

Serie:
Istorie • Documente • Mărturie

"History and memory intertwine; meaning and action, past and present, hinge on one another distinctively. Documentary and fiction, social actor and social other, knowledge and doubts, concepts and experience share boundaries that inescapably blur."

(Bill Nichols, *Blurred Boundaries*, 1984)

The volume *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848-1948)* is the fourth in the series dedicated to aspects of cultural and intellectual history: *Itineraries beyond Borders of Cultures, Identities and Disciplines* (2012), *In-between Difference and Diversity: Studies of Cultural and Intellectual History* (2013), *Discourse and Counter-discourse in Cultural and Intellectual History* (2014), focusing on diverse aspects of Transylvania's intermediality and interculturality, perceived from a multitude of perspectives - historical, cultural, political, etc., - converging in its borderland representations.

The contributions in the present volume are related to the key concept of *border*, a notion of great actuality in a globalized world that is redefining its frontiers in terms of fluidity, communication and mobility.

 ARGONAUT

ISBN 978-973-109-691-9



9 789731 096919

Symphologic Publishing

ISBN 978-1-988192-13-0



9 781988 192130

Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848-1948)

Coordinators:
Carmen Andraș
Cornel Sigmirean

Argonaut

IOANNIS JANSOON

ATLAS MAJOR

Symphologic Publishing

COORDINATORS
CARMEN ANDRAȘ, CORNEL SIGMIREAN

**CROSSING BORDERS:
INSIGHTS INTO THE CULTURAL AND
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF
TRANSYLVANIA (1848-1948)**

Argonaut Publishing
Cluj-Napoca, România

Symphologic Publishing
Gatineau, Canada

2016

This volume was supported by the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding-UEFISCDI, the National Research Council - CNCS, the Ministry of National Education (Romania), Project PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0841, Contract No. 220/31.10.2011, title *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848-1948)*/Dincolo de frontiere: aspecte ale istoriei culturale și intelectuale a Transilvaniei (1848-1948)/ Acest volum a fost finanțat de către Unitatea Executivă pentru Finanțarea Învățământului Superior, a Cercetării, Dezvoltării și Inovării - UEFISCDI, Consiliul Național al Cercetării Științifice (CNCS), Ministerul Educației Naționale, Proiect PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0841, Contract No. 220/31.10.2011, cu titlul *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848-1948)*/Dincolo de frontiere: aspecte ale istoriei culturale și intelectuale a Transilvaniei (1848-1948).

CROSSING borders: insights into the cultural and intellectual history of Transylvania : (1848-1948) / coordinators Carmen Andraș, Cornel Sigmirean. – Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut; Gatineau: Symphologic Publishing, 2016. – 399 p.; 21 cm.
ISBN 978-973-109-691-9 (Argonaut)
ISBN 978-1-988192-13-0 (Symphologic Publishing)

I. ANDRAȘ, Carmen (coord.)

II. SIGMIREAN, Cornel (coord.)

008(498.4)''1848/1948''

The cover illustration is reproduced from the Teleki Collection: Joannis Janssonii, *Atlas Contractus, sive Atlantis Majoris Compendium* (...). Apud Joannis Janssonii Haeredes, Amstelodami, 1666. By courtesy of: the Mureș County Library - Special Collections - "Teleki-Bolyai" Library, Târgu Mureș, Romania.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Carmen Andraș, Cornel Sigmirean _____ 8-21

Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania – a Theoretical Overview

Carmen Andraș _____ 22-38

BEYOND EUROPEAN BORDERS: CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION

Students from the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom at Italian Universities. Initial Stage of Researches: Sources and Possibilities

Borbála Kelényi _____ 39-73

Intellectuals in the Hungarian Royal Chanceries under the Reign of King Sigismund

Péter Haraszti Szabó _____ 74-97

Romanian Students at Technical Universities and the Transfer of the Modernity Values in the Romanian Society from Transylvania in the "Long Century"

Cornel Sigmirean _____ 98-117

Graphic Accounts about Student Life in 19th-Century Germany

Claudia M. Bonta _____ 118-131

Romanian Students at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques) 1868-1948

Lucian Nastasă-Kovács _____ 132-148

Romanian Students' Experiences at the University of Munich during the Nazi Rule: Study, Organization, Control, Challenges

- Irina Nastasă-Matei _____ 149-180
The Târgu-Mureş Roman Catholic Secondary School and Its Students in 1849-1918
- Sándor Pál-Antal _____ 181-197

FLUIDITY OF CULTURAL, INTELLECTUAL AND IDENTITY BORDERS

Crossing the Borders of Cultures: the First Wave of American War Correspondents in Romania and the Transylvanian Case (1916 - Early 1930s)

- Carmen Andraş _____ 199-232
Geography of the Romanian Literature. City Space between Myth and Reality
- Iulian Boldea _____ 233-241
Foreign Intellectuals in Interwar Cluj: a Feminine (and Feminist) Example - Marya Kastarska-Sergescu
- Ana-Maria Stan _____ 242-261

IN-BETWEEN THE BORDERS OF RELIGIONS, ARTS, POLITICS, AND ACADEMIA

Boundaries in the Ecclesiastic Discourse at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century: "Uniate," "United," or "Greek-Catholic"?

