

COLLECTANEA ARCHIVI VATICANI

106

# INCORRUPTA MONUMENTA ECCLESIAM DEFENDUNT

Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano,  
prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano

I

La Chiesa nella storia.  
Religione, cultura, costume

Tomo 1

a cura di

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ESTRATTO

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO  
ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO  
2018



Il presente volume è stato stampato grazie al contributo della  
Società Cattolica di Assicurazioni

COLLECTANEA ARCHIVI VATICANI, 106  
ISBN 978-88-98638-08-6

Segretario di redazione: Francesco Lippa

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

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## 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 Fedeles

## ECCLESIASTICAL CAREER OF THE APOSTOLIC COLLECTOR PETRUS DE MONASTERIO\*

In 1881 Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) opened the Vatican Secret Archives for scientific researchers,<sup>1</sup> which was followed by intensive historical research in the *Camera Apostolica's* as well. As a result of this work, a survey of the *Collectoriae* series of the which contains the papal tax-collectors's account commenced as well. Simultaneously, a study of the collectors' institution awoke the researchers' interest. The career analysis of the papal tax-collectors as well as research into the activity of the collectors on the basis of sources and in a wider context belong to the popular subject-matters of the international historiography until these days.<sup>2</sup> Due to the science promoter work of Vilmos

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\* The completion of the study was supported by the János Bolyai research scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (BO/00234/16/2). The author is the associate professor of the University of Pécs as well as the senior researcher of the MTA-PPKE Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Pázmány Péter Catholic University).

<sup>1</sup> Sergio PAGANO, *Leone XIII e l'apertura dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, in *Leone XIII e gli studi storici*. Atti del convegno internazionale commemorativo, Città del Vaticano, 30-31 ottobre 2003, a cura di Cosimo Semeraro, Città del Vaticano 2004, pp. 44-63.

<sup>2</sup> Some important volumes: Johann Peter KIRSCH, *Die päpstlichen Kollektorien in Deutschland während des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 1894; Jan PTAŚNIK, *Kollektorzy Kamery apostolskiej w Polsce piastowskiej*. *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, in «Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny», 25 (1907), pp. 1-80; Karl August FINK, *Eine Strassburger Kollektorie aus dem Pontifikat Martins V*, in *QFIAB*, 22 (1930-1931), pp. 182-226; Yves RENOARD, *Les relations des Papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378*, Paris 1941; Georges DESPY, *Bruges et les collectories pontificales de Skandinavie et de Pologne au XIVe siècle*, in «Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome», 27 (1952), pp. 95-109; JEAN Favier, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident 1378-1409*, Paris 1966; Charles HIGOUNET, *Arnaud de Caussin, un „Gascon” à Cracovie 1344-1371*, in *Cultus et cognitio. Studie z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 195-201; Marianne SCHMITZ, *Lebens- und Arbeitsweise zweier südfranzösischer Kollektoren in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in England*, Frankfurt am Main u.a. 1993; Markus A. DENZEL, *Kleriker und Kaufleute. Polen und der Peterspfennig im kurialen Zahlungsverkehrssystem des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in «Vierteljahr-

Fraknói (1834-1924), the account of those papal tax-collectors, who worked in Hungary during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, appeared in 1887 within the first series (in the first book) of the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this fact, the Hungarian medieval studies did not focus on further details in connection with this topic in the 130 years after that followed the publication of this volume; for example the character of the tax-collectors, details related to their activities such as the personal and material terms of their work, as well as the nature of the relationship with the Curia. The introduction to this volume, written by László Fejérpataky (1857-1923) and published (in a more detailed version) in the *Századok* journal in the same year, is until today the only summary prepared by a Hungarian author, which acquaint the readers with certain aspects of the topic.<sup>4</sup> In the last few years, historical Hungarian research has started to rediscover the medieval documentation of the *Camera Apostolica*. The most important result of this research is a two volume source book,<sup>5</sup> which was introduced in Budapest in January, 2015 by Mons. Sergio Pagano, bishop prefect of the Vatican Secret Archive.<sup>6</sup> This present study should be considered in the same light as this systematic research work, as it focuses on the ecclesiastical career of an “unfamiliar acquaintance” the papal collector.

\* \* \*

In the 182<sup>nd</sup> volume of the *Collectoriae* series, we can find the final accounts (*liber receptorum et expensarum*) of *Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus* from the autumn of 1375. He worked in the territories of the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms, and to his final accounts, the Apostolic Chamber enclosed its own

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schrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte», 82 (1995), pp. 305-331; Christiane SCHUCHARD, *Die päpstlichen Kollektoren im späten Mittelalter*, Tübingen 2000; Stanisław SZCZUR, *Beneficja kolektorów papieskich w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in «Ružomborský Historický Zborník», 3 (2009), pp. 122-149; Amandine LE ROUX, *Mise en place des collecteurs et des collectories dans le royaume de France et en Provence (1316-1378)*, in «Lusitania Sacra», 22 (2010), pp. 45-62; Marek Daniel KOWALSKI, *Rationes Iacobini de Rubeis, collectoris in Regno Poloniae (1426-1434)*. *Rachunki Giacomina Rossiego, papieskiego kolektora generalnego w Polsce, z lat 1426-1434*, in «Studia Źródłoznawcze», 49 (2011), pp. 61-96.

