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Péter Haraszti Szabó, PhD szabo.szpeter@hotmail.com HUN-REN – Eötvös Loránd University University Research Group 6-8. Múzeum krt. 1053 Budapest Hungary

## Péter HARASZTI SZABÓ:

## Possibilities and Results in Medieval Hungarian University History Research – with A Prosopographical Focus

In my paper, I will demonstrate, what kind of literature and contemporary sources are available to explore the medieval Hungarian Peregrination. In the current state, we know about 12800 enrolments between 1100 and 1526, and we were able to clarify their career prospects after their studies by nearly 20%. Thanks to systematic research, this number will certainly increase. Although most graduate students did not use their degrees after their studies, prosopographical research has many other ways to reveal their identities and postgraduate career. Various inscriptions in university sources make it possible to identify the students, in connection with the reviving ecclesiastical and secular archontology research in the previous decades. Charters of the Hungarian National Archives before 1526 (more than 200 thousand pieces) are available online for every researcher. Short extracts were also prepared for a significant part of them, which makes easier the research in the beginning. On the other hand, a considerable part of manuscripts and early printed books from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (around 90%) are lost or perished due to the Ottoman-Hungarian wars in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, however, several catalogues were made of the remaining sources, such as in Hungary (Csaba Csapodi-Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné: Bibliotheca Hungarica I-III) or in Slovakia (Julius Sopko: Codices latini medii aevi Bibliothecarum Slovakiae; Codices medii aevi, qui olim in bibliotheca Slovaciae asservabantur et nunc in Hungaria et Romania asservantur). There are remarkable notes in these kinds of sources which can be related to medieval universities and students, which also makes it easier to follow their postgraduate life as well. The research of individual social groups, especially the nobility, is greatly aided by the genealogical research conducted by Pál Engel in connection with the Hungarian noble families of the Middle Ages. In this regard, we are constantly mapping and expanding the number of students of noble origin. At the end of my paper, it becomes visible through a few examples how these sources and the literature complement each other and how students' careers can be reconstructed from them.

Keywords: Medieval Universities, Prosopography, Repertorium Academicum Hungariae, Medieval Hungary, Genealogy



#### Introduction

Although the university research in Hungary started already in the nineteenth century and was able to show significant achievements, still accumulated serious debts during the decades.1 The HUN-REN-ELTE University Research Group's main aim was to redeem these debts, thus since 2013 we scientifically collect, systematize and publish every information about students of Hungary who studied in a higher educational institution not only in the Kingdom of Hungary but in abroad as well from the Middle Ages to 1850.2 However, our research group collects and analyses information about every enrolled students, not only the graduated ones. During this work, we were able to assemble more than half a million records of students, almost 13 thousand medieval students among them. We published the data about the latter mentioned students in three plus one volume. The first volume, published even before the research group was founded, contains the data of the students who studied at the University of Vienna in 2008, based on the work of Anna Tüskés.3 This was significantly supplemented by the former colleague of our research group, Borbála Kelényi, mainly with regard to degrees. In 2016–2017, together with Borbála Kelényi, we published the student data of the universities in Prague and Krakow in two volumes. The first volume contained the introductory studies, and the second volume contained the database.4 By collecting the data of the students in Krakow and Prague, we paid off an old debt, as the students of these two institutions had not previously been collected and published with the requirement of completeness. The last medieval volume was published in 2019, which included Hungarian students at Italian, French, German and English universities.<sup>5</sup> The entire medieval material was uploaded to the website of the ELTE University Library and Archives in 2023.6 The NKFIH research group, founded in 2024 under the leadership of Beatrix F. Romhányi, examines the regional development of the Kingdom of Hungary in the period around 1500, helps to clarify the data and to learn more about the students' lives. During these examinations, university students receive special attention. Although not much time has passed since the start of the project, in the case of many students, it was possible to enrich the geographical (sometimes the social) origins and careers of university students known from the years 1475–1526 with new information. Since foreign researchers probably get less information about medieval Hungarian sources and literature, we could use them in research focused on Hungary, thus in this paper, one of my aims is to present what sources we can include in work and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Szögi 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Tüskés 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI – SZÖGI 2016–2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://rahprojekt.elte.hu/databases2.php – accessed: 22-03-2024.

what literary apparatus we can use to determine prosopographical research and the geographical origin of students.

## Repertorium Academicum Hungariae (RAH) - The medieval part

Since none of the three Hungarian Universities (Pécs – 1367, Óbuda – 1395, 1410, Pozsony [Bratislava, SK], 1467), which were founded in the Middle Ages have survived their founders, it is easy to understand what could mean the foreign universities for young Hungarians who wanted to study at a higher level. The first student in our database was in Laon from 1100,8 who was followed by other fellow students at the University of Paris in the same century. In total, I could say that around 80 people were registered in the universities of France during the Middle Ages from the Kingdom of Hungary. On the other hand, the thirteenth century was the era of the Italian (mostly) law universities from a Hungarian point of view. Their numbers increased significantly especially in the middle of the century, during the reign of King Béla IV (1235– 1270). The law centres of Bologna and Padua were the main destinations for the Hungarians and their primacy did not change until the last third of the fourteenth century, although a short rise of the peregrination toward Paris can be observed during the reign of Louis I (the Great, 1342–1328). In total, we know about 860 enrolments in Italy that we can link to a certain institution, while in another 120 cases, we only know the fact of the university attendance, and these can probably be linked to Italy.

