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## *Pro salute anime.* Holy Mass and salvation of the nobility in late medieval Hungary

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### Abstract

FEDELES, Tamás. *Pro salute anime.* Holy Mass and salvation of the nobility in late medieval Hungary.

The people of the Medieval era strived to ensure salvation for themselves, their ancestors and their descendants in any way their social and financial status permitted. One possible means to this end was available through Mass-endowments. The current study is based on an analysis of 85 Mass-endowments from 34 Hungarian aristocratic families (1406 – 1531). Besides barons, family members—and particularly their widows and descendants—are covered in the scope of this research. The primary goal of endowed Masses was to provide peace to the soul of the deceased during the transition period between death and Final Judgement, which was thought to be ensured through a continuity of Masses and prayers. This was best achieved by foundations for “eternal times,” proven by the fact that the majority of Mass orders analysed here are perpetual foundations. Daily Masses were the most popular request among the founders, followed by those celebrated weekly. Though sometimes even more Masses were ordered in a week, this cannot be considered typical for the Hungarian aristocracy. The total number of annual and anniversary Masses is rather low, and some bits of information can even be found on series of Masses. Almost half of the foundations were created in monastery churches of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit. Though the confraternity of the Franciscans proved to be very popular among the barons, the number of Mass-endowments which were established at this order was lower. Regarding the other mendicant orders, one endowment was created in a monastery owned by the Dominicans, and one more in a monastery established for the members of the Order of St. Augustine. Monastic orders came only from the Benedictines, while the communities of prebends came from the Order of Augustine as well as the Premonstratensians. Concerning Masses which were ordered by secular clericals, priests of parish-churches were favoured by the members of distinguished families, followed by cathedrals and chapels.

“The Mass is the best alms and it has several effects: first, because it is a remedy for the sins of the world; second, because it is the tree of life in the midst of paradise; third, because it unites us daily sacramentally and spiritually to Christ; fourth, because it reminds us of Christ’s passion.”<sup>1</sup>—1426 Mass foundation charter letter issued for Nicholas Frankopan. This brief summary of the benefits of Mass written by the clerk of the Senj Chapter is a recurrent theme

1 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* X/6 (CDH). Edited by Georgius Fejér. Budae : Typis typogr. regiae universitatis ungaricae, 1844, pp. 847–848, no. 391: “...nulla elemosyna prevalet Misse, que plures habet effectus, primus quia est medicina contra peccata mundana; secundus, ut lignum vite sit in medio paradisi; tertio, ut Christo nobis quotidie uniatur sacramentaliter, et nos ei spiritualiter; quarto, ut apud nos sit iugis memoria passionis Christi.”

in the works of medieval theologians. In all likelihood, the good clerk took inspiration from the most famous medieval theological manual in the cathedral library, the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, in inscribing the above quotation.<sup>2</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it was common practice for believers to offer material goods to the church for sins committed. These offerings, known collectively as indulgence (*pro remedio anime, pro salute anime, pro refrigerio anime*),<sup>3</sup> were considered meritorious acts intended to reduce the time one's soul spent in purgatory. The disciples, including the magnates, sought to secure a way to salvation (*via salutis*) for themselves and their families through the Church and as such, according to the well-known “*do ut des*” principle, the nobility invested heavily in the foundation or support of ecclesiastical institutions, expecting clerics to offer Masses for them and their families in return in order to ensure their own memory as well as spiritual salvation. As Holy Mass was considered to have a particularly meritorious effect, there was an observable late medieval rise in the popularity of Mass foundations among the Hungarian lords. This study examines this phenomenon, one of the many manifestations of devotion of late medieval Hungarian aristocracy, the foundation of Masses.

## The medieval Mass

Mass has been central to the life of Christian people since the foundation of the Church.<sup>4</sup> In addition to public worship (*missa publica, missa generalis, missa maior*), a new style emerged in the early Middle Ages when priests began to offer the sacrifice of Mass for a single person, a specific group, or a specific intention (*missa specialis, missa votiva, missa privata*), in exchange for certain donations.<sup>5</sup> Seeking to ensure their own remembrance and spiritual salvation, the nobility invested heavily in founding or supporting monasteries, churches, hospitals, chapels and altars, where clerics celebrated Masses for them and their families.

2 FEDELES, Tamás. *Devóció és reprezentáció. Főúri vallásosság a késő középkorban*. Pécs : Pécsi Történettudományért Kult. Egyes., 2021, p. 56, footnote 175: “Ad tertiam quaestionem dicendum, quod secundum Innocentium, quinque de causis quotidie Missa in Ecclesia celebratur. Primo, quia oportet semper esse paratam medicinam contra quotidiana peccata. Secundo, ut lignum vitae semper sit in medio Paradisi. Tertio, ut nobis quotidie Christus uniatur sacramentaliter, et nos ei spiritualiter. Quarto, ut sit apud nos vigil memoria passionis. Quinto, ut vero agno loco typici quotidie utamur ad vesperam; quoniam Judaei ad vesperam convertendi esurient, secundum illud Psalm. 58, 15: convertentur ad vesperam, et famem patientur ut canes.”

3 MURARIK, Antal. A lélekváltság (*Donum pro salute animae*). In *Regnum*, 1937, vol. 2, pp. 155–167; JARITZ, Gerhard. Die Ordnung der Gabe. Spätmittelalterliche Seelgeräte, Alltagsbeeinflussung und die Relevanz des Details. In BRUNNER, Meinhard – PFERSCHY, Gerhard – OBERSTEINER, Gernot P. (eds.) *Rutengänge. Studien zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde. Festgabe für Walter Brunner zum 70. Geburtstag*. Graz : Das Land Steiermark; Historische Landeskommision für Steiermark, 2010, pp. 79–85.

4 FRANZ, Adolph. *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volksleben*. Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, p. 10; MIHÁLYFI, Ákos. *A nyilvános Istentisztelet*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 1933, pp. 375–377; PÁSZTOR, Lajos. *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagelló-korban*. Budapest : Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2000 (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1940), p. 66.

5 ANGENENDT, Arnold. *Missa specialis*. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen. In *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1983, vol. 17, pp. 178–181; ANGENENDT, Arnold. *Offertorium. Das mitterarterliche Meßopfer*. Münster : Aschendorff Verlag, 2013, pp. 104–113.

The doctrine of the special benefits of Mass (*utilitates, virtutes, fructus missae*) formed the dogmatic basis for founding Masses. The benefits, or “fructi,” were acquired when priests offered the sacrifice for living or deceased persons, or for intentions set out in the foundation.<sup>6</sup> In the twilight of the Middle Ages, the real impact of the ideals and benefits of the Mass on the faithful was a common theme in sermons.<sup>7</sup> In one of his speeches, Pelbartus Temesvári listed the values conveyed by the Holy Mass in ten points. Among these we find “relief from the suffering of purgatory,” “escape from eternal damnation” and finally, of course, “the attainment of eternal life.” Pelbartus Temesvári’s contemporary, Osvaldus Lasco, also a Franciscan, pointed out in one of his sermons that a Holy Mass founded during one’s life for one’s own spiritual salvation is much more effective than a Mass initiated by others after death. Believers then from all walks of life—more than ever before in the decades preceding the Reformation—made efforts to ensure that in their last hour, they had at least enough earthly goods to found a Mass.<sup>8</sup> Hardly any medieval wills exist in which the testator did not make at least one provision for funeral Masses or other liturgical act after death.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of founding Masses in late medieval times is illustrated aptly in the example of Nicolas Rolin (†1462), chancellor to Prince Philip the Good of Burgundy, whose name is widely known, especially through a panel painting by Jan van Eyck.<sup>10</sup> He first established three chaplaincies in the Our Lady of Autun Church (1426). In return for an annual stipend of sixty pounds, the chaplains were required to offer one Mass a day for the salvation of the chancellor and his ancestors buried in the church. In the cathedral of Autun, he ordered an anniversary Mass with a procession during Lent for his own and his deceased wife’s salvation (1427). Two years later, he again founded an anniversary Mass in the same church in return for a donation of wine and bread to the clergy of the cathedral. Similar foundations were also made in the priory of Val-Saint-Benoît (1438) and in Chalon-sur-Saône. In the Celestine monastery of Avignon, Rolin and his son, who was by then bishop of Autun, founded a chapel where one of the monks celebrated Mass for them, the chancellor’s deceased wife and their relatives every day (1446). In the parish church dedicated to Our Lady in the castle of Autun, he founded a co-chaplaincy and issued a statute for the collegiate church chosen as a burial place, regulating the order of the presentation of the Masses in detail (1450).<sup>11</sup>

6 PUZA, Richard. Meßstipendium. In *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VI. München : J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2003, pp. 564–565; MÖRSDORF, Karl. Meßstipendium. In *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VII. (LThK). Freiburg : Herder, 1986, pp. 354–355.

7 ISERLOH, Erwin. Der Wert der Messe in der Diskussion der Theologen vom Mittelalter bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. In *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1961, vol. 83, pp. 44–79; JUNGSMANN, Josef Andreas. *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe I*. Wien : Verlag Herder, 1958, p. 170; FRANZ 1963, pp. 38–44; MIHÁLYFI 1933, pp. 380–385; ANGENENDT 2013, pp. 451–452.

8 PÁSZTOR 2000, pp. 70, 77–78.

9 MEYER, Hans Bernhard. *Luther und die Messe*. Paderborn : Verlag Bonifacius-Druckerei, 1965, p. 131.

10 *The Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* (1435, Louvre Museum in Paris).

11 KAMP Norbert. *Memoria und Selbstdarstellung. Die Stiftungen des burgundischen Kanzlers Rolin*. Sigmaringen : Thorbecke, 1993, pp. 29–32, 44–45, 328–344.

## Testaments and other sources

Surviving charters and diplomas provide the primary source base for the study of Mass foundations by the late medieval Hungarian aristocracy. Wills are the starting point, but these documents are not the only source of value for the present research.<sup>12</sup> Among the 69 diplomas examined, only 16 contain testaments (23%), since in the majority of cases, the diplomas contain information on alms and gifts of spiritual blessings.<sup>13</sup> Some of the charters issued by monastic orders, especially the Pauline generals, also commemorate the celebration of Masses for benefactors.<sup>14</sup> In the case of monks, works on the history of the order are also worth interrogating—specifically the compilations of Pauline Gregory Gyöngyösi<sup>15</sup> and Dominican Antonius Fabri from Segesvár deserve a mention. The latter has been preserved for posterity in, among other things, the text of the rich Mass-foundation of Nicholas Bethlen (1498).<sup>16</sup> Among the entries in liturgical books, especially those made as missals, information can be found on the founding of Masses.<sup>17</sup> For the nobility, one of the most valuable is undoubtedly the missal of Balthazar Batthyány, written at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which contains transcripts of the votive Masses that the lord of the manor had said and heard.<sup>18</sup>

Considering the sources available in Hungary from the late Middle Ages, it is not surprising that we find information on Mass foundations mostly in surviving documents of the burghers, primarily in wills.<sup>19</sup> The corpus of wills of

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- 12 On wills, refer to: JARITZ, Gerhard. A végrendeletek és a városi mindennapi élet: A Duna-völgy példája a késő-középkorban. In *Soproni Szemle*, 1999, vol. 53, pp. 325–330; KUBINYI, András. Főúri és nemesi végrendeletek a Jagelló-korban. In *Soproni Szemle*, 1999, vol. 53, pp. 331–342; SZENDE, Katalin. A magyarországi városi végrendeletek helye az európai joggyakorlatban. (A középkori Sopron, Pozsony és Eperjes példája.) In *Soproni Szemle*, 1999, vol. 53, pp. 343–356; SOLYMOSI, László. Középkori végrendeleteink forrásértékéről. In *Tiszatáj*, 1974, vol. 28, no. 6, pp. 26–29; SOLYMOSI, László. Két középkor végi testamentum Szabolcs vármegyéből. In KOVÁCS, Ágnes (ed.) *Emlékkönyv Rácz István 70. születésnapjára*. Debrecen : Multimix Kft., 1999, pp. 203–225.
- 13 MAJOROSSY, Judit. *Church in Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills*. Doctoral thesis. Budapest : CEU, 2006, p. 166.
- 14 E.g. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (MNL OL DL), sign. 9912; 16 869; 39 172 and Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (MNL OL DF), sign. 288 304. The fact that both the Pauline and Franciscan formularies contain such texts is an indication of their widespread use. *Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Heremite. Texteditio des pauliner-Formulariums aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Cod. Lat. 131. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Budapest)*. Mit einem Anhang: *Fragmentum formularium Strigoniensis Paulinorum*. Edited by Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2013, pp. 73–74; *Die Formelsammlungen der Franziskaner-Observanten in Ungarn (ca. 1451 – 1554)*. Edited by Antal Molnár. Roma : Editiones Collegii S. Benaventurae, 2022.
- 15 GYÖNGYÖSI, Gregorius. *Vitae fratrum eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*. Edited by Franciscus L. Hervay. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- 16 IPOLYI, Arnold. Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez III. In *Magyar Sion*, 1867, vol. 5, pp. 602–603.
- 17 RADÓ, Polikárp. *Nyomtatott liturgikus könyveink kézírásos bejegyzéseink. Különlenyomat a Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Főiskola 1942/43-iki Évkönyvéből*. Budapest : Kiadja A. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1944, pp. 10–11, 18; RÓMER Flóris. Klempai ájtatos misealapítványok. In *Győri történeti és régészeti füzetek*, 1861, vol. 1, pp. 60–61.
- 18 RADÓ, Polikárp. Battyhány Boldizsár misekönyvének hitelessége. In *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1941, vol. 65, pp. 32–149.
- 19 A good example on the use of the missal is an analysis of the Vác Goldsmith Guild's textbook. Cf. CSUKOVITS, Enikő. Emlékezés élőkről és holtakról. *Misekönyv-használat és polgári vallásosság*. In MIKÓ, Gábor – PÉTERFI, Bence – VADAS, András (eds.) *Tiszteletkör. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*. Budapest : ELTE, 2012, pp. 311–318.

the citizens of Bratislava is outstanding in this respect,<sup>20</sup> detailing a number of Mass foundations among other things.<sup>21</sup> In addition to or in connection with pious donations, wealthier citizens also sought to ensure the salvation of themselves and their families by ordering Holy Masses.<sup>22</sup> Given the amount of urban sources—approximately 2000 civil testaments survive from the period before 1526<sup>23</sup>—it is not surprising that the devolution of this social stratum, or certain segments of it, has attracted the most attention of researchers.<sup>24</sup> Such interest is all the more understandable since copies of the documents containing wills are usually kept in a single volume (*protocollum testamentorum*), so collection does not create additional work for historians.

