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*„in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi  
de cetero sit studium generale”*

*Short History of the Medieval University of Pécs<sup>1</sup>*

*„Urban, bishop, servant of the servants of God for lasting memory. [...] We have decided and also ordained that there be a studium generale in the aforesaid city of Pécs, that it should forever excel in the faculty of civil and canon law and in any other permitted faculty except theology”,<sup>2</sup> says the papal bull of 1 September, 1367. The 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the first Hungarian university rightly fills the citizens of Pécs and the university with pride; however, this occasion has great significance beyond Pécs, since this foundation six and a half centuries ago is still an outstanding event of Hungarian education, culture and history. The most important episodes of the rather limited history of the medieval university of Pécs are being introduced below, according to the jubilee.*

*Episcopal see, capitular school, locus credibilis*

Of the medieval Hungarian diocesan centres Pécs is the only one where the exact date of the foundation is known. The interpolated and multiple times copied text of the original charter survived in a diploma of 1404,<sup>3</sup> according to which the ceremonial event took place in the castle of Győr on 23 August,

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<sup>2</sup> GABRIEL, Asztrik L.: *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony*, Frankfurt am Main, 1969, pp. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima edendo operi praefuit Georgius GYÖRFFY*, vol I. 1000–1131. Budapest, 1992, pp. 58.

1009.<sup>4</sup> The early Christian sacred buildings of the northern cemetery of Sopianae that still survived at the time of the Hungarian kingdom's establishment played a fundamental role in the selection of the episcopal see. According to the latest research, some of them, like the *cella trichora*, were still used for liturgical purposes in the Carolingian era.<sup>5</sup> As a result of the spontaneous development of independent settlements, by the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the area lying south-southeast to the episcopal centre became a single episcopal *civitas*, which – by the middle of the next century – grew into an ecclesiastical, cultural, economic centre on a nationwide scale.<sup>6</sup>

The first bishop of Pécs, the Italian Bonipert (1009–1036) from the beginning paid great attention to the education of future priests, which was essential to the Christianization of the diocese. To this end, he established a cathedral school, where Latin and the Catholic dogmas (catechism) were taught. “*Our son, Hilduin, your follower who conveys your love towards us, reported that you would like to have one of our Priscianus volumes: we are willingly sending one by him.*”<sup>7</sup> The above lines, written in reply to Bonipert by Fulbert, the bishop of Chartres (1007–1028), who around 1020 sent to Pécs the well-known textbook of Latin grammar, the *Institutiones grammaticae* by Priscianus, who worked in Constantinople in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> The school functioned under the supervision of the cathedral chapter, led by the *lector*; while the *cantor* as well as the *sub-lector* played an important role in the education. As the institution was closely

<sup>4</sup> On the circumstances of the foundation and its broader Hungarian and European connection, see: KOSZTA, László: Pécs története a püspökség alapításától (1009) a 14. század közepéig. [The History of Pécs from the Foundation of the Bishopric (1009) to the Middle of the 14th Century.], in: FEDELES, Tamás – SARBAK, Gábor – SÜMEGI, József (eds.): A Pécsi Egyházmegye története, vol. I. A középkor századai (1009–1543). [History of the Diocese of Pécs. vol. I. Centuries of the Middle Ages (1009–1543)] Pécs, 2009, pp. 13–42.

<sup>5</sup> See, TÓTH, Zsolt: Sopianae késő római kori ókeresztény temetője és az első középkori székesegyház [Sopianae's Early Christian Cemetery from the Late Roman Age and the First Medieval Cathedral], in: HEIDL, György – RAFFAY, Endre – TÜSKÉS, Anna (eds.), *Echo simul una et quina. Tanulmányok a pécsi székesegyházról*, [Echo simul una et quina. Studies on the Cathedral of Pécs] Pécs, 2016, pp. 43–74.

<sup>6</sup> On the development of the region, see FEDELES, Tamás: „Eztán Pécs tűnik szemünkbe”. A város középkori históriája [„This is where Pécs appears in our eyes.” The Medieval History of the City] Pécs 2011; KOSZTA, László: A püspökség alapításától (1009) a 14. század közepéig [The History of Pécs from the Foundation of the Bishopric (1009) to the Middle of the 14th Century.], in: VONYÓ, József – FONT, Márta (eds.), Pécs története II. A püspökség alapításától a török hódításig [History of Pécs II. From the Foundation of the Bishopric to the Turkish Conquest] Pécs, 2015, pp. 21–172.

<sup>7</sup> KRISTÓ, Gyula (ed.), *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai*, (Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, 15.) [Written Sources of the Era of the Founding of the State] Szeged, 1999, pp. 103–104.

<sup>8</sup> NEMERKÉNYI, Előd: *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary eleventh Century*, Debrecen–Budapest, 2004, pp- 13–30.

related to the chapter, it was also called a capitular school. After acquiring basic knowledge, the seven liberal arts (*septem artes liberales*) were taught. The pupils learnt Latin grammar and rhetoric; then the talented ones went on obtaining knowledge of arithmetic, geometry and music. Within the subject of rhetoric, *ars dictandi*, which included the mastery of drafting a letter or a charter, constituted a very important part of the curriculum.<sup>9</sup> It was obviously necessary for the education to have the scriporium for the copying of basic works, as well as for the library that kept the manuscripts and codices. Furthermore, the capitular library played an important role in later university education as well.

Teaching *ars dictandi* in medieval Hungary was essential, since the depositories of the legal written records were primarily the *loca credibilia*, *loca authentica*. The demand for a written civil law brought about the establishment of the ‘places of authentication’, since medieval Hungarian society that was based on oral procedures was more and more in need of recording legal acts (trade, pawning, testament, etc.). This task was conducted by the ecclesiastical institutions, the cathedral and collegiate chapters and certain convents. The development and operation of the ‘places of authentication’ also required that the members of the chapters and monasteries were expert at Hungarian common law. The formularies – which became necessary after the charters were drafted in bulk – served as textbooks for the pupils of the capitular school. Thus, the basic forms of various types of charters only needed to be adjusted to the given case. This way the preparation of certain documents became significantly faster. There are several formularies known from the Middle Ages, and one of them is related to the cathedral chapter of Pécs.<sup>10</sup> The prebendal body of the cathedral of Pécs issued authentic charters from 1214, and later became the most prominent *locus credibilis* of southern Transdanubia.<sup>11</sup> The chancery of the capitular *locus credibilis* obviously was in close communication with the school, since both institutions were directed by the lector, fur-

<sup>9</sup> BÉKEFI, Remig: A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig [The History of Chapter Schools in Hungary until 1540], Budapest, 1910, pp. 246–274; MÉSZÁROS, István: A katolikus iskola ezeréves története Magyarországon [The Millennial History of the Catholic School in Hungary] Budapest, 2000, pp. 1–83.

<sup>10</sup> On the *locus credibilis*, see ECKHART, Franz: Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 9, Heft 2, Innsbruck, 1914, pp. 395–558.

<sup>11</sup> KOSZTA, László: A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége (1214–1353), (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 4.) [The Authentication Activity of the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs (1214–1353)] Pécs, 1998, FEDELES, Tamás: A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi vonzáskörzete (1354–1526) [The “Place of Authentication” Catchment Area of the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs (1354–1526)], in: Weisz, Boglárka (eds.), Középkortörténeti Tanulmányok. A III. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2003. május 8–9.) előadásai [Medieval History Studies. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Medieval Studies PhD-Conference] Szeged, 2003, pp. 9–22.

thermore, the notaries who put down the text of the charters had presumably studied in the capitular school. The effect of both the cathedral chapter and the capitular school was felt even farther away from the centre of the episcopacy. This is shown by the fact that the chapter and the school were also visited by people from remote counties. The office of the lector and the capitular school of Pozsega were organized on the model of the *lector* of Pécs's dignity in the 1290s. In all probability, besides the location of the two towns, the prestige and high standard of the capitular school of Pécs were behind these measures.<sup>12</sup>

In conclusion, in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Pécs was one of the Hungarian centres of culture, education and literacy, which could provide a proper background to the organization of higher education. It would only be appropriate to ask why the foundation of a university did not take place in Esztergom, Várad, Eger, Gyulafehérvár or in other episcopal-archiepiscopal centre. Why was the first university of the Hungarian Kingdom established in the settlement of Pécs?

„*Vylhelmus Dei et Apostolica gratia episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis*”<sup>13</sup>

The foundation of the medieval university of Pécs fit into the series of university foundations in Eastern-Central Europe. After Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor (1346–1378) called the University of Prague (1348) into life, there was a wave of foundations when the *studium generale* of Krakow (1364), Vienna (1365) and Pécs were established almost at the same time.<sup>14</sup> However, there was a striking difference between the above mentioned institutions and the one in Pécs regarding the choice of site. While Prague gave home to the Luxembourgs, Krakow for the Piasts and Vienna for the Habsburgs, the southern Transdanubian Pécs existed “only” as a developed episcopal see, since the residency of the reigning Anjou dynasty was in Visegrád.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> KOSZTA, László: Írásbeliség és egyházszerkezet [Literacy and Church Organization] (Capitulum III.) Szeged, 2007, pp. 120.

<sup>13</sup> National Archive of Hungary, Charters no. 5573.

<sup>14</sup> SZÉKELY György: A pécsi és óbudai egyetem alapítása a közép-európai egyetemek létesítésének összefüggésében. [The Foundation of the University of Pécs and Óbuda in Relation to the Foundation of the Central-European Universities], in: A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 1967, pp. 155–174; VETULANI, Adam: A pécsi egyetem, valamint a krakkói és bécsi testvéregyetemek alapításának körülményei [The Circumstances of Foundation of the University of Pécs and its Sister Universities in Kraków and Vienna], in: CSIZMADIA, Andor (ed.), Jubileumi tanulmányok a pécsi egyetem történetéből [Jubilee Studies from the History of the University of Pécs] Pécs, 1967, pp. 21–50.

