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Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano,
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I

La Chiesa nella storia.
Religione, cultura, costume

Tomo 2

a cura di

Andreas Gottsmann – Pierantonio Piatti – Andreas E. Rehberg

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SOMMARIO

Presentazione	XVII
Profilo bio-bibliografico	XXI

I. LA CHIESA NELLA STORIA. RELIGIONE, CULTURA, COSTUME

Tomo 1

Simonetta ADORNI BRACCESI, <i>Eresia e riforma nella corrispondenza di Enrico Cornelio Agrippa di Nettesheim (1517-1525): invito alla lettura</i>	1
Ivana AIT, <i>Artigiani del lusso: orefici alla corte dei papi (XV-XVI secolo). Prime osservazioni</i>	19
Claus ARNOLD, <i>Im Zentrum des reformkatholischen Netzwerks. Ein unerledigter Brief Friedrich von Hügels and Franz Xaver Kraus (1901)</i>	33
Giulia BARONE, <i>Napoleone Orsini: un cardinale amante del bello</i>	43
Maximiliano BARRIO GOZALO, <i>El nombramiento de los obispos en la España del Antiguo Régimen (1523-1834)</i>	53
Anna BENVENUTI, <i>Il granduca e le monache. La riforma delle comunità religiose femminili nella Toscana lorenese</i>	69
Angelo BIANCHI, <i>Fermenti religiosi, impegno per il bene e rinnovamento delle istituzioni agli inizi del XX secolo. Otto lettere del barnabita Alessandro Gbignoni a Tommaso Gallarati Scotti</i>	81
Agostino BORROMEO, <i>Papato e Curia romana dopo il Concilio di Trento: l'istituzione della Congregazione cardinalizia dei Vescovi</i>	103
Onorato BUCCI, <i>Utrumque jus e media tempestas. Appunti critici di uno storico del diritto non medievista su problemi ritenuti largamente condivisi dai medievisti</i>	117
Marco BUONOCORE, <i>Sulla incoronazione della Madonna di Pietraquaria (Avezzano). Alcune precisazioni</i>	125
Marcella CAMPANELLI, <i>Sant'Alfonso Maria de' Liguori e gli «attori sociali» dei processi santagatesi e nocerini</i>	143
Vicente CÁRCEL ORTÍ, <i>Pío XI y el cardenal Vidal y Barraquer durante la Guerra de España</i>	159
Franco CARDINI, <i>Signum salutis</i>	179
Lucia CECI, <i>A Loreto sulle ali d'Italia: il X Congresso eucaristico nazionale tra devozione, mobilitazione di massa e fascismo</i>	187
Philippe CHENAUX, <i>Le Saint-Siège et les débuts du Mouvement œcuménique. La Conférence de Lausanne (1927)</i>	213
Luciano CINELLI, <i>L'orazione del domenicano Battista de' Giudici in onore di s. Pietro martire</i>	227

Alfio CORTONESI, <i>Pereta fra tardo Medioevo ed Età moderna. Appunti sull'economia agraria di un castello maremmano</i>	259
Luc COURTOIS, <i>Dans l'ombre de Rome, entre transformisme et modernisme: l'accession agitée de Paulin Ladeuze au rectorat de l'Université de Louvain (1909)</i>	273
Vincenzo CRISCUOLO, <i>Mario Maccabei (1672-1748) barnabita e consultore della Congregazione dei sacri Riti</i>	295
Giuseppe M. CROCE, <i>I garibaldini in collegio? Un episodio della storia del conciliatorismo durante il pontificato di Leone XIII</i>	321
Giuseppe DALLA TORRE, <i>Montini, Dalla Torre, L'Osservatore Romano e l'incipiente questione divorzista in Italia</i>	341
Elisa DEBENEDETTI, <i>I Ludovisi e i Boncompagni Ludovisi: gli apparati di S. Ignazio e le dimore romane</i>	355
Stefano DEFRAIA, <i>Speculum Fratrum Ordinis de Mercede: ritratto su sfondo di una infanzia</i>	371
Giuseppe DELL'ORTO – Alessandra PERI, <i>La figura di s. Giuseppe: riflessioni sul magistero degli ultimi pontefici</i>	389
Luigi Michele DE PALMA, <i>Le dipendenze della Basilica Lateranense in un registro del 1485</i>	405
Alejandro M. DIEGUEZ, <i>«Che tale arte non sia ammessa nelle nostre chiese». La crociata di Pio XI contro il modernismo nell'arte sacra</i>	427
Dario DI MASO, <i>Per la Chiesa e per il papa: l'attività pubblicitica di Giovanni Marchetti tra religione e rivoluzione (1789-1797)</i>	455
Assunta DI SANTE, <i>«Una visione di fuoco». La luminaria della basilica di San Pietro in nuovi documenti d'archivio: Bernini, Vanvitelli e un inedito Valadier</i>	467
Ugo DOVERE, <i>I Barnabiti napoletani per san Gennaro</i>	481
Jean Dominique DURAND, <i>L'histoire peut-elle dire le vrai? Réflexions méthodologiques</i>	501
Letizia ERMINI PANI, <i>I Frisoni a Roma. Note in margine all'epigrafe della chiesa dei SS. Michele e Magno</i>	521
Arnold ESCH, <i>Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela nelle suppliche alla Penitenzieria Apostolica (ca. 1440-1500)</i>	539
Massimo FAGGIOLI, <i>Storia del Vaticano II e il cattolicesimo globale. Dagli archivi a una nuova fase della ricerca sul Concilio</i>	547
Carlo FANTAPPIÈ, <i>Seminari vescovili e storia del clero in Italia. Alcune riflessioni storico-canonistiche</i>	563
Tamás FEDELES, <i>Ecclesiastical Career of the Apostolic Collector Petrus de Monasterio</i>	575
Michael F. FELDKAMP, <i>Warum entstanden aus den im Konfessionellen Zeitalter säkularisierten deutschen Bistümern keine Titularbistümer? Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung des Rechtsinstituts des Titularbischofs</i>	589

Bruno FIGLIUOLO, <i>Nuovi documenti relativi al Levante nel Medioevo</i>	607
Enrico FLAIANI, <i>Vicende di un'opera michelangiolesca negli atti della Rota romana</i>	617
Salvatore FODALE, <i>La svolta siciliana nel pontificato di Clemente VI</i>	635
Hieronim FOKCIŃSKI, <i>Le attività intraprese nella Curia romana prima del conferimento dei benefici concistoriali e le informazioni relative alla documentazione conservata fino all'inizio del XVII secolo</i>	649
Cosimo Damiano FONSECA, <i>Un sinodo provinciale mai celebrato e i postulata al Concilio Vaticano I mai discussi dell'episcopato napoletano sulla formazione del clero</i>	667
Barbara FRALE, <i>Tenebrae mihi undique sunt. Ipotesi sull'uomo che salvò la vita a Lorenzo il Magnifico</i>	683
Federico GALLO, <i>Un manipolo di lettere di Bartolomeo Nogara ad Achille Ratti (1907-1914)</i>	705
Paul VAN GEEST, <i>The Authenticity of Augustine's Speculum and an Unknown Reason for its Composition</i>	727
Franco GIACONE, <i>Gli scrittori francesi del Cinquecento agli occhi dei censori della Sorbona</i>	737
Massimo Carlo GIANNINI, «Essendo detta chiesa di tal qualità che merta esser desiderata da ciascuno»: il vescovado di Cremona tra interessi curiali, politica asburgica e "libertà" locali (1549-1551)	751
Silvano GIORDANO, <i>Paolo V, il Congo e la Congregazione di San Paolo dei Carmelitani scalzi (1608)</i>	771
Agostino GIOVAGNOLI, <i>Manzoni, la Chiesa e l'unità d'Italia</i>	785
Christine M. GRAFINGER, <i>Koptische und samaritanische Handschriften und Fragmente im Interesse französischer und italienischer Gelehrter des 17. Jahrhunderts</i>	801
Maurilio GUASCO, «Ricordatevi che voi non dovete propagare il Regno degli uomini, ma quello di Gesù Cristo». Benedetto XV e le missioni	823
MARKO JAČOV, <i>Dalla Valle del Gange alle sponde del Tevere. Gli Zingari: avventurieri e vagabondi o deportati?</i>	835

