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# An Unknown Professor at the Medieval University of Pécs?\*

**S** cholars have only limited information about the medieval University of Pécs due to the lack of sources.<sup>1</sup> This poverty of sources is an aching deficiency even more so if we want to know something about the students,<sup>2</sup> although there is only a short list of its professors as well. The only lecturer who could be linked to the university is Galvano di Bettini da Bologna, while Ede Petrovich increased the number of professors by adding Hermannus Lurcz, Rudolf, provost of Pécs, Paul, provost of Szeben and Amery Cudar<sup>3</sup> to the list. In this presentation I would like to examine a supposition which could expand their number with another person, who supposedly also had connections with Pécs, but only based on circumstantial evidence.

#### Reverendus Buda and his codex

During my former researches in Prague, I have found a manuscript, dated to 1377, which is obviously connected to a Hungarian copier, furthermore, the proveniences could also indicate some information about the University of Pécs.<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription, the copier was a certain "Reverendus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to István Draskóczy and Gergely Kiss for their advice and instructions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> RAJCZI, Péter: Professzorok és diákok Nagy Lajos király pécsi egyetemén [Professors and students at Louis the Great's University of Pécs], in: Baranya, Történelmi Közlemények 5–6, 1992/1993, pp. 131–136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> PETROVICH, Ede: A középkori pécsi egyetem ismeretlen tanárai [Unkown professors at the Medieval University of Pécs], in: Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 71, 1967, pp. 290–296.

<sup>4</sup> NKC X B 5.

Buda",<sup>5</sup> who made a copy of the biblical dictionary of Guillelmus Brito.<sup>6</sup> After consulting with my colleagues, I had to rule out him being of Slavic origins, which clarified the Hungarian roots of the copier. Furthermore, the codex remained in the Library of the Bohemian Nation of the University of Prague<sup>7</sup> so I had to look for the duplicator among the Hungarian students of the university. There were two options: either the copier was an unknown student, or he was a student from the Hungarian capital, Buda.<sup>8</sup> Without the matriculation lists the first option cannot be examined,<sup>9</sup> but after a lengthy research and valuable help from Pavel Soukup, László Szabolcs Gulyás, Mariann Slíz, Valéria Tóth and János N. Fodor I drew the conclusion that probably John of Buda, who later founded the Christ's College in Esztergom, could be the copier.<sup>10</sup> The proveniences of the codex also support my opinion. John studied at Prague from 1374 and got his master's degree in 1385. However, the College and the Library of the Bohemian Nation (where this manuscript was kept) was established only a decade after John left Prague and came home to Hungary.<sup>11</sup> How could the copy made by Reverendus Buda end up in a library which was established only decades after its completion? I think the answer is the founder of the College and the Library, Johannes Wenceslai de Praga. When John of Buda, as a Bachelor of another university, requested his enrolment to the University of Prague, John of Prague promoted him and became of his supervisor during his magisterial studies. John of Buda probably entrusted his manuscript to John of Prague, who placed the volume in the aforementioned College and Library he founded (His private collection served as a basis for the library). Why was this research important from the point of view

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> NKC X B 5. f. 119a: "Explicit Brito ffinitus per reverendum Budam."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Summa Britonis sive Guillelmi Britonis expositiones vocabulorum biblie, DALY, LLOYD W.; DALY, Bernardine (ed.) A. Patavii, 1975. pp. XIII–XVIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ВЕСКА́, Josef – URBÁNKOVÁ, Emma: Katalogy Knihoven Koleji Karlovy University, Praha, 1948. pp. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> There are two probable students: John of Buda from 1374: Liber Decanorum Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585. I–II. Praha, 1830–1832. I. pp. 160. and Nicholas of Buda from 1377: Album seu matricula facultatis juridicae Universitatis Pragensis: ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418 e codice membranaceo illius aetatis nunc primum luce donatum, Praha 1834 pp. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> KAVKA, František: A prágai Károly egyetem, a pécsi egyetem és Dél-Magyarország a XIV. században és a XV. század elején, [The Charles University of Prague, the University of Pécs and South Hungary in the XIVth and the beginning of the XVth century], in: Csizmadia Andor (ed.): Jubileumi tanulmányok – A Pécsi Egyetem történetéből, Pécs, 1967 pp. 87. quot. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter: Books and their creators from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary at the University of Prague, in: Studia Historica Nitriensia 21, 2017, pp. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> SVATOŠ, Michal: The Studium Generale 1347/8–1419, in: Čornejová, Ivana– SVATOŠ, Michal– SVOBODNÝ, Petr (ed.): A History of Charles University, Prague, 2001, pp. 52–53.

of the University of Pécs? The answer is John of Prague again, and first I must provide an overview of his life to explain this answer.