- Corina Teodor _____ 263-280
De Nobis Sine Nobis: A Look at the Unification of the Romanian Orthodox Church after 1918
- Anca Şincan _____ 281-295
Inborn Talent, Training Strategies and the Permeability of Social and Cultural Borders. An Anti-hagiographic Survey of the Career of Wunderkind Carl Filtsch

- Marian Zăloagă _____ 296-337
Cultural Identity and Music in Transylvania and the Banat before and after World War I
- Mariana Neţ _____ 338-361
Between New Borders: Community, Culture and Ideology. The Hungarian People's Union and the Reorganization of Transylvanian Hungarians' Political and Cultural Life after the Second World War
- Novák Csaba Zoltán _____ 362-382
(In-)Formative and Meritocratic Itineraries in the Evolution of the Transylvanian Members of the Romanian Academy (1866-2015)
- Stelian Mândruţ _____ 383-395

CONTRIBUTORS _____ 396-399

INTELLECTUALS IN THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL CHANCERIES UNDER THE REIGN OF KING SIGISMUND¹

Péter HARASZTI SZABÓ

Numerous 20th century Hungarian scholars have dealt with the history of the medieval royal chanceries, but in the recent years the interest for this topic has increased even more.² The inner structure, tasks and leaders of the chancery are well-known, although the intellectuals' roles have barely caught attention. My study aims at observing these features through their careers, namely of the notaries, their chances to get a job and the place of their university studies in this process. Initially, we need to know the exact number of those who learned in a university and then

¹ The research was supported by the MTA-ELTE Academic Researches Group (213TKI738).

² Márta Kondor, "A királyi kúria bíróságaitól a kancelláriáig: A központi kormányzat és adminisztráció Zsigmond-kori történetéhez" ["From the Curial Judgement Seats to the Chancery: Additions to the History of Central Government and Administration under King Sigismund"], in *Századok* 142 (2008): 2, 403–436; Kondor, "Magyar király a német trónon. Luxemburgi Zsigmond birodalmi kancelláriája és a királyi tanács (1410–1419)" ["Hungarian King on the German Throne. Imperial Chancery and the Royal Council of Sigismund of Luxembourg"], in *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris. Essays on the occasion of the 600th Anniversary of the Council of Constance*, ed. Attila Bárány, László Pósn (Debrecen: Printart Press, 2014), 83–101; Norbert C. Tóth, "A király helyettesítése a konstanzi zsinat idején: Az ország ügyeinek intézői 1413–1419 között" ["Replacement of the King under the Council of Constance: Managers of the Kingdom between 1413–1419"], in *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris ...*, 289–313.

compare it with that of the other chancery members, who had not studied abroad, hardly gaining a statute of literate person and/or cleric knowledge. Although one of the most significant questions is how their studies could have helped them take a well-paid job in the court, the place of the university attendance among other supporting factors, such as acquaintances, family background, wealth or military merits, is equally important. At the end of these investigations we were able to draw the conclusion about the relationship between the two layers and the higher levels of the chancery, their proportion included.

A short history of the Hungarian chanceries

Similar to other countries in Medieval Europe, the Hungarian royal chanceries were rooted in the papal court, while, in the case of the Hungarian Kingdom, we have to take into consideration certain Byzantine elements as well. The process began at the end of the 12th century, when King Béla III (1172–1196) had an argument with the archbishop of Esztergom, the first ecclesiastical dignitary of Hungary. Since he was the leader of the royal chapel (which functioned as the main publisher of the royal charters at that time), the royal administration of justice and charter editing underwent many damages. This led the King to develop his own center for producing the charters, the chancery, obviously keeping in mind his early observations on the Byzantine civilization, which were collected during his stay in Constantinople. However, only one former university student from Paris, Adrian, provost of Buda, participated at the inauguration of the office. The presence of the vice chancellor contributed to the development of the chancery in the mid-13th century. Thus, under the reign of King Charles I (1308–1342), the

vice chancellor disclosed the secret seal bureau of the chancery to serve the monarch's major and more personal charter production. In the 1370s, a deeper and more extensive reform took place in relation with the curial jurisdiction, which resulted among other achievements, in the creation of an independent secret chancery. Consequently there would be two chancery bureaus in Hungary, for about half a century, until King Sigismund (1386–1437) unified them again in the 1420s.³ King Sigismund's reign was however an interesting period in the life of the chanceries, not only for their reassembling, but because it was also the first time when a higher number of former university students were employed not just in higher positions.

Peregrination in the Sigismundean period and the intellectuals of the chanceries

We can count 56 chancery members from the period that was marked by King Sigismund's 50 year reign. Out of them, 38 were employed by the main chancery (*summus cancellaria*), while only 18 worked in the secret chancery (*cancellaria secreta*), albeit, the number of chancery employees was undoubtedly larger. Among the total of 56 members, 17 were educated, which represents the 1/3 part of the fellowship. On the other hand, we notice a considerable preference for the secret chancery, since 10 from the known 18 members studied abroad, while in case of the main chancery their number is only 7 from 38.

The difference between these two bureaus is more evident if we examine the members' educational levels. In the

³ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen A History of Medieval Hungary 896–1526* (London: Tauris 2001), 190–192, 220–222; László Kontler, *Millennium in Central Europe – A History of Hungary* (Budapest: Atlantis, 1999), 71, 106.

case of the secret chancery, 5 from 7 chancellors, 2 from 3 vice chancellors, and, furthermore, 3 from 8 notaries studied in a university, and, moreover, 2 from these 3 educated notaries also became later protonotaries. At the same time, the presence of these five educated chancellors indicates that between 1388 and 1419, former university students were promoted to high positions in the secret chancery. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that none of the Pálóci brothers (secret chancellors, 1419–1423) studied abroad, their assistant, Ladislaus Csapi studied in Cracow and Prague, and thus he symbolized continuity up to 1423.