Tomo 2

Alexey A. KOMAROV – Eugenia S. TOKAREVA, <i>I problemi dell'unione tra le Chiese cattolica e ortodossa nell'Estonia indipendente (1918-1940)</i>	859
Marek Daniel KOWALSKI, <i>The Balista. A Forgotten Fifteenth-Century Tax Paid to the Holy See</i>	877
Tamás KRUPPA, <i>Franciscans or Jesuits: Attempts to Resurrect Catholicism in Transylvania (1589-1592)</i>	889
Angela LANCONELLI, <i>Comunità e allevamento ovino nel Patrimonio di San Pietro in Tuscia: Acquapendente (secolo XIV)</i>	903

Jean-Loup LEMAITRE, <i>Un détournement de sources. Les Collectorie et l'histoire locale à travers l'exemple de l'évêche de Tulle</i>	917
Adolfo LONGHITANO, <i>Istituzioni locali per il sostentamento del clero: chiese patrimoniali e ricettizie, comunità, sacre distribuzioni</i>	935
María Amparo LÓPEZ ARANDIA, <i>La Curia romana y la búsqueda de una Iglesia renovada a inicios del siglo XVI. Gutierre González Doncel y la cofradía de la Concepción</i>	951
Yvan LOSKOUTOFF, <i>Augures héraldiques de la papauté</i>	975
Filippo LOVISON, <i>Conoscenze storiche in ricomposizione. Il cardinale Luigi Lambruschini</i>	995
Daniele MANACORDA, <i>S. Anastasio cum Castro Novaliae: una chiesa perduta tra Navalia repubblicani e castra in città</i>	1011
Antonio MANFREDI, <i>I libri di Enrico Rampini nella Vaticana di Niccolò V. Prime ricerche</i>	1027
Francesco MARGIOTTA BROGLIO, <i>Vincenzo Tizzani tra il Belli e Pio IX</i>	1047
Michael MATHEUS, <i>Transformationen in einem Kernraum staufischer Herrschaft: Die Capitanata, Friedrich II. und die Bischöfe von Tertiveri</i>	1059
Gert MELVILLE, <i>Die Normen schriftlicher Kommunikation im Predigerorden des 13. Jahrhunderts</i>	1083
Daniele MENOZZI, <i>Il ritorno della crociata nella cultura politica cattolica (1794-1799)</i>	1099
Nelson H. MINNICH, <i>The Ecclesiology of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)</i>	1115
Antal MOLNÁR, <i>Autonomia ecclesiastica e identità nazionale in Croazia nel '600: il sinodo diocesano di Zagabria (1634)</i>	1129
Francesco MOTTOLA, <i>La Passio ss. Serapiae virg. mart. et Sabinae mart.: un nuovo testimone?</i>	1141
Rainer MURAUER, <i>Darf ein Pfarrer die Exkommunikation verhängen? Eine Studie zur Jurisdiktionskompetenz des hochmittelalterlichen Pfarrers</i>	1153
Paolo NARDI, <i>La famiglia Porcari di Siena dalla curia di Urbano V (1367) alla condanna al rogo di Francesco Di Pietro (1421)</i>	1161
Marco NAVONI, <i>Per una storia dei manoscritti del «De Ritibus Ecclesiae Mediolanensis» di Carlo Bascapè</i>	1175
Noel O'REGAN, <i>The Musical Patronage of the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone in the Early Sixteenth Century</i>	1191
Vincenzo G. PACIFICI, <i>Le lettere pastorali dei vescovi tiburtini negli anni della Prima Guerra Mondiale</i>	1205
Claudio PAOLOCCI, <i>Il primo insediamento dei Barnabiti a Genova. La chiesa di san Paolo in Campetto</i>	1211
Agostino PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, <i>Le vesti del papa e il colore verde. Intorno a un trattatello di Angelo Rocca (1595-1605)</i>	1229
Laura PETTINAROLI, <i>Le pavillon catholique pontifical à l'Exposition internationale de Paris de 1937</i>	1239

Paola PIACENTINI, <i>I testamenti in un feudo dei Colonna</i>	1257
Pierantonio PIATTI, <i>Novum in vetere latet et in novo vetus patet. La vita (1697) della beata Rita da Cascia di Nicola Simonetti</i>	1277
Paola POLI, <i>La Perdonanza celestiniana tra dimensione culturale e apertura profetica</i>	1313
Olivier PONCET, « <i>Per haver dato a cena a diversi amici</i> ». <i>La vie quotidienne à Rome d'un officier du Sacré Collège (1592-1612)</i>	1329
Andreas E. REHBERG, <i>Networks araldici a Roma. Il ciclo degli stemmi della Casa del Burcardo</i>	1349
Gianpaolo RIGOTTI, <i>San Giovanni Calabria e la sua opera per l'unità dei cristiani. Edizione delle lettere dal carteggio con Visarion Puiu</i>	1387
Giancarlo ROCCA, <i>La temporaneità dei voti negli istituti religiosi dell'Ottocento</i> .	1405
Domenico ROCCIOLO, <i>I parroci di Roma dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento al pontificato di Leone XII</i>	1431
Ugo ROZZO, <i>I libri di legno nelle tarsie italiane del Rinascimento</i>	1449
Roberto RUSCONI, « <i>La dévotion au pape et à l'Église</i> ». <i>Un dossier del domenicano Yves-Marie Congar</i>	1465
Felix SAGREDO, <i>El Arcedianato de Santa María la Real de Briviesca (Burgos): Su desarrollo hasta Trento</i>	1485
Carlos SALINAS ARANEDA, <i>Reformas a la Curia romana propuestas por los obispos hispanoamericanos al inicio del proceso de codificación del derecho canónico de 1917</i>	1501
Francesco SALVESTRINI, <i>Alle origini di Vallombrosa. Riforma monastica e tradizioni agiografiche nel cenobio toscano di San Pietro a Moscheta</i>	1517
Maurizio SANGALLI, <i>I barnabiti e il collegio della Misericordia Maggiore di Bergamo (1700-1710)</i>	1525
Josep-Ignasi SARANYANA, <i>Teología católica alemana desde la Grande Guerra hasta las vísperas del Concilio Vaticano II</i>	1543
Brigide SCHWARZ, <i>Erfolg verpflichtet: Kurienkarriere, Pfründen und Stiftungsprojekte des Kanzleischreibers und Abbiators de parco maggiori Heinrich Raiskop</i>	1569
Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO, <i>Esempi di esegesi dualistica tra Bogomili e Catari: le parabole del "figliol prodigo" (Lc 15,11-32), del villicus iniquitatis (Lc 16, 1-8) e del "buon Samaritano" (Lc 10, 30-37)</i>	1589
Mario SPEDICATO, <i>Centro e periferia nella prima età moderna. Madrid e Napoli nella selezione delle élites vescovili del Mezzogiorno d'Italia</i>	1611
Simona TURRIZIANI, <i>In ricordo dell'8 dicembre 1854, giorno della proclamazione del dogma dell'Immacolata Concezione</i>	1627
François-Charles UGINET, <i>Vivre et mourir à Rome: les dernières années de Guillaume Fichet (1472-1478)</i>	1645
Dries VANYSACKER, <i>La position du Saint-Siège sur la gymnastique féminine dans l'Allemagne de l'entre-deux-guerres (1927-1928) à partir de quelques témoignages tirés des archives des nonciatures de Munich et Berlin</i>	1663

Giovanni B. VARNIER, <i>Aspetti della politica ecclesiastica della Repubblica di Genova in età moderna</i>	1677
Paolo VIAN, <i>Pio IX, Pio Martinucci e il Regolamento della Biblioteca Vaticana del 20 ottobre 1851</i>	1695
Gaetano ZITO, <i>La competenza sull'elezione dei vescovi italiani da Leone XIII a Pio X. Esemplicazioni per la Sicilia</i>	1713
Silvio ZOTTA, <i>Melfi 1728: una missione quaresimale sfociata in un tumulto popolare</i>	1733