<sup>3</sup> *Pápai tizedszedők számadásai 1281-1375*, Budapest 1887 (Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia I/1 [MVH]).

<sup>4</sup> MVH I/1, pp. XLIX–LXXVII; László FEJÉRPATAKY, *Pápai adószedők Magyarországon a XIII. és XIV. században*, in «Századok», 21 (1887), pp. 493-517, 589-609.

<sup>5</sup> *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297-1536)*, I. *Obligaciones, Solutiones*; II. *Divisiones, Provisiones, Visitationes, Quindennia, Rationes, Annatae, Obligaciones particulares, Legationes, Varia, Taxae*, ed. † József Lukcsics, Péter Tusor, Tamás Fedeles, Budapest – Róma 2014, (= *Cameralia*).

<sup>6</sup> For its short summary see: <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=0J\\_W7sBw250](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0J_W7sBw250)> (last accessed: 11. 07. 2017).

shorter extract (*computus abbreviatus*) as well.<sup>7</sup> Besides his account, several other curial documents and some *in partibus* arisen charters have remained to our present era in connection with his work. This documentation collectively makes a detailed analysis of his activity possible. On the bases of this, we are able to gain a complex picture about his work as a collector, among others in particular: the sphere of authority, the infrastructural conditions of the collection of taxes, the possibilities related to the communication with the centre and about the route that the money was transported.<sup>8</sup> Peter, the son of Stephen, who was the canon of Eger and the archdeacon of Szabolcs, was nominated to become the leader of the Polish-Hungarian *collectoria* by Pope Gregory XI (1371-1378).<sup>9</sup> After the long lasting diplomatic discussions between the Holy See as well as the Hungarian (1342-1382) and Polish (1370-1382) King Louis I, he could start his work in the Polish Kingdom during the spring of 1373 and in Hungary in December.<sup>10</sup> After he had finished his work during the autumn of 1375, he travelled to Avignon so that he would be able to hand in his final accounts.<sup>11</sup> During this period, he forwarded altogether 22,848 forints to the Apostolic Chamber.<sup>12</sup> It seems to be certain that his work was effective, because during the December of 1375 and at the beginning of the following year, he received a new commission to the previously-mentioned regions.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, we have very limited information related to his career after this period. In addition, we do not know the exact date when he finished this second commission. In September 1376, the Chamber issued a receipt to him for the payment of 200 golden ducats.<sup>14</sup> He appears as a collector for the last time on 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1378, when he issued a certificate for the bishop of Veszprém in Buda.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> ASV, *Cam. Ap., Collect.* 182, ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>v</sup>. For the publication of the data related to Hungary see: MVH I/1, pp. 454-520. For the publication of the data related to Poland see *Acta Camerae Apostolicae. Liber receptorum et expensarum Petri Stephani 1373-1375*, ed. Stanislaus Szczur, Cracoviae 1994 (*Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana* [= MPV], IX/3).

<sup>8</sup> For the detailed analysis see: Tamás FEDELES, „*Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus*”, in *Magyarország és a római Szentszék. Vatikáni magyar történelmi kutatások a 21. században*, eds. Péter Tusor, Kornél Szovák, Tamás Fedeles, Budapest – Róma 2017, pp. 31-87.

<sup>9</sup> ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 264, f. 93<sup>v</sup>; *Bullarium Poloniae* (= BP), II. 1342-1378, ediderunt et curaverunt Irena Sulkowska-Kuraś et Stanisław Kuraś, Romae 1985, n. 1868.

<sup>10</sup> His repeated bull of the appointment on the 12<sup>nd</sup> November 1372-én kelt. ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 264, ff. 157<sup>v</sup>-158<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> MVH I/1, p. 462; MPV IX/3, p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> FEDELES, „*Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus*”, p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> December 1375: *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* (= MVB), IV. *Acta Gregorii XI, 1370-1378*, opera Caroli Stloukal, Pragae 1949-1953, IV, n. 1093; 27 January 1376: ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 279, ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>; 1 February 1376: ASV, *Reg. Aven.* 173, f. 79<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Cameralia* I, n. 480.

<sup>15</sup> *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis* (= MREV), 4 vols., eds. Vilmos Fraknói, József Lukács, Budapestini 1896-1907, IV, pp. 357-358, n. 320.

If we would like to gain further information about Peter, the son of Stephen, and if we would like to find answers to the question, of why exactly he was chosen by the Apostolic Chamber, then we have to turn to the details of Peter's ecclesiastical career. This is highly relevant, as we can find different identifications in the theoretical literature through the benefices he gained (or which were claimed to by himself). László Fejérpataky identified him with *Petrus de Monasterio*,<sup>16</sup> János Temesváry with *Petrus Knol*,<sup>17</sup> the subsequent bishop of Transylvania. While Gerhard Schindler identified him with a poor diocesan clerical from Prague,<sup>18</sup> Stanisław Szczur supposes his Hungarian origins.<sup>19</sup>

