.; suprascr. regina.* ^u rex Hungarie] *cifra 40 ms.; suprascr. rex.*

34.

Buda, 15 May 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

The nuncio had a long discussion with the king and the queen. The king explained about his position in 1) Bohemian matters (and mentioned what happened earlier in the conflict), disagreeing that the pope granted audience to the envoys of the King of Bohemia and thus legitimised the king, what was in direct contradiction to the promises given to Matthias by previous popes. The nuncio replied to the king, who complained that he was never entitled the King of Bohemia by the Papal Chancery, that the secretary of the pope addresses the princes with the more worthy title. King Matthias has a similar problem with 2) the King of the Romans Maximilian. Matthias discussed the matters of 3) Sultan Djem, whom he wants for leading the war against Sultan Bayezid, whose regime in Turkey is endangered. The pope should act quickly as Djem could die and his supporters in Turkey might be eliminated; similarly, if Djem escapes and himself takes power, he would be a bigger threat to Christendom than Bayezid who is, reportedly, a heavy drinker. King Matthias argued several times that he is the only one who can lead war against the Turks, since there is no hope that other Christian rulers (from Spain, France, Germany) would contribute in any way; however, if

there is no agreement, he would have to conclude truce with the Turks, as the Turkish ambassador offered generous terms. The king implores the pope to help with the 4) Venetians, who cause multiple problems for the king's subjects in Dalmatia, especially the citizens of Dubrovnik. Concerning 5) Ancona, there will be an agreement as an orator of the king, Tamás Drágyi, is sent to Ancona and to Rome. As for 6) the king of Naples, Matthias is helping the agreement with the pope. Matthias is willing to capture 7) the bishop of Santorini (Mirandola), when he comes to him. And finally, as for 8) the archbishop of Kalocsa, the king does not want to release him to Angelo's custody, as promised, because it is too dangerous, and the archbishop could initiate something against the king with the Italians who live there. The nuncio begs the king to keep his word; Matthias only allows him to receive the archbishop of Kalocsa and keep him in Eger or Visegrád. The nuncio chooses Visegrád. – The queen implores again that Sultan Djem be sent to her husband. She is also surprised that the pope uses Lorenzo Medici, Ludovico Sforza, and the Venetians for negotiations with her father, when her husband might be more useful. She also raised the issue of levying tithes for the campaign. – Matthias asks for support for the war, especially through the indulgences in Székesfehérvár. He also wants to organise some matters of the Church in Hungary (rented houses, Franciscans) and the nuncio mentioned also supplications from the Hungarian nobles for portable altars and indulgences. – Finally, the nuncio includes letters from Agostino Luciani, the bishop of Santorini, who fled to the Bohemians, and adds some more information about the Olomouc issue. – Contains copied letters from Agostino Luciani to Angelo Pecchinoli.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 138r–146v (215×285 mm; remnants of the seal on fol. 147v). – NOTE (fol. 138r): Mircse lemásolta; (fol. 147v): tempore Innocentii acta per reverendum patrem dominum episcopum Ortanum in Ungaria.

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine, pedum oscula beatorum. XVII. Aprilis¹ et litteras et brevia sanctitatis vestre Iovannoctus cursor mihi rettulit. Que, ut par est, reverenter recepi, atque ubi primum licuit, instabant enim tunc dies illi maioris ebdomade,² adire dominum regem arbitrium fieri mihi postulavi. Et quantum

¹ Cf. n. 33, inserted leaflet.

² Easter was on 19 April in 1489; Holy Week 12–18 April.

pro ingenii tenuitate licuit, rem omnem suo ordine edixi. Precipue tamen circa laudes et communionem pro tam religioso christiano et glorioso animo maiestatis sue ad bellum comuni scilicet consilio in Turchos gerendum. Nec minus omni adnixus studio maiestatis sue mentem pacare, tollereque ex animo, quas emuli et pacis invidi ingerere curassent suspitiones usus precipue sanctitatis vestre argumento, quod iam quartus agebatur mensis, quod rationes^a animi sui sua maiestas dignata esset, mihi nomine sanctitatis vestre aperire, et tamen spatio hoc temporis, quod interesserat manu quodam modo tetigisse poterat sua maiestas suspitiones illas falsas fore ac confictas ab hiis, qui comunem pacem, comunemque fidei causam non respicerent, sed privata commoda privataque forsan odia sectarentur. Et ubi omnia, que in rem forent patientissime intellexit, respondit: “domine legate, ego non volo nec debeo neque possum cum domino sanctissimo verbis aut rebus pugnare, sed acquiesco omnibus, que sanctissimus dicit. Et ut incipiam a rebus Bohemicis respondere, sicut sua sanctitas dicit aliter res se habuit, et si hodie viverent illi reverendissimi domini, qui tunc fuerunt, et qui rem noverant, vidisset sanctitas sua, quod res aliter se habuit.”¹

Venerat filius² illius regis Bohemie heretici contra imperatorem,³ quia non servaverat patri suo certa promissa et castra locaverat in metis Austrie, Bohemie et Hungarie, et non modo Austriam spoliis infestabat, sed Hungariam spoliabat. Revertebar ego tunc ex bello, quod gesseram contra Turchos, ubi inter cetera fuit unum cruentissimum prelium, in quo multa Turchorum milia cesa sunt,⁴ et ad me veniunt nobiles regni mei, qui queruntur regnum Hungarie spoliari et in predam dari Bohemis, qui in metis Austrie sunt. Ego cum exercitu, quem paratum habebam, sine mora in Bohemos arma

¹ The king might have referred to Lorenzo Roverella (d. 1474), Rudolf of Rüdeseheim (d. 1482) and Gabriele Rangoni (d. 1486), with whom he cooperated in Bohemian matters in the late 1460s and early 1470s.

² Victorinus, son of George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia.

³ Emperor Frederick III.

⁴ It seems Matthias is referring to the campaign against Stephen the Great of Moldavia as if it was a war against the Turks.

movi et illos intra paucos dies in Bohemiam redire compuli, fuso et fugato Bohemorum exercitu etiam ad duas dietas intra Bohemiam. Cum in Hungariam regrederer, venit ad me bone memorie episcopus Ferrariensis¹ cum litteris et brevibus felicis recordationis domini Pauli,² quibus hortatur me ac iubet, ut bellum in Bohemos geram. Ego pro obedientia rem sum viriliter agressus, non tam inficior, quod fuerit mihi magna gloria, sed tantos thesauros, tantam denique pecuniam exhausti, tot meorum cedes ac mortes sum passus, quod verum, domine legate, longe^b minor est gloria, quam rerum pretium. Sed sum contentus rursus atque iterum *fa[fol. 138v]cerem* pro reverentia et obedientia sedis apostolice et pro christiane religionis defensione. Sed sua sanctitas non est plene informata de isto facto. Si viverent illi, qui tunc fuerunt, melius possent suam sanctitatem informare.

Quantum spectat ad regem Bohemie,³ certe, domine legate, est facta mihi magna iniuria et bone memorie Sixtus⁴ nunquam voluit illum admittere, nec eum regni titulo honestare, sed solo nomine primogeniti regis Polonie appellare, sed postquam dominus sanctissimus oratores suos admisit ad obedientiam,⁵ factus est animosus et omnia, que mihi in Slesia postea emergerunt,⁶ illa admissione evenerunt, et si non summa vi et armis populos illos in obedientiam detinerem, certe credatis, quod omnia rebellentur.

De Maximiliano idem dico, sed postquam sua sanctitas dicit, quod non promiserat oratores suos admittere, prout ego dixi, ego sum contentus in illo, quod sanctitas sua dicit, quia non volo nec verbis nec rebus contennere cum sua sanctitate. Sed credatis, domine legate, quod ego non mentior, et possem adhuc ostendere litteras, quod ita sua sanctitas promisit illis, qui ad me scripserunt, sed adquiesco verbis

¹ Lorenzo Roverella.

² Pope Paul II.

³ Wladislas II, King of Bohemia.

⁴ Pope Sixtus IV.

⁵ 14 May 1487.

⁶ The king referred to the revolt of Jan II of Žagań and Jindřich (Henry) of Münsterberg concerning Głogów, *cf.* n. 24.

sue sanctitatis, quod neque benedictionem, neque confirmationem habuerint tam Maximilianus, quam ille rex Bohemie, et spero in sua sanctitate, quod cum erit tempus, causam meam audiet, et mihi iustitiam ministrabit, et in ista causa procedet, sicut decet bonum pastorem et equum iudicem inter oves suas.”

Graviter insuper fert, pater beatissime, quod sanctitas vestra illum in litteris suis regem appellaret Bohemie, quodque amplius est prelati sue maiestatis, qui de consilio sunt questi, sunt plurimum, quod sanctitas vestra dominum regem Hungarie Bohemie regem in suis litteris non appellaret. Quibus respondi, quod secretarius sanctitati vestre aut cancellaria apostolica non nisi a digniori titulo reges aut principes appellari consuevisset.¹

“Quod ad Turchum² attinet, non nego, quod ego fecerim instantiam magnam pro habendo illum, tum pro comuni causa christianorum et religionis nostre, tum quia est ille mihi sanguine iunctus, prout sepe audistis, et mater et soldanus pluries me ad hoc requisiverunt, tum etiam quia semper desideravi istam expeditionem, et si inimici mei non turbassent, me iam vidissent Christiani. Quid ego fecissem?^c Sed ego habeo magnas gratias domino sanctissimo pro eo, quod sua sanctitas scribit, quod ad comunem bonum et comunem quietem quesiverit eum apud se detinere. Ex ita ego credo, prout vos, domine legate, dicitis nomine sue sanctitatis. [fol. 139r.]

¹ As far as I know, this has not expressly stated anywhere as a chancery practice, but see the lists of kings for the order of dignity, cf. PHILIPP STENZIG, *Botschafterzeremonie am Papsthof der Renaissance. Der Tractatus de oratoribus des Paris de Grassi – Edition und Kommentar*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 2013, 244–246, 548–575; BÁLINT LAKATOS, *Ordo regum. Precedencialisták a pápai udvarban és a magyar király rangja a középkor végén*, Magyarország és a Római Szentszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/15), ed. Péter Tusor–Kornél Szovák–Tamás Fedeles, Budapest – Rome 2017, 137–172.

² Sultan Djem.

Et licet sua sanctitas non indigeat consilio meo, tamen bona venia sue sanctitatis dicam adhuc quatuor in isto negotio:

Primum sua sanctitas debet advertere, quod ille Turchus est homo, et potest infirmari et mori, sicuti ceteri homines.

Secundo imperator Turchorum¹ frater suus est multum dives et pecuniosus et facile posset aliquos suos corrumpere, qui vel eum veneno vel gladio interimerent.

Tertio iste Turchus, quem sanctitas sua tenet, est homo multum iracundus et homo desperatus, quando videret se esse continuo in carcere, forte desperaret et se sua manu interficeret, ad hoc est valde considerandum.

Quarto, si iste Turchus multum detineatur in captivitate, frater suus, qui novit illos, qui eum diligunt, sicut iam incepit, sic paulatim interficiet, expellet et ad nihilum rediget.

Ideo domino sanctissimo est accelerandum. Et licet sua sanctitas, si eum daret soldano, posset sperare magnam pecuniam et credere per illam viam una cum soldano propter amorem, quem habent nobiles ad istum, et odium, quod habent ad imperatorem Turchorum; certe parvo spatio imperator fugaretur et vinceretur. Sed certe, domine legate, nos, postquam iste vicisset et imperium optinisset, haberemus hostem crudeliorem et severiorem. Quia iste imperator modernus Turchorum est unus magnus ebrius et omni die iacet ebrius per tres aut quatuor horas sicut unus canis. Et iste est homo sollicitus et astutus. Et iste imperator Turchorum hunc fratrem suum multum timet. Et si vos sciretis, quanta mihi pollicietur, quod mecum posset habere pacem aut treugas, prout iste orator, qui hic est, continuo me stimulat, vos miraremini. Sed ego confido in verbis domini sanctissimi, que mihi nomine sue sanctitatis refertis et cum ista fiducia ego vivo, alias ego bene potuissem disponere rebus meis cum magno commodo et utilitate mea.

Et quantum ego possum considerare,” inquit, “dominus sanctissimus priusquam de ista expeditione deliberet, volet vocare oratores omnium principum et concordare prius illos, ne aliquid rema-

¹ Sultan Bayezid II.

neat, quod posset turbare negotium, quod sua sanctitas cogitat. Certe est bonum prepositum. Sed ego puto ex qualitate principum et rerum conditione, que nunc sunt inter christianos, quod hoc erit multum difficile. Quia non omnes cogitant de bono publico, sed vadunt ad privata odia et privatas passiones, ob quas non curarent, quod tam sanctum et bonum opus intermiceretur et disturberetur. [*fol. 139v*]

Preterea ego credo, quod sua sanctitas cogitet velle decimas imponere propter istam expeditionem. Et istam partem ego puto etiam difficilem, quia multi se excusabunt et multi etiam recusabunt. Ecce dominus rex Hispanie¹ dicet, quod ipse non vult contribuere, sed petit sibi dari ab aliis christianis subsidium, quia ipse continuo bellum gerit cum illis Mauris.

Rex Francie² simpliciter dicet, quod non vult contribuere, et si istud expectatur, current tot tempora, quod nihil fiet, et de isto Turcho poterit perdi omnis spes, sicut quondam fuit de fratre alterius Turci, qui est apud me.³ Tunc erat in maiori expectatione et spe, quam iste sit, et iam nihil valet, quia mortui sunt illi, qui huic, quem ego habeo, favebant.

¹ Ferrando (Ferdinand) II, King of Aragon (1479–1504) and Castile (Ferdinand V; 1474–1504).

² Charles VIII, King of France.

³ Pope Paul II sent a brother of the Sultan to King Matthias in 1465. The pope wrote to Matthias on 26 May 1465 in relation to the embassy of Janus Pannonius, bishop of Pécs, János Rozgonyi and György Handó: "... Annuimus quoque desiderio oratorum tuorum, qui Turchi germanum, fraterne cedi sevitieique subtractum et diu apud apostolicam sedem educatum, tue celsitudini transmitti petierunt. Satis liberaliter et ingenue constitutus est, bonam indolem et ingenium proferens. Erit, ut confidimus, vel ob perfectam Christianam mansuetudinem, vel ob suscepta beneficia, fidei nostre affectus. Eum tue serenitati donamus et suis obsequiis omnino dicamus, ut si per illum aliquod apud suos favoris rebus Christianorum obvenire posse confidis, quibus rebus volueris, exerceas." See FRAKNÓI–DÉCSÉNYI–SCHÖNHERR, eds., *Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis Epistolae ad Romanos Pontifices*, 45–48, n. 35. Nothing, however, is known in historiography about such an event.

De Almania¹ non est aliquid sperandum, quia nunc pro maiori parte sunt in armis et difficile erit posse inter eos componere, quod ab armis discedant.

Sed si dominus sanctissimus volet me audire, ego bene inveniam modum, quod cum pauco labore suo et cum pauca pecunia poterimus magnum aliquid facere.” Cui respondi tunc: “videat maiestas vestra, ego singula noto,² istam partem de parva pecunia scio placere domino nostro.” “Notetis,” inquit, “et scribatis. Ego bene scio, quod est verum.” Et visus est, pater beatissime, velle dicere modum habendum et postea continuit et non dixit.^d

Addidit subinde, quod subsidia armatorum, id est equites aut pedites ex Italia et aliis locis mittere nihil prodesset, tum quod Almani presertim in partibus inferioribus Pannoniæ vivere non possunt ob aeris diversitatem, tum quod ipse novisset nunquam in bellum progredi cum mutuatis militibus aut non assuetis bello contra Turchos. “Nam,” inquit, “parere nesciunt ac quod ita sunt formidolosi, quod aciem continuo turbant, et confestim vertunt terga. Sed, domine legate, ego volo domino sanctissimo omnem meam voluntatem, sicut debeo, aperire. Ita, quod sua sanctitas possit bene deliberare et me certiozem facere. Ego habeo cum imperatore Turchorum indutias, que durant usque per mensem Octobris sequentem.³ Iste orator, qui hic est, petit a me indutias aut pacem ad vitam meam. Et cum ego recusaverim facere ipse valde me est deprecatus ad decem annos, cui similiter denegavi. Ad finem ipse facit apud me magnam instantiam, quod ad tres annos. Et quod durante isto triennio, ego velim sibi concedere unum exercitum meum in bellum usque ad tot milia hominum et ipse promittit solvere exercitui meo stipendia et illo non uti nisi contra infideles et non contra christianos et finito bello restituere. Et versa vice promittit, quod si ego indigerem, vult dare mihi parem exercitum suis impensis solutum et quod nihil petit [*fol.*

¹ German lands.

² This is a reference to Angelo making notes.

³ The peace was concluded in 1483 for five years and prolonged in 1488 for further two years until October of the next year, i.e. October 1490.

140r] pro stipendiis exercitus, nisi illud, quod spolio possent rapere, alias vult exercitum tradere suis expensis. Et dixit etiam iste orator, quod aliqua alia habet dicere mihi, que seorsum et ad partem vult dicere. Tamen adhuc non dixit, quia non habui tempus illum audiendi propter istos dolores, quos patior. Nec hoc volui concedere postquam pollicita et verba sanctissimi domini nostri, que legistis, audivi. A cuius hortationibus non volo discedere, sed cupio etiam certus, quid id sit, quod sua sanctitas pollicetur, et supplicarem sue sanctitati, quod cito dignaretur respondere ad effectum, quod ego etiam possem providere rebus meis, alias ego cogor respondere ad istum oratorem.” Institi tunc, pater beatissime, apud suam maiestatem, quod pro Deo instare vellet in primis pollicitis, que sua maiestas fecerat prima vice, quando ad eam veneram, quod postquam sanctitas vestra se totam huic provincie adcingebat, si aliorum non deessent auxilia, quod ulteriores indutias non concluderet. Ad extremum multis ultro citroque dictis verbis respondit sua maiestas, quod indutias de novo interea non faceret, sed quod sanctitati vestre scriberem, quod amplius et latius mentem suam declarare dignaretur, quod illa intenderet, et quod cito responderet, ne ipse quoque in suspenso foret. Et cum de maiestate sua quererem, quonam modo a se istum oratorem dimitteret, “nunc ego”, inquit, “habeo multa adhuc cum Turcho concludere maxime de damnis et spoliis utrinque factis tempore indutiarum, que adhuc inter nos durant. Ego respondebo, quod prius componamus de istis damnis, quia sepius oratores Turchi et mei convenerunt, ut possent componere et adhuc non potuerunt concludere et dicam, quod ad hoc veniat unus orator Turchi cum pleno mandato et ille, qui veniet cum mandato ad componendum, ista damna per illum eundem oratorem postquam facta compositione fuerit, poterit de treugis concludi et sic cum istis bonis verbis remictam eum ad effectum, ut dominum nostrum possim intelligere, quid in animo gerat. Sed rogo vos, domine legate, diligentiam faciatis advisare dominum sanctissimum.

De Venetis sic dico, quod licet eos semper habuerim pro amicis et honores eis semper fecerim, ipsi tamen mihi gravissimas semper

intulerunt iniurias, et, ut omnictam^e cetera, sciat paternitas vestra, quod omnia illa, que ipsi possident in Dalmatia et Sclavonia, sunt de corona regni mei. Novissime tamen occupaverunt mihi insulam illam de Vegla,¹ que ad *co/fol. 140v*]ronam meam spectat. Et licet sepius institerim, quod ipsi non vellent usurpare iura mea, tamen semper neglexerunt et cum apud dominum Sixtum ego fecissem instantiam pro mea iustitia, non potui exaudiri nec audiri. Subditis meis, qui quandoque vadunt Venetias pro habendo iustitiam contra Venetorum subditos, semper recusant iustitiam ministrare. Est etiam Ragusium,² quod est de corona regni mei. Continuo Veneti illos Ragusinos spoliant, predantur et eorum bona rapiunt. Vadunt quinque illi Ragusini ad Apuliam ad portanda frumenta, vel alias merces et quotiens Veneti reperiunt eorum naves in mari etiam si decies unam et eandem navim reperirent, semper cogunt nautas solvere centum ducatus. Pauperes homines sunt omnino desperati, solvunt Turcho XXIII milia ducatus et si ego non continuissem eos in fide, certe dedissent se ad manus Turchorum. Iam desperati de tyrannide, violentiis et rapinis Venetorum. Sed ubi dominus sanctissimus mandat vobis, domine legate, quod partes vestras interponatis, quod amice et quiete debeam cum Venetis vivere, ego sum contentus omnia facere, que sua sanctitas mandat. Sed pro Deo ego supplico domino sanctissimo, quod sua sanctitas partes suas interponat cum Venetis, quod mecum ab istis iniuriis cessent, et quod istos pauperes Ragusinos non ita spolient, non ita rapiant et predentur. Et credat sua sanctitas, quod ego non sum male contentus, quod Veneti habeant confederationem secum, sed scio, quod Veneti propter istam confederationem ita superbiunt, quod putant, quod omnia possint facere et omnia possint spoliare, postquam ipsi sunt confederati cum domino sanctissimo. Pro Deo ego supplico domino nostro, quod dignetur sua sanctitas etiam cum Venetis ita disponere, quod ipsi velint et debeant esse mihi boni vicini et servare mecum bonam amicitiam, sicut ego semper feci cum eis. Venit ad me pridie unus

¹ The island of Krk (It. Veglia).

² Dubrovnik.

cursor Venetorum, qui portavit litteras, quibus significabant, quod volebant ad me mictere unum oratorem, non quod scriberent pro salvo conducto, sed tantum significabant, quod oratorem mictere vellent. Ego respondi eis, quod si volebant mittere, reciperem eum cum honore, sicut semper consuevi, et nunquam ex parte mea procedet aliquid, quod ipsi possint de me lamentari. Tamen semper ab eis iniurias patior et damna et sic sua sanctitas disponat, quod ipsi abstineant contra me et meos subditos.

Quod^f de Anchonitanis sua sanctitas loquitur, sciatis, domine legate, quod Thome Dragi¹ dedi [fol. 141r] amplissime in mandatis, quod si sua sanctitas assecurat me, quod pro ista causa nihil faciat contra Anchonitanos, quod Thomas Dragi faciat omnia, que sua sanctitas mandat, et pro certo credo, quod iam fecerit, licet habuerunt in mari magnam tempestatem. Et potestis, domine legate, pro certo affirmare sue sanctitati, quod ego libentissime in isto negotio Anchonitanorum omnia volo facere, que sua sanctitas mandat. Et inter cetera commisi Thome Dragi, quod ducat secum duos cives Anchonitanos, qui revocent ante sanctitatem suam omnia, que facta sunt mecum, sed vos, domine legate, rogetis meo nomine dominum nostrum, ut unum breve scribat ad Anchonitanos, quod contemplatione mea pollicetur eis pro hac re inpunitatem et totum est pacatum.

De rege Neapolitano² dominus sanctissimus fecit, quod Veneti miserint suos oratores ad compositionem rerum suarum. Ego sum bene contentus, sed credatis, domine legate, quod si prima compositio fuisset facta per manus meas, forte dominus sanctissimus non lamentaretur, quod rex Neapolitanus non servat sibi promissa. Fuissem ego primus, qui movissem arma, sed sua sanctitas faciat, prout vult, et ista componat, per quos vult. Ego de hoc non multum curo. Unum scio, quod illa, que fuissent facta per manus meas, essent servata et nullus potuisset lamentari. Et addidit postea sua maiestas,

¹ Tamás Drágyi.

² Ferrante I, King of Naples.

ex bono loco ipse scit, quod dominus rex Neapolitanus ubi audivit, quod rex Hungarie vellet ad hanc rem iussu sanctitatis vestre manus adponere pro concordia, forte quia non intendit servare, que promittet, non libenter contentatur, quod rex Hungarie manus adponat ad compositionem ea motus ratione, ut dominus rex Hungarie affirmat. Quia non intendit servare, que rursus^g sanctitati vestre promittet. Et quia,” inquit, “ipse rex Neapolitanus scit, quod non possem pati, quod ipse violaret fidem mihi et non servaret, que per manus meas promitteret, propterea non libenter audit, quod ego ad istam rem manus imponam.

Quod ad episcopum illum,¹ qui est apud hereticos, attinet, ego promitto vobis, domine legate, quod si huc venerit, prout ipse cupit, et ad me scripsit, non redibit ulterius, de hoc sitis bene certus. [fol. 141v]

De domino Colocensi,² domine legate, credatis, quod mihi non est gratum, quod de illo mihi aliquis faciat mentionem, quia per malam linguam suam ita me quesivit perdere, quod ego debeo de illo nihil velle nisi iustitiam. Tamen ego libenter audio verba vestra, et quantum ad illud, quod petitis, quod ad Strigonium veniat, nunc esset multum difficile, tum quia prefectus arcis,³ qui illum de mandato meo tenet in custodia, non est presens ibi in arce.^h Ivit de commissione mea ad Poloniam ad unam dietam, quam ego nunc habeo cum rege Polonie et revocare illum antequam esset absoluta illa dieta, faceret magnum preiudicium rebus meis. Preterea, ut vobis dicam veritatem, aliquid ego expecto de isto Colocensi a rege Neapolitano et infra breve tempus ego habebō responsum. Et quod me plus tenet, domine legate, quod pro nunc non mictam eum ad Strigonium, ut petitis. Est hoc, quia, domine legate, in Strigonio sunt Itali, Nea-

¹ Agostino Luciani.

² Péter Váradi.

³ Máté Kis Cécei, count (*ispán, comes*) of the Árva (Orava) county (1482–1490), and other counties in the north of Hungary.

politani et Hungari et credatis, quod melius custoditur et securius ad omnes causas in loco, ubi nunc est, quam in Strigonio. Et non credatis, quod locus, ubi nunc est, sit malus, sed est in loco satis honesto. Si esset in Strigonio, non posset continere linguam et si comoditatem haberet scribendi vel loquendi cum aliis, peiora hodie scriberet et diceret quam prius. Et non credatis, quod aliquo modo sit inmutatus propter istum carcerem. Ita hodie male loquitur de me et faceret et scriberet contra me sicut primo die. Rogo vos, domine legate, habeatis me pro isto paucio tempore excusatum, ego facio ad bonum finem.”

Cui, pater beatissime, brevibus respondi, et ubi maiestatis sue perseverantem animum erga sanctitatem vestram et sedis apostolice reverentiam et obedientiam, quanta potui communicatione, laudavi. Tum vel maxime circha hanc sanctam expeditionem, quam sanctitas vestra parat, ad quam se totum sua maiestas adcinsisset, nihilque a generoso et invictissimo regi animi sui instituto inmutasset. Subdidi: “serenissime rex, et si magna illa sint, que Turchus pollicetur, si pacem cum maiestate vestra habere mereretur, attamen admirari non desino, quod longe maiora ac plurima non polliceatur et spondeat. Comp<er>tum enim habeo, rex serenissime, quod Turchus non caret ingenio, non caret consilio, si maiestatem vestram posset in suam sententiam et suas partes adducere, novit ipse optime actum esse de omni [fol. 142r] consilio et omni conatu et deliberatione, quam ceteri christiani in eum facerent, aut facere conarentur. Sed propositum sequatur maiestas vestra, et consiliis, adhortationibus et sanctissimis monitis domini nostri sanctissimi adquiescat, qui pro caritate et notissima benivolentia, quam habet ad maiestatem vestram ob insignes illius virtutes et merita, tum vel maxime, quod de sede apostolica deque religione christiana semper sit optime merita. Primas partes iure optimo, maiestati vestre pollicetur. Verum, serenissime rex, hoc me angit et cruciat, quod verba, que maiestas vestra dicere dignata est, fideliter rettuli domino nostro. Dignetur illa meminisse, quod prima vice, cum de domino Colocensi sermonem feci, semper maiestas vestra pollicita est dare illum ad manus meas

custodiendum in Strigonio¹ iuxta domini nostri commissionis formam, et ita sue sanctitati rettuli. Quod nunc istud diversum referam, vel me mendacem, vel varietatem in maiestate vestra arguet. Ego fateor, serenissime rex, quod ab initio multum institi apud maiestatem vestram, quod non aliter examinatis iuventutis sue demeritis maiestas vestra cum illo clementer misericordiam faceret pro sanctissimi domini nostri et sedis apostolice reverentia, sed ubi maiestatem vestram ad id precibus flectere nequivi, ad iudicium sum conversus, quod eram paratus de suis culpis cognoscere. Scit equidem maiestas vestra, quod petente illa legatum ad rem hanc ad se micti, dominus noster me huc destinavit. Cur ergo maiestas vestra nova mora adiecta iudicium de illo fieri recusat? Non est hoc aliud, nisi quod dominus noster et iure et merito subcenseat mihi, quod sue sanctitati falsa aut mentita retulerim?” “Fateor,” inquit, “quod paternitati vestre rettuli et sum pollicitus dare ad manus vestras custodiendum in Strigonio, sed credatis, quod ex bona causa nunc facio non mictere illum ad Strigonium, sed vos videbitis, quod cito faciam, quod omnia disponentur ad istum finem, ut in iudicio possim iustificare causam meam. Et credatis, quod ego facio ad bonam causam.” Ego tamen, beatissime pater, nihilosegnius ad victoris genua advolutus cepi deprecari maiestatem suam, quod pro Deo non faceret mihi istam confusionem, nam totiens ad sanctitatem vestram scripsissem, quod sua maiestas in Strigonio custodiendum daret, quod apud sanctitatem vestram non haberem istam erubescantiam, hoc nolle concedere, quod totiens sua maiestas digna[fol. 142v]ta fuerat polliceri. Sua maiestas, ubi ex animo deprecantem me est intuita: “Sum,” inquit, “pro domini sanctissimi reverentia contentus levare illum de carcere, ubi nunc est et eum ponere in Agria² vel Vicegrado.³ Eligatis vos, domine legate, quem locum magis vultis vel Vicegrado vel Agriam. De Strigonio non curetis. Non dixi vobis, quod ibi sunt Hungari, Neapolitani et Italici?” Tunc, ubi maiestatem

¹ Esztergom.

² Eger.

³ Visegrád.

suam ita velle, sum conspicatus Vicegrado elegi, motus ea ratione, ne apud emulum,¹ ut dicunt, detineri diceretur, ac quod locus Vicegrado ad Budam proximior est, nec hinc nisi quatuor parvis distat miliaribus, sum rursus maiestatem suam deprecatus, quod ego illum ad Vicegrado ducam et dari locum custodie idoneum et prelato dignum. Ego ipse videam, quod sua maiestas data dextera clementer concessit, presente reverendo domino Iauriensi,² et cum de tempore, intra quod id sua maiestas faceret. “Ad plus,” inquit, “moram quindecim dierum non adiciam.” Quod totum sua maiestas data dextera clementer concessit presente reverendo domino Iauriensi. Repetito subinde sermone cum maiestate sua, quid in<super> foret, quod in Strigonio Italos, Neapolitanos et Hungaros esse dixisset, ridens sua maiestas verba nescio, que imperfecta inter dentes inmurmuravit, ac si vellet dicere, quod domino Colocensi non foret pro salute sua tutum in Strigonio esse, ne aliquis malis artibus vel mala fraude hominem interimeret et ad huc plus visus est velle dicere et personam signis ostendere, “sed nolo os ad celum ponere.”

Pater beatissime, incipio in spem erigi in re hac, quod primum istam glaciem rumpere potuerim. Tum vel maxime, quod quantum mihi vidisse licuit, sua maiestas plus alterius odio quam suo in Colocensem movetur. Dixi tamen maiestati sue, quod ad iudicium ego nolim de domino Colocensi venire, quia forma commissionis mee mandat mihi, quod si ad Strigonium ducatur, incipiam causam audire. Ego tamen non puto consultum, quod iudicialiter videatur, quia tanta quonda[m] fuit auctoritas Colocensis, quod facile credo, quod in magnas exiverit licentias. Ita quod cautum esse illi putem, si dicatur, ‘non intres in iudicio cum servo tuo, quia etc.’³ Expecto sanctitatis vestre iussionem. [*fol. 143r*]

¹ The bishop of Eger was Orbán Nagylucsei, the royal treasurer and an important personality at the royal court and trusted servant of the king.

² Tamás Bakóc.

³ Ps 142,2 (Vulg.)

Beatissime pater, habeo sanctitati vestre ingentissimas gracias, quod medicas adibuerit^j manus, quod que hominem sanctissimis suis monitis et adhortationibus in spem erexerit. Nam qui dudum sevisimus leo videbatur, agnus mansuetissimus ad vocem pastoris sui et sanctitatis vestre sit factus, cui sepius dixisse memini, quod pro Deo secum reputare dignetur. Quantam gloriam, quantam denique famam sibi pepererit, quod murus semper et antemurale fuerit adversus hereticos et Turchorum impetum. "Sequatur, queso, maiestas vestra illud invictissimi animi sui institutum insigne, quia adiuvante domino nostro sanctissimo, prout nunc pollicetur, per amplius atque operosius gloriam et triumphum maiestas vestra est habitura." Sed Deo gratias optime ac consultissime sanctitas vestra respondit, ad cuius verba sua maiestas mentem atque animum deflexit. Atque hiis absolutis cepi ego modeste, quantum licuit, quid id fuerit, quod in litteris illis soldani, quas nuper ex Venetis sua maiestas recepisset, continebatur. "Sunt," inquit, "in Arabico scripte, non adhuc hominem habere valui, qui illas intepretaretur, sed puto scire, quid littere ille velint, et cum ulterius sua maiestas non progrediretur, conticui amplius de re illa sciscitari."

Subinde cum dominam reginam¹ alloquerer, ubi maiestas sua multa, que devotionem et obedientiam erga sanctitatem vestram et sedem apostolicam notant, edixerat et quod avidissime intelligeret modum dari,^k dominum regem patrem suum² esse in bona devotione et concordia cum sanctitate vestra ad effectum presertim, ut liberior posset etiam pro sua virili adcedere ad hanc sanctam expeditionem, quam sanctitas vestra feliciter inchoat. Et gratias agit inmortales sanctitati vestre, quod dominum regem suum liberaverit ab ista suspitione, quod istum fratrem Turci Venetis nullo modo dare sponderit. Quod profecto fuisset ad magnam regis sui perturbationem, sed maiores et uberiores sanctitati vestre haberet et referre parata foret gratias, si sanctitas vestra postquam in pontificali verbo

¹ Queen Beatrix.

