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PARS PRIMA

SECTIO MEDIAEVALIS

XIII.

*Dissertationes historicae collectae per
Cathedram Historiae Medii Aevi Modernorumque
Temporum Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*

*A Pécsi Tudományegyetem Középkori és Koraújkori
Történeti Tanszékének Történeti közleményei*

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PREFACE

A unique workshop was organised by the Centenary Programme Management Committee of the University of Pécs, the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of the University of Pécs, the Working Committee on Church History of the Regional Committee II of Pécs of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Héloise (European Network on Digital Academic History). The event took place in the Lajos Tigyi Hall of the building Regional Committee of Pécs of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 31 August 2023.

The papers presented at the workshop are the first, larger part of this issue (Studies), which contains 8 papers by 11 authors. The studies have a common feature: they all discuss university studies, academic education and *peregrinatio academica* from the Middle Ages to the present day. The geographical scope is at least as broad, as it covers the territory of present-day France, Italy, Hungary and Central Europe. And the range of contributors is equally varied: Paris, Besançon, Padua, Budapest and Pécs are the university cities and research centres whose eminent scholars have shared their in-depth knowledge of university studies and the various databases related to them, and whose expertise is shared in the pages of this issue.

The volume also includes short papers (Contributions) covering a wide range of topics. They also represent the existing and well-established scientific relations, which have manifested in the organisation of several joint conferences with the University of Mostar. On the other hand, we are also providing doctoral students the opportunity to present their scientific results to an expert public.

The journal changes from the previous tradition of publishing one issue every year instead of the previous practice of publishing an issue of *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* every two years.

Pécs, 20 December 2024

Gergely Kiss

STUDIES

Selected Papers of the Héloise – European Network on Digital Academic History International Workshop

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Jean-Philippe GENET:

The Database *Studium* and the Beginnings of the Schools in Paris

The database starts with some names (8 at the moment) of eleventh century scholars: only two of them have studied or taught certainly at Paris. This is both one of the limitations and advantages for the database: on the 2519 individuals it contains for the period 1160–1300, only 1135 have been attested Parisian scholars. But the other people are also interesting: of these, 853 are classified as „uncertain". Most of them are "masters"; but is it a title or a grade? And where have they obtained it? There is no doubt that some of them got it in Paris. This study will try to explore these unsatisfactory data, and their interpretation could be made more satisfactory. These statistics will also throw light how, before the development of the college movement, the developments of the schools issued from the growth of the school of Notre-Dame after they had started to spread on the Mount Sainte-Geneviève combined with the monastic schools, especially those of the regular canons of Saint-Victor to make Paris an essential intellectual centre, as it is demonstrated by the wide circulation of the works of some of its masters.

Keywords: Medieval Universities, Paris, France twelfth-thirteenth Centuries, Prosopography

As everyone knows, the University of Paris was not founded, it grew.[1] At the beginning of the twelfth century, it was an episcopal school of small prestige in comparison with Laon, Reims, Chartres and those of the Loire valley (Angers, Tours, Orléans):[2] but the arrival of William de Champeaux from Laon and his conflict with the young Peter Abélard attracted to Paris so many students from all over Europe that it soon mushroomed in a multitude of smaller pedagogical units where students gathered around masters. Space was available on the Mount, on the left bank of the Seine, and this offered a remedy to the exiguity of the cathedral precincts. The lords of a large part of the Mount were the canons of the prestigious abbey of Sainte-Geneviève,[3] whose chancellor's

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[1] FERRUOLO 1995. See: GABRIEL 1964.

[2] For Paris in the twelfth century, see: BAUTIER 1981.

[3] KOUAMÉ 2022a.

jurisdiction soon allowed the masters some freedom from the chancellor of the episcopal school's control. Despite the eviction of the arts' students and masters from the cloister of Notre-Dame and their conflicts with the bishop and the cathedral chapter over the *licencia docendi*, the Paris *studium* was and remained an ecclesiastical institution, and the Roman papacy was from the start keen to support and to protect it, even against the bishop and the chancellor.[4] It was also protected by the kings of France, despite some sporadic outbursts of town/gown violence. By the end of the twelfth century – though official confirmation came only in 1215 – the Masters were able to unit in an *universitas*, a syndicate which in fact turned out to be a new kind of institution. These schools and the university did not enjoy a strict monopoly: other schools, some famous, such as the school of William of Champeaux's foundation, Saint-Victor, flourished, as well as those of the other great Parisian monasteries, Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Benedictines), Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Cluny), Sainte-Geneviève (regular canons); in due time, were added also those of the religious orders (the Mendicants, the Cistercians, the Trinitarians [Mathurins] and of the new orders of regular canons of Prémontré or the Val des Écoliers.

However, it is difficult to chart accurately the growth of all these schools: none of them had an institutional system of enrolment or matriculation. Paris is certainly one of the most deficient of all European academic institutions in this respect and we find reliable sources in the early sixteenth century only. This explains why the quantitative approach has consciously been left aside by historians. Paris has not even a proper repertory of its members, while Oxford and Cambridge, equally deprived of matriculation systems (but owning rich college archives) have been provided, thanks to Alfred B. Emden, with excellent dictionaries which proved a valuable basis for new and innovative histories of both universities.[5] Despite its central importance in the so-called twelfth century "Renaissance", in the Reform movement and for the ensuing scientific and cultural history of the Middle Ages, a vast majority of those who took part as masters, students, or servants in the life of Paris schools and university remain unknown.

Studium Parisiense

To remedy this situation, *Studium Parisiense*[6] has been set up: started tentatively as a pedagogical project in the eighties, it gave birth to a database project under a joint direction (Thierry Kouamé, Stéphane Lamassé and myself), thanks to the fundings provided by the ERC program *Signs and States* (2009–2013). Its development is now supported by the Laboratoire de médiévistique occidentale de Paris (LAMOP, C.N.R.S.–Université Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne) and the Labex HASTEC. However, information on the

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[4] Gordon Leff insists that Paris is the only university that developed from an episcopal school: LEFF 1968. 21–22. On the cathedral school, see: now: KOUAMÉ 2022b.

[5] EMDEN 1957–1959 and EMDEN 1963.

[6] http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr.

database will be here kept to a minimum, since detailed descriptions of the database have already been given in several papers,[7] and this is also true for the biographical and bibliographical data all the individuals mentioned in this paper, since they are fully developed in the *Studium* files; we shall here restrict ourselves to what is necessary to understand the content of the following statistical tables.

The database is in course of compilation, which means that many masters and students are not yet documented: at the moment, it contains biographical and bibliographical data about 24816 individuals from the beginnings of the schools to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but some, described as "External", though important for the history of the Paris schools, did not belong to them, while the attendance of others remains "Uncertain". For instance, many people are described as "masters", but we do not know where they got their grade.[8] The scholars classified as masters are those whom we know have surely or probably received their *magisterium* in Paris or have taught as master in Paris: if they became masters in another university, they are simply considered as "students". There are 19892 individuals can be said with reasonable certitude to have belonged to the university or to the schools, masters and other graduates (13280), *scolares* (5849)[9] and "*suppôts*" (763).[10] The present paper deals with those whose 'middle year of activity'[11] is anterior to 1301, that is 1328 masters, graduates and *scolares*, and 67 "*suppôts*". Despite the fact that the data for this period[12] are more complete than those for the

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[7] GENET 2015; GENET 2017; GENET – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ 2021; GENET – IDABAL – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ – PRIOL – TOURNIEROUX 2016.

[8] This is one of the main difficulties: a great number of people are known as masters, but the word for this period does not imply an academic graduation. The volumes of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* give the names and benefices of many masters, but if not formally connected to Paris, they are entered in *Studium* as 'Uncertain'. When working on his edition of Philip Augustus's acts, John Baldwin collected in the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes the mentions of masters in the cartularies of Northern France, and he came to the conclusion that they could not be used for academic history. He has had the generosity to give to the LAMOP a copy of his cards, now accessible through Huma-Num at the following address: Baldwin, John (2020) «Base de données: Studium Baldwin» [Dataset] NAKALA. https://doi.org/10.34847/nkl.01benm97.

[9] The obvious translation, "students", is misleading: the Latin word may be used for people whose grade is unknown, or for people who studied in Paris but whose graduation took place in another school or university.

[10] In the database, servants or agents of the schools, including those linked by an oath (librarians, sellers of parchment or paper, scribes, notaries, etc.). See: TALAZAC-LANDABURU 1975. p. 22.

[11] Since Studium is designed to document the social impact of academic education, the middle year of activity is the arithmetical mean between the first date of activity of an individual (for instance the actual or estimated date of the beginning of his studies, not his date of birth) and the last one (that of his death, if known). For instance, for Peter Abelard, the first date is 1095, the last 1142, and the middle year is 1119.

[12] Data have been collected in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, the volumes of the *Fasti*, the repertories and dictionaries of Palémon Glorieux (GLORIEUX 1933–1934 and GLORIEUX 1971), Ernest Wickersheimer (WICKERSHEIMER 1979), Olga Weijers (WEIJERS 1994–2012), Thomas Kaeppeli (KAEPPELI 1970–1994), and the data base on *Franciscan Authors* maintained by Maarten van der Heijden and Bert Roest at Radboud University (https://franciscanauthors.rich.ru.nl/index.html –

following ones, the meagreness of our information is obvious: in these two centuries, we have only 6,8% of the total population of masters, graduates, and *scolares* of the whole database! It is possible to follow the chronological evolution of this population on Table 1.

Trends

Table 1 shows a slow, but steady trend of growth: less than ten names by decade until 1130, around fifteen for 1131–1150 and thirty-forty names for the decades from 1151 to 1200. Then, the number doubles with the decade 1201–1210 and the growth starts from 60 to 121 in 1261–1270, jumping to over 200 after 1270. This gives a chronology that roughly coincides with that suggested by scholars such as John Baldwin, who pointed the years around 1180 as the end of the 'heroic figures',[13] and Nathalie Gorochov, who has chosen 1200 as the starting point of her study of the birth of the University[14]. Do these numbers provide a reliable indication of the real students' attendance in the Paris schools? The answer is clearly no, for two reasons, the first of which is the nature of our sources. For instance, the *Chartularium* gives us only three charters for the whole twelfth century: one from the count of Dreux (a gift for the college of Saint-Thomas of the Louvre in 1198),[15] one from the bishop of Paris and the chapter of Notre-Dame,[16] and the charter of foundation of the Collège des Dix-Huit (1180).[17] The other sources are mainly letters, pontifical letters, letters from scholars (John of Salisbury, Peter of Cella, Stephen of Tournai, Peter of Blois, Peter of Harvengt, Geoffrey of Saint-Victor, etc.), and a handful of Roman and German letters collected in the seventeenth century by André Duchesne.[18] Besides historical works such as those of Otto of Freising, Thomas Eccleston, or Salimbene de Adamo, important complementary sources of information are the biographies and autobiographies of former students and masters, such as Peter Abelard,[19] John of Salisbury,[20] William of Tyr,[21] Herbert of Bosham,[22] Giles of Paris as well as the anonymous author of the *Metamorphosis Goliae*,[23] which add many other names to our list: however, this kind of biographical information tends to disappear after the twelfth century, as observed by Ian P. Wei.[24] The largest contingent of our scholars

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accessed: 06-12-2024), as well as the following books: GLORIEUX 1965; LESNE 1940; POIREL 2010 and GOROCHOV 2012.

[13] BALDWIN 1982. p. 138.

[14] GOROCHOV 2012. p. 14–15.

[15] CUP I. Pars introductoria, p. 14–15, nr. 18. On the first volume of the *Chartularium*, see: KOUAMÉ 2015.

[16] CUP I. p. 56, nr. 55.

[17] CUP I. p. 49–50, nr. 50.

[18] DUCHESNE 1641, *passim*.

[19] ABÉLARD, Peter.

[20] SALISBURY II. p. 10, 70–72

[21] HUYGENS 1962a.

[22] See: MORIN 1934 and GLORIEUX 1954.

[23] COLKER 1973.

[24] WEI 2001.

comes from Glorieux's dictionaries, though many of the masters mentioned in his *La Faculté des Arts* are categorized as external because he took into account all those he considered as 'master of arts', including, for instance, Oxford and Bologna masters, even including Douais' Dominican friars who never graduated.[25] For the master of arts, the up-to-date and most reliable repertory of authors which has been set up by Olga Weijers is an essential addition to our knowledge of the Parisian schools.[26]

The number of authors provides us with our second proof. If we consider the entire population of *Studium*, we have (at the moment) 1339 authors, that is nearly 7% of the total number of masters, graduates, and *scolares*. If we limit ourselves to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this proportion is much higher, declining from 54% to 42,5%: 44% of the people we know are authors (586). For some of them, we have other signs of their attendance at the schools, but for many, their work is the only indication at our disposal, and the interpretation of this kind of evidence may be difficult, as the example of 'Robertus Anglicus' (a Latin name which can be read as 'Robert the Englishman' or 'Robert Langlais') reveals. In her *Répertoire*, Olga Weijers reckons no less than thirteen individuals called "Robertus Anglicus", while noticing that all other "Robert" of English origin may be styled "Robertus Anglicus" at one moment or another in contemporary records. Leaving aside two early fourteenth century friars, and two men who have apparently no connections with Paris, a grammarian whose works have been copied in a Sevilla manuscript,[27] and an English master of arts from Montpellier,[28] we are left with two grammarians and with seven commentators of some of the most important texts of the Paris curriculum: two on the *Topicorum*, two on the *Summulae Petri Hispani*, two on the *Elenchorum* and one on the *Isagoge*.[29] Of these, only three have been included as masters in *Studium*, in accordance with scholarly literature and their manuscripts' origins: this example shows that texts offer only precarious evidence. The only deduction which can be made with certitude from the reading of Table 1 is that we know few, probably very few, attendants of the Paris schools until the fourteenth century: if we apply the general author's ratio (that is if our 570 authors were 7%, not 44%, of the total population), we could expect to find an approximate number of 8380 students! However, despite the limitations of our sources, we have some information on the regional origins, the education and the careers of 1328 scholars, which we are now going to scrutinize.

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[25] Many of the authors mentioned in Glorieux's *La Faculté des Arts* (GLORIEUX 1971) are considered as '*Extérieur*l' because he took into account all those he considered as 'master of arts', including for instance the Oxford masters from Emden's dictionaries and those from Bologna, even including Douais's Dominican friars who never graduated.

[26] The only reservation is that Olga Weijers (WEIJERS 1994–2012) included in her lists (and rightly so for her purpose) the authors "whose works were known in Paris", even if they never visited the university: when referred to in *Studium*, they are categorized as '*Incertain*' or '*Extérieur*'.

[27] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 25, 22.

[28] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 154–156.

[29] WEIJERS 1994–2012. VIII. p. 145–158.

Table 1: General table to 1300

	Masters	*Scolares*	Total	Authors	% Authors	'Suppôts'
Before 1100	1	1	2	1		
1101–1110	2		2	1		
1111–1120	3	2	5	3	54%	
1121–1130	7	3	10	6		
1131–1140	10	5	15	8		
1141–1150	10	4	14	7		
1151–1160	17	12	29	12		
1161–1170	10	19	29	12		
1171–1180	15	23	38	9	44%	
1181–1190	18	6	24	14		
1191–1200	25	14	39	23		
1201–1210	46	21	67	21		
1211–1220	35	13	48	28		
1221–1230	52	24	76	32	46,4%	
1231–1240	44	20	64	34		
1241–1250	65	32	97	48		
1251–1260	60	13	73	50		4
1261–1270	100	21	121	49		10
1271–1280	141	64	205	98	42,5%	5
1281–1290	153	57	210	60		6
1291–1300	99	61	160	70		42
	923	415	1328	570		67

The regional origins of the masters

The international gathering of students around Peter Abélard was the first indicator of the Paris schools' take-off and the presence of many foreign scholars seems to have been at the heart of the first major crisis of the young university which culminated with the great strike of 1229–1230. The question of the regional origin of the scholars is therefore of importance, but before the existence of Nations' registers and of the *rotuli* sent to the papacy to claim provisions to ecclesiastical benefices, the diocese from which a scholar comes is rarely mentioned, which makes it difficult to assign someone to a given region, whatever the reservations we may have on this concept of the region: as a matter of fact, it is only in the case of Brittany and Normandy that we can establish some correspondence between a region and a cluster of dioceses. However, for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the anthroponymy of academics was not as unreliable as it will become in the next centuries, and it may be used with caution. We can therefore know (guess would be a more adequate word) the origins of 60% of the scholars, as shown on Table 2 which summarises, decade by decade, the geographical distribution of the members of the Parisian schools, distributed according to the borders of the four Nations.

Table 2: Origins of the scholars and birth of the nations

	1100–1150	1151–1170	1171–1180	1181–1190	1191–1200	1201–1210	1211–1220	1221–1230	1231–1240	1241–1250	1251–1260	1261–1270	1271–1280	1281–1290	1291–1300	
English Nation																
British Isles	5	12	4	4	11	8	15	11	11	11	7	10	8	15	14	149
Germany	1	2			1	1		6	1	2	3	5	1	1	3	27
Central Europe		1	3		1	1	2					1		3	2	14
Scandinavia				1	1	1			1		3	3	11	14	15	50
Picard Nation																
Low Countries	3	1	1	3	1	4	2	8	1	3	3	11	13	14	10	76
Picardy		1		1	1	2	3	4	5	2	3	7	4	3	11	46
Norman Nation																
Normandy	2	1		2	2			2	2	2	2	6	16	5	10	52
French Nation																
Italie	6	11	5	2	3	2	2	8	9	5	8	7	9	5	16	98
Portugal		3	4		3	1	1	5		4	1	1	2	1		26
Spain					1		1	2	1			1	1	5	2	14
Bretagne	2	1			1	1	1		1	1	2	2	3	4	4	23
Ile-France	4			1		2		4	1	1	7	3	6	11	6	46
Loire Valley	1	3	2	1	1		2	2	2	2	1	5	5	2	1	28
Champagne	2	1			1	1	4	2	5	4	2	6	10	3	3	45
Burgundy		1		1			1	2	2	7	3	7	9	7	2	42
Lorraine	1				1			1			2	2	3	1	2	13
Poitou	3		1		1	2	1			1				1		10
Limousin											1	1	1		4	7
Auvergne								1				3	3	1	2	8
Aquitaine										1	2		3		3	9
Provence					1					1	1		2	1	1	7
Languedoc						1				2	1		3	2	3	12
Palestine		1														1

It would take too much space to comment upon this table in detail, and we shall limit ourselves to a cursory examination of the two largest groups, with the addition of some general remarks. The importance of the British and Italian groups does not come as a surprise. British students were present from the start and their number did not decline until the beginning of the Hundred Years War.[30] Their number stupefied abbot Fulk of Deuil who speaks of the "crowd of young men from England" gathering around Peter Abelard.[31] But, as can be expected, their profile changes over time. In the first period, they are some of the prominent 'heroic figures' (to use Baldwin's phrase) mentioned by John of Salisbury and others: Adam of Parvo Ponte [Balsham], Robert Amiclas [Pullen], but we find also the poets Nigel Wireker and Walter Map. Some of the canons of Saint-Victor are also English (abbot Acard, the Priors Andrew and Walter, Ervisius) or Scot, as the famous Richard of Saint-Victor. Another salient feature, which remained remarkable until the end, is the contribution of the Paris schools to the exceptional educational level of the English episcopal bench: at least 28 of the 149 English Paris students became bishops or archbishops either in England, Wales, Ireland or the Plantagenet lands in France. Most archbishops of Canterbury (Thomas Becket, Baldwin of Forde, Stephen Langton, Richard Grant, Edmund of Abingdon, Robert Kilwardby, John Pecham, and a former rector of the University, Robert Winchelsea)[32] had studied in Paris, as well as two archbishops of York (Thomas de Corbridge and William Greenfield). A similar situation is far from existing in France, where a scholar of the calibre of the bishop of Paris William of Auvergne is the exception rather than the rule: this fact is clearly linked with the Plantagenet rulership.[33] The crisis of 1229–1230 was not without consequences: the strike sent back many masters to England and, perhaps at the instance of Robert Grosseteste, they diverted their path to Oxford, which was fast developing. However, the interaction between the two universities seems to have soon made fashionable a sort of double cursus (arts in one, theology in the other) working both ways. What is even more striking when we analyse the situation in the Thirteenth century, is the weight of the British mendicant friars: since Parisian secular clerks of English origin were among the first to become friars, links between Oxford and London convents, on one side, and the Paris friaries, were very strong and a large number of English friars were called to Paris to read the Bible or the Sentences. No less than 22 British Franciscan and 7 Dominican friars read or attended Paris lectures.

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[30] See: Gabriel 1949, and GENET 2015.

[31] FULK OF DEUIL, Letter to Abelard.

[32] To this list could be added Reginaldus Fitz Josselin: elected by the monks on 27 November 1191, he died on the following 24 December. Sent to Paris by Alexander III, this son of an Englishman, born and bred in Italy, was nicknamed Reginaldus Italus in England: see. Duggan (https://www-oxforddnb/search?q=Reginald+Fitz+Jocelin – accessed: 06-12-2024).

[33] See: BALDWIN 1976. For the bishops of Paris, see: KOUAMÉ 2022b. p. 186–187. Other masters who became bishops of Paris were Maurice and Eudes of Sully, Étienne Tempier, and Ranulphe de Homblières.

The main difference between the English and the Italian group (98) is that the Paris students did not play a similar role in the Italian episcopate. There is nothing exceptional in the number of Italian bishops: compared to other national groups, it is rather low, and the most salient feature is the fact that several of them were elected to French sees, which happens only once for the English (John of Salisbury at Chartres). The obvious example is Peter the Lombard, who ended his life as bishop of Paris, but the case of two other bishops, both Masters in Theology, Peter, Cardinal-priest of San Chrisogono and Peter de Collemadio, who before they both became Cardinals were respectively bishop of Meaux and archbishop of Rouen, points towards another direction, the necessity for the Popes to keep an eye on the University and to manage the close relation between the papacy and the university in coordination with the royal power. Collemedio was "*capellano nostro Parisius commoranti*" in the words of Honorius III in 1222[34]and was deeply immersed in the Parisian conflicts since he appears to have been the protector of William of Saint-Amour against the Mendicants at the Roman Curia: the troubles of Saint-Amour and his partisans started when he died. However, a Frenchman could also play this part, as the example of men such as Nicolas de Bar, Guy Foulquois (the future Clement IV, who apparently did not study in Paris though he may have briefly taught law) or Simon de Brion (the future Martin IV) amply demonstrates. In other respects, the Italian pattern is similar to the English one, especially for the importance of the number of the mendicant friars, with two small differences: the Dominicans are more numerous than the Franciscans (15 against 10) and Italian Austin Friars – among them Aegidius Romanus – and Carmelites appear in Paris much earlier than their English counterparts.

Two general remarks will conclude this survey of Table 2. The first one is that unexploited potential sources for a prosopography of the University of Paris may exist: in their vast majority, the names of the students of Scandinavian (50), Portuguese (26) and Hungarian (10 of the 14 Central European students) origins come from research made in the national historiography and in the archives of these countries. We must here underline the importance of the contribution of Elisabeth Mornet to *Studium*: she is the author of the 360 biographical files of Scandinavian students in the database and she has carefully compared the information of the Parisian sources with the Scandinavian data, a research work which has added a large number of hitherto unknown individuals to the database.[35] The importance of the *Iter Parisiense* for the social prestige and for the career prospects of those who made the risky travel to Paris explains the high number of Scandinavian students which was such that several colleges were founded for them: Uppsala in 1280, Dacia in 1284 and Skara in 1292; Linköping was to come later. Many of these students appear to have been scion either of noble families or of rich

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[34] CUP I. p. 102–104 (nr. 137).
[35] Mornet 1978 and 2021a for Swedish students, where a complete list of the 360 students is given p. 876–883.

merchant families settled in the Hanseatic towns. As in the case of the English students, several became bishops.

No college was needed for the Portuguese and Hungarian students:[36] they came in smaller numbers, and since they arrived earlier than their Scandinavian colleagues, they used connections with the two great Parisian abbeys of regular canons, Saint-Victor (the Portuguese) and Sainte-Geneviève (the Hungarians). Here too, most of the information comes from local sources.[37] Most of the 26 Portuguese students were Austin Canons, especially from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and if it may be supposed that most of these if not all went to the school of Saint-Victor, while the others attended the lectures of the schools' theologians: for instance, Paio [Pelagius] Galvaõ read theology with Lothario dei Conti di Segni and when he was sent to him by the King of Portugal once Lothario had become pope Innocent III, he was promoted to the cardinalate by his school friend. As in Scandinavia, the travel to Paris was also a way to ecclesiastical preferment and to social promotion, since besides Cardinal Galvaõ, seven of the Portuguese *alumni* became bishops. The same pattern is observed for the Hungarian students: as in the case of the Scandinavians, they came from noble families, and at least four of them became bishops.[38] The relations between Hungary and Paris may have increased with the marriage of King Bela III with Marguerite de France, daughter of Louis VII and widow of Henry Plantagenet, the 'young king', for the necessary negotiations implied the presence of Hungarian envoys in Paris. But after that, these relations seem to have decreased for a time.

The second remark will be about the formation of nations, one of the central institutions of the young university. The official birth of the Nations takes place in October 1249, when the four Nations reached an agreement on the thorny subject of the rector's common election, this officer having been hitherto chosen by the French Nation alone,[39] but masters and scholars could write to pope Alexander III in October 1255 that they used the seals of the four Nations '*ab antiquo*' constituted.[40] The Nations may have been behind the deputation of procurators as early as 1219[41] and the schools' statutes of 1245.[42] In any case, brawls and conflicts between groups of students of different regional origins seem to have been already frequent in the twelfth century,[43] and the troubles of 1229 which were to spark the conflict between the university and the king originated in a concerted action of the Paris' citizens against "Picard" scholars, according to the English chroniclers, Matthew Paris and Ralph of

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[36] My thanks are due to Mário Farelo, Armando Norte, and Gergely Kiss who gave me offprints or advanced notices of their publications.

[37] FARELO 2001–2002 and NORTE – OLIVEIRA-LEITÃO 2016.

[38] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. p. 97–98.

[39] CUP I. nr. 187.

[40] CUP I. p. 292–297, nr. 256.

[41] CUP I. p. 88–80, nr. 31.

[42] CUP I. nr. 136–137.

[43] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, quoted by GOROCHOV 2012. p. 104–105.

Coggeshall.[44] Table 2 helps us to understand why Nations came into existence and the reasons for their strange composition. The remarkable number of British students and the high level of their presence throughout the whole period are enough to vindicate the existence of the English Nation.[45] Another nation whose existence is easily understandable despite the relatively small number of its members is the Norman Nation: it seems first to have been limited to students of the diocese of Rouen, but its membership was soon extended to the other dioceses of the metropolitan province of Rouen, Bayeux, Lisieux, Évreux, Avranches, Coutances, and Sées: but with only fifty-two students, the Norman remains quite comparable in size with the groups of students from Île-de-France (46), Champagne (45) or Burgundy (42). Admittedly, Normandy has much more cohesion than those two provinces: several of their dioceses are split between them (Sens and Langres, for instance) while several districts of Champagne lie in the "French" dioceses of Soissons and Meaux. In any case, the proportion of Normans among the Paris students rose quickly, the diocese of Rouen being the first in importance for the scholars' origin (609 *alumni*) before those of Paris (551), Utrecht (413), Laon (381) and another Norman diocese, Bayeux (273) in the *Studium* database.

In fact, the crucial question is that of the Picard Nation, and it is its composition which determines the limits of the three others. It has neither geographical nor historical cohesion (it contains at least six main entities, Vermandois, Artois, Cambrésis, Hainaut, Brabant and the districts of the principality of Liège), and the word "Picard" when it appears at the end of the eleventh century (first mention in 1098) seems to have been used only for the people from Amiens.[46] Most of its bishoprics are in the province of Reims, but Liège is in the province of Cologne, as well as a portion of Utrecht's diocese which was included in the Nation's limits. It is sharply divided by the linguistic border between Roman and German languages: nevertheless, Serge Lusignan has demonstrated that the cement of Picard unity may be language, not the vernacular spoken by everyone, but the 'high' vernacular which was used for trade, justice and administration and which was taught in the business schools of the merchant towns of the North of France and present-day Belgium. This is the language which linguists call Picard or Anglo-Norman. It is in many respects different from the Paris French, or 'royal French', which was taught as prestige vernacular in German-speaking towns, including those of Holland, Frisia and Guelderland. This explains why the diocese of Utrecht had to be divided along the course of the Meuse, as well as parts of the diocese of Liège: the Dutch lands of the right bank of the river joined the English Nation, as well as the Dutch or German-speaking parts of the diocese of Liège.[47]

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[44] Matthew Paris.
[45] Since it would later become the German Nation, it is styled 'Anglo-German nation' in the *Studium* files.
[46] Lusignan 2012. p. 92–104.
[47] Lusignan 2006.

The *Natio Gallicana* is simply made of what was left, and it has even less cohesion than the English Nation, spreading from Spain to Palestine. Since Italian students were fairly numerous, they could have constituted the nucleus of a stable grouping, but in the years during which the Nations were institutionalised, relatively few attended the Faculty of Arts, and many of them belonged to the mendicant orders. None of the other groups had either enough cohesion or enough numerical weight. The Bretons, who were soon to become one of the most important groups in Paris (966 to be compared with 1817 Normans in the whole database) were still too few, as Table 2 shows.[48] It was hard to give the Nation a structure which made sense: in the end, it was organized into five provinces corresponding to the four ecclesiastical provinces of Sens, Reims, Bourges and Tours, with a fifth "province" being attributed to Paris though it was but a simple bishopric at the time. Meaux and Chartres were included in the Paris province as well as a small part of the diocese of Rouen (Pontoise and the French Vexin).[49] The Bretons were in the province of Tours, the students of Lorraine in that of Reims, while Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and those coming from the Latin territories in the East were registered in the province of Bourges (at least in theory). And the students of the ecclesiastical provinces of Besançon and Lyon belonged to the province of Sens. However, despite its heterogeneity, the Nation of France was already by far the most numerous at the end of the thirteenth century.

Careers

There are very few examples of lay students in Paris at that time who never became clerics: perhaps the poet Rutebeuf and the publicist Pierre Dubois. Lay students certainly existed, since we know of several men who married, had children and had a lay career, before becoming a widower and entering the orders, such as Cardinal Ugo Eterianus, a pupil of Gilbertus Porretanus, and Jacobus Savelli (future pope Honorius IV). It is also difficult to make a clear distinction between members of the secular clergy and those of the regular clergy, since several secular clerics chose to become regular, after a process of conversion: we observe this phenomenon throughout the whole period, starting with Peter Abelard becoming a Benedictine at Saint-Denis, but the creation of the Mendicant Orders clearly intensified it.

Roughly 31% of the scholars were members of the regular orders, at a moment or another in their religious career. The proportion of the scholars who chose regular life is relatively stable, around a third of the population, with a trend of growth, from a minimum of 21% in the twelfth century to a maximum of 37% at the end of the thirteenth century. During the twelfth century, the most salient feature is the prominence of the regular canons, at Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Victor. Sainte-Geneviève was a house of secular canons, but it became a house of regular canons with canons drawn from Saint-

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[48] On the Breton students see now: LÉMEILLAT 2022.
[49] TALAZAC-LANDABURU 1975. p. 15–22.

Victor in 1146–1147 and it was henceforth a member of the Victorine congregation. However, their schools did not participate in the creation of the University, and the school of Sainte-Geneviève seems to have disappeared quickly if the abbot and the chancellor continued to perform important administrative functions for the University.[50] Saint-Victor remained an intellectual centre and its library was used by scholars, but the activity of its school was apparently limited to the order.[51] New orders were created: but the Premonstratensian had only a limited impact on the University, as the Trinitarians (called Mathurins at Paris), though they had been created by a theology master, John of Matha. Their rule was close to that of the regular canons, and one of its two authors was the abbot of Saint-Victor, Absalon. Much more important for the University was the order of the canons of the Val des Écoliers, with its Sainte-Catherine convent in Paris which was conceived as a college, with a clear educational project.[52] They succeeded in getting one of the chairs of the Faculty of Theology, but the canons were few and their order had only limited resources at his disposal. Benedictines and Cistercians, as the table shows, had an even more limited impact: the colleges they created, the Chardonneret and then Saint-Bernard for the Cistercians (1246), Cluny and Saint-Denis for the Benedictines (1258–1259) were conceived to the benefice of their respective orders, not for that of the university.

[50] KOUAMÉ 2022a.
[51] See: GIRAUD 2010b.
[52] See: GUYON 1998.

Table 3: Scholar members of the religious orders

	1100–1150	1151–1170	1171–1180	1181–1190	1191–1200	1201–1210	1211–1220	1221–1230	1231–1240	1241–1250	1251–1260	1261–1270	1271–1280	1281–1290	1291–1300	
Augustine canons (O.S.A.)	3	5	5	1	3	5	1	4	1	5		1	1	4	1	40
Victorines canons	6	6	4	2	2	3	2		2	4	2	2	2		3	40
Val des Écoliers canons						4	1						1		2	8
Benedictines (O.S.B.)	4	1	1		2	2	3	1		1		2	1	2	4	24
Cistercians		2		1		1		3	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	20
Carthusians			1													1
Premonstratensians					1	1	2	3				1			1	9
Trinitarians					1		1			1						3
Franciscans (O.F.M.)							4	4	9	6	10	10	21	17	8	88
Dominicans (O.P.)						1		9	10	12	12	17	36	33	31	161
'Frater' (unspecified)													5			5
Augustine Hermits (O.E.S.A.)														1	5	6
Carmelites (O.Carm.)															1	1
Total	13	14	10	5	9	17	14	24	22	30	27	34	68	60	59	405
Percentage	28	21	26	21	23	25	29	32	35	31	37	28	33	29	37	31

Things were quite different for the Mendicant Orders. Their chroniclers, Jordanus of Saxe for the Dominicans and Thomas Eccleston[53] for the Franciscans are well informed on the beginnings of the Mendicants in Paris. The founder of the *Ordo Praedicatorum*, Dominic of Guzmàn had as early as 1217 targeted the schools to recruit new brothers: he sent several of his close associates to Paris and Jordanus, already a master of arts, was one of the first converts to the new spirituality. Another convert was the Parisian master of decrees Reginald of Orléans who sent to Paris in 1219 a young Bolognese master who had joined the Dominicans, Rolando of Cremona. He taught only one year in Paris while the brothers were building the Saint-Jacques convent, on the grounds given by the master of theology John Barastre, Dean of Saint-Quentin. He later came back to become the first friar to receive the licence, but he left again for Toulouse, to be succeeded in Paris by Hugo of Saint-Cher. The preaching of this first group was extremely successful: Jordan asserts in one of his letters that he had convinced 21 students to join the order,[54] and fifteen graduates or advanced students, such as the aforesaid Jordan, Rolando and Hugo, but also men like Humbert of Romans; John of Saint-Gilles, Guerric de Metz, Robert Bacon or Robert Kilwardby rapidly joined the Dominicans. That was not the end of their academic activity and the Saint-Jacques or Jacobines convent, as it was called, became a striving school as well as a centre of biblical studies. The history of the Franciscans is similar in nearly all respects: despite the fact that Saint Francis did not have the same intellectual perspectives as Saint Dominic, the first provincial of France was Gregory of Naples who intended to develop the connections of the friars in the universities. On Good Friday 1225, Haymo of Faversham, a famous master of theology, took the habit with three other masters[55] and the Franciscan school began its activities, moving from the first establishment in Saint-Denis to the great convent of the Cordeliers built on lands given by the abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés,[56] attracting even more converts than the Dominicans. The other Mendicant orders also found easily their place in Paris university, getting magisterial chairs at the Faculty of Theology and building large convents which housed their schools, the Austin Friars on the left bank of the Seine after a first establishment at Montmartre, and the Carmelites in the Place Maubert.

The history of the stormy relations between the mendicant and the secular masters is well-known and it is unnecessary to evoke it here, but two points must be remembered about their schools. The first is that they were primarily intended to serve the life of their orders. As is now widely recognized, the majority of the students came to Paris (and to other university towns) to follow a lectureship course which prepared them to become lecturers in the convent of their orders. Only a small minority of them, perhaps up to ten or twelve at a time, took part in the lectures or disputations of the Faculty of Theology. And

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[53] JORDANUS and THOMAS OF ECCLESTON.
[54] GOROCHOV 2012. p. 370 and on the beginnings of the Dominicans and Franciscans, 361–381.
[55] THOMAS OF ECCLESTON, p. 27.
[56] On the convent and the school, see: MURPHY 1967 and COURTENAY 2023.

all the friars participated in the great preaching campaigns which were one of their first duties. As mentioned in the introduction, *Studium* takes into account all Parisian schools, not being limited to the University *stricto sensu*. In consequence, once their academic status has been established as precisely as possible, all the friars present in Paris convents are included in the database. The second point is that if these schools were internal institutions of the orders, their lectures would be public and open to visitors who could see the advantages of the new organization, the existence of a community sharing the same values, of a library, of rooms for study and a chapel. The Paris colleges extant at the time were quite different:[57] the 'College des Dix-Huit', founded by the merchant Jossius of London in 1180 upon his return from Jerusalem, was structured on the hospital model to house poor students, and this is also true of the colleges created until the middle of the thirteenth century for those called "Bons Enfants" by collegiate churches (Saint Thomas and Saint Nicolas du Louvre, Saint Honoré), monasteries (Saint-Victor) or chapters (the Arras cathedral chapter). The Sorbonne was created in 1257 on the model of the mendicant convents and it soon became the model of the Paris standard university college.[58] From the second half of the thirteenth century, an impressive number of colleges, organizing lectures, opened as those of the mendicant convents to an external public, eventually received paying external younger students, were created: the College of the Treasurer in 1268, and then Harcourt (1280), the Cholets (1295), the Cardinal Lemoine (1302) and Navarre (1305), and we have already mentioned the Scandinavian colleges.

But before that date, nothing existed to meet the needs of the secular students. The records of the *taxatio domorum* reveal the existence of houses in which small groups could dwell, sometimes with the mention of a *magister*: but there were no adapted lodgings to absorb the rapid growth in number of the secular students: if we trust *Studium*, their number rose sharply from 159 in 1291–1300 to 414 and 533 in the two following decades, but this is a consequence of changes in our sources which in the fourteenth century begin to shed light on ordinary students of whom we know nothing for previous times. A quick glance at the biographical data of the secular students in Table 4 shows that those clerics detaining a benefice below a canonry are very few. Most of them belong to two groups for which exceptional sources have come to us. The first is that of the so-called Amauricians. We know of them because their condemnation in 1210 did not result from an academic censure, but because it was issued by a provincial synod. Ecclesiastical authorities had to deal with a popular heresy since it had spread over several dioceses, and as some of the culprits were priests, deacons, or subdeacons, the presence and action of at least six bishops were indispensable for their degradation, before they were handed to the secular arm: hence the necessity to summon a synod

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[57] KOUAMÉ 2012.
[58] See: GENET – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ 2021; KOUAMÉ 2017.

which produced some written documents.[59] Ten of the scholars were burnt, but these tragic events offer us a glimpse into what was probably the average Paris students, mostly secular clerics (only one of them was a Benedictine), some being already priests when most were still deacons or subdeacons, getting a meager income from offices as chaplains or replacements in churches of villages surrounding Paris. The second group is founded seventy years later, in relation to the foundation of the College of the Treasurer by Guillaume de Saâne, canon, and treasurer of Rouen: on 22 May 1279, twenty-one men, headed by Radulphus de Aurelianis, regent-master of the Faculty of Decree, certify that Berthaud de Saint-Denis, regent-master in theology and canon of Notre-Dame, has delivered the houses and goods Guillaume is giving to his two procurators and to six students of the college.[60] Eleven of the twenty-one witnesses are masters and seven of these are rectors of Norman parishes; these men were in Paris, perhaps students in the higher faculties, and probably graduates of the Norman Nation. It is a window in the future: they have the career profile of those who will in the fourteenth century take full advantage of the *bursae* offered by the new colleges.[61]

Table 4: Scolares' Secular Careers

		Highest offices and benefices	
To 1150	Popes	1	Anacletus II (antipope)
	Cardinals	1	Robert Pullen
	Archbishops	3	Bourges, Mainz, Mailand
	Bishops	7	Avranches, Bangor, Châlons, Laon, Paris, Poitiers, Soissons
	Canons	11	Paris (8), Chartres, Jerusalem, Liège
		1	Rector
1151–1170	Popes	1	Celestine III
	Cardinals	3	Hugo Petrileoni 1, Hugo Eterianus, Odo Suessionensis
	Archbishops	2	Canterbury, Esztergom
	Bishops	8	Chartres, Exeter, Lichfield, Paris, Quimper, St. Asaph, Soissons, Worcester
	Canons	9	Chartres (2), London, Paris (3), Reims, Amiens, 1 canonry unknown

[59] As argued by Johann Thijssen (THIJSSEN 1996) who underlines the close link between the procedure and that indicated in the Summa or Robert de Courson, who may have been present at the council: see: CUP I. p. 70, nr. 11 and p. 71, nr. 12.

[60] CUP I. p. 574–575, nr. 489.

[61] On the Collège du Trésorier, see: BERNARD-SCHWEITZER 2018. All my thanks are due to her for allowing me to use this still unpublished thesis.

