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FROM THE ARMY OF KING MATTHIAS TO THE SERVICE OF GOD[1]. A CASE STUDY ON THE ROLE OF THE APOSTOLIC PENITENTIARY IN THE PROMOTIONS OF CLERICS IN THE TIME OF KING MATTHIAS CORVINUS

ABSTRACT
The main character of this study is Gáspár Bak from Berend, the provost of Szepes (1464-1493). After he had fought in the army of King Matthias against the Hussites and the Ottomans, the cleric of the Diocese of Csanád decided to embrace ecclesiastic orders. The young man, who has previously studied in Vienna, Ferrara, and Bologna submitted three supplicaitons to the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica*, in which he asked to be released from the obstacles preventing his ordination. He received the permission in December of 1469. After that, he was consecrated a deacon in Bologna, and three years later, when he gained the degree in canon law in Rome, he was ordained as a priest. On the basis of the materials collected in the archives in Rome, this present work makes an attempt to elaborate on the circumstances of this extremely well-documented promotion placing it in an international context.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Hungary; Matthias Corvinus; Apostolic Penitentiary; Rome; promotion of clerics.

On 30 October 1469, the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica* issued a charter for Gáspár Bak, the diocesan cleric of Csanád. The document describes that he had been a member of the army of King Matthias (1458-1490) in the victorious Battle of Jajce (1463/64), and then he participated in the campaign against the Hussites as the scrivener of the captain who led the contingents. These campaigns demanded many lives and because Gáspár was actively involved in the fights, he applied for and received the approval by the highest grace-conveying office of the Catholic Church to be disposed of the obstacles to receive holy orders as he wished to receive such orders[2]. In this study, the focus will not be on the successful and rather well known fights in Bosnia[3], neither on the military manoeuvres against the Hussites

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2 See the second charter in the Appendix.

3 Attila Bárány, János B. Szabó and László Veszprémy, "A késő középkor hadtörténete (1387–1490)", in *Magyarország hadtörténete I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig,* ed. László Veszprémy (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 2017), 274, 279; Lajos Thallóczy, *Jajca (bánság, vár és város) története* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1915), LXXXIII-CXIV;

in Upper Hungary[4], but on one segment of the church career of the Gáspár Bak, specifically the circumstances of his promotion.

GÁSPÁR BAK FROM BEREND

Although researchers studying the late Middle Ages and the history of Szepes County (also known as Spis or Zips in Slovakia) have been interested in the subject of this study since the 18th century, we have rather few pieces of information about Gáspár's life[5]. He was first mentioned in the sources in November 1447, when the family estate in Temes county (also known as Timiş, in Romania) was divided among his mother, Krisztina Papdi, and his paternal relatives. The charter that was issued by the *locus credibilis* in the chapter of Csanád mentions his father, János Bak from Berend (*dictus*) and his brother, Boldizsár[6]. His father, who came from Berend[7] located in the County of Szatmár can be seen as the *familiaris* of Governor János Hunyadi since 1446[8]. After their marriage, the parents of Gáspár, who had noble roots on both sides (*nobilis ex utroque parente procreates*)[9], lived on the estates that was a maternal inheritance. It is supported by the fact that later he consistently called himself as a diocesan cleric of Csanád[10]. The next information

Péter E. Kovács, "Jajca 1464. évi ostroma", in *Az értelem bátorsága. Tanulmányok Perjés Géza emlékére*, ed. Gábor Hausner (Budapest: Argumentum, 2005), 403-18. On the castle's integration into the Hungarian border defence system and on its role see Richárd Horváth, "The Castle of Jajce in the Organization of the Hungarian Border Defence System under Matthias Corvinus", in *Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463) – slom srednjovjekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva*, ed. Ante Birin (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest Katolički bogoslovni fakultet u Sarajevu, 2013), 89-98.

4 In general on this see Pál Tóth-Szabó, *A cseh-huszita mozgalmak és uralom története Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1917).

5 Hungarian and Slovakian historians have written about his life. The basis of our knowledge is still served by the source collection of Károly Wagner (Carolus Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani pars I-IV*, Viennae-Posonii-Cassoviae 1774-1778), and then by the monograph of Márton Pirhalla (*A szepesi prépostság vázlatos története kezdetétől a püspökség felállításáig*, Lőcse: Szepesmegyei Történelmi Társulat, 1899), who mainly relied on the former's work.

6 MNL OL DL 14125, 8 November, 1447

7 On the localization of the town, see Péter Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* (Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 2008), 30, n. 50.

8 15 August, 1446: «propria domini gubernatoris referenete Johanne Bak de Berend»: MNL OL DF 231223; the agreement that was reached by János Hunyadi and György Brankovics (Đurad Brankovic) in front of Palatine László Garai in the castle of Szendrő on 8 August, 1451, which was supposed to be confirmed by the marriage of Mátyás Hunyadi and Erzsébet Villei, was guaranteed by the oath of two vassals on behalf of the governor: «coram nobis presentibus etiam et audentibus egregiis Ladislao de Orbowa et Johanne Bak de Berend familiaribus dicti domini Gubernatoris corporale prestitit iuramentum»: MNL OL DL 37614.

9 AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 684, fol. 122*r*.

10 APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 17, fol. 124*r*, 147*v*; see in the Appendix of this paper n. 13. Namely,

on him is from April 1456, when he was registered as the student of the *artes* faculty of the university of Vienna[11]. If we accept the generally held view that in the Middle Ages the students pursued their studies in the given faculty from the age of 13-14 on an average[12], Gáspár could have been born around 1442/1443. This means that he might have been the same age as Matthias Hunyadi (Corvinus), the later king of Hungary[13]. Based on the aforementioned relationship of their fathers, we can assume that they had known each other from a young age. After this reference, Gáspár disappears from the sources for years, therefore we cannot be sure whether he finished his studies in Vienna, or not, which we will discuss in more detail later. The next known episode of his life is related to the above-mentioned Hungarian-Ottoman battle. According to his own account, he served in the artillery during the siege, where the monarch entrusted him with monitoring the gunpowder for the *spingardas*[14] and other weapons and tools (*ingenia*)[15]. The siege was in late autumn of 1463, though, it is possible that Gáspár still served in the castle during the unsuccessful Ottoman counter-attack in the following year[16]. In the supplication we have been discussing, he mentions another campaign, which was against the Czech heretics (*Boemos hereticos*), and during which he was the scrivener of the royal army's captain[17]. It is known that the monarch and his captains led numerous campaigns against several companies of mostly Czech (unemployed) mercenaries who caused many troubles and skirmishes in the northern part of the country from the 1460s[18]. Gáspár might have hinted at the campaign in 1465[19], though it is also possible that a previous campaign is discussed there. We can also identify the mentioned captain. As the marauding mercenaries looting in the region required special attention, the members of the Upper Hungarian headquarter had an important role in the maintenance of the territory's public order. The

Berend belonged to the diocese of Transylvania, more precisely to the *archidiaconatus* of Ugocsa. Németh, *A középkori Szatmár*, (see note 6), 30, n. 50.