Regarding his benefices, it is suitable to begin with his prebendal stall in Eger and his archdeaconry in Szabolcs, as these two benefices were indicated in the bull of his nomination, which dates back to 12 February, 1372.<sup>20</sup> In the volume, in which the reference book of the medieval archdeacons of Eger was published, a certain Peter appears only between the years of 1370 and 1372.<sup>21</sup> Due to this factor, I considered it necessary to examine the *series dignitatum* of the diplomas issued by the chapter in Eger. In the charters, which were issued between 1361 and 1377 in privilegial form, an archdeacon called Peter appears between 1363 and 1374.<sup>22</sup> If we supplement the documents issued

<sup>16</sup> FEJÉRPATAKY, *Pápai adószedők*, p. 604, Annotation 1. His statement was accepted by Kabos KANDRA, *A római katolikus egyház Szabolcs vármegyében*, in *Magyarország vármegyéi és városa Szabolcs vármegye*, ed. Samu Borovszky, Budapest 1900, p. 338; Péter NÉMETH, *A szabolcsi főesperesség a középkorban*, Nyíregyháza 1990, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> JÁNOS TEMESVÁRY, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, Kolozsvár 1922, pp. 234-240. – Similarly to the database which was prepared by the provosts of the Sigismund Era: NORBERT C. TÓTH: *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája 1387-1437*, Budapest 2013, pp. 32, 83.

<sup>18</sup> GERHARD SCHINDLER, *Das Breslauer Domkapitel von 1341-1417. Untersuchungen über die Verfassungsgeschichte und persönliche Zusammensetzung*, Breslau 1938, p. 353.

<sup>19</sup> MPV IX/3, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

<sup>20</sup> ASV, Reg. Vat. 264, f. 93<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Béla KOVÁCS, *Az egri egyházmegye története 1596-ig*, Eger 1987, p. 46. – For the detailed archontology of the chapter (after the period examined in this present paper) see: NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Az egri káptalan archontológiája 1387-1526*, in «Turul», 88 (2015), pp. 48-71.

<sup>22</sup> I do not list all the information concerning the 42 charters, I only mention the diplomas, which contain the name of Peter: 1363 January 2, (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár [=MNL OL DL] 5185); 1364 May 8, (MNL OL Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [=MNL OL DF] 269077); 1364 May 17, (MNL OL DL 89370); 1364 May 29, (MNL OL DL 5319); 1365 January 1, (MNL OL DL 41610); 1365 April 14, (MNL OL DL 4732); 1366 January 13, (MNL OL DL 105575, 105576); 1367 July 24, (MNL OL DF 210260); 1369 August 27, (MNL OL DL 83318); 1370 September 3, (*A Zichy és Vászonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára* [=Zichy], 12 vols., ed. Iván Nagy et al., Budapest 1871-1931, III, p. 405); 1370 November 27, (MNL OL DL 89408); 1371 January 1, (MNL OL DL 1940); 1371 June 29, (MNL OL DL 5947); 1371 December 20, (MNL OL DL 85403); 1372 January 31, (MNL OL DL 1163); 1373 June 10, (MNL OL DL 1163); 1373 November 22, (MNL OL DL 104936); 1373 November 29, (MNL OL DL 6159); 1373 December 8, (MNL OL DL 5988); 1374 March 29, (MNL OL DL 6193, 6194).

in Eger between 1372 and 1375 with the data of the documents of the Holy See,<sup>23</sup> it is unquestionable that Peter, archdeacon of Szabolcs is identical with Peter, the son of Stephan. In the source base of the Vatican he often appears as the canon of Eger, and between October, 1375 and February, 1376 he is mentioned three times as a beneficiary of Eger and as the archdeacon of (Aba) Újvár.<sup>24</sup> Although, for the archdeaconry of Újvár, he gained a provisional bull from Pope Gregory XI,<sup>25</sup> he did not manage to fill in this position.<sup>26</sup> Summing up the above mentioned information, we are able to state that Peter, the son of Stephen was active between 1372 and 1375 as canon of Eger, archdeacon of Szabolcs<sup>27</sup> as well as papal nuncio and collector. To the question of the exact date, when he gained the previous stall and function, I will return later in this study.

Regarding the chronological order, his positions that followed were one of the prebendal stalls in the cathedral chapter of Esztergom and the magistracy in the Virgin Mary chapel of the local cathedral.<sup>28</sup> These benefices were donated (*motu proprio*) to Peter by the pope in June, 1373.<sup>29</sup> In the same year, in October, the mandate of Pope Gregory XI was *dilecto filio Petro Stephani canonico Strigoniensi* written to him.<sup>30</sup> In Peter's command addressed to the

<sup>23</sup> 1372 February 12, (ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 264, f. 93<sup>v</sup>); 1372 May 10, (*Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam illustrantia* [= VMHH], 2 vols., ed. Augustinus Theiner, Roma 1859-1860, II, n. 229); 1372 October 12, (BP II, n. 1919-1920); 1372 October 25, (VMHH II, n. 256.); 1372 November 2, (ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 264, f. 163<sup>v</sup>); 1372 November 9, (*Cameralia* I, n. 77); 1372 December 1, (VMHH II, n. 264); 1373 November 22, (ASV, *Instr. Misc.* 2782); 1375 May 9, (*Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentium finitimarum historiam illustrantia* [= VMPL], 4 vols., ed. Augustinus Theiner, Roma 1860-1864, vol I, n. 972.).