² Ferrante I, King of Naples.

polliceri clementer dignata est, nihil omnino fieri et de homine illo et de expeditione, nisi habito maximo et precipue respectu ad ea, que consuluerit dominus rex suus, cui sanctitas vestra et sacrum collegium pro sua clementia pollicentur, primas partes habiturum, si sanctitas [fol. 143v] vestra velle illum Turchum ad dominum regem suum mittere, respondisset: "Hoc est notum," inquit, "hec est unica domini mei regis voluntas, desiderium et animi conceptus, nil unquam amplius atque operosius concupivit, quam reliquum etatis in hanc sanctam expeditionem feliciter inpendere et hoc cuperem sanctitatem suam¹ cito facere, ne dominus rex meus alio animum diverteret. Foret enim difficile revocare eum, si aliud animo conciperet. Audivi," inquit, "quod dominus noster in omnes nationes vult decimas inponere pro expeditione ista, ad quam opus est magna pecunia. Si sua sanctitas vult expectare, quod prius decime exigantur, vere multum interea temporis labetur et dominus rex meus tedio et mora nimia affectus aliud animo deliberabit et concipiet, posset sua sanctitas illum Turchum ad suam maiestatem mictere. Quia esset causa, quod omnino dominus rex istum oratorem Turchi, qui pro indutiis apud se multum instat, excluderet et tamen sua sanctitas medio tempore, quod Turchus huc veniret, posset istas decimas exigere et dominus rex meus, scio, quos apparatus medio tempore faceret pro isto desiderio, quod habet. Petat, quod vult dominus noster a sua maiestate modo istum honorem concedat domino regi meo, qui nil aliud deplorat, nisi occasionem istam tam paratam posse in Turchos arma movere. Domine legate, si sciretis, quot sunt proceres et magni domini in Turchia, qui a rege meo continuo hoc petunt, et sollicitant, credatis, quod res habitura est bonum effectum et magnum honorem et gloriam sua sanctitas est habitura, quod suo tempore habeat dominum regem meum fidelem et devotum desiderii sue sanctitatis executorem. Et si per alias manus vel per Venetos vel per dominum regem patrem meum, credatis, quod nihil fiet. Per mare Turchus non potest invadi aut molestari et Veneti non libenter venient ire contra Turchum, quia nunc habent bonam pacem cum eo, timerent illam infringere, ne eis ita male eveniret, sicut quondam fuit. Dominus rex pater meus qualem habet comoditatem Turchum

invadendi? Certe nullam. Solus rex Hungarie tam ratione persone sue, quam situ regnorum suorum ac desiderii, quod habet et novit et vult et potest bellum in Turchum viriliter et cum magna gloria et honore gerere.” Subdidit postmodum satis admirari, quod ad compositionem rerum sanctitatis vestre cum domino rege patre suo, primo Laurentius de Medicis, item dominus Ludovicus Sforzia, nunc vero Venetorum oratores vocarentur, et quod putabat non minus pro honore sanctitatis vestre, quam firmiori tutela rem hanc concludi per dominum regem suum aliter atque aliter constaret et res firma [fol. 144r] futura foret, si per dominum regem suum quam privatorum manus ista fiant. Maxime quod orator,¹ qui Neapolim profectus est, inter cetera unum habet de re hac capitulum cum suis instructionibus, attamen putat sanctitatem vestram pro sua singulari prudentia consultissime fecisse. Hec sunt, que sua maiestas non minus religiose, quam composite et ornate locuta est.

Dominus rex, cum illi referrem, quod licet hactenus sanctitatis vestre predecessores pecuniis illum iuverint, idque fuisset in animo sanctitati vestre facere, sed initio nascentis pontificatus sui tam grave in eam exarsisset bellum, quod illorum vestigia sequi nequisset, iuisset tamen suam maiestatem indulgentiis et gratiis, quas oratores sue maiestatis petiissent. “Nunquam,” inquit sua maiestas, “pecunias petii, nec hactenus indigui, sed indulgentias, quas petii ad ecclesiam Albe Regalis,² in qua regum omnium corpora condiuntur, et in qua super LXXX milia ducatorum exposui. Vere sua sanctitas cum tantis limitationibus concessit, quod nulle sunt. Supplico humiliter sue sanctitati, dignetur per totam ebdomadam maiorem concedere plenariam indulgentiam manus pro ornamentis et conservatione operis porrigentibus.”

Item cum referrem maiestati sue, quod illa sic de Venetis et de sanctitate vestra concepisset, factum est opera illorum, quibus Deus parcat, qui arma contra pastorem suum movere etc. Ridens maiestas

¹ Antal Sánkfalvi.

² Székesfehérvár.

sua dixit: “Ego bene intelligo, vult sua sanctitas dicere de rege Neapolitano.”

Item felicis recordationis Paulus indulgit maiestati sue ob tractatus pacis, qui aliquando contingunt, possint Bohemi de heresi suspecti, cum maiestate sua loqui, ac divinis interesse cum illa, nec quo ad premissa cogatur eos vitare. Super quo sanctitati vestre supplicat gratiam fieri ad instar indulti per Paulum facti, de quo dicit dominum sancti Marci¹ esse informatum.

Item, quia aliquando contingit domus censuales,² que ecclesiis legantur, hic in Buda tam negligentia rectorum, quam earum inquilinorum, qui annuos census debent, sic negliguntur, ut parvo tempore ruinosae omnes fiant, quod si venderentur iusto pretio, id est viginti pro uno et pretium in aliam rem immobilem converteretur, esset in evidentem etc.³ Bone memorie Paulus concessit, supplicat idem fieri per sanctitatem vestram, et commicti mihi in forma si in evidentem, prout dicit sua maiestas dominum sancti Marci de hiis informationem habere. [*fol. 144v*]

Item sunt certa loca fratrum ordinis sancti Francisci conventualium in Sopronio, Posenio, Iaurino, Cismarthon, in Debreczen,^{4m} qui sic vixerunt et vivunt inhoneste, luxuriose omni cultu tam divino, quam humano neglecto, ut sua maiestas dicit. Supplicat sanctitatem vestram commicti in partibus, ut si de premissis constiterit, ad desiderium sue maiestatis illa loca fratribus de observantia eiusdem ordinis concedantur, quia si fratres de observantia ponan-

¹ Cardinal Marco Barbo.

² Houses from which tax should be paid to the city authorities.

³ In papal diplomatics, “si in evidentem” means a permission or licence to sell Church property, when it leads “in evidentem utilitatem”, cf. THOMAS FRENZ, *Lexikon der Papstdiplomatik*, online (<https://www.phil.uni-passau.de/bistbw/forschung/lexikon-der-papstdiplomatik/>).

⁴ Sopron, Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg), Győr, Kismarton (Eisenstadt), Debrecen. Cf. n. 44. And also KÁRÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története*, vol. I, 72–73 and *passim*.

tur, vult illa loca regio sumptu circha ecclesias et illorum ornamenta disponere.

Pater beatissime, mirum est desiderium huius regis, ut bellum hoc, quod indicere parat sanctitas vestra, ad iussum vestre beatitudinis ipse exequatur, usque adeo, quod parva pecunia, que bellorum nervi sunt, illud feliciter inchoare et absolvere sanctitatis vestre auspitiis fretus presertim, si hunc habuerit Turchum, profitetur. Erectus est in spem magnam erga sanctitatem vestram, postquam verba intellexit, que cum mira caritate et amore illa rescripsit. Petiit enim sua maiestas, si id bona venia fieret sibi queque sanctitatis vestre verba videndi fieret arbitrium, quod ego cum nihil in litteris sanctitatis vestre conspicerem, quod non clara luce videri posset, ad maiestatis sue serenandam mentem, pacandumque animum libens feci. Conclusisset profecto cum oratore istius Turchi indutias, nisi tempestive sanctitatis vestre littere advenissent. Micto itaque hunc cursorem, per quem supplico sanctitati vestre dignetur rescribere. Solvi illi pecuniam, ut diligentius litteras daret atque referret, sanctitas vestra pro singulari et divina sua providentia dignetur quieti mentis huius regis, ut incept, paterno affectu et caritate consulere.

Micto¹ insuper copias litterarum illius episcopi,² qui Prage hereticis servit, quem si putem boni nihil facturum, attamen illius fidem scripsi velle experi perstat in preposito, ut inde fugiat, ubi aliquid proficere non possit.

Micto etiam copias instructionum, quas habui ex capitulo Olo-mocensi, ut videat sanctitas vestra, quanta Varadini fides sit et devotio erga illam et quam iusta sit causa sua super repetitione expensarum, quas allegat fecisse in rapina ecclesie, quam occupat. Dixi domino regis de mandato sanctitatis vestre, quod mihi dat in ista

¹ From here to talem et talem (four paragraphs) written in the hand of Angelo Pecchinoli.

² Agostiono Luciani.

causa. Sua maiestas respondit: “faciam ego facta mea et si Varadinus respondit vult esse fatuus, tanto penis pro eo.” [fol. 145r]

Putarem consultum esse, quod hic cursor vel alius cum aliquo parvo salario et mercede ad VI saltem menses conduceretur, ut quotiens opus foret, iret et rediret Romam, donec negotia, de quibus agitur, fierem, ad sanctitatem vestram desiderium acciperent.

Postremo sanctitas vestra clementissime mihi facultatem concedere dignata est ad aliquas personas altare portatile et indulgentias aliquorum dierum posse concedere. Sunt isti barones domini regis illi presertim, qui in metis regni contra Turcos sunt, qui de altari portatili et indulgentiis apud me instant. Supplico sanctitati vestre, dignetur, ut bona sua gratia debilibus locorum dominis presertim contra Turchos militantibus concedere possim altare portatile et indulgentias.¹ Quia hic in Ungaria nil ultra curant, nisi altare portatile et aliquas indulgentias et quidem si Deus servet mihi gratiam sanctitatis vestre, volunt habere gratis, nec sufficit dicere, non habeo nisi ad certas personas, quia dicunt se non credere, et quod non habeo cum pro nobili sicut talem et talem.²

[Prague, 27 January 1489]

Reverende pater, domine et domine observantissime. Post humilem commendationem. Et si usque ad hanc diem distulerim aliqua dominationis vestre significare, excusationem preferam cum venia. Nam et dominatio vestra applicuisse penitus ignoravi. Sed postquam lator presentium Cola Italicus me certiore reddit vestra dominatio Vienne esse, ac apostolica ibi legatione fungi, decrevi aliqua primum pro Dei laude et sedis apostolice honore ac utilitate cum fiducia et spe Dei attemptare. Nec non magna sine spe prout diffusius dominatio

¹ Later he writes that it was made possible and that they all rejoiced, *cf.* n. 36.

² The Hungarian lords wanted to receive indulgences and licences to have portable altars and could not understand that Angelo's faculties were limited only to a certain number of persons, *cf.* n. 16.

vestra edocta erit ab ipso Cola, cui opto et rogo dominationem vestram fidem certam adhibere placeat, quod nomine meo super hoc negotio vestra dominatio explicabit, ac si solus essem constitutus apud dominationem vestram. Nec plura ausus pro nunc scribere, timens ne litere interciperentur. Bene valeat et feliciter diu vestra dominatio, cui me commendatum facio. Datum Prage, die XXVII Ianuarii 1489.

Eiusdem vestre reverendissime dominationis servitor Al. episcopus Sancturiensis indignus manu propria [*fol. 145v*]

A tergo: Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino episcopo Ortano, sanctissimi domini et apostolice sedis legato fautori precipuo.

[*Prague, 19 February 1489*]

Reverende pater et domine domine colendissime. Post humilem commendationem. Receptis hiis diebus literis dominationis vestre omnia ad optata vestre dominationis opere complevi, et erant nuncii parati ad dominationem vestram exituri, sed supervenit quidam de Vienna, qui pro certo asserebat dominationem vestram accintam esse ad iter Poloniam versus. Hac differentie nuncii iam perplexi non exierunt. Ego volens dominationi vestre et eis satisfacere decrevi nuncium destinare Viennam, ut exploratum habeam, si sic res se habeat. Et supplico dominationem vestram dignetur mihi significare de recessu et de reditu et quando. Quia dicti nuncii in firmo proposito adcedere dominationem vestram et illam de omnibus lucide edocere responsum pium prestolabor a dominatione vestra, cui me humiliter commendo. Datum Prage, die XVIIIa Februarii 1489.

Dominationis vestre reverendissime servitor Al. episcopus Sancturiensis indignus manu propria

A tergo: Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino Angelo episcopo Ortensi sedis apostolice legato, domino observantissimo.

[*Kutná Hora, 20 February 1489*]

Vienne.

Reverende pater et domine, domine dignissime, sanctissimi domini nostri sedisque apostolice legate, cui ego indignus caput meum inclino singulis quoque in missis licet immeritus in canone nomen sue sanctitatis et devotionis excellentissime ex corde sincero recito. Qua propter cognoscat dominatio prelibata vestra nunc bonam dispositionem in Bohemia pro dispositione ordinis et obedientie sanctissimo domino nostro, quod etiam mirabile est, sicuti reverendus dominus episcopus Agustinus (*sic*) vestre reverendissime paternitatis per scripta significavit. Ego quidem paratus eram visitare dominationem prelibatam vestram cum duobus magistris Pragensibus et debuimus pariter exire XVIII mensis Februarii, sed supervenerunt Pragam quidam asserentes dominationem vestram prelibatam versus Poloniam iter arripuisse feliciter. Ideo cessavimus opere ab incepto. Rogo igitur humillime vestram reverendissimam paternitatem, non dignetis vestra dominatio prelibata ab incepto opere ad modum bono retrahere laborem. Spero de Deo meo, quod vestra dominatio prelibata premiabit dominus ex alto, si proficiet vestra dominatio prelibata, sicut credo circa fidem catholicam. Ex montibus Cuthnis, XX Februarii, per me G. decanum manu propria.

A tergo: Has literas ex mandato reverendi domini episcopi Augustini mitto a Montibus Cuthnis vestre dominationi prelibate humiliter meum per nuncium, per quem vestra paternitas reverendissima dignabitur dare primum responsum etc. [*fol. 146r*]

[*Prague, 22 February 1489*]

Reverende pater et domine, domine collendissime. Post humilem commendationem. Proximis elapsis diebus, reverende pater, dominationem vestram reddidi certiolem de legatione magistrorum ex comuni concordia senatorum urbium Pragensium disposita. Et iam dicta legatio parata erat ad exitum die sequenti dominationi vestre adire, sed iterum supervenerunt aliqui mercatores de Vienna, qui pro certitudine affirmabant dominationem vestram propedies exituram Poloniam versus, qua de re dicti nuncii habito consilio cum illis, quorum interest, decreverunt supersedere, donec certiorati de re sciant, quo et quando exituri sint. Optaverunt me insuper, ut dominationi

vestre scriberem supplicantes, ut per presentium latorem proprium eorum nuncium dignaretur significare, ubi et quando dominatio vestra invenire possent. Quia sunt in bono et stabili proposito accedere dominationem vestram ad tractandum de tanto salubri et pio sanctoque negotio. Hoc etiam, reverende pater, dignum duxi dominationem vestram aperire, quod sunt iam anni octuaginta, que talis non fuisset dispositio bona, ut ipsi referunt, sicut hac tempestate. Utinam immortalis Deus dignetur concedere, ut hoc opus sanctum tempore dominationis vestre legationis suum sortiatur effectum. Nec plura pro nunc, quia festinus nuncius me sollicitat etc. Bene valere opto et diu dominatio vestra, cui me humiliter commendo. Datum Prage, XXII Februarii 1489.

Dominationis vestre reverendissime servitor Al. episcopus Sancturiensis indignus manu propria

A tergo: Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino Angelo pontifici Ortano sanctissimo domini nostri et sedis apostolice legato, domino colendissimo.

[Prague, 18 March 1489]

Reverende pater et domine, domine colendissime. Post humilem commendationem. Occurrit ista hora mihi, pater reverende, lator presentium nuncius festinus et inopinatus, qua propter non possum diffusius scribere. Hoc solum notifico dominationem vestram, quod in istis quator temporibus¹ erant hic Prage congregati omnes, qui communicant sub utraque spetie, videlicet barones, clientales et omnes nuntii de civitatibus in magno numero.² Et ego cupiens parere monitis et mandatis vestre dominationis feci legere vestre dominationis litteras coram omnibus, que eis gratissime fuerunt et unanimi consensu decreverunt, ut mictant nuncios ad dominationem vestram. Quos nuncios spero in brevi exituros ad vestram dominationem, cui me humiliter commendo raptim. Datum Prage, XVIII Martii 1489.

¹ 11–14 March 1489.

² Referring to the land diet in Prague.

Dominationis vestre reverendissime servitor Al. episcopus Sanceruensis indignus manu propria [fol. 146v]

A tergo: Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino Angelo episcopo Ortano sanctissimi domini nostri et sedis apostolice cum plena potestate legati legato.

Sequitur quedam cedule in superioribus litteris incluse:

Post scripta. Sia certa vostra santità che la promessa he stata facta ad de quello signore per quella persona se vostra santità sta et stara in fermo proposito. E Praga vostra santità se voglia adoperare fideliter, che gli sera grata quella persona se ha dato in fede a quello signore considerando di sua signoria, che non li mancherà de quello li promettera come e de costume de simil (??) signore etc.

Optime ac felicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sacratissimis pedibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda, XV Maii MCCCCLXXXVIII.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis humillimus servulus Angelus suo beneficio episcopus Ortanus et Civitatis Castellane manu propriaⁿ

Unum noverit sanctitas vestra, quod si dominus noster honorem huius Turchi alio converterit, hic dominus rex rem suam cum Turcho componet, volui dixisse ne id tacuisse, quod precipuum est sanctitas vestra me adcuset. Audio ex illo minacia verba, que non puto in rem esse referre, quando sanctitas vestra omnia consultissime disponet.

^a raciones] Raciores *ms.* ^b longe] logne *ms.* ^c fecissem] *corr. de* fecere. ^d dixit] *add. in marg.* quod iste modus exprimat *ms.* ^e ommictam] *pro* omittam. ^f Quod] *in marg.* de Anconitan *ms.* ^g rursus] russus *ms.* ^h arce] *corr. de* carcere *ms.* ⁱ Agria] *in marg.* in Agria *ms.* ^j adibuerit] *pro* adhibuerit. ^k modum dari] *in marg. ms.* ^l suam] *corr. de.* vestram *ms.* ^m Debreczen] debieczen *ms.* ⁿ Optime ac felicissime ... propria] *manu Angeli Pecchinoli*

35.

*Buda, 1 and 25 June 1489**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

First part of the letter was finished on 1 June 1489, but not sent and another letter was added, finished on 25 June. – In the first letter, the nuncio reports on an orator from the Venetians, who came to the court wishing peace between King Matthias and the Emperor. The King promised he would consider peace, which is also wished for by the pope. Bakóc and NagyLucsei answered the orator by explaining the current situation and narrating lengthily the history of the conflict. Nevertheless, Matthias is ready to have peace, as he would rather turn against the Turks. – The Turkish ambassador asked for peace or a truce, and if neither, then at least free passage through Matthias's lands to invade the lands of the Venetians. Matthias has to think it through and is waiting for the response of the pope. The nuncio took archbishop of Kalocsa to Visegrád. And Tamás Drági went to Camerino before getting to Rome. – In the second letter. – As the nuncio finished the first letter, an envoy came with the breve of the pope. They discuss the 1) expedition against the Turks, 2) peace between Matthias and other Christian princes. Matthias mentioned a union between the Kings of Poland and Bohemia against himself and that is why he needs allies, even the Turks (especially if Sultan Djem is given to the Venetians). The nuncio than reports other events of the court and has questions to the pope. 3) János Corvinus, the natural son of the king, should be supported, even 4) the orator of Milan came in matters of the wedding; 5) an orator was sent to the King of Poland. Angelo asks for instructions in terms of 6) the archbishop of Kalocsa. As for 7) Ancona, everything should be solved by Tamás Drági according the pope's wishes. 8) The orator of the Turks left and Matthias's orator was sent to the Sultan. If Djem is given to the Venetians, the nuncio repeated, the king would side with the Turks (the matter is further discussed). – Some Franciscan Observants came to the nuncio asking for some privileges, but the nuncio needs assistance, as these are reserved to the curia. Some Hungarian bishops are asking for advice in the cases of wives or husbands whose spouses were abducted by the Turks and now they live with new partners. Can they be allowed to receive the sacraments? The nuncio asks for the pope's advice and considers this issue to be very serious, due to the fact that if they are denied sacraments they could migrate to the Turks. – Two orators came from Maximilian, King of the Romans, asking for a prolongation of the truce. It is set for six months and further negotiations for peace followed (armies

from Silesia and Lusatia were redirected towards a different aim, the bishop of Várad negotiated with Germans and Bohemians, armies in Carinthia and Styria are to keep the truce). – The nuncio reports further discussions with the king on the Turks, including Sultan Djem; the discussion on Italian matters included the king of Naples and the Venetians. Matthias is organising help for the King of Naples by the Lord of Camerino and now also the Margrave of Mantua. The nuncio follows the negotiations with Maximilian (a new meeting should be held on 7 September, the nuncio asks whether he should go), support of the king to his natural son and the Italian matters again. The nuncio caught one charlatan (*ciaratanus*), a false preacher of indulgences.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Misc., Arm. II 56, fol. 170v–191v (A); AAV Misc., Arm. VI 39, fol. 145r–146v (B) (only a part) (both manuscripts from the late sixteenth century). – ED.: JUSTI FONTANINI *Forojuliensis De antiquitatibus Hortae*, 474–490; THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Hungariae*, vol. 2, 521–530, n. DCCXVIII; MASTROCOLA, *Note*, 362–374, n. 10 (according to Theiner).

Litterae episcopi Ortani nuncii apostolici apud regem Hungariae^a

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine, pedum oscula beatorum. Superioribus diebus Benedictum cursorem meum ad sanctitatem vestram destinavi, cui, ut accuratius demandatam sibi provinciam absolveret, partem salarii ex pecuniis sanctitatis vestre, que apud me sunt, ut illa discedenti mihi [*B fol. 145v*] mandaverat, exsolvi.^b Nichil nunc superest, nisi hoc referam, quod pridie,^c cum Budam applicuisset orator Venetorum¹ velletque dominus rex de more solemnium pompa illum audire, voluit me quoque auditorio adesse. In quo licet orator preter communem congratulationem nihil retulerit.

Posterum tamen diem ad colloquium remotis arbitris admitti se petiit ac secreto auditus nil, nisi ut dominus rex mihi retulit, pacem et concordiam inter maiestatem suam et dominum caesarem² magnis

¹ Domenico Bollani, sent from Venice on 7 April 1489, cf. NAGY–B. NYÁRY, eds., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, vol. 4, 32–36, n. 25. On the same day also Antonio Boldu, an envoy of Venice to the Emperor.

² Emperor Frederick III.

precibus, magnis denique suasionibus adnixus postulavit et deprecatus est. [*A fol. 171r*]

Cui dominus rex in sequentem diem, ut oratori responderet, sponndit ac cum responderet eo, quod causa pacis et concordiae, que petebatur, etiam ad sanctitatem vestram et sedem apostolicam concernebat. Me quoque, qui sanctitatis vestre vices nunc hic gero, adesse voluit, quod tamen non sua maiestas, sed Iauriensis¹ et Agriensis² maiestatis suę nomine in hec verba et sententiam retulerunt:

“Magnifice domine orator, serenissimo domino nostro regi gratissimum fuit, quod amplissimus ille senatus Venetorum pacem et concordiam inter cesaream et regiam maiestates^d cupiat et optet.³ Quam regia maiestas iure licet et merito recusare deberet, quando quidem cesarea maiestas anno superiore sanctissimum dominum nostrum contempsit et pro iudice ac arbitro inter suam et regiam maiestates^e in presenti causa habere recusavit. Convenit namque et compromissum⁴ fuerat inter regiam maiestatem et illustrissimum dominum Albertum ducem Saxonie,⁵ [*B fol. 146r*] locumtenentem et generalem capitaneum suę cesaree maiestatis nomine eiusdem, ut materie et cause belli huius et simul etiam universe differentie inter suas maiestates ponerentur [*A fol. 171v*] ad iudicium et arbitrium sue sanctitatis. Ita, quod si sanctitas sua cognosceret et declararet regiam maiestatem non iustam contra cesarem causam belli habere, non iusta etiam arma in eam sumpsisse, omnia per suam regiam maiestatem a cesare occupata restituere teneretur. Si vero contrarium declararet, posset sua regia maiestas interea libere ceptum bellum

¹ Tamás Bakóc.

² Orbán Nagylucsei.

³ For the conflicts between King Matthias and the Emperor in Austria, see NEHRING, *Matthias Corvinus*.

⁴ A truce was concluded between King Matthias and Duke Albert of Saxony on 16 December 1487 in Sankt Pölten, cf. F. A. VON LANGENN, *Herzog Albrecht der Beherzte, Stammvater des königlichen Hauses Sachsen*, Leipzig 1838, 542–543, n. 14.

⁵ Albert III the Brave (Albrecht der Beherzte), duke of Saxony (1464–1500), appointed also the military captain of the imperial troops and governor of the Netherlands (1488–1493).

prosequi, donec ei iuxta inscriptiones satisfaceret, prout in capitulis treugarum^f plenius continetur. Sed, ut prefertur, cesarea maiestas conditionem acceptare et sanctitatem suam pro iudice habere recusavit. Quia tamen sanctitas sua, prout reverendissimus dominus legatus hic presens sepius hactenus nomine sue sanctitatis retulit, pro communi christianitatis bono ipsam pacem et concordiam semper desideravit et desiderat. Et nunc etiam senatus ille Venetorum per vestram magnificentiam adhortatur et suadet, pacem ipsam libenter amplectitur et ad eam descendere equis tamen legibus parata est.

Sed ut vos, domine orator, rem omnem, qua lege, quibus etiam ex causis ad tantum [*A fol. 172r*] bellum ventum sit, volumus vobis ab initio aperire vel potius perstringere, nam qui pacem inter [*B fol. 146v*] dissidentes tractat,^g prius causas dissensionis cognoscat, necesse est.

Cum annis superioribus damnatus ille Georgius¹ rex Boemiae contra cesaream maiestatem ob non servatam fidem, ut^h ille Georgius dicebat, arma suscepisset et primogenitum suum ducem Victorinum² cum numeroso exercitu in Austriam destinasset. Is etiam totam patriam ab altera Danubii parte et Danubium etiam ipsum brevi temporis spacio occupavit et tam per decursum Danubii, quam in ipsa tota provincia gravissimis exactionibus subditos cesaris diu affecit,ⁱ ipsam etiam civitatem Viennensem, in qua erat cesar, obsidione cinxit. Videns autem cesar et se et patriam illam in periculo a regia maiestate multis promissionibus auxilia sibi ferri postulavit, ad cuius exortationem varias promissiones maiestas regia nihilosegnius immorata in illos Bohemos et alios eorum auxiliares castra movit et premissa celeriter parte [*A fol. 172v*] copiarum ipsam civitatem Viennensem, in quam^l hostes ipsi iam impetum fecerant, primum ab ipso impetu, quem sturman³ vocant, et tandem a tota obsidione liberavit

¹ George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia.

² Victorin (d. 1500), son of George of Poděbrady, in Spring 1468 invaded Lower Austria.

³ Der Sturm (in German), attack.

et illos versus Bohemiae fines retrocedere coegit, quos regia maiestas semper insecuta est.^{1k}

Sed qualis prestiti beneficii merces fuerit, nunc audies, domine orator, ubi regia maiestas retrocedentes insequitur Bohemos et hostium castris sua castra opponit, veriti hostes arma domini regis ceperunt cum cesarea maiestate de pace et concordia tractare. Et quia maiestati sue tractatus ille placuerat, statim verso (ut aiunt) mantello contra omnem caritatem et proximi sui amorem irrequisita regia maiestate et omnino etiam ignorante pacem cum illis conclusit et mox illas paucas copias suas auxiliares, quas castris domini nostri regis adiunxerat, non sine dolo et fraude revocavit. Putans, quod postquam ille subtraherentur, amplius dominus rex resistere nequirit, sed confusus atque in [A fol. 173r] glorius et qui nullam ei opem tulisset, redire cogeretur sicque regia maiestas tam magnam grandemque belli molem suam atque hostium non sine gravi labore expensa et periculo vitę et status sola in campo sustinere coacta extitit.

Cumque divina potius clementia, quam suis adiuta viribus contra tot hostium impetus resisteret exercitumque illum preter spem cesaris extra usque dominia cesaris fugasset et totam Austriam ab illorum hereticorum rabie liberasset ac re optime gesta gravi tamen affecta a cesare iniuria in patriam reversa fuisset, dominus caesar contra ipsam regiam maiestatem nulla suscepti beneficii memoria habita in dominum regem tamquam in hostem, item in regnum suum Hungariae sevire cepit et iusso frequenter milite plurimas villas diripere, incendere et incinerare non erubuit.

Cepit preterea in perniciem domini regis plurimas hinc inde coniurationes cum diversis principibus, inter ceteros vero cum domino rege Poloniae² facere, prout [A fol. 173v] et de facto fecit. Huncque ex amico¹ et bono vicino fecit inimicissimum et hostem atrocissimum. Institit etiam cesarea maiestas, quod primogenitus³

¹ End of text B.

² Casimir IV, King of Poland.

³ Wladislas, in 1471 elected King of Bohemia.

regis ipsius Poloniae contra Deum et eius iustitiam ac contra dispositionem sedis apostolicę contra denique iura regię maiestatis, que iam maiestas sua in regno Bohemię acquisita habebat, in regem Bohemiae non quidem per catholicos, sed per hereticos eligeretur.¹

Nec hec incommoda domino nostro regi intulisse cesaree maiestati satis esse visa sunt, sed explere animum, quem odio et ingratitude plenum erga dominum regem conceperat, non prius ab iniuria abstinuit, quam alterum² eiusdem Polonie regis filium nepharia et scelerata arma induerit illumque cum numeroso exercitu in Hungariam ad expellendum et exturbandum inde ipsum dominum nostrum regem et usurpandum eius regnum et imperium immisserit. Sed iustus Deus iusticiae domini regis nostri clementer favit, nam non sine magna gloria domini nostri [*A fol. 174r*] regis regisque Poloniae immortalis dedecore et ignominia, maximo etiam accepto incommodo ipsius regis Poloniae exercitus fusi fugatique fuerunt. Nec tamen abest, quod maiestas regia maxima fuerit affecta iniuria, regnum etiam suum maximum ex tanto bello cepit detrimentum.

Hiis cesarea maiestas et plurimis etiam aliis similibus iniuriis non saciata, sed, ut molestior fieret, malum malis addidit. Parabantur domine regine pro regio apparatu solemnes nuptiae,³ illas etiam dominus caesar turbare non erubuit, misit enim in viscera usque Hungariae et quasi usque Budam quasdam copias suas vel predones potius, qui latrocinii et excursionibus magis quam preliis agendis^m omneⁿ et omnem proximam terram popularentur usque adeo, ut regia maiestas e mediis pene (ut aiunt) hymeneis et geniali thoro surgere et arma capere ac iniuriam propulsare compulsus^o est.

¹ Wladislas was elected on 27 May 1471 at the land diet in Kutná Hora (by both Utraquists and Catholics).

² Prince Casimir (d. 1484), in 1471 took part in an invasion to Hungary with an attempt to seize the throne. King Matthias complained about the incursion to the pope and compared the Poles even to heretics and pagans, see ANTONÍN KALOÚS, *King Matthias Corvinus and the Papacy in Early 1472: Miklós Nyújtódi Székely in Rome*, *Povijesni prilozi* 36, n. 52 (2017) 7–27.

³ King Matthias and Queen Beatrix celebrated their wedding in the second half of December 1476 and the celebrations lasted into January 1477.

Coacto itaque subito exercitu hostes illos non solum repulit, sed etiam eos fugientes [*A fol. 174v*] insequendo in viscera usque Austriae penetravit, ubi plurima oppida, civitates, arces et alia loca munita brevi tempore expugnavit. Expugnasset autem universam eam patriam, nisi preces amicorum maiestatem suam et presertim sancte sedis apostolicę adhortationes et reverentia vicissent. Sanctissimus dominus noster bone memorie Sixtus pontifex¹ medio episcopi Forliviensi,² legati sui tunc apud cesaream maiestatem agentis, et item olim reverendissimi domini Agriensi,³ similiter legati etc. apud regiam maiestatem constituti, partes suas interposuit, cuius animum postquam regia maiestas intellexit, tamquam filius obedientissimus immemor iniuriarum et cędis suorum ad pacis et concordie tractatum descendit. Et certis sub conditionibus et capitulis et obligationibus cesaree maiestatis, quos magnificentia vestra ex literis sue maiestatis, que statim coram perlegentur, intelliget, omnia loca illa capta et expugnata simpliciter restituit et resignavit sicque tunc bellum illud finem habuit.

Confecta itaque pace et percussis federibus [*A fol. 175r*] restitutisque oppidis, castellis, civitatibus ac locis omnibus, que regia maiestas bello a cesare receperat, dominus rex in patriam rediit, hostile nihil deinceps a domino caesare sibi parari ac perpetua quiete frui, sed qualiter maiestas sua cesarea servaverit, nunc accipite. Confecto illo primo bello, dum regia maiestas, ut predixi, in Hungariam rediens, aliis rebus suis vacat et se accurate contra Turchos preparat, terminus, in quo caesarea maiestas vigore fęderis et obligationis sue pretacte quinquaginta milia aureorum regie maiestati pro prima dilatione solvere debebat, adventavit, in quo licet dominus caesar pecuniam ipsam utcunque solverit, tamen in secunda dilatione nihil omnino solvere et neque alia, que in conventis scripta sunt, observare voluit, quin potius antequam terminus appropinquaret, cepit regiam maiestatem novis iniuriis et damnis novisque hostilitatibus provocare

¹ Pope Sixtus IV.

² Alexander Numai (d. 1483), papal nuncio at the imperial court.

³ Gabriele Rangoni.

et diversas copias comparare omnibusque in rebus belli signa ostendere.

Preterea ad cumulum iniuriarum hoc quoque [*Afol. 175v*] adiecit, quod prefato primogenito regis Poloniae, quem per hereticos in iniuriam regiae maiestatis et contra ius et equum in regem Bohemiae, ut premittitur, eligi procuraverat, similiter in eiusdem iniuriam regalia et investituram de ipso regno Bohemiae concessit.¹ Sicque etiam illum attrahere^p copias eius cum suis una, quas, ut prefertur, comparaverat, in Hungariam inmittit et eam igne ferroque vastat ac populatur.

Nec hac iniuria dominus rex motus legatos aliquos ad cesarem mittit, illumque multis precibus rogat, hortatur, admonet et requirit, ut capitulis pacis inite satis faciat et regnum suum diripi non patiatur tantisque iniuriis et damnis regiam maiestatem provocare cesset, quodque commissa iubeat emendari. Nihil tamen facere et neque preces suas exaudire vel advertere voluit.

Novissime vero Georgium² prepositum Posonitum^q prothonotarium apostolicum similiter oratorem misit, quem cesarea maiestas novem menses in suspenso et absque ullo prorsus [*Afol. 176r*] responso retinuit. Tandem assiduis per eum pulsata precibus respondit in hec verba.

‘Dicatis domino regi, quod si mei nunc capiunt galerias sui prius <rapuerunt>^r boves’ et hoc acerbo responso post novem menses illum remisit. Quo quidem responso accepto non potuit maiestas domini nostri regis se continere, quin exercitum, quem in Turchum comparaverat et miserat, revocaret et de tutela regni et subditorum suorum illius medio cogitaret sicque missis ad cesarem litteris diffidatoriis in eum se convertit et facile illos, qui Hungariam populabantur, fudit fugavitque et par pari refferens depulsis illis Austriam invasit et occupavit. Expertusque est iam dominus caesar, homo homini quid

¹ The Emperor confirmed Wladislas as King of Bohemia on 10 June 1477.

² Georg Schönberg (d. 1486), provost of Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), cf. MIRIAM HLAVAČKOVÁ, *Juraj zo Schönbergu. Bratislavský prepošt v službách cisára a kráľa*, Bratislava 2015.

interesset, et qui molestus magisque gravis domino regi fuerat, quid dominus noster rex, quid etiam Hungaria valeat, facillime vidit.

Vienna enim et Nova Civitas¹ ceterisque potioribus Austriae oppidis, sicuti ex lege fœderis illi licebat, eum spoliavit. Nec quisquam putet, quod ex Moravia et Slesia [*A fol. 176v*] aut Lusacia, que Bohemorum provincie sunt et in quibus dominus noster rex a cesarea maiestate regalia et investituram recepisse se profitetur, auxilia ad bellum hoc conficiendum habuerit, solum et dumtaxat ex Ungaria auxiliares copias habuit, que cesarem et ius cesareum non recognoscunt. Unde, nihil omnino habet cesarea maiestas, quod adversus dominum regem nostrum queri possit, quia suis, id est Hungaris, dumtaxat armis illum superavit et penatibus ac avitis sepulchris exiit. Voluit itaque maiestas sua fidem cesari de regno Bohemiae et eius provinciis prestitam pro suo veteri instituto et more catholici ac magnanimi principis inconcusse conservare.”