However, the foundation of the Central European universities around the middle of the fourteenth century brought serious changes to the peregrination of the whole region. The universities of Prague, Vienna and Krakow, founded on the models of Paris and Bologna, with qualified professors, offered easily accessible, affordable, and at the same time reliable knowledge to those interested. Until the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth century, the primary destination was certainly the University of Prague,9 where around 250 students could be counted by 1420, even though they are only the graduated students because we have information only about the graduations at Prague, and not the enrolments due to the destruction of the university sources. The universities of Vienna and Krakow, which withered away in the years following their founding, later played a leading role in the education of young Hungarians. The former was reorganized at the end of the 1360s, while – with the help of his spouse Queen Hedvig – Wladyslaw re-founded the university in Krakow in 1400. The importance of Vienna mainly increased with the gradual decline of Prague's role shortly after 1409. Starting from the 1360s, roughly 6,500 enrolments can be linked to Vienna. The importance of the University of Krakow grew in the second half of the fifteenth century, not independently of King Mathias I conflicts with Austria, which also had an impact on university

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> FONT 2017.

<sup>8</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. p. 97. nr. 1.

<sup>9</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ 2015.

enrolments at Vienna. We know more than 4,200 Hungarian students in Krakow, nearly two third of them became university citizens after the 1450s-1460s. The backbone of the group of medieval Hungarian university students was therefore the visitors of these two institutions. There was little interest in German and English universities in the Middle Ages. We know of only 4 students in England, and just over 110 enrolments can be linked to the universities founded in the Holy Roman Empire.

There are other categories in our database. A substantial problem is that the geographical origin of the students is not always clear. Among the students of the Hungarian Nation of the University of Vienna there were young people from Poland, Bohemia, Silesia and even the Baltic Region in addition to the students of the Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, we collected under separate code numbers those students who could have even been Hungarians, and later this can be proven or disproved. This affects roughly 750 enrolments. Furthermore, in less than 50 cases, domestic sources mention the university degrees they obtained, but so far it has not been possible to link them to a specific enrolled student. This is how our database, containing more than 12,800 records, which brings together the university students of medieval Hungary, is composed.

Among these enrolled students, there are roughly 900 cases that can be highlighted the legal studies at a law faculty, around 240 matriculations can be linked to the theology faculties (mostly the members of religious orders) and only 50-60 cases to medical faculties. In other words, nearly 11,000 enrolments can be linked to the Faculty of Liberal Arts alone. However, in terms of degrees, it can be pointed out that every fourth or third student obtained a degree (27%). Of course, the fact of graduation also enables the identification of students in many cases.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> KELÉNYI 2016. p. 124-126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Haraszti Szabó – Kelényi 2019. p. 111. nr. 85–88. Cf. Laszlovszky 1994. p. 223–253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Caspar Kragwitz de Ottental prope Pyberspurgkch, 1471, Wien. MUW II. 126. Pibersburg was, in fact, in Pozsony County that nowadays belongs to Slovakia, and this settlement in Hungarian called Vöröskő [Červený Kameň, SK]. In the neighbouring area there is the village of Ottontal – Ottóvölgy [Dol'any, SK]. ENGEL 2001. Ottontal – Ottóvölgy: 3PO14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In his last will, dated 9 July 1479, Adlman Erasmus from Pozsony was mentioned by doctor of medicine, however we also know that he was already a city doctor in Pozsony in 1476. MAJOROSSY – SZENDE 2010. I. p. 435–436; ORTVAY 1892–1912. II. p. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The degree is our only help in identifying Sebastian Magnus of Szerdahely. All we know about him from university sources is that he enrolled in Vienna in 1486, where he obtained a magister artium degree in 1494 (MUW II. p. 192.). In the same year, he enrolled in the Faculty of Law (MWRF II. p. 57.), and at the same time he taught at the Faculty of Arts, while he was an examiner of the Hungarian Nation and the Nation's procurator for several times. (AFA III/2. p. 110, 129, 138, 145, 147.) In the Kingdom of Hungary, there were too many settlements called Szerdahely in the Middle Ages, while unfortunately Sebastian's "Magnus" and later mentioned "Wayda" cognomens do not help either. However, we are in an exceptionally lucky situation, as among the medieval charters (MNL OL DF 208028) a certain Sebastianus de Zeredahel *arcium liberalium magister* is mentioned, about whom the source reveals that he belonged to the diocese of Veszprém. He had to act in the case of the parish priest of Szárszó in the company of the Benedictine abbots Blaise of Koppánymonostor and Gregory of Tata. The parish priest violated the interests of the Abbey of

Thanks to the various entries in university sources, it was possible to learn at least partially about the life, career, and family relationships of almost every fifth student. In this, not only the already mentioned university degrees, but also cognomens and different forms of names,<sup>15</sup> or even the paid enrolment fees, <sup>16</sup> were of great help to us. In about 2,700 cases, we know at least one moment from the students' lives, and this number is constantly increasing. This can be achieved in part through a more detailed analysis of smaller or larger regions,<sup>17</sup> and in part by collaborating with practitioners of related disciplines. In recent years, we have published several volumes, together with practitioners of related sciences and researchers from neighbouring countries, which expanded our knowledge in this field. We also dealt with students'