It goes without saying that the upper classes of society, including the nobility, sought to ensure a path to salvation for their ancestors and their descendants as well as themselves in accordance with their rank and financial means. One method was donations made for the presentation of a Holy Mass. Especially in the baronial families of the noble elite, efforts were made to prepare for the afterlife, which, in addition to personal faith and accepted social patterns and expectations, were mainly provided by appropriate existential circumstances. Research of Hungarian aristocratic Mass foundations is certainly not the most popular topic due to the difficulty of finding and collecting sources. The number of noble wills is significantly lower than the number of civil wills, largely due to the mentality of medieval noble society which preferred a verbal form of the will and the inheritance system of the time. The number of noble wills written before 1526 is estimated at around 100.<sup>25</sup> Even if this seems low, is undoubtedly well below the number of civil wills and understandably, the number of surviving nobility wills is even smaller. Indicatively, only 13 of the 50 wills of nobles and noblemen (26%) collected by András Kubinyi from the Jagello period can be attributed to the aristocracy.<sup>26</sup> Research is greatly hampered by the fact that relevant sources on the subject are rather sporadic,

20 In total, 901 wills remain. For this, see: *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427) – 1529. Teil 1: 1410 – 1487, Teil 2: 1487 – 1529* (PT). Edited by Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende. Wien; Köln; Weimar : Böhlau Verlag, 2010 – 2014.

21 For an analysis, refer to: MAJOROSSY 2006, pp. 139–216; MAJOROSSY, Judit. *Ad beneficium ecclesiae: Középkori városi oltárjavadalmam felszereltsége*. In NEMERKÉNYI, Előd (ed.) *Magistrae discipuli. Tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére*. Budapest : Argumentum, 2009, pp. 215–233. For a summary of the relationship between the burghers and church institutions, see: CEVINS, Marie-Madeleine. *Az egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2003. pp. 148–164.

22 ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix F. „*Meretur vestre devocionis affectus...*”. Egy vallásos középkori budai polgár – Söptei Péter kancelláriai jegyző. In ROMHÁNYI Beatrix F. et al. (eds.) „*Es tu scholaris*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára*. Budapest : Budapesti Történelmi Múzeum, 2004, pp. 37–44.

23 PT, p. 6.

24 In addition to the works mentioned in footnote 32, the bibliography of which contains the references of the previous editions, see: BERTA, Péter. A túlélők teendői. (Posztmortális szolgálatok rendje későközépkori városaink vallásos közösségeiben). In *Századok* 1998, vol. 132, no. 4, pp. 765–792. Mass foundation was a rather rare practice among rural burghers, who were legally serfs. It was only relatively common among the wealthier citizens. Cf. GULYÁS, László Szabolcs. *Mezővárosi polgárok kegyes adományai a középkorban*. In BÁRÁNY, Attila – PAPP, Klára – SZÁLKAI, Tamás (eds.) *Debrecen város 650 éves. Várostörténelmi tanulmányok*. Debrecen : Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézet, 2011, pp. 195–196.

25 PT, p. 6.

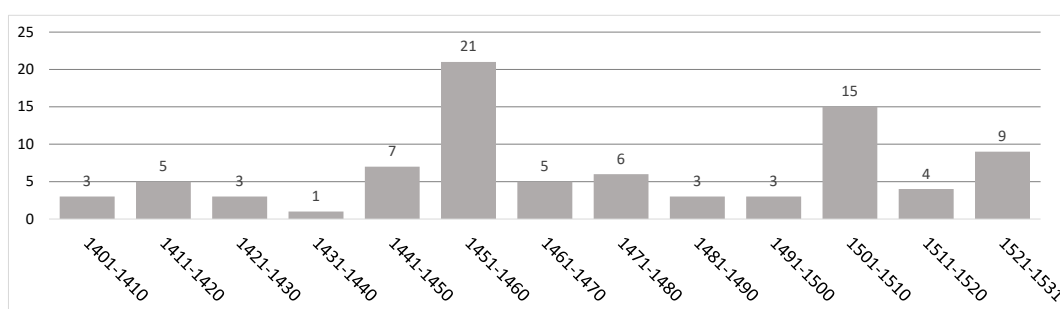
26 KUBINYI 1999, p. 331.

which makes the process of collecting material rather time-consuming, and even the most persistent work is unlikely to be complete. Nevertheless, an analysis of the 85 Mass foundations examined for the present study allows for some nuance and polish to the picture drawn by previous research.<sup>27</sup>

## Clients of the Mass foundations

The period covered in this analysis extends from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the first third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Sixty-nine sources containing Mass foundations were identified in the course of continuing collection activity source on the subject of late medieval Hungarian aristocratic religiosity, the first of which dates from 1406 and the last from 1531.

**Chart 1.** Distribution of Mass foundations over time



Dividing the period into shorter time segments, two decades stand out. The large number of foundations in the years 1451 – 1460 was provided by John Marcali, who ordered Masses in no fewer than 16 different ecclesiastical institutions in his will. After that, the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century also saw a greater number. This is not supported by a cumulative provision similar to the previous one, but by three foundations each by Beatrice Frankopan and the Zápolya family. In conclusion, it is clear that throughout the period in question, orders by the nobility were typical and in light of the material analysed, it seems that there was an increasing trend in the years 1441 – 1480 and as well from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

As regards to the families studied, the selection criterion was baronial rank. Those who can be identified as baronial dignitaries and their family members, mainly surviving widows and descendants, were included. In the 69 cases examined, a total of 82 members from 34 families contributed to the foundation of Masses. In keeping with the social norms of the time, the majority of the founders were men, and in some cases, several people founded together, making a total of 69 men (84%) and 13 women (16%).

## Frequency and Purpose of the Masses

According to the late medieval beliefs, since Masses presented for a specific purpose were considered the most valuable for the relief of purgatorial suffering,

<sup>27</sup> The most important details of the sources (date, reference, publication, founders) are given in the appendix. In the interest of space, sources are referred to in the notes only where necessary.

members of the Hungarian aristocracy also sought to determine the number and purpose of Masses in such a way that would best serve their own salvation as well as that of their relatives. Following is an examination of the frequency and purpose of the Masses ordered.

The primary goal of these Masses was to provide peace to the soul of the deceased during the transition period between death and the Final Judgment, which was intended to be ensured through a continuity of Masses and prayers, thought to be best achieved by foundations for “eternal times.” It is not surprising then that perpetual Mass foundations account for the vast majority (83 – 97.6%) of the Masses analysed. There are only two exceptions; Catherine Hédervári asked her husband to say two unique Masses in her will and the second example is a provision for a fixed term—Emeric Czobor of Czoborszentmihály sold his house in Dlhá Street in Bratislava to the local chapter for 220 florins, the purchase price of which was repaid by the canonry community at the rate of five florins per year, including two Masses per week until the full amount was paid. A simple calculation shows that this particular Mass foundation was ordered for a period of 44 years.

**Table 1.** Frequency of Masses

Frequency	Number	%
daily	41	43.6
weekly	28	30
twice per week	4	4.3
three times per week	1	1
four times per week	1	1
yearly	4	4.3
anniversary-related	3	3.2
series	5	5.3
other	1	1
unknown	6	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>

As for the frequency of Masses, the table above shows that daily Masses were the most popular among founders, followed by weekly. There were only a few Mass foundations scheduled for two to four times a week, and the number of annual and anniversary Masses was also quite low. In none of the cases do we find the 1/7/30 day schedule, a common practice in

Western Europe and which, it seems, was only chosen by the burghers in the Carpathian Basin, as the example of Bratislava shows.<sup>28</sup> The only exception to a daily celebration of the Mass was the *Triduum Sacrum*, when the focus of the liturgical action was on preparations for Easter.<sup>29</sup> The Cudar brothers of Ónod decreed in 1465 that the Paulines of Sajólád had to celebrate a funeral Mass every day except Easter, the Ascension of Jesus Christ, Pentecost, Lord’s Day, Assumption, All Saints’ Day and Christmas, but the dead and their families still must be prayed for on these days.

28 MAJOROSSY 2006, p. 142.

29 Easter is the most important feast of the Catholic Church, when the redemptive death and resurrection of Jesus are commemorated. During the three holy days from Holy Mass on Maundy Thursday evening to Easter Sunday evening, the liturgy focuses on the foundation of the sacrament (the Last Supper), the suffering and death on the cross of the Messiah and finally, and his resurrection. At this time, according to canonical prescriptions, no Mass may be offered for any other intention. On Good Friday there is no Holy Mass. Cf. VÁRNAGY, Antal. *Liturgika. Abaliget : Lämpás*, 1993, pp. 387–393. Nevertheless, in the material analysed, there is one occasion when a Mass was celebrated during Easter. Cf. MNL OL DL 34 623.

Of course, the actual number of ordered Masses was much higher than the table shows because the series of foundations changes the data significantly.<sup>30</sup> The Bánfi brothers of Lendava founded a series of 40 Masses in 1487 and 35 the following year. In her will, Catherine Hédervári gave her husband the right to say seven Masses before her death and 40 Masses after.<sup>31</sup> In a will written before the cataclysm at Mohács, Antonius Pálóci ordered the celebration of a hundred Masses a year for the clergy of the Sárospatak parish for the salvation of his family. It should also be mentioned here that Wilhelm of Forchtenstein and his wife asked for a total of three *missa specialis*, which are included in the “other” category.

**Table 2.** Mass series of the Bánfi brothers of Lendava

Purpose	1487	1488
Christ's Passion	5	5
The Seven Sorrows of Mary	7	7
The Holy Trinity	3	3
St. Catherine and St. Barbara	2	–
12 Apostles	1	1
Sins	3	3
St. Nicholas	3	3
St. Margaret	3	3
St. Fabian and St. Sebastian	2	2
Mourning Mass	3	3
Parents	2	2
Three Kings	2	2
All Saints' Day	3	–
James Bánfi	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>35</b>

In some cases, the founders did not specify the exact number of Masses requested, which is not unusual for regular foundations.<sup>32</sup> It seems this is the case of the foundation of John Marcali at the Franciscan monastery of Segesd as well. In his will, he gave five plots of land for the purpose of “enriching the Masses” (*divina augmentur officia*) ordered by his ancestors, which are not specified in the document.<sup>33</sup>

The wording indicates that, along with confirmation of the provision made by his ancestors, Marcali was seeking to secure the financial backing of the foundation for the future, i.e. it was not a new foundation. From the wording it can also be assumed that this was a way of increasing the solemnity of the liturgy, which also served to maintain the memory of the family and to raise its prestige. Such intention is understandable, since the monastery church also served as the family burial place.<sup>34</sup>

30 These series foundations were usually linked to monasteries. In the Middle Ages, only one Mass could be celebrated by priests, but the larger clerical community in monastic houses could fulfil such requirements. SOLYMOSI 1999, p. 213.