<sup>15</sup> RÜEGG, Walter (ed.), On the medieval universities in a comprehensive work: Geschichte der

While selecting the home of the university, many other possible alternatives occurred in the earlier historiography. According to an assumption, Pécs was chosen because the majority of the Hungarian pupils who enrolled at a foreign university were from the dioceses of Pécs and Zagreb; consequently, the continuous supply of students would have been guaranteed for the newly established institution.<sup>16</sup> This idea was further strengthened by the contemporary demographic situation, namely that southern Transdanubia belonged to the densely populated regions of the country, especially the territory of the diocese of Pécs.<sup>17</sup> Many believe that the situation of the town was favourable for geopolitical reasons, which was advantageous especially in the course of the south-southwestern expansive politics of Louis I (1342–1382) in the second half of the Anjou era.<sup>18</sup> However, it is worth mentioning that according to the contemporary circumstances of transport and geography, Zagreb’s location would have been more suitable for a university. Nevertheless, many researchers assumed that the foundation of the university and the selection of its place could be motivated by the fight against the spreading Balkan heresy of the Bogumils and the Patarens.<sup>19</sup> However, the latter idea is unfounded, considering the ban of establishing a faculty of theology is *expressis verbis* written in the deed of foundation.<sup>20</sup> The historian Astrik Gabriel, an expert of university history, rightly had misgivings about this: “*How can a school without a Faculty of Theology serve such a purpose, that of training missionaries and fighting heresies?*”<sup>21</sup> To take everything into consideration, however, I am of the opinion that Vilmos, the bishop of Pécs (1361–1374) had the notion of establishing

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Universität in Europa. Band I. Mittelalter, München, 1993. On Visegrád, see MÉSZÁROS, Orsolya: *A késő középkori Visegrád város története és helyrajza* [The History and Topography of the Late Medieval Town of Visegrád] Visegrád, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> GABRIEL, *The Mediaeval Universities* (as note 2) pp. 17.

<sup>17</sup> CSIZMADIA, Andor: *A pécsi egyetem a középkorban* [The Medieval University of Pécs], (Studia Iuridica Auctoritate Universitatis Pécs Publicata 40.) Pécs, 1965, pp. 10.

<sup>18</sup> SZÉKELY, *A pécsi és óbudai egyetem* (as note 14) pp. 159; GABRIEL, *The Mediaeval Universities* (as note 2) pp. 15; KLANICZAY, Tibor: *Megoldott és megoldatlan kérdések az első magyar egyetem körül* [Solved and Unsolved Issues Around the First Hungarian University], in: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 78, 1974, pp. 162; PETROVICS, István: *A középkori pécsi egyetem és alapítója* [The Medieval University of Pécs and its Founder], in: *Aetas*, 20, 2005, 4. pp. 30.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. CSIZMADIA, *A pécsi egyetem* (as note 17) pp. 9; SZÉKELY, *A pécsi és óbudai egyetem* (as note 14) pp. 162.

<sup>20</sup> SZÖGI, László (ed.), „*quam alia qualibet licita, praeterquam in Theologia*” – Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Válogatott dokumentumok a magyarországi felsőoktatás történetéhez 1367–1777 [„*quam alia qualibet licita, praeterquam in Theologia*” – Memory of Old Hungarian Universities. Selected Documents to the History of Higher Education in Hungary 1367–1777], Budapest, 1995, pp. 55.

<sup>21</sup> GABRIEL, *The Mediaeval Universities* (as note 2) pp. 13–14.

the *studium generale*, therefore a thorough examination of the bishop and the direct background of the foundation should be made.

There is rather little information on the origin of Wilhem von Koppenbach. The family came from the territory of Saarland, Bliessgau; the town which gave the family's name, Koppenbach is located in Upper-Bavaria, between Ingolstadt and Munich. János, the first known member of the impoverished noble family serving the Counts of Zweibrücken, appears in the sources from 1294.<sup>22</sup> Vilmos presumably was born in the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> There is no information on his youth, neither on his education. He must have had knowledge of canon law considering his later diplomatic activity and his role in the university foundation; therefore he could have graduated from a university.

Regarding his stay in Hungary, we should touch upon the power constellation of his closer motherland. The County of Zweibrücken itself belonged to the orbit of the Luxemburg dynasty from 1335, when Count Walram entered the service of the later Emperor Charles IV. The territory of the counts belonged to the diocese of Speyer which was also ruled by a Luxemburg: the uncle of Charles, Balduin, the archbishop of Trier and imperial prince-elector. In these circumstances, Vilmos, who chose an ecclesiastical career, must have been recommended to Charles IV by Balduin, who employed him as a chaplain. He might have contacted Louis I in the spring of 1353, when the Hungarian and the German monarchs met in Buda to celebrate their new nuptials and to establish dynastical relations through their children to be born. However, the cleric of German origin and the Hungarian monarch could have known each other from before, as Louis the Great's first wife, Margit (†1349) was the daughter of Charles from his first marriage.<sup>24</sup>

Vilmos's first church benefice, the parish of Bergzabern (1353) was under the patronage of the counts of Zweibrücken. By royal support, in May 1353, as the chaplain of the Hungarian monarch he unsuccessfully applied for the prebendal benefice of Speyer. Nevertheless, in April 1358 his efforts were successful: he became the beneficiary of the cathedral chapter of Speyer.<sup>25</sup> In a request sent to

<sup>22</sup> ZIMMERMANN, Harald: Wilhelm von Koppenbach, der Gründer der Universität Fünfkirchen, in: FONT, Márta – SZÖGI, László (eds.), *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, Pécs, 2001, pp. 34; ZIMMERMANN, Harald: *Der fünfkirchner Bischof Wilhelm von Koppenbach und die siebenbürger Sachsen. Einige Überlegungen*, in: NAZARE, Daniel – POPOVICI, Ruxandra – BOGDAN, Florin (eds.), *In honorem Gernot Nussbächer*, Braşov, 2004, pp. 253.

<sup>23</sup> Harald Zimmermann puts the date of birth probable around 1313, which is also acceptable. Cf. ZIMMERMANN, *Wilhelm von Koppenbach* (as note 22) pp. 35.

<sup>24</sup> FEDELES, Tamás: *Studium Generale Quinqueecclesiense*, in: *A Pécsi Egyházmegye története [History of the Diocese of Pécs]* vol. I, pp. 109.

<sup>25</sup> FOUQUET, Gerhard: *Das Speyerer Domkapitel im späten Mittelalter (ca. 1350–1540)*. Adeli-

the Holy See in May 1357, he was recorded as the secretary and beloved advisor (*secretarius et predilectus consiliarius*) of Louis I, and consequently, he must have already lived in the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> Soon he was granted Hungarian church benefices. In April 1358 he was the provost of Csázma, then after an exchange of benefices he became the head of the cathedral chapter of Eger. The dignity of the great-provost of Eger belonged to the richest Hungarian capitular benefices, with which the monarch rewarded Vilmos's service first and foremost. Namely, from October 1358 the cleric served the monarch as a *comes capellae regiae* (chapel ispán) and a secret chancellor (*secretarius cancellarius*).<sup>27</sup> The episcopate of Pécs meant the culmination of his church career, for which he was selected by the monarch after the death of Miklós Neszmélyi.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the Holy See confirmed his nomination on 18 January 1361.<sup>29</sup>

From the autumn of 1358 until his death he worked as a royal chapel ispán and a secret chancellor. In the Anjou era up until the death of Vilmos, the royal chapel – naturally besides the administration of the liturgical duties – also functioned as the court's central *locus credibilis*, furthermore it was the base of the monarch's diplomatic body. Due to the latter function, at the time in the *capella regia* there were primarily such clerics who had knowledge of canon law, and this occurrence was closely connected with the foundation of the first university of Hungary, the *studium generale* of Pécs.<sup>30</sup> In the background of the foundation, above all, was a demand made on the members of the royal diplo-

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ge Freundschaft, fürstliche Patronage und päpstliche Klientel, Bde I–II, Mainz, 1987, (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte Bd. 57.) II, pp. 408, no. 76.

<sup>26</sup> BOSSÁNYI, Árpád: Regesta Supplicationum. (A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású adatai) 1342–1394 [Regesta Supplicationum. (Hungarian-Related Data of the Papal Request Books) 1342–1394], I–II, Budapest 1916–1918, II, no. 92; ZIMMERMANN, Wilhelm von Koppenbach (as note 22) pp. 35.

<sup>27</sup> FEDELES, Tamás – KOSZTA, László: Pécs (Fünfkirchen). Das Bistum und die Bischofsstadt im Mittelalter, Wien, 2011, (Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien, Bd. II.) pp. 103–104.

<sup>28</sup> On 25 July 1360 he was mentioned in a charter as “Wilhelmus prepositus Erlacensis comes capelle [...] et postulatus episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis”. KOLLER, Josephus: Historia episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum, vol. I–VII, Posonii, Pesthini, 1782–1812, III, pp. 84.

<sup>29</sup> GULIK, Guilelmus, Van – EUBEL, Conradus – GAUCHAT, Patricius – SCHMITZ-KALLENBERG, Ludovicus – RITZLER, Remigius – SEFRIN, Priminus (eds.), Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium, ecclesiarum Antistitum series I–VIII, Monasterii–Patavii, 1913–1978, vol. I, pp. 431.

<sup>30</sup> BÓNIS, György: A capella regia és a pécsi egyetemalapítás [The Capella Regia and the Foundation of the University of Pécs], in: Csizmadia, Andor (ed.), A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás történetéből 1367–1967. A pécsi egyetemtörténeti konferencia anyagából [From the History of 600 Years of Legal Higher Education 1367–1967. From the Documents of the University History Conference in Pécs], (Studia Iuridica Auctoritate Universitatis Pécs Publicata 60.) Pécs, 1968, pp. 26; BÓNIS, György: A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon [Legally Qualified Intellectuals in Hungary before Mohács] Budapest, 1971, pp. 42.

macy, namely the mastery of canon law essential for negotiations – specifically with the Holy See. As the majority of the monarch’s diplomats were from the clerics of the royal chapel, the royal chaplains were obliged to know the law properly. From the beginning of Louis the Great’s reign it is demonstrable that the members of his chapel in possession of various church benefices enrolled at the faculty of law of the Italian universities. Bishop Vilmos headed the royal diplomatic body from 1358 as a secret chancellor and a chapel ispán, therefore, he could recognise the advantages of a possible university foundation. The diplomat-bishop had personal experience in this field, since as the one-time chaplain of Charles IV he must have known the University of Prague well. Under these circumstances, one cannot question the most important purpose of establishing a university, namely, that the diplomats of the monarch – instead of travelling to Bologna or Padua – could be educated in a closer, easily accessible and certainly less expensive *studium generale* in Pécs. Naturally the monarch had to contribute to the foundation; however, the role Louis I played was confined to formalities, which was necessary during the official process of the Holy See. The initiative part of the bishop is supported by both the selection of the university’s site and his role in the allowances of the professors.<sup>31</sup>