1171–1180	Cardinals		3	Matheus Andegavensis, Hugo Petrileoni 2, Petrus de Sancto Chrysogono
	Archbishops		1	Canterbury
	Bishops		1	Tournai
	Canons		4	Esztergom, Lincoln, Paris, Tours
1181–1190	Cardinals		1	Johannes Felici
	Archbishops		3	Reims, Rouen, Sens
	Bishops		3	Ely, Lincoln, Transylvanie
	Canons		10	Amiens, Châlons, Lincoln (2), Paris (4), Rouen, Tournai
	Other		1	Rector
1191–1200	Popes		1	Innocent III
	Cardinals		2	Robert Curzon, Petrus Capuanus 1
	Archbishops		1	Esztergom
	Bishops		9	Crémone, Liège, Metz, Noyon, Rochester, Sées, Troyes, Viborg, Würzburg
	Canons		6	Avranches, Lichfield, Paris, St. David, York
	Other		1	Rector
1201–1210	Cardinal		4	Stephen Langton, Oliverus Scholasticus, Gregorius Crescenzi, Jacobus de Vitriaco
	Archbishops		4	Embrun, Lund, Reims, Sens
	Bishops		5	Agde, Châlons, Rochester, Salisbury, Worcester
	Canons		7	Chartres, Paris (3), Salisbury, Senlis, Tournai
	Other		5	8 Priests, deacons and subdeacons
1211–1220	Popes		1	Gregory IX
	Cardinals		1	Petrus Capuanus 2
	Archbishops		5	Canterbury (2), Compostelle, Esztergom, Reims
	Bishops		3	Cambrai, Lichfield, Paris
	Canons		10	Beauvais, Cambrai (2), Laon (2), Paris (2), Salisbury, Sens, Utrecht
1221–1230	Cardinals		4	Bartholomaeus, Stephanus de Conti, Humbertus de
	Archbishops		4	
	Bishops		7	

	Canons	22	Pirovano, Johannes Halgrin de Abbatisvilla Besançon, Embrun, Sens, Tolède Chartres, Durham, Hildesheim, Lausanne, Paris, Tournai, Wells Amiens, Beauvais, Châlons (2), Chartres (2), Évreux, Laon, Lausanne, Lichfield, Liège, Norwich, Paris (5), Rouen, Thérouanne, Tournai (2), York
1231–1240	Popes Cardinals Archbishops Bishops Canons	1 4 2 8 12	Urbain IV Robert de Somercotes, Hugo de Sancto Caro, Petrus de Collemedo, Petrus de Barro Rouen, Uppsala Agen, Amiens, Chichester, Finlande, Florence, Hereford, Lisieux, Noyon Amiens, Auxerre, Chartres, Laon, Lincoln, Paris (5), Rouen, Quimper
1241–1250	Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons Other	2 5 4 20 1	Odo de Castro-Radulphi, Henricus Segusiensis Nicosia (2), Pisa, Reims, Tours Arras, Norwich, Paris, Salisbury Auxerre, Beaune, Beauvais, Bourges, Coutances, Douai, Laon, Le Dorat, Le Mans, Liège, Lincoln, Meaux (2), Paris (3), Reims (3), Rouen 1 rector
1251–1260	Pope Cardinal Archbishop Bishops Canons	4 3 3 4 17	Hadrian IV, Honorius IV, John XXI, Innocent V Robert Kilwardby, St. Bonaventure, Radulphus Grosparmi Nidaros, Reims, Rouen Beauvais, Chartres, Regensburg, Winchester Amiens (2), Beauvais, Bourges, Langres,

			Linköping, Orléans, Paris (2), Reims (3), Rodez, Rouen (2), Senlis, Soignies
1261–1270	Pope	1	Martin IV
	Cardinal	5	Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis, Erhardus de Lisigniis, Guillelmus de Braio, Gervasius de Clino Campo
	Archbishops	2	
	Bishops	7	
	Canons	35	Canterbury, Mayence
			Clermont, Evora, Hereford, Linköping, Nantes, Paris, Winchester
			Amiens (2), Avranches, Besançon, Chartres, Coutances (2), Évreux, Gournay, Laon, Liège (2), Lincoln (2), Lisieux, Orléans, Paris (6), Reims (3), Ribe, Rouen (4), Roye, Sens, Toul, Trohalten, Worcester
1271–1280	Cardinal	7	Jean Cholet, Hugo Aycelin, Hugo de Evesham, Latinus Malabranca, Galfredus de Barro, Matthaeus de Aquasparta, Matthaeus Rubeus Ursinus
	Archbishop	2	
	Bishops	7	
	Canons	32	
	Other	8	Cosenza, Uppsala
			Amiens, Coïmbra, Evora, Le Mans, Mende, Paris, Poitiers
			Amiens (2), Bayeux, Chartres (2), Clermont, Coutances, Crediton, Crémone, Laon (2), Mâcon, Paris (9), Reims (2), Ribe, Roskilde, Rouen, Saint–Quentin (2), Senlis, Sens, Thérouanne, Tournai
			7 rectors et 1 archpriest
1281–1290	Cardinal	1	Simon de Bello Loco
	Archbishop	2	Canterbury, Dublin
	Bishops	7	Clermont, Évreux, Laon, Lisieux, Tournai (2), Viviers
	Canons	25	
	Other	4	Amiens (2), Bruges, Châlons, Clisson, Évreux, Exeter, Hamar, Laon, Liège, Melun,

			Paris (6), Poitiers, Pontoise, Reims, Ribe, Rouen (3), Uppsala
			3 rectors, 1 curate
1291–1300	Pope	1	John XXII
	Cardinal	5	Johannes de Murro, Nicolaus de
	Archbishop	2	Nonancuria, Jacobus
	Bishops	8	Caetani Stefaneschi, Stephanus de Sugiaco,
	Canons	29	Nicolaus de Freauvilla
			York (2)
			Bologna, Catania, Liège,
	Other	4	Linköping, Mâcon, Orléans, Salisbury, Skara, Termoli, Uppsala
			Aquilea, Autun (2), Ely, Évreux (2), Hereford, Linköping, Lund (2), Paris (6), Reims, Roskilde, Salisbury (2), Thérouanne, Tongres, Tyarno, Uppsala (4), Viviers, Wells
			1 chaplain, 3 rectors

If we turn to the end of the hierarchical spectrum, the capacity of the Paris alumni to reach the summits of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is impressive: 12 ended their life as popes (and to these ones we could add the antipope Anacletus II), 36 as cardinals, 35 as archbishops, 84 as bishops, and 235 as canons or dignitaries of a chapter. The number of 11 popes is slightly misleading since five of them reigned only a dozen of years between 1261 and 1287, and the ten years of reign of the Bolognese canonist Innocent IV are probably more important for the evolution of the pontifical institutions. Innocent III and Boniface VIII were also Bolognese students. John XXII did not stay long in Paris to study theology, after having completed his doctorate *in utroque* elsewhere.[62] The number of popes and cardinals in table 4 is also significant of the close links between the schools and the Curia.[63] These results are congruent with Constant Mews' observation that "the twelfth-century centralization of theological education around Paris contributed to the emergence of a clerical elite in Latin Christian Europe".[64] Bishoprics and canonries were spread all over Europe, and their distribution is clearly linked to the students' geographical origins, as the presence of many Scandinavian bishops and canons at the end of the thirteenth century demonstrates. The links between the schools and the Paris cathedral's chapter are noteworthy, and several bishops were canons of Paris before being promoted; we are now

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[62] TROTTMANN 2005. He was pope in 1316–1334, but his main year of activity is 1299.
[63] CLASSEN 1983.
[64] MEWS 2020. p. 29.

discovering thanks to e-NDP masters and students who had until now escaped notice.[65] The actual number of benefices held is much more important, since all these men got many other benefices, often in plurality, before reaching their highest office. It must also be pointed out that the table's title is misleading since many of these "secular" benefices and offices were detained by members of the regular clergy: 13 cardinals were monks (two Cistercians and one Cluniac), regular canons (three) and friars (five Dominicans, three Franciscans) as well as 21 archbishops and bishops (10 Dominicans, 6 Franciscans, 5 regular canons). But the main conclusion we may draw from Table 4 is the speed with which Paris students reached positions of authority in the Church. There is no doubt that this was achieved with the papacy's protection and its constant intervention: it demonstrates that the popes' constant concern for Paris' development was a central component of their strategy for the improvement of the government of the church, right at the heart of the Reform's program.

Paris' cultural impact

And this was also true for the cultural and intellectual project which was the cornerstone of the Church's new symbolic power. The Paris schools and university had another specific interest for the papacy and for the Church in general, their potential contribution to the intellectual and cultural development of the *ecclesia*, and the Christian community in general. This was the popes' objective when they began to deal with them, and it implied a close control of the orthodoxy of the teaching of the masters. However, the scholars' backgrounds and horizons schools were not confined to the schools. Not only did they come from various regions, but they kept constant contact with other centres of learning, sharing their time both as students and as teachers between them and Paris, as shown on Table 5. When assessing Paris' cultural and intellectual impact, it must be kept in mind that the city had no monopoly and that other influences were at work. This is especially true at the beginning of the period: the links between Paris on the one side and the cathedral school of Laon, Reims, and on the Loire Valley are obvious, and it is impossible to dissociate the masters of Chartres and Orléans with those of Paris: masters were constantly moving from one school to the other. We have already mentioned the links between Paris and Oxford, but those with Bologna are nearly as important. Bologna appears to have been essential for law studies as Paris was for arts and theology until the schools of Orléans[66] and to a lesser degree Angers metamorphosed from episcopal schools into law schools (later universities). Links with Cologne were limited to Dominican friars attending

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[65] This project of the LAMOP, directed by Julie Claustre and Darwin Smith, is centred upon the digitization of the registers of the chapter of Notre-Dame and their handwriting text recognition (HTR). It shed light not only on the careers of the canons but also on those of the four collegiate churches and of those detaining benefices as chaplains or members of the Hôtel-Dieu, the city's largest hospital: see: https://endp.hypotheses.org/.
[66] Https://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/820017.

the order's *studium generale* there. Montpellier seems to appear as Paris' finishing school for medicine.

Table 5: Episcopal schools and universities visited

	1100-1150	1151-1170	1171-1180	1181-1190	1191-1200	1201-1210	1211-1220	1221-1230	1231-1240	1241-1250	1251-1260	1261-1270	1271-1280	1281-1290	1291-1300	
Laon	6						1									7
Chartres	4	2	1	1		1										9
Reims	2	2		1												5
Orléans	3	1	1					2		2	1	2	1	2	2	17
Tours	2	1														3
Lucca	1															1
Angers	1		1			1								1		4
Montpellier	1		1	1	1			1		1			2	3	2	13
Oxford	1		1		4		5	7	8	5	2	4	2	8	11	58
Bologna		3	1	2	5	2	4	3	6	3	3	3	6		9	50
Cologne		1				1		1	1	2	1	2	4		2	15
Poitiers			1													1
Salerno					1						1					2
Padua									1			1			1	3
Toulouse						1	1		4	1				4	3	14
Palencia								1								1
Coimbra									1							1
Naples											2			1	2	5
Cambridge											1			1		2
Erfurt											1					1
Siena											1					1
Curia/Roma													1		1	2
Florence														1	2	3
Avignon															1	1

Another way of assessing the impact of Paris on European culture is to trace the diffusion and distribution of texts written in Paris or by scholars having studied in Paris. These works may have been written elsewhere, for instance in Oxford, or by authors whose links with Paris are tenuous, while most of their career took place elsewhere: among the authors listed in Table 6, this is for instance the case of Guillelmus Peraldus, who resided mostly in Lyon, or of Petrus Riga, a regular canon of Saint Rémy of Reims who taught there. Another case is that of John of Sacrobosco, who certainly never graduated, but whose relationship with the schools earned him a grave offered by the university in the Mathurins' church, on which an astronomy instrument was engraved. Nonetheless, the intellectual atmosphere of the Paris schools pervades their works, and they are included in Table 6, which gives the titles of the texts for which more than 200 manuscripts (an exceptional amount) seem to have been

preserved.[67] A difficulty lies with the counting and attribution of manuscripts. The last column of the table gives the number of manuscripts according to the current state of the bibliography, as recorded in the FAMA database.[68] However, *Studium*'s lists of manuscripts are somewhat different and must be used with caution. For some authors, such as Giles of Rome, the Victorines, or Aquinas, the present state of research provides us with a good or excellent knowledge of the distribution of their works. For others, the situation is less satisfactory, and the *Studium* lists are to be considered (at best) as working lists. New references have been found in the many new numerical databases which have appeared in ten or twenty years (see the list in the appendix). They ought to be checked: there may be doublets or wrong attributions but, at that stage, the aim of *Studium* is not to offer secure references, but to point out the possible existence of a manuscript under the shelf mark provided by a catalogue or a database. Among the new references, many are to fragments of the manuscript, a new field of research: if fragments may be neglected for editorial purposes, they are essential to the knowledge of a text's diffusion, since they remain as witnesses of the former manuscript.

The table presents the works in approximate chronological order, according to the middle year of activity of their author. The first thing which is striking is the contrast between the high number of copies of the works of Hugo and Richard of Saint-Victor and the absence of the two other contemporary luminaries, Peter Abelard and William of Champeaux. Michael Clanchy has explained this by the fact that the masters were speaking to an audience, while monks had to rely on the written word for circulating their texts in their orders' monasteries, all equipped with *scriptoria* and libraries:[69] Abelard belonged to both worlds since after being a canon of Notre-Dame he became a monk in Saint-Denis and later in Cluny, but few of his works have to-day more than ten copies, 30 for the *Carmen ad Astrolabium* (including extracts), 17 for the correspondence with Heloïse, 14 for the *Confessio universis*, 13 for the *Theologia Scholarium* and 11 for the *Sic et Non*.[70] The *Sic and non* may well be the first "university textbook",[71] but if Saint-Denis provided Abelard with the reference books indispensable to write it, he soon lost access to its *scriptorium* when he was expelled. On the reverse, as a canon regular educated in a monastery, Hugh found in Saint-Victor all that was needed for copying and circulating his works, with a secretary, Lawrence, who kept a vigilant eye on everything he wrote.[72] Books production at Saint-Victor is documented, with books written in its *scriptorium* or by scribes hired in Paris (as mentioned in

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[67] The numbers are those of the manuscripts containing the works, whether the text is complete or fragmentary., and work may correspond to several manuscripts, e.g. Thomas' *Summa*, usually in 4 volumes when it is complete.

[68] Bourgain, Pascale and Stutzmann, Dominique: *FAMA, Œuvres latines médiévales à succès.*

[69] Clanchy 1997. p. 227–229.

[70] Barrow – Burnett – Luscombe 1986. nr. 269, 273, 305, 309,

[71] Clanchy 1997. p. 228.

[72] Giraud 2020. p. 264.

Saint-Victor's *Liber ordinis*, ca. 1139).[73] However, the monastic concern for spiritual and pastoral values that pervades the Victorine texts was far away from the atmosphere of the schools: if monks were imbued with love, the masters were looking for truth, and they moved from glosses and *sententiae* to fully developed commentaries and tracts: in these new textual genres, they could freely expand the rational demonstrations and the analytical narratives necessary for the manifestation of truth, that is, turn theology into a science.

The point of departure of this scientific approach had to be the Bible since truth lies in the Bible. Table 6 testifies to the dramatic change in the teaching of the Bible by the masters during the course of the twelfth century. If the Biblical Gloss originated in Laon with Anselm of Laon,[74] its later developments, from the *glossa ordinaria* to the *magna glossatura*, took place mainly in Paris. Mark J. Clark's work on Stephen Langton throws a new light on the teaching of theology in Paris,[75] and he insists upon the fact that it was an oral teaching. Masters were constantly dialoguing with colleagues and students when commenting upon difficult points of the biblical text and of the Gloss, the basis of their lectures. Most important in that respect is Peter Lombard.[76] After supposed studies in Lucca, he came from Reims to Saint-Victor with the help of Bernard of Clairvaux: he became a canon of Notre-Dame and a master in the cathedral's school, commenting upon the *Psalms* and on the Pauline *Epistles*. Notes from these lectures were included in the *magna glossatura*, but longer versions were copied as autonomous tracts, especially the *Collectanea* on the Pauline Epistles. He mustered authoritative patristic quotations to elucidate difficulties with the biblical text, solving the contradictions between them by distinctions, using the dialectical methods popularized in Paris by Peter Abelard. As Philip Rosemann puts it, he had come "to a clearer understanding of the differences between biblical commentary and the emerging structures of systematic theology".[77] Much of this material found its way into a collection of *Sentences*. According to the traditional chronology, he would have compiled a first version in 1154, which he constantly modified when he taught from the academic year 1156–1157 to his election as bishop of Paris. He was not alone in trying to produce a comprehensive exposition of Christian theology for the schools, as the case of Robert of Melun' unfinished *Summa Sententiarum* reveals, but his textbook met with immediate success, despite – or because – the fierce debates to which it gave birth, especially on Christological matters.

However, while examining the manuscripts of Langton's lectures on the Bible, Mark J. Clark realised that he was commenting the texts of earlier masters: one of them was Peter Comestor, but there was another one, who appeared to have commented upon all the books of the Old Testament. He was none other than Peter Lombard. And Langton was not alone in doing so: the

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[73] ROUSE – ROUSE 2000. I. p. 26.
[74] GIRAUD 2010a.
[75] CLARK 2017.
[76] Born near Novara, he received his first theological training at Lucca's episcopal school. On his life and works, see: COLISH 1994a, COLISH 1994 b, and ROSEMANN 2004.
[77] ROSEMANN 2004. p. 46.

stemma encapsulating the complex interrelations of all the manuscripts involved in the examination of Langton's own commentaries reveals, *inter alia*, that he was relying on two manuscripts containing notes by two distinct auditors of the Lombard, and that he was not alone in using them.[78] This means that throughout the Lombard's career, the *Sentences* were "a work in progress",[79] its "text" constantly changing through his lectures and those of his students.

According to Mark J. Clark speaking in 2017 of the lectures on the Bible, "there are at least ten discrete layers of oral lecturing, all of which constitute one Parisian tradition, between the 1150s and 1200'".[80] It is now certain that Lombard's lectures and his *Sentences* were the cornerstones of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and of Stephen Langton's *Postillae* (later replaced by those of Hugo of Saint-Cher). The presentation of the creation of the world by Peter Comestor depends upon Lombard's theological interpretations offered:[81] his *Historia Scolastica*, a historically reordered narrative of the Bible, an immediate success, was commented upon by Langton: it completed or even replaced the Glossed Bible on the students' desks. The repertory of Hebrew words in the Bible, erroneously attributed to Langton, was completed and stabilised.[82] To these works were added the *Historia genealogie Christi* of Peter of Poitiers, and the *Aurora* of Peter of Riga, a versified summary of the Bible. Theologians took the *Sentences* as the basis of their lectures, as Alexander of Hales' *Summa* testifies, a work which seemed so important that when Alexander died in 1245, the pope ordered his disciples to complete it. The *Sentences* were quickly abbreviated, glossed, and commented upon. Fully developed commentaries appeared, and two of them, those of the Dominican Aquinas and the Franciscan Bonaventura, achieved lasting popularity. Hundreds of *Sentences* commentaries were copied.[83] Place lacks here to discuss the poetical, "literary", mathematical and historical texts present on Table 6.

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[78] CLARK – BENSON 2021.

[79] CLARK 2017.

[80] CLARK 2017. p. 220.

[81] CLARK 2005.

[82] See: MURANO 2010.

[83] See: the two volumes of Friedrich Stegmüller's *Repertorium Sententiarum* (STEGMÜLLER 1947).

**Table 6: Manuscript diffusion of works from the Parisian schools
(more than 200 mauscripts)**

Auteur	MY[84]		Title	Studium	Biblio[85]
Hugo de St.Victor	1125	O.S.A.	De arrha anime	498	424
			De sacramentis*[86]	396	250
			Didascalicon	217	207
			De institutione novitiorum	234	238
			De virtute orandi	309	335
			De archa Noe	253	165
Petrus Lombardus	1140	Bishop	Sentences*	840	1250
			Super Psalmos	549	490
			Super epistolas Pauli	366	265
Petrus Comestor	1150		Historia Scholastica*	905	+ 800
Ricardus de St.Victor	1152	O.S.A.	Beniamin minor	246	269
			Liber exceptionum	283	294
Galterius de Castillione	1170	Canon	Alexandreis	218	209
Petrus Pictaviensis	1178	Canon	Historia genealogie Christi	268	267
Petrus Riga	1184	O.S.A.	Aurora	340	470
Petrus Blesensis	1192	Canon	Epistolae	285	264
Geoffrey of Vinsauf	1194		Poetria Nova	246	100
Innocent III	1197	Pape	De contemptu mundi	459	647
			De mysterio missae	192	247
Alexander de Villa Dei	1200	Canon	Doctrinale	422	400
Ebrardus Bethuniensis	1206		Graecismus	270	210
Alexander de Hales	1228	O.F.M.	Summa	169	208
Hugo de Sancto Caro	1232	O.P.	Postillae in Bibliam	469	421
			Tractatus super missam	256	236
Johannes Sacrobosco	1233		De Sphera	275	104
			Algorismus	210	110
Bartholomaeus Anglicus	1238	O.P.	De proprietatibus rerum*	273	317
Thomas de Cantimpré	1240	O.P.	De natura rerum	239	235
Pseudo-Langton	?		Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum	819	124
Vincent de Beauvais	1242	O.P.	Speculum historiale	357	
Guillelmus Peraldus	1246	O.P.	Summa de Vitiis	631	739
			Summa de Virtutibus	437	
Bonaventura	1258	O.F.M.	Legenda Francisci maior	106	400
			Breviloquium	249	238
			Soliloquium	258	257
			Comm. Sent.*	299	
			De triplici via (Stimulus amoris)	285	300
Thomas de Aquino	1262	O.P.	Summa (different parts)*	1066	+250
			Super Sententias*	437	+250
			Summa contra Gentiles*	202	+173
			Catena aurea	248	+230
			De articulis fidei	211	278
Aegidius Romanus	1292	O.E.S.A.	De regimine Principum	370	350

[84] Middle year of activity.
[85] Number of manuscripts as indicated in the I.R.H.T. database FAMA.
[86] Title with an asterisk is in the 1286 *taxatio librorum*: CUP I. p. 644–649.

But why the enormous diffusion of these texts, in contrast with the scarcity of those, no less important at the theological or philosophical level, of the first Paris' masters? It was the creation of a new system of book production, completely different of the traditional monastic system and only indirectly linked to the schools which made it possible[87]. The *Liber ordinis* of Saint-Victor mentioned above states that scribes were available in Paris in the twelfth century, but in 1166 the archbishop of Bremen, Hartwich von Stadt, preferred to send his scribe Michael to Paris to copy Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the *Collectanea* on the *Pauline Epistles*.[88] There is also evidence that some manuscripts were copied on exemplars from the library of Saint-Victor: but the first manuscripts of Bible commentaries evoked earlier were not yet commercially produced. Paris scribes and librarians worked mainly for a well-to-do audience of lay nobles or rich prelates and several Parisian workshops were already well-known for copies of illuminated manuscripts, including multi-volume glossed Bible. With the reign of Louis VI, Paris recovered its status as the capital city of the kingdom, with the ensuing elites' attendance at the royal courts, the book market boomed. A prosperous trade, operated by lay artisans, scribes, illuminators, parchment makers, and librarians, soon developed. And the presence of the schools acted as a potent growth multiplier, to the mutual profit of scholars and librarians.

At the heart of this transformation was the development of a new kind of Bible, the so-called "Paris Bible". The text itself was not deeply modified, since the increase in Bible copying started too early to be impacted by the new Bible scholarship, but the books' order was modified to adjust to the masters' lecture sequence. Individual books were divided into chapters and verses, making quotation and indexing easier, and later (1239) allowed the realization of concordances by the Dominicans in the Paris convent. They were completed by paratextual elements, such as a prologue for each book in place of the traditional summaries, and the reorganized tract on the interpretation of Hebrew words (*Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum*) in place of the old Jerome's and Bede's defective lists. The schools were now producing full commentaries on each individual book, and the gloss less indispensable, except for the lecturers. The Bible could thus be copied in one volume only, the size of which was gradually reduced to reach that of those which Chiara Ruzzier, in her fundamental study, calls the "portable Bible".[89] "The portable Bible is the product of the encounter between the reorganization of a text elaborated in the University and the need of the Mendicants for portable books" writes Chiara Ruzzier who has studied a corpus of 357 manuscripts selected among the 1739 surviving "Parisian" Bibles.[90] 84% of them date from the thirteenth century which, given the survival rate of this text, means that nearly 14000 of these

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[87] ROUSE – ROUSE 1988.

[88] ROUSE – ROUSE 2000. I. p. 27: The copy of the *glossatura* still exists in Bremen.

[89] For Chiara Ruzzier, the first datable surviving "portable Bible" was copied in 1234 but Guala Biccheri († 1227) may have owned one. See: LIGHT 1994, for the format's evolution.

[90] RUZZIER 2022. p. 18.

Bibles were copied, half of them in Paris. Since it takes between one and two years of work by an experimented scribe to write a portable Bible, a technical masterpiece in terms of decoration, writing, layout, binding, and support preparation, and the skins of between twenty calves were required for each volume, the book trade had a formidable industrial challenge to overcome: the scholars' output fully benefitted from it.

But the University plaid also a part in this transformation. The Dominicans in particular appear to have established a new procedure for manuscript copying, the *pecia* system, perhaps already in use in Bologna for law books.[91] According to Richard and Mary Rouse, "the Paris Dominicans were employing the *pecia* method of copying in-house before it became an official university program".[92] This was the case for Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Postillae* (another Table 6 work), and they base in part their assumption on the books that Aquinas had bought in Paris when a student in the Saint-Jacques convent, before giving them in 1248 to the Dominicans in Sigtuna.[93] The *pecia* was already in use by 1250 in the shop of the librarian and stationer Guillaume de Sens, to copy the works of Aquinas handed straight to him from the adjacent Paris Dominican convent.[94] Other stationers had also their own *pecia*. With this system, more copies could be made for the rapid distribution of a text, since the division of an *exemplar* in *pecia* permitted simultaneous access to several copyists. This led to the appearance of the stationer, who was hired to scribe the *peciae* in which a work was divided. The University achieved strict control on these stationers and on the whole trade by 1275. Its main concern was the price of second-hand books, crucial for the students, but the Masters also wanted to keep an eye on the costs of copy, and they issued price scales for the hiring of the *pecia* of the books read in the schools, two of which survive.[95] The *pecia* system was also used for non-academic books, such as the portable Bibles, but without University's control. In any case, such a complex system was essential to the rapid dissemination of the Parisian texts which were quickly requested in other centres of learning or brought back by students going back home, and thus disseminated throughout Europe before being copied locally. This new system of book production accounts for the considerable discrepancy we have noted between the numbers of manuscripts of the earlier generation of secular masters (e.g. Abélard) and of those of the masters who followed the Lombard's path.

There will be no conclusions to this paper, the aim of which was not to present new facts, but to illustrate the kind of results which could be expected from a work in progress. Incidentally, it also proves that numbers are important for a correct interpretation of the historical facts. We expect that *Studium* will offer the same sort of evidence for the fourteenth and fifteenth

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[91] DESTREZ 1935.
[92] ROUSE – ROUSE 2021. p. 35.
[93] ROUSE – ROUSE 2021. p. 35.
[94] ROUSE – ROUSE 2000. p. 82–91, and ROUSE – ROUSE 2021.
[95] CUP I. p. 644–649 (1286) and CUP II. p. 107–110 (1304).

centuries: but there still remains a lot of work to be done to offer a complete set of bio-bibliographical files, the number of which could be well above 40000 when every possible source will have been duly explored.

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The Quest for Origins
Academic Filiations in the *Studium Parisiense* Database

The *Studium Parisiense* database contains the prosopographical records of more than 20,000 members of the schools and the University of Paris between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. It thus enables us to carry out a wide-ranging analysis of relations between masters and students within the Parisian studium. The network of relationships thus reconstituted provides a considerable amount of information: 1,969 individuals, 2,743 links, and 2,750 nodes. The hierarchical approach, using simple indicators of centrality (degree, betweenness, PageRank), enabled us to qualify the social prestige of individuals by highlighting lesser known but socially central figures. By combining quantitative and qualitative analyses, this study offers a more nuanced view of academic filiations at the University of Paris, while providing statistical validation for the empirical hypotheses that had been formulated by historiography.

Keywords: digital humanities, medieval prosopography, social network analysis, University of Paris

The University of Paris was one of the largest and most famous centres of higher education in the medieval West, attracting scholars from all over Latin Christendom. Born of the mutation of the Parisian schools at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this educational institution defined itself as a corporation of masters and students, an 'universitas magistrorum et scolarium'. Analysis of the social networks that emerged from master-student relationships is therefore essential to understand the workings of the Parisian studium and, more generally, the medieval university system.

To do this, we have at our disposal a unique research tool in the form of the *Studium Parisiense* database[1] This computerised database contains the prosopographical records of more than 20,000 members of Parisian schools and faculties between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, making it the largest collection of biographical data on the teachers and students of a medieval university. This database is of course structured according to a uniform questionnaire, but it is written in natural language, as the text of the entries is indexed using an internal tagging system, which offers greater adaptability to the diversity of historical sources. Lastly, it is a bio-bibliographical database, with biographical data supplemented, for Parisian authors, by a list of their works and the manuscripts that contain them, which makes it possible to reflect the dual nature of the University of Paris, as both a place for the production of knowledge (*studium*) and a social institution (*universitas*). This knowledge base has already been put to good use, revealing the socio-economic role of Parisian colleges and reconstructing an informal but very real group of mathematicians at the University of Paris.[2] This type of investigation can therefore be applied perfectly to the question of academic filiations.

Statistical analysis of the thousands of items of data in the *Studium Parisiense* database is a challenge in itself, as the networks of master-student relationships have never before been the subject of such an extensive study for the medieval period. Putting together a series of indications of relationships and, above all, displaying them in the form of graphs, linking individuals in pairs, is also of undeniable heuristic interest, as the large-scale application of network analysis tools enables unexpected patterns to be discovered which, although undetectable to the naked eye, nonetheless reveal underlying structures. To carry out this study, we will first present the conditions of network production, before considering the traditional indicators of social network analysis, in order to identify the academic filiations in the *Studium Parisiense* database.

1. Network production conditions

The social networks recorded in the *Studium Parisiense* database are of different kinds, each offering a particular depth of analysis. Inter-individual relationships, when clearly indicated in the sources or rigorously deduced, are recorded in the database. Family, professional, and economic links, as well as academic filiations, are all recorded. Using information to identify social relationships is not new; it is one of the dimensions of prosopography, and this approach is quite closely linked to an approach that seeks to understand

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[1] For a presentation of the project, see: GENET – IDABAL – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ – PRIOL – TOURNIEROUX 2016. The database is available online: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/

[2] See: GENET – KOUAMÉ – LAMASSÉ 2021 and the paper of T. Kouamé and S. Lamassé at the international Heloïse conference *L'Europa delle Università: contesti comuni e peculiarità locali attraverso l'esame delle fonti (origini – XX secolo)*, Università di Bologna, 29-30 March 2021: 'Les mathématiciens à l'université de Paris au Moyen Âge (XIIᵉ–XVᵉ siècle): tentative de reconstitution d'un groupe de savants'.

environments and identify trajectories. These links make it possible to systematically compare the files and improve the quality of the information, where possible, but also to test and deepen certain knowledge about the University of Paris and how it operates.

However, identifying individuals in a relationship is not so simple, particularly as there are always ambiguities inherent in gathering this information. The relationship is often inferred and rarely explicitly stated, and the facts indicating these relationships are never entirely certain. For example, the fact that Guillaume d'Oresme was Nicole Oresme's brother is a likely inference. As far as we know, there does not seem to be any direct evidence of this in the archives. It should be borne in mind that biographical notes drawn up by historians, or even sociologists, are always constructions. From a certain point of view, this weakness is not a weakness, because it allows the prosopographer to move towards a more precise formalisation of his investigation by increasing his rigour in relation to the object he is constructing and to take his sorting and statistical analyses as hypotheses addressed to his volume of data.

In our presentation, we focused on academic filiations. Eventually, we would like to consider all inter-individual relationships by integrating a more in-depth analysis of careers, in order to make use of possible relationships as well. In fact, if master-student relationships are directed, the capture of information contains a fundamental ambiguity. While we always know that a person (the one in the file under consideration and who has an identifier number) has an educational relationship with 'someone else' (individual B), this 'someone else' is never precisely identified, i.e. there is no identifier for him or her. The relationship is generally indicated in the following way:

A is the master of B for year x and degree y

As we can see, the relationship information is quite rich: it is often dated, and the degree is often indicated. However, the authors of the database did not decide directly on the relationship, even if this is sometimes done in a more implicit way by introducing symmetrical information in the record of the 'someone else' (individual B). However, given the uncertainties of medieval anthroponymy, this means accepting that we can never be certain of the identity of this person. Each time, therefore, we have to carry out an investigation which leads us to consider the individuals as candidates for identification. From then on, the database takes on a new interest, as it constitutes our experimental space. It covers the most complete group of Parisian academics that we know. It is therefore the most likely place to find individuals. However, the idea of using the database as an endogenous standard, a source in which the individual in the relationship can be found, is attractive but does not provide any more certainty. The absence of a predefined identifier for individual B might seem problematic, but this choice underlines the fact that academic filiations are possible constructions and not absolute certainties.

A number of operations had to be carried out on the data before it could be analysed. *Studium Parisiense* is in fact a textual database, where researchers are given a great deal of freedom to enter data. For example, as far as the academic filiation is concerned, the direction is not really fixed, so we had to make a number of transformations.

When it was registered	We have modified
student of master …	His master is …
His student is …	Master of …

Identifying a candidate in the database is the most difficult operation. Either the symmetrical information is known: we know that one person is the master of another, as, for example, Adolphus de Werda whose master is Henricus de Kempen for the bachelor's and master's degrees in 1355, and the Henricus de Kempen record indicates the reciprocal link. Or we only know part of the relationship.

In the same way, the textual model of the database encourages the researchers who enter the information to make it denser: the database records that Albertus de Saxonia was the master of Gobelinus de Kempen for the bachelor's degree in 1352, as well as for the licenciate and master's degree in 1354. In this case, we created a line for each diploma, which enabled us to compare it with the rest of the information in the record to complete the degree and, much more rarely, the discipline.[3]

When we did not find any candidates for identification in the database, we assigned a new identifier, artificially creating a record. Thus, out of a total of 1,969 individuals, 627 were not identified. We checked for ambiguity between several candidates by verifying temporal plausibility. For individual A, the temporality of individual B had to be included or overlapped. The difficulty lay in the fact that, in order to reduce uncertainty, we would have had to check a large number of data and redo the survey path for each individual.

The resulting graph consists of 2,750 nodes and 2,743 links, but in fact there are a multitude of small components involving 769 nodes (27%) and 528 links (19%). These educational relationships are small, detached relationships in which neither individual A nor individual B can find matches in the database. Of these small components, 700 have a degree of less than two.[4] The largest related component is made up of 1,981 nodes and 2,215 links. We can therefore observe 80% of the links and 72% of the nodes, i.e. a significant proportion of the relationships. Obtaining such a graph with such heterogeneous data is very surprising, and some of the links undoubtedly come from the reconciliations we have had to make on the basis of names alone, and this will influence the hierarchies we observe.

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[3] The three variables used to document the relationship are unevenly filled in: degrees have 42% unknown values, years of graduation 38.6% and disciplines 80%.
[4] These cases bear witness to existing relationships, and the survey should provide us with more information.

The first observation over the long term is that the year of the educational relationship is relatively well documented, at least better than might have been feared (Figure 1). The first relationships identified date back to the twelfth century, but they have not been represented on this graph. There is better documentation from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and there are a few structural gaps that may explain the less dense relationships: 1364–1368, 1384–1392, 1438–1442, 1464–1474, and then after 1491.

Figure 1: Temporal distribution of master-student relationships in the database
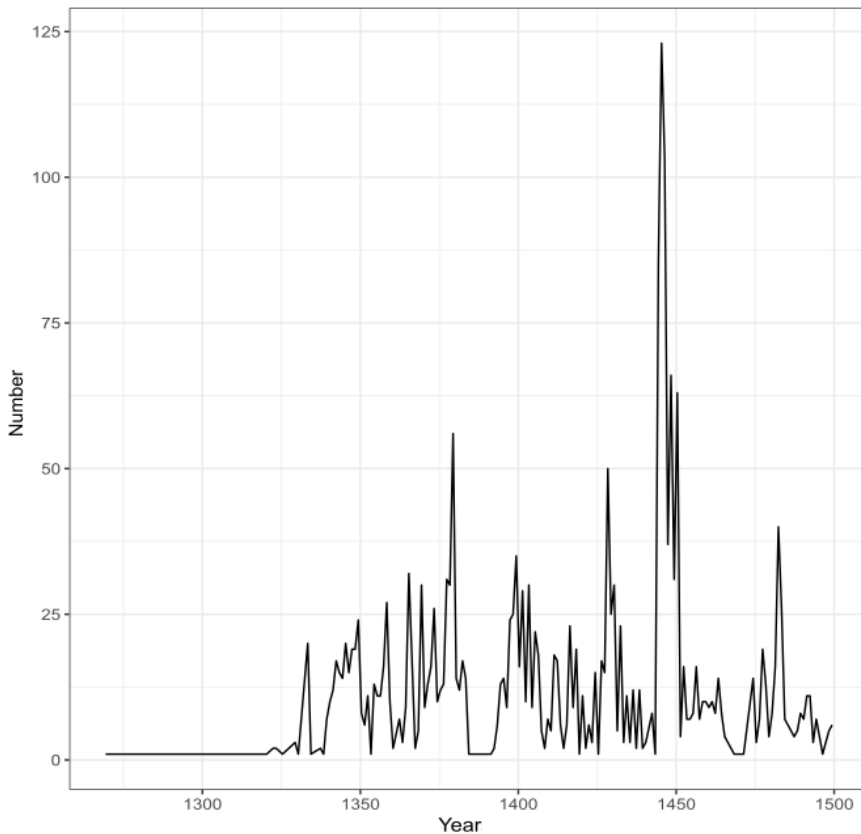
On the other hand, if we look at the more general curve of the distribution of the total population of the *Studium Parisiense* database, we find some spikes, which reflect exceptional moments of documentation, such as the list of 1464 (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Temporal distribution of all the records in the database
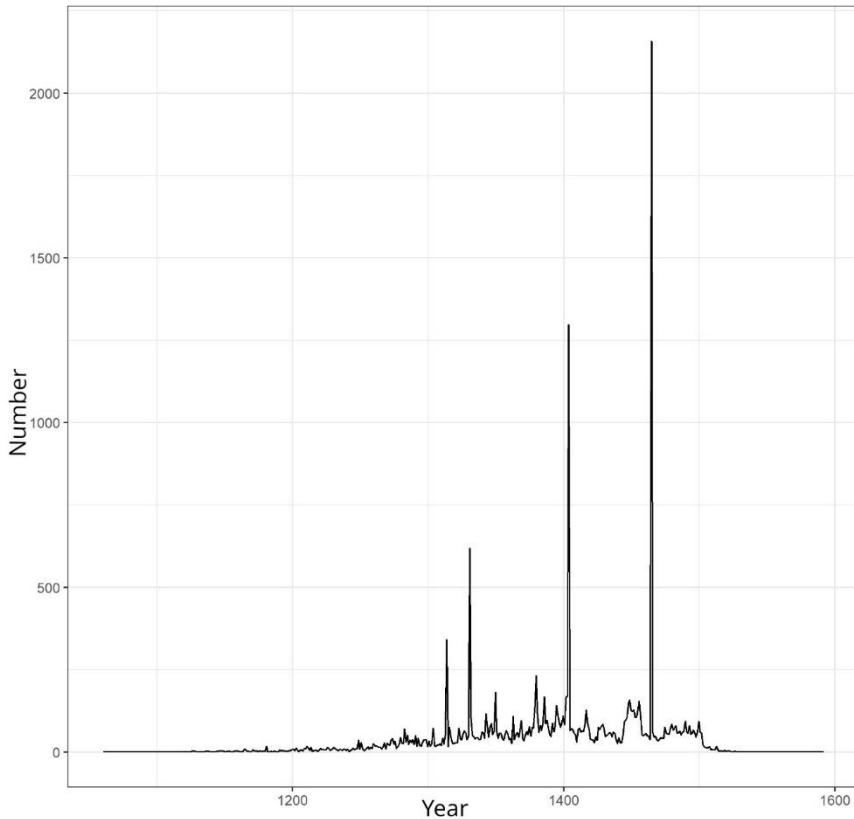
We tried to group together all the links for which the year is given, by 50-year generation. This is an artificial division that, when projected onto the graph, shows the earliest periods on the left and the very late Middle Ages on the right (Figure 3). Temporality highlights two useful phenomena for the prosopographer. The first concerns inconsistencies in the data, insofar as links sometimes establish relationships between men who are more than 60 years apart.[5] The second phenomenon concerns chronological continuity and the possibility of observing a number of filiations over an extended period of time. As far as we know, such phenomena have never before been identified on this scale, for such a large population and over such a long period.

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[5] More often than not, these were new ID allocations for incorrectly associated individuals outside the database.