31 Lajos Pásztor speculated that the practice of saying Mass before death became known in the Carpathian Basin as an effect of the practice that was considered common in German areas. It is believed here, however, that this measure, which is indeed a rarity in Hungary, can be duly justified on the one hand by the symbolic meaning of the number seven (e.g. seven sacraments, the days of the week) and on the other hand—with reference to the above-mentioned Laskai sermon—by the assumption of the greater effectiveness of Holy Mass celebrated while still alive, which was also known in Hungary. Cf. PÁSZTOR 2000, p. 80.

32 PÁSZTOR 2000, p. 84.

33 *Marcali történetének Mohács előtti dokumentumai I.* Edited by József Gál. Marcali : Marcali Város Önkormányzatának Helytörténeti Múzeuma, 1995, pp. 65, 74.

34 FÜGEDI, Erik. *A 15. századi arisztokrácia mobilitása.* Budapest : MOL, 1970, p. 77.



In a testament from 1499, Stephen Zápolya donated the town of Gönc with all its appurtenances to the Companion Chapel of Spiš and ordered the provost: “after having determined the total annual income of this town, to set, consider and determine the type and number of Masses that can be performed annually and daily in that church from this income, and to order the Masses to be performed and sung there forever.”<sup>35</sup> So in this case, the frequency and number of Masses was decided by the clerical body. There is one more aspect to consider in relation to the foundation by Zápolya. In his monograph, Lajos Pásztor was quite dismissive about the religiousness of the Palatine, as is reflected in his will. He concludes that Zápolya: “seems to have given the church a generous donation in his will only to support his proudly proclaimed generosity. However, if he simply wanted to purchase the Mass, he says ‘let the provost assess the village’s worth and then let them decide what Masses can be said for it for eternity.’”<sup>36</sup> However, these lines are not at all suggesting the image of an arrogant, self-glorifying lord, flaunting his material possibilities and wishing to buy himself some peace of mind. Examining further sources, we get a much more nuanced picture of the Zápolya family’s devotion, of which Stephen was a part. The family founded the Pauline monastery in Tokaj, took care of several Pauline communities (Porva, Gönc, Lád, Diósgyőr, Regéc) with generous donations, and supported three of the six medieval Hungarian Carthusian monasteries (Kláštorskó/Letanovce, Legnica, Lövöld).<sup>37</sup> One of Stephen’s brothers, Nicholas, became the head of the Transylvanian bishopric (1461 – 1468),<sup>38</sup> showing the close connection between the family and the ecclesia. Taking all this into consideration, the will made by the Palatine Stephen on his deathbed and the foundation of the Mass ordered in it, is not a document that captures the pretence of a haughty aristocrat who put his wealth first. Although the charter’s introduction and the poem engraved on his tombstone focus on personal merit and fame,<sup>39</sup> this is rather an expression of his desire to maintain his memory after the end of his earthly life, a custom that was an integral part of the religious aristocracy of the period.<sup>40</sup>

In each founding document, the people intended to be helped with the benefits of the Masses were specified. In addition to securing their own salvation, the clergy also celebrated Masses for living and deceased family members. This was indicated by a general formula, which can also be observed in the case of simple gracious donations.<sup>41</sup> A very detailed list is found in a foundation from

35 KÖBLÖS, József. Szapolyai István Pápán írott végrendelete. In MEZEI, Zsolt (ed.) *Istennek, hazának, tudománynak. Tanulmányok a 95 éves Nádasdy Lajos tiszteletére*. Pápa : Pápai Református Gyűjtemények-Pápai Művelődéstörténeti Társaság, 2008, p. 140.

36 PÁSZTOR 2000, p. 93.

37 *A Szapolyai család Oklevéltára/Documenta Szapolyaiana I. Levelek és oklevelek/Epistulae et litterae (1458 – 1526)* (SzaOkl). Edited by Tibor Neumann. Budapest : MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézete, 2012, pp. 112, 121–122, 143–144, 145, 254, 291, 298–300, 302, 314–315, 385–386, 423, 441–442, no. 93, 105, 134, 136, 287, 332, 342, 346, 354, 441, 503, 517; ROMHÁNYI Beatrix F. *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [CD-ROM]. Budapest : Arcanum, 2008.

38 TEMESVÁRY, János. *Erdély középkori püspökei*. Kolozsvár : Minerva, 1922, pp. 373–383.

39 The Latin and Hungarian text of the tombstone poem, see: KÖBLÖS 2008, pp. 140–141.

40 See: KAMP 1993.

41 MNL OL DL 9224: “...ob sue et progenitorum suorum animarum salute...;” MNL OL DL 32 812: “...pro remedio ac salute animarum nostrarum et nostrorum carorum vivorum et defuncto-

Emeric and Nicholas Hédervári. In addition to promoting their own salvation, they ordered Masses in support of deceased brothers Francis and Agnes, Nicholas' late wife Clara and the brothers' current spouses, Anna Garai and Ursula of Szomszédvár, as well as all past, present and future brothers and family members. Gita, Princess of Troppau, wife of Count George of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, ordered Masses for her first husband, Paul Wolffurti, and his sister Ursula, who happened to be Count George's former wife, at the Augustinian Order in Vienna. The court-master Moses Buzlai of Gregorovce even ordered a Mass for the soul of the monarch (*pro anima videlicet sue maiestatis et anima mea*).

Occasionally founders also referred to their homage to the patron saint of the institution, such as Nicholas Treutul of Levanjska Varoš did in his deed of donation.<sup>42</sup> Out of reverence for the Holy Cross, Emeric Zápolya exempted the parish priest of Kežmarok from paying taxes in return for the celebration of specific Masses.<sup>43</sup>

In most cases, the sacrament was offered in honour of a holy, divine person, seemingly with the idea that through their help, salvation could be more effectively secured. The role of the saints as intermediaries has been well known since the early Middle Ages one need only refer to the holy sites which attracted crowds of pilgrims.<sup>44</sup> An idea that became common by the 14<sup>th</sup> century was that the Church, through Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary and the merit of the saints, had an inexhaustible treasury from which the faithful could benefit<sup>45</sup> and that an important channel for this was the Holy Mass.

In addition to Masses offered to the saints, the founders most often (26 cases) requested the celebration of funeral Masses, since the requiem was considered to have the greatest merit-making effect in that period.<sup>46</sup> There is also a higher

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rum...” *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár XI (ZsO)*. Edited by Tibor Neumann and Norbert C. Tóth. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 2008, p. 163, no. 383: “...peccatorum remissione et remedio salutis anime vestre...” MNL OL DL 14 894: “...pro salute parentorum nostrorum et nostra...” MNL OL DL 14 915: “...pro refrigerio animarum predecessorum nostrorum...” *Formulae solemnes styli in cancellaria curiaque regum olim usitati*. Edited by Martinus Georgius Kovachich. Pestinii : Typis Matthiae Trattner, 1799, p. 250, no. 169: “...ob anime sue salutem nec non antelatorum progenitorum et parentum, ac etiam posterorum suorum animarum requiem et refrigerium perpetuam...”

42 MNL OL DL 35 453: “...salutem anime nostre et parentis nostrorum ac ad honorem Virginis Gloriose sub nomine dicta ecclesia foret constructa...”

43 SzaOkl, pp. 110–111, no. 91: “...ob devotionem specialem, quam erga Sanctam Crucem, in cuius nomine ecclesia parochialis dicte nostre civitatis, ut dicitur, fundata est.”

44 About pilgrimages, see: CSUKOVITS, Enikő. *Középkori magyar zarándokok*. Budapest : MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2003; FEDELES, Tamás. „Isten nevében utazunk.” *Zarándokok, búcsújárás, kegyhelyek a középkorban*. Pécs : Kronosz Kiadó, 2015.

45 HUIZINGA, Johann. *A középkor alkonya*. Budapest : Európa, 1996, p. 167; SZOVÁK, Kornél. *Meritorum apud Dominum fructus cumulatorum* (Megjegyzések a 14. század főúri vallásosságához). In TUSOR, Péter (ed.) *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulójára*. Budapest : ELTE BTK, 1998, p. 79; ERDÉLYI Gabriella. *Egy kolostorper története. Hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és az újkor határán*. Budapest : MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, pp. 148–149.

46 On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup> days after the funeral Mass and on the anniversary of the burial, a funeral Mass was celebrated for the soul of the deceased. In the late Middle Ages, the funeral was usually held on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day after death. In the Eastern Church, the practice was somewhat different, with requiem Masses being held on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> days. Cf. BERGER, Rupert. Totengedächtnis. In *LThK X*, p. 253; FRANZ 1963, pp. 234–235; SOLYMOSI, László. Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mor-

number (15 cases) of Masses for sins (*pro peccatis*). Repentance played an important role in the lives of the faithful, who were aware of their weaknesses and wished to be purified. In addition to confession, another form of atonement for sins was the offering of a Mass, which was particularly useful for deceased relatives. Only on one occasion was a Mass requested for the sick (*pro infirmis*), which as we will see below, could have been linked to a specific situation.

**Table 3.** Mass intentions by day of the week<sup>47</sup>

Purpose								Unknown	Total
St. Andrew	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	17
St. Anna	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
St. Anthony		1							1
Angels		1							1
12 Apostles			1					2	3
For the sick				1					1
For sins	1	3	4				1	6	15
St. Fabian and St. Sebastian								6	6
St. Francis					1				1
Funeral Mass	15	1	3	3	2	1	1	6	26
St. George	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Three Kings								4	4
Easter								1	1
St. Helena								1	1
St. Emeric		1							1
St. Jerome			1						1
St. Catherine	1						1	1	3
St. Catherine and St. Barbara								2	2
Holy Cross	1	1	1	1	2	1	1		8
John the Baptist	1	1	1	2	1	1	1		8
Corpus Christi				9					9
Christ's Passion					11			11	22
King Ladislaus the Saint								1	1
St. Margaret								7	7
St. Margaret and Catherine								1	1
The Virgin Mary	4	4	4	4	4	29	6	17	72
St. Martin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		7
Our Saviour								1	1
St. Nicholas			1					6	7
All Saints' Day		1	3					3	7
St. Paul			1						1
Pentecost								1	1
Rorate caeli						1			1
Fourteen Holy Helpers	1		1						2
Holy Trinity					1		10	7	18
Holy Spirit				1	1	2			4
For parents			1					4	5
St. Virgins					1				1
Ten Thousand Brave Men		1							1
St. Wolfgang, St. Lazarus, St. Jerome, St. Martha		1							1
St. Sophia		1							1
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>288</b>

tuarium a 11. – 14. századi Magyarországon. In *Századok*, 1987, vol. 121, no. 4, p. 552; PÁSZTOR 2000, p. 79.

47 The table lists Masses which were celebrated daily in honour of specific saints separately.

Most frequently, in a total of 33 foundations, the intervention of the Virgin Mary was requested at Masses offered to her, illustrating how popular Mary's worship was in medieval Hungary. However, the number of Masses offered to the Blessed Virgin in total was much higher (72), as the founders sometimes celebrated several Masses a week for this purpose, such as John Hunyadi and his sons, who held a Mass in honour of Mary on both Saturday and Sunday.

**Table 4.** Distribution of Masses offered to Mary

Feast	Number	%
Assumption	9	27
Immaculate conception	3	9
Our Lady of Sorrows	3	9
Annunciation	2	6
Visitation	1	3
Mary (without specifics)	15	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>

Mary surpassed the other saints in the number of Masses offered, though the total number of 18 Masses offered in honour of the Holy Trinity and 17 offered to St. Andrew the Apostle exceeded the number of Masses offered to the Vir-

gin. As the table above shows, the number of Masses offered to other saints is even lower and there is a wide variation. In all, there are 41 different Masses.

It goes without saying that the founders offered Masses primarily to their own patron saints or those of their families. Although St. Nicholas, who appears in the foundation of Lawrence Újlaki in Veszprém, was indeed one of the favourite saints of the period, it is much more plausible to think that the Bosnian prince was inspired by the memory of his father, Nicholas Újlaki King of Bosnia (†1477). A similar situation with regard to the ordination of Stephen Zápolya's widow and sons was seen in 1510. The only St. Emeric to appear here in the entire source base examined is certainly a reference to Stephen's brother, Palatine Emeric (†1487). One final example; St. Ladislaus appears once. It is well known that in the pantheon of Hungarian saints from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, King Ladislaus outranked both the founder of the state, St. Stephen, and his son Prince Emeric,<sup>48</sup> though King Ladislaus, who appears in Masses ordered by Ladislaus Kanizsai (1501), is more likely to be associated with his own and his father's patron saint.

