



Hope of Success and Causes of Failure

Founding Universities in Medieval Hungary

To the question 'What is a university?' the answer is obvious in accordance with our present experiences: it is an institution of higher education. Yet the answer is not so clear if we take the differences in the curriculum, the number of students, the different elements of the academic degrees and other selected aspects into consideration. The differences are ever more evident if we examine the traditions of universities, as any university in any part of the world has local traditions which are present and influential, while they are also changing continuously.

The medieval university

The university is the most peculiar institution of medieval European culture, the bases of which were gradually created. In the 12th century, Bologna, Salerno, Paris and Oxford attracted students from far away places – even though they did not possess a deed of foundation. Bologna established itself in the discipline of law, Salerno in medicine, Paris and Oxford in theology. In the case of Paris, the 'freedoms' of the university, i.e. its autonomy, was written down in the 13th century, by which time education had been going on for decades.

The universities could not emerge without early medieval antecedents. The so-called Carolingian renaissance established medieval education and determined its content. Education became the task of the monasteries and chapters emerging in the residence of the bishop. The scope of knowledge that had to be acquired was the seven liberal arts, *septem artes liberales*. The *ars* (plural: *artes*) meant both science and art, just like e.g. *litteratura*, which referred to all segments of literacy. The seven liberal arts consisted of the *trivium* (*grammatica, retorica, dialectica*) and the *quadrivium* (*arithmetica, astrologia, geometria, musica*). The Carolingian system spread in the following centuries in the part of Europe belonging to Latin Christianity, and became the foundation

for a unified European culture and civilization. „*The Carolingian renaissance elaborated and established the content of the medieval European scope of culture, determining the place of the ancient heritage in it. It was basically a Christian culture, and only those elements of the ancient culture gained a place in it which were considered reconcilable with the Christian worldview and ethos. It created the medieval western Christian intelligentsia (litterati), and by connecting the scientific, literary activity (litterarum studia), the profession of litteratus with a privileged layer of the society, the order of the clerics, it provided a stable financial basis, social recognition and prestige for the intellectual occupation. Finally, it created the institutional infrastructure to cater for and pass on this knowledge: the network of monasteries that became scientific centres and the chapters that maintained schools.*”¹

Today the word *university* in several European languages originates from the Latin *universitas*: *university, Universität, uniwersytet, universiteit* etc. However, the original meaning of the medieval *universitas* departs from today’s interpretation: it meant a community, a close-knit group, it was the synonym of the word *communitas* (= community). In the Middle Ages the institution organised to educate was called *schola*, the place of higher education was called *studium generale* or *schola maior*. Later, after medieval times, the *studium generale* was pushed to the background and the original meaning of the *universitas* shrank. This is how today’s concept emerged, which refers to the entirety of the sciences, their ‘universality’. Thus the word *university (universitas)* originally meant the community of students and teachers who got organised to pursue science and was provided autonomy by the emperor’s protection. The university insignia, such as the coat of arms, the seal and the sceptre expressed the autonomy, the freedom of the community. The latter refers to their being equal in rank with the secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The *natio*s, the communities of the students coming from the same place, formed the smaller units of the university community.

The knowledge of the seven liberal arts became the basis of the education, where from the 11th-12th centuries reading the works of certain ancient authors, the classical heritage came into prominence. Scholasticism, bearing the ethos of the university intellectuality, was born on French territory in the 12th century. The beginning of the first universities is obscured. The level of education was already so high at the University of Paris in the 12th century, that it attracted the students from far away, yet the deed of foundation was recorded only in the first third of the 13th century (1212, 1231). Gratianus, the biggest

¹ KATUS László: *Európa története a középkorban.* [The History of Europe in the Middle Ages.] Pécs, 2014, pp. 149.

authority in canon law, was already teaching in Bologna around 1140. In the 13th century the education carried out by the mendicant order connected the scene of education with the place of student residences, thus establishing the basis for the *college* system still in operation today; see the university system of e.g. Oxford and Cambridge.

Acquisition of the seven liberal arts started in the faculty of arts (*facultas artium*) and studying law, theology or medicine was only possible once the previous phase was completed. However, moving on was not necessary by all means, as graduating from the *artes* entitled the students to teach (*licentiatius ubique docendi*). It was not rare that the teachers of the *licentiatius* were simultaneously the students of another faculty. It usually took two years to obtain the laureate grade (*baccalaureatus*), another two years were necessary to receive the grade *magister*. In order to graduate from the next faculty four more years of training was needed, and even more in the case of a doctorate in theology. Not all universities had all four potential faculties. When the number of universities started to grow, it was especially difficult to get the papal authorisation to teach theology. However, by the 14th century it became evident that universities needed all four faculties to operate continuously.

Initially the venues of education emerged spontaneously: the University of Paris consisted of many small workshops at the beginning. The venue for lectures could be a church, a private house, or could even be conducted in open air. Students gathered around a significant professor, though their number could not have been significant at all, no more than a few dozen at the beginning. Therefore, there was no need for buildings solely dedicated to education. In the 15th century, when the first university buildings were erected, these also served as accommodation for the professors and students.²

Similarly to the University in Paris, from the 13th century to the end of the Middle Ages, sixteen universities were set up on French territory. In the 13th century, in addition to the aforementioned Oxford and Cambridge, Italy (Bologna and later Padova, Salerno, Naples) and the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Salamanca, Sevilla, Coimbra) were the locations of the university foundations. In Central Europe the universities were founded in the 14th century, at royal initiative and with papal approval. On the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, the universities of Prague, Vienna, Erfurt, Heidelberg and Cologne were set up at that time, but the foundation of the universities of Cracow and Pécs fits into this line as well.³

² See: MADAS Edit: 'Egyetem. 1. Középkor' [University. 1. Middle Ages], in: MAMÜL 2, pp. 285–288.

³ KATUS, Európa története (as note 1) pp. 302; about early Hungarian universities see: FONT, Márta – SZÖGI, László (eds.): Die Ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa. Pécs, 2001.

Map 1. Universities in medieval Europe⁴

The first Hungarian university: Pécs (1367)

In the 14th century universities did not emerge spontaneously, rather, the monarchs claimed the organisation of university education and made a request for papal authorisation. The University of Pécs was founded by Pope Urban V (1362–1370) with his bull dated 1 September 1367. According to the charter, the pope authorised the university at the request of King Louis the Great

⁴ FEDELES Tamás: A középkori pécsi egyetem, in: FEDELES Tamás – LENGVÁRI István – POHÁNKA Éva – POLYÁK Petra: A Pécsi felsőoktatás évszázadai. [Centuries of Higher Education in Pécs.] Pécs, 2011, 14–31, here: 13.

(1342–1382), but the charter containing the Hungarian king’s request did not survive. The papal bull mentions *”studium generale empowered with all the allowed faculties”* but excluded theology.⁵ This is not surprising, as in the 14th century the same thing happened elsewhere too: the operation of the faculty of theology was approved only later. In addition to the monarch, the establishment of the university was also aided by the bishop of Pécs, William of Koppenbach (1361–1374), whom the pope appointed as the chancellor of the university. This explains why Pécs was chosen to establish a university; it was a peculiar choice, as Pécs was never a royal residence.