II. ARCHIVI, ARCHIVISTICA, DIPLOMATICA, PALEOGRAFIA

Isabella AURORA, <i>Un nuovo documento di Bonifacio VIII per il capitolo lateranense</i>	1
Luca BECCHETTI, <i>Una prassi sfragistica pontificia di sanità postale. Riflessioni su un sigillo apposto a lettere provenienti da zone epidemiche</i>	25
Concetta BIANCA, <i>Gli archivi dei cardinali nel XV secolo: a proposito del cardinale Domenico Capranica</i>	37
Dominik BURKARD, « <i>Das Vatikanische Archiv</i> » (1943). <i>Zur (politischen) Entstehungsgeschichte der «Einführung in die Bestände und ihre Erforschung»</i>	47
Cristina CARBONETTI VENDITTELLI, <i>Le scritture contabili delle domenicane di San Sisto in Roma degli anni 1398-1430</i>	89
Luca CARBONI, <i>I processi verbali del Consiglio dei ministri dello Stato pontificio (1847-1870)</i>	107
Massimo CERESA, <i>Note per un'edizione dei Diari del maestro delle cerimonie pontificie Biagio Baroni Martinelli (1518-1540)</i>	139
Marcel CHAPPIN, <i>Un favore contestato, un archivio sparpagliato. Esplorazioni sulla Nunziatura a Monaco (1785-1800) e sul Nuntiaturstreit a partire dalla serie Epoca Napoleonica</i>	151
Ramon CORTS I BLAY, <i>El Archivo Secreto Vaticano y la Cuestión Catalana en el marco de la dictadura de Primo De Rivera (1923-1930)</i>	165
Rita COSMA – Alberto BARTOLA, <i>Intorno a due raccolte di documenti dei Montefeltro</i>	181
William J. COURTENAY, <i>The Rolls of Supplication from the University of Cambridge in the First Year of Urban V</i>	195
Paolo d'ALESSANDRO, « <i>Vocabis nomen meum: Nicolaus Perottus</i> »: <i>libri e documenti perottini</i>	209
Marina d'AMELIA, <i>Un banchiere sotto accusa: l'autodifesa di Anton Francesco Farsetti, depositario e tesoriere segreto di Urbano VIII</i>	235
Robert DANIELUK, <i>Il ritorno delle carte gesuitiche dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano all'Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù</i>	253
Luisa D'ARIENZO, <i>La documentazione riguardante la Sardegna nell'Archivum Arcis dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (sec. XII-XVI)</i>	265

Mariano DELL'OMO, <i>Lettere inedite di Gaetano Marini allo storico di Pomposia Placido Federici conservate nell'Archivio di Montecassino (1777-1780)</i> . . .	287
Daniele DE MARCHIS, « <i>Per quei passi che Ella stimerà opportuno di fare</i> »: <i>l'opera d'intermediazione tra Italia e Santa Sede e l'archivio del direttore del Fondo Culto barone Carlo Monti (1910-1924)</i>	321
Francesca DI GIOVANNI – Giuseppina ROSELLI, <i>Lo sviluppo scientifico dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano dal 1995 al 2018</i>	343
Adinel Ciprian DINĂ, <i>Papal and Curial Letters in Romania. Preliminary Assessment for a Censimento Project</i>	355
Piero DORIA, <i>Le agende conciliari di Pericle Felici (1959-1967). Analisi di una fonte</i>	371
Anna ESPOSITO, <i>Le religiose mulieres e la carità pontificia del sale. Dai registri dei Diversa Cameralia dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	387
Giovan Battista FIDANZA, <i>Gli inventari delle chiese prescritti dal Concilio Romano del 1725: una fonte per la storia dell'arte</i>	401
Elisabeth GARMS-CORNIDES, <i>Erudito, diplomatico, vescovo. Gli Additamenta del Fondo Garampi nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	417
Gioacchino GIAMMARIA, <i>La collezione e gli ordinamenti del diplomatico nell'Archivio capitolare di Anagni</i>	433
Mario L. GRIGNANI, <i>Il progetto del cardinale Luigi Ercolani per l'unione delle Computisterie di Propaganda Fide e della Camera degli Spogli sotto il pontificato di Leone XII (1825)</i>	447
Michael HAREN, <i>Pope Adrian IV and Ireland. Laudabiliter Re-Examined</i>	465
Armand JAMME, <i>Una delle fonti della Descriptio Marchiae? L'ignoto registro del tesoriere fiorentino Rinaldo Campana (1283-1284)</i>	479
Otto KRESTEN, <i>Nachträgliches zum kaiserlichen Menologemreservat im byzantinischen Urkundenwesen</i>	503
Marco MAIORINO, <i>I Registri Lateranensi dall'Archivum Bullarum all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	527
Werner MALECZEK, <i>Zwei tiroler Mittelalter-Historiker am Vatikanischen Archiv in den Jahren nach der Öffnung durch Papst Leo XIII.: Emil von Ottenthal und Hans von Voltolini</i>	549
Massimo MIGLIO, <i>Qualche nota sulle prime pubblicazioni dell'Istituto storico italiano (1883-1935), e sulle iniziative per l'edizione di fonti dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	599
Giovanna NICOLAJ, <i>A proposito delle raccolte documentarie del cardinale Albornoz</i>	605
Ugo PAOLI, <i>Fonti per la storia della Congregazione Silvestrina nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	615
Giovanni PAOLONI, <i>Tra oblio e dissolvenza: la storia degli archivi e l'Alto Medioevo (secc. V-XI)</i>	633
Cesare PASINI, <i>La collaborazione di Angelo e Giovanni Mercati negli anni Ottanta del XIX secolo</i>	641

Peter PFISTER, <i>Church Archives as Living Sites of Scholarship and Education. The Letter "The Pastoral Function of Church Archives" of 1997 and its Implementation Within German Church Archive Law and in the Archdiocese of Munich and Freising</i>	655
Luca PIERALLI, <i>Il πικτάκιον / γράμμα nella cancelleria patriarcale costantinopolitana</i>	673
Pier Paolo PIERGENTILI, <i>Note a margine di alcune vicende archivistiche vaticane (secc. XVIII-XX)</i>	691
Raffaele PITTELLA, «Brogliardi scomposti, carte lacere e guaste. Reliquie dolorose di una lunga e penosa Odissea». <i>Gli Archivi dei Trenta Notai Capitolini nel passaggio dal governo pontificio al Regno d'Italia</i>	711
Gabriella POMARO, <i>Tra Langobardia maior e minor. Ancora per il ms. 490 di Lucca</i>	727
Antonio ROMITI, <i>Le fonti fotografiche e audiovisive: considerazioni metodologiche</i>	749
Beatrice ROMITI, <i>Salvatore Bongi, storia di un archivista: testimonianze e prospettive</i>	761
Alessandro RUBECHINI, <i>Il problema degli infestanti presso l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Sviluppo di un controllo integrato (IPM)</i>	771
Cesare SCALON, <i>Tra Roma, Venezia e il Friuli. I codici di Giusto Fontanini in un inventario autografo dell'arcivescovo di Ancira</i>	787
Christopher D. SCHABEL – William O. DUBA, <i>Instrumenta Miscellanea Cypria. A Catalogue of Cypriot Documents in the Instrumenta Miscellanea of the Vatican Archives</i>	807
Christiane SCHUCHARD, <i>Ein Blick auf die Diversa Cameralia im Vatikanischen Archiv – mit einem Seitenblick auf das Repertorium Germanicum</i>	821
Andrea SOMMERLECHNER, <i>Das Dossier zum Konzil von Lavour im 16. Jahrgang der Register Papst Innocenz' III. zugleich eine Notiz über die Abschriften des Originalregisters durch avignonesische Kopisten und durch François Bosquet</i>	843
Stefania TAURINO, <i>Archivieconomia. Il progresso strutturale dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	857
Bernard THOMAS, <i>La conservation des archives notariales dans la légation d'Avignon: enjeux et résistances autor d'un projet d'Archivum Publicum (1692-1789)</i>	869
Angelo TURCHINI, <i>Ipotesi per una guida storica all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	897
Gianni VENDITTI, <i>La decima sessennale del 1274 in Abruzzo</i>	909
Maria Antonietta VISCEGLIA, <i>Felice Contelori: un prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano al servizio dei Barberini</i>	923