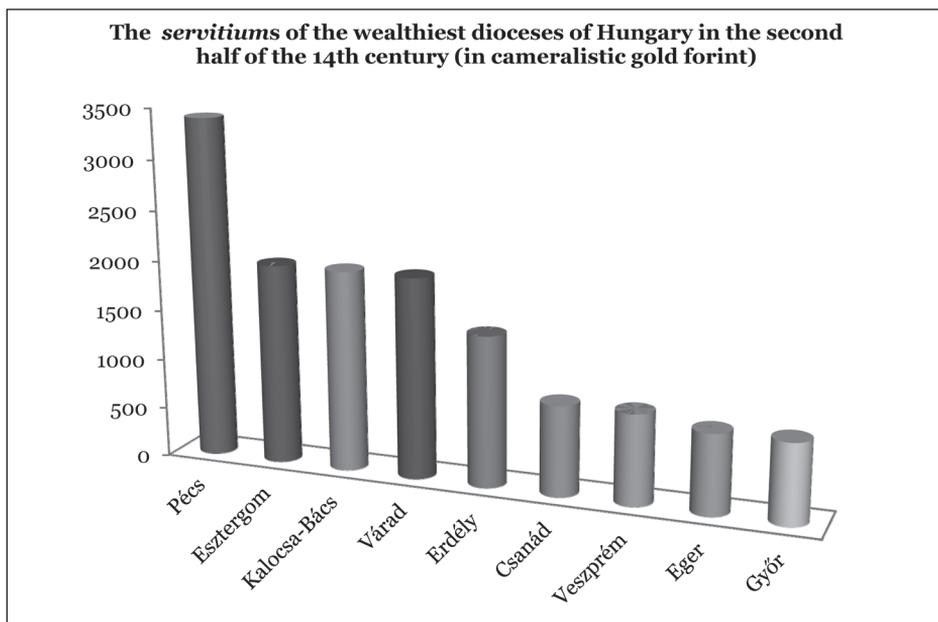
After his appointment as bishop, Vilmos promised to contribute a huge sum of money. He undertook to pay 3400 cameralistic gold-forints and 5 *servitia minuta*, altogether 3825 forints to the *Camera Apostolica* and the College of Cardinals in return for the *servitium commune*.<sup>32</sup> According to the latest studies, the sum of the tax recorded in the meticulously kept papal tax books was the fifth-sixth part – as opposed to the previously believed third – of the expected annual income of the dioceses.<sup>33</sup> On the basis of the *Obligationes et Solutiones* volumes kept in the Vatican Secret Archives, of the contemporary Hungarian dioceses, Pécs was the most lucrative.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> FEDELES, Tamás: 1367 Pécs/Fünfkirchen. Die erste ungarische Universität, in: *Specimina Nova Pars Prima, Sectio Mediaevalis*, VIII. (2015) pp. 112.

<sup>32</sup> According to the data survived in papal tax-books, between 1364 and 1370 he sent altogether 2027 forints to Avignon. *Cameralia documenta pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae I. (Obligationes, Solutiones), II. (Visitationes, Quindennia, Rationes, Annatae, Obl. part., Legationes, Varia, Taxae)*. Ediderunt: †József Lukscics, Péter Tumor, Tamás Fedeles, Budapest–Rome 2014 (*Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae Classis I. Vol. 9–10*) (hereafter: *Cameralia*) vol. I, no. 62, 425, 429, 431, 439, 446, 449, 456.

<sup>33</sup> FEDELES, Tamás: The Apostolic Camera and the Hungarian Church Benefices during the Conciliarist Era, in: BÁRÁNY, Attila (ed.), *Das Konzil von Konstanz und Ungarn*, Debrecen, 2016, pp. 226–227.

<sup>34</sup> See the Hungarian data in *Cameralia I*. See the data on the dioceses of western Christianity, *Taxae pro communibus servitiis. Ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1445 confectis*. Excerpsit: (Studii e Testi 144.) Hoberg, Hermannus, Città del Vaticano, 1949.



*„in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale”<sup>35</sup>*

Thorough examination preceded the foundation of a university; the Holy See demanded a guarantee of the suitability of the chosen location and of the intellectual and financial background required for the institution’s functioning. In the case of Pécs, Bartolomeo Piacentini, the professor of law at the University of Padua gathered information about the circumstances.<sup>36</sup> The jurist and outstanding diplomat represented the Prince of Padua, Francesco Carrara at the Hungarian–Venetian peace negotiations, as a result of which the Treaty of Zara was signed (1358). As Vilmos of Koppenbach was also present at the signing, he might have become acquainted with Piacentini. In all probability, he advised Louis I to invite the Italian scholar to Hungary, which is recorded in the contemporary sources as well. Accordingly, the professor visited the Hungarian royal court in 1360 and was appointed as a councillor by the monarch, who received him at his residence for a while. Piacentini’s visit is likely to be related to the preparation of the university foundation. Through the alliance

<sup>35</sup> SZÖGI, Régi magyar egyetemek (as note 20) pp. 53.

<sup>36</sup> On his person, see BIANCHI, Di Francesco: Piacentini, Bartolomeo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 83. (2015) (=http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-piacentini\_(Dizionario-Biografico) [12.05.2017])

between Hungary and Padua, the *studium generale* of Padua – which was best known by Piacentini – served as a model for the prospective Hungarian university. It is common knowledge that the bull authorizing the University of Pécs was issued in the papal palace of Viterbo on 1 September, 1367.<sup>37</sup> At that time, Bartolomeo Piacentini and Pileo Prata, the bishop of Padua and the chancellor of the University of Padua were in the papal court. Relying upon these findings one can conclude that in the papal Curia the Italian professor – who was (also) an expert of Hungarian affairs – was also consulted in the course of the process authorizing the establishment of the *studium generale*. The Augustinian Radolphus de Castello, the most educated professor of theology at the time, was also present in the Italian town. He arrived back from Hungary a couple of days earlier, on 28 August. The presence of Castello clearly shows that he must have been the person commissioned by the Holy See to settle the problematic cases in Hungary before the foundation's authorization.<sup>38</sup>

In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the process of the Holy See preceding the university foundation can be summarised as follows. 1) The monarch presented a request to the Holy See. 2) The Roman Curia initiated a complex examination to determine whether the appointed place of the prospective university was suitable for the establishment of the institution. 3) Next, the deed of foundation was sent to the Holy See along with the documents on the privileges given to the members of the university by the city's authority. 4) Finally – if everything went well – the papal bull of foundation was issued.<sup>39</sup> In the case of Pécs the sovereign monarch of the country presented the official request (*supplicatio*).<sup>40</sup> However – as already mentioned above –, the role of the king was only of a protocolaire nature: the bishop of Pécs, Vilmos himself ensured the operation of the institution. The order of the papal bull of 2 September addressed to Louis I indicates this, in which Pope Urban made a condition of authorizing the foundation: “*the payment of the masters and doctors of this*

<sup>37</sup> SZÖGI, Régi magyar egyetemek (as note 20) pp. 53–56.

<sup>38</sup> BODA, Miklós: Stúdium és literatúra. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok [Study and Literature. Studies in Cultural History] Pécs, 2002, pp. 7–13.

<sup>39</sup> VETULANI: A pécsi egyetem (as note 14) pp. 23–34; DIENER, Hermann: Die Hohen Schulen, ihre Lehrer und Schüler in der Registern der päpstlichen Verwaltung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. in: FRIED, Johannes (ed.), Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und spaeten Mittelalter, (Vorträge und Forschungen 30.) Sigmaringen, 1986 pp. 353–358; POST, Gaines: The Papacy and the Rise of University, William J. Courtenay (ed.), (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 54.) Leiden–Boston, 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the text of the supplication has not been revealed yet. Only the request of the institution in Krakow (1363) is known among contemporary East-Central European universities. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano (hereafter: ASV) Registra Supplicatio-num vol. 31, fol. 83r, DIENER, Die Hohen Schulen (as note 39) pp. 354.

*university should always be provided by the prevailing monarch of Hungary*”.<sup>41</sup> As one will see later, the order remained a dead letter, since the bishop had to shoulder all the burden of the professorial staff’s payment.

Following general practice, the institution that was opened in Pécs was called *studium generale* by the contemporary sources. Today, the institutions that offer the highest level of education are called universities, which is the English equivalent of the Latin *universitas*. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages, this word had a much wider meaning, generally used for all kinds of alliances and communities. For instance, the general name of the German community living in Transylvania with great autonomy contained the word “university” (*Universitas Saxonum*). Therefore, the medieval universities should be called *studium generale*, which refers to the general studies; furthermore, the term of *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* should be used for the professors and the pupils.<sup>42</sup>

The original copy of the deed of foundation of the medieval university of Pécs did not survive. Its known text was preserved in two invoice books kept in the papal Chancery; at present they are in the Vatican Secret Archives, in volume 16 of the *Registra Vaticana* and in volume 165 of the *Registra Avenionensia*.<sup>43</sup> The papal bull is clear about the privileges of the professors, pupils and the would be faculties: “*We have decided and also ordained that there be a studium generale in the aforesaid city of Pécs, that it should forever excel in the faculty of civil and canon law and in any other permitted faculty except theology, that its teachers and students should enjoy and use all the privileges, liberties, and immunities granted to doctors, teachers, and students who are members of a studium generale*”.<sup>44</sup> The organization of the faculty of liberal arts is not explicitly mentioned in the deed of foundation, however, considering the structure and function of the medieval universities, the faculty that prepared for higher education, such as law studies, was indispensable. Namely, the pupils gained knowledge primarily about Latin grammar that was necessary to the atten-

<sup>41</sup> “[...] ac volumus, quod magistris et doctoribus, qui in huiusmodi legunt studio per Regem Ungarie pro tempore existentem, in competentibus stipendiis provideatur.” – SZÖGI, Régi magyar egyetemek (as note 20) pp. 56–58.

<sup>42</sup> FEDELES, Tamás – LENGVÁRI, István – POHÁNKA, Éva – POLYÁK, Petra: A pécsi felsőoktatás évszázadai [The centuries of higher education in Pécs] Pécs, 2017<sup>2</sup>, pp. 14.

<sup>43</sup> ASV, Registra Vaticana (= Reg. Vat.) vol. 16, fol. 68v–69r; ASV, Registra Avenionensia (= Reg. Av.) vol. 165, fol. 441v–442r.