# The career of John of Prague and the University of Pécs

John of Prague began his university studies most probably in the beginning of the 1360s, at least we could conclude this from the fact that he was a *magister* artium and a member of the Charles College in 1366, and was an examiner as well in the same year.<sup>12</sup> He still worked as an examiner<sup>13</sup> on 26th of April, 1369, but after this year his name disappears from the university sources for over four years, and the next information about him is from 10th July, 1373<sup>14</sup> from which date he continuously acted as an examiner, supervisor and as an important office holder of the University of Prague. However, we cannot talk about a 4-yearold absence in Prague, because in 1373 he is listed as a promoter in the Dean's Book of the Faculty of Arts, which means he prepared a student for graduation and supervised his advancement at the university.<sup>15</sup> Considering that a student had to study for one and a half or two years for the Bachelor's degree,<sup>16</sup> and that John began this activity in the middle of 1371 or the beginnings of 1372, there is only a two or a two and a half year gap in his career path. He became the rector of the university in 1374 and was re-elected in 1382/1383. Meanwhile he received his bachelor's degree of theology in 1378, while in the same year he acquired canonicate at the Chapel of All Saints at the Castle of Prague.<sup>17</sup> Two years later he received a prebend at the cathedral chapter of Prague as well, while in 1381 a charter refers to him as canonicus receptus. In 1385 he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> TŘIŠKA, Josef: Životopisný Slovník Předhusitské Pražské Unverzity 1348–1409, Praha, 1981, pp. 321–322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> LDPP 1830. 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> LDPP 1830. 156. However Vilém Herold wrote about the continuous presence of John of Prague at the Bohemian capital in this period, though there is no evidence for it. HEROLD, Vilém: Commentarium Magistri Johannis Wenceslai de Praga super octo libros "Politicorum" Aristotelis, In: Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum 26, 1982, pp. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> SVATOŠ, Michal: Formy promoce na pražské univerzitě v letech 1348–1622. Kus kulturní a intelektuální historie českých dějin. in: BOBKOVÁ, Lenka– BŘEZINA, Luděk– KONVIČNÁ, Jana– ZDICHYNEC, Jan (eds.): Ve znamení zemí Koruny české: sborník k, šedesátým narozeninám prof. PhDr. Lenky Bobkové, CSc. sestavili Luděk Březina, Jana Konvičná a Jan Zdichynec. Vyd. 1. Casablanca, Praha, 2006, pp. 408.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> TONK, Sándor: Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban, [Peregrination of students from Transylvania in the Middle Ages] Bukarest, 1979, pp. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Since the canonicates of the Chapel of All Saints at Prague Castle were obligated to the masters of the Charles College. SVATOŠ, The Studium Generale, 40.

referred to as *professor theologiae*,<sup>18</sup> and in 1387 he was examiner again at the Faculty of Arts. Pavel Spunar found the last mention of him from 1399, when he was working as a public notary,<sup>19</sup> and he probably died between 1400 and 1404.

His colleagues and students spoke of John in high terms during his lifetime, and after his death as well. In 1375, for example, one of his student considered him the best philosopher of the University of Prague,<sup>20</sup> while in 1404 John Hus remembered him as an excellent mathematician (*promptissimus mathematicus*).<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the historian about his mathematical abilities, but his deeds as a philosopher are much better known. John's philosophical activities, similar to the majority of philosophers of his period, related to the works of the philosopher Aristotle, and he made commentaries on such works as *De coelo et mundo*, *De anima*,<sup>22</sup> *De generatione et corruptione* or on books of *Politicorum* and *Physicae*.<sup>23</sup> A short writing about the passion of Christ refers to his theological studies and in 1378 he made an extract from the *Sententiae* by Petrus Lombardus, which also highlights his theological interest. Though they all date back to the 1370s and 1380s,<sup>24</sup> these works clearly demonstrate his former attitude of mind too, which might have been the reason why he was mentioned as the best philosopher as early as 1375.

Based on these information there is no visible connection between John of Prague and the University of Pécs. Still there were two details which attracted my attention. The first was in the monography and archontology of Tamás Fedeles about the cathedral chapter of Pécs. Fedeles quoted a certain John of Prague as a canon of Pécs in 1396 and refers him as a noble person of Baranya County.<sup>25</sup> However, in the prosopograhical database of Josef Třiška, which of course

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> From this source Pavel Spunar assumed that John got the master's title of theology before 1385. Spunar, Pavel: Repertorium auctorum bohemorum provectum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans. Wratislaviae, 1985, I. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Spunar, Repertorium (as note 18) I. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Šmahel, František: Die Präger Universität im Mittelalter – The Charles University in the Middle Ages. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Prag, 2007, pp. 255.