III. INQUISIZIONE ROMANA, INDICE, DIPLOMAZIA PONTIFICIA

Carlo A. MOREIRA AZEVEDO, <i>“Scimmia del Papa”: le relazioni critiche dei nunzi in Portogallo verso il patriarca di Lisbona (1717-1754)</i>	1
Salvatore BARBAGALLO, <i>La Polonia attraverso gli «Avvisi» dal 1672 al 1674 e la mediazione del papa</i>	19
Bernard BARBICHE, <i>Le cardinal et le huguenot. Rigueur et réalisme de la diplomatie pontificale au temps de Clément VIII</i>	35
Manuela BARBOLLA, <i>Il Sant’Uffizio e la legge per la protezione dei caratteri ereditari in Germania: problemi e tentativi di risoluzione</i>	47
Elena BONORA, <i>I vescovi riformatori francesi che non andarono al concilio di Trento</i>	63
Albrecht BURKARDT, <i>Die Inquisitionsprozesse in Asti, 1570-1613</i>	79
Mario CASELLA, <i>La crisi del 1931 tra Chiesa e Fascismo in una relazione del padre gesuita Pietro Tacchi Venturi</i>	91
Andrea CIAMPANI, <i>La Chiesa, l’Italia e la loro conciliazione in alcune carte dell’abate Simplicio Pappalettere (1869-1870)</i>	117
Giovanni COCO, <i>Candidato francese, papa italiano. La politica e l’elezione di Pio XI</i>	135
David d’AVRAY, <i>A Woman Self Denouncing for Diabolical Heresy and the Congregation of the Council</i>	157
Massimo DE LEONARDIS, <i>I rapporti diplomatici tra Santa Sede e Regno Unito: le udienze di Pio XII e Giovanni XXIII a personalità britanniche</i>	167
Maurice A. FINOCCHIARO, <i>Authenticity vs. Accuracy vs. Legitimacy: Pagano on the Inquisition’s 1616 Orders to Galileo</i>	183
Massimo FIRPO, <i>Teologia e storia nel processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone</i>	201
Irene FOSI, <i>Il cardinale protettore, l’ambasciatore, il nunzio: note sulla nunziatura di Lisbona (1670-1673)</i>	217
Gigliola FRAGNITO, <i>Le lingue della controversistica religiosa e la confessionalizzazione</i>	235
Andreas GOTTSMANN, <i>«Si rivela chiaramente il piano di rovesciare il Concordato». Pius IX. und die Anfänge des konstitutionellen Österreich</i>	251
Emilia HRABOVEC, <i>L’Ostpolitik di Giovanni Paolo II e la Slovacchia (1978-1989)</i>	267
Johan ICKX, <i>Nem, nem, soha! – Io non faccio della politica... La partenza del nunzio apostolico mons. Lorenzo Schioppa da Budapest</i>	291
Pier Cesare IOLY ZORATTINI, <i>Al servizio degli ebrei: servitù e artigiani cristiani nel ghetto di Venezia tra Cinque e Settecento</i>	311
Alexander KOLLER, <i>Rappresentanti del papa e Lutero. Nascita e prima sfida della nunziatura di Germania</i>	325
Jan KOPIEC, <i>Giulio Piazza, nunzio in Polonia in tempo di crisi (1706-1708)</i>	341

Gianni LA BELLA, <i>Colombia e Santa Sede: il concordato del 1887</i>	351
Vincenzo LAVENIA, <i>Malinconia e miscredenza. Una donna davanti all'Inquisizione di Ancona (1610-1611)</i>	365
Elio LODOLINI, <i>Un archivista e diplomatico italiano nel Consiglio per gli Archivi e di fronte al genocidio degli Armeni (Giacomo Gorrini, 1859-1950)</i> . .	385
Matteo Luigi NAPOLITANO, <i>Tra Ginevra e Gerusalemme. Santa Sede, Società delle Nazioni e luoghi santi dal 1919 al 1922</i>	415
Valerio PERNA, <i>Diplomazia formale e informale sulla Questione Ucraina (1917-1920)</i>	437
Angelo Michele PIEMONTESE, <i>La corrispondenza epistolare tra i papi e i re di Persia (1263-1936)</i>	455
Gaetano PLATANIA, <i>La (ri-)conquista dell'Ungheria ottomana (1686) attraverso la documentazione di Francesco Buonvisi nunzio a Vienna conservata presso l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	475
Roberto REGOLI, <i>L'entourage inglese del cardinale Ercole Consalvi, 1757-1824</i> . .	491
Gianpaolo ROMANATO, <i>La nunziatura di Achille Ratti in Polonia. Premessa di un pontificato</i>	503
Stefano SANCHIRICO, <i>Il cerimoniale della Rosa d'oro</i>	519
Matteo SANFILIPPO, <i>I rapporti tra Stato Pontificio e Stati Uniti (1797-1848) attraverso i documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i>	527
Jean-Marc TICCHI, <i>Que fait le nonce? Aperçu de l'activité de mgr. Rampolla, nonce en Espagne (1883-1887)</i>	537
Rita TOLOMEO, <i>Tra polacchi e lituani: mons. Michalkiewicz amministratore apostolico a Vilnius (1908-1918)</i>	553
Péter TUSOR, <i>A Hungarian Bishop Before the Sacred Consistorial Congregation with the Edition of the Hungarian "Reports about Modernism" (1911-1913)</i>	569
Massimiliano VALENTE, <i>La Santa Sede e la Prussia dal Concilio Vaticano al Kulturkampf (1868-1871)</i>	591
Paolo VALVO, <i>Pio XI e gli «opposti» totalitarismi nello sguardo di un diplomatico</i>	607
Giovanni VIAN, <i>Le relazioni dei vescovi sul modernismo a norma della Pascendi: note sui rapporti dei vescovi d'Inghilterra, Scozia e Irlanda</i>	619
Petar VRANKIC, <i>Papst Leo XIII. und seine Slawen-Kirchenpolitik in Ost-und Südosteuropa</i>	635
Stanislaw WILK, <i>Il nunzio apostolico Achille Ratti, alto commissario ecclesiastico nei territori plebiscitari</i>	661
Hubert WOLF, <i>Uno "scambio" fra Legge dei pieni poteri e Concordato del Reich? La controversia Scholder-Repgen sui rapporti del Vaticano con il nazionalsocialismo alla luce delle fonti sul pontificato di Pio XI</i>	671
Annibale ZAMBARBIERI, <i>L'ambasceria giapponese di Hasekura a Roma: ritagli di cronaca fra politica e teologia</i>	689

IV. INDICE GENERALE

<i>Indice delle Fonti d'Archivio</i> (Francesco Lippha)	1
<i>Indice dei nomi di persone, dei luoghi e delle istituzioni</i> (Pier Paolo Piergentili – Gianni Venditti)	53

Sigle

- AA.EE.SS. = Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (oggi II sez. della Segreteria di Stato), Città del Vaticano
- AAS = *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Roma – Città del Vaticano 1909-
- ACDF = Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano
- ADB = *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1875-1912
- AHP = *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, Roma 1963-
- Ann. Pont.* = *Annuario Pontificio*, Roma – Città del Vaticano 1912-
- APF = Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Città del Vaticano
- ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Roma
- ASBR = Archivio Storico dei Barnabiti, Roma
- ASFi = Archivio di Stato, Firenze
- ASLU = Archivio di Stato, Lucca
- ASMi = Archivio di Stato, Milano
- ASR = Archivio di Stato, Roma
- ASRSP = Archivio della Società romana di storia patria (Archivio della R. Deputazione romana di storia patria), Roma 1877-
- ASS = *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, Roma 1865-1908
- ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano
- ASVe = Archivio di Stato, Venezia
- ASVR = Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma
- Att. S. Sede* = *L'Attività della Santa Sede*, Città del Vaticano 1939-
- BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
- BBKL = *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Hamm 1990-
- BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- BS = *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Roma 1961-2000.
- CATH = *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, Paris 1948-2000
- CC = *Corpus christianorum, series latina*, Turnholti 1954-
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vindobonae 1866-2006
- DBE = *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, hrsg. von Walther Killy und Rudolf Vierhaus, München [et al.] 1995-1999.
- DBF = *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris 1933-
- DBI = *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma 1960-
- DCA = *Dizionario della Chiesa Ambrosiana*, Milano 1987-1994
- DDI = *I Documenti diplomatici italiani*, Roma 1952-
- DHCJ = *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, Roma – Madrid 2001
- DHEE = *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, Madrid 1972-1987
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris 1912-

- DIP = *Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione*, diretto da Guerrino Pelliccia e da Giancarlo Rocca, Roma 1969-2003
- DNB = *Dictionary of National Biography*, London – Oxford 1882-
- DSI = *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, Pisa 2010
- DSMCI = *Dizionario storico del Movimento Cattolico in Italia*, a cura di Francesco Traniello e Giorgio Campanini, Torino 1981-1997
- EC = *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Città del Vaticano 1949-1954
- EI = *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Roma 1949-
- EP = *Enciclopedia dei papi*, Roma 2000
- HC = *Hierarchia catholica ...*, Monasterii – Patavii 1913-2002
- LThK = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg – Basel – Rom – Wien 1993-2001
- MEFRA = *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité*, Rome 1971-2014
- MEFRIM = *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, Rome 1989-2015
- MEFRM = *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, Rome 1989-
- MIÖG = *Mitteilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Innsbruck 1880-
- MORONI, *Dizionario* = Gaetano MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro fino ai nostri giorni*, Venezia 1840-1879
- NCE = *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, San Francisco–Detroit–Washington 1967-
- NDB = *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin 1953-
- ÖBL = *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, Graz – Köln 1954-
- ODNB = *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography from the earliest time to the year 2000*, Oxford 2004
- OR = *L'Osservatore Romano*, Città del Vaticano 1861-
- PASTOR, *Storia dei papi* = Ludwig von PASTOR, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medio Evo compilata col sussidio dell'Archivio segreto pontificio e di molti altri archivi*, XVII voll., Roma 1925-1964
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, a curante J. P. Migne, Parisiis 1857-
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, a curante J. P. Migne, Parisiis 1844-
- PSB = *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Kraców 1935-2015
- QFIAB = *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, Rom 1897-
- RHM = *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, Rom – Wien 1956-
- RSCI = *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, Roma 1947-
- S.RR.SS. = Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Città del Vaticano
- Sussidi* = *Sussidi per la consultazione dell'Archivio Vaticano. Lo Schedario Garampi – I Registri Vaticani – I Registri Lateranensi – Le «Rationes Camerae» – L'Archivio Concistoriale*, nuova ed. riveduta e ampliata a cura di Germano Gualdo, Città del Vaticano 1989.