<sup>24</sup> 1375 October 19, (*Cameralia* I, n. 473); 1376 January 27, (BP II, n. 2309); 1376 February 1, (VMHH II, n. 313)

<sup>25</sup> VMHH II, n. 313.

<sup>26</sup> The leader of the archdeaconate was a certain George after 1372. Between 1376 and 1379, the leader was a person called John. Cfr. KOVÁCS, *Az egri egyházmegye*, p. 41.

<sup>27</sup> It is not known, how Péter Németh determined the end of his archdeaconry of Szabolcs in 1382, because its reference concerning the sources and the theoretical literature does not contain information related to this issue. (NÉMETH, *A szabolcsi főesperesség*, p. 9). Mentioned on the list of witnesses (or testing clause) of the chapter's charters (after the 29 March 1374) a certain Lőrinc, archdeacon of Szabolcs, is mentioned for the first time on the 10 April 1383. (MNL OL DL 77875.)

<sup>28</sup> Ferenc KOLLÁNYI, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100-1900*, Esztergom 1900, p. 66.; NORBERT C. TÓTH, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan archontológiája* (manuscript).

<sup>29</sup> The related stalls became vacant after the death of the papal chaplain *Petrus Stephani* (with an identical name). Its donation happened on the 13 June, 1373. MVH I/1, p. 469.

<sup>30</sup> 1373 October 16: *A Pannonbalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, I-XII/B, ed. László Erdélyi, Pongrácz Sörös, Budapest 1902-1916 (= PRT), II, n. 200. Due to a misprint, instead of the name *Strigoniensi* we find *Sagoniensi* in the publication, which is incorrect. It is another issue, that on the 12<sup>nd</sup> of November, he gained an order in the Apostolic Chamber as the prebend of Eger. (ASV, *Cam. Ap., Collect.* 358, f. 155<sup>rv</sup>) This reinforces the fact, that he enjoyed the benefice of Eger (as well as the archdeaconate of Szabolcs) during this period of time as well.

*subcollector* of Győr between the 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1373 and 21 March, 1374, he only indicated the canonry of Esztergom, which proves the holding of this office.<sup>31</sup> The duration of his office in Esztergom can be determined by a pious donation, which was given by him. It turns out from a royal charter, which dates back to the February of 1392, that Peter, the son of Stephen, former provost of Dömös, canon of Esztergom and the master of the Blessed Virgin Mary altar (who filled in the rectorate of the previously-mentioned altar for 17 years), placed a sanctuary lamp on the altar.<sup>32</sup> On the bases of these details, his canonry and rectorate of the altar in Esztergom can be determined to be between 1373 and 1390.<sup>33</sup>

It is worth taking a closer look at his stall as the provost of Dömös, as the major misunderstanding of previous books can lead us back to this position. János Temesváry wrote in his monography about the bishopric of Transylvania, that the Holy See donated to Peter Knol several church benefices for his work as a collector. In this way, he obtained the provostship of Dömös (1378), which was created in the honour of Saint Margaret of Antiochia. After that, he gained the archdeaconry of Pata (1384), which belonged to the cathedral chapter of Eger and the episcopate in Transylvania, which meant the culmination of his career. The cleric, who had graduated in law, finally gave up his episcopal function and supervised the convent of the Order of Saint John in Esztergom (1392).<sup>34</sup>

The reconstruction of the undoubtedly successful career is actually the result of the contamination of two different people both bearing by the name of Peter.<sup>35</sup> The provostship of Dömös appeared next to the name of *Petrus*

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<sup>31</sup> The transcription of the charter of Peter remained to our age in the publication of the *subcollectors*. Unfortunately, the collector's diploma does not contain dates, while in the publications of his deputies, we only find the actual dates: „Datum laurini, duodecimo Kalendas mensis Aprilis” (MNL OL DF 207392, PRT II, n. 201.). László Erdélyi, who published the charter, concluded logically to the 1374 dateline of the *subcollectors* charter, as it is related to the annata payment of the abbot of Pannonhalma. For the collection of these incomes, collector Peter gained the authorization during the October of 1373. (PRT II, n. 200). The actual data in the publication is wrong (21<sup>st</sup> of April).

<sup>32</sup> 15 Februaury 1392: «Petrus Stephani [...] olim prepositus Demessiensis ac canonicus et magister altaris Beate Marie Virginis in ecclesia Strigoniensis [...] ad nostre maiestatis accedens presentiam confessus est, ministerio vive vocis eo modo: quod quia ipse rectoratum dicti altaris Beate Virginis per decem et septem annos tenuisset [...] in perpetuum elemosynam pro una lampade diu noctuque ante ipsum ardente dedisset donasset et contulisset». MNL OL DF 237799; its deficient publication: *Codex diplomaticus Regni Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. Georgius FEJÉR, Budae 1828-1844, X/II, pp. 46-47.; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, 12 vols., ed. Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, Tibor Neumann, Bálint Lakatos, Budapest 1951-2013, (= ZsO), I. n. 2392.

<sup>33</sup> KOLLÁNYI, *Esztergomi kanonokok*, p. 66.; TÓTH, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan*.