Figure 3: Representation of master-student relationships between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries

▇ (blue)	1300 - 1350
▇ (violet)	1350 - 1400
▇ (pink)	1400 - 1450
▇ (red)	1450 - 1500
▇ (black)	1500 - 1550
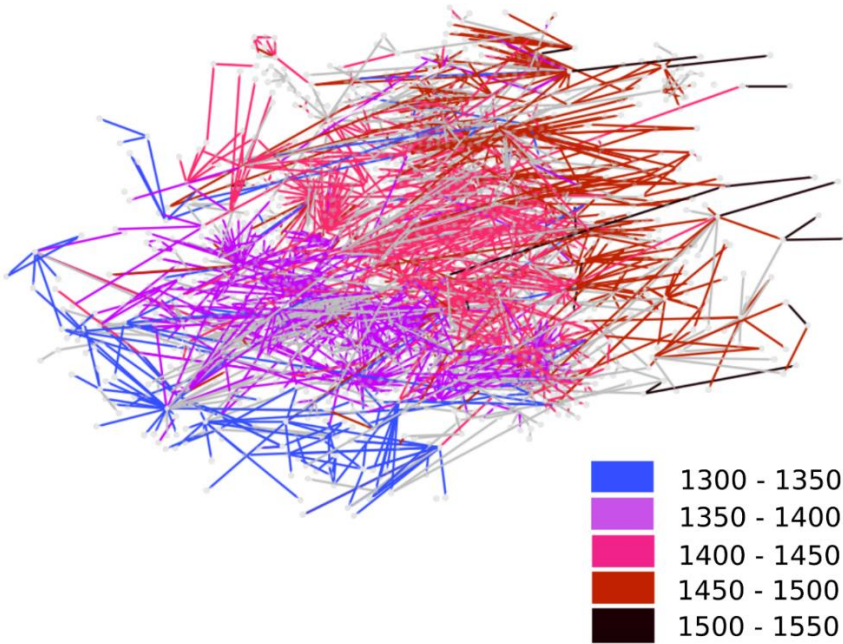
Teaching is a market in knowledge, which has to do with transmission, but it is also a way for teachers to make a living and perhaps enrich themselves. The histogram, which shows the distribution by teacher of the number of students presented for the degrees, reflects an asymmetric distribution on the right, indicating that there were a large number of teachers who presented few students for the degrees (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Distribution of the number of students per teacher
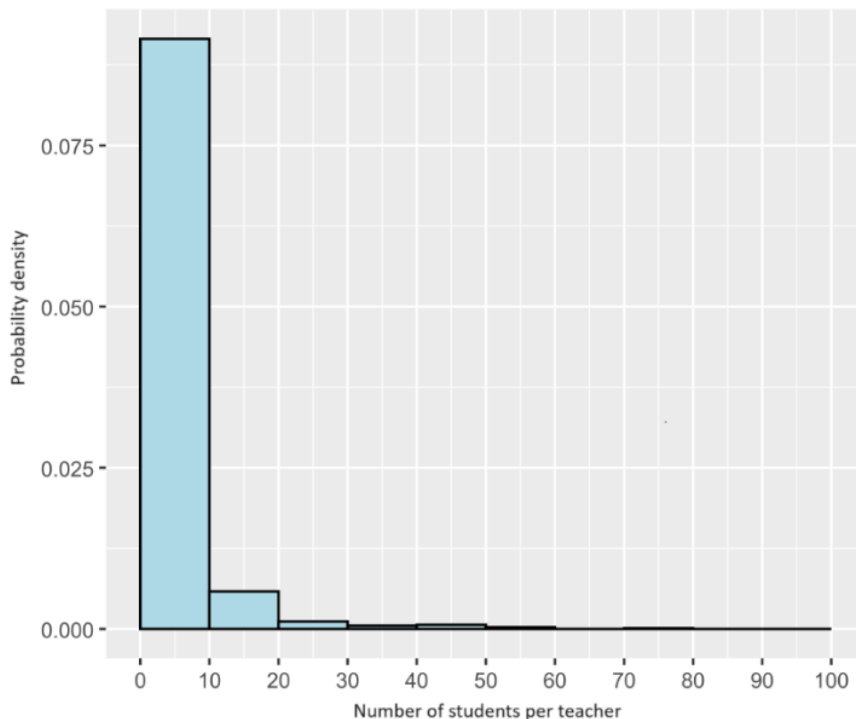
This distribution is characteristic of a rank/size logic in which most masters have between 1 and 10 students. Of course, there are exceptional situations where teachers have a large number of students. Here again, the quality of the data certainly puts this observation in doubt, but historiography does not put forward any hypotheses to contradict it. The power to confer the dignity of a degree is undoubtedly of economic interest and expresses social hierarchies. It is towards this 10% of masters who have more than 20 students that we should push the analysis to question the phenomena of concentration.

2. The traditional indicators for analysing social networks

Traditional centrality indicators classify and order the population according to a score.[6] The degree of centrality is one of them; it describes the connectivity of each individual: the more connections you have, the higher the degree indicator.[7] In the case described, the more students the masters have, or the

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[6] See DEGENNE – FORSÉ 2004.

[7] We did not distinguish here between incoming and outgoing degrees. Instead, we focus on the masters. Other experiments in medieval history discuss the question of the interpretation of

more masters the students have, the more connected they will be. The other indicator we have used allows us to assess the central position of a node in the network, by calculating the extent to which it is necessary to pass through the node in order to move from one sector of the network to another, i.e. the shortest path or betweenness. The last indicator we have identified is PageRank. In this case, we consider that a node with a high score will be considered more influential because it is linked to many other nodes or to nodes that are themselves well connected. These scores may change as the data entry process evolves, but they allow us to observe unknown characters who nevertheless seem to have had a form of polarity within the University of Paris (Table 1).

Table 1: Highest scores for three centrality indicators

Name	Degree
Galterius Wardlaw	113
Johannes Beguini 2	80
Gerardus Kypot de Kalker	55
Johannes de Hoekelem	54
Henricus Hugonis	54
Galfredus Calvi	50
Guillelmus Buser de Huesden	47
Albertus Vorden	43
Bertrandus Pigouche	43

Name	Betweenness
Henricus de Aernhem	635
Gerardus de Eeten	552
Arnaldus de Gruthus	524
Nicolaus de Monikedam	314
Henricus de Gorinchem	258
Albertus Vorden	257
Godescalcus Vriese	240
Aegidius Bartholomaei de Jutfaes	198
Johannes Boutbour	197

Name	PageRank
Johannes Saresberiensis	0,0030323
Adam de Parvo Ponte	0,0029726
Nicolaus de Clamengiis	0,0021990
Petrus de Alliaco	0,0018310
Otto Boecii	0,0017364
Nicolaus de Ockham	0,0016913
Petrus Boussard	0,0016642
Rogarius Marston	0,0015248
Guillelmus de Grenlaw	0,0015153

The case of Galterius de Wardlaw is particularly noteworthy (113 contacts). His academic activity spanned the period from 1320 to 1387 and seems to

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indicators, such as, for example, the relationship between temporality and betweenness in the network of bishops: see JÉGOU – LAMASSÉ 2021.

have been well documented.[8] He was a theologian from the Diocese of Glasgow. He is known to have travelled to France, Avignon, England, and Flanders, and was the Scottish ambassador to Berwick and Vincennes. He had a diplomatic role for John II the Good in 1355 and was a papal chaplain in 1378. He wrote on astrology and divination, as well as philosophy. We are thus changing our profile to enter a career of excellence, marked by a very strong capacity for intermediarity and reasonable connectivity. As for Johannes Beguini 2, he left no major works or manuscripts. He was a master at the end of our period, working from 1443 to 1468.[9] Born in Berry, he came from the diocese of Bourges and belonged to the French nation. His education, as we know it, was organised around theology: he obtained his doctorate on 19 January 1459. He had been rector of the University of Paris, which shows his social standing. This social position undoubtedly explains his appeal, the extent of which can be seen from university sources (80 contacts).[10]

In the rest of the table, connectivity drops, but remains high. This is the case with Gerardus Kypot de Kalker, a Parisian master from the second half of the fourteenth century (1365–1383).[11] He was a member of the Anglo-German nation, born in the Rhineland. He obtained his Master of Arts in 1369 and his Bachelor of Theology in 1378. It is not certain that his fifty connections correspond to as many students. Indeed, a reading of the network reveals onomastic similarities that need to be investigated. In fact, these multiple connections testify to the fact that he accompanied his students: one of his pupils was Mathias Janov, whom he introduced to the bachelor's degree in 1376 and to the master's degree in the same year. The same can be said of the student Andreas Scoti, whom he supervised for his bachelor's and licentiate degrees in 1375. All these connections reflect, not an intellectual influence, but a form of notability, reflected in the players' investment in the university institution.

The shortest path (betweenness indicator) leads us to observe other hierarchies. We know little about Arnaldus de Gruthus other than that he was active in the middle of the fourteenth century, over a brief period (1345–1349).[12] He became master regent of the Anglo-German nation in 1346, and two elements seem to characterise his career: this artist obtained his bachelor's, licentiate, and master's degrees with three different masters, and he had four pupils, all of whom had pupils of their own. This was the case with

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8   See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2505-galteriuswardlaw – accessed: 01-12-2024.
9   See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/13308-johannesbeguini2 – accessed: 01-12-2024.
10 Tanaka 1990. p. 121-122 mentions the case of rectors who are given students to present for exams.
11 See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/2819-gerarduskypotdekalker – accessed: 01-12-2024.
12 See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/1010-arnaldusdegruthus – accessed: 01-12-2024.

Henricus de Aernhem, whose master he was.[13] In this rather uncertain case, it is the disruption it would cause to the network if removed, that determines its relative importance.

Finally, the PageRank algorithm highlights celebrities who are better known to medievalists. The results show a number of great names over the entire period, such as John of Salisbury (c. 1115–1180), Nicolas de Clamanges (c. 1363–1437) and Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420), often authors or figures better known to historians because of their political importance.

The distribution of links (Figure 1) can help us to look at these relationships in a way that attempts to limit the effects of sources. For this reason, we propose to look at the limited chronological interval between 1400 and 1470, a period with continuous relationships and fairly heterogeneous documentation. In this time segment, information on nations is more important, since this attribute is known for almost 56% of the nodes. This makes it possible to investigate with greater precision whether national logics exist. The Chi2 test on cross-tabulation of master and student origin[14] and a Cramer V measuring average intensity[15] suggest that this relationship may have existed. The rather conventional hypothesis that students choose or are led to choose masters from the same nation is supported by these statistical results.[16] The proposed graph superimposes the centrality of degrees (Figure 5). While intra-national polarities are perfectly obvious in the German and French nations, they seem to be a little less so in the other two nations, Normandy and Picardy.

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[13] Henricus de Aernhem is an artificial construction for the time being, as he does not exist in the database, but is mentioned in 16 records which designate him as a master. The onomastic and chronological matching is potentially faulty for some of these records, and it should be possible to better align all the biographical elements to reduce the uncertainty.

[14] The result of the Chi2 test allows us to rule out the hypothesis of independence. This result was obtained using R software and the instruction chisq.test delivers this result: X-squared = 756.33, df = 20, p-value < 2.2e-16.

[15] Using the same software, the Cramer V result is 0.2437.

[16] All these results are obviously problematic, given the proportion of the population for whom we do not have this information. But we think we can reduce this lack of knowledge to some extent.

Figure 5: Master-student relationships by nation (1400–1470)
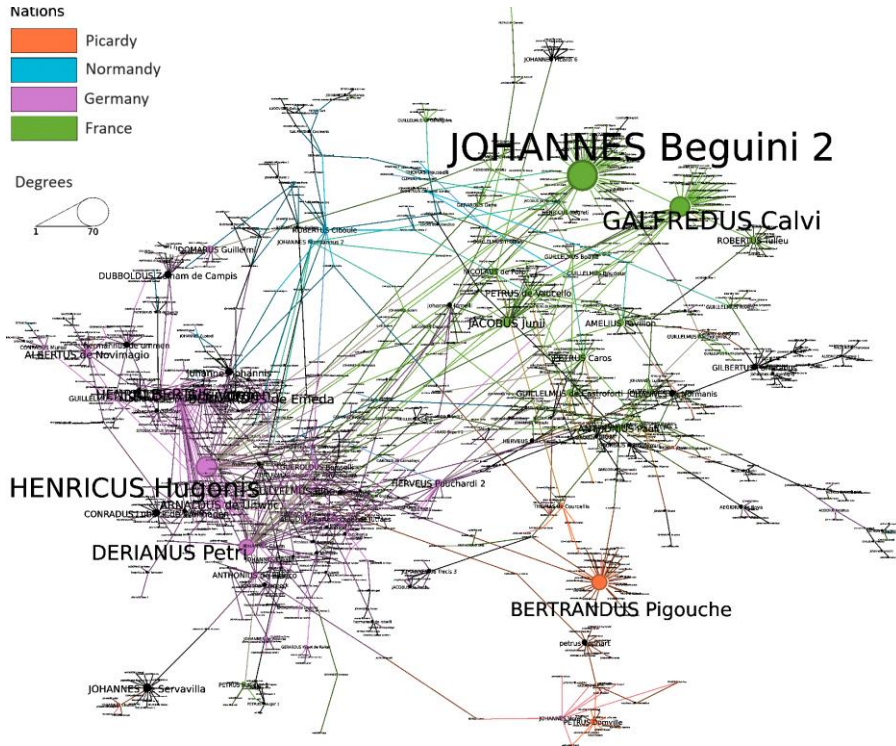
Trying to find out more about students' attachment to a nation is a research objective in itself, which we are still pursuing. One of the historical hypotheses that we could address through the study of a better-documented network of nations would concern the choice of particular masters by members of the same nation. There are several ways of reducing uncertainty on this subject. The first is to correctly trace the relationship between the individual and the document in which he is mentioned, since mention in a nation's register is an indication of national belonging. However, we should not assume that all the people mentioned in a nation's register necessarily belong to the nation that produced it. The second, more traditional approach, is to increase our available knowledge by looking at other archives. The third, and last, is to try to propose an assignment by a nation for each node. We are currently reflecting on this point because the strategies we have implemented for the moment are based on the behaviour of other students, and this only amplifies the phenomenon we believe we are observing.

3. Identifying academic filiations in the database

Sensitive to the quality of the data, but easy to understand, the paths enable us to observe routes that seem closer to the reality on the ground. The network is not very dense; the link is expressed over several generations. The pupil of a master can become a master himself and, obviously, we would like to know more about the profile of these men. So, we need to try and find all the distances between the nodes and classify these distances. This is what we did using Floyd Warshall's algorithm, which was feasible in the context of our small, fairly loosely interconnected network. We were therefore able to extract from the database all relationships with more than 3 or 4 interval nodes, i.e. generations of masters and students visible, sometimes to the naked eye, on the graph and whose concrete location makes it possible to study these 'passages' (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Identifying chains of relationships over time
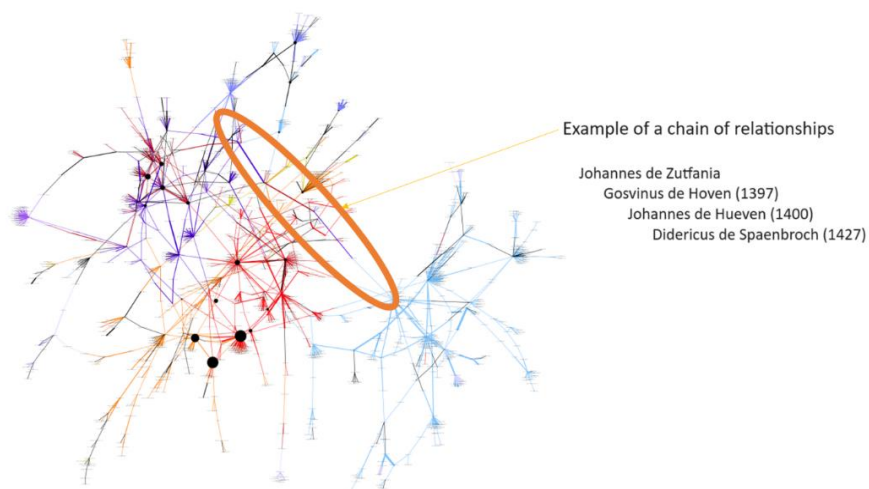
While these paths should not be viewed too deterministically for the purposes of interpreting a biography, bringing them together in quantitative terms would undoubtedly give us a better understanding of these university environments. We can give an example of these filiations. Johannes de Zutfania does not yet have a record in the database but seems to have been a master of average importance at the end of the fourteenth century. He supervised four students, including two for the baccalaureate: Elias de Culenborch in 1398 and Gosvinus de Hoven de Arnhem in 1397. He also supervised the latter for the bachelor's and master's degrees in 1399. Gosvinus, born in Arnhem, Gelderland, became Master of Medicine.[17] His activity at the University of Paris

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[17] See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/3256-gosvinusdehovendearnhem – accessed: 01-12-2024.

spanned the period from 1397 to 1419, during which time he was able to follow in his brother's footsteps to obtain a Master of Arts in 1403; he obtained his Bachelor of Medicine in 1404. This brings us to an interesting point, concerning the parallel between kinship and rank. In 1400, Johannes de Hueven, born in the same town and in the same diocese of Utrecht, also studied under him, and he in turn taught Didericus de Spaenbroch, alias de Harlem, who became a bachelor of theology in 1427.[18] This path, which spans some thirty years, may seem singular, but it raises questions about the proximity of academic filiations to spatial logics, which we know well, as well as to other networks that necessarily influence the awarding of degrees, and whose weight deserves to be measured.

* * *

The *Studium Parisiense* prosopographical database enabled us to explore the knowledge that could be extracted from social networks based on master-student relationships at the University of Paris. The construction of the network is fraught with a number of uncertainties, inherent in the textual nature of the database and the choices we had to make in an attempt to reduce this difficulty. As it is not always possible to analyse routes, using the database as a reference space inevitably produces identification errors. So, it is still a probable network that we are creating, and that is all it can represent.

However fragile it may be, this network of relationships provides a considerable mass of information on the social space under consideration: 1,969 individuals, 2,743 links and 2,750 nodes. This data could then be analysed to provide keys to understanding the groups and sometimes the careers. The first of these keys relates to chronology and temporal connections, giving a perspective that is more difficult to achieve by mobilising sources in a more conventional way. This diachronic representation suffers from the difficulties associated with documentation, although it can sometimes overcome them, and this is an observable result today.

The hierarchical approach, using simple indicators of centrality (degree, betweenness, PageRank), made it possible to nuance the social prestige of individuals. These metrics enabled us to quantify and compare the influence of various players within the academic network. They have also revealed unexpected aspects of social and academic dynamics, highlighting lesser known but socially central figures.

Examination of master-student relationships by nation revealed significant differences within the University. Nations, groups formed on the basis of the geographical origin of students and masters, had a significant influence on academic dynamics. Our study thus provided statistical proof of the reality of the hypotheses put forward about the weight of national affiliations in students' university careers. This national dimension adds a layer of

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[18] See biographical data: http://studium-parisiense.univ-paris1.fr/individus/6121-johannesdehueven – accessed: 01-12-2024.

complexity to our understanding of university networks, revealing how geographical and cultural factors can shape academic trajectories.

We were able to identify and classify the distances between the nodes in the network, highlighting chains of relationships spanning several generations. This approach has enabled us to better understand the continuity and evolution of educational links over time, by highlighting academic filiations.

Ultimately, our study reveals the complexity and richness of medieval academic networks. By combining quantitative and qualitative analyses, we have been able to offer a more nuanced view of academic filiations at the University of Paris, while at the same time providing statistical validation for the empirical hypotheses that had been formulated by historiography. These are only initial, forward-looking results, but they should pave the way for future research into academic networks, by enabling comparisons and developing more detailed analyses of careers and inter-individual relationships.

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Gergely KISS – Péter BÁLING:

Papal Representatives in Hungary in the Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries
A Prosopographical Database
(https://delegatonline.pte.hu/index)

Traditionally, research on Papal-Hungarian relations has been dominated by a diplomatic approach. Until the early 2000s, Hungarian historiography was traditionally characterised by a relatively schematic concept of papal representation, i.e. papal representatives were mostly understood as legates or nuncios. The last two decades have seen major changes in this area: the prosopographical research of papal representatives has begun, which has shed light on the various forms of representation (legates, nuncios, papal delegated judges, conservators, executors, administrators, papal collectors), and the thematic analysis of the relationships has become dominant. This paper presents the results of the DeLegatOnline research projects that bring together these studies.

Keywords: Papal representatives, eleventh–fourteenth centuries, prosopography, database

Introduction

The analysis of the papal representation[1] can be considered a relatively little-researched topic, even though Hungarian historiography has traditionally placed a great emphasis on the examination of international relationships and diplomacy. However, the need for more precise knowledge on the subject has emerged in the last few years due to international research projects that aim to conduct prosopographic research of the administrative personnel in certain periods. As an example, the research project on the officers of the territories ruled by the Angevin dynasty can be mentioned, which in the case of Hungary, is relevant for the study of the fourteenth century only, but in other regions (Anjou, Maine, Provence, Folcalquier, Naples, Durazzo, Morea, etc.) it comprises the data from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the end of the middle ages.[2] The results of this project are undoubtedly useful in the analysis of the papal-Hungarian relations at the end of the fourteenth – beginning of the fifteenth century; however, they are not sufficient on their own, and the subject has to be approached from the perspective of the papal delegates. Although the research in this field has been delayed since the monograph of Vilmos Fraknói in 1901, it seems to be slowly progressing in recent years.[3] Yet, the newest works continue to publish summaries based on Fraknói's book,[4] and only the first decade of the second part of the fourteenth century (1378–1389) has been described in detail by Antal Áldásy. Nevertheless, the prerequisites of a prosopographic analysis were not given at the time of the publication of Áldásy's work.[5] Despite the newest volumes of ecclesiastical archontology and recent research in relevant areas,[6] the deficiency is particularly obvious in two fields. Firstly, there are only a few comprehensive case studies concerning the career of certain representatives, such as Petrus Stephani,[7] Julianus Cesarini, Cristoforo Garatone, Juan de Carvajal, Branda di Castiglione[8] and Angelo Pecchinoli[9]. Secondly, the already completed studies on representatives are ill-balanced: they tend to concentrate on the diplomatic aspect instead of the full description of the papal delegates' work, including the local (Hungarian) cases. Thus, our project is

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[1] We would like to avoid the utilisation of the unique term "papal legate", as this institute is not defined clearly. The Hungarian historiography tends to describe every papal representative as legate, but this does not reflect the reality, as the sources apply various titles (e.g., *legatus, nuntius, apocrisiarius, judex delegatus, nuntius et collector, conservator, executor*). For the latest overview see: KISS 2010b; KISS 2019; KISS 2019b.

[2] EuropAnge (http://www.agence-nationale-recherche.fr/?Project=ANR-13-BSH3-0011)

[3] FRAKNÓI 1901; FRAKNÓI 1902. For the details of the cited works, see the bibliography at the end of this document.

[4] ÉRSZEGI 1994; GERICS – LADÁNYI 1996; SZOVÁK 1996; SOLYMOSI 1996.

[5] ÁLDÁSY 1896.

[6] C. TÓTH 2012; C. TÓTH 2013; C. TÓTH 2015; C. TÓTH 2016; C. TÓTH 2017; C. TÓTH 2019a; C. TÓTH 2019b; C. TÓTH 2019c; THOROCZKAY 2020 (with further studies).

[7] FEDELES 2018.

[8] FRAKNÓI 1889; FRAKNÓI 1890; GÓMEZ CANEDO 1947; CAGLIOTI 1997; ESCALANTE VARONA – REBOLLO BOTE 2015; TÖRTEI 2013; KISS 2019a.

[9] KALOUS 2021.

planned to be built on five, equally important pillars: *diplomacy, church policy, canon law and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, law cases,* and *tax collections.*[10] A good example of the concept that our project represents, would be a recent article on the legation of Cardinal Juan de Carvajal[11] which not only reconsiders the already known elements of the diplomatic and political importance of the cardinal's work[12] but also uncovered his participation in the Hungarian ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was a fully obscure area before. Unfortunately, the historical research on this period is generally uneven and it is characterised by the lack of in-depth analysis. The publication of sources from this period is incomplete as well: in addition to the publications of Augustinus Theiner,[13] Fraknói's works[14] on the papal bulls of Boniface IX,[15] the series Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár (Charters of the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg)[16] and other well-known volumes[17] are relevant, however, the last account book of papal tax collectors which has been published dates to 1375,[18] and the documents issued under the reign of the other popes of the period – no matter whether Roman, Avignon or Pisan obedience – are only partially available in published form.[19]

Since the 1990s, there has been a remarkable advance in prosopographical research. A pioneering research project, the Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae (FEG), has been launched and is currently being published, which is a prosopographical database of French dioceses from 1200–1500.[20] Databases with a similar aim, but with a slightly different structure, have been or are being developed in other European countries. This brings us to the year 2007 when contact was made with these projects, and the preparation of a comprehensive European project was launched.[21] The participation enabled the dissemination of the Hungarian, mainly archontological, results to colleagues from abroad, and at the same time inspired the creation of a prosopographical database of the representatives and delegates of the papacy in Hungary. In addition, in recent years a considerable quantity of ecclesiastical archontology has been published, and there is a continuous exchange of information between the

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[10] Kiss 2010a; Kiss 2011.

[11] Kiss 2019a.

[12] Fraknói 1889; Fraknói 1890

[13] As an archivist of the Apostolic Archives, Theiner published the papal registers by country. Theiner HS, Theiner HU, Theiner PL, Theiner SLAV.

[14] Fraknói 1901; Fraknói 1902; Fraknói 1899.

[15] MVH I/3, MVH I/4.

[16] ZsO.

[17] E.g. PRT; MREV; MES; Fejér, etc. In addition to the publications, the online databases of archives (the Pre-Mohács Collection of the Hungarian National Archives, monasterium.net). See also the volumes cited in the footnote nr. 6.

[18] MVH I/1.

[19] CAMERALIA. Unfortunately, this highly useful publication does not contain the data from the Introitus et Exitus books of the Apostolic Chamber (AAV Camera Apostolica, Introitus et Exitus).

[20] https://fasti.huma-num.fr/.

[21] Kiss 2015b; Kiss 2015c.

researchers who have carried out the research and the members of the present project.[22]

Papal representatives in eleventh–fourteenth century Hungary: The DeLegatOnline prosopographical database

Two research projects between 2014 and 2023 laid the methodological foundations and created the institutional framework the online database which is now available and can provide data and information for both researchers and the wider public. Personal prosopographical datasheets (a *complete biographical and official record*) of the actors of papal representation of the Árpád and Anjou eras are at the users' disposal. The online form, in addition to revealing the identity of several previously unknown persons, is now complete and provides up-to-date information in a very user-friendly way.[23]

The aim of the research

The main objective of the DeLegatOnline project is to reconstruct the complete career of the papal envoys who were in contact with the Kingdom of Hungary within the given time frame (currently the eleventh–fourteenth centuries) and to integrate it into a prosopographical database. It includes all known representative types in the database. It means that not only their most commonly known type, the legate, is entered in the database, but other specific forms of representation are also relevant for data collection. Thus, it focuses also on the following actors:
- Legatus a latere
- Nuntius
- Missus
- Collector et nuntius
- Judge delegate
- Administrator
- Conservator
- Executor

Such a methodological consideration helps to avoid data loss and offers the full spectrum of papal representation. The collection covers the entire life and the individual stages of the person's official career, i.e., it also includes data – with

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[22] In addition to the aforementioned, there is a particularly intensive cooperation with the MTA–ELTE–PTE Medieval Hungarian Church Archontology 1000–1387 research group (MTA–ELTE–PTE Középkori magyar egyházi archontológia 1000–1387 kutatócsoport), see:, and: https://ujkor.hu/content/studia-mediaevalia-ii-archontologia-kozepkori-egyhaztortenet-szolgalataban – accessed: 30-03-2024)

[23] These projects are: NKIFH NN 109690 – Papal envoys in 11th–13th century Hungary – online database and NKFIH NN 124763 – Papal envoys in 14th century (1295–1378). See: https://delegatonline.pte.hu/index/project1 and https://delegatonline.pte.hu/index/project2 – accessed: 30-03-2024. The publications produced during the project are also available on the project's website (https://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/bibliographysources), see also the papers of Gergely Kiss, Ágnes Maléth, Viktória Kovács and Gábor Barabás in the bibliography.

the aim of completeness – which precedes or follows his activities in Hungary *strictu sensu*. The entire life and official career of the person concerned can thus be studied, and the prosopographical database can form the starting point for further research.

Data collecting and uploading

The research is primarily based on *primer* (archival and narrative) *sources* and would be amended with the information contained in *secondary sources* (historiography). Our research would not be restricted only to the sources available in Hungary, as we would supplement our results with the data and experience of our international partners and their research. The data collection would concern nine main areas: 1) basic summary information about the person, 2) kinship, 3) studies, qualifications 4) ecclesiastical order, 5) ecclesiastical office, 6) cardinal title, 7) other events, 8) papal authorizations, 9) *familia*. In processing the data for each individual, the relevant information was grouped into two basic categories based on the experience of the previous project:

1.   biographical data
2.   event data

Process of the data uploading:
1) First, the basic biographical data of the papal envoy (1) are recorded with the following data:
1.   Gender
2.   Name
3.   Name variants
4.   Bibliography and sources
5.   Notes

1. Person record form
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The family background of the delegates can provide essential data for future social history research and network analysis (first entry field), the relatives of the delegates would be listed separately in the database (second entry field). The recording of mutual kinship grades (e.g., father-son, uncle-nephew, etc.) will reveal the family network of every delegate. Besides, the biographic data of the people who somehow crossed the delegates' paths during certain historical events will be stored as well (third entry field), because in this way the people who met or worked with more than one delegate can be identified and their data will not have to be recorded multiple times.

2) All the events in which the papal delegates participated can be demonstrated as a data unit of events comprising a person (or more), a place (or more), and a date (or period). The life path of the delegates would be dissected to such event-units and uploaded to the database. The three main groups would be: main papal commissions, papal commissions, and events connected to the commissions. Although these three groups are usually not independent from each other, this would be the easiest way to interpret the activity of the delegates. The reason for this is the fact that main papal commissions (e.g., commission as *legatus a latere*) were frequently supplemented with minor and simple commissions (e.g., order or mandate on how to handle a certain vacant benefice). There are also known cases when the sources report an action carried out during the time of the main papal commission, but completely independently from that. In order to give a full and comprehensive description of the delegation, the activity of the papal representatives as delegated judges, the participation in the ecclesiastical

jurisdiction, in the work of the Curia, or in the tax collection have to be considered as well.

2. Event upload form
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Data input is facilitated by several tables. The data input for the aforementioned nine datasets, except for the first one, which provides a summary of the data for the others, is facilitated by a predefined event category and event type system, with each basic event unit being entered into the database within this matrix. Its structure is flexible, extensible, and intelligent. Of course, it is also possible to use free input fields, but this has several disadvantages. It is common for the same events to contain almost identical formulations and descriptions, which nevertheless result in many variants. Similarly, typing errors can be a source of serious problems in a database, often leading to redundancy. However, the most important reason to use predefined data tables in the development of the database is that these errors can be eliminated, and a more detailed search can be performed. No search engine in the database will be able to perform relevant searches on data that has been entered irregularly, and the results will not be reliable. In addition, the individual data tables can be logically linked. These have been achieved in the database by creating many event category tables – typically according to the recording criteria (e.g., life data, kinship, studies, graduation, ecclesiastical orders, ecclesiastical offices, cardinal appointments, papal appointment events, *facultates*). These have been assigned to additional tables containing event types so that a logical linking scheme is established during the data

recording process. For example, the category 'life data' includes, as appropriate, birth and death data, which represent a type that can be assigned to the category. Similarly, the category of ecclesiastical orders is associated with the types of orders that can be entered (e.g., acolyte, subdeacon, priest), or the category of cardinal orders is associated with all the cardinal churches of the period, from which the appropriate element can be easily selected during the recording.

Category	Name HU	Name EN	Name LAT
bíborosi cím	Albano püspök-bíborosa	Cardinal-bishop of Albano	cardinalis-episcopus Albanensis
bíborosi cím	Négy koronás mártír áldozópap (presbi	Cardinal-presbyter of Four Holy Crown	cardinalis-presbyter SS. IV Coronatoru
bíborosi cím	Ostia és Velletri püspök-bíborosa	Cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri	cardinalis-episcopus Ostiensis et Vellet
bíborosi cím	Porto és Szt. Rufina püspök-bíborosa	Cardinal-bishop of Porto and Holy Rufi	cardinalis-episcopus Portuensis et s. R
bíborosi cím	Preneste püspök-bíborosa	Cardinal-bishop of Preneste	cardinalis-episcopus Prenestinensis
bíborosi cím	Sabina püspök-bíborosa	Cardinal-bishop of Sabina	cardinalis-episcopus Sabinensis
bíborosi cím	Tibersisen-túli Mária áldozópap (presbi	Cardinal-presbyter of Santa Maria Tras	cardinalis-presbyter s. Marie trans Tibe
bíborosi cím	Tizenkét Apostol áldozópapap (presbit	Cardinal-presbyter of Twelf Apostels	cardinalis-presbyter XII Apostolorum
bíborosi cím	Tusculanum (Frascati) püspök-bíboros	Cardinal-bishop of Tusculanum (Frasca	cardinalis-episcopus Tusculanensis (Fr
bíborosi cím	jeruzsálemi szt. Kereszt áldozópap (pre	Cardinal-presbyter of Holy Cross in Jer	cardinalis-presbyter s. Crucis in Jerusa
bíborosi cím	sz. Potenciana, Pudencia, Praxedis áld	Cardinal-presbyter of Sts. Potenciana,	cardinalis-presbyter SS Potenciane, Pu
bíborosi cím	szt. Adorján szerpap (diakónus)-bíboro	Diaconus-cardinal of s. Hadrianus	cardinalis-diaconus s. Adriani

3. Data table: cardinal title (event category), cardinal title (event type)
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It is particularly important to draw the correlation between each papal mandate and the events associated with it in the database. This is achieved by first determining which event belongs to which papal mandate: for example, an election was confirmed as part of a commission of a papal *legatus a latere*. The election (appointment event type) is therefore associated with an appointment event category, so that when it is uploaded, the latter appointment category (or categories), will appear as the parent category on the form. A similar procedure can be used to associate each special authorization (*facultates*) with each appointment category. The relations created in this way are then displayed graphically on the personal datasheet.

Due to the spatial nature of the events, the input of this data is also supported here by the use of data tables. This applies to political-administrative frameworks (countries) and church administration. Since the medieval and the present-day territorial-political-ecclesiastical administrative frameworks are not necessarily identical, both systems are used. The data tables include all the dioceses of the period and the historical geographical terms used in the sources (a list that can be, of course, extended) since it is not possible to impose only the present-day geographical and political framework

on the medieval context. However, they can be logically linked, which is important for searches and queries.

4. Data table: Medieval territories
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5. Data table: Cities
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A natural part of event-based data processing is to place events not only in space but also in time. Even though a database can capture millisecond time differences, there is a large volume of uncertain temporal data due to the specificities of the era. Often the sources themselves are imprecise and incomplete so that one can only infer when an event occurred: before, around, or after a certain point in time. As the database needs to have a solid base for accurate searching, it was necessary to determine what value these categories should display. They can be used to determine the accuracy and deductive nature of the event during data entry, i.e., the data entered requires the researcher's decision, but in this way, the search and retrieval of the data and all other time-based functions (timeline, itinerary) are guaranteed to work.

Of course, even with this wide range of data tables, which can be expanded as necessary during the recording process, there may still be information that needs to be added. Indeed, each event recorded may be accompanied by an explanation of its circumstances, location, and main features. This is the purpose of the free input field 'Notes', which is common to all record forms. This is where additional data can be entered, the event can be evaluated and the researcher's opinions on the event can be entered.

Since each data entry unit (persons, events) contains primary and secondary source references, these are also entered using a predefined format, which allows the database to avoid the duplication of data and maintain a consistent structure. Separate data tables have been created for manuscript archival sources, primary source editions, and different types of secondary literature. Historiographical data already entered can be retrieved and inserted in any input interface, making references much easier and more uniform. The data can also be listed by category via the 'Bibliography Tab' in the 'Search Menu', which is an excellent way to search for sources and literature.

ADD PAPAL AUTHORIZATION

Form data	Comments

Authorization status
Approved

● Papal authorization type
Appointer
Celestine III

City | **Authorization types**
 | legate

● Political geographical dimensions of the authorization

[+]

Medieval territory | **Diocese** | **City**
Sicily (Sicilia) | |

● Papal authorization date

From *(digits only and "-")* | **Date type** | **To** *(digits only and "-")* | **Date type**
1192-06 | Exact date | 1198 | Before

● Historiography

Historiography title *(optional; alpha characters only; min. 2 characters)*		**Pages**	
Monumenta Germaniae Historica. (1893-1992)	○	I. 590-591. nr. 414	🔗
http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000800_00611.html?sortIndex=020%3A050%3A0001%3A010%3A00%3A00&sort=sc			
Aubert, R.: "17. Grégoire". (1988)	○	1457	🔗
Blumenthal, U.: Cardinal Albinus of Albano and the "Digesta pauperis scolaris Albini". (1982)	○	30-31	🔗
Friedlaender, I.: Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Italien am Ende des 12. ..... (19	○	78	🔗
Maleczek, W.: Papst und Kardinalkolleg von 1191 bis 1216. (1984)	○	91., 367. 65 n	🔗
Matthew, D.: The Norman Kingdom of Sicily. (1992)	○	285-291	🔗
Molnár, P.: Császárság, pápaság és az itáliai nagypolitika.	○	63-64	🔗
Tillmann, H.: Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del Collegio cardinalizio nel XII	○	382	🔗
Privilegium Tancredi. Ed. Weiland, L. (1893)	○	593-594	🔗
Professio hominis. Ed. Weiland, L. (1893)	○	594-595	🔗
	○		🔗

● Notes

Hungarian notes *(optional; all character types; min. 2 characters)* | **English notes** *(optional; all character types; min. 2 characters)*

Gergely III. Celesztin (1191-1198) idején került a pápai politika élvonalába. Fontos szerepet játszott ugyanis Albinus d'Albanoval együtt abban, hogy Szicíliai (Leccei) Tankréd egyezséget kötött a pápasággal (1192 júniusa, gravinai konkordátum).

Gregory got into the forefront of papal policy later, in the time of Celestin III (1191-1198). He had an important role with Albinus d'Albano in the process that Tancred of Sicily made an agreement with the papacy (1192 June, the Gravina concordat).

[Save papal authorization]

[Close]

6. Papal authorization upload form
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Each event is therefore defined in the event category and event type system during the input, followed by the location(s) and date(s), which are supplemented by notes (further explanations) and historiography (references). The database is able to present the basic personal data and the record of each event in the form of a so-called personal data sheet, which includes biographical data, kinship, studies (and degrees), stages of ecclesiastical career (ecclesiastical orders, ecclesiastical offices, cardinal offices) and papal mandates (according to the categorisation system already mentioned, indicating their relationship or lack of relationship), and references to each of these events.

Peter Corsini (Corsini Péter, Pietro Corsini, Petrus Corsinus, Petrus Florentinus)

Notes

Franciscan friar, doctor of canon law, bishop of Volturno (18-03-1362 - 01-09-1363), bishop of Florence (01-09-1363 – 19-06-1370), archipresbyter (Opole, after 19-06-1370), canon (Wrocław, after 06-06-1370), cardinal-presbyter of S. Laurentius in Damaso, cardinal-bishop of Porto (07-09-1370 – 1374), auditor of the papal Curia (1362-1373), papal judge-delegate (1367-1375), papal nuncio (1362-1363: Italy, Holy Roman Empire, Hungary; 1364: England, France; 1375: Florence)

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Archivio Apostolico Vaticano. Registra Avenionensia, vol. 172, fol. 197r..
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7. Personal datasheet (online version)
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Results of the research

As a result of the research, the identity of the papal envoys of the eleventh–fourteenth centuries has been revealed, which involves not only the identification of the individuals concerned but also the study of their entire life careers. Taken together, these provide a complete contextual view of papal representation of the period. On the one hand, the novelty of the approach and the working method, which is striving for completeness, since it reveals the entire life history of the papal representative, his official career, and covers all areas of his activity in Hungary. In contrast to the previous approach, it takes into account not only legates but also lesser papal envoys, delegated judges, and papal tax collectors, thus providing an almost complete overview of papal representation.

Recording in database format and continuous updating provides users with easier, more accurate, and wider access. Quick access to information is facilitated by the fact that for each person included in the database, a summary of the information on that person can be consulted free of charge without registration, together of course with the relevant primary sources and secondary literature. Access is open and of course free of charge. However, in order for users of the database to be informed of updates and changes, it is necessary to maintain contact between the developers and users, which is ensured by the free registration following the relevant GDPR requirements. The results of the DeLegatOnline database, based on projects NKFIH NN 109690 and 124763, can thus be used without restrictions, but in a professional manner.

8. Name searching interface
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There is also a wide range of uses, both academic, educational, and societal. The database is not simply a compilation of information on life and offices held by papal envoys, but also provides a picture of ecclesiastical society in a given period, and can therefore be used for social history purposes. We consider it particularly important that the data can be stored and displayed in the form of a network of relationships, the defining elements of which are all present in the life and office data. However, in this form it is not only possible to display the relationships of kinship but also the cardinal's *familia* or the circle of relationships that form the background of the person concerned, in other words, his or her social network. The data entered can also be used for a better understanding of the history of diplomacy (Hungarian-papal relations), institutional history (papal court, representation, jurisdiction), legal history (canon law, ecclesiastical jurisdiction), and the history of culture and culture studies (university studies, cultural mediation, canonisation). The prosopographical data of each papal envoy will also help for further research to understand the representation of the papacy in Hungary better, or more generally in the region, if the papal envoy was assigned to several neighbouring areas, thus placing the country in a centre-periphery coordinate system.

It makes the analysis of Hungarian-Papal relations easier, as it provides them with a constantly updated database. This is particularly important for non-Hungarian researchers who can use this database for their own purpose. The complexity of the approach and methods, as well as the pluri- and interdisciplinary usability of the outcomes, add to the significance of the research.

These results are of course available in the form of traditional publications as well. The two research projects have so far produced more than forty publications, and the DeLegatOnline book series has been also launched, with two monographs and a volume of studies, which include case studies of individual papal envoys, analyses of their assignments, and a complex presentation of a particular period.

In addition, the continuously updated database and its online accessibility ensure that the results are widely available. The most important element of the database is the personal (prosopographical) data sheet of the papal representative, which can be accessed and exported through the online interface of the database. Users can, of course, search for individuals, as well as for different forms of papal representation, spatial and temporal distribution (see below for details). The case studies, the online database

(personal/prosopographic/ data sheets) are prepared in cooperation with international partners, as a result of joint data verification and validation, and are continuously updated. The prosopographic data in the database will be made available to all once the data entry has been approved. The data will allow a wide range of queries by researchers in the associated and related disciplines, as described in detail below.

Access to the database

There are different levels of access. Researchers directly involved in the research and the IT engineer have administrative access, while members of the International Scientific Advisory Board are given access to view and give feedback on the data using a dedicated form. This is operated through an interactive internal communication platform. The uploading of data will be done in a provisional form in the first phase, at which time it will not be visible at the registered user level. The uploaded data become public after verification and approval by the principal investigator. The third level of access is for registered users, who have free access to the search functions in addition to the personal datasheets and can also send feedback in a simplified form to researchers with admin access. In addition, of course, there is a completely free browsing option for papal envoys. This includes an easy way to retrieve the most important data and the corresponding scientific apparatus by using the alphabetical index (https://delegatonline.pte.hu/index/alphabetical).

Searching in the database

The highest profitability possible of the data stored in the database will be guaranteed by a *complex search option* which would offer the following options:[24]

Search for individuals

From the database, you can view a list of all the data of all the Papal delegates stored in the database, as well as list them by letters of the alphabet. The individuals included in the database (papal delegates, their relatives, popes) could be searched by full or partial name forms. A successful search could be carried out if at least three characters of the name are provided. After the input of the name of the wanted person (without tags), the system would prepare a list of all the places where the name appears (names, name variants). All the name variants in the sources must be recorded during the upload, to ensure that the hit rate would be much higher.