Tamás Kruppa*

FRANCISCANS OR JESUITS:
ATTEMPTS TO RESURRECT CATHOLICISM
IN TRANSYLVANIA (1589-1592)

In 1579, the Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland, Stephen Báthory, invited the Jesuit order to come to Transylvania. Inviting the Jesuit was something he had been planning for many years, for he intended to give them a leading role in embarking upon the recatholicization of Transylvania with the support of princely power. Following the settlement of the Jesuit order in 1579, it seemed that the first step in this process of recatholicization had been taken, although somewhat late on. King Stephen Báthory did his best to strengthen these initial tentative steps by underpinning the Jesuit college system with Papal seminaries, just like he had done in the Kingdom of Poland. His older brother, Christopher, the Voivode of Transylvania, fully supported this cause and placed the Jesuits in charge of the education of his only son, Sigismund. The Jesuit intervention in the principality's government and foreign policy was accompanied by an obvious attempt at changing the state's denominational, i.e., Protestant, character. A large number of documents that detail the Jesuits' efforts to restore the predominance of Catholicism in Transylvania has survived. More recently, it was the author of the present paper who discussed in detail the Báthory dynasty's efforts to reestablish the diocese of Transylvania in detail.¹ After the king's death in 1586, the Transylvanian estates coerced to bring about the expulsion of the religious order, which encountered immediate consequences. Sixtus V excommunicated the new Transylvanian prince Sigismund Báthory.² This measure, especially as it was against a Protestant

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¹ Tamás KRUPPA, *Kísérletek Erdély rekatolizációjára. Tervek az erdélyi püspökség visszaállítására Báthory István és Zsigmond idejében*, in «Magyar Egyháztörténelmi Vázlatok» 1/4 (2002), pp. 39-74.

² László SZILAS, S.I., *Der Jesuit Carrillo in Siebenbürgen 1591-1599*, Roma 1966, p. 9.

country's ruler, may seem a radical move at first sight. However, if we take a closer look at the political spectrum of the region, it is immediately apparent that the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Transylvania represented a serious blow to the attempts to recatholicize the East, not least because Transylvania was the geographical springboard, so to speak, to both Russia the Balkan lands well as the occupied territories. That the decrees passed at the Diet of Medgyes were considered of immense significance is documented in the letters held in the fonds of the secretariat of State in the Vatican Archives.

The Roman Curia was quick to react to the decision taken at the diet, and the secretariat of State was soon flooded with reports, mostly written by Annibale Di Capua,³ who was the papal nuncio to Poland at the time. Before long, the decree in question and the reports written by Jesuits doing their utmost to reverse the expulsion⁴ arrived in Rome. All the incoming documents were organized in separate collections, which was customary as these kinds of documents were usually sent as attachments to the nuncio's reports. Accordingly, the documents were placed in a separate file, together with the papers related to the Jesuits' settlement in Moldavia. This was so because several members of the religious order had fled to the Moldavian voivodeship after the decree had been passed, where the reigning voivode, Peter, had made certain specific gestures towards Catholicism. However, the real proponent of the Catholic cause in Moldavia was the former dragoman at the Porte, Bartolomeo Bruti, who was also in the service of Venice, and a chancellor at the time. In order to obtain more leeway for their country, the voivode and Bruti began to approach the Holy See.⁵ The recatholicization of Moldavia is not the subject of this paper, but it is important to note that the voivodeship, also under Turkish authority, was a natural substitute for the "lost" Transylvanian principality. However the situation in Moldavia was very fragile: first, Voivode Peter was forced to flee the country because of the wrath of the Porte, then Bruti was murdered. This interfered with the Jesuit plans for Moldavia for years to come.

Not long after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Venetian papal nuncio, Girolamo Matteucci, held discussions with *cavalier* Melchiorre Micheli, who was the leading negotiator in Venice on behalf of Stephen Báthory Jr. The negotiations revolved around four points: the prince apologized for the expulsion, but he also made it clear that the estates were angered by the Jesuits' correspondence with Archduke Ernest of Austria. As a result, he could not do

³ On Di Capua, see Jan Władysław Woś, *La nonciature en Pologne de l'archevêque Hannibal de Capoue, 1586-1591*, Trento 1995.

⁴ *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, III. (1587-1593), edidit Ladislaus Lukács S.I., Romae 1981, pp. 269-373.

⁵ *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, III. *A Sixto PP. V usque ad Innocentium PP. XII: 1585-1696*, ed. Augustinus Theiner, Romae 1863, pp. 191-194.

anything for the Jesuits, but he could facilitate the acceptance of friars from other religious orders, by the estates.⁶ Finally, Báthory asked the Holy Father to appoint a cardinal protector for Transylvania in Rome, and asked for guarantees that the Transylvanian envoy would be duly welcomed in the Eternal City.⁷ This rather exciting document has been known about for a long time, but nobody has analyzed it yet, even though these four points encapsulate all the problems that stood in the way of restoring the Church's hierarchy in Transylvania.

After Stephen Báthory's death, the legitimacy of the new regime was on rather shaky ground. There had been no precedent for an in-house succession in the short history of the Transylvanian state. If we do not take into consideration the symbolic reign of Michael II Apaffy, we can add that this had only ever happened twice throughout the entire history of the principality: once in the Báthory and once in the Rákóczi dynasty. The Achilles' heel of the reign of Transylvania was the relation to the Porte, so it was crucial for the Transylvanian estates that the ruler was committed to the Turkish state. Regarding Sigismund's alliances, serious doubts were raised due to him having been educated by the Jesuits.

The papal nuncio to Poland, Annibale Di Capua, forwarded to Rome not only the notes taken during the discussion with *cavalier* Micheli, but also the letter written by Stephen Báthory Jr. about the expulsion of the Jesuits. This letter presented a different interpretation of the above-mentioned talks in Venice, and of which the main subject was the expulsion of the Jesuits.

According to Báthory, we have seen that the religious order was expelled primarily because of their relationship with the Habsburgs. The nuncio, however, obtained the decree ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits as well as all other documents related to the expulsion, and he could refer to articles 8, 10 and 12 knowing exactly what he was talking about. And from these, he wrote, it clearly turns out that the expulsion was motivated by religious, rather than political reasons.⁸ He also mentioned a letter written by Polish Chancellor Jan Zamoyski on 7 January 1588, in which the chancellor warned Sigismund to protect the Jesuits.⁹ The nuncio might not have alluded to this, but his knowledge of the matter was still convincing.

On the basis of what had happened, he claimed that it was obvious that the Habsburg relations were only a pretext for settling accounts with the Jesuits.

⁶ SZILAS, *Carrillo*, p. 135. The fact that the prince asked priests from the Franciscans at Gyöngyös for the monastery of Csíksomlyó may be related to this point of the negotiations. János KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, Budapest 1923, I, p. 428.

⁷ On the discussions, *ibid.* pp. 419-420.

⁸ For the nuncio's letter, see MAH, III, pp. 441-443.

⁹ University Eötvös Lóránd, University Library, Ms. G 708 (not numbered).

Nevertheless, referring to Micheli, he suggested that the Pope should send priests or friars from other religious orders to replace the expelled Jesuits as the Catholic nobility too in Transylvania have the personal right (*ius patronatus*) to bestow church benefices, which was an opportunity for settling clergymen in the country. No doubt that the idea originated in the highest ranks, from either Sigismund or Andrew, as the Báthory brothers, Andrew, Balthasar and Stephen did not really have the Jesuits' fate at heart, especially given their role in Poland's domestic affairs. This was something the nuncio could have experienced in person, and even though it was also found among the points submitted by Micheli, it is still suspicious how hard he was trying to prove the Jesuits' innocence, and citing various sources as he did so. He did not really succeed, neither was his rhetorical question convincing: how could the Jesuits, who were the prince's teachers, act as spies in Transylvania?