Inter alia autem, beatissime pater, hoc quoque Iauriensis dixit et asseruit: “profecto maiestas domini nostri regis contra cesaream maiestatem pro non solutis illis quinquaginta millibus ducatis nunquam bellum movisset neque via armorum pecuniam hanc a cesare extorquere temptasset, nisi cesarea maiestas regna sua post confectam pacem [*A fol. 177r*] invasisset et dominum nostrum regem alio intentum impedivisset variisque iniuriarum ac molestiarum generibus provocasset, sed postquam maiestas sua ab iniuriis damnisque et persecutionibus domini nostri regis cessare noluit, coactus fuit tandem dominus noster deposita nuper arma reassumere et vim repellere atque dominia sua tueri et deffendere. Et licet hec, que dominus meus rex recepit bello, maxima sint vicemque alterius regni habeant. Attamen sua maiestas, que bella gerit, ut pacem habeat, ad exhortationem et reverentiam imprimis sanctissimi domini nostri et sedis apostolicę, prout hic reverendissimus dominus legatus nomine sue sanctitatis sepius ac frequenter institit, nec non ad suasionem illius amplissimi senatus Venetorum, quos amicorum numero iam dudum adnumeravit, hec omnia, que bello recepit, dimittere et restituere

¹ Wiener Neustadt.

salva tamen semper capitulorum et conventorum inter dominum regem et cesaream maiestatem inscriptione et continentia est paratus. Id est modo cesarea maiestas iuxta promissa et obligationes [*A fol. 177v*] suas satisfaciat domino nostro regi, in primis de summa capitali et expensis in presenti bello factis, tandem vero de damno et interesse paratus est arma deponere et ablata omnia restituere atque cum sua cesarea maiestate in bonam pacem, concordiam, unionem et amicitiam descendere ac illam instar patris colere, observare et venerari. Et profecto, domine orator, dominus meus rex non tam dolet molestias et damna passum se esse a cesarea maiestate, quam illum angit, quod magnam rei bene gerende occasionem adversus Turchorum imperium abstulerit. Nec dubitasset regia maiestas, sicut christianorum imperatorem iustis armis superavit, sic Turchorum imperium non minus pioque religioso bello evertisset. Sed Deus parcat caesaree maiestati, qui suo sive alieno usus consilio se ipsum imprimis perdidit et regie maiestati, cuius glorie visus est, invidere magnum de hostibus christianis triumphum nominis ademit ac prope in manibus paratam victoriam exturbavit.”

His autem dictis mox Iauriensis perlegit [*A fol. 178r*] capitula et inscriptiones atque etiam privilegia caesaris, in quibus maiestas sua dominum regem Hungariae et Bohemiae regem appellat, ac ad Romani imperii electoratum et de dicto electoratu investituram concessit.¹

Ad que dominus orator Venetorum respondit: “Ego habeo in mandatis ab illustrissimo dominio meo, ut quod dominus rex responderit, debeam illico et sine mora aliqua ad illud rescribere. Itaque peto, quod detur copia istarum inscriptionum et capitulorum,” nec aliquid ultra ad rem hanc locutus est.

Ego, pater beatissime, et si sepius domino regi de re hac nihil, quod nunc habeam in mandatis a sanctitate vestra sim professus. Attamen, quantum pro spectaculo licuit, ingentissimas gratias habui nomine sanctitatis vestre dominio Venetorum, quod pro veteri et laudabili illo suo instituto in partem cure et solitudinis ad sanc-

¹ The Emperor confirmed Matthias as King of Bohemia on 1 December 1477.

titatem vestram accessissent, quod pacem et concordiam tam solemnem legationis pompa inter christianos principes eos presertim, a quibus ceterus christianus orbis pendet, nulla laborum habita ratione quereretur. Hortabar insuper illos [*A fol. 178v*] reverendissimos consiliarios uti domini regis animum ad pacem capescendam, quam semper sua maiestas in medio tot victoriarum cursu, quibus adeo decoratus incedit, pro animi sui magnitudine amplecti visa est, prosequatur et cupiat hoc presertim tempore, quo sanctitas vestra tot laboribus tot denique impendiis ad bellum in Turchos capescendum, si aliorum non desint auxilia se accingit. Quod profecto non minus Deo, pro cuius gloria et laude hoc bellum paratur, verum et sanctitati vestre imprimis, que illius vices gerit, in terris, sed universo orbi christiano rem sibi gratam facere polliceatur et spondeat.

Dixerat sua maiestas hiis ferme diebus, quibus orator iste Venetorum advenerat, quod legatus iste imperatoris Turchi ab imperatore suo habebat in mandatis, quod si nichil cum domino rege de pace, nihil de induciis efficere potuisset, hoc saltim exposceret, quod rex Ungariae acquiesceret, quod copie sue per suum regnum transitum sine subditorum suorum iniuria et damno habere possent, quibus copiis [*A fol. 179r*] Venetorum terras posset invadere ob id, quod pollicitam fidem et concepta capitula non servassent.

Quodque ut nihil foret domino regi ob transitum copiarum suspectum, pollicetur Turchus, quod regius homo cum copiis iter agat et omnia, que ad comeatum copiarum spectant, sua pecunia et suo sumptu velle exolvere spondet. Quod si non servaret, liceat impune domino regi copias omnes invadere et spoliare.

Institi apud maiestatem suam, dicere dignaretur, quid ad extremum hoc respondisset.

“Dixi,” inquit, “dicatis domino imperatori vestro, quod prius conveniamus, de damnis utrique illatis et postea, que potero facere pro honore maiestatis sue (si non sit contra honorem meum) libenter efficiam.’ Expecto, domine legate, audire, quid dominus sanctissimus respondeat. Propterea non volui sibi pro certo respondere, laudavi maiestatem suam nihil, quid alienum a modestia sua foret, respondisset.”

Postremo dominum Colocensem¹ iuxta domini regis [*A fol. 179v*] pollicitam fidem ad mitiorem et proximiorum locum in Vicegrado² deduxi. Processi illi obviam et effusus mox in lacrimas et gemitas sanctitatis vestre clementiam implorabat. Consignarunt illum mihi custodes illi nomine regię maiestatis custodiendum iuxta sanctitatis vestre dispositionem et mandatum. Quem nolui recipere, cum neque Vienna neque Strigonium foret locus ille, ut a sanctitate vestra dixi, me sigillatim habere in mandatis.³ Hoc tantum volui, ut pro meo arbitrio locus daretur idoneus et cetera, que usui esse possent pro modo fortunę et temporis. Est tamen corpore sanus et incolumis et preter ventrem grandiorum ab illo, ut dicunt, qui hominem norunt, non est immutatus.

Habuit subinde maximas sanctitati vestre gratias, quod de se servulo suo tandem memor fieri voluisset. Petiit insuper capellanum unum et puerum unum dari sibi in custodia comites. Hos cum a rege petiissem, perbenigne concessit, eos tamen, quos ipse eligeret. "Veritus," ut sua maiestas [*A fol. 180r*] dicebat, "hominis in effrenem linguam, quam male," ut dicit, "compescit." Plenus animo ac fiducia plenus loquitur archiepiscopus, nec flectit animum, sed turgidum et durum. Nescio, quid supra fortune et temporis modum loquitur servitia et labores adnumerans suos.

Demum illo me adhortante et in spem erigente tandem dixit, quod in iudicium cum domino suo descendere non vellet, voluisset mecum multa clam loqui, sed putavi consultius fieri, ut nil nisi palam cum illo agerem.

Ille Thomas Draghi,⁴ ut ex bono loco accepi, priusquam ad sanctitatem vestram venerit, Camerinum concessit, cum illo Cinthio Anconitano,⁵ nescio, quid id sit, quod tot nuntii domini de Camerino huc venerint et rursus dominus rex Romam missurus nuntios suos

¹ Péter Váradi.

² Visegrád.

³ Cf. n. 20.

⁴ Tamás Drági.

⁵ Francesco Cinzio Benincasa.

etiam per Camerinum iter egerit, alia non sunt, que scriptura digna putaverim. Optime ac felicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sacratissimis pe[*A fol. 180v*]dibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda, prima Iunii M.CCCC.LXXXVIII.

Sed ecce dum literas claudo, venit nuntius, qui sanctitatis vestre brevia defert. Legi illa, ut par est, reverenter atque alia ipse ego ad manus sue maiestatis detuli, que etiam me presente legi iussit et mox ea, que continebantur, audivisset, prelatos, qui ibi aderant, iussit abire. "Et vere," inquit, "domine legate, ego intelligo, in quem finem dominus sanctissimus hec scribit, sed ista non dico eo animo, quod velim legato domini sanctissimi respondere. Sua sanctitas vult decimas habere, vere non habebitis. Ego scio, quid loquor. Dicit sua sanctitas, quod magnam habet cum soldano¹ intelligentiam et quod oratores sui venerunt ad suam sanctitatem. Ego habeo maiorem intelligentiam cum soldano, quam sua sanctitas habeat et per istam crucem, quam utroque iudice admoto fecerat, si portabitis illum Turchum² per mare, ergo portabo fratrem suum Turchorum imperatorem per terram in Italiam, vos videbitis," inquit. [*A fol. 181r*]

Cui respondi: "nescio, serenissime rex, quorsum sua sanctitas scribat hec, nisi ut communi consilio potentatum christianorum bellum in Turchos decernat, sed si decimas vellet habere, non videtur maiestati vestre necessarium fore tanta enim res, tanta belli moles sine pecuniis, que bellorum nervi sunt, inchoari vel absolvi non potest. Nec puto, quod maiestas vestra bella, que gessit sine pecunia, absolvere vel inchoare potuerit. Sed pro Deo dignetur, quod non faceret, non dicere. Fuit hactenus maiestas vestra murus et antemurale christiani nominis, cur tam propere vult de domino nostro et eius consiliis male sentire, qui nil nisi communi potentatum christianorum consilio bellum indicere parat? Et quantum mihi pro ingenii tenuitate licet colligere bellum hoc, quod sua sanctitas indicere parat aut classe vel terrestri exercitu fiet.

¹ Sultan Bayezid II.

² Sultan Djem.

De alterutro modo legati christianorum potentatum, quos ad se vocat dominus noster apud suam sanctitatem, discutient et si classe agendum erit, etiam communi [*A fol. 18rv*] consilio decerneretur. Quis classis futurus sit prefectus, si terrestri exercitu etiam mature decerneretur, per cuius provincia et terras et quid maiestas vestra forte omnium erit consilium, quod maiestas vestra tam ratione militiae suae, quam regnorum situ ad invadendum Turchum commodissime bellum hoc conficiat. Sed ego puto, serenissime rex, quod terrestris exercitus sine classe aut classis sine terrestri huic negotio non sit satis, sed utrunque requiratur. Nam si terra agendum erit, classis est necessaria ad hostium incursiones propulsandas, quas mari forte facerent adversus christianos aut aliorum vires diverterent et e converso.”

Et cum in hoc sermone utrinque multa dicerentur, respondit sua maiestas: “Vere sunt magna ista, quae sicut dominus sanctissimus commemorat, fecit sedes apostolica. Sed ego volo scribere ad suam sanctitatem et videbit, quod non sunt inferiora illa, quae ego et maiores mei fecimus. Quantum ad deliberandum de isto bello [*A fol. 182r*] ego hoc negotium committam oratoribus meis, qui sunt in curia apud suam sanctitatem.

De pace et concordia inter me et alios, cum quibus ego haberem differentias, in quibus sua sanctitas pollicetur concordiam facere, ego habeo sanctitati suae gratias et credatis, domine legate, quod ego nunquam alicui damnum intuli vel iniuriam, nisi cum fui provocatus, quia tunc putavi, quod liceret mihi, ut iniurias propulsarem et me defenderem et tunc male evenit illis, qui mihi iniuriam fecerunt.

Et postquam sua sanctitas scribit de differentiis^t componendis, sciatis, domine legate, quod nunc sum advisatus, quod rex Poloniae et rex Bohemiae nunc fecerunt unam confederationem inter se contra^u statum et personam meam.¹ Et ego, ne sim solus, volo etiam confederationem facere, cum quibus possum, ne isti noceant mihi et certe non multum mirare, quia est pater et filius, sed quod expresse nomi-

¹ The agreement between Kings Wladislas of Bohemia and Casimir of Poland, his father, was concluded on 23 April 1489.

naverit contra personam et statum meum. Hoc facit, ut ego cogitem de confederatione amicorum, [*Afol. 182v*] qui mihi auxilium ferant, nec mora, instructiones exhibuit, qui in illicito stupore fuerant, de quibus, quod copias daret, est pollicitus.”

Cui respondi: “serenissime rex, non possum nisi dolere, quod aliqua emergant, que maiestatem vestram habeant turbare. Hoc presertim tempore, quo dominus noster bellum hoc in hostes christiani nominis iustissimis armis parat. Indicere, puto, non ab re esse sue sanctitati significare et si quid interea videatur maiestati vestre, quod opera mea ad pacem fieri possit, illam polliceor et spondeo maiestati vestre. Nec a modesto videtur distare, quod maiestas vestra auxiliares amicos sibi querat associare, quibus illorum regum vim et iniuriam si inferre illam vellent, propulsare possit, modo auxilia talia sint et ab illis proficiscatur, quorum religionem et non societatem non aspernatur, aut vitare deberet maiestas vestra.”

Haec, pater beatissime, de Turcho loquebar, subdidit protinus sua maiestas et maligno risu letus: “domine legate, rex Poloniae [*Afol. 183r*] etiam non curat vel aspernatur religionem auxiliariorum suorum. Inmisit in regnum meum Tartarorum et hereticorum copias ad predam et populationem faciendam. Cur ego non Turchorum petam auxilia? Illorum societatem petere me oportet, qui utiles ad propulsandam vim, quam parant isti pater et filius, esse possunt.”

Beatissime pater, intueor hunc regem anxium et qui animo omnino concepisse videtur, quod sanctitas vestra bellum hoc classe sit indictura eamque ad commodum et gloriam Venetorum factura sit. Quodque amplius est, si Zizimus Turchus¹ in classe ponatur Veneti, quos futuros prefectos classis putat non in bellum contra Turchum proficisci, sed privata aliqua commoda et privatas eorum passiones ulcisci intendent. Quo fit, ut plurimum verear, ne scandalum aliquod rex ipse facere cogitet.

Dixerat enim mihi, quod oratorem Turchi dudum mittere a se volebat, nec adhuc dimisit et adhuc hic moram ducit, nec [*Afol. 183v*]

¹ Sultan Djem.

de societate cum Turco ineunda clam cogitat, sed palam et ingenue se facturum inter loquendum comminatus est.

Quare sanctitati vestre humiliter supplico, pro sua divina prudentia, ut consuevit optime consulat et disponat.

Agitur (ut audio) de sufficiendo hunc naturalem domini regis filium,¹ ut patri in regnum succedat. Eam tamen ex levi nescio, qua fama mihi auditus habet, tamen illum in magno honore et statu, quem salutari et revereri pro primogenito et cupit et mandat.

Venit nunc (ut audio) orator² quidam ducis Mediolani parvo tamen apparatu, ut sponsalia illa concludat,³ vel hunc recipi a baronibus in regni successorem videat.

Ad regem Poloniae dominum Zagrabiensem^{4v} oratorem suum propediem mittendum dominus rex designavit. Forte inter se concordabunt, quod Deus faciat pro sua clementia.

De domino Colocensi expecto a sanctitate vestra audire, quid illa me facere velit. [*Afol. 184r*]

De Anconitanis rursus cum domino rege sermonem intexui, perstat in proposito, quod domino Thome Draghi rem delegaverit, ut omnia faciat,^w que sanctitas vestra fieri mandat. Modo sanctitas vestra per unum breve Anconitanis errata, quo ad hanc causam contemplatione sue maiestatis indulgeat et remittat et nunc idem pollicetur scribere et sanctitati vestre et Thome oratori.

Recessit tandem orator iste Turchi et ut mihi auditur, etiam dominus rex oratorem⁵ suum propediem mittet ad Turchum. Puto, pater beatissime, quod maiestas sua inter spem et metum naviget et pedem unum in duobus calceis inhabere velit. Ad effectum, ut videat, quod sanctitas vestra de isto Turcho, quem in palatio observat, statuatur et decernatur, ut si forte dandum illum in classem Vene-

¹ János Corvinus.

² Maffeo da Treviglio, envoy of Milan.

³ The marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza, sister of the duke of Milan, and János Corvinus.

⁴ Osvát Tíz Szentlászlói, bishop of Zagreb (1466–1499).

⁵ Probably János Kishorváti, but there were more envoys between King Matthias and Sultan Bayezid II.

torum statuerit, illico cum Turco federa faciat. Nec valeo maiestati suę suadere, quod non solius domini Venetorum exquirendum sit consilium, sed maiestatis sue precipue ac ceterorum [*A fol. 184v*] christiani nominis potentatum habenda sunt nota. “Sit, queso, boni animi maiestas vestra, quia videbit, quod dominus noster nihil a modesto alienum, nil denique, quod suam sanctitatem et sedem apostolicam non deceat, decernet.”

“Ego dico vobis, domine legate,” inquit, “dominus sanctissimus de isto Turcho non potest facere, nisi quantum rex Franciæ¹ mandat et cum isto pacto recepit eum et totum istud negocium est in manu de Balua² et ipse totum gubernat, licet rex Franciæ esset bene contentus, quod veniret ad manus meas.” “Dixi, serenissime rex, non sunt mihi nota ista particularia, ut illa dicit, ego puto, quod dominus noster liberum habeat de illo Turcho arbitrium, sed sua sanctitas cupit christianorum vota audire, quo melius et consultius de bello indicendo deliberet et meminisse dignetur maiestas vestra, quod dominus noster plurimum adhortatur illam, ne tantam fidem prestat delatoribus, qui cuperent semper scandala incitare.” “Non credatis,” inquit, “domine legate, ista, que loquor, [*A fol. 185r*] non veniunt de illo, quem vos putatis, aliunde ego habeo et ex bono loco.”

Ostendit sua maiestas dudum binas litteras soldani in Arabico et Turcho sermone scriptas et modeste a me pulsatus, quod littere dicerent velut obaudiens alio sermonem divertit.

Venerunt ad me ex Boemia certi fratres minores de observantia,³ qui certum fratrum oratores se dicunt et a me petierunt ista sibi concedi, super quibus volui sanctitatem vestram consulere, cum dudum noverim sedi apostolice specialiter reservata.

Subinde Agriensis, Zagabriensis et Cenadiensis⁴ petierunt a me consilium, quid de uxoribus, quarum mariti aut de maritis quarum uxores hostium Turchorum servi forent, quorum aliqui et alique de

¹ Charles VIII, King of France.

² Jean Balua (d. 1491), cardinal (1467–1491).

³ Cf. n. 45.

⁴ János Szakolyi, bishop of Csanád (1466–1492).

facto novas insuper ducunt uxores autem maritos et in concubinato vivunt, an illis ecclesiastica sacramenta danda forent, si nolint a concubinato discedere. Allegant (ut isti domini episcopi referunt) grave esse, quod ab ecclesiasticis sacramentis fiant alieni attentoque [*A fol. 185v*] eorum vel earum culpa apud hostes maritus vel uxor detineatur et cum maritis uxores aut uxoribus maritos redimere. Facultas non sit et carnem continere non valeant, si sacramenta denegentur, minantur ad Turchos se migraturos et, ut novit sanctitas vestra, facilis Hungaris et Sclavis ad Turchos est transitio. Ad sanctitatem vestram hos tam graves casus remittendos censui, quia si non sit culpa, tamen est causa.¹

Venerunt duo nuntii domini Maximiliani,² levi tamen apparatu, ut vix quinque aut sex secum habeant. Portarunt mandatum domini Maximiliani, in quo profitetur se a cesarea maiestate patre suo habere plenam potestatem indutias prorogandi. Voluit dominus rex pro sanctitatis vestre reverentia tractatui sepius discusso adessem. Et quia mandatum, quod primo exhibuerant, satis leve fuerat, res difficultatem habere videbatur usque adeo, ut dominus rex remittendos et excludendos nuntios, si aliud non haberent, mandatum censuit. Sed ubi apud eos arctius instatum est, plenius mandatum exhibuerunt [*A fol. 186r*] ac sponponderunt dominum suum habiturum ratum, quicquid supra mandatum dominus rex concludi in treugis voluisset. Sicque ad sex menses inducie sunt prorogate, atque hodie, qua sacratissimi Corporis Christi celebritatem colimus³ inter letaniarum solemnias, dominus Iauriensis inducias publicavit, adiiciens dominum regem imprimis ob sanctitatis vestre reverentiam et adhortationem ac Maximiliani complacentiam fecisse. Quodque amplius est, dominus Iauriensis serenissimi domini regis iussu omnium animos in spem maximam erexit, ut si pacem fieri contingat, vires regni et arma omnia in bellum, quod Turchis indicit ex nunc convertet. Et profecto, beatissime pater, dominus rex longe mitius se

¹ Cf. nos. 36, 42.

² Otto, Pfalzgraf von Mosbach-Neumarkt and a companion.

³ 18 June 1489.

habuit et mitiores (ut dicunt) oldas,¹ id est pecuniarum tributa imposuit oppidis Austriae, que restant bello occupanda, quam alias cum cesarea maiestate egerit. Quod totum et sanctitati vestre et Maximiliano tribuisse profitetur. Et quoque in indutiarum capitulis illud, ut dominus rex diem dicat et locum, quo Maximilianus ad superiorem ascendat Germaniam ad colloquium [*A fol. 186v*] cum domino rege de pace acturus putant, qui recte sentiunt pacem concludi debere. Amat enim dominus rex dominum Maximilianum seque facile posse, cum illo componere negocia hec profitetur. Quod de patre aliter longe est, detestatur illius desidiam, infidelitatem et ingratitude ac repuerascentis mobile et varium ingenium.

Habui ego publica contione nomine sanctitatis vestre sue maiestati ingentissimas gratias, quod ad indutias primo, mox ad pacem, que ex mutuo colloquio sperabatur, animum inclinasset. Laudavi insuper suam maiestatem, quod non minus reverenter, quam devote et monitus et adhortationes sanctitatis vestre, ut catholicum decet principem, audiret.

Debet profecto sanctitas vestra maiestati sue plurimum, que et si ad hanc rem a me, qui nullum ad rem hanc petendam mandatum habebam, pulsata non fuerit. Attamen publice sua maiestas professata est, se ob sanctitatis vestre reverentiam facere, atque omnem exercitum, quem ex Slesia et Lusatia ad bellum hoc nuperime eduxerat, alio convertit. [*A fol. 187r*]

Composuit enim Varadinus,² qui nuperime rediit, rem omnem, que dudum fuerat cum marchioni illo Brandenburgensi³ a ducibus illis de Saxonia⁴ ac Bohemis omnibus, qui a sua maiestate defecerant, non sine domini regis commodo, gloria et honore, ut Varadinus dicit.

Quare supplico sanctitati vestre humiliter, ut ipsa quoque animum ad ea, que domino regi ad gloriam sunt et honorem, ut facere

¹ Holda or pecunia holdalia, a special tax collected by the invading army.

² Jan Filipec.

³ John (Johannes) II Cicero, Elector of Brandenburg (1486–1499).

⁴ Albert III, Duke of Saxony (1464–1500); Frederick III the Wise (Friedrich der Weise), Elector of Saxony (1486–1525).

consuevit et aliis suis ad me litteris professa est, inclinēt ac suis litteris maiestatem suam pro tam religioso et pio desiderio in sanctitatem vestram commendet et laudet. Hic iam nihil hostile suspicamur et preter arma, que maiestas sua in Charin[ti]os et Stirios, qui treugas violarunt, movit, nihil auditur neque pro illis oratores isti verba faciunt, sive quod iusta arma rex moverit in eos, qui fide fracta in causa sunt, quod bello et armis lacessantur, sive quod non habeant in mandatis.

Occupavit iam dominus rex nullo resistente certa oppida cum arcibus et victoriam prosequitur, nec quisquam fert opem, nisi quantum [*A fol. 187v*] ope castelli aut murorum obsidionem pati possunt.

Subinde cum litteras claudere voluissem, institui dominum regem alloqui, ut si quid foret ulterius litteris mandare, possem et de industria repetito sermone de isto Turcho,¹ quem sanctitas vestra servat, quod magnam scilicet foret huic bello, quod sanctitas vestra parat allaturus utilitatem. "Domine legate," inquit, "de isto Turco non est opus ulterius cogitare. Orator soldani,² qui est Rome, supplicavit domino sanctissimo pro parte istius Turchi, quem sua sanctitas servat, quod sua sanctitas sit contenta recipere a soldano ducenta millia ducatorum et quod eum det ad manus soldani et sua sanctitas fuit contenta. Sic misit unum hominem ad Rhodum sub pretextu, quod pro aliquibus factis religionis Rhodiensium vadat ad Rhodum, sed inde mutatis vestibibus ibit ad soldanum pro compositione istius pecunie et aliarum rerum. Ego," inquit, "bene credo, quod faciet magnum bellum contra fratrem suum magnum Turchum, sed dominus sanctissimus deberet cogitare, quod soldanus et ille Turchus [*A fol. 188r*] ambo sunt infideles et si isti fiant magni, erunt maximi inimici fidei nostrę et si vincet iste Turchus, qui nunc est captus, credatis, domine legate, quod non habebimus duriozem inimicum, quam istum magnum Turchum.

¹ Sultan Djem.

² Mustafa Pasha, kapidji-bashi (chief of gatekeepers) and later grand vizier (1511–1512), ambassador to Rome (1489–1490), cf. İNALCIK, *A Case Study*, 67.

Item dominus sanctissimus nunc unum alium hominem suum mittit mutatis vestibus ad magnum Turchum, nescio tamen," inquit, "pro qua causa. Quantum autem deceat unum papam ista facere sua sanctitas, que prudentissima est, potest melius considerare et quid sint dicturi alii christiani principes, quando ista audient.^x

Dixi: "serenissime rex, hec sunt mihi omnia incognita, nec possem credere, quod sua sanctitas, que per suas litteras omnium potentatum exquirat oratores, ut communi consilio rem decernat, quod tam proprie rem voluisset concludere. Et non videtur mihi verisimile, quod pro ducentis millibus hoc factum sit. Nam meminisse potest maiestas vestra, quod alias ego ad dominum nostrum scripsi, quod soldanus offerebat sexcenta millia, quare nunc pro ducentis millibus. Tamen quando [*A fol. 188v*] hoc foret, quod dicit maiestas vestra, forte ista ducenta millia volet sua sanctitas pro isto bello, quod parat contra Turchos." "Domine legate," inquit, "si non scit hoc paternitas vestra, scio ego et forte, quod plus sunt, sed de ducentis millibus ego sum bene certus. Et non credatis," inquit, "quod sua sanctitas velit pro isto bello, sed vult pro bello, quod intendit facere contra regem Neapolitanum¹ et iam sua sanctitas est deliberata in mense Augusti proximo eum excommunicare et certa alia facere contra eum. Ego," inquit, "pro honore meo non possum eum relinquere. Et credatis, domine legate, quod ista res habet maiorem caudam, quam credatis, et faciet tantum ignem, quod sua sanctitas non poterit extinguere, cum voluerit." "Serenissime rex," inquam, "hec mihi omnino sunt incognita et nunc primum audio, imo quando discessi, videbam sanctitatem suam satis ad pacem inclinatam et mihi commiserat, quod cum maiestate vestra verba facerem, ut illa partes suas interponeret et regem Neapolitanum adhortaretur, quod capitula et conventa servaret, cum [*A fol. 189r*] nullum adhuc servare voluisset. Et credat maiestas vestra, quod mirum est illius domini regis ingenium, qui nunquam fidem servat. Tamen ego nescio, quid ad hoc respondeam, cum nihil hactenus audierim."

¹ Ferrante I, King of Naples.

“Domine legate,” inquit, “omnes nos amici sui hoc dicimus, quod rex Neapolis nunquam servat fidem. Tamen dominus sanctissimus ipsemet est in culpa. A principio quando vos, domine legate, venistis, ego incepti super hac re laborare et scio, quod illud, quod promississet per manus meas, vellet, nollet, ipse servasset, imo dominus rex non libenter audiebat, quod ego me interponerem, quia forte non intendebat servare, quod promittebat. Sed sua sanctitas istam rem commisit Laurentio de Medicis,¹ postea domino Ludovico,² postea Venetis. Quando ego audivi hoc, nolui me interponere. Dominus sanctissimus isto anno effecit, quod dominus Ludovicus erat iam confederatus cum sua sanctitate et deseruerat regem Neapolitanum, sed ego tantum feci, quod concordavi eos et hoc forte sua sanctitas ignorat. [*A fol. 189v*]

“Preterea ego audio,” inquit, “quod isti Veneti fecerunt querellam contra me ad suam sanctitatem, quod illum dominum de Camerino³ ego conduxì ad stipendia mea et quod in capitulis ego promisi sibi, quod pecuniam, quam isti Veneti debent illi domino de Camerino per vim solvere, faciam. Ego,” inquit, “possem per Deum iurare, quod non modo hoc non est expressum in capitulis, sed hoc nunquam scivi, nec unquam de hoc fuit mihi factum verbum. Est verum,” inquit, “quod postquam ego vidi, quod dominus noster vadit ad istas suas passiones et non vult pacem habere cum rege Neapolitano, non possum cum honore meo relinquere eum. Ego consideravi,” inquit, “quod melius est, quod ego habeam gentes de Italia et cum minore impensa, quam mittere hinc et propterea ego conduxì illum dominum de Camerino, qui vadat in auxilium ipsius regis, quando sit opus. Sed ego credo,” inquit, “quod intra paucos dies habebò novum, quod marchio [*A fol. 190r*] Mantuanus⁴ erit ad stipendia mea.”

Dixi: “serenissime rex, de rebus Italicis possum liberius loqui, quia Italus sum. Ille dominus de Camerino est subditus ecclesiae Romanæ et non puto, quod audeat arma sumere, ubi senserit dominum nos-

¹ Lorenzo Medici.

² Ludovico Maria Sforza.

³ Giulio Cesare da Varano, lord (signore) of Camerino (1444–1502), condottiere.

⁴ Francesco II Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua (1484–1519).

trum habere interesse. Et quid putat maiestas vestra, quod ille sit, preter montes nihil habet. Bene puto, quod in illis montibus aliquid posset, quia habet, ut dicitur, pedites sagitarios bonos, sed extra eorum loca et montes preter istos, qui dicuntur ciaralani,¹ qui portant falsas indulgentias, nihil habet, nec aliquid valent. Sed credat maiestas vestra, quod adhuc de illo dictura est: curva fia olas.”^{2y} Risit et ulterius ad rem non est locuta.

Audio, quod ad VIII Septembris sua maiestas diem dixerat, quo ad colloquium de pace tractanda cum Maximiliano convenient. Et nescio, quo levi murmure mihi refertur, quod isti nuntii domini Maximiliani domino regi spem dederint de filia Maximiliani, que in Galia est, quod matrimonio cedet [A fol. 190v] huic naturali filio regis. Alii referunt de filia regis Neapolitani et hoc domine regine inventum est, ut turbet nuptias istius sororis ducis Mediolani.

Preterea, ut audio, brevi dominus rex gubernatoris regni Hungariae titulum huic filio suo dabit, atque iurari in regem, ut post eius obitum in regno succedat, efficiet.³

Beatissime⁴ pater, ista, que loquitur rex Hungariae^z in favorem regis Neapolitani,^a non sunt, quia *regem Neapolitanum*^b amet. Immo ingenue mecum locutus aliquando gravissimas iniurias se passum^c ab rege Neapolitano^d recensuit et secretarius regis Hungariae^e peramplius longe hec mihi retulit. Sed *regem Hungariae*^f stimulat conclusio, que facta est de *isto Turco*,^g si vera est. Et puto, pater beatissime, quod conclusionem capiet cum Turco et nihil preter unum cursorem ex Roma prestolatur. Ego puto, pater beatissime, quod hoc *regem Hungarie*^h angit, primo quod *Turcum*ⁱ [A fol. 191r] *sanctitas vestra*^j se abstulerit, secundo quod si *sanctitas vestra*^k volebat *conclusionem*^l cum *soldano*^m facere, *fecisset sanctitas vestra*ⁿ per manus *regis Hungarie*,^o

¹ The citizens of Cerreto di Spoleto were known for being false preachers; Cerreto lies 38 km south of Camerino.

² A Hungarian invective, “kurva fia olasz,” i.e. “Italian son of a bitch.”

³ János Corvinus was supported as a successor of the king, cf. KUBINYI, *Die Komitatgescbpanschaften*; SCHÖNHERR, *Hunyadi Corvin János*.

⁴ The following paragraph contains the transcriptions of the ciphers of Angelo Pecchinoli and almost each of them is deciphered above the line.

quia, ut ipse dicit, maiorem *pecuniam*^p fecisset dari, prout mihi sepius dixit, quod *sanctitatis vestre*^q scriberem. Unde puto, quod pro ista *iniuria*^r omnia faciet contra *sanctitatem vestram*.^s Nescio, quis is sit, qui ex Italia istas zizanias seminat inter *sanctitatem vestram*^t et *regem Hungarie*.^u Ego nescio existimare, nisi *regem Neapolitanum*.^v Is sit, qui has sussurationes subministrat et quia *rex Hungarie*^w putat magnam sibi factam iniuriam ab *sanctitate vestra*^x in isto *negocio Turci*,^y omnia ego timeo, quod facere velit contra *sanctitatem vestram*.^z Pro Deo supplico humiliter sanctitati vestre, pro sua singulari et divina prudentia medeatur et consulat, prout viderit ecclesiae sue sancte expedire et conducere. Ego preter fidem et integritatem sanctitati vestre nil possum polliceri, hec ita adamussim et accurate servabo, ut sanctitas vestra me creaturam et vassalum suum cognoscat. [*A fol. 19rv*] Sum factus certior, beatissime pater, quod post iter arreptum ad Hungariam in negociis sanctitatis vestre isti religiosi monachi de sancto Paulo causam committi obtinuerunt contra me. Supplico humiliter sanctitati vestre, dignetur mandare supersederi, quia etiam communi iure impediti causa rei publice non possunt ad iudicium trahi. Supplico sanctitati vestre, dignetur me instruere, quid me facere velit, si cum domino rege proficiscar, cum ad colloquium cum Maximiliano ibit.

Habeo captivum ciaratanum,¹ cui nomen est Antonius de Ponte,² qui sub pretextu hospitalis Sancti Spiritus largissimas dabat peccatorum et scelerum omnium remissiones. Optime ac foelicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sacratissimis pedibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda, 25 Iunii MCCCCLXXXVIII.

Sanctitatis vestre humillimus servulus Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus

^a Litterae ... Hungariae] *om. A.* ^b exsolvi] *exolvi B.* ^c pridie] *puget sic B.* ^d maiestates] *maiestatem B.* ^e maiestates] *maiestatem B.* ^f treugarum] *treugarum A; treguarum B.* ^g tractat] *tractant B.* ^h ut] *et B.* ⁱ affecit] *afferet B.* ^j quam] *qua B.* ^k est]

¹ For ciaratani see the introduction.