<sup>44</sup> “statuimus, ac etiam ordinamus, ut in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale, ibique perpetuis temporibus inibi vigeat tam in iuris canonici et civilis, quam alia qualibet licita, praeterquam in Theologia, facultate, et quod legentes et studentes ibidem omnibus privilegiis, libertatibus, concessis doctoribus, legentibus et studentibus commo- rantibus in studio generali, gaudeant et utantur”: SZÖGI, Régi magyar egyetemek (as note 20) pp. 53–55. – On the English version, see: GABRIEL, The Mediaeval Universities (as note 2) pp. 18–21.

dance of higher faculties (*superiores*).<sup>45</sup> This faculty could essentially be built upon the capitular school of high standard that kept the old traditions, upon its library and its professors. As mentioned above, the establishment of the faculty of law was the most important aspect of the foundation. Although the papal charter mentions the teaching of both canon and civil law, there are data only in relation to the canon law, which indicates that it was more important. Naturally, in the general description the faculty of medicine was also referred to, however, there is no direct data on its operation.<sup>46</sup>

As it was demonstrated, the foundation of the faculty of theology was not allowed in Pécs by the Holy See (*praeterquam in Theologia*). Therefore, in this sense, the University of Pécs – similar to the ones in Krakow and in Vienna – is regarded as an “incomplete” institution. Some are of the opinion that it was due to the monopolistic situation of the University of Paris. Consequently, the Holy See wanted to keep the privileges of the institution offering the highest level of theological teaching; moreover, to increase the prestige of the faculty itself, therefore it did not allow the establishment of this faculty for the newly opening universities.<sup>47</sup>

The latest, relevant researches called attention to two further circumstances. On the one hand, it was rather the need for the protection of faculty of theology in Prague and the incident of Krakow that could have been in the background of the above mentioned prohibition. The foundation of the University of Krakow was not supported by the bishop of Krakow, who was opposed to Casimir III (1333–1370), thus the success of the foundation is primarily owing to the diplomatic efforts of the archbishop of Gniezno. Besides, the attitude of the local ordinary made the establishment of the faculty of theology impossible. In addition, the peripheral situation of the Kingdom of Poland, namely its great distance from the Holy See, also contributed to the refusal of permission. As for Rome, it doubted the maintenance of the faith’s purity at a faculty of theology that was in such a country where orthodoxy was tolerated, and which did not take severe measures against the pagan Lithuanians. The Polish monarch’s tolerance for the Israelites was also not appreciated by the papacy. The case of Krakow created a precedent, as a result of which – despite the explicit request of Rudolph IV – Urban V did not authorize the establishment of the faculty of theology in Vienna, though, every condition had been met.

<sup>45</sup> HAJNAL, István: *L’enseignement de l’écriture aux universités médiévales*, Budapest, 1954.

<sup>46</sup> Ede Petrovich’s hypothesis concerning the existence of the faculty of medicine relied on the change of the patrociniuum of the house of healing in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. PETROVICH, Ede: Pécs középkori kórháza [The Medieval Hospital of Pécs] in: *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve*, 5. (1960) pp. 273.

<sup>47</sup> BÉKEFI, Remig: *A pécsi egyetem* [The University of Pécs], Budapest, 1909, pp. 32–33.

The permission would have been an obvious discrimination against Krakow. As a direct consequence, the faculty of theology at the Mecsek hills was also not possible to be opened.<sup>48</sup>

Considering its structure, the University of Pécs belonged to the ones of chancellery type, which followed the example of the institution in Padua based on the model of Bologna. It was headed by the prevailing bishop as a chancellor. He had the actual power, thus, he had authority over the students and professors, and moreover, he directed the institution. In case of vacancy of the episcopal see, the cathedral chapter elected a vicar to represent the chancellery. After having passed the exam, the chancellor granted the academic degrees to the nominees. The process was the following: the examiner professors introduced the nominee worthy of a degree to the chancellor, then he gathered the doctors and masters of the given faculty. If the expert plenum found the candidate suitable after a thorough examination, the chancellor gave him the required academic degree and the license to teach (*licentia ubique docendi*). Hence, from that time onward, the newly appointed doctor could teach at any university, naturally at a faculty in accordance with his doctoral degree.<sup>49</sup>

*„doctoribus vel licentiatis in studio Quinqueecclesiensi actu legentibus”<sup>50</sup>*

University education without a qualified staff is unimaginable, therefore, the most important data on the professors related to the *studium* of Pécs should be summarised below.<sup>51</sup>

Undoubtedly, the most famous professor of Pécs was Galvano da Bologna (*Galvano Bethini de Bononia*), the canonist from Bologna.<sup>52</sup> He completed his studies in Padua, where he acquired his doctoral degree in canon law (1361), and then in the following years he was a professor of canon law at the Univer-

<sup>48</sup> KNOLL, Paul W.: „A Pearl of Powerful Learning”. The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century, (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 52.) Leiden/Boston, 2016. pp. 16–17.

<sup>49</sup> FEDELES, 1367 Pécs/Fünfkirchen (as note 31) pp. 116–117.

<sup>50</sup> ASV Reg. Av. vol. 173, fol. 373r.

<sup>51</sup> PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetem ismeretlen tanárai [Unknown Teachers of the Medieval University of Pécs], in: Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 71. (1967) pp. 290–296; FEDELES, Tamás: A középkori pécsi egyetem tanárai [Teachers of the Medieval University of Pécs], in: LENGVÁRI, István (ed.), Pécsi Egyetemi Almanach [University Almanach of Pécs] vol. I, 1367–1950, Pécs, 2015, pp. 11–14.

<sup>52</sup> COLLE, Francesco Maria: Storia scientifico-letteraria dello Studio di Padova, vol. III, Padova 1825, pp. 46–52.

sity of Padua.<sup>53</sup> Galvano first appeared in sources related to Hungarian affairs in September 1371. In his letter, Gregory XI demanded that with Vilmos, the bishop of Pécs and the chancellor of the University of Pécs he should mediate between the Hungarian king and the Holy Roman emperor in their peace negotiations. One year later, as a diplomat of the Hungarian king he negotiated in Avignon in the company of Albert of Bachenstein, the canon of Pécs.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, as a member of the royal diplomacy he could also benefit from his mastery in canon law on behalf of the king of Hungary. Bishop Vilmos was able to attract an acknowledged Italian canonist to Pécs in the person of Galvano, who was appointed to professorship in Pécs at the beginning of the 1370s. The bull of Gregory XI that confirmed the professorial grant was issued on 30 September, 1372.<sup>55</sup> He obtained an outstanding salary for his work in Pécs, annually it was 300 silver marks – which were 600 gold-forints – moreover, he got the title of *Ürög* (70 forints) and a flat in the town.<sup>56</sup> Taking the general salary of his contemporary colleagues in Western Europe into account, which was not more than 100 forints, he was the best paid professor of his age.<sup>57</sup> This is further demonstrated by the honorarium of the professors of Bologna, which was 60 ducats.<sup>58</sup> This exceptional fee could be explained by the fact that Galvano also performed the duties of legal counsellor of the bishopric; furthermore, the bishop could have recompensed his diplomatic activity on behalf of the king and the church this way. After the death of Bishop Vilmos, the Italian scholar left the town, which clearly shows his close relationship with the prelate. Between 1374 and 1376 he taught in Bologna,<sup>59</sup> then from 1379 to 1382 in

<sup>53</sup> CSIZMADIA, Andor: Galvano di Bologna pécsi működése és a középkori magyar jogi oktatás egyes kérdései [Galvano di Bologna 's Work in Pécs and Some Questions of Medieval Hungarian Legal Education] in: *Jubileumi tanulmányok*, pp. 113.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem* pp. 111; FEDELES, Tamás: Die personelle Zusammensetzung des Domkapitels zu Fünfkirchen im Spätmittelalter (1354–1526) (*Studia Hungarica*, Bd. 51.) Regensburg, 2012, pp. 413.

<sup>55</sup> KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus*, vol. III (as note 28) pp. 129–131.

<sup>56</sup> “[...] ibi provisionem annuam trecentarum marcharum argenti, seu sexcentorum florenorum auri percipiendam et habendam per te insuper bonis ad mensam episcopalem Quinque Ecclesiensem spectante tibi in certis terminis persolvendam constituit, et etiam deputavit. Et quod nihilominus, villam de Yruch Quinque Ecclesiensis dioecesis et domum quam in Civitate Quinque Ecclesiense inhabitas [...]” – KOLLER, *Historia episcopatus*, vol. III (as note 28) pp. 129–131.

<sup>57</sup> ÁBEL, Jenő: *Egyetemeink a középkorban* [Hungarian Medieval Universities] Budapest, 1881, pp. 12; GABRIEL, *The Mediaeval Universities* (as note 2) pp. 24.

<sup>58</sup> COLLE: *Storia scientifico-letteraria*, pp. 48.

<sup>59</sup> The bull of Gregory XI of 3 August, 1374, in which he ordered Galvano's employment in the professorial college of the University of Bologna. “Sane accepimus, quod dilectus filius Galvanus de Bononia, decretorum doctor. adeo hactenus iuris canonici studiis laudabiliter insudarit, prout adhuc indefessis laboribus et sollicitudine operosa insudat, quod olim in

Padua, and finally he returned to Bologna. During his professorship in Bologna, he obtained 260 ducats by the order of the pope, which was nearly the five times the amount of the general professorial salary there.<sup>60</sup> Many of his works on canon law are known; one of them (*Repetitio in glossa Opinionem. Cap I. De constitutionibus*) might have been written in Pécs.<sup>61</sup>

It has been assumed that a professor called Rudolph, master of liberal arts and the licentiate in canon law taught church law in Pécs. This was based on one of the notes of 1372 in the book of accounts of Petrus Stephani, papal tithe collector. The record says that by right of his apostolic prestige, Bishop Vilmos granted a canonical benefice in the diocese of Eger to Master Rudolph, who had a *licentia* in canon law.<sup>62</sup> Later, this person also obtained the benefice of the provost in the cathedral chapter of Pécs (1383–1400), which further affirmed the above mentioned hypothesis.<sup>63</sup> The ominous granting of benefice in Eger was in line with the papal permission that granted the bishop of Pécs rights to reserve three vacant canonical benefices in three dioceses of the Kingdom of Hungary for three suitable persons.<sup>64</sup> During my research in the Vatican Secret Archives in June 2016, I found the papal document (see Appendix no 1) that makes the previous assumption concerning Rudolph unquestionable; moreover, it informs on the salary of the professors. According to the document of 21 August, 1371 by the request of Vilmos, the bishop of Pécs, Pope Gregory XI allowed the prelate to grant one or two church benefices (*unum vel duo bene-*

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Paduano studio generali doctoratus insignia meruit obtinere, et deinde in ipso Paduano, et Quinqueecclesiensi studiis laudabiliter, et ordinare decretales easdem in nostrae Bononiensis civitatis studio est assumptus. Cupientes igitur etc. vobis per Apostolica scripta mandamus. quatenus Galvanum praedictum vestro Collegio pro nostra et Apostolicae Sedis reverentia aggregare [...] – Ibidem.