11 He was registered twice with different names: "Caspar Bak de Berend" and "Caspar Wakk de Werind". He might have supported the studies of his brother, Boldizsár, moved to Vienna later. Anna Tüskés, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365-1526* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2008), 200, n. 3883 and 3886.

12 Tamás Fedeles, István Lengvári, Éva Pohánka, et al., *Centuries of Higher Education in Pécs*, (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2017), 13.

13 Born in February, 1443. András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest: Balassi, 2008), 7.

14 Originally battering-ram; however, in this case a mortar. Cf. *Gran dizionario teorico-militare contente le definizioni di tutti i termini tecnici spettanti all'arte della guerra [...],* (Italia, 1847), 684.

15 Charter 2 in the Appendix.

16 Thallóczy, *Jajca*, LXXXIII-CXIV.

17 Charter 2 in the Appendix.

18 Tóth-Szabó, *A cseh-huszita mozgalmak*; Richárd Horváth, "A Felső Részek kapitánysága a Mátyás korban", *Századok,* 137 (2003): 929-54.

19 Tóth-Szabó, *A cseh-huszita mozgalmak*, 329.

mentioned office was held by the Szapolyai brothers during the examined period, who built up their main estate in the Szepes, which was bordering the threatened parts. Imre Szapolyai was in Buda most of the time between 1460 and 1465 as a treasurer, while from 1464 he was mostly in the South due to his title of the ban of Slavonia. As a result, practically his brother István controlled the threatened regions and attended to the duties of the captain on and off between 1460 and 1465. Yet, there are references given that in 1465, Imre himself led a campaign against the Czech looters[20]. After this successful operation – in which the monarch personally participated, as we saw – Matthias appointed Imre as the hereditary bailiff of Szepes[21]. As a consequence, Imre Szapolyai was likely to be the unnamed *capitaneus* in the charter. Nevertheless, Gáspár must have been on good terms with both Szapolyai brothers, since he became the head of the canonical community of the Saint Martin collegiate church of Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula in Slovakia), which was under the authority of the Szapolyai family and was their burial place[22]. Matthias appointed Gáspár as the provost of Szepes in 1464 presumably after his coronation on 29 March but before 20 August. Unfortunately, the royal diploma did not survive, yet, the royal endowment's fact is proven by the charter of Cardinal Dénes Szécsi, the archbishop of Esztergom, which was addressed to Gáspár and confirmed the endowment and ordered the inauguration[23]. Consequently, from late summer of 1464, Gáspár Bak from Berend worked as the provost of the collegiate chapter of Szepes[24].

20 Horváth, "A Felső Részek", 941, 943, 953-54.

21 Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 145-47.; Tibor Neumann, "A Szapolyai család legrégebbi címere", *Turul,* 84/4 (2011): 123-28, here: 125.

22 On the role of the church in the devotion of the family, see Tamás Fedeles, "'E földi hazát örök és mennyei palotával elcserélni'. Szempontok a késő középkori főúri vallásosság vizsgálatához", in *Mesterek és Tanítványok. Tanulmányok a bölcsészettudományok területéről,* eds. Gábor Böhm and Tamás Fedeles (Pécs: PTE BTK Kari Tudományos Diákköri Tanács, 2014), 54-80, here: 61, 72-3.

23 20 August 1464: «[...] presentationem serenissimi principi et domini nostri Mathie regis Hungarie etc. de te nobis factas, de quibus quidem nominatione et presentatione nobis per litteras eiusdem domini Mathie regis per te nobis in specie exhibitas, legitime constituit in prefatam preposituram s. Martini de dicta Scepus, authoritate nostra ordinaria instituimus, confirmamus per presentes [...]», MNL OL DF 249 045. Its publication: C. Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 340-41.

24 On his provostship, see Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. III, 69-72; Pirhalla, *A szepesi prépostság*, 101; Márta Török, *Az egyházi középréteg mobilitása a szepesi káptalanban* (PhD diss., University of Loránd Eötvös-Budapest, 2011) 164; Peter Labanc, "Spišskí prepošti 1301-1511", in *Z dejín Spišského prepoštstva. Zborník z medzinárodnej konferencie pri príležitosti 800. výroôcia prvej známej písomnej zmienky o Spišskom prepoštstve*, ed. Luboslav Hromják, (Spišské Podhradie: Nadácia Kôncazského seminára biskupa Jána Vojtaššáka, 2010), 564-65, 565; Peter Labanc and Miroslav Glejtek, *Spišské prepošstvo na prelome stredoveku a novoveku* (Trnave: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2015) 36-8; Norbert C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája. Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig* (Győr: Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2017), 142.

THE THREE SUPPLICATIONS

Concerning his church career, it could be stated in advanced that by obtaining the provostship of Szepes he became a member of the middle class of the church hierarchy that consisted of several hundreds of people, moreover, he gained access to the higher ranks of this class. According to the sources, he abandoned the battlefield for good after this promotion, and, according to Wagner, he «bound his soul to the sacred service»[25]. This reinforces the fact that Gáspár served the Almighty at the altar by embracing holy orders. At the time, administering holy orders had multiple degrees, out of which the first four were the so-called minor ones (*minors*), the next three belonged to the sacred orders' group (*sacri ordines*), and then the episcopal order ended the line[26]. We have already mentioned above that Gáspár is referred to in many sources as the cleric of Csanád, which certainly indicates that he must have received the first tonsure (*prima tonsura*) earlier, which was a visual sign – the crown of the head was shaved off in a circular shape – of being a member of the clergy. Nevertheless, it did not automatically mean that one could not return to secular life; celibacy was obligatory only after the consecration as a sub-deacon. However, Gáspár – noticeably after a longer period of contemplation – decided to dedicate his life to God permanently. Five years after obtaining the dignity of the provost, he decided to receive the higher orders. His supplications (*supplicationes*) lodged to the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica* report about this[27]. He sent altogether three supplications to Rome to request the permission of consecration. Chronologically, the first supplication was documented on 28 March 1469 by the notaries of the office, in which he requested the permission to receive holy orders (*ad omnes ordines promoveri*) from the bishop of Ferrara, since he was studying in that Italian town (*Ferrariensis causa studii commorans*)[28]. Seven months later, Philippus Calandrini, cardinal grand penitentiary received another

25 «animum ad sacrum militiam adiecit»: Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. III, 69.