The nuncio must have been totally aware of the anti-Jesuit public feeling that had become predominant not only in Transylvania and Poland, but throughout the whole of Europe as well. To illustrate this, we can add the exciting correspondence between Archduke Charles and Pope Sixtus V from the spring of 1589, that is, from the time when Annibale Di Capua started to send his reports to Rome.

Archduke Charles was the leader of the Counter-Reformation in Styria. He founded a Jesuit college in Graz and took the first decisive steps to cleanse the province of Protestants.¹⁰ His daughter, Maria Christina, was to marry Sigismund Báthory later. Even though the archduke's first letter written to the Pope is not very informative for our purposes, the date of its writing (2 March 1589) is indicative in its own right. The letter is somewhat circuitous at the beginning, where Charles explains why he wrote the letter, referring to the rumors that were spreading that there would be changes introduced in the Jesuit order rules. He asks the rhetorical question: what would happen if they were to venture into this uncertain and shaky territory? The devout princes were shocked by the news as even the heretics had admitted that their only serious adversaries were the Jesuits. This is where the letter starts to become much more interesting as the archduke continues: the order was expelled from Transylvania because the Jesuits were against the pursuits of the heretic counsellors. But if they decide to change the rules as well, then this will give rise to uncertainty among their supporters.¹¹

¹⁰ Regina PÖLTNER, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630*, Oxford 2001, pp. 70-107.

¹¹ «Cum ex Transylvania non aliam ob causam, quam quod haereticorum conatibus instituti sui ministeriis, egregie obviam irent expulsi sunt. Quas vero cogitationes, haec res in eorum mentibus pareret, qui ab iis in religione catholica sunt instituti? Qui si eorum institutum a Sede Apostolica immutari intelligant, a qua iam toties probatum et confirmatum est, quamque ipsi religiosi singulari studio venerantur, doctrinam quoque quam ab iisdem

This being said, the archduke considered the Transylvanian events a positive example, so much so that he used them to try to get the Pope to change his mind. Sixtus V's reaction seems totally unexpected: that the document was treated with special attention is indicated by the fact that when it arrived at the secretariat of State, the secretary, who prepared the letters for submission to the congregation, marked it with two "X"s. The Pope's reply was written on 10 April.

In the letter we can read that the Jesuits are said to take too much care of and pay too much attention to worldly matters. They keep listening to the talk of the common people rather than concentrating on the lections, prayer and religious exercise, they have left the monasteries, they have infiltrated the royal courts considering the state's reasons with more importance than they are due. This stirred up hatred in a lot of people, thus it is no wonder that they were recently expelled from Transylvania because of their sins.¹²

So the Pope did not share the Nuncio Di Capua's view, according to whom the expulsion was motivated on religious grounds. The allusion was way too clear-cut for the archduke not to notice. In his reply, he emphasized the Jesuits innocence with the same diligence as Annibale Di Capua had done so before. The accusation that the Jesuits allegedly wanted to achieve the country's subjection to Austria originated in Transylvania, and from where they were expelled. But this is totally unfounded as the country's prince himself can testify, for it was he who issued a charter proving their innocence, and that they had to leave was because they were steadfast in their defence of faith. The heretics expelled them, forced them to leave, and just the Jesuits but also other Catholic clergymen as well as the Catholic faith and religion itself, which they wanted to banish and destroy once and for all with this decree. He has never met a ruler who had been apparently offended by the Jesuits, but he saw how everyone was supporting and helping them with goodwill. He experienced this personally when he visited his relative, the prince of Bavaria and his brother, Ferdinand.¹³ The issue underlying the allusion and the entire cor-

hauserunt, parum constantem et firmam fortassis suspicabuntur?» in ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 29, f. 105^r.

¹² «A sacrorum librorum lectione, et divinarum rerum meditatione, et contemplatione ad vulgi sermones confugerint et refractis religionis claustris in regum aulas, irruperint, et ad uniuscuiusque status ac imperii rationes cognoscendas curiosius quoque religiosos viros decibat animum adiegerint. Quibus ex rebus cum multorum odia necessario incurrerint, nemini mirum videri debet, si eorum culpa, factoque ex Transilvania proxime eiecti sunt», *ibid.* f. 109^v. On the debate about changing some of the articles in the rules of the order, see Ludwig von PASTOR, *Geschichte des Pöpste*, Freiburg 1926, X, pp. 128-134 and Michela CATTO, *La Compagnia divisa. Il dissenso nell'ordine gesuitico tra '500 e '600*, Brescia 2009, pp. 116-124.

¹³ «De Transylvania vero fuit quidem rumor allatus iesuitas inde eiectos, quod regnum illud tradere vellent principibus Austriacis: sed tantum abest, ut hoc vel umbram veri habuerit, ut in ipsorum discessu, illique loci princeps, honorificum eis diploma, quod et vidi et legi

respondence was the emerging conflict related to the Spanish Jesuits,¹⁴ which seemingly caused uncertainty in the Bavarian court, one of the German centres of the Counter-Reformation. However, this uncertainty was not caused exclusively by the Spanish Jesuits, but also by other events, such as those that had happened in the Low Countries and France after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572. At the very centre of the war of religion raging in the kingdom were the Guise family, the leaders of the Catholic League, while Henry de Guise was assassinated during the above-mentioned events, on 23 December 1588, by order of Henry III. The Jesuits sided with the Guises, and according to accusations, it was at their instigation that the king was assassinated on 1 August 1589.¹⁵ So the order was getting a fairly bad press even in the Catholic world, which explains the Pope's reply. This anti-Jesuit sentiment was the reason why Minuccio Minucci, the secretary to the Pope, wrote an apologetic letter to William, Duke of Bavaria, in which he claimed that the whole wave of accusations against the order originates from *cavalier* Micheli, and that is how it reached the highest ranks, including Sixtus V.¹⁶ But what is important from our perspective is that not even did the archduke deny that the Jesuits were steadfastly and resolutely defending the interests of the Holy See. Of this, several reports written by the members of the Society have survived, even though these are doubtlessly biased.¹⁷

On the basis of the above, it is clearly obvious that the expulsion had both a political and a religious explanation. There is no doubt which version the party most interested in the matter, namely the Roman Curia, accepted as authentic, at least initially. This was a prudent move because the Jesuits claimed in their own defence that the accusations were spread by the members of the Báthory family. The matter was very delicate as the family was the only true supporter of recatholicization in Transylvania. In a letter to Rome, Provincial

dederit, quo testimonium ferebat, de eorum virtute integritate, et innocentia: sola igitur fidei causa: summi pontifici sanctaeque Sedis Apostolicae fortis, et invicta defensio. Eas inde eiecit et abire coegit, imo non solum iesuitas sed omnes etiam religiosos et catholicos, ipsam quoque fidem catholicamque religionem, cum eis per publica statuta exulare, et solum vertere haeretici voluerunt. De reliquis autem principibus bonis, quos adeo iesuitis offensos esse scribitur, equidem ipse mihi meliora polliceor, quando hactenus neminem novi, qui non eos magna benevolentia complectatur et foveat, nec non cum insigni commendatione pro eis agat, quod et re ipsa in mea superioris anni profectioe aperte cognovi, cum essem apud ducem Bavariae meum cognatum, et fratrem archiducem Ferdinandum», in ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 29, f. 113^r.

¹⁴ MAH III, p. 431. In his letter written on 29th March, William claimed that the Jesuits were not considered Catholics but rather a new sect, see also ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 29, ff. 170^r-174^r.

¹⁵ Ernest LAVISSE, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*, Paris 1911, VI, pp. 287 and 300; see also Roland MOUSNIER, *L'assassinat d'Henri IV 14 mai 1610*, Paris 1964, pp. 1-6 and 210-212.

¹⁶ MAH, III, p. 432.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-373.