In addition to individual commitment and family tradition, the choice of saints could be influenced by the patronage of the church they were ordained to. In the Benedictine abbey of Dombó founded by John Maróti, the Ban of Macsó, in honour of St. George, a daily Mass was celebrated in honour of the patron saint of the monastery. In the case of Martin Dersfi of Središče, the patron saint of his own and of the ecclesiastical institution was the same. The former Master of the Horse built a chapel in honour of St. Martin at the family burial place, the Pauline monastery in Središče, and also held funeral Masses

48 For the late medieval devotion to St. Ladislaus (with further literature), see: FEDELES, Tamás. „*Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai.*” Varadínská svatyně v pozdním středověku. In *Historie – Otázky – Problémy*, 2011, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 111–126; HORVÁTH, Illés. Szent László kultusza Luxemburgi Zsigmond uralkodói reprezentációjában. In *Aetas* 2017, vol. 32, pp. 128–144; HORVÁTH, Illés. Reprezentáció és kegyesség. Luxemburgi „Szent” Zsigmond váradi temetése és emlékezete. In *Századok*, 2021, vol. 155, no. 1, pp. 177–196.

in honour of the saint in his foundation. George Kanizsai, the Ban of Belgrade (1505), established a foundation in honour of St. Francis, St. Jerome, St. Lazarus and St. Martha. In the *patrocinium*, the rare text of the charter refers specifically to the chapel erected by the baron. The veneration of St. Francis, the main patron of the chapel, began to spread in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, primarily in the Sopron and Bratislava area influenced by the increasingly popular St. Wolfgang's shrine in Upper Austria.<sup>49</sup> The choice of patron saint is duly confirmed by the Kanizsa family's estates and connections in Western Hungary where 14 patron saints appearing on two occasions were usually invoked to help against the plague. In the foundation of Ambrose Sárkány in Bratislava (1507), a Mass was also offered in honour in connection with the epidemic, to which the *temporum pestilenciarum* in the charter refers.

For three of the foundations, a change of intentions must be mentioned, which were fixed in advance at the time of the ordination. In all three cases, the change was linked to the death of the founders. Job Garai stipulated that during his lifetime, Masses were to be offered for the sick and after his death, for the deceased. The Mass for the sick was presumably related to the poor health of Job or perhaps a member of his family. According to Dorothea Kanizsai's foundation at the Pauline monastery in Bajcs (present-day Nagytótfalu), during her lifetime, atonement for sins was offered while after her funeral, the monks celebrated a funeral Mass. In their 1463 foundation, James and Simon Cudar of Ónod decreed that during their lifetime, they should offer Masses for sins on Sundays and Tuesdays while on the other days of the week, they asked for a celebration of the requiem. Finally, after their deaths, the Paulines of Sajólad sang a mourning Mass every day.

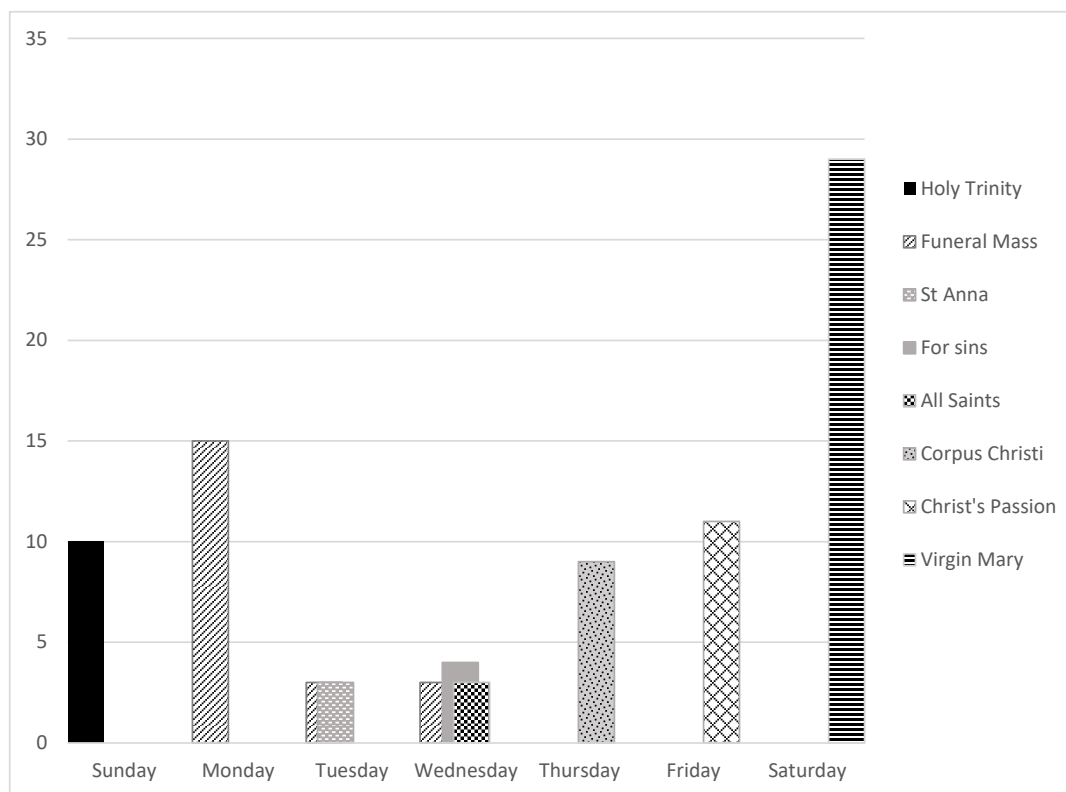
In an authoritative monograph, Pásztor also points out that in the Jagello period, saints and other reasons for Mass began to be associated with specific days, a practice that then continued in the early modern period. According to his research, Masses were celebrated on Sundays for the Holy Trinity, on Mondays for the deceased, for St. Anne on Tuesdays, on Thursdays for the Body of Christ, on Fridays for the Passion of Christ and on Saturdays for the Virgin Mary. A "fixed" intention is difficult to determine for Wednesday at this time, and it is only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the veneration of St. Joseph was linked to this day.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, it is worth considering to what extent the larger source base used here confirms or modifies this thesis. Based on the data from the table above, the most frequent reasons for Mass over the seven days of the week have been plotted for clarity in the chart below. It is clear that all the days of the week, except Tuesday and Wednesday, were associated with saints and/or intentions mentioned by Pásztor, so in this respect, there was some kind of standardization. This is supported by the fact that there were other Mass objectives on the days indicated, but the intents depicted in

49 BÁLINT, Sándor – BARNA, Gábor. *Búcsújáró magyarok. A magyarországi búcsújárás története és néprajza*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 1994, p. 44. András Mező also only mentions two entries on St. Francis (Beclean, Sopronbánfalva), see: MEZŐ, András. *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest : METEM, 2003, pp. 84–85.

50 PÁSZTOR 2000, pp. 84–87.

the graph stand out among them. Tuesday and Wednesday, however, do not seem to have been closely associated with any saint or Mass at that time, at least for the aristocrats. Although the connection between Tuesday and St. Anne is given, there are also three occurrences of the *pro peccatis* intention. On Wednesday, a day which, according to Pásztor's research was not linked to any specific intention, four Masses were given for sins and three for the deceased and All Saints.

**Chart 2.** Days and Intentions



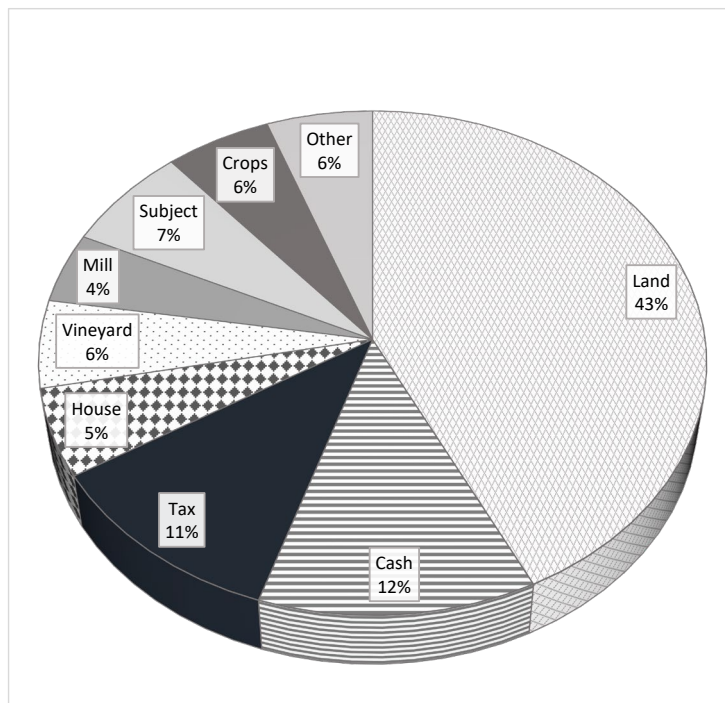
## Financial issues

For each Mass, the founders was required to provide adequate financial resources, including the living expenses (*salaries*) of the clergy, the costs of construction for newly established institutions as well as maintenance of existing ones (*fabrica*), including the necessary supplies for liturgical celebrations (vestments, altar cloths, candles, chalices, Mass books, etc.).<sup>51</sup> It was a common belief of all social classes of the period that in return for pious donations to the church, the clergy gave spiritual goods to the donors—a fact clearly indicated in the charters. In the vast majority of cases, the donor (i.e. the founder) conditioned his alms on the celebration of Masses, the singing of psalms and other prayers (*conditio*). In some sources, the concept of donation and compensation (*recompensatio, remuneratio*) appears as a common practice in the profane sphere. As a repayment for earlier donations by the Pauline General Ladislaus and of newer alms, he ordered the celebration of perpetual Masses for the monks of the family monastery to reach salvation for Martin

51 For a detailed analysis of foundations in Bratislava, see: MAJOROSSY 2006, p. 162; MAJOROSSY 2009, pp. 219–233.

Dersfi. John Druget of Humenné and his sons ordered two Masses a week as a spiritual recompensation for the estates given to the Paulines of Hungary. What kind of alms and at what value were the clergy reciprocating by offering Masses? Was there a trend in funding among barons?

**Chart 3.** Coverage of foundations



For the barons, land constituted the bulk of the donations. In most cases, property and its associated possessions, i.e. villages and their acquisitions, were compensation for the Masses, but Mózes Buzlai, for example, gave the fish pond of Pátka to the chapter of Székesfehérvár and Job Garai donated his forest on Somlyó Hill to the Paulines. Lawrence Újlaki donated a part of Essegvár *castrum* to the Veszprém chapter,

while the Zápolya family (1499, 1510) and Beatrice Frankopan (1508) donated a whole oppidum to a church institution. Items in the “other” category also indicate the dominant role of real estate at the top of society. Here, a provision by Stephen Rozgonyi’s widow that, among other things, the future proceeds from the sale of the baths in Trnava should be used for the foundation of a Mass has also been taken into account.

Cash payments, at least according to available data, seem to be less common among the barons. This contrasts quite markedly with the burghers, who paid cash for the Masses they founded in Bratislava (56%).<sup>52</sup> From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the number and amount of donations to the church, especially to the Paulines, increased and the nobility can be identified among the donors.<sup>53</sup> Though, compared to such a common practice among the burghers, the use of cash was significantly lower in case of the nobles. The wealth of the baronial families consisted mainly of real estate, and although more and more of them accumulated large amounts of money, most of it was spent on the expenses of worldly representation, above all on courtly maintenance. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Ambrose Sárkány, who is known to have been involved in

52 MAJOROSSY 2006, p. 162.

53 ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix F. „*Heremitibus sancti Pauli lego*”. Közvetlen és közvetett pénzadományok a pálosoknak juttatott hagyatékokban. In *Studia Caroliensia*, 2006, vol. 7, pp. 65–70; ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix F. „*A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn*.” *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*. Budapest: Gondolat, 2010, pp. 97–114.

the wine and cattle trade, made two cash donations.<sup>54</sup> He is also responsible for the largest Mass foundation of all. In his will (1522), he left a considerable sum of 1000 florins, a house in Buda, all his silverware and the proceeds from the sale of his clothes as financial cover for the foundation of a Mass in the parish church of Érd, which he chose as his burial place. Using cash is not surprising in the context of John Ernuszt's Mass foundation either, since it is a direct consequence of the mentality and occupation of the merchant-treasurer turned baron of burgher origin.<sup>55</sup> He left 50 florins for the construction costs of the Buda cemetery-chapel he founded, and 100 florins for a perpetual Mass.

In addition to lump-sum donations, annuities were sometimes provided to cover the cost of Mass foundations. Nicholas Frankopan paid 60 golden florins annually to the Senj Chapter for a daily Mass. In his will, Ladislaus of Svätý Jur and Pezinok made pious donations to the Franciscan conventuals in Bratislava; he gave four Viennese *denarii* a year from the income of the Pezinok baths, 15 bushels of flour from the mill and 26 barrels of wine from the mountain toll as alms, in return for which the Franciscans offered two Masses a week for his and his ancestors' salvation. In the case of the aforementioned Czobor foundation, there was a very different arrangement. As detailed above, he secured the operation of his foundation through a real estate transaction, as the purchase price of 220 florins for his house sold to the Chapter was settled by the canons by paying five florins a year. In addition, he also donated liturgical equipment and two Masses were celebrated every week in return.