26 In more detail with further literature see Kirsi Salonen, Jussi Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458-1471* (London-New York: Routledge, 2016), 6-8.

27 On the function of the office, see Emil Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Umgestaltung unter Pius V* (Rom: Verlag von Loescher & Co., 1907-1911); Filippo Tamburini, *Santi e peccatori. Confessioni e suppliche dai Registri della penitenzieria dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (1451-1586)* (Milano: Istituto di Propaganda Libraria, 1995); Ludwig Schmugge, Patrik Hersperger and Beatrice Wiggenhauser, *Die Supplikenregister der päpstlichen Pönitentiarie aus der Zeit Pius' II (1458-1464)* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1996); Kirsi Salonen and Ludwig Schmugge, *A sip from the "Well of Grace". Medieval texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009); Gabriella Erdélyi, "A Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica hivatala és magyar kérvényei a 15-16. században", *Levéltári Közlemények*, 74/1-2 (2003): 33-57 and 76, n. 1 (2005): 63-103.

28 APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 17, fol. 147v. Former literature does not speak about his studies in Ferrara. Cf. Endre Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221-1864* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941), passim; Stanisław Sroka, "Il Diploma di Dottorato di Kasper Back (Università di Bologna, anno 1472)", *Annali di storia delle università Italiane*, 16 (2012): 267-74.

supplication of his[29]. Luckily, in this case not only the abstract kept in the register book[30] survived, but the original charter too, which covered both the request and the permission. It can be found in the Private Archives of the Chapter of Szepes.[31] It appears from this document that he wanted to receive holy orders as the student of the university of Bologna, and since he lived in Bologna at the time (*quia universitate Bononiensis causa studii ad presens moram trahis*) he could not reach his ordinary due to the distance between them (*propter distantiam loci*), therefore he wanted to be consecrated in the Northern Italian town.

Obviously, this was not a unique case, since there are numerous similar requests known from that period, including several ones related to Hungarians. According to canon law, the clerics could receive the orders only from their own diocesan bishops. However, those who wanted to be consecrated somewhere else had two legally acceptable options: they could ask for a written permission (*littera dimissoria, dimissorialia*) from their ordinary, or they could appeal to the offices, chancery, or chamber of the Roman Curia, as well as to the Penitentiary[32]. Numerous clerics who wanted to enjoy their church benefice (*fructus percipere*) during their studies requested for dispensation by the latter body. And besides that, they usually wished to postpone their consecration until the end of their studies (*non promoveri*)[33]. It was a general practice that the foreign clerics studying at the university of Padua and Bologna,[34] as well as at other Italian and European universities received

29 Philippus Calandrini [†1476] the bishop of Bologna (1447-1476), the cardinal priest of the s. Susannae's church (1448-1451), and of the s. Laurentii in Lucina's church (1451-1476), and then of the cardinal bishop of Albano (1468-1471) and Porto (1471-1476). He held the office of the grand penitentiary between 1458 and 1476. Cf. *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium, ecclesiarum Antistitum series I-VIII*, eds. Guilelmus Van Gulik, Conradus Eubel, Patricius Gauchat, et al. (Monasterii-Patavii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1913-1978), II, 11, 59, 60, 63, 108; Schmugge et al., *Die Supplikenregister*, 12.

30 APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 17, fol. 124r.

31 The text of the charter is published in the Appendix (Charter 1).

32 Salonen and Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career*, 28-30.

33 Schmugge et al., *Die Supplikenregister*, 173; Kirsi Salonen, "Zur Kommunikation zwischen der Pönitentiarie und der Provinz von Uppsala", in *The Roman Curia, the Apostolic Penitentiary and the Partes in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Kirsi Salonen and Christian Krötzl (Roma: Foundation Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2003), 23-31.

34 Paolo Sambin, "Chierici ordinati a Padova alla fine del Trecento", *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 2 (1948): 388; Paolo Sambin, "Altri chierici ordinati a Padova nella seconda metà del sec. XIV", *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 6 (1952): 386; Andreas Rehberg, "Deutsche Weihekandidaten in Rom am Vorabend der Reformation", in *Kurie und Region. Festschrift Brigide Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Brigitte Flug, Michael Matheus and Andreas Rehberg, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005): 289; Andreas Rehberg, "L'affluenza di ordinandi a Roma alla vigilia della riforma luterana", in *La papauté à la Renaissance*, eds. Florence Alazard and Frank la Brasca (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007): 167-249; Ludwig Schmugge, "Zum römischen 'Weihetourismus' unter Papst Alexander VI. (1492-1503)", in *Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini*, eds. Paola Guglielmotti, Isabella Lazzarini and Gian Maria Varanini,

the various degrees of holy orders in the town of their education[35]. Two peers of Gáspár in Bologna, Miklós Stolcz, the bishop of Várad (1470-1473)[36] and Balázs Pozsegavári[37] from the diocese of Pécs also lodged similar requests to the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica*. In his request, Pozsegavári referred to the fact (besides the basic reason of him staying in Bologna) that there was no bishop in Pécs at the time[38]. Miklós Alattyáni, the canon of Bács who studied in Padua, also wished to be consecrated on the location of his studies due to the great distance (*propter longam distantiam*)[39].