The character of the Hungarian peregrination fundamentally changed after the Angevin dynasty had ended. Under King Louis I (1342–1382), the Hungarian students' aim was to major chiefly in legal educational centers, such as Bologna or Padua, while the court's intention was to gain well educated canonists for the diplomatic body, in other words for the royal chapel and chanceries. At the beginning of Sigismund's reign, those who had studied during King Louis' last years prevailed among the chancery leaders and they represented those expectations which were rooted in Louis' ruling methods. Main chancellor John Kanizsai (1387–1403),⁴ secret chancellor Peter

⁴ C. Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája (1387–1437)* [Archontology of the Provosts of Cathedral and Collegiate Chapters 1387–1437] (Budapest: MTA-HIM-SZTE-MOL Magyar Medievisztikai Kutatócsoport, 2013), 82; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, I–II (Budapest: História-MTA TTL, 1996) [Secular Archontology of Hungary 1301–1457] I, 64, 89; Endre Veress, *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)* [Matriculations and Papers of the Hungarian Students at the University of Padua (1264–1864)] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1915), 3; Kinga Körmendy, *Studentes Extra Regnum. Esztergomi kanonokok egyetemjárása és könyvhasználata 1183–1543*

Knol (1388–1389)⁵ and John Szepesi (1392–1396)⁶ belonged to this group. They were followed by the students at Central-European universities, who represented a substantial majority among the court peregrinators during the rest of the Sigismundean period. Thus, most of the 17 former students learned in Prague (7 persons) and in Vienna (6 persons). Three of them studied in Italy (one in Bologna, one in Padua and one at an unknown Italian university), while one was educated in Cracow. We have to take into consideration the difference between Vienna and Prague. While the first was the cheapest university in Central Europe, the entrance and examination fees in Prague were obviously higher, so that mostly the students coming from wealthier families could attend this university.⁷ The matriculation lists of the medieval University of Prague unfortunately did not survive, but owing to the Deans' book of

[*Peregrination and Book-Using of the Canons of Esztergom 1183–1543*] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 97, 116.

⁵ C. Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája (1387–1437)*, 83; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, 90; Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyvei és iratai, 1221–1864* [*Matriculations and Papers of the Hungarian Students at the Italian Universities, 1221–1864*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1941), 398.

⁶ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, II. 229; Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyvei és iratai ...*, 30, 32; Veress, *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)*, 5; The reason of the secret chancellors' short chancery leadership was that they were mostly provost, one of a diocesan or bigger collegiate chapter, but after they had obtained a bishopric, they had to leave the chancery because they had to keep in touch with the King. Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon* [*The Reign of King Sigismund in Hungary*] (Budapest: Gondolat 1984) 230–231.

⁷ Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* [*The Transylvanians' University Attendance in the Middle Ages*] (Bucharest: Kriterion 1979) 115; cf. Michal Svatoš, "The Studium Generale 1347/8–1419," in *A History of Charles University*, eds. Ivana Čornejová, Michal Svatoš, Petr Svobodný (Prague: Prague University Press, 2001), 55.

the Faculty of Arts and by estimating the possible period of studies we can evaluate the number of the students' admissions (including two years for a Bachelor's degree and two more years for a Master's degree).⁸ Until the decline of the University of Prague (which began symbolically in 1409, with the Decree of Kutna Hora) none of the later chancery employees began their studies in Vienna, preferring Prague instead. In other words, most of the Hungarian wealthy aristocratic families afforded to send their children to Prague, which was highly acknowledged by the contemporaries. This tendency would change radically only in the second decade of the 15th century.⁹

Two well-known and well-to-do baronial families (Kanizsai, Szepesi) and one emerging burgher family (Knol) sent their relatives to Italy, although in Knol's case we cannot exclude the possibility that he began his studies somewhere else, like other burghers. In what the secondary role of the University of Vienna in the 14th century and the first decade of the 15th century is concerned, what we know about the Hungarian peregrination is only that the students from the western regions of Hungary went to study not to the University of the Habsburg Princes, but to the imperial city's University.¹⁰ The only person from the

⁸ Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, 97.

⁹ Péter Haraszti Szabó, "A prágai egyetem 14. századi hallgatói és a királyi udvar kapcsolatrendszeré" ["The Students of the University of Prague in the Fourteenth Century and their Relationship with the Royal Court of Hungary"] in *Micrae Mediaevales IV. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, [Young Historians' Papers on Medieval Hungary and Europe], eds. Judit Gál- István Kádas- Márton Rózsa- Eszter Tarján (Budapest: ELTE BTK TDI 2015), 88–89.

¹⁰ Haraszti Szabó, "Magyarországi diákok a Prágai Egyetemen a középkorban" ["Students from Hungary at the University of Prague in the Middle Ages"], in *Magyarországi diákok a Prágai és a Krakói egyetemeken 1348–1525*, I–II [Students

analyzed group in Cracow also came from this region (Molnári in Count Vas) and, hence the first development period in the life of the University of Cracow began in the first quarter of the 15th century.¹¹ It is interesting to notice the outstanding growth of the Hungarian students' number in Vienna (almost double) after 1409-1410. Examining the characteristics of the Hungarian court nobles' and common people's peregrination, we conclude that: the University of Prague developed in the second half of the 14th century, and most probably, the Italian universities that had been the main destinations until then were outrun by the University of Prague, and that the establishment of the universities in Vienna, Cracow and Pécs did not change this situation significantly.

Nonetheless, only two persons attended more than one university. John of Esztergom-Újváros probably studied in Vienna after being in Prague,¹² while Ladislaus Csapi, although he began his studies in Cracow in 1407, he obtained the *artium baccalaureus* in Prague in 1409.¹³ Nevertheless, in order to define

from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348-1525], eds. Haraszti Szabó, Borbála Kelényi, László Szögi (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár-MTA ELTE Egyetemtörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2016), I, 29-32.

¹¹ Kelényi, "Magyarországi diákok a Krakkói Egyetemen a középkorban" ["Students from Hungary at the University of Krakow"], in *Magyarországi diákok a Prágai és a Krakkói egyetemeken 1348-1525*, I-II [Students from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348-1525], eds. Haraszti Szabó, Kelényi, Szögi (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár-MTA ELTE Egyetemtörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2016), 52-55.