Picture 1. The coat of arms of Bishop William:
the basis of the present coat of arms of the University of Pécs⁶

The papal bull claims that Pécs is especially suitable for pursuing science. This opinion was probably formed as a result of the high level chapter school of the town and the mendicant orders’ monasteries, which paid particular attention to education. It is important to mention that after Buda, Pécs was the only place in the country where four mendicant monasteries could take root. On

⁵ The deed of foundation of the university of Pécs in Latin; SZÖGI, László (ed.): *Memoria universitatum et scholarum maiorum regni Hungariae 1367–1777. Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Válogatott dokumentumok a magyarországi felsőoktatás történetéhez (1367–1777)*. [The Memory of Old Hungarian Universities. Selected Documents to the History of Hungarian Higher Education] Budapest, 1995, 1995. pp. 53; FONT Márta (ed.): *Pécs története II. A püspökség alapításától a török hódításig*. [The History of Pécs II. From the Foundation of the Bishopric to the Turkish Occupation.] Pécs, 2015, pp. 254–255.

⁶ FEDELES, A középkori pécsi egyetem (as note 4) pp. 26.

one hand this meant a good intellectual environment, on the other, it also showed the wealth of the town. From the point of view of the establishment of the university, both proved to be essential. Pécs was indeed one of the richest towns in medieval Hungary, the tithes incomes of the bishop of Pécs were exceeded only by that of the archbishop of Esztergom. The foundation in Pécs could not be a coincidence, as its bishop was William of Koppenbach of German origin, who arrived to Louis the Great's court in 1358 from the circles of Charles IV, the Holy Roman emperor, who founded the University of Prague. He performed diplomatic missions for his king, and appeared in the papal court several times. We can suppose that he could raise the idea for King Louis, acted as mediator to the papal court and last but not least, as the bishop of Pécs, he had the necessary financial means.

The cardinal question about the medieval university of Pécs, which has been in the forefront of research since the 18th century, is how long it could function. At the end of the 18th century, József Koller, and then a century later Remig Békefi also thought, though on different bases, that the University of Pécs existed until the town fell into Ottoman hands (1543).⁷ Both of them considered the term *students* as reference to the university, but this definition only refers to studies and does not describe the institution. Those mentioned must have been the students of the cathedral school.⁸ According to another viewpoint, the university was only founded but did not function, as the documents from Pécs from that time are missing, e.g. we do not have data about the enrolled students (*matriculas*).⁹ Although this is confuted by the data referring to the students. The University of Pécs definitely did not function in the 15th century¹⁰ as proved by several circumstances. There is no data about profes-

7 KOLLER, Josephus: *Historia Episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum*. Tom. V. Pozsony–Pest, 1801, pp. 72–73; BÉKEFI, Remig: *A Pécsi Egyetem*. [The University of Pécs] Budapest, 1909, pp. 172.

8 VARGA, Szabolcs: *Irem kertje. Pécs története a hódoltság korában 1526–1686*. [Irem's Garden. The History of Pécs in the Turkish Occupation of Hungary] Pécs, 2009, pp. 34.

9 BARTA, István: *Középkorvégi szellemi művelődésünk és a külföldi egyetemek*. [Our Intellectual Education and the Foreign Universities at the End of the Middle Ages] In: *Regnum. Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv 2* (1937) pp. 97–118.

10 Ede Petrovich supposed the sermons from beginnings of 15th century (see: *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungariae*. ed. PETROVICH, Ede – TIMKOVICS, Pál. Budapest, 1993.) belonged to the University of Pécs. Edit Madas argued against this hypotheses (MADAS, Edit: *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*. [From the History of our Medieval Literature of Sermons.] Debrecen, 2002, pp. 132–136.). Last time László Koszta expressed a new opinion. He supposed the sermons belonged to the monastery of Dominicans of Pécs. (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: FONT (ed.), *Pécs története* (as note 5) pp. 21–172, here: pp. 120.)

sors coming and leaving, and without them there could hardly be university education. Janus Pannonius, the bishop of Pécs (1459–1472), never mentioned a university, even though as bishop he could not have been indifferent to it. In 1395 there was another university foundation, so by that time the University of Pécs must have been terminated. The reason for this was probably the lack of either a medical or a theological faculty, and the fact that the faculty of law languished as the foreign professors left.¹¹

Where the place of education could be located has long engaged both researchers and the inhabitants of the town. However, medieval university education can not be connected to one single place. Based on the description of Evlia Cselebi, the 17th century Turkish traveller, the place of the medieval *studium generale* was assumed to be in the bishop's castle.¹² Excavations around the cathedral starting in 1967¹³ revealed an impressive building in the area between the castle wall and the cathedral. The excavating archeologists – Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő – found Bishop William's arms stone here, which is the basis for the arms of the University of Pécs today. The excavating archeologists identified the building as the site of the medieval university. However, comparisons with European university education show that before the 15th century there was no separate building erected for a university. Like elsewhere, the professors' homes also served as the venue of education; in Pécs the homes of professor Galvano and other professors could also be suitable venues, and the lectures could also be held in local churches, or in certain cases even in the Cathedral. As the impressive building decorated with Bishop William's arms could have been the bishop's palace until the first third of the 15th century, it could also serve as a site for university-related events (e.g. exam for a doctoral

¹¹ FEDELES, Tamás: *Studium Generale Quinqueecclesiense*, 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. 557–572. here: pp. 568–569; FEDELES, Tamás: *A középkori pécsi egyetem (as note 4)* ppp. 28.

¹² SUDÁR, Balázs (ed.): *Pécs 1663-ban. Evlia cselebi és az első részletes városleírás*. [Evlia çelebi and the First Detailed Town Description] Pécs, 2012. (Források Pécs történetéből 4.)

¹³ G. SÁNDOR, Mária: *A pécsi püspökvár. Régészet és épületkutatás*. [The Bishop's Castle in Pécs. Archeology and Research of Building.] Budapest–München, 1999. (ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 22.); G. SÁNDOR Mária: *Pécs – Fünfkirchen. Az első magyar egyetem (1367) ásatása és épületkutatása*. [Pécs – Fünfkirchen. The Excavation and Research of the Building of the First Hungarian University.], in: Pécsi Szemle, 2010/3. pp. 13–25; G. SÁNDOR, Mária – METZING, Ferenc – SCHÖNERNÉ PUSZTAI, Ilona: *A püspökvár feltárásának és helyreállításának története*. [The History of the Excavation and Reconstruction of the Bishop's Castle.], in: FONT, Márta (ed.): *A pécsi püspökvár feltárásának eredményei*. [Results of the Excavations of the Bishop's Castle in Pécs.] Pécs, 2015, pp. 21–44.

degree). The bishop's castle was only moved to the south-western side of the cathedral at the time of Bishop Henrik Albeni (1421–1444), where it stands now.