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$   $\,$  See the  $12^{th}$  quotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Most probably he began to write his commentary on the *De anima* already before 1375, since according to the explicit: *"Explicit Commentum libri De anima in anno 1375 reportatum Prage, bene editum a reverendo magistro Johanne Wenczeslai*". SPUNAR, Repertorium (as note 18) I. 52; Cp: MRÁz, Milan: Commentarium Magistri Johannis Wenceslai de Praga super "De anima" Aristotelis (Der gegenwärtige Zustand der Forschungsarbeit), In: Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum 26, 1982, pp. 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Spunar, Repertorium (as note 18) I. 51–53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Spunar, Repertorium (as note 18) I. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> FEDELES Tamás: A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354– 1526) [The personnel of the Pécs cathedral chapter in the later Middle Ages (1354–1526)] Pécs, 2005, pp. 434.

contains a record of university professor John of Prague, Třiška mentioned that John already held a canonry of Pécs in 1378.<sup>26</sup> There are too many coincidences, thus we could assume that the John of Prague mentioned in 1396 was not a Hungarian estate holder of Baranya, but rather one of the professors of Prague University who gained a canonry in Pécs sometime before 1378. The possibility of this assumption can only be judged based on the two aforementioned charters.

## A professor of Prague at Pécs?

The name of John of Prague first appeared in Hungarian sources in 1396, about a prebend of Pécs. According a charter issued by Pope Boniface IX, the same year Cardinal Valentine of Alsán, Bishop of Pécs oversaw legal proceedings that took place between George, son of Gallus, *custos Quinqeecclesiensis* and Benedict, son of Blaise, a cleric of the same diocese about a canonry and prebend which had earlier belonged to a certain John of Prague. It is unknown when exactly, but the Cardinal deprived John of the canonry because of his sins and indignity, thus the canonry fell vacant and George obtained it; but Benedict objected to his nomination.<sup>27</sup> The further development of the case is irrelevant from point of view of this paper; the only significant aspect is that John was deprived of his canonry in 1396. If accept that John of Prague did not come from Hungary, but rather from Bohemia, then maybe his long absence caused this incident.

On the other hand, professor John of Prague already held a canonry of Pécs almost two decades earlier. In 1378 Pope Urban VI stated that if a canonicate of the cathedral chapter of Prague become vacant in the near future than that canonicate will be given to John of Prague, disregarding the fact that he already had a canonry at the Chapel of All Saints in Prague and a canonry at the Diocese of Pécs as well.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, there is no proof about the exact time when or the way John obtained the canonicate of Pécs, only that he already had it in the 1370s.

Only a cautious conclusion can be drawn that sometime before 1378 a professor of the University of Prague probably obtained a canonicate of Pécs. The key question is there is any probability that John of Prague received the canonry of the wealthy south Hungarian diocesan seat because he was also a lecturer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> TŘIŠKA, Životopisný (as note 12) 321–322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> THEINER, Augustin: Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis I–II. Romae, 1859–1860, II. Nr. 328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> KLICMAN, Ladislav – NOVÁK, Johann Friedrich – JENŠOVSKÁ, Vera – STLOUKAL, Karel (eds.), Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemica illustrantia I–VII. Prag, 1903–2001, V. Nr. 20.

at the first Hungarian university? Without any doubt he was already teaching in Prague in 1378, and he never left his alma mater until his death, in other words he could taught in Pécs only in those years when there is no record of his presence in Prague, namely between 1369 and 1371/1372. We have to overview this period properly to find the connections between him and Pécs, and see if he had any opportunity to be a professor in Pécs.

As it is well known, King Louis the Great (1343–1382) established a university in Pécs in 1367 at his own initiative, with papal approval and the active assistance of William of Koppenbach, Bishop of Pécs and first chancellor of the newly founded institution.<sup>29</sup> István Petrovics made significant research on the chancellor's life, reviewed William's diplomatic duties and responsibilities and his influence on royal policies. His family came from Pfalz or Upper Bavaria, where he got acquainted with the Luxemburg dynasty early on. Petrovics assumed that Archbishop Balduin of Trier introduced William to the son of his own nephew, the future Emperor IV Charles.<sup>30</sup> This connection shows us more than just political ties; it also reveals the cultural orientation of his early years as well, as Balduin belonged to the few who understood the importance of education and the universities in the Empire (Balduin had also studied at a university, and at the first institution of his time, in Paris). Balduin employed several educated people,<sup>31</sup> some of whom were also hired by King Charles IV or even by King Wenceslas IV as well. One of them was William of Koppenbach. As an imperial chaplain he obviously had the opportunity to observe the foundation process of the University of Prague, moreover he took part in the diplomatic missions of Emperor Charles, and later as an advisor of King Louis of Hungary. Probably while on a mission at the royal meeting at Buda in 1353, partly organised by William, he drew the Hungarian king's attention to himself, because following the summit, he became a royal chaplain of the Hungarian sovereign in the same year. From then on he rose in ranks steadily: in 1358 he became royal counsellor and count of the royal chaplains,<sup>32</sup> while in 1360