<sup>60</sup> “Attendentes, quod dilectus filius Galvanus de Bononia [...] nuper assumptus ad legendum in Bononiensi studio decretales easdem, specialiter pollens dono scientiae, in specialis favoris nostri gratiam promeretur, et quod ultra sexaginta ducatos auri pro salario secundum morem dicti studii Bononiensi annuatim percipere non deberet, et quod extra eandem civitatem sibi multo maius salarium datum est hactenus, et daretur etiam in futuris, ac nolentes propterea tantum doctorem occasione praedicta concedere a studio Bononiensi praefato, nec cum suo damno retinere invitum, ducentos ducatos auri ultra dictos sexaginta ducatos de speciali dono deputavimus Galvano praedicto, persolvendos eidem annis singulis; et, ne id trahatur ab aliis doctoribus forsitan in exemplum, ordinavimus etc.” – Ibidem.

<sup>61</sup> See the list of his works: Ibidem pp. 50–52.

<sup>62</sup> Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia. Vatikáni magyar okirattár, I/1–6, II/1–3, Budapest, 1881–1909. [reprint: 2000] (hereafter: MVH) vol. I/1, pp. 479–480.

<sup>63</sup> On his person, see: FEDELES, Tamás: Rudolf prépost a szabad művészetek borostyánkószorúsa és a kánonjog licenciátusa [Provost Rudolf, the Baccalaureate of Liberal Arts and Licensed Teacher of Canon Law] in: Pécsi Szemle 6, 2003, 2, pp. 8–13.

<sup>64</sup> MVH I/1, pp. 495.

*ficia ecclesiastica aut duas prebendas*) in the churches of Esztergom, Eger and Zagreb (*in Strigoniensi et Agriensi ac Zagrabiensi ecclesiis*) to three suitable persons teaching at the university of Pécs with a doctorate or *licentia* in canon or civil law (*tribus personis ydoneis in iure canonico vel civili doctoribus vel licentiatibus in studio Quinqueecclesiensi actu legentibus*).<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately there is no data on the professors of Pécs obtaining benefices in the given cathedral chapters of Esztergom and Zagreb, yet. Consequently, the salary of the *studium generale*'s teachers was provided by various church benefices in addition to the wealth of the episcopate. In 1367 Urban V, then his successor Gregory XI allowed the teachers and students of the *studium generale* of Pécs to enjoy the incomes of their church benefices for five years even if living away from them.<sup>66</sup> This practice is by no means without example, since the bestowal of church benefices to the professors was a general occurrence of the age.<sup>67</sup>

There is only one reference to Hermann Lurcz of Nurnberg's activity in Pécs. In the volume of *Liber decanorum* published in Prague in 1379, it was noted that Lurcz arrived to Prague from the University of Pécs.<sup>68</sup> It is certain that he went to Bohemia from the *studium generale* of Pécs, however, based on this note it remains unclear whether he was a member of the professorial staff, or he only studied in Pécs and was later appointed to a professorship in the *alma mater*. There is no more data on his activity in Pécs; therefore, one can only assume that he was a professor of the first Hungarian university, which is further affirmed by the fact that after arriving from Pécs, he taught liberal arts in Prague. This leads us to believe that he could have been the lecturer of the *facultas artium* in Pécs. In addition to his work in Prague until 1382, he also studied medicine.<sup>69</sup> In the spring of 1386, he was already in Vienna, where he

<sup>65</sup> ASV, Reg. Av. vol. 173, fol. 378rv.

<sup>66</sup> BÉKEFI, A pécsi egyetem (as note 47) pp. 124–125; KOLLER, Historia episcopatus, vol. III (as note 28) pp. 178–180.

<sup>67</sup> HESSE, Christian: Pfründen, Herrschaften und Gebühren. Zu Möglichkeiten spätmittelalterlicher Universitätsfinanzierung im Alten Reich, in: SCHWINGES, Reiner Christoph (ed.), Finanzierung von Universität und Wissenschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 6.) Basel, 2005, pp. 57–86.; MATHEUS, Michael: Fonti vaticane e storia dell'università in Europa. in: Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini (Reti medievali e-book 15), Firenze, 2011, pp. 280–283.

<sup>68</sup> "1379 Item in vigilia Trinitatis receptus fuit mag[ister] Hermannus Lurcz de studio Quin[queec]cle[sien]si d[edit]" – Liber Decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585, (Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis Vol. I. Pars. I.) Pragae, 1830 pp. 186.

<sup>69</sup> GABRIEL, The Mediaeval Universities (as note 2) pp. 26; FEDELES, A középkori pécsi egyetem tanárai (as note 51); HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter – KELÉNYI, Borbála – SZÖGI, László: Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525 (Magyarországi diákok

might have been invited by Prince Albert III, who took upon himself the reorganisation of the university. Soon, he became an acknowledged professor of the medical faculty of the university, which is well demonstrated by his election as the dean of the faculty (1389), moreover the compilation of the medical faculty's regulation is linked with his name. His prestige is shown by his election as the rector of the university in 1390. In the meantime, he obtained a doctoral degree in theology from the University of Vienna in 1392, and then from 1395 he worked as the professor of theology and medicine at the University of Erfurt, where he became the rector of the institution from 1396. There is only one scientific work known written by him, the philosophical treatise *De paralogismis circa materiam SS Trinitatis fieri consuetis*.<sup>70</sup>

From the short operation of the *studium generale* of Pécs, there is only one source mentioning an awarding of doctoral degree. In the spring of 1369, by the authorization of Urban V, Pál, the provost of Szeben was to receive his doctoral degree upon passing the necessary exam. It is worth quoting the most important extracts of the papal order addressed to Cato, the provost of Bács: “*For our beloved son – as we have heard –, Pál, the provost of Szeben endeavoured and advanced in his canonical studies to such a degree that he became its expert and worthy of being awarded the doctorate and its insignia, Pál has approached us with the humble request that we were pleased to raise him to the given doctoral degree. With this document, we therefore [...] furnish you with the total and free authority of endowing the same Pál with the title of doctor and the right to teach in the town of Pécs, if you find him suitable and decent (...) during a thorough examination.*”<sup>71</sup> The doctor's degree was not conferred on Pál by Bishop Vilmos, the chancellor of

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a középkori egyetemeken 2–3.) [Students from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348–1525. ] vol. I–II, Budapest, 2016–2017 vol. II, pp. 66, no. 180.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem; PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetemre vonatkozó források [Sources for the Medieval University of Pécs] in: A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás (as note 30) pp. 93.

<sup>71</sup> 2 April, 1369.: “Cum, sicut accepimus, dilectus filius Paulus prepositus Cibiniensis adeo in iuris canonici facultate studuerit et profecerit in eadem, quod in ea peritus existit et digne meretur in ipsa facultate honorem et insignia recipere doctoratus fuit nobis pro ipsius Pauli parte humiliter supplicatum, ut ipsum ad honorem dicti doctoratus promoveri de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos itaque [...] eidem Paulo in civitate Quinqueecclesiensi, si ipsum per diligenter examinationem ad hoc ydoneum et sufficientem esse repereris, doctoratus honorem et docendi licentiam [...] plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem.” – ASV Reg. Av. vol. 170, fol. 541r. – The text of the charter was published by Remig Békefi after the collection of Vilmos Fraknói (BÉKEFI, A pécsi egyetem (as note 47) pp. 126–127.), and based on this it was published by László Szögi Szögi, Régi magyar egyetemek (as note 20) pp. 62–63.). In the latter volume, however, the bull was incorrectly dated to 1377, therefore the bull was attributed to Pope Gregory XI. The original register volume, though, makes the date of formation indisputable, namely it has the following title: “Urbanus V. anno VII.”

the university, due to an official engagement. The bishop was represented by his close colleague, the doctor of canon law, Cato, who worked at the royal chapel as a diplomat.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, Pál received his doctoral degree in canon law in Pécs; moreover, he is likely to have completed his studies in the *studium generale* of Pécs. This latter assumption is confirmed by a recently revealed manuscript kept in the Brukenthal Library of Nagyszeben. Namely, the colophon text of a document containing treatises of canon law from 1364, contains the following: “*Hanc summam recitavi ego Galvanus decretorum doctor Paduensis decretales actui legens*”. In all likelihood this refers to the fact that Provost Pál took the mentioned notes of canon law to his post; moreover, according to Adinel Dinca’s assumption, he attended the lectures of Galvano at the University of Padua.<sup>73</sup> This offers an explanation why Pál obtained his doctoral degree in Pécs: naturally, the Hungarian students of Master Galvano followed him to Pécs. After the doctoral examination, the provost of Szeben might have taught at the university’s faculty of law, though, there is no data that confirms it.<sup>74</sup>

Apart from the above mentioned professors, there are three other persons who might have been teachers at the *studium generale* of Pécs: Jakab Kolozsvári, the canon of Eger; Miklós Szlavónai, the provost of Pozsega and Imre Czudar, the provost of Kalocsa then Fehérvár, and the canon of Pécs, Csanád and Eger.<sup>75</sup> Mainly the latter one can be presumed to have been a professor of Pécs. He appears in the sources as a person who was expert in the liberal arts and canon law, and as the member of the royal chapel (and the beneficiary of Pécs) he also had close connections with Bishop Vilmos. However, he could have been a professor of the university only for a short period, since in 1376 he was appointed as the bishop of Várad, which must have prevented him from teaching.<sup>76</sup>

„*olim in studio Quinqueecclesiensi*”<sup>77</sup>

There is no surviving register that contains the most important data of those who enrolled at the University of Pécs. In the absence of a register, there are only sporadic data on the former students. Besides the above mentioned Pál, provost

<sup>72</sup> KLANICZAY, Megoldott és megoldatlan kérdések (as note 18) pp. 165.

<sup>73</sup> The manuscript was found by Adinel Ciprian Dinca, the professor of the University of Babeş-Bolyai of Cluj-Napoca, who is still working on its processing. I hereby thank him for having called my attention to its existence.

<sup>74</sup> FEDELES, A középkori pécsi egyetem tanárai (as note 51)

<sup>75</sup> PETROVICH, A középkori pécsi egyetem ismeretlen tanárai (as note 51) pp. 290–296.

<sup>76</sup> On his person see: FEDELES, Die personelle Zusammensetzung (as note 54) pp. 333–334.