Mária G. Sándor originally considered the coat of arms with a key and lily as the arms of the university,¹⁴ however, later it was proved to be the arms of not the former *studium generale* but that of Bishop William's pontifical arms. The medieval *studium generale* must have had its arms, but no trace of it remained. The public opinion in Pécs has long considered the lyre-shaped arms depicting a book and above it a star with the inscription *academia* between two intersecting branches with leaves and ending in a triple lily as the emblem of the university, and so it was placed above the gate of the building of the Faculty of Law built in 1935. Based on the shape of the shield, the coat of arms is not of medieval origin, furthermore the exact site where the arms fragment was discovered in 1883 is also unknown. However, the coat of arms found during the excavations behind the cathedral without doubt originates from the 14th century and can be related to the founder and first chancellor of the university, Bishop William.¹⁵

The University of Pécs, founded in the 14th century, gained the papal approval in 1367 based on the already existing educational traditions of the town. It is logical based on the example of Prague, Vienna and Cracow that King Louis the Great took upon such an initiative, as he was related to the monarchs who founded those universities, so following their example was in line with King Louis' prestige. Unlike the previous examples, the foundation happened not in the residence of the king: either in representative Visegrád built by the Anjous, or in Buda which already served as a residence several times during the reign of Louis. This was probably a result of the personal ambitions and the financial sacrifice of the bishop of Pécs. The expenses of the invited professors were entirely covered by the bishop and there is no reference to the monarch's intention to contribute towards these costs. Consequently, the new institution became very dependent on one person, as the example of Galvano di Bologna shows, who immediately left after the death of the founding bishop. The data from the beginning of the 15th century and referring to the former students imply that the university continued to function beyond 1374, or at least in the early days of Bishop Valentine of Alsan (1376–1408). Bishop Valentine of Alsan did not belong to the favoured followers of Sigismund of Luxembourg, who acceded to the throne in 1387, and the conflicts must have influenced the termination of the university.¹⁶

¹⁴ G. SÁNDOR, Mária: A pécsi középkori egyetem címerköve. [The Coat of Arms Stone of the Medieval University of Pécs.], in: Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dél-Dunántúlon 1000–1541. Kiállításkatalógus Budapest, 1994.

¹⁵ FEDELES, A középkori pécsi egyetem (as note 4) pp. 26.

¹⁶ PETROVICS István: Pécs története a 14. század közepétől 1526-ig. [The History of Pécs from the Middle of the 14th Century to 1526.], in: FONT (ed.), Pécs története. (as note 5) pp.

Table 1. The known professors of the University of Pécs¹⁷

	name	activity in Pécs	course of their life later
1.	Galvano di Bononia	1367 (?) – 1374	1374–1376 Bologna 1376–1382 Padova
2.	Hermann Lurcz	before 1379	in 1379 Prague, 1385 Vienna, 1396 Erfurt
3.	Paul	was laureated in 1369	provost of Szeben
4.	Rudolph	1372 (?)	1372 canon of Eger, 1383–1400 prepost of Pécs
5.	<i>Jakab son of Valentine of Kolozsvár</i>	?	canon of Eger
6.	<i>Nicholas of Slavonia</i>	?	provost of Pozsega
7.	<i>Imre Czudar</i>	?	1369–1371 canon of Pécs, from 1376 bishop of Várad

Table 2. The known students of the University of Pécs¹⁸

	name	where known from?		later career
		date	document	
1.	Peter Wydera	1384	matricula from Prague, enrollment	?

173–288, here: pp. 260; PETROVICS, István: A középkori pécsi egyetem és alapítója. [The Medieval University of Pécs and Its Founder.], in: *Aetas* 20, 2005, 4. pp. 29–39.

¹⁷ FONT, Márta: A középkori pécsi egyetem. [The Medieval University of Pécs.], in: *Jelenkor* 45, 2002, 5. pp. 473–479, here: pp. 475–476; FEDELES, Studium generale (as note 10) pp. 562–564; PETROVICS, Pécs története a 14. század közepétől (as note 17) pp. 263; The last three people are Petrovich Ede's suggestion, see PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetem ismeretlen tanárai. [Unknown Professors of the Medieval University of Pécs.], in: *ItK* 71, 1967, 3. pp. 290–296.

¹⁸ FONT, A középkori pécsi egyetem (as note 18) pp. 476; FEDELES, Studium generale (as note 11) pp. 564–565; FEDELES, Tamás: Ezután Pécs tűnik szemünkbe... [Then Pécs Comes into our Eyes...] Pécs, Pro Pannonia, 2011, pp. 154–155; PETROVICS, Pécs története a 14. század közepétől (as note 17) pp. 264; The last three are Petrovich Ede's suggestion, see PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetemre vonatkozó források. [Sources Referring to the Medieval University of Pécs.], in: CSIZMADIA Andor (ed.): A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás történetéből 1367–1967. [From the History of the 600-year Legal Higher Education 1367–1967] Pécs, 1968. (*Studia Iuridica Auctoritate Universitatis Pécsi publicata* 60.) pp. 89–108; Petrovich's statement is refuted by FEDELES, Studium generale (as note 11) pp. 565.

	name	where known from?		later career
		date	document	
2.	George, Benedict of Csót's son	1400	request for papal dispensatio	cleric of the diocese of Zagreb
3.	George, Fabian of Szöllös' son	1400		cleric of the diocese of Pécs
4.	John Chancellor	1400		deceased in 1400
5.	Lucas son of Ladislav	1402	request for papal penitence	cleric of the diocese of Pécs
6.	?	1402		deceased in 1402
7.	Nicolas of Zimony	1372	purchasing book	canon of Bács
8.	Andreas Sasmikó	1372		?
9.	<i>Jacob of Nevna</i>	1400	request for papal penitence	?
10.	<i>Hippolyt of Veresmarthy</i>	1431–1432		copyist of codices
11.	<i>John of Buda</i>	1374	studies in Prague	founder of <i>Collegium Christi</i> in Esztergom

The university founded twice: Óbuda (1395, 1410)

King Sigismund (1387–1437) founded the newer university in Óbuda twice, which indicates on one hand that the university in Pécs had stopped functioning by then, and on the other that the first foundation (1395) was not successful. For Sigismund of Luxembourg his father's residence in Prague could have been an example and he could consider the foundation of university necessary because of prestige. This might be the reason why he insisted on an institution close to his residence, as opposed to King Louis the Great. He designated the royally founded collegiate of Óbuda as the basis of the new university; and its prebends meant the basis of the finances.

There is no remaining document about the foundation in 1395, neither about the king's intention, nor about the papal approval. Pope Bonifac IX's (1389–1404) charter issued in Rome on 6 October 1395, in which he appointed Lucas (Lucas Demetrius) of Órév (Szántai) as the bishop of Csanád, indirectly reported on the university: he permits the newly appointed bishop of Csanád to keep his lifelong dignity of the provost of Óbuda and to hold the position of the chancellor of the university of Óbuda.¹⁹ Lucas of Órév, the bishop of

¹⁹ „...officium cancellariae studii dicti oppidi Veteris Budae ...” In: SZÖGI (ed.), *Memoria universitatum* (as note 5) pp. 63–64.