² Ponte is a neighbouring town to Cerreto di Spoleto, 1.5 km south.

finis textus B. ^l amico] unico *Theiner.* ^m agendis] agrum *Theiner.* ⁿ omne] omnem *Theiner.* ^o compulsus] compulsa *Theiner.* ^p attrahere] attrahens *Theiner.* ^q Posonitum] *sic ms., pro Posoniensem.* ^r rapuerunt] *Theiner;* *cavus in A.* ^s Draghi] Diaghi *A.* ^t differentiis] defferentiis *A.* ^u contra] que *A.* ^v Zagrabiensem] Tagrabien. *A.* ^w faciat] faciet *A.* ^x audient] audiunt *Theiner.* ^y curva fia olas] philiias *Theiner.* ^z rex Hungariae] *add. cifra 40 A.*

^a regis Neapolitani] *add. cifra 80 A.* ^b regem Neapolitanum] *cifra 80 A.* ^c iniurias se passum] *add. in cifra A.* ^d rege Neapolitano] *add. cifra 80 A.* ^e secretarius regis Hungariae] *add. in cifra A.* ^f regem Hungariae] *cifra 40, suprascr. regem A.* ^g isto Turco] *cifra, suprascr. isto Turco A.* ^h regem Hungariae] *cifra 40 A.* ⁱ Turcum] *cifra, suprascr. turcum A.* ^j sanctitas vestra] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. sanctitas vestra A.* ^k sanctitas vestra] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. sanctitas vestra A.* ^l conclusionem] *cifra, suprascr. conclusionem A.* ^m soldano] *cifra sondano sic, suprascr. soldano A.* ⁿ sanctitas vestra] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. sanctitas vestra A.* ^o regis Hungarië] *cifra 40, suprascr. regis Hungarië.* ^p pecuniam] *cifra, suprascr. peccuniam A.* ^q sanctitatis vestre] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. pape A.* ^r iniuria] *cifra, suprascr. iniuria A.* ^s sanctitatem vestram] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. papam A.* ^t sanctitatem vestram] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. papam A.* ^u regem Hungarie] *cifra 40, suprascr. regem Hung.* ^v regem Neapolitanum] *cifra 80, suprascr. regem Neapolitanum A.* ^w rex Hungarie] *cifra 40, suprascr. rex Hungarie A.* ^x sanctitate vestra] *cifra antiquitas, suprascr. papa A.* ^y negocio Turci] *cifra, suprascr. negocio Turci A.* ^z sanctitatem vestram] *cifra antiquitas A.*

36.

Buda, 18 September 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

The nuncio recieved several letters from Rome, which he recounted to the king. They discussed 1) Sultan Djem and the agreement between the pope and the King of France and the chances of using him for the war against the Turks; 2) the matters of Ancona, as Tamás Drági did not do what was told to the nuncio previously. It seems to the nuncio that Matthias makes problems with the Anconitans and Djem to please the 3) king of Naples, but he would be disappointed. Matthias, however, was never let down by Tamás Drági and does everything for his own honour.

The nuncio wanted to show that he was not lying to the pope (with the help of Tamás Bakóc and Francesco Fontana, who should testify to that). Jan Filipec, the bishop of Várad, wanted to go to Rome as an ambassador to revoke the treaty with Ancona and to clear himself from the allegation of heresy. They discussed 4) the Lord of Camerino, as Matthias claimed he did not want to pay him, but rather the duke of Urbino and others; the nuncio, however, said they only want money, but would not help. Also, no subject of the church should be paid for military service to others without the consent of the pope. They further discuss the lord of Camerino, the king of Naples and the duke of Ferrara and Matthias wants to send Jan Filipec to Rome after the meeting in Austria with the Emperor is finished. The nuncio does not want any further delay in the matters of Ancona. Further, nuncio reports the negotiations of Marianus, chancellor of the lord of Camerino. As for 5) the Venetians, the pope is happy Matthias wants to live with them in peace and he will intervene so that they do not harass the king's subjects. – Concerning 6) the expedition against the Turks, the king understands that most of the princes excused themselves. Matthias will build with the money from the pope and in his own expense an army that Christians never saw before. For that he needs Sultan Djem. 7) The archbishop of Kalocsa was brought to Visegrád and his future trial was discussed. The nuncio is under the impression that Matthias does not hold any personal grudge against the archbishop, but he wants to use the prelate for the legitimisation of his illegitimate son János Corvinus. The release of Leontius, János Telegdi, the provost of Pécs was also discussed. – Some further matters are discussed, on 8) the Bohemian heretics, 9) indulgences for Székesfehérvár, 10) Observant Franciscans. 11) The king should know that the papal chancery was ordered to add to him the title of the King of Bohemia. 12) The response to the question on the spouses in Turkish servitude is still expected. – The matters of 13) the Olomouc bishopric are further discussed. The king still needs the bishop of Várad for negotiations in Silesia and Bohemia. He also would like to go to Rome to clear himself of suspicion of heresy and to have the Olomouc bishopric confirmed by the pope. The king already appeased both bishops of Várad and Veszprém. The nuncio further mentions the 14) convention with the Emperor, 15) the new faculties for portable altars and indulgences. – The queen is very happy with the letter from the pope. She discussed the matters of Ancona, the archbishop of Kalocsa, and his brother Paul, provost of Eszter-

gom. – The king, finally, wanted to reform the Poor Clares of Óbuda, who have been under the rule of Friars Minor Conventual until now; they should live under the Observants. The nuncio is sending a copy of documentation of the process [not preserved].

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 110r–113v (A) (paper, 220×285 mm); Lat. XIV 99 (=4278), fol. 16r–19r (B) (paper, 220×295 mm; contains letters of 18 Sept, 15 Oct, 3 and 27 Nov, as one letter, a copy sent together). – ED.: partially (related to Veszprém and Olomouc) LUKSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 312–313, n. CDLXIV (from Lat. X 175). – NOTE (A; up left fol. 110r): Mircse lemásolta; (B; up fol. 16r): Exemplum litterarum, quas Alfonsus detulit qui hinc abiit XV Octobris (hand of Angelo Pecchinoli); (B; top of the fol. 16r): Mircse lemásolta.

Sanctissime ac beatissime pater ac domine. Pedum oscula beatorum.^a Erat nuntius meus paratus ad iter, ut meis expressa prioribus^b significarem, quam^c sanctitatis vestre littere sub data Romae XVII.^d Iulii et rursus alie paulo post, sub data Rome X. Augusti reddite mihi sunt,^e quas, ut par est, reverenter legi et ubi^f primum licuit, domino regi sanctitatis vestre desiderium explicui.

Et quod ad fratrem Turci¹ attinet, sua maiestas aequo animo moram tulisse visa est, quod domini regis Francie² et magistri Rhodi³ sanctitas vestra deliberationem expetat. Sciebat enim sua maiestas iam dudum inita sic fuisse inter sanctitatem vestram et regem Francie capitula, et mihi hoc ipsum iam pridem significaverat, prout ex novissimis litteris meis videre potuit sanctitas vestra. Incipit sua maiestas bona spe esse modo in hac deliberatione nimia mora non fiat ob multa, quae circum ipsum fratrem Turchi evenire possent incommoda, praecipue desperationem, ne sibi mortem consciscat, prout sua maiestas mihi rettulit, ex Thoma Dragi,⁴ oratore suo intellexisse, quod attemptare fuerat ausus, ni in spem ab ipso Thoma regis nomine fuisset erectus. Et certe, beatissime pater, rem hanc puto pro exili meo iudicio utillimam futuram christianę religioni, cum quod rex ipse rem hanc miro et incredibili desiderio ardet, tum quod

¹ Sultan Djem.

² Charles VIII, King of France.

³ Pierre d'Aubusson.

⁴ Tamás Drági.

ocasio illi dabitur, ut totus sancto huic proposito accintus animum ab armis, quae in christianos movere forte^g cogitat, divertet.^h

Quod ad Anchonitanos spectat, non potui, beatissime pater, non erubuisse, aliter quod Thomas Dragi sanctitati vestre rettulerit, quam ego regis nomine scripserim. Abscidatur utinam ab imo palato mihi lingua, si sanctitati vestre sum mentitus. Scripsi illi, quod ex domino rege habueram non semel, sed iteratis vicibus sua maiestas dixerat, quod Thomae Dragi dederat in mandatis, ut duos cives ex Anchonitanis secum duceret, qui coram sanctitate vestra capitula omnia dissolverent, et rursus dico, ita me a domino rege saepius habuisse. Et pridie apud maiestatem suam modeste, quantum licuit, questus sum, quod apud sanctitatem vestram mendacii insimularer, aliter scilicet, quod scripserim, aliter, quod Thomas rettulerit. “Nam,” inquam, “prius quam ad dominum nostrum scriberem, exemplum litterarum mearum maiestati vestre ostenderam, ubi apertissime capitula cum Anchonitanis soluta esse sponderat, si dominus noster impunitatem per unum breve dedisset.” “Domine legate,” inquit, “sciat paternitas vestra, quod verum est, quod ego sic vobis dixi, quod simpliciter dederam Thomae in mandatis, quod capitula illa revocaret habita remissione a sanctitate sua pro illa civitate, et adhuc possum vobis ostendere instructiones, quas dedi Thomae Dragi, quod capitula revocaret, et volo ostendere. Et nescio, quo modo Thomas Dragi mandatum meum transgressus est, sed puto forte, quod alius eum impulit. Et ita volo domini nostri manu mea scribere, quod sic vobis dixeram et sic Thomae Dragi dederam in mandatis et adhuc dico, quod sum paratus illa capitula dissolvere. Sed ego vellem, quod sua sanctitas dignaretur scribere Anchonitanis illud, quod ad me scribit, et ita dixi vobis, domine legate, quod domino nostro meo nomine supplicaretis. Iste Thomas Dragi, nescio alias videbatur habere melius caput, nunc propter senium forte factus est, nescio qualis. Mittam,” inquit, “propediem unum nuntium¹ ad suam sanctitatem, qui

¹ It is not clear who is meant. János Vitéz the Younger was staying in Rome and a few envoys were sent in 1488 (Francesco Bandini, Miklós Bacskai) and 1489 (Tamás Drágyi), but this one comes after them. It could have been Jan Filipec, whom Matthias planned to send to Ancona and Rome, *cf.* later in the text of this letter.

erit ita gratus suę sanctitati, sicut unquam ex me aliquis alius fuerit gratus sedi apostolicę.” Dixi: “serenissime rex, pro Deo maiestas vestra absolvat se ab omni onere Anchonitanum tam pro pollicita saepius fide, quam etiam pro [*Afol. 110v*] honestate causę. Non enim potest amplius maiestas vestra in re hac immorari sine sue conscientię onere et damno ac honoris proprii detrimento et sedis apostolicę magna offensa, ac credat maiestas vestra, quod si dominus noster maiestatis vestrę rationem non habuisset, iam fuisset suam iustam indignationem ultus et ita bene, quod fuisset exemplo cęteris subditis ecclesię.¹ Sua sanctitas castigasset istos Anchonitanos pro tam gravi delicto et culpa. Accedit promissio Thomę Dragi oratoris vestre maiestatis, qui ingenue est pollicitus domino nostro revocationem, nec opus est, quod alia brevia super re hac fiant, nam ex illo brevi, quod sua sanctitas scribit maiestati vestre, apparet plenissima [*Bfol. 16v*] remissio pro Anchonitanis et illud breve possunt Anchonitani tenere pro sua cautela. Pro Deo, serenissime rex, ista res ulterius non differatur. Videt illa, quam clementer, quam benigne spem pollicetur domini nostri de fratre Turchi et nihil est, quod a sua sanctitate maiestas vestra petat, quod non obtineat, et in re, quae habet tantam honestatem, sic se difficilem maiestas vestra prestat et tantam moram interponit. Ego bene video,” inquam, “serenissime rex, quod illa haec facit, ut placeat regi Neapolitano.¹ Sed credat maiestas vestra, quod oleum perdit et impensam. Ille rex Neapolitanus libenter videret, quod maiestas vestra esset bene implicita et dissensionibus involuta cum sede apostolica, sed quando esset opus aliquo auxilio, ipse se bene excusaret et maiestatem vestram relinqueret.” Ridens inquit: “iste Thomas Dragi alias fuit multum diligens et bene fecit commissiones meas, sed nunc forte propter aetatem suam non est ille. Omnia verba, quae rettulit, sunt contraria ad brevia domini sanctissimi. De rege Neapolitano ego bene scio, quod perdo impensam et tanta damna et incommoda sum passus ab eo, quod una cutis de uno bove non sufficeret, ut continere posset illa, quę ab ista mala generatione sum passus. Sed aliquid ego pro honore meo, non pro amore, cogor facere pro eo.” “Non sit,” inquam, “hoc, quod faciat pro illo rege

¹ Ferrante I, King of Naples.

maiestas vestra, quod hoc est contra Deum et honorem catholici principis, sed¹ alia poterunt occurrere, quae erunt illi regi grata.”

Tandem, beatissime pater, ubi sua maiestas spem habuit de isto fratre Turchi, habendo rem Anchonitanam saepius ac saepius cum consiliariis suis discussit, quae tandem probantibus omnibus placuit, revocari debere licet. *Domina regina*^{1k} et manibus et pedibus adnixa contrarium supplicaverit et deprecari moliebatur, ad quam rem conficiendam multum me iuivit *Lauriensis*^{2l} et quidam *Franciscus Fontana*^m totus *domine regine*ⁿ contrarius, et nunc nihil aliud molior, nisi^o quod revocatorie littere ad sanctitatem vestram mittantur una cum testimonio de me, quod sanctitati vestre mendacia non scripserim, quod Thomas Dragi habebat in mandatis revocationem facere. Si non Varadinus³ me impediat, qui regi saepius supplicavit, mitti se sub spetie legationis ad sanctitatem vestram, ut se ab suspitione heresis purget et revocationem portet, qua se gratiorem faciat sanctitati vestre, sic mihi dominus rex rettulit.

De domino Camerino⁴ ego oportunum duxi suę maiestati significare, quod sanctitas vestra scribit et non modo rettuli, verum et verba litterarum sanctitatis vestre illi legi. “Ostendam,” inquit, “vobis, domine legatē, quod hoc est ad servitium domini sanctissimi et non modo istum de Camerino, sed etiam comitem de Urbino⁵ et certos alios dominos illic vicinos volo habere ad stipendia mea.” “Nescio,” inquam, “serenissime rex, ad istud secretum intrare, quo modo esse possit ad servitium domini nostri, quod maiestas vestra subditos ecclesiae Romane conducat ad stipendia sua sine scitu et voluntate domini nostri.” “Una alia vice,” inquit, “dicam vobis.” “Unum tamen audiat,” inquam patienter, “maiestas vestra. Iste dominus de Camerino et de Urbino, si in Italia reperirent bonam conditionem, non credat maiestas vestra, quod venirent ad Hungariam.

¹ Queen Beatrix.

² Tamás Bakóc.

³ Jan Filipec.

⁴ Giulio Cesare da Varano.

⁵ Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (1482–1502, 1503–1508).

Ipsi nihil aliud cogitant, nisi pecuniam habere a maiestate vestra. Sed ea experimentum faciat et petat ab istis baronibus Italicis, qui volunt venire [*A fol. 111r*] ad stipendia sua, quod promittant arma sumere contra omnes et servire maiestati vestre cum eorum statu.^p Si non viderit maiestas vestra, quod semper excipient sedem apostolicam, ego volo dici unus proditor, et ubi opus esset, quod arma moverent ad illius imperium, vellent bene cogitare, quo modo id facerent. Non credat maiestas vestra, quod dominus de Camerino careat consilio. Bene scit ipse, quod maiestas vestra non consuevit habere classem in mari, per quam posset, cum opus foret, ferre sibi auxilia, et alias per terram est remota maiestas vestra, quod non posset sibi auxilia ferre. De rege Neapolitano non confideret, nec se ad periculum status et personę suę ad spem illius regis poneret. De duce Ferrarię¹ etiam dominus de Camerino [*B fol. 17r*] non speraret auxilia habere, quod ille dux est expertus, quid sciat in rebelles facere sedes apostolica et a tergo habet Venetos, qui non expectarent, nisi sibi dari occasionem, ut eum vorarent. Et credat maiestas vestra, quod dominus noster per unum solum breve concluderet dominum de Camerino intra suos montes, quod nemo auderet respicere ad eum, nec ipse de domo sua exire.” “Domine legate,” inquit, “ego bene scio,^q quod verum est, si iste de Camerino posset reperire stipendia in Italia, non veniret ad me et Deus scit, quod ego nunquam cogitavi aliquid facere contra sedem apostolicam et dominum sanctissimum, quod si voluissem facere aliter, potuissem maxime rebus sic stantibus. Sed ego non cogitavi, nec cogito contra suam sanctitatem nec sedem apostolicam. Est verum, quod iste de Camerino misit ad me et obtulit servitia sua. Non fuisset honor meus eum eiicere, sed feci sibi bonum vultum et facio, sed quod aliquid sit cum illo conclusum, adhuc nihil est, nec est in animo concludere. Et quando concluderetur, semper ego domini sanctissimi honorem reservarem. De duce Ferrarię non est opus dicere. Ego nunquam habui tales intelligentias cum eo, quod ego velim, quod ipse arma sumat pro me contra aliquem. Non tamen credatis, domine legate, quod dominus sanctissimus potuisset sic de

¹ Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.

facili castigare Anchonitanos. Tamen ego habeo gratias sanctitati suę, quod' ob respectum meum non temptaverit facere. Pro rege Neapolitano ego non cogito arma capere, si dominus sanctissimus cum eo per viam armorum non faciat. Et bene ego scio, quod non debeo facere pro eo aliquid, sed cogor facere pro honore meo. Ego volo ad sanctitatem suam scribere, quod absoluta ista dieta mittam Varadinum ad revocationem istorum capitulorum et aliqua alia, quę erunt gratissima sue sanctitati et volo scribere ad illam, quod sic paternitati vestre dixeram, quod Thomas Dragi habebat in mandatis a me facere simpliciter revocationem. Iste Varadinus dicit, quod se vult purgare ab ista infamia heresis." "Serenissime rex," inquam, "ista est magna mora et contra spem et expectationem domini nostri. Pro Deo maiestas vestra liberet se ab ista nota, nihil credat maiestas vestra, habent emuli, quod dicant de illa, nisi hoc factum Anchonitanorum, quibus stantibus nihil cum honore suo potest dominus noster concludere in favorem maiestatis vestre pro Deo, non faciat ulteriorem moram maiestas vestra et non deerit illi dare Varadino alias commissiones, quae erunt gratiores et plus forte, quam iste. Sed nunc mittantur iste littere. Faciat pro Deo maiestas vestra, quod res non habeat ulteriorem moram. Videt illa iustitiam et honestatem istius causę et quanto tempore dominus noster patienter tulit istam iniuriam sibi ab istis Anchonitanis illatam et nihilominus, quod sua sanctitas credidit celeriter fieri revocationem ob iustitiam et modestiam, quam habet ipsa causa in se, benigno et paterno affectu apud maiestatem vestram pulsavit pro ista revocatione." "Sciatis," inquit, "domine legate, quod ego sum contentus, sed expedit mihi, quod illam faciam per manus domini Varadini, quem non possum mittere nisi post istam dietam, et si debemus aliquid boni facere, cito fiet et non expecto nisi intelligere, quod imperator venerit, quod etiam sua maiestas ad me misit unum oratorem, quod omnino in ista dieta vult interesse, sed postquam erunt revocata ista capitula, quid erit?" [*A fol. IIIv*] "Erit," inquam, "quod maiestas vestra se onere conscientiae et honoris detrimento se purgabit et id faciet, quod catholicum decet principem." Institit tamen maiestas sua, quod Varadino hunc honorem deferre vellet. Audio tamen ex bono loco, quod dominus rex, ut

occasionem forte haberet, hunc Marianum cancellarium domini de Camerino vacuum remittere ab illo petiit, quod dominus de Camerino unum castellum regi daret in terris suis [*B fol. 17v*] custodiendum per homines regios, per quod regi cautum fieret de fide servanda et quod ille Marianus annuit dare. Modo etiam rex aliud castellum domino suo in regno Hungarię pari lege concederet, et audio aliquos hic esse pro duce Urbini et unus est, qui se dicit hominem comitissae de Forlivio¹, et negotia videtur habere cum rege. Nescio tamen, si est, quod, ut dicitur, aliquas gemmas portavit vendendas, vel sit unus de illis, qui etiam stipendia querit. Tamen, pater beatissime, ego spero et quasi certus sum, quod Marianus^s vacuum et sine pecunia redibit.

Quod ad Venetos attinet, habet sua maiestas ingentes gratias sanctitati vestre, cum quibus non intendit pro nunc in compromissum vel in iudicium descendere, cum intendat cum illis pacifice vivere, nec eis occasionem aliquam dare iniuriarum, sicut sanctitas vestra mandavit mihi, ut maiestatem suam adhortarer cum Venetis vellet pacifice vivere. Pari modo supplicat sanctitati vestre, partes suas interponat cum Venetis, ut ipsi quoque ab iniuriis temperent et ipsius regis iustitiam ministrent subditis, nec eos spolient, ut sua maiestas dicit, et maxime de Raguseis.^{2t}

Feci insuper diligentiam accurate, quantum potui intelligere, quis ille foret modus, ut cum parva impensa moles hęc futuri belli in Turchum sustentari posset. Ad quod sua maiestas ingenue sic respondit: “ego puto, domine legate, quod dominus sanctissimus parum poterit mihi dare pro auxilio huius belli et ceteri potentatus, prout iam sepius paternitati vestre dixi, omnes se excusabunt, aliqui una ratione, aliqui alia, prout a me saepius potuistis audire. Ego recipiam, quod mihi dabitur, et nihilominus, quod ad istud bellum ego sum totus deliberatus pro communi bono fidei christiane, ego intendo facere talem exercitum de pecuniis et expensis meis, qualem nunquam antea viderunt christiani,

¹ Caterina Sforza, Countess of Forlì (1480–1488), regent for her son Ottaviano Riario (1488–1500), died 1509.

² Citizens of Dubrovnik.

ut intelligant omnes, quod pro communi bono fidei quesiveram^u illum Turchum habere. Ego habeo in Turchia cum illis baronibus talem intelligentiam, quod dominus sanctissimus intelliget, quod pro communi bono fidei christianae volo pugnare.”

Colocensem,^{iv} ut alias sanctitati vestre scripsi, deduxi ad Vicegradum² et licet dominus rex illum dari mihi custodiendum obtulerit, attamen, quod commissio mea non erat ab Vicegrado recipere, recusavi. Licet pro arbitrio meo locum commodum pro tempore et fortuna, ipse ego deputaverim, et quæ illi erant necessaria, prout ipsemet archiepiscopus mihi significaverat, sua maiestas libenter concessit. Et quod multos audio articulos compositos et conscriptos esse contra eum, ut deducantur iudicialiter, cum causa examinabitur, quos facile forte probabunt, maxime quod magna fuit quondam ipsius archiepiscopi auctoritas et licentia. Visum mihi est iterum ad clementiam cum domino rege me convertere. Sua maiestas respondit: “vere, domine legate, ego non volo aliter facere, nisi quod ego volo iustificare causam meam, quod bene feci illum capere et postea, quod iustificavero, respondebo vobis de clementia.” Et cum maiestatem suam ad iudicium viderim declinare, respondi: “et si sic placet maiestati vestre, incipiam causam audire, cum illa volet.” “Rogo,” inquit, “expediamus primo istam dietam et post dietam ego sum paratus, quod causa iudicialiter videatur.” Nescio, pater beatissime, quid id sit, non videtur maiestas sua [*A fol. 112r*] odio habere Colocensem, sed illum videtur servare ad aliquod suum magnum prepositum,^w et ut ego coniicio, quod de sufficiendo istum suum naturalem filium³ agit et quotidie cogitat. Ego puto, quod volet, quod quando tempus videbitur, Colocensis sit primus, qui futurum illum regem et adoret et iuret. [*B fol. 18r*] Nam pridie sua maiestas sponte sua mihi dixit, quod dominum Colocensem volebat de Vicegrado levare et, ut maiori honore teneri diceretur, mittere eum ad ecclesiam suam Baciensem,⁴ ut ibi fideliter servaretur. Haberet tamen facultatem cum clero

¹ Péter Váradi.

² Visegrád.

³ János Corvinus.

⁴ Bács.

suo loqui et causas illius audire, modo non posset scribere litteras. Ista non sunt signa odii, nec quod diu hominem in suspenso sit habiturus, et puto, quod uno die pro suo arbitrio eum liberabit, nec volet, quod archiepiscopus cuiquam gratias habeat, nisi maiestati suae. Propositum tamen, quod eum ad ecclesiam suam Baciensem mitteret, ego comendavi, quod in vero cum minore^x verecundia ibi erit, quam in Vicegrado.

Sum subinde suam maiestatem humiliter hortatus^y pro liberatione illius Leoncii,¹ qui in Strigonio² ad domine reginae voluntatem detinetur, prout sanctitas vestra mihi dederat in mandatis. Sua maiestas clementer annuit et dixit: “ille pauper homo est, verum quod multum deliquit contra dominam reginam et quod peius fuit. Ipse omnia illa, que contra eum obiiciebantur, confessus est, esse vera, quod si non fuisset confessus, nihil ego fecissem fieri contra eum. Tamen postquam ex parte sue sanctitatis hoc requiritis, domine legate, ego sum contentus dimittere et intra paucos dies faciam eum relaxari.” Et cum ad aliquos dies postea sue maiestati dicerem, quod unus, cui sua maiestas beneficia dicti Leoncii² concesserat, ad me pro dictorum beneficiorum confirmatione venisset, sua maiestas dixit: “non curetis facere aliquam confirmationem, annuens et spondens intra paucos dies illius liberationem.”

Circa missas domini Thomę Dragi sic actum est et agetur, ut mihi sanctitas vestra mandat.

Ad id, quod dominus rex tantopere petebat, quod ob tractatus pacis cum Bohemis hereticis auctoritate sanctitatis vestre versari etiam in divinis possit. Dicit sua serenitas, si felicitis recordationis Pauli³ indultum haberet, ut quondam habuit, de quo dominus sancti Marci⁴ est informatus, aliud de novo non exquireret, sed quod casu nescit, quo illud perdidit, de novo concedi sibi humiliter supplicat. Habet ingentes gracias de concessione, si in evidentem pro domibus. Instat rursus sua maiestas pro indulgentiis ad ecclesiam in Alba-

¹ János Telegdi.

² Esztergom.

³ Pope Paul II.

⁴ Cardinal Marco Barbo.

regali,¹ quam regio apparatu instaurari parat. Item pro conventibus quorundam fratrum minorum conventualium, ut constito de vita inhonesta ad eius voluntatem fratres de observantia ponantur.²

Intellexit etiam libenter maiestas sua, quod sanctitas vestra secretariis suis mandaverit, cum ad se scriberetur, etiam regni Bohemię titulus inseratur, tametsi non sua maiestas hoc ipsum quęsta sit, sed consiliarii mihi dixerant, licet ex animo non excidisse videatur, quod domini Maximiliani^a et domini regis Bohemię oratores, ut tales a sanctitate vestra sint recepti, nec iuvat suę maiestati dicere, quod sola receptio sicut illis ius non tribuit, [*A fol. 112v*] sic suę maiestati non nocet. “Iam,” inquit, “isti ulterius aliud a sua sanctitate non querunt, nec pro alia confirmatione ulterius instabunt.”

Isti reverendi episcopi, qui in eorum diocesibus habent multos, quorum uxores et quarum mariti Turcis serviunt, habent sanctitati vestre ingentes gratias, illi^b similiter supplicant pro responso, ut sanctitas vestra clementer pollicita est in proximo facere.³

De ecclesia Olomocensi et vicario in ea ponendo. Dominus rex non est visus egre ferre sic, quod fuerit deliberatum per sanctitatem vestram. Imo ad illa sua maiestas respondit: “ego sum bene contentus et tamen dixi vobis, domine legate, [*B fol. 18v*] quod nunquam fuit intentionis meę, quod Varadiensis^c illam ecclesiam haberet. Sed de vicario nunc in illa ecclesia ponendo ego admiror, quod dominus sanctissimus per unum suum breve aliter rescribit mihi, quod paternitati vestre mandat, quod nihil debeat in illa ecclesia pro nunc innovare, nec contra Varadiensem agere vel eum molestare.” “Cui, serenissime rex,” inquam, “ita mihi sua sanctitas mandat, ac illius brevia ostendi et legi.” “Et ego, domine legate,” inquit, “ostendam vobis breve, quod mihi dominus noster scribit, quod pro nunc debeatis supersedere et nihil sine novo mandato suę sanctitatis innovare.” Dixi: “serenissime rex, est verum, quoad censuras, quod contra

¹ Székesfehérvár.

² On the four matters (an indult to hear mass with the heretics, selling of Church property, indulgences for Székesfehérvár, and Observant Franciscans) in this paragraph, *cf.* n. 34.

³ *Cf.* n. 35.

Varadiensem sine novo mandato non debeo procedere, sed quoad vicarium expresse mandat mihi dominus noster, quod videam illum ponere de voluntate maiestatis vestre.” “Credatis,” inquit, “domine legate, quod dominus noster ad me de toto scribit, quod sine novo mandato suę sanctitatis nihil pro nunc debeatis procedere.” Ego, beatissime pater, quod video, quod sua maiestas Varadini opera continue utitur in istis negociis Slesiae et cum rege Bohemię et quę magni sunt ponderis, non vult eum turbare, maxime ante quam ista dieta absolvatur. Et ut audio, Varadinus apud dominum regem instat, quod sub specie legationis Romam ad sanctitatem vestram mittatur, ut se possit ab crimine heresis, quo dicitur laborare, se purgare et apud illam tandem conari optinere^d confirmationem dictę ecclesiae. Sed ego nihilosegnius adnitor tam domini regi, quam Varadiensi omnem spem confirmationis adimere, usque adeo, quod sepius Varadiensi repetii sub his verbis: “Domine Varadiensis, memineris scriptum esse, si oculus tuus scandalizat, te erue eum, et abiice abs te.¹ Melius est tibi cum sola Varadiensi pacifice vivere, quam duas habenti. Dicitur, qui duos lepores etc.”² Et hoc etiam Iauriensis³ et Agriensis⁴ questus est a me audivisse. Tamen breve illud, quod sua maiestas dicit habere, sepius dixerat, quod vellet ostendere, non ostendit, nec ego volui acrius pendente ista dieta insistere. Subdidi subinde maiestati suę de fructibus ecclesie Olomocensis, quos debet Vesprimiensi⁵ restituere, ut illa mihi mandat, ad quod sua maiestas dixit: “nec hoc, domine legate, opus est. Iam ego de istis fructibus concordiam feci inter istos episcopos et sunt per manus meas concordati, nec profuit, quod Vesprimiensi litteras allegarem, ad quas,” dixit, “respondeatis, quod ego dixi vobis, quod concordavi eos ad invicem.”

Quantum insuper ad dietam attinet, faciam prout sanctitas vestra mihi mandare dignatur et dominum regem sequar et omni cura et studio adnixus, tam ad ea, quę ad pacem spectant, utrasque maiestates

¹ Mat 18,9.

² Qui duos lepores insectatur, neutrum capit.

³ Tamás Bakóc.

⁴ Orbán Nagylucsei.

⁵ János Vitéz the Younger.

pro ingenii [*A fol. 113r*] tenuitate adhortabor, quam ut summa cura et diligentia circumspiciam, quid illic agetur, quorsum que^f hominum consilia et tractatus tendant. Quos fideliter et celeriter sanctitati vestre significare curabo, in qua^g cum preter fidem et integritatem, ut repetitis vicibus dixi, polliceri non possim.^h Illam tamen sic integram et inviolatam servabo, ut me facturam manuum suarum suumque vaxallum et mancipium cognoscat. Fervet ad eam rem utrinque opus et magnum utrinque paratur spectaculum. Iubentur omnis utriusque status, quanta possunt vi atque pompa dietę adesse. Et cum domini regi de pace inter Romanorum et Francorum reges loquerer, sua maiestas dixit mendacium esse. “Cum litteras habeam,” inquit, “a rege Francię, que contrarium dicunt,” atque eas legere mihi copiam fecit, que bellum magnum, quam concordiam aliquam sonabant. Licet essent sub datum XIII Iunii, nescio, si pax postea facta sit.¹

Denique sanctitati vestre humillimas habeo gratias de facultate altaris portatilis et indulgentiis CCC dierum. Et Deus novit, quod non pro questu, sed ut votis nobilium aulicorum domini regis videar respondere, quibus ita mihi sanctitatis vestre gratia prosit, gratis dare oportet, sic est Hungarorum mos.² [*B fol. 19r*]

Impossibile est dicere, quanto gaudio quantaque laetitia sanctitas vestra serenissimam dominam reginam affecerit isto brevi, quod dudum suę maiestati sanctitatis vestre nomine reddidi. Melle dulcius hoc illi visum est. Habet sanctitati vestrae humillimas et devotissimas gracias et illius pedes ut devotissima filia et ancilla deosculatur et amplectitur. Statim ad dominum regem patrem suum conversa: “Hoc idem”, inquit, “avidissime de domino rege patre meo audirem, ut in gratiam suę sanctitatis reciperetur, et vere,” inquit, “Deus parcat illi, qui domino nostro suggestit, quod per alias manus quam per dominum regem meum concordiam quereret cum domino rege patre meo. Ego bene scio, quod libentius dominus rex pater meus honorem detulisset in re hac genero et filiae suae quam exteris.”

¹ No such letter is known to be preserved.

² *Cf.* n. 34.

Quod et sanctitati vestre et domino vicecancellario¹ scripturam se dixit. Pater beatissime, omnia bene dicit et loquitur, sed in negotio isto Anconitano semper est sua maiestas adversata et de paupere archiepiscopo nunquam nisi iudicialiter iudicari petit. Recenset obscena, quæ ille pauper homo de ea, si vera sunt, loquebatur vulgo et sine discrimine in omni turba. Subdidit tamen velle dominum Modrusiensem,² qui preposituram Strigoniensem, que ad dominum Paulum,³ fratrem domini Colocensis spectat, adhortari, ut cum domino Paulo concordet et interesse fructus dividant. Ad quod suam maiestatem plurimum sum adhortatus, ego tamen de negotio domini Pauli consulto substiti iuxta sanctitatis vestre mandatum verba facere, ut prius domini Colocensis liberationem videam, cum omnia prospere succedere sperem et videam⁴ post eius liberationem.

Dominus rex voluit, quod ad preces quarundam monialium de Veteri Buda ordinis sancte Clare⁵ ad visitandum monasterium et moniales accederem et cum ipse a me reformari petierint, comitatis aliquibus episcopis et aliis prelati ad locum accessi et compertis multis, que neque honestatis, neque commodi esse ordinis et monasterii [*A fol. 113v*] videbantur. Recepta resignatione, quam in manibus meis sponte fecit abbatissa, que iam longo erat senio confecta, arbitrium dedi monialibus aliam eligendi, quam volente domino rege et regina confirmavi, explosa et remota ab omnibus monialibus omni rerum proprietate, prout illarum ordo exigit, et ipse sic fieri postularunt. Verum, quod hactenus sub imperio et regimine fratrum minorum conventualium fuerunt, qui, ut rebus ipsis didici, male et turpiter vivunt. Dubitat dominus rex, quod si rursus ad illorum fratrum obedientiam veniant, quod reformatio et proprietatis depositio parum

¹ Cardinal Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

² Christopher of Dubrovnik, bishop of Modruš (1480/1485–1499), cf. n. 24. He is only attested as commendator of the cathedral chapter provosty in Esztergom in 1491, cf. ÁRPÁD GILBERT CZAICH, *Regesták VII. Imre* [recte VIII. Ince] *pápa korából 1484–1492*, *Történelmi Társulat* (1902) 521–522.

³ Pál Váradi.

⁴ End of text B, only the datation is added.

⁵ Cf. KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története*, vol. I, 222–223.

prosit, quod fratres predicti illas in primas sordes relabi patientur. Supplicat sanctitati vestre dominus rex, quod constito de inhonesta ipsorum fratrum vita dentur ad regimen fratrum de observantia eiusdem ordinis. Super quo scribit maiestas sua domino vicecancellario et reverendo episcopo Vesprimiensi, oratori suo apud sanctitatem vestram ac, ut hoc ipsum illi significarem, iniunxit, pro quo etiam domina regina plurimum instat, seriem istius rei distinctius ac melius sanctitas vestra cognoscere poterit, ex processu super ea formato, cuius copiam sanctitati vestre destinavi presentibus alligatam.ⁱⁱ

Optime ac felicissime ad vota^j valeat sanctitas vestra, sanctissimis cuius^k pedibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda, XVIII^l Septembris 1489.