<sup>77</sup> MVH I/4, pp. 219.

of Szeben, there are eight other known students who were related to the institution. Among them, Péter Wydera received his degree of *baccalaureus artium* in Pécs, and then he continued his studies at the University of Prague (1384).<sup>78</sup>

The names of some alumni of Pécs were preserved in two requests sent to the Holy See in the early 1400s. The brief stories, fit for the pages of a crime story, hint at the dangers of being a student in the Middle Ages. Son of Benedek Csót, György (*qui etiam ibidem studebat*), who once studied in Pécs (*olim in studio Quinqueecclesiensi causa acquirendi scientie margaritam resideres*), was often abused orally by János Kancellár without any reason. Moreover, he was also threatened with potential physical abuse. The offended party had a bow and other weapons brought to keep his safety and lodged a complaint with the magister. The school-master reprimanded János Kancellár by the request of György. Yet, instead of making peace, the violent youth directly attacked his teacher with a stick, who was forced to escape home from the *studium*. After witnessing this, one of their peers, György, son of Fábíán Szöllösi, persuaded Csót to walk to their accommodation together. However, on their way home they passed the flat of Kancellár, who took advantage of the opportunity and shot an arrow at him. As their lives were at risk, Csót also used his bow to respond to the attack. One of his ill-fated arrows was lodged in the left eye of the attacker, who deceased three days later as a result of the attack (*post triduum diem clausit extremum*). In the summer of 1400 the Holy See cleared Csót and later Szöllösi of the charge of manslaughter, since they wanted to receive higher ecclesiastic positions.<sup>79</sup>

The main characters of the other story were the son of László, Lukács and his peer whose name is unknown (*constudens*); both were students in Pécs. One day, they were in the flat of Lukács, where they were playing with a knife and a whip. While playing, Lukács accidentally hurt his peer's arm with his knife. One day later, the injured arm became swollen. They visited a doctor, who recommended cupping to ease the pain. However, this did not help, moreover the state of the injured took a turn for the worse and soon, 12 days later he passed away. Due to his innocence – that was also confirmed by the injured before his death – Lukács applied for papal dispensation, which he got in February 1402.<sup>80</sup>

In 1372 Miklós Zimonyi, the canon of Bács bought three books – one was a grammar book – from András Sasmikó in Pécs. The 99-page-long parchment manuscript of high quality contained selections that were useful for learning Latin grammar, including extracts from Priscianus's grammar textbook.

<sup>78</sup> PETROVICH, A középkori pécsi egyetemre vonatkozó források (as note 70) pp. 95.

<sup>79</sup> MVH I/4, pp. 219–220, 281–282.

<sup>80</sup> MVH I/4, pp. 412–413.

Besides the grammatical explanations, there is a part in the compilation that could be used as a guide for letter-writing (*summa dictaminis*). It is possible that they stayed longer in Pécs and were peers, if one interprets the note on the manuscript that way (*dum morabatur Quinqueecclesiis a quondam socio Andrea nomine alio Sasmiko*). Relying upon these findings, they could have been the students of the university's faculty of arts.<sup>81</sup>

### *The question of the building of the medieval university*

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, historians dealing with the history of the university have been showing great concern about the location of the lectures. An armorial stone, which was discovered during a construction at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has caused a controversy; however, it is now clear that it could not have been related to the University of Pécs due to its characteristics that date to the turn of the 15–16<sup>th</sup> century. The fragment is likely to have belonged to a renaissance gravestone. Many locations emerged as possible locations of the university, such as Citrom Street, the late Dominican monastery, or the square Alsó Sétatér.<sup>82</sup>

On the basis of the impulsive account of Evlia Cselebi, a Turkish traveller of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, one might think that the medieval *studium generale* was in the bishop's castle near the cathedral.<sup>83</sup> The analogy of Krakow also affirms this idea, namely, Casimir the Great gave home to the university in the Wawel at the beginning. The exact location within the castle was determined by Mária Sándor in the course of her archaeological digs with Győző Gerő. During the exploration that started in 1967, the remains of the Golden Chapel of Mary (*capella deaurata beate Marie*) founded by Bishop Miklós Neszmélyi (1346–1360) were found in the north-western area behind the cathedral. On the area to the east, the ruins of a huge (35x10 metres) Gothic building were explored, the northern facade of which collapsed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the course of the archaeological excavations, certain elements of the former Romanesque episcopal palace's building were revealed. According to Sándor's theory, the palace was relocated to the land southwest to the cathedral in the middle of the

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<sup>81</sup> VIZKELETY, András: Ein Textzeuge der Grammatikstudien an der Universität Pécs? in: Die ungarische Universitätsbildung (as note 22) pp. 41–49.

<sup>82</sup> BODA, Stúdium és literatúra (as note 38) pp. 25–56, 57–68.

<sup>83</sup> In Balázs Sudár's opinion, the use of the text is rather problematic in localizing the medieval university, and consequently less useful in the argumentation. SUDÁR, Balázs: Pécs 1663-ban. Evlia cselebi és az első részletes városleírás. [Evlia cselebi and the First Detailed Town Description] Pécs, 2012 (Források Pécs történetéből 4) pp. 72, 172.

14<sup>th</sup> century, and then the chapel and the imposing building to east were built on a terrace created by embanking, which was identified by the archaeologist as the building of the medieval university. The 19 metres long room on the ground floor of the latter was the great auditorium (*magna aula*) of the university according to the archaeologist.<sup>84</sup> She supports her hypothesis, namely that the discovered building was erected by Bishop Vilmos himself for the university, by an armorial stone discovered during the excavation.<sup>85</sup> She has said the following lately: “*The location and role of the [university – T. F.] building are corroborated by the found armorial stone – which refers to the founder, Bishop Vilmos – that was placed above the entrance door of the »aula magna«*”.<sup>86</sup> The description of the mentioned coat of arms is the following: in the square of the shield-shaped armorial stone with a pointed base there is a cross, arching out towards the edges of the shield, elevated out of the slab’s level. In the intersection of the shafts, there are two keys, which are the attributes of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the patron saint of the cathedral of Pécs. At the end of the four shafts, Anjou lilies are depicted.<sup>87</sup> This coat of arms can also be seen on the bishop’s seal of Bishop Vilmos, in the lower field of the signet-field on the heraldic right,<sup>88</sup> which indisputably proves that the emblem was not the institution’s symbol, but the pontifical insignia of the prelate.

However, Mária Sándor’s attempt at the identification, described briefly above, is questionable in many respects. First of all, according to the general practice, the premises built expressly for universities were erected only from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, even in Western Europe. In the beginning, the universities did not have buildings and estates of their own; therefore, they actually lacked a permanent location, they were in a constant motion. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>84</sup> Some studies about her excavations and her studies on the building of the university: Freilegung der Bischofsburg von Pécs und der ersten Mittelalterlichen ungarischen Universität, in: Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich, 3. (1987) pp. 67–83.; Die Lage und das Gebäude der mittelalterlichen Universität von Pécs, in: SZÖGI, László – VARGA, Júlia (eds.), Universitas Budensis 1395–1995, Budapest, 1997, pp. 61–66; Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs–Archäologie und Bauforschung. Pécs püspökvár – Régészet és épületkutatás, Budapest, 1999. (ICOMOS–Heft des deutschen Nationalkomitees XXII.); A püspökvár középkori története és az egyetem épülete, in: FONT, Márta (ed.), A pécsi püspökvár feltárásának eredményei [The Results of the Excavation of the Bishop’s Palace in Pécs] Pécs, 2015, pp. 45–54.

<sup>85</sup> SÁNDOR, Freilegung der Bischofsburg (as note 84) pp. 70.

<sup>86</sup> SÁNDOR, A püspökvár középkori története (as note 84) pp. 52.

<sup>87</sup> TAKÁCS, Imre: Vilmos pécsi püspök (1361–1374) pecsétje [The Seal of William, Bishop of Pécs (1361–1374)] in: Marosi Ernő et alii (eds.), Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon [Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia] Budapest, 1994, pp. 299–300; FEDELES–LENGVÁRI–POHÁNKA–POLYÁK, A pécsi felsőoktatás (as note 42) pp. 24.

<sup>88</sup> The only known copy of the *sigillum* is on a charter kept in the Archive of the Primacy in Esztergom under the reference number of Lad. 73-Cc-24.

they obtained buildings for their own purposes, and in the 15<sup>th</sup> century they raised new buildings suitable specifically for education and administrative duties. The building complexes that were representative of the whole university were built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning, some lectures were held in the open air, but most took place in rented rooms. In many cases they were held at the lecturers' flats in private houses, or in rooms of such public places that were offered by monasteries, cathedral chapters or the town itself. The events that attracted a great audience were organized in public squares, while the conventions, exams, the inauguration of the rectors and the major holiday celebrations were held in churches and monasteries.<sup>89</sup>



Picture 1. The stone of Bishop Vilmos of Koppenbach's coat of arms  
(Source: Fedeles–Lengvári–Pohánka–Polyák, *A pécsi felsőoktatás* (as note 42) pp. 26.)



Picture 2. The imprint of the Bishop's seal of Bishop Vilmos  
(Source: Fedeles–Lengvári–Pohánka–Polyák, *A pécsi felsőoktatás*, 26.)

<sup>89</sup> RÜCKBROD, Konrad: *Universität und Kollegium. Baugeschichte und Bautypen*, Darmstadt 1977, pp. 33–35; KIENE, Michael: *Die Grundlagen der europäischen Universitätsbaukunst*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 46. (1983) pp. 65; GIEYSZTOR, Alexander: *Organisation und Ausstattung*, in: *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, pp. 133.