Csanád (1395–1397)²⁰ was one of Sigismund's close adherents and might have been sent to Rome as provost of Óbuda on university business, i.e. to procure the foundation.²¹ According to Tamás Fedeles, it might be assumed that the functioning of all four faculties was approved,²² similarly to Vienna in 1384 and to (for) Cracow in 1397. Our only data referring to the operation of the university is from 1396, when Johannes de Horow (Horaw/Horb), the magister of the *facultas artium* in Vienna requested permission to go to the University of Buda.²³ After 1396 we do not possess any data about professors or education (e.g. the students of the university). Not even the papal bull, which reassigned him from Csanád to the bishopric of Várad (Oradea) in 1397,²⁴ mentioned Lucas's position as university chancellor. He himself as the bishop of Várad used this title on his pontifical seal in 1398: „*Sigillum Luce episcopi Waradiensis cancellarii studii commandatoris prepositure veteris Budensis*”;²⁵ whether by rights or not, it can not be decided. Lucas of Órév got involved in the conspiracy against Sigismund (1401–1403). At the end of 1402, in Nagyvárad they pledged loyalty to Ladislav of Naples –and though his dignity as a bishop was not endangered, he fell out of favour. László Domonkos puts Benedictus Makra among the professors of the first university of Óbuda in addition to Lucas of Órév and Johannes de Horow, who must have been well-educated as he turned up at different universities. He was then in Sigismund's service for a long time, though there is no data about his connection with the University of Óbuda. In a later study László Domonkos phrased his point more cautiously.²⁶

²⁰ ENGEL, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája, vols. I–II. [The Lay Archontology of Hungary] Budapest, 1996, vol. I. pp. 68.

²¹ SZÖGI, László: 'óbudai egyetem' in: MAMÜL 8, pp. 286–288.

²² We agree with Tamás Fedeles' suggestion (see FEDELES, Ezután Pécs (as note 19) pp. 30–31.), as Vienna then Cracow also got authorisation to teach theology at the end of the 14th century. Yet to be absolutely sure like László Domonkos we should have reinforcing data. See: DOMONKOS, László: Az óbudai egyetem. [The University of Óbuda], in: Tanulmányok az óbudai egyetem történetéből 1395–1995. Budapest, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 1995, pp. 3–17. here: pp. 5.

²³ DOMONKOS, László S.: The History of the Sigismundean Foundation of the University of Óbuda (Hungary), in: Texts and Studies in the History of Medieval Education XI (1967) pp. 3–32, here: pp. 10–11.

²⁴ Ibidem pp. 9.

²⁵ SZÉKELY, György: A középkori magyar egyetemekről 2. Az óbudai egyetem. [About the Medieval Hungarian Universities 2. The University of Óbuda.], in: Tanulmányok az óbudai egyetem történetéből 1395–1995. Budapest 1995, pp. 19–25. here pp. 21; DOMONKOS, László: The Founding (1395) and Refounding (1410) of the University of Óbuda, in: SZÖGI, László – VARGA, Júlia (eds.): Universitas Budensis 1395–1995. Budapest, 1997. pp. 19–34. here: pp. 29.

²⁶ DOMONKOS, The History (as note 24) pp. 14–19; DOMONKOS, Az óbudai egyetem (as note 23) pp. 8–12; later: „*Master Benedikt of Makra might have been a professor at Óbuda.*” in: DOMONKOS, The Founding (as note 26) pp. 27. note 38.

We believe that King Sigismund's situation affected the functioning of the first university of Óbuda. Following the defeat in Nicopolis in 1396, a governmental crisis started in 1397, which manifested as a conflict between the monarch and the elite that assisted his ascension to the throne; after which Sigismund could get the upper hand of the situation only in 1403.²⁷ Following foundation in 1395, the university could be best characterised as the 'dying studium'.²⁸

Pope John XXIII's (1410–1415) bull of 1 August gave the authorisation to the second foundation of the University of Óbuda, allowing the operation of all four faculties. The only flaw of John XXIII's authorisation was that he was an antipope. To smooth over conflict between Pope Gregory XII (1406–1415) and antipope Benedict XIII (1394–1417), the Synod of Pisa was convoked in 1409. The synod elected a new pope 'of Pisa' who soon deceased. He was followed by John XXIII. The Synod of Pisa was attended by 24 archbishops, nearly 200 bishops and because of the reform initiatives the convocation of another synod was proposed.²⁹ It cannot be ruled out that in 1410 Sigismund felt the necessity for scientists to attend the next synod to solve the situation. It cannot be by chance that Sigismund got the authorisation from the new pope (antipope) and that the pope, to strengthen his uncertain position, fulfilled the request of the Hungarian monarch running for the position of the Holy Roman sovereign. In the months before Sigismund was elected (in September 1410) Pipo of Ozora stayed in Bologna, in John XIII's court.³⁰ It is unlikely that the primary purpose of Pipo's stay in Italy was the foundation of the university, more likely it was the diplomatic task to prepare Sigismund's election as the Holy Roman king. The authorisation was dated 1 August 1410 and on the same day the pope wrote a letter to his legate Brando, the bishop of Piacenza,³¹ staying in Hungary at the time, to ask for information about the conditions of founding the university. Without even waiting for the answer, the pope authorised the foundation of a university endowed with the fullest rights.³²

²⁷ Mályusz supposed the University of Óbuda finished its activity this year. See: MÁLYUSZ Elemér: Középkori egyházi értelmiségünk társadalmi alapjai (A budai egyetem történetéhez), in: SZÉKELY, György (ed.): Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok [Studies on History of Thought] Budapest, 1984. (*Memoria saeculorum Hungariae* 4.) pp. 7–33, here: pp. 8.

²⁸ SZÉKELY, A középkori magyar egyetemekről (as note 26) pp. 23. The author uses it only for the time around 1410.

²⁹ SZÁNTÓ, Konrád: A katolikus egyház története. 1. [History of the Catholic Church] Budapest, Ecclesia, 1984. pp. 494–495; This situation had influence on the universities. See: VERGER, Jacques: Les universités au Moyen Age. Presses Universitaires de France „Quadrige”, 2013.

³⁰ KONDOR, Márta: The Ginger Fox's Two Crowns. Central Administration and Government in Sigismund of Luxembourg's Realms 1410–1419. Budapest, 2017, (ms) pp. 21–27. here: pp. 8.

³¹ SZÖGI, *Memoria universitatum* (as note 5) pp. 65–66.

³² *Ibidem* pp. 66–71.