<sup>34</sup> TEMESVÁRY, *Erdély középkori püspökei*, pp. 239-245.

<sup>35</sup> Due to this, the subsequent publications adapted the incorrect identification. E.g. *Romániai katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraelita vallási archontológia*, ed. György Jakubinyi,

*Stephani*, a papal collector first during the spring months of 1374.<sup>36</sup> In April 1378, he issued a receipt for the bishop of Veszprém with the indication of this same benefice.<sup>37</sup> A notarial document from November 1379 also indicates this beneficiary.<sup>38</sup> The following information concerning the benefices is only from 1391. This time, he called oneself the former (*olim*) provost of Dömös.<sup>39</sup> To the determination of him having a benefice's termination we may ascertain from a royal diploma, which was issued two years before. From this, we come know that Peter Knol (along with his brother Miklós), licenciate of the canon law, provost of Dömös and royal secret chancellor, received a landed property from the monarch.<sup>40</sup> This makes it unambiguous that *Petrus Stephani* apostolic collector did not hold the provostship of Dömös in 1389. This source gives us information about the reason for the mistaken identification of Temesváry: besides the *identical first names*, they followed each other directly in the *provostship of Dömös*. There can be no doubt in the connection of the fact, that not Peter (the collector), but Peter Knol received the episcopate of Transylvania. This is proven by the fact that his family name was indicated in the mandate regarding royal donations.<sup>41</sup> Knol appeared as an episcopal vicar in Eger in 1380. In this function he was mentioned for the last time in 1384.<sup>42</sup> In this office, he was able to make use of his knowledge of the canon law (*licentiatus in decretis*). This distinguishes him from the papal collector as well. Among the benefices of Knol, he received firstly the parish of Scenth (1380) and the rectorate of the Saint Michael chapel, which was built as a side-chapel in the cathedral of Eger (1382). These stalls were followed by the prebendary in Eger and the archdeaconry in Pata.<sup>43</sup> He held this latter position between 1383 and 1387.<sup>44</sup> As the archdeaconry of Pata appears to have been vacant on the 5

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Kolozsvár 2010, p. 25.; TÓTH, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok*, p. 32, 83; *Cameralia* I, n. 43. 10. jegyzet; TÓTH, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan*. – The career of Peter Knol were reconstructed successfully by György BÓNIS, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mobács előtti Magyarországon*, Budapest 1971, p. 96 and p. 96 footnote 1.

<sup>36</sup> 21 March 1374: «Litteras honorabilis viri domini Petri Stephani, prepositi Dimisiensis, nuncii domini nostri pape in regnis Hungarie et Polonie collectoris reddituum et annatarum domini pape recepimus». – MNL OL DF 207392, PRT II, p. 544.

<sup>37</sup> MNL OL DF 200277; MREV IV, n. 320.

<sup>38</sup> 11 November 1379: MNL OL DF 238403.

<sup>39</sup> 27 August 1391: MNL OL DF 237799; ZsO I, n. 2195.

<sup>40</sup> 1 January 1389: «honorabilis vir dominus Petrus Knol licentiatus in decretis prepositus ecclesie Demeysensis secretariusque fidelis noster cancellarius». – MNL OL DL 71901, ZsO I, n. 857.

<sup>41</sup> 27 April 1390: «Cum nos cognita fidelitatis constantia, qua venerabilis in Christo pater dominus Petrus Knol, episcopus Transylvanensis nosterque secretarius cancellarius nobis et sacro dyadematī temporibus et locis oportunitis prefuisse perhibetur». – MNL OL DL 75797.

<sup>42</sup> 29 July 1380: MNL OL DL 83373; 9 February 1384: MNL OL DL 82953, Zichy V, n. 50. sz.; István SUGÁR, *Az egri püspökök története*, Budapest 1984, p. 123.

<sup>43</sup> MNL OL DL 83373 and 60399.

<sup>44</sup> MNL OL DL 6984; KOVÁCS, *Az egri egyházmegye*, p. 54.

May, 1387,<sup>45</sup> he presumably gained the provostship of Dömös after this time, perhaps in 1387 or during the following year.<sup>46</sup> He kept this benefice until he received the episcopate of Transylvania.<sup>47</sup> Peter Knol led the Transylvanian diocese until July 1391, his episcopal seat became presumably vacant due to his death.<sup>48</sup>

Regarding the title of magister in the “convent of the Order of Saint John”,<sup>49</sup> we may draw the following picture. «*Petrus Stephani magister Sancte Trinitatis de Calidis aquis de suburbio Budensi, dicte diocesis, et sancti Stephani Regis Strigoniensis, domorum Sepulcri Dominici Jerosolimitani invicem canonicè unitarum, ordinis sancti Augustini*» appeared first during the autumn of 1390 in the papal documents.<sup>50</sup> We learn from the bull of Pope Boniface IX, that Peter, who was accused of homicide, was removed from his benefices. It is possible, that the accusation proved to be unfounded, as he possessed this benefice in February, 1392 as well.<sup>51</sup> During this time – as we have already seen it – Peter referred to his former provostship in Dömös and to his benefices in Esztergom, which makes his identification with the papal collector (by a similar name) working in the territory of Hungary and Poland unambiguous.