Gáspár continued his studies which he had started in Vienna in Italy after his appointment as a provost in 1464. According to his first request, at first he had been in Ferrara, and then he studied canon law in Bologna, which town was popular among the Hungarian students. Consequently, we assume that he had finished his *artes* studies in Vienna earlier. However, we do not know for certain the starting date of his Italian studies. Yet, it is likely that he arrived there sometime between 1465 and 1466 due to the fact that he passed his doctoral exam in July 1472[40]. On the basis of the available data, we can assume that he spent the first three years in the

(Firenze: University Press, 2011), 421. Some contemporary German requests to the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica*: RPG, vol. V, n. 3834, 3915; RPG, vol. VI, nn. 2080, 6684.

35 Bertalan Jakabfi from the archdiocese of Esztergom studied in Krakow; he asked his consecration in Krakow due to "propter distantiam" (1476). APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 24, fol. 192r.

36 «Nicolaus electus et confirmatus Varadiensis subdiaconus cupit promovere, sed quia in civitate Bononiensis studet et per aliquamdiu studere incendit, quatenus petit licentia, ut ab episcopo Bononiensis vel eius vicariis dictos ordines recipere possit»: APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 20, fol. 272r. See N. C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori*, 109.

37 According to the supplication register of the office, on 26 November, 1472 as the diocesan of Aquileia he requested to receive the minor orders from the bishop of Bologna. RPG, vol. VI, n. 6479.

38 In the charter issued by the grand penitentiary: «sed quia de presenti Bononie causa studenti moram trahis, ac etiam quia ecclesia Quinqueecclesiensis ad presens caret pastore»: Celestino Piana, *Nuove ricerche su le Universitá di Bologna e Parma* (Quaracchi. Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1966), 482. The bishoprics was vacant between 27 July, 1472 and 8 January, 1473. Cf. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori*, 90. After completing the studies of canon law, Balázs obtained a prebendal benefice in the cathedral chapter of Pécs (1473-1478), and he also administered the duties of the vicar general in 1473. Cf. Tamás Fedeles, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung des Domkapitels zu Fünfkirchen im Spätmittelalter (1354-1526)* (Regensburg: Verlag Ungarisches Institut, 2012), 311, n. 20.; Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori*, 90.

39 «ab ipso Paduano vel aliquo episcopo in civitate Paduani de ipsius licentia sacros ordines celebravit»: APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 24, fol. 79v.

40 The original parchment charter issued on his doctorate in canon law survived in the Private Archives of the Chapter of Szepes. It was published: Sroka, "Il Diploma di Dottorato". All this harmonizes with the data of a charter of Szepes from 1478, in which the following can be read: «de consilio capituli, quia ivenis homo erat, ad studium iuris canonici Boniam recepit». Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 348; MNL OL DF, 272, 799.

studium generale at Ferrara, and after having earned his *baccalaureatus* he changed institution. This assumption is further supported by the date of his two above-mentioned requests. In Bologna, his peers were – among others – Tamás Bakócz, future archbishop of Esztergom, Péter Váradi, future archbishop of Kalocsa, László Szokoli, the bishop of Csanád[41], and the above-mentioned Miklós Stolcz and Balázs Pozsegavári.

Besides the supplicaitons we have already discussed, there is a third supplication that survived[42], which we can find in the charter of the grand penitentiary Philip as a transcript dated 30 October 1469[43]. While the transcription of this diploma is among those few *in partibus* survived supplications[44] – similarly to the one dated three days earlier – that were issued for the Hungarian clients of the Penitentiary, it also includes further details about the younger days of the provost of Szepes. Specifically, his role in the campaign of Jajca and Upper Hungary is depicted therein, during which many were killed and slaughtered (*multa homicidia, plurimeque mutilationes fuerunt*). According to the contemporary canon law, these were such offences (*delictus*) that caused irregularity (*irregularitas*) and incapacity (*inhabilitas*), therefore an obstacle to the consecration, which could only be absolved by the offices of the Curia Romana, including the Penitentiary (*absolutio, dispensatio*)[45]. In the charter issued for Gáspár, the grand penitentiary confirmed that there is no blood on the provost's hand, meaning he had not killed any enemies (*exponens neminem interfecerit aut mutilaverit*) during the two military actions; therefore, his requested promotion had no obstacles (*non obstantibus dicto clericali caractere uti, et ad prefatos ordines promoveri*). Although, we have no direct data, but it can be assumed that he personally handed in his requests in Rome, considering his long Italian stay.

41 Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken*, 47-52.

42 APA, Reg. Suppl., vol. 17, fol. 255v-256r.

43 Charter 2 in the Appendix.

44 It is a general tendency that the charters issued by the office perished in great proportion in the local source-material, primarily due to their personal nature. Mainly those documents survived that were addressed to the local ordinaries or their vicars. Cf. Salonen, "Zur Kommunikation", 24.

45 Salonen and Schmugge, *A sip from the "Well of Grace"*, 30-1. On 30 December, 1531 Gratiani de Rothon filed a request, in which he narrated that as a young man he took part in the Italian war of Francis I, French monarch; moreover along with the king he fell into captivity of the emperor during the siege of Pavia (1525). At that time he pledged a vow that in case of being released he would enter the service of the Church (*si ab inimicis salvus evaderet homo ecclesiasticus et presbiter efficeretur* [...] *Deo vovit*). Thereafter, he returned home, where while he had a clash with thieves, he killed many of them. Yet, at the age of 25 he had the papal legate of Avignon ordained him as a priest; thereupon he celebrated masses and administered other liturgical acts. As he had not asked for absolution from his previous sins before his consecration, he drew excommunication upon himself, and therefore asked for absolution only later (*ab excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti absolvi hac vice*). Tamburini, *Santi e peccatori*, 265-66, n. 66.

"AD SACRUM SUBDIACONATUS ORDINEM [...] PROMOVIT ET ORDINAVIT"

In the survived requests of Gáspár Bak from Berend, he wished to receive all the degrees of the sacrament of holy orders – according to the general formulas (*ex magno devotionis fervore cupit ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri*) – by referring to his deep piety and that he wished to serve God permanently (*perpetuo Domino famulari*). His first step was to show the charter issued on 30 October 1469 to the vicar of the bishop of Bologna, who carefully examined the document (*diligentius interrogavimus et examinavimus*). Alexander de Longaris from Perugia, who was a canon of Bologna, had great experience in such "routine cases", since on the one hand, he had a degree in canon and civil law, and on the other hand, he had headed the office for almost a decade[46]. The harmonic collaboration between the episcopal curia of Bologna and the Penitentiary was guaranteed by the fact that at the time the bishop was Cardinal Calandrini, who also happened to be the grand penitentiary (1447-1476)[47]. Since the vicar had been convinced that the charter's contents were true (*supra premise facta invenimus contenta in dictis preinsertis litteras vera esse*), he permitted the ordination. A notarial document was issued about this on 13 December, which also included the transcript of the charter of the grand penitentiary[48].