Sigismund's prestige objectives are clearly seen in the seven university professors he presented at the Synod of Constanz, including the respectable Sluter Lambert of Geldern, who later (in 1418) became the rector of the University of Vienna. Ulrich Richental's chronicle³³ gives a detailed report about the Synod of Constanz and lists the names of the seven professors and describes the coat of arms of the University of Óbuda. The respectable Sluter Lambert of Geldern, who was the chancellor of the university in 1411 and the provost of Óbuda, already worked in Vienna in 1418. We believe this indicates that university education was terminated again. Tamás Fedeles dates the termination to the 1420s, Pál Engel to 1419, and László Domonkos thinks the university ceased to exist after the Synod of Constanz.³⁴

Table 3. The Professors of the second university of Óbuda³⁵

	name	data
1.	Lamberthus (Sluter Lambert of Geldern)	canonist, provost of Óbuda, chancellor of the university
2.	Symon de Clostein (Closteyn)	doctor
3.	dominus Heinricus	provost, doctor of theology
4.	Matheus de Diernach (Tyrnau = Nagyszombat)	?
5.	Thomas de Wissenburg (Fehérvár)	?
6.	Tadeus de Vicomercato (from Milan)	doctor of jurisdiction (<i>doctor decretorum</i>)
7.	Nicolaus Bissnow	doctor of jurisdiction (<i>doctor decretorum</i>)
8.	Johannes Wrede (from Cologne)	lectors of Óbuda
9.	magister Paul (Prague)	

³³ BUCK, Thomas Martin (ed.): *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418 von Ulrich Richental*. Jan Thorbecke, Ostfildern 2010. (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen. Band 41); See his newest interpretation BUCK, Thomas Martin: *Die Konstanzer Konzilschronik* Ulrich Richental's, in: WOLF, Gerhard – OTT, Norbert H. (eds.): *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*. Berlin–Boston 2016, pp. 447–481.

³⁴ FEDELES, A középkori pécsi egyetem (as note 4) pp. 31; ENGEL, Magyarország világi archontológiája (as note 21) pp. 189; DOMONKOS, Az óbudai egyetem (as note 23) pp. 17.

³⁵ The first seven people are professors participating in the Synod of Constanz, see the chronicle by Ulrich Richental. The referring passage is quoted in: BÓNIS, György: *A jogtudó értelmiség a középkori Magyarországon*. [The People of Jurisprudence in Medieval Hungary] Budapest, 1971, pp. 118; furthermore see DOMONKOS, *The History* (as note 24) pp. 26–28.

Not all of the professors from Óbuda who appeared at the Constance synod can be proved to have actually taught in Óbuda: e.g. Tadeus de Vicomercato was active in Padova between 1410 and 1414.³⁶ The presence of a single doctor does not seem enough proof of a working faculty of medicine.³⁷ Domonkos knows about two students who continued their studies in Vienna after their studies at the University of Óbuda: Briccius de Pest (1412) and Nicolaus de Temesvár (1415). In the newest database the former appears as Briccius de Buda.³⁸

The last medieval foundation: Pozsony/Bratislava (1467)

Exactly a hundred years after the first university, there appeared again the royal intention to found a university. By the last third of the 15th century the scientific frame of mind had changed. While for the early universities scholasticism and the Aristotelian worldview meant the intellectual renewal, by the 15th century thinking about understanding the world gave impetus to scientific thinking and empirical observations. Within the seven liberal arts geometry and astronomy came into prominence. Humanism appeared in literature with the linguistic sophistication of ancient authors.³⁹ All of these can be traced in the short operation of the last medieval university.

In the papal archive's replica there remained a note made about King Matthias' (1458–1490) letter requesting authorisation (19 May 1465) and the pope's authorisation. It is conspicuous that neither documents indicate in which town in Hungary the new institution was to be set up.⁴⁰ Concerning the university foundation, King Matthias relied on the best educated members of his court: John Vitéz, the archbishop of Esztergom (1465–1472) and Janus Pannonius, the bishop of Pécs. It can be assumed that the delegate led by Janus Pannonius in 1465 took the Hungarian king's supplication to the new pope, Paul II (1464–1471). The pope's legate visited Hungary in the same year, and spent two weeks in Pécs at Janus's bishopric residence.⁴¹ John Vitéz's letter written to the citizens of Bratislava gives information first about Bratislava as the place

³⁶ DOMONKOS, *The History* (as note 24) pp. 27.

³⁷ SZÖGI, 'óbudai egyetem' (as note 22) pp. 288.

³⁸ DOMONKOS, *The History* (as note 24) pp. 21–22; TÜSKÉS, Anna: *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365 és 1526 között*. [Hungarian Students at the University of Vienna between 1365 and 1526] Budapest, 2008. pp. 82–83. № 863, 894. (Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemeken 1. sorozatszerk. SZÖGI, László)

³⁹ KATUS, *Európa története* (as note 1) pp. 509–511.

⁴⁰ SZÖGI, *Memoria universitatum* (as note 5) pp. 71–75.

⁴¹ FEDELES, *A középkori pécsi egyetem* (as note 4) pp. 31.

chosen for the foundation (18 July 1467). Vienna's proximity worked in favour of Bratislava and the affluence of the city was also advantageous. It should also be mentioned that Matthias donated a house in the city for the students and education.⁴² The *Academia Istropolitana* started its operation in 1467 with the invitation of famous professors. John Vitéz's charter dated 18 July 1467,⁴³ mentions the invitation of theologian and canonist Giovanni Gatti,⁴⁴ astronomist Marcin Bylica z Ilkusza and a certain frater Petrus of whom little information is available. It is also certain that Regiomontanus worked in Bratislava. We also know of several professors who were invited, but later did not become (the) professors at the University of Bratislava.⁴⁵ The invitation of professors was associated with (to) John Vitéz, the archbishop of Esztergom, but the local organisation of the education fell upon George Schomberg, vice chancellor of the university and provost of Bratislava (1455–1486).⁴⁶ This university had the same destiny as the one of Sigismund's time: in 1471 John Vitéz, the chancellor of the university turned against his monarch and joined those organising a conspiracy, fell out of favour, and soon died imprisoned.⁴⁷ According to András Kubinyi, Matthias later attempted to set up a university, but his intentions did not meet with papal approval.⁴⁸

⁴² GABRIEL, Astrik L.: *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony*. Frankfurt am Main, 1969, pp. 39–40.

⁴³ SZÖGI, *Memoria universitatum* (as note 5) pp. 75–76.

⁴⁴ REBRO, Karol: Johannes Gattus, az *Academia Istropolitana* professzora. [Johannes Gattus, a Professor of *Academia Istropolitana*.] In: CSIZMADIA, *A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás* (as note 19) pp. 109–114.

⁴⁵ KLANICZAY, Tibor: Egyetem Magyarországon Mátyás korában. [University in Hungary in the Time of Matthias.], in: *ItK 94* (1990):5–6. pp. 575–612, 581–589.