¹² Károly Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* [Hungarian Students at the University of Vienna] (Budapest: MTA 1892), 12. János was a canon of Esztergom in 1390. C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században I. rész: A kanonoki testület és az egyetemjárás* [The Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom in the 1st Part of the Fifteenth Century: The Canonical Body and University Studies] (Budapest: MTA TKI, 2015), 95.

¹³ *Album studiosorum* I. 25; *Liber Decanorum Decanorum Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis, ab anno 1367 usque ad annum 1585 E Codice membranaceo*

the role of education in these persons' career, besides the place of their studies, we have to observe their graduation as well.

Despite the fact that presently the university studies' successfulness is judged by the graduation process, in the Middle Ages this was not evident. Christian Hesse examined the peregrination in the medieval Holy Roman Empire and deduced that most of the graduate students were satisfied to acquire a Bachelor's degree and did not intend to get higher grades or to attend faculties.¹⁴ To evaluate the usefulness of graduation and academic degrees outside the university walls is a difficult task nevertheless. Firstly, because graduation and degrees played a significant role in the academic perfection and, thus, their value was hardly measurable in society.¹⁵ Out of the examined group, 10 persons could obtain a degree. Furthermore, in what the students' choice of universities was concerned, the students at the University of Prague had higher chances to complete their studies successfully. Namely, 6 from the 10 graduate students were educated in Prague, although John of Esztergom-Újváros studied later in Vienna too, but without getting a degree. On the other hand, we notice that although they studied principally at the Faculty of Arts, among them there were however two

illius Aetatis nunc primum luce donatum, I-II, eds. Johannes Nep. Gerzabek (Prague, 1830-1832), I, 406, 408; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, II, 49.

¹⁴ Christian Hesse, *Acta Promotionum* II. Die Promovierten der Universitäten im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bemerkungen zu Quantität und Qualität, In: *Examen, Titel, Promotionen. Akademisches und staatliches Qualifikationswesen vom 13. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, eds. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Marie Claude Schöpfer Pfaffen (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2007), 232.

¹⁵ Christoph Fuchs, *Dives, pauper, nobilis, magister, frater, clericus. Sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über Heidelberger Universitätsbesucher des Spätmittelalters* (1386-1450) (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 95-96.

Master's degrees in Arts and one Licentiate degree in Arts. Only two people got a doctoral degree (Kanizsai, Szepesi), and one a licentiate degree (Knol) in canon law in Italy (and each of them reached the top position in the chanceries), while Clement Molnári obtained a Bachelor's degree in Cracow. Thus, two thirds of this group earned certain academic degree, but did it matter for their career at all?

In what their career was concerned, Peter Moraw pointed out that university studies were approximately equal with other factors like family wealth and background, etc., or, more specifically, they were complementary.¹⁶ Christoph Fuchs related this observation mostly with those students having a lower income, based on his own researches about the medieval students at the University of Heidelberg.¹⁷ The 18 people were observed in various social backgrounds, so that the statement can be easily verified. Three of them belonged to the Hungarian upper class, namely, a baronial family, eight to the gentry or the squirelet, one to an ecclesiastic noble family, while about the background of the last two we know nothing. 9-10 persons had court connections. The father of John Kanizsai,¹⁸ of John Szepesi¹⁹ and of Emery Perényi,²⁰ and the brother of Ladislaus Csapi²¹ belonged to the court of King Louis or Sigismund, whilst the great grandfather of Valentine Asszonyfalvi²² and Thomas

¹⁶ Peter Moraw, "Careers of Graduates," in *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte*, ed. Peter Moraw (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 403.

¹⁷ Fuchs, *Dives*, 95-96.

¹⁸ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, II, 123.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

²² *Ibid.*, 179.

Debrentei²³ was already a courtier in the first half of the 14th century. The uncle of Emery Sebesi was a special chaplain of King Sigismund,²⁴ like the father of the Hungarian humanist, John Vitéz' uncle, Mathias Gatalóci, also served in the royal court, as a chancery employee and later a chancellor.²⁵ King Sigismund employed Francis Gewicz, the former protonotary of his brother King Wenceslas IV (1378-1419) of Bohemia, after Wenceslas' death. Furthermore, György Bónis assumed that Chancellor John Albeni set Stephen Büki, son of Basó, in the way, because the chancellor was the bishop of Zagreb too, and the main domains of the Büki family were in this diocese, where his father Basó was the count of Kőrös (Križevci, HR) County.²⁶ Therefore, about half of the group had traceable former court connections, but university education did not influence their lives, on behalf of the other half. In what the court nobility's peregrination was concerned, we admit that in our former researches we have concluded that the effects of court culture were probably the main cause that urged these families to send their younger members to study abroad.²⁷ According to Rainer

²³ *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁴ *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár [Documents on the Reign of Sigismund] I-XII*, eds. Mályusz, Iván Borsa, C. Tóth, Bálint Lakatos, Tibor Neumann (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951-2014), II, 817. No. (Hereinafter: ZsO).

²⁵ Tamás Fedeles, "Két 15. századi pécsi prépost," ["Two Provosts of Pécs in the 15th Century"] in *Capitulum V. Püspökök, prépostok, kanonokok. Fejezetek Pécs középkori egyháztörténetéből [Bishops, Provosts, Canons. Chapters from the Medieval Church History of Pécs]* (Szeged: SZTE Történeti Intézet, 2010), 35.

²⁶ György Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon [Intellectuals Trained in Law in Hungary before the Battle of Mohács]* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 110; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, I, 254.

²⁷ Haraszi Szabó, "Magyarországi diákok a Prágai Egyetemen a középkorban," 83-91.