Apart from his church benefices in Hungary, *Petrus Stephani* possessed a canonicate in the cathedral chapter of Wrocław. In 1375, he received the prebendary in the Silesian church body after the death of Johannes Pelvos *subcollector* as a papal benefice.<sup>52</sup> The last data regarding this stall dates back to August, 1376.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, we should try to seek the answer for the above-mentioned question: how could Peter, the son of Stephen come into the horizon of the Apostolic Chamber? So that we may be able to clarify this issue, we have to return to the archdeaconry of Szabolcs. As we have already seen, he held the position of archdeacon between 1372 and 1375, which is undoubtedly the period,

<sup>45</sup> TÓTH, *Az egri káptalan*, p. 57.

<sup>46</sup> On the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1388, he participated in the investigation of an issue as a royal secret chancellor (*cancellarius secretus*) (MNL OL DL 71901; ZsO I, n. 857). However, his dignity as the provost of Dömös is not mentioned in the charter, it seems to be sure, that he had already gained it.

<sup>47</sup> 3 July 1391: MVH I/3, n. 190.; MREV II, n. 340.

<sup>48</sup> Pál ENGEL, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1437*, 2 vols., Budapest 1996, here I, pp. 70, 90.

<sup>49</sup> Actually, it is about the Stephanite Order, that is, of a medieval Hungarian Hospital Order: Károly György BOROVICZÉNY, *Cruciferi Sancti Regis Stephani. Tanulmányok a Stefaniták, egy középkori magyar ispotályos rend történetéből*, in «Orvostörténeti Közlemények, Comunicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae», 133-140 (1991-1992), pp. 7-48.

<sup>50</sup> 3 November 1390: MVH I/3, n. 99.; MREV II, n. 326.

<sup>51</sup> MNL OL DF 237799; ZsO I, n. 2392.

<sup>52</sup> 25 October 1375: MVB IV, n. 1048.

<sup>53</sup> SCHINDLER, *Das Breslauer*, p. 354.



when he worked as a collector as well. As I have referred to it, we find a person called Peter in the previously-mentioned church office since 1363.<sup>54</sup> Thus, the question is as follows: does the name of the two Peters refer to the same person? Regarding the applications, which were filed in the papal chancery, and other Apostolic Chamber documents we may observe the following things. During the summer of 1360, King Louis I made a supplication for a canonical stall in Eger for *Petrus de Monasterio*, who came from the diocese of Limoge and worked as the procurator of cardinal Guillaume de la Jugie in Hungary.<sup>55</sup> We can ascertain from the supplication that this person had already gained an assurance regarding a (unspecified) benefice in the diocese of Rouen.<sup>56</sup> During the following year, cardinal Guillaume himself requested the archdeaconsy of Szabolcs for the seak of the previously-mentioned cleric, who was not only apostrophised as his chaplain, but also his permanent table companion and his agent in Hungary.<sup>57</sup> At this time, he already possessed two prebendal benefices (one in Eger and one in Kalocsa), and he also held the position of the cantor in Kalocsa.<sup>58</sup> Besides the fact that the name of Peter archdeacon of Szabolcs can be found in the *series dignitatum* of the documents related to the place of authentication (*locus credibilis*) of Eger since January, 1363, his name appeared in two further papal bulls during the summer of 1364. In the first document, Pope Urban V (1362-1370) asked for the support of King Louis I for *Petrus de Monasterio* canon of Eger and archdeacon of Szabolcs and for *Johannes Bastardi* canon of Rouen. His aim was to send them to Hungary in order to complete some administrative errands related to the benefices of the cardinal.<sup>59</sup> The other charter gives us information about the supplication, which was submitted by queen mother Elisabeth for the sake of the Poor Clares in Obuda.<sup>60</sup> These sources make it also clear that Peter was in the papal curia of Avignon when these documents were issued. In the light of the above-mentioned points, it can be demonstrated that the beginning of the ecclesiastical career of the French clerical in Hungary can be related to cardinal Guillaume, as he arrived in the country as a member of his household.

<sup>54</sup> MNL OL DL 5185.

<sup>55</sup> 29 July 1360: *Regesta supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignoni korszak*, 2 vols, ed. Árpád Bossányi, Budapest 1916-1918, II, n. 267, 353.

<sup>56</sup> The following data is included in the publication: «Non obstante cum ... ad collationem abbatis ... monasterii Beccohelivin (?), ordinis sancti Benedicti, Rothomagensis diocesis ... expectat.» *ibid.* – I was unable to survey the original entry of the register.

<sup>57</sup> 24 August 1361: «Supplicat ... Guillelmus s. Marie in Cosmedin diaconus cardinalis, quatinus de canonicatu et prebenda ac archidiaconatu de Zobouch, in ecclesia Agriensi [...] dignemini providere Petro de Monasterio, capellano suo continuo commensali et procuratori in partibus Ungarie». – *Regesta supplicationum*, II, n. 297.

<sup>58</sup> József UDVARDY, *A kalocsai főszékeskáptalan története a középkorban*, Budapest 1992, p. 72.

<sup>59</sup> 1 July 1364: VMHH II, n. 114.