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> SZÉKELY, György: Hazai egyetemalapítási kísérletek és a külföldi egyetemjárás, [Hungarian attempts of university foundation and the foreign peregrination], in: G. SZENDE, Katalin – SZABÓ Péter (eds.): A magyar iskola első évszázadai, Győr, 1996, pp. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> PETROVICS, István: A pécsi egyetem kancellárjai: Koppenbachi Vilmos és Alsáni Bálint püspökök pályafutása. [The chancellors of the University of Pécs: Career of Vilmos of Koppenbach and Bálint of Alsáni], in: FEDELES, Tamás – KOVÁCS, Zoltán – SÜMEGI, József (eds.), Egyházi arcélek a pécsi egyházmegyéből, Pécs, 2009, pp. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> MORAW, Peter: Gelehrte Juristen im Dienst der Deutschen Könige des späten Mittelalters (1273–1493), in: Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte: Strukturen, Personen, Entwicklungen, Leiden, 2008, pp. 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> ENGEL, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457, I–II. [Secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457] Budapest, 1996, I. pp. 91.

he was elected as the Bishop of Pécs and took his seat the next year.<sup>33</sup> In 1362 William became the head of the Seven Saxon Seats of Transylvania as *generalis vicarius* and received the title of count of Pozsega County from 1366.<sup>34</sup>

His diplomatic missions were certainly significant from the point of view of the University of Pécs as well, since it is well known that during the Raguza peace negotiations with Venice he had the chance to meet the famous law professor of Padua, Bartholomeus Piacentini, but unfortunately William's efforts to lure Piacentini to Hungary for the foundation of the university was unsuccessful.<sup>35</sup> Probably during a similar mission he persuaded the excellent canonist, Galvano di Bettini of the University of Bologna to come and teach at the University of Pécs in Hungary.<sup>36</sup> The royal service brought him not only to Italy, but he also had other diplomatic responsibilities during the numerous conflicts between Emperor Charles and King Louis as well. One of the most outstanding achievement of his activity happened in 1373 when he reached a peace treaty between the two monarchs and prepared the engagement of Prince Sigismund of Bohemia and Princess Mary of Hungary.<sup>37</sup> However, this was not his first mission between Buda and Prague. In 1360 Prince Rudolf IV of Austria tried to play King Louis and Emperor Charles against each other, but the Emperor and Bishop William managed to stop him.<sup>38</sup> Two years later though, when the Emperor allegedly spoke of Queen Elisabeth, King Louis's mother, in an insulting manner<sup>39</sup>, the representatives of the Royal Chapel needed all of their knowledge to prevent the outbreak of a war. From the point of view of the question at hand, this conflict deserves the most attention, mainly because the Bishop of Pécs went to Bohemia several times to negotiate between Louis and Charles,<sup>40</sup> most probably in the same timeframe when John

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> ENGEL, Magyarország világi (as note 32) I. pp. 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> PETROVICS, A pécsi egyetem (as note 30) pp. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> BODA, Miklós: A középkori pécsi egyetem alapításának előzményei [Antecedents of the foundation of the medieval University of Pécs) in: Baranya, 2, 1991, pp. 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> CSIZMADIA, Andor: Galvano di Bologna pécsi működése és a középkori magyar jogi oktatás egyes kérdései, (The activity of Galvano di Bologna at Pécs and some question about the medieval Hungarian legal education) In: CSIZMADIA Andor (ed.): Jubileumi tanulmányok – A Pécsi Egyetem történetéből, Pécs, 1967, pp. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> MÁLYUSZ Elemér: Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon [The rule of King Sigismund in Hungary] Budapest, 1984, pp. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> PETROVICS, A pécsi egyetem (as note 30) pp. 24; Cp: PETROVICS István: A város története a 14. századtól 1526-ig [History of the town from the 14th century to 1526] in: FONT, Márta – VONYÓ, József (eds.): Pécs története II. A püspökség alapításától a török hódoltságig, Pécs, 2015, pp. 255–259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> WENZEL Gusztáv (ed.), Magyar diplomacziai emlékek az Anjou-korból I–III. [Memories of Hungarian diplomacy from the Angevin period I–III.] Budapest, 1874–1876, I. pp. 583.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Two charter mentions i.e. from 1360 that Bishop William was in Nuremberg at the Emper-