To be able to receive certain degrees of the sacrament of holy orders, one had to meet various requirements. In addition to the requirement of a legitimate birth, the minimum age for each category was also laid down. The physical health, morals, and theoretical knowledge of the candidates were also verified by examination prior to ordination. Apart from the above mentioned criteria, to receive the *subdiaconatus*, which was the lowest stage of the higher orders, proof had to be presented about sufficient income or funds (*titulus patrimonii, titulus ecclesiasticus*)[49]. In compliance with the general practice, the examination of the suitability of the candidates, like that of Gáspár's, took place in the episcopal curia of Bologna in the last couple of days preceding the consecration. As Gáspár was a university student, his theoretical preparedness was beyond doubt, he must have had a good command of Latin, and as he had received the smaller orders presumably in Hungary (*in minoribus ordinibus legitime constitutum*)[50], he knew the catechism, so he could pray the Divine Office. Eventually, Gáspár proved to be suitable in every respect (*repertum ydoneum et sufficientem*) after a thorough examination, and owing to his provostship he had an

46 He discharged the duties of the vicar general between 23 January, 1460 and 23 September, 1497. Celestino Piana, Cesare Cenci, *Promozioni agli ordini sacri a Bologna e alle dignità ecclesiastiche nel Veneto sei secoli XIV-XV* (Quaracchi: Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 1968), 144 note 1, and 229.

47 See note 28.

48 Charter 2 in the Appendix.

49 Willibald Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, vol. 2: *Das Kirchenrecht der abendländischen Christenheit 1055 bis 1517* (Wien-München: Herold, 1962), 302-03.

50 The following were the four minor orders (*quatuor minors*): *hostiarius, lector, exorcista, acolitus*. Cf. *Ordinationum documenta pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1523). Ex Libris Formatarum Cemerae Apostolicae,* edendo operi praefuit Tamás Fedeles (Budapest–Róma: Gondolat, 2021), XIV-XVI.

income that provided sufficient income for his living expenses, which meant that there were no obstacles to his consecration.
He was promoted in the Saint Peter Cathedral of Bologna on 23 December 1469. The event, in which many other candidates were consecrated as well (*generales clericorum ordinationes sollemniter celebrans*), took place on a Saturday, the last day of the ember days of Advent. The high mass was celebrated by the Dominican Matheus de Pontremulo, who was the titular bishop of Tanis and the first *suffraganeus* of the *ordinarius* of Bologna[51]. He consecrated the candidates. Although the provost of Szepes wished to receive the sacrament of holy orders, the auxiliary bishop of Bologna only promoted him as a sub-deacon at that time (*ad sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem rite et sollemniter promovit et ordinavit*). After the promotion, a notarial document (*littera testimonialis, littera ordinum, littera formata, formata*) was issued for Gáspár, which officially confirmed the reception of his *subdiaconatus*.

IN THE ETERNAL CITY

Gáspár, after becoming a sub-deacon, continued his studies in law at the centre of the contemporary legal education, in the well-established *studium generale* of Bologna. As we have already mentioned, he finished his studies by obtaining the doctoral degree in canon law in the summer of 1472. The capitular charter that was issued six years later informs us that after his doctoral exam, he travelled to the Roman Curia, where he stayed for long[52]. During his stay in Rome, apart from completing the "obligatory" pilgrimages, he had the chance to take care of other personal and official affairs. Based on available data, it seems that he was ordained in the *Urbs Aeterna*, however there is not any *littera formata* survived on the event[53]. We can deduce this from a document dated October 1478, which (based on

51 On 20 April, 1464 he received papal provision. *Hierarchia Catholica*, II, 245, note 2. On his person, see Pietro Bologna, "I vescovi appartenenti a famiglie di Pontremoli e del suo territorio", *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincia Modenesi*, V/3 (1904): 38-42.

52 «ad dignitatem doctoratus iuris canonici promotus, demum inde secessit ad Curiam Romanam […] in eadem Curia Romana per certa tempora residens»: Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii* (see note 4), I, 348; MNL OL DF, 272 799.

53 From the 15th century, the *Camera Apostolica* organized the foreigners' consecration in the Curia, and at the same time documented the basic information (the time and place of consecration, name, benefice, diocese) of the promotions. The data – containing larger and smaller hiatuses – relating to the promotions were registered in the volumes of the *Libri Formatarum*. Cf. AAV, Camera Apostolica, *Libri Formatarum*, vol. 1-14. On the description of the volumes, see Ludwig Schmitz(-Kallenberg), "Die Libri Formatarum der Camera Apostolica", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 8 (1894): 451-72. On the basic literature relating to the series, and on the short outline of the Hungarian related notes, see Tamás Fedeles, "A magyar medievisztika egy kevéssé ismert forrása. A Libri formatarum és bejegyzései", in *Laborator Assiduus. A 70 éves Zombori István köszöntése,* eds. Ádám Somorjai and Gabi Somorjai (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár

the personal account of Gáspár) reports that he celebrated his first mass (*primicia*) in Rome on Martyr Crispin's day, 25 October 1472[54]. Unfortunately, in the lack of further data, we do not know when, where and from whom he received the order of the deacon, and then of the presbyter[55]. During his stay in Rome, he also had the opportunity to deal with the affairs of the provostship of Szepes. One of Gáspár's request, which he likely presented himself, was registered in one of the Apostolic Chancery's request registers with the date of 21 November 1472. In this request, by referring to old tradition, he asked that he and the other provosts of Szepes coming after him be allowed to wear the pontifical insignia[56]. Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) approved his request in his bull dated on the same day[57].

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As the good shepherd he was, he primarily focused on the prebendal community of Szepes and the congregation under his authority after returning home from the Eternal City. With the help of the contributions of the members of the chapter, the cleric of the district, and of the congregation he had the provostship's church refurnished, the windows and the roof renovated. The restored Gothic church was consecrated by László Sirokai, the auxiliary bishop of Eger on 10 October 1478[58]. In his last will, he established a foundation for perpetual Masses in Szepeshely

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Országos Levéltár: 2019), 149-66.