[*fol. 115v (A)*]: Sanctissimo ac clementissimo domino nostro pape

[*fol. 22v (B)*]: Ac beatissimo domino nostro pape

^a Sanctissime ... beatorum] Beatissime pater etc. *B.* ^b meis expressa prioribus] supradicta *B.* ^c quam] cum *B.* ^d XVII] 18 *B.* ^e redde mihi sunt] *suprascr. A; om. B.* ^f ubi] ibi *B.* ^g forte] *suprascr. A; om. B.* ^h divertet] divertat *B.* ⁱ quod fuisset ... ecclesie] *post culpa B.* ^j sed] et *B.* ^k Domina regina] *cifra ?*, *suprascr. Regina A; cifra regina B.* ^l Iaurensis] *cifra B; iaurensis cifra A; suprascr. Iaurensis A.* ^m Franciscus Fontana] *cifra AB (A fontan); suprascr. Franciscus Fontanus A.* ⁿ domine regine] *cifra ?*, *suprascr. totus Regine A; cifra regine B.* ^o nisi] ni *B.* ^p et servire ... statu] *in marg. A; om. B.* ^q Domine legate, inquit, ego bene scio] *B; Bene scio, inquit A.* ^r quod] *om. B.* ^s Marianus] *om. A (modo post redibit add. alia manu).* ^t et maxime de Raguseis] *add. alia manu A; om. B.* ^u quesiveram] quesiverim *B.* ^v Colocensem] Dominum Colocensem *B.* ^w prepositum] propositum *B.* ^x minore] minori *B.* ^y hortatus] adhortatus *B.* ^z Leoncij] Leontii *B.*

^a Maximiliani] *corr. de Maximilianus B.* ^b illi] et illi *B.* ^c Varadiensis] Varadinus *B.* ^d optinere] obtinere *B.* ^e nec] Non *B.* ^f que] *om. B.* ^g in qua] in qua re *B.* ^h possim] possum *B.* ⁱ post eius liberationem. ... presentibus alligatam.] *om. B.* ^j ad vota] *om. B.* ^k sanctissimis cuius] cuius sacratissimis *B.* ^l XVIII] die XVIII *B.*

ⁱ The documentation to the process is not preserved.

37.

*Vienna, 5 October 1489**Beatrix of Aragon to Innocent VIII*

The queen expresses her thanks for a previous breve of the pope.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 595 (parchment 349×243 mm; closed with an attached seal 52 mm, fallen off; humanistic script). – ED.: BERZEVICZY, ed., *Acta*, 141, n. xciv. – NOTE (a tergo, righ below): *responsum domine regine ad pontificem pro brevibus receptis*; (left below): *responsum brevibus*

Sanctissime ac beatissime in Cristo pater et domine colendissime. Post humilem commendationem et pedum oscula beatorum. A quisti giorni passati el reverendissimo monsignore legato apostolico messer Angelo episcopo Ortano ne ha dati dui brevi de la sanctitas vestra, per li quali quella ne lauda del animo bono et devoto affecto, tenimo a la sanctissima sede apostolica et a la sanctitas vestra et ne conforta per quilli a perseverare in questo sancto et laudabile proposito. Li quali ne sonno stati iucundissimi. In primis per esserne stati scripti da la sanctitas vestra, cuius et nomen et litteras adoramus. Deinde perche quella ne da laude de sincera devotione verso la sanctitas sua et tutta la sede apostolica. La qual non se poteria dire, quanto ne sia stata grata, et benche in noi per nostra fragilita non sia tanta devotione a la prefata sede, quanta iure ac merito deberia, pur tutta via per quella minima faculta e in noi, non simo mancate, ne mancarimo mai far tutto quello, che sia in honore et gloria sua et de la beatitudine vestra. Pregando el signore Dio, ne dia qualche volta occasione et oportunita de operare per quella qualche cosa, in che se stendano le faculte nostre, che ne rendimo certe, che si non fariamo^a quanto devessemo, et fossemo obligate. Attamen non mancarimo per niente a quanto se potesse per la prefata sancta sede apostolica et per la beatitudine vestra a li piedi et benedictione de la quale humilimente ne re-commandamo. Datum Bude, die V. Octobris, anno Domini M^oCCCC^oLXXXVIII^o.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis ac beatitudinis devotissima filia Beatrix de Aragonia regina Hungarie etc.

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo ac beatissimo in Cristo patri et domino, domino Innocentio divina providentia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici, domino colendissimo

^a fariamo] sariamo *Berz.*

38.

Buda, 15 October 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

The nuncio recounts a discussion with the king, who has been delayed to the meeting with the Emperor, as he was ill. Maximilian sent his envoy to King Matthias, but he had to leave without any result. Matthias wanted to offer to Maximilian the restitution of his Austrian dominions in exchange for the recognition of János Corvinus as an heir to the Kingdom of Hungary. Angelo discussed his possible presence at the meeting with the king and Matthias complained about the attitude of Cardinal Jean Balue and of Raymund Peraudi, who was a papal nuncio at the court of the Emperor. The bishop of Várad (Jan Filipec) and other king's envoys should not even talk to him. Angelo would accompany the king to the meeting, and he does not need any extra credentials from the pope. The king mentioned Sultan Djem again: when the pope finally decides to give Djem to him, he might be unable to accept him. In a postscript the nuncio has some news on the matters of Ancona negotiations.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 113v–114v (A); Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. XIV 99 (=4278), fol. 19r–20r (B) (Ms. A: the letter is attached to letter dated 18 September 1489, it follows on the same page after the previous letter ended; Ms. B: the letter follows after the letter of 18 September 1489 – sent together with other two following reports), *cf.* n. 36.

Beatissime pater. Accessus iste ad dietam, quae VIII Septembris celebrari dicebatur, dilatus est in hunc usque diem et licet utrinque omnia parentur, attamen levis hæc egritudo,¹ quae dominum regem invasit, rem distulit et ego ea hora ac die nuntium hinc primum

¹ On the health of King Matthias see DOMONKOS, *The Medical History*.

mittere institueram, quo ad dietam iter ingrederemur, sed longius egritudo procedit, quam credebatur. Patitur enim febrem, quam syncopim vocant, nec genua et pedes, qui multum intumuerunt, a dolore vacant et licet domini Maximiliani¹ orator² ad statutum diem redierit, significans domini sui adventum et ut regem hunc ad iter impellat, attamen sua maiestas egritudinem causatus, quo fit, ut longior et longe maior, quam credatur, intercedet mora, ita, ut hinc orator domini Maximiliani recesserit rebus pene incompositis. Agit interea dominus rex, ut Varadinum et alios aliquos consiliarios³ premittat rei temptandae gracia et quantum mihi a remotis vacat intelligere. Audio hæc esse, in quae dominus rex dominum Maximilianum petit condescendere, scilicet quod dominus rex hunc filium suum naturalem⁴ ducem Austriæ querit investire ac illum successorem regni Hungariæ constituere et cum post mortem huius domini regis filius suus fuerit rex Hungariæ coronatus, ad quem coronandum et pacificandum dominus Maximilianus opem prestat et favorem, quod ex tunc ducatus Austriæ revertatur eo ipso ad dominum Maximilianum sine aliquo onere expensarum et insuper, quod terra Posonii, que nunc est de regno Hungariæ et quæ quondam fuit de ducatu Austriæ, etiam revertatur ad dictum dominum Maximilianum [*B fol. 19v*] et ut similiter accersito magno silentio mihi refertur, si in has pacis conditiones non descendant rursus in maiora incendia et populationes devenient ac per hoc summa vi et pompa utrinque ad dietam ire parant. Dominus Maximilianus secum habet aliquos [*A fol. 114r*] praelatos et oratores omnes dominorum electorum, et ita pauper est, ut mira res sit, que de illius miseria dicuntur.^a Ad quam dietam etiam dominus imperator conveniet. Ita mihi dominus rex dixit a cesarea maiestate et litteras et oratores habuisse.

¹ Maximilian, King of the Romans.

² Possibly again Otto, Pfalzgraf von Mosbach-Neumarkt.

³ Jan Filipec, Vilém z Pernštejna, Christoph von Liechtenstein, Lucas Schnitzer, Leopold Prantz, Jacob Zackel, cf. KARL NEHRING, *Quellen zur ungarischen Aussenpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Levélárti Közlemények* 47 (1976) 252.

⁴ János Corvinus.

Sed profecto, pater beatissime, cum omnia ex ordine constare videntur, subito exorta tempestas, mare commovit et hymbres. Dominus rex interrogavit me, si aliquod breve a sanctitate vestra haberem credentialia ad dominum regem Romanorum. Respondi, ut erat, quod non et quod sanctitas vestra non putavit ad rem esse, postquam amplissime in suis litteris ad me scripsit, quod cum maiestate sua ad dietam proficiscerer. "Vere," inquit, "domine legate, qui sedet in illa sede apostolica, debet sic esse bonus sequester, quod neque ad unam partem, nec ad aliam respiciat et non modo non respiciat, sed nec respicere credatur. Ecce ille legatus,"¹ inquit, "qui est cum rege Romanorum, mittit ad me unum breve^b domini sanctissimi, per quod ego sum advisatus, quod ille est ad plenum informatus de mente sue sanctitatis et instructiones, quas illi dedit dominus sanctissimus, sunt ille, quas dominus Andegavensis² per suas litteras illi dedit. Vere, domine legate, postquam dominus sanctissimus sic me tractat, ego sum bene contentus. Faciat sua sanctitas, sicut vult, postquam ad pacem componendam inter me et regem Romanorum instructiones debet dare domini de Balua per suas litteras ad legatum sue sanctitatis. Ego commisi Varadiensi et aliis consiliariis meis, quos mitto ad regem Romanorum, quod ad illum legatum non vadant, nec si vellet in consiliis cum domino Maximiliano interesse, aliquid loquantur, aut tractent illo presente. Ego bene scio, quod hoc augebit odium sue sanctitatis in Varadiensem hereticum, sed Deus adiuvabit eum. Iste legatus multum dicit de pace, quam fecit. Non dicit verum," inquit, "nihil est factum, nisi quod ab armis est cessatum usque ad certum tempus, ad festum sancti Andree,^{3c} quo dicunt reges Romanorum et Francie velle ad colloquium convenire, sed quod aliqua capitula inter eos, de eorum differentiis facta sint."^d Non dicit verum. Ego hoc pro certo," inquit, "scio." Nec multo post idem dominus ille Raymundus ad me scribit litteras, quarum copiam ad sanctitatem vestram mitto et copiam brevium sanctitatis vestre, quae ad me,

¹ Raymund Peraudi.

² Cardinal Jean Balue.

³ 30 November 1489.

nescio unde, reddite sunt, prius per compita et mille tabernas, lectas, examinatas et publicatas et quod suspitiosius his, qui rem norunt, visum^e est. Ex domo oratoris Venetorum¹ ad me sunt reddite, quas etiam sanctitati vestre mitto, ut videat, quod levis res est, quae has gentes movet et in suspensionem adducit. Et ut novit sanctitas vestra, rex iste ungendus est, non pungendus ac illico ad me sua maiestas dixit: “rogo te, domine legate, vos etiam scribatis domini regi Romanorum similes litteras, sicut ad me scribit ille Franciosus.”² “Serenissime rex,” inquam, “non est cur maiestas vestra de domino nostro queri possit. Forte ille instructiones sunt de alio negotio, quam de isto. Ille legatus est homo suę sanctitatis non Balue et quando esset Balue, numquam ego intellexi, nisi quod Balua esset bonus servitor maiestatis vestre. Ponat pro Deo istam opinionem maiestas vestra, quae videt, quod amplissimam dat mihi potestatem sua sanctitas dietae adesse et nihil est, quod ad me breve credentiale non dederit, [*A fol. 114v*] putavit sua sanctitas non esse necessarium, quod iam est notissimum, quod apud maiestatem vestram nomine suę sanctitatis legati officio fungor. Ideo sua sanctitas non putavit necessarium esse breve credentiale ad me mittere et litteras, quas dicit maiestas vestra, libenter scribam, ut etiam [*B fol. 20r*] scripsi, de^f quibus ad sanctitatem vestram copiam mitto.” “Alias,” inquit, “domine legate, dixi vobis, quod multa fiunt in curia Romana contra me, quae vicecancellarius³ nescit. Ego bene scio ulterius, domine legate, de isto Turcho⁴ non obtundam^g aures suę sanctitatis et forte veniet tempus, quo sua sanctitas vellet mihi dare et ego non potero recipere et ego vellem habere et sua sanctitas non poterit mihi dare.” “Pro Deo,” inquam, “maiestas vestra non induat istum animum, vadamus ad istam dietam, ubi melius maiestas vestra se incipit habere. Et fiat pax in virtute Christi et postea bellum indicat maiestas vestra pro christiani nominis gloria contra Turchos.” “Ego,” inquit, “domine legate, volo

¹ Domenico Bollani.

² Raymund Peraudi.

³ Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

⁴ Sultan Djem.

in pace vivere, dominus sanctissimus habet meliorem modum et plures pecunias, quam ego. Iam ego volo in pace vivere.” Longum esset, pater beatissime, omnia recensere, sensus iste est, quod egerime tulit, quod sanctitas vestra ad istum Raymundum scripserit et quod non tamen,^h quod scripserit, quam quod Balua per suas litteras haberet instructionesⁱ dare ad legatum sanctitatis vestre. Ego, pater beatissime, et si modicum erubuerim, putavi officii mei, imo verius debiti esse, omnia patienter ferre, modo sanctitati vestre, cuius sum factura et vaxallus, placeam, nec ab incepto fidei et observantię onere cessabo. Sed doleo, quicumque is fuerit, qui, dum gloriam expetit, propriam sanctitatis vestre integritatem, quam in causis presertim arduis prospicit, non advertit.

Optime ac foelicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sanctissimis^j pedibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda die XV. Octobris MCCCCLXXXVIII.¹

Puto, quod tantum pulsaverim apud dominum regem, quod pro revocatione rerum Anchonitarum non expectabit sua maiestas absolvi dietam, ut Varadiensem mittat, sed propediem missurus est ad rem hanc et alias dominum Franciscum Fontanam, qui postea Mediolanum ex Urbe iturus est. Habeo hoc ex bono loco.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis servulus et humile mancipium Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus^k

^a et ita pauper ... dicuntur] *in marg. A (manu Angeli Pecchinoli); om. B.* ^b breve] brevem *A.* ^c ad festum sancti Andree] *in marg. A (alia manu); om. B.* ^d sint] sunt *B.* ^e visum] visa *B.* ^f de] et de *B.* ^g obtundam] ottundam *B.* ^h et quod non tamen] et non tam *B.* ⁱ haberet instructiones] instructiones habuerit *B.* ^j sanctissimis] sacratissimis *B.* ^k Puto, quod ... Ortanus] *manu Angeli Pecchinoli A.*

¹ End of text B.

39.

*Buda, 3 November 1489**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

The nuncio reports that there is an envoy from Rimini (Rainerius de Maschis), but he does not know why. He reports some rumours that he learned about the situation in Italy (Cesena, Rimini, Camerino), but he does not know any details. Also, the nuncio asks about Naples. Finally, in a postscript, he reports that the court might go to the meeting with the Emperor on 5 November.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. XIV 99 (=4278), fol. 20r (cf. n. 36).

Beatissime pater etc. Per Alonsum tabellarium meum superioribus diebus ad sanctitatem vestram, quae tunc in rem esse videbantur, latissime scripsi, nihil superest, quod scriptura dignum arbitrer, nisi quod his diebus venit Raynerius de Maschis,¹ qui alias inter familiares sanctitatis vestre fuerat et illico, ubi venit, a rege auditus. Nescio, quid id sit, quod iste bonus senex in gravescente hac aetate Adriacum hyberno tempore superare sit ausus. Et orator Venetorum^{2a} sub magno silentio mihi indicavit, quod novas res molitur homo iste, in *Cesena*³ vel *Arimino*,^{4b} quam rem et si non crediderim, attamen ne viderer silentium et diligentiam suam aspernari. Volui sanctitati vestre scribere, quae melius veritatem intueri poterit, quam ego, qui rem hanc fabulas esse putavi. Et si vera est fama de censuris, quas contra regem Neapolitanum ferre parat sanctitas vestra. Ego puto, quod hic non, ut quondam laeto vultu videbor, quod aliquid etiam nunc incipio suspicari. Et iste de Camerino⁵ longius, quam putaverim, hic immoratur, licet dominus rex mihi dicat, quod vacuum eum remittet. Volui hæc sanctitati vestre significare, ut pro sua singulari providentia rebus consulat oportune, neque quid agere

¹ Rainerius de Maschis of Rimini, podestà of Florence in 1473, legal doctor.

² Domenico Bollani.

³ Cesena, a town some 30 km south of Ravenna.

⁴ Rimini, a town about 25 km south-east of Cesena.

⁵ Marianus, chancellor of Giulio Cesare da Varano.

debeam, pro suo imperio instruere dignetur. Optime ac foelicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius etc. Ex Buda, III. Novembris 1489.

Rumor est tota urbe, quod quinta huius ad dietam proficiscemur, summo aliqua egritudo dominum regem impediverit.

^a orator Venetorum] *cifra ms.* ^b Cesena vel Arimino] *cifra ms.*

40.

Buda, 27 November 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

Angelo reports on talks with the king on certain topics. 1) On the king of Naples and rumours of an appellation from the king to the general council; Matthias does not know anything about it and does not want to do anything against the pope; Angelo praises him for that; 2) Matthias mentioned that his enemies, the Poles, want him to be excommunicated; Angelo does not know anything about that; 3) Matthias is sad and even outraged about Raymund Peraudi, as a papal nuncio with the Emperor, asking for a letter of safe conduct; he is no enemy of the pope; Angelo explains it might be because of Peraudi's simplicity and because this is the habit in France (and Peraudi is French); 4) on the matters of Ancona, Angelo lengthily explained the situation again and remembered the long tradition of the obedience of Hungary towards the Apostolic See; Matthias wants to send the bishop of Várad (Jan Filipec) to Ancona and to Rome with two citizens of Ancona, where they would renounce all the treaties; now Francesco Fontana will be in Rome to inform the pope; 5) Angelo asked about the king's orator who returned from the Turks; he came with a suggestion of truce for five years, which Matthias wants to conclude as the matter of Djem does not proceed; he also mentioned the news of preparations of a Turkish raid against Rhodes, where the Sultan wants to build some towers against the Knights of St. John; 6) the negotiations in Austria are slow, it would be crucial to have peace to revive the war against the Turks; the bishop of Zagreb (Osvát Túz) should go to France to move the king against the king of the Romans if peace is not concluded; 7) Angelo adds (in ms. B only), that the orator of the king of the Romans wants to negotiate about calling for a general council with Matthias.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 124r–125r (A); Lat. XIV 99 (=4278), fol. 20r–22r (B) (with one more paragraph); cf. n. 36. – NOTE (A; upper margin, fol. 124r): Mirse lemásolta.

Beatissime^a pater et clementissime domine. Pedum oscula beatorum.^b Ad quintum diem huius mensis,¹ sicut omnia disposita esse videbantur, ubi dominus rex ex causis suis itineri se non accinxerat,^c dedi operam^d ad maiestatem suam accedere, [*B fol. 20v*] ut aliqua ex his, quae vulgus hic de domino rege Neapolitano² loquitur, intelligerem. Est enim hic, pater beatissime, comunis fama, quod rex ille ad futurum nullum concilium super pretenso gravamine appellaverit.^e Et cum suę maiestati dicerem, quod non sine admiratione foret, quod rex ille tam contra iuramentum fidelitatis sedi apostolicę prestitum et sanctorum patrum instituta, quam plurima sedis apostolicę decreta presertim in conventu illo Mantuano novissime facta³ ad futurum concilium, quod non nisi sedis apostolicę spetiali oraculo indici poterat, appellasset, presertim cum subditus et pheudatarius^f sedis apostolicę foret. Hortabar maiestatem suam, si id foret, licet in ea re preter comunem famam non haberem, et ad me de re hac nihil omnino scriptum foret. Quod sua maiestas suis litteris illum dominum regem Neapolitanum vellet adhortari, quod ab his, que expressam rebellionem et contumacem contumaciam sapiebant, vellet abstinerere. Putaretque, quod non his artibus et rebellione domini nostri, cuius natura et ingenium mite est, et mansuetum unici posset, sed obedientia et reverentia, ut decet bonum pheudatarium^g et hominem, qui fidelitatem debet sedi apostolicę. “Ego,” inquit, “domine legate, non audivi de aliqua appellatione, sed fuit mihi dictum de certa protestatione, quam dominus rex Neapolitanus fecisset contra dominum sanctissimum de concilio et dominus sanctissimus fecisset aliam protestationem^h contra eum. Et certe, domine legate, ista res displiuit omnibus nobis confoederatis suis, quod dominus rex Neapoli-

¹ 5 November 1489.

² Ferrante I, King of Naples.

³ The bull *Execrabilis* of Pius II that was promoted at the Congress of Mantua, cf. HANNAH TIETZE, *Die Bulle Execrabilis Pius' II. aus dem Jahr 1460 und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Konzilappellationen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Concilium mediæ ævi* 12 (2009) 205–223; *Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii*, 189 (lib. III, cap. 46).

tanus debet intelligere, quod sicut ipse non habet eligere pontificem Romanum, sic nec habet deponere, et forte aliqui putaverunt, quod illud, quod fecit dominus rex Neapolitanus, fecerit de scitu et voluntate suorum confoederatorum. Per Deum ego possum iurare, quod de ista re ego nihil scivi et dolui, quando audivi, et non possum credere, quod dominus sanctissimus velit arma movere contra regem, nec quod rex velit arma movere contra suam sanctitatem, quod bene scit, quod confoederati sui et maxime ego non vellem per viam armorum facere contra suam sanctitatem. Et non credatis, domine legate, quod ego sim ita grossus ingenio, quod non intelligam, quod inter vos et nos est magnum chaos. Si ego vellem defendere regem Neapolitanum, oporteret me mittere gentes meas per mare et Veneti cum una galea possent totum inturbare.ⁱ Bene possem facere, si Veneti vellent adiuvare dominum sanctissimum, quod possem illos continere in domo sua, quod non exirent ad auxilium suę sanctitatis. Sed alias ego cognosco, quod non possum, et Deus scit, quod ego nunquam cogitavi nec cogito facere contra sedem apostolicam et suam sanctitatem. Sed ego multum doleo, quod inimici mei tantum valeant^j cum sua sanctitate, quod iam isti Poloni gloriantur, quod cum sua sanctitate effecerunt, quod me faciant excommunicari.^k Ego nescio, quid fecerim, non sum hereticus, non sum scismaticus, quod sua sanctitas me debeat excommunicare. Et plus ego doleo de iactantia et verbis istorum meorum inimicorum, qui nihil aliud dicunt et gloriantur, quod a sua sanctitate obtinuerunt, quod me facient excommunicari. Et quod peius est, iste legatus,^l qui est cum domino Maximiliano, pridie scripsit ad me, quod haberet aliqua mecum communicare pro parte domini sanctissimi in negociis fidei et aliis suam sanctitatem concernentibus et quod ego deberem sibi dare salvum conductum ad veniendum.^l Et idem ad me scribit dominus Varadiensis,² quod saepius ille legatus a se petiit, quod sibi signaret sigillo suo unum salvum conductum, quod tutius^m posset ad

¹ Raymund Peraudi.

² Jan Filipec, the Privy/Secret Chancellor of the King (1486–1490), carried the seal with himself.

me venire. Quid est hoc,” inquit, [*B fol. 21r*] “domine legate, quod a me petat saluum conductum, nisi quod dicit se inimicum meu?. Quid ego feci contra dominum sanctissimum? Sum ego Turchus? Sum hereticus? Sum scismaticus? Quod legati sedis apostolicę, quos ego semper cum honore et reverentia tractavi et recepi, debent a me petere saluum conductum? Vere, domine legate, per duas noctes pro merore et malenconia talis petitionis non potui dormire. Quid est petere saluum conductum, nisi quod se facit adversarium meum et legatus, qui dicit se habere aliqua communicare in negociis fidei et aliis ad dominum nostrum spectantibus, petit habere saluum conductum, nisiⁿ quod se facit mihi suspectum et adversarium vel putat, quod ego sim Turchus vel hereticus? Certe,” inquit, “domine legate, ego de hoc sum valde male contentus.” Dixi: “serenissime rex, ego habeo ingentes gratias maiestati vestre de tam prompto et devoto animo suo erga sedem apostolicam et certe maiestas vestra optime dicit, quod non fuit prudens consilium domini regis Neapolitani ad protestationem vel appellationem aliquam procedere et hoc non potuit esse, nisi cum notha^o confoederatorum suorum et presertim maiestatis vestre, cuius consilio creditur, quod vivat et se regat. Et utinam dominus noster fuisset contentus, quod res hæc fuisset composita per maiestatem vestram, prout illam vidi promptam ad onus suscipiendum, quod res iam terminationem cępisset. Et ego libenter vellem, quod nunquam [*A fol. 124v*] Anchona^p fuisset in rerum natura, aut illi, qui maiestati vestre suaserunt capitula illa fieri debere, nunquam essent nati, et iste Cynthus¹ Anchonitanus, qui hæc maiestati vestre suggestisse gloriatur et qui tam impudenter de sede apostolica et toto clero loquitur, precipue cum dicit, quod frenum clero sua opera sit impositum, esset in profundum omnium malorum,^q quod emuli et illi, qui invident glorię maiestatis vestre, nihil omnino habent, quod loquantur, aut dicere de maiestate vestra possint, nisi de re ista Anchonitana. Et cum isto facto omnia sua colorant et faciunt videri vera, et quanto magis in hoc negotio immoratur, tanto maiori conscientię suę oneri cedit. Et emulis

¹ Francesco Cinzio Benincasa.

latiorem prebet obloquendi campum et videat maiestas vestra, quam sc̄lestam rem et Cynthius et ceteri, qui voluerunt rem Ancho-
nitanam maiestati vestre suggerere, peccaverunt, nam ut caetera
omittare, quod inclitum regnum istud Hungarię post regem suum
nullum videtur superiorem, nisi sedem apostolicam cęperit ista no-
tha infici, quod vaxallos sedis apostolicę ad defectionem sollicitet.
Cum tanta ac tam ardens in sedem illam Ungarorum fuit semper
observantia, ut reges Hungarię non putet legitimos esse, qui corona
per sedem apostolicam data non fuerint coronati. Sed pro Deo ma-
iestas vestra non ita facilem prebeat delatoribus aurem. Meminerit
verborum domini nostri sanctissimi, qui saepius ad me suis litteris
scribit, quod maiestatem vestram adhortatur, neu delatoribus faciles
prestat aures, sedes apostolica reges Hungarię, presertim maiestatem
vestram ob insignes animi sui dotes, peculiari semper amore et
benivolentia prosequuta^r est, nec putet maiestas vestra, quod domi-
nus noster unum adoptivum et peculiarem filium, quem a puero
pene educavit, in hac aetate sententiis ecclesiasticis vellet illigare.
Sedes apostolica et presertim dominus noster cunctatione et prudenti
mora non celeritate filios ad se reducit. Nihil audio, nihil intelligo
inter maiestatem vestram et Polonos nunc esse, quod^s dominus nos-
ter ad censuras in regem Hungariae procedere deberet. De petitione
istius legati¹ ego admiror et cum maiestate vestra doleo, et scio non
esse de mente et voluntate domini nostri. Nec illum puto, dolo aut
fraude aliqua salvum conductum petiisse, sed simplicitate sua, aut
verius Gallica illa levitate, quod forte ita est de more in Francia. Sed
maiestas vestra non ad eum, sed ad dominum nostrum respiciat, et
quod non fit dolo, non velit tanti reputare, sed ad simplicitatem
ascribere.” “Ego,” inquit, “domine legate, de isto facto Anchonitano
volo dominum sanctissimum liberare et iam fecissem, si ista dieta
non impediret dominum Varadiensem, sed incontinenti facta dieta
volo eum mittere et faciet^t viam per Anchonam et secum ducat duos
Anchonitanos, qui coram sua sanctitate revocent, modo det absolu-
tionem de omni pęna, quam^u [*B fol. 21v*] incurrisent pro illis capi-

¹ Raymund Peraudi.

tulis et iam per istum Franciscum Fontanam volo assecurare suam sanctitatem, quod nihil ulterius in re hac cogitet, quod illico post dietam mittam Varadiensem^v cum ista revocatione.” Et plura alia circa hoc, quae ad^w devotionem ad vestram sanctitatem et sedem apostolicam portendebant, sua maiestas locuta est. Subinde^x quod intellexeram oratorem¹ suę maiestatis, quem ad Turchum miserat, rediisse, petii a maiestate sua, si liceat, libenter audirem, quid orator iste referat de Turcho. “Iste orator,” inquit, “domine legate, refert imprimis, quod Turchus eum libenter vidit et coeperunt tractare de illis damnis, quae regno meo stantibus treugis Turchus intulit. Et Turchus libenter voluisset mihi dare unum de illis castellis,² quod vocatur (*sic*) et quod ulterius ego pro recuperatione damnorum non insisterem, sed iste orator meus dixit: ‘ego non habeo mandatum recipere unum de istis castellis, sed si vultis dare ambo castella, ego volo recipere et faciam, quod dominus meus rex acquiescet.’ Et vere ego non dederam sibi in mandatis, sed si fecisset, ego fuisset bene contentus. Sed aliquid ego bene spero fieri de istis castellis. Duxit preterea secum duos Turchos de principalioribus suis capitaneis, qui

¹ János Kishorváti.

² In 1484 Sultan Bayezid II conquered two fortresses in Moldavia at the Black Sea area, namely Kilia (nowadays Kiliya in the Ukraine) in the estuary of one of the branches of the Danube and Belgrade (nowadays Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, also known as Cetatea Albă in Romanian, or Akkerman in Turkish, which is most widely used) in the estuary of the Dniester River. King Matthias considered the Grand Duke of Moldavia Stephen III the Great to be his vassal and thus this act was regarded as breaking the truce. Similarly, King of Poland Casimir IV who also considered Moldavia to be a vassal state, sent a military aid, but after it proved hopeless, he concluded a two-year truce. Cf. TAMÁS PÁLOSEALVI, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*, Leiden–Boston 2018, 280–284; ALEXANDRU SIMON, *The Ottoman-Hungarian Crisis of 1484: Diplomacy and Warfare in Matthias Corvinus’ Local and Regional Politics*, Matthias and his legacy: Cultural and Political Encounters between East and West, ed. Attila Bárány–Attila Györkös, Debrecen 2009, 405–436; cf. also DARIUSZ KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Abdnames and Other Documents*, Leiden–Boston–Cologne 2000, 110.

portarunt mihi litteras pro treugis, sed ego adhuc non recepi.” Et cum a maiestate sua quererem: “ad quantum tempus?” “Domine legate,” inquit, “ego volo vobis dicere veritatem, est ad quinquennium.”^y Cui illico respondi: “ergo negotium istius Turci¹, quem dominus noster servat, et pro quo maiestas vestra tantopere laboravit, vertetur in fumum?” “Quid possum,” inquit, “facere? Dominus sanctissimus ita avare se habuit mecum et tantas pecunias querit habere cum isto Turcho, quod ego non volo ulterius expectare.”^z Saepius dixi vobis, quod dominus noster decipitur et credit colligere multas pecunias et nihil faciet et multi principes se excusabunt, quod non possunt solvere. Multi expresse negabunt, quod non volunt solvere, ego non volo ulterius expectare, postquam invenio cum bona conditione mea et honore treugas. Ego volo illas facere. Unum scio, quod soldanus non daret unum denarium pro isto Turcho, neque ulterius petet eum.”^a “Pro Deo,” inquam, “maiestas vestra in re hac non ita acceleret. Habet posse supersedere in acceptando treugas, quousque dominum nostrum [*Afol. 125r*] advisem et maxime nunc cum maiestas vestra ad dietam properat, potest respondere, quod post dietam deliberabit.” “Vere,” inquit, “domine legate, non possum facere, ego bene possem non acceptare litteras, quas ipsi^b portant, et eos excludere, sed dare dilationem non possum facere.” “Video, serenissime domine rex,” inquam, “quod maiestas vestra etiam vult adiuvere, quod isti Veneti fiant domini Italię, amici et servitores vestri apud dominum nostrum pro ista gloria, quod maiestati vestre iste Turchus daretur, decertaverunt, sed ubi illa desistit, faciamus Venetos dominos in mari et terra.”^c “Faciatis,” inquit, “sicut vultis.” Et cum acrius a saepius in re hac insisterem, quod sua maiestas non tam prope in re hac vellet inconsulta vestra sanctitate deliberare, nihil profeci, sed treugas ad dictum diem concludere se dixit. Addidit tamen sua maiestas, quod orator suus referebat se pro vero et a fide dignis intellexisse, quod Turchus ad futuram aetatem classem parat, ut Rhodum naviget, et exercitum in insulam immittat,^d non quod

¹ Sultan Djem.

arcem fratrum¹ oppugnare velit, sed in altera insulae parte turres extruat, [*B fol. 22r*] que sint velut propugnaculum ad arces fratrum.² Cui dixi exercitus fratrum non patietur, quod Turci turres extruant et alias illa insula non habet multos portus, ubi classis Turci possit stare. "Non," inquit, "domine legate, exercitus fratrum potest prohibere classem Turci, vix fratres audebunt stare intra castella, non quod exeant contra exercitum Turci, postquam fuerit in insula et isto modo obsidebunt et fame et continua vexatione." Imo sua maiestas me est adhortata, quod sanctitati vestre scriberem velut rem grandem et comunem fidei causam tangentem.²

Caeterum,^f quantum intellexisse licuit, agitur nunc regis nomine in Belgrado³ una dieta, ad quam oratores Turci convenerunt, ubi de damnis illis illatis treugarum tempore agitur et, ut audio, petit rex ad XXIII^M hominum furto tempore treugarum adductorum et quod vel homines vel illorum pretia ad festum Nativitatis Domini nostri⁴ Turcus restituat, aut illa duo castella tradat, alias pax rupta censeatur. Qui mihi hoc retulit, putat Turchum primas duas condiciones non posse adimplere. Tertiam vero non velle, unde rursus bellum parandum inter hos erit, quod Deus pro sua clementia agere dignetur. Nihil enim anxius populus iste quereretur, quam quod compositis in Austria rebus bellum rursus in Turchos revivisceret.

Ad^g istam dietam omnia licet ab initio ardere viderentur, frigere nunc eadem conspicio, adventus, ut audio, cesaris spem pacis turbavit. Creditum est componi omnia commodius cum Maximiliano,⁵

¹ Hospitallers, the Knights of St. John, or the Knights of Rhodes.

² Here ends the text of ms. B, followed only by the datation and the last paragraph, which in turn is missing in ms. A and heavily enciphered, but not deciphered with suprascript as other texts are.

³ Belgrade in Serbia.

⁴ 25 December 1489.

⁵ Maximilian, King of the Romans.

quam cum seniore caesare,¹ sive quod natura morosus sit et difficilis, sive quod durum est barbato imponere seni. Audio propediem rediturum Varadiensem,² cui itineris comes est dux Otto de Bavaria,³ orator Maximiliani. Nescio, quid futurum sit ex oratoris illius adventu. Intelligo, levi licet murmure, quod dominus rex mente agitat, si pax non componatur, ex Turcho habere exercitum X^M equitum ad octo menses vel annum pollicita mercede LXXX^M ducatorum, qui regi militet adversus eos, quos in bellum duxerit. Deus det pro sua clementia pacem componi, quae ad bellum in Turchos indicendum peropportuna foret.