Search for an event

The personal datasheet of the papal delegates consists of different events, thus the search in the database is adapted to this character. The user can specify the search with the help of predetermined categories and types (e.g. life data

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[24] There is a User's Guide on the database website that provides further detailed information; this can be accessed by clicking on the question mark (?) icon in the top right-hand corner of the homepage.

/category/ and birth or death /type/, or qualification /category/, university degree /type/, etc.)

Search for papal commission

In the hierarchy of events, the papal commissions take the central place among which an advanced search can be carried out with the help of various criteria (type of the commission, commissioner, geographic-political framework, time, etc.)

Search for *facultas*

The papal delegates regularly obtained different types of authority. The search in the database offers more options in this case as well: search for individuals or for *facultas* connected to a commission, for the commissioner, geographic-political extent and place or time of the commission could be equally carried out.

Search for an act of commission

The papal commissions, the *facultates* resulted in concrete events; these could be searched similarly to the 'Event Search' by categories and types which could be also combined with the search of commissions and *facultas*.

9. Person searching form
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Personal/prosopographic datasheet

Personal datasheet can be generated from the uploaded date which considers all available data and displays a *full and comprehensive personal datasheet*.

Tags

The search can be complemented with tags that indicate narrower topics (and are continuously updated) and complement thematically the basic search expressions.

Hitlist

The database lists all the hits in a way that the user can navigate to the individuals' datasheet. The system visualizes the hit connected to the searched

expression by opening the elements of the hitlist. The users can export both the hit fields (results of the search) and the information connected to each search result (see below).

Statistics

The database enables to carry out statistic exports. The list of papal delegates sent to Hungary and/or other countries can be queried by commissioning popes, the papal representation in different territories, and the distribution of commissions by type and by date (functional timeline) can be also visualized by concrete individuals.
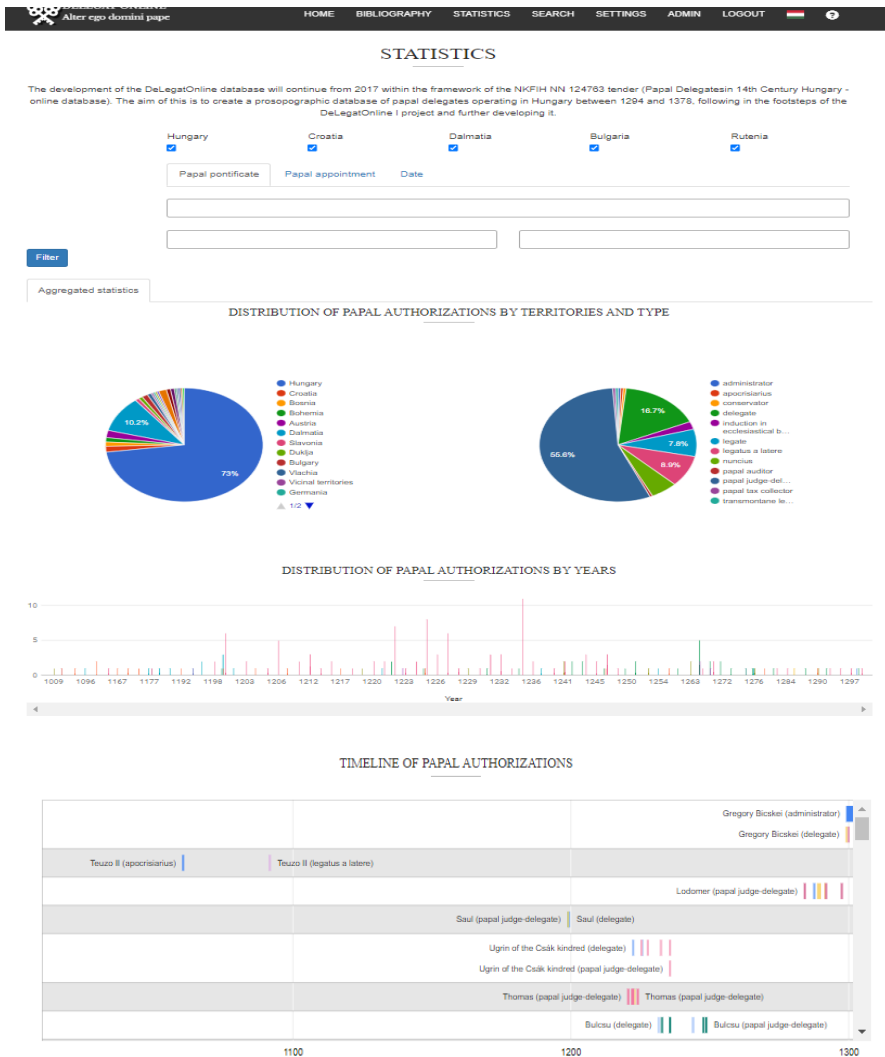
10. Event searching for and result's timeline

Additional features

Timeline

The activities of the papal envoys can be better understood if they are placed in their historical context. To this goal, we have created a so-called timeline, which shows the most important events of the period in Hungary and abroad, with illustrations and brief explanations. Currently, the eleventh–fourteenth centuries (up to the 1370s) are available to all users (https://delegatonline.pte.hu/index/timeline).
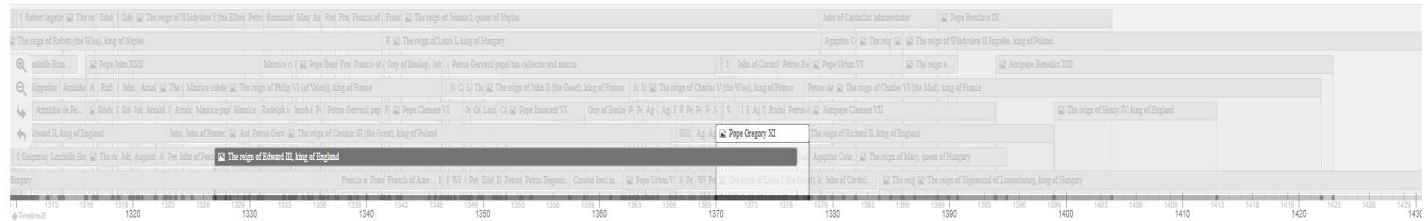
11. Timeline
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Itinerary

After a successful search for a person, the database will list the results. The globe icon next to each person's name can be used to bring up the geographical context of that person's activity. Based on the entered data, the function draws and displays an itinerary on a map, which, depending on the data, allows the precise tracing of the route, the geographical area, and, where applicable, the regional nature of the movements of the papal delegates. The sequence of events can be followed partly utilizing arrows linking the locations and partly using a list of events displayed on the right-hand side of the screen. The latter lists the events in chronological order, and clicking on an item on the map will display a brief summary of the event next to the location.
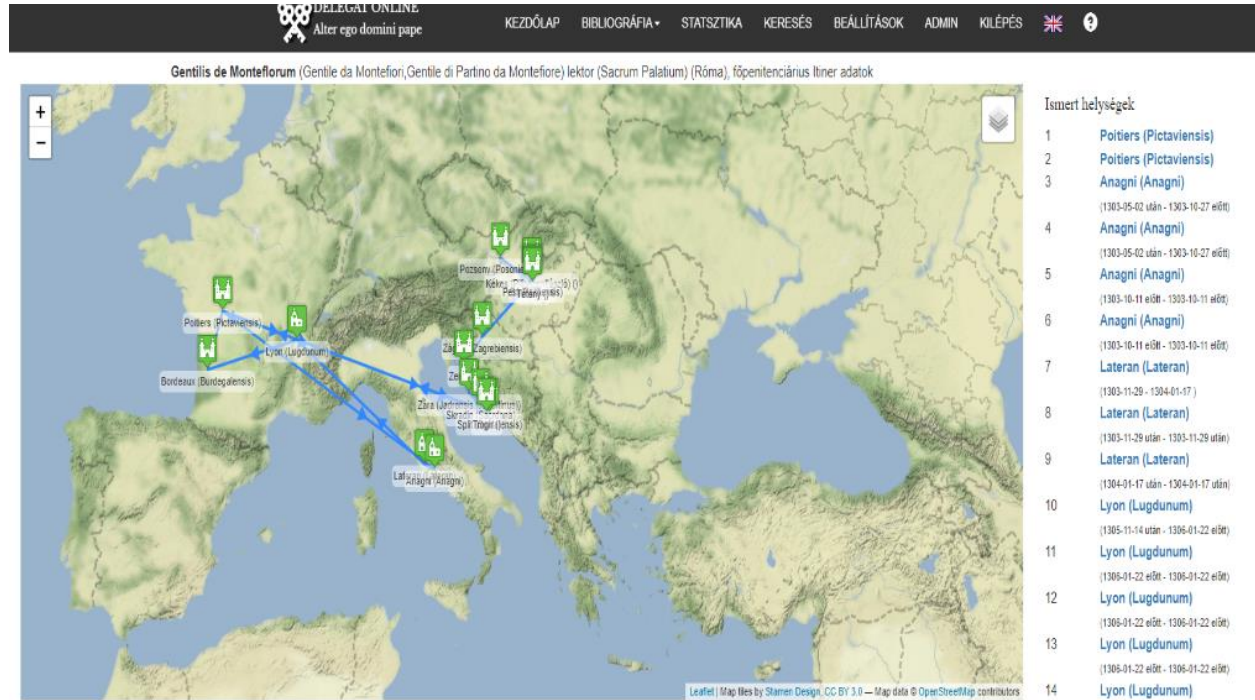
12. Itinerarium
©delegatonline.pte.hu

Export:

A personal data sheet for each papal envoys stored in the database can be downloaded in text format as a pdf file, containing the person's ID, the name of the database, the date of the query, and a note on how to cite the document.

Gentilis de Monteflorum   date: 2023-11-17 16:57:57
https://delegatonline.pte.hu/search/persondatasheet/id/233   file created by delegat-online database

Gentilis de Monteflorum (Gentilis de Monteflorum, Gentile da Montefiori, Gentile di Partino da Montefiore)

Notes

Gentilis de Montefiore dell'Aso (Ascoli Piceno e.m.), *1240/1250-+27 October 1312, Franciscan friar, master of theology, university regent (1295/1296, Paris), papal curial lector (1296-), chief penitentiary (1294-1305), cardinal-diaconus (1300-1312, S. Martinus in montibus), papal legate (1305, Paris; 1307-1311, Hungary), in 1312 he supervised the transport of the papal treasury to Avignon, dying en route, 27 October 1312, in Lucca, buried in Montefiore.

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13. Personal data sheet (pdf form)
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During the creation and development of the database concept, it was essential to provide a system that minimises the possibility of errors (typing errors, redundancy) during the upload process. To exploit the benefits of the database,

searchability was also an important aspect to ensure a broad usability and user-friendly experience.

<div align="center">

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The Digital History Project Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) and Its Knowledge-Driven Approach to Prosopography

This article aims to offer an overview of the research project Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG), focusing both on its methodological and technical aspects and demonstrating data analysis methods using the example of Hungarian students listed in the RAG database. The RAG is a digital historical research project focusing on scholars and students from the Holy Roman Empire (HRE) between 1250 and 1550, initiated in 2001. It stands as a pioneering project in digital history and prosopography, relying on meticulous data collection from university registers and supplementary sources. The RAG explores research questions concerning the medieval roots and foundations of modern knowledge societies, focusing on the work of scholars and the development of knowledge, particularly in relation to the academisation of European society. While primarily focused on the HRE, the RAG also serves as a valuable resource for studying Hungarian students. Compiling the group of Hungarian scholars within the RAG involves identifying scholars based on their geographical origin, yielding around 1045 scholars up to 1550, with almost a thousand within the timeframe of 1526. Alternative methods, such as examining source texts or Hungarian nation affiliations at the University of Vienna, supplement this process. Despite being smaller in scope compared to databases like the Repertorium Academicum Hungariae (RAH), the RAG provides valuable insights.

Keywords: Prosopography, Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, database, methodology, scholars, knowledge spaces, fourteenth–sixteenth centuries

Origin, developments and methodology

Since its establishment, the RAG has emerged as a pioneering initiative in digital history and prosopography, driven by the vision of Rainer C. Schwinges from the University of Bern.[1] From the beginning, the decision was made to

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[1] The following article refers to GUBLER 2024b and aims to provide an English-language overview of the RAG project. It also places greater emphasis on technical aspects to align with the objectives of the Héloïse workshop held in Pécs on 31 August. Atelier Héloïse is a network of European research projects focused on the digital history of universities and knowledge. Further information about the Atelier can be found on its website: https://heloise.hypotheses.org. A review of the workshop is available on the Héloïse blog: https://heloise.hypotheses.org/1076 –

develop a purely digital platform, forgoing printed biographies. This choice has proven to be wise, as the extensive information gathered would now far surpass the capacity of a multi-volume printed work. Central to the RAG's development is its research database. Until 2017, data was collected using Microsoft Access as the frontend and Microsoft SQL Server as the backend. The core of the data primarily derives from scholars mentioned in university registers.[2] Supplemented by additional information from university sources and research literature, aiming to provide comprehensive biographies.[3] In 2017, a major database migration to the web-based nodegoat research environment enhanced collaborative data collection, analysis, and curation among the research teams at the universities of Bern and Giessen (Germany).[4] The RAG project features two notable aspects. First, it draws on a unique source situation, relying on surviving university registers primarily from the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages, which serve as the foundation of its data. Secondly, its methodology of manual data collection underscores the inherent challenges posed by historical sources characterized by inconsistency, fragmentation, and complexity.[5] These factors, deeply embedded within multi-dimensional contexts and developments, illustrate also the limitations of Artificial Intelligence in digital prosopography. In 2020, the RAG was transferred to the Repertorium Academicum (REPAC) and is now operated under the umbrella of REPAC together with the Repertorium Academicum Helveticum (RAH) and the Repertorium Bernense (RB).[6] This merging of the projects is based on a spatial concept.

The spatial approach

As in the RAG, the other two projects also have the primary goal of recording all students and their biographical data for a defined geographical area in the Middle Ages. In the case of the RAH, this is the area of present-day Switzerland and in the case of the RB, the area under the control of the city of Bern. The data collection for the RAH includes dioceses based in present-day Switzerland (Basel, Chur, Lausanne, Genève, Sion) as well as parts of the diocese of Konstanz. If students or scholars are found in the sources who resided in these dioceses, they are included in the database. As the borders of the aforementioned areas were not stable, this must always be taken into account when recording and especially when analysing the biographical data. An important aspect in the recording and also for the evaluation with regard to

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accessed: 02-09-2024). For an overview of the RAG-project see also SCHWINGES 2022 and on its european perspectives GUBLER – HESSE 2023.

[2] On the special situation of the university registers, which are preserved almost only for the HRE in the Middle Ages see SCHWINGES 2023.

[3] GUBLER – SCHWINGES 2023.

[4] For the database migration see GUBLER 2020, on nodegoat van BREE / KESSELS 2015, and for nodegoat use cases https://nodegoat.net/usecases, for nodegoat related publications: https://www.zotero.org/lab1100/tags/nodegoat – both accessed: 11-09-2024.

[5] GUBLER 2024c.

[6] Project website: http://repac.ch – accessed: 11-09-2024.

knowledge spaces is that a distinction is made between students and scholars who came from a defined area and those who came from outside but were active in these areas as academics. This differentiation makes it clear at a glance when analysing data according to geographical origin, using the RAH as an example, that only around half of all academics came from the area of the Swiss Confederation. The other half came from abroad, which thus testifies already to a considerable 'import' of expertise for the Swiss region.

The RAG initially adopted a different focus. Its original goal was to document all masters and members of the higher faculties (law, theology, medicine) at universities within the HRE, including those from outside its borders. As the project evolved, the inclusion criteria were expanded to encompass scholars who, while not attending a German university, hailed from the HRE and went directly to universities abroad, particularly in Italy or France. Currently, this group consists of around 4,000 individuals out of approximately 62,000, although this number may be slightly higher since the University of Bologna and various French universities have not yet been fully explored for German or Hungarian scholars. As a result, the RAG has also shifted toward recognizing geographical origin from the HRE as a valid criterion for inclusion, even for those who did not attend a German university.

Data collection and analysis

In the RAG project, new methods and tools from digital prosopography and digital history are regarded as valuable complements to traditional historical research approaches. As part of this initiative, digital prosopography was specifically refined for the field of university history and knowledge during the database migration. The prosopographic approach was expanded to include a more contextualized perspective. A generic object-oriented data model was developed to capture the biographies and knowledge of scholars, serving as an observational framework for key life events that form the core of the system.[7] The life points, called events, are categorised into three main groups for data collection: personal events (such as birth, marriage, death, geographical and social origin), events relating to university attendance (such as matriculation, studies, doctorate) and events relating to functions, offices and activities, which also include authorships and correspondence. The other two most important objects in the data model are 'Person' and 'Location'. Locations can include institutions such as universities, schools, churches, monasteries, or courts (episcopal, princely, judicial) and cities. Whenever possible, events are assigned to one of these locations and temporally localized during data collection, enabling their visualization on maps, networks, and in time series as part of the data analysis. These visualizations can also be displayed dynamically to highlight patterns and developments. This approach allows for the analysis of scholars' places of origin, study, and influence. Geographic maps and network visualizations serve as tools for exploratory data analysis,

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[7] Cf. Gubler 2022a. p. 21.

providing an initial overview of the material and aiding further investigation. The data model is flexible, allowing objects like events, persons, or locations to be replaced by other entities, such as manuscripts, books, or even abstract concepts like ideas. For example, placing manuscripts at the center of the model enables tracking their movements across maps and networks.[8] Similarly, placing manuscripts and books at the core of the model enables the reconstruction of a collection, such as a scholar's personal library. Additionally, by importing and tagging full texts in nodegoat, more in-depth content analyses become possible.[9] In nodegoat, data and database models are stored in the widely used JSON (JavaScript Object Notation) format, encompassing the aforementioned objects and their contextualization in time and space. To ensure maximum flexibility in data storage, nodegoat employs the specially developed ChronoJSON for temporal data and GeoJSON for spatial data.

A key feature of ChronoJSON is its ability to store even imprecise time and date information and visualize it during data analysis. Additionally, ChronoJSON allows for the chronological listing of objects that lack temporal information, as long as other dated objects are present in the list. For instance, in a chronological list of dated manuscripts, a manuscript without a specific date can be positioned either before or after a dated manuscript.[10]

Building on this, the RAG places particular emphasis on the dissemination and application of academic knowledge. By considering scholars as conduits of knowledge, their mobility and migration enable the tracking of how their expertise spreads across geographic regions. This is further enriched by their written works, correspondence, and the exchange of knowledge within their social networks. This approach aggregates biographical information at the knowledge level, applicable to both individuals and groups, thereby creating a knowledge-based prosopography that integrates 'Person and Knowledge.'[11] When discussing the knowledge spaces that scholars inhabited and influenced, we must consider whether these are geographical spaces or more abstract realms, such as networks. One primary focus of the RAG is the exploration of geographical knowledge spaces, as this allows us to analyze a significant amount of data and provide a detailed description of these areas. These spaces include universities, which attracted individuals and knowledge, facilitating the dissemination, appropriation, and transmission of information that extended beyond their institutional boundaries. Within the RAG framework, universities (and other institutional spaces) are viewed as knowledge hubs. This perspective, combined with digital analysis, enables us to structure the

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[8] For an example with a data model for manuscripts see BURROWS 2017 and in general VAN HEUVEL – VUGT et. al. 2020.

[9] See a tutorial on importing OCR-Texts from Transkribus into nodegoat created by the author: https://histdata.hypotheses.org/nodegoat-tutorials/nodegoat_tutorials#transkribus_nodegoat – accessed: 20-09-2024

[10] GUBLER 2022b. p. 19 and https://nodegoat.net/blog.s/tag/ChronoJSON and https://nodegoat.net/guide.s/131/storingspatialdata – both accessed: 20-09-2024.

[11] As for this approach see the volume of the RAG series 'Person und Wissen': HESSE – GUBLER – SCHWINGES 2022.

flows of data, representing the movements of people and knowledge, using the RAG data set.

Due to the flexibility of the data model, which extends beyond simply storing persons, events, and locations, the scholars' most important written works are also incorporated and broadly tagged within the project. This approach of combining persons and knowledge seeks to bridge the gap between prosopography and textual studies, enabling a more comprehensive analysis of the production and dissemination of knowledge in the form of a contextualized, knowledge-based prosopography.[12] At this point, it is essential to emphasize that the research data collected during the digital research process must meet contemporary standards. Funding organizations within the research community rely on the concept of open research data (ORD) that can be reused by other projects. When such data is published online like in nodegoat, it is referred to as Linked Open Data (LOD), a concept that has gained traction since 2007 and aims to promote open data that is freely accessible on the World Wide Web, facilitating the creation of so called 'knowledge graphs' for the retrieval and analysis of specific information.[13] However, this poses particular challenges for historical research data. Even with standardization according to LOD, historical data often features a more complex semantic layer than that typically found in natural sciences research, containing many implicit aspects that are not explicitly articulated. Consequently, insights drawn from historical research data must undergo a second layer of source criticism or contextualization to uncover the semantic dimensions of the data.[14]

Data visualisations

To analyze the circulation and dissemination of knowledge and quickly gain insights from large volumes of information, the RAG employs integrated visualization tools within nodegoat, such as maps, networks, and time series. This eliminates the need to export data to other software for analysis, although that option remains available. Visualizations help us identify patterns that can lead to new insights or questions, such as trends in student mobility depicted on geographical maps or within networks. Once these patterns are identified, we can apply traditional historical research methods to interpret the results in their historical context. This approach effectively bridges the gap between the

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[12] The concept is described with examples in the specific volume of the RAG-series (RAG-Forschungen): HESSE / GUBLER / SCHWINGES 2022.

[13] In nodegoat, Linked Open Data (LOD) can be published through an API (interface for computer readable information), utilizing the JSON-LD format (JSON for 'Java Script Object Notation' and LD for ' Linked Data'). This method fulfils the requirements of LOD as defined by experts. Another popular standard alongside JSON-LD is SPARQL/RDF. SPARQL refers to the type of interface that uses the RDF standard (Resource Description Framework) to describe data in triples (subject-predicate-object). See for the several data export options in nodegoat https://nodegoat.net/guide.s/144/export-data – accessed: 20-09-2024, for general information about ORD and LOD standards see for instance https://handbook.opendata.swiss – accessed: 20-09-2024.

[14] GUBLER 2022b. p. 19.

analogue and digital worlds. Ultimately, however, human interpretation remains essential in order to gain new insights from digital data.[15]

The RAG data model is designed specifically for visualizations, which have become a key area of expertise within the project. To facilitate the creation of these visualizations, each biographical event is linked to a designated 'location' (such as a place, region, or institution) whenever the sources provide relevant information. Additionally, temporal details are included, allowing for the recording of both precise and approximate dates or time periods.

This approach pertains to the data model of the RAG project as well as the underlying generic model in nodegoat. At the core of this data model is an object-oriented structure that allows each object to be contextualized in both time and space. Specifically, users can independently define each object within the model, adding temporal and geographical information. Additionally, an unlimited number of relationships can be established between objects, and they can be classified multiple times, facilitating deeper contextualization and nuanced descriptions. These relationships also serve as the foundation for network analysis, whether in social, institutional, or immaterial contexts, such as a network of ideas or perspectives.[16]

This spatial and temporal data is especially valuable for dynamically visualizing developments on maps and in networks. For instance, maps can illustrate the emergence and decline of university catchment areas (or other institutions such as the above-mentioned location types) over time. Additionally, by visualizing the regions where students and scholars were active after their studies, we can analyze their influence (impact function) on specific geographical areas or within networks, categorized by their fields of study. Public users can obtain an initial overview of such areas characterised by universities on the RAG website. So-called 'scenarios' are published there for each of the 18 universities of the HRE as well as for the University of Krakow, for which the data was also recorded due to its outstanding importance.[17] A scenario is provided for each university, featuring project-defined data and interactive, dynamic visualizations categorized by scholars, nobility, and university positions (professors, rectors, deans). The data can be visualized geographically and in time series for each of these groups. Each map includes a legend that allows users to show or hide specific visualization results (points on the map). By default, universities and dioceses in the HRE serve as the background for the maps. Users can also search for individuals, with variations in name spelling taken into account. Additionally, a filtering option

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[15] Instructive on the history of knowledge with reference to university history: STECKEL 2015.
[16] See for the core principles of data modeling in nodegoat on the blog of the author, containing also tutorials on nodegoat: https://histdata.hypotheses.org/nodegoat-tutorials/data-modelling-in-nodegoat – accessed: 20-09-2024 and specifically for data modeling for historians: https://nodegoat.net/blog.s/13/data-modeling-and-database-development-for-historians-slides – accessed: 20-09-2024.
[17] https://rag-online.org/datenbank/szenarien – accessed: 20-09-2024.

allows for the combination of various search criteria.[18] A distinction is made as to whether someone was awarded a doctorate at a university, which is shown for Basel with the category 'Basel Promotion Jus', or whether they were studying or teaching at the faculty (category: 'Basel Jurist'). For the doctorates, the master's degrees from the Faculty of Arts are also shown (category: 'Basel Promotion mag. art.'). All these categories can be combined with selected offices in ecclesiastical and secular fields by public users. For each scholar, life points on a map and relationships in a network can also be displayed on the RAG website.

This spatial framework, combined with data visualizations, enables us to reconstruct the significant influences that students and scholars had on specific areas of knowledge, starting with an initial visualization of their places of origin. For example, we can observe the places of origin of all individuals documented in the Project on the Swiss Confederation (RAH) from 1250 to 1550. The map highlights the places of origin of individuals from the Confederation in red, while scholars from other regions are marked in blue, indicating those who either worked locally within the Confederation or communicated indirectly through correspondence. This illustrates the substantial influx of scholarly knowledge to the Confederation during the Middle Ages and highlights the exchange of expertise at a European level.

Fig. 1: The places of origin of the students and scholars in the RAH are shown, with some red dots outside the Swiss Confederation indicating people who gave several places of origin in their biographies. Source: https://repac.ch/, visualisation created by the author 03.2024.

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[18] See the instructions for the possible combinations: https://rag-online.org/datenbank/anleitung – accessed: 20-09-2024.

Hungarian scholars

Hungarian scholars serve as a useful example for gaining an initial overview of knowledge spaces and circulations, as well as illustrating the methodologies of the RAG.[19] The steps outlined here are employed in the project to compile a group based on specific characteristics of interest. Initially, Hungarian scholars are identified within the dataset based on their geographical origins recorded during data collection. To achieve this, the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary was digitally mapped as a polygon using a 1490 map in GeoJSON format.[20] Within the GeoJSON polygon, the data can then be queried for any area, including the map of 1490. A prerequisite for the success of such a query is that geographical coordinates are stored for the data (event: geographical origin). This is generally the case in the RAG, as one of the most important rules of data acquisition is to localise the events whenever possible and also to provide them with temporal information. This method, provided the data includes geocoordination, allows us to define and analyze specific geographical study areas within the RAG. This approach enables us to examine spaces that extend beyond individual institutions or localities, as well as their intersections and dependencies. Such flexibility facilitates targeted analyses of geographical knowledge spaces where innovative scholars were active, identifying them as genuine centers of innovation. A notable example of this is today's Alsace on the Upper Rhine during the late Middle Ages.[21]

The query based on the geographical origins of scholars within the polygon identifies 1045 individuals for the period up to 1550. When narrowing the timeframe to 1526, we still find nearly 1000 scholars (993) among the approximately 62,000 documented in the RAG. However, this figure represents a lower limit, as some scholars have unknown or unidentifiable places of origin, resulting in missing coordinates for the query. Alternative methods exist for associating individuals with the Hungarian group even without exact details of their origins. One approach involves searching the source texts in the database for relevant terms like *ungarus / hungarus*, *pannoninus*, *siculus*, and *croata*. Unfortunately, this search did not yield additional results for the study group. Another method is to examine the Hungarian nation of students at the University of Vienna, as this affiliation is recorded during data collection. However, since this group includes individuals from the Bohemian Crown, each case must be evaluated individually to assess the likelihood of an origin from Hungary. This inquiry identified 86 individuals. A preliminary review of their places of origin showed that most were from the Bohemian region, with some entries being ambiguous and providing only indirect biographical references. Such qualitative analysis requires a specialized study. Therefore, for the purposes of this article, we estimate approximately 1,000 individuals from 1372 (the earliest mention of a scholar's geographical origin in the group) to 1526. This figure underscores that the RAG

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[19] See for the following also GUBLER 2023.
[20] Cf. GUBLER 2022a. p. 25.
[21] GUBLER 2024a.

encompasses a relatively narrow circle of scholars, while the Repertorium
Academicum Hungariae (RAH) has recorded around 12,800 Hungarian
students from 1100 to 1526.[22] Unlike the RAG, the RAH includes all Hungarian
university visitors.[23] A deeper comparison of the RAG and RAH databases,
especially regarding the origins of students by language region, would be a
valuable project in its own right.

One additional note on the influence of scholars: while our focus will
primarily be on the impact of scholars from the Hungarian region based on
their geographical origins, it is important to recognize that this is just one facet
of the broader picture. The contributions of foreign scholars who gained or
shared knowledge within Hungary are equally significant. This is similar to the
previously mentioned foreign academics active in the Swiss Confederation. If
we include these 'external' scholars from the RAG for the year 1490, we
identify 376 individuals. For each of these scholars, at least one documented
point of residence in the 1490 area has been recorded with coordinates,
serving as a basis for our data query. Consequently, we estimate around 1500
scholars (according to RAG criteria) associated with the Hungarian region up
to 1526. Their influence warrants further examination, especially within a
European context, to better understand the exchange of scholarly knowledge
between Hungary and other regions.

For this analysis, we will concentrate on the subset of 993 scholars from the
Hungarian region. Our approach typically begins with an exploration of their
geographical and social backgrounds, followed by an examination of the
universities they attended, the disciplines they studied, and their subsequent
roles in both secular and ecclesiastical positions. The geographical origins of
this study group, as illustrated in the subsequent figure (Fig. 2), represent the
European border regions identified in the RAG.

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[22] Kind information from the project leader Prof. Dr. László Szögi, during the presentation of the
project on 31 August 2023 (Workshop of Atelier Héloïse in Pécs). The RAH project website:
https://rahprojekt.elte.hu/.
[23] On the state of Hungarian university history, see the overview of SZÖGI 2017 and the
contributions of the HUN-REN-ELTE University History Research Group, for instance: SZÖGI 2021;
TÜSKÉS 2008 and HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. Nonetheless, the extensive body of Hungarian
literature on the history of universities is far too broad to be fully cited here.
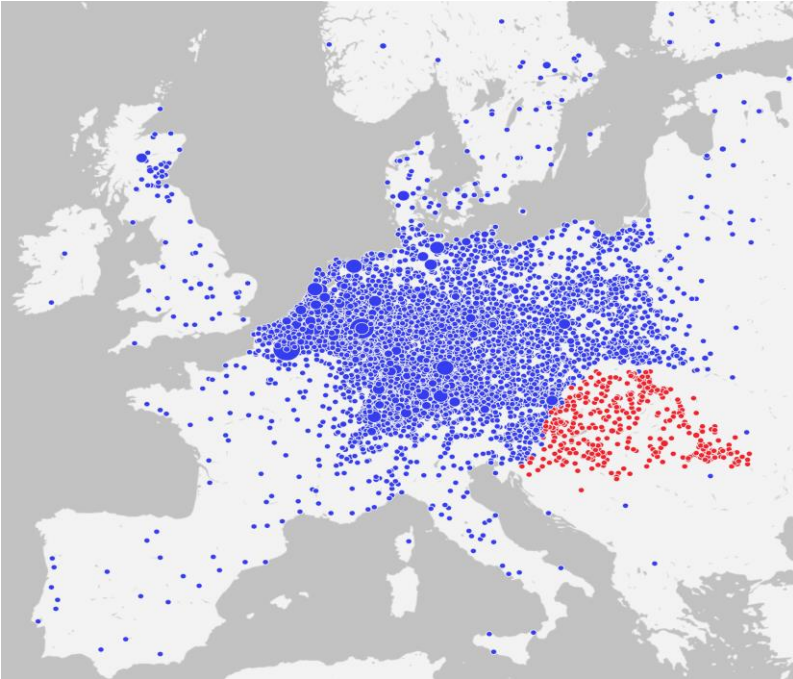
Fig. 2: Areas of origin (blue) of scholars in the RAG alongside the areas of origin (red) of Hungarian scholars from 1372 to 1526. Source: rag-online.org, visualisation created by the author 03.2024.

The origins of all scholars in the RAG are represented in blue, while the Hungarian scholars' origins are highlighted in red. Notable observations include the density of origins within the Kingdom of Hungary compared to Italy, Spain, France, England, and Scandinavia. The white spaces between the red dots indicate mountainous or sparsely populated regions. Additionally, the concentration of origins in the southwest and particularly the northeast of the HRE is significant, largely due to economically important imperial cities in the south and prominent universities in Cologne and Leuven, which collectively account for 60% of the scholars in the RAG.

Next, we turn to the universities attended by this study group (Fig. 3). Unsurprisingly, the University of Vienna had the highest number of attendees (697), followed by the University of Krakow (204) and the University of Prague (22). Notably, Italian universities such as Padua (47) and Ferrara (41) attracted more students than Bologna (22), a discrepancy likely due to the status of the data collected. In the HRE, student numbers were relatively low across universities, with Prague and Cologne being the exceptions (13). Research indicates that significant student mobility from present-day Eastern Europe to the HRE or Western Europe did not begin until the 16th century. Consequently, the RAG primarily captures only a handful of early students and

scholars from Eastern Europe before this period. After the mid-16th century, however, mobility notably increased in both directions, as documented in subsequent research.[24] A study of networks involving scholars from East-Central Europe connected to the University of Basel prior to 1550 reveals similar trends.[25] Geographically, the HRE held little significance for the Hungarian scholars, as only a few ventured westward beyond Prague. The key academic corridor for knowledge acquisition formed along the line connecting Krakow, Vienna, and northern Italy, with the University of Vienna emerging as the most important institution for Hungarian students, clearly illustrated on the map.

Fig. 3: Universities attended by Hungarian scholars 1372-1526, source: https://rag-online.org/, visualisation created by the author 03.2024.

The University of Vienna served as a vital link to the HRE and other knowledge regions. Notably, 132 individuals from the study group attended multiple universities. Of these, 55 studied at both the University of Vienna and an Italian institution, 42 attended Vienna and Krakow, and 14 went to Vienna and Prague. Interestingly, only five studied in Krakow and Italy without attending Vienna. This indicates that routes to Italy typically went through Vienna, although some students travelled directly to Italy without visiting the

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[24] Among the many publications by Hungarian students who set off to study in western Europe, the following is representative (with a focus on Switzerland): HEGYI – SZÖGI 2003; see also the example of relations between the University of Heidelberg and Hungary by MEUSBURGER – PRÓBÁLD 2018.
[25] Cf. GUBLER 2023.

major universities in Vienna, Krakow, or Prague (40 total). Ultimately, 99 scholars from the study group pursued studies in Italy.[26]

In the third step, the RAG analyzes the scholars' roles and activities in both ecclesiastical and secular spheres to provide an overview of the group. The next map (Fig. 4) highlights Vienna's central role again, reflecting its significance for university positions such as professors, deans, and other roles. Overall, the activities of Hungarian scholars align closely with their regions of origin, showing a concentration around key cities like Transylvania, Sibiu, and Braşov. A detailed study could further illuminate the types of activities in these areas. This return mobility pattern offers initial insights into how knowledge is transferred from universities to these regions, as demonstrated by color-coding the areas of activity according to academic disciplines, revealing a strong emphasis on law in Hungary.
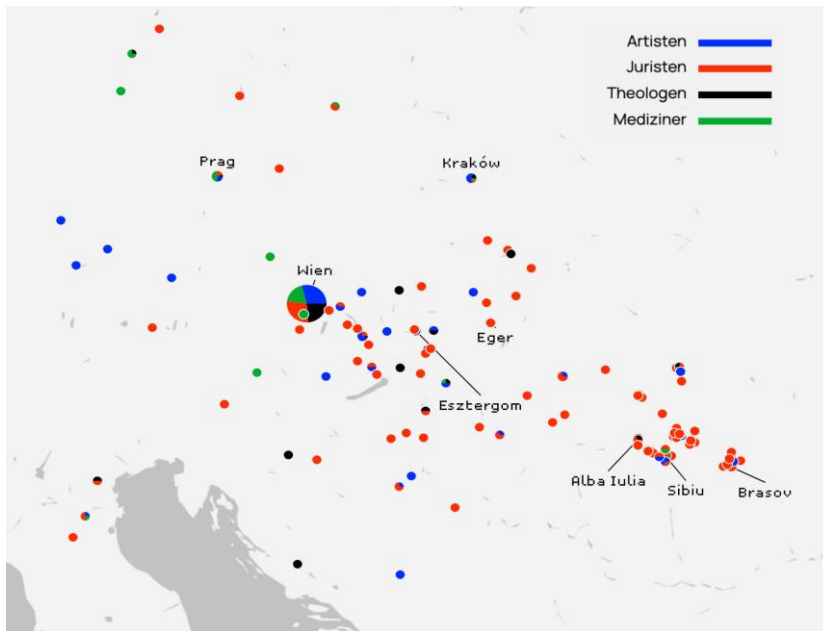
Fig. 4: Areas of Activity of Hungarian Scholars in the RAG by Specialization (1372-1526)
Source: https://rag-online.org/, visualisation created by the author 03.2024.

The study group comprises 646 artists, 373 lawyers, 49 theologians, and 30 doctors, with multiple specializations taken into account. This distribution closely mirrors the proportions found among all RAG scholars, indicating that the Hungarian group is representative of the broader academic landscape.[27]

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[26] On German students studying in Italy (Padua and Ferrara) see for instance KOSTHORST 2022a and KOSTHORST 2022b. For Hungarian students at Italian universities, see also the earlier significant repositories by VERESS 1915; VERESS 1941.
[27] GUBLER 2022a. p. 27.

Examining the geographical distribution of specializations underscores the significance of these knowledge areas.

Influence on Knowledge Spaces

When we consider scholars as an influential group, the locations where they acquired and shared their knowledge emerge as key impact spaces, primarily represented by universities. The creation and evolution of these spaces were shaped by the presence of students and scholars, as well as the environments themselves.

In the RAG, geographical locations are classified by the mentioned institution types that are grouped under the database object 'Locations.' To assess the impact of these spaces, we analyze them using 'incoming' and 'outgoing' criteria. This approach allows us to identify which individuals or types of knowledge were drawn to a university or another location (incoming) and where they later held positions or disseminated their knowledge (outgoing).[28]

By viewing individuals as carriers of knowledge, we can trace their movements to understand the dissemination of knowledge or ideas, visualizing this flow on maps or within networks. These institutions and locations help structure the pathways and dynamics of both people and knowledge, allowing us to identify knowledge spaces with specific characteristics, such as those related to the activities of artists (Magister artium), lawyers, physicians and theologians. For the Hungarian region, 661 locations have already been recorded in the database, as illustrated in the accompanying graphic. The size of the dots represents the number of distinct locations at each site, rather than the number of individuals or events. The analysis of this knowledge space and the role of individual locations in the production and dissemination of academic knowledge is still underway. This research can be conducted by project staff within the RAG or by external scholars, as the web-based RAG environment facilitates location-independent work.

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[28] On this method of data analysis see SCHWINGES 2018.
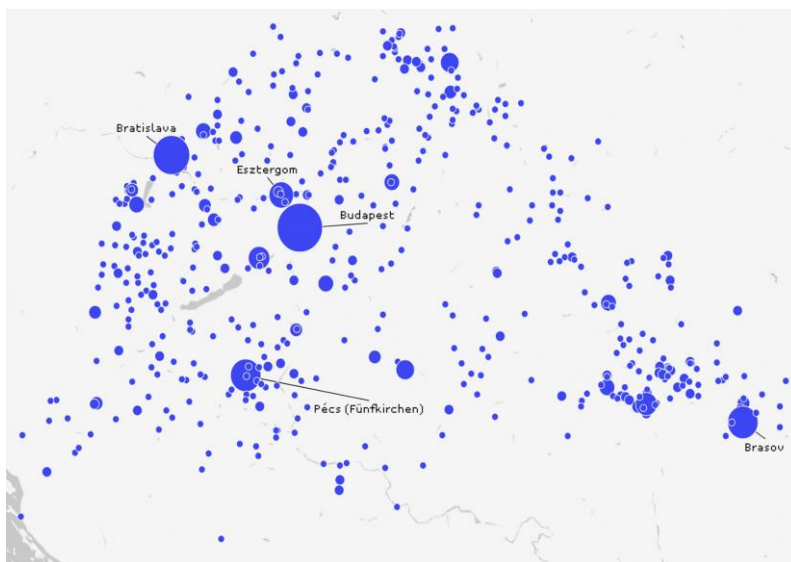
Fig. 5: Locations and Institutions in the Hungarian area in the RAG 1372-1526, source: https://rag-online.org/, visualisation created by the author 03.2024.

For now, we must limit our discussion to these brief observations on the RAG and its Hungarian students. A more in-depth study of the Hungarian scholars within the project would be particularly valuable if their biographies could be enriched with information from regional or local archives. However, this requires specialized expertise, including a thorough understanding of Hungarian history. As a result, the depth of the RAG's research varies across European regions, especially concerning biographical events outside the university context. In these cases, the project faces a wealth of available sources and literature, which can only be effectively analyzed by specialists in Hungarian history, ideally through collaborative efforts. One such initiative is being pursued by the Atelier Héloïse research association. In recent years, the Atelier's workshops and exchanges between projects focused on the digital history of universities and knowledge have fostered a shared understanding of diverse approaches to the digital recording and analysis of historical sources. This dialogue laid the foundation for a project that, for the first time, integrates and harmonizes research data from individual projects into a unified database. The solel project, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, took a novel approach: instead of attempting to harmonize the data at the source within each project using a common Héloïse data model (which had previously proven ineffective due to differing models) harmonization occurs after the data is imported into the shared database.[29] This allows for comprehensive

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[29] On this apporach see GUBLER – VAN BREE – KESSELS 2022; GUBLER 2022a.

searches across all participating Héloïse projects that contribute their data to the collective platform.[30]

By linking the data in this manner, new insights can be uncovered. For instance, the visualization of the regions of origin of students from various Héloïse projects (RAG, Studium Parisiense, ASFE Bologna, Padova) was made possible solely through this integration.[31] Moreover, the platform is designed so that projects not only serve as data sources but also allow those without their own database to record and manage data directly within the platform, as a sub-project. This approach facilitates collaborative data curation between projects with independent external databases and those managed within a platform sub-project. This principle of open and flexible collaboration with research data, centered around a clear thematic focus like that of Atelier Héloïse, presents significant potential for cooperation at the European level.