⁴⁶ C. TÓTH, Norbert – HORVÁTH, Richárd – NEUMANN, Tibor – PÁLOSFALVI, Tamás: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1458–1526. vol. I. Főpapok és bárók*. [The Lay Archontology of Hungary 1458–1526. vol. I. Prelates and Barons] Budapest, 2016. pp. 61; On Schomberg's gravestone there appears his title of vice-chancellor (see SZÉKELY György: *Universitätskanzler im Ungarn des 14.–15. Jahrhunderts*, in: SZÖGI – VARGA, *Universitas Budensis* (as note 26) pp. 35–50. here: pp. 50.), which he could have until his death without the university functioning.

⁴⁷ KLANICZAY, Tibor: *Egyetem és politika a magyar középkorban* [Universities and politics in medieval Hungary], in: SZÉKELY, *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok* (as note 28) pp. 35–44.

⁴⁸ KUBINYI, András: *A kultúra Mátyás korában*. [The Culture in the Time of Matthias.] In: ENGEL Pál – KRISTÓ Gyula – KUBINYI András: *Magyarország története 1301–1526*. [History of Hungary 1301–1526.] Budapest, Osiris, 1998, pp. 268–274. here: pp. 268; KUBINYI, András: *Matthias Rex*. Budapest, 2008, pp. 168–169.

Table 4. The known professors of the University of Pozsony (Bratislava)⁴⁹

	name	data
1.	Johannes Müller (Regiomontanus)	astronomer
2.	Martinus Ilkusch	astronomer, parish-priest in Buda, stayed in Hungary until the death of Matthias
3.	Johannes Gattus	canonist
4.	Laurentius Koch de Krumpach	theology
5.	Nicolaus Schickler de Hittendorf	
6.	Stephanus Murer de Brunn	
7.	Paulus	Dean of Moson
8.	Johannes de Cracovia	
9.	Johannes Kuppferberth	magister

Since there are no surviving *matriculae*, we hardly know any of the students of the university. The site of Pozsony (Bratislava) was an unusual decision, as it was neither a royal residence nor an archbishopric centre, and the proximity of the University of Vienna – at least in our view today – would have justified a more distant location. The proximity of Vienna could have seemed advantageous in gaining professors and student peregrination. The university of Pozsony (Bratislava) was characterised by the advance of sciences (see the outstanding role of astronomy), which was new in comparison with the conservative education in Vienna. "It was difficult for the humanistic approach to enter into the curriculum of the universities".⁵⁰ We cannot exclude the possibility either that John Vitéz's personal contacts played a role in choosing the site. Three letters written in the summer of 1467 by Leonhard Huntpichler, a Dominican friar in Vienna and a professor of theology to John Vitéz throw a light on such a connection.⁵¹

⁴⁹ GABRIEL, *The Medieval Universities* (as note 43) pp. 42–46.

⁵⁰ MÉSZÁROS, István: *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996–1777*. [History of the Educational Affairs in Hungary 996–1777.] Budapest, 1981, pp. 102–103.

⁵¹ The letters are published and interpreted in: FRANK, Isnard W.: *Das Gutachten eines Wiener Dominikaners für die Universität Preßburg aus dem Jahre 1467*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 16 (1967) pp. 418–439.

Causes of failure

In Hungary all universities founded in the Middle Ages had a short life, and revealing the causes of failure, given how little information is available, does not go without hypotheses. As for the University of Pécs, we can compare it with the circumstances of other contemporary foundations and their later fate.

Table 5. The University of Pécs as compared with the mid 14th-century Central-European foundations⁵²

		Prague (1348)	Cracow (1364)	Vienna (1365)	Pécs (1367)
founder	prince (+), king (++) emperor (+++)	+++	++	+	++
	pope (+)	+	+	+	+
church support	archbishop	+	-	-	-
	bishop	-	+	+	+
	antecedents	+	+	+	+
secular support	royal deed of foundation	+	+	+	-
	royal donation	+	+	+	-
	town	-	-	+	-
financing (professors)	prince (+), king (++) emperor (+++)	+++	++	+	-
	church (archbishop, bishop)	-	-	-	+
number of faculties	when founded	4	3	3	2
	founding the faculty of theology	1348	1397	1384	-
scene of operation	royal residence	+	+	+	-
	archbishopric (++), bishopric (+) residence	++	+	-	+
	town with autonomy	+	+	+	-

⁵² See FONT Márta: A középkori pécsi egyetem. Történeti összefoglalás. [The medieval University of Pécs. A Historical Summary], in: FONT (ed.), A Pécsi püspökvár (as note 13) pp. 11–20. here: pp. 20; FONT, Márta: A magyar felsőoktatás születése: 650 éve alapították a pécsi egyetemet. [The Birth of the Hungarian Higher Education: the University of Pécs was founded 650 years ago], in: Jogtörténeti Szemle 2016:2. pp. 1–10.

		Prague (1348)	Cracow (1364)	Vienna (1365)	Pécs (1367)
decline after the foundation, the end of operation		continuous, decline in the first half of the 15th century	termination around 1370	decline at the end of the 1370s	termination before 1395
time of refoundation		reinforcement 1437	1397, 1400	1384	[1923]

Among the four Central-European universities, the foundation of the one in Prague⁵³ is different from the others and not only because it precedes them by a decade and a half. Its founder was the Holy Roman emperor, Charles IV (1346–1378), who intended to strengthen the centre of his empire. This process started with turning the bishopric into archbishopric, and the bishop of Prague promoted as archbishop became a serious advocate of the university foundation. The good personal relationship between Pope Clement VI (1342–1352) and the emperor resulted in an exceptional situation, as the pope was the emperor's former professor. It must be due to this fact that the pope immediately gave the authorisation for the faculty of theology. The emperor's further objective was to spread the influence of the university both within the empire towards Austria and outside the empire towards his neighbours.⁵⁴ The emperor had numerous conflicts with his son-in-law Rudolph IV Habsburg (1358–1365), which among others things, resulted in the emperor doing everything he could to prevent the foundation of the university in Vienna. He also opposed the foundation of the university in Cracow, the organisation of which had already been started in 1351 by the Polish king Casimir.⁵⁵ We do not know if Charles IV would have opposed the foundation of the University of Pécs too. He may not have done so because of the lack of activity on King Louis's part, or because he did not consider the University of Pécs a competition.

⁵³ HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter: Magyarországi diákok a Prágai Egyetemen a középkorban. [Hungarian Students at the University of Prague in the Middle Ages], in: HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter – KELÉNYI, Borbála – SZÖGI, László: Magyarországi diákok a prágai és a krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525. vol. I. [Hungarian Students at the Universities of Prague and Cracow 1348–1525. vol. I.] (Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemeken 2.) Budapest, 2016. pp. 9–42, here: pp. 12–14.

⁵⁴ 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: JPMÉ 1967. pp. 155–174., here: pp. 155.

⁵⁵ KELÉNYI Borbála: Magyarországi diákok a Krakkói Egyetemen a középkorban. [Hungarian Students at the University of Cracow in the Middle Ages], in: HARASZTI SZABÓ – KELÉNYI – Szögi, Magyarországi diákok (as note 54) pp. 43–87, here: pp. 46.