In 12–14<sup>th</sup> century Bologna, education took place in the doctors' private houses, which university rented for them. The popular teachers could give their lectures in public places, or in the bigger squares of the town in the open air. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the schools and faculties previously functioning dispersedly in the town were concentrated, namely a permanent district was designated, where rooms and houses were rented for educational purposes. In Bologna, the first university building destined for education was used by the faculty of law in 1447. In Paris, both the faculties and the meetings of the students of different nationalities were usually held in churches and convents, though their place was not permanent. Neither the university, nor certain faculties had a building of their own. The faculty of arts still rented houses for educational purposes in 1329, which were bought only after 1464. The lectures of the faculty of theology were still held in the chapter hall of the cathedral chapter in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, then for a while in a monastic church. The first mention of the faculty of medicine is from 1369; the faculty of canon law had two spacious schools built in 1415. The buildings erected for education of the historic Oxford University are also first mentioned in sources from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The new building for the faculty of arts was finished by 1439. In 1426 the university raised funds for a new building for the faculty of theology, whose lectures were held in the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary until the completion of the new building in 1488. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the jurists were educated still in the Church of Saint Edward.<sup>90</sup>

In the case of the Central and Eastern European *studium generales* founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the founding of the university did not coincide with the rise of university buildings. The University of Prague did not have its own building in the beginning. The assemblies were organized in the All Saints Church in the castle; moreover, the lectures of the faculty of theology were held there as well. In 1366, Charles IV established the *Collegium Carolinum* for the *artes*, the auditorium of which became the place for gatherings; the library as well as the rooms of the faculty of arts were placed there, too. In 1371 the law students then the students of medicine also obtained a building.<sup>91</sup>

The *Collegium Maius* of Krakow, whose predecessors were the Charles College of Prague and the *Collegio di Spagna* of Bologna (also built in the 1360s), were established in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to highlight

<sup>90</sup> RASHDALL, Hastings: *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Age* vol. I–II, Oxford, 1895, vol. I. pp. 219; 400–401; vol. II. pp. 461.; RÜCKBROD, *Universität und Kollegium* (as note 89) pp. 68–73, 88–90, 100.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>92</sup> ESTREICHER, Konrad: *Collegium Maius, Stammsitz der Jagellonischen Universität Krakau. Geschichte, Bräuche, Sammlungen*, Warszawa, 1974, pp. 11–15.; KNOLL, „A Pearl of Power-

that these colleges differed from the buildings created only for education, since they also included the flats of the professors.<sup>93</sup> This is clearly shown by the history of the *Collegium Ducale* of Vienna, which was founded by Prince Albert III (1384). 12 flats were given place in the two-story building of the college for the professors, who used the majority of the house with their household. Therefore, little space remained for education. In 1412, the faculty of arts laid claim to the extension of the building. Finally, in 1417, with the consent of the prince, two estates were bought near the university, then in 1421 the prince himself bought an old house standing next to the university. The new university building was finished by 1425, which was called assembly hall after its great auditorium. The hall was on the second floor; it was used for the major lectures of the faculty of arts and for other ceremonies. On the ground floor the other three faculties each received an auditorium. In addition, other places were also used, for instance the theologians attended lectures at the Dominicans or in the Saint Nicholas Church.<sup>94</sup> Based on this this, the statement of Hastings Rashdall is of universal validity: the erection and purchase of the independent university buildings may have happened in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; the universities started to use their own buildings for education instead of the professors' private flats and rented schools from the 1400s.<sup>95</sup>

Based on the processes outlined above, the question arises as to why the University of Pécs required an independent building right after the foundation. The necessary rooms for the lectures and practices must have been available within the bishop's castle; therefore, in my opinion it is quite doubtful that Bishop Vilmos would have had an independent building built for the university.<sup>96</sup> The Gothic building to the north of the cathedral, built by Bishop Miklós Neszmélyi, functioned as a bishop's palace in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while to the

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ful Learning" (as note 48) pp. 64–78, 114–130.

<sup>93</sup> KIENE, Die Grundlagen (as note 89) pp. 94.

<sup>94</sup> ASCHBACH, Joseph: Geschichte der Wiener Universität im ersten Jahrhunderte ihres Bestehens, Wien, 1865, pp. 39–40, 191–195.; UIBLEIN, Paul: Die Universität Wien im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: HAMANN, Günther – MÜHLBERGER, Kurt – SKACEL, Franz (eds.), Das alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, (Schriftenreihe des Universitätsarchivs 2) Wien, 1985 pp. 11, 19–30; PERGER, Richard: Universitätsgebäude und Bursen vor 1623, in: Ibidem, pp. 86–87.

<sup>95</sup> RASHDALL The Universities of Europe (as note 90) vol. I. pp. 219.

<sup>96</sup> The uncertainty of the function of the building is shown by the published results of archaeologist and art historian Gergely Buzás's research of the past couple of decades. In 2009 he held that the building was still used as a palace in the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, a couple of years later, he believed that Vilmos had had the episcopal residence moved to the south-western side of the cathedral and the building on the northern side of the cathedral was rebuilt for the university. BUZÁS, GERGELY: Az egyházmegye építészeti emlékei, in: A Pécsi Egyházmegye története, vol. I. pp. 655–656; BUZÁS, Gergely: A középkori pécsi püspökvár [The Medieval Episcopal Palace in Pécs] in: Echo simul una et quina, pp. 90–92.

west of the cathedral, the Golden Chapel of Mary was the episcopal chapel and burial place. It is undisputable that the erection and reconstruction of the building excavated by Mária Sándor must be connected to Bishop Vilmos due to the above described armorial stone. However, in the absence of further direct data it is problematic to attach a function to a building based on a coat of arms. Namely, it was a common practice that the builder had his coat of arms placed on the buildings he had built.<sup>97</sup> For this reason, it only follows that during the episcopacy of Vilmos of Koppenbach significant construction was carried out on the building.



Picture 3. The building of the so-called medieval university of Pécs  
(Picture taken by the author)

Where did the professors of Pécs give their lectures? First of all, it should be made clear again that higher education was not linked to a certain building in Europe in the given period of time. Therefore, I share the opinion of Ede Petrovich from couple of decades ago: “We should not search for a given building in Pécs which gave home to the university.”<sup>98</sup> The students of the *studium generale*

<sup>97</sup> It should be noted that the universities generally started to use a coat of arms from the 14–15<sup>th</sup> century, which were placed on their buildings, furniture. Cf. GIEYSZTOR, Organisation und Ausstattung (as note 89) pp. 137.

<sup>98</sup> PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetem épülete és címere [The Building and Coat of Arms of the Medieval University of Pécs] in: A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, 16. (1971) pp. 158–159.

of Pécs could attend lectures – in line with the contemporary practice – in the rooms of the centuries-old capitular school, in the houses of the professors or in the bigger churches.<sup>99</sup>

### *The closure of the medieval university of Pécs*

There have been several attempts to expand operation of the *studium generale* of Pécs up until the middle-end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; based on the chronicle of Miklós Istvánffy even until 1543.<sup>100</sup> According to the best-known hypothesis, in the first third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the university devolved into a *schola maior*, namely a university of “reduced function”, an episcopal college where arts and law was taught.<sup>101</sup> Yet, this idea must be rejected, because in sources from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the name ‘*schola maior* of Pécs’ referred to the capitular school. The lower and the middle section became the *schola minor*, while the upper section continued its function as a *schola maior*. In the lower and middle section the students learnt Latin grammar, while in the upper section they acquired the knowledge of ethics, philosophy, theology, astronomy, music and law. The senior students could also participate in elementary education as teachers, as it is shown by the example of Ipoly Veresmarthy. He studied at the upper section of the capitular school, while he was teaching Latin grammar at the lower section in the beginning of the 1430s. One of the codices of the National Library of Vienna includes many manuscripts that were copied by him, in which he called himself a *studens ac declenista* and *declinista* of Pécs. He enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1438.<sup>102</sup>

Based on the above, it can be stated that after the death of Bishop Vilmos, the *studium generale* of Pécs, which was strongly associated with him, started to decline. Its most prominent professor, Galvano da Bologna left Pécs and

<sup>99</sup> FEDELES–KOSZTA, Pécs (Fünfkirchen) (as note 27) pp. 213–214.

<sup>100</sup> “[...] fuit etiam olim in ea [in Quinqueecclesiensi – T. F.] Gymnasium litterarum haud incelebre, tanto iuuentum studiosorum concursu, ut paucis ante hoc bellum [anni 1543] annis, duo millia eorum in ea numerata fuisse ferantur.” – Quoted by: ÁBEL, Egyetemeink (as note 57) pp. 55–56, note 17.

<sup>101</sup> BÉKEFI, A pécsi egyetem (as note 47) pp. 49; PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetem megszűnése [The End of the Medieval University of Pécs] in: A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, 11. (1966) pp. 166; GABRIEL, The Mediaeval Universities (as note 2) pp. 33.

<sup>102</sup> Ede Petrovich mistakenly connected it to the University of Pécs. PETROVICH, Ede: Veresmarthy Ipoly pécsi kódexe [Ipoly Veresmarthy’s Pécs Codex] in: Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 72, 1968, pp. 672–676; TÜSKÉS, Anna: Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365–1526 (Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemeken 1.) [Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna 1365–1526.] Budapest 2008 pp. 154, no. 2705.

taught in Italy again from 1374. The successor of Vilmos of Koppenbach at the head of the diocese of Pécs, Bálint Alsáni (1374–1408) held the office of the chancellery, however, the institution is likely to have been closed under his episcopate in the 1390s. At the time of the establishment of the University of Óbuda (1395), the *universitas* of Pécs had certainly ceased its operation.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, we can rightly ask the question: what reasons led to the closure of the University of Pécs? Obviously the decline of each institution could have been the result of several unique reasons that may never come to light due to the lack of sources. In the case of Pécs, it should be highlighted that the institution was entirely linked to the person of the founder, Bishop Vilmos. The signs of decay appeared after his death, an illustrative example of which was the departure of Professor Galvano Bethini. The troubled internal situation after the death of King Louis (1382–1387), in the course of which the Horvátis wreaked havoc on Pécs, also had a negative effect on the operation of the university, which might have closed its doors in this critical period.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, the initial, primarily financial insecurity was not unique among the universities founded in the region. The *studium generale* of Krakow started to decline under the rule of Louis (1370–1382) in Poland, and then was reorganized by Władysław II Jagiello, in the second half of the 1390s.<sup>105</sup> The University of Vienna got new impulses by Prince Albert III with a second deed of foundation (1384).<sup>106</sup> In the case of these two institutions, there was practically a re-foundation.<sup>107</sup>

Finally, another aspect should be examined that has some significance beyond Pécs and is palpable in the background of every medieval Hungarian university's short life. Namely that considering the demand for higher education of medieval Hungarian society, there really was no need for a Hungarian university. Neither the small percentage of those in the total population who

<sup>103</sup> On the foundations of Sigismund of Luxembourg in Óbuda, see: DOMOKOS, Leslie S.: The Founding (1395) and Refounding (1410) of the University of Óbuda, in: SZÖGI, László and VARGA, Julia (eds.), *Universitas Budensis, 1395–1995*, Budapest, 1997, pp. 19–34.

<sup>104</sup> On this event, as well as on the medieval decay of the town, see FEDELES, Tamás: „a tűzvész tombolása következtében minden összeomlott”. A középkori Pécs pusztulásai [„Everything has collapsed as a result of the raging of a fire”. The Destruction of Medieval Pécs] in: VARGA, Szabolcs (ed.), *Vészterhes idők a Mecsekalján. Háborúk, ostromok, járványok Pécssett az ókortól a második világháborúig. (Pécsi Mozaik 8)* [Calamitous Times at the Mecsekalja. Wars, Sieges, Epidemics in Pécs from Antiquity to World War II. (Pécs Mosaic 8.)] Pécs 2017, pp. 87–103.