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Pannonhalma, which is why the two Benedictine abbots were sent out. However, we can also get closer to the student's place of origin. A settlement called Szerdahely can be found in almost every archdeaconry of the Bishopric of Veszprém, however, since Szárszó was in the archdeaconry of Somogy (ENGEL 2001. Szárszó: 1SM201), it is therefore more likely that Szerdahelyi could also have come from this region. In this case, two settlements, the village of Kaposszerdahely (ENGEL 2001. Szerdahely: 1SM73) and the market town of Szerdahely (ENGEL 2001. Szerdahely: 1SM69) can be considered, and the Szerdahely family also owned the latter. In this case, the suspicion may arise that Sebastian may have belonged to the Szerdahely branch of the Győr kindred, which was influential in the region. However, we do not get any closer than this during identification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Thomas ex Segkhet enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1497. (MUW II. p. 261.) Based on his name, we might think that Thomas came to the university from Szeged, or possibly from a settlement called Sziget (e.g. Máramarossziget [Sighetu Marmaţiei, RO]), perhaps from a territorial unit (e.g. Nagysziget – Csepel-sziget), but the additional names clarify his origin. He is also mentioned as Thomas Erseck de Fekett in university sources. (AFA IV. p. 20.) Based on these, localities named Feket – Feked can be considered. There were only two settlements in contemporary Hungary at the time called like that, one was in the District of Solt between the Danube-Tisza, which belonged to Fejér County (ENGEL 2001. Feked: 16SO25), and in Baranya (ENGEL 2001. Feked: 1BAR117). Even more precise identification is made possible by the nickname "Erseck". The name Erseck – Érsek (Archbishop) makes it clear that Thomas could go to the university from the District of Solt, because Feked and the neighbouring area was the property of the noble serfs of the Archbishops of Kalocsa, the so-called predial nobles, who gained noble rights in return for their services for the archbishops. Although we are not getting any closer to identifying his person, based on the nickname, we managed to determine exactly where the mentioned student came from. Pánya 2017 p. 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Johannes Petri de Zerdahel paid 1 Florin in 1425, when he was enrolled at the University of Vienna. The amount of his prescribed tax during the matriculation suggests that John was a noble student. From the several families which were named after a settlement called Szerdahely in the Middle Ages there was only one person (according to our current knowledge) whose father was Peter and came from a noble family. John most probably belonged to the Szerdahely branches of the Baksa kindred; thus, he was born in Bodrogszerdahely [Streda nad Bodrogom, SK] in Zemplén County (ENGEL 2001. Szerdahely: 4ZN64), where the family owned property and from which the family took its name. Bodrogszerdahely belonged to Kövesd [Veľký Kamenec, SK] castle, which was occupied by the Pálóci family in 1440, and Peter's son John managed to recapture it only in 1446, and he owned it until his death in 1450 (at least at that time only his widow is mentioned). MNL OL DL 57710); ENGEL 1996. II. p. 352.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ 2021: HARASZTI SZABÓ 2023.

relationship with the Reformation,<sup>18</sup> their impact on book culture,<sup>19</sup> or the financial aspects of university studies<sup>20</sup> at highly successful conferences, which were also published in writing. Since it is not entirely clear to foreign historians what kind of source base and literary apparatus we are working with, below I will present what the prosopographic aspects of Hungarian university history research are like. Through this interpretation, if necessary, I will briefly touch on the medieval Hungarian church organization, and on the infrastructure of the relevant research in Hungary as well.

# The possibilities of prosopographic research about Hungarian Middle Ages

The source base of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is quite fragmentary. It suffered serious damages during the wars against the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it was not spared during the world wars in the twentieth century either. The most surviving sources were not preserved in the territory of present-day Hungary, while the central regions of the historical Kingdom were under occupation and became places of constant war. The documents of the royal archives, the central courts and the chancellery were completely or almost completely destroyed.<sup>21</sup> The episcopal, archbishoprics and their chapters' archives also suffered significant damage. This loss is extremely painful considering that in the Middle Ages in Hungary, within the framework of the so-called places of authentication (loca credibilia). the cathedral chapters, the major collegiate chapters, and some monastic convents performed the tasks of issuing public certificates and certifying documents instead of public notaries.<sup>22</sup> The destruction of sources and registers connected to the parish network in present-day Hungary can be said to be almost complete. About 200,000 charters survived the destruction, and they are accessible to anyone in a digitalized, searchable format on the website of the Hungarian National Archives.<sup>23</sup> In many cases, short extracts in the Hungarian language were also prepared for these diplomas, which is helps to orientate the researchers. Although the collection and publication of our medieval sources (focused on the narrative sources) started already in the sixteenth century, it gained more and more impulse at the turn of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In 2016, in connection with the upcoming commemorative year of the Reformation, we organized a conference on the beginnings of the Reformation in Hungary and its educational aspects, entitled "Reformation and Peregrination". The written version of this was published in a special issue in 2017 by the Gerundium, a university history journal based in Debrecen. <a href="https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/gerundium/issue/view/78">https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/gerundium/issue/view/78</a> – accessed: 22-03-2024)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> FÁBIÁN – LOVAS – HARASZTI SZABÓ – UHRIN 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI – SIMON 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Belitzky 1934, p. 155-158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Hunyadi 2003. p. 25-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/ – accessed: 22-03-2024)