The process of the foundation is included in the documents. Prague's university of four faculties was approved by Pope Clement VI's charter dated 26 February 1347; King Charles IV formulated the deed of foundation after the spring parliamentary session of 1348, then the diploma dated 19 January 1349 summarised the content of the previous two and extended the rights of the citizens of the university to everybody staying at the university. In the case of the University of Cracow, we know of the Polish king's request to Pope Urban V (1362–1370) dated 6 April 1363. The pope wanted to get informed and asked for a report from the archbishop of Gnieno on 15 October 1363. The Polish king's deed of foundation was written on 12 May 1364, this was followed by the papal authorisation on 1 September 1364. A papal bull dated 12 September 1364 informed about the Austrian prince's intention to found a university,⁵⁶ in which the pope asked for the recording of the prince's privilege. On 12 March 1365 the prince issued the requested document in his own and his two brothers' name, and for the city of Vienna in German language as well. The confirming papal bull was dated 18 June 1365, which was followed by another one about the remuneration of the professors and students of the University of Vienna. The launch of the university education was complicated by the founding Prince Rudolf's death on 27 July 1365 and by the fact that Vienna was not a bishopric yet at the time. Yet the launch of the faculty of *artes* and law education can be demonstrated.

A royal appeal to the pope was also written in the case of the University of Pécs, as referenced in the papal bull of foundation. The pope's letter dated the following day, 2 September 1367, warned King Louis to contribute to the finances of the university education. From this we can conclude that in the case of the Hungarian foundation the royal guarantee was missing (not lost) which would have ensured the operation of the university. In view of this, the permission dated September 1, 1367 displays an exceptional trust on the pope's part. On one hand, this was probably due to the traditional relationship between the Anjous and the Holy Seat; on the other, the notabilities from Padua present and Radolphus de Castello, having just arrived back from Hungary, may have convinced the pope. The considerable income of the bishop in Hungary and the experience from William's diplomatic activity could also be a guarantee. From a different approach, King Louis' disinterest cannot be ignored: he did not insist on the foundation at the royal residence, as if he did not see that the task of the university is "to educate helpers and advisors for the king" as the other three kings did, if in different ways. The Polish king Louis was just as indifferent towards the problematic University of Cracow.

⁵⁶ UIBLEIN, Paul: Die Universität Wien im Mittelalter. Beiträge und Forschungen. Wien, 1999. pp. 34–38; TÜSKÉS, Magyarországi diákok (as note 39)

The university foundation was not seamless anywhere, and after a few decades there was decline everywhere. In Cracow and Vienna there was decline because of financial problems, followed by a reorganisation which can also be called a refoundation. The papal bull of 20 February 1384 authorised the foundation of the faculty of theology in Vienna; the Austrian prince Albert II contributed a significant donation to its further operation; furthermore a new university *statutum* regulated the education and the obligations of the students.⁵⁷ The University of Cracow practically ceased to exist in the 1370s. The refoundation was strengthened by the papal bull that permitted the teaching of theology, upon the request of Wladislaw Jagiello and Queen Jadwiga in the 1390s. When Jadwiga died at the end of 1399, she bequeathed her jewels to the university, and Wladislaw issued a new deed of foundation on 22 July 1400.⁵⁸ The decline of the university of Prague, which happened as a result of Jan Hus' activity and the reforms of 1409 (placing the Czech nation above the others), meant an increasing number of students and bigger catchment area for both the university of Vienna and of Cracow.⁵⁹

The organisation of the first university of Óbuda coincided with the refoundation of the one in Vienna and Cracow. Both universities were supported again because of their antecedents: the papal authorisation ensured the operation of the four faculties, and the monarch provided significant financial support. The royal intention can be seen in the case of Sigismund of Luxembourg as well, though he evidently did not wish to build on the antecedents in Pécs. The conflict with the bishop of Pécs and the marginalisation of the Anjou era traditions – manifest in other areas as well – provided enough reason for that. It seemed a good decision to designate a site close to the royal residence, yet Óbuda as a centre cannot be compared to the significance of Vienna or Cracow. However, in terms of financing Sigismund did not do more than Louis the Great: he wanted to ensure the operation of the university via prebends. By the second foundation in Óbuda, Sigismund's prestige intention was evident. At the Synod of Constanz Paris was represented by 13, Orléans, Heidelberg and Vienna each by 8, Prague and London by 6-6, Bologna, Erfurt and Cracow by 5-5, Oxford with its great past by only 3 professors.⁶⁰ The newly founded Óbuda's representation (7 professors) is disproportionate and exaggerated, ob-

⁵⁷ UIBLEIN, Die Universität (as note 57) pp. 53.

⁵⁸ KELÉNYI, Magyarországi diákok (as note 56) pp. 48–49.

⁵⁹ HARASZTI SZABÓ, Magyarországi diákok (as note 43) pp. 19–20; about Hungarian students see: HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter – KELÉNYI, Borbála – SZÓGI, László: Magyarországi diákok a prágai és a krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525. vol. II. [Hungarian Students at the Universities of Prague and Cracow 1348–1525. vol. II.] (Adattár) [Database] Budapest, 2017.

⁶⁰ DOMONKOS, The History (as note 24) pp. 23.

viously not because of the university itself, but the prestige of the Holy Roman king. Sigismund also needed the professors of Óbuda only for the Synod of Constanz. The chancellor of the university worked in Vienna in 1418 and we do not know about the appointment of a new chancellor. Mályusz believes the problems of Sigismund's foundations in both cases were due to the fact that the settlements themselves were unsuitable for this purpose.⁶¹

We suppose that the antecedents in Pécs were not discussed when the university of Pozsony (Bratislava) was founded. Janus Pannonius, the bishop of Pécs, who obtained the papal authorisation, did not mention it, and the papal authorisation did not designate a site. The decision that made Pozsony (Bratislava) the new site of the institution was made between 1465 and 1467. This decision is surprising from several aspects: it was neither a royal nor a bishopric residence; doubtlessly its chapter was very old, the town situated in the western border area did not only have autonomy but it was also one of the wealthiest towns of the country, an important factor of western trade. Close to the time of the foundation of the University of Pozsony (Bratislava), several other universities emerged: Nantes (1461), Mainz (1476), Trier (1473), Uppsala (1477), Copenhagen (1478), Glasgow (1450), Aberdeen (1494). All of them are far from Pozsony (Bratislava), and the reasons for and circumstances of the foundation were very different. What is common in the last four cases and the foundation in Pozsony is that all of them were set up 'on the edge' of the European civilisation.