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[30] The Héloïse platform, which is still a work in progress, can be accessed at the following URL: http://heloise.nodegoat.unibe.ch – accessed: 20-09-2024.
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"Onomasticon, Prosopografia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia" The Origin of the Project, Present Database Features and Future Challenges

The paper aims to illustrate the "Onomasticon" database – Onomasticon (unipg.it) –, delving into both its scientific underpinnings and technical intricacies. Initially, a brief overview of the project's genesis, its scientific rationale, and its envisioned applications will be provided. Subsequently, attention will be directed towards the technical aspects of the database, tracing its evolution from an informatics perspective. Lastly, perspectives between the historical investigation and computational resources will be offered. The "Onomasticon" database, started in 2008 for the occasion of the 700th anniversary ceremony of the University of Perugia, serves as a repository of research findings pertaining to the institution's history of the University of Perugia and the students and professors who studied and taught there.

With a focus on prosopographical studies, the database encompasses data on professors, students, courses, and the university's evolution between the Middle Ages and the modern age. From a technical point of view, the essay will explain the transition from Onomasticon 1.0 to Onomasticon 2.0, which involved the transition from a relational data model to a graph structure, which improves flexibility and performance and offers the possibility of integrating historical data with external resources like authority files and online databases enriches its utility. Challenges for the future include ensuring data reliability, addressing interpretative aspects, and enhancing the linkage with external resources. In the current research context that increasingly focuses on interdisciplinarity, the Onomasticon project stands as a testament to the fruitful collaboration between historical research and computational resources, offering valuable insights into the longstanding history of the University.

Keywords: Onomasticon database, University of Perugia, research repository, prosopographical studies, historical data, relational data model, graph-based structure, authority files, online databases, data reliability, computational resources, historical research, university history.

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Introduction

The paper seeks to present the "Onomasticon" database (onomasticon.unipig.it), exploring both its scientific foundations and technical complexities. It will begin with a concise overview of the project's origins, its scientific rationale, and its intended applications. The discussion will then shift to the technical aspects of the database, examining its development from an informatics perspective. Finally, the essay will offer a reflection on the intersection of historical research and computational tools.

1. Origin, aims, and objectives of the *Onomasticon* project

Onomasticon was created in 2008 on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the University of Perugia to bring together and disseminate the results of a series of individual and collective research projects, which converged contextually in three documentary exhibitions[1] and in a series of volumes on the history of the University of Perugia, published in collaboration with the *Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*.[2]

These works were the first sources of the Onomasticon database. However, more generally it aims at a tight relationship between historians and computer scientists for the development of products that serve the research purposes of both fields.

In prosopographical studies, the traditional vision of erudite historiography has given us a legacy of a series of biographical notes with the aim of highlighting, and in some cases magnifying, the exceptional qualities of illustrious characters.[3] The current synergy between historical research and information technology has facilitated the transition from this type of research to current historiographical interests towards the intellectual classes and the evolution of cultural institutions. These have been studied not only through public documents, often with programmatic value, or individual documents of particular relevance, but also through current documentation – lists, financial and administrative documents – which allowed us to reconstruct general phenomena, dynamics, and trends.

As Carla Frova mentioned in a 2017 essay,[4] the use of information technology for data processing in the field of historical disciplines began in the 1980s. Regarding the prosopography of intellectual classes, a leading example of such studies is Jean-Philippe Genet's *Dictionnaire des auteurs actifs dans les*

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[1] FROVA – GIUBBINI – PANZANELLI 2003; MAOVAZ – PIERETTI – ROMANO 2008; FROVA – TREGGIARI – PANZANELLI FRATONI 2009.

[2] See: BELLINI 2007; ZUCCHINI 2008; MARCONI 2010; PANZANELLI FRATONI 2009; TREGGIARI 2009; MARCONI 2010; MERLI MAIARELLI 2010; TREGGIARI 2014.

[3] For the Perugian reality, the main works of traditional prosopography are represented by MARIOTTI 1787; VERMIGLIOLI 1828–1829, and BINI 1816.

[4] FROVA – ZUCCHINI 2017. p. 121.

champs de l'histoire et de la politique en Angleterre de 1300 à 1600.[5] In the more specific field of university prosopography, at least four major projects are worth mentioning: ASFE, Studium Parisiense, Bo2022, and REPAC, relating respectively to the Universities of Bologna, Paris, Padua and the students of the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages and Modern Age.

The ASFE database, developed by a research group led by Gian Paolo Brizzi, was originally designed to catalog the student population of the University of Bologna from 1500 to 1800. Over time, it has gradually expanded to include a census of Italian and foreign students who attended other universities across the Italian Peninsula during the same period. Currently, the database contains over 130,000 records.[6] The Studium Parisiense instead is dedicated to the members of schools and universities in Paris between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Directed by Jean-Philippe Genet and originally funded by the European Research Council, the database contains approximately 15,000 records. Each entry includes biographical and bibliographical information on professors, students, and university assistants; noteworthy is the section on book production, which includes the title, manuscript, and edition for each work.[7]

The Bo2022 database, created to mark the eighth centenary of the University of Padua, contains profiles of approximately 46,000 individuals who studied at the University of Padua from 1222 to 1989. The database primarily collects prosopographical records of graduates, and only for the medieval period, it also includes profiles of professors, staff, and students attending the University of Padua.[8] Finally, the REPAC (Repertorium Academicum) database was established in 2019 by incorporating the long-term RAG project (Repertorium Academicum Germanicum), which began in 2001 with funding from the Swiss National Science Foundation. REPAC contains information on approximately 62,000 individuals who lived between 1250 and 1550, with 400,000 observations on their life and career paths, analyzed within the framework of contextualized prosopography.[9]

In this general context, the *Onomasticon* project was designed with the intention of offering information on the foundation of the University of Perugia and on the professors and students who attended it from the fourteenth century onward. Nowadays, the database contains information on eight thousand students and professors, two thousand university courses taught

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[5]   See   https://calame.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/dictionnaire-des-auteurs-actifs-dans-les-champs-de-l-histoire-et-de-la-politique-en-angleterre-de.html and Corpus et bases de données | Laboratoire – LaMOP (pantheonsorbonne.fr) (accessed: 18/10/2024).

[6] See ASFE — Centro Interuniversitario Storia Università Italiane — CISUI (unibo.it) (accessed: 18-10-2024).

[7] See Studium (univ-paris1.fr) (accessed: 18/10/2024).

[8] See Banca dati (mobilityandhumanities.it) (accessed: 18/10/2024).

[9] See REPERTORIUM ACADEMICUM GERMANICUM (rag-online.org) (accessed: 18-10-2024).

over time, and a thousand places of origin of students and professors.[10] The primary objective of the database is the detailed reconstruction of the activity of students and teachers of the University of Perugia. Information on their presence in other institutions, as well as details on their family background, social and economic status, and professional and political commitments are not systematically present. Instead, the university careers of students and teachers are recorded with the maximum precision allowed from the sources: the teachers' entries include onomastic variants, biography, origin, possible student career, activities in the *Studium* (years and disciplines of teaching, salary), and bibliography. The same fields appear in the entries relating to students with the addition of specific information on their enrolment, degree, and residence in a student college (when available).

Based on the fields available in the database, there are two main search paths: on one hand, it is possible to trace the activities of a specific individual at the *Studium* of Perugia; on the other, the database allows for the exploration of the history of the *Studium* in both a synchronic and diachronic sense. In fact, the database records the courses offered each academic year, the investment of the Municipality of Perugia in each course, and the overall annual budget of the disciplinary areas and the *Studium*. This allows users to understand the changes over time in the disciplinary profile of the *Studium*, the relevance of the different teaching subjects and the importance of individual teachers.

I would like to conclude this brief presentation of the *Onomasticon* database by recalling the research group that works on the database, allowing continuous evolution in structure and contents: in addition to the authors of this contribution, the *Onomasticon* research group includes Carla Frova, Regina Lupi, Marco Menzenghi, Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni and Ferdinando Treggiari. Collective decisions regarding the database are made by the group as a whole, with members contributing both collaboratively and individually. Specifically, Giulio Quaresima created Onomasticon 2.0 and updated and implemented it from a technical point of view. Marco Menzenghi entered most of the database information, implemented the Bibliography section, and numerous biographical entries. Carla Frova and Stefania Zucchini have contributed to the analysis of the database as domain experts and are currently focusing on refining sections pertaining to sources and presenting data in graphical and cartographic formats. Regina Lupi enhances entries and research tools concerning the modern era, while Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni and Ferdinando Treggiari are setting up the new section dedicated to works.

Since 2011, together with the main European databases on university history, the *Onomasticon* project has been part of the Héloïse network and the group's researchers have participated actively in all of the Héloïse ateliers.[11]

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[10] Onomasticon (unipg.it) (accessed: 18-10-2024).

[11] Atelier Héloïse | European Network on Digital Academic History (hypotheses.org) (accessed: 18-10-2024).

2. The Onomasticon webapp

2.1 Brief history

The first version of the Onomasticon project was coordinated by Prof. Carla Frova and released during the celebrations of the seventh-century foundation anniversary of the University of Perugia in 2008. The first version, developed by Fabrizio Ortolani, formerly of the IT division of the University of Perugia, was a Java 5 Servlet 2.4 (JSR 154) web app built upon a relational data model backed by a MySQL 5 DBMS. Since 2009, the maintenance of the web app and the database has been assigned to Giulio Quaresima, also of the IT division of the University of Perugia.

After joining the Héloïse Network in 2011, the need of a complete redesign and technological update of the web app arose, so version 2 of the web app and database was planned and then released in 2015. This brand-new version 2 is also a Java web app, updated to Java 8 and to the 3.0 version of the Servlet spec. (JSR 315), but in this version, some frameworks have been adopted, remarkably Spring MVC 4 and Bootstrap 3. The main difference from the first version is the complete refactoring of the domain model to a new graph-based data model, backed by an embedded OrientDB 2.1 multimodal DBMS: a graph data model provides much more agility to the model designer in terms of establishing and refactoring associations between entities, easing the design and the evolution of complex graphs of relationships. Furthermore, in graph DBMSs associations traversal has a theoretical complexity of $O(n)$, compared to the $O(n \log n)$ complexity of the relational joins when indexed, so the modeler is encouraged to build deep graphs of relationship without fearing performance deterioration.

Many prosopographic and historical databases are implemented using general-purpose software, either in an on-premise or in a SaaS/cloud installation, configured and/or customized to match, as far as possible, the scientific goals of the project. The Onomasticon database and its front-end, on the contrary, since the first version has been designed and developed from scratch to perfectly fit the scientific purpose of Onomasticon and the historical documents and resources on which it is based on.

Such a choice has, of course, its pros and cons. On the pros side, let us say that an ad hoc product can be designed to do exactly what one need it to do, and can be easily evolved to add new features and to be integrated with other products and systems. On the cons side, one should consider the greater startup effort and the need for a dedicated development team to make it up, besides the lack of support that a community (in the case of open-source software) or a company (in the case of licensed software) can provide, especially in a medium- or long-term perspective.

In this version 2, particular attention has been paid to accessibility: a very active user of Onomasticon, a member of the advisory committee, is visually impaired. This user interacts with the Onomasticon user interface (UI) with the

aid of a screen reader: thanks to their constant support and feedback, during the development of the UI any accessibility issue is promptly detected and resolved.

2.2 The model

The Onomasticon domain model is composed of entities glued together by associations and inheritance relationships: in the corresponding graph model, entities are vertices (or nodes) and associations are edges, while the inheritance relationships are naturally implemented in Java because it supports class inheritance as any other object-oriented programming language1. An entity is defined by its parents, its attributes, and its associations with other entities: associations (edges), also, may carry their own attributes, but this feature is rarely used here.

2.3 Historical data

If we observe the model from a class hierarchy point of view, there is a class named VCommon which is the ancestor of all the vertices' class hierarchy. A direct child of VCommon, named VDatoStorico, is the common parent of all the classes representing any kind of historical data we want to model and store: some of them represent concrete or abstract entities such as persons, places, disciplines, *nationes*, etc., some other represent *factoids*[12] about entities of the first kind. All the instances of VDatoStorico are characterized by the fact of having an identity and, optionally, one or more names and a time reference.
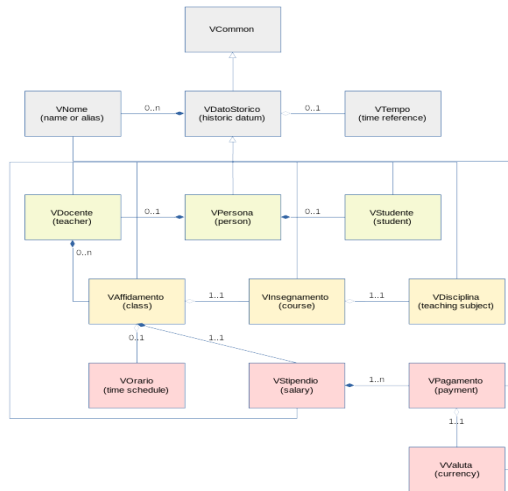
Figure 1: Class diagram of a subset of the model

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[12] https://www.kcl.ac.uk/factoid-prosopography/about (accessed: 18-10-2024).

A subset of the model representing teachers and courses held is an example of how the Onomasticon model is structured. Figure 1 shows the UML of a subset of classes, all of them subclasses of VCommon through VDatoStorico, and includes classes needed to model generic persons and their characterization as students and/or teachers. Teachers are persons with one name – or more as aliases – who may teach one or more classes; each class is an instance of a course regarding a teaching subject and has a time reference (academic year through VTempo), a time schedule, and eventually an optional salary defined in terms of payments. Each class represents a kind of vertex in the graph, while aggregations and compositions (the connectors with an empty or filled diamond) set the possible edges between them.

The class structure constrains how data can be inserted in the graph database and gives meaning to it. Figure 2 shows how this class structure is translated into a graph representing the following fact:[13] Figure 2:

> there was a person named "Salustius domini Guilielmi", also known as "Sallustio da Perugia" and "Sallustio Sallusti", who was a teacher, lectured (Lettura) common law (*Diritto Civile*) in the academic year 1415–16, in the mornings (*di mattina*), with a salary of 100 *fiorini*, 16 *soldi* and 6 *denari*, plus an extra payment of 10 *fiorini*.
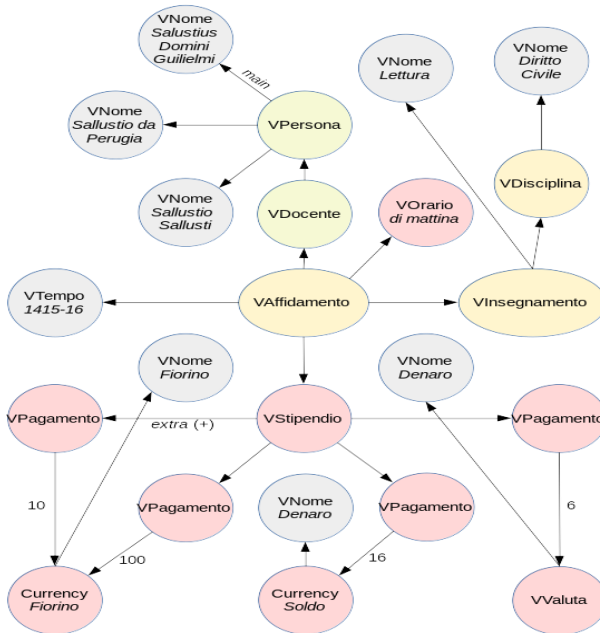
Figure 2: Actual class held by a teacher

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[13] There is some information that is not explicitly stated in the graph data but is deducted from the context: for example, the fact that each teacher taught at the University of Perugia is implicit by the scope of the Onomasticon database.

2.4 Historical resources

Another homogeneous subset of the model represents the resources used by the historian, specifically the sources of the historical information stored in the database: compared to the kind of information described in the previous paragraph, historical resources can be regarded as a type of metadata. There are two types of historical resources: scientific publications and historical sources (Figure 3), the latter being, mostly, documentary sources conserved in archives and libraries. Further associations between publications and sources may be established to express the fact that a publication is the edition of one or more documents.

A recent update of the database has introduced a tree structure for the historical sources, useful to describe its detailed composition, so the user can establish a fine-grained connection between single documented facts (for example the data described in Figure 2) and the exact parts of each documentary source that document them.
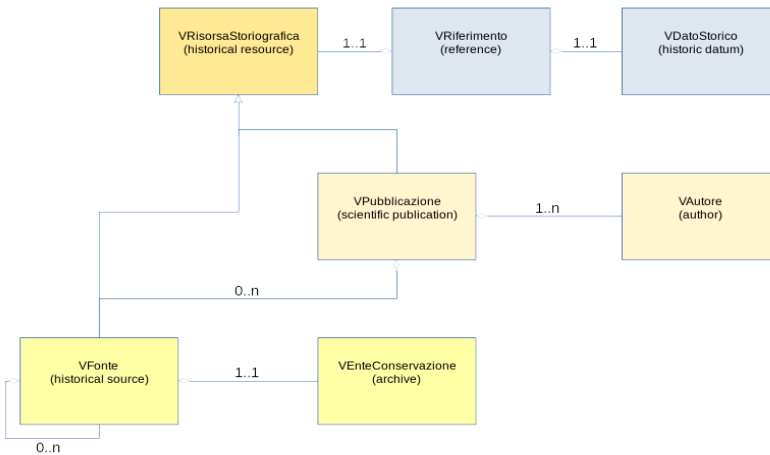
Figure 3: Class diagram of the Historical Resources submodel

2.5 Authorities and external references

The possibility to link historical data to authority files or other kinds of external references is one of the latest features introduced in the Onomasticon database. The model structure theoretically allows the connection of any

historical data with any kind of external resources but, at the moment, only six external resources regarding persons are supported:[14]

- Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
- ISNI (International Standard Name Identifier)
- IVS Commune *online*
- RAG (Repertorium Academicum Germanicum)
- VIAF (Virtual International Authority File)
- Wikidata

References to Wikidata items are particularly useful, because Wikidata records usually provide links to other authority files so when a Wikidata ID for a person is provided, Onomasticon can automatically obtain the IDs for the other supported authorities, if available, leveraging the Wikidata Toolkit APIs.

2.5.1 IVS Commune *online*

One of the external resources referenced by Onomasticon is IVS Commune *online*,[15] an online database focused on works and editions of legal texts from the medieval to the early modern age, where Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, Associate Professor at the University of Turin is editor-in-chief. The Onomasticon Advisory Committee, of which Prof. Panzanelli Fratoni is a member, decided to establish communication between the two databases. The original domain model of Onomasticon did not include the works of the teachers, while IVS Commune is focused on them, so the Onomasticon model has been enriched with a dedicated entity for teachers' works. The link between persons in the two databases is automatically established through the ISNI and VIAF identifiers, supported by both databases: when a user opens the page of a teacher in Onomasticon, if this teacher has an ISNI or VIAF record associated with them, IVS Commune is queried via its REST API to search that record: if the same teacher is found, Onomasticon pulls the updated list of its works from IVS Commune and publishes it, with links to the corresponding IVS Commune's pages. To avoid an excessive number of requests, the list of works is automatically updated only when a user visits the teacher's page and if at least 24 hours elapsed since the last update.

3. *Problems to be solved and challenges for the future*

In recent years, the *Onomasticon*'s research team has focused on the problems faced over the years and on future challenges.
The main problem related to the contents of the database lies in the nature and reliability of the data itself, deprived of its context and of any historiographical reflection which characterise traditional research works. We reported this and other problems and challenges at the "Heloise" 2020/21 workshop in Bologna

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[14] With the exception of IVS Commune *online*, for which also references to teachers' works are supported, as we will see below.
[15] https://www.iuscommuneonline.unito.it/ (accessed: 18-10-2024).

and at the Heloise 2022 workshop in Paris, proposing a series of solutions, which we have started to apply.[16]

In particular, at the workshop in Bologna, the use of computer science as a tool for analysing historical sources and more broadly the use of methods and resources of Computer Science in historical research were addressed.

When databases are made available online, they offer users access to a wealth of information. This information can certainly be aggregated, but they remain somewhat decontextualized. Indeed, this information often lacks the comprehensive insights derived from historiographical research, including the associated historical interpretations. These interpretations encompass various aspects such as dynamics, trends, student and faculty demographics, as well as the evolving interactions with political and religious entities. These interpretations encompass various aspects such as dynamics, trends, student and faculty demographics, as well as the evolving interactions with political and religious entities. This absence, limiting in itself, becomes even more harmful when the data presented in the database do not come from a reliable source but rather from a historiographical interpretation which is not accounted for, except with a brief bibliographical reference.

In this case, it is not a material error in reporting information, but rather a distortion caused by the need to fit information into a certain schema.

Building upon these overarching reflexions, the *Onomasticon* research group has begun to work concretely on four specific issues: reduce the number of clerical errors when entering data; reduce the margins of distortion of graphs and maps deriving from heterogeneous data by origin and nature; highlight the level of reliability of each information contained in the database; link database information with external resources.

With regard to the first issue, it is important to note that from the very beginning of the project, there has been a deliberate choice to permit online data entry into Onomasticon at any time. This deliberate decision prioritizes the dynamic nature of a work in progress over stringent and conclusive control of the entered information. Moreover, the absence of a hierarchical structure of interventions ensures that all operators have the capability to amend, augment, or remove information as required across the whole of the database. In order to identify the origins of errors or potential inaccuracies, a set of control mechanisms, such as private notes and change history, have been

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[16] During the Xth Heloise Workshop held in Bologna on March 29–30, 2021, themed "Universities in Europe: common contexts and local peculiarities through source analysis (origins – 20th century)", Stefania Zucchini delivered a presentation entitled "Informatica e critica storica: una riflessione sull'uso dei database per la ricerca e la divulgazione storica". Additionally, at the XIth Heloise Workshop in Paris on May 12–13, 2022, focused on "Digital Academic History and the Challenge of Uncertainty," Stefania Zucchini contributed with a presentation titled "At the Origins of Databases: The Data, Their Interpretation, and Representation. Solutions Adopted in 'Onomasticon: Prosopography of the University of Perugia'". See: Schedule: XIth Heloise Workshop, 12–13th May 2022, Paris | Atelier Héloïse (hypotheses.org); X[th] Heloise Workshop 29 – 30 March 2021, Bologna | Atelier Héloïse (hypotheses.org) (accessed: 18-10-2024).

implemented and refined. These mechanisms do not directly impact the errors themselves; rather, they enable the identification of contributors to the modifications and facilitate the reconstruction of the genesis of errors.

In addressing the interaction between computer science and historical criticism, attention was given to the challenge of partially restoring the critical and interpretive dimension to the individual information within a prosopographical database. The intrinsic nature of a database, functioning as a structured repository of information separated from its original context, presents a potential challenge in maintaining the critical interpretative dimension, that is typical of historical reconstruction. Particular focus was therefore directed towards reinstating the critical dimension of information, beginning with the acknowledgment that the presented data may lack certainty or originate from indirect sources or conjectural historiography. This aspect holds significant importance, especially when dealing with data sourced from a single or mutually dependent set of historical accounts, potentially distanced in time from the events they describe.

Another problem, again relating to the interpretation of facts and phenomena, is represented by the use of heterogeneous and discontinuous sources for the creation of maps and graphs with the risk of producing a distorted representation of reality. Consequentially, during the data processing phase using graphs and maps, uncertain information or data sourced from vastly different origins should ideally be excluded from the dataset under consideration. This to ensure that the type of data used is as uniform and reliable as possible. Currently, efforts are underway to enhance the reliability of such representations, however, a solution to acquire automatically homogeneous and thus comparable data has not been found yet.

In addition to selecting homogeneous sources for building graphs and cartographic representations, a very useful tool for reconstructing the context of information production and processing is represented by the possibility offered to users to directly access sources and bibliographies already available online and to connect with other databases.[17]

In summary, our research team identifies the upcoming challenges as twofold: ensuring database users with reliable information and interpretations and reconstructing a solid historiographical context. The promotion of connections between different resources within the network, with projects within the Héloïse network playing a leading role due to their scientific compatibility and interoperability, plays a crucial role in reaching these goals.

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[17] For further information, refer to paragraph 2.5 above.

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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.[5] 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

[2] SZÖGI 2017.

[3] TÜSKÉS 2008.

[4] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI – SZÖGI 2016–2017.

[5] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019.

[6] 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),[7] 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

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[7] Font 2017.
[8] Haraszti Szabó – Kelényi 2019. p. 97. nr. 1.
[9] 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.[10] 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,[11] 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.[12] 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.[13] 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.[14]

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[10] KELÉNYI 2016. p. 124–126.

[11] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI 2019. p. 111. nr. 85–88. Cf. LASZLOVSZKY 1994. p. 223–253.

[12] 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 [Doľany, SK]. ENGEL 2001. Ottontal – Ottóvölgy: 3PO14.

[13] 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.

[14] 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,[15] or even the paid enrolment fees,[16] 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,[17] 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'

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.

[15] 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 Marmației, 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.

[16] 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.

[17] HARASZTI SZABÓ 2021; HARASZTI SZABÓ 2023.

relationship with the Reformation,[18] their impact on book culture,[19] or the financial aspects of university studies[20] 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.[21] 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.[22] 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.[23] 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

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[18] 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. https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/gerundium/issue/view/78 – accessed: 22-03-2024)

[19] FÁBIÁN – LOVAS – HARASZTI SZABÓ – UHRIN 2018.

[20] HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI – SIMON 2019.

[21] BELITZKY 1934. p. 155–158.

[22] HUNYADI 2003. p. 25–26.

[23] https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/ – accessed: 22-03-2024)

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[24] 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,[25] the latter in 1951.[26] Currently, an independent research group is compiling and publishing the sources of these two eras.[27] Several family archives have been published or are in the process of being published, which significantly simplifies and guides the research. Numerous other legal,[28] ecclesiastical,[29] economic,[30] or even liturgical[31] 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.[32] This is supplemented by the Arcanum Digital Knowledge Library, which has similar functions and also makes a huge amount of material available online.[33]

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.[34] 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.[35] 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.[36] The catalogues,

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[24] 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. https://institutumfraknoi.hu/en – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[25] AO; New series: AOKL.

[26] ZSO.

[27] https://mnl.gov.hu/magyar_medievisztikai_kutatocsoport#english – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[28] DRESKA 2019.

[29] ERDŐ – SZOVÁK – TUSOR 2020.

[30] 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. https://tti.abtk.hu/kutatasok/lendulet/kozepkori-gazdasagtortenet/bemutatkozas – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[31] CSONKA – FÖLDVÁRY – SZOLIVA 2014. The database of the Research Group of Liturgical History, led by Miklós Földváry available here: https://usuarium.elte.hu/origins?q=hungary About the project you can find other information here: http://vallastudomany.elte.hu/content/research-group-liturgical-history – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[32] https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/ – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[33] https://adt.arcanum.com/en/ – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[34] MEZEY 1974–1975 p. 65–72.

[35] BH.

[36] 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,[37] but fellow researchers in the neighbouring countries also measured and published medieval manuscripts, preserved in their territories.[38] 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.[39] These works also provide a lot of help in identifying individual students,[40] and sometimes quite surprising sources help to complete a person's life.[41] 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

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.

[37] 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.

[38] Pl.: SOPKO 1981–1986.

[39] https://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/fragm_en_researchgr.htm – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[40] 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.

[41] 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. TÓTH 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.[42]

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[43] 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.[45] 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.[47] 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,

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[42] https://hece.elte.hu/en/ – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[43] 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.

[44] 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.

[45] KÖBLÖS 1994; RIBI 2018 p. 132–154; RIBI 2020; C. TÓTH 2020.

[46] BAGI 2020.

[47] ENGEL 1996; ZSOLDOS 2011; C. TÓTH – HORVÁTH – NEUMANN – PÁLOSFALVI 2016; C TÓTH – HORVÁTH – NEUMANN – PÁLOSFALVI – W. KOVÁCS 2017.

[48] 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 middle-class noble families also, is still an important reference point.[50] His other work is a digital map of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.[51] 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.[52] A few

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[49] https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Engel_MoKozepkoriAdattara_Genealogia/?pg=0&layout=s – accessed: 22-03-2024.

[50] 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. TÓTH – 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. TÓTH 2015 p. 68.

[51] 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.

[52] 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 (NAGY 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[53] and Dezső Csánki's late-medieval[54] 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.[56] 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.

[53] GYÖRFFY 1987–1998.

[54] CSÁNKI – FEKETE NAGY – ÖRDÖG 1890–2002.

[55] MUW II. p. 127.

[56] C. TÓTH 2023. p. 43,

[57] 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,[58] 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.[59] 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.[60] 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.[64] 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.

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[58] BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1938.

[59] 2 October 1467: BÁRFAI SZABÓ 1938. nr. 957; 14 February 1469: BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1938. nr. 981.

[60] KUBINYI 1966; KUBINYI 1968 p. 205–231; KUBINYI 1971 p. 203–269.

[61] 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.

[62] MUW I. p. 269.

[63] ENGEL 2001. Mahálfalva: 1SZP48.

[64] GALAMBOSI 2022. p. 295, 298.

Peter was not only a familiar of King Sigismund,[65] but he married[66] 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.[69] 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.[70] 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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[65] In 1431. ENGEL 1996 I. p. 505.

[66] KUBINYI 1971. p. 248.

[67] 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.

[68] KUBINYI 1971. p. 249.

[69] VÉGH 2006.

[70] 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.

[71] BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1938. nr. 905.

[72] 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.[73] 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.[75] In return for the repayment of the debt, he pledged his possessions several times.[76] 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.[77] 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 post-gradual 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.

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[73] 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.
[74] KUBINYI 1971. p. 249.
[75] MNL OL DL 15531. 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.
[76] 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.
[77] MNL OL DL 16373.

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István LENGVÁRI:

Pécs University Almanac: Goals and Results

Studying in the social history of the citizens – either students or professors – of universities has a significant tradition and has produced serious results both within Hungary and abroad. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this research: university instructors themselves are decisive members of the knowledge elite and through higher education, they have the greatest influence in determining who gains access to this elite group.

The University of Pécs's Almanac has a twofold purpose: on one hand, it presents the academic achievement of higher education in Pécs, and on the other, it provides help for the researchers of the various professions and social history. The first volume, which covers the period from the beginning until the 1950s, was published in 2015, and the second volume, which contains data until 2000, was released in 2017. The third is under preparation, covering the heads of departments, faculties and the university between 2000 and 2020 and it is due to be published in 2023. The database containing these volumes can be accessed online with a multi-criteria query. The database only collects data on scientific work, specifically, on scientific work carried out at today's university and its legal predecessors, so it does not include data regarding religion, the parent's/ guardian's name, or social status, for example.

Who was included in the database? The requirement for inclusion was the existence of an academic title (nowadays, the title of PhD). Only full-time employees of the university were admitted into the database, not only from the faculties, but also from the library, or the offices if the person in question had an academic title.

In summary: the Almanac project can assist in historical research but only in conjunction with the use of data gathered from archival documents and texts of recollections, correspondence, and other sources. In order to gain data about social mobility, for instance, researchers need to carry out additional gathering work, but our database can serve as a solid ground. It also helps non-historians of the university construct their departments' or faculties' past.

Keywords: database, university history, archontology, twentieth century history, Pécs, Hungary

The Almanac Project was created at the University of Pécs in 2014 when the university management expressed the need to build a database containing the most important scientific data of the university's academically qualified full-

time professors. In March of the same year, an editorial committee was set up to work out the details and coordinate the tasks.[1]

Work already started in the same year with the development of the project plan, the exact description of what data should be included, as well as the scope and format of the database. The database design was created by Tamás Markó, Róbert Acél, and István Lengvári, while the programming is the work of Ákos Takács, who has been developing the project's IT system ever since.[2] The database was also expected to be a searchable resource on the Internet, which, if possible, could provide separate search options for all data.

As part of the 2017 and 2023 Jubilee Programme series, the management of the university provided the work of a full-time employee in the University Archives for the project, who exclusively dealt with uploading data and handling administrative matters.

The three published volumes cover the following periods:

I.   The medieval university, the institutions of higher education in Pécs in the nineteenth century, and the Erzsébet University, which operated in Pécs from 1923.[3]
II.   The fragmented institutions of higher education in Pécs between 1950 and 1999.[4]
III.   The integrated University of Pécs, but only data on the academic leaders were included in the volume.[5]

The database containing these volumes can be accessed online with a multi-criteria query.[6] It is important to mention that sometimes the activities of a professor could cover both periods; in this case, they were included in the volume that contains the more significant period, or when the professor in question was the leader of an institution or the university.

The database only collects data on scientific work, specifically, on scientific work carried out at today's university and its legal predecessors, so it does not include data regarding religion, the parent's/ guardian's name, or social status, for example. In order to gain data about social mobility, for instance, researchers need to carry out additional gathering work, but the scope of the project could not allow the collection of these data.

Who was included in the database? The requirement for inclusion was the existence of an academic title (nowadays, the title of PhD). Only full-time employees of the university were admitted into the database, not only from the faculties, but also the library, or the offices if the person in question had an

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[1] Members of the committee: Attila Borhidi (Faculty of Natural Sciences), Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai (University Library), Márta Font (Faculty of Humanities), István Kajtár † (Faculty of Law), István Lengvári (chair, University Archives), Imre Schneider † (Faculty of Medicine).
[2] On the technical implementation of the project, see Róbert Acél's article in this volume.
[3] LENGVÁRI 2015.
[4] POLYÁK 2017.
[5] ACÉL – GUTAI – SOPONYAI-MÉHES 2023.
[6] http://almanach.pte.hu.

academic title. Our work focuses only on the Pécs period of the university, and the following data are included:

Figure 1. Database entries of the Pécs University Almanac project

Birth records (Year/Place/Country)
Death records (Year/Place/Country)
Main faculty / other faculty
Place of work
Diploma (year /university/major)
Studies (university)
Qualifying exams (postgraduate)
Year of habilitation
Year of candidacy
Year of PhD
University positions (year/institute/post)
Study visits
Memberships in academic organisations
Awards (year/award)
Reason for leaving the university
Main works
Literature about the professor
Editor/Editor-in-chief
Research projects
Scholarships
Research group

Since the database with the material of the first volume was already available from the end of 2015 (and then the second volume from 2017), we already received feedback on the use of both the written and the online version of the Almanac during the work on the third volume. In several cases, historians contacted us to search for additional sources in our archive, but references to the database also appeared in several Wikipedia articles. In addition to the joy of seeing our work directly utilised, this is also important because users were able to use authentic data based on real historical research. On the other hand, of course, this imposed a huge responsibility and work on us, since each piece of information had to be based on appropriate archival or library research.

Work on the third volume required a fundamentally new work organisation. On the one hand, due to the large number of people included in the database, the research had to be reduced, so that only academic leaders from the period between 2000 and 2019 – heads of universities, faculties, institutes, or departments – were included. The other challenge, for which we had to find a solution, had two reasons: our work started after GDPR came into effect, so the data collection for a specific purpose (inclusion in the database) could only be realised by asking for the consent of the individuals. The other challenge was that data collection could only be partially based on public collection research, so it seemed the most authentic way was to request the

data from people in the database. It seemed likely from the start that some of them would not respond or expressly prohibit their inclusion in the volume and the database, so we did not provide a detailed data sheet for these leaders. However, they are included in the summary list at the end of the volume, together with their organisational units.

A fair question arises as to what further possibilities there are for continuing the project. According to the current (August 2024) situation, financing of the project has ended for the time being. Despite this, we continue to maintain and improve the database, upload data on leaving the university or death, for example, and we correct errors, of course. In 2026 we will also try to create an English version of the search interface so that our work can be more widely available and utilized.

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Róbert ACÉL:

Pécs University Almanac: Aims and Results – Technical implementation of the Pécs University Almanac

The Almanac project aimed to create a book and database of teachers with an academic degree from the University of Pécs and its predecessors. To enable data collecting, we first designed and constructed a database system with a web-based client. Then a group of researchers collected the information that was obtainable about the teachers and entered it into the database. The following phase involved data unification and revision.

It took two steps to create a book using the database. It was first exported using a thorough script into Word files, which the editors then looked over and reviewed. After that, a desktop publishing program was used to add the photographs and various appendices to the raw text, creating the final book.

Keywords: database, university history, archontology, twentieth century history, Pécs, Hungary

Although the idea existed before, the realization of the University Almanac started in 2014, when József Bódis, the rector of the university at that time founded the editorial committee. The research aspect of this process had its own challenges, but here I just address the technical side of it, since I was involved in every step.

The goal of the project was to make three volumes, each about a different period of the University's history. These were:

1. The medieval university, institutions of the nineteenth century, the Royal "Erzsébet" University of Pozsony and Pécs (1914–1950),[1]
2. The fragmented institutions of higher education in Pécs (1951–2000),[2]
3. The integrated University of Pécs (2000–).[3]

Since the book itself is supposed to be a kind of data bank, the idea of making an electronic database of it came naturally. Publishing the collected data in a searchable database on the Internet was part of the idea from the beginning. As the first step, the editorial committee (Ágnes Fischerné Dárdai,

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[1] LENGVÁRI 2015.

[2] POLYÁK 2017.

[3] ACÉL – GUTAI – SOPONYAI-MÉHES 2023.

Márta Font, Attila Borhidi, István Kajtár, Imre Schneider, and István Lengvári chairman) determined what kind of data should be collected about the subjects.

For researching the first volume, a working group was formed from the staff of the University Archives, and the University Library and Knowledge-Centre. At first, we planned to use a standardized Excel-sheet for data collection based on the specification determined by the editorial committee, and make the book from this, and finally convert the data into a database. We thought about collecting the data into an online database, but it seemed to require too much time.

The Library took upon itself to provide the IT background for the project. With Tamás Markó, head of the library's IT department, István Lengvári, director of the University Archives, we sat down to discuss the possibilities, in August 2014. Tamás Markó ensured us that they can make a suitable multi-user online database for us, with all the things we needed in two months. Since the advantages of going this route were clear (more precise, more standardized data entry, ease of use, greater control, etc.), we chose to wait. Although for unforeseen reasons it took a bit more time, this proved to be the right decision. We had a much easier time collecting and verifying the data this way, and I am sure that the quality of our work is much better.

Our first task was to define the database structure in detail. Although the editorial committee determined what data was needed, we had to clarify and specify it. For example, they defined, that (naturally) the subject's Name should be recorded. So/Thus, a data field was needed for that. But there could be prefixes, e.g. titles of nobility, etc. Those cannot be recorded in the same field, so we needed another field for that. Nationalized names, or other variants were also possible, as so Maiden names, and so on. We went over all the determined and items and thought them over like this.

Then Tamás Markó made a detailed specification document, which served as the base for the developer. Ádám Horváth made the first version, but he left the Library in November. His replacement was Ákos Takács, a great and talented developer, but picking up the pace, and taking over someone else's project takes some time. So/Hence, we could start testing only after the Holidays.

This delay meant, that some colleagues could not wait for it to finish, because their schedules were tight, and they were not available later. They collected their part of the data in Excel. This proved to be handy, as these records served as test material. I entered these into the database in January, finding bugs and inconveniences during the process. There were a few major, and some minor issues.

Namely, we were so focused on getting the data structure right, that we had not thought about how we would navigate through hundreds of records, especially in a multi-user environment. Also, the nature of this work was different from a standard data record job. We did not just enter pre-collected data on the data sheet, saved it and were done with it. It was research. Finding

new sources, which contained new information about multiple subjects, was part of the process. A researcher needed to be able to quickly find all of the records that belonged to them, and go over each, to enter a new piece of information that just emerged. So new sorting and filtering tools were needed, and Ákos Takács built them quickly.

There is a saying: "No battle plan survives the contact with the enemy" – the same goes for planning a database, it seems. The data plan needed to be adapted and adjusted to the emerging problems and experiences. Only practice showed, what part was too detailed or not detailed enough, what was inconvenient, and what was unnecessary. The reality of the research often gave us technical problems to solve. An example: we thought beforehand that we would find exact dates of birth and death every time, with no exceptions. But we had to accept, that it was not possible. Now we needed to deal with incomplete dates. A date field in the database could not accept incomplete data. So, we had to add a marker for the dates to indicate what part of the date was missing (and filled with placeholder number) and make every part of the system that delivered that date for a web search, or for export, etc., to display that date in an incomplete form.

These problems and adaptations were finished by the end of January, and after a brief training, the team could start the work. This research phase lasted all spring and was closed as summer came.

A problem became obvious during the early test period. Being consistent with the names of institutions, organizations, and departments is not easy, especially with a team of around 10 researchers. Often different sources wrote the name of the same institution differently. There can be slight changes in the names over time, and the source may use the wrong name for that time period, etc. There are many ways to make mistakes, and most of the time it only shows when one compares the collected data. Therefore, we needed a tool to find those mistakes. And more than that: we needed a tool to correct them. Going over hundreds of records one by one every time we find an inconsistency is not an option. We needed to do it in bulk.

Fortunately, there was time to develop this tool during the research phase. I planned how the tool should look and how it should work, and Ákos Takács built it. This proved invaluable, not only when correcting those inconsistencies, but it served as a rudimentary search engine. The proper and detailed search engine that could be used beyond the scope of simple record management was planned for later; with this, we could do a bit more. For example, this tool made it possible to assemble the chronological list of department heads, which can be found in the appendix of the book.

By summer, all the data had been recorded, and thanks to the aforementioned tool, the major corrections and unifications could be finished in short order. The records were verified by the editors and marked "Ready". The next task was up: making a book out of the database.

By the time we got here, I had time to consider the requirements and the possibilities. We would have to generate a text from the content of the records,

as close to the final look as possible. The book would then be finished in Adobe InDesign. But before that, the editors needed to be able to check and correct the generated text in a word processor, preferably MS Word.