Campano bitterly accused them, as well as Stephen Báthory Jr. and Andrew, because it should have been their duty to prevent the expulsion.¹⁸ However, not all was well on the Jesuit side either: among those who moved from Transylvania to Vienna there was an Italian called Girolamo Ferricelli, who made serious (*gravia et secreta*) accusations against the prince.¹⁹ Campano expressly asked the provincial to ban Ferricelli as well as two other members, Emilio Vega and István Szántó, from writing apologies and histories related to Transylvanian matters. He was especially worried about the young Jesuit coming from Lecce, Ferricelli, who Campano had introduced to the prince's court. And where he underwent a rapid transformation there. "It seems that he became extremely fastidious and comfort-loving in the court, which is a sign of his shortcomings, he refuses to obey anyone".²⁰

The sources bear witness to how divided the Transylvanian Jesuits were. It is emphasized even in the literature that there were national conflicts within the Transylvanian mission, but there was yet another fault line which emphasises the differences in opinion about the society's mission. On the basis of this, it is possible to clearly define a group within the court, the members of which had arrived there earlier by order of Stephen Báthory, King of Poland. This group flocked around the prince himself. And there was another group, outside of the princely court, whose members were literally engaged in missionary work, who mingled with the common people, and who were preaching the word of God and fighting the heretics not only from the pulpit but with their pens as well. István Szántó, who by this time already had a long literary past and a series of scandals behind him, was a typical example of the latter. In the court, we could not find any Hungarians beside János Leszi, Sigismund's tutor, and Márton Undó, who was dismissed because of his scandalous conduct. All the others were foreigners, Poles, Italians, Spaniards, who could not speak any Hungarian. Similar to other foreign courtiers, their status was the most uncertain, consequently they were the most prone to come into contact with the court in Vienna or Graz. However, we must stress that so far no document which proves without a shadow of a doubt a relationship between the Jesuits and the Habsburgs has surfaced. It is widely known that it was precisely in an effort to eliminate the Habsburg influence that King Stephen tried to create an independent province, and only when he failed did he invite the Jesuits from the Polish province to the principality. All this, however, seems to suggest that the Transylvanian accusations against the order

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 435 and 469-470. For the letters of Stephen and Andrew related to the expulsion, *ibid.* pp. 383-384 and 460-464. In a letter to the provincial, the cardinal wrote that the claim that the Jesuits had been expelled because of him were unfounded.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

²⁰ «Videtur factus in aula nimis delicatus et quaeri magnas commoditates quae imperfectio esset ab illo auferenda non illi concedendo quaecunq; vult», see *ibid.*, p. 381.

were not completely unfounded, or at least the Jesuits' activities were under a cloud of suspicion. As a result, Rome came up with an alternative solution for furthering the cause of Catholicism in Transylvania.

This alternative primarily meant an orientation towards the Franciscan order, which had already been present in Hungary for centuries. King Stephen wanted to put establish them of the Church hierarchy in Transylvania anyway, and he resisted all attempts to appoint a Jesuit or a foreigner as the bishop of Transylvania. After the Medgyes decree of 1588, explicit steps were taken to this end. Obviously, the initiator was the Báthory family: after Stephen Báthory Jr., his brother, Cardinal Andrew and Prince Sigismund took the stage. The changes were introduced in the prince's decree dated 16 January 1590, in which he charged his nephew with visiting Székely Land. As it is clear from the decree, it was Andrew Báthory, picked by the Polish king after the expulsion of the Jesuits, who undertook the difficult task of strengthening the Catholic hierarchy in Transylvania and reinforcing church discipline among the small number of priests and friars remaining in Székely Land. As the bishop's landed properties had been secularized, the prince wanted to establish the new episcopal see in Székely Land, in the famous Csíksomlyó shrine. They planned to appoint a devout and, more importantly, erudite Franciscan friar as bishop. His work was to be supported by six or eight Observant friars sent from Poland, which meant that the prince desired to bring the bishop as well from the Kingdom of Poland. Besides, the cardinal also required a few Hungarian and German priests to graduate at the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*. The high priest's title would have been the Bishop of Transylvania since the principality had only one diocese, as was noted in one of the memorandums. To provide for the bishop's living, the document earmarked 300 thalers a year. This amount would have been granted by the cardinal and the prince but the income from the Jesuit landed properties would also have contributed over time. We do not know if all this came about in the end, but the cardinal wrote a memorandum a few months later and sent it to Rome through the nuncio. The cardinal's very important charter added content to the organizational framework created by the prince's decree: Dean Pál Gálffy, a priest from Kozmás, so not a bishop, was appointed to lead the deanery they wanted to establish in Székely Land. The founding documents do not refer to the whole of Székely Land, only to Csík, Gyergyó and Kászón counties, which implies that only these three counties had a large Catholic population, even though the memorandum claimed that all other counties were Catholic. Among Gálffy's responsibilities, there were two visitations annually, besides, he had the authority to decide in matters of church discipline, but he could only appoint new priests with the bishop's consent. So he was not granted the powers of a bishop. He also had to take care of preventing the friars from turning to a secular court, that is, the cardinal tried his best to separate them from the bodies of public administration under Protestant influence. This

was in accordance with Stephen Báthory's above-mentioned decree for the protection of Catholicism in Transylvania. It was István Jósika, a former *familiaris* and condisciple of Andrew, who subsequently became chancellor, who mediated between Gálffy and Andrew Báthory. He had to make sure that the prince did not grant landed property in this area to anyone without the knowledge of the cardinal. When bestowing benefices, it was him who had to take care that the prince's right of patronage was not infringed upon, or if the grantees belonged to a different denomination, he had to guarantee that they would respect the religion of their Catholic subjects.²¹ So Jósika was the representative of the "worldly sword", that of the prince's power and protection in such matters. Naturally, the oft-absent Andrew Báthory would have headed the church hierarchy, whose residence was meant to be in the castle of Gyálu, the one-time manor of the diocese.²²

There is, however, an aspect of this experiment from 1590-1592 that has been mostly neglected so far. As even Annibale Di Capua had noticed, the expulsion did not affect the practice of religion on a personal level, therefore it was still possible for private individuals to invite Catholic priests to the country. In Hungary, the practice of freedom of conscience was not regulated until the Treaty of Vienna. Instead, the right of patronage provided a framework on the basis of which it was up to the patrons to admit clergymen to, or expel them from, their estates. In this respect, Transylvania followed a different path as John Sigismund and the Transylvanian estates passed several edicts about the freedom of preaching, though Catholics were excluded from these privileges.²³ In practice, however, these resolutions did not override customary law: the best example of that is the Báthory family who continued to keep Catholic priests, mostly Franciscans, on their estates even despite the edicts. So the nuncio was referring to this practice and Andrew Báthory, who took the fate of Catholicism in Transylvania into his own hands, also planned to start building on these foundations.

But he wanted to provide the basis or the resources from Poland. This is why he made an attempt to obtain the diocese of Krakow, the lands of which were lying along the Hungarian border and the incomes of which he could

²¹ SZILAS, *Carrillo*, pp. 16-19.

²² See the cardinal's letter dated 9th April: «Il signor cardinale illustrissimo Battoreo mi ha comunicato con molta benignità le cose di Transilvania spettanti alla santa religione cattolica et me ne ha dato una nota particolare la quale mando qui allegata per maggior informazione di Vostra Signoria illustrissima e in quanto io potrò qui non mancarò di servir al sudetto signor cardinale illustrissimo che mostra ardente desiderio di giovare alle cose spirituali di quella provincia», in ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 26, f. 367^v. The documents are found in BAV, *Ott. lat.* 2491, pt. 1, ff. 125^r-126^r, 177^r-179^v and 193^v. They were published in Károly VESZELY, *Erdélyi Egyháztörténelmi Adatok*, Kolozsvár 1860, I, pp. 301-306.

²³ *Monumenta Comititalia regni Transylvaniae*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi, Budapest 1877, II, pp. 302 and 327.

have spent on the preparation of Hungarian or Transylvanian Franciscans. But it was his rival, Jerzy Radziwiłł, who received the benefice. Moreover, Andrew got too deeply entangled in the Polish party struggles on the side of Jan Zamoyski, while his relationship with one of the leaders of the anti-Habsburg imperial opposition, the Margraviate of Brandenburg, was met with strong disapproval in Rome. But even in the midst of the party struggles he could espouse the cause of the Catholic faith. Raised in Poland, Andrew saw the cause of Catholicism in Transylvania in a different dimension, as the steps he took in both Transylvania and Poland suggest. In 1593, he made obvious efforts to introduce the reforms, or the decrees of the Council of Trent, in the diocese of Warmia, which lay on Prussian land. With this, he won the appraisal of Nuncio Germanico Malaspina.²⁴ This is what he wanted to do in the diocese of Krakow, which he did not receive in the end, and later in the monastery of Czerwińsk, close to Warsaw, which was granted to him as compensation after being a coadjutor. Nevertheless, this latter brought him into conflict with the bishop of Płosc, who had jurisdiction over the abbey.²⁵

It is an interesting and so far unknown example of this reform effort that, as the bishop of Warmia and the provost of the abbey of Miechów, he was the patron of the monastery of Landek, lying in the immediate vicinity of the Polish border but still on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. Two interesting letters written by Andrew about the monastery have survived: one addressed to Andrea Caligari, the former papal nuncio to Poland, the other to Pope Gregory XIV. In these letters sent to Rome in the spring of 1591, he delineated the only possible solution for protecting the Catholic faith in the abbey. One of the wealthy lords in the area, the Lutheran György Horváth of Palocsa set his sights on the lands of the monastery. First, he offered a property in exchange but in the end they agreed to sell him the land for ten thousand Polish florins and buy an estate in Poland with the money. It was declared in the conditions of sale that the abbey of Miechów would not be giving up its right of patronage over the territory, which meant that György Horváth had to guarantee that he would respect the Catholic religion. He also had to accept that the vicar of Landek, who would be appointed to replace the provost, will be provided for from the tithe collected there in Landek. And if the vicar dies it will be the monastery to appoint his successor, exercising its right of patronage. Even though the letter does not discuss this in detail, the costs of providing for the other priests would have probably come from the income of the landed property in Poland.²⁶

²⁴ ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 35, ff. 337^r and 340^v.