Financial backing for the Mass foundations was sometimes provided by the remission of taxes, duties or exemptions from paying them. Ladislaus Szécsényi donated 200 new florins from the tax collected for the renovation of the Chapel of the Holy Cross, built in the Franciscan monastery church on his estate. Emeric Pálóci's widow, Dorothea Rozgonyi and their daughter Anna, granted the Paulines of Sátoraljaújhely the ninth part of the wine and grain which they received from their vineyards in the villages of Sátoraljaújhely and Sárospatak and the estate of Trňa in return for the presentation of three Masses a week. The Zápolya exempted the Paulines of Sajólád (1507) from paying all ordinary and extraordinary taxes on a house in the field town of Keresztúr and from paying the ninth part of their vines.

A nearly equal proportion of houses, mills and vineyards were offered as capital cover for foundations. A similar distribution is found in the categories of goods donated in return for Masses (clothes, precious metals, jewelry, i.e. 7% of foundations) and crops and animals together (6%). In addition to those mentioned above, there is also an example of an indirect endowment. The auxiliary bishop of Esztergom, Demeter of Nyás, bought the estate of Stephen Rozgonyi of Sáros/Šariš county for 1200 golden florins (1522) on

54 KUBINYI, András. Egy üzletelő és diplomata várúr Mohács előtt: Ákosházi Sárkány Ambrus. In PAMER, Nóra (ed.) *Gerő László 85. születésnapjára. Tanulmányok*. Budapest : Országos Múemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994, pp. 263–291.

55 On Ernuszt, see: KUBINYI, András. Ernuszt Zsigmond pécsi püspök rejtélyes halála és hagyatékának sorsa. In *Századok*, 2001, vol. 135, no. 2, pp. 312–315.



the condition (*tali conditione et eo pacto*) that he would make a perpetual endowment for the salvation of Stephen and his family in the church of Nyás.

## Chapels, parish churches, monasteries

The proportions of the various types of Mass foundations established in different types of church institutions cannot be ignored. What follows seeks to answer the following questions: What factors motivated the barons and their families to choose the type of institution they did? How much did family tradition influence their decision? Did they prefer churches of their own establishment? Is it possible to identify a preference for the two monastic orders that were popular in all social classes in the period, the Paulines and the Franciscan Order of the Friars Minor?

**Table 5.** Masses and Church Institutions

Institution	Daily	Weekly	Yearly	Series	Other	Σ	Own/Burial Site
Cathedral	4	2				6	2
Parish	8	9	4	1	1	23	11
Chapel	3	3			1	7	3
Pauline Monastery	13	17	4	2		36	12
Franciscan Monastery	2	4			1	7	2
Dominican Monastery		1				1	
Benedictine Monastery	2					2	
Augustinian Hermitage	1					1	1
Augustinian Canons					1	1	1
Premontrian Monastery					1	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>30</b>

As far as the types of institutions are concerned, the predominance of the Hungarian—based Pauline Order is striking. Almost half of the Mass foundations, 42.3% to be precise, were established in a monastery church of this Order, clearly confirming the well-known popularity of the Paulines in the late Middle Ages, which remained unbroken among the upper ranks of the nobility.<sup>56</sup> The Franciscans lagged far behind the Paulines in this regard, although the barons in particular supported the Observant branch from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>57</sup> This is somewhat different from the picture that emerges from the Jagellonian-era noble wills in which the proportion of assets left to the Franciscans exceeds that made to the Paulines, although it is true that the wills analysed by Kubinyi are mainly from the lower ranks of nobility.<sup>58</sup>

Of the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and the Augustinian monks each celebrated a Mass in two monasteries, the latter not in a monastic house in the Kingdom of Hungary but in Vienna. The monastic orders are represented by

56 KUBINYI, András. Magyarország és a pálosok a XIV. – XV. században. In SARBAK, Gábor (ed.) *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2007, pp. 47–48; ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix F. Die Pauliner im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. In ELM, Kaspar (ed.) *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Berlin : Duncker und Humboolt, 2000, pp. 150–151.

57 ROMHÁNYI, Beatrix F. Ferencesek a késő középkori Magyarországon. In ŐZE, Sándor – MEDGYESY-SCHMIKLI, Norbert (eds.) *A ferences lelkeség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára I.* Piliscsaba; Budapest : PPKE BTK; METEM, 2005, pp. 118–119.

58 KUBINYI 1999, p. 334.

the Benedictines alone, while the canonical communities are represented by the Augustinian and the Premonstrian orders, confirming the well-known fact that monastic orders were seldom favoured in the concerned period. Looking at the ratio between monastic and secular institutions, the balance tips in favour of the former; the number of Masses founded in monastic houses is almost 58%. This is a different picture compared to the practice of the burghers in Bratislava, who preferred the parish churches of the city.<sup>59</sup> In terms of Masses celebrated by secular clergy, parish priests were clearly favoured by members of the upper classes (27%), followed by cathedrals and chapels, which were almost neck and neck (7% and 8% respectively).

Turning to motives for the selection of church institutions, an important correlation can be observed. Churches and chapels that were founded by families were under the patronage of the family and, of course, designated as burial places for the family members, accounted for 35% of the Mass foundations.

Occasionally, provisions on the number and status of clergy were also included in founding documents. Emeric Czobor of Czoborszentmihály stipulated that the Masses could only be celebrated by canons from Bratislava. This condition could be based on a need to ensure a level of prestige that matched the social status of the founder. In her two foundations of Lepoglava (1507, 1508), Beatrice Frankopan required the Paulines to have at least 20 monks in addition to the vicar to ensure the solemnity of the Masses. This measure was also intended to meet the need for representation, since the monastery was the burial place of her late husband, Prince John Corvinus, and their son Christopher.

Ambrose Sárkány of Ákosháza entrusted the celebration of a Mass in the Bratislava Castle Chapel to the Franciscans of Bratislava. In order to ensure that it would not be interrupted in times of danger, he ordered that in times of plague or war, a priest from the monastic house should be sent to the castle to stay during the emergency.

In the case of ecclesiastical institutions established by the founders themselves, the canonical rights naturally belonged to the founders. Regarding the rector of the chapel of St. Wolfgang in Sered', founded by George Kanizsai, the charter containing the Mass foundation stipulates that the right to elect and present rectors (*electio*) is vested in him during his lifetime, and in his heirs upon his death. Similarly, the chapel of the Body of Christ in Spišská Kapitula founded by the Zápolya family was under the family's patronage. The rector of the chapel was chosen among the canons by the provost of the chapel of the Chapter of Spiš, with the obligation of residence. The rector of the chapel was under the jurisdiction of the Prelate of the Church of Spiš. In addition to the rector, six ordained priests performed chaplaincy duties and four pupils were employed to sing daily psalms. The rector saw to it that the chaplains always performed their duties with due devotion and reverence, and if negligence was found, he worked with the provost or his deputy to remedy the situation. The chaplains were required to present four Masses

59 MAJOROSSY 2006, p. 143.

a day, with one cleric being excused to take the place of one of the celebrants if one of them was unable to attend.

### Liturgical equipment, regulations, sanctions

For the vast majority of the foundations examined, the beneficiary was an existing monastery, church, chapel or altar, often established by previous generations of the family, so there was no need to provide new liturgical equipment and consequently, no information on this is found in the documents.<sup>60</sup> Some of the new foundations, however, do provide relatively detailed information on this segment, so it is interesting to look at these as well.

In his will, Ladislaus Szécsényi designated the Chapel of the Holy Cross in the Franciscan Church in Szécsény as his burial place and at the same time he made a donation for the presentation of daily Masses. In addition to cash left for the renovation of the building, he had silver chalices and other equipment made and also provided for decoration of the chapel.<sup>61</sup> John Ernuszt ordered 29 candles for Saturday Masses in the cemetery chapel he founded. The building of the new institution was not yet complete, as is indicated by the prescription for a chapel door, and the founder also designated the production of the altarpiece and the altar cloth. For the confraternity of the Body of Christ, he had a reliquary made, which had to be displayed on the altar of the burial chapel on feast days. He also provided the church with sacred objects, ecclesiastical ornaments and books.<sup>62</sup> Emeric Czobor of Czoborszentmihály donated a red and a green velvet (priest) robe, an altar cloth made of atlas, a missal, a chalice and a crucifix to St. Wolfgang's Chapel in Bratislava. John Drágfi decreed (1524) that "three chalices worth of eight *granum* should be made for the chapel of Cehu Silvaniei for the priests to serve from."<sup>63</sup>

The requirements for liturgical acts were regulated in detail by the donation charter of Nicholas Frankopan. Four canons and four prebendaries of the Senj Chapter were required to celebrate a dawn Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary. One canon celebrated the Mass while his companions and the prebendaries stood together in the choir and said the responses. The priest who celebrated the Mass had to pray the oration of the Virgin Mary while Nicholas was still alive, mentioning the name of the founder, while after his death, the priest was to pray for him during the prayer for the deceased. The Princess Gita of Troppau, wife of George of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, ordered the monks of the Augustinian Church of Vienna to celebrate daily Masses for the soul of her late husband, Paul of Wolfurt, in the Wolfurt chapel, where they placed a memorial stone. In addition, they were required to celebrate an anniversary mourning Mass, which, if it fell on a Sunday, was to be followed by a sung vigil with nine

60 On this see: MAJOROSSY 2009, *passim*.

61 To this end, he ordered the sale of a certain *draconem magnum* decorated with precious stones. MNL OL DF 266 765.

62 For the will's analysis from a history of arts perspective, see: WEHLI, Tünde. A három Ernuszt. In *Budapesti Könyvszemle*, 2012, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 142–151.

63 MÉSZÖLY, Gedeon. Drágffy János 1524-iki végrendelete. In *Magyar Nyelv*, 1917, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 121–124.

readings followed the next morning by a sung mourning Mass. Twelve candles were to be lit both during the vigil and at the requiem. If the anniversary occurred on a weekday, the usual Mass was to be held in the monastery.

The widow of Stephen Zápolya, Princess Hedwig of Cieszyn, and her sons John and George, laid out the duties of the clergy specifically in their foundation for a perpetual Mass in the Holy Cross Chapel (1510), the family burial place, in the Church of St. Martin in Spišská Kapitula. The chapel director, with six chaplains and four pupils, had to sing the *Placebo requiem* and the funeral requiem daily at the tombs of the Palatines Emeric and Stephen Zápolya. The rector and his chaplains were required to say a mourning Mass every day of the week, in addition to daily Masses of specific intent. The rector was responsible for the equipment of the chapel (candles, wine, books, chalices, ornaments), for keeping an inventory (a copy of which is kept at the chapel) and for preservation of the building. On Sundays and other feast days, and on the days of the cross (*diebus Rogationum*), the director of the chapel and his chaplains held a public procession. On feast days, the chaplains marched in procession from the chapel to the church sanctuary on the first and second vespers. Every day the chaplains sang the Marian chant and the *matutinum* with three readings, as well as the antiphon of *Placebo*.

Most of the documents also specified whether a sung or read Mass was to be celebrated. The former, by virtue of its solemnity, conferred greater prestige on the founder and consequently may have been considered to play a greater role in preserving the memory of the founder.<sup>64</sup> George Csupor of Monoszló appealed to the Pauline generals (1460) that in return for the pious donations previously given to the Paulines of Garić, the friends should, if possible, offer a daily sung Mass. If they were unable to do so, they were to sing at least four of the seven specific Masses, namely those for All Saints, the Body of Christ, the Passion of Christ and the Assumption. For Sigmund of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, the monks at the Pauline monastery of Marianka presented a sung Mass (*cantando*) in honour of the Assumption on Saturdays, while on the other days of the week, they celebrated a mourning Mass (*legendo celebretur*). Only 23 foundations required their presbyters to offer a sung Mass.

The intentions of the Mass and the prayers (*collecta, oratio*) were not necessarily the same, and in such cases, the intention was certainly to multiply the effect of the prayers. Ambrose Sárkány ordered a Mass on Tuesdays in honour of All Saints, at which the Collecta of St. Ambrose and St. Sophia was recited by the clergy. In this case, the prayers were addressed to the patron saint of the founder and his wife. In a foundation of Mass in Bratislava, George Kanizsai also ordered the supplication of his own patron saint (*cum collecta sive oratione Sancti Georgii martiris*) in connection with the Mass for sins.