I made a one-page 'proof of concept' to find out what works. The first step is to generate a html file by faculty. I chose this format because it is very simple, similar to a plain text file, and it is very easy to piece together by a script. In addition, it is possible to make basic text formatting (bold and italic fonts) in it, and it can be opened and edited in MS Word. Moreover, it is possible to apply text types to different parts of the text, which can be interpreted as styles by MS Word. This last property offered a huge help down the road for the layout editor. The file would be easily converted then to doc format. With that, the editors then could complete the second step, the tedious and meticulous process of checking and correcting the text in a familiar software. After the text is final and ready, it goes to InDesign, where the pictures will be added, and the format and layout will be finalized.

Therefore, I had to write a really detailed and thorough description of how the html files should be assembled, what field goes after what text, down to the last comma and space. Based on this, Ákos Takács then made an export module, that pieced together the text of the chapter of that faculty.

Pictures were also exported, but not as part of the text. For the quality of the final product, it was better to have them separately. The pictures, coming in different types and resolutions, were converted to a maximized size in the same format, and exported next to the html file.

But as everyone knows, even the most meticulously assembled machine-generated text will not be perfect, since there are countless nuances, that cannot be calculated for. That is why our editors had to go over the text, review and fix it where necessary. This time-consuming work fell to Petra Polyák and István Lengvári. They did not only verify the text for generation errors but also checked again for the accuracy of the content. As I mentioned before, all records were reviewed before export, but there is no such thing as too many verifications, and at this stage, errors could pop up that remained hidden before.

This is when the chronological and organizational charts and lists of the departments came very handy. Discrepancies in the dates of commissions of department, faculty, etc. heads were frequent. Sometimes commission dates of different professors contradicted each other. With those lists, we saw where there were overlaps, or holes in the timeline, and we could do some extra research to solve those contradictions. That is why I think that the appendix, that started as a side product of the book, might be the most universally useful part of it. This kind of complete and coherent organizational list cannot be found anywhere else about our university.

This work was finished by early autumn after that came my part as a layout editor. This was surprisingly easy and fast. Since I designed the generation of the export files, I knew what small adjustments would make my job easier down the line. The character-level formatting of the text, and setting up bold

and regular parts would have taken weeks, but since we made it part of the export script, this time was saved. Most of the formatting was done by matching styles at the text import, after that inserting the pictures, and adjusting page breaks were nearly the only things to do with the main chapters.

Of course, the pictures gave some work. Besides clarifying their copyright status, they needed some technical attention too. Some of that was done by the Almanac system, it converted the various formats to Jpeg, and maximized the size of the pictures. Naturally, oversized pictures were more rare, often we had to deal with small, and bad-quality photos. We strove to clear and improve them with simple and free-to-use editors to remove stains, folds, stapler marks, etc.

After that, full proofreading came and then the book was ready, it could go to print.

The second book was a whole lot different in regard to research and data gathering, but on the technical side, it was not much different. We had to expand the list of faculties and had to define which faculty belongs to which book. Every subject had a main faculty assigned to them, where they did the majority of their work, and they could have other faculties listed too, where they were also involved. The main faculty was used to define which chapter of which book the subject belonged to. Our various tools had to be supplemented by a "pre-filter", to let us deal with only the records of one book or another.

We needed to change the fields about time of death. With a time period closer to the present, some of our subjects/individuals were still alive, so we needed to accommodate this possibility too. Similarly, the field that listed the reason of departure from the university formerly contained a free text field to list an institute or premade text for retirement and decease. Now some subjects/individuals were still active. Not many though, since by 2017, when the second book was edited, those who were still active mostly spent the majority of their career in the time period of the third book (after 2000). But it was possible, and it happened, so the system had to be ready for that.

The export process was also expanded by a book selector. The script needed only minor tweaks to follow up on some changes in the structure of education in that era and to accommodate the possibility of active and live subjects.

Pictures in this book are more numerous, and they are from more different sources, so clarifying the publication rights was a more complex task, but on the technical side, editing the layout of the book was basically the same as before.

When the second book of the series was ready, we thought we had a large database enough to create a public frontend for it. Up until this point, the database was only accessible to the people who worked on it, after authentication. Now we wanted to make the records of the first two books available and searchable to anyone.

From a researcher's standpoint, any database is as good as its search engine. Therefore, my goal was from the start to make a search page ready to

accommodate complex search criteria. I checked out some search applications for inspiration, and the capabilities of the AtoM archival system gave me the most ideas. In this program, you can specify what to search for and in which field, and you can chain any number of such terms together with logic gates (AND, OR, NOT), so we tried to make something similar.

As usual, we made a simple and a complex search option, and the option to just browse through the records. The latter was available by faculties, listing every subject who had worked on that faculty, whether it was their main faculty, or not.

The simple search required a single string to search for, and it looked through all the fields of all records for it. The results were grouped by the field they were found in.

Regarding the complex search, we had to make some compromises. To make a page with an arbitrary number of search terms was too difficult for the development framework we worked with. We had to settle for a fixed number of search terms, namely three of them. It did not seem to be too big of a sacrifice at the time, since we planned to make it possible to start searches based on the results of a former search. Unfortunately, this feature was later scraped due to limited time and resources, but three search terms proved to be more than enough most of the time.

In the complex search, we can choose what field to search in, and with what operator. The operators differed depending on the type of the field. For numerical fields, *less than*, *more than*, *equal*, *not equal* are the operators. For the text fields these operators are: *contains*, *does not contain*, *empty*, *not empty*. Three search terms with these operators combined with logic gates makes it possible to define quite complex search criteria. For example, to list the subjects who got their degree at the Medical University of Pécs, and worked there, but who did not retire from this place. Or subjects who got their degree before the Second World War, but who worked at the University of Pécs or the Medical University of Pécs even after the 1950s. The list of possibilities may not be endless, but it is great enough to satisfy the needs of the vast majority of researchers.

The search results are listed on the screen, and the subject's name, birth date, main faculty, and time of employment are shown, the list can be sorted by the first three columns. Every record can be examined in full detail from here of course. If a researcher needs to download data from more subjects, that is possible too. He can mark records from the search results, or the whole list to export in pdf or xml format. The selected records can be put in a "cart" just like in a webshop. It is possible to put records from multiple searches into the same cart and then export in pdf or xml. The pdf export is basically a custom almanac. It is generated from the selected records by the script used in making the book, with fixed-size photos at the beginning of the text. Of course, without manual verification and editing, it will not be the same quality as the real book, but it is a nice and clear, highly usable format to download.

Our next job is the third part of the Almanac. The changes in data protection and privacy laws gave us much to think about, just as the vastly greater number of potential subjects/individuals. But on the technical side, this will be the simplest, since no real changes are needed.

The Almanac project was challenging, but it shows that with good planning and flexible workflow, it is possible to achieve great results even with very limited experience and resources.

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Iva Beljan Kovačić:

The Authority of the Church in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Catholic Literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation led to extensive religious and cultural activity among Catholics in Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina. The initiators of these actions were the clergy, primarily the Franciscans of the Bosna Srebrena province. A significant aspect of their work was the publication of religious literature, with the issue of Church authority being one of its central themes. The first part of this paper aims to examine the representation of the Church and its authority in literature derived from Latin and Italian sources. The second part addresses the distinct characteristics of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism in the early modern period. Given that these particularities are especially evident in the way Church authority functioned, this raises the question of coherence between the concept of Church authority as articulated in religious literature and its practical implementation.

Keywords: Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism, Tridentine Catholicism, authority of the Church, the literature of the Bosna Srebrena Franciscans, cultural worldviews.

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After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Reform Movement created a favourable environment for the printing and dissemination of religious literature in vernacular languages. This need arose from a shared understanding between the Protestant and Catholic reformations,[1] namely that baptism alone is not sufficient for salvation. In addition to baptism, it was necessary to be familiar with religious doctrines and to align one's beliefs and behaviour with religious regulations.[2] Therefore, the Catholic Church made

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[1] The term Catholic Reformation is used in this study as it more accurately reflects the nature of the religious activities described, compared to Counter-Reformation, which carries a more limited connotation, or Catholic Renewal, a term commonly used in Croatian culture. However, when describing the content of this literature and the value system it promotes, I use the term Tridentine Catholicism. For a comprehensive understanding of the history of this movement, as well as the development of various terms used to describe it, see: O'MALLEY 2002; JEDIN 1999. p. 19–45.

[2] DELUMEAU 1993. p. 262–332; BOSSY 1999. p. 85–104.

significant efforts to educate the clergy and provide the handbooks necessary for preaching, administering sacraments, conducting regular catechesis, and fulfilling other duties outlined by the reform plan.

In Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Catholic clergy participated in these activities for nearly three centuries. Due to specific historical circumstances, they were predominantly drawn from the ranks of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena. A significant part of their work involved printing religious books, primarily those intended for clergy to assist them in pastoral duties. This literature is typical for Tridentine Catholicism: catechisms, collections of sermons, and confessional manuals. Also worth mentioning are narrative texts, which predominantly served as exempla for sermons, as well as religious poetry, which became the most popular form of Franciscan literature during these two centuries.[3]

The content of these books aligns with the official doctrine of the Roman Church and was most frequently compiled from Church literature in Latin and Italian. They predominantly convey Catholic values and provide guidance on leading a pious and moral life, while also explaining Catholic doctrines, particularly those outlined in the documents of the Council of Trent. The power and authority of the Church is a central theme in these works and is also the focus of this study.

This research is structured in two parts, each aimed at distinct objectives: the first is to examine the representation of the Church and its authority in literature compiled from Latin and Italian sources. The second aim focuses on the specific characteristics of early modern Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism, which historiographic literature often describes as unestablished. Since these characteristics are particularly evident in the functioning of Church authority, this raises the question of the coherence between the concept of Church authority as articulated in religious literature and its practical application.

The focus of this work is on the literature produced by the Franciscan clergy in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This literature is part of a broader, supra-regional cultural phenomenon of the early modern era. Due to the expansion of Ottoman rule, the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena provided pastoral care across much of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Syrmia, Bačka, Banat, and southern Hungary until the mid-eighteenth century. A similar pattern of Catholic Church culture developed across this region, and the popular Franciscan books analysed in this paper were not confined by regional borders. Instead, they were distributed and read throughout the entire Bosna Srebrena area.[4] This research, however, primarily focuses on texts written in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the particularities of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism are a key subject of this study. Books written by

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[3] Narrative texts and religious poetry are a good example of what Peter Burke describes as a replacement for popular culture. BURKE 1978. p. 223–243.

[4] See KUNA 1974. p. 109–116; BELJAN KOVAČIĆ 2021. p. 157–161.

Dalmatian Franciscan authors, which were influential and popular in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian region, are also included.

Regarding timeline, it should be noted that Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholic literature of the nineteenth century, for the most part, continued to follow the patterns described here. However, as it began to incorporate modern elements – such as new genres and an increased focus on secular themes, particularly social and political issues – this research is limited to literature from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the early decades of the nineteenth century.[5]

1. Church Authority in Compiled Literature

The origin and scope of Church's authority is a central theme across all genres of this literature, including catechisms, sermons, confessional manuals, and narrative texts. This focus is understandable, given that a key aspect of Catholic doctrinal disagreements with Protestantism revolves around the authority of the Church.

Two significant aspects are evident in the representation of the Church in this literature. Firstly, the Church is depicted as the representative of God's rule on earth, acting as a mediator between God and humanity. As such, the Church possesses the power to absolve sins, administer the sacraments, provide spiritual comfort, and dispense all forms of spiritual goods, as well as impose penalties. Secondly, the Church is presented as a community of true believers, with salvation possible only within its fold. The teaching that "there is no salvation outside the Church" (*extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*) is, therefore, a major theme in this literature. We will analyse both aspects using Ken Wilber's explicative system of cultural worldviews, along with similar models developed by Jean Gebser and Clare W. Graves.[6]

1.1. Theoretical Framework: Cultural Worldviews

The founder of integral theory, Ken Wilber, posits that the developmental capacities of the interior collective domain of reality – which includes culture, language, beliefs, and shared values – progress through a series of developmental waves or levels. The essence of this progression is a tendency toward creating units of increasing complexity and depth.[7] A fundamental characteristic of these developmental waves is their transcendence and inclusivity: each successive wave encompasses the capacities of the previous one while also transcending them, adding new dimensions. Wilber refers to

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[5] The research covers authors ranging from Matija Divković in the early seventeenth century to Augustin Miletić in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Miletić represents the culmination of religious and cultural activities inspired by the Church's reform efforts.

[6] The research of American developmental psychologist Clare W. Graves was further developed by his students, Don Edward Beck and Christopher C. Cowan, whose work is referenced in this paper.

[7] See: WILBER 2001. p. 36–58.

these developmental waves as cultural worldviews, viewing each as a significant turning point in consciousness that transforms how one perceives and regulates both the external and internal world. A turning point still crucial for our world is the emergence of the mental cultural worldview.[8]

The rise of the mental worldview begins with the separation of the self from identification with the environment and the body. In its early stages, it is characterized by pre-conventionality and egocentrism, where the world is perceived as an extension of the ego. In this study, this early mental worldview is therefore termed egoic.[9] Values such as winning, conquering, domination, physical strength, and "power gods" hold a prominent place in its value system.[10]

The next phase of the identification of self with the mind is marked by conventionality and sociocentrism. Here, the world is viewed as an orderly place where everyone has an assigned role, and the individual learns to conform to the norms of their social group. Because it leans toward closed, static, and immutable explanations of the world, this phase is termed dogmatic in this study. Its limitations are surpassed in the following stage, which is characterized by post-conventionality, world centricity, and a deeper understanding of multiple perspectives. This advanced phase of the mental worldview is referred to here as rational.[11]

The Protestant and Catholic Reformations played a significant role in the rise of the mental worldview within European cultures. Their programs aimed to extend forms of religiosity, morality, and behaviour – previously characteristic of elites, particularly monastic ones – to all believers. From a worldview perspective, this process marked the expansion of the dogmatic mental worldview while simultaneously detaching from the pre-mental[12] mythic. However, the transition was complex and gradual, with elements of the mythic worldview present not only in popular culture but also, to some extent, within Church culture. The representation of the Church in Catholic religious literature is also an indicator of that.

The understanding of belonging to the Church and the nature of its authority in this literature is primarily rooted in the dogmatic mental worldview and is thus influenced by the inherent limitations of this worldview. However, the high degree of concretization in spiritual teachings

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[8] Jean Gebser observes that the root of the word "man" in many languages is the same as the root of the word "mental". *Men*tal world is "a world of man". GEBSER 1985. p. 17.

[9] The classification of the mental worldview into egoic, dogmatic, and rational is based on the model found in the work of Beck and Cowan, though different terminology is introduced in this paper. Specifically, Beck and Cowan use colours to label different worldviews (or value memes in their explicative system).

[10] BECK – COWAN 1996. p. 215–216.

[11] The process continues with the questioning of the self's identification with the mind, eventually leading to the transcendence of the limitations imposed by this identification. WILBER 2002. p. 75–90, 141–156, 253–271. However, these worldviews are not relevant in the context of this work.

[12] More accurately, Wilber describes mythic worldview as proto-mental and proto-individual. WILBER 2002. p. 97–102.

also points to remnants of the mythic worldview. In this study, we will attempt to describe both of these components in the representation of the Church.

1.2. Appointed Hierarchies

The image of the Church as a representative of God's rule on earth is a fundamental premise from which its various forms of jurisdiction arise: the absolution of sins, the administering of sacraments, teaching, and so forth. This premise is rooted in an understanding of the world as an orderly, hierarchical place, where governance is not seized or usurped but conferred through appointment – granted by a top-down transmission of authority, from those closer to supreme power to those farther away. In this literature, the supreme authority – God – is depicted as a king, a ruler on a throne with unlimited power.[13] The Heavenly King-God establishes his regency on earth by appointing visible representatives of his rule. The image of Jesus as the Son of God, whose power is equal to that of the Father, is also grounded in this principle. It is through him that God the King establishes the hierarchy of his authority.

The sentence in the Gospel where Jesus calls Peter the rock upon which he will build his community is, within this worldview, interpreted literally as the transfer of divine authority to earth. In this way, through the transfer of power by appointment, the rule of Jesus and God is recognized in Peter. Since the pope is regarded as Peter's heir – based on the hierarchical principle that Peter is considered the first bishop of Rome – it follows that Peter's authority is embodied in the papal office. The same power given to Peter by Jesus is passed down to each Roman pope. The pope is, therefore, seen as "the true successor of Jesus Christ on earth."[14] The pope is transferring authority onto his representatives, "bishops and other rulers of the Holy Mother Church, who doth govern the Christian folk."[15] By the same principle, the authority respected in the pope is also respected in the bishops, as it is ultimately Peter's authority – i.e., that of Jesus. Bishops, in turn, grant authority to priests, through whom the authority of the bishop, the pope, Peter, Jesus, and ultimately God is upheld. In this hierarchical transfer of authority, even the lowest in the sequence, the priests, possess power bestowed by the supreme authority. The result is a hierarchy of delegation, where the supreme authority is reflected in even the most minor trustee.

On the positive side, this represents a step forward from the mythic level of understanding authority as an embodiment of a deity, or from the egoic

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[13] What predominates is the image of God as a judge, rooted in a sociocentric worldview that emphasizes law and responsibility. The image of God as the Father—a good but strict figure to whom obedience is owed—closely aligns with that of God the Ruler. As J. Delumeau demonstrates, this image in European Christian literature gradually evolves into that of a merciful and gentle Father. DELUMEAU 1986. p. 646.

[14] DIVKOVIĆ 2013. p. 409.

[15] DIVKOVIĆ 2013. p. 409.

level, where hierarchy is based on force and the ability to seize power, resulting in systems of dominance.[16] In this new system, officials do not gain power through domination and subjugation but through appointment by a higher authority. This understanding of authority is typical of a socio-centric cultural worldview, where hierarchies are established in such a way that the institution's authority is respected in the individual representative, rather than the individual himself.[17]

In evaluating this development, it is important to consider that most Catholic believers for whom this literature was intended adhered to a mythic or early mental worldview. Doctrinal clarity, the hierarchical structure of the Church, well-established rules of belief and behaviour, a transparent system of obligations and rights for believers, along with the portrayal of the Church as a mother and God as a father – all provided a sense of security and protection within a community with visible leadership. Moreover, this hierarchical system serves a clear purpose, one that is fundamental to Tridentine Catholicism: fostering a socio-centric awareness, which includes the ability to curb arbitrariness and egocentrism, and to respect the group's rules.

However, numerous drawbacks of this concept of authority and hierarchy stem from the limitations of the dogmatic worldview, as well as the remnants of the mythic worldview evident in Tridentine Catholicism. A high degree of concretization, or literalism, in the understanding and presentation of the spiritual world is characteristic of the latter. As a result, the analysed texts reveal a dependence on spiritual authority on specific historical orders and institutions. Religious teachings require a material representation – a visible, particular individual who implements them and acts as the "head" of the hierarchy. The issue arises when this notion suggests that, without these representatives, the religious principles themselves would have no effect. A prime example of this can be found in the popular catechism by Friar Tomo Babić from the eighteenth century.

Babić explains that Jesus could not have left authority only to Peter and not to his successors, the bishops, for that would have lost its value upon Peter's death! Indeed, it would have called into question the very purpose of Jesus' coming: in that case, he would have come into the world only for Peter, and "to us others, there would be no profit nor benefit from his coming and suffering." Furthermore, "after Peter, neither the law nor priestly authority would endure," and "the Christian folk and the Holy Church would be without leaders, rulers, and chiefs, which can never be."[18] Simply put, if Jesus had not left the priesthood as ruler, his coming into the world would have been without purpose.

The importance placed on a specific historical representative – namely, the religious community and its structure and hierarchy – in the functioning

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[16] Beck – Cowan 1996. p. 216–217, 223–225.
[17] The functioning of many systems rests on this principle (e.g., police or military forces).
[18] Babić 1829. p. 107.

of spiritual principles reveals elements of a mythic worldview. The principle of transferring power through appointment is, in itself, neutral. However, in this context, it is viewed as absolute and unchangeable, rather than consensual and temporary. This rigidity stems from the limitations of the dogmatic worldview, which struggles to separate spiritual realities – considered transhistorical and transmaterial – from their historically and culturally conditioned representatives. As a result, a lower level of reality (a particular community with its specific beliefs, rituals, and institutions) becomes indispensable for the functioning of a higher level (salvation, God's will, and so on).

The consequence of this limitation is that the principle of transferring power through appointment becomes a principle of representing divine power on earth. The hierarchical sequence we outlined (God → Jesus → Peter/pope → bishops → priests) is thus taken – and expressed – quite literally in this literature: respecting the authority of any part of the sequence is equated with respecting God's authority while opposing any of them is seen as opposing God:

"Whoever is obedient to the words of the pope, the words of the bishop, and the words of the least friar who speaks of divine things, is obedient to Jesus Christ. And whoever is truly obedient to Jesus Christ is obedient to Almighty God, who sent Jesus Christ into this world for our salvation and redemption. Likewise, whoever disdains the words of the pope and the pope himself, the words of the bishop and the bishop himself, the words of the least friar and the same friar who speaks of divine things, truly disdains Jesus Christ. And whoever disdains Jesus Christ and His words disdains Almighty God and the words of God, who sent Jesus Christ into this world. Therefore, the words spoken by the pope, the bishops, and other friars are not to be heard as if from the pope, nor as from the bishop, nor as from the friars, but as from the Lord God Almighty."[19]

The principle by which the transfer of authority is explained can also be applied to understanding Church teachings, the Church's magisterium, and all the laws and regulations of Church councils and leaders. The teachings and commandments of the Church are the teachings and commandments of God, and therefore: "whoever disdains the Holy Mother Church, the Church servants, and the orders and commandments of the Holy Mother Church, truly disdains Jesus Christ and the orders and commandments of Jesus Christ. And whoever disdains Jesus Christ and His commandments, His holy orders, truly disdains the Lord God and the commandments of God."[20] The doctrine

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[19] DIVKOVIĆ 2013. p. 410–411. Similar examples can be found in BABIĆ 1829. p. 61–63, 106–108.

[20] DIVKOVIĆ 2013. p. 256. No other teachings should be listened to: "That is, we should not listen to nor accept any law, but only the law of Jesus Christ, which is upheld by the Holy Mother Roman Church. As the Holy Mother Roman Church holds and observes it, so too must we observe the law of Jesus Christ if we wish to be saved, for this is the true and righteous path to salvation, and there is no other" – DIVKOVIĆ 2016. p. 623. All the works in this literature emphasize: we must believe what the Church teaches, and the Church teaches what is orthodox, that is, what God wills, and thus what saves the soul (LASTRIĆ 1755. p. 63). The Church has no other source but the revelation

and teachings of the Church are, therefore, equal to God's doctrine and teachings, and to oppose any of its segments means opposing God.

The priest is the representative of Christ on earth, by the authority bestowed upon him, and such a literal comprehension leads to extremes in the glorification of the priesthood, which abounds in this literature. Priests are described as "holy, chosen and consecrated by God"; they are the firstborn sons of God, "whose fatherhood is the heavenly kingdom by reason of their firstborn status."[21] Priests take the place of Jesus because "after Jesus' ascension, Almighty God placed them in His stead, that they may hold His place and represent Him on earth."[22] Priests are also judges with the authority of Jesus, as well as mediators: "Priests are placed as intermediaries between God and the Christian people, and every priest may say: 'I have stood between, between God and between you.'"[23] Moreover, if priests hold authority so close to that of God, it follows that they are "the gods of this world" or "the gods of the earth."[24]

The second important aspect of the Church's representation in this literature is closely tied to the first: the Church is portrayed as a community of true believers. Due to the limitations of this worldview, truth is considered the exclusive property of one religious community – in this case, the Catholic Church. The maxim *extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* (there is no salvation outside the Church) is present throughout this literature and leads to several consequences. First, the teachings of the Church, along with its rituals, indulgences, sacraments, and so forth, are seen as prerequisites for salvation. Second, this belief system implies that members of other religious communities – essentially all non-Catholics – are outside God's mercy and without the possibility of salvation.[25] This literature contains numerous examples of these convictions.

Despite its limitations, the positive aspects of a *confessio*-centric identity should not be overlooked: it represents progress compared to the notion of group affiliation based on consanguinity. Belonging is now founded on shared beliefs – essentially, a communion at the mental level – which allows for the inclusion of a broader group of members, beyond just blood relatives.

2. Church Authority in Original Literature

The second part of this work focuses on the question of how this concept of Church authority aligns with the specific traits of early modern Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism, which could not be organized as a state-

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of God, which the apostles received from the Son, who is true God, and the Church proclaims His teaching to the faithful (LASTRIĆ 1766b. p. 72). Faith, therefore, is the assent to all that the Church proclaims, as it has been revealed to her by God.

[21] ANČIĆ 1681. p. 17, 56.

[22] MARGITIĆ 2015. p. 453.

[23] MARGITIĆ 2015. p. 454.

[24] LASTRIĆ 1766a. p. 347; ANČIĆ 1681. p. 57, 60; ANČIĆ 1678. p. 129; MARGITIĆ 2015. p. 454.

[25] This belief is a hallmark of all religions in the stages defined by a dogmatic cultural worldview.

supported confession. Consequently, historiography describes it as non-established Catholicism.[26] The structure of Catholic religious institutions during the Ottoman period remained largely pre-Tridentine. Due to the legal restraints imposed by the Ottoman state, the establishment of a regular Church hierarchy was not possible. Since the thirteenth century, the Bosnian bishop resided outside Bosnia, in Đakovo, and during Ottoman rule, his visits were fraught with difficulties. As a result, he did not play a significant role in the lives of Bosnian Catholics.

During Ottoman rule, the only Church institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena. Its priests served Catholic parishes alongside a smaller number of secular Glagolitic priests. The Franciscan monasteries functioned not only as centres of religious life but also as political hubs: the guardians of the three monasteries acted as representatives of Bosnian Catholics before Ottoman authorities.[27] Additionally, the Franciscans were involved in economic affairs, medicine, and cultural activities. Beyond printing religious and didactic literature and poetry, they were also engaged in historiography and linguistics.[28]

In these circumstances, the activities of the Franciscan Province were governed by a series of privileges – exemptions from both Franciscan and general Church legislation in matters of pastoral care, property, finances, and other areas.[29] In 1735, the institution of the Apostolic Vicariate was established under the direct authority of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, with the vicar apostolic elected from the ranks of the Franciscan clergy. However, even this hierarchical structure became a source of conflict between certain vicars and the Franciscan Province, revealing a clash of differing concepts of Church authority.

Given that the specific traits of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism were also reflected in the functioning of Church hierarchy and authority, it is reasonable to ask whether the representation of the Church, as described in the previous part of this work, is merely a result of the compilation of official Church literature. The popular notion of Bosnian Franciscanism, largely shaped by Franciscan historiography, presents a positive view of this non-establishment as a less elitist variant of Catholicism. Since this paper is focused exclusively on concepts of authority found in written culture, this part of the research will examine the notion of Church authority in the original texts of Bosnian Franciscans from this period. The primary objective is to determine whether it differs from the concept found in compiled literature.

However, it is important to revisit the latter. Although this literature is the product of translation and compilation, it does not result from a passive

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[26] The most comprehensive research on this phenomenon is found in the work of Bosnian-Herzegovinian historiographer Srećko M. Džaja.

[27] Džaja 1971. p. 103–233; Džaja 1999. p. 150–225.

[28] See: Pranjković 2008. p. 10–15.

[29] Džaja 1971. p. 118–123; Džaja 1999. p. 190–203.

transfer of texts. The authors of these Franciscan books function as editors, selecting and combining sources, as well as determining how they will be translated and reworked.[30] Moreover, the importance of a particular topic can be gauged by the attention it receives: the authority and power of the Church are given significant focus in this literature. The style of writing and the author's approach to the subject are also crucial; this topic is consistently presented with a strict, and often emotional, legislative tone. Additionally, there is a frequent use of narrative exempla that reinforce the authority of the Church, its rituals, symbols, saints, officials, and sacraments.

However, this question is best explored through texts that are not primarily compilations but are authored works in the modern sense of the word. These include the chronicles of three Bosnian Franciscan monasteries from the eighteenth century[31], as well as Filip Lastrić's historiographical work *Epitome vetustatum Bosnensis provinciae* (1765). These works represent the most valuable contributions to Franciscan culture, not only from a historiographical perspective but also a literary one.[32] Our focus is on how Church authority is represented in these texts and whether it differs from the concept described in the first part of this paper.

2.1 The Understanding of Personal and Collective Identity

We begin with understanding identity: personal and collective identity, as presented in these texts, is primarily defined through belonging to the Catholic Church (and the Franciscan Province, its representative in Ottoman Bosnia). The concept of belonging to a community of true believers is consistent with that found in the translated literature: salvation is not possible outside the Church, and it is attained only through its sacraments, officials, and authority. The attitude toward other religious communities remains rooted in the maxim *extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* – salvation cannot be achieved under any other religious law. A different stance cannot be expected, as the notion of religious equality would require a shift to a rational cultural worldview, which transcends the limitations discussed in the earlier part of this study.

Nevertheless, while this teaching is addressed at a general level in the compiled literature, the Franciscan chronicles focus on the specific relationships between the three religious communities in Ottoman Bosnia – Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic.[33] They reflect the confessional differences

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[30] An analysis of how Matija Divković translates the texts of the German Dominican Johannes Herolt reveals that Divković deliberately exercises freedom in expanding, condensing, and adapting the texts to suit his audience. PETROVIĆ 1982. p. 175–206.

[31] These include the chronicles of Nikola Lašvanin, Bono Benić, and Marijan Bogdanović, from the monasteries in Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska, and Kreševo, respectively – the three remaining monasteries in Ottoman Bosnia during the eighteenth century.

[32] The literary value of these chronicles is the central focus of the book *Pripovijedanje povijesti / Narrating the History.* BELJAN 2011.

[33] This problem is addressed in the work of BARIŠIĆ 2021. p. 61–84.

that shaped all aspects of everyday life. However, it is notable that the chroniclers primarily concentrate on – and criticize – manifestations of the egoic worldview, rather than the dogmatic one. Their main concerns are violence, tyranny, corruption, disregard for the law, and the exploitation of institutions for private gain. The eighteenth century in Ottoman Bosnia was marked by institutional decay, widespread corruption among state officials, and increasing independence of the Bosnian nobility and janissary officials from central authority.[34]

At the same time, the relationship between Catholicism and Orthodoxy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was characterized by a deepening divide. The Ottoman administration played a significant role in fostering this divide, as it encouraged jurisdictional conflicts over believers to extort large sums of money from the parties involved.[35]

However, it cannot be said that the Franciscan writers clearly distinguish between confessional affiliation and the decadence of the political and social system.[36] Many examples in these works interpret the repressive acts of authorities and individuals, as well as those by Orthodox clergy, as expressions of "hatred toward the faith".[37] At the same time, within this framework, they demonstrate a nuanced portrayal of individuals, assessing both their positive and negative traits – such as greed, cruelty, and negligence, as well as skill in governance, integrity, and devotion to the monasteries.

2.2 Authority, Hierarchy, and Adaptation

We now move from understanding identity to how the Church's authority is presented in these works. The fundamental principles are no different in this literature than in the translated texts. The power to mediate between God and people, to grant absolution, and to administer the sacraments, based on the principle of authority transferred through appointment and the representation of Christ on earth, remains unquestioned. While class-related notions of the Church are not absent from this literature, we do not find the detailed class distinctions seen in Western sources – primarily because, at the time these texts were written, there was virtually no Catholic middle class in

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[34] When writing about the clashes between Bosnian Muslims and the central Ottoman authorities, personified by the Bosnian Vizier, the Franciscan chroniclers do not identify with the former. Although they were burdened by the financial demands of the state apparatus, their greater concern was the increasing tyranny and violence from local magnates and military officers. As a result, they welcomed any actions by the Bosnian Viziers aimed at "calming down" (mostly through force) the Bosnian local rulers, particularly those that restricted their power and reinforced central authority. See: BENIĆ 2003. p. 168–169, 173, 176, 187, 226, 271–272.

[35] The chronicles describe these situations, with some providing very detailed accounts: BENIĆ 2003. p. 207–217; LASTRIĆ 2003. p. 145–147; LAŠVANIN 2003. p. 275–279.

[36] See: BARIŠIĆ 2021. p. 69.

[37] LASTRIĆ 2003. p. 147.

Ottoman Bosnia.[38] Nevertheless, a clear distinction is made between the authority of the clergy and the laity.

At the doctrinal level, there is no significant difference in the understanding of Church authority in the authored texts from this period. However, they emphasize a different *implementation* of Church authority, tailored to the specific context. These differences arise solely from the needs of the situation and are, therefore, circumstantial rather than doctrinal. All of the aforementioned historiographical works describe the unique challenges and demands faced by the Catholic Church in Bosnia. The authors' descriptions are often marked by an emotional tone, aimed at conveying to the Church – particularly the Propaganda and the leadership of the Franciscan Order – the limitations they face, where fulfilling Church requests is often impossible. These accounts also include a typical topos of this literature: the portrayal of the Franciscan friar as the guardian of the Catholic faith in Ottoman territory, enduring suffering for that cause.

A specific situation requires a tailored structure for the institution: there is an effort to demonstrate the unsustainability of a regular Church hierarchy and the conventional structure of Church institutions in this context. As a result, these works document instances where the arrival of Church officials from abroad (such as Bosnian bishops or provincial visitors) provoked reactions from Ottoman authorities, endangering lives and monastery assets.[39] Moreover, since the unique status of the Province is essential for its functioning and is secured by Church privileges, these authors meticulously transcribed and preserved key documents (decrees, licenses, letters), constantly emphasizing the importance of legal exemptions.

A specific situation also requires adjustments to the hierarchy: while fundamental Church hierarchical principles are generally respected, adaptations are necessary. Since the establishment of the Apostolic Vicariate, the vicar apostolic has held the authority of a bishop, which was important for the Catholic Reformation's goal of strengthening the role of the bishop.[40] In practice, there was a custom where the vicar apostolic closely collaborated with the leadership of the province in decision-making, following the traditional model involving senior and meritorious friars. This arrangement worked well when the vicar apostolic and the province were aligned in their views. However, when the role of vicar was assigned to someone less inclined toward this model, conflicts would arise.[41] In the explanations for such

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[38] Historiography identifies the disappearance of the Catholic middle class following the catastrophe that struck Bosnian Catholics after the Great Turkish War as a critical factor in shaping the profile of Church culture. In the seventeenth century, it was the middle class that provided the largest number of Franciscan priests and supported cultural initiatives such as the printing of books. Džaja 1971. p. 63; Džaja 1999. p. 170–171.

[39] Lašvanin 2003. p. 253–258, 287–288; Lastrić 2003. p. 142–145; Benić 2003. p. 143–144; Bogdanović 2003. p. 103–106.

[40] Cf. Delumeau 1993. p. 74.

[41] The first major conflict – between Franciscan clergy and Apostolic Vicar Grgo Ilijić, which occurred at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century – was explored by

disagreements found in this literature, the principle of Church authority vested in the vicar apostolic is not disputed. Instead, the emphasis is placed on the circumstances: the arguments focus on the unsustainability of certain changes and the risks linked with specific actions taken by the apostolic vicars. Notably, the Ottoman authorities did not recognize the institution of the vicar; rather, it was the monasteries that represented the Catholic community before them.

In all the analysed texts, this topic is accompanied by emotionally charged statements from Bosnian Franciscans regarding the lack of understanding from the Church leadership, particularly the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Order's leadership, and even fellow friars from neighbouring provinces, about the severity and challenges of their situation.[42] In the passages addressing the difficulties with the Propaganda[43] it becomes clear that the expectations for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian priesthood to meet the high demands of the Tridentine Reform were evident. However, these demands were often not in alignment with the specific circumstances, where adjustments were necessary.[44]

However, it should be noted that the reform demands of the Church are central to the activities of the Franciscan clergy and the leadership of the province. The printing of religious literature, which is the focus of this study, is a direct result of these efforts. The province worked to address issues related to the education of candidates for the Order, including sending them to study abroad. They also made significant efforts in parish work, ensuring that parish priests fulfilled their obligations to reside in parishes, preach, administer the sacraments, teach catechism, and be available to parishioners. Additionally, efforts were made to establish parish administration, including keeping register books (for baptisms, marriages, and deaths) and proper storage of files. The ideal image of a priest promoted in this literature reflects the Tridentine ideal: an educated, dignified, and moral shepherd who preaches and teaches.[45]

2.3 Exterior and Interior Particularities?

It is necessary to ask another question: are the described particularities present only in the external domain of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism, at the level of institutions and their structures? As previously mentioned, there is no significant difference between the original and translated

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DžAJA 1971. p. 189–223. The most famous of these disputes, known in historiography as "The Barišić Affair," had significant international political implications at the time.

[42] LASTRIĆ 2003. p. 77–84; BENIĆ 2003. p. 63–66, 192–198.

[43] See, for example, BENIĆ 2003. p. 192–198.

[44] This issue is an important topic in Antal Molnár's study *Bosnian Franciscans between Roman Centralisation and Balkan Confessionalisation*. MOLNÁR 2013. p. 220–229.

[45] A clear understanding of the specific aspirations surrounding the formation of this type of priesthood can be found in *Naredbe i uprave* (*Orders and Directions*, 1828) by Vicar Apostolic Augustin Miletić.

literature in the understanding of clerical and Church authority. In principle, even the concept of hierarchy remains the same, although it is explained why regular hierarchy cannot be applied in specific circumstances. Are these differences limited to the external level, or do they also exist on the internal level, within the domain of culture, language, and the value system?

Let us return to the principle of the transfer of authority by appointment. On a doctrinal level, this principle is fully upheld in Franciscan written culture. However, there is a shift in the traditional authority sequence "God → Christ → Peter/pope → bishops → clergy." The shift occurs in the final segment, where the priest is identified specifically as a Franciscan friar. Additionally, the Church is represented by the Franciscan Province in a given time and place. Thus, the friar becomes the central figure in the topos of the guardian of the faith.[46]

This topos, however, is not only present in original texts such as chronicles, documents, and letters but also in translated religious literature, as observed on several levels. Scientific literature notes that Matija Divković frequently translates the word "priest" (especially in narrative texts) as "friar." He often simplifies expressions for various roles within the Church hierarchy, using the term "friar" instead of a broader range of titles.[47] In the exempla found in the works of Bosnian Franciscans, friars are most often depicted as the representatives of the Church. Thus, in this literature, the Franciscan friar becomes the central figure representing both the clergy and the Church. This linguistic shift and the corresponding literary imagery indicate that we can speak of particularities in this form of Catholicism within the interior domain as well.

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In conclusion, over nearly three centuries in Ottoman Bosnia, the Franciscan clergy played an active role in the Catholic Reform Movement. Their efforts in educating the clergy, serving in parishes, preaching, and teaching catechism also led to the production of religious literature compiled from Western sources. One of the central themes in these works is the issue of Church authority and power, which is addressed in accordance with official Church teachings. While the particularities of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholicism during the early modern era are evident in the practical functioning of Church hierarchy and authority, an analysis of original Franciscan records from this period reveals that, in terms of the understanding and representation of Church authority, they align with the

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[46] The friar is presented as discreet, arriving quietly in civilian clothes, adapting to the circumstances in which he works. Interestingly, this literature also presents a contrasting image of a secular priest who visits parishes in a more ostentatious manner. Lastrić recounts an episode in which Ottoman authorities punished friars because Vicar Apostolic Marijan Bogdanović had appointed several secular priests to administer the sacrament of penance before his canonical visitation. These priests visited the parishes with entourages, pomp, and prominence, which aroused the suspicions of the local Muslim population. LASTRIĆ 2003. p. 144–145.

[47] PETROVIĆ 1982. p. 175–206.

translated literature. The differences arise primarily from the unique socio-political context, which necessitated certain adjustments.

The harsh reality of Ottoman Bosnia, which necessitated the adaptation of Catholic institutions and their specific organization, gave rise to certain particularities in the early modern Bosnian-Herzegovinian Catholic mentality. However, these particularities did not extend to a fundamentally different understanding of Church authority or its hierarchy. Despite the popular image of the Franciscans' closeness to the people, there was no shift toward a more horizontal concept of the Church. At its core, the understanding of the nature, scope, importance, and power of Church authority remained unchanged.

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Master P. and Dares the Phrygian: Is Prince Álmos The Hungarian Equivalent of Aeneas? The Gesta Hungarorum and the Troy-Romances in the Light of an Analysis of Some Textual Paralells

This study examines Master P.'s use of two Latin Troy-romances: the "*De Excidio Troiae Historia*" attributed to the fictious Dares the Phrygian, and the so-called "*Excidium Troiae*". Our purpose is to understand better the Notary's attitude towards the Troy-romances. We make our observations via an analysis of certain quotations from these romances. We begin our paper with an introduction, which describes the context of these two romances, in the contemporary historical literature, and discusses their place and role, among the known written sources of the Anonymous Notary. Then, in the first chapter, we examine two citations in the Notary's *Prologus*, which are adopted from the *Prologus* of the work of "Dares". Their role is primarily to emphasize the Notary's definition of the place of his work in the context of historiography of his age, but they also increase the credibility of his Gesta, as they call upon the authority of the prestigious Dares. In our second chapter, we analyse two textual borrowings from the *Excidium Troiae*. The first one takes place in the description of the election of Prince ("*dux*") Álmos. The Notary quotes verbatim the text of the proclamation of Aeneas as a leader ("*dux*"), to describe the proclamation of Álmos. The use of this citation clearly alludes to the similarity of the two elections. Moreover, it supposes a parallel between the foundation of the Hungarian and Roman polities. It alludes also to the ancient Hungarians' equality to the Trojans, and to the contemporary Hungarians' equality to the Latin Christian peoples (for example the Franks), who had prestigious Trojan ancestry. The second borrowing from the *Excidium Troiae* is an allusion, in which little textual analogy can be observed. It draws parallel between the siege of the castle of Bihar [Bihor, RO], which concludes the Hungarians' conquest of Pannonia, and the siege of Laurentina, which concludes Aeneas' conquest of Latium. Its role is clearly to draw parallel between the conquests of the Hungarians and that of the Trojans. It supposes the same allusions as the quotation in the story of Álmos' election. We make remarks on the fact, that Master P. uses allusions to, and quotations from the *Excidium Troiae* only up to a certain limit. We suppose that its cause is his deliberation to preserve the autonomy of his story, and emphasize the Hungarians' own, independent values. Our main conclusion, is, that the Notary's aim may have been to create a Hungarian prehistory, appropriate to the standards of "national" prehistories of his time. The use of the allusions to the Trojans and to Troy-romances was part of his efforts to reach this purpose. However, he wanted to create a history of the ancient Hungarians, who had had their own values in his eyes. So, he did not allow his story to become a Troy-romance of Hungarian subject.