54 «ibique [sc. in Curia Romana – T. F.] primam missam suam in eadem Urbe in die ss. Crispini et Crispiani martyrum feliciter celebravit»: Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 348-49.; MNL OL DF, 272 799.

55 The *Libri Formatarum* contains only one date relating to Hungary from 1472. Iacobus Iacobi Vrtel de Cydino, the diocesan of Esztergom, was made a deacon on the occasion of the general consecration in the sacristy of the Roman St. Peter's Basilica by Jacob, the bishop of Lombardy on 14 March, and two weeks later he was ordained in the Basilica's Our Lady of the Column Chapel. AAV, Cam. Ap., Libri Format., vol. 6. fol. 34r, 39v. Its publication: *Camera apostolica 1 (Libri formatarum 1425-1524)*, ad edendum preparavit Vladimír Rábik (Trnavae-Romae: Slovenský historický ústav v Ríme pri Trnavskej univerzite v Trnave, 2014), n. 42-3, and *Ordinationum documenta pontifical* (see note 26) n. 167-68.

56 «[…] ecclesiam sancti Martini in comitatu Scepusiensis, Strigoniensis diocesis, olim cathedralem fuisse et adhuc inter alia ipsi ecclesia iocalia conservet mitra et baculus pastoralis ipsiusque ecclesie prepositus pro temore existens de antiqua est consuetudine […] in prefata ecclesia et ex eam in quibuscunque locis in quibus iurisdictionis predicta uti consueuit, mitra etiam aurifrigata seu margaritis et lapidibus pretiosis decorata, ac baculo pastoralibus quotiens sibi placuerit uti et populo etiam solemniter benedicere […] ubique locorum rochetum gestare libere et licite valeat concedere dignemini de gratia speciali […]»: AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 684, fol. 122r.

57 Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 344-47.

58 Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. I, 344-47.

to advance his own and his parents' salvation (*pro refrigerio salutis anime sue et parentum suorum*). He left two vineyards and 800 forints to the chapter. In return the canons ensured the celebration of the daily masses. Honouring his last will, he was laid to rest in front of the Magi's Altar in Saint Martin church. Masses were celebrated there in honour of the Holy Trinity on Sundays, for sins committed on Thursdays, in memory of the Passion of the Lord on Fridays, and in honour of the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays, and requiems were prayed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays[59]. According to the epitaph of Gáspár Bak from Berend, the provost of Szepes, he was gathered to his God Almighty on 5 June 1493[60].

59 The testament is contained in the charter issued by the chapter on 9 June 1493. At that time Gáspár had already been deceased. We can read the following in the document: «quod cum *nuper* reverendus *quondam* dominus Caspar Bak, decretorum doctor, prelatus et prepositus dicte ecclesie nostre»: MNL OL DF 272 804 [it is highlighted by – T. F.]

60 The text of his old epitaph (which has been lost in the sands of time) had been written down by Károly Wagner: «Hic iacet dominus Gaspar Bak de Berenth praepositus huius ecclesieae Scepusiensis. Obiit V. die Iunii Anno Domini MCCCCXCIII»: Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii*, vol. II, 339.

APPENDIX

1.

Rome, 27 October, 1469.
Due to the great distance from his own ordinary, Philip, the cardinal bishop of Albano and grand penitentiary allows Gáspár Bak, the provost of Szepes, to receive holy orders in the town of his studies, in Bologna, if he proves to be suitable and has satisfactory benefices.

(The original: Slovakia, Spišský Archív, Private Archives of the Chapter of Szepes, Part I. /U 757 11 1 10/, its copy: MNL OL DF 272 729)

Philippus, miseratione divina episcopus Albanensis, dilecto in Christo Caspari Back, clerico Cenadiensis diocesis salutem in Domino. Ex parte tua fuit coram nobis propositum, quod tua ex magno devotionis fervore cupit ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri, et in eis perpetuo Domino famulari, sed quia universitate Bononiensis causa studii ad presens moram trahis, et in futurum ad tempus trahere intendis, et ad ordinarium tuum prosu sapiendis huiusmodi ordinibus propter distantiam loci commode adire non potes, quare supplicari fecisti humiliter tibi super hiis per Sedem Apostolicam misericorditer provideri. Nos igitur tuus in hac parte supplicationibus inclinatu auctoritate domini pape cuius penitentiarie etiam gerimus, et de eius specialiter mandato super hoc vive vocis oraculo nobis facto, ut a vicario in pontificalibus nostro vel suffraganeibus ecclesie nostre Bononiensis catholico iam et communionem dicte sedis habente ad dictos ordines duntamen aliis ydoneus et sufficiens existas, secundum canonicas, sanctiones et sufficientem titulum habeas, super quibus ordinantis conscientiam oneramus, rite statutisque a iure temporibus libere recipere, et in eis postmodum licite ministrare valeas, alio tibi non obstante canonico verisque existentibus supradictis tenore presentium tibi et ordinati predicto licentiam impartimur, constitutionibus apostolicis et statutis tam provincialibus, quam sinodalibus contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum, sub sigillo officii penitentiarie, VI Kalendas Novembris, pontificatus domini Pauli pape II, anno sexto.

Ia. de Cremonense, Teofilus
G. Seuqohmi

Parchment fasten with a hanging seal, on the *plica*: 'C. de Urbino', on the top of the *verso*: 'Io. Marsily'.

2.

Bologna, 13 December, 1469.
Alexander de Longaris, the general episcopal vicar general of Bologna allows the promotion of Gáspár Bak of Berend by virtue of the absolution of the grand penitenciary.