²⁵ On the conflict, see ASV, *Fondo Borghese, serie III* 120, ff. 225^r, 233^v and 242^r-271^v as well as *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 35, f. 343^v.

²⁶ For the letter to Caligari, see Tamás KRUPPA, *Tradíció és propaganda keresztútján. Fejezetek Báthory Zsigmond udvarának kultúrájából*, Budapest 2015, pp. 251-252, for the other letter, see ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 31, ff. 34^v, 36^v.

This letter is important for us because it sheds new light on the above-mentioned experiment in Székely Land, which took place a year later. As if everything he did for the monastery, Landek was part of a rehearsal for the Székely Land reforms. For, in 1592, it occurred again by referring to the right of patronage that the cardinal ordered his deputy, István Jósika, the subsequent chancellor, to ensure that whenever lands were bestowed the deeds stipulated that the prince retained his right of patronage so that the interests of the Catholic religion could not be harmed in any way.²⁷

So, beside the matters of church discipline, he also devoted special emphasis to the legal defence of Catholic religious practices. Strictly speaking, this was a violation of Transylvanian religious laws but in this case the right of patronage, rooted in customary law and also codified in István Weböczy's *Tripartitum*, prevailed over these laws. But it was not only the Hungarian practice that inspired the cardinal: in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire the Augsburg Settlement regulated the practice of religion on the basis of *cuius regio eius religio*, which clearly favored the Lutherans. In this respect, there is another piece of information worthy of mentioning: Germanico Malaspina, the papal nuncio to Poland, who followed Sigismund III to Sweden, and came up with the following argument, not expected of a Catholic high priest, when referring to the Swedish situation. As Sweden is Lutheran, he wrote, and only an insignificant number of Catholics remained there, it is the most practical to follow the relevant principles of the Augsburg Settlement because the mentioned principle, recognized even by the Protestants, would allow the Catholics in Sweden to continue to practice their religion untroubled.²⁸

The Holy See was following the practices of the other states in the region as well with special attention. This is proven by a memorandum on the state of Catholicism in Bohemia kept among the files of the secretariat of State. In the document, articles 7 and 8 state that the archbishops do not have full authority over the clergymen and churches in their jurisdiction as they obey the consistory, which in turn depends financially from the collators, that is, from the parishes. However, the teachers are not subordinate to the vicars.²⁹ The memorandum refers to the high priests' right of patronage as *ius liberum*, which they are unable to exercise. The Czech church organization was a lot more decentralized and was established as a result of the Hussite wars, which

²⁷ VESZELY, *Egyháztörténelmi Adatok*, I, pp. 301-306.

²⁸ ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia* 35, ff. 199^v-200^v.

²⁹ The title of the memorandum that comprises 17 articles is: «Religio catholica quas ob causas collapsa sit in regno Boemiae», see ASV, *Segr. Stato, Germania* 94, ff. 343^{rv} and 349^v. In particular «7. quia archiepiscopo non est ius liberum, in omnes parochos et ecclesias. Per hoc enim, quod quidam subsunt consistoria quidam vero neque illi nec consistorio, sed solis collatoribus, hinc fit ut non possit subsunt in concordiam. 8. Quia scholares non subsunt parochis», *ibid.* f. 343^r.

made it difficult not only for the Czech clergy but also for Rome to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs there. The denominational relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism in Hungary was different from that in Bohemia but shared some similarities with the Swedish model. Therefore it seems that Andrew Báthory ultimately wanted to found his Transylvanian church policy on the traditional right of patronage, while leaving John Sigismund's edict securing freedom of conscience for all except the Catholics untouched. This *modus vivendi* would have ensured that the Catholic church hierarchy in Transylvania slowly got stronger and Catholic religious life smoothly integrated into the Transylvanian milieu.

The solution the cardinal developed and adapted to the local conditions would have established a church organization more subordinate to secular elements and one which would have been headed by the prince as chief patron,³⁰ like his uncle, Stephen Báthory had suggested. As to the practice of religion, he also acknowledged the status quo and insisted on the principle of freedom of conscience, which had not been legally granted to everyone but was still practiced freely. Therefore this principle, so much emphasized by the Protestants, could have helped the Catholics in Transylvania. It is absolutely clear that the cardinal was never serious about becoming the bishop of Transylvania himself, which was a plan supported by King Stephen.³¹ At least for the moment, he was satisfied with supervising the flock, placing the mid-level clergy in charge of the daily management, who in turn would have been overseen by the secular power through the person of Jósika. This, however, would have made the Transylvanian Catholic hierarchy more and more similar to that of the Protestant church in the long run. If we fast-forward a few decades, we can see that the Calvinist princes of Transylvania appointed the religious leaders of the Transylvanian Catholics as their chief patron. The Holy See accepted this unusual situation and appointed the prince's candidate as a vicar apostolic with limited episcopal authority later.³²

History did not allow time for the cardinal to put his experiment into practice: the peaceful background work that focused on the simple believers and religious life was replaced again by the Jesuit way. It was precisely in the year when the cardinal, after his visitation there, took the first steps to establish the deanery of Székely Land that the Spanish Jesuit Alfonso Carrillo turned

³⁰ KRUPPA, *Kísérletek Erdély rekatolizációjára*, p. 68.

³¹ This argument was already brought up as early as in 1583 by the imperial delegation during the negotiations with the Transylvanian principality about the borders: «eam ob rem credo cordatos quosque intelligere illustrissimum dominum Batoreum qui Romam profectus est, iam tutiore esse in statu, quod in Polonia praeposituram assecutus sit, quam si pinguisimum episcopatum obtinisset in Transsylvaniam», in ASV, *Segr. Stato, Germania* 94, f. 249^r.

³² Miklós ENDES, *Erdély három nemzete és négy vallása autonómiájának története*, Budapest 1935, pp. 241-244.

up in the prince's court. About the deanery, we do not know anything apart from the fact that it was indeed founded. We know much more about the re-emerging faction within the court, in which the Jesuits often had their fair share by wantonly getting entangled in or even provoking conflicts, irrespective of whether they were in the court or mingling with the common people. During the Fifteen Years War, the principality's value increased as a potential military ally, and in this power play the order, through Alfonso Carrillo, the prince's confessor, had an unprecedentedly strong influence over the court and, consequently, over the Transylvanian church and foreign policy. The end results was far from being absolutely positive: as Giovanni Ferrero, the papal nuncio to Prague, wrote in a prudently worded document from 1604: the Jesuits, though they were probably not led by an ulterior motive, did not make good use of the authority they had been given.³³

³³ «Trovo che si può dire nessuna per hora, ma mediocre si essercitarebbe se vi fosse vescovo e, se bene non dubito che i padri gesuiti non usassero bene l'autorità, credo però anche che non la essercitavano mal volontieri», in *Jezsuita Okmánytár. Magyarországot érintő iratok*, ed. Mihály Balázs – Tamás Kruppa – Dávid István Lázár – László Lukács, Szeged 1995, I/1, p. 309, n. 245. On this, see the remarks critical of the Jesuits in the memorandum submitted in Rome in 1606. Originally, the literature attributed the memorandum to Faustus Verancsics, the bishop of Csanád. For a new hypothesis about the authorship, see Tamás KRUPPA, *Adalékok Verancsics Faustus csanádi püspök életrajzához*, in «Vár ucca tizenhét», 3 (1994), pp. 153-158. For a criticism of this and another proposal as to the author's identity, see Péter TUSOR, *Verancsics Faustus emlékiratai?*, in *Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára* (in CD ROM), ed. Gabriella Erdélyi – Péter Tusor, Budapest 2007, pp. 443-453.