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Introduction

The Latin Romances of Troy and Alexander the Great formed an important group of Master P.'s written sources. They served as a stylistic model, and – apart from the citations from the Bible – most of the literal quotations used by the author were taken from them, and they most probably shaped his concept of history. They also served as a model for the creation of several stories in the *Gesta* and were thus also used for their content.[1]

This study aims to shed light on Master P's attitude towards this group of sources by examining the use of two Romances of Troy. One of them was a work written by an unknown author in the late Antiquity. In the Middle Ages, this work was attributed to the mythological Dares the Phrygian, a defender of Troy. The other was an early medieval work bearing the title *Excidium Troiae*. It was not attributed to any particular author, and we do not know its real author either. Four passages will be analysed. Two of which are situated in the Prologue of the *Gesta* and are verbatim quotations from the Prologue of the work of "Dares." They aimed to clarify the author's historiographical principles just as in Dares' Prologue. The other two passages are borrowed from the *Excidium Troiae*. One of these is a verbatim citation from the narrative of that Romance, which tells the proclamation of Aeneas as "dux" of the Trojans. It is quoted in the story of Álmos' election as "dux" of the Hungarians.[2] The other borrowing is a clear allusion to the description of the siege of Laurentina, which concludes the conquest-story of the *Excidium Troiae*. It is referenced in the description of the siege of the castle Bihar, which concludes the conquest-story of the *Gesta Hungarorum*.[3] We hope, that an examination of these references will help us understand some important aspects of The Notary's relation to the Troy-romances.

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[1] THOROCZKAY 1999. On their use as stylistic model, and sources for content and on their influence on the Anonym Notary's perception of history see: MARCZALI 1877. p. 358–366; GYŐRY 1948. p. 6–60; BORZSÁK 1984. passim; VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 37–45, 156–163. On the most complete summary of the literal citations see: Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 136, note nr. 7–8, 137, note nr. 14, 149, note nr. 82, 150, note nr. 83, 155, note nr. 121, 159, note nr. 143, 160, note nr. 153, 161, notes nr. 164–165, 162, note nr. 175, 164, note nr. 198, 165, note nr. 203, 166, note nr. 212, 168, notes nr. 227, 230–231, 171, notes nr. 257–258, 171–172, notes nr. 264, 174, note nr. 291, 297, 176, notes nr. 313, 314, 177, note nr. 317, 178, note nr. 326; VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 162–163.

[2] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 40 (c. 5), Excidium Troiae. p. 21, VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 161–162.

[3] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 101–106 (c. 49–52); Excidium Troiae. p. 37–55; VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 161–163.

The role of the Troy- and Alexander-romances in the "national" prehistories, or *origenes gentium*[4] of the early and high Middle Ages

As early as the sixth century, it was common that the origin of a particular genus was traced back to one of the famous peoples of ancient literature. We may think of Jordanes' Getica, or the Gothic-history of Isidore, that traced back the origin of the Goths to the Scythians. The concept of Scythian ancestry was also popular in the High Middle Ages. It was widespread in Hungary, Scotland, Ireland, and Spain.[5] However, the most prestigious ancestors were Trojans, or Macedonians. In the seventh century, the *Chronica Francorum*, which has been attributed to a certain Fredegar, claimed, that the Franks were offspring of the Trojans, just like the Romans. The Briton Nennius followed the example of the Frankish chronicle and stated that the British forefathers were Trojan refugees.[6] In post-Carolingian Europe the Trojan origin of the Franks was a model for the newly Christianized peoples of the Saxons and Normans (of Normandy) in inventing their own prehistories. The Saxon Widukindus Corbeius, linked the origin of his people to the Macedonians of Alexander, while the Norman Dudo of Saint-Quentin traced the origin of the Normans back to the Trojan Antenor.[7] The twelfth century saw the revival of the concept of the Franks' Trojan origin in France. This was done by Rigord of Saint-Denis, who wanted to glorify his king, Philip II Augustus and the Capeting Dynasty by linking them to the Carolingians, Merovingians and Trojans.[8] Also, in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Mounmouth completed his *Historia Regum Britanniae,* and derived the British from the Trojan Brutus, son of Aeneas, and thus created connection between his kingdom and that of the Plantagenets.[9] The Staufen originated themselves from the Carolingians, and this way it became possible to associate them with the Franks' Trojan ancestors.[10] By this time, the Trojan origin of a particular "*natio*", or dynasty became a sign of glory and nobility. The "antique" historical references became in the Western Christian World an almost obligatory element of any "national" prehistory, which intended to emphasize the prestige and nobility of the author's "*gens*".

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[4] The term 'national' is used here in its medieval sense, referring to social communities with ethnic and political characteristics that were referred to by the terms 'gens' or 'natio'. Here we mean both the early medieval ethnic and political communities described by Szűcs Jenő as „*gentes*", and the communities of the high Middle Ages, which he describes as „*nationes*". (Szűcs 1997. p. 7–296.) As both terms were used to describe the twelfth-thirteenth-century communities, which Szűcs called "*nationes*", and the Notary used consequently the term "*gens*", we use both terms to describe it. The former research used the term „*origo gentis*" on these „national histories", however the more recent studies criticise the inadequacies of the concept, propose alternative designations. For instance, Norbert Kersken suggested the use of „Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen". Kersken 1995. p. 5–9. We will use the term "national prehistories" on them.

[5] Kersken 1995. p. 26, note nr. 62, 62, 64, 381, 384.

[6] Bácsatyai 2013. p. 284–285.

[7] Bácsatyai 2013. 285; Veszprémy 2019. p. 66, 73–74, 193.

[8] Veszprémy 2019. p. 70.

[9] Bácsatyai 2013. p. 286; Veszprémy 2019. p. 65–66.

[10] Vercamer 2018. p. 221, 239–240.

This, besides the tradition discussed above, owed much to the "Twelfth century – Renaissance," and its cult of Antiquity. It increased the rulers' desire for the glory of antique ancestry and allowed the chroniclers to depart from the strictly religious perspective of Medieval historiography. They could present the pagan forefathers of their 'nation' or their ruling dynasty as positive protagonists, glorious ancestors, just like the equally pagan Trojans or Macedonians. We believe that it can be stated that the literary genre of prehistory-writing required the use of Troy- and Alexander-romances. It could demonstrate the authors education and rhetoric skills and increased the credibility of his work. It can be observed that while chroniclers in Western Europe in most cases derived their ancestors directly from Antique peoples, historians of the Scandinavian and East-Central European areas that were baptized at the turn of the first Millennium, wrote autochthonous origin-stories for their *gentes*. However, they emphasized their ancestors' equality and likeness to Trojans, Romans and Alexander's Macedonians.[11] For example the Czech Cosmas of Prague, wrote about the Czech's victory over Rome, and the Polish Vincentus Kadłubek "reported" that the ancient Poles defeated Alexander, Crassus and Ceasar.[12] The Hungarian chroniclers combined this practice, with the popular method of Western European historiographers. They invented a prehistory with a strong autochthonous character and did not try to link the Hungarians to Rome or Troy. However, they identified the Hungarians' ancestors with the Scythians, and later with the Huns. As we shall see, Master P's work fitted well in this literary environment. He identified the Hungarians with the Scythians, underlined their glory and equality with the Trojans and Macedonians, but emphasized their own, autochthonous values.

On the two Romances of Troy used by the Notary

The work of "Dares" was thought in the Middle Ages to be an authentic account on the Trojan War. Until the thirteenth century it was copied mostly in France, where it played a crucial role in supporting the concept of the Franks' Trojan origin, and was also widespread in England. It only became popular in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, albeit it appeared there sparsely in earlier times also.[13] It tells the story of the Trojan War, including the events leading up to it.[14] The *Excidium Troiae*, which is an early medieval text, created somewhere in the Frankish lands. It is based on a late Antique work and tells the story of the siege and fall of Troy, the wanderings of Aeneas, his conquest in *Latium*, and contains a brief summary of Roman history until the birth of Christ. The earliest surviving manuscript of the Medieval work was written in

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[11] BÁCSATYAI 2013. p. 284–87; VERCAMER 2018. p. 220–227; VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 52–74.

[12] VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 179–180. It is a striking parallel to Master P.'s statements, that the Scythians were never conquered by any "*imperator*", not even by Alexander, and that Attila, their king, the ancestor of Álmos, defeated the Romans. ANONYMUS (1937). p. 35, 36 (c. 1).

[13] For example, there is a twelfth century manuscript of Pisan origin, attributed to Guido Pisanus, which will be briefly discussed below, as it is important for the *Excidium Troiae* also.

[14] VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 41–42, 159.

the ninth century. It is completely independent from the work of "Dares," and many Troy-romances, written in vernacular languages, used it as a source. In medieval times it was highly popular and widespread. The Notary used a variant of it, which has been successfully identified. It appears for the first time in a manuscript that was copied in Italy around 1150–1180, and today is kept in Brussels. It is a copy of an autographic manuscript of Guido Pisanus, which was presumably completed around 1107–1119.[15] The copy contains a collection of historical works including Latin romances of Alexander and the Trojan war. This variant was probably invented by Guido himself, who added to the text some passages about the war of Aeneas in *Latium*. It has been preserved in twelve manuscripts.[16]

On their role among the sources of Master P.

The written sources of the Notary have long been studied by Hungarian historians.[17] The following sources have been identified: the Hungarian chronicle-redactions available in His time, the *Chronicon* of Regino and his "*Continuator*", the *Etymologiarum Libri* of Isidore, the *Decretum* of Gratian, the *Ars Dictandi* of Hugo Bononiensis, the Holy Scripture, the two Troy-romances examined in this study, a twelfth century redaction of the Latin Alexander-romance, signed with the *sigla* "J2", and the early medieval extract from the Scythian chapter of Justin's *Historiae*, bearing the title "*Exordia Scythica*". The use of several other works is suspected, but this has not been proven beyond reasonable doubt yet.[18] Among these sources, as indicated above, the Troy- and Alexander-*historiae* played a prominent role. Since they belonged basically to a similar genre of literature, occupied a similar place in medieval historiography, and Master P. used them mostly in the same way, the research has treated them together as one single group of his sources. The two Troy-romances belong to this group.

Characteristics of their use by the Notary

The Notary mentions specifically as his model, only the work of "Dares", suggesting, that it is the most important of his sources. However, he does not use it much: he quotes it in ten places, but and none of the citations are long, and half of them are used only for stylistic purposes.[19] Besides the two

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[15] Veszprémy 2019. p. 159–163. This is the twelfth-century Italian manuscript, that contains the work of Dares also.

[16] Veszprémy 2019. p. 159–163. In the edition that we use (Excidium Troiae) it is signed with the sigla "Ri", after a thirteenth century manuscript of the Florentine Bibliotheca Riccardiana. Excidium Troiae. p. lxxviii–lxxix; Veszprémy 2019. p.160, note nr. 58, 162. We follow in this paper the text of the variant "Ri".

[17] A summary can be found in: Thoroczkay 1999; Veszprémy 2019. p. 37–45, 156–163.

[18] Thoroczkay 1999; Veszprémy 2019. p. 37–45, 156–163, 191, 332.

[19] Anonymus (1937). p. 53 (c. 14), 77 (c. 33), 86 (c. 41), 96 (c. 47), 97 (c48), 101 (c. 50), 112 (c. 56), Dares 1873. p. 12 (c. 9), 23 (c. 18); Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 155, note nr. 121, 164, note nr. 198.

quotations in the Prologue and the loanwords for stylistic purposes, he uses their material to characterise the Hungarian princes ("*duces*").[20] The quotations from the *Excidium Troiae* are used in several places, in a relatively varied way. This work is quoted in ten places also, but besides the stylistic borrowings, there are short stories and subtle allusions inspired by it.[21] In addition, the two quotations, discussed in this paper play crucial role in the plot of the *Gesta*, as we will see it. The borrowings from the Alexander-romance exceeds in number the quotations from both Troy-romances, and the Notary uses them in the widest variety.[22] It was thought that the Notary most probably took quotations from the work of "Dares" and the Alexander-romance from *florilegia*, or from his notes and memories of conversations during his school studies.[23] In the case of the work of Dares it is possible,[24] but present research considers proven, that that the full text of the Alexander-romance and the *Excidium Troiae* was available to Master P..[25] There are manuscripts, that contain in a single volume the Troy- and Alexander-romances or the *Exordia Scythica*. It is worth noting that it was common to organize the works that Master P. used in a single volume. In this respect the Brussels manuscript of Guido Pisanus is interesting to us. Besides "Dares'" work, it includes the variants of the *Excidium Troiae* and the Alexander-romance which were used by the Notary. Both variants appear here for the first time. The three *historiae* were copied side by side with each other. In a Florentine codex, the text of the *Excidium Troiae* is bound next to the work of "Dares'" and the *Exordia Scythica*. A Bambergian codex also contains, side by side, the *Exordia Scythica*, a short extract from the *Excidium Troiae*, and an early version of the Alexander-romance closely related to that of Leo the

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[20] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 39 (c. 4), 106–107 (c. 53), 111 (c. 55); DARES 1873. 14–17 (c. 12–13); Gesta Hungarorum (1991). 177, note nr. 317, 178, note nr. 326.

[21] For example, there is a place where the story of a hunt is enlivened by a description taken from Aeneas' hunt in the Excidium Troiae /ANONYMUS (1937). p. 56 (c. 34); Excidium Troiae. p. 27/, in another place, to describe the hunting Árpád, he uses the adverb "*arpalice*", borrowed from the descriptions of Venus and Dido in hunting costume, originally referring to Harpalice. The adverb resonated with the name of the Hungarian prince. ANONYMUS (1937). p. 99 (c. 49); Excidium Troiae. p. 27; KAPITÁNFFY 1971. p. 726–728. Other places: ANONYMUS (1937). p. 53 (c. 14), 57 (c. 16), 64 (c. 22), 75 (c. 33); Excidium Troiae. p. 12, 33, 47.

[22] Master P. describes several battles with quotations from this work: ANONYMUS (1937). p. 44 (c. 8), 81–82 (c. 39), 86 (c. 41); Historia de Preliis I. p. 8, 48–50, 94, 108–110, 110–112, 166–168, 176–178, 192–195, II. p. 16–18, 20–24, 42, 50, 58; Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 149–150, notes nr. 82–83, 166, note nr. 212, 167, notes nr. 215, 217, 168, note nr. 230. On the use of this work in other places see: ANONYMUS (1937). p. 36 (c. 1), 60 (c. 20), 76 (c. 34), 91 (c. 44), 105 (c. 52), 111 (c. 55); Historia de Preliis I. p. 32, 54, 68–70, 92, 108, 124, 168, 216, II. p. 12–14; Gesta Hungarorum (1991) p. 160, note nr. 152, 165, note nr. 203, 171–172, notes nr. 257, 258, 264, 176, note nr. 314, 178, note nr. 326. There is a place, where he describes the Hungarians' motivation to their campaigns with the worlds that describe int the Alexander-romance the motivations of Alexander.

[23] GYŐRY 1948. p. 58–59.

[24] See notes nr. 21–24.

[25] VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 43, 161–162.

Archipresbiter.[26] It is plausible, that Master P. had at his disposal a volume containing a collection like these.

The citations from the Prologue of the work of "Dares"

The Prologue in the *historia* of Dares, is a fictional letter falsely attributed to Cornelius Nepos writing to his friend, Sallust. In this letter he describes that he found in Athens the work of Dares about the Trojan War, written in Greek. He came to love it so much, that immediately translated it verbatim to Latin. He emphasizes, that Dares' account is more authentic than that of Homer, because Dares participated in the war. "He" stated that Homer's story is unbelievable anyway, as he tells, that the Gods had fought side by side humans. The Prologue of the Notary is also a fictious letter, that he "writes" to his friend, "N", telling him, that he decided to fulfil his promise to write a historical work about the Hungarians' origin and their glorious deeds. He describes the content of his work and defines his historiographical principles and models. The citations from "Dares" *historia* play an important role in this description and definition. It is worth to examine, how his prologue can be divided in sections according to the terms of medieval rhetoric, as this will help us to understand the exact role of the quotations from "Dares"' work. He begins the Prologue with a *salutatio,* to greet his friend, and dedicates his work to him. Then he continues with a *partitio* to tell what motivated him to begin the construction of his work, and briefly describes its content. A part of combined *reprehensio* and *confirmatio* follows. He rejects here the historiographical and stylistic principles that he considers to be inappropriate and declares which principles he intends to follow. Then a *conclusio* comes, where he speaks about the benefits of his work. Eventually an *adoratio* closes the Prologue, in which he prays to Virgin Mary and Christ to give thanks to them for the Hungarian kings who have reigned until his time, and to beg them, that the future kings and their nobles may continue to possess the country in happiness.[27]

The Prologue of „Dares" (DARES 1873. p. 1. (Prol.))	The Prologue of the Notary (ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33–34 (Prol.))
"(…) Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii (…) **Quam ego summo amore conplexus** *continuo transtuli. Cui nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum (…) putavi, (…)* **optimum ergo duxi** *ita* **ut** *fuit* **vere et simpliciter** *perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinitatem transvertere,* **ut legentes cognoscere possent, quomodo res gestae essent***: utrum verum magis esse existiment, quod*	*"(…) Dum olim in scolari studio simul essemus et in hystoria Troiana,* **quam ego cum summo amore complexus** *ex libris Darethis Frigii ceterorumque auctorum, sicut a magistris meis audiveram, in unum volumen proprio stilo compilaveram, pari voluntate legeremus, petisti a me, ut, sicut hystoriam Troianam bellaque Grecorum scripseram, ita et genealogiam regum Hungarie et nobilium suorum, qualiter septem principales persone, que Hetumoger*

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[26] KAPITÁNFFY 1971. p. 728; VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 160–161.
[27] JANKOVITS 2006. p. 6; ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33–34 (Prol.). For the comparison of the whole texts of the two Prologues see: Appendix 1.

Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit (…) anne Homero credendum (…)".

*vocantur, de terra Scithica descenderunt vel qualis sit terra Scithica et qualiter sit generatus dux Almus aut quare vocatur Almus primus dux Hungarie, a quo reges Hungarorum originem duxerunt, vel quot regna et reges sibi subiugaverunt aut quare populus de terra Scithica egressus per ydioma alienigenarum Hungarii et in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocantur, tibi scriberem. (…) **Optimum ergo duxi, ut vere et simpliciter** tibi scriberem, **quod legentes possint agnoscere, quomodo res geste essent.** Et si tam nobilissima gens Hungarie primordia sue generationis et fortia queque facta sua ex falsis fabulis rusticorum vel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum quasi sompniando audiret, valde indecorum et satis indecens esset. (…)"*.

Before we compare the two texts the following observations are to be made.

1. The Notary states that he edited a Trojan *historia* during his school years, in the appropriate style ("*proprio stilo*"),[28] from the works of Dares and other authors. Then he writes that his friend asked him to compose a genealogy of the Hungarian kings and their nobles ("*genealogiam regum Hungarie et nobilium suorum*") in a similar way, and he wants to do so.[29] The *stilus* in medieval literature meant not only the ways of the formation of the text, but also the ways of editing and arranging the subject, which in the Notary's case included also the approach to history.[30] 2. It was common in the Middle Ages to present the prehistory of a people partly based on the Troy- and Alexander-romances, and it was held to be one of the most credible methods, as it was discussed in the Introduction. Dares, moreover, was considered the most respected author of this literary genre, because he was held to be the first pagan historian, just following in time the first Christian historian, Moses.[31]

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[28] *Proprius stilus* here probably means „proper style" in the sense of appropriate style to the matter, and not the own style of the Notary. VIZKELETY 1999. p. 682–682; JANKOVITS 2006. p. 14–15.
[29] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33 (Prol.): "*vel qualis sit terra Scithica et qualiter sit generatus dux Almus aut quare vocatur Almus primus dux Hungarie, a quo reges Hungarorum is originem duxerunt, vel quot regna et reges sibi subiugaverunt aut quare populus de terra Scithica egressus per ydioma alienigenarum Hungarii et in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocantur, tibi scriberem.*" – The "genealogy" of the Hungarians here also means their exodus from Scythia, and their glorious conquests, which is emphasized later in the Prologue, where the Notary claims, that he would present a worthy account "of the beginnings of their kind and of their bravery and deeds" – The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 686. "*primordia sue generationis et fortia queque facta sua*" – ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33. (Prol.)
[30] HORVÁTH 1954. p. 34–47, VIZKELETY 1990. p. 682–685.
[31] VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 193, 328.

3. In addition to the use of "Dares", Anonymus also indicates his use of The Holy Scripture. He refers to the authority of the first Christian historian alongside that of the first pagan historian to prove the validity of his work.[32]

4. The mention of Dares as a model in the Prologue clearly indicates that, for the Notary, the *proprius stilus* meant the historical, ideological, conceptional and stylistic use of the Troy-literature. This literary genre was represented by the name of Dares. Contemporaries, writing "national" prehistories may have felt that the Alexander-romances belonged to the same category as the Troy-literature.[33]

In the light of these notifications, we can set in context the two quotations taken by the Notary from the Prologue of "Dares". The first is placed at the beginning of the *partitio* and recalls the time when he and his friend "N." studied together. The Notary had come to love the Trojan *historiae,* and compiled one in the appropriate style, following what he learned from his teachers, and relying on the works of Dares and other authors.[34] In this sentence, he uses the same words to tell how he came to like the Trojan *historiae* of Dares and other authors, that "Nepos" uses, to tell how *he* came to like the *historia* of Dares.[35] Thus the Notary implies, that he loves the *historia* of Dares just as Nepos did, so the same love motivated him to use it to create his Troy-*historia* that had motivated Nepos to translate it. At the request of his friend, he would also write his Hungarian history in the same way, with the same motivation.[36]. The second quotation contains a more direct reference to the *historia* of "Dares" and makes a stronger claim. He uses it in the *comfirmatio*, to describe the method he believes to be correct. He writes that he considered it the best to write everything "truthfully and plainly"[37] to his friend, so as the readers could know what had happened.[38] In the Prologue of Dares' work, "Nepos" writes with almost the same words, that he thought it best to translate the Greek text of Dares, that was written truthfully and plainly, verbatim into Latin, so that readers could understand how the events happened, and decide whether to believe Homer or Dares.[39] We can see, that

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[32] Jankovits 2006; Veszprémy 2019. p. 193; Anonymus (1999). p. 10, note nr. 45.

[33] See previous note.

[34] "*Dum olim in scolari studio simul essemus et in hystoria Troiana,* **quam ego** *cum* **summo amore complexus** *ex libris Darethis Frigii ceterorumque auctorum, sicut a magistris meis audiveram, in unum volumen proprio stilo compilaveram...*" (highligthened by the author – CS. L.) – Anonymus (1937). p. 33 (Prol.).

[35] "*Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit.* **Quam ego summo amore complexus** *continuo transtuli.*" (highlightened by the author (CS. L.) – Dares 1873. p. 1 (Prol.).

[36] We have to add, that the phrase "*ceterorumque auctorum*" may indicate the use of the *Excidium Troiae*. He implies that to be his source also, even if the textual parallels allude to "Nepos" as his model of historiography.

[37] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 5.

[38] "***Optimum ergo duxi, ut vere et simpliciter*** *tibi scriberem,* **quod legentes possint agnoscere, quomodo res geste essent.**" (highligthened by the author – CS. L.) – Anonymus (1937). p. 33 (Prol.).

[39] "[...] ***optimum ergo duxi*** *ita* **ut** *fuit* **vere et simpliciter** *perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinitatem transvertere,* **ut legentes cognoscere possent, quomodo res gestae essent***: utrum*

the Notary is not only suggesting that he wants to tell the events truthfully and plainly like Nepos, but also that he wants to follow the example of Dares by writing history in a truthful and plain way[40]. According to the theory of László Jankovits, this second citation may also contain an allusion to Cicero, namely to his *De Inventione,* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which was attributed to him.[41] The medieval commentaries of these works invented a view, that a trinity of virtues was the defining feature of the proper prose: *brevitas*, *aperitas*, and *probabilitas / veri similitas*. It was also applied to the historical texts. The expression "truthfully and plainly" – according to the theory – alludes to the *brevitas* and *probabilitas*. The statement placed later, still in the *confirmatio,* which claims that it would fit to the noble Hungarian *gens* to gain knowledge about her origin and valiant deeds from the "straightforward exposition of historical accounts",[42] may allude to the virtue of *aperitas.* If these allusions to Cicero indeed exist, which we think to be probable, the Notary links the *historia*-writing represented by Dares to the literacy of Ciceronian standards. This way he defines the place of his *Gesta* in the rhetorical culture of his time, and also defines the rhetorical principles that he wishes to follow. There is another parallel between the two Prologues. It is probably not a coincidence, that while Dares is talking about the inaccuracy of Homer's description of the war, just after the sentence cited by the Notary, the latter emphasizes the unreliability of the *joculatores* after the sentence, in which he employs the citation. Even if Homer certainly had a reputation very different from that of the Hungarian vernacular minstrels, it is hard to imagine, that the Notary, while speaking about their untrustworthiness did not have in mind the passage of his model. Anyway, there was an opinion throughout the Middle Ages, that considered the poets to be feckless liars.[43]

By the use of these quotations, the Notary precisely explains his principles about the proper way of history-writing and defines the place of his *Gesta* in the historiography of his age. This place is defined by the follow of the examples of Dares, and the Troy-romances. We can see that he employs direct references and subtle allusions to create a sophisticated web of associations, which is based on certain single citations. By doing so, he proves his educated literacy.

Despite the conclusion, that we can draw from our inquiry, we must notice, that he did not follow the example of Dares and the requirements of the genre of the Troy-romances beyond a certain limit. It is a good example, that although he describes the Hungarian princes (except for Árpád) by phrases borrowed from descriptions of Dares' heroes, he does not use it to draw

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verum magis esse existiment, quod Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit (...) anne Homero credendum..." (highligthened by the author – CS. L.) – DARES 1873. p. 1 (Prol.).

[40] "*vere et simpliciter*" ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33 (Prol.); DARES 1873. p. 1 (Prol.)

[41] JANKOVITS 2006. p. 15–16.

[42] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 5. "*aperta hystoriarum explanatione*" – ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33 (Prol.).

[43] VIZKELETY 1990. p. 383.

analogies between a certain prince, and a certain hero. This would not be unexpected. On the contrary, he characterizes his princes with expressions borrowed from descriptions of several different heroes, and no connection   is alluded between individual princes and individual heroes.[44] This suggests that he intended to create Hungarian heroes, like the Antique ones, and decorated with their characteristics, but he wanted them to be independently created, individual personalities, valiant and virtuous on their own right. In this case, he used his model, but did not follow it, and independently created Hungarian heroes, for Hungarian prehistory.

Citations from the Excidium Troiae in the descriptions of the Covenant of Blood, and the siege of the castle of Bihar

In the description of Álmos' election (the so-called Covenant of Blood), the citation from the *Excidium Troiae* is taken from the description of Aeneas' proclamation as "dux". However, its wider context is completely different in the two texts. In the *Gesta*, the story is located among the first chapters: precisely in the fifth, and sixth. Only the Prologue, the description of Scythia, the explanation of the name "Hungarian", and the story of Álmos' miraculous birth and the youth precede it.[45] The main plot of the *Gesta* in actual fact begins with the election of Álmos: this is the starting point of the history of the Hungarian political entity. The stories of the migration to Pannonia, the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, and the victorious campaigns against all neighbouring countries follow it. These events are presented as the consequence of the election of Álmos, and the birth of Hungarian "*regnum*", as a political entity.[46] According to the *Gesta*, the circumstances of the election were, The *Gesta* writes about the circumstences of the election, as follows. The ancient Hungarians had been Scythians. Scythia had become overpopulated, and the "Seven Leading Persons"[47], who operated as chiefs in Scythia, decided to acquire a new country. They choose Pannonia, because it had been the realm of Attila, Álmos' ancestor. Álmos descended from royal line, his birth was preceded by a divine dream of his mother, and he was so wise and powerful "as if the gift of the Holy Spirit was in him, although he was pagan"[48]. All in all, he and his family "were more outstanding by birth and more powerful in battle"[49] than the other Leading Persons, who were still "noble by

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[44] Anonymus (1937). p. 39 (c. 4), 106 (c. 53), 111 (c. 55); Dares 1873. p. 14–17 (c. 12–13).

[45] Anonymus (1937). p. 34–39 (c. 1–4).

[46] Anonymus (1937). p. 33 (Prol.). In that place, the Notary uses the phrase "regnum", to describe a concept of a transpersonal political entity, beyond the person of the prince/king and his nobles. This meaning of the term can be observed throughout the Notary's work, although there is no trace of a corporative theory of the state as an indestructible legal personality in the *Gesta*. See: Appendix 2. To judge the importance of the story of Álmos' election see the whole text of the *Gesta*: Anonymus (1937). p. 33–117 (c. 1–57).

[47] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 17. In the original text this expression is: "Septem Principales Persone" (Anonymus (1937). p. 39.)

[48] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 15.

[49] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 17.

birth, strong in war".[50] When the Leading Persons realized, that they cannot complete the journey to Pannonia without a supreme leader, they chose Álmos for this position, because of his power and nobility. They elected him Prince ("*dux*"), swore allegiance to him, and confirmed their oath by mixing their blood in the same vase. Their oath was bilateral: Álmos, the new "*dux*" took it on one side, and the other "Leading Persons" took it on the other. Its essence was a compromise, that the Prince shared his power, and the wealth of the country with his nobles, and in return, they would be absolutely loyal to him and his dynasty.[51] The citation we are examining, is placed in the text of the proclamation of Álmos by the leaders.

In the *Excidium Troiae*, the election of Aeneas as a leader ("*dux*") happens towards the middle of the plot, at a crucial point: the fall of Troy. It is preceded by long passages narrating events that happened prior to, or during the Trojan war.[52] When the city is burning, and resistance is hopeless, Aeneas receives a vision from his mother, Venus, ordering him to get his family together, and leave the city. He departs for the shrine of Ceres in the mountains where he is fleeing/flees Trojan nobles. They suddenly proclaim him leader ("*dux*"). The circumstances of the election are not described in more details. Aftermath he returns to the city to find his wife, Creusa, but he can meet only with her spirit. After that he sets sail with the remnants of the Trojan People to Italy the land which was promised to them by Jupiter.[53] And a long story follows, telling his travels, his meeting with Dido, and his war in Italy, based mainly on the Aeneid.[54]

The comparison of the texts:

The election of Aeneas in the *Excidium Troiae* (Excidium Troiae 1944. p. 21. The text of variant "Ri")	The election of Álmos in the *Gesta Hungarorum* (Anonymus (1937). p. 39–40 (c. 5–6).)
*"Dumque **inceptum iter** agerent uxor eius ab eo perrexit. Dumque ad templum venire, invenit ibi maximam turbam priorum et nobelium Troianorum, qui se illuc cum omnibus divitiis suis contulerant. Hiique Enea viso eius genibus provoluti cum magnis lacrimis deprecari ceperunt. Cui **sic dixerunt: 'Te nobis ex hodierna die ducem** confirmamus et ubicumque fueris fortunam tuam sequemur. Et hiis dictis Eneas ab eis dux confirmatus est."*	*"Tunc ipsi VII principales persone conmuni et vero consilio intellexerunt, quod **inceptum iter** perficere non possent, nisi ducem ac preceptorem super se habeant. Ergo libera voluntate et communi consensu VII virorum elegerunt sibi ducem ac preceptorem in filios filiorum suorum usque ad ultimam generationem Almum filium Vgek et qui de eius generatione descenderent quia Almus dux filius Vgek et, qui de generatione eius descenderant, clariores erant genere et potentiores in bello. Tunc pari voluntate Almo duci **sic dixerunt**: « **Ex hodierna die te nobis ducem** ac preceptorem eligimus et*

[50] The Deeds of the Hungarians (2010). p. 17.
[51] Anonymus (1937). p. 34–41 (c. 1–4).
[52] Excidium Troiae. p. 3–21.
[53] Excidium Troiae. p. 20–21.
[54] Excidium Troiae. p. 21–57.

*quo **fortuna tua** te duxerit, **illuc te sequemur.** » Tunc supradicti viri pro Almo duce more paganismo fusis propriis sanguinibus in unum vas ratum fecerunt iuramentum."*

The common motifs in the two stories are these: the nobles elect a charismatic leader, who is predestined by his miraculous birth, and is chosen by God/gods to lead his people to the country promised to them. This election means the beginning of a long story of migration and struggles, concluding in the conquest of the new land. However, the differences between the two situations are striking. The election of Álmos is the starting point of the main plot of the *Gesta*. The Notary elaborates the legal aspects of the election with a special attention to the relationship between the Prince and his nobles, because he considers it as the foundation of the whole Hungarian "*regnum*", and makes it the fundament of his utopistic concept about the ideal rule. The election of Aeneas is seen in the *Excidium Troiae* as an event of political history. As such, it has a crucial role, and it is the starting point of the whole Roman history, but it does not have the legal dimensions that the Notary's election-story has. It is not the starting point of the storyline of the whole romance either: it leads up only the last third of the plot.

It is also a striking difference that, while Álmos is elected by powerful and glorious Scythian nobles, Aeneas is proclaimed leader by exiles who have just fled from their burning city. It is also worth to mention, that besides the text of the proclamation, Master P. borrows from the election-story of the *Excidium Troiae*, only an insignificant phrase (*inceptum iter*) for allegedly stylistic purposes. Apart from these parallels, his whole story is completely different from that of the *Excidium Troiae*. It is his own composition, and although he uses parallels and citations to allude, and to decorate his style, they play second fiddle to his autonomous concept.

The text of the proclamation is a verbatim quotation from the *Excidium Troiae* and differs little from the original. There are only two differences. Instead of "*ducem confirmamus*" the Notary wrote "*ducem eligimus*", and instead of "*ubi fueris fortunam tuam sequemur*", he wrote "*quo fortuna tua te duxerit, illuc te sequemur*". The Notary may have used "*eligere*" instead of "*confirmare*" because he wanted to emphasize the election, a legal process, which resulted in the birth of the Hungarian political entity. However, this change may have been made for stylistic purposes also. We can explain the second difference by stylistic reasons too, Nevertheless, a contamination with an unknown source might have been the cause of both divergences as well. The purpose of the use of literal quotation is clear: the Notary wanted to emphasize the similarity between the role of Álmos and Aeneas, between the Hungarians' conquest of Pannonia, and the Trojans' conquest of Latium, and between the birth of the Hungarian, and Roman political entities also. As we have seen in the Introduction, it was a widespread practice to link the prehistory of a medieval "nation", in some way to the Trojans, or Alexander.

We can observe that Aeneas was seen the prototype of the forefather, the first prince, who had obtained the land which his offspring possessed later. He was also associated with the ancestry of prestigious dynasties like the Capetings or Plantagenets.[55] By associating Álmos with him, the Notary found place for his ancient Hungarians, in the ranks of the "antique" ancestors of Latin Christian peoples and dynasties. These were held to be Trojans, Macedonians, or were just presented as equal to them in glory and nobility. The Notary created a Hungarian prehistory which fitted in the context of the contemporary "national" prehistories, so it became understandable for the literate scholarship of the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the earlier chapters, he emphasized the antiquity of the Hungarians by identifying them with the Scythians, who were a well-known people of antiquity. According to the epitomes of Justin, and their redactions, they were the most ancient people of the world. They were also held to be the prestigious ancestors of early medieval Goths, and some European peoples of the age of the Notary.[56] Their inclusion was not Master P.'s innovation: the scholars of the Occident described the Hungarians, like every nomadic people, as Scythians from Regino onwards. It correlated with the Hungarian tradition of the horse-archer forefathers, which could easily have led Latin-speaking Hungarian scholars, to the idea of the ancestors' identity with them. The Hungarian chroniclers adapted the antique Scythia-image, long before the Notary. He only followed this tradition, although he made some innovation, as he used the excerpt of Justin's epitomes, the *Exordia Scythica* directly. As the Notary linked the Hungarian forefathers to the Scythians, and equated them to the Trojans in nobility, glory, and antiquity he also emphasized, that the Hungarians and the Hungarian Kingdom of his time was equal in these qualities to the contemporary European peoples and kingdoms, that were thought to be descended from the Trojans. As a true *litterator* of the Twelfth century Renaissance he could see the pagan Hungarians as positive protagonists, valiant heroes, and diminished the shame of their heathenism as he linked them to the glorious Trojans: the latter's paganism was generally known. This positive attitude towards pagan times is reflected not only by the connection of Álmos to Aeneas, but also by the numerous other allusions to the two Troy-romances, and the Alexander-romance which our author used throughout the *Gesta*.[57] For example, when the pagan Hungarians lead campaigns and raids against Christian countries – very cruelly as the Notary admits – they do so because of their Alexander-like desire to wage wars and conquer lands for glory. This is expressed by a citation from the Alexander-romance. The ultimate purpose of this ferocity is to obtain good lands for their

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[55] See above ("The role of the Troy- and Alexander-romances in the "national" histories of the early and high Middle Ages").
[56] See above ("The role of the Troy- and Alexander-romances in the "national" histories of the early and high Middle Ages"), and ANONYMUS (1937). p. 33–37 (c. 1); JUSTINUS 1831. p. 21. (lib. 2, c. 1)
[57] See notes nr. 21–28.

descendants.[58] The association of Álmos with Aeneas was also useful for the Notary, because he wanted to express the Hungarian kings' sovereignty, and independence from the emperors and popes of his time.[59] And as he alluded to the similarity of the two elections, he suggested, that the foundations of the Roman and Hungarian polities had been laid down in a similar way, and therefore the emperors of the "Romans" could not claim sovereignty over the Hungarian kings.

The allusion in the description of the siege of the castle Bihar is expressed in very faint textual parallels, only two brief phrases are borrowed: we could not detect any connection between the two texts, without the parallels in the wider context of the two sieges.[60]

The only textual parallel is seen below.

The siege of Laurentina (Excidium Troiae 1944 51. The text of variant "Ri".)	The siege of the castle of Bihar (ANONYMUS (1937) 104. (c.51.)
"*Dum duodecim dies pacis quod secum pepigerant expleti fuissent, **tertia-decima die** luciscente ante solis ortum Eneas cum omnibus suis se armavit, et ad civitatem Laurentinam, ubi Latinus rex pater Lavinie regnabat, produxit; et **ad muros scalas ponere** cepit, qualiter urbem ingredi potuisset.*"	"***Terciodecimo*** *autem **die** cum Hungari et Syculi fossata castri implevissent et **scalas ad murum ponere** vellent milites ducis Menumorout videntes audaciam Hungarorum, ceperunt rogare hos duos principes exercitus…*"

We have to compere the plot of the two sieges. The story of the siege of the castle of Bihar takes place int the fiftieth-to fifty-second chapters. After Árpád and his nobles had conquered the entire Carpathian Basin, except for Bihar, they sent two of their number, Usbuu and Veluc with an army against Menumorout, Prince of that country, to complete the conquest.[61] Menumorout was a main enemy of the Hungarians, alongside prince Salanus. Both of them were of Bulgarian origin, vassals of the Byzantine emperor. Menumorout's ancestors held Bihar, even before the time of Attila. Manumorout in the beginning of the Hungarian conquest received envoys from prince Árpád, in the beginning of the Hungarian conquest, and talked arrogantly to them rejecting to surrender even an acre of his land. He was the sole prince in the Carpathian Basin, who was able to win battle against the Hungarians, and was the last to fall. He had no son, so his heiress was his daughter.[62] Usbuu and Veluc crossed river Tisza, and the Széklers, who had formerly been people of king Attila joined to them and fought in the vanguard of the Hungarian army.

The army crossed river Kőrös, and Menmorout became terrified, because he heard about the Hungarians' victory over the Romans in Veszprém. He had

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[58] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 91 (c. 44); Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 172, note nr. 264.

[59] GERICS 1995. passim.

[60] VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 161–163.

[61] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 101–103.

[62] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 48–50 (c. 11), 59–63 (c. 19–20), 106 (c. 52).

fled to the wood Ygfon with his wife and daughter, leaving behind only his soldiers to defend his seat, the castle of Bihar. The Hungarians started the siege, and they fought for twelve days with their bows and *ballistae*. On the thirteenth day they put their ladders at the walls, and the soldiers of Menumorout surrendered. Having heard this, the prince sent envoys to ask for peace. He offered his daughter's hand to Zulta, Prince Árpád's son, and promised, that after his death, Zulta would inherit his country, if the Hungarians did not dethrone him. Usbuu and Veluc sent the envoys to Árpád, who accepted the offer, and organized a great wedding for Zulta and Menumorout's daughter. After two years Menumorout died, and Zulta inherited the country.[63]

The conquest of Aeneas in Italy happened according to the *Excidium Troiae* as follows. When he had arrived to Latium, and disembarked his ships in Ostia. He heard about the power of king Latinus, and Turnus, who was the fiancé of Lavinia, Latinus' daughter. Therefore, he formed alliance with king Evander, who ruled in the area where Rome was to be founded. Turnus was meanwhile angered by a fury that Juno had sent to him, and attacked the camp of the Trojans, while Aeneas was at Evander's place. Yet Aeneas drove him away with the reinforcements he accepted from Evander. Thereafter he, and Evander marched against Laurentina, Latinus' capital. There Latinus mustered a huge army, receiving reinforcements from his friends, and placed it under Turnus' command. A great battle was fought, and Aeneas triumphed. Latinus, to gain time, called for an armistice of twelve days, which was accepted by Aeneas. Both the Latins and Trojans could bury their dead comrades. Latinus sent envoys to his friend, Diomedes the Thracian for aid but he refused to help, because he feared the Trojans valour. On the thirteenth day the Trojans put their ladders to the walls of Laurentina. Turnus marched out of the city with his army. However, his soldiers revolted, and compelled him to call Aeneas out to duel, under the circumstances, that the victor would get the hand of Lavinia, and the throne of Latium. During the duel, Jupiter put the fates of Aeneas and Turnus on balance, and the *Fatum* choose Aeneas to be victor, who thus gained both the hand of Lavinia and the throne of Latium.[64] The contexts of the two sieges are different in many aspects, however there are parallels, that, in the light of the existence of the textual connection cannot be coincidences. Both sieges conclude the conquest. The last attack on the castle Bihar is preceded by a battle of twelve days, while the assault on Laurentina follows an armistice of the same length. The assailants put their ladders to the walls on the thirteenth day in both cases. Both sieges are followed by an agreement, a marriage of a conqueror with the sole daughter and heiress of the defeated king. Thus, this conqueror gets the country peacefully (and legally) as inheritance. With the help of these parallels, the Notary links the concluding events of the Hungarian conquest, to those of Aeneas' conquest in

[63] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 101–106 (c. 50–52).
[64] Excidium Troiae. p. 37–54

Italy. This allusion, and the citation story of the election of Álmos, frame the story of the Hungarian conquest and imply its likeliness to the conquest of Latium by Aeneas. It also implies the Hungarian conquerors likeliness and equality in valour and glory to the Trojans. There is in the fifty-second chapter of the *Gesta*, an allusion to the wedding of Alexander and Roxane in the "J2" version of the Alexander-romance.[65] This clearly indicates, that Master P. paralleled the concluding moments of the Hungarian Conquest not only to those of the Trojan conquest of Italy, but also to the completion of Alexander's conquest of Persia.