Dominus^h episcopus Zagabriensis⁴ pridie in ecclesiam suam hinc concessit iturus, ut audio, de mandato domini regis in Gallias ad illum regem et quantum coniectare licet, iste dominus rex, si cum *rege Romanorum*ⁱ pacem non habeat, etiam res ipsius *regis Romanorum*ⁱ cum rege Franciæ turbabit. Optime ac foelicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sanctissimis pedibus me humillime commendo.^k Ex Buda, XXVII.^l Novembris MCCCCLXXXVIII.^m

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis humile mancipium Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanusⁿ

Est preterea, pater beatissime, ex bono loco saepius mihi relatum, quod *orator regis Romanorum*^o tam suo, quam *imperatoris*^p nomine, qui frequenter huc venit, saepius *regem Hungarie requisivit*,^q interpellavit, quod in hac *futura dieta de convocando generali concilio agere et tractare*^r vellent. Asseruit preterea iste orator, quod ad voluntatem et desiderium istud accederet *votum omnium suorum confederatorum*,^s et quod si *rex Hungarie vellet consentire*^t omnia ex solido constarent. Istam rem, pater beatissime, prout maximi momenti est, nec facile credidi nec temere sprevi. Volui, priusquam ad sanctitatem

¹ Emperor Frederick III.

² Jan Filipec returned to Buda after negotiations with Maximilian in Linz, 10–19 November.

³ Otto II, Count Palatine of Pfalz-Mosbach-Neumarkt (1461–1490).

⁴ Osvát Túz Szentlászlói.

vestram illam scriberem, diligenter radices et fundamenta intelligere, presertim *quid ad hanc petitionem rex Hungarie respondisset, probasset, an non, petitionem.*^u Et tandem ego reperi et ita mihi sub capitis periculo refertur, quod *rex Hungarie*^v voluit omnium *in rem hanc conspirantium nomine*^w intelligere et ubi illa intellexit, respondit etiam *se velle ad suos confederatos scribere et sic de unanimi voto confederatorum respondere.*^x Refertur etiam mihi, quod *mirus illi regis Romanorum ardor est Italiam invisendi*^y et saepius de re hac loquitur, ac quod *magnis premiis hunc regem Hungarie ad rem hanc invitat accedente imperatoris*^z expressis *consensu et*^a interpellatione. Volui sanctitati vestre significare, ut illa intelligat, nihil usque tuti esse, actum foret de homine, *qui mihi*^b pro sanctitatis vestre reverentia *retulit,*^c etiam si matris verborum sciretur, qui propter causae vel litis perplexitatem nondum bene discussam. etc.

[fol. 125v]: Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape

^a Exemplum litterarum, quas Benedictus detulit, qui hinc abiit XXVII. Novembris *supra prima linea, manu Angeli Pecchinoli* B. ^b Beatissime ... beatorum] Beatissime pater etc. B. ^c accinxerat] accinserat B. ^d operam] sedulo operam B. ^e appellaverit] de concilio, quod displicuit regie maiestati *add. in marg. A.* ^f pheidatarius] feudatarius B. ^g pheidatarium] feudatarium B. ^h aliam protestationem] om. B. ⁱ quod non posset nocere (?) pontifici propter distantiam et propter Venetos *add. in marg. A.* ^j valeant] valent B. ^k de excommunicatione ad gratiam Polonorum *add. in marg. A.* ^l de salvo conductu petito a domino Raymundo *add. in marg. A.* ^m tutius] tutus B. ⁿ nisi] om. B. ^o notha] nota B. ^p de re Anchonitana *add. in marg. A.* ^q et iste Cynthius ... malorum] om. B. ^r prosequuta] prosecuta B. ^s quod] quo B. ^t faciet] faciat B. ^u quam] in quam B. ^v Varadiensem] Varadinum B. ^w ad] om. B. ^x de oratore qui rediit a Turco *add. in marg. A.* ^y de treugis cum Turco *add. in marg. A.* ^z quod dominus noster querit habere pecunias *add. in marg. A.*

^a quod sultanus nihil dabit *add. in marg. A.* ^b ipsi] isti B. ^c terra] in terra B. ^d immittat] inducat B. ^e quod Turcus mittet exercitum ad struendam turrin in Rhodo *add. in marg. A.* ^f de dieta in Belgrado agitur de restitutione damnorum etc. *add. in marg. A.* ^g omnia frigerunt adventus cesaris *add. in marg. A.* ^h de Zagabriensi, qui profectus est in Galliam turbaturus etc. *add. in marg. A.* ⁱ rege Romanorum] *cifra +O; suprascr.*

rege Romanorum A. ^j regis Romanorum] *cifra* +O; *suprascr.* regis Romanorum A. ^k Caeterum, quantum ... commendo] *om.* B. ^l XXVII] 27 B. ^m MCCCCLXXXVIII] 1489 B. ⁿ Eiusdem ... Ortanus] *manu Angeli Pecchinoli A*; *om.* B. ^o orator regis Romanorum] *in cifra* B. ^p imperatoris] *in cifra* B. ^q regem Hungarie requisivit] *in cifra* B. ^r futura dieta ... tractare] *in cifra* B. ^s votum ... confederatorum] *in cifra* B. ^t rex ... consentire] *in cifra* B. ^u quid ... petitionem] *in cifra* B. ^v rex Hungarie] *in cifra* B. ^w in rem ... nomine] *in cifra* B. ^x se velle ... respondere] *in cifra* B. ^y mirus ... invisendi] *in cifra* B. ^z magnis ... imperatoris] *in cifra* B.

^a consensu et] *in cifra* B. ^b qui mihi] *in cifra* B. ^c retulit] *in cifra* B

41.

Buda, 26 December 1489

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

Angelo had a talk with the king, who is not happy about the pope's treatment of Djem and his not wanting to confirm the license to communicate with the heretics. Also, he would like to reform the Conventuals to Observant Franciscans. Angelo answers that the cause of all these disagreements is Ancona and the long detention of the archbishop of Kalocsa. Concerning 1) Ancona, Matthias sent Francesco Fontana and will send the bishop of Várad (Jan Filipec); concerning 2) Djem, he no longer cares about him, because it is too late now. The nuncio is in contact with 3) Agostino Luciani, who wanted a letter of safe conduct, but still cannot leave Bohemia. 4) On the Olomouc matter, the bishop of Várad is still in place and would like to get a confirmation from the pope, when he gets there in Ancona matters. 5) The nuncio refers to the details of the peace negotiations of Matthias and Maximilian. 6) As for the king of Naples, Matthias would gladly help with reconciliation between the king and the pope. Angelo adds a few other minor matters that were already mentioned in the start of the letter and explains to the pope why he does not write that often, even though he has three messengers on the way.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 178 (=3625), fol. 167r-168v (220x290 mm). – ED.: LUKSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 314–315, n. CDLXVII (from Lat. X 178) (only partially, related to Veszprém and Olomouc). – NOTE (fol. 167r up, hand of Angelo Pecchinoli): Exemplum litterarum quas portavit Iovannoctus cursor regius; (fol. 167r up): Mircse lemásolta.

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post pedum beatorum oscula. Superioribus diebus Alfonsus tabellarius meus, qui hinc XVI Octobris¹ ac Benedictus alter cursor, qui XXVII Novembris² recesserunt, ad sanctitatem vestram litteras meas detulerunt, quibus quicquid tunc in causa foret, amplissime significavi. Superest nunc nihil, nisi quod oratores isti domini Maximiliani iam ad dominum regem concesserunt, de pace et concordia inter hos principes acturi. Et quantum ex domino rege mihi licet audire, sua maiestas bene sperat et putat boni aliquid super pace et concordia fieri debere, quod utinam Deus pro sua clementia det. Satis enim superque fusum est christiani sanguis in hiis regionibus, ut tandem armorum furor iste in bellum, quod Turcis sanctitas vestra parat, convertatur. Licet dominus rex iste, nescio, qua ratione id fiat, sic latus animo est, sicque de sanctitatis vestre clementia et favore desperare videtur, ut nullo modo in spem aliquam erigi potest, quod sanctitas vestra eum diligat et paterno affectu illum prosequatur. Et si quando in spem aliquam suam maiestatem erigere adnitor, ridet facilitatem meam, quod putem sanctitatis vestre animum flectere posse, cum futiles etiam gratias a sanctitate vestra sepius petierit, ut ipse dicit, et ab illis repulsus est, ut de locis illis fratrum minorum conventualium, qui, ut sua maiestas asserit: “sunt maiores Ubaldi, quam sint in regno meo et loca illa volebam cum fratribus de observancia reformare. Item, quod in tractatibus pacis et aliarum necessariorum rerum pro regno meo possem cum Bohemis hereticis venientibus ad me conversari, prout alias Paulus³ concessit, attamen illud breve perdidit et hoc sua sanctitas regi Bohemię et regi Polonię concessit, attamen nunquam in hiis me voluit audire. Quomodo ergo vos, domine legate, potestis sperare posse apud suam sanctitatem maiora consequi. Pro Deo,” inquit, “non faciatis ulterius verbum de hiis. Istum Turchum⁴ sua sanctitas vult habere ad pecunias colligendas, habeat in nomine Do-

¹ Cf. n. 38.

² Cf. n. 40.

³ Pope Paul II.

⁴ Sultan Djem.

mini. Ego non curo neque ulterius ad suam sanctitatem scribatis super hoc, quia ego scio, quod sua sanctitas peius faceret, si crederet, quod ego animum haberem ad rem hanc.” “Nescio, serenissime rex, quis is sit, qui ex Italia maiestati vestre suggerat. Credat maiestas vestra, quod falsa omnino et mentita scribit, quicumque is est. Et ista maledicta Anchona in causa est istarum omnium dissentionum. Et ista detentio domini archiepiscopi¹ tam longo tempore, nec adhuc potuisse videri demeritis cause etiam impedimentum prestat. Et dat animos volentibus obloqui de maiestate vestra.” “De ista Anchona,” inquit, “ego me absolvi. Iam dixi vobis, quod dominus Franciscus Fontana assecurabit suam sanctitatem de hoc et post dietam in continenti Varadinus² ibit et viam faciet per Anchonam et revocationem portabit omnium capitulorum. De archiepiscopo satis, quid dixerim, quod post istam dietam ego sum contentus, quod cognoscatur et ego iustificabo causam meam. Sed non credatis, domine legate, impedimentum est istud, quia sua sanctitas vult cum isto Turcho pecuniam colligere et imponere unam generalem cruciatam, sed forte quod sua sanctitas non habebit ita illam, sicut putat, et postea istam pecuniam exponere ad usus alios, sicut volet sua sanctitas. Ego bene video, ad quem finem vadit sua sanctitas, et istum Turchum postea vendet alicui tanquam cadaver pro aliqua parva pecunia. Et forte, quod rex Neapolitanus³ emet, quia intelligo, quod aliquam, licet parvam, summam offeret. Ego fateor, ab initio libenter voluissem habere et quia vidi, quod dominus noster non amabat me, dixi, forte amabit pecuniam meam. Ego feci polliceri aliquam summam pecuniarum, quas ego fecissem, quod mater et uxor illius Turci solvissent, non, quod ego vellem aliquid solvere de meo, quia satis debet videri sue beatitudini, quod ego regnum et homines regni mei et personam meam ponam in hoc bello et cogitabam pro maiori parte exponere de meo, quia bene video, quod sua sanctitas non dedisset mihi magnum subsidium, et fecissem, si fuisset

¹ Péter Váradi.

² Jan Filipec.

³ Ferrante I, King of Naples.

ab initio mihi datus. Sed ista tanta mora fecit me desperare, quia res non est nunc, sicut a principio erat. Creditis vos, domine legate, quod res sit inter soldanum¹ et Turchum, sicut fuit? Credatis, quod non. Et ego non habeo tantas vires, quod contra duos potentatus sic grandes possim pugnare. Teneat sua sanctitas illum Turchum, sicut vult, et vendat ad soldanum vel cui vult.” “Nescio, serenissime rex,” inquam, “qua ratione maiestas vestra hunc animum induerit de domino nostro tam bonas litteras et pollicita sepius legerit sanctitatis sue. Nec debet videri grave maiestati vestre, quod dominus noster cogitet de pecunia colligenda, quia ad tam gravem belli molem sine magna pecunia, que bellorum nervus est, venire non potest. Nec vellet maietas vestra, ut alias dixit, bellum parare, si aliorum auxilia deessent.” “De bonis litteris et pollicitis, domine legate, ego bene scio et creditis vos, quod nos etiam nesciamus facere bona verba, sicut vos Italici? Ego non volo induere animum, sed exuere. De Turcho ego non curo.”

Ceterum ad sceleratum illum episcopum in Praga² ego copiam salviconductus, quem ad me sanctitas vestra scripserat, dudum miseram. Egeram quoque cum domino rege, ut etiam sua maiestas salvumconductum prestaret, qui similiter ad episcopum portatus est. Annuerat ille episcopus sanctitatis vestre mandatis et dilationem dumtaxat X septimanarum petierat, ut certas piscinas evacuare posset et unum castrum, quod illi heretici fruendum dederant, posset alicui pignorare. Ita ad dominum regem et ad me scripse[fol. 167v]rat se facturum. Cum vero vidit legationem duorum nunciorum,³ quos ad eum misit sanctitas vestra, ita superbire incepit, ut neque domini regis, neque sanctitatis vestre salvumconductum putet sibi satis esse, sed vult habere sub plumbo. Imprimis vult etiam a dominio Venetorum sub simili plumbo et denique, qui pridie condiciones accipere humilis precabatur, nunc legem dare minetur. Quod ubi dominus rex per verba unius ex nunciis illis dudum per sanctitatem vestram missis

¹ Sultan Bayezid II.

² Agostino Luciani.

³ Not identified.

rescivit, ita excanduit, ut salvumconductum revocaverit, et verba aliqua, que in rem non sunt, dixisse audio. Sed Deus parcat illis, qui hoc sanctitati vestre suaserunt, qui sive ad opimam predam missos se putarent, sive quod glorie domini regis aut servituti mee in sanctitatem vestram invidere visi sint, rem hanc ab initio facilem, modo impossibilem reddiderunt. Utinam per Budam illi nuncii iter instituissent, qui sive a domino rege vel a me intellexissent. Res eo, ubi nunc est, deducta non foret, et alter ex nunciis illis cum episcopo remansit et sacris Bohemorum, ut audio, initiabitur.

Pulsavi sepius apud dominum regem, quod tandem iuxta sanctitatis vestre mandatum in ecclesia Olomocensi¹ vicarium unum generalem ponam. Obiicit mihi sua maiestas, quod sanctitas vestra ad eum scribit, nihil ego debeam neque contra personam neque contra ecclesiam pro nunc innovare. Breve tamen nunquam ostendit, licet sepius petierim. Unde si placeret sanctitati vestre ad clerum illum Olomocensem confortandum, quod rursus mihi illa mandaret, ut vicarius aliquis in ecclesia poneretur. Sunt pauperes illi omnino desperati, et iugum tyrannidis etiam nunc tale patiuntur, ut alter Totila,² flagellum Dei, pauperibus illis esse, ut illi scribunt, credatur. Accedit, quod multum superbit illo brevi, quod sanctitas vestra ad eum scribit in commendationem domini Raymundi Peraudi, quod breve, ut audio, suis Bohemis hereticis ostendit in signum remissionum rerum suarum et ad confirmandos animos illorum, quibus suadet dogma hoc, satsique sibi sit pro confirmatione in ecclesia Olomocensi patientia tam diuturna sanctitatis vestre veniet, ut dicit, propediem ad sanctitatem vestram, ubi se a domino Maximiliano exemerit, ad quem cum aliis nunc proficiscitur. Impetravit, ut dicit, a domino rege, quod terrestri itinere liceat venire, ne hoc tempore mare intrare cogatur. Subdidit etiam sua sponte rem Anchonitanam sic esse dispositam, ut illi opus sit per Anchonam iter instituere. Nec

¹ Olomouc.

² Reference to Totila (d. 552), King of the Ostrogoths, well-known as a cruel leader and conqueror of Rome. Here, however, possibly confused with Attila (d. 453), leader of the Huns and often called flagellum dei.

multum venire formidat, nec ignem, ut dicit, expavescit, nec converti sperat, ut mihi refertur, sed convertere largitionibus parat. Tantumque, ut audio, apud dominum regem effecit, quod Vespriensi possessio non detur, donec de Olomocensi confirmationem non habeat. Et non dubito, quod dominus rex omnem instantiam apud sanctitatem vestram faciet pro ista ecclesia Olomocensi. Sed certe scio, quod si sanctitas vestra in proposito perseveret, quod Varadino nolit dare, sua maiestas patienter feret, ac se ad Varadinum excusabit, quod intemptatum nihil reliquerit. Ego, quantum potui, semper sue maiestati spem omnem conatus sum auferre et, quod de sanctitate vestra omnino desperet, rem hanc facere debere.

Recesserunt tandem oratores domini Maximiliani et quom illos dominus rex in secretis audivit, me non vocavit, quia etiam dominus Maximilianus, quom in secretis oratores regis audivit, nec etiam dominum Raymundum voluit presentem esse. Sed sua maiestas dixit, quod summa verborum istorum oratorum fuit, quod primo sunt polliciti solvere illa quinquaginta milia ducatorum, quos ante bellum in Austria ceptum dominus imperator domino regi debebat. Item pro expensis belli primo obtulerunt alia quinquaginta milia ducatorum et sic Viennam et cetera in Austria occupata restitueret et cum acrius cum oratoribus instaretur, quod summa esset omnino oneri et expensis impar. Tandem alia quinquaginta milia obtulerunt, atque ad summam hanc certos terminos et tempora petierunt. Dominus rex supra quinque miliones se exposuisse oratoribus professus est. Remisitque ita oratores, quibus, ut dicit, sua maiestas nihil respondit. Nisi quod Varadinum et certos alios missurum se propediem spondit. Quid Varadino dederit in mandatis, hoc a maiestate sua non potui intelligere. Sed nescio, quid id sit, pater beatissime, quod in tam gravi negotio, in quo nulla videtur posse bona media dari, quia uterque ad Viennam et Novam Civitatem¹ habendam presertim aspirat, et pro

¹ Wiener Neustadt.

parte Maximiliani, qui Codro,¹ ut dicitur, pauperior est, pecunię non sunt, que vicem restituendarum rerum subirent, et tamen uterque ad pacem festinat et uterque pacem petit, et pro illa oratores frequenter currunt, licet solus dominus imperator, ut dominus rex dicit, pacem turbet, qui nullas pacis admittat condiciones, sed debere satis esse filio suo regi Mathię, quod tot annis Austriam fruendam habuerit, et duplo maiores sunt fructus, quos habuit, quam impensa belli. Nescio, quid id sit, quod ad pacem festinent. Aliquid est, pater beatissime, quod me latet, et si de isto Raymundo possem confidere, quem audio Gallum esse. Dico Gallum, pater beatissime, quia primo congressu et primis litteris, quas ad me scripsit, ad conf[ol. 168r]vicia descendit, possem aliquid altius intelligere presertim in negotio, quod in cifra significo, sed timeo, ne scio, quem fastum, quem litteris suis prefert, plenis laudum de rebus a se prospere gestis, idcirco consulto destiti litteris aliquid sibi credere, forte cum cominus erimus, latius cum illo loquar.² Summa rerum de ista pace, pater beatissime, quantum mihi licet colligere, est ista, quod dominus rex pacem optat, modo per imperatorem et dominum Maximilianum offerantur condiciones iuste, id est, quod serventur illa, ad quę cesarea maiestas cum suis baronibus se inscripsit et ille condiciones tam dure sunt, ut dominus Maximilianus tam nolit, quam non possit adimplere. Audio tamen ex bono loco, quod si imperator restitueret domini regi illam obligationem et litteras, quibus se cum toto regno Hungarię inscripserat, quod decedente eo sine legitima et naturali stirpe, regnum ad imperatorem et eius heredes devoluatur, pax illico concluderetur. Alias nescio, quid futuri sit. Dominus rex ostendit mihi litteras, quas dominus Raymundus maiestati sue scripsit hiis novissimis diebus et quas ad dominum Raymundum rescribit. Ille metum conatur inferre, et dominus rex graviter illi sub censet. Iste gentes, pater beatissime, ungende sunt, non pugnande.³

¹ Codrus was a bad Roman poet, who was mentioned by Juvenalis (*Satires* I, 2) and gave rise to the proverb "Codro pauperior." Probably it does not stem from Kodros, the last legendary king of Athens.

² Raymund Peraudi does not behave properly, rather haughtily as a Frenchman; it would have been better, if he cooperated.

Ad decimum huius¹ recepi litteras sanctitatis vestre datas Rome XVIII. Septembris,² miratus sum tantam moram ac sepius dolui, quod vicus fere omnis Budensis hoc ipsum personaret, solus ego preter vulgarem famam nihil intelligerem, licet ad vocem illam communem excitatus cum domino rege sim locutus. Responderat sua maiestas, prout ex litteris, quas Benedictus detulit, qui hinc XXVII. Novembris abiit.³ Nunc vero cum sanctitatis vestre litteras et protestationem maiestati sue tenorem significarem atque inter cetera diligenter adverterem ad verba, que sanctitas vestra in calce litterarum scribit, quidve spei (sic) sua maiestas respondit in hec verba: "domine legate, potestis domino sanctissimo respondere, quod ego semper a tenera etate et a puero consuevi sedem apostolicam venerari et revereri, illos sanctissimos dominos, qui fuerunt in illa sede apostolica, semper in reverentia habui et sic nunc, cum sim in ista etate, prope iam senex, volo continuare et facere. Et non credat sua sanctitas, sicut alias ego dixi vobis, domine legate, quod si dominus rex Neapolitanus vellet per viam facti et armorum facere aut alia via contra suam sanctitatem, quod ego essem sibi in auxilio vel favore et de ista appellatione vel protestatione, quam dominus rex Neapolitanus dicitur fecisse, ego possum iurare per Deum, quod nihil scivi, sicut alias dixi vobis, et de me sua sanctitas nihil dubitet. Et ita rogo vos, domine legate, scribatis ad suam sanctitatem. Tamen non libenter viderem, quod sua sanctitas faceret contra regem per viam armorum, quia cum honore meo non possem, quantum iustitia pateret, quia sum gener et confederatus suus, relinquere eum, sed pro Deo sua sanctitas det sibi pacem. Iam ille rex est senex et si sua sanctitas voluisset, ego scivissem modum invenire pro concordia, sicut vos, domine legate, a principio, quando venistis, nomine sue sanctitatis requisivistis. Sed ubi intellexi, quod sua sanctitas Laurentium de Medicis, dominum Ludovicum⁴ et Venetos requisivit

¹ 10 December 1489.

² 18 September 1489; the letter from the pope was significantly delayed.

³ Cf. n. 40.

⁴ Ludovico Maria Sforza.

pro ista concordia, ego non volui me impedire. Et per Deum sanctum possum iurare, quod si dominus rex concordiam, quam ego fecissem, non tenuisset, solus ego in personam voluissem contra eum descendere. Et creditis vos, domine legate, quod Veneti vellent concordiam inter regem et pontificem? Credatis, quod non dominus sanctissimus multum confidit in istis consanguineis meis de Mediolan. Ego dico vobis, domine legate, quod unum dicunt sue sanctitati et aliud dicunt mihi. Credatis, quod ego dico vobis verum. Confidit etiam sua sanctitas in rege Hyspanie,¹ ille rex non habet unum denarium ad bellum et totum quod acquisiverat, cum Marranis² consumpsit, et de illa guerra contra Mauros recessit cum paucis honore.³ Confidit etiam sua sanctitas in rege Francie,⁴ ille rex iuvenis est et plus regitur, quam regat. Pro Deo ego supplico sanctitati sue, det domino regi Neapolitano pacem. Ego, si placet sue sanctitati, libenter volo istum laborem capere, concordare eum cum sua sanctitate et faciat, sicut decet bonum pontificem, si potest habere bonam et honestam concordiam, capiat et non per viam armorum, quia nec pro domino sanctissimo, neque pro rege facit bellum. Ego volo libenter facere pro ista concordia omnem laborem." Et multa alia dixit, que videtur devotionem et reverentiam in sanctitatem vestram et sedem apostolicam sonare. Habui maiestati sue ingentissimas gratias de tam religioso et catholico principis et boni regis animo et licet sanctitas vestra nil aliud de sua maiestate concepisset, attamen verbis, quibus potui, maiestatem suam ad perseverantiam sum adhortatus. Addidi subinde putare [fol. 168v] me, quod sanctitati vestre non modo placuisset, quod sua maiestas partes suas interponeret, sed qui-

¹ Ferrando (Ferdinand) II, King of Aragon and Castile.

² Marrános.

³ Matthias was hinting at the struggle against the Marrános, the pro forma converted Jews, in the 1480s that to some extent hindered advance against the Muslim. However, it was restored soon afterwards. Cf. at least CECIL ROTH, *A History of the Marranos*, Skokie, Ill. 2001 (orig. 1932), 41–53 and chapters of ROGER HIGHFIELD, ed., *Spain in the Fifteenth Century 1369–1516*, London and Basingstoke 1972.

⁴ Charles VIII, King of France, until 1491 his elder sister Anne de Beaujeu acted as regent.

cumque is foret, quod boni aliquid pro concordia operaretur, gratus esset sanctitati vestre. Pater beatissime, aliis vicibus cum dominus rex de re hac locutus est semper fastidire rem hanc, et nolle se in ea interponere professus est. Nunc autem, cum ingenue dicat cupere operam impendere pro concordia, putarem bonum esse ipsius fidem et diligentiam experiri, ac quod ad rem hanc suis litteris maiestatem suam commendaret et ad rem suscipiendam, ut scribit, orator nunc hortaretur, postquam profiteretur operam impendere. Bonum puto esse sapientem prius omnia consilio, quam armis experiri decet. Et ista duo, que petit, de fratribus scilicet et comertio Bohemorum, quos omnino non vitat, concedat sanctitas vestra, si placet.

Ex litteris domini Vesprimiensis carpor, quod sanctitas vestra queritur, quod ad illam frequentius non scribo. Pater beatissime, testis mihi est Deus, tres habeo in via cursores, quos singulis XV. aut XX. diebus pecuniis sanctitatis vestre ad illam destin. Sed si qua intercedit mora, non mihi illam, supplico, ascribat, sed domini regis morositati, modo oculos dolet, modo dentes et genua et pedes a dolore vacant, non est, qualis erat, facilis, sed morosus fieri incipit, tot hactenus afflictatus morbis. Accedit hyems horrida, nivosa et pluvialis et sinus iste Hadriacus longius forte, quam velim, cursores detinet. Det veniam sanctitas vestra, supplex et humilis deposco, nullum a labore me reclinat onus. Meminerit, queso, sanctitas vestra, quod factura sum manuum suarum et vaxallus, ut ex fide et integritate omnia me facere oporteat.

Ubi hec festa Natalia peregerimus, dominus rex, ut ad dietam proficiscatur itineri, ut dicit, se adcinget, quod ego alio cursore propere significare curabo.

Domina regina, ut audio, sponsalia tractat inter filiam regis Neapolitani¹ et filium Maximiliani. Nescio, si sequatur effectus.

Refertur mihi, nescio tamen, quantum ea res vera sit, quod primo adventu domini Maximiliani ad Lens² orator Venetorum, qui apud

¹ Giovanna d'Aragona (1479–1518), daughter of Ferrante I and his second wife Giovanna d'Aragona. She was supposed to marry either Maximilian or his son Philip, see BERZEVICZY, *Beatrix királyné*, 435.

² Linz.

suam maiestatem est, amplissima munera nomine domini sui obtulit, que ille adceptare recusavit ob istum pacis tractatum. Pragenses sibi multum metuunt, seque propterea validiori muro ac fossa cinxerunt. Veneti quoque suspectam habent pacem hanc, si illa fiat, ita audio frequenter. Ex Buda, XXVI Decembris MCCCCLXXX.¹

^a pugnande] pugnende *ms.*

42.

Buda, 6 January 1490

Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII

Angelo confirms receiving letters from the pope. He spoke to the king about several matters. 1) Regarding Djem, Matthias says he does not care about him anymore. 2) On Ancona, Matthias recounts what was done by Tamás Drágyi and Francesco Fontana and says that the bishop of Várad will soon go to the pope. 3) Concerning the lord of Camerino, nothing has been done, as the king now knows it is problematic with the pope. 4) On the Venetians, the king is happy that the pope mediated peace between them. However, the Venetians still harass the king's subjects, especially the citizens of Dubrovnik. 5) They discussed releasing the archbishop of Kalocsa, Péter Váradi, and Leontius (János Telegdi). 6) On the matter of dealing with the Bohemians, the king received a papal breve with the license from his orator. 7) On Agostino Luciani, who is now too arrogant and does not want to leave Bohemia. Matthias could capture him, if he gets a license to do that. 8) On peace negotiations in Austria. There has been some agreement, but the Emperor does not want to agree to anything, unless Wiener Neustadt and the other castles are given back to him. 9) Matthias is ready to help and defend king of Naples and even claims that the pope should not have high hopes for aid from the Venetians, Milan, or Florence. Nor can he seek help from the kings of France or Spain. 10) Matthias mentioned Pesaro, the city, which might be taken by the Venetians or the Florentines, but should rather be given back to a lady of the city, who will once again take the oath of fidelity to the pope. 11) Again, the king asked for permission to re-

¹ 26 December 1489; he probably started counting the new year at Christmas, on 25 December.

form friaries of Conventuals; he also mentioned the nunnery of St. Clare in Óbuda, which is under the Observant rule. Angelo will let the pope know when Matthias moves for the meeting in Austria. Queen Beatrix also stressed the matter of Pesaro.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 121^r–122^v (220×290 mm). –
NOTE (fol. 121^r up): Mircse lemásolta.

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post pedum oscula beatorum. Dedi paulo ante sanctitati vestre litteras, sub datum videlicet XXVIII Decembris,^a de his omnibus, quae tunc in rem esse videbantur. Nuper vero beatitudinis vestre littere XXX videlicet Decembris^b mihi reddite sunt, quas vestra sanctitas Romae XXVII Novembris^c dari iusserat. Quarum seriem, cum primum licuit, maiestati suę latissime pro ingenii mei tenuitate aperui.

Et^d quod ad fratrem Turciⁱ attinet, sua maiestas breviter respondit: “domine legate, ista bona verba sunt, quae ego etiam scirem dicere. Licet non sim Italicus, sed faciat sua sanctitas de illo Turco, ut vult, quod si sua beatitudo triginta aut centum annos apud se detineret, de ea re ulterius verbum non facerem. Scio tamen dominum nostrum non ignorare, quod dominus rex Francię² votum dudum dedit suum, nulli Turchum illum nisi regi Hungarię dari debere aut oportere, sed puto sanctitatem suam omnia consulto facere.

De^e Anthonitanis,” inquit, “iam dixi vobis omnia velle me facere circa capitulorum revocationem, sicut sanctitas sua iubet, et de hoc dominus Franciscus Fontana suam sanctitatem assecurabit et testor Deum, quod dominus Thomas Dragi sic habuit,” inquit, “in mandatis, pro ut dixi vobis, domine legate, et adhuc possum vobis copiam instructionum ostendere, quod sic sibi commiseram. Et Varadinus,³ quem cito mittam, omnia ad votum suae sanctitatis faciet. Credat,” inquit, “sua sanctitas fidei meę, quod volo assecurare suam sanctitatem, quod de hoc nihil possit timere.”

¹ Sultan Djem.

² Charles VIII, King of France.

³ Jan Filipec.

De^f domicello Camerinensi¹ ingenue profitetur, acti adhuc in ea re nihil esse sed nec fieri debere, postquam intelligit sanctitas vestra eam rem molestam esse, conducet tamen illum, si putaverit sanctitas vestra rem gratam facere. Quod ego, inquam, illico dixi rem et suspectam ac molestam esse, sanctitas vestra sicque hominem domicelli illius vacuum sua maiestas remittere pollicita est.

Quod^g ad Venetos spectat, perstat in proposito, ut cum illis pacifice vivere velit. Et ingentissimas habet sanctitati vestre gratias, quod partes suas, tam cum eorum oratore,² quam suo, qui apud illos est,³ ut pacifice vivat, interposuerit. Sed dolet frustra esse omnes sanctitatis vestre conatus. “Nam,” inquit, “Veneti ab iniuriis non temperant, et subditos meos, ubi et quando possunt, semper spoliant, et illorum edictum, principue contra Raguseos⁴ vadit ante. Nam si centum vicibus eorum naves, quae frumenta ex Apulia deferunt, in mari repperint, centies ab illis exigunt centum ducatos. Veneti,” inquit, “dant suae sanctitati bona verba, quod volunt pacifice vivere mecum, et postea sub suae sanctitatis favore omnia mala, quae possunt, inferunt mihi. Sed multum,” inquit, “supplico suae sanctitati, si potest aliquid facere, quod saltem ad suae sanctitatis contemplationem Veneti mittant mihi pacem et principue in Raguseos, erit mihi gratissimum et habebō suae sanctitati magnas gratias.”^h

Habuiⁱ insuper maiestati suę ingentes gratias nomine sanctitatis vestre tam de Colocensi,⁵ quam de Leontio.⁶ Ad quae sua maiestas respondit, in proposito perstare, ut absoluta protinus dieta, quod de causa cognoscam. “De [fol. 121v] Leontio,” inquit, “non est, cur multa dicam, cum ad dietam ascendero iter per Strigionium⁷ faciam

¹ Angelo possibly means Venanzio da Varano, son of Giulio Cesare da Varano and Giovanna Malatesta, condottiere in the papal service at this time.

² Domenico Bollani.

³ Not identified.

⁴ Citizens of Dubrovnik.

⁵ Péter Váradi

⁶ János Telegdi.

⁷ Esztergom.

et eum liberabo,” sic ingenue et aperte rursus atque iterum est pollicitus. Licet ipsius Colocensi frater¹ multum me rogaverit, ut apud regem instarem, ne ad Baciam² deduceretur, aeris imprimis insalubritatem causatus ac alias causas, quae animum suum moverunt, sed melius esse in Vicegrado³ serva<ri>.

Quod de Bohemis sanctitas vestra loquitur, ut inter eos ob tractatus pacis sua maiestas versari possit, preter nudam spem huius brevis nihil vidi. Licet sua maiestas ex oratore suo se dicat habere, quod apud se breve est in bona forma, pro quo sanctitati vestre ingentes habet gratias.

De uxoribus aut viris, qui hostibus serviunt, sic fiet, ut sanctitas vestra mandat.⁴

Ad Pragenses⁵ quod attinet, laudat sua maiestas sanctitatis vestre consultissimam deliberationem, acque, ut illa scribit, sic fieri supplicat. “Et paulo post,” inquit, “de Pragensibus, domine legate, ego pro nunc nihil possum respondere. Faciatis cum illis, sicut vultis.” Ego, pater beatissime, dudum intellexi, quod Pragenses illi suspectam habent pacem istam,^j si illa fiat, ac quod muro et fossa amplioribus se cinxerunt. Nescio, quid ad rem hanc audio, quod vel in illos aut in *Venetos*^k moles belli et apparatus armorum convertendus sit. Interim Santuriensis^l ille scelestus episcopus⁶ ubi legationem duorum nuntiorum, quos ad eum misit sanctitas vestra, sic factus est superbus, ut non sit contentus salvo conductu domini regis et sanctitatis vestre, ut ad me scripsit, sed illum sub plumbo vult habere, ac a dominio Venetorum, ut [in] proximis superioribus litteris scripsi.⁷ Sed Deus parcat illis, qui sanctitati vestre rem hanc persuaserunt, quod nuntii illi sive gloriae domini regis, sive servituti meae inviderint, seu quod ad predam optimam missos se esse crederent, para-

¹ Pál Váradi.