Christoph Schwinges, family and familiarity seriously influenced one's chance and opportunity to attend a university.²⁸ From this point of view, it is quite intriguing that out of the examined group, only one person had a family member who had also studied abroad earlier, namely Thomas Debrentei Himfi's uncle, Basi, canon of Veszprém.²⁹ Although this rate would increase in the next decades, only five persons sent their relatives to a university. Clement Molnári and John Enyedi Szász sent their brothers,³⁰ Stephen Upori and John Vitéz sent their nephews,³¹ while from the Knol family the grandson of Chancellor Peter's brother attended a university.³²

Moreover, we cannot forget that Hungarian peregrination became a mass phenomenon during the last third of the 14th century, but, however, the court nobility had already sent their family members to universities. Nevertheless, this was the first time when the expanding peregrination could create an educated layer, which would be able later to send more relatives

²⁸ Rainer Christoph Schwinges, "On Recruitment in German Universities from the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries," in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, eds. William J. Courtenay, Jürgen Miethke (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 44.

²⁹ Nevertheless, in his case the court milieu also has to be taken into account, because his father was a court knight of King Louis. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, II, 100.

³⁰ Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 100; Körmendy, *Studentes*, 87.

³¹ Veress, *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)*, 4, 6; László Jankovits, "Janus Pannonius," in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon [Lexicon of Hungarian Cultural-History]* IV, 418; Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Vitézek és Garázdák. A szlavóniai humanisták származásának kérdéséhez," ["Vitézek és Garázdák. On the Origins of the Slavonian Humanists"] in *Turul* 86.1 (2013): 1–16.

³² Iulia Caproș, *Students from Košice at foreign universities before and after the Reformation Period in Town* (Kiel: Solivagus, 2013), 261.

to a university, certainly if the person's studies were considered successful. However, as mentioned above, not even the half of the group, having deeper and closer connections with the court, reached such results in their studies.

University acquaintances, financial conditions, or knowledge?

The exact motivations behind the peregrination, which most probably were different from person to person, are waiting to be evaluated. However, Klaus Wriedt identified two factors, namely the improvement of the financial conditions and the networking.³³ Graduation primarily supported the lower class students' career,³⁴ mostly in the case of the burghers. John Esztergom-Újvárosi and Peter Knol belonged to archbishop Kanizsai's circle. Thus their development was undoubtedly patronized by Kanizsai, and probably it was him who introduced his protégé to the King.³⁵ One cannot omit the fact that Knol studied together with Kanizsai in Italy,³⁶ but unfortunately we do not know the exact university where Knol learned. However, undoubtedly, Knol was acquainted with Kanizsai when he was Bishop of Eger, while Knol held a canonry in the same chapter. In

³³ Klaus Wriedt, "Studium und Tätigkeitsfelder der Artisten im später Mittelalter," in *Artisten und Philosophen. Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1999), 13.

³⁴ Fuchs, *Dives*, 96.

³⁵ It is also interesting that he was educated together with Stephen Upori. *Liber Decanorum* I, 190, 191, 203, 204, 220–221.

³⁶ Knol also studied at an unknown university in 1380, while about Kanizsai we know that at Padua he was the ultramontanists' rector and a doctor of canon law in 1378. Knol got a *licentiatius decretorum* degree as it is mentioned in 1380, but he had certainly been in Italy before, and it is possible that among the Hungarians chose this time he was the most popular choice at the University of Padua.

the case of George Késmárki, despite his personal connections with the King in 1406,³⁷ his studies represented the recommendation that introduced him to the court, or, possibly, the secret chancellor Emery Perényi saw enough potential in Késmárki, probably because both of them had learned in Prague, though not at the same time.³⁸

These connections and bonds made on the university benches were fruitful for three or four persons. The above mentioned Ladislaus Csapi began his career not in the chancery, but as a notary in another office of the curial judgment seat, the palatinate court. It was most probably due to a former acquaintance with Lawrence Csitári at the University of Prague. Csitári was a notary too, but more important is that the head of the office was his uncle, to whom he might have recommended his former fellow student.³⁹ However, after a few years, Csapi left the palatinate court for the position of vice chancellor of the secret Chancery, where his education and graduation (he got the *licentiatus atrium* degree) led him, since he did not have any previous relationship with the supervisors of the secret Chancery, the Pálóci brothers. Albeit a client of the Pálócis, Nicholas Csicséri Orosz studied at a university like Csapi, but, in spite of this, Csicséri could not gain a degree.⁴⁰ Presumably, the chancellors wanted a proficient and educated assistant like the former vice chancellor George Késmárki, provost of Győr, later provost of Szepes (Spiš, SK).

³⁷ ZsO II, 5154. No.

³⁸ *Liber Decanorum* I, 222, 288.

³⁹ ZsO I, 415. No.

⁴⁰ Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, 35; Daniela Dvořáková, *A lovag és királya. Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond* [The Knight and his King. Stibor of Stiboric and Sigismund of Luxembourg] (Pozsony: Kalligram, 2009), 314.