The Mass founders, on behalf of themselves, their successors, heirs and even their officials, assured the ecclesial community of the preservation of their

<sup>64</sup> Certainly the *sollemniter adverbium*, which refers to the solemnity of the celebration, also referred to sung Masses.

donations and guaranteed them protection. At the same time, they sought to ensure the continuity of the spiritual Masses requested in exchange for alms, which they hoped would avoid eternal damnation for them. In many cases, the provisions were enforced by imposing sanctions. Nicholas Frankopan ordered the payment of then solidus to anyone who obstructed the daily celebration of the Masses. The wife of George of Svätý Jur and Pezinok stipulated that if the monks of the Augustinian monastery in Vienna did not perform the required Masses, the donated property would be given to another monastery under similar conditions. According to a decree of Sigmund Frankopan (1449), if the Benedictine monks of Otočac failed to celebrate daily Mass, they would have to pay a fine of one florin. Ambrose Sárkány ruled that if the Franciscan fathers in the Bratislava castle chapel neglected to celebrate the Mass and did not continue after two or three warnings, the annuity would be taken from them and a suitable secular chaplain would be employed.

## Conclusion

The everyday life of medieval people was fundamentally characterised by religion, for which the various ecclesiastical institutions provided appropriate institutional framework. The most important goal for all members of society was to guarantee spiritual salvation for themselves and for their deceased ancestors, or to alleviate the suffering of purgatory. Depending on financial means, status and rank, everyone sought to secure spiritual peace and salvation for the time after their death. In return for a variety of donations to the Church, the clergy provided donors with spiritual goods, of which Mass was undoubtedly the most fruitful. As Pásztor put it so aptly in his work: “Everyone strives to acquire enough earthly possessions to have a Mass said for them on their deathbeds.”<sup>65</sup> An analysis of the foundations of the late medieval Hungarian aristocracy confirms this. The celebration of the Eucharist was not only a central element of the believer’s personal devotion, but after the end of earthly life, the role of the Masses became even more important since after death, the possibilities of personal merit ceased. The mentality of the Hungarian aristocracy of the time is illustrated perfectly by the last testament of John Drágfi of Beltiug in the Mohács camp: “Let not the Masses and psalms in Erdőd and Beltiug be diminished, let not the Mass of St. Anne and the Conceptio Mariae be said every day, let not the Humiliavit on Friday, nor the Egredimini on Saturday be omitted, let not the divine Masses be dormant, for my soul’s salvation is from these.”<sup>66</sup>

65 PÁSZTOR 2000, p. 78.

66 ZOLNAI, Gyula. *Nyelvemlékeink a könyvnyomtatás koráig*. Budapest : Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894, pp. 255–259.

## Appendix

### I. The List of Analyzed Mass Foundations

Date	Founder(s) (Last name/first name as in the original)	Archive Reference	Edition, register
28 July 1406	John Maróti	MNL OL DL 9224	ZsO II, no. 4894.
29 January 1409	Paul Csupor of Monoszló	MNL OL DL 35 351	LK 1932, p. 100, CDH X/4, p. 790.
21 February 1410	Stephen Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 9624	ZsO II, no. 7375.
25 May 1412	Martin Dersfi of Središče	MNL OL DL 9912	ZsO III, no. 2195.
13 January 1413	Ladislaus Szécsényi	MNL OL DF 266 765	ZsO IV, no. 49.
31 January 1417	Margaret widow of Nicholas Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 10 531	CDH X/5, p. 833; ZsO VI, no. 14.
30 May 1417	Nicholas and Emeric Treutul of Levanjska Varoš	MNL OL DL 35 453	LK 1932, p. 261; ZsO VI, no. 490.
8 October 1420	Hermann of Celje	MNL OL DL 32 811	LK 1925, p. 126; ZsO VII, no. 2246; DAP I, p. 22.
1424	Hermann of Celje	MNL OL DF 288 304	ZsO XI, no. 383.
1426	Nicholas Frankopan		CDH X/6, pp. 847–849.
27 May 1428	Nicholas Perényi	MNL OL DL 39 287	
4 September 1431	Stibor of Stiboricz Jr.	MNL OL DL 88 061	DVOŘÁKOVÁ 2009, pp. 322–323.
23 February 1443	Gita, Princess of Troppau, wife of George of Svätý Jur and Pezinok	MNL OL DL 13 709	–
20 December 1444	Bartholomew Frankopan	MNL OL DL 35 582	CDCF I, no. 33.
25 June 1445	Ulrich of Celje	MNL OL DL 34 720	LK 1927, p. 157.
1 September 1445	Stephen Rozgonyi's widow, Helen	MNL OL DL 13 881	–
7 September 1445	Wilhelm of Forchtenstein and his wife	MNL OL DL 13 873; 14 139; 14 140	–
25 February 1448	Frederick of Celje	MNL OL DL 32 813	LK 1925, pp. 126–127.
6 September 1449	Sigmund Frankopan	MNL OL DL 38 531	CDCF I, no. 361.
26 July 1452	John Hunyadi and his sons	MNL OL DL 36 406/9	JAKÓ 1990, no. 1056.
1454	Simon Pálóci		DAP I, p. 181.
21 December 1454	John Marcali	MNL OL DL 14 894	
1455	John Marcali	MNL OL DL 14 915	Marcali, pp. 62–78.
1458	Stephen Marcali	MNL OL DF 250 346	

Date	Founder(s) (Last name/first name as in the original)	Archive Reference	Edition, register
15 May 1460	George Csupor of Monoszló	MNL OL DL 35 624	LK 1934, p. 115.
29 May 1463	James and Simon Cudar of Ónod	MNL OL DL 15 450	BÁNDI 1985, p. 649.
30 August 1465	James Cudar of Ónod	MNL OL DL 16 257; 15 450	BÁNDI 1985, pp. 650–651; DAP I, p. 244.
28 September 1465	Emeric Zápolya		SzaOkl, no. 91.
1467	Bartholomew Druget's widow of Humenné		DAP III, p. 159.
11 June 1470	Sigmund of Svätý Jur and Pezinok	MNL OL DL 16 869	
27 February 1472	Ladislaus of Svätý Jur and Pezinok		KARÁCSONYI I, p. 232.
5 August 1472	Emeric and Nicholas Hédervári	MNL OL DL 88 529; 88 530	
8 September 1472	Nicholas Monoszlói Csupor	MNL OL DL 35 671	LK 1929, p. 299.
1476	Michael and Ladislaus Gutí Ország		DAP III, p. 319.
1476	Job Garai		KOVACHICH 1799, pp. 250–251.
2 March 1476	John Ernuszt		ZalOkl II, no. 320.
13 June 1487	Nicholas and James Bánfi of Lendava	MNL OL DL 35 721	LK 1929, p. 305.
21 April 1488	Nicholas and James Bánfi of Lendava	MNL OL DL 32 796	LK 1925, p. 40.
13 January 1489	Emeric Czobor of Czobor-szentmihály	MNL OL DF 228 426	MAJOROSSY 2006, pp. 71–72.
24 December 1492	Stephen Monoszlói Csupor	MNL OL DL 35 727	LK 1935, pp. 251–257.
7 June 1494	Emeric Pálóci's widow and their daughter	MNL OL DL 20 190	BÁNDI 1985, p. 715.
24 December 1499	Stephen Zápolya		SzaOkl, no. 288.
4 April 1501	Ladislaus Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 21 031	DAP II, p. 448.
1503	Nicholas Pető's widow Margaret of Gerse	MNL OL DL 93 704; 93 710	
24 February 1503	John Corvinus	MNL OL DL 37 748	
26 July 1505	John Druget of Humenné and his sons	MNL OL DL 108 191	
15 November 1505	George Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 22 560	
6 September 1506	Beatrice Frankopan	MNL OL DL 37 788	
12 May 1507	Ambrose Sárkány of Ákosháza	MNL OL DF 241 012	
30 June 1507	Józsa Somi	MNL OL DL 88 966	

Date	Founder(s) (Last name/first name as in the original)	Archive Reference	Edition, register
1507	Lawrence Újlaki	MNL OL DF 201 561	
14 January 1507	Stephen Zápolya's widow and their sons	MNL OL DL 38 865	SzaOkl, no. 327; BÁNDI 1985, pp. 664–665.
13 December 1507	Beatrice Frankopan	MNL OL DL 34 420	LK 1925, p. 164.
10 December 1508	Beatrice Frankopan	MNL OL DL 34 427	LK 1925, p. 168.
9 January 1510	Stephen Zápolya's widow and their sons		SzaOkl, no. 347.
24 August 1510	John Zápolya		SzaOkl, no. 351.
7 October 1510	Ladislaus Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 22 081	DAP II, p. 438.
1517	Moses Buzlai of Gregorovce		PodOkl II, pp. 170–178.
1519	Ladislaus Kanizsai	MNL OL DL 34 623	LK 1928, p. 202.
12 May 1519	Catherine Hédervári		HédOkl I, pp. 564–566.
12 June 1519	Benigna Magyar	MNL OL DL 39 172	
1522	Ambrose Sárkány of Ákosháza Sárkány		FÜSSY 1901, pp. 138–146.
26 August 1522	Stephen Rozgonyi		ETE I, no. 62.
7 March 1524	Barbara Rozgonyi	MNL OL DL 89 187	
7 June 1524	John Drágfi of Beltiug		MÉSZÖLY 1917.
8 December 1525	Dorothea Kanizsai	MNL OL DF 286 364	KELÉNYI 2012.
24 August 1526	John Drágfi of Beltiug	MNL OL DL 65 220; 74 420	
25 July 1526	Antonius Pálóci	MNL OL DL 82 732	DÉTSHY 1998.
13 December 1531	Francis Hédervári		HédOkl II, no. 32.

List of abbreviations in the table.<sup>67</sup>

67 BÁNDI 1985 = BÁNDI, Zsuzsa. Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei (regeszták). In *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv*, 1985, vol. 5, pp. 557–725; CDCF I = *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus: A Frangepán család oklevéltára I*. Edited by Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Bararás. Budapest : MTA, 1910; DAP = *Documenta artis Paulinorum I. – III*. Edited by Béla Gyéressy and Levente F. Hervay. Budapest : Akadémia Kiadó, 1975 – 1978; DÉTSHY 1998 = DÉTSHY, Mihály. Az utolsó Pálóci végrendelete. In CSUKOVITS, Enikő (ed.) *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*. Budapest : MOL, 1998, pp. 37–44; DVOŘÁKOVÁ 2009 = DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela. *A lovag és királya. Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond*. Pozsony : Kalligram, 2009; ETE = BUNYITAI, Vince et al. (eds.) *Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából, I. – V*. Budapest : Kiadja a Szent-István-Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, 1902 – 1912; FÜSSY 1901 = FÜSSY, Tamás. Ákosházi Sárkány Ambrus végrendelete 1522. évből. In *Történelmi Tár*, 1901, vol. 24, pp. 37–146; HédOkl = *A Hédervári család oklevéltára I. – II*. (HédOkl). Edited by Béla Radvánszky and Levente Závodszy. Budapest : A M. tud. akadémia, 1909 – 1922; JAKÓ 1990 = *A kolozsmónostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei I, 1289 – 1484*. Edited by Zsigmond Jakó. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; KARÁCSONYI = KARÁCSONYI, János. *Szt. Ferenc rendjének története Magyaror-*



## II. Sources

### 1.

Čakovec, 8 October 1420.

*A gracious donation from Hermann of Celje and his sons to the Pauline monastery of Čakovec, for which the monks offer three masses a week.*

(original: MNL OL DL 32 811; transcription from 1555: MNL OL DL 32 812; regesta: LK 1925, p. 126; ZsO VII, no. 2246; DAP I, p. 22).