² Bács.

³ Visegrád.

⁴ Cf. nos. 35, 36.

⁵ Citizens of Prague.

⁶ Agostino Luciani.

⁷ Cf. n. 41.

tam ac promptam rem difficillimam fecerunt, quod domini regi magnopere displicuit. Dixitque mihi se pro comperto habere, quod Pragenses, ubi agi de reducendo illo episcopo intellexerunt, et pecuniam et certa praedia denuo dederunt. Ac subdidit: "si dominus noster pro unum breve dat mihi licentiam, quod ego possim eum capere, ego omnia faciam, quod ad manus suę sanctitatis deducatur," et licet arbitrium dederim asserens id futurum esse ad gratiam vestre sanctitatis. Breve tamen super hoc spetiale petiit.^m Quod omni adnixus prece humiliter supplico sanctitati vestre, concedere dignetur. Non tamen interea cesso et litteris et uno nuntio, quem a me petiit, ut ad eum mitterem, sollicitare illum ad fugam et pollicitum propositum et datam fidem de recedendo repetere. Nescio, quod tandem faciet. Istum tamen breve, quod domini regi facultas detur, quod eum capere possit, postquam sua maiestas ad id se offert, dare humilime supplico.

Ad dominum Raymundum Peraudi breve misi, quod meis alligatum sanctitas vestra miserat, et dominus rex declarationi et voluntati sanctitatis vestre acquiescere iustus est. Quod pari desiderio et amore utrunque regem amplectatur ac inter eos res componi sine suspitione aliqua, ut pontificalem decet maiestatem, cupiat et prout suis litteris vestre sanctitati apertissime testatur. "Potestis," inquit, "domine legate, suę sanctitati scribere, quod in tractatum pacis ista sunt."ⁿ Oratores regis Romanorum obtulerunt mihi, quod ego restituerem omnia illa, que ego possideo in *Car[fol. 122r]* Jniola et Stiria, et retinerem omnia, que possideo in Histria, Carinthia et Inferiore Austria. Et quod fieret una inscriptio de certa summa pecuniarum solvenda mihi post certum tempus, et iam in ista capitula conveneramus. Sed dominus imperator¹ totum turbavit, qui dicit istis capitulis nolle acquiescere, nisi sibi Nova Civitas² cum certis aliis castellis ibi vicinis restituantur. Quod nullo modo fieri potest. Itaque, domine legate, nescio, quid sequetur. Si imperator non turbasset, omnia dudum fuissent cum rege Romanorum conclusa, qui saepius dixit, quod si

¹ Emperor Frederick III.

² Wiener Neustadt.

pater in has pacis conditiones non venerit, descendet ad Flandriam, nunquam vivo patre reversurus. Et barones omnes apertissime dixerunt domino imperatori: ‘maiestas vestra cum potest pacem habere, non vult illam et vult, quod nos semper debeamus esse in bello. Nos bene scimus, quod maiestas vestra non potuit resistere domino regi Hungarię, nec nos possumus et dicimus maiestati vestre, quod ad primum impetum, quem faciet sua maiestas contra nos et oppida nostra et nos ipsos illi dedemus conditionibus, quibus poterimus.’ Tamen dominus imperator omnes istas et filii et baronum ac consiliariorum protestationes sprexit et in proposito persistit, quod Civitatem Novam cum aliquibus oppidis inter caetera restitui sibi petit.”

Subinde^o cum dominus rex de domicello Camerinensi verba faceret, rursus in sermone de rege Neapolitano¹ incidit, pro quo sanctitatem vestram humiliter deprecatur, ut illi iam seni det sanctitas vestra pacem et quod, si sciret sanctitatis vestre placere, sciret alia bona media, per quę ad concordiam et reverentiam sanctitas vestra illum deduceret. Subdens non posse cum honore suo, quod socer et confoederatus eum relinquere et quantum ex sermone suę maiestatis saepius repetito colligo, beatissime pater, et arma et omnia rex iste factururus est, ut illum regem protegat et defendat, si armis impetatur. “Nec speret,” inquit, “sua sanctitas in Venetiis, quod libenter vident, quod sua sanctitas omnia, que habet, in bello consumeret, sed ipsi de suo nullum suę sanctitati prestarent auxilium. De istis Mediolanensibus non potest sperare bene. Potest,” inquit, “esse memor sanctitas sua, quod in alio bello isti Mediolanensi promiserunt, quod non modo non servarunt, sed contrarium promissionibus suis fecerunt. Isti Florentini currunt et faciunt secundum tempus et illa affinitas, quam sua sanctitas contraxit cum Laurentio de Medicis,² multum facit pro Laurentio. Sed sua sanctitas non potest mihi allegare unam commoditatem, quam potuerit habere de ipsa affinitate. Confidit etiam sua sanctitas de rege Francię. Bene scit sua beatitudo, quantum potest sperare de uno statu, qui gubernatur per

¹ Ferrante I, King of Naples.

² Lorenzo Medici.

unam feminam.¹ Iste rex Hyspaniae,² qui tanta promittit suę sanctitati, si habuerit investituram de regno Neapolitano. Credatis, domine legate, nihil est. Non habet unum denarium ad bellum. Iste orator³ meus, qui nuper venit, refert mihi, quod ille gentes non habent nisi magnas voces, et unus rex non potest ita facile expelli de uno regno, etiam quod aliqui eum deserant. Tamen semper sunt alii reges et domini, qui considerant, quod non libenter vellent, quod presbiteri ponerent tantum iugum super humeros regum. Quod si concordiam cupiat sanctitas sua habere, ad illam sanctitatis suę iussu tractandam libenter et grato animo me interponerem.”^p Quod profecto, pater beatissime, pro ingenii mei tenuitate putarem sanctitati vestre bonum opus et laudabile facere provinciam hanc huic domini regi demandare, ubi ad pacem et componendam eius^q tam avide venire conspicitur. Quod alias fastidire et rem nolle audire visus est, super quo sanctitas vestra suis litteris ad suam maiestatem respondere dignabitur.^r [*fol. 122v*]

Ubi primum^s novum illud de Pisauro⁴ auditum est, sua maiestas non sine cordis dolore rettulit mirari se plurimum ac dolere, quod sanctitas vestra passa sit, civitatem illam, quę de vicariatu ecclesię Romane extat, venire ad manus Florentinorum aut Venetorum, qui nunquam amplius recognoscent sanctitatem vestram aut sedem apostolicam. “Et non putet,” inquit, “dominus noster, quod sive Veneti sive Florentini hoc fecerint, quod sint contenti Pisauro, sed paulatim etiam Anchonam invadent, nec ad alium finem fecisse hoc credendi sunt. Et hoc aliud erit, quam capitula, quae ego feci cum Anconitanis. Potest tamen sua sanctitas,” inquit, “meminisse, quod inves-

¹ Anne de Beaujeu (d. 1522), sister of Charles VIII, King of France, regent (1483–1491).

² Ferrando (Ferdinand) II, King of Aragon and Castile.

³ Mózes Buzlai Gergelylaki, envoy of King Matthias to Spain, stopped in Milan, cf. LAURA ZANICHELLI, *Gergelylaki Buzlay Mózes milánói követjárása (1489)*, Vestigia. Mohács előtti magyar források olasz könyvtárakban, ed. György Domokos–Norbert Mátyus–Armando Nuzzo, Piliscsaba 2015, 125–130.

⁴ The town of Pesaro.

tituram in illa civitate sedes apostolica non dedit huic privigno¹ solum, qui istam dominam² spoliavit et carceravit. Sed dedit illi domineꝝ cum illo, quare patitur sanctitas sua, quod illa sine causa aliqua sit spoliata et carcerata. Pro Deo," inquit, "domine legate, ego supplico sue sanctitati, quod sit contenta, quod ego una cum domino rege Neapolitano cum gentibus nostris reponamus illam dominam in statum suum et si sua sanctitas vult habere aliud novum iuramentum fidelitatis ab illa domina, ego efficiam, quod ipsa prestabit et servabit. Pro Deo sit contenta sua sanctitas, quod ego et rex Neapolitanus possimus illam dominam iuvare, quod non habeat tantum scandalum, quod sit spoliata et carcerata." De qua re cum nihil preter nudam famam intellexerim, non habui, quid sue maiestati responderem, nisi quod ad sanctitatem vestram hoc fideliter referrem. Et profecto, beatissime pater, nescio, quid id sit, sive Veneti sive Florentini hoc fecerint. Nescio, quid in ea re sanctitas vestra lucrari possit, quod et alter et alter multa a sede apostolica per tyrannidem occupant et quod semel sumpserunt, nunquam dimiserunt. Sanctitas vestra pro sua singulari prudentia disponat, quid sibi conducere videatur, et postquam dominus rex ex illorum manibus offert illam civitatem eruere, melius foret ad unius mulieris manus illam civitatem esse, quam ad Venetos vel Florentinos, quorum res publica nunquam moritur, maxime ob vicinitatem Anconae, ad quam, puto, aspirent et ambigant.

Superest,¹ beatissime pater, quod dominus rex sanctitati vestre supplicat, ut loca aliqua fratrum minorum conventualium, prout aliis litteris significavi, concedat reformari posse cum fratribus de observantia. Item de monasterio monialium sancte Clare Veteris Bude,³ postquam in illo regula de observantia monialibus volentibus cepit haberi, ponantur ad regimen fratres de observantia eiusdem ordinis, pro quo magnopere sua maiestas supplicat.

¹ Giovanni Sforza (1466–1510), natural son of Costanzo I Sforza, lord of Pesaro.

² Camilla Marzano d'Aragona, wife of Costanzo I Sforza, lord of Pesaro.

³ Óbuda.

Cum^u primum iter ad dietam sua maiestas ingreditur, per alium proprium cursorem propere significabo, pridie dominus Maximilianus ubi mortem archiepiscopi Sal[tz]burgensis¹ audivit, ad ecclesiam illam accessit, nescio quorsum, quem audio rediisse.

Domina regina egerrime etiam rem hanc Pisarensem fert et humiliter supplicat sanctitati vestre, dignetur causam velle prius pro sua prudentia discutere et bene intelligere nec illi privigno, qui illam dominam spoliavit, investituram tam propero velit concedere. Sed advertat sanctitatem vestram ad iustitiam illius vidue² et miserabilis persone, ut tandem sanctitatis vestre et sedis apostolice tutelam et iustitiam sentiat, nec facile credat sanctitas vestra, quod illa domina sponte regimini cesserit. Sed invita et coacta fecit, quod fecit, prout sue maiestati dicit bene constari et privigni illius ingratham fidem intueatur, qui in factricem suam beneficii oblitus arma movit. Hoc idem dominus rex sanctitati vestre supplicat, ut saltim sanctitas vestra in investitura supersedeat. Hoc, pater beatissime, magnis precibus sanctitati vestre supplicat et rem sue maiestati cordi esse multum profitetur. Optime ac felicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sanctissimis pedibus humillime me commendo. Ex Buda, VI. Ianuarii 1490.^v

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis humile mancipius Angelus illius beneficio episcopus Ortanus^w

^a Decembris] Decenbris *ms.* ^b Decembris] Decenbris *ms.* ^c Novembris] Novenbris *ms.* ^d de fratre Turci nullum verbum faciet *add. in marg. ms.* ^e de Anconitanis adventum Varadini res expedietur *add. in marg. ms.* ^f de domino Camerino nihil actum *add. in marg. ms.* ^g de Venetis huc conqueritur *add. in marg. ms.* ^h velit sua sanctitas omnia dare, quod Veneti mittunt sibi pacem et precipue in Raguseos *add. in marg. ms.* ⁱ de Colocensi absoluta dieta [c]ognosceatur *add. in marg. ms.* ^j Quod

¹ Johann Beckenschlager (Beckensloer), bishop of Várad (1465–1468), bishop of Eger (1468–1475), archbishop of Esztergom (1473/1474–1476), ran away from King Matthias to Emperor Frederick, administrator of the bishopric of Vienna (1477), administrator of the archbishopric of Salzburg (1482–1487), archbishop of Salzburg (1487–1489), died on 15 December 1489 in Salzburg.

² Camilla Marzano d'Aragona.

Pragenses habent suspectam pacem aut in eos aut in Venetos moles belli convertetur. *add. in marg. ms.*^k in Venetos] *in cifra ms.*^l De Sanctuarien. *add. in marg. ms.*^m Rex petit breve de capiendo illo *add. in marg. ms.*ⁿ De tractatu pacis *add. in marg. ms.*^o De rege Ferdinando, ut paratus est eum defendere *add. in marg. ms.*^p Se interponeret ad pacem tractandam cum rege Ferd. *add. in marg. ms.*^q eius] *suprascr. ms.*^r [...] responderetur super hoc regi *add. in marg. ms.*^s de Pisauro *add. in marg. ms.*^t De fratribus minoribus *add. in marg. ms.*^u dominus Maximilianus accessit ad ecclesiam Saltzburgensem audita missa *add. in marg. ms.*^v 1490] *corr. de 1489 ms.*^w Domina regina ... Ortanus] *manu Angeli Pecchinoli*

43.

Rome, 2 March 1490

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope grants Angelo a faculty to provide up to fifty noblemen with a permission to elect a confessor.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 423v–424r. – ED.: LUKSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 315, n. CDLXVIII (date: 1 March 1490).

L. Trottus^{1a} Episcopo Ortano.

Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Venerabilis frater R(odericus) episcopus Portuensis sancte Romane ecclesie vicecancellarius² unacum dilecto filio nostro A(rdicino) tituli Sanctorum Iohanni et Pauli presbitero cardinali Aleriensis³ et Iohanne episcopo Vesprimiensi,⁴ regio oratore tua ex parte exposuerunt nobis, quod quamplures nobiles in partibus istis ad te concurrunt [fol. 424r] petentes a te confessionalia sibi^b concedi. Que quoniam ad id facultatem non obtines, illis concedere non potes. Ideoque nobis, ut facultatem confessionalia huiusmodi ad aliquem numerum concedi tibi indulgere

¹ Leonellus Trottus, prothonotarius (1476–1494), secretarius (1487–1494), magister registri cancellarie (1487, 1489–1494), previously also cubicularius.

² Cardinal Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

³ Cardinal Ardicino della Porta.

⁴ János Vitéz the Younger.

vellemus, supplicarunt. Nos igitur attendentes devotionem et fidem hominum istarum partium prefatorum quoque supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati tue confessionale predictis nobilibus usque ad numerum quinquaginta, aliis vero, quos aut senio vel egritudine sive alio iusto impedimento impeditos esse cognoveris, ita, ut ad Romanam curiam venire non possint, quotiens expedire cognoveris, super quo tuam conscientiam oneramus, concedendi facultatem tenere presentium impartimur, quibuscunque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus. Datum ut supra.¹

A. cardinalis Aleriensis

^a L. Trottus] *in marg. ms.* ^b sibi] *suprascr. ms.*

44•

Rome, 2 March 1490

Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Pecchinoli

The pope orders Angelo to reform the friaries of Conventuals to Observant Franciscans in Sopron, Győr, Kismarton (Eisenstadt), Pozsony (Bratislava), Debrecen and Eger, as well as the sisters of St. Clare in Óbuda.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 424^r–424^v. – ED.: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n. s., vol. 4, 653–654, n. 1764 (2 March 1490); LUKCSICS, ed., *Monumenta*, vol. 3, 316, n. CDLXIX (1 March 1490); THEINER, ed., *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*, vol. 1, 529, n. DCCXV (4 March 1490).

Eidem.²

Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Ex litteris tuis³ ac insuper ex relatione venerabilis fratris Iohanni episcopi Vesprimiensis,⁴ regii oratoris, intelleximus carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Matthiam regem Hungarie summopere desyderare, ut nonnullas domos fratrum sub regula

¹ fol. 420^v: Datum Rome die II. Martii 1490, anno sexto.

² Episcopo Ortano, see previous number.

³ Angelo mentions that several times, cf. nos. 34, 36, 41, 42.

⁴ János Vitéz the Younger.

sancti Francisci degentium in locis regni sui, videlicet in Sopronio, Iaurino, Chismarte, Posonio, Debrezen et in Agria,¹ in quibus fratres conventuales ordinis predicti ad presens degunt, iuxta regulam et statuta eiusdem ordinis reformarentur. Nos itaque consyderantes maiestatem suam, [fol. 424v] utpote catholicam et religiosam, non absque rationabili et iusta causa ad id moveri, volentesque, quantum cum Deo possumus, piis votis eius annuere, fraternitati tue per presentes committimus et mandamus, ut vocato prius vicario provinciali eiusdem ordinis Deumque et honestatem pre oculis habendo una cum prefato vicario prefatas domos iuxta regulam et statuta ipsius ordinis auctoritate nostra reformes. Preterea, quoniam maiestatem suam desyderare intelleximus, ut moniales Veteris Bude² eiusdem ordinis nunc conventuales, fratribus eiusdem ordinis de observantia subiiciantur. Quod illas etiam maxime desyderare accepimus. Ideo fraternitati tue etiam committimus, ut vocatis vocandis easdem moniales, si earum ad id accedat assensus, predictis fratribus de observantia eadem auctoritate subiicias, ut secundum eandem regulam vivere in perpetuum possint et Altissimo famulari. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dicti ordinis ceterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum ut supra.³

A. cardinalis Aleriensis⁴

Datum Rome, die II. Martii 1490, anno VI.^a

^a Datum ... VI.] *in marg. alia manu ms.*

¹ Sopron, Győr, Kismarton (Eisenstadt), Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg), Debrezen, Eger, cf. KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története*, vol. I, 72–73 and *passim*.

² Óbuda

³ fol. 420v: Datum Rome die II. Martii 1490, anno sexto.

⁴ Cardinal Ardicino della Porta.

45.

Rome, 31 March 1490

Pope Innocent VIII to the Bohemian Franciscan province

The Observant Franciscans of the Bohemian province were given the right to live among the heretics by Angelo Pecchinoli, and powers to grant absolution to heretics who abjure heresy and return to the Roman Church. They can settle in Bechyně in a former friary which was destroyed by the heretics. They can grant absolution to former heretics as well as to those who did not fulfil the vows of pilgrimage; those can exchange it for other pious deeds.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AAV Arm. XXXIX 21, fol. 572r–573v; NA Prague, ŘF, n. 83 (Plzeň, 16 October 1496), insert in notarial instrument. – ED.: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, n. s., vol. 4, 671–672, n. 1796.

Vicario provinciali¹ et fratribus provincie Bohemie ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia nuncupatorum

Dilecti filii, salutem etc. Exponi nobis fecistis fuisse vobis concessum per venerabilem fratrem Angelum episcopum Ortanum in partibus illis nostrum et sedis apostolice oratorem et nuntium, ut loca quecunque in regno Bohemie vobis per quoscunque pro tempore oblata pro vestra habitatione recipere et in eis domos cum oportunitis ecclesia et officinis construi et edificari facere et perpetuo habitare sine parrochialium ecclesiarum, infra quarum parrochias dictas domos erigi continget, preiudicio ac christifidelibus plebanos christianos in eorum parrochialibus ecclesiis non habentibus sine parrochialium ecclesiarum rectoribus fidelibus non existentibus, sed in heresim prolapsis, ecclesiastica sacramenta in illis ministrare et hereticis fautoribus et receptatoribus auxiliatoribus et consultoribus eorum volentium hereses abiurare et catholice vivere de oportuno absolutionis beneficio providere ac vota per quoscunque emissa [fol. 572v] exceptis illis, que excipi solent, in alia pietatis opera commutare possetis. Verum a nonnullis in dubium revocari dicitis, an idem

¹ Antonius of Leipzig, cf. PETR HLAVÁČEK, *Die böhmischen Franziskaner im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2011, 179.

episcopus super hoc foret oportuna potestate suffultus, et propterea vestris supplicationibus inclinati concessionibus predictis vobis per dictum episcopum factis et inde secutis robur nostre confirmationis adiicimus, et pro potiori conscientiarum vestrarum pace et animarum salute ac heresium de partibus illis radicitus extirpacione totali vobis, ut domum opidi Bechyne¹ fratrum vestri ordinis conventualium nuncupatorum Pragensis diocesis olim per hereticos funditus dirutam, que a quinquaginta annis citra, ut dicitis, inhabitata permansit, vobis oblatam, ac quecunque loci, que vobis fidelium et infidelium largitione in regno predicto pro vestris perpetuis usibus et habitatione offerri contingeret, quodocunque in futurum in vestra provintia recipere. Et eandem domum opidi Bechine reficere ac in aliis locis predictis domos cum ecclesiis, campanilibus, dormitoriis, refectoriis, claustris, hortis, hortaliciis et aliis necessariis officinis construi et edificari facere ipseque domus et in eis pro tempore degentes guardiani et fratres omnibus et singulis privilegiis, gratiis, favoribus et indultis dicti ordinis domibus et fratribus in genere concessis et concedendis uti potiri et gaudere. Et ad decennium proxime futurum duntaxat et non ultra christifidelibus illarum partium proprios plebanos et rectores catholicos parrochialium ecclesiarum, quarum parrochiani existunt, non habentibus ad vos recurrentibus sive in ecclesiis sic vacantibus et alibi, ubicunque [fol. 573r] commode fieri poterit, sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrare libere et licite valeatis. Et, ut pro hereticorum et fautorum ac receptatorum eorundem faciliore ad fidem orthodoxam reductione liceat, tibi, dilecte fili, vicarie et ei, qui pro tempore in vicariatus officio huiusmodi erit, ac guardianis domorum vestrarum et confessoribus, quos ad hoc idoneos eorum prelati reputaverint, eosdem hereticos et fautores, consultores et receptatores eorum volentes heresim, in quam prolapsi fuere abiurare, absolvi et presentiam agere ad huiusmodi abiurationem in forma ecclesie consueta publice vel secrete, prout animarum saluti expedire putaveritis, admittere et facta per eos abiurationem huiusmodi eorum confessionibus diligenter auditis

¹ Bechyň, a new friary founded in 1490.

de absolutionis beneficio ab heresis et apostasie criminibus, in quibus prolapsi fuerant, ac censuris et penis, quas propterea incurrissent, providere. Et presentiam salutarem iniungere ac emissa per eos sic abiurantes vota quecunque ultramarino et visitationis liminum apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Urbe et ecclesie sancti Iacobi in Compostella religionis et castitatis votis duntaxat exceptis in alia pietatis opera commutare, necnon hereticos, apostatas, receptatores, consultores et fautores, qui in heresim retroactis temporibus abiuratam timore mortis vel amissionis bonorum temporalium et presertim tempore persecutionis, que Prage facta est,¹ prolapsi sunt, iterum ad huiusmodi heresis abiurationem admittere et pari modo de absolutionis beneficio ab excessibus et censuris predictis providere apostolica auctoritate facultatem et potestatem concedimus. Non obstante felicis recordationis Bonifacii pape VIII prohibitione, ne [fol. 573v] vestri et aliorum mendicantium ordinum professores ad inhabitandum nova loca recipere seu iam recepta mutare presumant, et Pauli II ac Sixti III Romanorum pontificum, predecessorum nostrorum prohibentibus, ne vestri ordinis professores de observantia nuncupati domos eiusdem ordinis professorum conventualium nuncupatorum pro eorum habitatione recipere presumant, ac in Consilio Viennensi editis vestri et aliorum ordinum professoribus sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum ministrationem interdicens ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Volumus autem concessionem hanc nostram excepta erectione domorum per decennium duntaxat, ut premititur durare, et eo finito, illam penitus finitam et expiratam omnino censi debere. Datum ut supra.²

habent signaturam³

¹ Observant Franciscans were expelled from Prague convent in 1483 during the Utraquist revolt.

² fol. 571r: Datum Rome etc. die ultima Martii 1490, anno sexto.

³ Below the text.

46.

*Vienna, 6 April 1490**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

Angelo refers back to the truce which he described in a previous letter. There is nothing new, only the king died today after midnight. The nuncio asks for further instructions. Also, there is a rumour that a day before Matthias died the Turks intended to invade Transylvania with the help of Moldavians and Wallachians. The rumour is stronger today. Angelo sent a fast messenger. Angelo gives much hope in István Bátori, the governor of the realm, who might fight against the Turks. The queen has much reverence to the pope. Angelo asks the pope to write to the prelates and barons of the realm to have confidence in him.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 123^r (paper, 220×290mm) (cf. n. 47). – NOTE (fol. 123^v): Recessit cursor e Vienna die VII. Aprilis hora XI ante meridiem; (fol. 123^r): Mircse lemásolta.

Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post pedum oscula beatorum. De treugis, quae ultimo loco concludere sunt, satis sanctitas vestra ex litteris, quas Alonsus detulit, intelligere potuit. Superest nunc nil aliud, nisi quod hodie post mediam noctem preter omnium spem et expectationem dominus rex in fatum concessit. Sincere et treugis et paci fecit. Fuerat quarta huius,¹ hoc est in Palmarum sollempniis letus et rubore perfusus, subito morbo correptus expiravit, magno de se relicto desiderio. Novi nihil adhuc videtur, omnia timore et pavore plena sunt. Nihil nunc agitur, nisi ut qui possent tumultus exoriri, compescantur. Disponuntur presidia et copie undique accersiuntur. Dignetur sanctitas vestra, quid me facere velit, iubere, et cito rescribere. Accedit, quod pridie,² quam rex nature concessisset, rumor frequens ortus est, quod Turchus³ maximas copias adiuvantibus Moldavis et Volachis in Transilvaniam destinasset, et hodie longe magis rumor ipse increbrescit. Dignetur pro Deo sanctitas vestra oculos suę pietatis ad has res convertere, ne si, negligi

¹ 4 April 1490.

² 5 April 1490.

³ Sultan Bayezid II.

videantur, rei publice christianae deterius aliquid, quod absit, contingat. Non dubito, quod sanctitas vestra matura super litteris consultatione habita, celerique adhibita executione, pro sua divina sapientia ac prudentia oportune his omnibus providebit. Imo etiam in minimis, pro suo officio, non deerit, et ut ita celerius agatur, humiliter oro, atque humillime exposco. Solvi Evangelistę tabellario, harum nuntio, hic in recessu ducatus viginti ac feci concordari navim pro transitu e Segnia¹ in Italiam. Spondi preter hos dari sibi a vestra sanctitate deberi pro suo integro servitio ducatus triginta, sub ista conditione, quod in diebus tredecim teneatur se presentari sanctitati vestre, quae dignabitur cito eum remittere cum expectata expediti[on]e.

Caeterum, beatissime pater, quantum mihi ex multis ac variis argumentis coniectare licet, puto in gubernatorem regni sufficiens quendam comitem Stephanum Bathor,² waywodam Transilvanum, qui vir probus est, integer et omni plenus sanctitate et qui semper et de sede apostolica et de fidei christianae rebus optime meritus fuit, in quem video omnium oculos satis coniectos. Nescio tamen, quid sequetur. Is etiam mittitur in Transilvaniam ad illos Turchorum motus comprimendos, quando sanctitas vestra rescripserit, dignetur ad eum scribere, ut talem, qui optima sit in sanctitatis vestre opinione et de quo illa tanquam de optimo viro et vere catholico sentiat, ut magis atque magis arrigat animi sui vires ad continuandum in suo optimo instituto et mecum cum multa contulerit de expeditione in Turcos capessenda non minores animos, quam rex, si Turcum illum, de quo ipsi domino regi sanctitati vestre spem dederat, habuerit, pollicetur. Est vir militaris, strenuus, quo duce rex semper Turcos superare consuevit. Accedit, quod est pecuniosus et uxorem nunquam habuit, nec liberos, neque desiderio rei uxorię tenetur et totus ad hoc bellum videtur ardere.

Serenissima domina regina, ancilla sanctitatis vestre humiliter se vestre sanctitati pedibus commendat sanctissimis et supplicat illi

¹ Senj.

² István Bátori of Ecsed, a Hungarian military leader, voivode of Transylvania (1479–1493).

honori suo et suis rebus prospiciat, nunc cum maxime sanctitatis vestre favore sibi opus sit, prout semper et facere et suis litteris polliceri dignata est, cui supplico dignetur pollicitis meis, quę maiestati suae sanctitatis vestre nomine feci, ac maiestatis suę erga vestram sanctitatem expectationi correspondere, optime ac felicissime sanctitas vestra valeat, cuius sanctissimis pedibus me humillime et assidue commendo. Ex Vienna Austriae, VI. Aprilis 1490.

Ad prelatos et barones supplico sanctitas vestra dignetur scribere, quod concorditer de eligendo rege vel gubernatore agant et credentiam in personam meam. Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis humile mancipium Angelus episcopus Ortanus^a

[*fol. 123v*]: Sanctissimi ac clementissimi domini nostri pape

^a Ad prelatos ... Ortanus] *manu Angeli Pecchinoli*

47.

Vienna, 6 April 1490

Angelo Pecchinoli to Roderigo Borja (Borgia)

Angelo sends a copy of a letter to the pope on the same date (n. 46), from which he omitted some information on Stephen Bátori and on Queen Beatrix.

ORIG.: unknown. – COP.: AS Milano, Sf. 642/4,11 (*cf.* Vestigia project, <http://vestigia.hu>, Infocus sorszám: 293; the copy of the letter was attached to a letter by Maffeo da Treviglio sent from Vienna back to Milan to Ludovico Maria Sforza (AS Milano, Sf. 642/4,13 [in cifra]; 4,14 [transcribed], 6 April 1490); the letter is, however, not mentioned in Maffeo's letter (photo sent to me by GYÖRGY DOMOKOS). – Partially a copy of a letter to Pope Innocent VIII (*cf.* n. 46).

Exemplum litterarum legati in Hungaria ad reverendissimum vicecancellarium¹

Reverendissime monsignore, post humilem commendationem. De treugis, quae ultimo loco conclusae sunt, satis devotio vestra

¹ Cardinal Roderigo Borja (Borgia).

reverendissima ex litteris, quas Alonsus detulit, intelligere potuit. Superest nunc nihil aliud, nisi quod hodie post mediam noctem preter omnium spem et expectationem dominus rex in fatum concessit, finemque et treugis et paci fecit, fuerat quarta huius, hoc est in Palmarum solemnibus letus et rubore perfusus, subito morbo correptus expiravit,^a magno de se relicto desiderio, novi nihil adhuc videtur, omnia timore et pavore plena sunt. Nihil nunc agitur, nisi ut qui possent tumultus exoriri, compescantur, disponuntur praesidia, et copiae undique accersuntur. Acceditque pridie, quam rex concessisset, rumor frequens ortus est, quod Turcus maximus copias adiuvantibus Moldavis^b et Valacchis intra Silvaniam (*sic*) destinasset, et hodie longe magis rumore ipse increbescit (*sic*). Mittitur in Silvaniam ad hos Turcorum motus compescendos comes Stephanus Bathor¹, waywoda Transilvanus, de quo, ut mihi ex multis et variis argumentis coniectare licet, video magnam haberi spem eius in gubernatorem regni suffiendi. Est certe vir probus, integer, omni sanctitate plenus, strenuus in militia et multum pecuniosus ac omnibus generaliter dilectus et apud omnes in magno precie magnaque veneratione. Ex Vienna Austriae, VI. Aprilis 1490.

Episcopus Hortanus

^a expiravit] expiranit *ms.* ^b Moldavis] Moldanis *ms.*

¹ István Bátori of Ecsed.

48.

*Buda, 24 June 1490**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

Angelo refers to previous letters. Reports on the election dealings at the field of Pest (Rákos), the candidates being János Corvinus, son of Matthias, Wladislas, King of Bohemia, and Jan Olbracht, son of King of Poland. No one considered Maximilian, King of the Romans. The Queen demanded to be married to the future king. Angelo exhorts all to keep peace, because of the Turkish danger and because the kingdom acts as the wall for all of Europe. He, however, asked the pope to let him go back to Rome, so that he does not have to be in such a situation. The letter is almost completely enciphered; the cipher is partially transcribed above the lines.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 174 (=3621), fol. 97r–97v (paper, 215×285mm). –
NOTE (fol. 97r): Mircse lemásolta.

Beatissime pater, post humillimam commendationem et pedum oscula beatorum. Scripsi superioribus diebus sanctitatis vestre de his, que tunc in rem erant per Philippum, cursorem meum, deinde per nuntium Cracoviensem, per quem cursorem Mediolanensem et ultimo loco misi familiarem meum Gasparem cum intersignis, quibus sanctitas vestra facile poterit adhibere fidem in referendis ab eo sanctitati vestre meo nomine quottidie, licet nova insurgant.¹ Ista tamen nunc in causa sunt pridie cum prelati, barones et nobiles in campum Pestiensem² de more ad electionem statuto tempore descendissent, multa prius super conditionibus regis Hungarie, filio Mathie³ dandis tractaverunt, qui cum conclusis illa haberent inter prelatos et barones de eligendo rege Bohemie,⁴ ut audio, convenit. Licet

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli wrote letters regularly, even though only few were preserved.

² Field of Pest, also called the Rákos field, used for the gathering of the estates for elections of kings.

³ János Corvinus.

⁴ Wladislas II Jagiellonian.

postera die exercitus, nescio que impellente, ad tres ferme horas Albertum,¹ filium regis Polonie, acclamaverit et vix acclamatio illa procerum studio potuit comprimi. Subinde Quinqueecclesiensis² et dux Laurentius³ et Colonicensis,⁴ qui dudum in electione sperni videbantur, cum copiis suis supervenerunt et accito in partes suas regis Mathie filio omnia subvertere moliantur seque cum eo intra arcem Budensem receperunt, vocantur utrinque externa auxilia. Ceteri prelati et barones regem Bohemie isti vero, qui intra arcem Budensem sunt, Albertum cum suis copiis vocant. Illi arcem, isti civitatem muniunt, nulli de rege Romanorum⁵ sentiunt. Regina⁶ iam aperte futuro regi se dari coniugem postulat et premia maxima etiam cappellum iuvantibus pollicetur. Nescio, quid futurum sit, video ingens periculum, tam ex discordia, que noviter exorta est, quam ex hostibus, qui regno imminent. Presertim Turcorum copiis, qui multis ex locis regnum iam invaserunt, prout notissima commiseratione, res plena est. Incessi in media prelatorum et baronum congregatione et hos atque illos ad pacem et concordiam hortari non desin. Mirantur et dolent sanctitatis vestre bona venia, dixerim, ocium, quod unis tantum litteris hos [fol. 97v] ad pacem et concordiam hortati neglexerit, seque sanctitate vestra sperni, nec de hoc regno, quod murus est totius Europe, sibi cure nec desunt, qui hoc iuvent propositum, ut sanctitas vestra potest intelligere, qui suadeant, nullam esse apud sanctitatem vestram de grege dominico curam. Vix gerentibus sufficio singulis momentis respondere et cum frequentibus litteris sanctitatem vestram pulsaverit^a et nusquam fieri verbum intelligam, incipio et ipse cum his, qui ita sentiunt credere, quo fit, ut si servulo mihi ad celum os ponere liceat. Pro Deo supplico, iubeat sanctitas vestra me venire ad se, ne in hoc iugi rubore et verecundia sim, cum ad unum omnes de sanctitate vestra et doleant et mirentur. Accedit, quod bonus vir ille

¹ Jan Olbracht, third son of Casimir, King of Poland, younger brother of Wladislas. He himself became King of Poland later (1492–1501).

² Zsigmond Ernuszt, bishop of Pécs (1473–1503).

³ Lőrinc Újlaki, Duke of Bosnia (1477–1524), Ban of Macsó (1477–1496).

⁴ Péter Váradi.

⁵ Maximilian, King of the Romans.

⁶ Queen Beatrix.