John Enyedi (Aiud, RO) Szász earned a job as a notary, and later a *prothonotarius* of the secret chancery on account of two canons of Zagreb, his fellow students at the University of Vienna. Without them, the Transylvanian Enyedi could barely get in touch with Chancellor John Albeni, bishop of Zagreb. Very likely this situation was also similar in the case of Stephen Büki, who studied in Vienna at the same time with the canons of Zagreb and Enyedi.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he was matriculated as a canon of Czázma, a municipality which belonged to the bishopric of Zagreb, where a palace of the bishop had been already built in the 13th century.⁴²

As a foreigner, John Uski (Usti nad Labem, CZ) did not have many acquaintances in Hungary, thus he could not trust the power of the domains or clients. King Sigismund supposedly left with Uski, a mere priest of the diocese of Prague, when he had to leave Hungary in 1385 and went to his brother in Prague to increase his power in order to regain Hungary from the Angevin party.⁴³ We do not know who recommended him to the King, owing to the scarcity of information about his background and early life, but if he stayed at Prague after he earned a Bachelor's degree in 1382, most probably his patron searched around the university and this was the key of his fortune. His compatriot, Francis Gewicz, led instead a serious existence in Bohemia and gained severe practices in curial judgment, but after the death of King Wenceslas IV, he accepted Sigismund's offer and moved to

⁴¹ Anna Tüskés, *Magyarországi iákok a bécsi egyetemen* [Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna 1365–1526], (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár 2008) 118.

⁴² ZsO V, 2128. No.

⁴³ Engel, C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382–1438)* (Budapest: MTA TKI, 2005), 56; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 197–199.

Hungary. As the former *registrator*, then *prothonotarius* of the imperial chancery,⁴⁴ Sigismund gladly employed him in the same position and he got in addition the provostry prebend of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom.⁴⁵

For Clement Molnári, the university meant a stage in his training, since in the same year (1406), when he was firstly and lastly mentioned as the protonotary of the main chancery (he was the first in this position in the history of Hungarian chanceries),⁴⁶ he went to study to Cracow and had very likely interrupted his serving.⁴⁷ Two years later, he earned the *baccalaureus atrium* title, but he was never mentioned as a protonotary again and he climbed the ecclesiastical hierarchy instead. Previously, he had obtained a provostry in Győr, and shortly after, he became the bishop of Győr in 1417.⁴⁸ He estimated his studies as a success and, therefore, he sent two of his brothers to study, as mentioned above. However, after his departure from the chancery, he appeared in the sources as an associate judge. His presence as a chancery protonotary was an unusual phenomenon, and only under chancellor John Albeni (1421-1433) acknowledged the next leader of the chancery notaries in the person of Mathias Gatalóci.⁴⁹ Although he did not study in any university, at least as we know, many of the former peregrinators among the

⁴⁴ See quotation 27.

⁴⁵ C. Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája (1387-1437)*, 38.

⁴⁶ Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 100.

⁴⁷ See quotation 12.

⁴⁸ C. Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája (1387-1437)*, 86.

⁴⁹ Fedeles, "Mathias von Gathalóc Propst von Pécs/Fünfkirchen (1428-1437)," in *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis II. Dissertationes historicae collectae per Cathedra Historiae Medii Aevi Modernorumque Temporum Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, ed. Font Márta (Pécs: PTE Középkori és Koraiújkorai Történeti Tanszék, 2003), 77-83.

chancery employees were related to him as a patron and protector. This question is however too complex to be discussed in this paper.

This is not the case of Stephen Upori. Because of the lack of medieval sources and matriculation books at the University of Prague, we can scarcely reconstruct his relationship with the university. The list of names that survived points out (in relation with his later career and interpersonal relations) that nobody could have helped him enter the royal court, because his acquaintances reached the King's circle only after him. He appeared in 1387 as a canon of Várad (Oradea, RO) after having earned his Master's degree in 1382.⁵⁰ In 1392, he obtained a canonry at the cathedral chapter of Esztergom,⁵¹ where he might have been patronized by Archbishop Kanizsai, as in the cases of Knol and Esztergom-Újvárosi. Five years later, he became secret chancellor. He led the chancery until 1401,⁵² opening thus the series of secret chancellors, who were trained in Prague. Between 1397 and 1419, for almost twenty years, the secret chancery was administrated by three former students from Prague. But then again, concerning Upori chancellor's career, we do not know whether his studies counted at all. The most relevant aspect in Emery Perényi's career was his unconditional loyalty to the King, but, however, it was a considerable risk to appoint lay people at the top of the secret chancery. His father, Peter, was only a castellan of Diósgyőr

⁵⁰ *Liber Decanorum*, I. 204.

⁵¹ IX. Bonifác pápa bullái, [Bulls of Pope Boniface IX] I-II, ed. Vilmos Fraknói (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1889), I, 231.

⁵² Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, I, 90.

castle,⁵³ but Emery easily moved along his path. Following the usual scheme, from a castellan he became a count, then a minor courtly office-holder (*magister agazonum*) and the unusual coronation of his career was the secret chancellor position. In 1405, King Sigismund broke the former tradition and a layman instead of a new provost became the chancellor, namely Emery Perényi, who held this position until his death, in 1418.⁵⁴ Most probably, the King wanted to eliminate the problem of the secret chancellors' frequent change, but with the layman Perényi, King Sigismund did not have any more troubles. Perényi went on diplomatic delegations for several times, from the King's coronation in Aachen to the Council at Constance and even to Anatoly. His erudition, probably his studies in rhetoric and his argumentative skills, which were easily reached in a university, made him a perfect person for this kind of duties and as a leader of the secret chancery. The two most well-known persons, John Kanizsai, the leader, and John Szepesi the secret chancery' leader owed their careers mostly to their family connections. The antecessors of the Kanizsai family had risen under the Angevin kings, but the most prominent person of the kind was Archbishop John, at the turn of the 14-15th centuries. His studies at Padua were undoubtedly patronized by his uncle, Stephen, bishop of Zagreb, although he had died before his nephew got the doctoral degree in canon law.⁵⁵ Upon returning home, he joined Queen Mary and her