of Prague began his university studies.<sup>41</sup> At least if the length of his magisterial studies lasted about four years, the probable beginnings of John's studies correspond with William's diplomatic missions to Prague. The conflict formally ended in 1364, when John probably received the lowest level university degree in Prague, but they had the opportunity to get acquainted with each other even at this early date.<sup>42</sup> Although John of Prague probably was not as famous yet at this time, the years between 1366 and 1369 must have been crucial to establish his future reputation, by gaining experience either through examinations and debates or as a new professor of the university.

What was the exact time when William could made an offer to John of Prague about a professor's title at Pécs? We can only guess, however, he certainly had the opportunity to do so. After 1362 and 1363 William had a number of opportunities to visit Prague, when the bonds between Bohemia and Hungary weakened again because the Emperor wanted to put an end to the alliance between King Louis and the Habsburg princes. His intention was completely successful, which was followed by the engagement of Prince Wenceslas with King Louis's niece, Princess Elisabeth.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, a few years after this incident, at the end of the 1360s, the relationship between Louis and Charles deteriorated again, when due to his possession of Brandenburg, Charles found himself in opposition with the Bavarian princes, who were allies of Hungary at this time. Furthermore, William formed this alliance in 1367, but in this new situation he had the responsibility to negotiate again with the Emperor in 1369, when John of Prague disappeared from the written sources. As a former imperial chaplain he most probably had free access to the Emperor, who came back to his imperial capital from Italy at the end of 1369.<sup>44</sup> It would be fair

or's court. http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/ef3aba73-360f-4a36-82f4-d64e8c41633a; http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/b59ade15-879b-4d25-86c2-f97f1d59b9dd [2016. 03. 08.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> KAVKA, A prágai (as note 9) pp. 88–90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Though Louis could have made peace with Charles already in 1363 at Cracow, when Charles married with Elisabeth of Pomerania, niece of King Casimir III (and niece of mother queen Elisabeth of Hungary also). SOLYMOSI László (ed.), Magyarország történeti kronológiája I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig, [Historical chronology of Hungary I. From the beginnings to 1526] Budapest,1981, pp. 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> SOLYMOSI, Magyarország történeti (as note 42) pp. 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Charles was in Litoměřice, north-west of Prague already on 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1369, but on 6<sup>th</sup> January he was in Prague up to the beginning of March in 1370, and again between the end of June and the beginning of August. The itinerary of Charles IV was compiled by Eberhard Holtz in 2013: http://www.regesta-imperii.de/fileadmin/user\_upload/downloads/ri\_viii\_itinerar.pdf (Download: 16th October 2017.) Because of the Hungarian lack of sources there is no evidence for the exact time about the absence of Bishop William from Pécs, but it is intriguing that William have not produced any charters between 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1368 and 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1370. MNL OL DF 268658, DF 200272.

to say, as Ede Petrovich also assumed, that during these diplomatic missions William was consciously seeking out professors for the University of Pécs, for instance in Italy<sup>45</sup> and Prague, the educational centre of the region possibly did not escape the Bishop's attention either. Based on known circumstances, we can make a theory about the potential course of events. Shortly before John of Prague disappeared from the Bohemian capital, William might have got in touch with John in Prague and could have offered him a position at his newly founded university in his bishopric seat. If this theory is right, then William offered him the aforementioned canonicate of the cathedral chapter of Pécs as a payment. If John of Prague really taught in Pécs, then from his later work it seems obvious that his principal task was to interpret Aristotle's work.