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> The publication and extraction of the sources of the Anjou period (1301–1386) and the Sigismund period (1387–1437) is still in progress. The former began in the nineteenth century,<sup>25</sup> the latter in 1951.<sup>26</sup> Currently, an independent research group is compiling and publishing the sources of these two eras.<sup>27</sup> Several family archives have been published or are in the process of being published, which significantly simplifies and guides the research. Numerous other legal,<sup>28</sup> ecclesiastical,<sup>29</sup> economic,<sup>30</sup> or even liturgical<sup>31</sup> source publications add colour to the palette, a significant part of which is available in the Hungaricana database financed by the National Cultural Fund, which makes these sources accessible as a digitized Public Collection Library, as well as a very large amount of specialist literature and periodicals from different epochs.<sup>32</sup> This is supplemented by the Arcanum Digital Knowledge Library, which has similar functions and also makes a huge amount of material available online.<sup>33</sup>

The destruction of manuscripts and early printed books is also noteworthy. According to the calculations made in 1978 by the literary historian László Mezey, at least around 45 000 manuscripts were in use in the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (not including printed texts), of which around 95% now have been destroyed or disappeared.<sup>34</sup> Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi published the extant, lost, as well as the known but destroyed manuscripts and printed sources before 1526 in three volumes.<sup>35</sup> Fragments of the royal library, the private libraries of the high priests and noble families, as well as the parish libraries only survived beyond today's national borders. However, in more than one case, even in the larger cities, only the library inventories survived, not the volumes themselves.<sup>36</sup> The catalogues,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> KOVACHICH 1799; CD; ÁÚO, MVH. An independent research group also deals with the discovery and publication of Hungarian sources from the Apostolic Archives and Library of Vatican. <a href="https://institutumfraknoi.hu/en">https://institutumfraknoi.hu/en</a> – accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> AO; New series: AOKL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> ZSO.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> https://mnl.gov.hu/magyar\_medievisztikai\_kutatocsoport#english - accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Dreska 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Erdő – Szovák – Tusor 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> NEUMANN 2019. Since 2015, an independent research group has also been dealing with the economic history of medieval Hungary and the infrastructure built on it, led by Boglárka Weisz. <a href="https://tti.abtk.hu/kutatasok/lendulet/kozepkori-gazdasagtortenet/bemutatkozas">https://tti.abtk.hu/kutatasok/lendulet/kozepkori-gazdasagtortenet/bemutatkozas</a> – accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> CSONKA – FÖLDÁRY – SZOLIVA 2014. The database of the Research Group of Liturgical History, led by Miklós Földváry available here: <a href="https://usuarium.elte.hu/origins?q=hungary">https://usuarium.elte.hu/origins?q=hungary</a> About the project you can find other information here: <a href="http://vallastudomany.elte.hu/content/research-group-liturgical-history">http://vallastudomany.elte.hu/content/research-group-liturgical-history</a> – accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>32</sup> https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/ – accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>33</sup> https://adt.arcanum.com/en/ - accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> MEZEY 1974–1975 p. 65–72.

<sup>35</sup> BH.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The fate of, for example, the books of the Nagyszeben (Sibiu, RO) parish, the parish priests and the provosts. While many volumes have fortunately survived, several manuscripts have also perished over the centuries. One of the parish registers dated between 1360 and 1376, for example, testifies to 18 volumes, which now have been destroyed. Soon after, a register of the

which are indispensable for research of the history of university, are also being supplemented thanks to recent researches,<sup>37</sup> but fellow researchers in the neighbouring countries also measured and published medieval manuscripts, preserved in their territories.<sup>38</sup> In addition, a separate research group in the National Széchenyi Library collects, researches and examines the fragments of codices, which also enrich the research with a lot of new information.<sup>39</sup> These works also provide a lot of help in identifying individual students,<sup>40</sup> and sometimes quite surprising sources help to complete a person's life.<sup>41</sup> The Humanism in East Central Europe research group (2014–2019) carried out important work in terms of both manuscript sources and their authors, which examined manuscripts, authors and their relationships between 1420–1620