consort, Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, with all his family members. John gained the archbishopric of Esztergom from Sigismund in exchange for his loyalty, but during the revolt in 1403, he became the leader of the rebels. However, Sigismund forgave him. Kanizsai had to withdraw from the chancery, but when the King was crowned on the imperial throne, he gained the imperial chancery' top position, which demonstrated the King's absolute trust in him.⁵⁶ The other baron, John Szepesi, was not this fortunate. His father, Jacob came from a gentry family, but through persistent work he climbed the social ladder from a notary position to the second highest Hungarian office, the *iudex curiae* (Judge of the royal court) in 1372 and, again, in 1373.⁵⁷ He guided his son to the ecclesiastical career, sending John to Padua and just like Kanizsai, he obtained a doctoral title in canon law. After the death of Louis the Great, he also joined Sigismund's entourage and hence he got the diocesan seat of Zagreb and later the archbishopric of Kalocsa, while, in the court, he became the Count of the Royal chapel, then the secret chancellor. Despite this excellent career, John joined the rebels in 1396 and, unlike Kanizsai, he did not put in a claim for forgiveness to the King and he went to Naples instead. He ended his life as an archbishop of Naples in the same city, in 1409. Their studies qualified both of them to take care of judicial and diplomatic duties.⁵⁸ But this was true only for Kanizsai, Szepesi and Knol,

⁵³ Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387-1437)* [*The Relationship between the Royal Power and the Aristocracy under the Reign King Sigismund (1387-1437)*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 106.

⁵⁴ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, I, 90.

⁵⁵ Körmendy, *Studentes*, 97, 116.

⁵⁶ Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 95.

⁵⁷ Iván Bertényi, *Az országbírói intézmény története a XIV. században* [*History of the Judge Royal Institution in the 14th Century*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), 138-174.

⁵⁸ Kondor, "A királyi kúria bíróságaitól a kancelláriáig: A központi kormányzat és adminisztráció Zsigmond-kori történetéhez," 406-408.

who studied law in Italy, while the next chancellors learned only in *artes*, which does not mean an inferior level. Nonetheless, we have to stress out the differences between the importance of the two chancery offices and their members at the beginning of the 15th century. According to Bónis, the educated laymen's involvement in politics is traceable up to the "foreseeing politics" of King Louis.⁵⁹ But despite this, we have to admit that about half of the former peregrinators studied abroad under King Sigismund, although after Kanizsai and Perényi, the chancery supervisors did not come from intellectual backgrounds. Interestingly, however, the first educated notaries appeared at the same time in the 1410s (if we do not count John Uski) in the chanceries and other court judicial seats. In the King's entourage, the peregrinators became visible mainly among his advisers and clerks, but this aspect does not belong to this paper's topic. So, from this point of view, a qualitative change could be noticed: the King did not feel the urge to fill the leading positions of the chanceries with intellectuals, but inside the offices (particularly for the vice chancellors and protonotaries) there was a distinct demand that at least a couple of employees should have knowledge about the chancery's theoretical work as well. This aspiration was noticeable with John Szászi, Mathias Gatalóci and Fabian in the first place. Thus, after Gatalóci had become a chancellor in 1433 (and in 1439 again),⁶⁰ former educated chancery notaries became protonotaries (if we exclude Molnári). Under these three persons, almost every former student began his career and even the Pálóci brothers had

⁵⁹ Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 98.

⁶⁰ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, I, 89.

the urge to arrive at the top of their office. John Szászi, the vice chancellor, maintained Emery Sebesi, a former notary, who after having quit his job at the chancery, ascended on the ecclesiastical hierarchy owing to Szászi as well. Protonotary Fabian supported Peter Novai and John Enyedi Szász, while Gatalóci set John Vitéz in the way (but most probably he took part in the promotion of Enyedi too). Most of the former educated notaries ascended to the protonotary position, while John Vitéz became secret chancellor in the Hunyadi era.⁶¹ Thus, in other words, the top positions of the chanceries were earlier occupied by the educated people and the notaries had to train themselves in the field. In the 1420s, this tendency changed, but the demands, even if at a lower level, remained the same for the intellectuals in the chanceries. Nothing proves this better than the rate of these persons' presence among the chancery employees. Albeit we do not have a whole list of the chancery notaries in this period, we can state that 7 out of the known 30 notaries had studied before at a university, namely almost ¼ of the total number. During the reign of King Sigismund, 25-30% of the Hungarian chancery notaries learned abroad. The question arises naturally if the university could give some special skills compared with the inland school system. Alan Cobban⁶² and Klaus Wriedt's research resulted in the *ars dictaminis* or *ars notaria*, for the benefit of university education.⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid., 91; Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 224, 225.

⁶² Alan B. Cobban, "Reflections on the role of the medieval universities in contemporary societies," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Lesley Janette Smith-Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 239.

⁶³ Wriedt, *Studium und Tätigkeitsfelder*, 17–18.

In spreading and universalizing the art of letter writing and charter editing, it had a great role in the European universities in the Middle Ages, as István Hajnal demonstrated.⁶⁴ This art was taught through rhetoric lectures as trivium. Although the practical side of the studies was not strictly related to the university, the university professors played a serious part in the teaching process as practical lawyers.⁶⁵ Furthermore, at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the rhetorical arts were rediscovered.⁶⁶ István Mészáros' researches confirm this statement. He analyzed the curriculum of the Faculty of the Arts in Vienna, between 1390 and 1399. From his work, we conclude that besides the obligatory authors of logics and physics texts, there were also other authors who figured on the list with grammatical - literary - poetical texts mostly.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that, as James Murphy considered, rhetoric was hardly separable from grammar and literature courses.⁶⁸ Thus, these grammatical - literary - poetical texts,

⁶⁴ István Hajnal, *Írásoktatás a középkori egyetemeken* [Education of Writing in the Medieval Universities] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2008), 24-27.

⁶⁵ Hajnal, *Education of writing*, 174-175.

⁶⁶ Gordon Leff, "The Trivium and the Three Philosophies," in *A History of Universities in Europe*, I, ed. Hilde de Rydder-Symoens (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 315.