Table 6. University foundations in medieval Hungary

university	year of foundation	founding monarch	chancellor of the university	number of faculties	known professors	known students	time of termination
Pécs	1367	Louis the Great	William of Koppenbach Valentine of Alsán	2	7	8	around 1390
Óbuda (1)	1395	Sigismund	Órévi Lukács	4 ?	2	-	1397? the latest 1403
Óbuda (2)	1410	Sigismund	Lambert of Gelderni	4	9	2	1418? the latest 1420
Pozsony	1467	Matthias	John Vitéz (Schomberg György)	4	9	5	1472

⁶¹ MÁLYUSZ, Középkori egyházi értelmiségünk (as note 28) pp. 24.

All of the medieval universities were short-lived. The period of operation can only be reasonably established in the case of Pozsony (Bratislava) - five years; Óbuda operated slightly longer, yet the first foundation might not have existed for longer than two years. The two-decade existence of the University of Pécs seems to be the longest-living foundation.

Looking for the the causes of the quick termination of the Hungarian universities, what is common in the three cases is that the monarch did not support the operation of the universities, but relied on using the benefits of an ecclesiastical institution. The benefices meant the basis of the financing elsewhere too,⁶² though were complemented, at least occasionally, with significant royal donations. For the Hungarian kings the university was only a means to increase their prestige; in fact only the chancellors of the universities were motivated. The common feature of each of the failures is that the *studium generale* fell victim to the monarch and the chancellor's conflict; the only exception is the second foundation in Óbuda, where we do not have information about such a conflict. Furthermore, the civic existence was also missing that would have made the site attractive, since *peregrination* was an essential part of medieval universities, so for their existence the presence of foreign students would have been necessary. Hungarian students enrolled at the foreign universities to see the world, so they might not have attended a Hungarian university at all.⁶³ The new foundations did not build (and could not have built) on the antecedents, which also worked against stability.

We must also consider the legal status of the towns. Prague, Vienna, Cracow were all towns with autonomous civic rights. György Bónis noted in relation to the termination of the University of Pécs that "in Pécs there were no strong and unselfish citizens behind the university".⁶⁴ This is only partly true, however. Pécs was one of the most important towns in the country,⁶⁵ though it was a lord's town without autonomy. For this reason it could hardly make declarations with regards to the university independently of the bishop. From the mid 14th century Óbuda was the queen's town, that is, not a free royal city either. This may be the foundation for László Domonkos's claim that Queen Maria could have had a supporting role in the foundation of the first university

62 DOMONKOS, Az óbudai egyetem (as note 23) pp. 5.

63 KUBINYI András: 'egyetemjárás a középkorban' in: MAMÜL 2, pp. 294.

64 BÓNIS, György: A Capella regia és a pécsi egyetemalapítás. [The Capella regia and the Foundation of the University of Pécs], in: CSIZMADIA, A 600 éves jogi felsőoktatás (as note 19) pp. 21–26, here: pp. 26.

65 PETROVICS, Pécs története a 14. század közepétől (as note 17) pp. 252.

of Óbuda.⁶⁶ Unlike Pécs and Óbuda, Pozsony (Bratislava) was a free royal town, which explains John Vitéz's letter written to the citizens of the town.

Finally, we cannot ignore the fact that nearby institutions became available: the universities of Prague, Cracow, Vienna and other German towns were founded. The fact that in the 15th century students from the market towns attended them indicates that the universities of the neighbouring countries became available. We can notice that the majority of the students studying abroad gained the lower grades, and did not devote a long time to their studies. There was only little need for legal studies, as in the Hungarian judiciary system judges royal played the main role and they gained their knowledge through practice. The judges royal had to possess a thorough knowledge of the Hungarian legal practice, the customary law, which could be acquired without a university degree. Werbőczy, who summarised the customary law, gained his legal knowledge as a judge royal as well.

Table 7. The number of (known) students studying at the universities of Prague, Vienna and Cracow⁶⁷

Period	Prague		Cracow	Vienna
1351–1400	1360–1369	4	1	532
	1370–1379	48		
	1380–1389	71		
	1390–1400	40		
1401–1450	1401–1409	48	679	2543
	1410–1419	22		
	1419-től	14		
1451–1500			2570	2355
1501–1525			1223	1161
Altogether:	247		4475	6591

The discrepancies in data come from the different levels of sources available: the Prague material is very scarce, while in Cracow we know the enrolment

⁶⁶ DOMONKOS, Az óbudai egyetem (as note 23) pp. 3.

⁶⁷ The figures reflect the results of the newest research, see TÜSKÉS, Magyarországi diákok (as note 39) pp. 12–13; HARASZTI SZABÓ, Magyarországi diákok (as note 54) pp. 26–27; KELÉNYI, Magyarországi diákok (as note 56) pp. 61–63, 123.

data from the time of the refoundation. László Szögi suggests that the number of Hungarian students could be five or six times more than the figures listed above.⁶⁸ Similarly, the number of students at Hungarian universities must have surpassed that of listed in our table, yet in their cases we do not even know the length of their studies. The number of Hungarian students at the three nearby universities shows that neither the foundations in the Sigismund, or Matthias era caused decline: the number of Hungarian students kept increasing in Vienna, Prague and Cracow in the 15th and early 16th centuries.⁶⁹

In the monarchs' environment we can constantly find people with a high level of knowledge in theology and canon law. The foreigners appearing among the elite already possessed this knowledge, which was in this way 'ready-made' for the monarch, so even in the absence of a Hungarian university, a circle of highly qualified people were provided for the royal court. In addition, the education in the chapters and orders was high-level, yet it did not give the opportunity to gain a scientific grade.



Abbreviations

ItK	Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények
JPMÉ	Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve
MAMÜL	Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon. [Hungarian Cultural History Encyclopaedia] I–XIII. KŐSZEGHY, Péter (ed.). Budapest, 2003–2012.
TPT	Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből

Abstracts

Hope of Success and Causes of Failure Founding Universities in Medieval Hungary

The study focuses on the circumstances surrounding the establishment of medieval Hungarian universities and analyses the problems of their short period of activity. The author applied many different points of view to compare the

⁶⁸ SZÖGI, László: Az egyetem nélküli ország egyetemistái Mohács előtt. A középkori Magyarország peregrinusai. [The Students of the Country without a University before Mohács. The Peregrinus of Medieval Hungary], in: Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei (2011) pp. 14–40, here: pp. 18.

⁶⁹ Ibidem pp. 18.

first Hungarian university with contemporary foundations in the neighbouring countries. The author followed the comparative method also in the case of Hungarian universities founded subsequently and drew her own conclusions. The latest research results in the field of university history were also used in the study.

Keywords: Hungarian Kingdom, medieval education, universities of Middle Europe, papacy, students

A siker reménye és a kudarc okai
Egyetemalapítások a középkori Magyarországon

A tanulmány a középkori magyar egyetemek alapításának körülményeit vizsgálja és arra keressi a választ mivel magyarázható rövid idejű működésük. A szerző különböző szempontokat figyelembe véve hasonlítja össze az első magyar egyetem és a szomszédos országok közel egyidőben alapított intézményeinek helyzetét. Az összehasonlítást folytatva vizsgálja a későbbi magyarországi alapításokat beépítve a legfrissebb kutatási eredményeket is.