<sup>60</sup> 19 August 1364: VMHH II, n. 115.

The French Guillaume de la Jugie became the cardinal of the church Santa Maria in Cosmedin (1342) as the *nepos* of Pope Clement VI (1342-1352). After that, he was created to the presbyter cardinal of the Saint Clement Church by Pope Urban V. (1368).<sup>61</sup> He possessed several church benefices in France, in the Low Countries as well as in Hungary and Poland. Besides this, he held important positions in the church body: among others, he led a papal legation to Castile.<sup>62</sup> Certain data refers to the fact that he acted on behalf of King Louis I in the papal court related to the ecclesiastic and diplomatic issues of the Hungarian and the Polish Kingdoms.<sup>63</sup> Among the agents of Cardinal Guillaume, who worked in the Hungarian and Polish territories, we find several French clericals. They (similarly to Peter) gained several church benefices. *Petrus Begonis* of Castres has to be mentioned here, who appeared in the sources in 1345 as the familiar and chaplain of the cardinal as well as his Hungarian and Polish procurator. He probably became the closest co-worker of the cardinal, as he was the *principalis* among the agents. With the support of his distinguished patron, he gained the prebendal stalls of Wrocław (1345), Kraków (1348), Eger (1349), Esztergom (1353), Auch (1368) and Liège (1376) as well as the archdeaconry of Zemplén, Aure and Condroz. Besides this (naturally on behalf of his patron) he gained the attention of the papal Curia. First, he received the title of papal chaplain (1351) and he was appointed to the collector in the episcopate of Cologne (1364). As the councillor of the Apostolic Chamber (1369) he went on several official journeys to Northern Italy and Hungary. The successful cleric was also employed by the Hungarian King, who arrived in Avignon as a royal legate in December 1351.<sup>64</sup> The predecessor of *Petrus de Monasterio* in the archdeaconry of Szabolcs was one of the familiars of the cardinal as well, namely *Nicolaus Arnoldi*, who also belonged to the chaplains of the cardinal and the Hungarian king.<sup>65</sup> The identification of *Petrus de Monasterio* and *Petrus Stephani* might be supported by further data as well. When Pope Gregory XI asked for the support of King Louis I in May, 1372 for his newly-appointed nuncio and collector Peter, the son of Stephen, the bull referred to the acquaintance of the king and the cleric.<sup>66</sup> Five months

<sup>61</sup> HC, I, pp. 41, 51.

<sup>62</sup> For his benefices and his short biography see: Tamás FEDELES, *Die personelle Zusammensetzung des Domkapitels zu Fünfkirchen im Spätmittelalter (1354-1526)*, Regensburg 2012, pp. 437-438, n. 396.

<sup>63</sup> Péter TUSOR, *Purpura Pannonica. Az esztergomi bíborosi szék kialakulásának előzményei a 17. században*, Budapest – Róma 2005, p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> Tamás FEDELES, *Quod tales omnes et singuli (...) ad aquam projiciantur*. *Külföldiek a késő középkori Magyar Egyházban*, in *A pécsi egyházmegye vonzásában. Tanulmányok Timár György tiszteletére*, ed. Tamás Fedeles, István Horváth, Gergely Kiss, Budapest 2007, p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> *Regesta supplicationum*, II, n. 233, 271, 297.

<sup>66</sup> «... magistrum Petrum Stephani archidiaconum de Zaboth in ecclesia Agriensi, quem, ut credimus, magnificentia tua bene novit»: VMHH II, n. 229.

later, the name of *Petrus Stephani*, who worked as a vicar and procurator of the cardinal, appears in the papal document, which was addressed to Miklós Garai ban of Macsó. This bull inform us of the violation of the law related to the benefices of the provostship of Titel.<sup>67</sup> During his tax-collecting journey in Poland during the summer of 1373, he appears as the trustee of the cardinal's benefice in Wrocław.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the monastery of *Cruciferi Sancti Regis Stephani* in Felhévíz was also directed by him in the absence of cardinal Guillaume.<sup>69</sup> The French origins of Peter seem to be reinforced by thy following fact as well. In May 1372, Pope Gregory XI donated the canonical prebend of Eger (along with a reversion to a joint benefice) and the archdeaconry of Szabolcs for *Jordanus de Blanchasorf*, who also originated from the episcopate of Limoge. However, the Pope made one condition: the previously-mentioned benefices had to become vacant as a result of the peaceful occupation of the parish of Calhano in the diocese of Narbonne by *Petrus Stephani*.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, several years later Peter was in the benefice of the French parish,<sup>71</sup> and as we have seen, he possessed the archdeaconry of Szabolcs as well. It cannot be regarded as an accident that he nominated *Johannis Pelvos* as his subcollector, who not only came from the episcopate of Albi but arrived at the Carpathian Basin as the familiar and agent of cardinal Guillaume.<sup>72</sup> Information related to Pelvos also refers to the foreign origin of collector Peter. Among the expenses of his account there is an entry, according to which one of his subcollectors in Zagreb contracted a fatal illness. As a consequence he was be able to preserve his possessions according to the Hungarian traditions and sent one of his agents to protect them.<sup>73</sup>

On the bases of this information, I think that *Petrus de Monasterio* and collector *Petrus Stephani* can be considered as the same person, as it has already been stated by László Fejérpataky. In the background of his nomination as a collector, we may presume it was his patron, cardinal Guillaume de la Jugie,

<sup>67</sup> 25 October 1372: *ibid.* n. 256.