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books of the provosts of Nagyszeben was prepared, which numbered 25 volumes. Parish priest Nicolaus Siebenlinder left 14 more books to the parish of Holy Mary in Nagyszeben, three more volumes were also destroyed. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, 11 volumes were given to the parish as a bequest from parish priest Christian. BH III. Nr. 433–464, 622–632, 713–716, 866–898. Seven more volumes now missing. BH II. Nr. 2968, 2998, 3250, 3251, 3329, 3362, 3377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> In the library catalogue of the Monserrat monastery, Levente Seláf came across a volume in which the draft of the bachelor's degree certificate of a certain Thomas of Buda from November 1445 was copied. Seláf 2006 p. 360–362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Pl.: Sopko 1981–1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> https://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/fragm en researchgr.htm - accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> According to a possessor entry of an early printed book, containing historical works (Titus Livius, Polybios) printed in Venice in 1501, the book was owned by magister Gregorius Andreae Grotker de Caschovia. Gregory was enrolled at the University of Cracow in 1502, then obtained his master's degree in 1510, which fact helps in the identification. With the help of the Bibliotheca Hungarica catalogue, it was also possible to determine the student's family name. Based on this, it turned out that his father, Andrew Grotker, was a city councillor in Kassa [Košice, SK] in 1481, that is, Gregory came from a patrician family in the city. BH I. Nr. 771. Wenzel 1871 p. 37–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Michael of Kesztölc's career as custos (1467–1469), then provost of Vác (1470–1482), and finally lector of Esztergom (1483–1499) is well known, but his university background is less so, as we know three Michael of Kesztölc from three universities. Michael Vrbani de Kesztulcz in Cracow in 1458; Michael Zafran de Kezthewlcz studied in Vienna from 1469, and Michael de Keztheulcz who appeared in 1478, in Padua, among the witnesses of a doctoral exam in canon law (HARASZTI SZABÓ - KELÉNYI - SZÖGI 2016-2017. II. Nr. 1118; MUW II. p. 114; HARASZTI SZABÓ - KELÉNYI 2019. Nr. 503.). The first Michael obtained the magister artium degree in 1478, which makes it probable that he is identical with a canon of Pécs of the same name from the period 1495–1507. (FEDELES 2005 p. 393-394.) This Michael therefore came from the market town of Kesztölc in Tolna County (ENGEL 2001. Kesztölc: 1TO25), which was part of the bishopric of Pécs. The following can be said about the other two. One of them was still in Vienna on March 5, 1479, because that's when he obtained the licentiatus atrium title (AFA III/2 p. 2, 61), while the other testified in doctoral exam of canon law in Padua already in January 1478. The latter is certainly the same as the provost of Vác, because he is listed as such (praepositus et canonicus Waciensis). The identity of the student from Vienna and Padua can be assumed, but it is questionable why he would have commuted between Vienna and Padua. What is more certain, however, is that Michael was a scriptor regis according to the fragments of the extant tombstone of the lector canonicus of Esztergom. Norbert C. Tóth found written evidence from 1464 that he was a clerk in the Royal Chancellery, so our knowledge of his career was supported with sources from an unexpected place. (C. TOTH 2015– 2021 I. p. 48.) Incidentally, Michael renounced his dignity as a lector in 1499 and retired to the Pauline monastery in Márianosztra, where he became vicar of the Monastery. This, as well as his connections and career in Buda, Vác and Esztergom, shows that Michael was certainly born in the village of Kesztölc in Esztergom County (ENGEL 2001. Kesztölc: 2ESZ30), which was owned by the Chapter of Esztergom. See also C. Tóth 2023 p. 23, 43; C. Tóth 2015–2021. p. 249.

related to humanism in Hungary. The authors and texts of this era are collected in several volumes and will be published in English.<sup>42</sup>

In order to get to know the background of the students, it is of great help if the university sources mention the diocese, they come from<sup>43</sup> and the ecclesiastical benefices, if they had any, during the enrolment or other university events. Ecclesiastical archontological research is in an advanced state in Hungarian medieval studies, thanks to the work of recent decades. In the Middle Ages, the Kingdom of Hungary was divided into 2 ecclesiastical provinces and 14 dioceses (excluding Dalmatia and other titular bishoprics and archbishoprics). Archontologies have been completed for all 14 dioceses. although not from the same periods.44 These works present the clergy of the cathedral chapters and, in several cases, the clergy of the collegiate chapters, which operated in the centre of the diocese. In addition, the archontologies of the more important collegiate chapters, which were located in non-bishopric or archbishopric seats in different eras have also been completed.<sup>45</sup> Some of them focused on the late Middle Ages, while others created their works starting from the establishment of the Hungarian church organization. In 2019, a joint research group of the University of Pécs and the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest was established to fill in the gaps, mainly from the Árpád and Anjou era (1000–1386). Their goal is to prepare the archontologies of the missing almost 200 years.46 These reference books were only partially made for prosopographical purposes, but they also contain several data that go beyond the territorial units shown on the covers of the volumes. Similar databases of secular elites were prepared between 1996 and 2017 in five volumes.<sup>47</sup> In addition to the highest state dignitaries, these also include the leaders of the counties. These are good additions to the professional works analyzing individual institutions or groups of institutions, which were written descriptively and not in the form of a database. An example of this is György Bónis's monograph on lawyers working at court and other administrative institutions for the entire Middle Ages in Hungary. 48 It goes without saying that these works are important enough not only from state administration,

<sup>42</sup> https://hece.elte.hu/en/ - accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Blasius Pauli de Canycz was matriculated in 1517 at the University of Cracow. Haraszti Szabó – Kelényi – Szögi 2016–2017 II. Nr. 4187. The sources mentioned six settlements in medieval Hungary under the name of Kanizsa. On the other hand, because Blaise came from the Diocese of Pécs, he certainly came from Kanizsa [Kaniža, HR] in Pozsega County, which was the only one of the mentioned six possible places that belonged to the territory of the Bishopric of Pécs. Engel 2001. Kanizsa: 5PG36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Vekov 2003; Fedeles 2005; G. Tóth 2014; C. Tóth 2015; C. Tóth 2019a; C. Tóth 2019b; C. Tóth 2019c; C. Tóth – Horváth 2019; C. Tóth – Ternovácz 2020; Karlinszky 2022; C. Tóth 2023; Marko Jerković analyzed the composition of the chapter of Zágráb and investigated its history until the end of the fourteenth century. Jerković 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> KÖBLÖS 1994; RIBI 2018 p. 132–154; RIBI 2020; C. TÓTH 2020.