The next question is why John left the town of Pécs so fast? It is easier to find the reason in the case of Galvano di Bettini.<sup>46</sup> It is important to remember that Bishop William died in 1374,<sup>47</sup> though the bishop-chancellor had already written to the Pope in November of 1373, describing his weak health and asking him to nominate a suffragan bishop to help him rule the diocese, because he was incapable to handle it alone.<sup>48</sup> The Bishop's disease undoubtedly affected the life of the university, which experienced its first crisis at the time. It is easy to understand why Galvano, whose connection to Pécs was only through Bishop William, left Pécs for Bologna after these ties weakened.<sup>49</sup> In the case of John of Prague the reason could have been more trivial. Keep in mind that the conflict between Bohemia and Hungary began to reach its end in 1373,<sup>50</sup> and it is interesting to observe that his presence in Prague became evident af-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Petrovich, A középkori pécsi (as note 3) pp. 295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> His salary was the tithe of Ürög village, a house in Pécs and earned another 600 florins, and half of this amount, according to Tamás Fedeles was covered by the provost title at the cathedral chapter. FEDELES, A pécsi székeskáptalan, pp. 439.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Pál Engel found his last produced charter from 9<sup>th</sup> of February 1374, while István Petrovics from some months later, from 2<sup>nd</sup> of June. ENGEL, Magyarország világi (as note 32) I. pp. 73; PETROVICS, A pécsi egyetem (as note 30) pp. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Petrovics, A pécsi egyetem (as note 30) pp. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Based on the researches of György Székely Galvano was only a former professor of Pécs already at 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1374, in other words, only some months after the death of Bishop William. Székely, A pécsi és óbudai, pp. 163. However Galvano later came back to Hungary and act as a vicar general of the archdiocese of Esztergom in 1377 and get a canonry at Székesfehérvár in 1378 at least, but this was mentioned only at the University of Bologna again, even in 1385 too. Thanks for these information to Norbert C. Tóth and Borbála Kelényi. C. TótH, Norbert: Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században I. A kanonoki testület és az egyetemjárás. [The cathedral chapter of Esztergom in the 15<sup>th</sup> century I. The canonical body and the University studies] Budapest, 2015. 117; GLORIA, Andrea (ed.), Monumenti della Università di Padova. I–II. Padova, 1888. I. 569 (Nr. 116), II. 138–139, 179. (Nr. 1471, 1472, 1592).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> SOLYMOSI, Magyarország történeti (as note 42) pp. 221.

ter the negotiations had begun about the peace treaty and the royal children's engagement. The narrower cultural space of Pécs compared to that of Prague and the improving diplomatic relations between Buda and Prague could have motivated him to return home, but the exact reasons of his return are unclear.

Thus John of Prague had the chance to come to Pécs from the Bohemian capital, and the information of his presence during the timeframe in question is missing in the imperial city and the university too. Most probably Bishop William invited him and provided him a prebend at the cathedral chapter, but the reasons of his departure are still unclear (however the "suis culpis et demeritis" inscription in the charter of 1396 does not look to favourable), but maybe it is not absolutely impossible that the attraction of his alma mater was the main reason.

#### A university student from Pécs in Prague?

The new appearance of John, son of Wenceslas in Prague was followed by another event important from a Hungarian point of view, which may also be connected to the University of Pécs. Here, however, we have to turn back to the beginning of my paper.

Almost three years after John of Prague's supposed homecoming, in September of 1374 a freshly graduated Bachelor, John of Buda showed up in Prague, asking for admission to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Prague in order to carry on his studies. According to the rules of the faculty, prior to admittance the masters had to measure the abilities of the candidates, to see their competences. Fortunately, the statues of the faculty survived throughout the centuries, thus we know this process well. The candidate first got in touch with a *magister*, who evaluated his knowledge. This *magister* then became his "*promotor*", or supervisor, after the successful admission.<sup>51</sup> This can be incurred from the term "*per magistrum suum*" included in the statutes, since after the master got a good picture of the candidate's knowledge, he presented him to the whole faculty and the college of masters, who also checked the candidate's abilities during a public debate. If he successfully completed this "entrance exam" as well, he had to pay twenty copper as a bachelor of another university and then he became a full member of the faculty.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> SVATOŠ, Formy promoce, pp. 408; HEROLD, Commentarium, pp. 54. The statutes of the Faculty of Arts mentioned the students' own masters (*"magistro suo praesidenti et promoventi*") in another paragraph. LDPP I. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> LDPP I. 60–61.