It is worth noting what the limits of the use of the *Excidium Troiae* suggest. The Notary borrows nothing from the *Excidium Troiae* in the chapter describing the "Covenant of Blood", but the expression of swearing fealty to the new leader and the meaningless "*inceptum iter*". It may indicate not only that he wanted to describe the legal aspects of the election, and therefore could not find place to elaborate the parallel between the two proclamations, but also a conscious attempt to keep distance from the Troy Romances. An effort, to develop an image of ancient Hungarians as a "*gens*" that has its own values, and its autonomous history, which are similar to that of the Trojans, and equally valuable, but represent different values, and different quality. This theory may be confirmed by the use of the motif of the blood-pact. Either it had originated in the Hungarian oral traditions, or in the Antique Scythia-literature, by its use, the Notary clearly emphasized that this is a story about Hungarians, who have all the peculiarities of their culture. In the allusion to the siege of Laurentina, apart from the parallels noted below, there is little resemblance on the text and plot of the *Excidium Troiae* either. We could observe in the chapter about the Notary's use of "Dares"'s work, that he keeps distance from that romance also, in the case of the description of the Hungarian princes. We can suppose that the Notary created a standalone history of the Hungarian conquest, and although he draws similarities between it, and the battles of Aeneas, these similarities are secondary to its main, independent plot. He does not turn the *Gesta* into a Troy-romance of Hungarian subject but preserves its own characteristics. This can be observed in accordance the relationship of the whole *Gesta* with the Tory-and Alexander-romances too. The main storyline of this work is an autonomous creation of the Notary, and he applies citations, allusions, textual and thematical parallels, to connect it with those Romances, yet inserts them in the plot that has already been completed. Even the closest parallels do not change the main storyline, they only set it in broader context.[66] There is another

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[65] ANONYMUS (1937). p. 105 (c. 52), Historia de Preliis I. p. 216.

[66] For example, the Notary's variated use of the Alexander-romance is restricted to citations in the descriptions of battles, to borrowing of motifs which spice up the story, or to parallels which allude to similarities between the Hungarian conquerors and Alexander, but these never influence the main plot of the *Gesta* essencially. See borrowings: ANONYMUS (1937). p. 44 (c. 8), 81–82 (c. 39), 86 (c. 41); Historia de Preliis I. p. 8, 48–50, 94, 108–110, 110–112, 166–168, 176–178, 192–195, II. p. 16–18, 20–24, 42, 50, 58; Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 149–150, notes nr. 82–83, 166, note nr. 212, 167, notes nr. 215, 217, 168, note nr. 230; ANONYMUS (1937). p. 91 (c. 44); Historia de Preliis

difference between the *Gesta* and the *Excidium Troiae*. The latter goes into more detail about the adventures of each hero.[67] The Notary concentrates on the political and military affairs, and in the few places where he speaks about the adventure of a certain nobleman, he does not give many details,[68] perhaps because he doesn't want to break the main storyline of the conquest. In this respect he does not follow the example of the *Excidium Troiae* at all, his practice is more similar to that of "Dares".[69] It might suggest that in keeping with his claim in the Prologue, he followed "Dares", as his model of appropriate style,[70] or just that the he wanted to write a historical work, and he felt, that the novelistic motifs are not appropriate to the proper style of it.

Conclusion

Using of two "Dares"-citations in his Prologue, the Notary alludes to the similarity between his historiographical principles and those of "Dares" and "Nepos". He declares that he wants to write the Hungarians prehistory in the spirit of the historiographers, who are represented in the Prologue by most ancient, and thus the most prestigious pagan historian Dares, and the first Christian historian, Moses, whose use is also implicated by the mention of the Holy Scripture. The Notary also alludes, that Dares and Nepos are his main models in historiography. Master P. declares also that he will at least partly follow the requirements of the literary genre of the Troy- and Alexander-romances, and that he will use them to compose a Hungarian prehistory in appropriate style. He states directly that he wishes to follow the example of Dares.

As he specifies what he considers to be the appropriate style, he also defines the place of his work in contemporary rhetoric: a supposed Cicero-allusion may contribute to this also. Regarding the two *Excidium Troiae* – allusions, that we examined here, we can state, that both of them were used to express the similarity between Álmos and Aeneas, the Hungarian conquest and the Trojan conquest, the glory and valour of the Hungarians, and that of the Trojans.

II. p. 12–14; ANONYMUS (1937). p. 105 (c. 52); Historia de Preliis I. p. 216; ANONYMUS (1937). p. 36 (c. 1), 60 (c. 20), 76 (c. 34), 111 (c. 55); Historia de Preliis I. p. 32, 54, 68–70, 92, 108, 124, 168; Gesta Hungarorum (1991). p. 160 note nr. 152, 165, note nr. 203, 171–172, notes nr. 257, 258, 264, 176, note nr. 314, 178, note nr. 326.

[67] Excidium Troiae, passim

[68] see for instance: ANONYMUS (1937). p. 54–57 (c. 15–16), 76 (c. 34).

[69] even the „J2"-redaction of the Alexander-romance writes much about the personal adventures and stories of Alexander. It marks the plot throughout the whole work: Historia de Preliis, passim. László Veszprémy has called our attention to this phenomenon in accordance with the differences between the Notary's work and the vernacular Alexander-romances (VESZPRÉMY 2019. p. 159)

[70] However, in this case we couldn't explain properly, why he does not quote Dares more times than we can observe. There is a possibility, that he learnt that Dares was the model for proper style of historiography, and he wanted to follow his example, yet didn't have any text of Dares at his disposal, and this was the cause why he did not employ more citations from the work of the "Phrygian". However, this is mere speculation.

Doing so, the Notary completed the standards of contemporary prehistory-writing. These standards required the use of *historiae* of Troy and Alexander besides other medieval accounts on antiquity, either by showing the Trojan, Macedonian (or even Scythian) origin of the ancestors, or by emphasizing their equality with them. Completing these standards, the Notary could prove the equality of the Hungarians' glory with that of the Trojans and could make the Hungarians' prehistory able to be understood for the literate scholars of his age. However, we can observe, that the Notary set a certain limit to his use of the Troy-romances. He alludes to them and cites them to express similarity between the Hungarian conquerors and the Trojans, and between the Hungarian conquest and the conquest of Aeneas in Latium. Yet he always preserves the independent concept of Hungarian history, and his independently created storyline. He uses the Troy-romances (and also the Alexander-romance), often even as models, but never follows them servilely. He created a work that was proper to the standards of contemporary "national" prehistory-writing, but this work was a prehistory of the Hungarians, so he represented their own values. He wrote a prehistory peculiar to the Hungarian *gens and* did not allow it to became a mere imitation of Troy-romances.

Appendix

Appendix 1
The prologues of "Dares" and Master P.

The Prologue of „Dares" (Dares 1873 1. (Prol.))	The Prologue of the Notary (Anonymus (1937) 33–34. (Prol.))
"*Cornelius Nepos Sallustio Crispo suo salutem.* *Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit.* **Quam ego summo amore conplexus** *continuo transtuli. Cui nihil adiciendum vel diminu-endum rei reformandae causa putavi, alioquin mea posset videri,* **optimum ergo duxi** *ita* **ut** *fuit* **vere et simpliciter** *perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinitatem transvertere,* **ut legentes cog-noscere possent, quomodo res gestae essent***: utrum verum magis esse existiment, quod Dares Phrygius memoriae com-mendavit, qui per id ipsum tempus vixit et militavit, cum Graeci Troianos obpugnarent, anne Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est, quam bellum hoc gestum est. De qua re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano haberetur, quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse scripserit. Sed hactenus ista: nunc ad pollicitum revertamur.*"	"*P. dictus magister ac quondam bone memorie gloriosissimi Bele regis Hungarie notarius N. suo dilectissimo amico, viro venerabili et arte litteralis scientie inbuto, salutem et sue petitionis affectum (sic). Dum olim in scolari studio simul essemus et in hystoria Troiana,* **quam ego cum summo amore complexus** *ex libris Darethis Frigii ceterorumque auctorum, sicut a magistris meis audiveram, in unum volumen proprio stilo compilaveram, pari voluntate legeremus, petisti a me, ut, sicut hystoriam Troianam bellaque Grecorum scripseram, ita et genealogiam regum Hungarie et nobilium suorum, qualiter septem principales persone, que Hetumoger vocantur, de terra Scithica descenderunt vel qualis sit terra Scithica et qualiter sit generatus dux Almus aut quare vocatur Almus primus dux Hungarie, a quo reges Hungarorum originem duxerunt, vel quot regna et reges sibi subiugaverunt aut quare populus de terra Scithica egressus per ydioma alienigenarum Hungarii et in sua lingua propria Mogerii vocantur, tibi scriberem. Promisi et enim me facturum, sed aliis negotiis impeditus et tue petitionis et mee promissionis iam pene eram oblitus, nisi mihi per litteras tua dilectio debitum reddere monuisset. Memor igitur tue dilectionis, quamvis multis et diversis huius laboriosi seculi impeditos sim negotiis, facere tamen aggressus sum, que facere iussisti, et secundum traditiones diversorum hystoriographorum divine gratie fultus auxilio optimum estimans, ut ne posteris in ultimam generationem oblivioni tradatur.* **Optimum ergo duxi, ut vere et simpliciter** *tibi scriberem,* **quod legentes possint** *|*

	agnoscere, quomodo res geste essent. Et si tam nobilissima gens Hungarie primordia sue generationis et fortia queque facta sua ex falsis fabulis rusticorum vel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum quasi sompniando audiret, valde indecorum et satis indecens esset. Ergo potius ammodo de certa scripturarum explanatione et aperta hystoriarum interpretatione rerum veritatem nobiliter percipiat. Felix igitur Hungaria, cui sunt dona data varia, omnibus enim horis gaudeat de munere sui litteratoris, quia exordium genealogie regum suorum et nobilium habet, de quibus regibus sit laus et honor regi eterno et sancte MaRie (sic) matri eius, per gratiam cuius reges Hungarie et nobiles regnum habeant felici fine hic et in evum. AMEN"

Appendix 2
The occurrences of the word "regnum" and its meaning (i.e. territorial concept, or political entity)

Places, where the term "*regnum*" is clearly used in its political sense	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 39. (c. 4.)	*"[Almus] potentior fuit et sapientior omnibus ducibus Scithie et omnia negotia **regni** eo tempore faciebant consilio et auxilio ipsius."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 41. (c. 6.)	*"Isti principales personae (...) nunquam a consilio ducis et honore **regni** omnino privarentur."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 47. (c. 11.)	*"[Dux Galiciae] unicum filium suum cum ceteris filiis primatum **regni** sui in obsidem dedit."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 83. (c .40.)	*"dux et sui nobiles ordinaverunt omnes consuetudinarias leges **regni** et omnia iura eius, qualiter servirent duci et primatibus suis vel qualiter iudicium facerent pro quolibet crimine commisso. (...) Hungarii secundum suum idioma nominaverunt Scerii eo, quod ibi ordinatum fuit totum negotium **regni**"*

	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 107. (c. 53.)	*"Transactis quibusdam temporibus dux Zulta cum esset XIIIcim annorum, omnes primates **regni** sui communi consilio et pari voluntate quosdam rectores **regni** sub duce prefecerunt, qui moderamine iuris consuetudinis dissidentium lites contentionesque sopirent."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 107. (c. 53.)	*"Thocsun vero dux cum omnibus primatibus Hungarie potenter et pacifice per omnes dies vite sue obtinuit omnia iura **regni** sui […]"*
places, where the term "*regnum*" can be used both in its political and territorial sense	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 34. (Prol.)	*"reges Hungarie et nobiles **regnum** habeant felici fine"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 113. (c. 56.)	*"[Hoto rex] cum omni robore **regni** sui eos invadens..."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 114. (c. 57.)	*"[Dux Zulta] ipso vivente accepit iuramenta suorum nobilium et filium suum Tocsun fecit ducem ac dominatorem super totum **regnum** Hungarie."*
Places, where the term "*regnum*" most probably has a territorial meaning, but it cannot be excluded, that it is used in its political sense also	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 35. (c. 1.)	*"Athila (...) in terram Pannonie venit et fugatis Romanis **regnum** obtinuit..."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 44. (c. 8.)	*"[Dux Hyeu et suis primates] magis vellent mori in bello, quam amitterent **regna** propria"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 80. (c. 38.)	*"Dux Salanus (...) timuit, ut ne aliquando iracundia ducti eum expellerent de **regno** suo."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 100–101. (c. 50.)	*"[Arpad et suis milites] Sclauorum et Pannoniorum gentes et **regna** vastaverunt et eorum regiones occupaverunt."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 103. (c. 51.)	*"[Dux Menumorout] audiverat ducem Arpadium et suos milites (...) **regnumqu**e Pannoniorum occupasse..."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 105. (c. 51.)	*„[Arpad filiam Menumorouti] in uxorem Zulte accepit cum **regno** sibi promisso..."*

	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 106. (c.52.)	*"Menumorout post istam causam in secundo anno sine filio mortuus est et **regnum** eius totaliter Zulte generi suo dimisit in pace."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 111 (c. 56.)	*"[Inimici Athoni regis] sciebant, quod Hungarii essent insuperabiles in assuetis bellorum laboribus et plurimis **regnis** deus per eos furoris sui flagella propinasset."*
Places, where the term "regnum" is clearly used in its territorial sense.	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 35. (c. 1.)	*"Scithici Alexandrum Magnum filium Phylippi regis et regine Olympiadis, qui multa **regna** pugnando sibi subiugaverat, ipsum etiam turpiter fugaverunt."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 39. (c. 4.)	*"in **regno** Scythiae"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 44. (c. 8.)	*"[Hungari] voluerunt **regnum** Rutenorum sibi subiugare"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 47. (c. 11.)	*"Dux vero Lodomeriensis et sui primates obviam Almo duci usque ad confinium **regni** cum diversis pretiosis muneribus processerunt..."*
	ANONYMUS, SRH 937. p. 58. (c. 18.)	*"missus est Borsu filius Bunger (...) qui confinia **regni** conspiceret et obstaculis conformaret usque ad montem Turtur et in loco convenienti castrum construeret causa custodio **regni**."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 64. (c. 22.)	*"Zobolsu, Thosu et Tuhutum inito consilio constituerunt, ut meta **regni** ducis Arpad esset in porta Mezesina. Tunc incole terre russu eorum portas lapideas edificaverunt et clausuram magnam de arboribus per confinium **regni** fecerunt."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 64. (c. 23.)	*"Thosu et Zobolsu nec non Tuhutum (...) confinia **regni** firmaverunt obstaculis firmissimis."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 76. (c. 34.)	*"[Zuard, Cadusa filii Huleg, Huba, Borsu filius Bunger] constituerunt, ut tertia pars de exercitu cum incolis terre irent in silvam Zouolon, qui facerent in confinio **regni** munitiores fortes tam de lapidibus quam etiam de lignis, ut ne aliquando Boemy vel Polonv possent intrare causa furti et rapine in **regnum** eorum."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 79. (c. 37.)	*"[Zuard, Cadusa, Huba] firmatis obstaculis constituerunt terminos **regni** Hungarorum..."*

	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 94. (c. 46.)	*"Fercula, pocula portabantur duci et nobilibus in vasis aureis, servientibus et rusticis in vasis argenteis, quia omnia bona aliorum **regnorum** circumiacentium dederat deus in manus eorum."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 105. (c. 52.)	*"Dux vero Arpad et omnes sui primates (…) fere cottidie comedebant nuptialiter cumas diversis mili(ti)bus circumiacentium **regnorum**…"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 107. (c. 53.)	*"Alios autem constituerunt ductores exercitus, cum quibus diversa **regna** vastarent, quorum nomina hec fuerunt: Lelu filius Tosu, Bulsuu vir sanguinis filius Bogát, Bonton (sic) filius Culpun. Erant enim isti viri bellicosi et fortes in animo, quorum cura nulla fuit alia, nisi domino suo subiugare gentes et devastare **regna** aliorum."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 112. (c. 56.)	*"[Hungari] **regnum** Latariensem (sic) arcu et sagittis exterminaverunt.";* „*Botond filius Culpun et Urcun filius Eusee) ad propria **regna** revertuntur"*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 113. (c. 56.)	*"[Botond et Urcun] ad propria redeunt **regna** cum magna victoria."*
	ANONYMUS (1937). p. 113–114. (c. 57.)	*"Dux vero Zulta (…) fixit metas **regni** Hungarie…";* „*ultra lutum Musun collocavit etiam Bissenos non paucos habitare pro defensione **regni** sui…";* „*ex parte Polonorum usque ad montem Turtur, sicut primo fecerat **regni** metam Borsu filius Bunger."*

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Bálint K. BANDI:

The Social Structure of the Transylvanian Rural Society at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century[*]

The history of the Principality of Transylvania is one of the most popular topics in Hungarian historiography and is also of great international interest. Although our understanding of the principality has significantly improved in recent decades, the overall perception of the subject has not fundamentally changed.

The studies aimed at achieving a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the nations and communities of Transylvania have a long history; however, our knowledge remains incomplete in many respects. While we have detailed descriptions of the social structure of Transylvanian society and its unique self-organizing communities during the Middle Ages, there is a notable lack of analysis concerning social relationships in the centuries following the Battle of Mohács. This is particularly true regarding the structural composition of rural society.

This paper aims to analyse the structural characteristics of rural society and conduct a comparative examination of its composition in Cluj and Turda Counties during the early decades of the eighteenth century. By analysing the relevant data, we can gain a detailed understanding of the social relations within the rural communities of the period, while also providing a terminological framework for examining the conceptual development of given social categories.

Keywords: history of Transylvania, society of Transylvania, social structure, rural society, early modern period, early decades of the eighteenth century, censuses, social stratification, social categories

The demographics of Transylvania have been extensively studied by many scholars; however, several aspects remain unclear. While numerous papers have addressed the structure and composition of the Transylvanian nobility

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and orders, there is limited information available regarding the demographic conditions of rural households. This gap can be attributed to the scarcity of historical sources and a lack of thorough research. To advance our understanding and potentially revise previous concepts, it is essential to process the available sources.

Within the existing data, particularly from the first half of the eighteenth century, a more detailed picture emerges. Although the corpus primarily comprises economic data, it offers valuable insights into the structure of rural society and the living conditions of various social groups. The analysis of this information sheds light on the demographic processes affecting the rural population in specific administrative units over several decades.

In this paper, I will examine the structural characteristics of rural society in the counties of Cluj and Turda and compare their compositions during the early decades of the eighteenth century. By studying their social conditions, this research aims to make new contributions to our understanding of the social history of the period and partially address the existing gaps in the literature.

Censuses in the Principality of Transylvania in the First Third of the eighteenth century

Regarding the Middle Ages, the social structure and unique self-organising communities of Transylvania are discussed in detail, however, our understanding of the centuries following the Battle of Mohács is quite limited.[1] As mentioned earlier, the primary reason for this gap in knowledge is the fragmentary nature of archival documents. Nevertheless, there are numerous sources from the period that provide insights into rural society relations.

Among these sources, censuses are particularly noteworthy. The censuses of this time are not only rich in data but also offer a more consistent picture of the population, and their frequency is less subject to chance. After seizing power, the Habsburgs implemented reforms aimed at improving taxation to exploit the economic potential of their newly acquired territory. Consequently, it was essential to gain a thorough understanding of the financial status of households, necessitating regular censuses to monitor living conditions.[2]

Section F 49 (Mixed Censuses) of the National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives contains entire census series for several counties during the studied period. In some administrative units, demographic data and population trends can be analysed over several decades. This paper focuses on the counties of Cluj and Turda, for which 13 censuses have been preserved, covering the years from 1713 to 1733. While some censuses record only the number of heads of households belonging to a specific social group, others

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[1] For an overview of the economic and social conditions of Transylvanian rural society in the eighteenth century, see among others BERLÁSZ 1958; MAKKAI – SZÁSZ 1986. p. 995; SURDU 1960.
[2] MAKKAI – SZÁSZ 1986. p. 894; PÁL-ANTAL 2009. p. 15.

provide the names of the heads of households.[3] This detailed information enables the reconstruction of the ethnic composition of various settlements.[4]

For the purposes of this analysis, the most useful data sources are those that compile recorded information into a summary table (*generalis extractus*). Unfortunately, of the 13 censuses examined, fewer than half include a summary table.[5] Yet, it is still possible to gain insights into the social structure of rural society. By analysing and comparing data from specific settlements, we can obtain a detailed picture of the social and economic conditions of that era.

The social structure of the rural society of Cluj and Turda County in the early eighteenth century

The first social category listed in the censuses is that of serfs, often referred to as "jobbagiones" or "incolae" in the tables. A glance at the summary tables reveals that serfs formed the largest social group, both in terms of numbers and wealth. They owned the majority of the livestock in the settlement and possessed most of the arable land.[6]

In 1722, there were 945 serf households registered in the lower district of Cluj County, while the upper district had 856. The following year, in 1723, in the lower district of Turda County 703 serf households were recorded, and in the upper district 1,640 heads of serf households were registered.[7] In 1724, in the lower district of Turda County 924 serf households were counted, and the upper district 1,746 heads of serf households were registered. Overall, serfs constituted nearly half of the rural society in both counties.

Another important social category to consider is that of the cottars, referred to in censuses by their Latin name, "inquilini". Typically, their numbers were about half that of the serfs. Most cottars owned a house lot, but their economic role was not particularly significant.

In Cluj County, there were 1,219 cottar households recorded in the lower district and 573 in the upper district in 1722. In the following year, in 1723, in Turda County 331 cottar households were reported in the lower district and 640 in the upper district. In 1724, the number of cottar heads of households in the lower district increased to 402, while the upper district reported 734.

Widows have a distinct category in the census data. They are identified as "viduae", "viduae jobbagionalium", or "viduae incolarum". Although their

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[3] However, this does not mean that all the registered householders had their own house lot or property. See for instance the category of *vagi* or *fugitive moderni*.

[4] BANDI 2021. p. 23–29; BANDI 2021A. p. 196–200.

[5] CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. INF. 1722. p. 1–3; CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. SUP. 1722. p. 102–105; CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1723. p. 154–156; CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. SUP. 1723. p. 190–192; CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1724. p. 154–156; CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. SUP. 1724. p. 189–191. Some censuses and summary tables were partly published in ACSÁDY 1896. p. 210–212, 214–216; FENEȘAN 1986. append.

[6] For examples of the structure of serf families see URSUȚIU 1979.

[7] In this data table, they are listed as *incolae sessionati*.

numbers are not large, their inclusion reflects the delegates' commitment to being thorough and accounting for all households.

During the period under study, the number of widows changed as follows: in 1722, there were 161 widows recorded in the lower district and 58 in the upper district of Cluj County. In Turda County, 43 widows were listed in the lower district and 103 in the upper district in 1723. The following year, in 1724, their numbers increased to 73 in the lower district and 111 in the upper district of Turda County.

The category that raises many questions and is quite intriguing is the group known as "vagi". This term refers to people who are constantly wandering or roaming, often referred to as „vagabundi". The phrase "vagi sine sessione" was also used, alluding to their existential situation, as the members of this group generally did not possess a house lot or any arable land.

Our understanding of the "vagi" is currently very limited. We lack detailed information about their background and existential circumstances. In the available literature, some researchers have linked them to transhumant Romanian shepherds,[8] while others have associated them with gypsies.[9] This issue will be discussed in greater detail later.

Their number is considerable and sometimes even exceeds the number of the cottars.[10] As the summary tables show, their number was 525 in the lower district and 324 in the upper district of Cluj County in 1722; in 1723, in Turda County, there were 405 "vagi" in the lower district and 385 in the upper district; the following year, in Turda County, there were 429 in the lower district and 368 in the upper district.

Another social category included in the census is that of the "aulici servi", also referred to as "servi curiales", which translates from Latin to court servants. Unlike the "vagi" members of this group typically possessed a small house lot and some arable land.[11] The censuses recorded their numbers as follows: in 1722, there were 430 of them registered in the lower district and 162 in the upper district of Cluj County. In 1723, 86 court servants were reported in the lower district and 181 in the upper district of Turda County. The following year, 1724, there were 96 court servants in the lower district and 169 in the upper district of the same county.

There is also a category known as "aulici vagi". They were officially registered in Cluj County in 1722, with a total of 14 individuals in the lower district and 85 in the upper district.

In some censuses, the category of "fugitivi moderni" is included. This Latin term refers to individuals who have recently left their place of residence and have been registered in a new settlement. Due to their circumstances, they do not own any property, including house lots, arable land, or livestock. They were

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[8] Dávid 1957. p. 190; Makkai – Szász 1986. p. 995; Trócsányi 1957. p. 280, 285–286, 307.

[9] Nagy 2019. p. 62, 67, 78, 85, 87, 90, 93, 96–98, 100–101.

[10] Conscr. Com. Thord. Proc. Inf. 1723. p. 154; Conscr. Com. Thord. Proc. Inf. 1724. p. 154.

[11] At least in terms of the Cluj County. In Turda County, they possessed only a limited amount of arable land.

only registered in the county of Turda in 1723. In the lower district of the county, 7 of them were recorded, while 10 were noted in the upper district.

The category of "pixidarii" only appears in one census. The Latin term refers to foot soldiers or armed guards. In Transylvania, this social category can be found among the Szeklers, where it is clearly defined within their society. In the upper district of Turda County, 48 "pixidarii" households were registered in the census conducted in 1723.

Additionally, nobles impacted by the tax are also included in the censuses. Although not legally recognized as such, they were part of peasant society due to their existential and economic status. In the censuses, they are categorized as "nobiles unius sessionis" or "unius sessionis nobiles", "nobiles sub taxa", and "nobiles sine sessione". Furthermore, widowed noblewomen are sometimes listed separately. In 1722, there were 99 noble households registered in the lower district of Cluj County and 87 in the upper district. In Turda County, the delegates counted 452 of them in the lower district and 124 in the upper district. By 1724, in Turda County, 456 noble households were recorded in the lower district, while the upper district remained at 124 households.

Finally, the censuses also account for the clergy, who are liable for the tax. In the census, they are referred to as "popae extraordinarii", indicating that they are members of the orthodox church. In 1722, their number in the upper district of Cluj County was 3.[12]

The mysterious social category: the "vagi"

While we have considerable information about the role and existential situation of most social categories, there are also some aspects and groups that are not frequently addressed in the literature. The least discussed among these is the category of "vagi".

Censuses provide valuable data that enhance our understanding of their social roles and existential status. If we examine the records of the "vagi" in Alsó- and Felsőzsuk (*Jucu)*, Magyarkályán (Căianu), and Vajdakamarás (Vaida-Cămăraş) from 1713, we can see that they owned significant scale of land and primarily produced agricultural goods.[13] In the same year, the "vagi" recorded in Szamosfalva (Someşeni) had a notably large livestock, particularly their sheep stock was significant.[14] Although the "vagi" were also registered in Turda County in 1713, we lack comparable data due to the incomplete nature of the records.

The summary tables confirm the latter example. For households classified as "vagi", "vagi sine sessione", or "vagabundi", livestock was the dominant factor, with only a limited amount of land suitable for arable cultivating. In

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[12] The volume compiled by Feneşan includes a summary table for the lower district of Cluj County, listing the orthodox priests. However, the figures and the structure of this table differ from the source I used, which does not provide such data. See FENEŞAN 1986. append.

[13] CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. INF. 1713. p. 168–169, 180–183, 190–191.

[14] CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. INF. 1713. p. 206–207.

1723, for instance, the 405 "vagi" registered in the lower district of Turda County owned a total of 1,317 sheep but only had 114.5 cubuli of arable land.[15] Similar trends can be observed when analysing data sets of "aulici vagi".[16]

To address the disputed ethnic background and mother tongue, it is necessary to analyse tables of certain settlement. Unfortunately, recording by name is more of an exception than a standard practice; however, there are some examples that can help us draw conclusions. For instance, in 1713, János Kádár was listed as a "vagus" in Komjátszeg (Comşeşti)[17]. In the same year, six "vagi" were registered in Tordatúr (Tureni): Juon Katona, Péter Kádár, Márton Kovács, Kriszta Togyer, Ráduly Oltyán, Vaszilj Szilágyi.[18] In 1713, three "vagi" were listed in Szind (Sănduleşti): Mihály Nagy, Márton Oláh and János Székely.[19]

To summarize the data presented by the censuses, it is crucial to note that even with this new information, drawing any significant conclusions remains impossible. As we have seen, most individuals or households registered as "vagi" had substantial livestock holdings, especially a notably high number of sheep. This trend is common in Turda County; however, in Cluj County many of these households were possibly already involved in agricultural activities. The latter phenomenon is likely affected by the natural geography of the given administrative unit. Even so, most of them were primarily livestock keepers and possibly transhumant herders.

The data also vary in terms of ethnicity. Contrary to suggestions in the literature, the relevant data do not clearly indicate that those classified as "vagi" had Romanian as their mother tongue. Additionally, it also cannot be claimed that the "vagi" were composed of the Gypsy ethnic group.

Based on the data and findings from relevant literature, we can conclude that the term "vagi" referred to individuals who did not own a house lot, but resided in a particular settlement, either temporarily or, in some cases, for an extended period.

Summary

The rural communities of the Principality of Transylvania entered the eighteenth century undergoing significant changes while still maintaining former structures. Despite facing demographic challenges, the communities of Cluj and Turda sought to build their society with hope for economic and social stability. The censuses from the era under study offer insights into their social stratification and structural formation. When we compare social categories and the structure of stratification, we mainly notice similarities. However, analysing the data regarding the total number of social categories reveals

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[15] CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1723. p. 154–156.

[16] CONSCR. COM. COL. PROC. SUP. 1722. p. 102–105.

[17] CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1713. p. 92–93.

[18] CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1713. p. 94–95.

[19] CONSCR. COM. THORD. PROC. INF. 1713. p. 125–126.

several differences in various aspects. Among the administrative units examined, the upper district of Turda County had the highest population. Since the two counties are nearly the same size, this district can also be considered the most densely populated administrative unit. Furthermore, the number and proportion of cottars and court servants in the lower district of Cluj County are particularly noteworthy. Additionally, the dataset reveals a relatively high percentage of cottars in Cluj County, alongside a significant presence of nobles in the lower district of Turda County.

It is also important to emphasise that analysing the censuses reveals a more nuanced understanding of the role of social groups that may not be significant in number but are integral part of the given community. The category of "vagi" discussed above is one such example. Their study is crucial, as the data suggest that their presence and extensive livestock farming have likely affected various aspects of the community. Nonetheless, similar basic research is essential for achieving a broader understanding of the social structures and dynamics within rural society.

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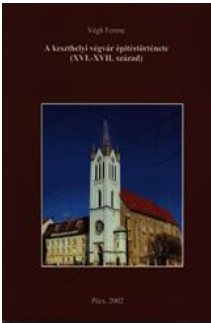
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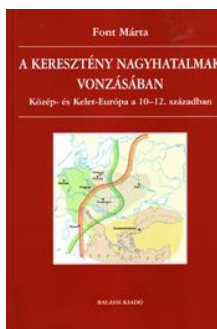
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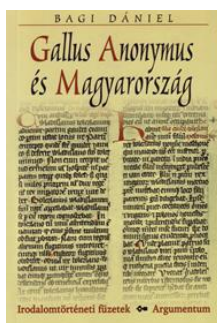
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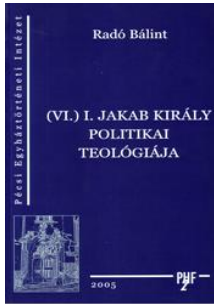
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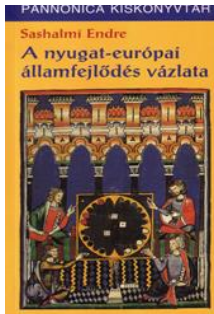
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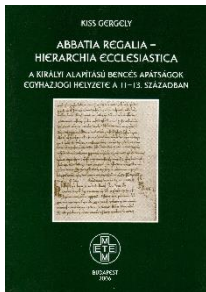
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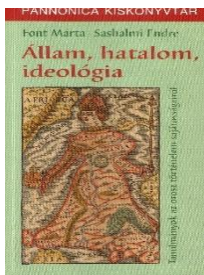
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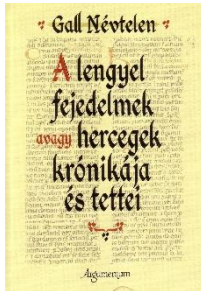
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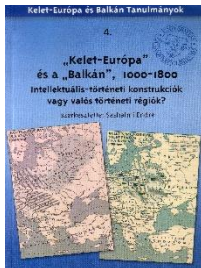
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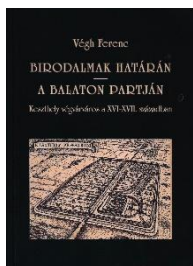
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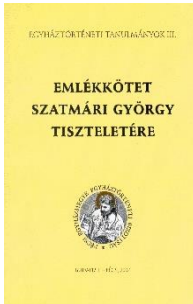
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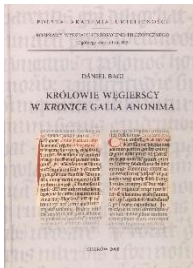
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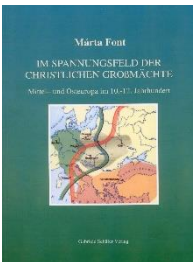
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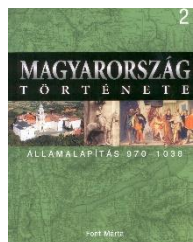
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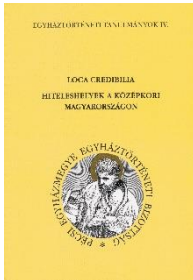
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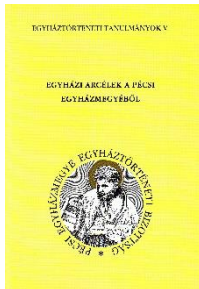
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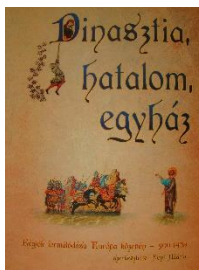
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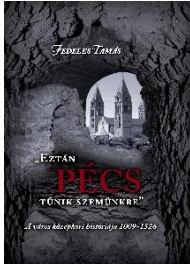
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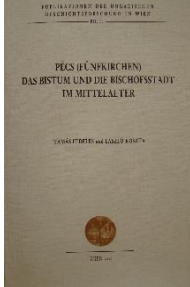
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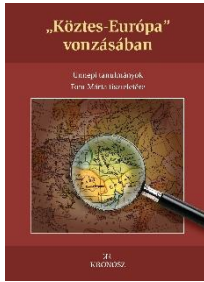
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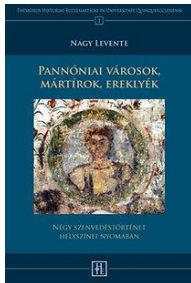
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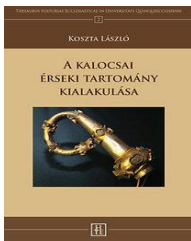
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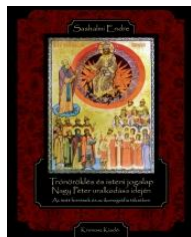
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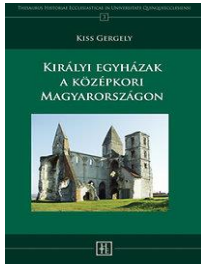
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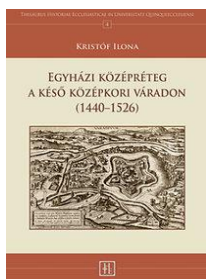
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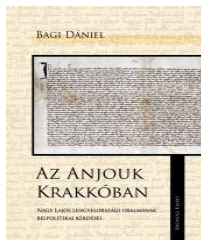
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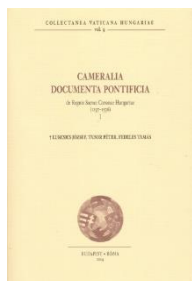
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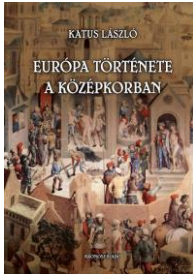
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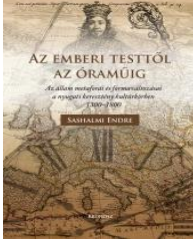
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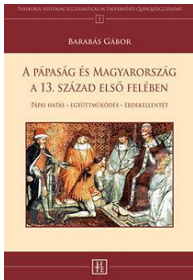
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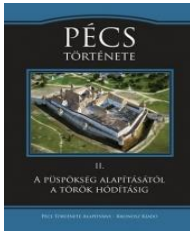
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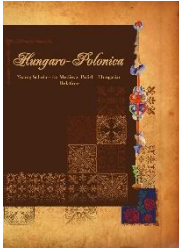
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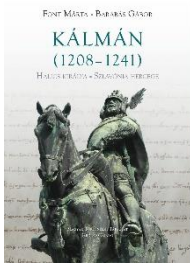
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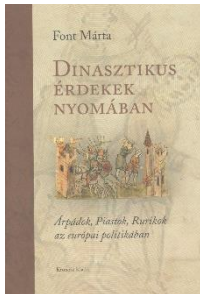
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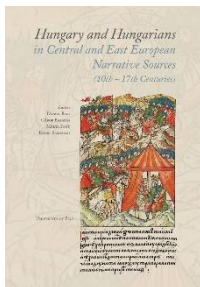
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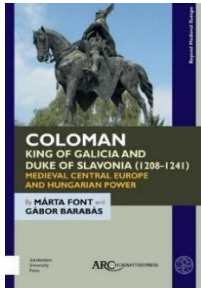
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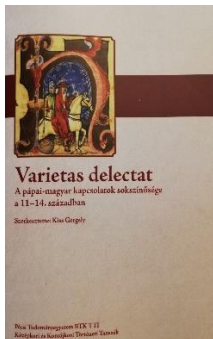
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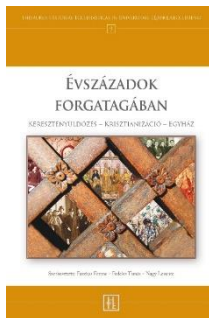
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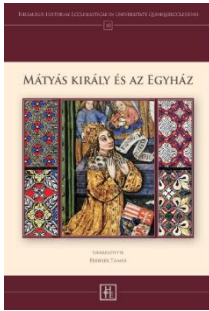
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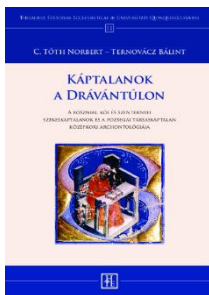
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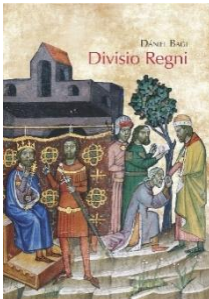
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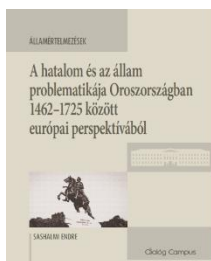
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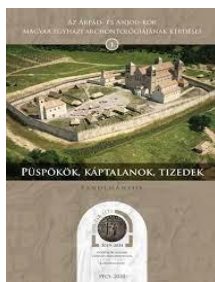
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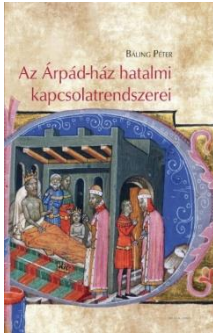
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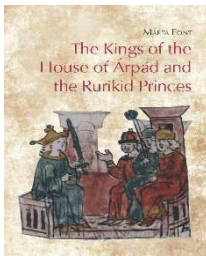
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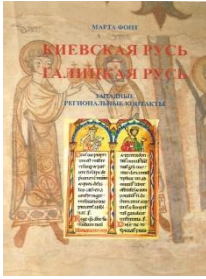
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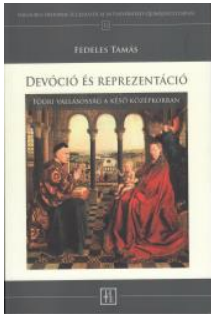
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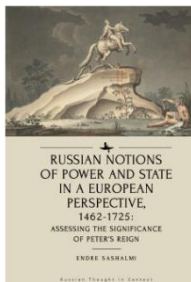
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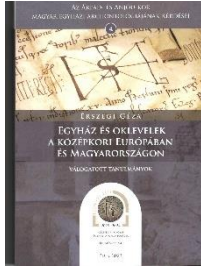
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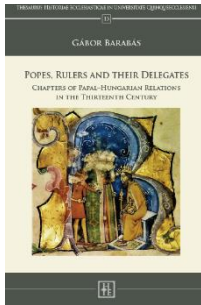
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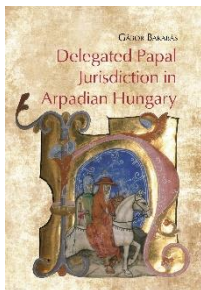
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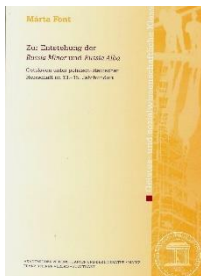
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