⁶⁷ Donatus, Alexander de Villa Dei, Boethius, Gafridus Anglicus, Eberhardus of Bremen or Magister Jovis are mentionable. There were several rhetorical texts, the work of Magister Jovis related exactly to the *ars dictaminis*. István Mészáros, "Ars, litteratura, philosophia Tudomány- és tananyagrendszerek Alkuinótól Erasmusig" ["Systems of Learning and Curriculums from Alcuin to Erasmus"], in *Filológiai Közlöny* 28.1 (1982): 27.

⁶⁸ James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages a history of rhetorical theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkley: Berkley University Press, 1990), 235-237, 267. Laborinthus, by Eberhard from Bremen explained the rhetoric from grammatical and poetical points of view. Jürgen Sarnowsky, "Die artes im

which were introduced into the curricula at the end of the 14th century, were connected to the rhetoric. The texts mentioned by Mészáros reflect the different way of considering rhetoric in the new century. From a Hungarian perspective, this is intriguing because: firstly, all of the chancery notaries in the Sigismundean Hungary were educated in Vienna, while at the beginning of the 15th century; there was already a Hungarian rhetoric teacher, John Caesar Lugosi (Lugoj, RO) in Vienna.⁶⁹ György Bónis wrote a detailed article about the first Hungarian rhetorical text, the *Ars Notaria* by John Uzsa. He stated that in the medieval universities charter writing was included in the rhetorical courses, taught and exercised by the professors, which is quite easy to verify if we keep in mind that Uzsa studied in Italy. He dedicated his work to those who could not afford travelling at a distant university, obviously detecting the deficiency of the Hungarian school curricula as well. The rhetorical studies, on the other hand, included not only courses of preaching or writing in a classical manner, but some legal instruction too.⁷⁰ The *ars notaria*, which was taught in school, was different precisely for these additions (legal, stylistic,

Lehrplan der Universitäten," in *Artes im Mittelalter*, ed. Ursula Schäfer (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), 73. Murphy, *Rhetoric*, 180.

⁶⁹ Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, 17, 159, 284; Emma N. Tahin, "Az orvosi pályára készülő magyar diákok egyetemjárása a Zsigmond-korban," ["Medical peregrination of Hungarian Students in the Sigismundean Period"] in *Ditor ut Ditem. Tanulmányok Schulthesz Emil professzor 85. születésnapjára* [Papers to the 85th Birthday of Professor Schulthesz Emil], eds. Judit Forrai, István Gazda, Károly Kapronczay, László András Magyar, Benedek Varga, Szilveszter Vízi E. (Budapest: Magyar Orvostörténelmi Társulat, 2008), 384.

⁷⁰ Bónis, "Az Ars notaria mint retorikai és jogi tankönyv" ["The Ars Notaria as a Rhetorical and Legal Textbook"], in *Filológiai Közlöny* IX.3-4 (1963): 373-374.

grammatical and others), according to Andor Tarnai.⁷¹ Although their opinions are different about the practical utility of the universities, Cobban and Jacques Verger came to an agreement that the chancery style, the extensively practiced stylistic art, the precise ability of ideation and the routine of disputes (university disputations, which were obligatory to all university students) besides the *ars dictaminis*, were the main advantages of the university studies. These skills qualified the students to obtain numerous social, political and judicial positions after their studies, observed Verger. Through a practical learning, which was offered by universities and suitably skilled professors, it was the most effective way to gain these techniques and skills for those students who felt enough strength to continue their studies on this level.⁷² Reaching the art of notary and these practical skills were fruitful for some people from the examined group too, such as Peter Novai. Peter came from a predial (ecclesiastical noble) family from the domain of the bishops of Veszprém. Matriculated in the University of Vienna in 1416, he returned home without a degree, mostly because of the lack of financial support. But, from a notary of the main chancery under King Albert (1437–1439), he became a protonotary.⁷³ None of his former fellow

⁷¹ Andor Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik." Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon" ["The Hungarian Language Starts to be written": Literary Thinking in Medieval Hungary"] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 63.

⁷² István Hajnal drew the attention upon the fact that the universities have to take assume the task of deliver the introductory courses on Latin language, writing and reading. Hajnal, *Education of writing*, 85, 90.

⁷³ Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 151; József Holub, "Az egyházi nemesek jogállása a középkorban" ["Social Status of the

students could help him to get a position like this, although Simon Rozgonyi, bishop of Veszprém gained the chancellor title in 1440, but unfortunately the last information about Novai came from 1439, so we do not know whether Bishop Rozgonyi took part in the ascension of Novai. But above all, if the bishop of Veszprém recommended Novai to the chancery, this was owing to his studies probably.

Conclusion

In the examined period the rate of the intellectuals among the chancery employees reached the 1/3 part of the total. Their number increased from the time of the Hungarian Angevins' reign. The most amazing phenomenon is the growing number of the learned notaries from the 1410s, while, on the other hand, we could observe that until 1409 (when Wenceslas IV produced the Decree of Kutna Hora), most of the later chancery employees were educated at the University of Prague, which was the main educational center in the region. Their attendance at the top positions mostly in the secret chancery is outstanding in this period. Their former university acquaintances and sometimes their erudition led them to the royal court directly. But from the middle of King Sigismund's reign, the inner situation of the court clearly changed from this perspective. The king assigned the leading positions of the chanceries to his trustful dependents, while the vice chancellors and notary leaders hired educated notaries in an increasing number. They were the first antitypes of the Hungarian humanists, thus we should search for the roots of the humanistic peregrination in the period of King Sigismund.

Ecclesiastical Nobles in the Middle Ages"] in *Regnum - Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv*, 6 (1944–1946): 201.