John of Buda had already been supposed to have graduated from the University of Pécs, which was only based upon the lack of sources about the early years of the University of Vienna and the fact that the University of Cracow did not maintain its activity up to 1400.53 It is possible that John really studied at Pécs, because in the documents of the University of Prague, if a student transferred from another institution, it was usually indicated where he came from, therefore researchers can found Bachelors from Vienna<sup>54</sup> and former students of Cracow,<sup>55</sup> but not from Pécs, where the labelling was not so clear.<sup>56</sup> Where John continued his studies, however, is more significant than his previous education. Naturally, the renown of Prague could have been enough for John to choose the Bohemian capital over Vienna or Cracow in the 1370s,<sup>57</sup> but it is still surprising that after his arrival he choose as his promoter someone as prestigious as the rector of the University, John of Prague. Students were not assigned to specific supervisors, but his choice suggests that maybe they had a former acquaintance or there was some common point in their lives. So, there are two people: John of Prague, whose life cannot be reconstructed between 1369 and 1371/1372 based on the sources (although we have plenty of information about him from both earlier and later), and John of Buda, who definitely studied at a university before 1374, but we do not know where. They were connected by these obscure periods, and tied to one place: the University of Pécs. It is possible that John of Buda chose John of Prague as his promoter because in Pécs his reputation was still intense and maybe that is why John of Buda chose the University of Prague. On the other hand, John of Prague also remembered his years in Pécs, and welcomed, evaluated and finally accepted John as his new student. However, their relationship, whether it went back to Pécs or started in Prague, had a real impact on John of Buda and their temperament was guite similar. The experiences of John of Buda in the Bohemian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> RASHDALL, Hastings: Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages I–II, Oxford, 1895, II. pp. 237–238, 283–284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> LDPP I. 145, 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> LDPP I. 399–400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> The interesting thing in his case that the notary did not inscript the name of his former university, as it was ordinary in other cases. In the case of the University of Pécs the sources show three different options with three different people, thus Petrus de Wydera was *baccalarius Quinque-ecclesiarum*, Hermannus Lurtz, who perhaps taught at Pécs came to Prague *de studio Quinclesiens*i, while John of Buda came from another university simply. LDPP I. 160, 186, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> SZÉKELY, A pécsi és óbudai, pp. 155–156; HARASZTI SZABÓ Péter: Magyarországi diákok a Prágai egyetemen a középkorban. [Students from Hungary at the University of Prague in the Middle Ages], in: HARASZTI SZABÓ, Péter – KELÉNYI, Borbála – SZÖGI, László (eds.), Magyarországi diákok a prágai és a krakkói egyetemeken (1348–1525) [Students from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348–1525] I–II, Budapest, 2016–2017, pp. 25–29.

capital and the instructions of his professor inspired him to establish a college for poor students in Esztergom after his homecoming,<sup>58</sup> almost at the same time as John of Prague did in the imperial city. As mentioned above, he founded a college and a library for the Bohemian Nation of the Faculty of Arts in the middle of the 1390s. This personal connection which presumably goes back to Pécs, had its impact on the Kingdom of Hungary as well, with regard to the foundation of the Collegium Christi in Esztergom.

## Conclusions

Was John of Prague a professor at Pécs? We cannot give a clear 'yes' as an answer, but there are several little signs which allow this assumption. John of Prague, master of Charles College, acted as an examiner at the University of Prague several times between 1366 and 1369. However, after 1369 he disappeared from the sources of the university for more than two years, while in 1378, according to a papal charter, he was a canon of Pécs. It is unknown when he gained the position, though a person with the same name had to give up this prebend sometime before 1396. It is also worthy of note that he had the opportunity to come into contact with the South-Hungarian town and its university, since the Bishop of Pécs, William of Koppenbach as royal deputy had numerous chances to go to Prague in order to negotiate with Emperor Charles on behalf of King Louis. One of these missions happened when John of Prague begun his university studies in 1362 or 1363, while William had to go to Prague again in 1369, the year when John of Prague disappeared from the sources. This also coincides with the professor recruitment activity of William for the University of Pécs. In 1369 or 1370 William could have made an offer for John and offered him a canonicate in his own cathedral chapter, but after a two or a two and a half year period John left Pécs and went home to Prague. His canonicate obviously had to be a similar salary for him as canonicates of the Chapel of All Saints in Prague for the masters of the Carolinum. As a sidenote, the connection between Prague and Pécs can also be presumed based on another person, the aforementioned Amery Cudar, a potential professor of Pécs according to Ede Petrovich, since Amery studied at Prague and received his magister's degree in 1367, only a year after John of Prague's graduation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> KÖRMENDY, Kinga: Studentes extra regnum. Esztergomi kanonokok egyetemjárása és könyvhasználata 1183–1543, [Studentes Extra Regnum. University studies of Canons of Esztergom and their books 1183–1543] Budapest, 2007, pp. 62–64.

Furthermore, there is a chance that his academic years in Pécs have left a significant mark for future students and encouraged them to go to Prague in a higher numbers. One such student was John of Buda, the future founder of the Christ's College in Esztergom, who arrived at Prague in 1374 and chose as his promoter no other than John of Prague, the presumed former university professor of Pécs. The cultural milieu of Prague, and the influence of John of Prague could have been the cause of John's later foundation in Esztergom, and if John of Prague really was one of the professors at Pécs, then the University of Pécs also had a little impact on the foundation as well.