<sup>46</sup> BAGI 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> ENGEL 1996; ZSOLDOS 2011; C. TÓTH – HORVÁTH – NEUMANN – PÁLOSFALVI 2016; C TÓTH – HORVÁTH – NEUMANN – PÁLOSFALVI – W. KOVÁCS 2017.

<sup>48</sup> BÓNIS 1971.

bureaucratic structures, local and foreign-educated intellectuals, etc. point of view, but they also complement each other well for example with family history research.

In relation to family history studies, it is necessary to refer to two huge works by Pál Engel, which are of decisive importance in terms of recent Hungarian medieval research. One is the database containing the genealogical tables of medieval Hungarian families, which was finished in 2001.49 Although the database is not complete (it cannot be), the databank containing the most important medieval Hungarian kindred's genealogies and families branching from them and, in many cases, the genealogy of the most important middleclass noble families also, is still an important reference point.<sup>50</sup> His other work is a digital map of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>51</sup> This is a database that contains property, church, and economic history data of all settlements that existed in medieval Hungary, with a view to the Turkish tax censuses of the sixteenth century, and displays them on a digital map. All of this is grouped around three years (1382, 1439, 1498), presenting the development of individual settlements over the centuries. With the help of this, the origin of many university students can be determined, either from the side of the owners, or the different names of the settlements or thanks to the map view, compared with the surrounding settlements and their estate structure.<sup>52</sup> A few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> https://adtarcanum.com/hu/view/Engel MoKozepkoriAdattara Genealogia/?pg=0&layout= s\_accessed: 22-03-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Paulus Walhasar de Werebel enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1479. MUW II. p. 170. Balthasar of Verebély was one of the well-known nobles of Nógrád County. His grandfather, Peter, was the vice Voivode of Transylvania and Count of the Royal Salt Chamber. Based on the family's genealogy, Balthasar really had a son named Paul, who was probably named after Balthasar's father. There is also a chance that Paul is the same person of Paul of Verebély, Canon of Eger, the director of the St. Andrew's altar in the cathedral. One of his brothers, Simon connected directly to the Bishop of Eger, as he was the Castellan of Eger between 1487 and 1491, and at the same time, he was also the vice-count of Urban of Nagylucse [Veľká Lúč, SK], the Bishop of Eger and Count of Heves. Havassy 1986 p. 58. C. Τότη – Horváth – Neumann – Pálosfalvi – W. Kovács 2017 p. 118. Paul stayed (probably with minor interruptions) in Vienna until 1489 and appeared as a canon of Eger in 1495 up to 1504. C. Τότη 2015 p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> https://abtk.hu/hirek/1713-megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza – accessed: 22-03-2024. The program can be accessed and used by anyone by downloading an executable program.

<sup>52</sup> Mathias filius Laurencii Himeseghatzi de Yenew enrolled in 1489 at Vienna (MUW II. p. 209.). In his case, we are certainly dealing with a student whose name still holds the family's previous place of residence, from where they moved to their new home. In this case, the two place names help to connect the student to an exact place, since after reviewing and comparing similar settlement names, it turned out that both settlements were in Baranya County. Today, Jenő is located in the northern part of Mohács, while Himesegyháza covers today's Himesháza village, which is located just 13 km from Jenő. (ENGEL 2001. Jenő: 3BAR127, Himesegyháza: 6BAR123.) In the same year, it is possible to identify two other students by learning about the peregrination, property relations and church structure of settlements with similar names and their surroundings. Bernardus Ladislai de Bezried and Dionisius Mathei de Koppan also were enrolled in 1489 (MUW II. p. 209, 212.). According to the genealogical tables (NACY 1858 p. 94.), Bernard's origin certainly refers to Bezeréd in Zala County, where his family-owned property. There were also several settlements called Koppány, four to be exact (in the counties of Baranya, Veszprém, Tolna and Zala). Looking at the property history of these settlements, however, it turned out that Koppány in Zala (today

years ago, the entire program became available to everyone in a renewed format and with expanded data. Engel used György Györffy's Árpád-era<sup>53</sup> and Dezső Csánki's late-medieval<sup>54</sup> historical geographical works, supplementing them with a significant amount of his own collection. Both works, even if they can be improved in many cases, are of fundamental importance for almost any medieval research. This fragmented, yet diverse source base, complemented by the aforementioned literature apparatus and the cooperation of related disciplines and research groups operating in parallel, creates many opportunities to learn about the lives of students in the Middle Ages. Through a few short examples, I will demonstrate in practice how these data, methods and possibilities complement each other.

#### In practice

My first example begins with the enrolment of two students at the University of Vienna in 1471. There were also problems with the name and origins of Ladislaus de Pilis custos Baciensis and Stephanus de Pilis canonicus Baciensis,55 while on the other hand, not conspicuously at first, but their church affiliations are also dubious. In the archontology of the Archdiocese of Bács prepared by Norbert C. Tóth, we did not find any persons with such a name, which is not yet the case for a canon, but quite striking for the custos canonicus. At the same time, similar descriptions of the names of the archdiocese of Bács (Baciensis) and diocese of Vác (Vaciensis) are common in contemporary sources, which also resulted in quite a few misunderstandings during the identification of the students. Therefore, if we look for them in the archontology of the cathedral chapter of Vác, we will be successful: between 1470 and 1492 Ladislas of Pilis held the dignity of custos, and although his companion is not listed in the archontology, he was certainly a canon there as well.<sup>56</sup> However, the question remains as to where the two students came from to the University of Vienna. Filtering the mentioned digital map of Pál Engel for settlements called Pilis, it is clear that there were settlements with this name in several counties of Hungary at the time, such as Nógrád, Pilis, Pest, Szabolcs and Tolna.57 We have several options to solve this problem. On one hand, in the historical geographical work of Dezső Csánki, the noble families of the individual territorial units are also included, but Pál Engel's map also provides these data for the given settlements. Based on this, in the counties of Szabolcs and Pest, we can count on a noble family taking their name from 'Pilis.' Even though the