(The original: Slovakia, Spišský Archív, Private Archives of the Chapter of Szepes,

Part I. /U 757/11 4 66/; its copy: MNL OL DF 272 792; its partial publication: C. Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii* (see note 4), III, 9-70)

Universis et singulis ad quos presentes adveneant. Alexander de Longaris de Perusio, iuris utriusque doctor, canonicus Bononiensis, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Philippi miseratione divina sacrosancte Romane ecclesie episcopi cardinalis Bononiensis, et episcopi Albanensis, ac maioris penitentiarii in episcopatu Bononie vicarius in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalis, ac comissarius et executor universis ad infrascripta per prenominatum reverendum dominum episcopum cardinalem ac maiorem penitentiarium specialiter deputatus, salutem in Domino. Litteras prefati reveredissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini episcopi cardinalis et maioris penitentiarii scriptas in membrana et sigillo cereo officii penitentiarie pendenti munitas, sanas integras et illesas, non abolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte viciatas vel suspectas, sed omnia prorsus vitio et suspectione carentes nobis per venerabilem virum dominum Casparem Back, clericum Cenadiensis diocesis in civitate Bononie studii causa residente principale in ipsis litteris principaliter nominatum coram notario publico et testibus infrascriptis presentatas, nos cum ea, qua decuit reverentia benigne noveritis recepisse huiusmodi sub tenore videlicet: [a]Philippus miseratione divina episcopus Albanensis discreto viro vicario nostro in spiritualibus in ecclesia nostra Bononiensis salutem in Domino. Ex parte Casparus Back, clerici Cenadiensis diocesis nobis oblata petitio continebat, quod ipse olim cum serenissimo rege Ungarie in expugnatione seu obsidione cuiusdam castri Jayza nuncupati, ab inamissimis Turcis, Christi nominis inimicis tunc tenti, in quo seu ex ipso per infideles innumera, mala et oppressiones plurime Christianis fiebant in bellis interfuit, ac pulveres pro spingardis et aliis machinarum generibus necessarios, ac alia ingenia oportuna per prefatum serenissimum regem ad hoc deputatus custodivit, illosque pulveres et alia huiusmodi quoties opus fuit in obsidione huiusmodi ad loca sibi commissa portari fecit ad infidelium expugnationem dumtaxat, et castrum predicti obsidionem ut prefertur. Necnon dum rex predictus Boemos hereticos pestilentes de patria pro ipsius et fidei orthodoxie tuitione reicere contenderet, ipse exponens, qui cuiusdam dicti regis capitanei notarius existebat, ab ipso capitaneo iussus, litteras nonnullas aliis gentium armorum capitaneis scripsit, ut ad obsidionem castrorum et terrarum predictarum hereticorum properarent, ac etiam civibus civitatum prelibato regi subiectarum, quod ad obsidionem predictam contra hereticos huiusmodi fiendam instrumenta bellica et alia necessaria afferent, opemque [b]prestarent eisdem, atqeu premissa ministrarent, prout gentes armorum huiusmodi ad obsidionem accesserunt, civesque instrumenta et alia necessaria predicta, opem eiusdem prestantes attulerunt seu ministrarunt et propterea in bellis huiusmodi occasione inter eos initis, multa homicidia, plurimeque mutilationes fuerunt ex utriusque parte perpetrate, quibus omnibus interfuit, ac dum preparationes ad premissam fierent astitit nullum tamen manibus propriis interfecit seu mutilavit, nec interfeci seu mutilari mandavit. Cum autem ipse exponens manus a sanguine aliis, quod ut permittitur continuerit, cupiatque clericali caracthere uti et ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri, et in eis postquam promotis fuit perpetuo Altissimo famulari, stimulatur tamen quandoque in conscientia agnoscens culpam, ubi minime repperitur et magis posset in futurum stimulari, si forsan ab aliquibus simplicibus

et uiris ignarus, ac ipsius exponentis emulis affereretur, ipsum propter premissa homicidiorum et mutilationum reatus incurisse, et irregularitatis maculam seu inhabilitatis notam contraxisse, ac dicto clericali caractere uti, ac ad dictos ordines promoveri, et in eis postquam promotus erit, licite ministrare non posse, ad tollendum igitur stimulos huiusmodi et obstruenda ora quorumcumque in futurum fortassis obloqui volentium emulorum obstruenda supplicari fecit dictus esxponens sibi super his per Sedem Apostolicam in foro conscientie dumtaxat misericorditer provideri. Nos igitur auctoritate domini pape cuius penitentiarie curam gerimus, discretione tue, cum dictus exponens [c](ut asserit) ibidem causa studii aliquamdiu residere habeat, committimus, quatenus si per simplicem ipsius exponentis assertionem nullis desuper adhibitis testibus, nullisque litteris datis, sed presentibus laniatis premissa vera esse inveneris, et quod exponens[c] neminem interfecerit aut mutilaverit super quibus tuam constientiam oneramus declares in foro conscientie tantum, ipsum premissorum occasione nullos homicidiorum seu multilationum reatus incurisse, sed premissis non obstantibus dicto clericali caractere uti, et ad prefatos ordines promoveri, ac in eis postquam promotus fuerit, alio sibi canonico non obstante ministrare posse. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sub sigillo officii penitentiarie III Kalendas Novembris,[61] pontificatus domini Pauli pape II anno sexto. C. Boccardinus.[a] Post quarum quidem litterarum presentationem et receptionem nobis et per nos ut promittitur factas fuimus per prefatum dominum Casparem principalem in eisdem litteris principaliter nominatum debiti cum instantia requisiti, ut ad ipsarum litterarum et contentorum in eis executionem iuxta litterarum earundem vim, formam et tenorem procedere dignaremur. Nos igitur Alexander, vicarius et commissarius ac executor antedictus attendentes requisitione huiusmodi fore iustam et consonam rationi quoque iusta petentibus non est denegandus assensus preinsertis litteris et contentis in eis perlectis ac diligenter consideratis prefatum dominum Casparem principalem in ipisis litteris nominatum de et super contentis in eisdem preinsertis litteris maturius et diligentius interrogavimus et examinavimus. Verum qua per examinationem huiusmodi et assertionem dicti domini Casparis nobis in de et supra premisse facta invenimus contenta in dictis preinsertis litteras vera esse, et quod ipse dominus Caspar nemine interfecit aut mutilavit auctoritate prefati reverendissimi domini episcopi cardinalis maioris penitentiarii nobis in hac parte ut supra commissa, et qua fungimur omnique modo iure via, causa et forma quibus melius et efficatius potuimus atque possumus declaravimus, prout etiam harum serie declaramus in foro conscientie tantum ipsum dominum Casparem premissorum in presentis litteris contentorum occasione nullas homicidiorum seu mutilationum reatus incurisse, sed premissis in eisdem litteris descriptis non obstantibus eundem dominum Casparem dicto clericali caractere uti et ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri, ac in eis postquam promotus fuerit alio sibi canonico non obstante ministrare posse. In quorum fidem et testimonium presentes nostras litteras vim publici instrumenti continentes ex inde fieri et publicari fecimus et sigilli curie episcopalis Bononiensis munimine roborari. Datum et actum Bononie, in episcopali palacio in camera nostre solite residentie, presentibus venerabili et eximii decretorum doctore domino Iohanne, quondam Cathelani de Sala de Bononie, priore monasterii sancti

61 30 October, 1469.