<sup>68</sup> 4 June 1373: SCHINDLER, *Das Breslauer*, p. 354.

<sup>69</sup> In a charter, issued on the 11st of November, 1379, Peter, the son of Stephan is mentioned as a late «a[d]ministrato[r] magistratus cruciferorum ecclesie sancte Trinitatis de Calidis Aquis per domino Guillelmo cardinali bone memorie». MNL OL DF 238403.

<sup>70</sup> 20 May 1372: «Jordano de Blanchasorf clerico Lemonicensis diocesis de canonicatu, sub expectatione prebende ecclesie Agriensis ac archidiaconatus de Zabouch in eadem ecclesia, dum vacabit per assecutionem pacificam parochialis ecclesie in Calhano, Narbonensis diocesis, faciendam per Petrum Stephani, XIII. kalendas Junii». MVH I/1, p. 479. – The alliance is misinterpreted by NÉMETH, *A szabolcsi főesperesség*, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> 7 February 1376: «una cum parrochiali ecclesia de Calhano Narbonensis diocesis, quam tunc temporis obtinebas». – VMHH II, n. 313.

<sup>72</sup> *Regesta supplicationum*, I, n. 431.; SCHINDLER, *Das Breslauer*, pp. 121, 137.

<sup>73</sup> «Item quia michi relatam fuerat, quod subcollector in Zagrabia erat infirmus ad mortem, ne bona sua more Ungarico alienarentur, misi unum hominem meum pro conservatione bonorum et rerum, que pro camera habebat et habere debeat [...]»: MVH I/1, p. 463.

who paved the way for him in Hungary at the beginning of his career. After the death of his patron (1374), Peter remained in the service of the Apostolic Chamber and (as is apparent from his account) his work proved to be effective. Although he did not become the bishop's mitre, his functions during his three-decade-long ecclesiastical career fastened his financial security and high esteem. He finished his life as the *religiosus frater* and master of the House of the Stephanite Order in Felhévíz and Esztergom sometimes after 15 February, 1392.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Nándor KNÁUZ, *A Jánoslovagok Esztergomban*, in «Magyar Sion», 3 (1865), pp. 739-740.

## APPENDIX

## Ecclesiastical career of the two Peters

## 1) PETRUS DE MONASTERIO

Canon of Eger (1360–1376)	29 July 1360 ( <i>Regesta supplicationum</i> II, n. 353.) 1 February 1376 (VMHH II, n. 313.)
Cantor of Kalocsa (1361)	24 August 1361 ( <i>Regesta supplicationum</i> II, n. 297.)
Archdeacon of Szabolcs (1361-1375)	24 August 1361 ( <i>Regesta supplicationum</i> II, n. 297.) 9 May 1375 (VMPL n. 972.)
Apostolic nuncio and collector (1372-1378)	10 February 1372 (ASV, <i>Reg. Vat.</i> 264, f. 93 <sup>r</sup> ) 8 April 1378 (MNL OL DF 200277; MREV IV, n. 320.)
Parish of Calhano (1372-1376)	Before 20 May 1372 (MVH I/1, p. 479.) 7 February 1376 (VMHH II, n. 313.)
Canon and the master of the Virgin Mary Altar in Esztergom (1373-1390)	13 June 1373 (MVH I/1, p. 469.) 1390 (MNL OL DF 237799; ZsO I, n. 2392.)
Provost of Dömös (1374-1379)	21 March 1374 (MNL OL DF 207392; PRT II, p. 544.) 11 November 1379 (MNL OL DF 238403)
Canon of Wrocław (1375–1376)	25 October 1375 (MVB IV, n. 1048.) 6 August 1376 (SCHINDLER, <i>Das Breslauer</i> , p. 121.)
master of the House of Stephanite Order in Felhévíz and Esztergom	3 November 1390 (MVH I/3, p. 99.) 15 February 1392 (MNL OL DF 237799; ZsO I, n. 2392.)

## 2) PETER KNOL

Parish priest of Scenth (1380)	29 July 1380 (MNL OL DL 83373) 11 October 1380 (Zichy IV, n. 141)
Vicar of the bishop of Eger (1380-1384)	29 July 1380 (MNL OL DL 83373) 9 February 1384 (MNL OL DL 82953; Zichy V, n. 50.)

Rector of the Szent Michael Altar in Eger (1382)	13 January 1382 (MNL OL DL 60399)
Canon of Eger, archdeacon of Pata (1383-1387)	14 February 1383 (MNL OL DL 6984) Before 5 May 1387 (C. TÓTH, <i>Az egri káptalan</i> , p. 57.)
Provost of Dömös (1387/1388?-1389)	1 January 1389 (MNL OL DL 71901; ZsO I, n. 857.)
Bishop of Transylvania (1389-1391)	14 June 1389 ( <i>Cameralia</i> I, n. 100) 21 July 1391 (ENGEL, <i>Archontológia</i> I, p. 70.)