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Zalakoppány) had been in the possession of the Bezerédi family since the beginning of the fifteenth century, so it seems very likely that not only did Matthew come from Zalakoppány, but also that Bernard of Bezeréd was presumably accompanied by him at the university. ENGEL 2001. Bezeréd: 9ZL111, Koppány: 6ZL111.

<sup>53</sup> GYÖRFFY 1987-1998.

<sup>54</sup> CSÁNKI – FEKETE NAGY – ÖRDÖG 1890–2002.

<sup>55</sup> MUW II. p. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> C. TÓTH 2023. p. 43,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> ENGEL 2001. Pilis: 19NO35, 5SZB69, 34PE26, 5TO25.

universities helped the students find a place far from their home, in this case, as a first step, we reviewed the resources of Pest county, since the area of the county belonged to the bishopric of Vác. In 1938, László Bártfai Szabó published a collection of surviving medieval sources from Pest County,<sup>58</sup> which greatly facilitated research. In one of the charters of this work from 1467, we read about the nobleman John of Pilis called "Prokoláb", as well as his sons, Ladislas and Stephen. According to the testimony of another certificate from 1469, their father John also named himself after his other estate, called Palota (now belongs to Budapest), furthermore, he had other children besides them, and the certificate also reveals that John and his sons were relatives of Bishop Vince of Vác.<sup>59</sup> All of this also explains how they were able to get paid in the Vác cathedral. Thanks to the various sources and literature aids, not only the exact church affiliation of the students concerned but also their place of origin and family relationships were satisfactorily clarified.

In this case, the surname of the father of the Pilisi brothers was not necessary in order to identify the students, but in other cases, these notes are of great help to research, and not only in the case of the nobility. András Kubinyi conducted studies in all segments of the Hungarian Middle Ages, but perhaps the most significant among his research was related to urban history. On several occasions, he analysed the family connections, economic relations, and intellectual needs of the Hungarian capital's citizens.<sup>60</sup> These tests are of great help in identifying such students and placing them on the family trees he created, such as Nadler, Münich, Tiernauer, Siebenlinder, Reichel, etc. families that belonged to the leading patrician families of Buda, and from which we also know university students.61 The case of the latter, Sebaldus, who belongs to the Reichel family in Buda, is not exactly ordinary. In 1449, he enrolled at the University of Vienna under the name Sebaldus Reichel de Machalualba.62 The settlement, from which he named himself, refers to his family's old, eponymous estate, Mahálfalva [Machalovce, SK] in Szepes County.63 By the way, Mahálfalva was part of the so-called ten-spear district (sedes X. lanceatorum) of Szepes, which was inhabited by families endowed with noble privileges in return for border protection.<sup>64</sup> Sebaldus' ancestors, including his father Peter, owned this settlement, but by moving to Buda, the family also acquired Buda citizenship. We are also well aware of the family's complicated relationship system in Buda.

<sup>58</sup> BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1938.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> 2 October 1467: Bárfai Szabó 1938. nr. 957; 14 February 1469: Bártfai Szabó 1938. nr. 981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Kubinyi 1966; Kubinyi 1968 p. 205–231; Kubinyi 1971 p. 203–269.

<sup>61</sup> Nicolaus Tyrnaer de Buda, Wien: 1412, MUW I. p. 91; Ladislaus Sebinlinder de Budin, Cracow: 1415, Haraszti Szabó – Kelényi – Szögi 2016–2017. II. p. 84. nr. 320; Johannes Munich de Buda, Wien: 1438, Laurentius Munich de Buda, Wien: 1449, MUW I. p. 209, 269; Michael Nadler de Buda, Wien: 1439, MUW I. p.212.

<sup>62</sup> MUW I. p. 269.

<sup>63</sup> ENGEL 2001. Mahálfalva: 1SZP48.

<sup>64</sup> GALAMBOSI 2022. p. 295, 298.