<sup>105</sup> HARASZTI–KELÉNYI–SZÖGI, *Magyarországi diákok* (as note 69) vol. I. pp. 48.

<sup>106</sup> On the history of the university, see: MÜHLBERGER, Kurt (ed.): *Die Universität Wien. Kurze Blicke auf eine lange Geschichte*, Holzhausen/Wien, 1996.

<sup>107</sup> FONT, Márta: A középkori pécsi egyetem. Történeti összefoglalás [The Medieval University of Pécs. Historical Summary] in: *A pécsi püspökvár feltárásának* (as note 84) pp. 11–20., 19–20.

had the ambition of acquiring high-level knowledge, nor the high expenses of the *studium generales* facilitated university foundation. It is no coincidence then that neither Sigismund of Luxembourg's (1387–1437) university in Óbuda (1395, 1410), nor Matthias Corvinus's (1458–1490) university of Pozsony (1467) lasted very long. Young Hungarians wishing to learn initially visited the North Italian institutions, and then from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when more universities became accessible, they enrolled at the universities of Prague, Krakow and Vienna and later of Germany. This is verified by the increasing amount of Hungarians from the 1380s who attended the institutions operating in the region. In Prague, there is a rising tendency from the second half of the 1370s that reached its peak in 1383.<sup>108</sup> In Vienna, there were altogether 7213 Hungarian students between 1365 and 1526, while between 1377 and 1400 there were 616. Among the latter, 12 were from Pécs and other 11 members from the diocese of Pécs.<sup>109</sup> Hungarian students started to visit the *studium generale* of Krakow from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; most of them in the second half of the century.<sup>110</sup>

## *Appendix*

### I.

Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, 21 August, 1371.  
(ASV Reg. Av. vol. 173, fol. 378<sup>rv</sup> – copy)

By the request of Vilmos, the bishop of Pécs Gregory XI allowed to grant one or two church benefices in the churches of Esztergom, Eger and Zagreb to three suitable persons teaching at the University of Pécs with a doctorate or *licentia* in canon or civil law.

Venerabili fratri Guillelmo episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi salutem etc. Personam tuam nobis et Apostolice Sedi devotam, tuis claris exigentibus meritis, paterna benevolentia prosequentes, illum tibi gratiam libenter impendimus, per quam te possis aliis reddere gratiosum tuis itaque supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati tue conferendi, hac iure auctoritate nostra in Strigoniensi, et

<sup>108</sup> HARASZTI–KELÉNYI–SZÖGI, Magyarországi diákok (as note 69) vol. I. pp. 27–28, vol. II. pp. 11.

<sup>109</sup> TÜSKÉS, Magyarországi diákok (as note 102) pp. 45–70.

<sup>110</sup> HARASZTI–KELÉNYI–SZÖGI, Magyarországi diákok (as note 69) vol. I. pp. 52.

Agriensi, ac Zagrabiensi ecclesiis tribus personis ydoneis in iure canonico vel civili doctoribus vel licentiatibus in Studio Quinqueecclesiensi actu legentibus, quos ad hec duxeris eligendos, etiam si qualibus personarum ipsarum unum vel duo beneficia ecclesiastica, aut duas prebendas obtineat, singulis videlicet earundem singulos canonicatus earundem ecclesiarum cum plenitudine iuris canonici, et de illis etiam providendi ac faciendi personas ipsas, vel procuratores earum ipsarum nomine in eisdem ecclesiis in canonicos recipi, et in fratres, stallis eis in choris et locis in capitulis earundem ecclesiarum cum dicti iuris plenitudine assignatis reservandi, queque donationi tue prebendas singulas, si que in eisdem ecclesiis vacat ad presens vel cum vacaverit, quas dicte persone per se, vel procuratores suos ad hoc legitime constitutos infra unius mensis spatium, postquam eisdem personis vel procuratoribus, vacationes illarum innotuerint, duxerint acceptandas, singulas earum videlicet singulis personis eisdem post acceptationem huiusmodi cum omnibus iuris et pertinentiis suis conferendas inhibendi etiam venerabilibus fratribus nostris archiepiscopo Strigoniensis, et Agriensis ac Zagrabiensis episcopis, et dilectis filiis capitulis earundem ecclesiarum, ac illi vel illis ad quem vel ad quos in eisdem ecclesiis prebendarum collatio provisio seu queis alia dispositio pertinet, communiter vel divisim ne de dictis prebendis interim etiam ante acceptationes easdem nisi postquam eis constituitur, quod persone vel procuratores predicti illas nolueritis acceptare, disponere quoquomodo presumant, ac nichilominus prebendas huiusmodi, quas ut premittitur reservabis si in dictis ecclesiis vacant ad presens vel cum vacaverint, ut prefertur, personis antedictis post acceptationes easdem cum omnibus iuris et pertinentiis suis auctoritate predicta conferendi, et etiam assignandi ac inducendi per te vel [378v] alium seu alios singulas personas vel procuratores suos predictos in corpoream possessionem prebendarum iurium et pertinentiarum predictarum, et defendendi inductas faciendique ipsis personis de ipsorum canonicatum et prebendarum fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, iuribus et obventionibus universis, integre responderi, necnon contradictores auctoritate prefata, appellatione postposita, conpescendo. Non obstantibus de certo canonicorum numero, et quibuslibet aliis ipsarum ecclesiarum statutis et consuetudinibus, contrariis iuramento confirmatione apostolica vel quodcumque firmitate alia roboratis, aut si aliqui apostolica, vel alia quavis auctoritate in eisdem ecclesiis in canonicos sint recepti, vel ut recipiantur insistant, seu si super provisionibus sibi faciendis de canonicatibus et prebendis earundem ecclesiarum speciales, vel de beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus generales dicte sedis vel legatorum eius littere impetrarint, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem reservationem et decretum vel aliud quomodolibet sit processum, quibus omnibus, preterquam auctoritate nostra in ecclesiis ipsis receptis vel prebendas expectantibus in eisdem

prefatas singulas personas in assecutione dictarum singularum prebendarum volumus anteferri, sed nullum per hoc eis quoad assecutionem prebendarum et beneficiorum aliorum preiudicium generali, seu si eisdem archiepiscopo et episcopis et capitulis vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a predicta sit sede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdicti suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quodque de canonicatibus et prebendis ipsarum ecclesiarum aliisque beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem vel provisionem seu quamvis aliam dispositionem coniunctim vel separatim spectantibus nulli valeat provideri per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscunque tenoris existat, per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus earum impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri, et de qua cuiusque toto tenore habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis, aut si predictae persone presentes non fuerint ad presentandum de observandis statutis et consuetudinibus earundem ecclesiarum solita iuramenta, dummodo in absentis suis per procuratores ydoneos, et cum ad ipsas ecclesias accesserint, corporaliter illud presentent, plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Nos exinde irritum decernimus et inane, si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingerit acceptari. Datum apud Villam novam Avinionensi diocesis XII. kalendas Septembris anno primo.

## II.

After 20 May, 1372.

(Its publication: MVH, vol. I/1. pp. 479–480.)

Bishop Vilmos, on the basis of his apostolic authority provided by the bull presented in point I, conferred canonry and benefice to Master Rudolf, the licentiate of canon law in the church of Eger.

Dominus episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis virtute potestatis sibi date auctoritate apostolica contulit unum canonicatum et prebendam in ecclesia Agriensi magistro Radulfo (!) licenciato in decretis.

Tenetur.

### III.

(1373)

(Its publication: MVH. vol. I/1. 495.)

The short extract of the bull published in point I in the book of accounts of Petrus Stephani, *collector apostolicus* with the note, according to which Bishop Vilmos had already granted a benefice in the cathedral chapter of Eger.

Concessum est Guillelmo episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi, ut possit reservare tres canonicatus cum tribus prebendis, vacantibus vel vacaturis, in tribus ecclesiis Ungarie, nominando in cancellaria, conferendos tribus personis ydoneis, XII. kalendas Septembris.

Vigore huiusmodi gratie contulit unam prebendam in ecclesia Agriensi, prout supra continetur.



### Abstract

*„in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale“  
Die kurze Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Universität Pécs/Fünfkirchen*

Wohlbekannt ist, dass die Errichtung der ersten ungarischen Universität zur Reihe der mitteleuropäischen Universitätsgründungen gehört. Im Laufe der nach der von Karl IV. veranlassten Prager Universitätsgründung (1348) erfolgten Gründungswelle wurden beinahe gleichzeitig in Krakau (1364), Wien (1365) und endlich Pécs/Fünfkirchen (1367) je eine Universität gegründet. Die Geschichte der *Studium Generale*, deren europäische Bedeutung trotz ihres kurzen Bestehens zweifellos ist, ist von der Geschichte der Stadt und der Diözese untrennbar. Bei der Errichtung des Instituts spielte Bischof Wilhelm von Koppenbach (1361–1374) entscheidende Rolle: seine Initiatorrolle ist auch bei der Auswahl des Sitzes der Universität, als auch der Vergütung der Professoren wahrnehmbar. In diesem Aufsatz versuche ich die wichtigsten Kenntnisse bezüglich der mittelalterlichen Universität von Fünfkirchen – nach jüngsten Forschungsergebnissen – kurz zusammenzufassen.

**Schlagwörter:** mittelalterliche Universität, *studium generale*, Domschule, Königreich Ungarn, Papsttum, Bischof von Pécs, Spätmittelalter,

*„in dicta civitate Quinque Ecclesiensi de cetero sit studium generale”*

*A középkori pécsi egyetem rövid története*

Közismert, hogy az első magyar egyetem létesítése a közép-európai egyetem-alapítások sorába tartozik. A IV. Károly prágai fundációjával (1348) induló alapítási hullám során egy-egy egyetem létesült Krakkóban (1364), Bécsben (1365) és végül Pécsen (1367). A pécsi *studium generale* európai jelentősége annak rövid működése ellenére is kétségtelen, az intézmény története pedig elválaszthatatlan az egyházmegye és a város históriájától. Az egyetem létesítésében Koppenbachi Vilmos püspök (1361–1374) döntő szerepet játszott, befolyása a székhely kiválasztásában és a professzorok javadalmazásában egyaránt tetten érhető. E tanulmányban megkísérlem a középkori pécsi egyetem történetére vonatkozó legfontosabb ismereteket – a legújabb kutatási eredmények nyomán – röviden összefoglalni.