Nos, Hermannus Cilie, Segorieque comes etc. memorie commendamus, quibus expedit universis tenore presentium, quod nos communi consensu et parili voluntate filiorum nostrorum matura inter nos deliberatione prehabita considerantes prout sic Apostolus omnes stabimus ante tribunal Christi recepturi, prout in corpore gesserimus sive bonum fuerit, sive malum oportet nos diem messionis extreme misericordie piis operibus prevenire ac eternorum intuitu ad seminare in terris, quod redente Domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere valeamus in celis firma spe fiduciaque tenentes, quod qui parte seminat parte et metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus et metet sique volentes per parvis inapia pertervenis celestia ad ipsisti, quendam possessionem nostram Sinkolch vocatam in continua vicinitate claustrum fratrum heremitarum Sancti Pauli primi heremite sub titulo nominis Beatissime Virginis Marie prope castrum nostrum Tschakentornia constructi sive fundati habitam et existentem cum iobagionibus sive colonis insuper facie eiusdem existentibus ac serviciis eorundem domino facere constructis, necnon omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinentiis universis videlicet terris cultis et incultis, silvis, nemoribus, fenetis, pratis ad eandem spectantibus item muneribus, collectis sive census cum decimi bladi et vini ac exactionibus vinearum ab eisdem colonis dicte ville exigi consuetis ob spem et devotionem omnipotentis Dei ac sue genitricis sub pretextu elemosine memorato claustrum ipsius Beate Virginis et per consequens ipsis fratribus heremitis in eodem Deo et sue genitrici famulantibus iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter tenendam possidendam habenda, dedimus donavimus et contulimus, immo damus, donamus et conferimus vigore presentium eximentes et liberantes ipsam villam ab omni exactionis gravamine nostra et nostrorum officialium omnia iura et iurisdictiones in ipsum clasutrum et fratres heremitas nostre donationis titulo transferentes. Ita tamen, quod ipsi fratres heremite pro huiusmodi nostre donationis recompensam pro remedio ac salute animarum nostrarum et nos-

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*szágon 1711-ig I. – II.* Budapest : A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Kiadása, 1922 – 1924; KELÉNYI 2012 = KELÉNYI, Borbála. Kanizsai Dorottya végrendelete és a bajcsi pálosoknak tett adományai. In *Fons*, 2012, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 495–529; LK 1925 etc. = MÁLYUSZ, Elemér. A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban I. In *Levéltári Közlemények* (LK), 1925, vol. 3, pp. 100–191; II: In LK 1927, vol. 5, pp. 136–209; III: In LK, 1928, vol. 6, pp. 87–203; IV: In LK, 1929, vol. 7, pp. 278–311; V: In LK, 1930, vol. 8, pp. 65–111; VI: In LK, 1931, vol. 9, pp. 284–315; VII – VIII: In LK, 1932, vol. 10, pp. 92–123, 256–286; IX: In LK, 1933, vol. 11, pp. 58–92; X: In LK, 1934, vol. 12, pp. 111–154; XI: In LK, 1935, vol. 13, pp. 233–265; Marcali = *Marcali történetének Mohács előtti dokumentumai I.* Edited by József Gál. Marcali : Marcali Város Önkormányzatának Helytörténeti Múzeuma, 1995; PodOkl = *A podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára, I. – II.* Edited by Imre Lukinich. Budapest : A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1937 – 1939; ZalOkl = *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár II.* Edited by Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely and Gyula Nagy. Budapest : Históriaantik Könyvesház Kiadó, 1890.

trorum carorum vivorum et defunctorum propter alia suffragia et orationes consuetas omni ebdomada perpetuis temporibus tres missas videlicet feria secunda pro mortuis, feria sexta in memoria Passionis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et Sabatho de Beata Virgine cantare teneantur et tenebuntur et si forte premissa antedicti fratres heremite adimplere neglexerint volumus, quod huiusmodi nostra donatio nullius sic roboris seu firmitatis nosque et heredes nostri de dicta possessione et eius pertinentiis intromittere possumus et eam tenere tam diu quosque antedicti fratres recompensam effective promiserint adimplere. In cuius rei testimoniam presentes nostra sliiteras sub appensione nostri sigilli fecimus confirmamus. Datum in castro nostro Tschakentornia, ferai tertia proxima post festum sancti Francisci anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vigesimo.

## 2.

Jelovice, 6 December 1426.

*Nicholas Frankopan, Dalmatian-Croatian ban, made a perpetual endowment for Masses at the Senj Chapter. According to this, the canons and prebendaries of the Chapter must say daily Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary for 60 gold florins a year, and for the spiritual salvation of the deceased after the death of the Nicholas ban.*

(edition: CDH X/6, pp. 847–848, no. 391; regesta: CDCF I, no. 233).

Nos, Nicolaus de Frangepanibus Veglie, Modrussie, Segnie, Vinodolii, nec non Segnie comes, regnorum Dalmatie atque Croatie banus universis et singulis ad quos presens pagina devenerit, salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Notum facimus et evidentem manifestamus, qualiter considerantes, quod brevis a natura nobis est vita et memoria bene reddite sempiterna. Illa, inquam est qua vigeat memoria seculorum omnium, quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa eternitas semper tuebitur, et huius inserviendum est. Considerantes etiam, quod elemosyna ab omni peccato et a morte liberat et non patitur animam ire in tenebras, ipsa est, que purgat peccata et facit invenire vitam eternam, maxime faciens homo in vita sua. Et considerantes, quod nulla elemosyna prevalet Misse, que plures habet effectus, primus quia est medicina contra peccata mundana; secundus, ut lignum vite sit in medio paradisi; tertio, ut Christo nobis quotidie uniatur sacramentaliter, et nos ei spiritualiter; quarto, ut apud nos sit iugis memoria passionis Christi. Unde his consideratis, volentes providere anime nostre in vita pariter et in morte, pervenimus ad talem concordie pactum et conventionem, stipulatione vallatam, cum venerabilibus viris canonicis et prebendariis civitatis Segnie, ipsis congregatis et aduantis invicem sono campane, ut moris est, de eorum voluntate et concordia in hunc modum et formam: verum, quod quatuor canonici cum prebendariis dicant ac debeant celebrare missam Beate Marie Virginis ad honorem et omni die alta voce in aurora, et in perpetuum, quam missam unus de dictis quatuor canonicis continuo debeat celebrare, alii vero tres canonici et quatuor prebendarii debeant respondere in dicta missa, et stare in choro induti cum collis, et quod in qualibet missa ille, qui celebrat, debeat dicere orationem pro

sanitate nostra nominatim, nominando nos per orationem Beate Virginis et hoc in vita nostra; post mortem vero nostram debeat dicere celebrans orationem mortuorum pro anima nostra similiter nominando nos nominatim; et nos prefatus comes Nicolaus pro remuneratione dicte misse et labore dictorum canonicorum et prebendariorum promittimus, per nos et heredes ac successores nostros dictis canonicis et prebendariis dare et solvere in pecunia numerata annuatim ducatis sexaginta in auro, in quolibet festo beati Nicolai hoc pacto et conditione addita: quod cessantibus nobis solverem sit licitum ipsis canonicis et prebendariis cessare a celebratione dicte misse, sine aliqua contradictione aut poena; promittentes dicte partes una alteri et altera alteri obsecundare et attendere omnia predicta et adimplere per se et suos heredes et successores, et perpetuo habere firma et rata, et in nullo contra facere sub poena solidorum decem cuilibet canonico, qui non interesset, quem tangeret interesse applicanda domino episcopo Segnensi. In quorum omnium testimonium et evidentiam pleniorum ac roboris firmitatem, has presentes litteras supradicte conventionis et obligationis nostri sigilli impensione munitas, eis duximus exhibendas in castro nostro Idovilly, anno MCCCCXXVI, indictione 4, die 6 mensis Decembris. Presentibus testibus infrascriptis: reverendo in Christo patribus, domino Thoma, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia episcopo Segnensi, domino patre Nicolao episcopo, eadem gratia Scardonensi, domino Iosepho abbate sancti georgii de Lisacz diocesis Segnensis, me Iohanne capellano dicti domini episcopi Segnensis, Ioanne et Iacobobo de Raduchis, aliisque testibus ad hoc vocatis, habitis et rogatis.

## 3.

Babócsa Castle, 21 December 1454.

*A perpetual Mass foundation made by John of Marcali in the Pauline monastery of Enyere.*

(transcription from 1459: MNL OL DL 14 894; chancellor's note on the original document: "*comissio propria domini regis, Iohanne de Marczali referente;*" accompanied by an 18<sup>th</sup> century copy).

Nos, Ioannes filius Vaivode de Marczali Zaladiensis et de Verevicensis comitatus comes memorie commendamus, quod nos ex propria voluntate nostra pro salutem parentorum nostrorum et nostra, quoddam predium nostrum Nyavalyad vocatum in comitatu Zaladiensi existens et habitum cum omnibus eiusdem pertinentiis et utilitatibus suis silvis, pratis, fenilibus, terris arabilibus cultis et incultis, aquis et aquarum decursibus, rubetis, urgultis ac aliis quibuslibet ad dictum predium sub veris et antiquis metis de iure spectantibus claustrum Beate Marie Virginis intra metas possessionis Enyereh fundato in testamentali legamus, donamus et perpetuamus, immo legavimus, donavimus, perpetuavimus presentium per vigorem tali modo, quod ipsi ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremite in predicto claustrum Beate Marie Virginis de Enereh commorantes singulis septimanis unam missam de Anuntiatione Beate Marie Virginis gloriose pro salute parentum nostrorum et nostra solemniter officiare debeant atque teneatur. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras nos-

tras testamentales sigillo nostro authentico consignatas pro uberiori cautela fecimus consignari. Datum in castro nostro Babocha, in festo Beati Thome Apostoli, anno Domini millesimo quadingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto.

4.

Segesd, 20 September 1458.

*Stephen Marcali makes a perpetual endowment for Mass at the Franciscan monastery in Segesd.*

(original: MNL OL DF 250 346).

Nos, Stephanus de Marchali filius condam magnifici viri domini Dyonisii bani ad quos presentes pervenerint salutem in salutis conditore, memorie commendamus tenore presentium significantes quibus expedit universis, quia prespicua contemplatione cuncta, quo homo possidet in vita transitoria fore et caduta, quamprimus solum illa, que in laudem Christi Ihesu et sue genitrici Virginis Marie advocate nostre ac suorum beatorum ordinatur perpetua existere et salubriter perficere, ob hoc nos matura deliberatione prehabita salutari usque consilio carissime controhalis nostre domine Katherine ac dilecti filii nostri Iohannis, nec non fratris nostri carissimi domini Ladislai, filii condam magnifici viri domini Georgii, similiter fratris nostri volentesque terrena celestibus commutare habeat facimus et fecimus dispositionem, quod possessionum nostram in Segusd in vico Wthkez vocatam, iuxta seu de opposito iobagionum claustrum Beate Marie Virginis, quos nostri predecessores eidem claustrum donarunt, et aliam possessionem nostra Farkasfalua nominatam, per nos edificatam et convocatam cum omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus, videlicet terris arabilibus, pratis, fenilibus, silvis, nemoribus, virgultis, aquis et piscinis, molendinis, palludibus prelibato claustrum Beate Marie Virginis et fratribus ordinis Beati Francisci in eodem iugiter Domino servientibus damus et donamus, atque contulimus, immo dedimus, donavimus, atque offerimus pro se aut pro eorum syndicos perpetue et irrevocabiler habendum, tenendum pariter et possidendum eodem iure, quo nos tenuimus, habuimus et possidemus, nil iuris amplius in de repetentes, scilicet totum dicto claustrum exigendum relinquentes hoc, tum interposito, quo fratres predicti in predicto claustrum pro tempore commorantes pro salute anime nostre nostrorum omni tam vivorum, quam defunctorum teneantur in eodem sepredicto claustrum in altari maiori prope cuius temporibus diebus Sabbatinis ad honorem Virginis Marie unam missam eodem modo in capella Sancti Antonii diebus tertiis feriis de Sancto Antonio nisi talibus diebus tales evernirent solempnitate ad quas ecclesia specialiter occuparetur dictas cum missas legere non obmittant, igitur quicumque filiorum nostrorum et filii filiorum nostrorum salubrem dispositionem perpetuam et augmentati procuravit benedictionibus omnipotentis Dei repleatur, qui vos perturbavit et quovis necnon alienari procuravit aut procurari fecerit deleantur eorum notitia de libero vite et indistrissimo iudicio de coram nobis reddat rationem, in quorum omni premissorum ordinationum testimonium firmitatem perpetuam presentes duximus sigilli nostri

autentici appensione roborandas. Datum Segusdini, in vigilia Sancti Mathei apostoli et evangeliste, anno nativitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo octavo.

5.

Budaszentlőrinc, 11 June 1470.

*For the spiritual salvation of Count Sigmund of Pezinok and Svätý Jur and his parents, Peter the General of Pauline decrees a perpetual Mass for the monks of the monastery in return for the many contributions made to the monastery in Bratislava by the patron of the order.*

(original: MNL OL DL 16 869).