Peter was not only a familiar of King Sigismund,65 but he married66 the granddaughter of Ulrich Kammerer, 67 who played a leading role in the Buda elite (and was also an influential courtier of King Sigismund). Following Kubinyi's research, it is also known that Peter was chamberlain in Körmöcbánya [Kremnica, SK], but at the same time, he also bought several properties and vineyards in Buda and around the city.68 With such a family background, Sebaldus could have had ample financial support for his university studies. In the sources of the University of Vienna, Sebaldus is mentioned not only under the name of de Machalualba, which he used when he was enrolled but also under the name of de Buda, which makes his identity with Peter Reichel's son beyond doubt. Additional data not only supports this but also reveals a lot about his post gradual life. We have a lot of information about the county of Pest from the Middle Ages, just as the medieval topography of the city of Buda is also known in detail, thanks to the research of András Végh.<sup>69</sup> A relatively detailed life path emerges from all of this. As Kubinyi mentions, Peter Reichel died sometime between 1436 and 1441, i.e. long before the start of his son's university studies.<sup>70</sup> In 1465, Sebaldus left his estates in the counties of Pest and Szepes [Spiš, SK] to John of Rozgony [Rozhanovce, SK] and Raynald, among other things, because he was raised and cared for in their court. 71 It is very likely that the idea of peregrination matured in him at the court of the influential and nationally important Rozgonyi family because he was in close contact with that branch of the family, from which also known as a university student.72 Thus he certainly received a noble and not a bourgeois education. Not only from this but also from earlier sources, it is also revealed that he had estates in Pest county, among others, in Veresegyháza and Szada, which Sebaldus also named himself after in the 1450s and 1460s. Thanks to András Végh's topographical research, we even could locate one of

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<sup>65</sup> In 1431. ENGEL 1996 I. p. 505.

<sup>66</sup> Kubinyi 1971. p. 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> He was Master Chamberlain in Szomolnok [Smolník, SK], then in Kassa in 1396, later became Master of the Royal Chambers in 1397–1398, while earlier acted as Count of the Royal Thirtieth (Tricesima), a position which he received again in 1411. It had a great influence on coinage and mining of precious metals in contemporary Hungary. Soós 2013–2014. p. 100, 104, 105, 115, 117. <sup>68</sup> KUBINYI 1971. p. 249.

<sup>69</sup> VÉGH 2006.

 $<sup>^{70}</sup>$  Kubinyi 1971. p. 249. At the same time, Kubinyi does not know that Sebaldus' had any brothers, although he certainly had, at least, one. In 1446, Oswald Rayhel, son of Peter, who had estates in Szada and Veresegyház, as well as Oswald's official in Veresegyház, is mentioned in a property lawsuit in Pest County. His estates and his father's name make the identification certain. MNL OL DL 14004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1938. nr. 905.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> In 1437, Oswald, the brother of John of Rozgony (who was one of the beneficiaries of the pledge made by Sebaldus), also studied at the University of Vienna, then as the provost of the Collegiate Chapter of Saint Stephen in Eger. Later, however, he left the church order and first became a royal marshall (*magister agazonum*), and then the Count of Seclers (*comes Siculorum*). Sebaldus probably followed Oswald's example, when he also went to study in Vienna. MUW I. p. 200; C. TÓTH – HORVÁTH – NEUMANN – PÁLOSFALVI 2016. I. p. 117, 121–122.

his houses, in which he could stayed in during his visits to the capital.<sup>73</sup> In addition to all of this, his life can also be said to be adventurous. He could not lead a thrifty lifestyle, at least this is evident from the fact that he already accumulated debts with a merchant in 1453 at Pozsony. From this, Kubinyi deduced that Sebaldus himself tried his hand at trade.74 One of the charters of King Mathias also reveals that Sebaldus joined the robber Czechs who entered Pest county and caused enormous damage to several properties of the bishop of Vác. Because of this, the bishop sued the aforementioned, which he lost, and Sebaldus had to pay enormous compensation to the bishop, in return for which his properties were seized.<sup>75</sup> In return for the repayment of the debt, he pledged his possessions several times.<sup>76</sup> Only three inhabited and one uninhabited house in Buda remained, as well as his vineyards, which the city of Buda did not allow to be seized. The last time we hear about Sebaldus is in 1466, when the Rozgonyi brothers redeemed half of Veresegyház and Szada, together with Sebaldus' other properties, which he gave as a pledge in 1460 in return for his debts.<sup>77</sup> After that, the sources do not say anything about him, he probably died not long after. Based on the university resources at our disposal, it was therefore possible to construct an almost complete life path, including data on family background, early education, and life after university studies.

#### **Conclusion**

With the help of the medieval Hungarian source base and the extremely diverse literary apparatus, starting from the university sources, the postgradual life of many university students becomes known. During the past ten years of operation of the University History Research Group, we managed to expand our knowledge about the postgraduate career of students in about 700-800 cases. This number is constantly increasing, for example, by identifying students of noble origin, the family background of hundreds of additional students is already known. The precise localization of the students' place of origin is also ongoing, and accordingly, our database is modified and improved from time to time. The investigations of the geographical origins of university students from the period around 1500 will further expand our knowledge of students at the regional level thanks to the NKFIH project, led by Beatrix F. Romhányi. Although a project of this kind will never be completely finished, and we are still far from the state where we can sit back, we have reached a significant stage of the work: the data is collected, and it is being refined, supplemented and analysed.

 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  Roughly on the section of today's Úri Street between Szentháromság Square and Dísz Square in the 1st district of Budapest. VÉGH 2006. I. p. 200–203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Kubinyi 1971. p. 249.

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$  MNL OL DL 1 $^{5}$ 531. It is also revealed by this charter, that Sebaldus had a wife, who was a noble woman, although the charter did not mention her name.

 $<sup>^{76}</sup>$  In 1464 (MNL OL DL 16038) he pledged several of his estates in Pest county for 250 gold forints to property holders of the County, while a year later he pledged the Veresegyháza and Szada estates to the Rozgonyi family for 4,000 gold forints. MNL OL DL 16192.

<sup>77</sup> MNL OL DL 16373.

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