Raimundus,¹ qui apud regem Romanorum est, suis litteris testatur sanctitatis vestre mentem esse, quod rex Romanorum eligatur, quas ego ipse vidi, que res tantum stomachum his facit, ut dolorem et admirationem in sanctitate vestra augeat. Quodque dolentius refero ad hunc Stefanum² vaivodam, apud quem summa rei militaris contra Turcos presertim est. Ne unas quidem litteras sanctitas vestra scribere voluit, denique cum volet^b sanctitas vestra imminentibus his periculis mederi non poterit^c et quidem in suo reditu quod proximo erit, uti spero, bene ad propositum rescribet, vel saltem causam alteri delegabit. Optime ac felicissime valeat diutissime sanctitas vestra, cuius sanctissimis pedibus me assidue et humillime commendo. Ex Buda, XXIII Iunii MCCCCLXXX.

cum regina vice mutua querimus reconciliationem^d

Eiusdem vestre beatitudinis humile mancipium Angelus episcopus Ortanus

^a pulsaverit] pulsaverim in transcriptione. ^b volet] velet in transcriptione. ^c Beatis-
sime pater ... poterit] in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.; translitteratio cifrae: Anti-
quitas post humillimam commendationem et pedum oscula beatorum scripsi
superioribus diebus antiquitas de his que tunc in rem erant per l philippum
cursorem meum deinde per nuntium cracouiensem per que l cursorem mediola-
nensem et ultimo loco misi familiarem meum galsporem cum intersignis quibus
antiquitas facile poterit adhibere l fidem in referendis ab eo antiquitas meo nomine
quotidie licet nolua insurgant ista tamen nunc in causa sunt pridie cum prelati
balrones et nobiles in campum pestiensem de more ad electionem stlatuto tempore
descendissent multa prius super conditionibus l 40 filio mathie dandis tracta-
uerunt qui cum pro conclusis illa haberent inter prelatos et barones de eligendo
rege bohelmie ut audio conuenit licet postera die exercitus nescilo que impellente
ad tres ferme horas albertum filium l regis polonie acclamauerit et uix acclamatio
illa procerum studio potuit comprimi A subinde quinquecclesiensis et dux lau-
rentius et colocensis qui dudum in electilone sperni uidebantur cum copiis suis
superuenerunt l et accito in partes suas eegis (sic) mathie filio omnia l subuertere
moliuntur seque cum eo intra arcem budensem receperunt uocantur utrinque

¹ Raymund Peraudi.

² István Bátori of Ecsed.

externa auxilia A ceteri prelati | et barones regem bohemie isti uero qui intra arcem
 buldensem sunt albertum cum suis copiis uocant illi arcelm isti ciuitatem muniunt
 nulli de +O sentiunt +iam | aperte futuro regi se dari coniugem postulat et premia |
 maxima etiam cappellum iuuantibus pollicetur A nescio quid futurum sit uideo
 ingens periculum tam ex discordia que nouiter exorta est quam ex hostibus qui
 regno iminent presertim turcorum copiis qui multis ex locis | regnum iam inuase-
 runt pro ut notissima commiseratione | res plena est A innessi in media prelatorum
 et baronum congregatione et hos atque illos ad pacem et concordiam hortari non
 desino mirantur et dolent *antiq(ui)tas* bonla uenia dixerim ocium quod unis
 tantum litteris hos | ad pacem et concordiam hortati neglexerit seque *antiq(ui)tas* |
 sperni nec de hoc regno quod murus est totius europe silbi cure nec desunt qui hoc
 iuuent propositum ut *antiq(ui)tas* poltest intelligere qui suadeant nullam esse apud
antiq(ui)tas de | grege dominico curam A uix querentibus sufficio singulis mo-
 mentis respondere et cum frequentibus litteris *antiq(ui)tas* pulsauerit et nusquam
 fieri uerbum intelligam incipio et ipse cum his qui ita sentiunt credere quo fit ut
 si seruulo mihi ad celum os ponere | liceat pro deo supplico iubeat *antiq(ui)tas* me
 uenire ad | se ne in hoc iugi rubore et uerecundia sim cum ad unum | omnes de
antiq(ui)tas et doleant et mirentur A accedit quod | bonus uir ille raimundus qui
 apud +O est suis litteris testatur *antiq(ui)tas* mentem esse quod +O eligatur quas |
 ego ipse uidi que res tantum stomachum his facit | ut dolorem et admirationem in
antiq(ui)tas augeat A quod que dolentius refero ad hunc stefanum uaiuodam apud
 quem | summa rei militaris contra turcos presertim est | ne [.].nas quidem litteras
antiq(ui)tas scribere uoluit | denique cum uolet *antiq(ui)tas* iminentibus his peri-
 culis mederi non poterit. ^d cum regina ... reconciliationem] *in cifra ms.; suprascr.*

Transcriptio

49.

*Buda, 24 June 1490**Péter Váradi to Pope Innocent VIII*

Péter Váradi thanks the pope for saving him from prison through Angelo Pecchinoli.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 9, n. 781. (cf. also AS Ven, Coll. Podocataro, busta 9, n. 782) (parchment 360×250 mm; closed with a seal, pressed, 20mm, fallen off; humanistic script).

Sanctissime pater ac domine beatissime, domine redemptor et liberator meus clementissime. Post humilis et devotissime ac per tue sanctitatis clemenciam et pietatem redempte creature tue pedum oscula beatorum. Humillimam et subiectissimam commendacionem. Liberasti me tandem et per Angelum sanctum tuum¹ me et e lacrimarum loco baratro fetoris. Miseriarum latu et orci denique faucibus eruisti. Speravi in te Domine et tu non deseruisti me, domine Deus meus.² Sex annos tanquam vita defunctus apud inferos degisse visus sum. Quibus neque loquendi, neque scribendi, neque videndi, neque senciendi et agendi quidquam michi potestas fuit. Et cum omnia fere michi vite officia, nescio qua fati iniquitate interdicta fuerint. Veram mortis imaginem omni ex parte subivi. Has Deus penas in hac me vita expendere voluit. Quando ita fortasse mea fortuna postulabat, ut in altera vices rependeret meliores. Succurrebat in angustiis spes imprimis sanctitas tua, que michi omni aliorum presidia desperanti. Illius solius sancte sedis, que omni afflictorum pia sublevatrix existit, opem michi non defuturam pollicebatur. Ex hiis igitur erumnis me redemisti, salvator meus, et hinc quantum sit sanctitatis tue numen intellexi. Quippe qui non modo Dei vicarius, sed alter in terris deus es, quando me iterum genuisti, reddidisti vitam et cum vita nomen honorem ac dignitatem restituisti. Non modo solvendorum animorum, verum etiam et corporum sanctitatis tue potestas e celo tributa

¹ This seems to be a pun, hinting at the name of the nuncio as an angel, who saved the archbishop from the prison.

² Ps 30,2; Ps 37,16; Ps 70,1 (Vulg.).

est. Quandoquidem beneficium non tam immortale, quam spectatissimum ubique gentium iure censetur. Quinetiam nomen auctoritatis tue, quod humana quandoque insolentia labefactari ceperat. Ex hoc prestanti facinore instauratum est. Quare pro tam immortalis beneficio omnis dignitas vita et salus mea cum sanctitati tue debetur. Quas nunc agam referamve, gratias non invenio, utriusque facultatem ademit immense beneficencie tue magnitudo. Proinde quando deus noster es, ipsius quoque Dei morem imitare. Sanctissime pater, qui pro maximis sepe beneficiis pauco thure ac pia cordis oblatione sibi factum satis arbitrat? Ego autem tantum et tam immortale beneficium non solum perpetua memoria et profusa predicacione celebrabo. Verum etiam sanctitati tue quantumcumque sunt facultates, item corpus et animam eternamque servitute ne ingratitude reus esse videar, do, trado, dedico et addico, cupiens toto corde dari aliquando michi occasionem opportunam, quo tanta et tam immortalia collata michi beneficia sanctitati tue debito aliquo et singulari obsequio valeam, sanctitati tue, et eius sancte sedi comperare. Quam omnipotens Deus salvam, letam et felicem diutissime conservet ad faustum et felix regimen ecclesie sue sacrosancte. Ex Buda, vicesima quarta die Iunii, anno domini etc. LXXXXo.

Eiusdem sanctitatis tue pietate et immortalibus beneficiis redempta ac apostolice maiestatis tue imperpetuam servitute astricta creatura tua, Petrus arciepiscopus Colocensis manu propria^a

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Innocencio sacrosancte Romane ac universalis ecclesie summo pontifici dignissimo, domino meo clementissimo ac redemptori et liberatori et benefactori meo unico

^a *alia manu (fortasse Petri arciepiscopi Colocensis)*

50.

*Buda, 18 and 24 July 1490**Angelo Pecchinoli to Pope Innocent VIII*

Angelo mentions the release of the archbishop of Kalocsa (Péter Váradi) and the many letters he sent to Rome. Now, all the barons and prelates have convened in the field of Rákos. There are a few candidates; János Corvinus is supported by some prelates, i.e. the archbishop of Kalocsa, bishop of Pécs (Zsigmond Ernuszt), a prior of Vrana (Bertalan Beriszló), and a few of the barons and nobles, e.g. Lőrinc Újlaki (Lovro Iločki/Lawrence of Ilok), Duke of Bosnia. The supporters of János Corvinus are in the castle of Buda. Those who were in the castle tried to abscond with the castle treasure and bring it to their camps in the field of Rákos. There were fights on 4 July and some of the treasure was brought back to the castle. István Bátori and Pál Kinizsi won and came back to Buda on 11 July bringing captives, including the prior of Vrana. Now, there is hope to elect a new king. Many hope for the king of Bohemia, even though Jan Olbracht was also elected earlier and it is said that he would come with an army, as well as the king of the Romans. The king of Bohemia is on the borders of the realm and already entered Hungary. – A new king was proclaimed, King Wladislas on 15 July (first, Angelo mentions ‘hodie’, today, later he mentions the date). Queen Beatrix was proclaimed his wife, even though against her will and hesitantly; Lőrinc Újlaki, archbishop of Kalocsa, and the bishop of Pécs were labelled as the disturbers of peace. It is hoped that the king of Poland will make peace between his sons. However, there are still people who believe that the king of the Romans will want to claim his rights. – Angelo has problems and would need letters and instructions from the pope; he is considering going back to the pope. There are a lot of troubles and problems which Angelo heard that Vienna already defected from the kingdom of Hungary. He is sending letters back to Rome and describes the money he paid to his messengers. – After the proclamation of the king Angelo visited the queen and congratulated her on her new marriage. She thanked the pope. She praises the king and mentioned also the incursion of the Turks. She also advised Angelo not to leave before meeting the king. – Now (24 July), peace is concluded. János Corvinus, Lőrinc Újlaki, the archbishop of Kalocsa and bishop of Pécs are accepted by the king and their deeds against him forgotten.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 175 (=3622), fol. 116r–117r (paper, 220x290 mm).

– NOTE (fol. 116r): Mircse.

Sanctissime pater ac clementissime domine. Pedum oscula beatorum. Post Colocensis¹ liberationem pluries de his, que in rem esse videbantur, ad sanctitatem vestram per diversos nuncios scripsi et nuper presertim duplicatis litteris significavi, quod cum regni barones et prelati ad regis electionem, ut est de more, convenissent in campum, qui Rakos nuncupatur² et nonnulli ex prelati, videlicet Colocensis et Quinqueecclesiensis³ cum priore de Vrana⁴ et pauci admodum ex baronibus et nobilibus sequentibus ducem Iohannem⁵ regis Mathię filium, inter quos imprimis erat dux Laurentius⁶, regis olim Bosnę filius, a regno discordarent, in arcem Budensem et ipsi prelati et ceteri factionis ducis regis Mathię filii sese receperunt. Cum in arce ipsa essent, non destiti ex meo officio eos presertim prelatos hortari ad pacem et regni quietem ipsosque monere, ne quid, quod preter modestiam veri prelati essent, attemptarent. Colocensis respondit, se non nisi ad bonum arcem intrasse, ibique aliquantulum immorari, ut pacem inter prelatos et barones regni componeret. Quod si tandem obtinere nequiret, se relicturum arcem et suam ecclesiam petiturum quam celerrime est pollicitus, prout effecit. *A Quinqueecclesiensi malorum omnium fomite*^a verba sepius mihi data sunt et semper *deceptus remansi*.^b Paulo enim post Colocensis recessum ab his, qui in arce remanserant, et prelati et baronibus eruptione facta, ut omnem regni thesaurum asportarent in eorum castra, que non procul ab arce Budensi cis Danubium posuerant, descenderunt, ut

¹ Péter Váradi.

² Field Rákos next to Pest, used for election land diets.

³ Zsigmond Ernuszt.

⁴ Bertalan Beriszló, prior of the Hospitallers' priory of Vrana (1475/1477–1512).

⁵ János Corvinus.

⁶ Lőrinc Újlaki, son of Miklós Újlaki, King of Bosnia (1471–1477).

cum exercitus presidio thesaurum ipsum ad eorum loca deducerent.¹ Quod ubi isti pro regno certantes senserunt, facto agmine et ipsi in castra descendere sperunt, ut illos insequerentur. Sicque hostium castra viriliter adorti cominus pugnatum est, multique ea pugna hinc inde ceciderunt. Tandem victoria potiti sunt. Hostes fugarunt. The-saurique partem, ut mihi renunciatum est, reportarunt. Hęc quarta Iulii acta sunt.² Exinde victor exercitus Stephano³ vaivoda^c et Paulo Chinisio⁴ ducibus Budam cum ingenti captivorum numero reversus est XI.a mensis.⁵ Inter quos captivos *scelestissimus*^d de Vrana prior quinque, ut aiunt, vulneribus confossus ductus est. Quantum mihi hodie coniectare licet, omnia hic disponuntur ad novi regis acclamationem et, ut audio, certa de Bohemo⁶ spes habetur. Licet hinc Albertus⁷ Polonię regis filius prius in campo Rakos baronum, qui ad electionem, ut moris est et regni consuetudinis, convenerant, proclamatus. Adventare cum exercitu dicatur. Et hinc Romanorum rex⁸ credatur adventurus. Bohemus tamen, ut fertur, iam in metis regni Hungarie est, imo iam regnum cum suis copiis ingressus est. Quid de his futurum sit, me certe latet.

Hodie⁹ exactis sacrorum sollempnibus, quod foelix faustumque sit Wladislaus^e rex Bohemię, rex Hungarię in foro publico est acclamatus, maxima prelatorum et baronum frequentia publicatus et declaratus. Cui in sortem regni et thori serenissimam dominam Beatricem Hungarię reginam pene reluctantante et invitam pari favore acclamaverunt. Adiudicati hostes regni, dux Laurentius, Quinque-eccclensis et Colocensis pacis et quietis turbatores. Putant, quod domi-

¹ Cf. the later report on Jan Filipec transporting the treasury from the castle.

² 4 July 1490.

³ István Bátori of Ecsed.

⁴ Pál Kinizsi, military leader, Count of Temes and general captain of Lower parts of Hungary (1479–1494).

⁵ 11 July 1490.

⁶ Wladislas II Jagiellonian.

⁷ Jan Olbracht.

⁸ Maximilian, King of the Romans.

⁹ 15 July 1490 (cf. below).

nus rex Polonie¹ sua prudentia inter hos fratres, suos filios, concordiam faciēt. Nec tamen cessant, qui dicant regem Romanorum sua iura repetiturum. [fol. 116v]

Interea in maximis sum angustiis, cum sanctitas vestra non unis me tantummodo litteris recreaverit. Non possum non dolere non mea, sed sanctitatis vestre causa, cum isti de regno se ab sanctitate vestra negligi et parum illam de rebus Hungarie curare; imo minimam de dominico grege curam gerere passim querantur dux Laurentius. Adhuc domini vicecancellarii et Quinquecclesiensis domini Ascanii abbatias occupatas tenent, contra quos et si censuris ecclesiasticis processerim, attamen quia nulla adiutus a sanctitate vestra, auctoritate nullaque super his et aliis emergentibus mihi brevia fuerint transmissa. Destitui me et regnum ac has res credidi, quo fit, ut ubi sim, quidve me facere oporteat. Ignorem decrevique bona sanctitatis vestre venia, ubi sic mecum et cum hoc regno agit. Hinc ad aliquos dies ad sanctitatem vestram reverti sintque, qui velint, qui pericula, qui hos casus subeant. Nulla ope adnixi sanctitatis vestre Deus viderit, quod etiam usque ad capitis periculum sanctitatis vestre mandata sum executus et nullum a sanctitate vestra litterarum refrigerium habere promerui.^f

XV. mensis² proclamatus est rex, sed distuli in hunc usque diem nuntium mittere, quia regina Hungarie retinuit cum diceret se velle scribere.^g

Dedi hic Budę nuntio pro subventionem itineris tres tantummodo ducatos et decem sibi Segnie³ solvi feci et pactus sum secum in totum pro ista expeditione de ducatibus XXXVIII. Dignabitur sanctitas vestra, quod sibi de residuo statim solvatur, solita innataque sua benignitate iubere. Supersunt enim sibi solvendi XXV florenos Hungaricales et non est mihi visum prefigere sibi certum terminum, quia sunt hodie hic tot turbationes, tot incendia, tot mala, quod vere miror, quo modo miser evaserit, et quo modo se tam certo periculo commiserit. Scripsi ad sanctitatem vestram pluries post

¹ Casimir IV, King of Poland.

² 15 July 1490.

³ Senj.

mortem regis, et cum illa *ad me nihil rescribat, habeo pro missione et quod iam me revocavit. Interea me itineri dispono, ut cito ad sanctitatem vestram redeam. Audio, quod iam Vienna defecerit a regno Hungarie et quod maiora imminet incendia. Deus bene omnia disponat.*^h

Sed certe de aliis responsionibus non video, quid sit dicendum, satis est, quod ipse latius cito scribet.

Interea optime ac felicissime valeat sanctitas vestra, cuius sanctissimis pedibus me humiliter et assidue commendo. Ex Buda, XVIII Iulii MCCCCLXXX. [fol. 117r]

Illico, ubi dominus rex acclamatus est, dominam reginam accessi, cui plurimum sanctitatis vestre nomine congratulari studui, quod sicut semper sanctitas vestra devotissimam in sedem apostolicam novisset filiam, sic novo coniungio et marito futura foret. Ingentes sanctitati vestre habuit gratias, seque talem reginam futuram spondit, quod spem, quam de illius devotione et fide sanctitas vestra in sedem apostolicam dudum concepisset, omni studio adimplere conaretur. Commendavit dominum regem imprimis ac se et regnum sanctitati vestre, quos pro sua clementia dignetur paterno affectu complecti et fovere. Pollicetur insuper sibi spem maximam de inimicis omnibus triumphum reportare et presertim de Turchis, qui frequentibus incursionibus regnum invadunt. Meque est adhortata, ut non prius hinc solvam, quam dominum regem videam et pari congratulatione sanctitatis vestre nomine venerer, quod ad diem XV. futurum¹ hoc esse pollicita est. Ac illico hinc, ut vadam, me paro, ubi sanctitatis vestrae *sic placuit in his difficultatibus de me omnino oblivisci.*¹

Tandem, pater beatissime, hodie,² quod ad perpetuam huius regni quietem futurum arbitror, pax conclusa est. Receptique in gratiam duces Ioannes et Laurentius ac Colocensis et Quinquecclesiensis, et preteritorum omnium facta oblivio. Quam rem¹ sanctitas vestra ad magnam profecto potest laetitiam ascribere. Videbam in foribus mortes ac cedes et bellorum incendia maxima, quod totum Deus optimus maximus pro sua clementia avertit. Habet itaque sanctitas

¹ 15 August 1490.

² 24 July 1490.

vestra imprimis hunc serenissimum regem catholicum, christianissimum et bonis ortum parentibus nec minus serenissimam dominam reginam in sanctitatis vestre devotione et fide insignem et maiorem habet nunc sanctitas vestra,^k quam antea fuerat, de Turcho, quem observat, occasionem, rei bene gerendae. Accingitur dominus rex hoc presertim desyderio, ut conatus omnes in Turchos effundat. Domina regina humillime sanctitatis vestre pedibus beatissimis se commendat, optime ac felicissime, sanctitas vestra valeat diutissime, cuius sanctissimis pedibus me assidue et humillime commendo. Ex Buda, 24. Iulii 1490.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis humile mancipium Angelus episcopus Ortanus

[fol. 117v]: Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro papae etc.

^a A Quinqueeclesiensi ... fomite] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.* ^b deceptus remansi] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.* ^c vaivoda] *vuaiiuda ms.* ^d scelestissimus] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.* ^e Wladislaus] *Vuladislaus ms.* ^f sum angustiis ... promerui] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.; translitteratio cifrae: sum angustiis cum antiq(ui)tas non unis me tantum modo | litteris recreauerit non possum non dolere non mea sed | antiquitas causa cum isti de regno se ab antiq(ui)tas negligi et parum | illam de rebus hungarie curare imo minimam de dominico grege | curam gerere passim querantur dux Laurentius adhuc domini uicecancellarii et quinqueeclesiensis domini ascanii abbatilas occupatas tenent contra quos et si censuris ecclesiasticis processerim attamen quia nulla adiutus a antiq(ui)tas | autoritate nulla que super his et aliis emergentibus | mihi breuia fuerint transmissa destitui me et regnum ac | has res credidi quo fit ut ubi sim quid ue me facere oporteat ignorem decreuique bona antiq(ui)tas uenia ubi sic mecum et | cum hoc regno agit hinc ad aliquos dies ad antiq(ui)tas reuerti | sintque qui velint qui pericula qui hos casus subeant nulla | ope adnixa antiq(ui)tas deus uiderit quod etiam usque ad capitis | periculum antiq(ui)tas mandata sum executus et nullum a antiq(ui)tas | litterarum refrigerium habere promerui. ^g regina ... scribere] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.* ^h ad me ... disponat] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.; translitteratio cifrae: ad me nihil rescribet | habeo pro missione et quod iam me reuocarit intelrea me itineri dispono ut cito ad antiquitas redeam | audio quod iam uienna defecerit a regno hungarie et | quod maiora iminent incendia deus bene omnia disponat. ⁱ sic placuit**

... oblivisci] *in cifra, suprascr. transcriptio ms.* ^j rem] *suprascr. ms.* ^k sanctitas vestra] *in marg. ms.*

51.

Székesfehérvár, 22 September 1490
Hungarian prelates to Innocent VIII

The Hungarian prelates praise Angelo Pecchinoli as a great representative of the pope and the Church.

ORIG.: Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. X 178 (=3625), fol. 99^r (the letter closed with seven little seals (roughly size 20mm); paper, 290×265mm). – NOTE (fol. 99^r): Mircse.

Beatissime in Christo pater et domine nobis clementissime. Post oscula pedum sanctitatis vestre beatorum. Rediit ad sanctitatem vestram reverendus in Christo pater, dominus Angelus episcopus Ortanus, sanctitatis vestre orator dignissimus, qui apud nos ante obitum condam serenissimi et invictissimi domini Mathie regis felicis recordacionis summa cum dignitate atque bene beateque vixit, et post hac in ista fluctuacione rerum nostrarum Pannonicarum, que divina assistente gracia post eleccionem regiam et felicissimam atque faustissimam coronacionem¹ sue maiestatis plane desidit, ita se gessit et habuit, ut presencia dignitate auctoritateque sua nos et ecclesias nostras plurimum ornaverit et auxerit, pro tutanda vendicandaque libertate ecclesiastica summam operam, laborem studiumque adhibuit, pro qua paratus una nobiscum semper fuit cum periculo rerum discrimineque capitis ubique decertare. Quicquid malignitate homini contra ecclesiam Dei commentum molitumque est, cura sollicitudine animi dexteritate ingenii et prudenter id compescunt. Lites nonnullas et fraterna aliorumque dissidia consultissime diremit aut certe fomitem maligne conceptum sensum extinxit, neque cum in illas flammas odii exurgere passus est, per humane et suscepti {et} a

¹ 19 September 1490 (other dates, 18 or 21 September, are also mentioned in historiography).

sua reverendissima paternitate benigne ubique tractati fuimus, atque nos eam vicissim, ut patrem maioremque nostrum reverenter officiosissimeque coluimus et observavimus. Quo instituto vite coniunctissime reverenda paternitas sua usque adeo nos sibi devinxit obligatissimosque fecit, ut veritatis et integerrime sue vite testimonium nostra sponte perhibere et iure optimo, quod vidimus atque sentimus, testari debeamus. Id est dignitatem auctoritatemque suam, quam a sanctitate vestra devotissime et cum omni humilitate accepit, maximo usui et ornamento nobis et ecclesiis nostris fuisse. Quam ob rem humilime supplicamus, dignetur sanctitas vestra virum integerrimum et de sanctissima Romana sede nobisque optime meritum una nobiscum sua gracia et benigno favore amplecti ac prosequi, atque ita commendatum habere, ut senciatur hanc nostram commendacionem apud sanctitatem vestram et sacrosanctum augustissimumque collegium suum magni ponderis fuisse. Pro quo nos ad omnia servicia fidelissime obeunda sanctitati vestre animo devoto gratissimoque obligamus et eternaliter addicimus. Quam, ut nobis Deus optimus maximus ad regimen ecclesie sue salvam incolumemque servare dignetur, vehementer optamus, et nos denique pedibus sanctitatis vestre unice commendamus. Datum in Alba Regia diocesis Wesprimiensis, decimo Kal. Octobris, anno salutis millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo.

Eiusdem vestre sanctitatis devotissimi obsequentissimique episcopi et prelati regni Hungarie apud regiam maiestatem constituti

[*fol. 99v*]: Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Innocencio sacrosancte Romane atque universalis ecclesie summo pontifici etc., domino nostro clementissimo

52.

*Székesfehérvár, 25 September 1490**King of Hungary and Bohemia Wladislas II Jagiellonian to Pope Innocent VIII*

Wladislas praises Angelo Pecchinoli as an excellent representative of the pope.

ORIG.: AS Venezia, Collezione Podocataro, busta 8, n. 604 (parchment, 340x228 mm, closed with a seal 68 mm, fallen off, humanistic script).

Beatissime pater et domine clementissime. Post devotam mei commendationem ad pedum oscula beatorum. Postquam nutu et gratia Dei, cuius potestate reges gubernant, concordique et libera voluntate optimatum et procerum regni Hungarie in regem Hungarie ac huic subiecta regna et dominia principem rite legittimeque creatus assumtusque fui atque eorum consensu Budam veni, reverendus dominus Angelus episcopus Ortanus, sanctitatis vestre legatus reverenter me adiit et pro illo amore atque benivolencia, qua me meosque omnes sanctitas vestra benignissime prosecuta est, tum et postea sepe mecum de variis arduisque rebus statum huius regni et christiane reipublice concernentibus familiariter et diligenter contulit. Quem et alioquin in asserenda tutandaque libertate ecclesiastica studiosissimum cognovi, in iudiciis ceterisque negociis equum et integrum et quod in munere sibi delegato imprimis desyderari debet, officiosum gratumque omnibus fuisse, multorum testimonio didici. Equidem in hac rerum ob amorem fidem et observanciam devotionemque illam, quam erga sacrosanctam Romanam et apostolicam sedem semper habeo et habebo, donec spiritus hos reget artus, suam reverendam paternitatem adesse, quam abesse optabam. Ipse tamen (ut par erat) satisfacere mandato sanctitatis vestre, quam morem gerere desyderio meo maluit. Cui has litteras dedi,¹ ut testatissimum facerem reverendam paternitatem suam mihi meisque omnibus charissimam fuisse, dignitati sanctissime sedis vestre optime satisfacisse et inter nos ita versatam, ut iocundissime gratissimeque consuetu-

¹ Angelo Pecchinoli must have left Hungary after the date of this letter.

dinis oblivisci diu non possumus. Hunc itaque ut virum gravissimum integerrimum et de sede apostolica optime meritum pedibus sanctitatis vestre una mecum diligentissime commendo. Quitquid ob rationem virtutis et meritorum suorum atque contemplatione mea sanctitas vestra sibi contulerit, id in me collatum esse, semper existimabo. Neque ero meriti tanti inmemor, unquam sanctitatem vestram Altissimus conservet longa per tempora pro regimine ecclesie sue sancte et augmento. Datum in civitate Alba Regia, XXV die Septembris anno domini MCCCCLXXX, regnorum meorum Hungarie etc. anno primo, Bohemie vero vigesimo.

Eiusdem sanctitatis vestre devotus filius Ladislaus, Dei gratia rex Hungarie Bohemie etc.

[*a tergo:*] Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Innocencio VIII divina providencia sacrosancte Romane ac universalis ecclesie summo pontifici, domino meo clementissimo

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ANGELO PECCHINOLI PÁPAI LEGÁCIÓJA A MAGYAR KIRÁLYI UDVARBAN (1488–1490)

Angelo Pecchinoli Cività Castellana és Orte püspökének követsége azok közé a követségek közé tartozik, melyek meglehetősen jól dokumentáltak. Angelo Pecchinoli 1488 és 1490 között *cum potestate legati de latere* pápai követként szolgált Hunyadi Mátyás magyar és cseh király udvarában. Mátyás király uralkodásának utolsó másfél évét és röviden az 1490 áprilisában bekövetkezett halála utáni történéseket dokumentálta.

Angelo Pecchinolit 1488 szeptemberében küldték Mátyás király udvarába, de az első beszámolók jelenlétéről Ausztriában, ahol a királyi udvar tartózkodott, csak ez év decemberétől érkeztek. Attól kezdve a nuncius követte az udvart és jelentéseket készített az udvari eseményekről és történésekről, és ami a legfontosabb, részletesen leírta a királlyal, a királynéval és az udvar más tagjaival, különösen a király szolgálatában álló püspökökkel folytatott beszélgetéseit. 1490. április 6-án Angelo egy gyors levelet írt Mátyás király haláláról és továbbra is jelen volt azon események központjában, amelyek II. Ulászló cseh király magyar királlyá történő megválasztásához vezettek. A nuncius csak Ulászló megkoronázását követően, 1490 szeptemberében tért vissza Rómába. A követsége körülbelül két évig tartott; ebből a szempontból a fennmaradt 14 küldemény nem jelent kiterjedt dokumentációt. Habár a 15. század vége még a pápai diplomácia újjászervezése előtti időszakhoz tartozik, a pápai nunciatúrák új rendszere csak a 16. században alakult ki. Még a legátusok és nunciusok jelentéseinek megőrzése is kaotikus volt és semmilyen módon nem volt igazán szervezett. Ezért tekinthető Angelo

Pecchinoli 14 jelentése szinte rendkívülinek, közép-európai viszonylatban minden bizonnyal. A nunciusi jelentéseken kívül a kiadvány más, a követséghez köthető dokumentumokat is tartalmaz: ezek közül legfontosabbak a nuncius megbízásai (szám szerint 12) és utasításai (2), amelyek egyértelműen körülírják a követséget jogi szempontból (a megbízások), valamint az eljárások és feladatok szempontjából (az utasítások), amelyeket a nunciusnak végre kellett hajtania. A források legnagyobb csoportját (22 levél) a régió potentátjaival és Angelóval folytatott további pápai levelezés adja (melyeket a pápa bréve formájában küldött el), amelyek azonban ebben az értelemben kevésbé meghatározóak. Végül ide tartozik még az Apostoli Kamara két dokumentuma, amelyek meghatározzák a nuncius fizetésének összegét. Angelo Pecchinoli oklevelei és levelei több helyi levéltárban maradtak fenn, amelyek teljes körű összegyűjtése távlati lehetőség, összegyűjtésük azonban sokkal több időt és erőfeszítést kívánna meg, így ezek közül többre csak utalás található a bevezetésben; a kiadvány maga a pápai eredetű forrásokra koncentrál.

Angelo Pecchinolinak pápai nunciusként sok feladata volt követsége idején; követve a korszak általános pápai politikáját. E témák rövid felvázolásakor elsőként a háború és béke kérdése említhető. A nunciusnak segítenie kellett a keresztény uralkodók közti béke megteremtését. Az 1480-as évek végén Mátyás király esetében természetesen a III. Frigyes császárral és fiával, Miksa római királlyal fennálló konfliktus volt, amelyet a Római Kúria szoros figyelemmel kísért. Mátyás király másik nagy ellenfelével, a cseh Ulászló királlyal kötött békeszerződéseket szintén gyakran felemlgették, holott a háború már egy évtizede véget ért. Csehország és Lengyelország Jagelló-házi királyaival a konfliktusok a magyar királyt még akkor is foglalkoztatták. Az egyik kulcsfontosságú kérdés, amely a nuncius által figyelemmel kísért békéhez kapcsolódott, és amelyről Mátyás király udvarában beszéltek, az a keresztény uralkodók és az itáliai államok közötti béke volt. A király közvetlenül kapcsolódott az itáliai közegehez (a nápolyi királlyal még rokonságba is került házassága révén) és így kiváló rálátása volt, hogy mi történt ott. Konfliktusai a velenceiekkel, tárgyalásai Milánóval a fia esetleges házasságáról és Anconával fennálló botrány még inkább erősítették az Itáliának szentelt figyelmét. Ezenkívül a nunciust egy lehetséges háborúról is informálták az ottomán törökök ellen. A török fenyegetés, amelyet

ezidőtájt kissé alábecsültek Djem herceg jelenlétével Európában, a király és a nuncius közötti beszélgetések állandó témája volt. A királyságot a kereszténység védőbástyájának (*antemurale Christianitatis*) tekintették, amit a király megpróbált előnyére fordítani, hogy a pápánál minden igényének érvényt szerezzen. A háború és béke problémája nagyban összefüggött a pápa béketeremtő és a kereszténység védelmének szervezőjeként betöltött szerepével.

Mind az utasítások, mind pedig Angelo jelentései mutatják a *libertas ecclesiastica*-nak tulajdonított hangsúlyt, amelyre a 15. század végén a teológusok ismét hivatkoztak. Néhány eset, amellyel a nuncius foglalkozott példaértékű: a király által fogságba vetett prelátusok (Váradai Péter érsek és mások) ügye; az egyházi javakra, jobban mondva a különféle egyházi intézmények (kolostorok és püspökségek) elidegenített javaira fordított figyelem; és nagyobb jelentőséget tulajdonítottak az egyházi alattvalók helyes viselkedésének, akiknek feltétlen hűsége az Egyház jó kormányzásának kulcsa, és akiket nem szabad átengedni másnak (Ancona vagy Camerino esete). Ezek az egyházpolitikai ügyek olyan témákat vetnek fel, amelyek még inkább kapcsolódnak az Egyház mint intézmény működéséhez. A pápa abszolút tekintélyével, amelyet a nuncius igen kihangsúlyozott, gyakorolta kormányzását az egész Egyház felett abban a régióban, ahol a nuncius működött. Ura és mestere meghosszabbított karjaként érkezett a nuncius (a *de latere* követi hatáskörrel) a térségbe, hogy rendre utasítsa az Egyházat és annak tagjait. Foglalkozott a püspökök és a papság ügyeivel, rendi reformokról gondoskodott és megreformálta a rendházakat, az eretnekek elleni küzdelemre bátorított (habár nem igazán sikeresen), és – ami a legfontosabb volt a legtöbb hívő számára – olyan lelki kegyelmeket hozott, amelyek egyébként csak Rómában az Apostoli Szentszéknél voltak elérhetőek. Emellett a nuncius képviselte a pápa legmagasabb bírói hatalmát, aki *iudex ordinarius omnium* volt. Ez azt jelenti, hogy a *legatus de latere* hivatal természetéből fakadóan a nuncius akár a helyi püspökök egyházi bíróságát is helyettesíthette első fokon. Ennek keretében a nuncius egyértelműen a 14. és 15. század fordulójának konciliarista eszméit sikeresen legyőző Egyház megújult pápai kormányzatát képviselte. A jelen kötet célja tehát megvilágítani az Egyháznak és a pápai kormányzatnak ezt a fejlődését, valamint elérhetővé tenni a közép-európai történelem 15. század végi kulcsfontosságú forrásait.



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