Pater Petrus ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Pauli Primiheremite sub regula beati Augustini episcopi degentium prior generalis ceterisque patres diffinitores presentis capituli nostri generalis vobis spectabilis et magnifico domino Sigismundo, comiti de Sancto Georgio et de Pewsing pretitulati ordinis nostri fautori et benefactori devotissimo orationum devotarum et omni incrementa virtutum, quia opera hominum ipsis de dederibus caduta a memoria superstitem, si igitur ea futurorum cognitio debet apprehendere expedire, ut scriptura patrocinio roboretur, cum igitur divini servitionis gratia vos inducere ob reverentiam omnipotenti Dei eiusque genitoris Marie gloriose virginis ac beatissimi Pauli primis nostri incliti et omnium sanctorum merita gloriosa plurima beneficia devotosque elemosinarum largitores ordini nostri et precipue monasterio nostri ad honorem Beatissime Marie Virginis supra Posonium fundato fratribusque in eodem Deo famulantibus exhibuisse dinoscamus, prout ex relationi religiosorum patris prioris et fartris eiusdem monasterii intelleximus subvenire studuistis de ceteroque amplioribus beneficiis subvenire velle promittitis, ut igitur tanti accepti beneficii ingratitude emtemus muta deliberatione prehabita dignum putavimus et divine acceptabile voluntati, ut ab ipso ordine nostro prerogativam senciat pro ceteris fidelibus uberiore, proinde piissimis desideriis et petitionibus salubremus pro parte vestra nobis devote porrectis annueri volens auctoritate presentis nostri capituli statuimus, ut ultra illa precum suffragia, que pro ordinis nostri benefactoris generaliter elargiri solent a modo et deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus singulis Sabbatis diebus una missa de Assumptione gloriosissime Mariae virginis super altarem Beate Catherine virginis in eadem ecclesia prenotati claustrum nostri cantando, aliis vero reliquis singulis diebus ad placitum officiantis super eodem altari pro vestra et vestrorumque carorum vivorum ac defunctorum salute legendo celebretur, quapropter patri priori loci predicti omnibusque fratribus presbiteris tam presentibus, quam futuris in ipso conventu pro tempore constitutis et constituendis firmiter commissimus et presentium serie committimus quatinus huiusmodi missas modo premissis singulis septimanis celebrare et continuare debeant et teneantur. Quatinus per hec et alia caritatis opera gratiam in presenti et gloriam in futuro prestante domino valeatis optimere. In cuius rei testimonium firmitateque perpetua

presentes litteras nostras maiori sigillo ordinis nostri munitas duximus vobis concedent. Datum apud Sanctum Laurentium in monasterio nostro cenobiali supra Budam fundato, secundo die festi Pentecostes, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo.

## 6.

Šintava Castle, 15 November 1505.

*The last will and testament of George Kanizsai, the Ban of Belgrade, to establish a perpetual endowment for Mass in the St. Wolfgang's Chapel founded by him.*

(transcription from 1510: MNL OL DL 22 560).

Nos, Georgius de Kanysa banus Nandorabensis etc. memorie commendamus tenore presentium significamus, quibus expedit universis, quod cum inter humane considerationis studium nichil salubrius existat, quam transitoria pro eternis commutare obhoc congruit nobis de divini cultus augmento debita solitudine providere cupientis, igitur capellam Sancti Wolfgangi episcopi et confessoris in oppido nostro Zered vocato diocesis Strigoniensis in comitatu Posoniensis existenti habito per nos denuo et a primis fundamentis constructam et edificatam aliquo dotare premio, ut ipse beatissimus Wolfgangus, in quo specialem post Deum gerimus fidutiam pro nobis intercedat rectorque capelle eiusdem pro tempore constitutus et in futurum constituentis successivis semper temporibus Deum exoret altissimum:

Primo ergo eidem capelle in dotem perpetuam, quandam plateam in prefato oppido nostro Zered habitam partibus scilicet meridionali a domo scole et septentrionali a domo Mathei Marse dicti usque prefatam capellam per nos denuo constructam et edificatam se erigendi et protegendi, quam aliis iudei inhabitassent, cum omnibus eiusdem platee inhabitatoribus omnibusque utilitatibus atque pertinentiis cum omnique dominio omnibusque iure et domini proprietatibus in predictam capellam et rectorem eiusdem pro tempore existenti pleno iure.

Secundo eidem capelle et ad usum rectoris ipsius unum molendinum nostrum decurrenti in fluvio Awawagh intra veras metas possessionis nostre Farkashyda vocate in dicto comitatu Posoniensis, necnon unam vineam sitam et adiacentem in promontorio oppidi nostri Sempthe Ohegh appellato in comitatu Nitriensis cui ab occidentis quodam via communis se erigit et oriente partibus quoddam rubetum existit a meridionali vero providi Benedicti Fewrewdews et septentrionali plagis ecclesie Sancti Martini in eodem oppido nostro Sempthe fundate contingantur, quequidem vinea prefuerat quondam Stephani Warga iobagionis nostri sed per defectum seminis eiusdem ad nos extitit legitime iuxta regni consuetudinem devoluta in perpetuum dare, donare et conferre decrevimus, immo damus, donamus et conferimus iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter de quibus omnibus suprascriptis manus nostras et filiorum ac heredum officialiumque universorum nostrorum peritus recepimus hoc etiam interiecto, ut dum et quando temporum in eventu agger et repletura supradicti mo-

lendini renovari et repleti opportuerit et pro edificatione ipsius molendini aliqua ligna duci debuerint, extunc iidem iobagiones nostri, qui scilicet hactenus dictas aggerem et repleturam repleti habuerunt replere et tenere lignaque pro edificatione eiusdem molendini necessaria ducere debeant et teneantur.

Pretera volumus et ordinamus, quod ipsius rectoris electio et presentatio ad nos quoad volente Deo vincemus et post obitum nostrum ad heredes nostros a nobis condescenti debeat pertinere casu vero, quo mutu divino cui nemo resistere potest heredes nostri deprierent, extunc ius eligendi et presentandi huiusmodi rector ad omnium temporalem, qui in dicta possessione nostra Zered successerit devolvatur sperante un eo, quod hanc nostram salutiferam dispositionem non impendit, sed potius augebit pro salute anime sue cogitantis, quod et ipse mori debet decrevimus autem et ita volumus, quod de his rebus et proventibus dictus rector singulis diebus has missas dicere teneatur, item die dominica de Sancta Trinitate, feriis secunda pro defunctis, tertia de Sanctis Wolffgango, Lazaro, Ieronimo doctor ac Sancta Martha, quarum scilicet in honorem capella ipsa fundata et dedicata extitit, quarta pro peccatis cum collecta sive oratione Sancti Georgii martiris, quinta de Corpore Christi, sexta pro Passione Domini et Sabbato de Assumptione gloriosissime Virginis Marie cum autem propter occurrentis octavalia et mobilia festa dicte misse feriis prescriptis officiarum et celebrari non poterunt, ex tunc unius cuiusque prescripte misse collectam seu orationem loco et feria sua ipse rector semper dicat prescriptis autem octavalibus et mobilibus festivitatibus vespere et missam decantari facere et circa ipsam capellam in dote seu domo ad hoc constructa et deputata ipse rector continuam facere residentiam semper debeat et teneatur, harum nostrarum sigillo nostro, quo utimur consignatarum vigore et testimonio litterarum mediante. Datum in castro nostro Sempthe, Sabbato proximo post festum beati Briccii episcopi et confessoris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinto.

7.

Corvin Castle, 13 December 1507.

*Beatrice Frankopan's gracious donation, her perpetual missal to the Pauline monastery of Lepoglava, for the veneration of the Virgin Mary and for the spiritual well-being of her late husband, John Corvinus and her son Christopher, who are buried in the monastery church.*

(original: MNL OL DL 34 420; regesta: LK 1925, p. 64).

Nos, Beatrix de Frangepanibus illustrissimi condam domini Iohannis Corvini Liphovie ducis etc. relicta memorie commendamus tenore presentium significamus quibus expedit universis, cum humane conditionis vita caduta sit et tamquam liliu campi, quod hodie eras inclibanu mittitur mutatoria et transitoria esse censeantur vitalisque ac misericordie largitorumque elemosinarum opus in perpetuum virescat in celis fructumque retributionis largienti Altissimus voti sue refundet copiose volens sanctorum vestigia imitare, ut qui seminat in spiritu sic de spiritu vitam eternam metere cognoscat, cupiens itaque in hac mortali vita defectuosa facere durabilia bonisque operibus et elemosi-

narum largitionibus a Deo ipso retribuere gratiam et gloriam consequi in mortalem, hinc est. Quod nos tum ob devotionem nostram, quam ad beatissimam gloriosissimamque Dei genitricem de integerimam semper virginem Mariam post Deum altissimum ab ineunte nostra etate gessimus specialiterque gerimus in eunti, cuius patrocínio in terris et in celesti curia aput natum suum gloriosissimum a corporis et anime nostre periculis liberari confidimus, ideoque indubitanter tenemus, tum voco ob remedium salutis animarum memorati illustrissimi condam domini Iohannis Corvini ducis, consortis ac Christofori ducis filii felicitum recordationum carissimorum nostrorum in basilica religiosorum fratrum heremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi heremite in clastro Sancte Marie de Leppoglawa fundata tumulatorum, ac nostre finemque et exitum nostrum saluberimum, possessiones nostras possessionari Velika, Bratilowcz, Krazethyncz, Duorcz, Zarebrgye, Brezowecz, Kamennycza omnino in comitatu Warasdiensis existentes et habitas, simulcum cunctis earundem utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet terris scilicet arabilibus cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, fenetsi, silvis, nemoribus, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis, molendinis et molendinorum locis, montibus, vallibus, vineis, vinearumque promontorii generaliter pro quarumlibet utilitatibus quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis ad easdem spectantis et pertinentis sub ipsarum veris metis et antiquis existentis memorato clastro Sancte Marie de Lepoglawa et per consequentis fratribus heremitis in eodem clastro pro tempore degentis in perpetuam elemosinam dedimus, donavimus et contulimus, ymmo damus, donamus et conferimus iure perpetuo et irrevocabiler tenendam, possidendam in pariter et habendam ea tamen conditione declarata et per ipsos fratres assumpta mediante in quod iidem fratres heremite singulis diebus semper successivis duraturis temporibus unam missam cantandam celebrare teneantur, quia autem a fratribus cultus divinus maiore crescere et augmentare videtur propterea vicarius prenotati monasterii, qui maiori numero ubique creditur in eodem clastro successivis temporibus personalem faciat degentes et fratres pro divino cultu ad minus viginti in eodem faciat habitare. In cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque perpetuam presentes litteras nostras eisdem fratribus heremitis duximus concedendas. Datum in castro nostro Hwnyad, in festo beate Lucie virginis et martiris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septimo.

8.

Székesfehérvár, 11 Mai 1511.

*A gracious donation of Pál Kinizsi's widow, Benigna Magyar, to the Pauline monastery in Nagyvázsony.*

(transcription from 1542: MNL OL DL 39 172).

Nos, conventus cruciferorum ordinis Sancti Ioannis Ierosolimitani Domus Hospitalis ecclesie Beate Regis Stephane de Alba omnibus Christi fidelibus presentibus pariter et futuris presentium notitiam habituris salutem in omnium Largitore, ad universorum notitiam harum serie volumus per-



venire, quod generosa ac magnifica domina Benigna relictā condam magnifici Pauli de Kenys comitis Themensiensis coram nobis personaliter constituta sponte et libere confessa est in hunc modum: quod quia ipse Deo optimo sic volente sine cuius nutu et numine nichil haberi stabiliri que potest liberis utriusque sexus, quorum solatio vitam hanc eremitam transigere potuisset, careret et penitus deficeret de habenda, quo spe ob etatis sue provectē corporem frustraretur non haberet, qui post mortem suam sue anime provideret, considerantis itaque et in recenti memoria revolueri se instar humane conditionis dum divine placuerit voluntati debitum carnis solui debere nec in terris longere consistere posse, volens igitur pro cadutis et transitoriis rebus eterna et in eum duratura felici commercio transmutare, quasdam duas totales possessiones suas Lycherth et Agyaglyk vocatas in comitatu Vespremiensis existenti habitas simulcum molendinis in eadem Agyaglyk decurrentis habito, aliisque cunctis ipsarum utilitatibus et pertinentiis, quibuslibet terris scilicet arabilibus cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, fenetis, silvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis vinearumque promontoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis aquarumque decursibus, molendinis et eorundem locis generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum earundem integritatibus, quocumque nomini vocabulo vocitatis et appellatis ad easdem de iure et ab antiquo spectante et pertinere debentis claustro Beati Michaelis archangeli prope Vason fundato et per dictum magnificum Paulum de Kenys extincto religiosisque fratribus ordinis Beati Pauli Primiheremite in eodem degentis ob singularem devotionem, quam erga dictum ordinem gereret in perpetuum elemosinam sempiternamque hereditatem et patrimonium crucifixi ob sue et dicti condam domini ac mariti sui animarum salute dedisset, donasset et ascripsisset, immo dedit, donavit et ascripsit nostri in presentia iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter tenendam, possidendam pariter et habendam, nullum ius nullum ne iuris et dominiis proprietatem, quod et quam hactenus in eisdem pertinentiis earundem habuisset pro se nec quibuspia aliis reservantes sed totum et omnino in prefatum claustrum Beati Michaelis Archangeli fratresque heremitas in eodem pro tempore degentis, transferendis pleno iure, in cuius rei memoria firmitatemque perpetuas presentes litteras nostras privilegiales pendentis et autentici sigilli nostri munimine roboratas duximus concedendas. Datum in festo Ascensionis Domini Anno eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo undecimo. Honorabilis et religiosus viris magistro Stephano preceptoratus locumtenens, Paulo lectore, Martino cantore ceterisque fratribus ecclesie nostre predicte existentes et devote regi famulantibus sempiterno.