Michaelis de Castello Britonum, Bononiensis diocesis, ordinis militie beate Marie virginis et Nicolao Iohannis de Modiema, habitatore Bononie in capella sancti Mathei de Accharisiis testibus ad predictam vocatis adhibitis et rogatis, sub anno a nativitate Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo nono, Indictione secunda, die tertiodecimo mensis Decembris, pontificatus prefati sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli divina providentia pape secundi anno sexto.

Albizus de Dugliolo, notarius curie episcopalis
Bononiensis rogatus ac mandato scripsit

Parchment, on the *verso:* 'Dispensatio Casparis Back, ut ad ordines promoveri possit, tametsi occasione belli Turcici et Bohemici irregularitatem incurrisse de anno 1469'. | [a–a] This part was published by: C. Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii* (see note 4), III, 69-70 | [b] Crossed before it: 'illis'. | [c–c] This part was left out from the publication of Wagner.

3.
Bologna, 23 December, 1469.

A notarial document that confirms that during the general ordination taken place in the cathedral of Bologna, Gáspár Bak, the provost of Szepes, was promoted sub-deacon by Matheus de Pontremulo, the auxiliary bishop of Bologna.

(The original: Slovakia, Státny archiv v Levoci, Private Archives of the Chapter of Szepes, Charters issued before Mohács /U 608/ 364//; its copy: MNL OL DF 264 483)

In Christi nomine amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo nono, indictione secundo, die vigesimo tertio mensis Decembris, tempore pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli, divina providentia pape secundi missam et generales clericorum ordinationes sollemniter celebrans Bononiensis in ecclesia cathedrali santi Petri Bononiensis, apud altare maius eiusdem ecclesie, reverendus in Christo dominus Matheus de Pontremulo, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia episcopus Tanensis, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Philippi, episcopi Albensis presbiteri cardinalis, episcopi Bononiensis et principis suffraganeus, de licentia venerabilis viri et eximii utriusque iuris doctoris domini Alexandri de Longaris de Perusio, canonici Bononiensis, prefati reverendissimi domini cardinalis et episcopi Bononiensi in spiritualibus et temporalibus curie episcopalis Bononiensis vicarii generalis, venerabilem virum et eximum iuris peritum dominum Casparem Back, clericum Cenadiensis diocesis, prepositum ecclesie sancti Martini, Strigoniensis diocesis in minoribus ordinibus legitime constitutum, ad hoc que repertum ydoneum et sufficientem eius diligenti examinatione premissa, vigore tamen licentie Apostolice sibi concesse per prefatum reverendissimum dominum et dominum Philippum, episcopum Albanensem, prefati sanctissimi domini nostri maiorem penitentiarium ad titulum sue prepositure ibidem presentem et humiliter acceptantem ad sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem rite et sollemniter promovit et ordinavit iuxta ritum et formam sancte matris ecclesie consuetos. Mandans prefatus Alexander dominus episcopus michi,

Ioannisbaptiste (!) de Grassis notario relato, ac me rogans prefatus dominus Caspar prepositus antedictus, ut de predictis omnibus et singulis publicam conficiam instrumentum iussit sigillo curie episcopalis Bononiensis impressione muniri infidem et testimonium omnium singulorum premissorum. Actum Bononie in ecclesia cathedrali sancti Petri Bononiensis, presentibus ibidem venerabilibus viris domino Ludovico de Muzolis utriusque iuris doctore, canonico Bononiensis, D. Floriano cum Ioannis bidelli, domino Caspare de Capite Leonis, ambobus capellanis ecclesie Bononiensis, domino Christoforo Arestani et domino Lanaloto ambobus mansionariis prefate cathedralis ecclesie sancti Petri Bononiensis testibus omnibus ad premissa omnia et singula vocatis adhibitis specialiter et rogatus.
Ego Lazarus filius quondam Ioannis dela Peña, publicus Apostolici et Imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, predicta omnia et singula prout in notis rogationibus et scripturis circumspecti viri domini Ioannis Baptiste de Grassis, notarii predicti inveni, et omnia de ipsius domino Ioannis Baptiste voluntate commissione et mandato scripsi, sumpsi et exemplaui et in hanc publicam formam redegi, hic ideo me publice subscripsi et signum meum consuetum appositi in fidem omnium premissorum.

Ego Ioannes Baptista, quondam scilicet Iacobi de Grassis, civis Bononiensis publica Apostolica Imperiali et communis Boniensis ac curie episcopalis Bononiensis auctoritate notarius predictis omnibus et singulis dum sic, ut permittitur agerentur et fierent interfui eauqe rogatis et quia aliis negotiis impeditus extiti ideo suprascriptum, Lazarum notarium antedictum scribi et exemplari feci hic ideo me publici subsrcipsi signum nomenque meum apposui consuetum infidem et testimonium omnium premissorum subsrcipsi.

On parchment, two notarial signet can be seen next to the clause. At the bottom, in the middle there is the vesica seal of the episcopal curia. On its back with a contemporary handwriting: 'Gaspar Bak Bononie promotus ad subdiaconatus gradum'.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
Cam. Ap. Libri Format.: Camera Apostolica Libri Formatarum
Reg. Suppl. Registri delle Suppliche
APA: Archivio della Penitenzieria Apostolica
MNL OL: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára – Budapest
DF: Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény
DL: Diplomatikai Levéltár
RPG, V: *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum,* vol. V: *Verzeichnis der in den Supplikenregistern der Pönitentiarie Pauls II. vorkommenen Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches 1464-1471.* Text bearbeitet von Ludwig Schmugge, unter Mitarbeit von Peter Clarke, Alessandra Mosciatti und Wolfgang Müller. Indices bearbeitet von Hildegard Schneider-Schmugge und Ludwig Schmugge. Tübingen: De Gruyter, 2002.
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