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#### Abstract

#### An Unknown Professor at the Medieval University of Pécs?

Our information about the medieval University of Pécs is unfortunately very limited due to the Turkish occupation in the early modern period, thus we only know of a few students and one professor from this period (though Ede Petrovich tried to improve this number). In this article we sought to add another name to this short list, because there is a possibility that John, son of Wenceslas of Prague also belonged to the tutorial board of Pécs. According to the researches of Tamás Fedeles, we have information about a certain John of Prague, who held a canonry at Pécs in 1396. Fedeles reckons this canon as a noble person from Baranya County, but John, son of Wenceslas of Prague in 1378 also held a canonry at Pécs. Therefore, probably these two persons are the same. In the mid 1370's John of Prague was one of the most famous professor at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Prague, which naturally begets question, whether John of Prague was a professor at Pécs as well. As mentioned above, we do not have much information about the University of Pécs, so we could only examine the possibility of this theory, but there are some facts that support this assumption. In addition to the information about this canonry of Pécs, John of Prague had the opportunity to go to Pécs from Prague when the first chancellor of Pécs, William of Koppenbach/Bergzabern, bishop of Pécs (former imperial chaplain of Charles IV) lead several diplomatic missions to Prague in 1362-1363 and at the end of that decade. In other words, when John began his studies and exactly the same time when he disappeared from Prague. From 1369–1370 to 1371–1372 (when he probably became a promoter at Prague again) there is no evidence about his presence in the imperial city. Hence we could assume that around 1369 John got acquainted with Bishop

William at Prague, who invited him to Hungary and provided his canonry at this time, but only two or a two and half years later he went back to Prague. If this assumption is true, maybe his good reputation was the reason why John of Buda had chosen him as his supervisor after he went to Prague in 1374. This also supports the assumption that John of Buda, who later founded the College of Christ in Esztergom, began his studies at Pécs, where he received a bachelor's degree. This was indicated in the records when he appeared at Prague, but without specifying the name of the institution where he had earned this title.

**Keywords:** University of Pécs, Medieval diplomacy, University of Prague, Career paths, Hungarian-Bohemian relations

# A középkori pécsi egyetem egy ismeretlen professzora?

Jelen írás azt a kérdést járta körül, hogy Prágai Vencel fia János taníthatott-e a pécsi egyetemen, amelyre egyelőre nem adható egyértelmű igen, mindazonáltal több tényező is megengedi a feltételezést. Prágai János 1366-1369 között a prágai egyetemen több ízben is a vizsgáztató professzorok között szerepel, mint a Károly Kollégium magistere. Ezután 1369-ben eltűnik az egyetem irataiból, de 1378-ban pécsi kanonokságáról vannak adatok, melyet nem tudni mikor szerzett, noha Fedeles Tamás kutatásaiból az biztos, hogy egy ugyanilyen nevű személy, aki feltehetően azonos vele, még 1396 előtt valamikor kénytelen volt megválni e javadalmától. Prágainak meg volt a lehetősége, hogy kapcsolatba kerüljön a pécsi egyetemmel, amikor annak első kancellárja, Vilmos pécsi püspök több ízben is Prágában járt Nagy Lajos diplomáciai megbízatásai során, többek között, amikor Vencel fia János megkezdte egyetemi tanulmányait, illetve amikor 1369/70 fordulóján János már tanára volt az egyetemnek. Mindez egybevág Vilmos püspök "professzor-toborzási" szándékaival is. Valamikor 1369/70-ben Vilmos ismét felvehette vele a kapcsolatot, s meghívta Pécsre, ahonnan 1371/72 körül távozhatott, mintegy két, két és fél évnyi tanári tevékenységet követően. Prágai János valószínűleg e néhány éves pécsi tartózkodása idején kaphatta pécsi javadalmát is, mely hasonló fizetsége lehetett, mint a prágai várbeli Mindenszentek egyház kanonoki stallumai a Carolinum magistereinek.

Felvethető továbbá annak a lehetősége is, hogy pécsi évei nyomot hagytak a későbbi diákokban is, s ezért választotta a fiatal Budai János, az esztergomi Collegium Christi későbbi alapítója a prágai egyetemet, s azon belül tanárául az egyetem akkori rektorát, Prágai Vencel fia Jánost. A prágai kulturális miliő, s Vencel fia János hatása lehetett a kiváltó oka későbbi esztergomi alapításának, amelynek, ha Prágai Vencel fia János valóban tanított Pécsett, akkor pécsi mellékszála is lehetett.